MYTHOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE TENTH CENTURY TO THE CONQUEST

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JACQUELINE HARPER BROWN

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INTRODUCTION

The survival of mythological motifs in English art of the tenth and eleventh centuries relates to the larger problem of the transmission of myth from classical times to later European culture. The latter question, as it pertains to the visual arts, has been dealt with by such art historians as Erwin Panofsky, Jean Seznec and Fritz Saxl. I am indebted to them for what understanding I have of the larger question. Within this purview the English revival should be seen as a derivative of the Carolingian renovatio, both its artistic and intellectual achievements. The English revival is thus linked with the centuries-long process of reconciling classical culture and Christianity. The survival of mythological motifs is dependent not only upon the artistic traditions, but also upon the remnants of classical learning that came down to the West. In both areas Englishmen owed much to their Carolingian predecessors.

English artists were the heirs of the mythological tradition of Carolingian art. Their renascence was not a self proclaimed renovatio romanorum as the Carolingian revival had been. They did not harken back to the original sources of Greco-Roman art, nor to the later Italian and Byzantine works which inspired Carolingian artists. Carolingian artists expanded the repertory of mythological motifs and Anglo-Saxon artists continued this enthusiasm for representing pagan deities.

English manuscript art in this period from the revival to the conquest is inextricably linked with monasticism. During this time works were produced by monks in the scriptoria of the reformed houses. In this period of peace which followed the destruction of the Viking raids monastic foundations were rebuilt, the pattern of life was reformed and libraries were restocked. This was a time of monastic reform and cultural revival. Indeed one could say that this intellectual and artistic revival was one of the fruits of the reform movement. Because of this close relationship between monasticism and art I feel it is necessary to begin by briefly investigating the development and characteristics of the reform effort which had a bearing on the representation of mythological themes. The salient points are as follows. The close contacts between English monasticism and Continental houses permitted the transmission of Carolingian works of art to England. These works were a repository of mythical motifs which drew upon older pictorial cycles or expanded the use of certain motifs. The emphasis of reformed monasticism upon liturgical observance created a demand for psalters, benedictionals and calendars. In the classroom, psalters were needed to study Latin, and calendars were the basis of arithmetical studies. The schools revived the study of astronomy and medicine. Astronomy aside from its practical dimension i.e., computing calendars, was more an aesthetic than a scientific interest which made works like the Aratea popular. The pastoral concerns of the monastic movement stimulated an interest in devotional literature of all sorts including the Psychomachia. Much of this devotional literature was vernacular poetry and its themes influence the illustrators.

In the second and third sections of the paper I proceed to an examination of the manuscripts themselves, first the scientific then the religious manuscripts. There is some overlap, the zodiac band from the Eadwine Psalter is included with the other zodiac illustrations in the scientific manuscripts, and an illustration derived from the Vita and Mors representation is included with the scientific manuscripts although it is not a medical illustration. In examining each of the sub-categories of manuscripts, medical illustration, moral forces, demonology, etc., I attempt to identify both the immediate model(s) and the tradition which would link the mythical motifs to antiquity. In several cases -- the Aratea, the zodiac figures, the Utrecht Psalter, the Psychomachia -- the Carolingian models and their Anglo-Saxon offspring are the descendants of pictorial cycles of long standing. Most of the religious manuscripts are meant to illustrate part of a psalm or a Biblical incident. The story telling qualities of these manuscripts alter the allegorical character mythical figures generally had in classical art. The pagan gods participate in the story being recounted, they become a part of the action. Whereas, in the scientific manuscripts the mythical figures representing stellar bodies do not become part of a narrative image and remain closer to their antique prototypes. I suggest the meaning of these paintings and drawings and particularly how the mythical figures contribute to the meaning of the whole representation.

During this period there is an increasing tendency in the religious manuscripts to emphasize the narrative qualities of the image. Later works such as the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and the Tiberius Psalter exhibit this tendency most strongly, but it is also noticeable in

earlier works such as Harley 603 and the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold. The development of narrative detail detracts from the classical feeling of the motif, the examples in which this tendency is most pronounced appear more "medievalizing". Often stylistic elements such as the elongation of figures and lack of modeling of figures, further enhance the medieval feeling of the image.

The influence of vernacular literature on manuscript art is most prevelant in what I have called demonology, that is compositions which include demons. This is one of the most inventive areas of English art in this period. The artist is able to use classical motifs to express ideas that are very much a part of his native culture.

CHAPTER II

THE MONASTIC REVIVAL

Early Reform Efforts

Monasticism, learning and the arts suffered alike during the Viking invasions of England during the ninth century. Internal weaknesses, as well as the effects of the Danish raids, may have contributed to the decline in monasticism and culture. Whether or not this is actually the case, it is clear that organized monastic life had sharply declined; buildings were unused or in ruin, as at Abingdon, and in such houses as Glastonbury and Christ Church, Canterbury monks had been replaced by secular clerks who followed no rule. A few individuals may have pursued monastic life privately, but not as members of an organized community.[1] Few manuscripts were written during this period, and they were not illuminated. The level of learning was low, as indicated by King Alfred's description of monks who could not read Latin.

In the second half of the tenth century, an artistic and intellectual revival grew out of the monastic reform begun at that time. The reform and the revival are inextricably linked. Monasteries were both the centers of learning--the schools and the libraries--and the scrip-

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[1] F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (2nd ed., "The Oxford History of England," ed. George Clark; Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1947), p. 489; David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (2nd ed.; Cambridge: the University Press, 1963), pp. 33, 36 and Peter Hunter Blair, An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge: the University Press, 1956), pp. 172-73.

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toria where manuscripts were written and illustrated. Winchester under Aethewold (ca.910-984), Worcester under Oswald (ca.920-992) and Glastonbury and Canterbury under Dunstan (909-988) were the nuclei of the reform movement and important schools. The needs of the schools and the church are evidenced by the books produced in monastic scriptoria.

Although the enduring efforts toward monastic and educational reform were not carried out until the second half of the tenth century, the activity of King Alfred (871-899) prepared the way. Alfred recognized the need for an educated clergy and his translations gave considerable impetus to vernacular literature. Contacts were established with the Continent by importing scholars from Fleury and Corbie and by maintaining dynastic alliances. These alliances were continued by his grandson Aethelstan (925-940), a collector of manuscripts who was given the Aethelstan Psalter (B. M., Galba, A. XVII) by his brother-in-law Otto I.[2] Foreign visitors were frequently entertained at court. The exchange of books and scholars became important for the transmission of classical learning and artistic motifs during the second half of the century. The spirit of Alfred's endeavors was carried on by Dunstan and his contemporaries who were able to make the monastic system a vehicle for education and learning.[3]

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[2]Ramona Bressie, "Libraries of the British Isles in the Anglo-Saxon Period," in James Westfall Thompson, The Medieval Library ("The University of Chicago Studies in Library Science"; New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1957), p. 121.

[3]Ernest A. Savage, Old English Libraries; the Making, Collection and Use of Books During the Middle Ages (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1912), p. 40. The role of these three men is given pre-eminence because the sources, largely biographies written by the following generation, are silent about other churchmen.

Southern and Eastern England were unthreatened by internal warfare or external incursions by the second half of the century; the first phase of the Viking threat had passed. This period of peace enabled Englishmen to rebuild, and monastic culture flourished once again as it had in the earlier period of the seventh and eighth centuries. Dunstan spearheaded reform efforts at Glastonbury between ca. 945 and 956. Continental influences were not prevalent in these early years. Dunstan had certainly learned of Continental ideas of reform from visitors at Aethelstan's court where he spent part of his boyhood, but he had no firsthand acquaintance with Continental reforms at this time.[4] Glastonbury under Dunstan's guidance became a renowned school and many monks were trained there and were shaped by his example. Among them was Aethelwold, his childhood friend, who served as dean at Glastonbury. Reform efforts began at Abingdon in 953 when Aethelwold was made abbot there.

The new monasticism was a native movement and the reformers probably saw themselves as the heirs of English monastic tradition. One cannot call tenth century developments a survival of earlier centuries in the sense that the tradition of learning associated with Theodore of Tarsus, Benedict Biscop, and Bede was still represented by scholars who were products of their schools. Many libraries had been destroyed, particularly those in the north like Wearmouth and York; others like Theodore's library at Christ Church, Canterbury had declined. In the ninth and early tenth centuries the Saxon clergy did not or could not concern themselves with learning.[5] However, Dunstan is said to have studied with Irish

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[4]Blair, p. 92; J. Armitage Robinson, The Times of St. Dunstan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 87.

[5]Montague Rhodes James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover (Cambridge: the University Press, 1903), p. xxiii.

monks at Glastonbury where a "considerable library remained from earlier times."[6] There seems to be no continuous link with the scholarly traditions of the schools of York or Canterbury; this thread had been broken in the ninth century. The main task of scholars in the tenth and early eleventh centuries was to rebuild and to restore learning. At least one man, Byrthferth of Ramsey, was indebted to an earlier scholar, Bede, even though Byrhtferth studied with Abbo of Fleury. The situation in the arts was similar. Book illumination disappeared in the ninth century, and tenth century artists drew predominantly from the Carolingian store of classical motifs. But some vestiges of Northumbrian and Canterbury traditions reached them. The achievements of earlier Englishmen did influence the arts and learning, but a great deal of rebuilding had to occur before these achievements could be utilized.

Contacts with the Continent

Reform efforts reached their zenith during the reigns of King Eadwig (955-959) and especially King Edgar (959-975) who was an enthusiastic supporter of the reform. At Edgar's death, twenty-eight houses had been reformed; from 975 to the Conquest only twenty houses were reformed.[7] Dunstan's exile at the monastary of Ghent (955-957) marks the beginning of many contacts between English houses and their reformed counterparts on the Continent. The progress of monastic reform abroad had not been unknown in England. News of these efforts came to Aethelstan's court, and Bishop Cenwald of Worcester in 929 visited a number of churches in Germany, including St. Gall and Reichenau. There is some evidence that

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[6]Knowles, pp. 37-38.

[7]D. P. Kirby, The Making of Early England (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1967), p. 104.

Continental priests were living in English abbeys and episcopal households on the eve of the revival.[8]

In addition to this connection with the reform movement in Flanders and Germany, close ties existed between Fleury, a Cluniac house, and the English church. Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury, was supposed to have received the monk's habit at Fleury and he visited there before his death in 958.[9] Aethelwold's appointment to Abingdon had prevented him from studying at a monastery abroad a few years before; now he invited chanters from Corbie to instruct his monks and sent a disciple, Osgar, to Fleury to learn the customs and observances of the Benedictine community. Oswald, nephew of Oda, dissatisfied with the life of the secular clerks he headed at Winchester, had been sent to Fleury about 950 for instruction in the offices and the rule. He returned to England eight years later at his uncle's death.[10] A man of his training could not fail to advance the cause of reform, and in 961 Oswald succeeded Dunstan in the of Worcester.

The reformers won several influential bishoprics including the see of Canterbury which Dunstan occupied. In 955 Aethelwold became Bishop of Winchester. Two monks who had been trained at Fleury assumed important posts within the church. Osgar whom Aethelwold had sent to France succeeded him as abbot of Abingdon, and Oswald brought Germanus of Winchester from Fleury to instruct the community at Westbury-on-Trym near Worcester. Aethelwold and Oswald seem to have participated more directly than Dunstan in reviving or founding monasteries in these years. The impetus for the growth of monastic communities flowed from Glastonbury,

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[8]Stenton, p. 438. [9]Stenton, p. 442 and Blair, p. 176.

[10]Stenton, p. 442; Knowles, pp. 39-40; and Robinson, pp. 111, 113, 128.

Abingdon, and Westbury (or later Ramsey), and each of the descendants paid "spiritual allegiance" to the reformer associated with its model house; but the Continental practice of direct filiation was not followed.[11]

The influence of Continental ideals upon cloister life is reflected in the Regularis Concordia, the rule drawn up to standardize monastic customs in England. A synodal council meeting in Winchester about 970 issued this document. Each of the three men contributed in some fashion to this undertaking although Aethelwold is credited with the actual compilation of the rule. Representatives from Fleury and Ghent were present to advise. The rule is based upon Continental usage with some uniquely English features.[12] The preface describes the council's purpose thus:

> The assembly fervently welcomed the message of the king, . . . that he should establish in the young Church of the English good customs . . . they called in monks of the monastery of St. Benedict at Fleury, and also of that famous monastery known by the name of Ghent. Thus they sought and found a way of great devotion, tempered with much subtle discretion of reason.[13]

The close personal contacts with reform centers of France and Flanders facilitated not only the spread of ideas to England but also the importation of manuscripts, ivories and other works of art. The daily round of life in the monastery followed a prescribed liturgical observance similar to that of the Benedictine houses across the channel, and the need arose for all kinds of service books. A large number of such books were executed in English scriptoria, many of them copied from manuscripts brought from France.

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[11]Knowles, p. 49.

[12]Blair, p. 178; Stenton, pp. 446-47; and Knowles, p. 42. Knowles gives the most thorough discussion of the elements of the rule, see pp. 42-46

[13]From the Regularis Concordia quoted in Robinson, p. 145.

Education and Letters

Concern for education can be seen from the first, and Dunstan, in his years at Glastonbury, gave his pupils "the fullest and widest education possible."[14] Aethelwold was also a master. Oswald is not known as a mentor, but his devotion to learning is evidenced by the fact that he invited Abbo of Fleury to teach at Ramsey. Schools and libraries grew in the new centers of learning--Glastonbury, Canterbury, Winchester and Ramsey. The education of monks was the chief concern in these schools, but it seems probable that some pupils were to become priests.

These ends are reflected in the curriculum offered. Boys were instructed in the schola by a monk known as a magister scholae and learned to read and write basic Latin. The Psalter was the main textbook used. Pupils also participated in the services observed by the community and received instruction in the chant. At more advanced levels, students studied the trivium--dialectic, rhetoric and grammar--and the quadrivium--astronomy, arithmetic, music and geometry. There was a rapid increase in the demand for books, texts for instruction, works for the library and service books. The volumes on ancient learning which the schools needed were obtained from Carolingian manuscripts.[15]

Records that would tell us something about library collections during this period are scarce. A few records remain from the Canterbury libraries. A catalogue from St. Augustine's notes a Genesis, probably the Pentateuch (B. M. Cott. Claud. B.IV); only one book in Hebrew can be identified. The books that King Aethelstan gave to St. Augustine's included Isidore's De naturis rerum (B.M. Cott. Dom. VIII), Bede's De

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[14]Knowles, pp. 487-88.

[15]Blair, p. 356.

arte metrica, Alcuin, and a grammar. Greek books could be found in the Christ Church library. Other works which can be tentatively identified with surviving manuscripts include: Genesis (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Junius 11); Boethius De consolatione (Otho A. VI [burnt]), a Herbal (B. M. Cott. Vit. C. III), Alfred's translation of Bede's history (Cambridge Univ. Lib. Kk. 3.18), and Exceptiones de Prisciano, Aelfric's grammar collection (Durham Cath. Lib. B. III).[16] The manuscripts that have survived indicate that Bede and the Homilies were common items on the shelves; Boethius, Gregory and Aldhelm are also frequently found. Libraries had copies of church fathers like Jerome and Ambrose, as well as Isidore and Augustine, and religious works like those of Juvencus, Prudentius, Sedulius, Arator and various saints' lives. The classical authors available included Priscian and Juvenal; Carolingian writers such as Alcuin, Amalarius, and Theodulf of Orléans could be found. A comparatively small number of scientific works remain: in addition to Bede and Isidore we have astronomical manuscripts, the Aratea and Hyginus, Rabanus Maurus and a mathematical treatise.[17]

Churchmen and monarchs were the benefactors of libraries in this period. At least they are the only ones spoken of in the inscriptions. Alfred, Canute [18] and Aethelstan[19] donated books to the Canterbury librar-

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[16]James, pp. lxix, lxxxiv-lxxxviii and xxv-xxviii.

[17]This information was compiled from N. R. Ker (ed), Medieval Libraries of Great Britian, a List of Surviving Books (2nd ed., "Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks," No. 3; London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 1-224 by listing all surviving MSS (excluding service books), supplemented by a list of illuminated MSS made by the author.

[18]James, p. xxv. Ker does not include these donations, pp. 238,243, 239.

[19]Robinson, p. 64. Ker, Durham pp. 60, 252; Canterbury pp. 238, 243; Winchester p. 315.

ies. Dunstan seems to have given more attention to the library at Glastonbury than that of Christ Church,[20] and Peterborough Abbey received about twenty books from Aethelwold. The generosity of a few other ecclesiastics is recorded. Bishop Aelfward ca. 1035 gave grammars and sacred books to Evesham; Bishop Brithwold bequeathed two books to Glastonbury; and, ca. 1060, Bishop Leofric collected some sixty volumes for the Exeter Cathedral Library.[21]

Continental influence in the schools is most directly evidenced at Ramsey, a monastery founded by Oswald, which had particularly close ties with Fleury. Abbo of Fleury, one of the most learned men of his day, taught here from 986 to 988 and his mark may be seen in the emphasis given to scientific studies, especially astronomy, at Ramsey. Byrhtferth, a monk of the abbey and a pupil of Abbo's, is the most outstanding product of this school and one of the bright lights of the whole English revival. He was a mathematician and the author of various scientific works including the Handbook or Enchiridon (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Ashmole 328), a guide to elemental scientific information compiled chiefly to aid the priest in his calculation of the calendar, and a "Preface" to a work by Bede (Oxford, St. John's College MS. 17),[22] Byrht-

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[20] James, p. xxiv. Ker lists only donations to Glastonbury, p. 264.

[21] Savage, Appen. C and pp. 44,110-11,263, and Ker, pp. 150, 261, 81-84.

[22] Blair, p. 360. Some scholars have also attributed commentaries on Bede to Byrhtferth, see Henry Bradley in D.N.B., VIII, p. 126, and J.H.G. Grattan and Charles Singer, Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine... ("The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum," New Series, No. 3; London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 92. George Frank Forsey, "Byrhtferth's Preface," Speculum, III (1928, 505-522), pp. 505-06, 510, 513 rejects these works.

ferth owed his interest in astronomy, so evident in his work, to his master Abbo. He acknowledges this in his "Preface" by stating, "The wise Abbo, disciple of Father Benedict, by whose benevolence we have gained knowledge of this subject and skill in other things."[23]

The main source of astronomical knowledge for Englishmen was the Aratea, a mixture of astronomical information and mythological lore. A Carolingian Aratea (B.M. Harley 647) was brought to England about the time Abbo came to instruct the monks of Ramsey. Another Aratus manuscript (B.M. Harley 2506), related to the first by a common Carolingian model, was probably illustrated in the scriptorium of Ramsey.[24] A third Aratea (B.M. Cott. Tib. B.V.) was copied in England during this time. The existence of these manuscripts indicates that the interest in astronomy was not merely confined to Ramsey.

The second generation of the renewed monasticism was a particularly illustrious one for English letters; Byrhtferth of Ramsey and Aelfric of Winchester (born ca. 955), who was a pupil of Aethelwold, are its outstanding representatives. Aelfric was an instructor at Cerne Abbas and in 1005 was appointed abbot of Eynsham. His writings are largely pastoral and didactic in nature. His intention was to convey the teachings of the church fathers to the unlearned. Aelfric's works include: the Homilies, a metrical para-

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[23]quoted in Forsey, p. 522.

[24]Fritz Saxl, Lectures (London: Warburg Institute, 1957), I, p. 106.

phrase of the Pentateuch and Joshua (B.M., Cott. Claud. B. IV), mentioned above; Colloquy, conversations between an instructor and a tradesman; and a Latin grammar written for his monks (Durham Cathedral Lib. B. III), also mentioned above.[25] He is the best representative of a native strain of English culture, vernacular religious literature. Although the illustrations for this literature did not draw upon traditional pictorial cycles, some of the themes of this literature, like the Harrowing of Hell, appear in the illustrations. These poems also color the artists choice of subjects for example, hell pits and demons.

The concern for the spiritual well-being of all-monks, priests, and laymen — is a characteristic of English monasticism and its educational aims. The monastic revival affected the whole body of the church down to the parishes not merely the Benedictine foundations, and there was a concern for the instruction of the clergy. This can be seen in the fact that possibly three-quarters of English bishops were recruited from monastic foundations.[26] The careers of Dunstan, Aethelwold and Oswald themselves are examples of this trend. A unique feature of the English church, the monastic cathedral (that is, a community of monks inhabiting a cathedral church), demonstrates the penetration of monasticism into many aspects of church life. The communities at Christ Church, Canterbury, under

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[25]Aelfric's works are discussed in J.S. Westlake, "From Alfred to the Conquest," The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance (Cambridge: the University Press, 1963), p. 119-122; Oswald Cockayne (ed.), Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England ("Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores"; London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864)III, pp. xix-xxvi; and Blair, pp. 357-59.

[26]Blair, p. 182.

Archbishop Aelfric (995-1005), and Sherborne, under Bishop Wulfsige (992-1001), were monastic.[27] The earlier efforts of Athelwold at Winchester and Oswald at Worcester were directed toward establishing monastic cathedrals.

The pastoral concerns of the church are also reflected in the kinds of works which were written and copied during this period. It has been pointed out that not only the works of Aelfric but also Byrhtferth's manual were written for the use of ordinary monks, clergymen, or even laymen, as were the calendars frequently added to service books. The artists who adorned calendar pages, unlike the illustrators of Caedmon's Poems (Oxford, Bod. Lib., Junius 11) or the Pentateuch (B.M. Claud. B. IV), had an antique pictorial cycle to draw upon. Churches, and particularly monasteries where liturgical observance dominated the pattern of daily life, felt an increased need for service books of all kinds -- psalters, gospels, benedictionals -- as well as calendars and computistical materials. Traditional devotional literature such as the Arator, saints' lives, Pastoral Care, and the Psychomachia were copied. In the case of psalters and the Psychomachia, artists were able to draw upon late antique cycles transmitted through Carolingian sources for their motifs. The most renowned manuscript brought to England and used as a model was the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht Univ. Lib., Script. Eccl. 484). In other instances, artists were influenced by the treatment of particular themes, such as the Crucifixion or the Baptism, which came to them through Carolingian sources.

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[27]Stenton, p. 450.

The Attitude Toward Antiquity

The attitude of the English monastic movement of this period toward antiquity was a tolerant one; indeed it appears that classical learning, particularly astronomy and grammar, was eagerly welcomed. This acceptance was transmitted through the Benedictines across the channel. Cluny "sacrilized" antiquity by regarding it as falling within the sphere of divine actions.[28] The influence of Fleury, the shining star of Benedictine learning, and of Abbo, who certainly had liberal attitudes toward learning and its role in monastic life,[29] was important in this connection.

The attitude toward antiquity is more than the result of the relationship between English monasticism and the Clumiacs. And the roots of these attitudes lie deeper in the past than the Cluniacs. We should trace here briefly the passage of these ideas to the Middle Ages, specifically the survival of mythology. The ancients themselves linked mythology with natural science (the gods are cosmic symbols), morals (the gods are allegories) and history (the gods are men immortalized for their deeds). The early Christian fathers, like Tertullian (145-200) and Lactantius (260-330), developed euhemerism, or the interpretation that the gods are immortalized mortals. Isidore of Seville (575-638) in his Etymologiae did the most to redeem the pagan gods from disfavor and transmits much information to the Middle Ages. Patristic

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[28]Werner Weisbach, Religiöse Reform and mittelalterliche Kunst (Zurich: Einsiedeln, 1945)

[29]Henry Osborne Taylor, The Medieval Mind, A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1911), I, pp. 293-94.

fathers, like Augustine and Jerome, were hostile to classical literature, but they accepted the sciences. Consequently, they were unable to exclude astrology, although they condemned it, because it was linked with several sciences including astronomy.[30]

Although the Church in different periods had attacked classical literature, Christians at various times during the centuries from 600 to 1000 looked upon classical achievements as a glorious past to be imitated. The enthusiasm of Carolingian and Irish scholars for antiquity is widely recognized; they regarded the ancients as the source of knowledge. It has been said that Alcuin and his scholars maintained that "the liberal arts are not the work of man, but of God, who has created them as a part of nature for men to find and develop."[31] This kind of enthusiasm for antiquity was reflected not only in the literary efforts of men like Theodulf and Alcuin but also in the encyclopedia of Rabanus Maurus, De rerum natura. The abbot of Fulda derived much of his work from Isidore and the work contains a pantheon of mythological deities.[32] There was a new interest in astronomy and "scientific astrology" during the Carolingian period also. The Pythagorian sphere and the

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[30]Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, the Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art, trans. Barbara Sessions ("Bollingen Series," Vol. XXXVIII; New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1953) p. 4, 14-15, 43-46 and John Daniel Cooke, "Euhemerism: A Medieval Interpretation of Classical Paganism," Speculum, III (1927), 396-403.

[31]David Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought (New York; Vintage Books, 1962) p. 68.

[32]No illustrated copies of Isidore remain, but Rabanus' illustrations in a Monte Cassino MS. (ca. 1023) are based on classical tradition despite their crudity. Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Medieval Art," Metropolitan Museum Studies, IV, Part II (1933), 250 and Fig. 37. See also, Saxl, Lectures, I , p. 233.

so-called letter of Petosiris were known in Corbie, Fleury and Chartres; the astrological poems by Manilius and Firmicus Maternus were beginning to be rediscovered.[33] The Aratea, an admixture of astronomical information and mythological lore, and other astronomical works were copied and studied.

It is necessary to point out something about the nature of education in Carolingian and late Anglo-Saxon times: although the curriculum consisted of the trivium and quadrivium, grammar and rhetoric were emphasized above all else. Dialectic, a member of the trivium, was largely taught as "memory work" rather than "intellectual discipline" and the quadrivium was given a factual treatment if it was not omitted. Education, then, developed literary talents and this can be seen in the works of those who were products of this curriculum, the humanists, historians, poets and even thoee who wrote theological works.[34] The literary nature of education helps us to understand the popularity of a work like the Aratea which is more literary and aesthetic in character than scientific, as its origins reveal. In the fifth century B.C. Aratus of Soloi composed a treatise in hexameter verse, based on the earlier work of Eudoxus of Cnidos (fourth century B.C.) and later Cicero translated part of the poem into Latin. This fragment plus a commentary, possibly added by Lupus of Ferrières, is what has come down to us. The illustrations of the constellations in antique times had lost correct star positions

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[33] M.L.W. Laistner, "The Western Church and Astrology During the Early Middle Ages," The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages, ed. Chester G. Starr (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957) pp. 79-82.

[34] Knowles, ... Evolution, pp. 74-75.

and the artists who executed the English manuscripts do not portray accurate star positions either; their interests are aesthetic.

Other bits of mythological lore and astrology were able to survive because they were integrated with sciences like medicine and botany or the calculation of the calendar which was part of the arithmetical studies of the quadrivium. Thus, although writers like Isidore, Rabanus Maurus, and Bede condemn astrology, they often include astrological information in writings on other subjects. Isidore discusses astrological medicine and Bede gives astrological characterizations of the planets and describes the lunar influence on crops.[35] By these means survival is possible for ideas on the zodiac and medical illustrations like the representation of Apulius and Chiron or the Sphere of Apulius, similar to the Pythagorean sphere mentioned above.

Because the English Church was eager to welcome these remnants of classical learning, it is not surprising to find that artists were willing to seek out classical motifs. English illuminators have been described as more "classically minded" than their European colleagues, possibly because the tenth and eleventh centuries are a second beginning for English artists, whereas European artistic developments are a continuation of the Carolingian renovatio.[36] Another scholar has suggested that English scriptoria took up the more "naturalistic, classicizing art trend" because the ornamental style

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[35]Laistner, p. 77 and Theodore Otto Wedel, The Medieval Attitude Toward Astrology, Particularly in England ("Yale Studies in English," Vol. LX, ed. Albert S. Cook; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), pp. 28-30.

[36]Saxl, Lectures, I, p. 108.

of Hiberno-Saxon art is too similar to that of the Vikings who had devastated the country. Moreover, English artists had more antique works or their Carolingian copies to draw upon than did the Ottonians.[37] The only rival of English art of this period, in terms of its overall excellence, is that of Germany; France was experiencing a period of darkness.

There is a second group of manuscripts containing mythological motifs which have been transmitted through different means; here the mythological elements are a part of the pictorial tradition only. The content of the works which they illustrate is Christian and is not directly related to any division of classical learning. These are, generally speaking, religious works whose illustrations derive from various pictorial cycles originating in late antiquity. The Psychomachia and psalters were illustrated in the fifth or sixth century. Fifth and sixth century artists willingly borrowed from the storehouse of antiquity, and they adopted not only stylistic techniques but also certain stock types like the antique author portrait, which became the model for the evangelists. The gods most often personify a natural force of phenomenon, like Atlas of Sol, or a virtue like Justice. The representations in which the pagan gods and heroes appear are Christian, not classical, in meaning; the pagans have been "baptized." Although their classical content is still unmistakeable (i.e. they still look like Sol, Atlas or Justice) they add to the Christian meaning of the image. The English

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[37]André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, Early Medieval Painting from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century ("The Great Centuries of Painting"; Geneva: Albert Skira, Inc., 1957), pp. 178, 193-95.

artist copied these motifs from the models available to him, and and the style in which these motifs are executed is, by and large, less classical in feeling than those which appear in scientific manuscripts. This difference in style derives from the tendency to stress the narrative qualities of the image, as well as the Christian meaning of the works.

The two Carolingian manuscripts known to have been in England by the late tenth century, the Aratea and the Utrecht Psalter, were copied eagerly but not slavishly. Two copies of the former, and one eleventh century copy of the latter, survive. Many borrowings from the Utrecht Psalter survive in manuscripts which are not direct copies of the Psalter. These works, and other Carolingian books and ivories, were the sources of the mythological figures found in English art. The Carolingian works are a large influence on the style of the illustrations.

CHAPTER III

THE SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS

The Aratea Manuscripts

The richest single source of mythological motifs is astronomical manuscripts. The survival of astronomical information from antique times has been described above, but this subject should be discussed more fully here. The ancients had linked mythology and astronomy in Hellenistic times. The spirit of Eudoxus' work had been scientific although his vocabulary was mythological, but Aratus' Phaenomena increased the mythological content in astronomy and in the later work of Eratosthenes (284-204 B.C.), the mythologizing of the constellations and the zodiac was completed. The constellation Engonasin, the Kneeling Man, becomes Hercules fighting the dragon of the Hesperides; the Bull is linked with the Rape of Europa; and the Crab is the one sent by Juno to bite Hercules' heel when he fought the Hydra. By the end of the Roman Republic, the stellar bodies were thought of as divinities; the introduction of the ideas of Euhemerus "legitimized" this tendency. This fusion of the gods with the heavenly bodies gave new life to mythology and assured the survival of the pagan gods and heroes.[38] The two astronomical works that have survived from pre-Conquest libraries were

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[38] Seznec, pp. 38, 40-42; Kurt Weitzmann, Ancient Book Illumination ("Martin Classical Lectures," Vol. XVI; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 24-25; and Panofsky and Saxl, Metropolitan Museum Studies, IV, Part II, pp. 231-32.

written around the Augustan- period, Cicero's Aratea, and a work by the poet Hyginus, also a mixture of astronomy and mythology.

After the constellations had been identified with mythological figures, artists sought inspiration in sources with no astronomical content. New elements were introduced into the representation and whole images were transformed. The constellation Eridanus, previously a ribbon of water, became a river god with an urn and a reed. Works whose illustrations had been scientific in character were gradually transformed into "semi-mythological picture books". The models for the illustrations of the medieval works were manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries based on earlier antique works.[39] An attempt was made later to supplement the mythological lore and the description of the constellations supplied by Aratus and Cicero. A commentary was added to the original text which recounts more exact information on star position and more legends. The scribe was then faced with the difficulty of recording the more scholarly commentary without obscuring the representations or weighing down the poetical text. His solution was to set forth the additional information in the outline of the body of each image and to paint in only the head and extremities of the image. (Pl. I, fig. 1). Cicero's poem appeared below the image.[40] The late antique model of the Aratea (B.M., Cotton Tib. B.V. 1) abandoned this practice because it was somewhat unreadable.

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[39]Panofsky and Saxl, Metropolitan Museum Studies, IV, Part II, pp. 232-33 and Henri Stern, "Astronomy and Astrology: Classical Antiquity," E.W.A. II, col. 49-50.

[40]Saxl, Lectures, I, pp. 100, 88.

All these drawings remain the visual expression of cosmic symbols or astronomical phenomena. The texts they illustrate are not narrative dramas like the psalters discussed below. In the psalter illustrations, and in other works, the cosmic or moral principles are drawn into the action of the text. Compare the passive figures of Eridanus and Sagittarius from the scientific books with the active figures of Eridanus in the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold and the Psychomachia or Sagittarius in the Paris Psalter.

One manuscript (B.M., Cotton Tib. B.V.[1]), executed between 991 and 1016, retains the painterly technique of the Carolingian works, although Harley 647 is not the model employed. The solidly three-dimensional quality of the manuscript has been captured by the painter who shadows the drapery, and shades-in contours, as we can see in the Perseus (Pl. II, fig. 1) and Cetus (Pl. III, fig. 4) figures. He has detracted from the classical feeling of these representations, however, by concealing the nudity of the figures with clothing. Sagittarius wears a shirt and Perseus has acquired a tunic and boots. (Compare Pl. I, fig. 1 and 4 with Pl. I, fig. 3 and Pl. II, fig. 1). The flesh tones and the play of light of the antique work has not been attempted by the Englishman; he leaves these areas essentially flat.

The basic image -- the stance and attributes of the figures -- is faithful to the Carolingian model. Perseus holds the dripping head of the Medusa and has winged feet; Eridanus has an urn and a reed; Aquarius upturns his water jug and Sagittarius draws his bow. One interesting feature, an architectural frame, has been added to the iconography of Orion; he stands under a four columned

PLATE I

Figure 1. Sagittarius, Aratea (B.M. Harley 647), 9th century

Figure 2. Sagittarius, Aratea (B.M. Harley 2506), ca. 1000

Figure 3. Sagittarius, Aratea (B.M. Cott. Tib. B.V[1]), ca.1000

Figure 4. Perseus, Aratea (B.M. Harley 647), 9th century

PLATE I

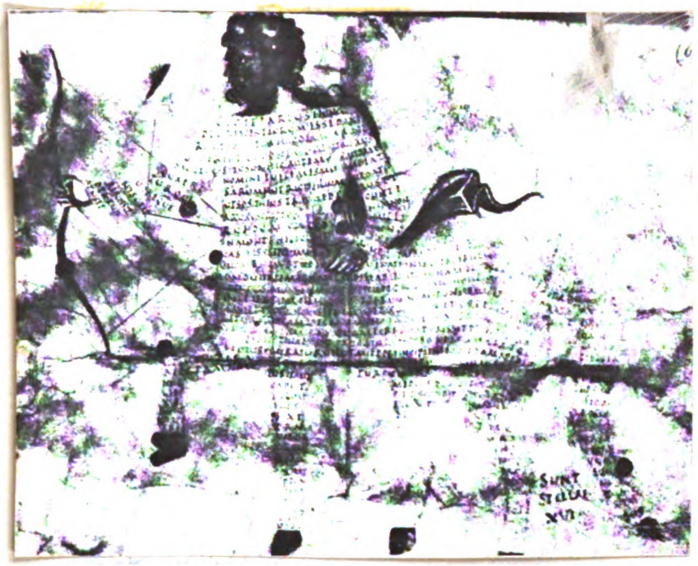

Figure 1. Sagittarius, Aratea (B.M. Harley 647), 9th century

Figure 2. Sagittarius, Aratea (B.M. Harley 2506), ca. 1000

Figure 3. Sagittarius, Aratea (B.M. Cott. Tib. B.V[1]), ca.1000

Figure 4. Perseus, Aratea (B.M. Harley 647), 9th century

PLATE II

Figure 1. Perseus, Aratea (B.M. Cott. Tib. B. V[1]), ca. 1000

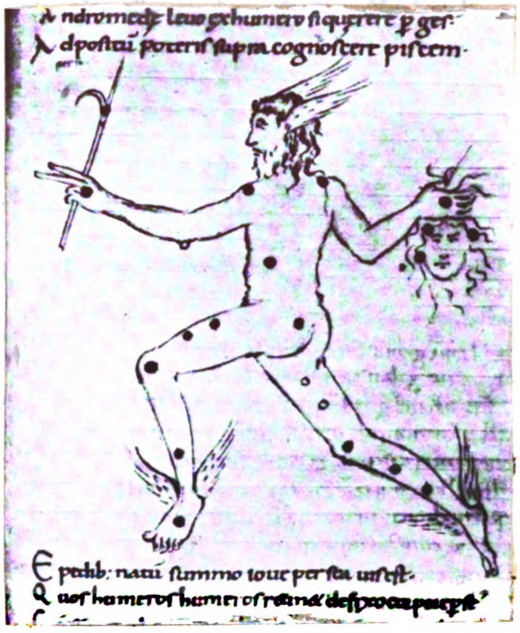

Figure 2. Perseus, Aratea (B.M. Harley 2506), ca. 1000

Figure 3. Orion, Aratea (B.M. Harley 647), 9th century

Figure 4. Orion, Aratea (B.M. Cott. Tib. B.V.[1]), ca. 1000

porch (Pl. II, fig. 4) which enhances the classical feeling of the illustration. The striated marble shafts are reminiscent of those in Carolingian works such as the Lorsch Gospels or the Gospels of St. Médard de Soissons.

His painting technique is quite different than that of his predecessor; he applies his colors thinly, often in soft washes, but the painter of Harley 647 has applied the pigment thickly, so that his colors are quite opaque. These washes of somewhat transparent color are typical of English art of this period. Although this artist worked at Canterbury or somewhere in Wessex, this characteristic is related to what is loosely called the Winchester style. Another typically English feature of these representations is the treatments of the draperies. The folds of Eridanus' drape are sharply drawn with a pen; to this edge is sometimes added a stroke of highlight as can be seen in the capes of Aquarius, Perseus and Orion. (Pl. III, fig. 1, Pl. II, fig. 1 and 4). The edges of their capes are stirred by the wind and their tunics fall into a distinct sworl pattern on their stomachs. The wind-blown and patterned draperies can be attributed to the influence of the Rheims School through the Utrecht Psalter which was in Canterbury at this time. The Wessex artist has remained faithful to the details of these images and created very solid, plastic figures, but he has reinterpreted these classical figures in a medieval way[41] particularly in the absence of nudity and the handling of the drapes.

The artist of the second manuscript (B.M., Harley 2506) displays a remarkable sensitiveness to the nude body and achieves a more "classicizing"

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[41] Saxl, Lectures, I, p. 104

PLATE III

Figure 1. Eridanus, Aratea (B.M. Harley 2506), ca. 1000

Figure 2. Aquarius, Aratea (B.M. Cott. Tib. B. V[1]), ca. 1000

Figure 3. Cetus, Aratea (B.M. Harley 2506), ca. 1000

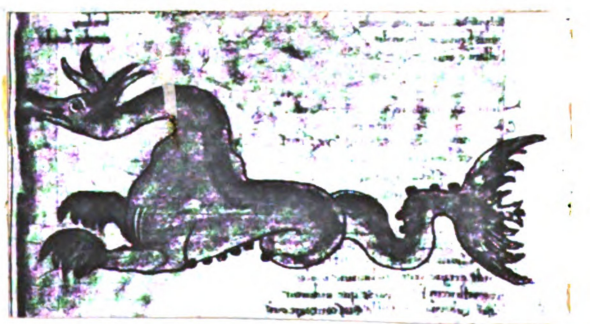

Figure 4. Cetus, Aratea (B.M. Cott. Tib. B. V[1]), ca. 1000

Figure 5. Aquarius, Aratea (B.M. Harley 2506), ca. 1000

feeling in his work. The text of this manuscript is written in a French hand and there are grounds for connecting it with Fleury. Internal evidence shows that the scribe was acquainted with affairs in Fleury and that there was a living tradition of astronomy in this monastery[42] as has been suggested previously. The work was brought to England and subsequently illustrated in what Wormald calls the "Utrecht Psalter" style, possibly at Ramsey Abbey where the influence of Abbo was felt. The commentary is different than that in Harley 647, but the verses are the same which suggests that there must have been at least two Carolingian versions of the textual material.[43]

The illustrations of this manuscript reveal that the artist was a man much interested in astronomy and that he was acquainted with the pictorial cycles of other works in the Greek tradition, namely the Hyginus manuscripts. The artist, or possibly his superior whose interests are reflected here, has been described as a man of "archaelogical interests" who was unwilling to limit himself to one classical model.[44] The fact that he had access to other works and was familiar with them would strengthen the contention that the provenance of the manuscript was Ramsey.

The figures of Orion, Aquarius, and Sagittarius most obviously manifest the influence of this second tradition. The latter is not a centaur but a satyr on two legs with a winged helmet. (Pl. I, fig. 2) The representation of Perseus is full of action and his body has been turned so that he is in full profile. (Pl. II, fig. 2) The cloak which Orion clutches

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[42]Saxl, Lectures, I, pp. 105-06 and Charles Niver, "The Psalter in the British Museum, Harley 2904," Medieval Studies in Honor of A. Kingsley Porter, ed. Wilhelm R. Koehler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), II, p. 681, n. 66.

[43]Fritz Saxl and Rudolf Wittkower, British Art and the Mediterranean (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 30.

[44]Saxl, Lectures, I, p. 103.

in his hand and his stance is taken from the Hyginus model. Aquarius also stands in profile, but the painter has one hand raised in contrast to the Hyginus type who holds the jar with both hands (Pl. III, fig. 5). This gesture is more expressive, but it does not indicate the true positions of the stars. The artists main interest was to find the solution most artistically pleasing[45] and he sought a second model to give him more possibilities.

The Wessex artist did not share the archaeological interests of the artist of Harley 2506, but both were more concerned for aesthetic solutions than scientific exactitude. Their disregard for accuracy can be readily seen by comparing the figures of Aquarius (Pl. III, fig. 5 and 2) or Sagittarius (Pl. I, fig. 2 and 3) from the two manuscripts. The dominance of aesthetic questions is a continuation of the antique development of the "mythological picture book", but it is also the natural outcome of an education whose main emphasis was literary. This poem, composed by Abbo for his former students at Ramsey, conveys in its metaphors and mythological allusions the flavor of their interest in astronomy:

> For where the scaly hydra's conqueror nightly arises
> There the beautiful isle lies, in its whirlpool of woods,
> And where the driver Bootes puts down his luminous bridle
> Access is given to you, Anglican folk, by a bridge;
> Where the northerly pole commands the immovables' courses
> Streches, fertile of eel, the boundless domain of morass
> Where Phoebus' light reflects but palely the sinister shadows,
> There lies the land to which no ford, provides an approach.
> There I devoted to my fate, an unknown, to unknown disciples,
> Whom, Father Benedict, thou justly appearst to protect. 46

Although there is an upsurge in the interest in astronomy in the

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[45] Saxl, Lectures, I, p. 103.

[46] Sancti Abbonis Floriacensis Abbatis, Quaestiones Grammaticales, P.L. 139, col. 534 quoted in Saxl, Lectures, I, pp. 106-07, n. 9.

eleventh century it was not until the twelfth century with the new importance of logic, or dialectic, and the introduction of Arabic scientific manuscripts that a more scientific interest in astronomy develops. The Aratea was copied by English artists only once in later times, about 1100, and the information on constellations was augumented from Hyginus and Arabic sources. Different works became popular. The images evolved into medieval types and classical forms were divorced from the classical content of these works, for instance Jupiter would be portrayed as a medieval king not as a pagan god. This transformation occurred as a result of stylistic and intellectual considerations, not scientific ones; the star positions indicated in illustrations were still as inaccurate as they had been.[47]

Outline is important in the drawings of both Harley 2506 and Tiberius B.V.[1] in contrast to Harley 647 where the handling of color is of greater importance. A comparison of the constellation Cetus from the manuscripts will demonstrate this. (Pl. III, fig. 4 and 3). However, the painterly technique of the artist of Tiberius B. V[1] makes the use of line less important than in the drawings of Harley 2506. In portraying the dragon, the Harley artist has shown the knobby body and the contours of the body almost entirely through his use of line. The Harley Cetus with its protruding tongue and knobby skin is a fiercer animal than the Tiberius Cetus which is closer to an antique example like the Farnese Globe.

The sensitive use of line is most clearly revealed in the Harley

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[47]Panofsky and Saxl, Metropolitan Museum Studies, IV, Part II, 238 and Saxl, Lectures, I, pp. 108-09.

drawings of the nude body -- the broken line of the Perseus (Pl. II, fig. 2) and the Eridanus (Pl. III, fig. 1) which suggests the folds of skin on the torso, or the varying width of the line which delineates the contour of the thigh and shoulder of Aquarius (Pl. III, fig. 5) or the shadow playing upon the torso and bicep of Eridanus. The vitality of the line is evidenced in the agitated, short strokes that describe the garment folds, the serpentine reed and wispy beard of Eridanus.

The washes used by the artist are very subtle in effect; they can suggest contour as in the portrayal of Aries or suggest the flow of water from Eridanus' jug. Saxl has described the illustrations of Harley 2506 as the most beautiful of their kind in medieval art. Although the movements are less rhythmical and the faces more lively in the English work, they have been compared with the figure drawings on Greek vases of the Golden Age.[48]

Zodiac Illustrations

Representations of the zodiac appeared with the constellations in early scientific manuscripts. The oldest Greek papyrus known is an astronomical treatise of the second century B.C. (Paris, Louvre, Pap. 1) which is based on Eudoxus; drawings are scattered throughout its text, including a diagrammatic zodiac[49] which is the origin of the zodiac wheel. Illustrated calendars develop at this time also; the months and zodiacal signs are placed in conjunction. The earliest example known is Hagios Eleutherios, a Hellenistic frieze of Athens, dating from the second or the first century B.C. A series of figures which are personifications of the months or representations of Greek religious practices are divided

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[48]Saxl, Lectures, I, p. 103.

[49]Weitzmann, p. 6 and Fig. 2.

into chronological groups by the signs of the zodiac.[50] The months found in the Chronograph of 354, a much later work, are more active than those of the frieze; each is engaged in some task and is a forerunner of the labors found in medieval works.[51] The zodiac symbol for each month was featured within the architectural frame of the representation itself or immediately below it. The ninth century manuscript, the Martyrology of Wandalbert (Rome, Vat., Cod. Reg. 438) shows May as a man holding a whip and two busts which represent the Gemini; November is a man warming his feet, and below him appears Sagittarius.[52]

Medieval calendars draw upon two pictorial cycles, the zodiac and the labors of the month; the tradition of the active labors develops in the ninth century, whereas the zodiac tradition is much older. In contrast to the passive symbolic figures of the ancient sources, the Carolingian works stress the active labors of the months sowing, reaping etc., although the older tradition of the months is still copied in works like the Martyrology. The pictorial cycles of the ninth century seem to be related to ninth century verses although they are of slightly later date than the illustrations. These scenes are similar to antique forms such as the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Occupations of the month of this type can be seen in a ninth (ca. 818) century astronomical, computistical treatise (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod.

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[50]James Carson Webster, The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art, to the End of the Twelfth Century ("Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology," Vol. XXI; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938) pp. 5-6.

[51]J.A. Herbert, Illuminated Manuscripts ("Burt Franklin Bibliographical Series," Vol. XI; New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.) p. 4.

[52]Alois Riegl, "Die mittelalterliche Kalenderillustration," Mittheilungen des Institits für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, X(1889), Pl. I, II.

387).[53] The zodiac motifs were established quite early and can be found in astronomical or calendar manuscripts, as one miniature from a Ptolemaic treatise (Rome, Vat. Lib. MS. gr. 1291) shows. This is an early ninth century work but it was copied from a work dating from 250 A.D. It is related to Roman illustrations like those of the Chronograph of 354 and demonstrates that this pictorial cycle may have been transmitted throughout the Mediterranean by astronomical manuscripts created in Alexandria.[54] A zodiac wheel from this Ptolemaic treatise shows Helios encircled by three bands containing the twelve hours, the twelve months, and the twelve signs of the zodiac. The months which appear here are passive symbols like those of the Chronograph; and the symbols of such figures as Pisces, Aquarius, Cancer, Sagittarius and Capricorn are seen in essentially the same iconographic form in which they appear in English works.

The earliest illustrated calendar in England is found in the Athelstan Psalter (B.M. Cott. Galba A. XVIII), given by King Athelstan to the monks of Winchester. After it was brought to England, four miniatures and the illustrations and text of the calendar were added between 927 and 940. The manuscript contains the earliest copy of the metrical calendar connected with the English royal house, and the calendar was probably composed by Irishmen at Alfred's court. Although some of the verses are of Irish origin, it is an English document and the only liturgical document written during this period which has come down to us.[55]

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[53]Webster, pp. 38-40. See Heinrich Lübke (ed.), Die Ausstellung Karl der Grosse-Werk und Wirkung (Aachen: 1965) Pl. 71.

[54]Webster, pp. 23, 96. See The New Palaeographical Society, Facsimilies of Ancient Manuscripts, ed. Edward Maunde-Thompson et al. (London: Oxford University Press, 1903-1912) Ser. II, Pt. V Pl. 184. (Hereafter cited N.P.S.).

[55]Robinson, p. 65.

The calendars of a Psalter (Oxford, Bod. Lib., Junius 27), the Aratea (B.M., Cott. Tib. B.V.[1]) and a Hymnal (B.M., Julius A.VI) are also written in hexameter verse and are descended from the same source;[56] they are illustrated with signs of the Zodiac and the occupations of the month.

Each zodiacal figure in the Athelstan Psalter is placed within a medallion at the upper left of the page, and below this appear the Golden Numbers and Dominical Letters which are used to compute the calendar. The KL monograms are an added decorative note and are in insular style. The artist's fancy has embellished the letters with dragon's heads with curling tongues and interlace designs. These signs have been medievalized by such things as clothing the figures of Gemini, Aquarius and Sagittarius (Pl. IV, fig. 1,3) who appear nude in works closer to antique prototypes. Settings are briefly suggested, for example, by the container in the Aquarius medallion. Antique sources make no attempt to do this. Capricorn and Sagittarius are not portrayed in the antique manner as a seagoat and centaur but as a goat and an archer. (Compare Pls. IV and I, Fig. 1)

The most perplexing representation is the Libra figure which is not represented as the Scales but as a man holding a large two-headed snake. A planisphere, or celestial map, of the Northern Hemisphere reveals the source of the painter's confusion. The constellation Serpens, portrayed as a man holding a serpent in front of his body, appears near Libra and the constellations Corona Borealis and Hercules (See the E.W.A., II, Pl. 21). The Psalter artist, or his source, mistook Serpens for Libra.

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[56] N.P.S., Ser.II, Pt. III, Pl. 62 and R.T. Hampson, Medii aevi Kalendarium..., (London: Henry Kent Causton and Co., 1841), I, pp. 393-96. A text appears pp. 397-420.

PLATE IV

Figure 1. Sagittarius, Aethelstan Psalter (B.M. Cott. Galba A. XVIII), 927-940

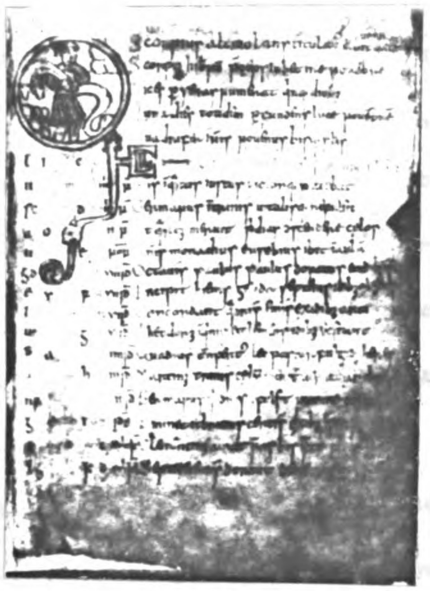

Figure 2. Libra, Aethelstan Psalter (B.M. Cott. Galba A. XVIII), 927-940

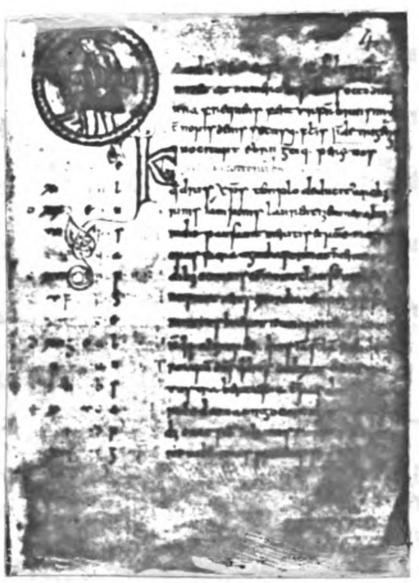

Figure 3. Aquarius, Aethelstan Psalter (B.M. Cott. Galba A. XVIII), 927-940

The artist of the Athelstan Psalter worked early in the century before the revival of illumination at Winchester and the other reformed Monasteries, and his execution is therefore somewhat crude. The outline is heavy, the figures lack depth, and the garments fall in stiff folds. The full page miniatures of this manuscript are far more accomplished, and must have been copied from a different source, possibly Italo-Byzantine. The flowing draperies and the large, staring eyes of the miniatures are not found in the medallions. This indicates that the backwardness of the zodiac illustrations has more to do with the artist's model than with his lack of training.

A number of calendars, without metrical verses but with obits and martyrological entries, were also illustrated with signs of the zodiac. These supplied such astronomical information as the number of days in the solar and lunar months, the day in which the sun entered the new zodiac sign, and the two Egyptian days.[57] These works were given impetus by the Church's need to determine the saint's days and the moveable feasts of the calendar. The entry of the sun into the zodiac and the beginning of each new month was represented by a drawing of the appropriate sign.[58] It was also marked by the inscription which appeared in connection with the sign, as "Sol in Gem[ini]" or "Sol in Scorpionem," and sometimes by an inscription at the top of the calendar pages, for example, "Maius

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[57]Certain activities such as bleeding were prohibited during these unlucky days. They seem to be a remnant of the ancient Egyptian calendar and were thought to be the anniversaries of plagues sent to Egypt. Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Vol. I: During the First Thirteen Centuries Of Our Era (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943) pp. 685-87 and Singer Magic, p. 43 n. 5. Prognostications were also made on lunar days.

[58]Ernst Zinner, "Astronomy and Astrology: Medieval and Modern Europe," E.W.A., II, col. 64.

agenorei mirator cornua Tauri" from the Salisbury Psalter. Zodiac drawings can be found in at least four non-metrical calendars although only two examples can be discussed here.

The classical origin of these illustrations can be felt in the representation of the Gemini (Pl. V, fig. 2) in a West Country Psalter (Salisbury Cath. Lib., MS. 150) executed between 969 and 978. When the Twins appear as warriors as they do in this manuscript, they are to be identified as the Dioscuri placed in the sky by Zeus as a reward for their brotherly affection. Despite the transformation of their spears into staffs by the addition of fleur d' lys ornament and their helmets into Phryigian caps, the solidity and stance of the figures bespeaks their antique origins. The energetic line, fluttering capes, and hand gestures have enlivened their static and traditional pose.

The Capricorn of a Winchester Psalter (B.M., Arundel MS. 60),[59] dated ca. 1060 also follows his antique prototype, the winged sea-goat, in contrast to the Athelstan Psalter which features a goat (Pl. V, fig. 1). The artist has confused his signs; the scribe correctly indicated Scorpio, but the sign of Capricorn has been drawn. Typical of the technique of English illuminators, a red-tinted ink is used in both the West Country and Winchester drawings.

The zodiac represented the movements of the heavens; these movements enabled men to compute the feast days of the Church. The zodiac signs marked the entrance of the sun into each of the twelve phases of the solar cycle. This idea is expressed in the following passage found

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[59] The text of its calendar is related to Canterbury calendars, but it was in use at Winchester. Abbot Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, The Bosworth Psalter (London: George Bell and Sons, 1908), pp. 30, 41.

Figure 1. October Page, Psalter (B.M Arundel MS. 60), ca. 1060

Figure 2. May Page, Psalter (Salisbury Cath. Lib. MS. 150), late tenth century

in the texts of several calendars:

> The year of the sun is that it run (sic) through the mickle cycle the zodiac, and come under each of the twelve signs of the zodiac. Every month it runneth under one of the twelve signs . . .Each of the twelve signs holdeth his month; and when the sun hath run under them all, then is one year gone.[60]

Knowledge of the computus--the phases of the zodiac, the Dominical Letters, and Golden Numbers--was assumed to be a part of a man's education; it enabled him to reckon important events. This notion is conveyed by an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 975 written on the death of King Edgar:

> And all men everywhere on earth, and in England,
> Properly schooled in the science of numbers,
> Know that the King, the young ring-giver,
> Left the world and his life in the month
> Named after Julius, and on its eighth day.[61]

A case of mistaken identity demonstrates how widespread the tendency was to associate knowledge of astronomy with learning. Among the poems of the Caedmon Manuscript (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Junius 11) is the Genesis poem. The poem speaks of Enos, the son of Cain, but the illustrator has confused Enos with Enoch who was renowned as an astrologer. Enoch was the seventh son of Adam "'who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom, and who wrote down signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years. . . .'"[62] To identify the figure in the drawing as Enoch the illustrator has placed

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[60]Attributed to Bede's de Temporibus, quoted in Cockayne, III, pp. 245-247.

[61]Burton Raffel, Poems from the Old English (The University of Nebraska Press, 1960), p. 37.

[62]Quoted from the Book of Jubilees in Israel Gollanz, The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, Junius XI in the Bodleian Library (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. xlii-xliii.

the sign of Aries, the first month, (♈) beside the figure.

The zodiac symbolized the division of the natural year and the ecclesiastical year. Their movements were part of the calculations that helped the priest to reckon the feast days of the church. The saints' days and obits marked the passage of the Church's cycle of holidays as the movement of the "Sun of Righteousness through the festivals of the Church."[63]

In antique times the zodiac had meanings in addition to their astrological or mythological ones. On sarcophagi the zodiac band, a corona triumphalis, may symbolize immortality or the firmaments to which the dead depart, as in a Sarcophagus from the Palazzo Barberini in the Dumbarton Oaks collection. (See Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture, Pl. 127) Elsewhere the zodiac when surrounding a figure may represent Time (Aion or Chronos),[64] as in late fourth century silverplate from Milan (See Wolbach, Early Christian Art, Pl. 107), as the principle of eternal creativeness. In the Orphic cults this principle was represented by Phanes, a beautiful youth, surrounded by the zodiac and attributes of cosmic power, as in a Modena relief. (See Panofsky, Iconology, Pl. 36) Time as eternal creativeness is found in Mithraic art as a winged figure with a lion's head and claws in the coils of a snake encircled by the zodiac.[65]

These examples all have in common the zodiac signs represented in the form of a wheel, a circle, or a band; and this configuration is

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[63] James Fowler, ... "On Medieval Representations of the Months and Seasons," Archaeologia, XLIV (1873), 184. . . . . .

[64] Roger Hinks, Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art ("Studies of the Warburg Institute," No. 6; London: Warburg Institute, 1939), p. 48.

[65] Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology ("Harper Torchbooks," the Academy Library; New York: Harper and Row Pub., 1939), pp. 72-73. See also Hinks, p. 40.

itself significant, because it symbolizes the celestial spheres, the whole cosmos. This scheme derives from a long tradition, as the second century B.C. treatise (Paris, Louvre, Pap. 1, mentioned above) attests. In fact, the zodiac circle is a clear visual statement of the eighth celestial sphere of Aristotelian-Ptolemaic physics which had prevailed since Hellenistic times. One of the most common scientific illustrations in the textbooks was a series of concentric circles representing the spheres of the seven planets, the fixed stars, the zodiac, and the Primum Mobile.

The zodiac wheel of Psalm LXIV (65) is the only circular illustration found among copies of the Utrecht Psalter. (See Pl. VI, fig. 2. The example shown here is the Eadwine Psalter executed in England about the middle of the twelfth century. No copy of the appropriate page from Harley 603 was available, but the Harley and the Eadwine examples both follow the Utrecht Psalter for this illustration.) This arrangement has been suggested by the psalmist's words; "They also that dwell in the uttermost parts of the earth are afraid at thy tokens [signs] . Thou makest the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice." Earlier passages would have reinforced this image: "Who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth" suggests that the form of the illustration is also the globe of the Earth, and "being girded with power" could also refer to the "tokens" as a sign of God's cosmic power. Christ does stand encircled by these zodiac signs. The "outgoings of the morning and evening" are the medallions of Sol and Luna drawn above the sphere. The figure of Eridanus does not appear but his jug beneath the city wall is the source of the "river of God".

It is interesting to recall the antique reliefs in which Mithras or Phanes are shown with the zodiac and to note some parallels among these

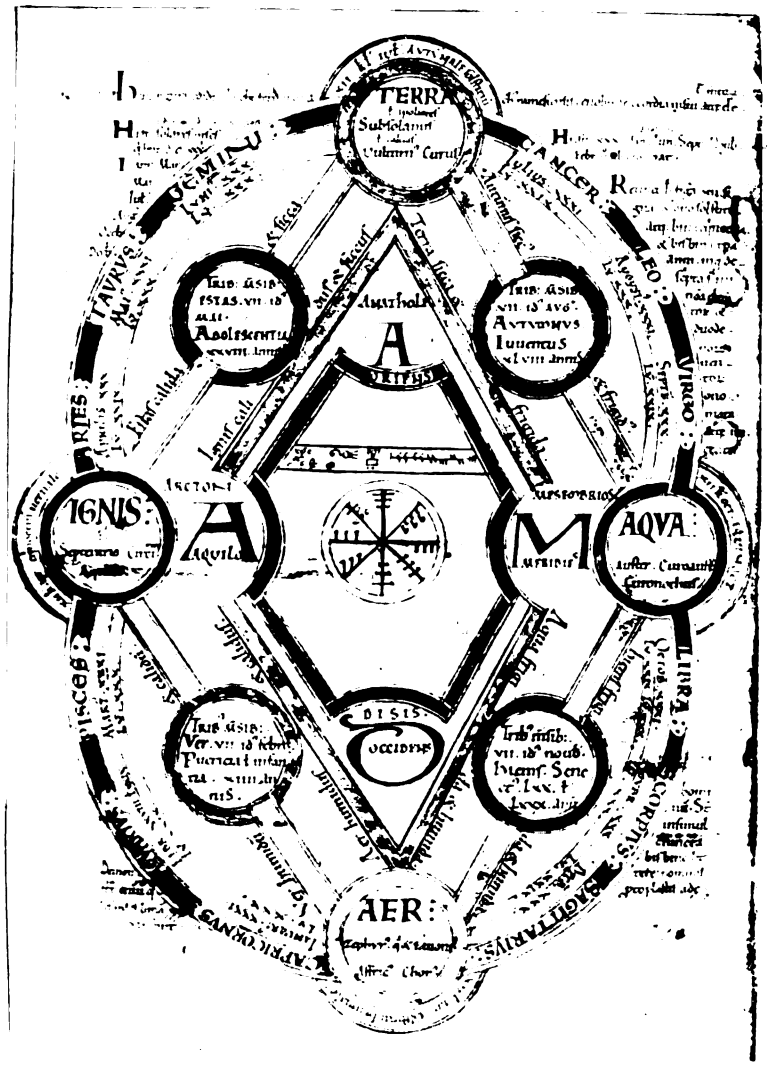

Figure 1. The Physical and Physiological Fours, Enchiridon (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Ashmole 328), 1011

Figure 2. Psalm LXIV(65), Eadwine Psalter (B.M. Cott. Galba E.IV), 12th century

PLATE VI

examples. One aspect of the principle of eternal creativeness was that these gods were saviors; they reaffirmed the triumph of life over death each spring. The zodiacal band was a reminder of their annual rebirth, as well as symbolizing all creation. Placing Christ within the circle is an allusion to His ressurection celebrated each spring. Five verses of the psalm celebrate images of abundance, the growth of flocks and crops, and this rebirth of the earth may have suggested Christ's rebirth to the artist. Mithraic reliefs portrayed the god victoriously slaying a bull who represents evil; and the Christ of this illustration is also a triumphant figure treading on a lion and an adder, symbols of evil.

The zodiac figures in this example are very close to the antique prototypes; the Gemini are nude warriors; Sagittarius is a centaur; and Capricorn is half-goat, half-sea monster, although the style of the drawing is not the classizing style of Harley 2506. The signs have been put in reverse order, however, moving counterclockwise rather than clockwise.

In succeeding centuries, zodiac men appear in manuscripts and other kinds of diagrammatic schema. They illustrate the correspondence between man — represented by the four temperments, humors and ages — and the universe — represented by the four winds, seasons, cardinal points, and elements, or by the twelve months and twelve signs of the zodiac. Although these ideas gain wide currency in the twelfth century, with the renewed interest in astronomy, simplified versions occur in French and German medical works of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.[66]

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[66]Thorndike, I, pp. 673-74.

Diagrams illustrating this notion of correspondence appear in the Handbook (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Ashmole 328) of Byrhtferth of Ramsey, and one of these illustrations, the Diagram of the Physical and Physiological Fours (Pl. VI. fig. 1), demonstrates the analogous relationships between the human body, the microcosm, and the physical world, the macrocosm.[67] The outer band gives the signs of the zodiac, and the semicircles supply the soltices and equinoxes. The outer circles connecting the zodiac band have the names of the elements. The diagonal lines with circles name the seasons, their qualities, and the corresponding Ages of Man. Within the diamond are the points of the compass which spell A D A M, who symbolizes mankind. The inner circle and the bar above represent the microcosm, but it is difficult to decipher these signs; they are probably oghams. Tentative readings of these are "Chr[istu]s et e[cclesia] f[uit] st[abilita]" and "Thrice Blessed Christ"? This system of fours is a remnant of the stoic belief in the interrelation of the internal and external world which Byrhtferth probably drew from Macrobius. The question is did the parish priest or the practicing leech understand this complex idea or does it reflect the erudition of the scholarly Byrhtferth? There is no evidence to suggest that such rich layers of meaning underlay the calendar illustrations. These concepts of microcosm -- macrocosm were beyond the ken of the average man of this day and such notions represented the views of learned men.[68]

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[67]Charles and Dorothea Singer, "Byrhtferd's Diagram," The Bodleian Quarterly Record, II, No. 14 (1917), pp. 50-51. The figure in the Handbook (Ashmole 328) is fragmentary, but a table given in St. John's MS. 17 (dated 1110) is accepted as a second version of Byrhtferth's diagram. See also Forsey pp. 506-07. Explanation given here based upon Singer, "Diagram" Fig. 1 and Singer, Magic, Fig. 14 and 15.

[68]Singer, Magic, pp. 40, 92-93. A much simplified microcosmic view can be seen in texts from the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, see Singer, Magic, Fig. 44.

Medical Illustrations

English medical works draw indirectly upon classical sources. In late antique times, collections of prescriptions were compiled which were debased versions of earlier works, like the Materia Medica of Dioscorides of Anzarba, the Greek botanist. Other collections were attributed to pseudonymous authors such as Apuleius Platonicus. Illustrated Latin translations of the Dioscorides were made in the sixth century, but there had been a long-standing tradition of illustration before this time in Greek manuscripts. One of the earliest known Dioscorides manuscripts is the codex, now in St. Mark's Venice, made in 512 A.D. in Constantinople for Julia Anicia. This codex, like most other Latin botanical works of the early Middle Ages, was a compilation of several works. The naturalistic tradition of Latin herbal illustration derives from Southern Italy,[69] under the stimulous of Salerno, an important medical center.

An English work produced for monastic use is representative of the Apuleius-Dioscorides group (B.M., Cott. Vit. C. III) and also contains the Medicina de Quadrupedibus of Sextus Placitus. All of these fragments were translated into Anglo-Saxon and combined about 1000 from a South Italian model, although they were probably prepared in Northern France. An Italian work (Monte Cassino MS. 97) dating from 850 is closely related to the Anglo-Saxon treatise, and may have been derived from the same parent.

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[69] Singer, Magic, pp. 23-27, fig. 10 and 11, pp. 29-30. Singer suggests that the MS. was executed at Canterbury. See also Charles Singer "Greek Biology and Its Relation to the Rise of Modern Biology," Studies in the History and Method of Science, ed. Charles Singer (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1921) II, pp. 60-62, 69-70. The text of the Herbarium appears in Cockayne, I, 70-373.

This relationship is clearly demonstrated in the illustrations as well. No English artist could have drawn some of these plants without a model, because they are Mediterranean varieties not found in England.[70]

The miniature with which we are concerned bespeaks the pagan origins of the text. Aesculapios, Plato (Apuleius Platonicus) and the Centaur stand holding a book. (Pl. VII). Two illustrations of the sixth century Dioscorides show groups of physicans and healers, including Chiron.[71] This suggests the existence of a tradition of medical illustrations dating from antique times. Plato can also be identified as Apollo. This reveals yet more clearly the mythological roots of the miniature. These heros are bestowing knowledge of healing upon man. Aesculapios, the most renowned physician of Antiquity, keeps company with Apollo, the god of healing, and Chiron the centaur who is well versed in the arts of healing. A mural painting from Pompeii depicting the same three figures[72] suggests that the ultimate prototypes for this minature are older than the illustrated cycles of the manuscripts.

This scene is related to author portraits like that of the Julia Anicia manuscript in which Intelligence appears to Dioscorides. In the Anglo-Saxon work the author Apuleius (Apollo) is inspired not by his muse but by his mythological forebears. Chiron and Aesculapios have charged him with the book representing herbal knowledge. These two symbolize the mythological origins of herbal lore. Here we see a reflection

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[70]Singer, Magic, pp. 13, 25, 71-75, 77-79, and Saxl and Wittkower p. 31.

[71]David Diringer, The Illuminated Book, Its History and Production (New ed. rev.; London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1967) p. 45; Singer Studies pp. 69-70.

[72]Singer, Magic, Figs. 3 and 4.

Plate VII

Aescolapius, Plato, and Centaur, Herbarium (B.M. Cott. Vit. C.III), first half of the 11th century

of the literary historical interests of Anglo-Saxon learning, an illustration of the mythological origins of the text. The artist has been more accurate in the herbal drawings which appear in the text than were his counterparts who drew the constellations. But let us not confuse accuracy in reproducing a visual model with scientific exactitude and close observation. The illumnnator is not sketching plants from observation of nature but from a book, and likewise, the astronomy illustrator is not recording from observation of the heavens but from the model (or models) before him.

The content of the author portrait is classical, but its execution, unlike Harley 2506, is not. Chiron remains faithful to classical iconography -- he is depicted with a nude torso and a branch. Aesculapios in his toga resembles an antique author type. The large hands and the acanthus leaf border are typical characteristics of English illumination in the first half of the eleventh century, as is the emphasis given to Apuleius by enlarging his figure. Snakes writhe in the immediate foreground, and a boar, hare, wolf, bear, roebuck and a dog can be identified in the background. The confusing clutter of these figures and the flatness of the main figures indicates the artist's lack of feeling for dimensionality. The spatial relationships depend entirely on the use of color. Thus, Aesculapios and the Centaur are surrounded by a field of yellow green which distinguishes them from the green background. There is no recession of space; the animals above appear to float. The artist is able to capture the general appearance of the antique types, but he lacks the ability to show three-dimensional space. He also lacks the sensitivity of the artist of Harley 2506 in modeling figures; this, of course, may indicate that the model available to him was poor.

The computistical materials of these manuscripts often contained a magical-medical diagram called the Sphere of Apuleius which was similar to the Sphere of Democritus popular in Carolingian times. The text was a descendant of Greek originals and was variously attributed to Pythagoras, Plato or other authors. With this formula the outcome of a patient's illness could be calculated using the lunar days. Answers found in the upper half of the diagram, the realm of Vita, indicated recovery; those found in the lower half portended death. The priest thus knew if he was to administer extreme unction.[73]

The Sphere was ordinarily represented as a schematic circle, but the artist of the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bod. Lib., 579) has given it dramatic meaning by portraying personifications of Vita and Mors. (Pl. VII, fig. 2). The main body of this manuscript is a Continental sacramentary; the calendar and tables were added at Glastonbury about 970. In the eleventh century it belonged to the collection of Bishop Leofric and was part of his large donation to Exeter Cathedral Library. Life and Death are shown as equal and conflicting forces. Each is placed on an opposing page. Each one has unfurled a scroll which records the crucial numbers. Vita is represented as a king, bearded, crowned and wearing a robe with a fluttering hem. The small cross staff which he holds in his left hand betokens him Bestower or Lord of Life. Mors is a grisly and bestial figure with wings, horns, and animal ears; he has talons and spurs at his knees, heels and elbows; six dragons sprout on either side of his head. He is Satan, the Lord of the Underworld. His

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[73] Adelheid Heimann, "Three Illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and their Prototypes: Notes on the Iconography of Some Anglo-Saxon Drawings," Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIX (1966) 40. See also Thorndike, I, pp. 682-83, and Singer Magic, p. 42.

PLATE VIII

Figure 1. Satan attacking Christ, Stuttgart Psalter (Wurt. Land. Bib. Bib. Fol. 23), 9th century

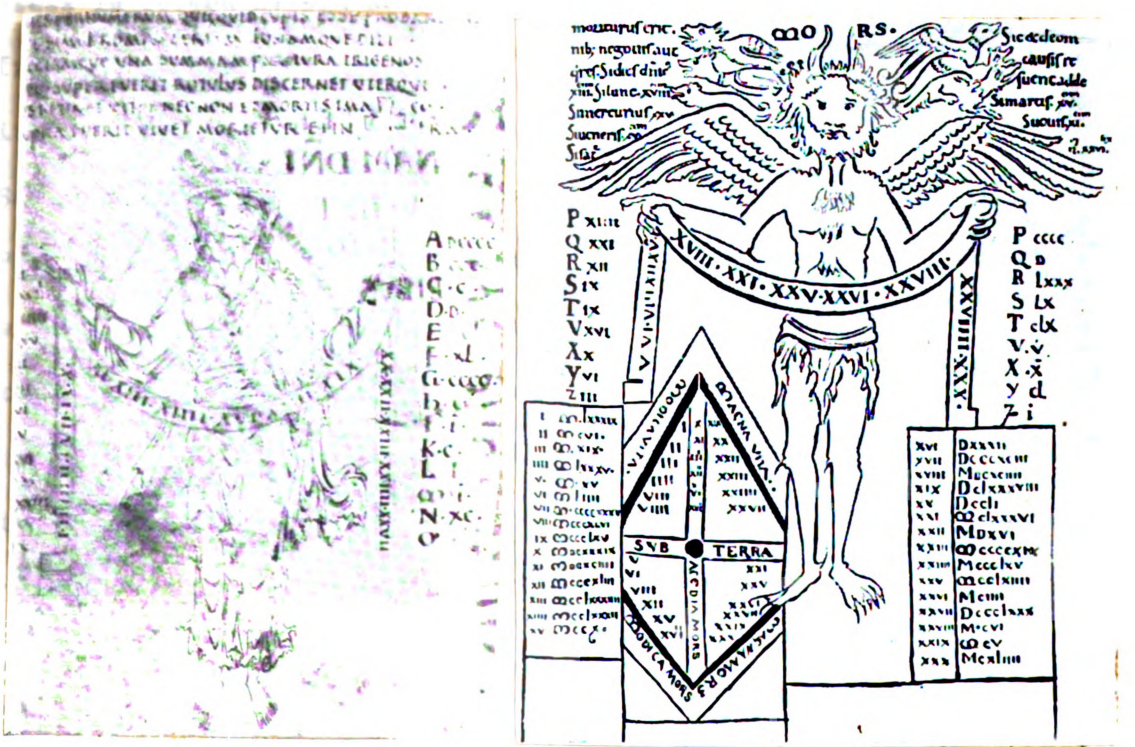

Figure 3. Vita and Mors, Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bod. Lib., 579), ca. 970. (Mors figure is a tracing.)

nudity -- except for a hairy loincloth -- has theological significance. It is the state described by the term, nuditas criminalis, which indicates lust and all absence of virtue. This meaning was applied to devils, sinners and pagan deities.[74]

This unique conception of Death derives from the demon figures of the Utrecht Psalter (Psalm VI, f. 3 v), a statuette of Bes-Pantheos, a Coptic magical figure, and Mithraic friezes. The dragons which spring from Mors' head are the six sons of Death mentioned in the Coptic source, The Book of the Resurrection of Christ. The motif may have been suggested by a more immediate source like the Stuttgart Psalter (Stuttgart, Wurt. Land. Bib. Fol. 23) which shows Satan-Mors and his sons attacking Christ-Vita (Pl. VII, fig. 1), than the figure of the Bes-Pantheos whose headdress is formed by six serpents.[75] In Mithraic art Chronos emerging from the cosmic egg appears with six serpents behind him, although again it is unlikely that this influence is direct. These six figures plus Satan can also symbolize the seven vices. The devils of the Utrecht Psalter, winged figures in loin cloths with taloned feet, undoubtedly were the inspiration for the fearsome image of Mors. The Utrecht images themselves were infuenced by classical representation of Satyr and Silenus figures. The influence of the Rheims School is visible also in the handling of drapery of the Vita figure: The line is broken and applied in

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[74]Panofsky, Iconology, p. 156 and p. 95. There were four meanings of nudity treated by theologians: nuditas naturalis the natural or original state of man as Genesis and Last Judgement scenes, drawings of souls, and scientific illustrations; nuditas temporalis the lack of earthly belongings, monks or the poor; nuditas virtualis the symbol of innocence; and nuditas criminalis the lack of virtue.

[75]Heimann, 41-43, Pl. 7, Fig. b and Pl. 8, Fig. d.

short strokes; this effect is heightened by the use of red, green, blue and purple line which seems to be an invention of the English artist himself.

The spiritual conflict implicit in the Leofric miniatures is directly conveyed by the placement of Vita and Mors (Pl. IX, fig. 1) in the Tiberius Psalter (B.M., Cott. Tib. C. VI) dating from the middle of the eleventh century. Vita stands on the shoulders of Mors; he has been transformed into a youthful, cross-nimbed Christ, thus making the Resurrection theme more explicit. The figure of Mors is not so formidable in this miniature; the horns, talons and tufts of hair have been taken away, but the wings and six dragons still signify that he is Satan-Death. The arrangement of the figures symbolizes Christ-Vita triumphant over Satan-Mors; representatinns of the Christ Triumphant theme ordinarily show an animal symbolic of Satan rather than the Devil himself. Although this is an illustration for the Sphere of Apuleius, the Christian meaning has transformed the image. This hierarchical arrangement of figures becomes a common treatment in later times for example the four Evangelists on the shoulders of the four Prophets in the windows of Chartres. The stylization of this drawing (for example, the folds of Vita's garment or Mor's rib-cage) and the elongation of the figures is characteristic of the latest pre-Conquest style in England and makes the Psalter a forerunner of the English Romanesque.

In the illustrations of the Psalter executed at Bury St. Edmunds (Rome, Vat. Lib., Reg. Lat. 12) in the second quarter of the eleventh century, the Vita-Mors representation has been transformed a second time in the portrayal of the Psalmist and the Lord in Psalm XII (13) (Pl. IX, fig. 2). Verses three and four have suggested the use of this motif with

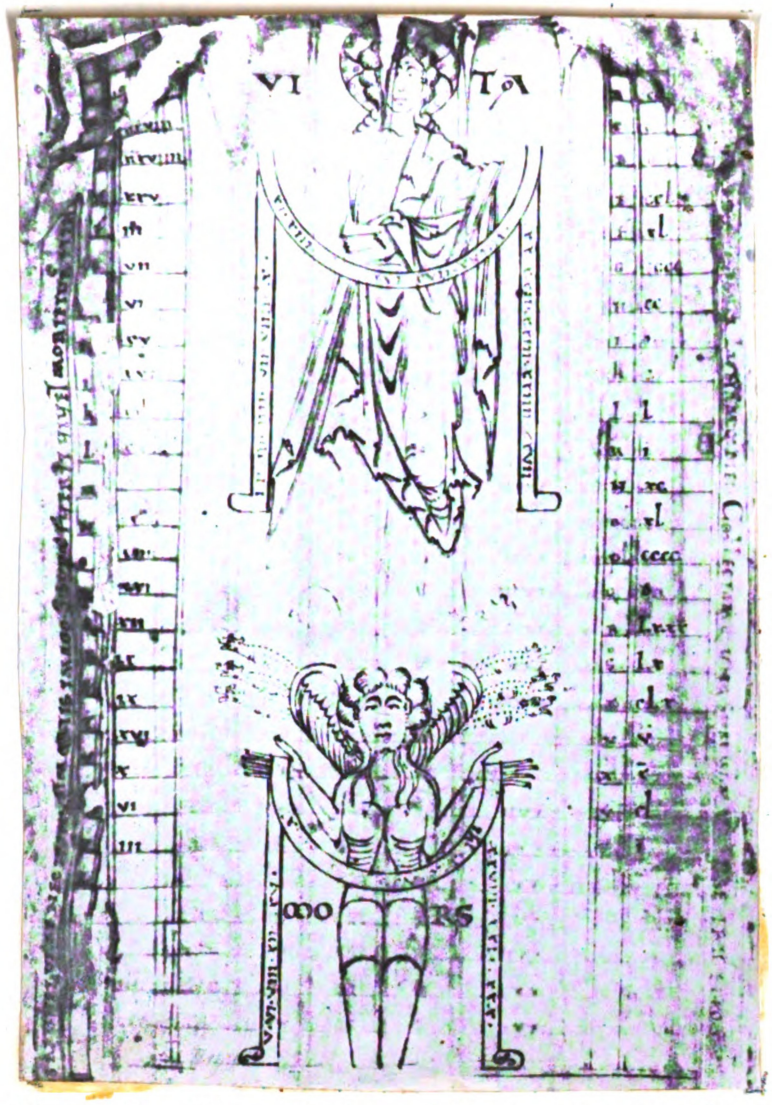

Figure 1. Vita and Mors, Tiberius Psalter (B.M. Cott. Tib. C. VI), ca. 1050
Figure 2. Psalmist and the Lord, Bury Psalter (Rome, Vat. Reg. Lat. 12), ca. 1050

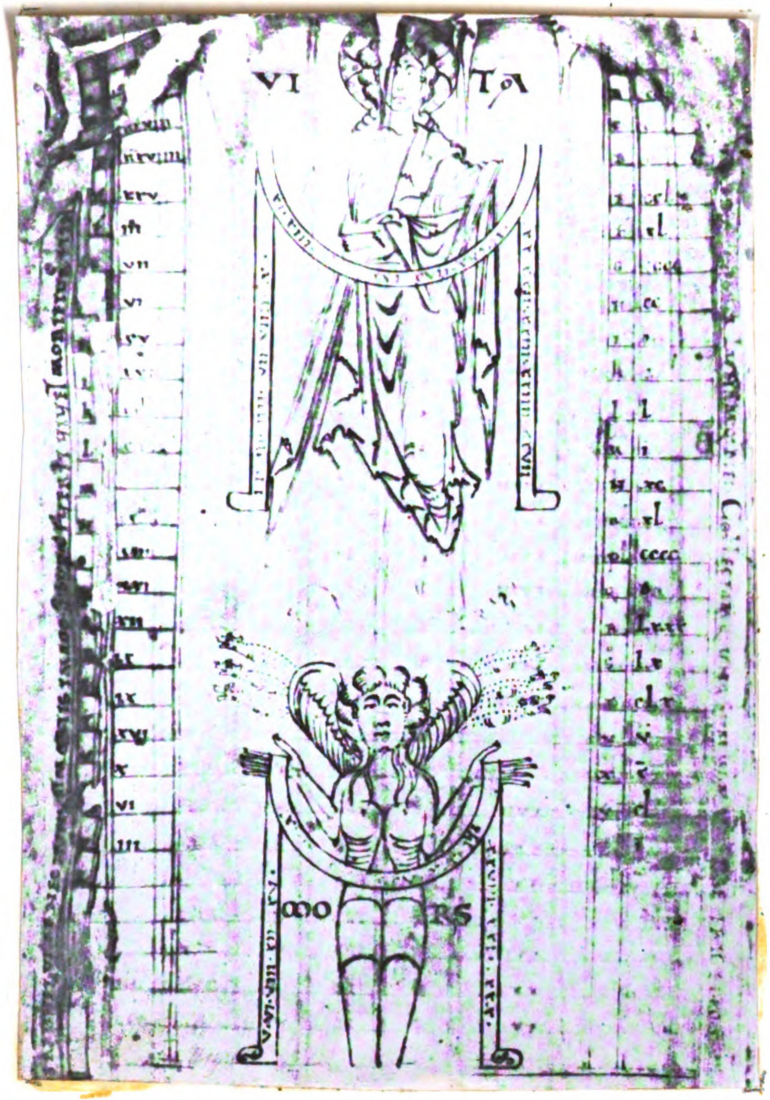

Figure 1. Vita and Mors, Tiberius Psalter (B.M. Cott. Tib. C. VI), ca. 1050
Figure 2. Psalmist and the Lord, Bury Psalter (Rome, Vat. Reg. Lat. 12), ca. 1050

the words, "Lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death/Lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him" which are inscribed on the scroll which the Psalmist holds. The torch which Christ holds derives from the illustrations of the Psychomachia;[76] it is also found in the Utrecht Psalter illustration of Psalm XII (13). The figures are no longer passive representations of abstract ideas; they have been brought actively into the action of the song. The artist was not interested in personification, but rather in the narrative qualities of the image. The classical origins of this theme have been entirely forgotten in the translation. The tendencies to emphasize action and narrative and to "baptize" the content of the image are quite characteristic of Anglo-Saxon art, and are more ubiquitous in the religious manuscripts of the period.

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[76]Heimann, 45-46, Pl. 8, Fig. b and c.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS MANUSCRIPTS

The descendents of the Vita-Mors motif demonstrate the tendency of the Anglo-Saxon artist to develop narrative forms in art. This tendency is not new or unique but one which he shares with Carolingian and late antique artists. The Mors example does illustrate that he is capable of reinterpreting mythological motifs in an original way and that the new motif is Christian in content. On the whole the mythological motifs found in English works are borrowed more directly from Carolingian sources and the mythological elements have already been integrated into Christian narrative art. However, English artists increasingly tend toward narrative illustration in the eleventh century, so that later works have more narrative qualities. Although these motifs derive ultimately from classical sources the narrative development has altered the classical forms; motifs which remain close to their classical form are more likely to be scientific illustrations. The models used by English scriptoria never antedate the Carolingian era except those of the insular tradition. In most cases the transformation from mythological legend to Christian drama has already taken place and the English artist is merely copying the model before him. In those instances where the artist was freer to invent a scene utilizing motifs gleaned from other models, the development toward narrative action is most pronounced. In these situations where the artist must invent the scenes he portrays, Anglo-Saxon vernacular literature influences the images chosen; the struggle of good and evil

and the torments of hell and other themes of the poems are reflected in the illustrator's visions.

The largest single source of mythological motifs for English art aside from the Aratea was the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, U. Lib. Script. Eccl.484), a ninth century manuscript of the School of Rheims. Canterbury artists copied this work twice -- the eleventh century version, Harley 603, and the twelfth century version, the Eadwine Psalter (B.M. Cott. Galba E. IV) -- other artists selected isolated themes in creating new compositions. English artists were also heavily influenced by the style of its drawings. The model before the artist influenced him as much as the local style of his scriptoria, as Wormald has pointed out. It has also been suggested that the Utrecht Psalter was temporarily loaned to other houses by Canterbury monks, or that artists may have traveled to the home monastery to sketch scenes or motifs for the text they were illustrating or for later use.[77]

One of the key elements in the illustration of the Utrecht manuscript is the pictorial tradition of the Greek Bible; this was transmitted through Greco-Italian models of the eighth century and is ultimately derived from Latin works from North Italian schools of the fourth and fifth centuries.[78] One evidence of the strength of antique influence upon the Psalter is the abundance of personifications. As cosmic forces or ethical principles they become participants in the drama which projects the psalm in visual terms. Although this proclivity to action

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[77]Dimitri Tselos, "English Manuscript Illustration and the Utrecht Psalter," Art Bulletin, XLI (June, 1959), 146-47 and Francis Wormald, English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., n.d.), p. 54.

[78]Dimitri Tselos, "Defensive Addenda to the Problem of the Utrecht Psalter," Art Bulletin,XLIX (December, 1967) 342-45.

is most pronounced in the Utrecht Psalter and its derivatives, this tendency is found in motifs derived from other sources.

Natural Forces

The illustration for Psalm CIII (104) from Harley 603 demonstrates the activity of various natural forces. A majestic Christ-Logos surrounded by four angels is seen in the firmament which is stretched out "like a curtain"; he walks "upon the wings of the wind" (Pl. X, fig. 2). The psalmist's metaphor has been served by the classical image of the heads of the four winds. They are frequently used in this fashion and mark off the celestial sphere from the terrestial one. A medallion with a bust of Sol, also to be seen in the celestial sphere, signifies that "He appointed the moon for seasons: the sun knoweth his going down." The crescent moon, which is frequently represented as a bust of Luna, and stars also appear in the sky. The illustrator chose to show in the lower righthand corner both the night when "the young lions roar after their prey" and the sunrise when the lions "lay them down in their dens." This psalm sings of the riches of the earth, of the birds, beasts and men who are among the works of God. Even the sea serpent, who is undoubtedly some distant relative of the constellation Cetus (Pl. III, fig. 3 and 4), is one of the innumerable, creeping beasts of the sea.

Harley 603 was illustrated by several artists working at St. Augustine's at different times. Psalm CIII (104) belongs to the first group who borrowed the manuscript from Christ Church in the second quarter of the eleventh century. The second and third groups worked on the manuscript at a later time. The second group of artists who did not have the manuscript immediately before them invented compositions drawing upon the iconography of the Utrecht Psalter through the already completed

PLATE X

Figure 1. Psalm CIII (104), Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht Univ. Lib. Script. Eccl. 484), 9th century

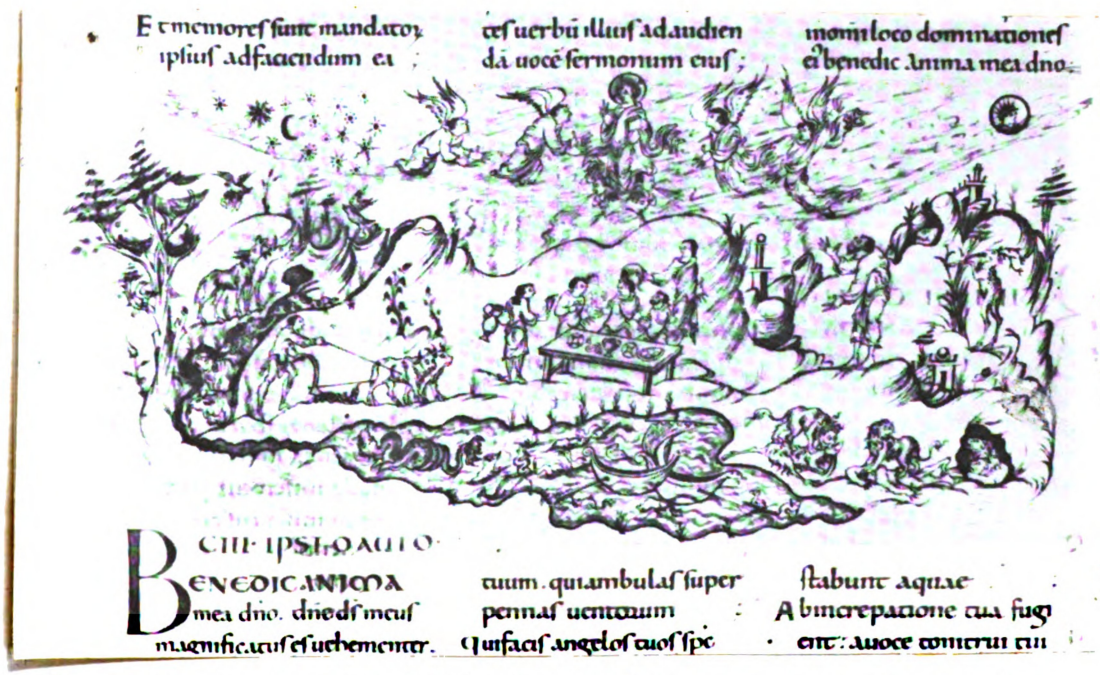

Figure 2. Psalm CIII (104), Harley 603, second quarter of the 11th century

folios of Harley 603. A third group worked in the twelfth century, but the cycle was never completed; there are blanks in the text for uncompleted drawings.[79] The work of the first artist was a very faithful copy of the Utrecht Psalter. A comparison of these drawings from a black and white print, however, fails to reveal a distinctive contribution of the Anglo-Saxon artist, his use of colored inks. The Rheims' artists employed a brown ink throughout while their English counterparts introduced colored inks creating a more lively effect. There is a tendency to elaborate the decorative qualities of the model as can be seen in the embellishment of the stars.

Sol and Luna assume more active roles in Crucifixion scenes, however. In the New Minister Church Offices they (B.M. Titus D. XXVI) appear as full-length seated figures holding flaming torches. (Pl. XI, fig. 1). Sol holds an orb and is crowned with another attribute, rays of light. Luna is crowned with the moon. These figures are similar to those in Psalm CXXIX (130) of the Utrecht Psalter and Psalm 148 of the Stuttgart Psalter. The scene is executed in tinted outline, broken lines of red and brown accented with black. The more common device in Crucifixion scenes is medallions which can be seen in the Crucifixion (Pl. XI, fig. 2) of the Weingarten Gospels (New York, Morgan Lib. 709). They do not remain impersonal forces but participate in the drama by covering their faces with their robes in sorrow, a portrayal not commonly found in Carolingian art. The clouds are the darkness that covered the earth. Their turbulence reflects the emotional turmoil and dramatic

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[79] Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages, ("The Pelican History of Art"; Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954) p. 146; C.R. Dodwell, The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066-1200 (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1954), p. 3; and M.R. James, The Canterbury Psalter (London: Parcy Lund, Humphries and Co. Ltd, 1935), p. 4, n.3.

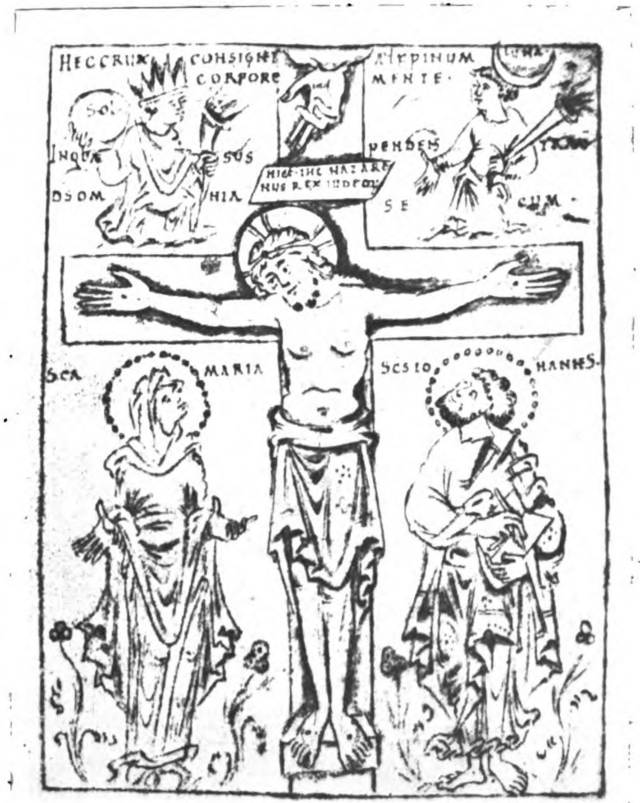

Figure 1. Crucifixion, New Minster Church Offices (B.M. Titus D. XXVI), 1020-1035

Figure 2. Crucifixion, Weingarten Gospels (New York, Morgan Lib. 709) second quarter of the 11th century

PLATE XI

intensity of the scene. The pathos of the scene is conveyed in the tender gesture of the Virgin who daubs Christ's wound and is heightened by the attenuation of the figures. The drawing is colored with pale yellow shaded with brown, blue, soft green and red. Gold is applied to the halos, the frame and the trimmings of the robes. The portrayal of St. John writing in a book found in these two works also appears in two other English sources, Harley 2904 and the Winchcomb Psalter (Cambridge, Univ. Lib. F.F. 1.23). The inscriptions of the last two tell us that John is the one who testifies to this scene.[80]

The meaning of these symbolic figures, Sol and Luna, is three-fold. Gospel accounts of the Crucifixion say that the sun was obscured by a dark cloud and darkness covered the face of the earth, thus fulfilling an Old Testament prophesy (Amos 8,9). Artists have perhaps applied a description (Matthew 24 and 29) of the Last Judgement which says that the moon did not shine. Sol and Luna are also symbolic of the Old and the New Testament and the epochs, Sub lege and Sub gratia. St. Augustine metaphorically compared the Old Law, unfulfilled without the Gospels, to the moon which has no light of its own but merely reflects that of the sun, the New Grace. The sacrifice of Christ is, of course, the very event which brings men salvation and inaugurates the era Sub gratia in which men have both the Law and the Gospels. There is another correspondence here which derives from the notion of Christ as Savior. Luna, the Old Testament, or the Synagogue, is Death and darkness. Sol, the New Testament, or the Church, is Life (alluding to the life-giving powers

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[80]Harley 2904: "hic est discipulus qui testimonium perhibet" (John 21:24); Winchomb Psalter: "et ego vidiet testimonium" (John 19:35). Niver pp. 685-86.

of the Sun) who appears at Christ's right hand. In antiquity these emblems have a funerary significance which certainly applies to the Weingarten Gospels in which Christ is shown dead. In the New Minister Offices (B.M., Titus D. XXVI) Christ's eyes are open and there would be no funerary meaning to Sol and Luna.

Sol and Luna are also prominent in the Mithraic art of antiquity where they are shown with the deity Mithras; here they are symbols of celestial forces and have planetary significance.[81] This meaning is certainly not lost upon the Anglo-Saxon artist because the church calendar was calculated in terms of the solar and the lunar year. Although the earliest known use of these motifs is the extraordinary Crucifixion of the Rabbula Gospels from the sixth century, the Anglo-Saxon examples were drawn from Carolingian works, the period in which they become a common element in crucifixion iconography.

The relationship between the Crucifixions of these manuscripts is somewhat uncertain,but it seems clear that Harley 2904 or a model close to it is the source for the St. John. There were other models drawn upon, however: the dexterra domini, Sol and Luna were added later and are found in a Crucifixion (B.M. Arundel 60) that has no writing St. John. There must have been other models drawn upon as the different treatments of the Virgin and the cross would indicate. The Weingarten Gospels and the Winchcomb Psalter are the most closely related, although the latter is clearly a "barbarizing" version of the former. Harley 2904 and the Weingarten Gospels are by far the most effective and moving images of the group. The attenuated figure and the stylization of drapery with

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[81]Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'Art chrétien, Tome II: Iconographie de la Bible, Pt. II: Nouveau Testament (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), pp. 486-87.

long, unbroken lines anticipate Romanesque developments in English art.

Certain personifications of natural forces are emphasized in Carolingian art and come into more common use in Carolingian times than they had been in antiquity. In Carolingian works Eridanus, or Oceanus, with Tellus, or Terra, usually flank Crucifixions and Majestas Domini. Oceanus represents source, the ocean, a spring, or the Jordan. The artists of the Utrecht Psalter and the Stuttgart Psalter employ this visual metaphor frequently. In Psalm XCVII (98) of the Utrecht Psalter, Oceanus rides a hippocamp with Thallasa bestride a dolphin. In Psalm LVII (58) Eridanus represents the "waters which run continually" and in Psalm LXXXVIII (89) "the floods [which] have lifted their voice". Eridanus appears in the illustration for Psalm I. He is suggested by the verse, the blessed man "is like a tree planted by streams of water/ that yields its fruit in its season,/ and its leaf does not wither." The images of this passage suggest renewal, a theme which would have special meaning for any Christian.

The artist of the Paris Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. Lat. 8824), from the second quarter of the eleventh century, selects this image to illustrate the entire psalm; he takes from the Utrecht drawing only the tree and the figure of Eridanus (Pl. XII, fig. 2). This Psalter belongs to a tradition in which only one verse is illustrated as compared with the Utrecht Psalter which is a sequence of metaphors synoptically arranged, or the Bury Psalter which is a sequence placed in the margin.[82]

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[82]Otto Pächt, "The Full-Page Miniatures," The St. Alban's Psalter (Albani Psalter) ("Studies of the Warburg Institute," Vol. 25, ed., G. Bing; London: the Warburg Institute, 1960), p. 159, n. 1. Francis Wormald, "The Decoration and the Litany," The Paris Psalter, MS. Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 8824, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, Vol. VIII, ed., Bertram Colgrave (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958), p. 15.

PLATE XII

Figure 1. Chastity Cleansing Her Sword, Psychomachia (B.M. Cott. Cleo. C VIII) ca. 1000

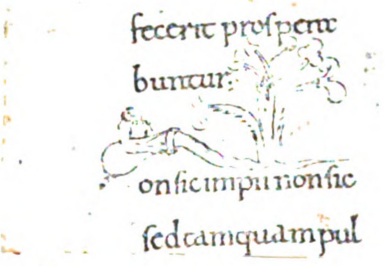

Figure 2. Psalm I, Paris Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat. M3 Lat. 8824), second quarter of the 11th century

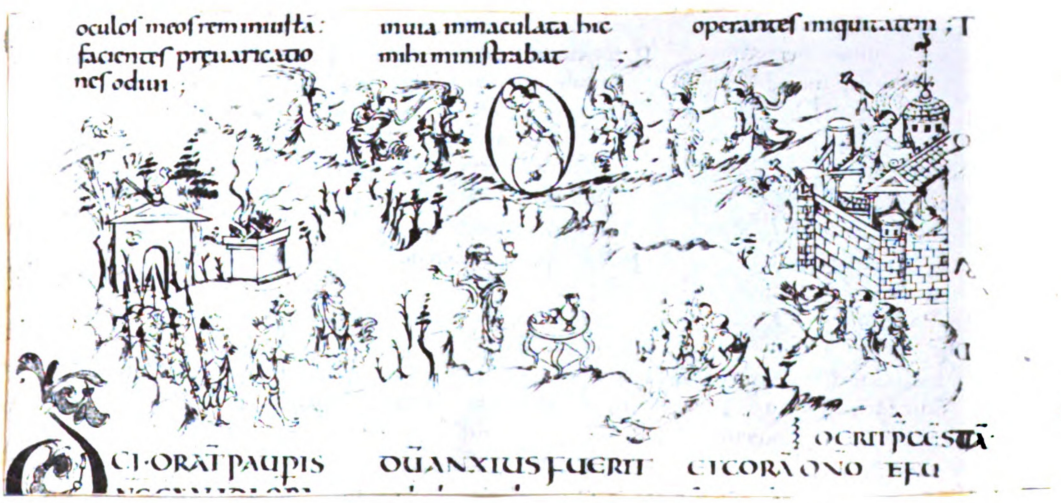

Figure 3. Psalm CI (102), Harley 603, second quarter of the 11th century

The artist borrows some of his motifs from segments of Utrecht drawings, although he may not have had the manuscript in front of him; and he has originated ideas of his own. This image departs from the classical reclining figure: the lower half of the figure has been left out; only a large jar and the torso appear. The tree springs right out of the stream. The drawing is a tinted outline technique and makes no attempt at illusionistic coloring as do the astronomical manuscripts, nor does it have the monumental quality of some other Anglo-Saxon drawings like the Malmesbury Prudentius or the Cambridge Boethius manuscript.

A personification of Jordan appears in the Psychomachia illustration of Chastity cleansing her sword (Pl. XII, fig. 1). The spiritual significance of this act is that in God's waters sins are washed away; it is an act of purification. The theme of purification is conveyed in the action of the poem. Chastity slays Lust and washes the bloody sword in the Jordan, "so the conqueress deftly cleanses the conquering blade by bathing it in the stream, dipping it in to wash away the stain of blood that came from her foe's throat...."[83] Jordan's archetype Eridanus is readily apparent in the half-draped body, the beard and water jug. He is half-standing, half-sitting, abandoning the traditional reclining position. The most puzzling iconographic departure is the compass which Jordan holds in his right hand. In other Anglo-Saxon works it symbolizes God the Creator. The composition portrays God's absolution of sin through the act of ritual cleansing or purification. It is an allusion to baptism.

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[83] Prudentius, trans. H.J. Thompson, ("The Loeb Classical Library"; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univeristy Press, 1949) I, p. 287, see ed. note.

This allusion is more explicit in the Baptism of Christ from the Benedictional (B.M. Add. MS. 49598) made for Bishop Aethelwold at Winchester between 975 and 980 (Pl. XIII, fig. 1). The artist according to Godeman, the scribe, was instructed to decorate the manuscript"with manifold beautiful colors and with gold"[84] and the illuminator gave Aethelwold a very sumptous work. Christ stands in opaque water within a gold mandorla and with a gold nimbus; his robes are violet and gold. The angels beside Him are clothed in red and pale violet. The background is pink, and the Holy Spirit, Jordan's horns, and the vase are gold. Particularly unique elements, such as the phial in the dove's beak and the paddle behind Jordan suggest a very early prototype, but the model was a Carolingian ivory casket of the School of Metz (Pl. XII, fig. 2). (The dove flanked by angels appears on the lid of the casket.) The vessel is a double phial for oil which signifies rex et sacerdos, King and Priest.[85]

The medium has allowed the artist to capture flesh tones and to model the body making it closer to the Aratea illustrations than any of the other Jordan figures. The repose of the traditional Eridanus is abandoned for an upright sitting position. This change subtly brings the god more fully into the drama of the scene; he becomes a participant. The compression and overlapping of figures to fit the framed space of the page draws Jordan into the scene. The illuminator has had a problem fitting in all the figures; they take up the borders as well, par-

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[84]From an inscription quoted in Frederic Warner and Henry Wilson, The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold, Bishop of Wichester, 963-984, (Oxford: Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1910), p. xiii.

[85]Grabar and Nordenfalk, p. 183. On the influence of Metz ivories see Otto Homburger, "L'Art Carolingien de Metz et l'École de Winchester,"Gazette des Beaux-Arts, "Essais en l'Honneur de Jean Porcher, I" (July-August, 1963), 36-37.

Figure 1. The Baptism, the Benedictional of Aethelwold (B.M. Add. MS. 49598), ca. 980.

Figure 2. Ivory Casket, School of Metz, early 10th century

ticularly on the left. In another Carolingian ivory Jordan is shown in a more active way; he gestures at John the Baptist. (See Schiller, Ikonographie, Bd. I, fig. 366). All the figures are drawn into the charged atmosphere; the wavy line in the upper and lower register expresses the emotional intensity which is echoed in the rippling lines of the river, the folds of Jordan's drape, the fluttering hems of garments and the graceful curves of the acanthus borders. In comparison with the figures on the casket, the Benedictional figures float; the Baptist and the angel do not stand solidly on the ground, even Jordan is not so firmly rooted. The restless, moving line animates the whole composition with an ecstatic quality.

What is the theological significance of this scene? Christ's nudity has particular implications for this question because it symbolizes innocence, the nuditas virtualis referred to above (see footnote 74). He has been purified, his sins cleansed. This is the ritual act of purification: just as the Holy Ghost infused Christ with new spirit and with a new life as king and priest, the Christian is given renewed life through the sacrament of baptism. His sins are washed away; he is imbued with Christian spirit from the source or spring of the life-giving waters. The phial alludes to the double nature of Christ as King and priest as do other elements of the painting. The colors gold and violet signify royalty: the mandorla symbolizes Christ as cosmic ruler. (He is also shown in a mandorla in the Ascension in this manuscript.) Two of the angel attendents above carry crowns and scepters, all kingly attributes. The priestly attributes are not evident.

Demonology

Perhaps the most vital and original transformation of classical images can be seen in the demons executed by English artists of this period. The liveliness of their imagination is given full play in the many compositions which feature devils. Evil is an active force in the world; everywhere in contest with good. The sufferings of the damned, the certain fate of sinners are frequent themes. Several compositions are freely invented by Anglo-Saxon artists. These drawings give us a unique look at their treatment of antique motifs uninhibited by a desire to immitate a given model, unlike the first artists of Harley 603. This array of demons influences Continental art in the twelfth century and continues to be a distinctive feature of English art.[86] The interest in demons and the tendency to see them actively struggling with good in the world is often reflected in the literature of Anglo-Saxon times.

The demonology of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is based upon the general type of late antique devil to be found in Carolingian works like the Utrecht Psalter and the Stuttgart Psalter. This fearsome figure with wings, talons, and shaggy loincloth, was seen in the Mors illustration of the Leofric Missal and its derivatives. Although English artists seem to have borrowed no motifs from the Stuttgart Psalter or a work similar to it, these paintigss are closer to the English examples than those of Utrecht. In the Utrecht work, the devils are active creatures, but they play a somewhat minor role in the overall composition simply because there are several scenes represented within the same drawing. They are most commonly shown capturing or tormenting the damned. In

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[86]Adolf Goldschmidt, "English Influence on Medieval Art of the Continent," Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter, ed. Wilhelm R. Koehler (Cambridge: Harvard Univeristy Press, 1939) II, pp. 721-22.

the Stuttgart Psalter there is a greater variety of action -- Satan with his six sons attacking Christ, mentioned above (f. 107^{r}), demons feeding furnaces (f. 56^{r}) or holding snakes (f. 16^{v}), Christ attacking the gates of hell -- and the demons are a more prominent part of the composition.

It has been shown earlier how the symbolism of the Vita and Mors figures from the Leofric Missal have been charged with Christian meaning in the Bury Psalter drawing of the subject. In other manuscripts we see the theme of Christ victorious over evil. The composition from the New Minster Offices -- (B.M., Cott. MS. Titus D. XXVIII), illustrated by Abbot Aelfwin and identified as the "Quinity" by Ernst Kantorowicz -- shows God the Son with Satan trampled beneath his feet (Pl. XIX fig. 4). Although the whole composition is an invention of the artist drawing upon several sources, this motif is taken directly from the Utrecht Psalter illustrations.[87]

Another Winchester work in tinted outline, the New Minster Liber Vitae (B.M., Stowe MS. 944) from the same period, 1020-1035, uses these demon figures more imaginatively in the Last Judgement (Pl. XIII). The middle panel of this page shows us the central drama: St. Peter and Satan are contending for the soul of a sinner inspired by f. 79^{v} of the Utrecht Psalter. The poor sinner has turned his back on Satan, who has grabbed his arm, and looks hopefully at St. Peter. This devil who displays those common characteristics of the demon type -- talons, horns, hair skirt, semi-nudity, serpentine hair -- reads from a book of accusation while a angel to the left consults a book of good deeds.

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[87] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," Art Bulletin, XXIX (March, 1947), 73ff. See also Tselos, Art Bulletin, XLI (June, 1959), 139-40; Wormald, Drawings, p. 34; and Rickert, pp. 48-9.

PLATE XIV

The Last Judgement, New Minster Liber Vitae (B.M. Stowe MS. 944), ca. 1016-1030

A winged devil holds two more sinners in his grasp on the right.

In the register above, St. Peter ushers the blessed into the heavenly city, while the fate of those damned by the book of accusation is shown in the lowest register. A devil is forcefully trying to shove two of the wicked into the hell mouth as two others dive in from above. The demon in hell has been suggested by the Utrecht Psalter protrayals of Hades seizing the damned. Although the Winchester artist has not retained the birds-eye panorama or spatial perspective of the Utrecht Psalter, the antique origin of the image is still clearly recognizable. Other stylistic characteristics of both the Offices and the Liber Vitae, such as the thrusting heads and hunched backs of the figures or the rippling garments, are attributable to the influence of the Utrecht Psalter or a source close to it, even though the Psalter was not housed at Winchester as far as we know.

The Liber Vitae sequence is a most unusual treatment of the Last Judgement theme, and it would seem to be inspired by the nature of the work which it illustrates. The New Minster Register and Obituary contains, among other items, obits and a list of benef actors of the New Minster. It is in one sense a book of good deeds: the artist has shown the reward awaiting those whose names are entered in the Liber Vitae -- eternal life -- and the fate of those who have done no good works -- damnation. The fate of the damned is like that of the fallen angels. In the words of the poet of the Lamentations of the Fallen Angels:

> For their transgression they had lost all good,
> And might have no dwelling save the deep abyss
> And the fires of hell, the cursed hall
> Where the noise of wailing is known afar,

A gnashing of teeth and the moaning of men.[88]

The blessed will enjoy the "'City of Refuge.'":

Where they may have life for ever and ever,
A bright city-dwelling, a home on high;
He shall know bliss who obeys his Savior.
It is well with him who may win that reward![89]

This poem from the Caedmon Manuscript (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Junius 11) is illustrated, and some striking parallels can be seen in comparing the Fall of the Rebels (Pl. XVI) with the Last Judgement. The conceptions of space are similiar. Both pages are divided into registers, four in the former and three in the latter, with the Heavenly City above and the abyss of hell below, and both feature a devouring hell mouth. The juxtaposition of the joyous life of those who dwell above and the grievous life of suffering below is repeated many times throughout the poem in order to describe the enormous loss of Lucifer's band in being expelled from heaven. In each of these miniatures, the artist's use of space heightens this contrast, although the fall of Lucifer is not the subject of the Last Judgement. The illustrator of the Liber Vitae was not copying the Fall of the Rebel Angels, nor was he illustrating the poem, but the similarity of the drawings demonstrates the influence of the poet's vision of the joys of the "courts on high" and the "dreadful home" of the damned.

In English manuscripts of this period, the most vivid vision of the torments of hell is the Magican Mambres at the Mouth of Hell (Pl. XIII, fig. 1) from the Marvels of the East (B.M. Cott. Tib. B.V.[1]). This collection of descriptions of fantastic races of men in the form

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[88]Charles W. Kennedy, Early English Christian Poetry (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 46.

[89]Lamentations from Kennedy, p. 47.

of a travelogue is directly descended from antique sources, and draws heavily upon the letter, purportedly written by Fermes to the Emperor Hadrian in the fourth century A.D. The author of the Fermens' letter drew upon a literary tradition that harkens back to the Greeks, Ktesia (beginning of the fourth century B.C.) and Megasthenes (who was sent to India in 303 B.C.), and is transmitted through Pliny and Solinus to Isidore and eventually to Vincent of Beauvais.[90] However, the portion of the text which is of interest to us is a fragment of a lost apocraphal book, Poenitentia Iannes et Mambres; probably this fragment was included in the work from which the Marvels were copied, and the compiler did not question its relation to the stories.[91] The interest in geography in England had caused these tales to be translated into Anglo-Saxon. There were pictorial cycles that accompanied the literary sources in antiquity, and their descendents are the illustrations for the Marvels of Tiberius B.V. and Cotton Vitellius A. XV. The Mambres composition, however, is original; the artist uses motifs from Utrecht but creates his own interpretation of Mambres at the mouth of the abyss.

In this scene, Mambres uses magical books to call his brother Jannes, a wizard, from hell. Jannes warns Mambres to do good in his lifetime because one knows only darkness and perdition in hell. These torments are vividly illustrated by the artist who in fact, goes beyond the textual description which does not mention snakes or flames. The giant Hades looming out of the darkness of the cave devours two sinners;

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[90]Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study of the History of Monsters," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, V (1942), 141-72.

[91]Montague Rhodes James, Marvels of the East: A Full Reproduction of the Three Known Copies (Oxford: Printed for the Roxburghe Club at the University Press, 1929) pp. 11, 29-30.

Figure 1. The Harrowing of Hell, Tiberius Psalter (B.M. Cott. Tib. C VI), ca. 1050

Figure 2. Mambres at the Mouth of Hell, Marvels of the East (B.M. Cott. Tib. B.V), ca. 1000

his hairy arms could easily reach Mambres standing on the shelf of rock. In the flaming pit below, the damned are tormented by serpents and dragon-like creatures. In this scene, the concept of nuditas criminalis is captured in the devil and the sinners whose skin is spotted as if their sins were manifest as diseased flesh. This giant Hades, as well as the one from the Last Judgement, derives from figures like those of Psalm CXIV (116) and CXXXVIII (139). The Marvel's portrayal is close to the antique conception of the underworld as a dark cave or fiery pit. The writhing figures of the sinners and the demons who torment them in the form of serpents or beasts are similarly inspired by the Utrecht illustrations. Although the Marvels' illustrations draw upon an earlier model, the underworld of Mambres suggests that the artist had direct access to the Utrecht Psalter.[92]

The ancients' notion of the gloomy netherworld and the visual motifs derived from the Utrecht Psalter are not the only inspiration for the painting of Mambres. The physical tortures of damnation are sung in many vernacular poems; they bewail pain, blasts of flame, poison, darkness, serpents. The vividness with which the artist of the Marvels portrays the torments of the "woeful pit" also stems from his literary heritage; the miniature captures the feeling of passages like the following:

> They have no hope but frost and fire,
> Pain and sorrow and swarming serpents,
> Dragons and adders, and a home of darkness.
> He might hear, who stood as far from hell
> As twelve miles distant, a gnashing of teeth
> Loud and grievous. 93

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[92]Tselos, Art Bulletin, XLI (June, 1959), 149.

[93]Lamentations from Kennedy, pp. 46-47.

The hell mouth seen in the Caedmon Manuscript (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Junius 11), the Paris Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat. Fonds Lat. 8824), the "Quinity", and the Last Judgement is a unique feature of English art. It is also found in the Harrowing of Hell (Pl. XV, fig. 1) from the Tiberius Psalter (B.M. Cott. Tib. C. VI), executed between 1041 and 1066, probably at Winchester. The inferno is a beast's head whose gaping jaws hold sinners; this motif has literary parallels, such as the jaws of Grendel, the monster of Beowulf, and is carried on in the Romanesque period in such works as the St. Alban's Psalter.[94] The artists of Harley 603 and the Eadwine Psalter use the hell mouth; this is an interjection of the artists. It does not appear in the Utrecht Psalter.

The harrowing is a triumphal scene; Christ descends to offer salvation to those imprisoned who have died without having a chance at repentance. They are spirits from the Sub lege era who have not heard the gospel. He brings "all into subjection to himself by His redeeming power" as the Biblical sources suggest (Ephesians 4: 8-10, I Peter 3:19, 4:6). Christ has flung open the portal of hell and tramples Satan who is shackled underfoot. A resurrection banner waves above His head (fire damage to the manuscript has made this difficult to discern).

The harrowing is a particularly popular theme in devotional literature. It forms one section of the poem, Christ and Satan, erroneously attributed to Caedmon; the Exeter Book contains a poem by this title and the theme also appears in Cynewulf's Ascension. The story ultimately derives from the apocrayphal account of the Gospel of Nicodemus. The

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[94]Pächt, p. 56 n. 6. The twelfth century "Archeron" of the Vision of Tundal is a probable descendant; hell is described as a beast with huge teeth and tongues of flame. Goldschmidt, p. 721. On the Tiberius Psalter see Francis Wormald, "An English Eleventh Century Psalter with Pictures," The Walpole Society, XXXVIII (1960-62), 1-13.

imagery of the poems emphasizes Christ's victory over Satan and his demons and the freeing of the imprisoned souls. The miniature's motifs are similar in spirit to this passage from the poem:

> Now the fiends' warriors are overwhelmed,
> Laid low and imprisoned in living pain,
> Deprived of blessings in the pit of hell.
> *****
> The Defender of heaven, with his Ancient Foe
> Engaged in strife by His single might;
> There He freed from bondage abundant spoil,
> A countless folk from the City of fiends,...[95]

and from another poem:

> The Son triumphed on that journey to darkness,
> Smashing Hell's doors. Many men's souls
> Rose with Him then, the Ruler of all,....[96]

The visual interpretation of this theme seems to be an original one, although some elements are inspired by the Utrecht Psalter. The figure of Christ is taken from the Illustration for Psalm XV (16) where Christ leans over to pull two sinners from the pit.[97] The expressionistic style of the artist has elongated and enlarged the Lord so that He hovers over the sinners while trampling the "Fiend". Christ is a very active figure both pinning the devil and rescuing souls from hell's prison. The figure of Satan follows the antique model generally established in English art by this time, but the artist has given him a particularly bestial appearance with a long snout, sharp teeth, pointed ears, spurs and firey breath.

Satan also appears shackled in several other illustrations from the Caedmon Manuscript and in the "Quinity"; this motif is not found

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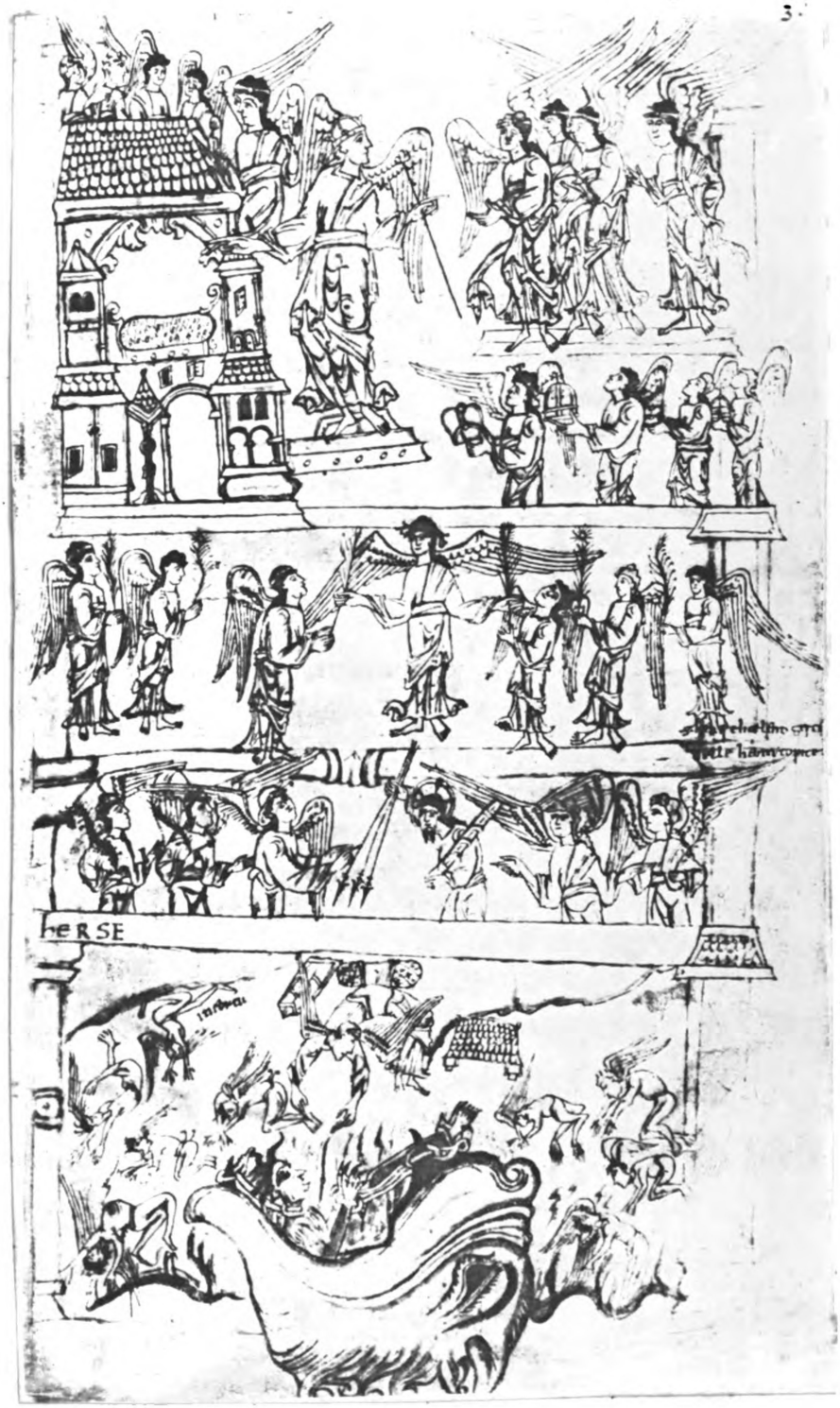
[95] Cynewulf, The Ascension from Kennedy, p. 100.

[96] The Dream of the Rood from Raffel, p. 25.

[97] Tselos, Art Bulletin, XLI (June, 1959), 149.

PLATE XVI



The Fall of the Rebel Angels, Caedmon Manuscript (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Junius 11), ca. 1000

in the Utrecht Psalter or the Stuttgart Psalter and is a literary influence. In the Genesis B poem (lines 235-851, a ninth century interpolation into an earlier poem) of the Caedmon Manuscript, the poet couches the drama in terms familar to his audience -- heaven and hell are halls and courts, Lucifer expects princely gifts, Lucifer is a prince disloyal to his overlord. He has defied the loyalty and service to his lord upon which the comitatus is based. After his fall he is shackled to the floor of hell, "My hands are fastened, My feet are bound,/ I can no way get free of these fettering chains."[98] But his pride is unbroken and he appeals to his former thanes to aid him in ensnaring men into hell. The subtleties of the comitatus relationship are not conveyed in the miniatures, but the image of the bound Lucifer derives from the poem. The image of the rebellious thane is particularly appropriate to the "Quinity" and the Harrowing where the Lord subdues Satan beneath his feet.

The Third Temptation from the Tiberius Psalter features a grotesque devil (Pl. XVIIfig. a) although he is not quite like the first. The role of the devil is somewhat different here; he is not the keeper of damned souls nor the rebellious Lucifer but the temptor of the Lord. For enticement he offers worldly treasures (Matthew 4:8) as represented by the sword, cup, bowl, etc. His nose is short and upturned, but definately inhuman; he wears a hair skirt and his wings have eyes. This is a reference to Lucifer's fall from heaven; however, the devils of the Caedmon Manuscript do not have eyes on their wings. The long poem Christ and Satan found in this work contains, in addition to the harrowing and the Lamentations of the Fallen Angels, a fragment on Satan's

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[98]Kennedy, p. 32, The Fall of Man pp. 55-57.

temptation of Christ. This harrowing scene is an active drama -- the Lord admonishes Satan with the cry "Begone Satan!" and Satan looks frightened but does not flee as the devils of the Stuttgart Psalter temptation.

A considerable number of the illustrations of the Tiberius Psalter portray the triumph of good over evil. The drawings precede the textual portion of the Psalter, unlike Harley 603 or the Bury Psalter whose illustrations are placed throughout the text. The majority of these scenes are taken from the lives of David and Christ, unlike those of the first and second Psalter traditions which illustrate the psalms they accompany. The theme of good triumphant over evil is expressed in the miniatures Vita-Mors, David and Goliath, David and the Lion, St. Michael and the Dragon, Christus super aspidem, as well as the two we have just discussed. The artist of this work was breaking new ground; this is perhaps the earliest surviving example of this type of psalter illustration. There was no pictorial cycle which was independent of the text to follow. Lack of a direct model freed the illuminator from the constraints of reproducing the work before him and enabled him to choose subjects from the life of the psalmist (David of course, prefigures Christ) and the life of the Lord. The recurring theme of the struggle between good and evil provides an underlying unity to the illustrations. There is considerable inventiveness for instance, in the treatment of the Vita-Mors figures (discussed above) which gives the computistical material in a form that echoes the major theme. When the artist had the latitude to choose subjects and themes his choices strongly reflect the themes and images of vernacular literature. Indeed two of the subjects chosen, the Harrowing and the Temptation, appear in Christ and Satan and other poems.

Figure 1. David and Lion, Tiberius Psalter (B.M. Cott. Tib. C. VI), ca. 1050

Figure 2. The Third Temptation, Tiberius Psalter (B.M. Cott. Tib. C. VI), ca. 1050

The artists who worked on Harley 603 in the second half of the eleventh century continued the antique type of demon established by earlier artists. Although they were working without the Utrecht manuscript before them, these figures are close to those of Utrecht. Demonology remains prominent in English art in the succeeding century, the famous Albani Psalter draws upon the motifs of the Tiberius Psalter. The development leans generally to the fantastic and bestial qualities of the figures. Devils become less recognizably human unlike their antique ancestors.

The contest between the forces of good and of evil is also reflected in the theme the woman with evil children. This motif appears in the Bury Psalter, Harley 603 and the Psychomachia manuscripts whose prototypes originate in the fifth or sixth century. The motif was borrowed from personifications of Caritas, or Terra, or Tellus, a bare breasted woman suckling children; the panel from the Ara Pacis is the best known example of Terra. The original meaning of Terra as a fertility principle is not lost; she appears with Oceanus in Carolingian Crucifixions, for example the ivory cover of the Pericope of Henry II, or the Majestas Domini of the Metz Sacrementary (See Heimann, Pl. 13). One Anglo-Saxon example of the Terra appears in Psalm CI (102) of Harley 603. She appears with her traditional attributa, the cornucopia, in her left hand and her children gathered at her right side (Pl. XII fig. 3). The motif was inspired by the line, "people which shall be created".

The clue to how Terra was transformed from a fertility goddess to a woman emboding evil is supplied by the author of the Psychomachia, Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348-410?) when he describes a Vice trying to

masquerade as the Virtue, Thrifty, as a "false Bellona." Ma, a Cappadocian goddess, introduced to Rome, was identified with Bellona; the worship of her followers was wild and orgiastic like that of the Magna Mater. The Vice dons the guise of maternity so that she will "be thought not a greedy pest but a thrifty Virtue." Her play is skillfully contrived:

> With a delicate covering of motherly devotion she hides her snaky tresses so that the white mantle shall disguise the raging that lurks beneath and screen the fearful fury, and so display her plundering and thieving and greeding storing of her gains under the pleasing name of care for her children. 99

Elsewhere the offspring are described as "Crimes, the brood of their mother Greed's black milk."[100] Black milk and snaky hair specifically designate evilness and these two allusions are captured in the visual image. Avarice with her locks sits feeding her children (Pl. XVIII, fig. 1) just as she has been described in the text. Prudentius' commentary has a remarkably pictorial quality and is thus easily translated into a visual representation. The original illustrated cycle was developed only shortly after the poem was written and Prudentius may have had an illustrated text in mind.[101]

Elements of the classical model are still preserved in this manuscript (B.M. Add. MS. 24199) from the late tenth century, the half-draped body, the children feeding at her breasts, the modeling or attempt to show the figure beneath the drapery. The artist was uninfluenced by the Rheims cursory style, his line is vertical or V-shaped. The charac-

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[99] Prudentius, p. 319, see ed. note.

[100] Prudentius, p. 311.

101 Hinks, p. 121.

PLATE XVIII

Figure 1. Avarice with her evil children, Psychomachia (B.M. Add. 24199)

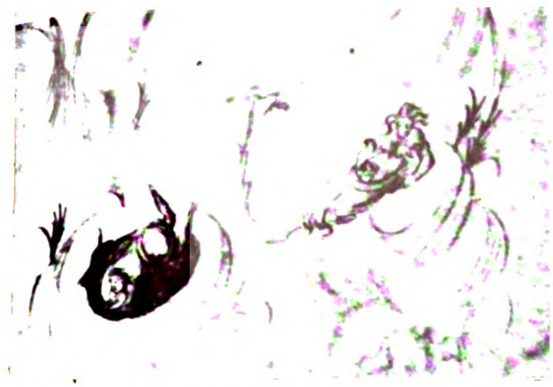

Figure 2. Detail Psalm VII, Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht Univ. Lib. Script. Eccl. 484), 9th century

Figure 3. Detail of Psalm VII, Harley 603, second quarter of the eleventh century

Figure 4. Psalm VII, Bury Psalter (Rome Vat. Reg. Lat. 12), ca. 1050

teristics of his style give the figure a solidity and statuesque quality that approaches the classical. These manuscripts, expecially the Malmesbury Prudentius, have been compared with Greek vase painting.[102] The artists of the other English Psychomachia have a tendency to stylize drapery into elaborate pattern, but their tinted ink drawings nevertheless, retain some feeling of monumentality in their figures and the semi-nudity of the original prototypes. The images have a semblance of classical form. The allegorical device of personifing the opposing forces of the soul as female figures is certainly a classical form. Prudentius' interest in these warring forces is didatic -- the Christian must ready himself with spiritual weapons to combat the forces of evil. The author's work lends itself well to visual representation and the original artists followed classical sources for the personifications. The militant character of the work has caused the artist to draw his motifs from action-oriented, narrative forms such as triumphal columns, rather than more static allegorical forms. The meaning of these figures is always indicated by the action shown, not by a symbolic attribute.[103]

The militant tenor of the poem is also its chief appeal for the Anglo-Saxon. It should not be surprising that there are four English copies of this work, deriving from a ninth or tenth century Anglo-Saxon manuscript based upon a Carolingian model possibly executed at Tours.[104] The preoccupation with the active contest between good and evil that

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[102] Goldschmidt, p. 719.

[103] Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century, trans. Alan J. P. Crick (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1964) pp. 4-6. Also Saxl and Wittkower, p. 22.

[104] Helen Woodruff, The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), pp. 17-21.

runs through Anglo-Saxon art and literature makes the popularity of this combat understandable.

The motif of the Woman with evil children found in Harley 603 (Pl. XVI, Fig. 3) also derives from illustrative cycles originating in the fifth and sixth centuries. The vignette, part of the representation of Psalm VII (7), is suggested in part by the text which says that a woman has given birth to "iniquity", "mischief" and "falsehood" which are symbolized by the three children. The relationship of the text and the drawing is not as close as the Prudentius' example. To emphasize her demonic character the woman's hair stands out in flame-like tufts and her garment is of hair or fur. The Bury Psalter attests further to the vitality of this image; the illustrations for Psalm VII(7) includes the Woman with evil children (Pl. XVII, Fig. 4). There are some significant differences in the two works iconographically. The woman from the Bury Psalter has been shot by an arrow and holds a bowl labled "vas mortis"; she is fully clothed, sits upright and holds eight children on her bosum. The first two additions can be explained by the text, "et eo in paravit vasa mortis, sagittas suas ardentibus effecit." A small devil who stands on the other corner of the page has fired arrows at the woman and the vas mortis spews flames, a symbol of the underworld. The eight children are a direct contradiction of the text, but can be accounted for by the influence of the Prudentius' illustrations of Avarice with several children.[105] Her hair, dress and upright position also show the influence of the Avarice figure. There is a gradual tendency to move away from the classical image toward an image of narrative

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[105]Heimann, 57-58.

qualities. This is most obvious in the posture; the repose of the reclining Carolingian figures (Pl. XVI, Fig. 1 and 3) becomes somewhat upright position in Harley 603 and a definitely upright, more rigid stance in the Bury Psalter. The Bury figure is more elongated. She seems to hover in the air, on the ground, one is not sure; she is not anchored to a ground line. She does not suckle her children. Like the Psalmist and the Lord derived from Vita-Mors, the Woman with evil children anticipates Romanesque developments, her mythological origins are less recognizable. She is closer to being a medieval image.

Moral Forces

The personifications of the Utrecht Psalter included not only natural forces like Oceanus, Tellus, Sol, and Luna but also moral principles like Mercy, Truth and Righteousness. Harley 603 employs this device in examples like the illustrations for Psalm XVI and Psalm XI (10). The psalmist appears as Justice with his scales so that the Lord may test "the righteous and the wicked". (Pl. XVII fig. 1) On the right "coals of fire and brimstone" rain on the wicked and on the opposite side "the upright shall behold his face". In the illustrations for verses of Psalm LXXXIV (85) from the Eadwine Psalter (B.M. Cott. Galba E. IV): "Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other/Truth shall spring out of the earth, and righteousness shall look down from heaven." Truth is held up by Earth as Righteousness bends down from the sky; Righteousness and Peace embrace in a Visitation-like pose. Mercy and Truth greet each other (See James, Canterbury Psalter, f. 150b).

In other cases a pagan deity suggested by the literary reference is the basis for the visual image. The Psychomachia cycle provides an

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In other cases a pagan deity suggested by the literary reference is the basis for the visual image. The Psychomachia cycle provides an

example with Desire, the companion of Indulgence (Pl. XIX, fig. 2). The Vice has been slain by Soberness and his companions scatter in fear. A winged, nude Amor drops his quiver, arrows, and bow and turns to flee. This boyish figure corresponds to the antique prototype of Cupid seen in a mosaic from Antioch. The motif was transmitted by earlier Psychomachia manuscripts such as a ninth or tenth century Leyden work (Leyden, U. Lib., Cod. Voss. Lat. Oct. 16) (See Panofsky, Iconology, Pl. 99 and 72). In the medieval works Cupid's nudity has taken on a theological significance: it is the concept of nuditas criminalis. It is a sign of lust. This condition sets him clearly apart from Soberness who has just driven him away. All Virtues in the Psychomachia are clothed.

The most curious personification inspired by a literary source is found in the Paris Psalter (Paris Bib. Nat., Lat. 8824) and it results from a misreading of the Latin text. The Anglo-Saxon paraphrase reads Sagittarius and not, saggitas suas ardentibus effecit.[106] The artist shows Sagittarius leaning out of a cloud shooting arrows. (Pl. XIX fig. 3) His shafts are not aimed at the evil offspring of the woman as in the Bury Psalter example; they are aimed at the righteous, "the upright in heart" who are shielded by God. They are referred to in an earlier verse. The models for these two figures are more puzzeling. The Fides and Concordia figures from the Prudentius cycle (See Talbot-Rice, Pl. 80b.) are the closest, but they may have been inspired by groups of paired figures in the Utrecht Psalter as in Psalms CXLIX (149) and CXII (113).

The muse is a standard feature of the iconography of antique author portraits and one might reasonably expect an illustration for the Conso-

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[106] J.H.A. Engelbregt, Het Utrechts Psalterium, Een Eeuw Wetenschappelijke Bestudering (1860-1960) (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker and Gumbert, 1965), p. 145.

PLATE XIX

Figure 1. Detail Psalm XI, Harley 603, second quarter quarter of the 11th century

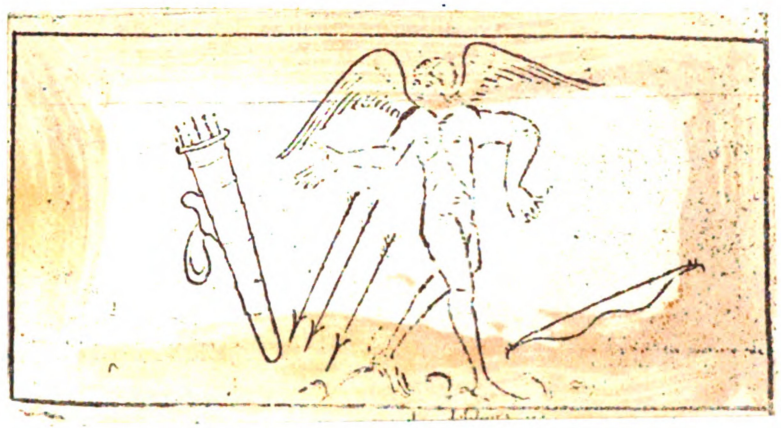

Figure 2. Desire flees. Psychomachia (B.M. Cott. Cleo. C. VIII)

Figure 3. Psalm VII, Paris Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat. Lat. 8824), second quarter of the 11th century

Figure 4. The Quinity, New Minister Church Offices (B.M. Titus D. XXVI), 1020- 1035

lation of Philosophy to show Boethius and Philosophy in this iconographic convention. The artist of the Trinity College Consolation (Cambridge Trin. Col. MS. O. 3. 7) executed at Canterbury in the late tenth century, instead portrays Philosophy alone (Pl. XVIII). The identity and significance of the figure depend upon the allegorical elements, a sceptre and a book, not upon the narrative drama of the scene. These attributes are suggested by the text, but a slightly later continental manuscript (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. 6401) indicates that the Anglo-Saxon artist may have been following established convention. (Pl. XIX, fig. 1) The Fleury Philosophy holds a sceptre and three books in a similar orant position. The continental artist follows the text more closely showing Philosophy interrupting Boethius with the poetic muses at his side. The Anglo-Saxon artist, on the other hand, may have selected certain elements of the iconography of this subject, but he was not working directly from the text. This image does not depend upon narrative action for its meaning; it is restrained and passive and is remarkably akin to classical allegory. The solidity and frontality of the figure and its steady continuous line impart a classical monumentality to the figure. This image comes very close to Boethius' description; he says that she is "of awe-inspiring appearance" and "at times she seemed to touch the very sky with the top of her head."[107] Certain significant omissions indicate that the artist was not working from the text and that these qualities are coincidental.

The monumental quality of this drawing does not derive directly from any classical source but from Carolingian influences. Certain stylistic elements -- the handling of drapery and the stylized ground line --

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[107]Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, trans. V.E. Watts ("The Penguin Classics," ed. E.V. Rieu; Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969) Bk. I, I.

PLATE XX

Philosophy, Consolation of Philosophy, (Cambridge, Trinity C. MS. O. 3. 7.), late 9th century

are closely related to a Psychomachia (B.M., Cott. Cleo. C. VIII) (Pl. XXI, fig. 2). These elements typify what Wormald categorizes as the "first style" as distinguished from the second or "Utrecht style". Even the orant position of Patience is close to that of Philosophy; the garments of all three are much alike, but the V-folds, headpieces, fluttering edges of the two English examples are quite distinctive. The garb of Philosophy does not reveal the body beneath the cloth as do the other two. Other similarities such as the beaded shoes and the roll of material at the hemline taken with the attributes suggest that the Philosophy draws upon some unknown continental model and not merely an image drawn from another native work like the Psychomachia. This work is an exception to the developing narrative trend we have seen in the later hands of Harley 603, the Tiberius Psalter and other works. The use of symbolic attributes rather than narrative elements makes this work an effective personification remarkably classical in feeling. This classizing effect is heightened by the treatment of the figure attributable to earlier Carolingian influences on English scriptoria, in this case the Ada School rather than the later influences of the Rheims through the "Utrecht style".

Early Christians often found religious significance in the heroic tales of antiquity; Christian and pagan alike might admire Herakles for the strength of will which carried him through twelve labors. Because of the moral content of the classical stories Herculean virtues, such as strength and courage, could also be identified with heroes of Judeo-Christian tradition. Artists frequently relied upon the images of the pagan hero to provide the model for the Christian one. Thus, Herakles wrestling with the Nemian lion became David or Samson slaying the lion. The ease with which this transformation was made can be seen

PLATE XXI

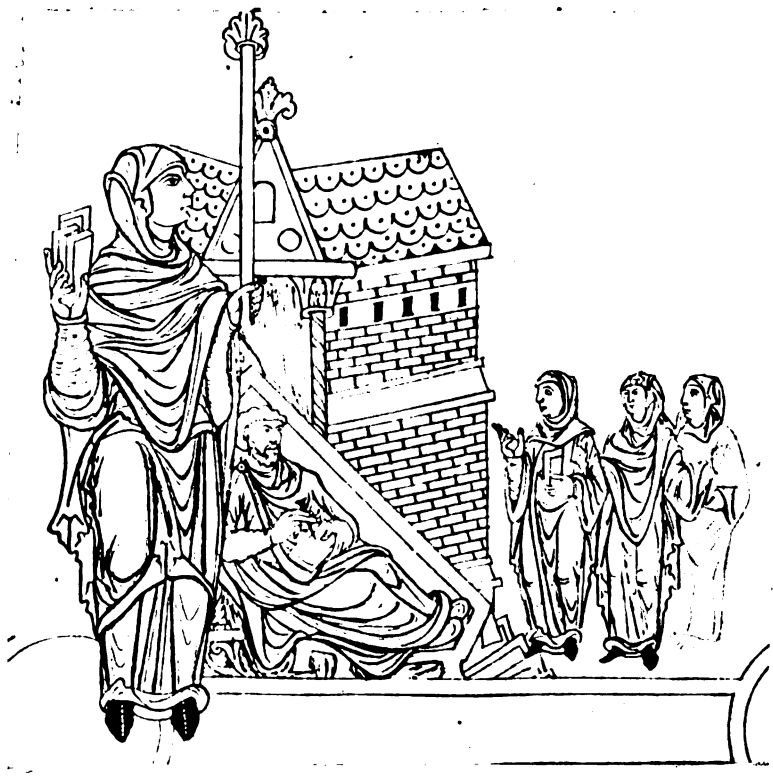

Figure 1. Philosophy, Consolation of Philosophy (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS 6401), Fleury(?), early 11th century

Figure 2. Anger slaying Patience, Psychomachia (B.M. Cott. Cleo. C. VIII), ca. 1000

by comparing two silver plates which were executed in the sixth and early seventh century. (See Volbach, Early Christian Art, Pl. 250 and 251). The Paris plate shows a nude Herakles wrestling the lion, his club, bow and quiver below. The New York plate shows David clothed in tunic and cape clubbing the lion with a slain sheep below. David's stance -- one hand in the lion's mane and one knee on the animal's back -- is typical; this pose was originally derived from reliefs of Mithras defeating the bull. The pose we find in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is a combination of the wrestling and the knee-in-the-back stance. There are three examples: an historiated initial (Pl. XXII, fig. 1) from a tenth century Psalter (Oxford, Bod. Lib., Junius 27), a page from the Tiberius Psalter (Pl. XVII, fig. 1) and an illustration from the Bury Psalter (Pl. XXII, fig. 2). In the second example the basic elements of this composition are remarkably like the earlier ones, viz. the placement of the hero and the lion, the tree on the right, the groundline in the lower third of the composition. The Tiberius artist did not understand the placement of the figure; consequently, David appears to be perched on the lion's back and one leg flies akimbo. The figures of the initial are more solid and three-dimensional like the fifth and sixth century examples. The Bury artist has compressed the figures into the narrow space of the margin so that David has his leg wrapped around the lion. The figures are elongated and float on the page.

The Tiberius artist's misconception of the placement of figures in space has not dulled his enthusiasm for narrative detail. Perhaps the most remarkable thing is that David is forcing the beast's jaws open to free a sheep. Below the struggle of David and the lion, the rest of the flock grazes undisturbed as if to make the hero's identity quite unmistakable. On the left we can see that David has laid down his staff

Figure 1. Initial, Psalter (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Junius 27)

Figure 2. David and Lion, Psalm LVII, Bury Psalter (Rome, Vat. Reg. Lat. 12), ca. 1050

and cloak in order to fight the lion. All these embellishments are clear indications of the illustrator's proclivity toward narrative action, he has suggested a sequence of events -- the staff and cloak discarded, the struggle itself, and the peaceful sheep.

In addition to the tendency to narration the most striking difference between this page and the silver plates is its "medievalizing" style. Compared with the muscular Herakles, David is an unsubstantial floating body. There is no depth; David, the lion and the tree are all in the same plane, and the sheep are set off from the scene above by a frame. There is more stylization of the groundline, the lion's fur. The lions looks as if it stepped out of a heraldic banner. This disembodied, flattened image is also a more spiritual image. The cycle of illustrations of the Tiberius Psalter emphasize the struggle between good and evil and on this page David protects his flock from harm. He is a savior and, of course, in this sense he foreshadows Christ. What we see in this image is not the strain of a physical contest, but a spiritual struggle. David hovers above, as if repelled by the evilness. The sheep is freed from death as Christians are saved by Christ's sacrifice. All the imagery of Christ the Good Shepard -- Christians, the flock -- are alluded to. The triumphal figure is Christ/David.

CONCLUSION

The period of peace after the cessation of the Viking raids permitted a rebuilding of English monasticism and a revival of culture. The artists of this revival were monks and their ateliers were the scriptoria of the reformed monastic centers. The needs of the church influenced the kinds of books produced -- service books for the chapels, textbooks for the schools and devotional literature for churchmen and laymen. The contacts between the English reformers and the movements in Flanders, France and Germany was important in several respects. First, it made possible the transmission of books and other small works of art from the Continent; these works were the repositories of the classical motifs which English artists copied. Second, the intellectual attitudes of the Continental reform movement were an important influence on the English. The revival of the study of astronomy, medicine and arithmetic was stimulated by Carolingian achievements. The studies were often directed towards the needs of priests and monks in carrying out their duties. Arithmetic was largely devoted to learning the skills necessary to calculate the calendar. Astronomical studies were given a boost by contacts with Fleury and the literary cast of these scientific endeavors was a natural outcome of an education that was largely literary in emphasis. The Anglo-Saxons inherited the idea that the science of the ancients was an admissable portion of Christian learning. In fact, Englishmen associated learning and wisdom with knowledge of astronomy and calculation

of the calendar. Also the idea that the pagan gods represented cosmic and moral forces was passed down to the Anglo-Saxons. This notion is reflected in the religious manuscripts in which the gods appear as Justice, Hades, Eridanus, Sol and Luna. The gods may appear in a transformed state so that Terra becomes the woman with evil children or Herakles becomes David. The religious manuscripts are not directly linked with the vestiges of classical learning, but the idea that the gods represented moral or cosmic forces was certainly reflected in this illustrations of the manuscripts.

English art in the tenth and eleventh centuries was primarily derivative and imitative of the Carolingian models which the illustrators followed. The sources of many of the mythical figures can be traced to five pictorial traditions: 1) the Aratus manuscripts based on fourth or fifth century prototypes, 2) the zodiac calendar illustrations derived from a manuscript tradition dating from the fourth century which was in turn based upon much earlier works, 3) the medical illustrations based upon sixth century prototypes, 4) the Utrecht Psalter based upon fourth and fifth century prototypes and 5) the Psychomachia based upon fifth and sixth century prototypes. Other mythical motifs can be traced to the iconography of Carolingian crucifixion or baptisms. The use of Sol and Luna and Jordan became common in Carolingian illuminations and ivories and these motifs are employed in Anglo-Saxon works.

The availability of these Carolingian sources, and the high quality of these sources was the crucial factor in the "classical feeling" of Anglo-Saxon art which art historians have commented upon. The Viking raids had destroyed much of the indigenous artistic traditions of Hiberno-Saxon art and consequently English artists welcomed Carolingian models

as sources for the style and iconography of Anglo-Saxon art. English artists not only copied entire works like the Aratea and the Utrecht Psalter but also used isolated motifs sketched from the Utrecht Psalter in composing new works. The Tiberius Psalter and the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter are perhaps the finest examples of artists transforming borrowed motifs into new compositions. The antique demon figure is used in the Vita-Mors, Harrowing of Hell (in this case combined with a second motif from the Utrecht Psalter) and Third Temptation of the former. The Bury artist developes his text illustrations from such motifs as the Vita-Mars composition and torches from the Utrecht Psalter (for the Psalmist and the Lord, Psalm 12) or the woman with evil children based on Utrecht Psalter and Psychomachia illustrations for Psalm 7. The use of Hades and demon figures in the Last Judgement of the New Minster Liber Vitae and the Mambres at the Mouth of Hell of the Marvels of the East are other examples of the ability of Anglo-Saxon artist to create new compositions drawing upon borrowed motifs.

A second factor in the classical feeling of the art of this period was the drawing styles of Anglo-Saxon artists. Harley 2506 and the Malmsbury Psychomachia have been compared to Greek vase painting. It is the sensitive and vital outline drawing technique of these works which has invited the comparison with classical art. The painterly technique of the Benedictianal of St. Aethelwold or Tiberius B.V. do not invite comparisons with classical painting, for example the illusionistic style of Pompeian mural painting. From the second quarter of the eleventh century, stylistic elements like the attenuation of figures, the enlargement of important figures, the exaggerated size of hands and feet are commonly used and these elements give the later works a more medieval

feeling than earlier works like the Philosophy from the Boethius manuscript. The figure of Philosophy has solidity and monumentality in contrast to the elongated floating figures of the Tiberius Psalter which gives it a somewhat classical feeling.

The illustrations of the religious manuscripts develop the narrative elements of the composition. This tendency to narrative increases in the eleventh century. The progression from the passive personifications of the Vita-Mors figures of the Leofric Missal to the "baptized" personifications of the Tiberius Psalter to the active, agitated figures of the Psalmist and the Lord of the Bury Psalter illustrates this development well. This tendency can also be seen in some of the images of Harley 603. The Utrecht Psalter illustrations are narrative images meant to tell the story of the verses of the psalms, but the artists of Harley 603 take the narrative further. The woman with the evil children of Harley 603 has been drawn into the action of the psalm by putting her into a more upright position and enlarging her size in relation to the background. The woman from the Bury Psalter is even further from the reclining Terra from which the motif is derived. The Bury figure sits completely upright, holding a bowl inscribed vas mortis, a detail which refers to the words of the psalm. Even the personifications of natural forces can be drawn into the scene, as the Sol and Luna figures of the Crucifixion of the Weingarten Psalter that cover their faces, a gesture of sorrow appropriate to the subject.

The scientific illustrations do not show the gods acting out a story as the religious manuscripts do. There were stories that explained how the heroes were immortalized in the skies, but these incidents are alluded to by the attributes carried by the gods, not by showing the actions

themselves. For instance, Perseus carries the head of Medusa, but he is not shown in the act of slaying her. The passive role the gods play is an important factor in their remaining close to their classical models. The figures have a repose and restraint which adds a great deal to their classical feeling. These qualities of repose and restraint can be seen particularly when the Aratea figures are compared with the agitated figures of the Tiberius Psalter and the Bury Psalter. The Anglo-Saxon artist is also able to recreate these qualities because of the excellence of the Carolingian models available to him and because he willingly followed these models rather than medievalizing the motifs, i.e. portraying the gods as medieval kings and queens as twelfth century artists did.

The Anglo-Saxon artist had the abilities not only to imitate faithfully classical motifs but also to use these motifs in new compositions of his own invention, such as the Last Judgement from the New Minster Liber Vitae, the Mambres at the Mouth of Hell from the Marvels, or the Harrowing and Temptation from the Tiberius Psalter. These compositions show not only the influence of visual models but also the influence of the themes of English vernacular poetry. Many of these original compositions envolve Hades, demons and the torments of hell. The physical tortures of the damned and the contest between good and evil are frequent themes in the religious poetry of this period and these themes influence the artist's conceptions of hell, salvation add damnation and his choice of subjects. The motif of the bound Lucifer, the rebellious thane, is attributable to the literary sources, as is the hell mouth. The juxtaposition of the heavenly city with the abode of the damned in the Last Judgement and the Fall of the Rebel Angels is another literary influence

from the poem, the Lamentation of The Fallen Angels. Subject matter, which would be a part of what I have termed demonology, is the area in which the artist is most able to use classical motifs to express ideas derived from his own culture. The artist's execution of these motifs is medievalizing and not classicizing because he is narrating a story. The Vita-Mors compositions of the Leofric Missal and the Tiberius Psalter are exceptions to tendency to narrative development. In terms of the "classical feeling" of the whole composition, the Last Judgement and the pages of the Tiberius Psalter are the most medievalizing and the Aratea pages are the most classicizing of these Anglo-Saxon works.

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I began this study by compiling a list of all the illuminated manuscripts from the period and then trying to find reproductions of these works in secondary sources. I first consulted general works dealing with pre-conquest art; Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages and David Talbot-Rice, English Art, 871-1100 were good sources of bibliographic information and led me to many more secondary sources. The Art Index was an additional guide to secondary sources. Rickert is the best general introduction to English manuscript art of this period. Many of the manuscripts are printed in facsimile editions which are indispensable if you do not have access to manuscript collections. These works are: M. R. James, Marvels of the East, Sir Israel Gollancz, The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, Frederic Warner and Henry Wilson, The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold, Francis Wormald et al., The Paris Psalter, and M. R. James, The Canterbury Psalter. The Palaeographical Society, Facsimilies of Manuscripts and Inscriptions and the New Palaeographical Society, Facsimilies of Ancient Manuscripts also contain facsimilies of illuminated pages. In addition to these Anglo-Saxon works I relied heavily upon the facsimiles of two Carolingian works, Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter and E. T. DeWald, The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter.

The larger problem of the transmission of classical myth to which this study relates has been the concern of much scholarly endeavor. "Classical Mythology in Medieval Art" in Metropolitan Museum Studies

by Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl is a seminal article for any study related to this problem. Many of the books and articles I relied upon were published under the sponsorship of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute; the Institute has provided an important direction and focus for scholarship in this field. Roger Hinks, Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art provided many insights into the nature of myth in classical art. Fritz Saxl's Lectures contains a fine article on English illuminated astronomical manuscripts. Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods largely deals with Renaissance art, but his discussion also contains many ideas and information necessary to an understanding of the survival of the gods in medieval art.

Any historical background to the art of this period must be concerned with the monastic reform movement in England. J. Armitage Robinson, The Times of St. Dunstan is a good study of monasticism although he tends to overemphasize the role of the three reformers. David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England gives a good picture of the aims of the reform movement. F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England was the most useful of the general histories of England. D. P. Kirby, The Making of Early England is the most up-to-date of the general histories, but he semms to give excessively harsh evaluations of the reformers. David Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought was the best source on the nature of monastic education and learning and early medieval attitudes toward antiquity. J. S. Westlake, "From Alfred to the Conquest" in The Cambridge History of English Literature gives a general overview of the literary achievements of the revival. Charles W. Kennedy, Early English Christian Poetry was the most useful poetry collection for the purposes of this study. Although I cannot attest to the fidelity of

his translations, they impressed me as the most poetic.

In addition to the works on scientific manuscripts mentioned above J. H. G. Gratten and Charles Singer, Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine provides a wealth of information on medical and herbal science as does Charles Singer, "Greek Biology and Its Relation to the Rise of Modern Biology" in Studies in the History and Method of Science. Singer appears to be the most definitive historian of Anglo-Saxon science.

I consulted a variety of reference works in the course of this study. Various articles from the Dictionary of National Biography on the reformers were helpful but tend to be somewhat outdated. On questions of Christian iconography I consulted Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'Art chrétien and Gertrud Schiller, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst. Oskar Seyffert, Dictionary of Classical Antiquities was a handy volume on classical mythology. The Interpreter's Bible helped me to find the scriptural basis of some of the compositions.

Before proceeding to list books and articles I would like to mention two other sources that were invaluable in tracing the development of certain motifs, Adelheid Heimann, "Three Illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and Their Prototypes," Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes and Dimitri Tselos, "English Manuscript Illustration and the Utrecht Psalter," Art Bulletin.

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