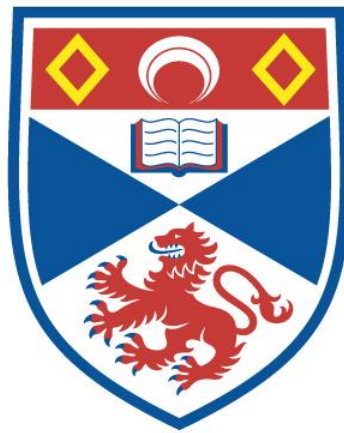


**READING IN THE PAINTED LETTER : HUMAN HEADS
IN TWELFTH-CENTURY ENGLISH INITIALS**

JENNIFER A. THOMPSON

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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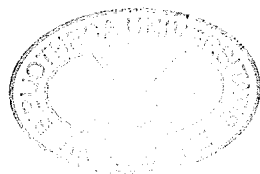
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Reading in the Painted Letter: Human Heads in
Twelfth-Century English Initials

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Dissertation submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
School of Art History
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Thesis Abstract

The thesis examines eight twelfth-century English manuscripts with inhabited initials occupied by human heads. Such initials, also filled with foliage, struggling humans and animals, are a pronounced feature of English Romanesque manuscript illumination. Appearing after the Norman Conquest in manuscripts produced for ecclesiastical communities as part of the Anglo-Norman emphasis on theological reading, inhabited initials with human heads are the work of monastic and professional artists. An image encountered by a monk or a canon while engaged in meditative reading known as the *lectio divina*, the head assumes many delightful, evocative and inventive forms in order to attract the attention of the ruminating reader. The thesis analyses the application of a human head to an initial and sets initials into a framework of monastic reading in order to suggest ways in which audiences might have read these letters. Exploring the interaction between human heads and their surrounding texts, the thesis examines how inhabited initials function within selected twelfth-century English manuscripts. While some initials have been designed by the artist to hold specific meaning in relation to the text, others allow the reader to invest them with his own meaning. By creating a dialogue with the text that complements the reading process, the human heads in twelfth-century English initials may be regarded as text markers.

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Introduction

Amongst the encircling foliage of the letter **A** to the book of Daniel in the mid twelfth-century Auct Bible, a man in an orange tunic, armed with an axe and a spear, marches into the centre of the letter (Fig. 131). Above him two beasts, one winged and the other a quadruped, grapple with one another while a human face hangs in a leaf above the hunting man. Below these images of struggle and chase, a blue-bearded head peers from an elaborate foliate flourish into the text. Inhabited initials, like this one having human figures and human heads hidden among the foliage, are common features of English manuscripts produced from ca. 1060 to 1200. The virtuosity of English artists in producing these initials was noted by Otto Pächt who argued that England was the leading centre for manuscript illumination from ca. 1120 onwards, having assumed this role from France, the leader in manuscript illumination for the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.¹

The foliage scroll provided the physical setting and framework for such initials. In his study of medieval book illumination, Pächt considered the inhabited vine scroll an important development in initial decoration since it allowed for an integration of ornament and pictorial subject matter.² He traced the inhabited scroll motif to classical vine scrolls, arguing that Antique scrolls were borrowed for use in initial letters and border patterns in the late tenth and early eleventh century. Early examples of vine scroll initials, like those in the Junius Psalter of ca. 925-50, are twists of acanthus foliage loosely resembling letters and filled with biting birds, human heads and beast masks (Fig. 165).³ Unlike Norman initials, Anglo-Saxon initials do not contain full-length human figures until the time of the Norman Conquest.

¹ O. Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1986, p. 92.

² Pächt, *Book Illumination*, pp. 80-84.

³ See also two additional initials in the Junius Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27, fols. 20 & 121v), illustrated in F. Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to

The first English initial with foliage inhabited by a human figure has been the source of scholarly debate since it introduces an important trend in English Romanesque manuscript illumination.⁴ In the *Beatus* initial of a Psalter probably from New Minster, Winchester (London, British Library, MS Arundel 60), a man wearing a peaked cap and a short tunic clutches the foliage of the upper bowl while King David is seated in the lower bowl holding a harp.⁵ Francis Wormald dated the 'Arundel Psalter' to about 1060 and cited it as evidence that English experiments with inhabited scrolls spanned the period of the Conquest.⁶ C.R. Dodwell has since argued that the *Beatus* initial was an addition made after the Conquest along with several pages written in an Anglo-Norman script.⁷ In the facsimile of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey *Liber Vitae* published in 1996, Simon Keynes proposed a production date of 1073 for the Psalter.⁸ One reason for the interest in the 'Arundel Psalter' and its date is the figure in the foliage above David, the first human figure to inhabit an English initial.⁹ The initial, however, is properly classified as historiated due to the presence of David playing his harp in the lower bowl. Some of the first truly inhabited initials in an English manuscript may occur in a copy of Priscian's *Grammaticae* from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.¹⁰ The initials of this manuscript have been dated to ca. 1070-1100 and contain human figures entangled in lightly washed foliage (Fig. 31).¹¹ Executed in

1100', *Archaeologia*, 91, 1945, pp. 117-18, pls. IV c & d, and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.II.2, fol. 4 (Fig. 166).

⁴ Jonathan Alexander notes the appearance of human figures in inhabited initials of Mont St. Michel manuscripts, ca. 1040-70 (Figs. 167 & 168). *Norman Illumination at Mont St Michel 966-1100*, Oxford, 1970, p. 71.

⁵ Fol. 13; Wormald, 'Decorated Initials', pl. I c.

⁶ Wormald, 'Decorated Initials', pp. 129-31.

⁷ C.R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200*, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 10-11 and 118-19.

⁸ Keynes notes that a red cross, probably original, is next to the year 1073 in the Easter tables at the front of the manuscript. *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. S. Keynes, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. 26, Copenhagen, 1996, p. 115, n. 47.

⁹ In *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200*, ed. G. Zarnecki et al., Hayward Gallery exhibition catalogue, London, 1984, cat. no. 7, C. M. Kauffmann notes the Romanesque character of the late eleventh-century Crucifixion on folio 52v without mentioning its inhabited initials.

¹⁰ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.51; C.M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, vol. 3, London, 1975, cat. no. 8, figs. 13-16.

¹¹ There are several other candidates for the first English Romanesque inhabited initial. However, few manuscripts in this period can be dated precisely. Anglo-Saxon and Norman styles existed side-by-side, complicating the determination of whether a manuscript is English. For instance, Durham,

a lively Anglo-Saxon style, the figures in these initials fight beasts, clutch foliage and clamber among the letter shapes. From this point onwards, English artists experimented with increasingly elaborate human and animal figures in their initials, sometimes creating combinations of figures that evoke specific scenes and emotions.

Inhabited initials like the Daniel initial of the Auct Bible are considered an English phenomenon that, in C. M. Kauffmann's assessment, evokes "the lively tradition of decoration which had, for close on half a millennium, been a characteristic of Insular art".¹² That such initials frequently contain human heads is another feature linking them to Insular manuscripts where heads can be found in the decoration of carpet pages and text initials.¹³ A significant change in twelfth-century manuscripts is the widespread appearance of painted initials. Initials are used far less in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and when they do occur, the letter often is enlarged and ornamental, enclosed in a foliate frame and lacking human figures.¹⁴ The Romanesque initial, by contrast, is smaller, more widely used and inserted directly into the text without a frame. The twelfth-century English proclivity for the initial as the favoured type of book decoration may have been influenced by contemporary Norman manuscripts where initials with entangled figures, winged beasts and stiff, veined acanthus leaves are prevalent.¹⁵ English manuscripts, however, demonstrate great imagination and

Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.13 and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.14, are decorated by Norman artists. In both cases, it is unclear whether they were imported from Normandy or produced in England by Norman artists. For these two manuscripts, see Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pp. 19-20, fig. 9f and M. Gullick, 'The Scribe of the Carleif Bible', *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. L. L. Brownrigg, Los Altos Hills (CA), 1990, pp. 68-69.

¹² C. M. Kauffmann, 'The Bury Bible', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 29, 1966, p. 80.

¹³ See, for example, the heads found in carpet pages and of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells. London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.IV, fol. 211 and Dublin, Trinity College, MS A.I.6, fol. 34; J. J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts: Sixth to Ninth Century, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, vol. 1, London, 1978, cat. nos. 9 and 52, figs. 45 & 244.

¹⁴ Framed initials occur frequently on the Incipit pages of Anglo-Saxon Gospel books. See Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 301, fols. 11, 71 & 109; London, British Library, MS Harley 76, fol. 45; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.709, fols. 3, 49, 78 & 123. These initials are illustrated in T.H. Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with descriptions and index*, Kalamazoo (MI), 1992, pls. 9.17, 9.21, 9.23, 10.15, 11.4, 11.6, 11.8 & 11.10.

¹⁵ Compare Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 32, fol. 3v and Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1404, fol. 41v; Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pls. 8b & c.

delight in the use of human figures and heads. A combination of factors is responsible for the English interest in initials with human forms.

“Massive copying” and manuscript decoration began in England in the second decade of the twelfth century, in a period of economic stability and the rapid growth of ecclesiastical communities.¹⁶ The establishment of comprehensive monastic and cathedral libraries was part of the Benedictine reforms encouraged by Anglo-Norman bishops and abbots after the Conquest, spurring manuscript production. In his survey of twelfth-century English scriptoria, among them those at Durham Cathedral and the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, Rodney Thomson outlined the dramatic growth of English libraries and scriptoria in the twelfth century, particularly from 1120 to 1150. This is the exact period in which Pächt and Kauffmann have noted England’s dominance in the field of initial decoration. One of the most dramatic shifts from Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-Norman book production involves the types of manuscripts copied. The largest group of manuscripts produced in twelfth-century England was biblical commentaries and theological works written by the Latin Fathers and copied from Norman exemplars containing decorated initial letters. By comparison, patristic texts do not appear to have been as actively copied or collected in eleventh-century England.¹⁷

The decoration of these manuscripts required significant resources and the labour of monastic and professional artists. While the twelfth century is often considered the last period dominated by monastic artists and scriptoria, there is ample evidence that

¹⁶ R. M. Thomson, ‘The Norman Conquest and English Libraries’, *Bibliologia 3-4: The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. P. Ganz, Turnhout, 1986, vol. 2, p. 37. For a recent discussion of the manuscripts produced in England from ca. 1066 to 1130, see R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c.1066-1130)*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 1-41.

¹⁷ Patristic texts were not unknown in eleventh-century England, but they appear in far fewer numbers and in less comprehensive libraries. See M. Lapidge, ‘Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England’, *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, eds. M. Lapidge & H. Gneuss, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 33-89. Also T. Webber, ‘The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective’, *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers. Essays presented to M.B. Parkes*, eds. P.R. Robinson & R. Zim, Aldershot (Hants.), 1997, pp. 191-205.

itinerant scribes and artists were working in twelfth-century England. The work of the Alexis Master for St. Albans Abbey, Master Hugo for the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds and a team of travelling artists for communities in Winchester and Sigena, Spain indicates that ecclesiastical patrons occasionally hired professional scribes and artists to collaborate with their scriptoria in the production of manuscripts.¹⁸ A period of transition from the monastic scribe and artist to the professional lay artist, the twelfth century is a time in which many combinations of cloistered and professional artists are possible. Artist and reader could be the same individual in the twelfth century, raising questions about how manuscripts were read and whether their decoration can be related to their function.¹⁹

In the twelfth century, manuscripts were used in a type of monastic reading known as the *lectio divina*. A process of slow reading and memorisation that ended in deep meditation, the *lectio divina* was a fundamental part of the daily life of ecclesiastical communities.²⁰ In the liturgy, in the refectory and in the cloister, monks and canons were confronted with texts read aloud and read privately. In ruminating or chewing on the significance of individual words, English ecclesiastics were led to contemplate Scripture and its meaning. In such a setting, the decoration of a manuscript assumes significance since it is encountered in the process of study and meditation. An audience attuned to symbolism and to nuances of meaning in their texts might also have subjected the ornament of a manuscript to some degree of scrutiny.

¹⁸ The Alexis Master's work in St. Albans Abbey and related manuscripts has been described most recently by K. E. Haney, 'The St. Albans Psalter: a reconsideration', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 58, 1995, pp. 1-28; her footnotes refer to other major scholarship on the Alexis Master. The range of work undertaken by Master Hugo for Bury St. Edmunds Abbey is discussed in E. C. Parker, 'Master Hugo as Sculptor', *Gesta*, 20/1, 1981, pp. 99-109. The second team of artists working on the Winchester Bible was analysed by Walter Oakeshott in two books, *Sigena: Romanesque Paintings in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*, London, 1972 and *The Two Winchester Bibles*, Oxford, 1981. A review of the first book by Alan Borg examines the ramifications of Oakeshott's conclusions and invites further consideration of the artists' work, *Burlington Magazine*, 116, 1974, p. 49.

¹⁹ J.J.G. Alexander, *The Decorated Letter*, New York, 1978, pp. 7 and 18.

²⁰ For the role of the *lectio divina* in monastic life, see J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, tr. C. Misrahi, London, 1978.

In light of the time and energy devoted to the study of texts, one might wonder whether inhabited initials held meaning for their audiences. An explanatory note in one eleventh-century manuscript makes a clear connection between inhabited foliage in the margin and the adjacent text. In the margin beside Psalm 79:12-17 in the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter of ca. 1032, there is a vine scroll occupied by an ink-outlined boar.²¹ The relationship between the boar caught in the vines and the text of Psalm 79:14, “the boar out of the wood hath laid it waste”, is made explicit by a note written above the foliage, ‘*exterminans vineam tytum significat depredantem judaeam*’.²² One of only a few notes accompanying the forty-six pages with marginal drawings in this manuscript, it may have been required to explain the purpose of the inhabited foliage, a motif which was common in the decoration of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and sculpture. It is an early and suggestive demonstration of how the decoration of a manuscript could be linked to the text and read meaningfully by the reader.

Given the significance assigned to twelfth-century English initials in the history of manuscript illumination, it is notable that scholarship devoted specifically to them is lacking. There is no study dedicated to these initials, their production or their use of human imagery, especially human heads. There is need for an examination of English inhabited initials which takes into account the selection and the siting of human heads in an initial as well as the ways in which they could be read by an ecclesiastical audience. This thesis will re-examine the incidence of initials inhabited by human heads as something peculiarly English and responsive to the reading habits and

²¹Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. lat 12, fol. 88v; Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, cat. no. 3, pl. 3.34. The exact date of the Psalter is unknown, but as William Noel has noted, it cannot be before 1032 due to the dedication of the Church of St. Edmund, which appears in an original hand, in the Calendar. W. Noel, ‘The Lost Canterbury Prototype of the Eleventh-Century Bury St Edmunds Psalter’, *Bury St Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20, 1998, pp. 161 and 170, n.2.

²²The precise meaning of this note is confused by the presence of the word ‘tytum’, which may be a mistake for ‘typum’, image. Tytum could also be a variation of Titum or Titus, the son of Vespasian. In his commentary on Psalm 79:14, Cassiodorus writes that “the singular wild beast denotes Titus, son of Vespasian, who conducted the closing stages of the war with such grinding ravaging that he destroyed nation and city”. Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (henceforth: CCSL), vol. 98, Turnhout, 1958, p. 745.

practices of the scriptoria of particular communities. It claims that the human head is a conspicuous and potentially meaningful part of the decorative vocabulary of twelfth-century English initials. A recognisable form capable of sustaining variation and mutation, the human head frequently engages the interest of the reader and could be made to carry specific meaning in relation to the text.

Chapter One: Ways of Reading Inhabited Initials

Just as medieval readers had many ways of reading and using texts, so modern art historians have worked with and examined initials in multifarious ways. Initials are often described and illustrated in monographs on superb illuminated manuscripts or in studies of related groups of manuscripts. In some respects, developments in English Romanesque initial decoration build upon the experiments of preceding centuries. One of the most noted features of twelfth-century initials, their use of foliage inhabited by humans, animals and heads, is not specific to this century. Furthermore, the decorative motifs found in twelfth-century initials also occur in contemporary metalwork and sculpture.¹ These qualities may have dissuaded scholars from analysing the development and use of motifs in inhabited initials. What is stressed instead in scholarship on these initials is their usefulness as diagnostic elements and their pictorial content.

Perhaps the most pronounced feature of the scholarly treatment of initials is their separation into groups of historiated or decorated initials. This division concentrates emphasis on the relationship, or the lack of relationship, between the imagery in an initial and its textual setting. This categorisation invites the question whether twelfth-century readers might have read meaning into inhabited initials with human subjects, a group of initials that falls between the historiated and decorated groups. This introductory chapter looks at scholarship on Romanesque initials: its focus on questions of style and pictorial content, the manner in which selected inhabited initials

¹ See A. Borg, 'The Gloucester Candlestick', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 7, 1985, pp. 84-92 and G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210*, London, 1953. See also F. Henry & G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Arches Decorated with Human and Animal Heads', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 20-21, 1957-58, pp. 1-34 for the use of human heads in sculpture.

have been 'read' by scholars and an overview of the ways in which the human head is presented in twelfth-century English initials.

The perspective of the modern historian

Scholarly approaches to decorated initials play an important role in understanding the style, development and dating of Romanesque manuscript decoration. This background provides a critical foundation on which new research can explore the content and function of initials. Much valuable information about manuscripts, their artists and their provenance can be deduced from their analysis on stylistic grounds, and the significance of initials in this work should not be neglected.

The current study of initials can be seen as having two main interests. One is a stylistic analysis of initials that highlights their construction, ornament and handling in order to understand their sources. The other is a categorisation of initials according to their pictorial content and function. A driving force behind the first aspect is an emphasis on the components of initials and their chronological development. Carl Nordenfalk's work on third- and fourth-century initials, among the earliest known, divided initials into three categories based on the manner in which the letters are physically embellished.² Francis Wormald's analysis of Anglo-Saxon initials in manuscripts dating from 900 to 1100 structured them by Types based on their components.³ His categories have particular relevance to the study of Romanesque inhabited initials since they stressed the application of human and animal forms to letters. Wormald's Type I initials have foliage, geometric motifs and full-length creatures while Type II initials employ only the heads of creatures and use two types of interlace, wiry and broad band. The distinction made in Wormald's groups, between the use of a full

²Nordenfalk's three categories are: besatzornamente, füllornamente and ersatzornamente (added ornament, filling ornament and substitution ornament). C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben*, 2 vols., Stockholm, 1970, pp. 135-80. Reviewed by H. Kessler in *The Art Bulletin*, 54/3, 1972, pp. 344-46.

³Wormald, 'Decorated Initials', pp. 107-35. An example of a Type II initial may be seen in Fig. 166.

body and the use of a head only, has resonance in the twelfth century when human figures continue to be represented as heads or as full bodies. A division of initials into chronological groups is found in Jonathan Alexander's study of tenth- and eleventh-century Mont St. Michel manuscripts. His research highlighted the outside forces that influenced the initial decoration of the monastery's scriptorium.⁴ Like Nordenfalk and Wormald, Alexander paid attention to the specific geometric, vegetal and animal components of initials. These studies provide a framework for understanding twelfth-century initials since many of their developments can be traced to Anglo-Saxon and Norman experiments.

Twelfth-century initials with frieze patterns, foliage, humans and exotic animals are extraordinarily valuable in dating and localising manuscripts. Some of these components can be used to date a manuscript and to attribute it to a particular artist. In the Eadwine Psalter, a human profile in the foliage of the initial to Psalm 6 has been compared to the profiles of figures in the miniatures in order to argue that a single artist was responsible for both the miniature cycle and the initials.⁵ The Entangled Figures Master, an artist working in the mid-twelfth century, is noted for designing initials with vibrant foliage, peering human heads and elongated humans wearing stylised clothing. His use of spurred fronds, a tapered leaf having a curled end, helps to identify his work. Manuscripts by him are linked to Winchester, the west country, France and possibly St. Albans Abbey, a wide geographical area that suggests the Entangled Figures Master may have been an itinerant professional.⁶

⁴ Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel*, especially Chapter III: The Initials of the Manuscripts of Mont St Michel.

⁵ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, fol. 11v; *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, eds. M. Gibson, T.A. Heslop & R.W. Pfaff, London, 1992, p. 53 and fig. 30c.

⁶The following manuscripts are attributed to the Entangled Figures Master: the Shaftesbury Psalter (London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 383); the first volume of the Auct Bible (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct E, infra 1); a west country copy of Boethius' *de Consolatione Philosophiae* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct F.6.5); a Psalter from the west country (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct D.2.4); and a copy of Pliny's *Natural History* (Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 263). See W. Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, Oxford, 1981, Section C, p. 124 and 'Some New Initials by the Entangled Figures Master', *Burlington Magazine*, 126, 1984, p. 230.

Another aspect of Romanesque initial decoration that is useful in localising manuscripts is the appearance of a particular type of decorated letter called the arabesque initial. Penwork initials composed of broad foliage forms, flatly painted without shading, have been dubbed arabesque initials by Jonathan Alexander due to their calligraphic style (Figs. 70, 160 & 164).⁷ Arabesque initials often introduce books and chapters of patristic volumes and the secondary text divisions in Bibles and Psalters. Alexander suggested that arabesque initials are the work of scribes rather than artists since they are integral to the layout of the text and the rubricated headings of a manuscript. He has also argued that they are capable of reflecting regional and house styles. Other scholars, including R. A. B. Mynors and Elizabeth McLachlan, have identified specific calligraphic forms in arabesque initials that may be distinctive to a particular scriptorium. For example, foliate flourishes described as a 'clove-curl' and a 'split-petal' have been noted by Mynors in several Durham Cathedral manuscripts of the first quarter of the twelfth century.⁸ McLachlan has suggested that a cream-horn shape in the initials of Bury St. Edmunds manuscripts may represent a house style since this motif does not appear in manuscripts produced outside Bury.⁹

These arabesque initials, sometimes classified as decorated initials, can be contrasted with historiated initials. A conscious distinction between initials with narrative scenes and initials with ornamental foliage or beasts seems to have been made in the design of Romanesque manuscripts. Marginal notes in the Winchester Bible and the Puiset Bible, two late twelfth-century English Bibles, indicate that their initials were planned in advance to have narrative scenes or to contain decorative imagery. In the Winchester Bible, the phrase *ad placitum* or 'as you like' appears beside what was

⁷ J.J.G. Alexander, 'Scribes as artists: the arabesque initial in twelfth-century English manuscripts', *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker*, eds. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson, London, 1978, pp. 87-116.

⁸ R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1939, p. 7. Anne Lawrence has suggested that the presence of Durham arabesque forms in manuscripts of other northern communities indicates that they may have been copied from Durham exemplars. A. Lawrence, 'The Artistic Influence of Durham Manuscripts', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey & M. Prestwich, Woodbridge, 1994, pp. 451-69.

⁹ E.P. McLachlan, *The Scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds in the Twelfth Century*, New York, 1986, pp. 48-53.

probably intended to be a decorated initial to the book of Tobias. Next to the II Chronicles initial in the same Bible, a marginal note lists the narrative subject to be drawn in the initial, Solomon in the temple before the hand of God.¹⁰ A marginal note in the Puiset Bible describes the subject of a historiated initial to the book of Ecclesiastes.¹¹ For the artists of these two Bibles, the historiated and decorated initials involved different kinds of planning and selection of imagery. In a handbook written by a German artist working ca. 1110-40 and known as Theophilus, the decoration of stained glass border panels is described in similar terms; artists should “paint small flowers and scrolls and other small things they want, in varied work, between the circles and scrolls”. Elsewhere Theophilus writes, “here and there you can insert in these circles small animals, small birds and insects, and nude figures”.¹² With the marginal notes of the Winchester Bible, Theophilus’ handbook suggests that artists were allowed a great deal of freedom in the non-narrative ornament of initials and stained glass windows.

Within this context, the modern division of Romanesque initials into the categories of historiated and decorated is appropriate. A major catalogue for the study of English Romanesque manuscripts is C.M. Kauffmann’s *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190*, in which 106 manuscripts are described and illustrated.¹³ As Kauffmann states in his foreword, the intention of the publication is to present a range of twelfth-century manuscripts of secure English provenance. In his entry for each manuscript, Kauffmann lists the subjects of the miniatures and the historiated initials, but he only

¹⁰ A note beside the unfinished Esther initial indicates that it was also intended to be historiated with a seated king and a man hanging. The marginal notes in the Winchester Bible appear beside the II Chronicles, Tobias and Esther initials (fols. 303, 326v & 337). C. Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, London, 1993, pp. 56-57 and Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 13-14.

¹¹ The partially visible note in the margin of Vol. 3, fol. 16 indicates that a king was to be drawn in the initial. D. Marnier, ‘The Bible of Hugh of le Puiset (Durham Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.II.1)’, *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey & M. Prestwich, Woodbridge, 1994, p. 476, n. 11.

¹² Book II, xiv: *et inde pingunt flosculos et nodos aliaque minuta, quae voluerint, opere vario inter circulos et nodos et limbum circa oram*. Book II, xxi: *Potes etiam in ipsis circulis interdum bestiolas et auiculas vermiculosque ac nudas imagines inserere*. Theophilus, *De Diversis Artibus (The Various Arts)*, tr. C.R. Dodwell, London, 1961, pp. xviii-xxxiii, 46 and 51.

¹³ C.M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, vol. 3, London, 1975.

notes the initial letter and the folio number for each of the decorated initials.

Occasionally he describes in broad terms the humans and animals found inside the decorated initials. The purpose of this description, as in his entry for a Gospel book (London, British Library MS Royal I.B.XI), is to draw parallels with manuscripts containing similar decorative motifs. In the case of the Gospel book, he notes that two of its initials are copied from the St. Augustine's Abbey Passional (London, British Library, MS Arundel 91).¹⁴ This comparison is used to support his attribution of the Gospel Book to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.

The succinctness of Kauffmann's division of initials into historiated or decorated categories is repeated in many other catalogues including Rodney Thomson's catalogues of Lincoln, St. Albans Abbey and Hereford manuscripts.¹⁵ In each of these catalogues, the historiated initials are described in detail while the decorated initials are noted only when they contain striking full-length human figures. That the description of initials can vary widely is apparent in Mildred Budny's catalogue of Insular, Anglo-Saxon and Romanesque manuscripts in the Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.¹⁶ Budny's catalogue entries are laudable for their detail, bibliographical material and codicological information. An invaluable feature of her catalogue is the description of all decoration in a manuscript, from miniatures to marginal drawings, and its presentation in sequential order. However, Budny defines historiated initials in an unusually broad manner, "related or unrelated to the text, they [historiated initials] comprise both secular and religious images".¹⁷ As she notes in her introduction, the subject of a historiated initial can be difficult to determine when an initial contains unrecognised human figures. Her placement of all inhabited initials into the historiated initial category, without attempting to identify their figures, is

¹⁴ See Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. nos. 17 & 65.

¹⁵ R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, Cambridge, 1989; *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey 1066-1235*, 2 vols., Woodbridge, 1982; R.A.B. Mynors & R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, Cambridge, 1993.

¹⁶ M. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols., Kalamazoo (MI), 1997.

¹⁷ Budny, vol. 1, p. lxx.

confusing. In describing all other initials, she avoids descriptive terms altogether and calls them simply 'initial'. In this respect, her classification of initials is highly subjective and requires the reader to read her descriptions carefully and to assess for himself the range of decoration in a manuscript. An added difficulty in understanding Budny's terminology is created by the volume of plates which is heavily weighted towards script pages rather than initials.¹⁸ Budny's catalogue descriptions highlight a difficulty in working with historiated initials, that their subjects are not always easy to identify. This is particularly the case when artists and designers created unique historiated initials.

According to Jonathan Alexander, historiated initials "contain or enclose figures who have some connection with the text introduced by the initial".¹⁹ Two parts of this definition, the presence of a figure subject in the initial and its relevance to the text, are stressed in most definitions of historiated initials. A narrative scene is not essential in a historiated initial since many initials classified as historiated can contain characters mentioned in the text or genre scenes like an author portrait.²⁰ For example, one of the earliest historiated initials appears in a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* probably from Wearmouth-Jarrow ca. 746 and now in the Leningrad Public Library.²¹ The initial letter **H** to Book Two contains a bust-length figure holding a cross and a book. Written on the man's halo is 'AUGUSTINUS', a label that identifies the figure as St. Augustine whose mission to the Britons is described in Book Two, chapter two. Paul Meyvaert and Jonathan Alexander have argued that the

¹⁸ Budny is not the only scholar to have used this wider definition of historiation; Kathleen Scott's catalogue of late medieval manuscripts also describes as historiated any initial containing a figure subject, regardless of whether it is related to the text. K. L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, vol. 6, London, 1996.

¹⁹ This is the definition of a historiated initial supplied by Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel*, p. 185.

²⁰ T. A. Heslop, 'Brief in Words But Heavy in the Weight of its Mysteries', *Art History*, 9, 1986, p. 2.

²¹ Leningrad, Public Library Cod. Q.v.I.18, fol. 26v. For discussions of the initial decoration, see Alexander, *Insular manuscripts*, cat. no. 19 and M. Schapiro, 'The Decoration of the Leningrad Manuscript of Bede', *Scriptorium*, 12, 1958, pp. 191-207. The dating of the manuscript has been the subject of several articles, including D.H. Wright, 'The Date of Leningrad Bede', *Revue Bénédictine*, 71, 1961, pp. 265-73 and M. Bévenot, 'Towards Dating the Leningrad Bede', *Scriptorium*, 16, 1962, pp. 365-69.

label 'AUGUSTINUS' is a later addition and that the attributes of a cross and a book are more commonly associated with Pope Gregory. Since Gregory is the subject of Book Two, chapter one, they believe that the initial was originally intended to represent the pope.²² Despite the uncertainty surrounding the original and later identifications of the figure, the initial is considered historiated because it illustrates a figure mentioned in the text.

A contemporary manuscript, the Vespasian Psalter produced at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury in the second quarter of the eighth century, contains the first known narrative initials. In the Psalter, the initial to Psalm 26 contains David and Jonathan shaking hands while the initial to Psalm 52 depicts David rescuing a lamb.²³ These initials rely on a type of Psalter illustration that links David, the author of the Psalms, to the events of his life described in the Books of Kings and implied in the headings and tituli of the Psalms.²⁴ A subtle distinction can be drawn between the historiated initials in these eighth-century manuscripts. The Leningrad Bede initial encloses an individual mentioned in the text and shown with the attributes of his office. The Vespasian Psalter initials, however, depict narrative scenes and events from the life of King David, the author of the Psalms and an Old Testament king. Thus, the earliest historiated initials demonstrate the versatility of historiated initials in their ability to illustrate narrative action or characters from the text.

C. R. Dodwell has noted that historiated initials have their "most developed and consistent expression" in Bibles since the narrative content of many books of the Bible seems to encourage illustration.²⁵ He suggested that patristic manuscripts borrow

²² Meyvaert's argument is based on an infra-red examination of the 'AUGUSTINUS' label conducted in 1964. That examination showed that the ink of the label was not used in the text or the drawing of the initial. Meyvaert also compared the Leningrad initial to three portraits of Gregory in which he is shown holding a cross and a book. P. Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great*, Jarrow Lecture 1964, reprinted 1976, pp. 3-4 and Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, cat. no. 19.

²³ London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A.1, fols. 31 & 53. Alexander, *Insular manuscripts*, cat. no. 29, figs. 143 & 144.

²⁴ See the discussion of Psalter illustration in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, eds. K. van der Horst, W. Noel & W.C.M. Wüstefeld, Utrecht 1996, esp. p. 55.

²⁵ Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, p. 53.

ideas from Bibles for their historiated initials since a tradition of illustration is often lacking in these manuscripts. The idea that certain types of texts can support, or not support, narrative imagery was explored by Walter Cahn in the context of the illumination of Romanesque Bibles. He suggested that the content of certain Biblical books is poetical or philosophical in tone and may inspire initials with allegorical illustration. As an example, Cahn cited the initial to Habakkuk in the Lambeth Bible where Christ's Crucifixion appears as a contemplative image evoked by the prophet's final prayer.²⁶

The nuances of certain historiated initials have challenged art historians to identify their subjects. An initial found in the Puiset Bible illuminated at Durham Cathedral in the 1180s introduces a metaphoric text that may have created a pictorial challenge for the artist. Opening Jerome's commentary on the book of Lamentations, the initial is a letter **P** containing four half-length human figures arranged around a central naked figure.²⁷ Gold bands separate the five figures in the initial from each other, and the details of their clothing, faces and hair are drawn with precision. As Dominic Marner has argued, the initial can be related to the alphabetical arrangement of the text by representing the four regions of the earth.²⁸ Each of the figures in the initial may be read as one of the cardinal points based on the acrostic ADAM with the central cosmic figure being Christ. A complex allegory based on the text, the initial reinforces the text with a unique image. Unlike many historiated initials, the subject of this one is not readily recognised even though it contains familiar pictorial elements. That the artist, and possibly the patron, sought to illustrate the Bible with a series of unusual historiated initials is supported by the presence of another singular image in the Ecclesiastes initial of the Puiset Bible.

²⁶ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fol. 307. W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, Ithaca, 1982, p. 172, fig. 132.

²⁷ Durham Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.II.1, vol. II, fol. 61v; Marner, 'The Bible of Hugh of le Puiset', pl. 94.

²⁸ Marner, 'The Bible of Hugh of le Puiset', pp. 478-83.

The initial to the book of Ecclesiastes contains the figure of a crowned king, identifiable as Solomon.²⁹ He speaks the word *vanitas* and points to the figure of Job who stands on the right beside a coffin occupied by a corpse. Both figures are readily recognised as engaged in dialogue; however, their conversation is not part of the narrative of the book of Ecclesiastes. Neither Biblical character encountered the other; their combination here is fictitious. A meaningful context for these two figures is hinted at on Job's inscribed scroll which states "from the womb to the tomb", a passage found in Job 10:19. Marner compared these figures to disputing prophet figures whose conversation is often indicated by pointing fingers and scrolls.³⁰ The combination of Solomon and Job, the inscribed scroll and the shrouded corpse introduce ideas of death and the transitoriness of life, themes which can be found in the book of Ecclesiastes. In this case, the artist has chosen a theme from the text and illustrated it with the use of other Biblical characters and verses.

The Puiset Bible is one of several late twelfth-century Bibles noted for the unusual iconography of its historiated initials. The Lambeth Bible, probably from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, is another Bible whose initials also demonstrate great care in their selection of narrative scenes. The historiated initials of this Bible were examined by Dorothy Shepard in her doctoral thesis that argued for a theologian as the designer of the Bible's initials.³¹ She demonstrated that English models like Aelfric's *Hexateuch* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B.IV) and the Vespasian Psalter inspired the iconography of the Lambeth Bible miniatures and initials. For example, the miniature prefacing the book of Genesis has a cycle of Jacob scenes that is unparalleled among other twelfth-century Bibles. She found sources for its scenes in Aelfric's *Hexateuch*, an eleventh-century St. Augustine's Abbey

²⁹ Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.II.1, vol. III, fol. 16; Marner, 'The Bible of Hugh of le Puiset', pl. 93.

³⁰ Marner, 'The Bible of Hugh of le Puiset', p. 478.

³¹ D. M. Shepard, *The Lambeth Bible: A Textual and Iconographic Study*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1993.

manuscript.³² The historiated initial to Genesis is also unusual for having eight rather than seven medallions illustrating the creation of the world. Shepard suggests that the presence of an eighth medallion signals the perfect number eight, a theme with parallels in Augustine's writings and in Aelfric's *Hexateuch*.³³ In the initials to the Minor Prophets, Shepard suggests that the designer of the Lambeth Bible sought to create a cycle of illustration in these often unillustrated books by drawing ideas from a number of texts, among them Jerome's prologues to the Minor Prophets.³⁴ This last source is especially noteworthy because the Lambeth Bible contains an unusually full series of Jerome's prologues to each book of the Bible. The visualisation of themes from the prologue texts increases their significance in the Bible and suggests that the manuscript's designer was influenced by the texts that were specially compiled and copied into this particular Bible.

The initials of these Bibles suggest patrons and artistic designers who were interested in complex imagery that required thoughtful examination. Marnier has argued for Bishop Hugh of le Puiset, a relative of Bishop Henry of Blois, as the patron of the Bible. Although Shepard does not propose a patron for the Lambeth Bible, its Canterbury provenance suggests that an equally important ecclesiastical leader was involved in its production. These initials also reveal an interest in human figures and their capacity to illustrate the text in unusual ways. In some respects, they push the definition of a historiated initial by blurring the distinction between historiated and inhabited initials. Accordingly, manuscript catalogues reflect some confusion about whether to describe these initials as historiated.³⁵

³²The Genesis miniature and initial are London, Lambeth Bible, MS 3, folio 6 recto and verso; C.R. Dodwell, *The Great Lambeth Bible*, London, 1959, pl. 1 for the Genesis miniature. A colour illustration of the Genesis initial is the frontispiece to Dodwell, *Canterbury School*. Shepard, *The Lambeth Bible*, Chapter Four: Miniatures and their Associated Imagery.

³³ Shepard, *The Lambeth Bible*, Chapter Six: The Historiated Initials.

³⁴ Shepard, *The Lambeth Bible*, Chapter Five: The Minor Prophets.

³⁵ The initial to Jerome's commentary on Lamentations is missing from Kauffmann's description of the Puiset Bible. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. no. 98.

The question whether inhabited initials can also relate to their texts has been addressed in relation to selected Romanesque initials. One is the letter S to II Peter in the Dover Bible.³⁶ The upper and lower bowls of the initial are filled with a cock and a fox, and a wolf and a stork respectively. C. R. Dodwell suggested that these animals represent Aesopic fables, and he compared them to the text of II Peter 1:16 where the apostle refers to fables. The initial decoration may be a straightforward response to the word fables and, potentially, a more serious reflection on Peter's statement that knowledge of Christ is acquired not through fables but through eyewitness accounts of Christ's life.³⁷ The Dover Bible initial demonstrates an interest in linking the initial decoration to the text not unlike some of the historiated initials in the Puiset Bible. Two figural initials from separate copies of Horace's *De Arte Poetica* also illustrate the opening words of their texts.³⁸ At first glance the hybrid bodies forming the letters H in an Italian and a Mosan manuscript are typical of the Romanesque tendency for fantastic decoration and zoomorphic shapes. However, the imaginative part-woman, part-horse and part-fish creatures composing these initials illustrate a passage in which Horace describes the imagination of artists and describes a hybrid figure,

suppose a painter chose to put a human head on a horse's neck, or to spread feathers of various colours over the limbs of several different creatures or to make what is in the upper part a beautiful woman tail off into a hideous fish, could you help laughing when he showed you his efforts?³⁹

Found beside the initials at the opening of the text, this passage explains the figures and indicates that the artists had read the text and chose to illustrate it literally.⁴⁰

While these initials contain figures related to the text, thus fitting the definition of a historiated initial, their fantastic forms could inhibit their recognition as historiated initials.

³⁶ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 4, fol. 239; Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, p. 70, pl. 43a.

³⁷ See also Heslop, 'Brief in Words', p. 2.

³⁸ One initial, from an early twelfth-century Mosan manuscript, is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 158, fol. 43; Heslop, 'Brief in Words', fig. 4. The second is from an Italian manuscript also dated to the twelfth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 7980, fol. 1; F. Avril and Y. Zaluska, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne. 1. VIe-XIIe siècles*, Paris, 1980, cat. no. 47, p. 26, pl. xiv. See the review of this catalogue by J.J.G. Alexander in *Burlington Magazine*, 124, 1982, pp. 635-36 for a discussion of these initials.

³⁹ Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, vv. 1-5.

⁴⁰ These initials are also discussed in Heslop, 'Brief in Words', pp. 2-3.

Where does one draw the line between a historiated initial and an inhabited initial that is related to the text? A distinction could be made in the manner in which historiated initials depict characters, events and ideas that are straightforward and recognisable. By contrast, inhabited initials often employ generic human figures, hybrid figures and beasts whose intent may be to be amusing and ambiguous. In the II Peter initial of the Dover Bible and in the Horace initials, the individual forms can be seen on one level as illustrating the words of the text with fables and fantastic hybrid creatures. However, they could also be interpreted as analogies for points made in the text.

Such textual illustration has been noted sporadically in the decoration of initials from the eighth to the fifteenth century. Recent work on the Book of Kells has suggested that some of its initials with human and animal figures comment on the text, react emotionally to it and provide the audience with a means of apprehending the Godhead.⁴¹ Nor is textual illustration restricted to initials; in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, text and image relationships can be found in the initials and margins of manuscripts. In an article devoted to the marginal figures and initials of the thirteenth-century Getty Apocalypse, Lewis argued that human figures within certain of its initials respond to their surrounding text, encouraging the reader to engage in “interpretative and mnemonic responses to the text”.⁴² The human inhabitants of the initials point at the text, mimic the actions implied in its words and illustrate individual words in a manner known as *imagines verborum*.⁴³ In the margins of the fourteenth-century Luttrell Psalter, a luxuriously decorated manuscript for the English landowner Geoffrey Luttrell, images of boats, pelicans and fools appear in the

⁴¹ H. Pulliam, *Opening the Senses: The Gospel Book as an Instrument of Salvation as Articulated by the Minor Decoration and Full-page Illustrations within the Book of Kells*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1998.

⁴² S. Lewis, ‘Beyond the Frame: Marginal Figures and Historiated Initials in the Getty Apocalypse’, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 20, 1992, pp. 53-76, esp. 61.

⁴³ The phrase *imagines verborum* implies that an artist read the text and sought to illustrate its words. It is frequently used to describe the process by which the Utrecht Psalter and the copies made from it were illustrated. For the illustration of the Utrecht Psalter, see *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*.

margins beside individual words and syllables that could have inspired such imagery.⁴⁴ Sandler calls this type of decoration “non-contextual, that is, unrelated to the larger sense of the text”.⁴⁵ Non-contextual decoration is especially suited to a location in the margin rather than in an initial positioned inside the text block. Lewis and Sandler employed analytical methods that note the proximity of the image to the text and the presence of idiosyncratic and prominent details in the image that may be related to the text. These Gothic manuscripts, along with the Book of Kells, indicate a tradition of play and experimentation with images and words that extends well beyond the twelfth century.

Towards a monastic point of view

Increasingly, inhabited initials are gaining attention from art historians for their selection of imagery and its potential meaning. Recent work has suggested that the human and animal figures inhabiting initial letters may play a greater role in the decoration and reading of a manuscript than has previously been suspected. Such studies are heavily text-based and have emphasised the manner in which twelfth-century monks read texts. This text-oriented or semantic work acknowledges that medieval audiences were attuned to multiple layers of meaning and were trained to recognise it in Scripture and possibly in images as well.

Some art historians have called attention to the potential meaning of inhabited imagery lying outside texts and a literary framework. Meyer Schapiro has suggested a psychological approach to the interpretation of Romanesque decoration, asking,

Are the religious and the ornamental the only alternatives of artistic purpose? . . . They [the fantastic types] are a world of projected emotions, psychologically significant images of force, play, aggressiveness, anxiety, self-torment and fear, embodied in the powerful forms of instinct-driven creatures, twisted, struggling, entangled, confronted, and superposed.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ L.F. Sandler, ‘The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter’, *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54, 1996, pp. 87-99.

⁴⁵ Sandler, ‘The Word in the Text,’ p. 91.

⁴⁶ M. Schapiro, ‘On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art’, republished in *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers*, London, 1993, p. 10.

Michael Camille has explored somatic approaches to medieval art, arguing that sculptural pieces like the Souillac trumeau may have non-textual sources derived from monastic practices, fables or liturgical drama.⁴⁷ Both Schapiro and Camille focused on sculptural forms and the various ways in which audiences may have approached and understood them. For manuscript decoration, a text-based ‘reading’, though not the only possibility, is one of the strongest because monks were engaged in reading and the study of a text when they encountered the image.

In ca. 1125, Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to William of St. Thierry about a number of issues, including the decoration of cloister capitals and their effect on monks. He asked,

But apart from this, in the cloisters, before the eyes of the brothers while they read—what is that ridiculous monstrosity doing, an amazing kind of deformed beauty and yet a beautiful deformity? What are the filthy apes doing there? The fierce lions? The monstrous centaurs? The creatures, part man and part beast? The striped tigers? The fighting soldiers? The hunters blowing horns? . . . In short, everywhere so plentiful and astonishing a variety of contradictory forms is seen that one would rather read in the marble than in books, and spend the whole day wondering at every single one of them than in meditating on the law of God.⁴⁸

Bernard’s *Apologia*, a polemical tract in part against the excessive use of ornament in church decoration, is a powerful demonstration of the charms of Romanesque decoration. It is also an indication that contemporary monks did spend time wondering what ambiguous animal and hybrid forms might mean. A rare twelfth-century commentary on art and its possible interpretations, the letter suggests that monks may have applied to decorative ornament the same study that they gave to

⁴⁷ Camille’s work on the marginal decoration of Gothic manuscripts as well as Romanesque sculpture like the Souillac trumeau has often emphasised somatic sources and readings of medieval decoration. See M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, London, 1992 and ‘Mouths and Meanings: Towards an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art’, *Iconography at the Crossroads*, ed. B. Cassidy, Princeton, 1993, pp. 43-54.

⁴⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux’s treatise, a portion of which addresses art, is known as the *Apologia* and has been dated between 1123 and 1127. For a discussion of this dating and the *Apologia* text, in Latin and in an English translation, see C. Rudolph, *The ‘Things of Greater Importance’: Bernard of Clairvaux’s Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Towards Art*, Philadelphia, 1990, pp. 3-4 and 232-87.

their texts. Many of the forms that Bernard describes in cloister capitals are also found in the decoration of books, the objects to which Bernard felt monks should turn their attention. Yet nowhere in his *Apologia* does Bernard condemn initial decoration, inviting consideration of his silence on this issue.⁴⁹

A scrutiny of Biblical texts was a pervasive part of the monastic reading. Motivated in part by typology, the practice of identifying Old Testament events as figures or types of New Testament ones, readers sought to understand the hidden meaning and allegorical significance of the Bible.⁵⁰ Augustine of Hippo delighted in hunting for meaning. In his *de Doctrina Christiana*, he noted that “no one doubts that things are perceived more readily through similitudes and that what is sought with difficulty is discovered with more pleasure”.⁵¹ One of the means by which to recognise the allegorical sense of Scripture was through the *lectio divina*, an extended study and meditation on texts.⁵² For twelfth-century monks, this process of study and meditation could be an end as well as a means. The *lectio divina* is an activity that was described using metaphors such as the gathering of fruit or the collection of honey.⁵³ The practice of *ruminatio* or ruminating on the text was emphasised by patristic writers who described how the reader must chew on and digest every word of the text in

⁴⁹Cistercian statute 80 does address the decoration of letters and prohibits the use of colours and figures, but it is dated ca. 1145-51, significantly after Bernard's *Apologia*. For scholarship on this statute which is also known as L82 see C. Rudolph, 'The 'Principal Founders' and the Early Artistic Legislation of Cîteaux', *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture* 3, ed. M.P. Lillich, Cistercian Studies Series 89, Kalamazoo (MI), 1987, pp. 21-28.

⁵⁰ See B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1983.

⁵¹ *Nunc tamen nemo ambigit, et per similitudines libentius quaeque cognosci, et cum aliqua difficultate quaesita multo gratius inveniri.* Augustine, *de Doctrina Christiana*, Book II, 6. *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1841-64 (henceforth: PL), 34, col. 39.

⁵² An excellent description of the monastic *lectio divina* may be found in Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, esp. pp. 15-17, 72-73 and 167-68.

⁵³ The reader as a bee who gathers nectar from the text is a metaphor that can be traced to Seneca and was repeated in the twelfth century by Walter Map. *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, p. 129. See I. Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary on Hugh's Didascalicon*, Chicago, 1993, pp. 54-58 for additional reading metaphors.

order to fully understand it.⁵⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux called readers “pure ruminating animals” and wrote that “I chew them [the words of Scripture] over and over, my internal organs are replenished, my insides are fattened up, and my bones break out in praise”.⁵⁵

The food metaphors associated with texts might be related to the fact that one of the occasions in a twelfth-century monastery when monks read was during mealtimes.

The Rule of St. Benedict outlines in chapter thirty-eight how one brother should read while the others eat silently and meditate on the text being read aloud.⁵⁶ This refectory reading, like the *collatio* or Compline reading at the end of the day, included patristic writings, saint’s lives and works intended for spiritual guidance.⁵⁷ Private reading occurred during the day in the cloister. Lanfranc of Canterbury’s *Monastic Constitutions* of ca. 1089 expanded on *The Rule of St. Benedict* to describe in detail the process by which books were given to monks in Lent for their private reading.⁵⁸

The strong devotional aspect of the *lectio divina* is revealed in a twelfth-century Cistercian statute that allowed monks to substitute prayer for reading.⁵⁹ That reading was taken seriously is evident in Lanfranc’s provision of a senior brother called a *circa* to monitor reading monks. Also, a monk was required to confess and ask for pardon if he had not read his book in the allotted time.⁶⁰ The monastic practice of *lectio divina* and the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux indicate that monks devoted

⁵⁴For Augustine’s use of eating and chewing metaphors, see B. Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation*, Cambridge (MA), 1996, pp. 219 and 396, nn. 64 & 65.

⁵⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*. PL 183, cols. 455 & 849.

⁵⁶ *Regula Sanctissimi Patris Nostri Benedicti: The Rule of St. Benedict*, tr. O. H. Blair, 2nd ed., London, 1906, pp. 104-107.

⁵⁷ A surviving twelfth-century *collatio* list from Durham Cathedral includes Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues* and Cassian’s *Collations*. Late inscriptions in two Durham manuscripts, copies of Jerome’s commentary on Isaiah and Anselm of Laon’s commentary on the Apocalypse, indicate that these manuscripts were also read aloud in the refectory. Lapidge, ‘Surviving booklists’, p. 35, n. 11.

⁵⁸ Lanfranc’s *Constitutions*, heavily based on the *Regularis Concordia* and the customs of Bec and Cluny, were adopted by most twelfth-century English monastic houses. *Decreta Lanfranci: The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, tr. D. Knowles, London, 1951, p. 19.

⁵⁹ A. Lawrence, ‘English Cistercian Manuscripts of the twelfth century’, *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, eds. C. Norton & D. Park, Cambridge, 1986, p. 288.

⁶⁰ The duties of the *circa*, as outlined in the *Regularis Concordia* chapter 7, part 57, were to walk among the monks to ensure that they were engaged in their reading and to collect clothing and books left in the cloister. *Regularis Concordia or The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, tr. T. Symons, London, 1953, p. 56.

significant time to discovering hidden meanings and symbolism in their books. It is likely that they also subjected the decoration of their books to examination, particularly when a miniature, margin or initial contained human figures.

Scrutiny of the page is suggested by a passage in Hugh of St. Victor's *Chronica*, one of several books that he wrote for young canons while he was a teacher in the Victorine School in Paris from 1125 to 1141.⁶¹ He describes how,

when we read books, we study to impress on our memory . . . the colour, shape, position, and placement of the letters . . . in what location (at the top, the middle or the bottom) we saw it positioned, in what colour we observed the trace of the letter or the ornamented surface of the parchment. Indeed I consider nothing so useful for stimulating the memory as this.⁶²

Hugh's volume is devoted to the study and memorisation of texts and the manuscripts to which he refers were probably not as artfully decorated as the ones discussed in this thesis. However, if Hugh and his contemporaries were prepared to pay attention to details of the script, vellum and page layout of a manuscript, then it is even more likely that an inhabited initial would have won their attention.

How monks might have interpreted inhabited initials is discussed in an important article by T. A. Heslop entitled, 'Brief in Words But Heavy in the Weight of its Mysteries'.⁶³ Heslop suggests that some twelfth-century initials have human and animal inhabitants that may be related to the text. He argues that "certain figured initials" draw their inspiration from the text surrounding the initial to create a type of initial that he calls a "textually related allegory". His method for determining whether inhabited initials might be related to the text involves a close reading of the text

⁶¹Two of Hugh's handbooks are the *De institutione novitiorum* and the *Didascalicon*. Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, p. 78. Hugh was well-known in England, and his works were actively collected by the monks of St. Albans Abbey, several of whom were sent to study at the Victorine school in Paris. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans*, pp. 45 and 64-66. Master Laurence of Durham also studied with Hugh in Paris in the 1140s. F. E. Croydon, 'Abbot Laurence of Westminster and Hugh of St. Victor', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 2, 1950, pp. 169-71.

⁶²Hugh of St. Victor, *Chronica* (also known as the *De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum*), preface, translated in M. J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 1990, Appendix A, pp. 261-66, esp. 264.

⁶³Heslop, 'Brief in Words', pp. 1-11.

immediately around the initial alongside an analysis of the distinctive features of the initial.

One of the first manuscripts addressed by Heslop is an early twelfth-century volume of Augustine's *Enarrationes en Psalmos* from Rochester Cathedral (London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.II).⁶⁴ In this manuscript, an initial letter **M** marking the exposition on Psalm 148 contains a small figure who is pulled in opposite directions by two larger men, one of whom holds a stone.⁶⁵ The text of the commentary opens with a description of the two seasons of Easter, the tribulation experienced before Easter in Christ's Crucifixion and the bliss experienced afterwards in Christ's Resurrection. Heslop compared this text to the initial letter that is prominently bisected by a black cross. The figure holding a stone on the left or sinister side of the cross and the rescuing, protective figure on the favoured right side of the cross are the source of the centre figure's 'tribulation' and 'bliss'. A lack of symmetry in the actions, facial views and coloured tunics of the figures helps to underline their opposition and different roles. Heslop also noted that the men are dressed in short tunics with keyhole necks. In three of the four initials closely examined in Heslop's article, the figures wear contemporary clothing rather than the long classical tunics worn by characters in early Christian art. This aspect of the initial decoration might have made the scene more relevant to the audience.

Another decorative device that Heslop suggests may have signalled meaning in inhabited initials is the manner in which a figure is related to foliage, particularly the figure's freedom or entanglement in foliage. In several instances, such as a *Beatus* initial in a Norman manuscript from the abbey of Lyre, evil characters like Goliath are trapped in encircling tendrils while holy figures like David are free and able to move

⁶⁴ The Psalm commentary was divided into three volumes. Volume one containing the expositions to Psalms 1-50 is London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.III. The second volume of the set discussing Psalms 51-100 is London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.I. It predates the other two volumes. The third volume, which Heslop analyses, contains the expositions to Psalms 101-150. T.S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 62-63.

⁶⁵ London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.II, fol. 227v; Heslop, 'Brief in Words', pp. 3-4, fig. 5.

unrestricted.⁶⁶ The historiated subject of the Lyre initial enables the figures to be identified clearly, and it raises the possibility of an allegorical explanation for entangled figures in other initials. Heslop notes that multiple levels of meaning were sought by twelfth-century readers in texts, and he cites several passages on reading by authors such as Orderic Vitalis, William of Conches, John of Salisbury and Bernard of Clairvaux to emphasise this point. However, Heslop does not explain his selection of initials nor does he describe in detail the other initials in each manuscript that he introduces. It is implied that the initials he has selected for examination are unusually precise and unique. It is probable, though, that other initials in these manuscripts would also have been examined for potential meaning.

For example, two additional initials in the Rochester Psalm commentary contain human figures. Heslop noted the existence of these initials, but he referred to them as “mere decorative doodles”, implying that they lacked the distinctive allegorical tone of the initials highlighted in his article.⁶⁷ One of these initials was described by T.S.R. Boase alongside the Psalm 148 initial of the boy being mistreated by two men, as being “too particularised to be mere fancy and must contain some reference to the text”.⁶⁸ A letter **M** opens the exposition on Psalm 118 and contains at its base a reclining man wearing a green gown, an orange cloak and yellow and purple hose.⁶⁹ His hand covers his eyes, possibly to indicate that he is asleep or dead. Above him are three angels and a second man who closely resembles the figure below. The two men are dressed in similarly coloured robes, but the upper man has a blue halo. His orange cloak has fallen to the ground, and he grabs the hem of an angel’s gown. The precision of this scene, including the details of the men and angels, suggests that the decoration of this initial might have had a meaning for a twelfth-century reader. The text beside the initial mentions beatitude, suggesting a link with the nimbed man and the angels; modern art historians have yet to make sense of its imagery. In the same

⁶⁶ Evreux, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 131, fol. 1; Heslop, ‘Brief in Words’, pp. 8-9, fig. 14.

⁶⁷ Heslop, ‘Brief in Words’, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Boase, *English Art*, p. 62.

⁶⁹ London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.II, fol. 70v; Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, fig. 39.

manuscript, the initial letter **Q** to the exposition on Psalm 109 has a man clutching the spiralling foliage in the bowl of the letter. Dressed in a green gown, he has a wooden leg, is bearded with a wide-eyed expression and points vaguely in front of him. This initial depicts the type of entangled figure that Heslop describes in his article. These two initials, along with the Easter initial and an initial in which a rider vanquishes an evil dragon, complete the four inhabited initials with human figures in the Rochester Psalm commentary.⁷⁰ Together they indicate that the artist was actively exploring the use of human figures in inhabited initials. A consideration of these initials together, rather than simply a sampling, strengthens the argument that the artist was using human figures in relation to the text.

Shortly after his article 'Brief in Words', Heslop examined the initial decoration of an extraordinary twelfth-century manuscript, the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1).⁷¹ As Heslop notes in the beginning of his chapter on the initials, the Eadwine Psalter is often admired for the coloured outline miniatures that preface each Psalm rather than the initials to the Psalms that are more pedestrian in their decoration. Six initials in the Psalter have human forms; three contain human figures, two use hybrid humans and one has a human head. Heslop argues that because of their uniqueness these initials are worthy of study. In the initial to Psalm 64, a naked man is caught in the foliage of a letter **T** and looks at the miniature above his head.⁷² The miniature, in a round frame, contains an image of the Heavenly Jerusalem surrounded by the zodiac. A shared theme of human struggle and hope for life everlasting may be found in the titulus to the Psalm, the commentary and the miniature of the Heavenly Jerusalem. On the basis of this evidence, Heslop proposed

⁷⁰ Fol. 197v; Heslop interprets this figure as a 'modern' man triumphing over evil, 'Brief in Words', pp. 4-5, fig. 6. There is an additional initial with a human image in this manuscript; the letter **B** to the exposition on Psalm 119 contains a human head with an open mouth facing down in the foliage of the upper bowl. Fol. 103v; see A. Harris, 'A Romanesque Candlestick in London', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 27, 1964, pl. IV (5) for a detail of this initial.

⁷¹ *The Eadwine Psalter*, pp. 53-59.

⁷² Fol. 109v; *The Eadwine Psalter*, p. 54, pl. 31a.

that the entangled man was an allegorical figure, pining for the Heavenly Jerusalem which lies just above his head but is unreachable because of his entanglement on earth.

In his analysis of the other initials with human figures in the manuscript, Heslop also employed a comparative approach that considered the visual characteristics of the initial alongside the themes of the text. Although textual themes of struggle and liberation can be loosely applied to the Psalm 123 initial in which a man holding a shield and a sword fights a lion and to the Psalm 125 initial in which a singing man clings to the letter, both initials have general subjects.⁷³ Specifically, they lack details that might link them more concretely to the text, and they do not interact with the miniature scenes on the same folios. A fourth figurative initial is a letter **E** to the Canticle of Hezekiah that is composed of a standing hybrid man. Heslop identifies the figure as a scribe and as the artist's response to a scribal error. Because the scribe did not leave enough room for the letter **E**, the artist constructed a tall **E** from an ass with pointed ears who holds a book and a quill. This comic pink figure is "making an ass of the scribe".⁷⁴ Although this initial is not related to the textual content of the Canticle of Hezekiah, it records a relationship between the scribe and the artist of the Eadwine Psalter. A fifth human-inhabited initial is the letter **A** to Psalm 28 that is composed of a human figure having an animal head. Unable to find a connection between this figure and the text, Heslop linked the motif to that of a man wrestling a lion, a common motif in Canterbury initials.⁷⁵ The sixth and final human image in the Eadwine Psalter initials is the human head in the foliage of the initial to Psalm 6, discussed previously for the evidence that it offers about the artist.

Heslop was not able to identify convincing explanations for every initial with a human form in the Eadwine Psalter. Notable in this manuscript is the diversity of ways in which the initials relate, or do not relate, to the text. Nevertheless, the handful of

⁷³ Fols. 230v & 232v; *The Eadwine Psalter*, pp. 54-55, pls. 16c & 30g.

⁷⁴ Fol. 263. *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, p. 146, fig. 47.

⁷⁵ Fol. 48; *The Eadwine Psalter*, p. 55, pl. 30e.

initials with human figures and body parts are so rare that they draw attention to the artist's motive in placing them at particular points in the text. They demonstrate that the artist could use human figures in a precise manner to allude to meaning but that it was not a practice in which he engaged consistently.

Another manuscript whose initial decoration has been the subject of study is the *Cîteaux Moralia in Job* in which inhabited and decorated initials open each of Gregory the Great's thirty-five books.⁷⁶ Produced for the Cistercian monastery in 1111, the manuscript contains few historiated initials; most initials are filled with human and animal figures in striking poses and actions. In his 1997 book *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job*, Conrad Rudolph examined each initial in light of the textual content of its book.⁷⁷ He argued that the images of violent struggle and daily activity found in the initials are unparalleled in other copies of the *Moralia in Job*, implying a change in iconography and in meaning.⁷⁸ Using a method similar to that employed by Heslop, Rudolph examined each initial in relation to the text. He suggests in the introduction that "virtually all the initials of the *Cîteaux Moralia* are related either to specific passages of the books that they head or to the general sense of one of the issues raised in those books".⁷⁹

Rudolph divided the initials in the *Moralia* into categories based on their imagery. The two main categories are those of his title, violent struggle and daily life. Observing a substantial shift in the size and layout of the decoration following Book Eight, he

⁷⁶ The text is divided into four volumes: Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS 168-173.

⁷⁷ C. Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job*, Princeton, 1997.

⁷⁸ Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, p. 8. This aspect of Rudolph's argument has been questioned in a recent review of *Violence and Daily Life* in which the reviewer, Kristin M. Sazama, notes that there are several illuminated copies of the *Moralia* that also demonstrate an interest in decorating this text. K. M. Sazama, *Speculum*, 74/3, 1999, pp. 827-29. To her list of decorated *Moralia* may be added New York City, Grolier Club, MS 11680, a mid twelfth-century Mosan copy of the *Moralia*. I am grateful to Professor James Marrow for drawing the inhabited initials of this manuscript to my attention.

⁷⁹ Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 9-10.

suggested that the larger initials opening Books Eight to Thirty-five contain initials that relate to the text in a purposefully allegorical manner. One of the more straightforward initials is that to Book Nineteen in which an elegantly dressed man on horseback raises his sword to fight a dragon. The text of the book refers to spiritual struggle and describes warriors who hold swords. Rudolph stressed the sense of this passage, that the one with the sword is a metaphor for the Christian who understands Scripture and uses it to guide him against temptation.⁸⁰ Although these nuances cannot necessarily be conveyed in the initial, the literal level of illustration visible in this initial is paralleled in others like the initial to Book Thirty-two in which the letter S is composed of a contorted man holding a flail, a humorous play on the flail of God described in the book.⁸¹

Among the violent initials discussed by Rudolph is the letter P to Book Twenty-eight.⁸² Twisting and biting animals fill the shaft while in the bowl of the letter animals and human hybrids bite and thrust spears through one another. At the base of the initial, a bearded dwarf rides a harnessed and bridled man. Set against a dark blue ground and containing a mass of humans, animals and fantastic creatures, the initial, Rudolph argues, is a metaphor for the Christian struggle against temptation. He calls the hybrid human figures *semihomines* after Bernard of Clairvaux's description of similar creatures in cloister capitals. Rudolph suggests that the *semihomines* found in this initial and several others are to be interpreted as irrational souls in varying degrees of struggle. The text of the book employs storm imagery and speaks of restraint, echoing the admonition in James 1:26 to bridle one's tongue in sight of temptation. This passage could help to explain the presence of a bridled man at the base of the initial. Although the text does not refer to monsters or *semihomines* explicitly and the textual passages that Rudolph cites in relation to this initial do not appear in Book

⁸⁰ MS 173, fol. 20; Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp.44-45, fig. 21.

⁸¹ MS 173, fol. 148; Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 74-75, fig. 33.

⁸² MS 173, fol. 103v; Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 58-62, fig 29.

Twenty-eight, the decoration of the letter with violent figures agrees with the general sense of the text and its topic of spiritual struggle.

The initial to Book Fifteen is representative of another type of initial in the *Moralia*, those containing scenes from daily life. A letter **Q** with a distinctive light blue background, it contains two monks facing one another and bending over at their task of chopping wood.⁸³ Their tonsures, ragged habits and tunics reflect Cistercian values since the Cistercians, unlike the Benedictines, practised manual labour and poverty. Although Book Fifteen does not refer explicitly to chopping wood or to monastic labour, it does describe voluntary poverty, suffering and exertion, ideas that are embodied in the initial's decoration. According to Rudolph, initials with monks chopping wood, harvesting wheat or warming themselves before a fire might have helped to establish the communal identity of the first generation of Cistercians.⁸⁴

In all of these cases, the text passages cited in relation to the initial decoration are not found beside the initial but deeper in the text of the same or another book. Although Rudolph does not specify the position of these passages in the Cîteaux manuscript, his footnotes indicate that the relevant passages are not in the opening chapters. In fact, it can be guessed that they are several folios away from the initial. This feature of the text and image relationship led Rudolph to conclude that the artist was reading and meditating on the text while decorating it. As Rudolph notes, there is no tradition for illustrating this text, nor is it conducive to narrative illustration. Thus, the artist chose to illustrate the literal meaning of some passages and the sense of others. In this manner, Rudolph argues, the reader "becomes what he reads" and must internalise Gregory's exegetical method in order to understand the obscure compositions in the initials.

⁸³ MS 170, fol. 59; Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 70-72, fig. 18.

⁸⁴ Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 91-96.

Despite the conviction with which Rudolph presents his ideas and quotes passages of the *Moralia* text, his argument and its presentation highlight several difficulties related to the search for meaning in inhabited initials. The foremost danger is that of reading too much into the evidence and of ignoring simple and straightforward explanations. In Rudolph's case, he 'reads' almost every initial with the same intensity and complexity. By contrast, Heslop's 'reading' of the Eadwine Psalter initials noted disparities in the possible interpretations of their forms. Rudolph feels compelled to explain the downward-turned eyes of a harvesting monk in the initial to Book Sixteen as illustrative of Job 22:29, "he that shall bow down his eyes shall be saved".⁸⁵ Even though this verse from Job is discussed in Book Sixteen, it is significantly removed from the initial and from Gregory's discussion of the reaping of Scripture, the passage on which the initial appears to be based.⁸⁶ In the process of arguing for a meaning in the facial orientation of this figure, Rudolph neglects the possibility that the monk is drawn looking down because that is how wheat is successfully cut. In the four daily life initials of this manuscript, the artist demonstrates a concern with depicting the tools, clothing and tasks undertaken by the figures. It is reasonable to suggest that the monk looking down in this initial is also true to the artist's interest in verisimilitude.

The initial to Book Nine with its divided shaft containing the interlaced figures of a man and two dogs was compared by Rudolph to the flaps of a seal as part of a metaphor found in the text.⁸⁷ It is possible that this connection was conscious.

However, this "highly unusual stem" is quite common in Limoges initials where shafts are similarly split and have interwoven animals.⁸⁸ In each of these examples,

⁸⁵ MS 170, fol. 75v; Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 67-68, fig. 19.

⁸⁶ Rudolph argues that in other images of harvesting figures, the labourers do not look down but outward; thus, he claims that the facial orientation of the *Moralia* figure is a unique and intentional. Rudolph neglected to note several contemporary images of reapers in miniatures of Ruth and Boaz in which some of the reapers look down and concentrate on their task while others turn to look at Boaz. These miniatures may be found in the Lambeth, Arsenal and Santa Maria del Fiore Bibles. D. Denny, 'Notes on the Lambeth Bible', *Gesta*, 16/2, 1977, pp. 55-56, figs. 9-11.

⁸⁷ MS 169, fol. 62v; Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 37-40, fig. 13.

⁸⁸ See for instance, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1, fol. 74; W. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France, eds. F. Avril & J.J.G. Alexander, 2 vols., London, 1996, cat. no. 40, fig. 89. An English example appears in an early

Rudolph's desire to find a complex textual reading for the initial decoration clouds his understanding of the initial's relationship to contemporary manuscripts and iconography. It also raises the issue of how to prove that a detail such as the direction of a figure's eyes or the structure of a letter shaft is consciously designed to hold meaning. In the initial with the reaping monk, the down-turned head is not an unusual feature nor does it add significantly to the composition. Lacking additional examples of heads being oriented meaningfully, the features of this figure should be recognised as only potentially carrying meaning.

Related to these examples is the issue of how to identify the text passages on which the initial decoration is thought to be based. Heslop's argument for text and image relationships in twelfth-century initials focused on the proximity of the text to the initial and the probability that the artist had read the words surrounding the initial. Central to Rudolph's argument is the belief that the artist was reading and internalising the argument of the book while decorating the initials, hence Rudolph's quotation of a variety of texts not found beside the initial. Rudolph never identifies where these texts are located in relation to the initial and whether they appear at the head or the foot of the page or are introduced by rubricated letters, features that would make them more prominent to the artist. Instead, Rudolph's argument for the initials of the *Moralia* is based on a highly subjective and personal interpretation of the text by the artist and the modern historian.

Rudolph's categorisation of the *Moralia* initials also emphasises certain features over others. He claims that the two main categories of initials in the Cîteaux *Moralia* are those depicting violence and those depicting incidents from daily life. These two groups account for ninety percent of the initials in the manuscript. However, there are more types and degrees of violence and realistic imagery in the *Moralia* initials than the title or the organisation of Rudolph's book suggests. His division of initials into

twelfth-century Rochester manuscript, London, British Library, MS Royal 12.E.xx, fol. 124v; Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pl. 14c.

these groups does not acknowledge subtle differences between them. Among the initials of the *Moralia*, there are a series of oppositions in structure and in colour that defy the boundaries of the two categories established by Rudolph. For instance, the initials might as easily be classified into two other groups. One half of the initials have identifiable letter structures and solid coloured backgrounds against which figures are placed while in another set of initials, the figures create the letter and are placed on blank vellum with pale washes.⁸⁹ These alternative divisions demonstrate how the separation of initials into groups can influence the analysis of their decoration.

Perhaps one of the most illustrative ways to demonstrate how subjective and open to interpretation such initials can be is to compare the arguments of Heslop and Rudolph for two initials from the Cîteaux *Moralia in Job*. Both scholars analysed the initials to Books Ten and Thirty-one using related methods, but they have proposed different readings for these initials. The initial letter **I** to Book Thirty-one is figural, consisting of a tower with three human figures peering from its ramparts.⁹⁰ The central figure is in a frontal position, holding a banner and a sword. He is flanked by two warriors in armour wearing red and green helmets. Heslop noted that the figures are wearing contemporary clothing and that they could illustrate the opening passage of the book, a discourse against worldly pride. The figure in the centre, the weakling described in the text as being of unexpected strength, contrasts the worldly soldiers beside him. Rudolph offered a very different interpretation for this initial. He cited passages much further in Book Thirty-one that refer to a watchtower from which the Church may detect its enemies. Based on these passages, Rudolph argued that the soldiers represent the active life and the contemplative life due to the opposing colours of their helmets and their contrasting actions. The figure in the centre he proposed is not a weakling but a watchful soul. These two interpretations of the initial draw on separate parts of a wide-ranging text, and they highlight visual aspects of the initial, ranging

⁸⁹ Compare for example the initials to Books Three, Four, Five, Eight, Ten, Twenty-three and Twenty-eight to Books Six, Eleven, Twelve, Fifteen, Sixteen, Twenty-one, Twenty-four and Thirty.

⁹⁰ MS 173, fol. 133v; Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 45-48, fig. 32 and Heslop, 'Brief in Words', p. 6.

from clothing to colour symbolism and the enigmatic gestures of the three figures. A contrast is clearly being made between the armoured knights in profile and the central frontal figure, but the initial appears to be capable of multiple interpretations.

A second initial examined by both Heslop and Rudolph is the **Q** to Book Ten in which Christ holds scales and stands on Behemoth while placing his hand on Job's head.⁹¹ Job holds a sword that is labelled 'IOB' and he kneels, half out of the letter frame, beside Christ. The first lines of the text, Heslop noted, describe Job as a mighty wrestler who is successful in combating Satan. In the initial, however, Job is not depicted wrestling Satan. Heslop compared the subject of the initial, Job's deference to Christ, to a vassal-lord relationship in which Job offers service to Christ. Job's presence half in and half out of the letter frame may be a means to indicate his worldly status. Rudolph disregarded this feature of the initial and focused instead on a passage of the book that outlines how the righteous should be obedient and respectful to their *patrocinium*, and he interpreted the figure of Job as a symbol of the entire church. In this example, the two interpretations differ in their treatment of Job as a wrestler and the significance of his leg that breaks the frame, but they are in general agreement concerning the feudal tone of the relationship between Christ and Job. With its identifying labels and its composition, this initial offers a clearer basis for interpretation than other initials in the *Moralia*, perhaps accounting for the general agreement on its message.

Given the varying interpretations proposed by Heslop and Rudolph for these two initials, one might wonder if inhabited and figural initials are an aspect of twelfth-century manuscripts that can be explored with any certainty of success. Multiple interpretations are possible in these texts since twelfth-century readers read and meditated on them with an interest in their levels of meaning. In this light, it is

⁹¹ MS 169, fol. 88v; Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 49-52, fig. 14 and Heslop, 'Brief in Words', pp. 5-6.

probable that the interpretation of inhabited initials could be as wide-ranging as the interpretation of the text.

Nevertheless, the initials examined here have hinted at the wealth of material and potential meaning to be found in inhabited initials. The Eadwine Psalter and the Cîteaux *Moralia in Job* are exceptional Romanesque manuscripts. Both contain inventive imagery in their initials. While some of their initials contain images that relate to the text, it is unclear whether these initials should be called historiated. This may be because the initials seem to involve allegory rather than narrative. Another feature of these two manuscripts is that they contain generic or ordinary human figures rather than specific characters or individuals mentioned in the text. Thus, the reader's interpretation of them could be subjective. There is room for the reader to apply his own meaning to the initials, reading them in a way that makes sense and is useful to him. It is also possible that readers might have regarded these initials as decorative and would not have analysed them in the ways that Heslop and Rudolph have suggested.

Since the readers of most twelfth-century manuscripts were ecclesiastics who shared vows and lived a communal life in which prayer and meditation were valued, it is possible and even likely that different readers could arrive at similar interpretations of inhabited initials. This may be the case in manuscripts decorated by an artist who also shared monastic values and constructed an initial to carry specific meaning. For instance, the Rochester Psalm commentary 'Easter initial' can be considered to have a dominant reading that is supported visually and textually. The closeness of the text to the initial and the specificity of the initial's figures lend themselves to a single meaning intended by the artist of the manuscript.

How widespread was literal and allegorical illustration in inhabited initials of twelfth-century manuscripts? Although Heslop and Rudolph have demonstrated that the

audiences of their manuscripts could be prepared to seek such layers of meaning in initial decoration, it is not certain whether meaning was commonly sought in initials. One means by which to explore whether figurative decoration was used meaningfully in a wide range of initials and manuscripts is to pay attention to when and where particular images occur. A common motif in twelfth-century initials is a human head. Appearing alongside full-length human figures and human hybrids, the head might also be capable of holding meaning and of further articulating the presence and function of full-length humans in inhabited initials.

Human heads in twelfth-century English initials

As in Francis Wormald's Type II Anglo-Saxon initials, the human head in twelfth-century initials lacks a body. It is a motif that in its disembodiment could be considered a decorative device almost interchangeable with the foliate blossoms to which it is frequently attached. Indeed, the decorative potential of such heads is often noted in manuscript catalogues where they are variously described as masks, grotesques, peering human heads and peeping toms.⁹² There is no documentary evidence that heads were used emphatically or meaningfully in twelfth-century initials. Nonetheless, the human head has a formal relationship to human figures and human hybrids, and it is a powerful Christian symbol.

While heads in the foliage of letters or attached to their terminals are not unique to the twelfth century or even to manuscripts produced in England, they are most frequently associated with English Romanesque illumination. Quantitatively, over 275 initials containing human heads may be found in English manuscripts from 1066 to 1200.⁹³ The manuscripts in which these initials occur are representative of the types of manuscripts produced in Britain after the Norman Conquest. Appearing in Bibles,

⁹² These are some of the descriptive terms used for the heads in scholarship. Walter Oakeshott is responsible for the phrase 'peeping toms' and some of the more eloquent descriptions of the heads, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 88-91.

⁹³ Consult the catalogue in Appendix A for a complete description of these initials.

saints' lives, Psalters, patristic manuscripts and glossed commentaries, there is no particular text with which heads are associated. While they often appear in inhabited and decorated initials, heads can also be found in the terminals and shafts of historiated initials such as those in the Winchester Bible (Figs. 141-44, 151-53). Furthermore, there is no single letter of the alphabet or favoured place within a manuscript where heads occur. A comparison of the fourteen Bibles in the catalogue of this thesis reveals that no particular books of the Bible are common sites for initials containing human heads. In fact, all of these attributes suggest that the head was a decorative device added, like winged beasts, octopus blossoms or white lions, to initial letters.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the heads in twelfth-century manuscripts is their diversity and the manner in which they gain the attention of the reader. Unlike the dogs or beast masks with which the heads are often found and could be compared, the human heads are not repetitious or predictable. In fact, one of the main qualities of the head is its individuality. This extends to its placement in the letter, its frontal, three-quarters or profile view, its colouring, hair and mouth. Many heads wear hats, and this seems to be a site for additional invention. In this respect, the heads are an example of the twelfth-century interest in *varietas* or variety.

Unlike the drawings of heads, hands or human figures added to the margins of medieval manuscripts, the human heads found in twelfth-century initials are an integral part of the manuscript's decoration.⁹⁴ They are outlined and painted in the colours of the initial and in some cases have plain vellum for their faces. The initials of the Auct Bible demonstrate the planning required for some heads. Embedded in richly coloured and illuminated initials, human heads occur with white vellum faces (Figs. 132 & 134). Although a few of these faces appear to lie on vellum that has been scraped or

⁹⁴ Some twelfth-century manuscripts have human heads that have been added to the bowls of round letters like **O** or **P**. These heads are not included here unless they are drawn in the original ink of the text or the rubrication.

erased, they are often the only element of the initial that is not painted. An initial in a twelfth-century copy of Augustine's *Enarrationes en Psalmos 1-50* from Lincoln Cathedral contains what might be expected to be a more typical occurrence. A profile face in the foliage of the bowl has a streak of blue paint bisecting its cheek, apparently since the artist inadvertently painted over the face after outlining it (Fig. 85). Oddly, the blue streak remains in the initial as evidence of the artist's mistake.

Heads as decorative features of Romanesque initials have been noted in scholarship on manuscripts. In his 1966 study of the Bury Bible, C.M. Kauffmann devoted a page to the bearded and open-mouthed human heads appearing in several initials of the surviving Old Testament volume (Figs. 1-10). Describing human heads as the Bible's "most popular motif", Kauffmann argued that they are an "ubiquitous" feature of twelfth-century English initial decoration, and he cited thirty-three English manuscripts up to 1140 in which they appear. Kauffmann argued that the heads reflect a particularly English love of monstrous and grotesque forms and that the strong presence of heads in the Bury Bible might indicate an English artist. He wrote that the human heads were the result of Anglo-Norman cross-currents, and "there can be no doubt that this motif was developed and exploited to the full in England".⁹⁵

Several years later and in the context of the illumination of Mont St. Michel manuscripts, Jonathan Alexander examined the heads appearing in initials of his Late Group manuscripts of 1075 to 1100.⁹⁶ These heads appear on the curling terminals of letters and sometimes wear pointed hats (Figs. 167 & 168). Acknowledging Kauffmann's scholarship on such heads and the tendency for them to appear in English initials, Alexander explored possible sources for the motif in Persian and eastern textiles and in folk tales of the talking tree.⁹⁷ However, both scholars stressed

⁹⁵ Kauffmann, 'The Bury Bible', p. 79.

⁹⁶ Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel*, p. 207.

⁹⁷ In particular, Alexander makes reference to a sixth-century Antinöe silk with human profiles sprouting from its foliate branches. *Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel*, p. 207, n. 4.

the English and the twelfth-century predominance of these heads as well as their decorative appeal.

It is not impossible that these heads held meaning for their audiences since the human head is a Christian symbol. The human head is used as a symbol in the Bible where Christ is called the head of man in Colossians 1:18 and I Corinthians 11:3.⁹⁸ In these passages, often employed as models for Christian society and behaviour, the head is a guiding part of the body. While the head can be a symbol of power, leadership and divinity, it exerts this power in relation to a body. Body politic models describe the king or the pope as the head of the body and the church or the nation as its limbs.⁹⁹ Given this theological, literary, political and liturgical background, might the human heads in twelfth-century initials be interpreted as symbols of Christ? While this question can not be answered with certainty, it can be noted that the human heads in twelfth-century initials lack haloes and often have grotesque features (Figs. 25, 27 & 77). Also, several heads can appear in a single initial, weighing against the interpretation of a head as a symbol of Christ.

The human head is part of a decorative vocabulary employed in twelfth-century initials that includes beasts, hybrid creatures and luxurious foliage blossoms. The head, however, is part of a man and evokes humanity on some level. The human head, in contrast to a hand or a foot, is a body part that might trigger ideas of human identity and reason. Could the head be a means of recognition for the reader, a type of self-portrait to engage his attention? Self-recognition and self-knowledge were a pervasive part of twelfth-century intellectual thought in a period in which the Delphic phrase “know thyself” was a favourite maxim of Bernard of Clairvaux and others.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Christ is called the Head in the mass sequence for Thursday of Whitsun Week in the Sarum Missal. *The Sarum Missal*, tr. F.E. Warren, London, 1911, vol. 1, p. 351. Augustine and Jerome, in their commentaries on Psalms 42, 129 and 136, also describe Christ as the Head. Augustine, PL 37, cols. 1703 and 1773 and Jerome, PL 26, col. 880.

⁹⁹ E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton, 1957, pp. 70 and 74.

¹⁰⁰ Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200*, Toronto, 1972 and ‘Individualism in Twelfth-Century Religion. Some Further Reflections’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31/2,

Monastic reading and prayer involved introspection and concern for one's own salvation, thus requiring a degree of personal identity with texts and their ideas.

To date, human heads have not been specifically examined in terms of their location and treatment within a single manuscript. Nor have they been considered a feature of inhabited initials equal to human figures or hybrid creatures. How the reader would have understood the head is unclear. This thesis will examine eight twelfth-century English manuscripts in which a significant number of initials with heads are found. The manuscripts selected for study were produced for ecclesiastical communities by monastic and professional artists, and they share an interest in unusual and evocative human figures. While some of them have been the subject of scholarly research, most are unstudied and their initials are unpublished. The goal of the following chapters is to set these initials into a framework of monastic or meditative reading and to suggest ways in which audiences might have read these initials. While it is impossible to determine exactly how a reader might have understood an inhabited initial or the meaning that he saw in the human head, it is possible to deduce underlying tendencies in the application of the human head to an initial. The relationship of human heads to their surrounding text, the ways in which artists borrowed and reused motifs and the manner in which the initials of a manuscript function as a unit provide clues about the ways in which contemporaries might have interpreted the human head.

1980, pp. 195-206. See also Caroline Walker Bynum's review, 'Did the Twelfth-Century Discover the Individual?' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31/1, 1980, pp. 1-17.

Chapter Two: Two Manuscripts from Durham Cathedral: A Case Study

Durham Cathedral had one of the earliest and most prolific Anglo-Norman scriptoria. A recent estimate suggests that over 110 manuscripts were produced for Durham from the Norman Conquest to 1130.¹ Influenced by books imported from Normandy by Bishop William of St. Carilef, Durham quickly developed a 'house style' based on Norman and Anglo-Saxon styles of illumination. Many of the surviving Durham manuscripts are patristic texts with decorated initials containing foliage scrolls, biting beasts and human heads. These books furnished the library of the priory and were intended to fulfil the intellectual and scholarly interests of the Durham monks.

In the twelfth century, Durham had a reputation for learning that was supported by its monastic school. One of St. Cuthbert's posthumous miracles involved assisting a monk with his Latin. The monk, a member of the knightly class, was unable to read Latin and was ridiculed by his brethren until Cuthbert intervened and helped the monk to read his Latin texts.² This anecdote suggests the seriousness with which members of the monastic community, as well as their patron saint, took learning. The Durham emphasis on studying is given a visual expression in an early twelfth-century Durham initial. In Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS Hunter 100, a collection of medical and astrological texts, an initial letter **A** consists of two red-outlined human figures, one beating the other with a switch.³ In the margin beside the initial is the note: "wisdom that is not willingly sought, with the rod must needs be taught".⁴ A persuasive visual reminder to study the text seriously or else face the schoolmaster's

¹In his catalogue of English manuscripts made from ca. 1066 to 1130, Gameson lists 111 manuscript from Durham. *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p.2, n.6.

²This anecdote was told by Reginald of Durham. For the library and school at Durham, see A. Lawrence, 'The Artistic Influence of Durham manuscripts', pp. 451-52 and Croydon, 'Abbot Laurence of Westminster and Hugh of St. Victor', pp. 169-71.

³Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS Hunter 100, fol. 44; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, cat. no. 57, pl. 37b.

⁴*Afflictitur plagis qui non vult discere gratis*; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, p. 50.

rod, the initial provides a further example of Durham's rigorous intellectual standards. In this particular case, the decoration of the initial could have won the reader's attention for its relevance to his own life. In his reading of other Durham manuscripts, a Durham monk might have been led to consider their colourful and human-filled initials.

A prime candidate for the study of figurative initials is an early twelfth-century copy of Augustine's *de Trinitate* (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.26). A manuscript that is largely unknown, only two of its fifteen initials have appeared in publication.⁵ The human heads and figures that appear in the decorated initials of the Durham *de Trinitate* are the main focus of the initial decoration as they turn to face the text, wrestle with animals or have hybrid beast bodies (Figs. 49-61). These initials not only delight and entertain the reader, but they invite examination for their unusual forms and their placement in the manuscript. A second Durham manuscript by the same artist is a copy of Jerome's *Commentarium in Isaiam* (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.8). This manuscript has a more varied scheme of decoration including historiated, inhabited and decorated initials. Both manuscripts are notable for the experiments with human figures in their initials. Hybrid figures and half-men like those in the Cîteaux manuscripts are found in the initials of both patristic manuscripts where these figures are engaged in struggle. Since the decorative scheme of the *de Trinitate* is more consistent and is composed only of inhabited initials, it will be addressed first. The Jerome commentary predates the *de Trinitate* slightly and reflects an earlier stage in the artist's use of the human figure.

⁵Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.26 is described and illustrated in the following catalogues: Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. no. 28, fig. 65 and Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, cat. no. 62.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.26

Many curious features could have drawn the attention of the reader to the initials of MS B.II.26. All fifteen initials in the manuscript contain human and animal figures with humans dominating eleven of the initials. Not only are the humans larger than the animals, but they are the most obtrusive portions of the initial decoration. In the initials to Books Two, Eight, Eleven and Twelve, human heads protrude from the letter and are highlighted against the blank vellum of the page (Figs. 50, 55, 58 & 59). Not the least provocative is the presence in one initial of a goat that holds and 'reads' a book (Fig. 56). References to the text may be found in the initial decoration since the word *homines*, men, consistently appears in the text beside initials containing human figures (Figs. 50, 52, 58 & 59). In some initials, the presence of three figures or three heads might be interpreted as a sign of the text's subject, a discussion of the Trinity (Figs. 52, 56 & 61).

These initials are all the more interesting because they enliven an important patristic text. Augustine's *de Trinitate* is concerned with the doctrine of the Trinity, particularly the equality of the three persons of the Trinity. It contains Augustine's arguments on how the image of the Trinity may be found in the mind of man. Augustine commenced the theological treatise in about 399 and worked on it through 422.⁶ A challenging undertaking, the *de Trinitate* was written not to dispel a contemporary heresy or dispute but to explain a fundamental Christian belief. Augustine himself recognised that it was a weighty text that would be difficult for readers to understand. In 415 he wrote to Bishop Evodius that, "I have no desire to give my attention to the books on the Trinity . . . because they are too exacting a work, and I think they are comprehensible to few".⁷

⁶ Stock, *Augustine the Reader*, pp. 243 and 407, n.1.

⁷ *Ita ut nec libros de Trinitate, quos diu in manibus verso nondumque complevi, modo attendere velim, quoniam nimis operosi sunt, et a paucis eos intellegi posse arbitror*, Letter 169 in PL 33, cols. 742-748, esp. 743.

Although Augustine was not the only patristic writer to address the subject of the Trinity, he is considered to be one of the most authoritative. Greek fathers including Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianus and Basil wrote on the Trinity prior to Augustine, as did the Western theologian Hilary of Poitiers. Augustine cites Hilary in his *de Trinitate*, but in general he disagreed with the arguments of the Greeks and omitted them. Few later Western writers challenged Augustine's arguments on the Trinity, and most cited his work. In the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas acknowledged and borrowed several of Augustine's arguments when discussing the Trinity in his *Summa theologia*.⁸

Despite its difficult concepts, Augustine's *de Trinitate* was read frequently. Over 233 copies are known from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries.⁹ In twelfth-century England, more than ten copies and extracts from Augustine's *de Trinitate* survive from the libraries of Durham, Rochester, St. Mary's of Cirencester, St. Augustine's Abbey and Christ Church, Canterbury, among others.¹⁰ All of these copies were made in the first half of the twelfth century when evidence suggests a special interest in the reading of Augustine.¹¹ Augustine's writings form a high percentage of the patristic works copied for the libraries of Anglo-Norman monastic communities and read privately in the cloister and publicly at mealtimes.¹² The contents of these volumes were also discussed by members of a community. A letter exchanged in 1096/97 between Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (1092-1109), and the monks of St. Albans

⁸ Thomas Aquinas quoted Augustine's *de Trinitate* in his *Summa Theologia*, I, Qs. 27-43, esp qs. 35-38 & 43.

⁹ *Saint Augustine: The Trinity*, tr. S. McKenna, The Fathers of the Church Series, vol. 45, Washington, D.C., 1963, p. vii.

¹⁰ The Rochester and Canterbury copies are: London, British Library, MS Royal 5.B.IV (Rochester), Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.31(Christ Church) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Th. b. 2 (fragment from St. Augustine's Abbey). The Cirencester copy is Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P.5.3 (Fig. 70). Richard Gameson cites several additional twelfth-century fragments and extracts of the *de Trinitate*. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Anglo-Norman England*, nos. 13e, 425e, 482e, 662, 741, 750 and 812.

¹¹ Richard Gameson noted recently that more than one-fifth of all manuscripts produced in England from 1066 to 1130 were copies of Augustine's works. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, pp. 31-32.

¹² Augustine's *de Trinitate* is one of the volumes included on a twelfth-century Lenten reading list from the Cluniac monastery of Farfa. *Decreta Lanfranci*, Appendix A, p. 151.

Abbey reveals contemporary debates on the Trinity and an interest in Augustine's work. The subject of the letter is the difficulty that the St. Albans monks were having in understanding the triune nature of God. In his reply to the St. Albans monks, Anselm referred them to Augustine's *de Trinitate*.¹³

The debates of the St. Albans monks can also be related to currents in twelfth-century intellectual thought. As Colin Morris has demonstrated, the twelfth century was a period of self-discovery, at the core of which were questions about man's relationship to God, Christ's incarnation and the nature of the Trinity.¹⁴ Many of Anselm of Canterbury's theological works, including his *Monologion*, *Proslogion* and *Cur Deus Homo*, concern an understanding of the existence and nature of God. In the introduction to his *Monologion*, Anselm cites his indebtedness to Augustine on questions of the Trinity. He requests that his reader "first make a careful and thorough reading of the books *On the Trinity* of the aforementioned learned Augustine and then judge my little treatise on the basis of them".¹⁵ For monks, the Trinity was a significant subject of prayer and meditation. A devotion to the Trinity emerged in the tenth and eleventh centuries and can be seen in the tenth-century *Regularis Concordia* which required a monk to invoke the Trinity on waking and to recite the *Trina oratio* three times a day.¹⁶ Such practices may have persisted in the twelfth century when there is an increase in depictions of the Trinity in sculpture and manuscript illumination. It is this setting of contemplative reading and study of the Trinity in which the initials of MS B.II.26 should be placed.

With a thirteenth-century Durham *ex libris* on folio 5 and decoration consistent with other Durham manuscripts, MS B.II.26 is assumed to have been at Durham since its

¹³ Letter 204, *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, tr. W. Fröhlich, Cistercian Studies Series 96 & 97, Kalamazoo (MI), 1993, vol. 2, pp. 141-43.

¹⁴ See Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual*.

¹⁵ *Monologium*, preface. *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works*, tr. B. Davies and G. R. Evans, Oxford, 1998, p. 6.

¹⁶ See B.C. Raw, *The Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought*, Cambridge, 1997 and the *Regularis Concordia*, Chapter 1, part 15 and 16, pp. 11-12.

production ca. 1120-30.¹⁷ A modestly sized and decorated manuscript, MS B.II.26 reflects the influence of Norman illumination at Durham. Norman artists, working both in Normandy and in Durham, executed several Durham manuscripts including MS B.II.21, MS B.II.13 and MS B.II.14 in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The initials of these manuscripts with their bright background colours, white foliage scrolls and schematic beading probably influenced the artist of MS B.II.26 (Fig. 47). Nevertheless, the initial decoration of MS B.II.26 is considered Romanesque due to its love of surface pattern and heavy black outlines. The human figures in the Durham *de Trinitate* have round heads with large sloping foreheads and noses, blonde hair and thick arched eyebrows. Dog-like quadrupeds, the most common type of animal found in the initials, have stylised stomach muscles, biting heads and long twisting tails. The consistency of details and colouring in the initials as well as the repetition of forms like a folded beast with his paws wrapped around his body (Figs. 52, 53, 59 & 60) suggests that a single artist painted the initials.

Several aspects of the production of MS B.II.26 indicate an unusually close relationship between the initial decoration and the text. Each initial is set into the text column with the shaft spilling into the centre or left margin. Five to ten lines of text are indented for an initial, and the letters fit snugly into these indentations. In fact, portions of the text are written over almost every initial in the manuscript. In several instances the text overlapping the initial is in darker ink than the text block. This may be seen in the initial to Book Four in the words *huic* and *nosse*, the initial to Book Five where the entire first lines of the book are written in darker ink and the initial to Book Twelve where the c of *comune* is written over the decoration (Figs. 52 & 59). Although it is not unusual for differences in ink colour to occur in a manuscript, these variations suggest that the text may have been damaged in the decoration process and touched up afterwards with a fresh batch of ink.

¹⁷ R.A.B. Mynors dated MS B.II.26 to the “early twelfth century” while C.M. Kauffmann dated it ca. 1120. Although a more precise date is unlikely to emerge, MS B.II.26 can be placed in a relative chronology of twelfth-century manuscripts, particularly those of Durham Cathedral. The relation of MS B.II.26 to other Durham manuscripts is addressed in the second portion of this chapter.

Many initials in MS B.II.26 are zoomorphic with animals, human figures and heads forming part or all of the letter structure. In some cases, the figures make the letter challenging to identify. In the initials to Books Nine and Eleven, the Durham artist solved this problem by using broad panels of background colour to indicate the letter (Figs. 56 & 58). However, in the initials to Books Two, Three and Fourteen, such solid colour panels are absent, and the letters are more difficult to decipher, forcing the reader to study them carefully (Figs. 50, 51 & 61). The use of figurative forms for structural purposes has an added effect; the human and animal forms become part of the text since they physically create its opening initial. Even though not all of the initials are zoomorphic, some of the most assertive initials in MS B.II.26, like those to Books Three, Nine, Eleven, Twelve and Fourteen, are partially or wholly zoomorphic (Figs. 51, 56, 58, 59 & 61).

The precision of the faces, orientations and body structures of these figures invites attention. For instance, the bearded head on the man in the initial to Book Fourteen is also found on a hybrid creature in the initial to Book Eleven (Figs. 58 & 61). One head is attached to a naked human body while the other is part of an unusual hybrid creature. If Bernard of Clairvaux's statement that monks spent hours reading in the monstrous forms of cloister capitals is believed, then the readers of this manuscript might have wondered: does a bearded head on a man have a different significance from a bearded head on a hybrid figure? How do human heads without bodies relate to both of these figures? In the context of this particular text, it is striking that Augustine states from Book Eight onwards that the Trinity is not to be sought in corporeal forms but in the mind. Yet, inventive figures that evoke the text are found throughout the initials of MS B.II.26, a manuscript made in the monastic scriptorium of Durham and intended for communal use. The following study will demonstrate that a discerning reader could have picked significant textual themes out of many of

the initials, suggesting that he was aided by an artist who was also interested in supplying specific meaning to the human forms in the initials of this manuscript.

Augustine's *de Trinitate* is prefaced by his letter to Aurelianus and his Retraction on the Trinity in which he laments the circulation of the text before he was able to correct it. To emphasise this point, Augustine lists three corrections to Books Eleven and Twelve in his Retraction.¹⁸ In MS B.II.26, the initial to the Retraction is an enlarged letter decorated with gold. A column of interwoven acanthus tendrils, the letter **L** is topped by a fantastic creature with a red tongue and golden wings (Fig. 49). At the base of the initial, a foliate crossbar ends in a golden beast head holding a profile human head in its mouth. The human head is outlined in brown ink and has a large sloping nose and a moustache. It faces away from the text towards the left margin of the folio. The creatures in the initial form a trinity of different beings: a winged beast, a human and an animal. The initial also contains the only gold in the manuscript, suggesting that it was intended to supply an ornamental opening for the manuscript.

On the recto facing the Retraction initial is a letter **I** to Book One. Half the size of the **L** on the verso, it has no gold and is sandwiched between the text columns.¹⁹ The shaft of the initial is formed by two beasts, one winged with a foliate tail and the other a dog-like creature who bites his companion's neck. Lacking human figures and containing imagery which is common in Romanesque initials and sculptural capitals, this initial cannot be 'read' easily alongside the text of Book One in which Augustine introduces questions frequently raised about the Trinity and outlines the goals of the treatise.

The initial to Book Two is decorated with three heads, one animal and two human (Fig. 50). A letter **C** composed of uncoloured foliage scrolls set against a red, blue and yellow ground, its terminals sprout large human heads. A structural opposition is

¹⁸CCSL, 57, *Retractationes* II, xv, pp. 101-102.

¹⁹The Retraction initial is 164 mm high in comparison to the 83 mm of the initial to Book One.

found in the human heads; one faces the text with a closed mouth while the other looks towards the centre of the initial with an open mouth. The second word of the text, in capitals near the upper head, is *homines*. The proximity of the human heads to this word suggests that the artist might have read the word men beside the initial and added human heads to illustrate the text.

The biting dog head in the left frame of the initial may have a similar textual source. A dog is mentioned in the preface of Book Two when Augustine describes his desire to be read closely, criticised and attacked by “the dog’s tooth” rather than be admired by flatterers.²⁰ The shared form of the three creatures, that they are heads without bodies, suggests that these motifs may have been selected intentionally and that they share a dependence on the text beside the initial. It is not immediately clear, however, why the lower human head looks inward rather than towards the text and why his mouth is open. Book Two opens with the statement,

when men seek to know God and bend their minds to the understanding of the Trinity according to the capacity of human weakness, they learn by experience and the wearisome difficulties of the task, whether by the sight of the mind striving to gaze upon light unapproachable or from the manifold and various modes of speech employed in the sacred writings.²¹

If this line is understood as indicating the twin ways in which men learn, through sight and through speech, then the human heads might illustrate these means of learning.

The lower head with his open mouth could represent speech. His turning away from the text serves to emphasise the textual orientation of his silent companion.

Meanwhile, the dog head that bites the letter frame could be compared to the critical reader who chews on and attacks Augustine’s words. This ‘reading’ of the initial takes into account all the figurative forms in the letter and the text directly beside it.

²⁰*Dentem autem caninum vel evitat cantissima humilitas.* Book Two, preface. PL 42, col. 845.

²¹*Cum homines Deum quaerunt, et ad intelligentiam Trinitatis pro captu infirmitatis humanae animum intendunt; experti difficultates laboriosas, sive in ipsa acie mentis conantis intueri inaccessibleem lucem, sive in ipsa multiplici et multimoda locutione Litterarum sacrarum.* Book Two, preface. PL 42, col. 845.

A triune organisation is present again in the initial to Book Three where three creatures create a compact zoomorphic design of a bearded human head on its side between the mouths of two dogs (Fig. 51). The composition and structure of this letter **C** appears with variations in twelfth-century illumination²² as well as in Celtic, Scandinavian and Near Eastern metalwork and textiles.²³ Despite the widespread appearance of this motif, there is no surviving metalwork, textile or sculpture from Durham that can be identified as the source of the *de Trinitate* initial. The Book Three initial contains no extraneous details and can be noted for its simplicity. The human head is the only one in the manuscript to have a frontal face and a long beard. In order to examine the initial, the reader must alter his position or turn the book in order to see the human head upright. Book Three discusses revelations of God in the Old Testament; Augustine describes how God showed himself in veiled forms to Abraham, Jacob and Moses, arguing that “God was revealed to man in a symbolic manner”.²⁴

Explanations have been offered elsewhere for the motif of a man caught between two beasts; they may be relevant to this initial since the motif might have been recognisable to a twelfth-century reader. In art and theology, this motif has been compared to Christ’s position between Moses and Elijah at the Transfiguration, Christ’s Crucifixion flanked by two thieves and Christ’s arrest by two captors. The motif has been traced to Sumerian seals and tapestries that depict Gilgamesh, a warrior hero standing triumphant between two lions. The Gilgamesh motif is

²²Contemporary with MS B.II.26 is the initial **D** to the Passion of St. Maximus in the Christ Church Passional, London, British Library, MS Harley 624, fol. 114v (Fig. 24). Related initials may be found in a Christ Church copy of Ambrose’s commentary on Luke and in the Rochester Bible initial to the Gospel of Matthew (Figs. 17 & 101). Another example is Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 438, fol. 80v.

²³ A few of these objects are a sixth-century buckle from Hontheim, Germany with a bearded male head held in the mouths of two fish. A fibula from Schelswig borrows a similar composition. Another contemporary variation of the motif appears on a purse lid ca. 800 from Sutton Hoo in which the motif consists of a full-length frontal man standing between two lions that bite his head. See R. Avent & V. I. Evison, ‘Anglo-Saxon Button Brooches’, *Archaeologia*, 107, 1982, pp. 77-124, pl. XVIII e and L. Jordan, ‘Demonic Elements in Anglo-Saxon Iconography’, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P. E. Szarmach with the assistance of V.D. Oggins, Studies in Medieval Culture, 20, Kalamazoo (MI), 1986, pp. 287-90, figs. 3-6.

²⁴ *Ubi Deus figurate demonstraretur hominibus*. Book Three, chapter 3, 27. PL 42, col. 886.

considered influential in medieval iconography.²⁵ Helen Roe argued that the motif's presence on fifteen Irish High Crosses reflected a Christian re-interpretation of the Gilgamesh legend as Daniel in the Lion's Den. A.T. Lucas, in reviewing Roe's work and discussing the Gilgamesh-Daniel image, suggested that the Septuagint translation of Habakkuk 3.2, "in the midst of two living things you will make yourself known", might provide a Scriptural source for the motif.²⁶ Lucas noted that Jerome referred several times in his commentary on the Minor Prophets to Habakkuk 3.2 and the multiple ways in which the passage could be understood. Jerome wrote that the verse alluded to the Crucifixion of Christ between the two thieves and that it could also refer to the Trinity.²⁷ It has been argued that the Arrest of Christ miniature in the Book of Kells alludes to this passage in Habakkuk since the Canticle of Habakkuk was sung on Good Friday as part of the Easter liturgy.²⁸ In the Kells miniature, Christ is flanked by two figures who have been identified as the soldiers arresting Christ.²⁹ To the reader of the Gospel book, Christ's frontal position between the smaller soldiers in profile was a sign of his divinity. These Insular examples, in stone and on vellum, demonstrate how variations of the man between two beasts motif could be recognised and used in a Christian context.

In Book Three of the *de Trinitate*, Augustine does not cite Habakkuk 3.2, but he describes revelations of the Trinity and pays particular attention to the unexpected ways in which God reveals himself to man;

Sometimes the Father, at other times the Son or the Holy Spirit . . . made himself known by means of his angels. Although he appears in visible and sensible forms, still He does so through his own creature, not in His own

²⁵ An eighth-century Iranian silk known as the Shroud of St. Victor in the cathedral treasury of Sens portrays such a Gilgamesh motif and suggests that similar tapestries may be responsible for the introduction of the motif to Northern Europe. A. T. Lucas, "In the Middle of Two Living Things: Daniel or Christ?" *Figures from the Past: Studies on Figurative Art in Christian Ireland in honour of Helen M. Roe*, ed. E. Rynne, The Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland, 1987, pp. 92-97.

²⁶ Lucas, "In the Middle of Two Living Things", pp. 95-97.

²⁷ Jerome, *Commentarii in Prophetas Minores*, CCSL, 76A, pars I, 6, pp. 620-21.

²⁸ É. Ó'Carragáin, "Traditio evangeliorum' and 'sustentatio': The Relevance of Liturgical Ceremonies to the Book of Kells", *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin*, ed. F. O'Mahony, Aldershot (Hants.), 1994, pp. 422-23.

²⁹ Dublin, Trinity College, MS A.I.6, fol. 114; *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference*, pl. 28.

substance, for in order to see this substance our hearts are cleansed through all those things which are seen by our eyes and heard by our ears.³⁰

This passage hints at the beatific vision of God described in I Corinthians 13:12 in which a face-to-face vision of God is promised in heaven. It also provides a textual basis for seeing the MS B.II.26 initial as a revelation of God. In pausing to consider the frontal face in this letter, the reader encounters a vision of the Trinity through creatures rather than an image of God or Christ in Majesty. The initial provides a veiled vision of God like the revelations described in the book. Several features of the initial such as its triune structure and the sideways human head with its Christ-like physiognomy aid such a reading of the initial. However, in order to discover a connection between the text and the initial decoration, the reader must recognise the image as potentially symbolic. This reading of the initial also requires knowledge of the entire book since the discussion of God's revelations is a pervasive part of the book that is not found immediately beside the letter.

Book Four opens with a letter S decorated with an acanthus frieze, scrolling foliage and three animals. A dog and a beast head fill the upper bowl while another beast occupies the lower bowl. There is some awkwardness in the drawing of these three creatures, especially in the lopsided lower figure that has only one leg and a scrolling green tail. Likewise, the relationship of the two beasts is confusing since one lacks a body and emerges from the neck of the other in a disorienting fashion. In Augustine's preface to Book Four he describes how self-knowledge is necessary to the love of God. Unlike the previous initial, this letter does not have any humans and is comprised of conventional Romanesque forms.

Multiple human and animal figures decorate the shaft and bowl of the letter H to Book Five (Fig. 52). A trio of animal heads emerges from the upper shaft, two human

³⁰*Et aliquando Pater, aliquando Filius, aliquando Spiritus sanctus, aliquando sine ulla distinctione personae Deus per illos figurabatur, etsi visibilibus et sensibilibus formis apparens, per creaturam tamen suam, non per substantiam, cui videndae corda mundantur per haec omnia quae oculis videntur et auribus audiuntur.* Book Three, chapter 3, 27. PL 42, col. 886.

heads adorn the lower shaft, and the bowl of the letter is filled with three beast heads, a human head, a hand and a full-length beast. The numerous forms in the initial and their cramped arrangement in the bowl and on the ends of the shaft is confusing.

Although the text beside the initial contains the word *hominem* twice, nowhere does it refer to dogs or to beasts. The decoration of the initial to Book Six also lacks clarity and shares the theme of human struggle with animals (Fig. 53). With three animals and two human heads, the letter **E** has a zoomorphic structure. The centre dog is hopelessly twisted and flattened, his form dictated by his function as the crossbar of the letter. The human heads have curling moustaches like the human head facing a dog head in the bowl of the initial to Book Five. Moustaches appear on humans in two other initials of MS B.II.26, the opening letter **L** to the Retraction and the initial to Book Fourteen in which a naked man wrestles a green beast (Figs. 49 & 61). In each of these cases, the moustached head confronts a beast. The precise use of this detail in the initials of MS B.II.26 suggests that it is a conscious element linked to these images of struggle and violence.

Books Five and Six contain Augustine's refutation of the Arian heresy, a particularly threatening heresy introduced by Arius in the third century. Denying the equality of the three persons of the Trinity, Arius interpreted Scriptural passages referring to God the Father and Christ the Son literally. His followers, the Arians, believed that since God begot the Son and the Holy Spirit, they were less than God and thus not equal parts of the Trinity. Augustine's debates with the Arian bishop Maximinus did not occur until 428, after the *de Trinitate* was written, but he must have felt earlier that their arguments were powerful and highlighted a difficult aspect of the Trinity. Book Five examines the texts used by the Arians to argue that the three persons of the Trinity were not equal while Book Six continues Augustine's attack on the Arians, focusing on Paul's statement in I Corinthians 1:24 that Christ is the power and wisdom of God. Can the struggle depicted in the initials to Books Five and Six be related to Augustine's efforts to refute the Arian heresy?

In Book Five, Augustine refers to the Arians as “our adversaries of the faith”, but he does not call them animals.³¹ In the initials of the Durham *de Trinitate*, the lean creatures that attack men in several initials, including those to Books Three, Five and Six, have dog-like features. Although their ears are small, these creatures have the long snouts of dogs or wolves rather than the flat noses of cats. The lack of fur on their bodies also distinguishes them from wolves or lions. In Scripture and in medieval polemics, enemies were often called beasts or dogs. In the New Testament dogs are grouped with murderers, sorcerers and liars in Revelations 22:14-15. Paul’s epistle to the Philippians warns, “beware of dogs, beware of evil workers” (Philippians 3:2). In the twelfth century, Christian polemicists such as Peter of Blois described their enemies, the Jews and the Muslims, as dogs.³² In addition, medieval fables often cast dogs in the role of impure, restless and noisy creatures sometimes associated with envy and greed, and many bestiaries repeat these characterisations while also praising dogs for their loyalty and faithfulness.³³ In the Durham *de Trinitate*, the dog-like creatures can be associated with their more negative qualities since they have open and biting mouths.

Complementing the literary evidence for deprecating one’s enemies by comparing them to beasts is a visual tradition of depicting Arius as a beast and of depicting Christ’s tormentors as dogs. In twelfth-century manuscript illumination, an enemy such as Satan or the heretic Arian could be depicted with bestial features. The

³¹ Book Five, chapter 3, 4 and chapter 6, 7. PL 42, cols. 913-14.

³² Peter the Blois, in a letter to Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury about the Crusades, wrote “I believe that it is entirely acceptable for the filthy dogs [the Muslims] to be driven out of the Holy Land”, P. J. Cole, ‘“O God, the Heathen have come into your inheritance”, (Ps. 78.1): The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188’, *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, vol. 1, Leiden, 1993, pp. 110-11.

³³ Although each manuscript of the bestiary contains variations derived from several sources, they have many similarities and core texts. On the “false homogeneity” of scholarship on bestiaries, see R. Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*, Stroud, 1998. The common description of the dog in a bestiary emphasises features such as his loyalty, his ability to detect a murderer, his barking and restlessness as well as his habit of returning to eat his own vomit. J. E. Salisbury, ‘Human Animals of Medieval Fables’, *Animals in the Middle Ages: A book of Essays*, ed. N.C. Flores, New York, 1996, p. 56, nn. 18-22.

miniature of the Temptations of Christ in the Winchester Psalter of ca. 1150 portrays Satan as a beast with claws, fur and a bestial head.³⁴ As Walter Cahn has demonstrated, Arius was the archetypal heretic and enemy in the medieval period.³⁵ He often appeared with Satan at the feet of the Lord in illuminations of Psalm 109, a key text in the refutation of Trinitarian heresies. In two English miniatures depicting the Trinity, deformed and bestial figures of Arius and Satan have fur and claws and are found below the feet of Christ, God and the Holy Spirit.³⁶ A separate tradition of depicting Christ's enemies as dogs appears in Crucifixion miniatures. In the illustration to Psalm 21 in the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter and in the Hours of the Cross in Flemish Books of Hours, dogs bark and bite at the foot of the cross.³⁷ Derived from Psalm 22:17, "for many dogs have encompassed me", the dogs in these Crucifixion scenes make an association between the Psalm text and the narrative of the Passion in which Roman soldiers and other enemies of Christ mocked him from the foot of the Cross. In the *de Trinitate* initials to Books Five and Six, the conflict between humans and animals may also be compared to Augustine's efforts against the Arians. The convoluted and twisting forms of the creatures in the initials as well as their underlying organisation into groups of three suggests that images of struggle were consciously selected as a means to describe Augustine's efforts in these two books.

There is no initial to Book Seven in MB B.II.26. The book commences on folio 58 with rubrics, but there is no indentation or space for an initial.³⁸ The initial to Book

³⁴ London, British Library, Cotton Nero C.IV, fol. 18; F. Wormald, *The Winchester Psalter*, London, 1973, fig. 21.

³⁵ W. Cahn, 'Heresy and the Interpretation of Romanesque Art', *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. N. Stratford, Woodbridge, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 27-33.

³⁶ Examples of a bestial Arius at the feet of the Trinity appears in the Offices of New Minster, Winchester (London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus D.XXVII, fol. 75v) and Psalm 109 in the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 32, fol. 64v). See E. H. Kantorowicz, 'The Quinity of Winchester', *The Art Bulletin*, 29/2, 1947, pp. 80-81, figs. 1 & 2.

³⁷ J. Marrow, 'Circumdedunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art in the Middle Ages and Renaissance', *The Art Bulletin*, 59, 1977, pp. 167-81.

³⁸ The eighth quire, in which the end of Book Six and the opening of Book Seven occurs, contains seven folios in contrast to the usual eight folio quires of the manuscript. The text of Book Six is complete, and Book Seven begins in the right column, with no room left for the capitula or an initial. It appears that the scribe forgot to leave space for the initial.

Eight is dominated by human heads that protrude from the letter and are set against blank vellum. In contrast, the beasts and birds inside the letter **D** are secured within the bowl against dark coloured grounds (Figs. 54 & 55). Not only are the human heads prominent due to their placement in the centre margin, but they are noticeably dissimilar in contrast to the pairs of identical beasts within the initial. Their differences include details of their mouths, expressions and facial orientations. The upper head is in a three-quarter view with hair parted in the centre while the lower head is a profile with a large nose and a pronounced chin. The heads are remarkable for the manner in which they extend from the letter on stem-like necks; it is more usual in MS B.II.26 for initials to have compact shapes that fit into the text column. Both heads face the left text column that contains the capitula or chapter summaries for Book Eight. Visually the centre of attention on the page, the craning heads suggest a purposeful design.

The heads in the initial to Book Eight are oriented away from the text opening towards the indices that describe the content of the book. The upper head is angled upward, a feature which might direct the reader to the opposing capitulum for chapter ten which begins *definitio quid fit animus iustus*. Chapter ten addresses how the earthly man can know the righteous man by recognising the beauty of righteousness and by seeking God in love and humility.³⁹ The lower head is parallel with the capitulum to chapter twelve where Augustine comments on the danger of men who seek God in the things of the world and in power and vanity.⁴⁰ The physical placement of the heads on the page appears to select these specific chapters for emphasis.

While marginal figures pointing to the text sometimes occur in twelfth-century manuscripts, it is unusual for figures in an initial to engage in such directional

³⁹ The chapter divisions in MS B.II.26 are different from those of the *Patrologiae Latina*. At a later date, MS B.II.26 was brought into conformity with the standard chapter divisions of the *de Trinitate*; the black number one which appears in the margin of Fig. 54 corresponds to this later numbering of the chapters in Arabic numerals. Book Eight, chapter 10 as it appears in MS B.II. 26 is Book Eight, chapter 6, 9 in PL 42, col. 953.

⁴⁰ Book Eight, chapter 6, 9 in PL 42, col. 954.

actions.⁴¹ However, in the second half of the twelfth century, an artist known as the Simon Master began to experiment with initials containing human figures that draw attention to the text beside them. In the ca. 1180 St. Albans Bible, four full- and bust-length figures have 'speech balloons' that link them to the text on the page.⁴² While the placement of heads beside the text in the initial to Book Eight suggests a relationship between the heads and the chapter summaries, it cannot be substantiated without considering the distinctive features of the heads.

Facial features, mien, pose, clothing and size are all ways that twelfth-century artists helped to distinguish between characters in miniature painting. Called 'visual language' by art historians, these details are capable of conveying meaningful information about narrative figures to their audiences. This use of visual language is based on the widely held belief that the outer appearance of a person was a mirror of his inner character.⁴³ Employed for humour as well as to aid in the recognition of figures, these features could function as signs to help the audience read a miniature.

One of the most common uses of visual language in the early twelfth century was to portray hierarchies through the use of profile and frontal faces as well as distinctions in size, clothing and physical attributes. For example, in the St. Albans Psalter of ca. 1120-30 (Hildesheim, St. Godehard, Psalter) the artist deliberately chose profiles for most of the figures in the miniatures and initials, reserving frontal views for distinguished individuals. There are fifteen frontal faces in the forty miniatures of the

⁴¹ An example of a marginal figure pointing to the text appears in a glossed book belonging to Herbert of Bosham in which the figure of Augustine stands in the margin holding an arrow and pointing to the text. In this case, the words beside him, *non ego*, indicate that he did not write the words which are ascribed to him (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.4, fol. 134v). This example, like others appearing in the margins of Bosham's glossed books, may have been part of Bosham's decoration of the text. C.F.R. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade*, Woodbridge, 1984, p. 60 and fig. 12.

⁴² Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48, fols. 7, 160v, 173 and 305v. See W. Cahn, 'St. Albans and the Channel Style in England', *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1975, pp. 190-91 for a fuller description of the Simon Master's use of speech scrolls and balloons.

⁴³ One example of twelfth-century stereotyping may be seen in the representation of the Shepherds and the Magi. T. A. Heslop, 'Romanesque Painting and Social Distinction: the Magi and the Shepherds', *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams, Woodbridge, 1990, pp. 137-52.

Life of Christ. Eleven of them belong to Christ, two to Mary and one each to Peter and David.⁴⁴ A similar use of frontal heads for saintly figures may be seen in the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 736) and in a miniature of St. Dunstan from Canterbury or Rochester (London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A.III).⁴⁵ In this miniature Dunstan is in larger scale, and his features and clothing are more elaborate than those of the kneeling archbishop, prior and monk. All of these devices draw attention to Dunstan and indicate his sanctity. Despite the fact that these visual systems were used prominently in miniatures produced in the first half of the twelfth century, the use of similar systems has not been noted in contemporary inhabited initials. However, a basic principle of visual language is its ability to be recognised by contemporaries. Logically, it could be applied to non-historiated images if used consistently and within a recognisable context.

If one were to 'read' the heads in the initial to Book Eight based on their physical appearances and positions, the upper head with its three-quarter view and delicate features is comparable to a figure like the kneeling archbishop of the Dunstan miniature. In Book Eight, Augustine describes righteousness as "in some sort the beauty of the mind, by which men are beautiful".⁴⁶ The equation between righteousness and physical beauty made in chapter ten is highly suggestive of the upper head that is placed beside the capitulum for this chapter of Book Eight. In order to be certain that the artist intended to make a relationship between the chapter summaries and the human faces attached to the initial letter, the lower head must also demonstrate a visual relationship with the capitulum before its face. In profile with a

⁴⁴For illustrations of the miniature cycle, see *The St. Albans Psalter*, eds. C.R. Dodwell, O. Pächt & F. Wormald, London, 1960.

⁴⁵In the St. Edmund *libellus*, St. Edmund appears in frontal view in five pivotal scenes; no other figure in the cycle of thirty-two miniatures appears in frontal view and Edmund himself is often depicted in profile. C. Hahn, 'Peregrinatio and Natio: The Illustrated Life of Edmund, King and Martyr', *Gesta*, 30/2, 1991, pp. 119-30 and T.A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus' and Painting in Kent around 1120', *Burlington Magazine*, 126, 1984, pp. 195-204.

⁴⁶*Est enim quaedam pulchritudo animi iustitia, qua pulchri sunt homines.* Book Eight, chapter 6, 9. PL 42, col. 954.

grotesque mouth and nose, the lower head has a markedly different character. The text of chapter twelve describes men of the world as “puffed up with pride” and “inflated”, considering them the lowest parts of the earth.⁴⁷ This head is fleshier and occupies a lower place in the initial, a position that befits the earthly man described in the text. In Book Eight, Augustine concludes his discussion of the Trinity from Scripture and turns to examine how the Trinity exists in the mind of man. He uses analogies to illustrate how different types of men do or do not reflect the Trinity. In this context, the two heads in the initial may be read as a contrasting pair, the righteous man and the man of the world.

The imagination of the Durham artist is apparent in the initial to Book Nine where a goat stands on his hind legs holding a book (Fig. 56). Two dogs flank him, and all three figures are united against a buff-coloured ground. The crossbar is divided into three coils of foliage containing a lion and two winged beasts. These figures create a second trinity. The initial that these six figures decorate is the letter **T** to the book’s opening word, *Trinitatem*. The opening sentence reaffirms the goal of the manuscript, “we are indeed seeking a Trinity, but not any trinity at all, but that Trinity which is God, and the true, the supreme, and the only God”.⁴⁸ Augustine refers in the opening of Book Nine to reading and inquiring about the Trinity, and he describes himself as a teacher. These passages help to explain the reading and speaking actions of the goat and his two companions. They do not, however, account for why animals and not men are engaged in these activities.

Animals holding musical instruments and standing upright are part of the fantastic and amusing vocabulary of English Romanesque art. C.R. Dodwell noted that animals frequently play instruments in Canterbury sculpture and manuscript illumination, and he traced the origins of the motif to Chaldean art and the fables of Phaedrus.⁴⁹ He

⁴⁷Book Eight, chapter 7, 11. PL 42, col. 957.

⁴⁸*Trinitatem certe quaerimus, non quamlibet, sed illam Trinitatem quae Deus est, verusque ac summus et solus Deus.* Book Nine, chapter 1, 1. PL 42, col. 959.

⁴⁹Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pp. 69-70.

argued that a reference made by the writer Boethius to the ass and his lyre legitimised a Christian use of the motif. Nevertheless, one twelfth-century commentator interpreted the image as depicting someone being ridiculous, introducing the possibility that this image might have been chosen for humour or parody.⁵⁰ Depictions of animals acting as humans, Joyce Salisbury argues, were increasingly common from the twelfth century onwards and are indications of a tendency to manipulate distinctions between humans and animals.⁵¹ In MS B.II.26, the text beside the initial describes intellectual activities associated with reading, and the presence of a reading goat beside this passage is an attention-grabbing and comic interpretation of the text. The initial marks an important turning point in the *de Trinitate* when Augustine shifts from discussing citations of the Trinity in the Old Testament to his own more speculative theories on how the Trinity may be found in man. This section of the text grows increasingly complex and metaphorical, and it is possible that the Durham artist sought to enliven it with an initial that is an amusing depiction of the reader's actions.

The initial to Book Ten contains the first full-length human figure in the manuscript (Fig. 57). A man in profile wearing a red gown sits on the back of a bird whose tail forms the crossbar of the initial. An arrow is drawn on the man's cheek, but it is not in the brown ink used elsewhere in the initial. The initial consists of two figurative elements, the man and the bird. The bird is drawn in the same colours as the two uprights and blends into the letter leaving the man as the primary emphasis. The text of Book Ten describes how the Trinity may be found in the mind of the studious man who knows himself. It is possible that the man in the initial might be interpreted as this contemplative man since he is not engaged in action. The arrow added to his cheek could suggest his upward and higher thinking. However, the man is in profile, a feature which links him to the heads in other initials, including the struggling heads in the initials to Books Five and Six and the lower 'worldly' head in the initial to Book Eight.

⁵⁰This comment was made by Philip de Thau as cited in Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, p. 80.

⁵¹J.E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1994, p. 128.

The following two initials in MS B.II.26 contain hybrid human figures and will be treated together due to their resemblance and the shared subject of Books Eleven and Twelve, a discussion of the outer and the inner man. In both initials human heads are attached to animal bodies with hooves, claws and tails. These hybrid creatures form the uprights of the letter N to Book Eleven and the letter A to Book Twelve (Figs. 58 & 59). Called hybrids for their combination of animal and human bodies, such creatures are common in Romanesque art.⁵² Near the end of Book Eleven of the *de Trinitate*, Augustine discusses the creation of fantastic animals, “neither do I remember a bird with four feet, because I never saw one; but I contemplate such a fantasy very easily, by adding to some winged shape such as I have seen, two other feet, such as I have likewise seen”.⁵³ This remark is repeated in Augustine’s Retraction on the Trinity where he notes that when he wrote this passage, he overlooked the reference in Leviticus 11:20 to four-footed birds.⁵⁴ The process of adding forms described in this passage is complementary to the creation of these hybrid figures. The proximity of the passage to the initials with hybrids suggests that the artist was reading the text and illustrating ideas from it when he decorated the initials to Books Eleven and Twelve.

In his work on Cistercian illumination, Conrad Rudolph proposed a potential meaning for hybrid creatures with a human head and an animal body. He called them half-men or *semihomines* after Bernard of Clairvaux’s condemnation of such figures in his *Apologia*. Rudolph argued that hybrid figures in the Cîteaux *Moralia in Job* initials are visual equivalents of Paul’s description in I Corinthians of the sensual man and the

⁵² Many twelfth-century hybrids are classical in origin, being copied from representations of centaurs, sirens and manticora. Other hybrids, like these, are invented by the mixing of forms and body parts. For a revealing article on hybrids in Gothic art, see L.F. Sandler, ‘Reflections on the Construction of Hybrids in English Gothic Marginal Illustration’, *Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H.W. Janson*, eds. M. Barasch & L.F. Sandler, New York, 1981, pp. 51-65.

⁵³ *Nec avem quadrupedem memini, quia non vidi: sed phantasiam talem facillime intueor, dum alicui formae volatili qualem vidi, adjungo alios duos pedes quales itidem vidi.* Book Eleven, chapter 10, 17. PL 42, col. 997.

⁵⁴ This portion of Augustine’s Retraction is found in MS B.II.26 on fol. 5v. CCSL, 57, pp. 101-102.

spiritual man. He suggested that the Cîteaux artist used hybrids to depict the outer or sensual man who struggles to resist the sins of the flesh.⁵⁵ Thus, the human head on a hybrid figure can be seen as a sign of his nascent spiritual being. Such an interpretation of hybrid figures is not universal or applicable to every instance of a hybrid in twelfth-century art. In fact, unless the text refers a struggle between the worldly and spiritual elements of human nature, it is difficult to read hybrids this way since they are used frequently in Romanesque decoration.

In Books Eleven and Twelve of the *de Trinitate*, Augustine addresses the Pauline metaphor of the inner and the outer man in his search for the location of the Trinity in man. The opening sentence of Book Eleven introduces this topic: “no one doubts that as the inner man is imbued with understanding, so the outer man with bodily sense”.⁵⁶ This metaphor is further articulated in Book Eleven, chapter three: “the rational soul lives in a deformed fashion when it lives according to the trinity of the outer man”.⁵⁷ With these assertions found beside the initial to Book Eleven, it is possible to suggest that the hybrids are intended as examples of deformed men who represent the outer man of ‘bodily sense’. Forming the vertical shafts of the initial, the two hybrids are the most complex figures in the initial. Like the beasts in the bowl of the initial to Book Eight, the winged creatures entwined in the centre of the letter N appear in pairs. The hybrid figures, by contrast, are larger, have lightly tinted outlines, and their backs are lined with schematic muscles.

In the initial to Book Twelve, the animal figures occupying the initial are more complex in their arrangement and in details like the coloured clumps of fur on their bodies (Fig. 59). Perhaps to compensate for the greater detail given to these figures, the human and hybrid figures form a striking visual unit that is enhanced by the

⁵⁵Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 56-62.

⁵⁶*Nemini dubium est, sicut interiorem hominem intelligentia, sic exteriorem sensu corporis praeditum.* Book Eleven, chapter 1, 1. PL 42, col. 983.

⁵⁷*Sed anima rationalis deformiter vivit, cum secundum trinitatem exterioris hominis vivit.* Book Eleven, chapter 3, 6. PL 42, col. 988.

clothing of the standing man and the long equine neck of the hybrid. Augustine continues his comparison of the inner and the outer man in Book Twelve. In chapter one, he makes the connection between the outer man and beasts clear; “whatever in our soul is in common with the beasts is the outer man . . . we do not differ from the beasts except that our bodily figure is not bent but erect. We should not be like the animals in our better part, our minds”.⁵⁸ In the initial there is a hybrid figure and a standing man; it is possible that these two figures were intended to represent the outer man whose soul and body resembles that of a beast and the inner man who has an upright human body with a three-quarter view face. The hybrid rests on the head of the man and has a prone, horse-like body. The standing man supports him, possibly a further means of implying the hybrid’s deformity and inferiority to the beasts in the initial who toss balls and do somersaults.

It is evident in these two initials that the artist had read the text of Books Eleven and Twelve and sought to illustrate its discussion of the inner and the outer man. A codicological feature of MS B.II.26 supports this argument. The initials to Books Eleven and Twelve occur in the same quire, and outside the first quire, this is the only one in the manuscript to contain two initials. The eleventh quire begins on folio 83 at the end of Book Ten and ends on folio 90 verso, one folio into Book Twelve. Contained in this quire are all the passages from Book Eleven and Twelve which are especially related to the hybrid figures in these two initials. This feature suggests that the artist was decorating and reading the manuscripts by quires.

The letter I to Book Thirteen consists of a panelled red frieze, broken in the centre by a roundel containing a human head and resting on the back of a contorted dog (Fig. 60). The initial to Book Thirteen is unusual for having a green line around the letter. Of the other initials in MS B.II.26, only the initial to Book Five has a containing line

⁵⁸*Quidquid enim habemus in animo commune cum pecore, recte adhuc dicitur ad exteriorem hominem pertinere. Atque in his omnibus non distamus a pecore, nisi quod figura corporis non prona, sed erecti sumus. Qua in admonemur ab eo qui nos fecit, ne meliore nostri parte, id est animo, similis pecoribus simus.* Book Twelve, chapter 1, l. PL 42, cols. 997-98.

in buff (Fig. 52). Both initials share a red acanthus frieze. The treatment of the human in the initial to Book Thirteen is similarly unique in the manuscript. The human head is enclosed in a roundel and has red-outlined features while the heads of humans and animals in the other initials are outlined in brown ink. In addition, the human head has summary facial features. He lacks an upper eyelid, lines outlining his nose and a chin cleft, all of which appear on the full and three-quarter view heads in the initials to Books Three, Eight and Twelve (Figs. 51, 55 & 59). The dog at the base of the initial can be compared in its distorted position and tail to other creatures in MS B.II.26.

A human head in a roundel is a persistent motif of Romanesque initials, especially in manuscripts from Canterbury. The Christ Church Passional, the St. Augustine's Abbey Priscian and the Christ Church Josephus all contain medallion heads.⁵⁹ Similar heads appear in Durham manuscripts such as MS B.II.22 and MS B.II.8 (Figs. 46 & 62). In the case of MS B.II.22, Anne Lawrence has indirectly suggested a means for the motif's transmission from Canterbury to Durham. She demonstrated that in the late eleventh century Durham scribes copied manuscripts from exemplars at Canterbury and that a Canterbury artist decorated one of these manuscripts, MS B.II.22, before the manuscript travelled to Durham.⁶⁰ Since the opening and only initial in MS B.II.22 has medallion heads in three-quarter view, the head in the initial to Book Thirteen may be inspired by a local manuscript such as MS B.II.22. The text of Book Thirteen discusses the concepts of light, faith and life as found in the Gospel of John. Much of the book focuses on human nature and the rational mind, supplying a potential interpretation for the human head in the initial. The initial does not, however, share the complexity or humour of the three preceding initials or the one following it. It is the only initial in the quire, and it is painted in the red and green of

⁵⁹See for example London, British Library, MS Harley 624, fols. 94 & 106v; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.51, fols. 2, 9, 21 & 26; and Cambridge, St. John's College, MS A.8, fol. 219 and Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.1.4, fols. 142v & 157.

⁶⁰A. Lawrence, 'The Influence of Canterbury on the Collection and Production of Manuscripts at Durham in the Anglo-Norman period', *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler*, eds. A. Borg and A. Martindale, British Archaeological Reports, International series 111, 1981, pp. 95-103.

the rubrics and the capitals of the *capitula*, suggesting that it was added at the same time as the rubrics. It is possible that this quire was decorated out of sequence; there was no obligation for an artist to decorate the quires of a manuscript in order.

Three figures form the shafts and crossbar of the initial letter N to Book Fourteen (Fig. 61). The crossbar is a full-length man, naked, bearded and in profile. He has a horn drawn onto his forehead in ink that is identical to that used in the first line of text, *Nunc de sapientia nobis est disserendum*. Two points may be drawn from this observation: the horn is not original to the design of the initial and it was added after the painting of the initial when the text was touched up. Struggle between man and animals is prominent in this initial, and the presence of a curling moustache on the man links him to the heads in the initials to Books Five and Six where men with moustaches are also engaged in combat with animals. As Dodwell noted in his study of Canterbury illumination, the motif of a naked man fighting an animal standing on its hind legs has parallels in the classical motif of Hercules and the lion.⁶¹ Often interpreted as a symbol of good versus evil, a man fighting a lion reoccurs in Christian art where it can be read as David and the lion. A unique feature of the initial to Book Fourteen is the spear held by the man; it suggests a degree of sophistication that is not seen in the Hercules and lion motif or in the other *de Trinitate* initials where human and animals bite one another.

In the opening sentence of Book Fourteen, Augustine writes of the wisdom of man, and he outlines the book's goal, to prove that man should always strive towards the image of the Trinity in himself. Augustine concedes that the image of the Trinity in man may be effaced, obscured or disfigured but that it can never be lost. Much of Book Fourteen can be interpreted as an exhortation to seek the ideal of the inner and the spiritual man. The horned and wrestling man in this initial may be read as another type of sensual, outer man engaged in earthly rather than spiritual thoughts. The horn

⁶¹Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pp. 67-68

might have been intended to make the man recognisable as an outer man and another type of hybrid. Like the initials to Books Eight, Eleven and Twelve, a human is introduced as unfavourable example drawn from the text. The example presented here could be that of the worldly and sensual man who ignores his understanding of the Trinity and begins to resemble a beast.

The initial to Book Fifteen is unfinished and contains two eagles who bite a palm-like leaf between them. The wings of the birds are detailed pen drawings, and the initial is symmetrical. Book Fifteen contains a summary of the entire work. The initial, containing two birds, does not relate to the text, but it is consistent with Romanesque initials filled with animals or birds and inspired by textiles.⁶² A pair of birds flanking a tree is a common motif of Canterbury initials and may have been derived from a ninth-century Spanish peacock silk in the cathedral treasury. The motif might have been transported to Durham illumination through its Canterbury associations, although the textile and silk collections of Durham were also plentiful.

Even though MS B.II.26 contains no image of the Trinity, some of its figural illustration can be related to the text. Several of the initials in MS B.II.26 might be viewed as a supplemental guide to the text for a reader inclined to study the initial decoration at length. One of the identifying features of these initials is the human head. However, such an interpretation of the initials is neither essential nor demanded of the reader; he could read and understand the text without examining the initials. In fact, this would be the experience of monks who had the text read aloud to them.

In the initials to Books Two, Eight, Nine, Eleven and Twelve, an explanation for the initial decoration can be found in the text immediately beside the initial (Figs. 50, 55, 56, 58 & 59). In other cases, including the initials to Books Three and Fourteen, the

⁶²Examples of Romanesque initials inspired by textiles are illustrated and discussed in Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pp. 75-78 and pls. 45 b & f.

textual support for the decoration lies more deeply buried in the sense of the text (Figs. 51 & 61). In the remaining initials, the text and image relationship is obscure and tenuous at best. These degrees of textual relationship imply that there may not have been a plan to decorate all the initials in a textually based manner. Also, the selection of images and themes for the decoration of an initial may have been influenced by the text on the page or in the quire on which the artist was working.

The closeness of the initials to the text has a physical basis that can be linked to the production of the manuscript. Certain features of the initials like the overlapping text corrections, the added ink horn in the initial to Book Fourteen and the arrow on the man's cheek in the initial to Book Ten suggest that the artist may have fixed the text and altered certain initials after he painted them. Furthermore, the initial to Book Thirteen is decorated in the same colours as the rubricated letters on the page, suggesting that the artist may have been the rubricator. Given these circumstances, one might wonder if the artist was also the scribe. While not impossible, there is insufficient evidence to identify the artist as the scribe too.

The design of the initials in MS B.II.26 suggests that they were created by an individual who practised the *lectio divina* and who was accustomed to reading and meditating on texts. Jean Leclercq has suggested in an article describing the practice of *otium monasticum* that artists did engage in meditation similar to that of the *lectio divina* while creating art.⁶³ Leclercq argued that *otium monasticum*, a seemingly contradictory combination of leisure and artistic creativity, allowed monks a means to express visually their culture, beliefs and goals. He demonstrated that monastic refrains to “read, pray and work” articulate the way in which these three activities find a balanced expression in the arts and in manuscript production.⁶⁴ In this respect, the initials of the Durham *de Trinitate* suggest not only the ways in which ruminating

⁶³ J. Leclercq, ‘*Otium monasticum* as a Context for Artistic Creativity’, *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. T.G. Verdon, Syracuse (NY), 1984, pp. 63-80.

⁶⁴ Isidore of Seville wrote that “the servant of God must read, pray and work without ceasing”. Leclercq, ‘*Otium monasticum*’, p. 67.

monks could 'read' inhabited initials, but how one particular individual *did* read the text and use it as inspiration for the manuscript's decoration.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.8

By the same artist is Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.8, produced at Durham ca. 1120-30. A comparison of the two manuscripts helps to elucidate the artist's work with human figures and heads as well as the working practices of the Durham scriptorium. Containing nineteen historiated, inhabited and decorated initials filled with human figures, heads and foliage, the initials of MS B.II.8 are similar in colouring and style to those in MS B.II.26. Three letters, introducing the preface and Books Twelve and Eighteen, are directly related to initials in the *de Trinitate*. A human head in the letter **E** to the preface of the Jerome manuscript lies on its side and echoes the frontal head in the initial to Book Three in MS B.II.26 (Figs. 62 & 51). In the initial to Book Twelve of the Jerome, two men with swords stab a lion that hangs upside down between them, paralleling the construction and theme of struggle found in the letter **N** to Book Fourteen in MS B.II.26 (Fig. 61). Finally, the letter **D** to Book Eighteen in MS B.II.8 has three profile human heads on its terminals (Fig. 68). The two upper heads facing each other may be compared to the nose-to-nose profiles in the *de Trinitate* initial to Book Five (Fig. 52). The resemblances of these six initials are reinforced by their shared colouring, foliage forms and figure style.

Although R.A.B. Mynors and C.M. Kauffmann noted the similarity of these manuscripts in their respective catalogue entries, neither scholar explored the artist's style or the chronological relationship of the two manuscripts.⁶⁵ On the basis of its decoration, Kauffmann dated MS B.II.26 ca. 1120-30 and MS B.II.8 ca. 1130. These dates are estimates since both manuscripts lack colophons and calendars, and they do not appear in a near-contemporary library list, evidence that can be useful in dating

⁶⁵Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, cat. nos. 62 & 68 and Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. nos. 28 & 46.

manuscripts precisely. Although Kauffmann does not specify why he placed he dated MS B.II.26 more broadly to a decade, he notes in his catalogue entry for MS B.II.26 that the initials use an outline drawing style that is reminiscent of eleventh-century Norman initials. His implication is that the more Romanesque surface decoration of MS B.II.8 indicates that it is a later manuscript. It will be argued that the artist consciously chose a 'Norman' style for MS B.II.26 and that it should be dated after the Jerome.

Physically, the two manuscripts are similar in construction and page layout even though MS B.II.8 has a larger folio size.⁶⁶ The more substantial dimensions of MS B.II.8 may be attributed to its longer text and its probable function as a manuscript for reading aloud. A now faded inscription in the manuscript indicated that in the fourteenth century it was stored in a cupboard near the infirmary where it was accessible for reading in the refectory.⁶⁷ Although the inscription was not contemporary with the manuscript's production, the size of the script and the punctuation of MS B.II.8 agree with such a function in contrast to the smaller proportions of MS B.II.26, a manuscript which might have been used for private study.

The treatment of humans, animals and foliage in the two manuscripts strongly suggests the work of a single individual. Both manuscripts have initials with 'fractured' backgrounds in which the artist has filled the spaces between foliate scrolls with flat areas of colour. This may be seen in the Preface and Book Ten initials of MS B.II.8 and almost all of the initials in MS B.II.26 (Figs. 62, 51 & 57). The initials also

⁶⁶ MS B.II.8 measures 400 x 300 mm and contains 213 folios. MS B.II.26 has 146 folios and measures 350 x 235 mm. MS B.II.8 has a text block of 297 x 220 mm which is larger than that of MS B.II.26 at 255 x 165mm. Both manuscripts are ruled in two columns of 40 lines each and their quire signatures are Roman numerals flanked by dots on the last verso of the quire. The collation of the manuscripts differs; MS B.II.8 has quires of 10 folios while MS B.II.26 has quires of 8 folios.

⁶⁷ The inscription as noted in the nineteenth century by Thomas Rud read, 'iste liber jacebat in armariolo juxta introitum infirmarie; sed nunc est de libraria'. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, cat. no. 68. See A. J. Piper, 'The Libraries of the Monks of Durham', *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker*, eds. M.B. Parkes & A.G. Watson, London, 1978, pp. 222 and 230, n.46.

share acanthus friezes, beaded scrolls and leaves with broad, finger-like lobes. The human heads have short blonde hair and curling moustaches (Figs. 64 & 61). The frontal faces in each manuscript share narrow rounded chins, centrally parted hair and beards composed of trimmed curls (Figs. 51 & 66). Finally, the clothing of three standing figures, the man in the letter **A** to Book Twelve of the *de Trinitate* and the figures of Achaz and Sherjasub in the initial to Book Four of the Jerome, is identical (Figs. 59 & 66). Their short tunics have gold collars, banded cuffs and hems, square-ended folds and an extra pleat hanging at the back. The degree to which all of these details are assimilated into the general handling of both manuscripts indicates that they are the work of one artist.

On first glance the deeper colours, more elaborate terminals and bands of colour surrounding the initials of MS B.II.8 suggest a more sophisticated handling than the uncoloured foliage scrolls, lightly tinted beasts and compact letter shapes of MS B.II.26. It is proposed, however, that MS B.II.8 is the earlier of the two manuscripts and that motifs from its decoration were reused in MS B.II.26. Both sets of initials share a love of pattern and surface detail that is typical of Romanesque art. However, in MS B.II.26 colour and pattern are more tightly controlled. The stylised green and brown hair on the lower beast in the initial to Book Twelve and the consistently spaced dots on the letter frame of the **D** to Book Eight of the *de Trinitate* may be compared to the initial **S** of Book Three in the Jerome where the red dots on the foliage scrolls are more haphazard in their shape and spacing (Figs. 55, 59 & 65). The colouring of the scrolls in MS B.II.8 is looser and frequently shifts between green and red paint on a single tendril. This colouring can be seen in earlier Durham manuscripts like MS B.II.13 and MS B.II.21, two manuscripts produced by Norman artists ca. 1088-91 (Fig. 47).⁶⁸ A reduction in the number of foliage tendrils found in the initials of MS B.II.26 as well as a more careful delineation of their interstices help to make the *de Trinitate* initials more readable and to emphasise their human and animal forms.

⁶⁸See also the alternating red and green colouring of the foliate fronds in the Robert Benjamin initial, Durham Cathedral Library B.II.13, fol. 102.

The solid forms and heavy outlines characteristic of Romanesque art are especially highlighted in the initial to Book Ten of the *de Trinitate* where the clothing of the full-length figure is highly schematic, and the letter is decorated with palm-like friezes (Fig. 57). This initial may be contrasted with that to Book One of the Jerome manuscript with its interlace, beast heads, multiple foliage tendrils and the seated figure of Jerome wearing drapery with a stylised fluttering hem (Fig. 63).⁶⁹ The greater certainty of line and the more selective application of decorative motifs in the *de Trinitate* initials help suggest that it is the later of the two manuscripts.

Whereas the Durham *de Trinitate* lacks historiated initials, they are a significant part of the decorative scheme of MS B.II.8. The historiated initials are visually marked by their deep blue backgrounds and their size; the average historiated initial is a third larger than a decorated one.⁷⁰ Red backgrounds and a more limited range of colours distinguish the decorated initials (Figs. 67 & 68). The identity of the historiated figures is precise and consistent. Christ is beardless with a cruciform halo, and he wears a belted ankle-length gown and a cloak. Isaiah, by contrast, has a bearded face, a buff coloured halo and a red and green gown with a wide yellow belt. Secondary characters like Achaz and Sherjasub in the initial to Book Four (Fig. 66) or a monk in the initial to Book Eight are in profile and wear shorter, less elaborate tunics.

The human heads in MS B.II.8 are smaller and less prominent since attention is more readily drawn to the large historiated figures, their gestures and their white scrolls. Although the eight historiated initials are not narrative, they are strongly linked to their neighbouring texts. Most historiated initials in MS B.II.8 depict Isaiah or Jerome holding a book or a scroll on which lines of Isaiah's prophecies are written. This is an appropriate means of illustrating the text since Jerome's commentary on Isaiah is

⁶⁹ Similar hems may be seen in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7, fols. 48v & 75 (Figs. 95 & 96). A copy of various tracts and commentaries on the Old Testament by Jerome owned by the Rochester monks, it may be dated before 1124 since it appears in the original portion of the *Textus Roffensis* library catalogue. See chapter three for a discussion of this manuscript and the Rochester scriptorium.

⁷⁰ The average size of a historiated initial is 117 x 68 mm while a decorated initial is 58 x 54 mm.

divided into eighteen books that discuss the typological significance of each verse of the book of Isaiah.⁷¹

For example, in the initial to Book Three, Christ sits in the upper bowl of the letter S holding a closed book and raising his right hand (Fig. 65). At his feet reverently pointing upwards is the bearded figure of Isaiah holding a scroll that reads, *Vidi dominum sedentem*, 'I have seen the Lord sitting'. The passage on the scroll is drawn from Isaiah's vision of the Lord in Isaiah 6:1, "I have seen the Lord sitting upon a throne high and elevated", and is discussed at the opening of Book Three of Jerome's commentary. Lacking in the initial are many features of Isaiah's vision like the temple setting, the Lord's train and the seraphim flanking him. However, the simple features of the initial and the writing on the scroll are sufficient to evoke Isaiah's vision. In fact, the reader, directed by the words on Isaiah's scroll, might also participate in a beatific vision of Christ that resembles Isaiah's vision.

Another letter S, to Book Eight, is filled with foliage scrolls that encircle the seated figures of Isaiah and an unidentified monk. The scrolls held by these two figures quote Isaiah 7:14, Isaiah's prophecy of a virgin birth. A third red ink scroll held by the monk describes Isaiah as a witness to Christ. A human head appears in the foliage of this initial on the left edge facing the gutter. It is separate from the historiated figures and distinct from the main pictorial emphasis of the initial.

The three figures in the initial to Book Four are readily identifiable as Isaiah with Achaz and Sherjasub since their names appear on the upper scroll to which Isaiah points, "the Lord said to Isaiah, meet Achaz and Sherjasub thy son" (Isaiah 7:3) (Fig. 66). The scrolls refer to specific passages discussed at the opening of Jerome's

⁷¹ The eight historiated initials mark Books One, Two, Three, Four, Five, Eight, Nine, and Eleven. Inhabited initials with humans open the preface and Books Ten, Twelve, Fifteen and Eighteen. Books Thirteen and Seventeen are decorated with beasts. Arabesque initials mark Books Six, Seven, Fourteen and Sixteen. See Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. no. 46 for the initial letters and their folios.

commentary.⁷² The human heads in the mouths of beasts below the feet of these three figures are more minor aspects of the decoration given their size and placement among the beasts and foliage in the base of the letter. They lack the assertive and attention-grabbing qualities of the *de Trinitate* initials to the Retraction and Book Six (Figs. 49 & 53). Many of the remaining historiated initials in MS B.II.8 have blank scrolls held by Isaiah, and in a general manner they recall the prophecies of Isaiah. These include the initial to Book One in which a seated Isaiah holds an open book and points to the opening lines of the text (Fig. 63), the initial to Book Five in which Isaiah has a yellow halo and holds a scroll shaped like an alpha, and the initial to Book Eleven where Isaiah sits on a leonine throne holding a blank scroll.⁷³ In the initial to Book Nine, Christ sits holding a book while surrounded by a crowd of figures, among them the prophet Isaiah.

In another historiated initial, the precise subject is challenging to identify since Isaiah is the sole human figure in the initial and his scroll is blank. Seated at the top of the letter **F** to Book Two, Isaiah is accompanied in the initial by a centaur with an axe and an owl with a rat in its mouth (Fig. 64). These three figures are the only ones in the initial beside three beast heads located in the terminals of the letter. The emphasis on the figurative components is reinforced by their arrangement; the owl protrudes from the initial while the centaur is the only figure in the bowl of the letter. The text of Book Two discusses Isaiah's prophecy of the destruction of Babylon. Isaiah 13:21-22 describes the creatures who danced in the ruins of Babylon, "but wild beasts shall rest there, and their houses shall be filled with serpents, and ostriches shall dwell there; and the hairy ones (*pilosi*) shall dance there". In his commentary, Jerome identifies these creatures as owls and satyrs. The satyr, a classical half-man, half-ape figure may have been confused with the centaur, a half-man, half-horse creature more common in Romanesque decoration.⁷⁴ It is possible that twelfth-century readers might have linked

⁷² The second scroll held by Achaz or Sherjasub is inscribed with Isaiah 9:8.

⁷³ The initial to Book Five is illustrated in Boase, *English Art*, pl. 33b.

⁷⁴ The first appearance of a centaur as a distinct creature in the bestiary occurs in the late twelfth-century English manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 602, fol. 10. N. Morgan, *Early*

the centaur and the owl in the initial to Jerome's description of the unclean creatures living among the ruins of Babylon. This textual illustration is one that uses suggestion rather than literal illustration since it does not depict the city of Babylon or the sins of the Babylonians but two creatures who might be associated with its ruins. The presence of these two figures in the initial to Book Two may be inspired by the word *Babilonios* in the last line on the page.

The strong connection between many historiated initials and the adjacent textual discussion in MS B.II.8 indicates a degree of planning. The colouring, size and figures of these initials also suggest that they were designed to complement the visionary and prophetic nature of the text. However, the initial to Book Two underlines a potential for word illustration, and this initial implies a more spontaneous level of decoration produced by the artist reading the text on the page while decorating the initial. The five inhabited initials of MS B.II.8 likewise reveal a freer character that does not complement the text in the manner of the historiated initials. Among these initials are those with the strongest resemblances to the *de Trinitate* initials.

In general, the inhabited initials are dense compositions with a variety of figurative and foliage forms that are heavily coloured. The preface initial with three human heads and several beast heads introduces Jerome's commentary and describes how an understanding of Christ may be found in Scripture (Fig. 62). The frontal human head on its side in the centre of the initial is beardless like the representation of Christ in the initial to Book Three (Fig. 65). It is not clear how a reader would have understood this head, although it is possible that he could interpret it as the head of Christ, supported by Jerome's opening premise that Christ is hidden in the prophecies of Isaiah. The tonsured head in a roundel to the left may be derived from the Canterbury initial in MS B.II.22 (Fig. 46). The head at the top of the letter is an odd feature that

Gothic Manuscripts (1) 1190-1250, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, vol. 4, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, London, 1987, cat. no. 54.

recalls a similar head in the initial to Book One (Fig. 63). The initial to Book Ten contains a man in a green tunic, entangled in the foliage of the letter **D**.

Three inhabited initials have more limited components that might have drawn the reader to study their forms closely. The initial to Book Twelve, a letter **N**, is zoomorphic and recalls the letter **N** in MS B.II.26 (Fig. 61). In both initials, man's conflict with animals is emphasised, and it is a struggle that is waged with man-made weapons. In the Jerome initial, two men form the upright shafts, and a beast hanging between them is the crossbar. The men wear short knee-length tunics and striped hose and hold raised swords. Certain features of the two figures like the colour of their hose and the crossed legs of the right man who stabs the beast disrupt the symmetry of the initial. The text opens with Isaiah 40:27-31, a passage that is directed at Jacob and Israel and urges them to have strength and to continue to labour despite feeling that they are unheeded by the Lord. Since the text focuses on two people and the initial contains two struggling human figures, it is possible to interpret them as illustrations of the struggling Jacob and Israel described in the text. This initial has not been recognised as historiated, because the men are in contemporary clothing and their struggle with a beast is not part of the text. The artist may have intended for it to represent their efforts allegorically.

The initial to Book Fifteen has a red ground and contains a hybrid beast with a bearded human head (Fig. 67). A second human head is lodged in the foliate tail of the beast and faces the text with an open mouth. As hybrid creatures are used meaningfully in MS B.II.26, this initial invites consideration of whether this hybrid might also refer to the outer or bestial man. Also, the lower head is the only human in the manuscript to have an open mouth. In Book Fifteen, Jerome discusses the different interpretations of the Old and New Testaments and the Hebrew and Septuagint translations of the Bible. A heavily exegetical discussion, it is not concerned with the spiritual struggle that characterised the initials with hybrid figures

in the *de Trinitate*. There is, however, a possible textual reading for the head on the lower terminal. Isaiah 54:1, the first verse to be discussed in Book Fifteen, urges the barren, *sterilis*, Gentiles to sing and to cry aloud in praise. The head's open mouth and its hair- and beard-less face, emphasised by the red background, could be features indicative of singing. There is no similar textual support for the upper head with its unusual hybrid form, a similarly rare image in MS B.II.8.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the upper head with a beard, a hybrid body and a dog head sprouting from his hair might be read as an image of growth, fecundity and silence in contrast to the sparse features of the lower head.

The final initial in MS B.II.8 is a letter **D** to Book Eighteen (Fig. 68). The decoration of this initial parallels that of Book Five of the *de Trinitate* (Fig. 52). Here, however, the lower moustached head has a furry creature in its mouth. This feature links it to the owl in the initial to Book Two which has a rat in its mouth (Fig. 64). The text of Book Eighteen opens with Jerome's statement that he is not going to talk about the Trinity but about the Resurrection and the carnal human state. It is conceivable that the artist read the word Trinity in the text and chose to draw three human heads as a type of trinity. In Isaiah 65:4, discussed in the beginning of Book Eighteen, reference is made to unbelieving people who eat the flesh of pigs. This text inspired Jerome to cite I Corinthians 6:13 for its reference to food: "the meat for the belly, and the belly for the meats: but God shall destroy both it and them: but the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body". In I Corinthians 6:12-20, Paul is concerned with questions of purity and sexuality, and he uses food and prostitution as examples of how humans sin with the body. Paul admonishes the Corinthians to "glorify and bear God in your body" (I Corinthians 6:20) since it is the body that is to be resurrected. The moustached man with an animal in his mouth might

⁷⁵ Although this hybrid form is unique in MS B.II.8, related creatures may be seen in other Durham initials like B.II.16, fol. 8 (Fig. 42), a copy of Augustine's commentary in John produced at St. Augustine's Canterbury but at Durham in the early twelfth century. Also, in the initial to Augustine's exposition on Psalm 90 in MS B.II.13, fol. 184, a human head sprouts from the back of a beast.

be considered an image of gluttony regardless of whether he eats or vomits the animal. An initial to I Corinthians in the ca. 1100 Lincoln Bible also has a profile human head on a terminal of the letter with a rat in its mouth (Fig. 80).⁷⁶ While there is no reason to link these two manuscripts or to suggest that the Lincoln initial was copied at Durham, the independent presence of meat-eating heads beside texts quoting I Corinthians 6:13 suggest that this image illustrates gluttony. As Michael Camille has demonstrated, gluttony and meat eating were vices with particular significance for medieval monks. Thus, it is possible that such a 'meat eating' human head could be linked by the reader to the idea of gluttony found in the text.⁷⁷

One of the motivating forces behind the initial decoration of MS B.II.8 appears to be a desire to link the initial decoration to the text, especially in the historiated initials where pointing fingers or speech scrolls emphasise such textual connections. The historiated initials of MS B.II.8 require the reader to examine them in order to identify the historiated figure, to read his scroll and to place him within the context of the particular book of Jerome's commentary. By contrast, the inhabited initials do not work in such a consistent way. In some, like the initial to Book Ten with its entangled figure, the human does not relate specifically to the text while in others only parts of the decoration, like the singing head in the initial to Book Fifteen, can be read alongside the text.

In comparison to MS B.II.26, the Jerome commentary highlights the artist's experiments with human figures and possibly his increasing recognition of the potential for employing his decorative vocabulary meaningfully. In particular, the inhabited initials do not suggest that the artist felt a need for every head or figure to hold precise meaning. A series of different choices appear to have motivated his decoration of the Durham *de Trinitate*. The changes in colouring, placement and size

⁷⁶ In the Lincoln initial, the human head faces the capitulum heading for I Corinthians 6:13 across the gutter and is accompanied by a beast head on the lower terminal, also disgorging a beast.

⁷⁷ Gluttony and the desire for meat are two of Camille's interpretations for the biting forms on the Souillac trumeau. 'Mouths and Meanings', pp. 43-57.

of figures in the *de Trinitate* initials may be the artist's means to clarify and to place emphasis on the individual components of these initials. The altered style of the *de Trinitate* initials might also indicate to the reader that the initials of MS B.II.26 should be read differently than those in MS B.II.8.

The artist of these two manuscripts cannot be linked to other Durham manuscripts, and few Durham manuscripts contain as consistent a series of initials with human heads. In many manuscripts, the opening initial is the only letter to contain human heads or even to have painted decoration. This is the case in MS B.II.14, MS B.II.21, MS B.II.22 and MS A.III.10 (Figs. 46 & 47). The two manuscripts examined here demonstrate experiments with the placement and meaning of human heads in initials and suggest that members of the Durham community might well have regarded these inhabited initials as a relevant part of their reading. In this light, the historiated initials of the Puset Bible may reflect the community's continuing interest in how the decoration of an initial can be an aid to the reader's *lectio divina*.

Chapter Three: Patterns in the Use of Heads in Rochester Manuscripts

Another scriptorium whose manuscripts share figural motifs is that of Rochester Cathedral. The initials of a volume of Rochester's Psalm commentary (London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.II) were discussed in chapter one where it was noted that some of the manuscript's initials appear to illustrate allegories found in the text. Additional Rochester manuscripts contain initials with human heads and figure scenes (Figs. 93-108). Unlike the Durham manuscripts discussed in chapter two, the Rochester manuscripts are decorated by different artists and reflect collaboration and an exchange of motifs.

While the borrowing of imagery is expected in a monastic scriptorium, the copying of motifs in inhabited initials can help to understand the interests and motivations of artists. An artist does not have to copy an image. When he does, it is an important indication that something in it appealed to him and suited its new setting. These issues of selection, adaptation and placement of imagery in initials will guide the following study of manuscripts produced in the Rochester scriptorium in the 1120s.¹

This chapter examines two volumes of a Vulgate set and a collection of writings by Jerome. Although several art historians have studied the Rochester Bible in the last fifty years and have helped to localise its production, little scholarship has been devoted to the decorative imagery employed in its two surviving volumes. Two manuscripts, a Joshua to Kings volume and a New Testament volume, have been

¹ Other scriptoria and regional centres of manuscript production that might also be studied are the monastic communities of St. Augustine's Abbey and Christ Church, Canterbury, the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, the monastery of Winchcombe and a group of west country manuscripts. By contrast, heads are largely absent from the surviving manuscripts of St. Albans Abbey, Salisbury Cathedral and the Cistercian community at Buildwas, inviting speculation that these houses did not experiment with heads or that these manuscripts have simply not survived.

attributed to Rochester Cathedral and considered the work of a single artist. Indeed, a shared repertoire of acanthus friezes, human heads and winged beasts can be found in the initials of both volumes. Overall, the decoration of the two volumes raises questions about Rochester's production of manuscripts as well as its relationship to Canterbury illumination.

Rochester was a prominent monastic community in twelfth-century England since it was re-founded as a monastic cathedral after the Conquest and enjoyed an especially close relationship to Christ Church, Canterbury. The rapid growth of the monastic community, its cathedral, scriptorium and library in the late eleventh and early twelfth century has earned the attention of many historians. In some respects, Rochester demonstrates the ideals and reforms of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical leaders. Lanfranc of Bec, archbishop of Canterbury (1070-1089), was responsible for the re-foundation of the community in 1076 and the appointment of Bishop Gundulf (1077-1107). The closeness of the two communities continued as Gundulf administered the diocese of Canterbury during periods of Lanfranc's absence and the vacancy between his death and the appointment of Anselm.² In addition, several Rochester bishops were Canterbury monks, and one Rochester bishop later became archbishop of Canterbury.³

Bishop Ernulf of Rochester (1114-24), a Canterbury monk and schoolteacher, rebuilt the cloister buildings and encouraged the establishment of the scriptorium and library at Rochester.⁴ One of the manuscripts attributed to Ernulf's patronage is the third

² For a discussion of Canterbury in this period, see M. Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins, 1070-1220', *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, eds. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay & M. Sparks, Oxford, 1995, pp. 38-68. Rochester's relationship to Canterbury is described in M. Brett, 'The Church at Rochester, 604-1185', *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral, 604-1994*, ed. N. Yates with the assistance of P.A. Welsby, Rochester (NY), 1996, pp. 1-28, esp 21.

³ Among the Canterbury monks holding prominent positions at Rochester are Bishops Arnost (1076), Bishop Gundulf (1077-1107), Ralph d'Escures (Bishop of Rochester 1108-14; archbishop of Canterbury 1114-24) and Bishop Ernulf (1114-24). C. Flight, *The Bishops and Monks of Rochester 1076-1214*, Maidstone, 1997, Appendix 1.

⁴ For Ernulf's career, see Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins' and P. Cramer, 'Ernulf of Rochester and Early Anglo-Norman Canon Law', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40, 1989, pp. 483-510.

volume of the Rochester Psalm commentary.⁵ The artist of this manuscript is distinctive for his pastel colours and thick application of paint, but he cannot be identified in other Rochester or Canterbury manuscripts.⁶ Some features of the Psalm commentary initials, like the presence of acanthus friezes inside letter frames and upright beasts as the shafts of initials, are typical of Rochester decoration.⁷ Since the Psalm commentary appears in an 1122-24 Rochester library catalogue, it may reasonably be attributed to Bishop Ernulf's patronage, and it is contemporary with the production of a Vulgate set at Rochester.⁸

The library catalogue found in the *Textus Roffensis*, a law book and cartulary written by the Rochester monks in 1122-24, reveals that in the 1120s the scriptorium was engaged in the production of a new Bible.⁹ Three volumes of this Bible, a Pentateuch, a Joshua and Kings volume and a New Testament volume, are numbers thirty-two, thirty-three and ninety-four in the *Textus Roffensis* catalogue.¹⁰ In a 1202 Rochester library catalogue, all five volumes of the Vulgate are listed together, and they are described as *novo* or new.¹¹ A striking aspect of this Bible is its production alongside

⁵ A fourteenth-century inscription at the base of folio 1 describes the manuscript as a gift of Bishop Ernulf. Boase has questioned the accuracy of this inscription, noting that Bishops Arnulf and Ernulf were often confused. In art historical terms, MS Royal 5.D.II can be dated to the first quarter of the twelfth century, making it roughly contemporaneous with the bishopric of Ernulf. Boase, *English Art*, p. 62, n.1.

⁶ A few early twelfth-century Rochester manuscripts use pastel colours, also thickly applied, but they cannot be attributed with certainty to the same artist; their initials contain mainly vegetal motifs. See London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.IX, fol. 53v and MS Royal 12.E.xx, fols. 33, 35v & 56v.

⁷ See for example the initial to the exposition on Psalm 51 in the second volume of the Psalm commentary set, London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.I, fol. 1; Heslop, 'Brief in Words', fig. 7.

⁸ London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.II is item number 1 on the library list of the *Textus Roffensis*, to be discussed in greater detail below. R.P. Coates, 'Catalogue of the Library of the Priory of St. Andrew, Rochester, from the *Textus Roffensis*', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 6, 1866, p. 122.

⁹ A facsimile copy is *Textus Roffensis (Rochester, Cathedral Library, MS A.3.5)*, ed. P. Sawyer, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, vols. 7 & 11, Copenhagen, 1957 & 1962. For the date of the *Textus Roffensis*, see vol. 1, p. 18 and vol. 2, p. 18 where the two parts of the manuscript are dated according to individuals and events mentioned in them. Part I containing legal texts can be dated between Ralph d'Escures death 20 October 1122 and the consecration of his successor, William of Corbeil, on 18 February 1123. Part II containing the cartulary of Rochester Priory has no documents from the bishopric of John, consecrated in May 1125. Thus, the *Textus Roffensis* can be dated between 1122 and 1124.

¹⁰ Rochester, Cathedral Library, MS A.3.5, fols. 226 & 230.

¹¹ The 1202 Rochester library catalogue is in London, British Library, MS Royal 5.B.XII. The two catalogues and the surviving manuscripts have been tabulated in M. P. Richards, *Texts and Their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 78/3, 1988, pp. 23-42 and W.B. Rye, 'Catalogue of the Library of the

an existing Bible at Rochester. The Gundulf Bible, so-called because a thirteenth-century inscription on folio 1 identifies Bishop Gundulf as its owner, is a late eleventh-century pandect Bible.¹² Lacking miniatures and historiated initials, the Gundulf Bible is decorated only with arabesque initials. It may have served as a service book for the liturgical needs of the Rochester monks. Since the text of the new Vulgate set was copied closely from the Gundulf Bible, the earlier volume must not have been considered deficient in its textual readings.¹³ One motivation for the production of a new Bible may have been a desire for a Vulgate set with more luxurious decoration.

In 1981, Mary Richards demonstrated that two manuscripts, one in the British Library and the other in the Walters Art Gallery, are the Joshua to Kings and the New Testament volumes of the Rochester Bible.¹⁴ They were first linked in a 1949 Baltimore Museum of Art and Walters Art Gallery exhibition, at which time the Royal volume was considered a Canterbury manuscript.¹⁵ T.S.R. Boase argued in 1954 that the two volumes belonged to Rochester on the basis of their decorative motifs and the appearance of a multi-volume Bible in the 1122-24 Rochester library catalogue.¹⁶ One of the difficulties in identifying the London and Baltimore manuscripts is an incongruity in the *Textus Roffensis* description of the Joshua to Kings volume. It is described as containing the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth while the British Library manuscript has the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth and the four Books of

Priory of St. Andrew, Rochester, AD 1202', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 3, 1860, pp. 54-61, nos. 113-116.

¹² San Marino (CA), Huntington Library, MS HM 62. C.W. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, San Marino (CA), 1989, vol. 1, pp. 124-30 and vol. 2, figs. 40 & 41.

¹³ Richards has compared the text of the two Bibles and describes the text of the new Vulgate as "virtually identical" to that of the Gundulf Bible, implying that the Gundulf Bible may have been recognised as the Rochester 'use'. *Texts and Their Traditions*, p. 77.

¹⁴ The third volume of the Vulgate listed in the *Textus Roffensis* library list, the Pentateuch, is now lost. M. P. Richards, 'A Decorated Vulgate Set from Twelfth-Century Rochester, England', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 39, 1981, pp. 59-67.

¹⁵ *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. D. Miner, The Walters Art Gallery and the Baltimore Museum of Art exhibition catalogue, Baltimore, 1949, cat. no. 19, pl. XIII.

¹⁶ Boase compared the acanthus frieze patterns in the Royal and the Walters manuscripts to London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.II. Boase, *English Art*, pp. 63-64.

Kings. However, Mary Richards has shown that the cataloguer of the *Textus Roffensis* was not always accurate in his assessment of the contents of a manuscript, and in the 1202 catalogue the Joshua to Kings volume is described correctly.¹⁷

Physically, the two volumes are nearly identical in size and layout.¹⁸ Their scripts, however, vary and have been the source of debate. Boase described the hands as either Canterbury or Rochester.¹⁹ Mary Richards and Neil Ker have pointed out that the script of the British Library volume uses rounded forms that are considered Rochester variants of the angular Canterbury script.²⁰ This manuscript is considered to be a completely Rochester product. The script of the Walters volume uses prickly hairlines characteristic of the Canterbury script and has only a few Rochester features. Richards attributed this mixture of characteristics to a Canterbury scribe copying the manuscript at Rochester. She has dated the Joshua to Kings volume with its more elaborate illustration and use of human figures after the Walters volume.²¹ This dating does not take into account the fact that the Joshua to Kings volume is number thirty-three in the *Textus Roffensis* catalogue, and the New Testament is number ninety-four, an addition to the catalogue.²² One of the most distinguishing features of the two volumes and a means by which to understand their artists is their differing use of human figures and heads.

¹⁷ Richards, 'A Decorated Vulgate Set', pp. 59-62.

¹⁸ The dimensions and layout of MS Royal I.C.VII are as follows: the folio size is 395 x 281 mm and the text size is 280 x 196 mm, with text columns of 31 lines. The Walters volume has a folio size of 370 x 274 mm, a text size of 274 x 200 mm and double columns of 30 lines. Richards, 'A Decorated Vulgate Set', p. 66.

¹⁹ Boase, *English Art*, p. 63.

²⁰ N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1960, pp. 30-32 where he compares the scribe of the Old Testament volume to the principle scribe of Rochester manuscripts. Richards, *Texts and Their Traditions*, pp. 78-79 and 'A Decorated Vulgate Set', p. 62.

²¹ In 1981 she dated the two volumes to 1130-40, but in 1988 she revised her dating to 1122-24 with the Royal volume still post-dating the Walters volume. Richards, 'A Decorated Vulgate Set', p. 64 and *Texts and Their Traditions*, pp. 79-80.

²² Not only do several folios separate the two entries, but the hand of the New Testament entry uses angular capitals in contrast to the rounded forms found on fols. 224-229v of the list.

The acanthus friezes inside the letter frames of both volumes are typical of Rochester decoration.²³ In addition, the motif of two beasts flanking a tree in the shaft of the I Timothy initial of the New Testament is identical to that on a carved impost of the chapter house doorway at Rochester.²⁴ Despite their similarities, the two volumes of the Vulgate set contain substantial differences in the scale and execution of their decoration. The Joshua to Kings volume has four historiated initials with many full-length human figures, rich architectural settings and complex colour schemes. By contrast, the New Testament has no historiated initials or full-length human figures, and the initials are painted in four bright colours.²⁵ In both manuscripts, human heads occupy the shafts and bowls of letters. In the Joshua to Kings volume they are small, paired profile faces in the foliate terminals of initials while in the New Testament volume human heads are prominent motifs of the initial decoration (Figs. 98-108).

The artist of the Joshua to Kings volume can be identified as a Canterbury illuminator working ca. 1120.²⁶ Several Canterbury and Rochester manuscripts can be attributed to him. For the purposes of this chapter, he will be called the Royal artist after his work in the Joshua to Kings volume, part of the British Library's Royal collection. Another artist whose hand is seen only in Rochester manuscripts decorated the New Testament volume at the Walters Art Gallery; he will be called the Walters artist. The use of common decorative forms by both artists suggests a collaboration and perhaps a desire to create a unified Vulgate set with similarly-sized letters having double-banded frames, interlocking panels and curling knob-like acanthus fronds. Many initials in both volumes are composed of disgorging winged beasts that form the upright of letters such as **I** or **P** (Figs. 98, 103 & 108). Despite these similarities of

²³ See Boase, *English Art*, pp. 63-64.

²⁴ Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 216v; D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and Its Romanesque Sculpture*, London, 1991, p. 73, figs. 112 & 113.

²⁵ One initial in the New Testament contains a human body, but it has animal heads and is considered a hybrid human figure. This is the initial to I John, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 152; Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, fig. 65.

²⁶ This artist and an outline of his work in Canterbury and Rochester manuscripts is discussed in T.A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus', p. 200.

construction and decoration, the handling of initials in each volume helps to distinguish between the two artists.

In the Old Testament volume, the foliage has a smooth outline and is coloured with thick brushstrokes. Purple is used as a background colour while blue, green, brown and grey are blended to create olive green and slate grey. All of these colours supplement the bright red, blue, yellow and green paint. By contrast, the New Testament initials employ only these primary colours and, occasionally, black. The drawing of the Walters artist is generally less sure with broken outlines. Dogs are fleshy, ill-defined creatures in the New Testament initials while in the Old Testament volume they have hardened outlines and stylised muscles (Figs. 99, 100 & 101). Specific foliage forms differ in the two manuscripts as well. The New Testament initials favour spindly and twisting foliage rather than the graceful coils and round blossoms found in the Old Testament. In addition, two foliage treatments seen in the New Testament initials do not occur in the Old Testament volume. One is a frond with a ruffled edge that emerges from the centre of a folded leaf as in the Philemon, Hebrews and Apocalypse initials (Figs. 106, 107, 108). The other distinction involves the colouring of fronds and can be seen on the lower terminals of the Romans and II Thessalonians initials (Figs. 104 & 105). In both initials, a scalloped edged leaf is coloured with fine pen lines, leaving an uncoloured median line extending the length of the frond. This colouring does not appear in the Old Testament initials where similar fronds are solidly coloured. The consistent application of these details suggests that each volume is predominantly the work of a single artist. A more pronounced difference between the Royal and the Walters artists is found in their use of narrative and figurative initials. It is in the use of human figures and heads that distinctions in the training, skill and ideas of the two artists become apparent.

London, British Library, MS Royal I.C.VII

Four historiated initials to the books of Joshua, I and II Samuel and II Kings dominate the Joshua to Kings volume of the Rochester Bible. The remaining seven initials in the manuscript are decorated with a variety of foliage, biting beasts and human heads.²⁷ While the historiated initials open prominent books of the Bible, decorated initials frequently mark the prefaces and chapter lists. The following analysis of the initials in the surviving Old Testament volume will concentrate first on the historiated initials before discussing the decorative motifs found in the initials surrounding the historiated ones.

Remarkable for their narrative scenes, the historiated initials are also distinguished by their sophisticated colouring techniques that emphasise significant features of the initial and set them apart from the decorated initials. A range of colours, richly decorated surfaces and elaborate architectural settings that recall ecclesiastical architecture mark the historiated initials. Meanwhile, the decorated initials of the Old Testament are filled with dogs, winged beasts and human heads painted in basic colours with little hatching, speckling or surface ornament. In this manner, the artist uses the degree of embellishment and visual complexity of an initial to indicate the significance of its text. While this visual emphasis on historiated initials is not extraordinary in twelfth-century manuscripts, it marks a critical difference with the New Testament volume where the initial decoration is dominated by decorative motifs.

The Joshua initial of the Royal volume is an **E** composed of two arches ornamented with spiral columns, foliate capitals, masonry and domes.²⁸ Inside the two horizontal arches of the letter are the standing figures of Joshua and Moses oriented at right

²⁷ These initials mark the preface to Joshua (fol. 1), the incipit to the capitula for Joshua (fol. 2), the capitula for the book of Joshua (fol. 2), the book of Judges (fol. 27v), the book of Ruth (fol. 52v), Jerome's preface to the books of Kings (fol. 55v) and the book of I Kings (fol. 120v).

²⁸ London, British Library, MS Royal I.C.VII, fol. 2v; Richards, 'A Decorated Vulgate Set', fig. 5.

angles to the text. Both figures are in three-quarter view and wear long gowns. Moses has a white beard and Joshua a red one. Although they do not look at one another, their features and Moses' handing of a jewelled book to Joshua help to identify the scene as Moses giving the Book of Law to Joshua.²⁹ This scene is derived from the first chapter of the book of Joshua where Joshua, the symbolic successor of Moses, receives his charge from God.³⁰ In the Rochester initial, Joshua and Moses and the architectural setting are elaborately drawn with blended paint colours and the application of red dots to the background. As a result, the entire initial appears to have a highly ornate surface.

The three decorated initials preceding the book of Joshua do not employ olive or slate paint and have no elaborate details. The initials introduce Jerome's preface to Joshua, the incipit to the capitula and the capitula to Joshua (Fig. 98).³¹ All are small letters filled with dogs, biting beast heads and foliage. In the letter **P** to the capitula, a pair of profile human heads is set against the multi-coloured ground of the bowl. Some hatching appears in these initials, but the use of green washes for the animals and the foliage scrolls makes them difficult to distinguish. Overall, the handling of paint, foliage and beasts is not striking, and the initials and their texts can be recognised at a glance. In contrast, the historiated initial to the book of Joshua contains an elaborate scene that provides a pictorial and textual emphasis in the manuscript. The care and time taken in its decoration invite longer consideration, not the least because the reader must turn his head in order to view the figures of Joshua and Moses.

²⁹ Kauffmann identifies the subject of this initial as God's charge to Joshua. However, neither figure has a halo or divine attributes. The difficulty in identifying the narrative arises because in the Bible Moses does not explicitly pass the Book of Law to Joshua. In other twelfth-century English miniatures of God's charge to Joshua, like the Joshua initial in the Winchester Bible (Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 69; Fig. 141), God is depicted as a figure emerging from Heaven. For Kauffmann's description of this initial, see *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. no. 45.

³⁰ The Walsingham Bible of ca. 1140 similarly has a sideways architectural **E** to the book of Joshua. Moses and a figure, probably Joshua, are seated inside the two arches of the letter; Moses can be identified by the horns that grow awkwardly from his cheeks while Joshua holds a book. Despite variations in the initial, it seems dependent on the Rochester initial. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 22, fol. 108. E.G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1927, vol. 1, cat. no. 22, pl. lxxvii. See also Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. no. 59, fig. 159.

³¹ London, British Library, MS Royal I.C.VII, fols. 1 & 2.

In the I Samuel initial, colour and ornamental architecture are again used to frame a narrative scene. The scene is the feast of Elkanah, Hannah, Peninnah and her children described in the opening of I Samuel.³² The narrative scene of the feast of Elkanah and his wives is described in the opening chapter of the Book of I Samuel, and elements of its iconography can be found in contemporary Bibles.³³ Colour is used to add to the scene's richness, as in the use of contrasting colours in the shaft and the use of red to pick out the children's apples and the labels identifying each figure.

The following initial to II Samuel depicts David as King and Musician flanked by two musicians playing a viol and a horn (Fig. 99). Like the two preceding historiated initials, the II Samuel initial has an elaborate architectural framework with three domed arches set against a violet ground. The coiling foliage of the shaft contains two affronted beasts, a dog biting its paw, two birds and a pair of profile heads. This is the only pair of human heads to appear in a historiated initial in the Bible. The heads face outwards in opposite directions and have red tinting on their faces. Since they have open mouths, they might be interpreted as singers accompanying the musicians above. However, three additional pairs of heads in the Rochester Bible also have open mouths, and they lack narrative contexts in which they might be interpreted as singing.

The historiated initial to the book of II Kings was considered by Boase to be the first English example of Elijah's Ascension.³⁴ The bowl of the initial depicts the Ascension of Elijah described in II Kings; Elijah in a chariot crosses the river Jordan on his

³² London, British Library, MS Royal I.C.VII, fol. 58. The iconography and historical connotations of the scene are examined by C.M. Kauffmann in 'Elkanah's Gift: Texts and Meaning in the Bury Bible Miniature', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 59, 1996, pp. 279-85. In this article a detail of the Rochester initial is fig. 106.

³³ Elkanah and his two wives appear in a miniature of the Bury Bible and an initial of the Winchester Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 147v and Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 88 (Fig. 142).

³⁴ Boase noted the Byzantine origin of the iconography and its fuller expression in the Winchester Bible initial to II Kings (Fig. 143), *English Art*, p. 65, pl. 18a.

journey to Heaven. The shaft is elaborately decorated with a scene of a hunter and two dogs chasing a rabbit. The hunter wears a yellow tunic, holds a pink horn and a red club and clambers up the shaft of the initial. Like most of the decorative motifs in the Joshua to Kings volume, he lies outside the frame of the narrative scene and is unrelated to it.

The decorated initials of the Royal artist employ a repertoire of beasts, human heads and foliage that are often repeated and painted in less detail than the narrative scenes. Purple is used in small quantities, if at all, in these initials and there is no surface stippling or blended paint. Due to their colouring and positioning, the human heads in these initials often seem to compete with other aspects of the decoration for attention. For example, in the initial to Jerome's preface to the Books of Kings, the letter V is created by a green dragon with red and blue wings set against a pale yellow ground. The human heads found in the foliage of the bowl are uncoloured and unobtrusive next to the beast. In the decorated letter E to I Kings, the human profiles at the edge of the initial are accompanied by a pair of large yellow griffins (Fig. 100). The heads, similar to other pairs appearing in this volume, are part of the recognisable decorative vocabulary of this artist. The approach of the Royal artist to initial decoration may be characterised as an additive one in which he freely employs motifs and images from his repertoire. Figurative motifs like heads and beasts are frequently paired, recalling heraldic devices or textiles in their emphasis on symmetry. Nevertheless, this artist is extremely skilled as his historiated initials in this volume demonstrate.

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18

The Walters artist was influenced by the Royal artist's initials in the Old Testament volume and copied some of its motifs in the New Testament. However, the Walters artist's selection and placement of borrowed motifs signals a different employment of these motifs. He rarely places more than one figurative motif in an initial and situates

it carefully in its setting. This difference is perhaps one of the most telling means of identifying and understanding the two artists of the Rochester Bible. A distinction in skill also marks the two artists. As noted, the initials of the New Testament demonstrate a more awkward handling of paint and line. In one place, trial sketches for the beasts in the initial can be found in the margin of the manuscript.³⁵ Beside the skill of the Royal artist, the Walters artist may have a novice or a pupil.

The twenty-six decorated initials of this manuscript repeat many of their beast and foliate forms.³⁶ Some compositions are used in several initials like the epistles of II Peter and III John in which the letters **S** are composed of disgorging beasts.³⁷ Likewise, the letters **I** to the epistles of Jude and James are formed by upright winged beasts that disgorge foliate flourishes.³⁸ Another favoured motif of the Walters artist is the use of a winged beast to form the bowl of a letter **P**, as in the initials to I Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, II Timothy and Laodicians.³⁹ The wings of these beasts are drawn from a bird's eye view and are multi-coloured. Despite this repetition, eight initials in the manuscript are marked by the presence of human heads in eye-catching compositions (Figs. 101-108).

The first initial in the New Testament has been copied with two alterations from an initial in a Rochester copy of Jerome's short tracts and commentaries on the Old Testament (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7). This manuscript was in the Rochester library at the time that the New Testament was produced and will be discussed in the third part of this chapter. The Matthew initial borrows the diagonal registers occupied by a disgorging beast, a griffin and a winged beast with a human

³⁵ Sketches of beast heads can be found in the margin beside the I Corinthians initial on folio 175.

³⁶ These initials are to the books and epistles of the New Testament. The initial to Luke has been excised from the manuscript, and there is no initial to II Corinthians. Other losses to the book include the entire first quire that might have contained a set of canon tables. There are no prefaces to the Gospels. A complete series of photographs of the initials in the Walters New Testament may be found in the Conway archives of the Courtauld Institute of Art.

³⁷ Fols. 149v, 155v & 156v.

³⁸ Fols. 142 & 157.

³⁹ Fols. 175, 195, 203, 216v & 231; See Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, fig. 112 for the II Timothy initial.

head in its mouth (Figs. 93 & 101). However, the man holding a fish on his shoulder in the middle register of the Jerome initial is absent in the Matthew initial where the register is elongated and filled with an ill-proportioned beast that barely resembles the griffin in the original. The second change from the original is the addition of a crossbar filled with a winged beast that holds the human head in its jaws. The copying of the Jerome letter **I** for the Matthew initial **L** was probably encouraged by the similarity of their letter structures. An anomaly, however, is why the artist chose to keep the human head when he avoided the use of full-length human figures, like the man with the fish, in the New Testament initials.

One explanation for the presence of the human head and the deletion of the man might be that the artist felt unable to adequately draw the human figure, but he was less intimidated by the profile head. A diminutive portion of the initial and caught between two beast mouths, the head might convey a sense of entrapment and struggle since it is caught in the jaws of two dragons, universal signs of evil. The head itself is not closely linked to the text by virtue of its placement inside the letter. It is, however, located beside Matthew's text describing the genealogy of Christ and specifically beside the verse *Achaz autem genuit Ezechiam*. In Jerome's interpretation of Hebrew names, a text found in MS O.4.7, the manuscript from which the Matthew initial was copied, Jerome wrote that Achaz signifies one who is held or arrested.⁴⁰ Because the human head is caught in beast mouths beside this text, a diligent reader seeking text and image connections might have observed a link between the initial decoration and the opposing text.

Portions of the initial to the Gospel of Mark have also been borrowed from MS O.4.7 (Fig. 102). The letter **I** contains motifs from two initials of the Jerome manuscript, suggesting that the Walters artist built his repertoire of motifs from the patristic manuscript. The flattened lions facing one another inside the letter are found in the

⁴⁰ *Aaz adprehendens*. Jerome, *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*, De novo testamento, de evangelio Matthaei in CCSL, 72, p. 134.

initial to the pseudo-Jerome's preface to his commentary on II Samuel. The human head and the mask at the base of the letter are parts of the initial to Jerome's commentary on Genesis (Fig. 93). Despite these models, the Walters artist made two significant changes. He added a mask to the upper terminal and shifted the profile human head so that it looks upward and not at the text.

In 'reading' this initial, a Rochester monk might have noted again the presence of a human head in a beast mouth as a potential sign of struggle against evil. The opening of the Gospel of Mark describes the birth of John the Baptist and his prophecy of the coming of Christ. Mark 1:2, "Behold, I send my Angel before thy face" appears beside the beast holding a human head in Walters MS W.18.⁴¹ The angel referred to in this verse is John the Baptist who is considered a forerunner of Christ. A portion of this phrase, *meum ante faciem tuam*, is directly opposite the head. The head, however, has been turned and does not look into the text. Nevertheless, its position immediately beside this text suggests a link between the word "face" and the human head. In addition, the personal possessive "thy" might have increased the reader's attention to the human head and its position.

Framing the letter are two contrasting masks. Both have horns, but one set is foliate while the other is crescent-shaped. The different colours of the faces, red, green and buff for the upper head and blue for the lower head, further distinguishes them. The upper mask is before the face of the trapped human head. With a slightly wild and dishevelled appearance, this mask could potentially be interpreted as John the Baptist who emerged from the wilderness and predicted Christ's birth.⁴² If read as John the

⁴¹ Although the Gospel of Mark attributes this quote to Isaiah, modern scholarship has determined it to be a conflation of Exodus 23:20, Malachi 3:1 and Isaiah 40:3.

⁴² Deborah Kahn has suggested that a crypt capital at Christ Church Canterbury with a bearded head ensnared in foliage provided the model for this head. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 52, fig. 61. If the manuscript was decorated at Rochester, as the I Timothy initial based on the Rochester chapter house impost suggests, then the Walters artist would have drawn the Canterbury capital from memory. More local capitals might also have influenced the Walters artist. In the Walters Art Gallery file on W.18, photographs of a heavily eroded twelfth-century capital at Rochester Cathedral reveal that it was decorated on two faces with a king and on the other two faces with a horned devil and a fool sticking out his tongue.

Baptist, this mask visually illustrates the prophecy of Mark 1:2 since it appears before the face of the trapped human head. The opposing mask with its blue tinting is equally suggestive. Its round face resembles a Gorgon mask, and it has curved horns often associated with Moses or devils.⁴³ Visually this head is a foil for the upper mask. The text beside the initial describes John the Baptist and the coming of Christ as well as Satan's temptation of Christ in the wilderness. The juxtaposition of the masks and their colouring might lead a reader to identify them as John the Baptist and Satan. The three main characters mentioned in the text on this folio are John the Baptist, Christ and Satan, introduced in that order. By identifying the three heads with the three characters described in the text, the ragged mask at the top is John the Baptist, the human head trapped by a beast is Christ and the grinning Gorgon mask at the base is Satan. The struggle of the human head in the shaft could be interpreted in an allegorical sense related to Christ's suffering on earth.

Three human heads appear in the initial to I Peter. These heads are all in profile, and they inhabit the lower terminal of the letter **P** (Fig. 103). A blue bearded head with a red eye disgorges a stem from which a Janus head sprouts, each head preparing to eat from the bunch of grapes before it. All three figures are carefully modelled in buff and set against a strong blue and yellow ground. The arrangement of the three heads suggests a trinity. In addition, grapes are a symbol of the wine of the Eucharist. These Trinitarian associations can be supported by their surrounding text. The text of I Peter 1:2-3 is indented to accommodate the terminal of the letter and contains part of Peter's greeting and benediction. In this passage, Peter refers to the three persons of the Trinity as grace and peace or the Holy Spirit, God the Father and Jesus Christ. The presence of a trinity of heads in the base of the initial is likely to have been a

⁴³ Compare, for example, Moses' horns in a miniature of the Bury Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 94) and the initial to Joshua in the Walsingham Bible (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 22, fol. 108). Conversely, the devils tormenting the Damned in the Winchester Psalter miniature of the Angel Locking the Damned in Hell all have horns, and many of them are crescent-shaped (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.IV, fol. 39). Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, figs. 149 & 159 and *English Romanesque Art*, p. 16.

conscious part of the decoration. That God the Father begot Christ and the Holy Spirit is hinted at in the bearded head that disgorges and supports two other heads.

In the initial to Romans, a single head is found in the lower terminal (Fig. 104). Like the profile on the shaft of the I Peter initial, it is bearded and oriented towards the text. Attention is drawn to the human head due to its substantial size and position between the text columns rather than in the indented space above. The text across from this head, Romans 1:6-7, contains another evocation of the Trinity. It reads, “to all that are at Rome, the beloved of God, called to be saints. Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ”. Paul’s practice of recalling the Trinity in the opening of his epistles was noted by Augustine in his unfinished commentary on Romans.⁴⁴ In his discussion of this passage, Augustine argued that Paul’s invocation of grace and peace refers to the Holy Spirit and that along with the invocation of God the Father and Jesus Christ, it invokes the Trinity.⁴⁵ A Rochester monk probably would have recognised Paul’s invocation of the Trinity or recalled Augustine’s discussion of it because the early twelfth-century library at Rochester owned a copy of Augustine’s commentary on Romans.⁴⁶ In fact, the Walters artist decorated the Rochester copy. The opening initial in this manuscript has many pencil sketches, smudges, erasures and unevenly applied paint, suggesting that it predates the Walters artist’s work in the New Testament.⁴⁷ If so, then it is likely that the artist

⁴⁴ Augustine also observed that the word for greeting, *salus*, means three in some languages. He linked this etymology to the fact that the greetings of the epistles often invoke the Trinity. *Augustine on Romans: Propositions from the Epistle to the Romans/Unfinished Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, tr. P.F. Landes, Society of Biblical Literature 23, Chico (CA), 1982, Unfinished Commentary, chapter 13, pp. 68-69.

⁴⁵ See Landes’ introduction, *Augustine on Romans*, p. xi.

⁴⁶ In the 1202 library catalogue, item number thirteen is [*Aug.*] *Super epistolam ad Romanos ex compilationibus bede in uno vol.* London, British Library, MS Royal 4.C.IV was linked to Rochester in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. N.R. Ker, 2nd ed., London, 1964, p. 162 where it is described as ‘*Florus diaconus*’. Richards has identified it as the Romans commentary, *Texts and Their Traditions*, p. 33.

⁴⁷ Although London, British Library, MS Royal 4.C.IV is not listed in the 1122-24 *Textus Roffensis* catalogue, its script, page layout and decoration indicate that it is contemporaneous with Bible. Perhaps this manuscript was unfinished in the scriptorium at the time the Bible was decorated, or it may have been left out of the library catalogue since the Augustine folios of the catalogue are extremely full and the last two lines on folio 225 recto are cramped. It is listed in the 1202 library catalogue. Rye, ‘Catalogue of Rochester, AD 1202’, p. 54, no. 13.

had read and absorbed the text of Augustine's commentary before decorating the Bible initials. Since Augustine discusses the phrase 'grace and peace' at great length in his commentary, it is probable that the artist was prepared to recognise its occurrence in the Bible. Thus, even though the initial does not depict a Trinity, the bearded face looking into this passage might evoke the Trinity due to its placement next to the textual invocation of the Trinity.

In the following two initials with human heads in the Walters volume, the heads are not located on the terminals of the letter. Instead they are buried in its foliate scrolls. A profile head is upside down in the foliage of the II Thessalonians initial (Fig. 105). Rather than protruding from the letter or facing the text opening, the head is enclosed in a foliage coil and looks left towards the gutter. It is on unpainted vellum, and there is a single beast head in the initial decoration. This absence of distracting details draws attention to the unusual orientation of the head. It is framed by two references to the same text, Paul's warning of the appearance of the Antichrist in II Thessalonians 2:1-2. The passage opens with the phrase *Rogamus autem vos fratres*. This phrase is also the chapter heading for this portion of the epistle. The capitulum for II Thessalonians 2:1 can be found opposite the head on the verso. The same phrase is repeated in the opening of chapter two in the right column behind the head where it is introduced by a green letter **R**. This text warns Paul's readers not to lose their minds in fear or in anticipation of Christ's coming. The passage, found on both sides of the head, may help to explain its unusual appearance. The upside-down head could be interpreted as an individual losing his head and not being in a right, or upright, mind. Alternatively, the upside-down head, the only one of its kind in the manuscript, could be read as an evil character such as the Antichrist. Both interpretations are well suited to the textual location.

Another foliate head is found in the bowl of the letter **P** to Philemon (Fig. 106). This head is upright and oriented towards the opening of the epistle. Like other initials with

heads in the New Testament, the decoration is limited to foliage and geometric forms. The trapped quality of the head may be intentional. The epistle to Philemon is one of the letters that Paul wrote while imprisoned, as indicated by the rubricated opening of the epistle describing Paul as *vincetus* or prisoner. As a visual analogy of this text, the head, entrapped by foliage, might be considered a prisoner as well.⁴⁸

One of the most striking initials in the New Testament is that opening the epistle to the Hebrews. A large frontal head with a moustache rests between the foliage scrolls of the letter **M** (Fig. 107). The ears, eyes and chin of the face are oddly shaped, possibly encouraging the reader to study the head. Upon examination, the reader could see the head as three heads in one, two profiles flanking a frontal face. Another trinity of heads, it may be linked to the rubricated word directly below, *multifarie*. Meaning in many places or in many ways, this word is used to describe the ways in which God speaks to people. Since God can be seen to act through the Trinity, this opening word alone provides a possible interpretation for the head since it too can be seen in two ways. As one of Paul's epistles, the letter to the Hebrews could be expected to contain a reference to the Trinity in its opening passage. However, as Augustine notes in his commentary on Romans, the reference to the Trinity is obscure in Hebrews since Paul did not want to risk offending Jewish readers.⁴⁹ Would the Rochester monk, familiar with this passage in Augustine's commentary on Romans have recognised this trinity of heads as a subtle reference to the Trinity? The repeated emphasis on the Trinity in the initial decoration of the New Testament reinforces the suggestion that the Walters artist had read and carefully considered Augustine's commentary on Romans. The initials to II Thessalonians, Philemon and Hebrews have also indicated a possible link between the initial decoration and the rubricated headings or chapter openings of these books. In each case, the rubricated word suggests a potential interpretation for the human head in the initial. Such connections

⁴⁸ A human figure is also entangled in the foliage of the Philemon initial in the Winchester Bible. Walter Oakeshott suggested that the figure might be symbolic of Paul the Prisoner or the True Vine. Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, p. 49.

⁴⁹ *Augustine on Romans*, p. 11.

between the decoration and the rubrication could also indicate that the artist supplied the rubrication and that these rubricated words and letters gave him ideas for the initial decoration.⁵⁰

The initial to the Apocalypse is composed of two large winged beasts that are particularly well executed (Fig. 108). The skilful drawing of their twisting necks is distinctive. It raises the possibility that this feature was copied from work of the Royal artist or that the Royal artist sketched it. The foliage forms and the painting of the initial, however, are the work of the Walters artist. The profile head entangled in acanthus scrolls is difficult to relate to the text due to its location inside the letter, nor does the rubrication on the page help to explain its presence. It may function as a text marker lacking the textual specificity of the preceding heads. Unfortunately, the red paint surrounding the head has been smudged, further obscuring the head. This accident is likely to have occurred after the initial was painted.

A hybrid human figure appears in the initial to John's first epistle. The bowl of the letter Q is filled with a dog-headed creature having a human body and holding two branches.⁵¹ The drapery, knotted girdle and posture of the seated figure resemble that of David in the II Samuel initial in the Old Testament (Fig. 99). In the New Testament the dog-headed figure is an anomaly for its human body and its sure outline. Did the Royal artist supply it as well as the two beasts in the Apocalypse initial? Inspiration for the motif may come from Canterbury sculpture; Deborah Kahn compared it to a two-headed beast with breasts appearing on a crypt capital at Canterbury Cathedral.⁵² Why the Royal artist assisted in these two initials and not the remainder of the manuscript is unclear. Perhaps he left Rochester at an early stage in

⁵⁰ In some initials in the New Testament, the colours of the rubrication are similar to those used in the initial. The rubrics often overlap the decoration, indicating that they were added after the initial was painted. It is possible that pencil notes in the margins, now erased, indicated to the artist the rubrics that were to be supplied in each case. The artist as rubricator is suggested in London, British Library, MS Royal 4.C.IV since it has heavily erased rubrication that is poorly spaced.

⁵¹ Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 152; Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, fig. 65.

⁵² Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 52, fig. 62.

the production of the New Testament, leaving the Walters artist to decorate the remainder of the volume, work which he accomplished with the aid of MS O.4.7. The seated figure, despite its pose, garments and girdle, rests its feet on a beast head and has dog heads. These features are atypical of seated authority figures and might be recognised as subversive. In fact, the dog-headed creature recalls the cynocephali depicted in Romanesque sculpture and often interpreted as non-Christians who inhabit distant portions of the earth.⁵³

Unlike the two Rochester manuscripts already examined in this thesis, the Rochester Psalm commentary and the Joshua to Kings volume of the Old Testament, attention is drawn in the New Testament to the human head and to the manner in which heads can relate to the text beside the initial. Multiple text readings can be found for the New Testament heads. Its initials most resemble those of the Psalm commentary because they are not historiated and they sustain text and image analysis, unlike the Old Testament initials that are based on the textual narrative. Historiated initials and allegorical text and image relationships can be seen in a fourth Rochester manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7

Copied mainly from a Christ Church manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.2.34), MS O.4.7 contains various tracts on the Old Testament. While some of these texts have now been attributed to the pseudo-Jerome, they were thought in the twelfth century to be by Jerome and to be useful in Bible study.⁵⁴ Four similar volumes of Jerome's tracts can be found in the early twelfth century.⁵⁵ The general

⁵³ See for example the cynocephali on the twelfth-century tympanum at Vézelay, R. Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East: a Study in the History of Monsters', republished in R. Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*, London, 1987, fig. 77.

⁵⁴ For a discussion of one of the pseudo-Jerome texts, see A. Saltman, *Pseudo-Jerome Quaestiones on the Book of Samuel*, Leiden, 1975.

⁵⁵ A full listing of contents of MS. O.4.7 may be found in Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Anglo-Norman England*, no. 167. Nos. 136, 222 and 697 in the same volume are manuscripts from

contents of the Rochester manuscript may be characterised as commentaries on various books of the Old Testament and onomastica or works describing the origin and meaning of names. The onomastica in particular can be found appended to Bibles and Psalm commentaries where they must have guided reading on the Bible.⁵⁶

The similarity of the texts of MS B.2.34 and MS O.4.7 suggests that the Rochester manuscript was copied from the Canterbury copy with two alterations to its contents.⁵⁷ It was written by one of two main Rochester scribes and decorated by the Royal artist.⁵⁸ M. R. James conjectured that it was originally made for Canterbury and given to Rochester before 1122-24 since it is listed in the *Textus Roffensis* library list.⁵⁹ Several of the motifs found in the initials of MS O.4.7 are also seen in a contemporary copy of Anselm of Canterbury's works (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 271), produced at Christ Church in the 1120s.⁶⁰ These factors concur with the earlier suggestion that the Royal artist was a Canterbury artist who worked at Rochester for a period in the 1120s.

One of the MS O.4.7 initials has appeared in scholarship. Michael Camille, in an article concerned with reading and depictions of speech in twelfth- and thirteenth-century miniature painting, examined the initial letter **A** to Jerome's *Liber*

Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum, a list of Hebrew names appearing in the Old

Christ Church Canterbury, Durham and Exeter that contain related, though not identical, collections of Jerome's writings.

⁵⁶ Jerome's *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum* can be found in English Psalm commentaries such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a and Bibles like Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl Q.b.5.

⁵⁷ The Canterbury volume contains 'notae divinae legi necessarie cum suis exemplis' which the Rochester volume lacks. A tract entitled 'Ad estimandum cuiusque rei altitudinem sole lucente' is added to the Rochester volume. Compare nos. 136 and 167 in Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Anglo-Norman England*.

⁵⁸ Several additional Rochester manuscripts were copied from Christ Church exemplars. For a list of these manuscripts see Ker, *English Manuscripts*, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁹ It is item number twenty-nine, *de hebraicis quaestionibus in genesi, et de mansionibus filiorum israhel, et de distantis locorum, et interpretationes hebraicorum nominum, et quaestiones in librum regem, et de decem temptationibus, et canticum debborae, et lamentationes ieremiae in i vol*, Richards, *Texts and Their Traditions*, pp. 26-27. See also Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. no. 23.

⁶⁰ Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. no. 42. The motifs include a man carrying a fish on his shoulder and a boy riding a hooved bird. In turn, several initials and motifs in MS Bodley 271 can be related to other Canterbury manuscripts.

Testament with their symbolic meanings (Fig. 96).⁶¹ The initial contains a bear wearing a muzzle and a lead, a bear trainer and a human figure clambering in the foliage along with a winged dragon and a dog-like creature. Camille argued that the bear trainer is teaching the bear his ABCs, mimicking the action of the reader who was expected to read and to memorise the alphabetical lists of Hebrew names. The bear's repetition of his trainer's sounds, beginning with the letter A, might have echoed the manner in which the reader would have begun to memorise, through oral repetition, the onomastic. Camille also suggested that the human figure munching on the leaves of the letter illustrates the term *ruminatio*, the practice of meditating and chewing on words of text. Camille described the entire initial as "a cue for audible repetition" and "a playful admonition to the monastic user of the text to learn through repeating these interminable lists in their alphabetic order".⁶²

Another onomastic, Eusebius of Caesarea's list of Old Testament place names translated by Jerome, is opened with the letter A (Fig. 95). Inside, a bald man sits astride a hybrid bird with large hooves. A profile human head is attached to the lower terminal of the letter. Both motifs may be seen in Canterbury manuscripts. In MS Bodley 271, the Canterbury copy of Anselm's works, a boy rides a bird in the initial to *de Libero Arbitrio*.⁶³ As in the MS O.4.7 initial, the bird turns to bite the boy's head. A related motif of a man riding a serpent can be found in several twelfth-century initials where it has been interpreted as a wicked man.⁶⁴ The boy riding a bird might represent a fable or proverb, but if so its meaning is now unknown. The head on the terminal wearing a Phrygian cap may be compared to a significantly smaller head with

⁶¹ M. Camille, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8/1, 1985, pp. 26-49.

⁶² Camille, 'Seeing and Reading', pp. 29-30.

⁶³ *de Libero Arbitrio*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 271, fol. 127v.

⁶⁴ This motif appears late in the twelfth century in a Durham manuscript, Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.II.19, fol. 87v. Here the motif is in a roundel in the shaft. The man has purple flesh and wears white shorts. His features are grotesque and the serpent that he rides turns to bite his nose; Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, fig. 287. A related motif appears in the St. Albans Psalter initial to Psalm 57 where a man rides a serpent. It has been interpreted as the wicked man astride a dragon. Hildesheim, St. Godehard, Psalter s.n., p. 183. *St. Albans Psalter*, p. 226 and pl. 58c.

a similar cap in the exemplar for the manuscript, MS B.2.34.⁶⁵ Phrygian caps were occasionally used in Anglo-Saxon miniature painting to describe people from distant places, as in the miniature of the Ascension of Enoch in the Caedmon Genesis, or to identify Jews in miniatures of the Anglo-Saxon *Hexateuch*.⁶⁶ In twelfth-century illumination such as the Numbers miniature in the Bury Bible, such caps are worn by Old Testament figures.⁶⁷ In the Rochester initial, this hat might be seen to hint at the textual content, a list of faraway places noted in the Old Testament. In this initial, like the previous one, decorative elements are applied individually and do not construct complete scenes. Rather, they appear to be drawn from the artist's repertoire and added as space allowed.

One initial in the manuscript has been described as historiated, and a second might also be considered to illustrate a textual theme. A man playing a harp in the initial to the pseudo-Jerome's commentary on I Samuel was identified as David by Kauffmann (Fig. 97).⁶⁸ Although the man is not crowned, his presence at the opening of a commentary on I Samuel makes this a reasonable attribution, especially since the II Kings initial of the Rochester Bible by the same artist has a seated David playing a harp (Fig. 99). Fluid hemlines, architectural footstools and pairs of open-mouthed profiles are found in both initials. The heads in the MS O.4.7 initial are part of the terminals adjacent to David. Their proximity to him encourages their interpretation as singers accompanying David who is shown here in his guise as Psalmist rather than as King.

The first initial in the manuscript is a Q in which a horse and a rider are attacked from behind by a creature with a bear-shaped body and a long snout.⁶⁹ The rider wears a long gown and pointed shoes and has a raised sword. Details of the horse's genitalia

⁶⁵ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.2.34, fol. 117; Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, fig. 67.

⁶⁶ R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols., Berkeley, 1993, vol. 1, p. 90 & vol. 2, figs. III.114, III.117 & III.118.

⁶⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 70; Kauffmann, 'The Bury Bible', pl. 14.

⁶⁸ Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cat. no. 23.

⁶⁹ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7, fol. 1.

and clumps of fur on the animal's back are depicted with precision and suggest that this initial is to be regarded as a scene. The text is Jerome's preface to his commentary on Genesis in which he defends his reasons for composing the work:

I am compelled to begin by answering what has been said against me . . . I cannot, therefore, be surprised if a poor little fellow like me is exposed to the gruntings of vile swine who trample the pearls under their feet.⁷⁰

The language of the preface is littered with words referring to controversy and struggle even though it is largely a topos. The attacks of Jerome's enemies could be compared to the scene in the initial where a horse and rider are attacked by a wild beast. The passage in which Jerome calls himself a "poor little fellow" troubled by swine appears in the right column of text immediately beside the initial letter. Oddly, the creature in the initial looks more like a bear than the swine mentioned in the text, and the rider with his jewelled clothing, pointed shoes and sword is not a humble or a poor man.

Three other initials in the Jerome manuscript, to the Genesis commentary (fol. 2), to Jerome's list of the homes of the Israelites (fol. 32v) and to his preface to the list of Hebrew names (fol. 74) also have heads and figures (Figs. 93 & 94). In these examples, a man with a large fish over his shoulder, a peering human face and a man clinging to the frame of the letter decorate these letters.⁷¹ In these initials, one might question the object or setting of the figures; what is the goal of the man who clings to the letter and looks eagerly towards the text with an open mouth? Why does a bearded human head with large ears pop out of the upper bowl of a letter S? Why is a man carrying an enormous fish on his shoulder, a difficult and slippery task, while his attention is focused on the griffin above him? These figures are inviting and amusing,

⁷⁰ *Non mirum ergo si contra me parvum homunculum immundae sues grunniant et pedibus margaritas conculcent.* PL 23, col. 983.

⁷¹ A standing man with an object over his shoulder forming the letter T is common in Romanesque manuscripts. Compare Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 271, fol. 36; Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pl. 31b. A similar composition appears in the initial to Tobias in several Continental Bibles where the object on the man's shoulder varies from a fish to a coffin. See for example Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 5323, fol. 48v; Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, vol. 1, fig. 41.

but questions regarding their meaning and actions lead to the conclusion that they are nonsensical and fanciful.

Overall, there is a sense of imagination in the commentary initials where human figures climb and chew on foliage or teach beasts their alphabet. Greater gravity and Scriptural themes may be found in the New Testament initials, possibly due to their presence in a Bible rather than a patristic commentary. In copying motifs from MS O.4.7, the Walters artist was highly selective and chose less comic images like a human head caught in a beast mouth rather than the bear-trainer, the elegant rider or the fisherman. His placement of these motifs into the largely foliate initials of the New Testament further emphasises them.

This assessment of the Royal and the Walters artists corroborates material found in additional manuscripts decorated by each artist. The Rochester library contains two additional manuscripts decorated by the Walters artist, the copy of Augustine's unfinished commentary on Romans and a copy of Augustine's sermons on the Gospels.⁷² In style, construction and layout, both manuscripts appear to be contemporary with the New Testament. They are not listed in the *Textus Roffensis*, perhaps because they were unfinished in 1124. They may also have been left out of the library list because space for listing manuscripts by Augustine was limited. Both are listed in the 1202 catalogue.⁷³ The Romans commentary has only one initial at the opening of the text. It is painted in the bright palette of the Walters artist and has his spindly foliage and fronds with median lines. It is handled poorly, suggesting the work of young or inexperienced artist.⁷⁴ Three decorated initials can be found in the manuscript of Augustine's sermons.⁷⁵ Only the opening initial has a human head, a

⁷² London, British Library, MS Royal 4.C.IV and MS Royal 5.C.VIII.

⁷³ They are manuscript numbers thirteen and five in the 1202 catalogue. Wye, 'Catalogue of Rochester, AD 1202', pp. 47-64.

⁷⁴ London, British Library, MS Royal 4.C.IV, fol. 1v.

⁷⁵ London, British Library, MS Royal 5.C.VIII, fols. 3, 65 & 160v. The second and third initials in this manuscript consist of foliage and biting beasts.

profile facing the text with a leaf in its mouth. The head is a misshapen profile with a bulbous face, an enlarged eye and red tinting.

The Royal artist worked on several Rochester and Canterbury manuscripts, occasionally in collaboration with other Canterbury artists.⁷⁶ At Rochester the Royal artist added the only initial in the first volume of the Rochester Psalm commentary (London, British Library, MS Royal 5. D.III). It contains a pair of lions affronted inside the initial. His eight initials in a copy of Augustine's commentary on Genesis (London, British Library, MS Royal 5.C.I) contain mostly foliage and symmetrical beasts and are decorated in his usual colours plus purple and olive green.⁷⁷ The first initial is historiated with the figure of Augustine seated at a writing desk. The initial to Book Five contains an open-mouthed head in the centre of the letter, but no other human figures are found in the initials of this manuscript.

Although a handful of the Royal artist's initials use human heads to suggest a choir accompanying King David and humans and animals to illustrate attacks on Jerome and to suggest the repetition and memorisation of the text, the majority of his decorative vocabulary is applied without an apparent desire to link it to the text. Instead, this artist seems to have had a repertoire of delightful images that he reused in many of his manuscripts. By contrast, the Walters artist uses a more limited series of motifs, sometimes borrowed from the initials of his colleague. He handles these motifs in a more precise manner such that a Rochester monk might have been led to consider every occurrence of his heads and to question why they differ from one another. In examining the approach of these two artists, it is notable that the Royal artist can be linked to Canterbury illumination even though he appears to have worked in Rochester for a period in the early 1120s. Conversely, the Walters artist is associated

⁷⁶The work of the Royal artist includes selected initials in a two volume Josephus, Cambridge, St. John's College, MS A.8, fols. 16v, 39v, 48, 61, 76v, 91, and 103v and Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.1.4, fol. 220. The Rochester manuscripts decorated by the Royal artist include London, British Library, MS 5.C.I; MS Royal 5.D.III; MS Royal 6.B.VI and MS Royal 6.D.II.

⁷⁷ London, British Library, MS Royal 5.C.I, fols. 1v, 12v, 25, 36v, 54, 66, 78v & 89v.

only with Rochester manuscripts and may well have been a Rochester monk. Is it coincidence that the local artist demonstrates a greater interest in reading the text? One might speculate that the Royal artist was visiting Rochester for a short time and was intent on decorating his manuscripts quickly. There is in fact evidence that several monks moved from Canterbury to Rochester and vice versa in this period.⁷⁸ The degree to which the Walters artist depends on the motifs and models provided by the Royal artist also indicates that the Walters artist may have been a pupil of the more skilled Royal artist. The Walters artist seems to have read Augustine's commentary on Romans since its ideas found their way into his decoration of the New Testament and provide some evidence that he ruminated on and digested its text while decorating it. In some respects, the aims of the Walters artist can be related to those of the artist of MS Royal 5.D.II, the Rochester Psalm commentary. Although these two Rochester artists reflect different styles and skills, their manuscripts are close in date and their decorated initials engage in text and image relationships. These two manuscripts suggest that there may have been a Rochester interest in the meditative and allegorical potential of human figures in initials.

⁷⁸ Besides the appointment of Canterbury monks as bishops of Rochester, Prior Ordwine and the archdeacons Ansetil and Herwis fulfilled various posts at Christ Church and Rochester. Flight, *The Bishops and Monks of Rochester*, pp. 199, 201 and Appendix 1.

Chapter Four: The Human Head as a Text Marker

The Durham and Rochester initials examined in chapters two and three contained human heads that in some fashion drew attention to the text and provided a meaningful link with it. Through the application of one or two especially distinctive heads, the reader might be led to consider the potential meaning of others. In manuscripts from other scriptoria, a head simply looking at the text may have been a sufficient prompt for the reader to ruminate on the neighbouring text, raising the question: could readers be encouraged to regard human heads in initials as signs or text markers based on their placement alone?

A sampling of initials from the catalogue reveals the degree to which the placement of a head can suggest a relationship with the text before its face. In initials of the Durham *de Trinitate* and the Durham commentary on Isaiah, the texts in front of some heads helped to explain aspects of their appearances (Figs. 54 & 67). Another Durham initial working in this way belongs to a copy of Augustine's sermons on the Gospel of John (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.16). Probably illuminated at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, MS B.II.16 may have been acquired by Bishop William of St. Carilef before 1096.¹ The human head in the MS B.II.16 initial (Fig. 42) is part of a grotesque winged bird that forms the letter G and faces the text of Tract Three. In addition to its unusual purple body that curls to create the letter, the head has a large pink ear, and it is angled towards the text. While

¹ As T.A.M. Bishop noted, the script of Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.16 is characteristic of manuscripts produced at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury in the late eleventh century. The initials of MS B.II.16 have few parallels to Durham or Canterbury work, but Richard Gameson has compared them to the miniatures of the Caligula Troper (London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.XIV). T.A.M. Bishop, 'Canterbury Scribe's Work', *Durham Philobiblon*, 2/1, 1955, pp. 1-3. R. Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art in the mid eleventh century: The Decorative Tradition', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 71, 1991, pp. 93-94. For Bishop Carilef's gift of forty-nine manuscripts, see A.C. Browne, 'Bishop William of St. Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium*, 42/2, 1988, pp. 140-55. She notes that Carilef acquired several manuscripts from Canterbury; this may be another of them even though it does not appear to be the Augustine on John that is on Carilef's gift list.

human figures with pink faces and white highlighting are common in this manuscript, there are no other hybrid figures or heads with such prominent ears (Figs. 43-45). In the opening of his sermon on John 1:15-18, Augustine asks his readers to “pay attention, therefore, and concentrate, both that God may grant as much as I can grasp and that you may hear as much as you can grasp”.² The proximity of this passage to the human head with its enlarged ear suggests a relationship between the text and the initial even though the passage offers no explanation for why the human head has a beast’s body. The figure is so striking and comic that it might have drawn attention to Augustine’s passage that in turn urges the audience to pay attention. A similar textual orientation is found in another initial of MS B.II.16.³ An orange lion with an open mouth stands holding a book in the initial to Tract Thirty-six. He faces the word *vox*, or voice, in the rubrics. In both initials a strong use of colour, an orientation towards the text and exaggerated features could have inspired the reader to interpret these figures as responding to the text. Furthermore, the manuscript contains several historiated initials, suggesting that its decoration favoured text-based images.⁴

In other Romanesque initials, human heads project from the letter frame with their noses breaking into the text column (Figs. 16, 30, 41, 125, 138 & 153). Two related initials in Bury St. Edmunds manuscripts have profile faces peering from pink and blue petunia-shaped blossoms (Figs. 11 & 15).⁵ In the *Life and Miracles of St. Edmund King and Martyr*, the blossom is small and caught in the binding, but its sister in the *Bury Gospels and New Testament* is a substantial motif measuring sixty-five

² *Adestote ergo intenti, ut et quantum capio, donet Deus, et quantum capitis, audiatis.* PL 35, col. 1396.

³ Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.16, fol. 90v.

⁴ The historiated initials are illustrated and described in Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, cat. no. 35. Gameson illustrates Christ healing the man born blind in the initial to Tract Forty-four, MS B.II.16, fol. 108v in ‘English Manuscript Art in the mid eleventh century’, pp. 93-94, fig. 25.

⁵ Separate artists produced the initials and miniature cycles of both manuscripts. While their miniatures were probably produced by artists from St. Albans Abbey, their initials are considered to reflect Bury work. In the case of the *Bury Gospels* and the *New Testament*, the miniatures were not bound to the text until the fourteenth century. See the catalogue entries in Appendix A for New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.736 and Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 120. K.R. Bateman, ‘Pembroke 120 and Morgan 736: A Reexamination of the St. Albans Bury St. Edmunds Manuscript Dilemma’, *Gesta*, 17/1, 1978, pp. 19-26.

millimetres in length and sandwiched between the text columns. The remainder of the initial **P** to Philipians consists of small foliate motifs that are coiled within the letter shape. The angle of the blossoms helps to focus the heads on specific passages in the text. In the St. Edmund *libellus*, the profile head looks into the text describing the fifth-century invasion of Britain by the Angles and the Saxons and attributing the subjugation of the Britons to sloth (Fig. 11).⁶ In Philipians 1:8-10, the passage beside head in the Bury Gospels and New Testament, Paul offers encouragement to the residents of Philippi, asking them to be good and righteous Christians in preparation for the day of Christ (Fig. 15). Are these texts being emphasised by the heads, and why might they be highlighted in this way? The physical characteristics of the heads are in no way illustrative of the text, and similar heads do not appear in other initials of their manuscripts. A later reader seems to have indicated his interpretation of the head in the St. Edmund *libellus* by adding parentheses around the passage referring to sloth. The other human heads in the initials of both manuscripts rarely appear in such close proximity to the text.⁷ In the St. Edmund *libellus*, a three-quarter view head with blue hair is caught in the jaws of a beast (Fig. 12). In the Bury Gospels and New Testament, there are several more initials with heads and human figures, but many of them are embedded in the foliage of a letter or look away from the text (Figs. 13 & 14). Nevertheless, the range of peering heads in Bury manuscripts, including several heads attached to the initials of the Bury Bible (Figs. 1-10), suggests that the head may have been a favoured text marker recognised by members of the community.

In an initial of a Christ Church, Canterbury manuscript of ca. 1120, a human head inside the bowl of the letter tilts his head upward as if to read the text preceding the initial (Fig. 19). This initial is a minor letter marking a chapter division within Angelomus of Luxeuil's commentary on the books of Kings; specifically it marks chapter 29 of I Samuel where Saul's death is described. The other initials of

⁶*Abbonis Floriacensis Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, chapter 1, I, published in *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi: The Garland of Saint Edmund King and Martyr*, ed. F. Hervey, London, 1907, pp. 10-11.

⁷ See Figs. 12, 13, 14 & 16 as well as the description of additional, unillustrated, initials in the catalogue.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.13 are more fully painted and introduce important divisions of the text.⁸ For example, the initials to the commentary on I Samuel and the prologue to the commentary on II Samuel are large painted letters with human heads (Figs. 18 & 20). The heads have snout-like noses, long beards, pointed hats and red lips. All of these figures are oriented within their letter, and few of them interact with the text in the manner of the bearded red head in the minor initial to I Samuel, chapter 29. One human figure, the man squatting between the crossbars of the I Samuel initial, gestures towards the text which begins, “there was a man” (Fig. 18). Beside these imaginative forms, the human profile inside the minor letter invites the reader to look at the text.

A human profile is suspended from an initial letter filled with diamond and key patterns and beast-headed interlace in the Mark initial of the Dover Bible (Fig. 30). The drawing of the head’s beard, moustache, eyes and ear is precise, and a hood with a red and green lining and two upright horns frames the face. Fifty millimetres high, the head is an impressive feature of the page. The nose and forehead of the head touch the word *predicabat*, and his open mouth, emphasised by the lining of his hood, appears to speak the word “*me*” in the following line. The parti-coloured horned headdress resembles the costume of medieval fools in illustrations of Psalm 52 where fools are often represented denying the existence of God.⁹ Here, however, the head does not mark Psalm 52 but Mark 1:7, John the Baptist’s prophecy of the coming of Christ. The presence of a gaping fool beside this text seems to undermine its seriousness. Furthermore, the suggestion that the fool says “*me*”, part of John the Baptist’s words “there cometh after *me* one mightier than me”, is disconcerting.

As these initials demonstrate, comparing a head to the text before its face does not always produce evidence that the head bears meaning in relation to the text even

⁸ The inhabited initials of MS B.3.13 are described in the catalogue.

⁹ Fools wearing horned hoods may be seen in initials of the Escorial and the Luttrell Psalters, as discussed and illustrated in L. F. Sandler, ‘An Early Fourteenth-Century English Psalter in the Escorial’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 42, 1979, pp. 65-80, figs. 25 b & e.

though heads can be prominent features of the initial or the page. In some cases, juxtaposing the head with its neighbouring text results in a comic world in which Augustine's attentive listener is a purple beast with an enormous pink ear or a fool interrupts John the Baptist's prophecy of Christ. Such decoration does not appear to be text-based even though the siting of the head suggests a close relationship with the text.

In contrast to these unusual characters, a number of heads have tonsures or are accompanied by pointing fingers, features which could have earned the especial notice of the ecclesiastical reader (Figs. 83, 87, 90, 130, 141 & 142). Some tonsured heads, like one in the letter **E** to Jonah in the Auct Bible, are emphatic in their orientation towards the text (Fig. 130). The head on the crossbar of this initial is the only one among the seven human and seven animal heads in the initial to be upright and to face the text. He also has the only tonsure. While the original patron and community for this manuscript is unknown, the tonsured head might have established a powerful level of identity with its readers.¹⁰ Additional tonsured heads are found in the Winchester Bible initials to Joshua and Jerome's prologue to Zechariah (Figs. 141 & 148). These profile faces are embedded in the terminals of their letters, and they are coloured dark blue, another potential means of alerting a reader. In this Bible several heads are pressed against the text or have fingers that point at it, inviting consideration of their forms and placement (Figs. 142, 143 & 153). In each of these initials, the terminals with heads are extended and placed tightly against the text, implying that the position of the terminal and its human occupant was intentional. Professional artists working for ecclesiastical communities illuminated both of these Bibles. The manuscripts examined previously have been illuminated by monks. Are human heads a characteristic of manuscripts made by monks, or are heads used in related ways in

¹⁰ The tonsure is drawn in ink different than that used in the remainder of the initial; it resembles the ink of the text. It is possible that it was added when the manuscript was corrected in Winchester alongside the Winchester Bible. If so, the addition of the tonsure increases the possibility that this head was seen as reflecting the reader and his community.

manuscripts made for canons as well as manuscripts illuminated by professional artists?

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155

Gesturing and straining humans occupy the initials of a copy of Augustine's *Enarrationes en Psalmos 1-50* from Lincoln Cathedral (Figs. 81-92). A web of directing fingers, leaning human figures and watchful faces is woven throughout the sixty-four initials of Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155.¹¹ Alongside these figures which actively engage the reader with the text, another series of initials work on a more comic level.

A purely visual survey of the initials in Lincoln MS 155 suggests that the human figures interact with the text in an effort to guide the reader through it. Human figures with pointing fingers are found in four places in the manuscript (Figs. 83, 86, 87 & 90). Their attenuated and bony fingers make an explicit connection with the text. Other human figures are distorted in their attempt to look into the text block (Figs. 82, 87 & 88). Two figures are remarkable for their turn away from the text (Fig. 86 & 92). The siren in the initial to the exposition on Psalm 26 turns from the text in the right column even though her hand points to it. A doubled-over man in the initial to the exposition on Psalm 48, sermon two also looks away from the text that his letter opens. The human initials in MS 155 are complemented by sixteen initials containing lions, owls, birds, fish and goats. The distribution of the animal initials alongside the human ones is one of the manuscript's most unusual qualities.

¹¹ The initial to Psalm 3 sermon one is excised, and Augustine treats several Psalms in two or more sermons, thus accounting for the sixty-four initials. The initials opening multiple sermons will be designated by the Psalm number followed by the sermon number. The two other volumes of the set, Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 156 and MS 157 do not have painted initials. MS 156 was given to the cathedral by Bishop Chesney (1148-1166), and MS 157 dates to the fourteenth century. Thomson, *Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, p. 123.

Neither luxurious nor especially well executed the initials of MS 155 were decorated by a single artist working with a limited range of colours. The initials are softened by brown ink outlines and pencil sketches that show through the thin washes of colour. Interspersed among the painted initials are a substantial number of arabesque and minor initials organised in no particular sequence. Only the painted initials with human and animal figures will be discussed in this study.¹²

Rodney Thomson, who has catalogued and studied the manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral as well as those of St. Albans Abbey, described the initials in Lincoln MS 155 as a “provincial version” of the St. Albans style.¹³ Indeed, certain motifs in the Psalm commentary initials can be found in St. Albans manuscripts of the 1130s. For example, the bracket-shaped leaves in the initial to the exposition on Psalm 40 are found in a Josephus manuscript and an Ambrose manuscript from St. Albans (Figs. 89 & 109).¹⁴ Likewise, the beaded patterns in the shafts of some Lincoln MS 155 initials recall those in the Leiden Priscian, a St. Albans Abbey manuscript illuminated by the Alexis Master in the first quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁵ One of the closest connections between St. Albans manuscripts and MS 155 appears in a copy of Anselm’s *Prayers and Meditations* made at St. Albans for ‘export’. The entangled figure in the Lincoln initial to the exposition on Psalm 34, sermon two closely resembles a man in the letter A of the Anselmus (Fig. 88).¹⁶ In these initials, the men are partially or completely naked, and they lean against the right frame of the letter

¹² Painted initials with foliage introduce the expositions on Psalms 2 (fol. 2v), 7 (fol. 12), 9 (fol. 18v), 16 (fol. 28v), 21 i (fol. 35v), 21 ii (fol. 36), 28 (fol. 50v), 29 i (fol. 51), 32 (fol. 71v), 36 i (fol. 99), 36 ii (fol. 102), 36 iii (fol. 109), 38 (fol. 118v), 39 (fol. 125), 46 (fol. 156) and 50 (fol. 177). Arabesque initials mark the commentaries on Psalms 10 (fol. 23v), 29 ii (fol. 51v), 30 ii (fol. 56), 30 iii (fol. 59v), 31 (fol. 65), 32 iii (fol. 75v), 37 (fol. 113), 48 i (fol. 162v). Minor initials in solid colours open the expositions on Psalms 1 (fol. 2), 8 (fol. 16), 13 (fol. 27), 17 (fol. 29v), 19 (fol. 35), 20 (fol. 35v), 27 (fol. 50v), 29 (fol. 51v), 30 ii (fol. 56), 32 iii (fol. 75v), 37 (fol. 113), and 49 (fol. 170).

¹³ Thomson, *Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, p. 123.

¹⁴ The Josephus manuscript is London, British Library, MS Royal 13.D.VI & 13.D.VII. The Ambrose is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 752. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, cat. nos. 36, 37 & 44, figs. 38, 39.

¹⁵ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 114B has beaded shafts throughout its initials. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, cat. no. 62, figs. 17-20 & 23.

¹⁶ The Verdun A is Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 70, fol. 12. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, cat. no. 79, fig. 75.

with foliage entwined about their legs. In addition, humans with long pointing fingers and trousers found can be found in the initials of the St. Albans Psalter. The stylistic resemblance between St. Albans and Lincoln manuscripts is not altogether surprising since St. Albans lies within the diocese of Lincoln. Among other interactions between the two communities, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln (1123-48) attended a translation of relics at St. Albans in 1129.¹⁷

Lincoln MS 155 asserts its independence from St. Albans illumination in its widespread use of the human head. Although the motif is present in St. Albans initials, it appears in no similar degree in any surviving St. Albans manuscript.¹⁸ In fact, the series of human heads and figures in the initials of the Lincoln Psalm commentary are hardly typical of Lincoln manuscript illumination. Only two Lincoln manuscripts, decorated in the first decade of the twelfth century by the same artist, employ human heads and figures in their foliate initials.¹⁹ The canons at Lincoln had a modest library, and the community is not assumed to have had a scriptorium in the twelfth century.²⁰ Thomson suggests that Lincoln manuscripts may have been produced by local scribes and artists, hired when needed. In this period many monastic communities, including St. Albans Abbey, hired professional scribes to help write charters and copy texts.²¹ The lack of a 'house style' and the presence of several different scribes and artists in the surviving Lincoln manuscripts agree with such a

¹⁷At the 1129 translation of the relics of St. Albans, Bishop Alexander provided a feast for three hundred poor guests. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, p. 22.

¹⁸ Compare Figs. 109-116.

¹⁹ Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 1 and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.2. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 90. Thomson, *Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, pp. 3 & 64-65, figs. 37e, 37f and the colour frontispiece.

²⁰ See Thomson's introduction, *Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, pp. xiii-xvi. The lack of a scriptorium at Lincoln concurs with the situation at other cathedrals. See C.M. Kauffmann's review of R.A.B. Mynors & R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Hereford Cathedral Manuscripts in Speculum*, 72, 1997, pp. 205-206. Salisbury Cathedral is an exception among English institutions for having an active scriptorium staffed by its canons, but Salisbury manuscripts are notorious for their poor decoration. N. Ker, 'The Beginnings of the Salisbury Cathedral Library', *Medieval Learning and Literature*, eds. J.J.G. Alexander & M. Gibson, Oxford, 1976, pp. 23-49 and T. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c. 1075-1125*, Oxford, 1992.

²¹ Abbot Simon of St. Albans Abbey is known to have hired scribes for his personal use. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, pp. 52-53. See also M. Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century England', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 7, 1998, pp. 1-24.

situation. In contrast to the Durham and Rochester manuscripts which were products of Benedictine scriptoria, staffed by monks, the Lincoln Psalm commentary appears to be the product of a scribe and an artist working independently of the ecclesiastical community. One might expect this type of production to have some effect on the decoration found in the manuscript since a professional artist might not have as great an interest in the text. Despite the uncertainty surrounding the actual production of MS 155, it is clear that it was at Lincoln in the 1140s since it is listed in an 1148 Lincoln library catalogue as *Augustinum super primam qudragenam psalterii*, and it has been at the cathedral since.²²

In his *Enarrationes en Psalmos*, Augustine discusses the titulus and each verse of the Psalms. The verses are examined in order, and they are interspersed with the commentary to give it structure. Augustine's analysis, however, ranges from allegory to typology and prayer. Since the Psalm commentary initials imply a passage through the text guided by human figures, they will be treated roughly in the order that they appear, echoing the order in which the reader might have encountered them and the artist might have decorated them. The first figural initials in the manuscript contain animals whose forms are repeated in several initials. This repetition is probably due to their common letter shapes and the ubiquity of their motifs in Romanesque art. The exposition to Psalm 3, sermon two opens with a letter **P** containing a buff coloured beast, possibly a lion, within the bowl.²³ It resembles three other letters with lions in the manuscript, the letters **Q** to the expositions on Psalm 21 sermon two, Psalm 30 sermon four and Psalm 33 sermon two.²⁴ Another frequently copied motif in MS 155 is that of an upright fish with green and blue scales.²⁵ It appears in the letters **I**

²²Chancellor Hamo's catalogue of 1148 appears in the Lincoln Bible (Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 1, fol. 2) and is printed in R.M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, Oxford, 1927, pp. v-ix.

²³ This initial is Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 5. The initials to Psalms 1 & 2 are minor letters and initials with painted foliage. In addition, the initial to Psalm 3, sermon one is excised, making this the first inhabited initial in the manuscript.

²⁴ Fols. 5, 37, 60v & 82v. The Psalm 33, sermon two initial is illustrated in Thomson, *Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, fig. 41a.

²⁵This letterform is also typical of Romanesque initials, especially in Canterbury manuscripts. Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pls. 38d & 38f and *The Eadwine Psalter*, p. 54, figs. 40a, 4a & 41b.

commencing the expositions on Psalms 4 and 24.²⁶ Both texts, like many Psalm expositions in the manuscript, open with the statement that the Psalm is a Psalm of David that refers to Christ. The fish can be a Christian symbol, and it was used in the construction and decoration of initials from the Merovingian period onward.²⁷

The initial to the exposition on Psalm 5 is notable for its human heads as well as its unusual letter structure (Fig. 81). Due to lack of space in the text column, the left arm of the letter **T** is turned upward between the two text columns. The shape of the letter suggests that the scribe and the artist were separate individuals and that the scribe left only modest spaces for the initials. Emerging from each end of the letter's crossbar are human heads; the left head has fleshy lips and an open mouth while the right one has a foliate stem with a ball-like fruit in its mouth. The reader might have compared the speaking and eating actions of the two human heads to Augustine's sermon on Psalm 5. It begins,

The title of the Psalm is, *For her who receiveth the inheritance*. The Church then is signified, who receiveth for her inheritance eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ; that she may possess God Himself, in cleaving to Whom she may be blessed, according to that, *Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the earth* (Matt. 5:4). . . Therefore is God said to be our inheritance, because He feedeth and sustaineth us.²⁸

The reference to sustenance in Augustine's discussion of the Church's inheritance is suggestive of the foliage in the mouth of the right head. This head could be considered to be 'eating' the branch. It faces the text even though the passage containing the phrase "feedeth and sustaineth us" occurs several lines below the head. Psalm 5:2 "Hear my words, O Lord, understand my cry" is the subsequent subject of Augustine's exposition; this verse might explain the presence of the left head with its open mouth and 'speech'. If so, then the initial may illustrate two distinct themes from Psalm 5, the cries of the Psalmist to his Lord and the metaphorical nutrition of the

²⁶ Fols. 5v and 41v.

²⁷ Pächt, *Book Illumination*, pp. 47-48.

²⁸ *Titulus Psalmi est: Pro ea quae haereditatem accipit. Intelligitur ergo Ecclesia, quae accipit haereditatem vitam aeternam per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ut possideat ipsum Deum, cui adhaerens beata sit secundum illud: Beati mites, quia ipsi haereditate possidebunt terram . . . Ergo haereditas nostra Deus dicitur, quia ipse nos pascit et continet.* PL 36, col. 83.

Lord. In seeking to understand the heads in this initial, it is possible that the reader would have turned to the Psalm text rather than the commentary because he would have better known the Psalm text.

The letter **I** to Psalm 6 is figural; a naked man clings to the top of the shaft and peers into the text with his head sandwiched between the end of the exposition to Psalm 5 and the beginning of that to Psalm 6 (Fig. 82). His awkward grasping action and position near the top of the letter are odd. Augustine describes Psalm 6 as one of judgement emphasised by the Psalmist's plea in verse 3, "have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak: heal me, O Lord, for my bones are troubled".²⁹ The bones of this man are naked and twisted and could, through their distortion, be considered to be in trouble. A near contemporary hand has written in brown ink in the margin *de iudicii* or "concerning the judge". Although it is unclear whether the artist or a reader added this phrase, it supports a reading of this man as a vulnerable and disjointed human facing judgement.

The following inhabited initials in the manuscript are letters **I** that take the shape of trees.³⁰ In one a red-outlined goat stands on his hind legs and climbs the foliate shaft of the initial. His attempt to eat the leaves at the top of the letter is comic and bears no relation to Augustine's discussion of Psalm 11. In the initial to the exposition on Psalm 12, the tree has a red snake wrapped around its trunk. A similar tree-like structure can be seen in the initial **I** to the exposition on Psalm 35 where the shaft of the letter is foliate and two birds sit at the top.³¹

On folio 28 recto, two human figures direct the reader towards the text with strong pedagogical actions (Fig. 83). The combined textual orientation of the figures makes the folio one of the strongest openings in the manuscript. In the upper left column a

²⁹ PL 36, col. 90.

³⁰ Fols. 26 and 26v.

³¹ Fol. 95.

half-length man in the bowl of the letter **P** points towards the text, his finger outlined against the blue background of the letter. Wearing a red gown, a green cloak and a buff coloured crown, the man is an authoritative, bearded figure. He points to the titulus for Psalm 14, “A Psalm of David Himself, about this title there is no question”.³² A reader might have recognised this man as David, king and author of the Psalms who is often represented in Psalter initials. Indeed, he is in a classical gown and wears a crown. These features distinguish him from the man who forms the letter **T** in the lower right column. Squeezed between the text columns, this man wears a red tunic and brown shoes and has a beard. In his hands above his head is a blank scroll. The man forms the first letter of the titulus to Psalm 15, “Our King in this Psalm speaks in the character of the human nature he assumed”.³³ Two characteristics of the initial are noteworthy. First, it is constructed of a full-length human, potentially referring to the human nature of the Psalmist. Secondly, the scroll held by the man is a medieval sign for speech. In the Durham copy of Jerome’s commentary on Isaiah (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.8), scrolls are used to identify the speech of figures in the initial to Book Four (Fig. 66). In other manuscripts like the Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 8846), blank scrolls have been interpreted as phylacteries, indicating verses to be supplied by the reader.³⁴ The juxtaposition of this scroll with the titulus that refers to the manner in which King David ‘spoke’ in the Psalm indicates that the artist intended for the scroll to represent the Psalmist’s speech. These two human figures encourage the reader to examine the text, both to follow the instructions implied in their actions and to understand their appearances.

The gravity with which these two figures direct the reader towards the text is absent from the subsequent painted inhabited initial, a letter **I** to the exposition on Psalm 18.³⁵ Against a blue frame, a goat stands on his hind legs holding a coil and a whip. A

³² *Psalmus ipsi David. De hoc titulo nulla quaestio est.* Psalm 14, 1. PL 36, col. 443.

³³ *Rex noster in hoc psalmo loquitur ex persona susceptionis humanae.* Psalm 15, 1. PL 36, col. 444.

³⁴ *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, pp. 159-64.

³⁵ Fol. 31v.

fanciful creature reminiscent of the climbing goat in the initial to the commentary on Psalm 11, this figure resembles the goats on sculptural capitals and in initials from Christ Church Canterbury.³⁶ A similar goat, although lacking objects, is also found in the **P** to the exposition on Psalm 33, sermon three.³⁷ One folio removed from the goat, a human figure kneels with open hands towards the text (Fig. 84). The man in the **D** to the exposition on Psalm 18, sermon two wears clothing similar to David's in the initial to the exposition on Psalm 14.³⁸ This man's open hands suggest a type of conversation or pleading. The opening words of the text are *deprecati dominus* or "I beg the Lord". Thus, the man's gesture and kneeling posture could be interpreted as one of entreaty.³⁹ It is difficult, however, to determine whether the man is actually begging or if he reminds the reader of the text's prayerful quality.

Folio 41 recto contains the initials to the expositions on Psalms 22 and 23, two important Psalms that are considered to foreshadow Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection.⁴⁰ The initials to both expositions are side by side and contain human figures and heads. The exposition on Psalm 22 opens with a **P** in which a naked man is entangled in foliage. With short brown hair and a closed mouth, this figure looks away from the opening text. The first of several initials in this manuscript filled with entangled figures, the man's orientation away from the text appears to disassociate him from it. In the right column of the folio, a larger **P** filled with foliage and three human heads opens the sermon on Psalm 23 (Fig. 85). Two heads face each other inside the bowl; the left has a closed mouth and a paint-smeared face and the right profile has an open mouth emphasised by the blue background. A third head peers

³⁶See Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.2.34, fol. 117 juxtaposed with a capital from St. Gabriel's Chapel at Christ Church, Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, figs. 66 & 67.

³⁷Fol. 88. This initial is fig. 41b in Thomson, *Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*.

³⁸The kneeling man in the Psalm 18, sermon two initial was probably intended to have brown shoes and a brown beard. It appears that the artist forgot to add this colour to the initial. It would account for the sloppy painting around the man's feet. That the man was not intended to be barefoot is suggested by the fact that he has no toes in contrast to the carefully delineated toes of the barefoot figures in other initials (Figs. 82, 87, 88, 90 & 92).

³⁹PL 36, col. 157.

⁴⁰For the Christological interpretation of Psalm 22, see Marrow, 'Circumdederunt me canes multi', pp. 167-81.

upward from a folded leaf at the base of the initial. The placement of these three heads is unusual. None of them look toward Augustine's text describing the Glorification and Resurrection of the Lord following his Crucifixion. While the naked man and the three heads on this page mark important Christological Psalms, they do not interact with the text as actively as the preceding human figures.

The exposition on Psalm 25 is a letter I composed of foliage and a beast mask attached to the base of the letter and looking upwards.⁴¹ One of the more common motifs in Norman and English initials of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, related beast masks can be found on the beak head voussoirs of the west doorway of Lincoln Cathedral, carved in the 1140s, helping to place this motif within a local context.⁴² The following initial to the second sermon on Psalm 25 may represent a fable as it contains a bird and a red fox in the bowls of the letter S.⁴³ These two initials, like the tree and beast initials which have preceded them, are interspersed among the human initials in a manner that may be calculated to provide a break from the seriousness of the text.

A siren with a green fish tail, long blonde hair and crossed arms points to the opening of the exposition on Psalm 26 (Fig. 86). Psalm 26 is often illustrated in contemporary Psalters with David pointing to his eyes as an illustration of the first verse, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?"⁴⁴ In contrast to this iconographical tradition, the siren in Lincoln MS 155 is a fantastic Romanesque image. Found in manuscript initials and sculpture, the siren was a female bird-fish familiar in Homer

⁴¹ Fol. 42v.

⁴² G. Zarnecki, *Romanesque Lincoln: The Sculpture of the Cathedral*, Lincoln, 1988, fig. 13.

⁴³ Fol. 43. Several of the Fables of Marie de France involve a fox and a bird. Drawn from the first-century writer Phaedrus and from folk traditions, Marie's late twelfth-century fables are a compilation of moralising stories. It is possible that the Lincoln initial might have been recognised as one of these fables even though the letter frame separates the characters and there are no objects with which to identify a specific fable. See numbers 10, 13, 60 and 61 in *The Fables of Marie de France: An English Translation*, tr. M.L. Martin, Birmingham (AL), 1984.

⁴⁴In the St. Albans Psalter, Psalm 26 is decorated with David removing the mote from his eye and looking upwards at Christ in glory. Hildesheim, St. Godehard, Psalter s.n., p. 119. *St. Albans Psalter*, pl. 50c.

and in classical tradition. Her voice is said to lure sailors into temptation and to their deaths; because of this, she was often called an “aquatic harlot” or a prostitute in medieval bestiaries.⁴⁵ As Debra Hassig has noted, sirens in medieval art are often depicted as half-woman, half-fish rather than their classical representation as half-woman, half-bird, and their sexuality was interpreted as evil and dangerous.⁴⁶ Indeed, for monks and canons who had taken vows of celibacy, the naked breasts of these creatures could signal temptation. In his exposition on Psalm 26, Augustine describes the Lord as an illuminator and a protector who will “repel all the assaults and snares of mine enemy”.⁴⁷ The siren depicted in this initial might have been recognised as the snare described in the text. The reader who follows her hand into the opening of the text could seek protection in the opening lines of the Psalm.

Naked figures with sinewy muscles and distorted postures are found in Lincoln manuscripts and sculpture. The jambs on the west door of Lincoln Cathedral are decorated with naked figures climbing in foliage like those in the MS 155 initials to the expositions on Psalms 22, 26, sermon two, 41, 43 and 47.⁴⁸ All five initials contain naked men of a common physiognomic type entangled in the bowls of letters **P**, **D** and **Q**. The orientation of these figures changes slightly, and in one example, the initial to Psalm 41, the man points to the text (Fig. 90). In illustrated Psalters, Psalm 41 is often illustrated with a hart seeking waters as a sign of Christ.⁴⁹ The Psalm is

⁴⁵ See, for example, the description of the siren in one twelfth-century French bestiary, *The Book of Beasts Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century*, tr. T.H. White, New York, 1984, pp. 134-35. Although Lincolnshire was a major centre for the production and decoration of bestiaries in the later twelfth century, in the mid-twelfth century, the cathedral is not known to have owned one. X. Muratova, ‘Bestiaries: An Aspect of Medieval Patronage’, *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, eds. S. Macready and F.H. Thompson, London, 1986, pp. 118-144, esp 134.

⁴⁶ D. Hassig, ‘Sex in the Bestiaries’, *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. D. Hassig, New York, 1999, pp. 71-97, esp. 79. For the appearance of the siren with a fish tail in the late seventh or early eighth century, see E. Faral, ‘Le queue de poisson des sirènes’, *Romania*, 74, 1953, pp. 433-506.

⁴⁷ *Dominus repellat omnes impetus et insidias hostis mei*. Psalm 26, 1. PL 36, col. 197.

⁴⁸ Fols. 41, 46v, 136, 142 & 158v. See Zarnecki, *Romanesque Lincoln*, figs. 27-32 for the jamb columns.

⁴⁹ Compare, for example, the initial to Psalm 41 in the St. Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, St. Godehard, Psalter, s.n. p. 154; *St. Albans Psalter*, pl. 54c) or a marginal drawing of a hart beside Psalm 41 in the Bury Psalter (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. lat 12, fol. 54; Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, fig. 3.16).

one of longings according to Augustine, but there is no specific textual source for the entangled figure in this initial.⁵⁰ The entangled man may have a metaphorical function, a suggestion that has been made by T. A. Heslop for selected initials with entangled figures in contemporary manuscripts.⁵¹ While the other entangled figures in Lincoln MS 155 do not make such emphatic gestures towards the text, it is possible that they were regarded as text markers intended to draw the reader's attention to the text in a general fashion.

A naked man stands against a blue panel in the letter **I** to Augustine's exposition on Psalm 30 and points to the end of Psalm 29 with his index finger (Fig. 87). He has several notable features: his left elbow juts beyond the letter frame while his left hand grasps his waist, his entire figure leans to the left, and his legs are crossed at the knees. While some of these features can be attributed to the artist's weak skill, the nakedness of the man, the crossing of his legs and his pointing gesture are decisive features. The man's bony finger points not to the opening lines of the exposition on Psalm 30 but to the end of the preceding exposition. The entire line to which he points is, "on confessing thine iniquity He remitteth thy sins, so that ever afterward in confessing thy sins, thou should not be pricked with sin".⁵² It is possible that the awkward pose and crossed legs of the man, like that of the man in the initial to the exposition on Psalm 6 (Fig. 82), was intended to draw attention to the line emphasising the importance of confession.

The expositions to Psalm 32, sermon two and 33 are decorated with birds. A large bird of prey fills the bowl of the letter **P** to Psalm 32; he has a headless red quadruped in his talons. The same composition is used again in a **P** to Augustine's exposition on

⁵⁰ PL 36, col. 464.

⁵¹ See Heslop, 'Brief in Words', pp. 8-9 and chapter one of this thesis.

⁵² *Confitenti iniquitatem tuam dimittit tibi peccata tua, et ei postea laudes ipsius confitens in aeternum, non compungaris peccato.* Psalm 29, 22. PL 36, col. 226.

Psalm 42.⁵³ The initial to Psalm 33 is filled with a brown owl.⁵⁴ All three initials have distracting qualities since their backgrounds are painted in several colours.

The letter A to Augustine's second sermon on Psalm 34 has been noted for its similarity to a St. Albans initial (Fig. 88). Unlike the St. Albans example, the man in this initial wears trousers and his head peers between two branches of the letter. The entire form of his body suggests tension and a straining towards the text rather than the more supportive function of the man in the St. Albans initial. "To the first lines of the Psalm let us turn our attention," writes Augustine in the passage to which the man eagerly looks.⁵⁵ Two features of this man are striking, his open mouth and his clothing. In some twelfth-century initials, such as the initial to Psalm 5 in this manuscript (Fig. 81) open mouths may be used to convey speech. Here, however, the text makes it clear that it is Augustine who speaks these sermons and that the audience is intended to listen. Thus, the open mouth of the man is not a logical illustration of the text. In addition, his trousers distinguish him from the gowned figures in the initials to the expositions on Psalms 14, 15 and 18 sermon two (Figs. 83 & 84). Trousers are seen rarely in twelfth-century illumination, but they do occur in precise places. One of these is the depiction of peasants and labourers in calendar illustration, such as the figure of Aquarius in the calendar of the St. Albans Psalter.⁵⁶ The man born blind and the uninvited wedding guest in the Bury Gospels and New Testament miniatures also wear trousers.⁵⁷ All of these figures reflect a low social class or abject behaviour, and they are the subjects of criticism and ridicule. Why is the eager man in the Psalm 34 initial depicted with two derided features, an open mouth and trousers?

⁵³ Fols. 72 & 140.

⁵⁴ Fol. 80; Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, fig. 164.

⁵⁵ *Ad reliqua Psalmi intendamus animum*. Psalm 34, sermon two, 1. PL 36, col. 333.

⁵⁶ Hildesheim, St. Godehard, Psalter, s.n., p. 3; *St. Albans Psalter*, pl. 2.

⁵⁷ Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 120, fols. 1v & 2v; McLachan, *The Scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds in the Twelfth Century*, figs. 68 & 70. On the social significance of figures wearing trousers, see Heslop, 'Romanesque Painting and Social Distinction', p. 142.

The answer may lie with another figure having similar attributes in the initial to the exposition of Psalm 48, sermon two (Fig. 92). With trousers underneath his tunic, an open mouth and a bald head, this hunched man is an amusing form who bends to create the letter **H**. The identity and source for this figure may be found in the text at his back where Augustine laments men who think only of the present world and not of Heaven. He calls such men “fools dreading not the voice of Christ”.⁵⁸ The word fools, *stulti*, in the text helps to explain certain features of the man like his baldness, one of the attributes of fools in medieval illustrations of the Psalms.⁵⁹ By turning his back on the Psalm commentary that offers spiritual guidance, this figure may be compared to a fool. There is a humorous quality to the fool whose crisply outlined and large-proportioned figure tiptoes away from the text opening. It is possible that the artist intended to use humour as a means of drawing the reader to examine the figure and his surrounding text. The same motivation may be true of the initial with a peasant in Psalm 34, sermon two.

The final inhabited initials to be discussed are the initials to the expositions on Psalms 40 and 45, a letter **Q** and a letter **I** respectively (Figs. 89 & 91). Both initials are decorated with profile heads. Their mouths are closed, but being contained in the foliage of their letters, they are not closely associated with specific passages of text. The consistency with which human forms interact with the text in the initials of MS 155 suggests that these heads too might have attracted the notice of the reader, perhaps functioning like *nota bene* signs or general text markers. In this respect, the heads are joined by the entangled naked figures whose relation to the text seems based on a general marking of it. A thoughtful reader, cognisant of the manner in which other human figures encouraged him to read the text, might also have paid attention to the initials with human heads.

⁵⁸ *Stulti non contremiscentes vocem Christi*. Psalm 48, sermon two, l. PL 36, col. 555.

⁵⁹ D.J. Gifford, ‘Iconographical Notes Towards a Definition of the Medieval Fool’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37, 1974, pp. 9-15.

Alongside the human figures and literally mingled with them, are sixteen initials filled with comic and lively scenes with animals. Like the human figures, they delight the reader with their inventive forms. Although the animals are engaged in various actions, they do not point to or look at the text as the humans do. The animal figures are contained within their letters unlike the humans whose arms and fingers often extend beyond the frame of a letter. The animals are also engaged in actions that might be considered ridiculous, such as goats climbing trees or holding tools. Is their foolishness and obliviousness to the text an intentional contrast to the humans who frequently look at and point to the text? Overall, the role of the animals seems to be to increase the colourful and lively decoration of the manuscript. They are part of a rhythm in the manuscript's decoration that alternates between initials with human forms, animal forms and arabesque or foliate designs, helping to distinguish visually between the sixty-five sermons in the volume.

The human figures' apparent desire to guide the reader through the text of Augustine's commentary raise questions about the artist and how to relate the manuscript to Lincoln, a community dependent on professional and itinerant artists. The production of MS 155 may be placed in the 1140s on stylistic grounds and the *terminus ante quem* supplied by Chancellor Hamo's catalogue. In the 1140s during the bishopric of Alexander the Magnificent, Lincoln attracted a number of prominent scholars and craftsmen. The narrative frieze of the Cathedral's west façade was under construction after an 1141 fire, and the noted Italian scholar Wodo taught in the cathedral school. One of the individuals drawn to Lincoln to study with Wodo was Ralph Gubiun. Abbot of St. Albans Abbey from 1146 to 1151, Ralph Gubiun is strongly associated with both Lincoln and St. Albans. His career is noted in the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* where he is described in the main text as the monk responsible for the St. Albans scriptorium and its acquisition of books in the 1130s. He went to Lincoln in the 1140s to study with Master Wodo and to serve as bailiff to

Bishop Alexander.⁶⁰ A marginal note added to the *Gesta Abbatum* by Matthew Paris states that Ralph was Bishop Alexander's chaplain before becoming a monk at St. Albans. The note states critically that when Ralph returned to St. Albans in 1146 to become abbot, his appointment was at the insistence of Bishop Alexander and was evidence of the bishop's unjust meddling in the affairs of the abbey.⁶¹ While the note implies discontent with the relationship between the bishop and the abbey, it does not contradict Ralph's involvement with the St. Albans Abbey scriptorium.

If Ralph Gubiun was in charge of the scriptorium at St. Albans Abbey in the 1130s when the St. Albans Josephus, the Leiden Priscian, the Verdun Anselmus were produced, then he would have been intimately familiar with their initials. He may provide the link between St. Albans manuscripts of the 1130s and a Lincoln manuscript of the 1140s. Without a scriptorium at Lincoln in this period, it can be conjectured that a member of the ecclesiastical community would have supervised the production of a manuscript in order to specify the community's requirements. The St. Albans stylistic evidence suggests that Ralph Gubiun may have been heavily involved in the production of MS 155. Given his leadership role at St. Albans in the 1130s and later as abbot, he might have been particularly interested in the role of initials in decorating and enlivening texts. It is also possible that Ralph was the artist of Lincoln MS 155. This proposal might account for the awkward handling of the Lincoln initials since they could indicate that Ralph was not an extremely skilled artist but one who knew the basics of the craft.⁶²

A final issue raised by the presence of a St. Albans monk at Lincoln in the 1140s is the relationship between the reading of monks and canons. The *lectio divina* is strongly

⁶⁰ *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, London, 1867, vol. 78, pt. 1, pp. 106-10.

⁶¹ This interpretation of the marginal note is found in Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, pp. 22-23.

⁶² Ralph Gubiun was clearly not the scribe of Lincoln MS 155. The text is not in a St. Albans hand, and the same scribe added the 1148 library catalogue to the community's Bible. As Ralph was not in Lincoln in 1148 when Hamo's catalogue was created, he can be ruled out as its scribe.

associated with the monastic tradition, being found in several monastic rules and guidelines. The rules of canons are more silent on such reading, but it is assumed that canons too participated in communal and private reading and in meditation on texts. The writings of a contemporary Victorine canon, Hugh of St Victor, address the *lectio divina* and offer guidance to young canons. The seriousness with which Hugh emphasises the education and the personal meditation and prayer of canons parallels monastic attitudes even though Hugh stresses that the canon's spiritual growth is an example for the community.⁶³ From these comments and the well-stocked libraries of English canonical institutions, it may be assumed that the Lincoln Psalm commentary was read by the Lincoln canons in a manner related to the *lectio divina* of their Benedictine colleagues. A note on the final leaf of MS 155 offers some guidance on the possible reading of the manuscript. In a twelfth-century hand, it reads: *legimus in eccles' historia*.⁶⁴ The history of the church is a major theme of Augustine's text, and one that appears in the exposition to Psalm 5, the first place that human heads appear in this manuscript. Although this remark is oddly-placed in the manuscript, it emphasises a theme from the text and may indicate one way in which this text was seen to hold relevance for the Lincoln canons who participated in the liturgy and running of their cathedral.

Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17

A richly illustrated manuscript decorated by several artists of widely ranging artistic styles, the Winchester Bible contains twenty-three heads in sixteen of its initials (Figs. 141-155). These sixteen initials are a mere fraction of the Bible's illumination, and they must compete with fifty-one historiated initials as well as several full-page miniatures. Although the heads are often paired and appear in shared types, they were

⁶³Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, pp. 78-81.

⁶⁴This note was not mentioned by Rodney Thomson in his catalogue entry for the manuscript. It appears in pale brown ink in the upper right corner of folio 184. The manuscript ends on folio 182, but this leaf is part of the original collation and has marks from two strap-pins on the verso.

designed by different artists. In their application of heads to initials, the artists seem to have challenged themselves and each other to make the heads subtle and evocative portions of the decoration. By juxtaposing passages of texts with striking human heads, the artists were able to draw attention to these heads. The text-facing heads in the lower terminals of the initials to the books of I Samuel, II Kings and I Peter suggest a means of looking and examination in the Bible initials not unlike a game of hide 'n' seek (Figs. 142, 143 & 153).

Significant scholarship on the Bible by Neil Ker and Walter Oakeshott has demonstrated that it was produced at Winchester and has been there since its production.⁶⁵ The date of the Winchester Bible is not known with certainty, but most art historians place its production around 1160-80, making its commission contemporaneous with the bishopric of Henry of Blois.⁶⁶ Bishop of Winchester from 1129 to 1171, nephew of King Henry I and brother of King Stephen, Henry of Blois' interest in art and manuscripts is well documented.⁶⁷ While there is no documentary evidence that Henry of Blois specifically commissioned the Winchester Bible, he did give money to the St. Swithun's scriptorium in 1170.⁶⁸ Walter Oakeshott argued that the Bible was funded and closely supervised by Henry, and he has suggested that the Bible's unfinished state might be linked to Henry's death in 1171 and a subsequent lack of funds to complete its illumination.⁶⁹ That the Bible was intended to be a sumptuous symbol of the community is suggested by a comparison of the Winchester Bible to another Bible associated with Winchester, the Auct Bible (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct E, infra 1 & 2). As Ker has demonstrated, the Winchester and the

⁶⁵ See especially Ker, *English Manuscripts*, pp. 35, 50-52 and Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*.

⁶⁶ Neil Ker has dated the Bible's script to the mid-twelfth century. *English Manuscripts*, p. 35. Various dates between 1160 and 1190 have been suggested for the work of the Morgan Master and his Byzantising colleagues. See Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 114-15 and L. Ayres, 'The Work of the Morgan Master at Winchester and English Painting of the Early Gothic Period', *The Art Bulletin*, 56, 1974, pp. 207-23.

⁶⁷ G. Zarnecki, 'Henry of Blois as a Patron of Sculpture' *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, eds. S. Macready & F.H. Thompson, London, 1986, pp. 159-72 and Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, pp. 13-15.

⁶⁸ Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, p. 13.

⁶⁹ Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 35-36.

Auct Bibles were corrected side by side.⁷⁰ The common text of these Bibles encourages a comparison of their decoration and intended function. The Winchester Bible with its full-page miniatures and historiated initials seems to be a luxurious volume intended for display in contrast to the Auct Bible which has few historiated initials and was intended to be used for reading in the refectory.⁷¹ In fact, Neil Ker concluded after analysing the punctuation and corrections of both manuscripts that “parts of the Winchester Bible can only be read with difficulty and can hardly have been read aloud at all”.⁷² Discoloration on the I Samuel folio of the Winchester Bible indicates that it was left open for long periods of time, presumably to show off the illumination of the Morgan Leaf and the I Samuel initial.⁷³ Notable in this opening is a human head with a blue pointing finger below that encourages the observer to consider the text before the finger (Fig. 142).

Much detailed analysis of the Winchester Bible, its texts and decoration exists. Furthermore, the iconography of its historiated initials and miniatures has been extensively reviewed in publication.⁷⁴ Due to this scholarship, what will be highlighted here are the decorative motifs of human heads, figures and hybrids found in the Bible’s initials. Often neglected when the manuscript is examined as a whole, the human heads reveal patterns and surprising parallels between the six artists that help

⁷⁰ The correcting and correlation of texts in the Winchester and Auct Bibles was a complicated process that seems to have changed goals midway. Ker, *English Manuscripts*, pp. 50-52. Walter Oakeshott has summarised the main points about this correcting process in *The Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 23-34 and in ‘The Origin of the ‘Auct’ Bible’, *Bodleian Library Record*, 11/6, 1988, p. 401.

⁷¹ A ca. 1185 account describes the Auct Bible as a Bible for reading in the refectory. See part three of the chapter for this account in the Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln. The function of large illustrated twelfth-century Bibles is not entirely clear, although it does appear that their decoration with full-page miniatures and historiated initials using precious materials like gold and ultramarine was considered an important quality. For a discussion of these questions in relation to the Bury Bible, see T.A. Heslop, ‘The Production and the Artistry of the Bury Bible’, *Bury St. Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20, 1998, pp. 172-85, esp. 181-83.

⁷² Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 51.

⁷³ Due to the good condition of the Morgan Leaf, it is assumed to have been removed from the Bible in 1820 when the Bible was rebound. Had it been removed much earlier, it would presumably show a great deal more wear. Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, p. 33.

⁷⁴ See in particular the work of Walter Oakeshott, Larry Ayres and Claire Donovan on the Bible. A full bibliography for the Winchester Bible can be found in the catalogue of this thesis.

to further understand the Bible's production. The human figures and heads appear in decorated initials and in the frames and terminals of historiated initials, places where the artists would have been given freedom to add ornament as they wished. This examination of the sixteen initials with human heads in the Winchester Bible will group the initials by apparent themes: heads which hint at speech, heads which are watchful and heads and figures which evoke a playful, imaginative world. The final discussion will analyse the division of labour and the artists responsible for these initials.

The blue head and finger of the I Samuel initial, the first initial in the Bible to use the lower terminal to house a human head, directs the audience towards a specific text (Fig. 142). The word before the finger, *afflictione*, is part of a verse containing Hannah's prayer for a son in I Samuel 1:10. Hannah's barrenness is emphasised in the historiated scene of the feast of Elkanah and his two wives above. Hannah's gesture of grief and the deep blue ground against which she is set isolate her from Peninnah who is crowded on the right by her children. Hannah also stands in the shaft of the initial, holding a scroll inscribed with the first words of her prayer. The I Samuel initial would have originally faced the miniatures of the Morgan Leaf where Hannah's prayers in the temple before the altar and before Eli are depicted on the recto in the lower left corner.⁷⁵ The head and finger in the lower terminal of the initial may draw attention to Hannah's prayer in yet another way. The Canticle of Hannah, a song of thanksgiving, is found in I Samuel 2:1-10 and shares the themes of I Samuel 1:10. The Canticle was sung at Lauds on Wednesdays in the monastic liturgy and was often cited by monastic writers as justification for child oblation since Hannah gave her son Samuel to the church.⁷⁶ In drawing attention to Hannah's prayer and the birth of Samuel, the head and finger accent an important event in the narrative of the book of

⁷⁵ The Morgan Leaf is now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.619. Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, fig. 27.

⁷⁶ The citation of Hannah's canticle by monastic authors is discussed in M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden, 1996.

Samuel. The purpose of the blue head might be to highlight a text describing a significant narrative moment in the book.

The pointing gesture of the finger accompanying the I Samuel head is a well-known sign for speech in twelfth-century miniature painting. Open mouths were rarely used to indicate voices or speech in this period since they could be interpreted as signs of uncouthness, evil and spiritual deficiency.⁷⁷ Only selected characters in the Winchester Bible miniatures, the devils in the Mark and Hosea initials and the dead soldiers in the II Samuel initial, the Morgan Leaf and the Maccabees miniatures, have open mouths.⁷⁸ Instead, speech was indicated with blank or inscribed scrolls and pointing index fingers. In the historiated initials of the Winchester Bible, the use of scrolls to suggest speech may be seen in the initials to the books of Genesis, Isaiah, Proverbs and Ezra while pointing fingers indicate dialogue in the Joshua, I Kings, Joel and Wisdom initials.⁷⁹ In this context, the blue pointing finger in the lower terminal of I Samuel initial might have been recognised as indicating speech, specifically the words of Hannah's prayer. The use of a human head to evoke the dialogue of the Bible is repeated in the II Kings initial of the Winchester Bible.

In this initial, two heads, one flesh coloured and one blue, occupy a brightly-coloured flourish at the base of the letter (Fig. 143). Their position does not isolate individual words in manner of the finger in the I Samuel initial. The upper head faces the space between the words *Respondensque* and *Si* while the lower head is focused on *voret*, the second portion of the word *devoret* which is split between two lines. The nearest complete verse encompassing the eyesight of both heads is II Kings 1:10. This passage contains dialogue related to the historiated scene in the bowl where Elijah confronts the messengers of King Ahaziah. According to the Bible narrative, King Ahaziah sought an oracle from the Philistine god Baal-zebub, but his messengers were

⁷⁷Heslop, 'Romanesque Painting and Social Distinction', p. 145.

⁷⁸ Fols. 99v, 198, 350v and 387v; Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, figs. 4, 27, 28, 47, 71 & 72.

⁷⁹ Fols. 5, 69, 109, 131, 200v, 260, 272v and 342; Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, figs. 5, 16, 26, 34, 37, 48, 66 and back cover.

intercepted by the prophet Elijah who prophesied the king's death. In a confrontation between the messengers of Ahaziah and Elijah intended to demonstrate the power of God over that of Baal-zebub, the prophet called down fire to destroy the men of Ahaziah. It is Elijah's promise of the descent of fire and its destruction of Ahaziah's men that is marked by the two human heads in the lower terminal of the Winchester initial. The heads, in highlighting a portion of the dialogue between the individuals depicted in the bowl, effectively add voices to the scene. The different colours of the heads may represent each of the opposing parties in the dialogue.

A third head with a red face surrounded by grey swirls is attached to the upper left terminal of the II Kings initial (Fig. 143). Facing away from the text opening and the historiated scene, the head has no obvious relationship with the text. However, the fiery red colour of the face and the grey circles surrounding it evoke fire and heat and might conceivably relate to the fire which Elijah called down from Heaven to consume Ahaziah's men. If so, then the three human heads in the terminals of the historiated initial could be subtle reminders of the dialogue and the actions of the figures depicted in the bowl of the letter.

In both initials, the artists had to overcome some design problems in order to position the heads opposite the relevant sections of dialogue.⁸⁰ In the I Samuel initial, the scribe indented the text column to accommodate a round terminal for the letter F, but the artist disregarded this space and chose instead to place the terminal of the letter between the text columns (Fig. 142). In the II Kings initial, the heads are also situated in an extended terminal flourish that hangs below the intended space for the terminal and is pressed against the text (Fig. 143). From this evidence, it may be deduced that the heads were not planned alongside the writing of the text or the selection of the

⁸⁰ While it might have seemed more logical for the heads to convey the dialogue of the historiated scenes physically closer to them, this would not have been possible given the arrangement of the text on the page. For instance, the Cantic of Hannah, a portion of I Samuel well known to monks, is found on the verso of the folio. In the II Kings initial, the narrative of Elijah's ascension to Heaven and the gift of his mantle to his disciple Elisha, the scenes depicted in the shaft of the letter, are described in II Kings 2:9-11. This passage is found in the right column of text on folio 120 verso.

historiated scenes. At some point in the production of the initials, the potential of the human head to suggest the dialogue of the narrative scenes may have been recognised by the artists.

Another head possibly indicating speech is found in the Jeremiah initial where a profile head with an open mouth is part of the letter structure (Fig. 144). Inside the letter V, Jeremiah receives his prophecy from God. Neither figure has an open mouth, but the finger of the Lord touches Jeremiah's mouth, and both figures hold scrolls on which portions of their dialogue are written. It is the head on the terminal above this scene that has an open mouth and 'speaks'. Although it does not look onto the scene or directly at the text, its open mouth suggests that the head may be intended to represent Jeremiah and the Lord's speech. The opening word of the book of Jeremiah is *verba* or word.

As noted, the use of an open mouth to suggest speech could be interpreted as a sign of evil or death, since that is the context of the other open mouths in this Bible. However, an open-mouthed prophet figure can be found in the historiated initial to Jeremiah in the mid twelfth-century Dover Bible (Fig. 26). That the Dover Jeremiah could be interpreted as speaking is indicated by the letters AAA in front of his open mouth and the words *Domine Deus* beside him. This initial contains a rare example of an open mouth being used on a prophet figure. It is striking that the only human head with an open mouth in the Winchester Bible, the head in the Jeremiah initial, is related to the same idea of prophetic speech.⁸¹ The artists of the Winchester Bible may have been interested in the ways in which speech could be suggested through pointing heads, staring heads or open mouths.

⁸¹ There is no known connection between the two Bibles, but the iconography of their initials to II Samuel, II Kings and Wisdom is related. See Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, pp. 40-41 for a table of Old Testament iconography in Romanesque Bibles.

The manner in which the I Samuel, II Kings and Jeremiah heads interact with the text recalls the medieval notion of the *vores paginorum* or the voices of the page. In the twelfth century, the writer-scholar John of Salisbury wrote that letters are the voices of the absent.⁸² This sense that texts speak to readers is enhanced by the fact that reading was not silent in this period and that much of the reading that occurred in a monastery was an oral and community-based activity.⁸³ The Bible and the Psalter were recited in the liturgy, and patristic manuscripts as well as *The Rule of St. Benedict* were read aloud in the refectory, in chapter meetings and in the *collatio*. These three initials in the Winchester Bible could be signs indicating the voices of the Bible in a period in which texts were commonly read aloud.

The use of human heads as signs for dialogue does not seem to be carried throughout the initials of the Winchester Bible even though there are many historiated initials depicting speech or prophecies in the manuscript. A few additional heads hint at speech, but these heads do not indicate such careful placement or specific meaning. The profile head in the tail of the Luke initial is an example of a head that accompanies a historiated scene in which dialogue is depicted (Fig. 151). In the bowl of the letter **Q**, an angel warns Zacharias of the birth of his son, John the Baptist, in Luke 1:13. Below this scene, a head with a long chin and an amorphous shape looks into the text in which the Evangelist describes his intention to relate another version of Christ's Life and Passion.

In the Joel initial, a bald head appears in a foliate terminal of a letter **V** (Fig. 146). The bowl is filled with the nimbed prophet Joel, a crowd of figures and the dove of the Holy Spirit. As Claire Donovan has demonstrated, the subject of the historiated initial is the opening words of Joel's prophecy, "hear this ye old men".⁸⁴ A male figure in the foreground gestures towards the text, pointing at the rubricated opening words, *verba*

⁸² John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, I, 13. *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vol. 98, Turnhout, 1991, p. 32.

⁸³ On the noise of medieval reading, see Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, pp. 54-57.

⁸⁴ Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, p. 45.

domini. Donovan has suggested that the dove above Joel illustrates the Lord's coming, as prophesied in Joel 3:16, "and the Lord shall roar out of Sion and utter his voice from Jerusalem". Despite all of these references to speech, the profile head above this scene is a silent observer hidden in the foliate terminal. Another observer is the bearded head attached to the upper terminal of the unfinished Ecclesiastes initial (Fig. 149). Isolated above the scene of Ecclesiastes receiving gifts from his courtiers, the head might be compared to Ecclesiastes who holds a blank scroll and ignores the crowd around him. The opening lines of the book contain a very powerful speech given by Ecclesiastes, but this head has no sign of speech.

The head in the I Peter initial has been noted as an example of the artists' tendency to place heads in lower terminals of letters (Fig. 153). The manner in which the profile head is sandwiched between the foliate flourish and the text column suggests that its placement may be intentional. Furthermore, the flourish in which the head rests has a ring of gold and is already outlined in ink. The head is positioned so that his eyes look between the lines of I Peter 1:11, "searching what or what manner of time the spirit of Christ in them did signify: when it foretold those sufferings that are in Christ, and the glories that should follow". This verse is opened by the word *scrutantes* that appears in the middle of the column just above the head. The scene above with Peter seated holding a book and his key and surrounded by messengers depicts no specific dialogue or narrative moment. Independent of this scene, I Peter 1:11 is an important passage that demonstrates the typology of Scripture and how prophecies of Christ may be found in the Old Testament. In all four of these initials, the heads might be identified as a type of marker since they are positioned close to the text or the narrative scene. The I Peter initial is the most successful in drawing a specific idea and line of text to the reader's attention.

Two additional pairs of heads reinforce this idea of watchfulness. They are the large bearded heads attached to the lower terminals of the unfinished John and I Timothy

initials and the profiles peering from the terminals of the Joshua and the prologue to Zechariah initials (Figs. 152 & 155 and 141 & 148). In each case, the heads do not look into texts. The terminals with the John and I Timothy heads are positioned below their text columns and the Joshua and the prologue to Zechariah heads look into the rubrics and the blank margin of the page. In these respects, the watchfulness of the heads is very general.

The bearded mask-like heads on the ends of the S to the prologue of Haggai and the epistle of II John resemble Terence masks in their flattened oval mouths, broad foreheads and the manner in which they are appended to the letter (Figs. 147 & 154). The Apocrypha Drawings Master, responsible for the design of the Haggai initial, worked at St. Albans Abbey on an illustrated copy of the Comedies of Terence prior to his work on the Bible. He has been identified as 'Artist A' of the Terence and was responsible for a good portion of its illumination.⁸⁵ A more tentative proposal has suggested that 'Artist B' of the Terence is the Leaping Figures Master, the designer of the Winchester II John initial. Neither set of heads are closely related to the text nor are there thematic parallels between the Haggai and II John texts to support such a visual connection.⁸⁶ Instead, it appears that the two artists imitated each other's work and borrowed freely from a shared repertoire of motifs.

Two initials in the Winchester Bible incorporate a variety of human and animal figures and fantastic scenes (Figs. 145 & 150). The preface to the Minor Prophets and the Matthew initials may be linked to a group of historiated and inhabited initials that contain wrestling human figures and include the Ezra, Daniel chapter 5 and Haggai prologue initials.⁸⁷ These figures face inwards and are entirely contained within the

⁸⁵ L.W. Jones & C.R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1932, pp. 70-72 & 93 for Artist A. Larry Ayres has proposed this chronology for the Apocrypha Drawings Master's work in his article, 'The Role of an Angevin Style in English Romanesque Painting', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 37, 1974, p. 220.

⁸⁶ The III John initial contains a peering profile in its upper terminal that looks at the II John initial in the left column (Fig. 154). Further emphasising the manner in which heads in this Bible can direct the eye of the reader, this head peeks at the profiles and masks in the adjacent initial.

⁸⁷ Fols. 193, 209v and 342; Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, figs. 46, 56 and back cover.

letter frame. The unpainted Matthew initial drawn by the Leaping Figures Master contains a man-eating beast known as a manticore and often found in bestiaries, a bear, a peering human profile and a half-length human figure who swings in the foliage (Fig. 150). Each of these figures is an isolated element applied to the foliate structure of the letter without coherent organisation. Indeed, the bear is positioned vertically, making it difficult to interpret these figures as constructing a scene. These attributes indicate that the motifs found in the Matthew initial have been selected from a variety of sources and intended to embellish the letter.

In the Minor Prophets preface initial, another group of entangled figures and beasts are arranged within the letter (Fig. 145). An initial drawn by the Apocrypha Drawings Master but finished by the Morgan Master with his distinctive blue, red and melon colours, the letter N is tightly composed of struggling figures. In the centre a man with a blue face, arms and legs is pulled in three directions by two beasts and a man in a green tunic. He is watched by a man sitting in the foliage on the left and by a blue head that looks down onto the scene. A half-human hybrid creature, also with blue skin and carrying a boss shield and a standard, climbs up the shaft into the scene. Walter Oakeshott proposed an allegorical interpretation for the initial, based on his reading of the clothing of the figures. He suggested that the watching and inactive monk on the left is juxtaposed by the rescuing peasant on the right, and that the initial contains a social commentary on the seclusion of monks and their reluctance to help others.⁸⁸ The combination of hybrid, human and animal forms in the initial constructs a scene unlike the random combination of decorative motifs in the Matthew initial.

One of the most remarkable features of the above sixteen initials is that they were designed by two artists and painted by six different artists. Many of the initials that appear to share themes or to function in related ways were decorated by separate artists. Design work in the Bible has been divided mainly between two artists known

⁸⁸ Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, p. 92.

as the Leaping Figures Master and the Apocrypha Drawings Master. Four artists working in a more Byzantine style painted some of the unfinished initials and designed a few others, but none of them have human heads. Since the work of these artists often occurs over designs of the earlier two, it has been suggested that a period of time elapsed between the two teams.⁸⁹ The Leaping Figures Master is the earliest and most prolific of the artists. Working around 1160 in the damp-fold style of the Bury Bible, he designed many initials in the Bible, completing a few in the Old Testament but leaving all his New Testament initials unfinished. The Apocrypha Drawings Master, named for his work in the full-page miniatures before the books of Maccabees, worked in an angular 'Angevin style' similar to his work in the St. Albans Terence.⁹⁰ He appears to have assisted the Leaping Figures Master in the Old Testament's decoration. Walter Oakeshott suggested that the second team of artists was invited to Winchester to complete the decoration of the Bible on the departure or death of the first two.⁹¹ Larry Ayres has argued that the two groups worked side by side and collaborated on the decoration, at times adopting the style and colouring of other artists.⁹² Since the heads in the Bible initials are only found in initials designed by the Leaping Figures and Apocrypha Drawings Masters, it is to these two artists that the questions of intention and borrowing of motifs are applied.

In dividing the initials with human heads between the Leaping Figures and Apocrypha Drawings Masters, it is striking that their initials have similar heads, placements and textual ideas.⁹³ The I Samuel and II Kings initials with their talking heads in the base

⁸⁹ This dating has been suggested by the identification of the Apocrypha Drawings Master's hand in a mid-century St. Albans manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct F.2.13. L. Ayres, 'The Role of an Angevin Style', p. 320. Late in the twelfth century, the Byzantinising team appears to have been responsible for the decoration of a chapter house in Sigena, Spain. See W. Oakeshott, *Sigena: Romanesque Paintings in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*.

⁹⁰ Walter Oakeshott named this artist for his main work in the Winchester Bible, the Judith and Maccabees drawings. For a discussion of this artist, see Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 53-57 and L. Ayres, 'The Role of the Angevin Style', pp. 199-223.

⁹¹ Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 113-15.

⁹² L.M. Ayres, 'Collaborative Enterprise in Romanesque Manuscript Illumination and the Artists of the Winchester Bible', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 6, 1983, pp. 20-27.

⁹³ A table describing the distribution of work in the entire Bible is supplied by Walter Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, Table II, p. 144.

terminals were designed by the Apocrypha Drawings Master and the Leaping Figures Master respectively. Likewise, the tonsured profiles inhabiting the terminals of the letters to Joshua and the prologue to Zechariah and the bearded terminal heads on the Ss to the prologue to Haggai and the epistle of II John belong one initial to each artist (Figs. 141 & 148, 147 & 154). The borrowing of motifs is common within a scriptorium and has been seen in Durham and Rochester manuscripts, but in each of those cases, there were significant alterations to the heads that signalled an artist's individual placement of the motif. In the Winchester Bible, the motifs are often employed for the same letter, and they suggest a dialogue, and possibly a competition, between the Leaping Figures Master and the Apocrypha Drawings Master to outdo one another in the application of heads and fantastic creatures to letters.

INITIAL	DESIGN	COMPLETION
JOSHUA	Leaping Figures Master	Amalekite Master
I SAMUEL	Apocrypha Drawings Master	Morgan Master
II KINGS	Leaping Figures Master	Leaping Figures Master
JEREMIAH	Leaping Figures Master	Leaping Figures Master
PROL TO MINOR PROPHETS	Apocrypha Drawings Master	Morgan Master
JOEL	Apocrypha Drawings Master	Apocrypha Drawings Master
PROL TO HAGGAI	Apocrypha Drawings Master	Genesis Initial Master
PROL TO ZECHARIAH	Apocrypha Drawings Master	Genesis Initial Master
ECCLESIASTES	Leaping Figures Master	<i>Unfinished</i>
MATTHEW	Leaping Figures Master	<i>Unfinished</i>
LUKE	Leaping Figures Master	<i>Unfinished</i>
JOHN	Leaping Figures Master	<i>Unfinished</i>
I PETER	Leaping Figures Master	<i>Unfinished</i>
II JOHN	Leaping Figures Master	<i>Unfinished</i>
III JOHN	Leaping Figures Master	<i>Unfinished</i>
I TIMOTHY	Leaping Figures Master	<i>Unfinished</i>

Table outlining the distribution of work in the sixteen initials with human heads.

While some heads in the Winchester Bible may have a purpose in conveying the dialogue of the book and encouraging the reader to study the text, an equal number do not prompt the reader towards specific lines of text, and these heads often appear in decorative pairs. Although the deliberate placement of heads is seen most effectively in the initials to I Samuel, II Kings and I Peter where heads can be matched with verses in the text (Figs. 142, 143 & 153), the watchful profiles and tonsured heads of many remaining initials may have been planned and recognised as text

markers. The range of heads and their interpretative strategies in the Winchester Bible suggest a game of hide 'n' seek or follow-the-leader that invites the audience to distinguish the heads with a positive function from others that do not have a single textual prompt. Since the Bible seems to have been intended for display rather than reading aloud, the presence in selected initials of human heads that emphasise ways of looking at the text is felicitous in a manuscript with elaborate illumination but unreadable text.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct E, infra 1

The playful quality of the Winchester Bible initials is complemented by the inhabited initials of the Auct Bible (Figs. 127-140).⁹⁴ "A fine and beautifully written Bible which was to be used in the refectory", the Auct Bible was given by the Winchester monks to King Henry II who in turn gave it to the Carthusian Priors at Witham about 1180.⁹⁵ A St. Swithun's monk visiting Witham a few years later recognised the Auct Bible and recounted how it was carefully corrected to the Winchester use. A manuscript that has changed owners several times and contains unusual texts, it survives in two volumes held by the Bodleian Library.⁹⁶ Also a collaborative work, the Auct Bible was decorated by two west country artists called the Entangled Figures Master and the Brilliant Pupil and a Byzantinising artist associated with the second team of Winchester Bible artists, the Amalekite Master.⁹⁷ The division of labour between the artists is clear; the Entangled Figures Master and the Brilliant Pupil supplied the initials in the Genesis to Job volume.⁹⁸ The Amalekite Master painted the historiated

⁹⁴ Also known in scholarship as the second Winchester Bible or St. Hugh's Bible.

⁹⁵ The story of the Bible's gift to Witham and its subsequent return to St. Swithun's is recounted in Adam of Eynsham's *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*. *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis: The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, eds. D.L. Douie & D.H. Farmer, 2 vols., Oxford, 1985, Book II, chapter 13, pp. 84-88.

⁹⁶ Additional information on the provenance and history of this manuscript may be found in the catalogue in Appendix A.

⁹⁷ The Entangled Figures Master was first identified and named by Boase, *English Art*, p. 179. The Brilliant Pupil's moniker is Oakeshott's, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 102-103.

⁹⁸ The initials to Jeremiah and its prologue are usually assigned to the Brilliant Pupil. Oakeshott has suggested that the Daniel initial was finished by the Brilliant Pupil. Elements of the Job initials

initial to Psalm 1 and all the decorated initials in the second volume which contains the books of Psalms to Revelation. The style and content of the Amalekite Master's initials is markedly different from those of the first volume; its decoration is largely aniconic and has no human heads.⁹⁹

The initials of the Entangled Figures Master's volume are counted among the treasures of Romanesque decoration for their writhing dragons, snarling dogs, sinewy humans and beaked birds who wrestle, hide and peek from the verdant foliage. The combative tone of the figural initials is entertaining, evocative and, in many cases, inexplicable. Walter Oakeshott has described the initials of the Auct Bible as having,

at their best an inner significance, as it might be called, of their own—a self-contained meaning, not in any way particularly connected with the book at the head of which they stand. One recurrent theme is the helplessness of man, caught in the toils of an irrational savage environment.¹⁰⁰

Human heads are a compelling feature of the initial decoration and one that suggests precision in their placement as well as a planned dialogue between the reader and the text.

That the heads are a form of text marker and prompt for the reader is suggested by the strong presence of heads in the Job portion of the first volume, a section that raises questions about the manuscript's origin. The Auct Bible contains two versions of the book of Job, Jerome's Vulgate translation which appears in other twelfth-century Bibles and Jerome's first translation from the Greek Septuagint, known as the Old Latin version. The Old Latin translation is known in no other twelfth-century

indicate that the Brilliant Pupil may have assisted in their decoration. The profiles of the human heads in the *Cogor per singulos* preface and the Old Latin version of Job have segmented hair, block-like chins and down turned mouths similar to the Brilliant Pupil's work in the Jeremiah initial (Figs. 137 & 138). The treatment of foliage in these initials is that of the Entangled Figures Master, suggesting that the Brilliant Pupil may have worked with his 'master' on selected portions of these two initials or followed his master's style here. Several arabesque initials in the Auct Bible use gold balls and web-like forms that can be seen in the initials of a much damaged Bible attributed to the Brilliant Pupil, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.823.

⁹⁹ A discussion of these initials appears in Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 104-106.

¹⁰⁰ Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, p. 88.

manuscript.¹⁰¹ This text has been used to attribute the Bible to St. Albans Abbey and the patronage of Abbot Simon (1167-83). Simon is noted in the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* for his interest in correct, *authentica*, texts. Indeed, several St. Albans manuscripts in this period have equally rare texts.¹⁰² Walter Oakeshott proposed that Abbot Simon exchanged the unfinished Auct Bible with Henry of Blois for a gold ring.¹⁰³ Since the Auct Bible and the Winchester Bible were corrected side by side in Winchester with more changes being made to the Winchester Bible, Oakeshott has argued that Bishop Henry acquired the Auct Bible in order to improve the text of the Winchester Bible.¹⁰⁴ His St. Albans provenance for the Bible has not gained full acceptance as Rodney Thomson and T. A. Heslop have argued for the Auct Bible's production in other centres.¹⁰⁵ Although the Entangled Figures Master's style is related to St. Albans work, he is most strongly associated with the west country.¹⁰⁶

The heaviest concentration of heads in the Auct Bible occurs in the last book of volume one, the book of Job (Figs. 136-140). This section provides a starting point for understanding the use of heads in this manuscript. As a unique aspect of the Bible, the Job section with its two versions of the book, two prefaces and a chapter

¹⁰¹ Oakeshott describes seeing a different translation of Job in a Tours manuscript, but it has yet to be verified. 'The Origin of the 'Auct' Bible', p. 402 and *The Two Winchester Bibles*, p. 107.

¹⁰² Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, p. 52.

¹⁰³ W.F. Oakeshott, 'St. Albans and Winchester Contributions to St. Hugh's Bible', *Manuscripts at Oxford: Exhibition in Memory of R.W. Hunt*, eds. A.C. de la Mare & B. C. Barker-Benfield, Oxford, 1980, pp. 33-35 and *The Two Winchester Bibles*, p. 112.

¹⁰⁴ The question why the texts were not correct in the first place continues to puzzle historians. See T.A. Heslop, 'Books for Use and Beauty', review of *The Two Winchester Bibles* by W. Oakeshott, *Art History*, 5, 1982 pp. 124-28.

¹⁰⁵ At the heart of this debate is a manuscript decorated by the Brilliant Pupil (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.823) that contains readings also found in a St. Albans Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48). Thomson argued that the Auct Bible was decorated in Winchester by artists associated with St. Albans Abbey and the west country. As Heslop has pointed out, not enough work has been done on such readings to determine their comparative rarity. He has argued for a west country setting for the Entangled Figures Master, citing the prevalence of spurred fronds in 'Wessex' manuscripts as well as the Morgan Bible's connections with Taunton Priory in Somerset. See Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, pp. 33-35 and Heslop, 'Books for Use and Beauty', pp. 126-27.

¹⁰⁶ Heslop, 'Books for Use and Beauty', pp. 126-27. The Entangled Figures Master has been linked to the opening initial of Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 73 (Fig. 110). This initial resembles the Numbers initial in the Auct Bible, but if the Entangled Figures Master is responsible for the Princeton initial, it reflects an early point in his career.

summary list seems to indicate the interests of its unidentified patron. The books of Job are followed by an excerpt from Jerome's letter to Paulinus in which he describes Job as an example of patience and divine mystery and states that Job prophesies the Resurrection and Judgement.¹⁰⁷ This passage, copied from Jerome's letter found at the opening of the Auct Bible, is written in brown, blue, green and red ink. The repetition of this passage and its coloured inks emphasise Jerome's interpretation of the book of Job.¹⁰⁸ This section of the Auct Bible has a total of five inhabited initials. All of them, including the preface initials, are painted with luxurious foliage blossoms and human heads that look at each other and the texts above and beside them. In this Bible, arabesque initials more often mark prefaces and capitula lists. The heads invite notice since no other book of the Bible contains such a heavy concentration of texts and human heads.

The only Job initial to have been analysed in publication is that to the Vulgate translation of Job. Trapped in the encircling foliage of the letter composed of the serpentine body of a beast, a naked man reaches for the feathery crown of the human-headed beast (Fig. 140). A white bearded human head in the beast's paws seems to suggest that another man has fallen victim to the beast. T. A. Heslop has proposed that this beast resembles the Dragon described in bestiaries as a creature with a long neck, an encircling tail and a crown.¹⁰⁹ As an ironic twist to the man's ensnared state, Heslop argues that he is placing the crown of vice on the King of Pride's head. The dragon can also be related to the description of Behemoth found in the end of the

¹⁰⁷ Jerome's letter to Paulinus is usually found at the opening of Old Testament volumes and discusses the themes of each Biblical book. For the letter to Paulinus (Epistle 53), see PL 22, cols. 540-49, esp 545 for the Job passage.

¹⁰⁸ Another manuscript attributable to the Entangled Figures Master is Oxford, Balliol College, MS 218. It contains an unusual collection of Scriptural texts, among them the Vulgate translation of Job with Jerome's *Sit aut fiscellam* and *Cogor per singulos* prefaces and the excerpt from his epistle to Paulinus. Though not unknown in twelfth-century English manuscripts, this compilation of texts can be noted for its similarity to the Job texts in the Auct Bible. Unfortunately, the provenance of the Balliol manuscript is unknown, but its initials contain human profiles and spurred fronds typical of the Entangled Figures Master's west country work. R.A.B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford*, Oxford, 1963, cat. no. 218.

¹⁰⁹ *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain*, ed. B. Ford, vol. 2, The Middle Ages, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 161-62.

book of Job. The initial provides a strong conclusion to an ongoing struggle between men, heads and beasts in the inhabited initials of the Bible.

Working backward from the Vulgate Job initial, the initial to the Old Latin version of the book of Job is occupied by a lion encircled within the golden coils of the letter (Fig. 137). A profile head with blue hair accompanied by a pointing finger looks up at the lion from the lower frame of the letter. Another head peers into the centre from the right frame. The lower head with its finger, like the I Samuel example in the Winchester Bible, directs the attention of the reader to the trapped lion.

A few comparisons may be drawn between this initial and the following initial to the Vulgate translation of Job (Figs. 137 & 140). Both are composed of concentric coils of foliage. In the Vulgate initial, the coil is blue on a gold ground; in the Old Latin initial, the coil is gold and lies on a blue ground. In the extremities of both initials are watchful human heads. Since these two initials seem to create a pair, the Old Latin initial with its depiction of a lion might reasonably be compared to the bestiary description for the lion. Considered the King of Beasts, the lion is a significant animal in bestiaries where it is regarded both positively as a symbol of Christ and negatively for its ferocity. One twelfth-century bestiary notes “the short ones with curly manes are peaceful: the tall ones with plain hair are fierce”.¹¹⁰ This bestiary also describes the lion as proud but generous and compassionate. Is another type of pride being depicted in this initial with its ‘peaceful’ curly-maned lion? While the purpose of the entrapped lion is not clear, a game of hide ‘n’ seek is prevalent in the initials on this page. In the opposing column of text is the letter S to the *Sit aut ficellam* preface in which a profile head with a pointed ear mirrors the one in the frame of the Job initial (Fig. 136). This repetition of heads and their placement is also found in the two upward-facing heads in the capitula and Vulgate Job initials (Figs. 139 & 140).

¹¹⁰ *The Book of Beasts*, p. 7.

The game of follow-the-leader seen in the Job initials may be pursued in nine other initials of the first volume of the Auct Bible. Among these initials, only the letter V to Amos suggests a specific relationship to the text (Fig. 133). The two roundels in the frame of the letter contain a bearded king and a bearded man with an open mouth. Since the heads are framed in roundels like the head of Christ at the top of the Genesis initial, it is possible that they can be linked to characters in the text.¹¹¹ The crowned man may be identified as King Jeroboam whose name appears immediately below the initial. The speaking man is the prophet Amos who is introduced in the second word of the book, *verba Amos*. The opening narrative of Amos concerns the prophet's warning of judgement and punishment against King Jeroboam. Importantly, the prophet's speech is depicted with an open mouth.¹¹² Inside the bowl of the letter, two identical human profiles with open mouths confront two snarling dog heads framed by folded acanthus leaves and spurred fronds. While the confrontation between the humans and the dogs echoes the confrontation of King Jeroboam and Amos, human and dog heads are part of a wider theme of conflict found in the Bible initials.

Human heads confront a variety of beasts in the Numbers, capitula to Joshua and Isaiah initials (Figs. 127, 128 & 129). Set at various angles opposite dogs, bird heads and stalking beasts, the heads lie in varying stages of danger. Human antagonists and victims appear in the Obadiah and Daniel initials where they look backward in fear or chase heads and beasts with an axe (Fig. 131). All of these initials are emotion-filled while remaining somewhat ambiguous; is the human pursuant or is he in flight? Has the head been vomited from the mouth of a savage beast or is he being consumed?

¹¹¹ The Genesis initial on folio 26 verso has a roundel of Christ blessing, supported by an elongated caryatid who stands on a church and a contorted dog. Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, fig. 128.

¹¹² The dialogue between Jeroboam and Amos can be related to the depiction of disputing prophets in the illustration of twelfth-century Jesse trees such as a miniature in the Lambeth Bible (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fol. 198). As in the Amos initial, these figures are often contained in roundels and hold scrolls or have pointing fingers as signs of speech. Dodwell, *The Great Lambeth Bible*, pl. 4.

Watchful and vigilant heads dot the initials to Hosea, Micah, Zachariah and Jerome's preface to Job (Figs. 132, 134, 135 & 138). Oriented in the direction of the text with white faces, these heads demonstrate significant care in their design since they have unpainted features and facial expressions that are pronounced beside the heavily gilded and coloured foliage. These heads are joined by the tonsured 'reading' head on the edge of the Jonah initial and the two bearded heads in lower portions of the Daniel and Vulgate Job initials who also appear to 'read' the text (Figs. 130, 131 & 140). If a game of hide 'n' seek is articulated by the human heads and figures in the initials of this volume of the Auct Bible, what might be its goal?

The Entangled Figures Master has deliberately placed human heads throughout the manuscript. His care in the placement and colouring of these heads has been noted, but it is critical that the profile head is the most repeated figural form in the manuscript. Appearing thirty times, the head could be interpreted as reflecting a desire to interact with the reader as he works his way through the text. If the heads have a common theme or a meaning, it is likely to be a subtle one, possibly personal to the artist. Conversely, it is not impossible that the heads and their placement were designated by the patron since they occasionally mark unique portions of the text. His rationale for placing text markers in these fourteen initials is, however, enigmatic. On this point it is worth noting that all of the books containing human heads are considered 'prophetic' since they include the Major and Minor Prophets as well as Joshua and Job who are considered prophets of Christ. Balaam in the book of Numbers was on occasion also considered a prophet. Related prophet lists may be found in Advent sermons and plays, like the *ordines prophetarum* and the Anglo-Norman *Adam*.¹¹³ Likewise, sequences of prophets are found on Jesse Trees and lining the back of an ivory cross thought to be made for the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey ca. 1140.¹¹⁴ While none of these prophet lists match the sequence of

¹¹³Balaam's place on prophet lists is due to his prophecy of a star from Jacob in Numbers 24:17. M.F. Vaughn, 'The Prophets of the Anglo-Norman *Adam*', *Traditio*, 39, 1983, pp. 81-114.

¹¹⁴*The Cloisters Cross: Its Art and Meaning*, eds. E.C. Parker & C.T. Little, London, 1994, figs. 10 & 12. A review of this book by T.A. Heslop argues that the cross should not be assigned

initials with heads in the Auct Bible, they open the possibility that these books were selected as a related prophet group. It is also conceivable that the reader may have loaded each head with his own meaning.

In the three manuscripts analysed in this chapter, heads sometimes communicate with the reader through open mouths, pointing fingers or their presence beside texts containing dialogue and instructions. They indicate another level on which the initial could be seen to highlight the text. Although the exact point or reason for each head is not always clear, there is a progression of human figures and heads through these manuscripts. As to whether heads are capable of referring to the text on their position or orientation alone, the Winchester and Auct Bibles and the Lincoln Psalm commentary suggest that a head or a human figure looking at the text might encourage a reader to study it. Pointing fingers in at least one initial of each manuscript provide a critical hint that the heads may be read in this manner. There are, however, multiple ways in which the reader could invest the heads and the scenes of aggression with meaning. What is pronounced here is a system, a game or a journey through the text that is articulated by human heads.

Furthermore, the professional artists and canons linked to these manuscripts do not seem to have affected the degree to which heads are placed in initials. Among the directing figures of the Lincoln Psalm commentary are several that function as text-based analogies like the siren who can be read as a snare of the devil. Having unravelled the siren's misleading gestures, the reader is confronted with the main point of the Psalm, that the Lord is a protector against such snares. Seemingly, this is a point on which a reader might have paused to pray or meditate. Although the designer of this initial may have been a monk, there is little reason to suppose that a canon, or any literate contemporary reader, would not have had the same contemplative response. Likewise, the professional and possibly secular artists of the

unquestioningly to Bury St. Edmunds and that it may not even be English. Review in *Burlington Magazine*, 136, 1994, pp. 459-60.

Winchester and Auct Bibles created sequences of heads that engage the reader's attention and could sustain his interest. In this respect, the heads and human figures in these initials appear to mark specific portions of text for emphasis.

Conclusion

Painted initial letters filled with staring and grimacing human heads are a notable feature of English Romanesque manuscripts that permits a closeness between text and image. This type of initial decoration appeared in a period of intense manuscript production and a time of renewed interest in theological reading, factors that may have encouraged experimentation with heads and their placement in texts intended for reading and meditation.

There are patterns in the application of human heads to twelfth-century initials that suggest an artistic function designed to draw attention to the words of the text. Despite their small size, heads catch the eye through their human likeness and their relationship to the human figures and hybrids that also occur in the initials of these manuscripts. There is an element of unpredictability that accompanies the appearance and placement of heads. With noses poking into the text block and wearing odd hats or expressions, these heads have an air of humour and surprise that might have attracted the notice of the reader. How heads work in the initials of a manuscript has been the subject of this thesis from the opening premise that they cannot be dismissed as mere decoration. Despite the different rules of application from manuscript to manuscript, there is an overall consistency in the manner in which artists employ this motif.

Through the manipulation of detail and location within the scheme of a single manuscript, artists maintained the attention-seeking quality of these heads. The use of a recognisable type of head like the blonde-haired profiles of the Durham *de Trinitate* could concentrate the reader's attention on variations of the head's features and on the places where it occurred. In the Winchester and Auct Bibles, the repetition of peering profile heads hidden in foliage might have guided readers to

seek them much like a game of follow-the-leader. In the eight manuscripts studied here, visual coherence in the initial decoration was sustained by the fact that a single artist was responsible for the majority of the initials. Furthermore, a significant number of initials with heads in each manuscript suggest that artists were interested in employing heads as prominent motifs of the manuscript's decoration.

Unlike the inhabited foliage found in the margin of the Bury Psalter beside Psalm 79:14, the foliage scrolls in twelfth-century initials do not have explanatory notes to link them to the text. Rarely are human figures in initials accompanied by marginal comments to the reader like the admonishment beside the Durham initial of a master beating his inattentive pupil. Instead the heads and figures in twelfth-century initials are surrounded by the text, words that serve as frames for the initial and its occupants. A reader curious about the unusual human forms in an initial might have turned to the neighbouring text for explication.

The relationship of human heads to texts has been the focus of this thesis which has argued that on occasion the text can provide a context and meaning for a head. Several types of text and image relationships have been revealed in the eight Durham, Rochester, Lincoln and Winchester manuscripts examined. Human heads can be seen to work with the text in three main ways. In the first, heads illustrate specific words beside the initial. The initials of the Rochester New Testament exemplify this type of relationship. The decorated initials to I Peter and Hebrews contain three heads that embody Paul's invocation of the Trinity at the opening of these epistles (Figs. 103 & 107). Likewise, the head in the initial to Philemon is entangled in foliage and creates a visual counterpart for Paul's imprisonment when he wrote this letter (Fig. 106). In these initials specific aspects of the head's appearance and placement help to indicate a particular interpretation. The second way in which heads can relate to the text involves the allegorical illustration of a

textual theme. In this group, the head appears to relate to ideas that are found more widely in the book. Several initials in the Durham *de Trinitate* have been seen to do this. In the initial to Book Three, a bearded head sandwiched between two biting beasts might be regarded as an allegorical revelation of God similar to those described in the book (Fig. 51). The Mark initial of the Rochester Bible with its three heads arranged in different parts of the initial can be seen as an apt portrayal of the relationship of the three characters mentioned in the opening of the Gospel (Fig. 102). Finally, human heads are capable of marking the text in very general ways, as the placement of heads in the Auct and Winchester Bible initials indicates. In these two manuscripts and in the Lincoln Psalm commentary, human heads are part of a network of figures that point and look at the text. These figures are governed less by their specific placement beside texts than by their presence in a series of initials. For instance, the concentration of heads in the Job section of the Auct Bible draws attention to this book of the Bible without attempting to illustrate it.

These relationships between heads and their texts suggest that artists were actively reading texts while decorating them. In particular, the initials of the Rochester Bible suggest that the Walters artist had read Augustine's unfinished commentary on Romans prior to decorating the New Testament since the main theme of Augustine's text, Paul's invocation of the Trinity in each of his epistles, is highlighted in three of the Bible's initials. Likewise, in the Winchester Bible it appears that the artists had read the text around some of the initials and placed human heads alongside passages that contain dialogue relevant to the historiated scenes. This sometimes resulted in the awkward and cramped placement of heads beside texts (See Figs. 142, 143 & 153). That itinerant professional artists decorated the Winchester Bible indicates that monastic artists were not the only ones aware of potential text and image connections.

One of the difficulties in studying inhabited initials in twelfth-century manuscripts is determining how to classify them and how they relate to historiated initials or the allegorical initials noted by Heslop and Rudolph. Sometimes the human figures in an inhabited initial can illustrate the text beside the initial. Since the definition of a historiated initial is that it contains imagery related to the text, some of the unpublished initials examined in this thesis could be considered historiated. For instance, the letter **D** to the exposition on Psalm 14 in the Lincoln Psalm commentary contains a crowned king who could be identified as David (Fig. 83). Thus, this initial could be regarded as historiated. The Durham *de Trinitate* initials with hybrid and human figures illustrating the inner and the outer man and man's ability to reflect the Trinity might be considered textually-related allegories like initials in the Rochester Psalm commentary or the Cîteaux *Moralia in Job* (Figs. 58, 59 & 61).

The majority of twelfth-century initials with human heads and figures, however, do not fall easily into either of these categories, and the attribution of selected initials to these groups requires careful consideration of the initial decoration and its surrounding text. In the Lincoln and Durham examples, the initial decoration is composed of human figures and hybrids whose bodies, clothing and actions help to set them into the context of the text. Human heads by virtue of their truncated form are less able to illustrate the text in this fashion. What human heads can do is to look at the text and direct the reader's attention to it, functioning like a sign or a text marker.

Seeing human heads as text markers requires a reader who is ruminating on the text and prepared to 'read' in the initial decoration. In the communities to which these eight manuscripts belonged, there is evidence of an interest in learning, in understanding difficult theological concepts and in gathering unusual texts. This evidence suggests that these books were read, considered and decorated with care, a circumstance that increases the likelihood that their initials were examined

thoughtfully. Although reading in an ecclesiastical community was in many respects a public activity, the digestion and use of texts was highly personal. Monks and canons read for enlightenment, nourishment and spiritual growth. Because a reader can give the human heads in a manuscript such as the Auct Bible his own meaning, they might be considered to function as a mirror of the reader. In chapter one the question whether the head could be a self-portrait of the reader was raised, and it was noted that the twelfth century was marked by intellectual developments that placed emphasis on the individual. It is possible that the simultaneous appearance of human heads in initials could be seen as an invitation for the reader to 'see himself' in an initial. Indeed, the generic or ordinary appearance of many heads suggests that they are 'everyman'. Given the proximity of heads to texts and an intellectual climate in which readers meditated on texts, it is possible that contemporary readers might have regarded the human heads in Romanesque initials as signs that could be read meaningfully.

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APPENDIX A:

Catalogue of Initials with Human Heads, Figures and Hybrids in English Manuscripts, ca. 1066-1200

Guide to the Catalogue

The following catalogue is an image-based one designed to complement existing manuscript catalogues by describing the human inhabitants of English initials produced from ca. 1066 to 1200. By focusing solely on the human heads, figures and hybrids that appear in these manuscripts, the entries draw attention to figures that are a prominent characteristic of manuscript decoration in this period but that are rarely described or catalogued in detail.

The criteria for inclusion in the catalogue is that the manuscript must contain at least one initial with a human head, must be English and must be securely dated to the period 1066-1200. The manuscripts in the catalogue have been examined in their entirety by the author, either in person or through the aid of a microfilm copy or a complete set of photographs. Thus, each entry is comprehensive in describing all of the initials in a manuscript. Furthermore, while this catalogue presents a wide range of twelfth-century manuscripts with inhabited initials, it is not intended to describe all English Romanesque manuscripts.

The entries aim to revise and to add new material to the existing catalogues of M. R. James, C. M. Kauffmann, R. A. B. Mynors and R. Thomson, among others. While these published catalogues provide essential information concerning the size, number of folios and collation of these manuscripts, they are not consistent in noting or describing the human heads in twelfth-century initials. In addition, the provenance, date and artists of many twelfth-century manuscripts remain open to debate. The bibliographical section for each manuscript indicates the major catalogue entries for the manuscript as well as relevant recent scholarship.

The catalogue is organised alphabetically by the library and the shelfmark of each manuscript. The humans in an initial are divided into three categories: human heads, half- or full-length human figures and human hybrids. Occasionally a single initial may have humans that fall into two or three of these categories; in this case, the humans are placed into their respective groups and the initial is listed in each relevant category. The italicised number to the right of the manuscript's shelfmark refers to the figure illustrations in this thesis.

The illustrations are presented alphabetically by ecclesiastical community or region of origin, and they are presented roughly in chronological order. A few of the illustrations come from manuscripts that are not described in the catalogue. These manuscripts contain initials that are worthy of inclusion in the thesis, even though they are not in the catalogue.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE CATALOGUE

- Boase
Boase, T. S. R., *English Art 1100-1216*, Oxford, 1953.
- Bodleian Library*
Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, eds. O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, vol. 3, Oxford, 1973.
- Cahn
Cahn, W., *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, Ithaca, 1982.
- Dodwell (1954)
Dodwell, C. R., *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200*, Cambridge, 1954.
- Donovan (1993)
Donovan, C., *The Winchester Bible*, London, 1993.
- Eadwine Psalter*
The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury, eds. M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop and R. W. Pfaff, London, 1992.
- ERA*
English Romanesque Art 1066-1200, ed. G. Zarnecki et al, Hayward Gallery exhibition catalogue, London, 1984.
- Gameson (1995)
Gameson, R., 'English Manuscript Art in the late eleventh century: Canterbury and its Context', *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066-1109*, eds. R. Eales and R. Sharpe, London, 1995, pp. 95-144.
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Gameson, R., *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c.1066-1130)*, Oxford, 1999.
- Glasgow*
The Glory of the Page: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Glasgow University Library, ed. N. Thorp, London, 1987.
- Gransden (1998)
Gransden, A., 'Some Manuscripts in Cambridge from Bury St. Edmunds Abbey: Exhibition Catalogue', *Bury St. Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20, 1998, pp. 228-85.
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- Hereford*
Mynors, R. A. B. and R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, Cambridge, 1993.
- JWCI*
Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
- Kahn (1991)
Kahn, D., *Canterbury Cathedral and Its Romanesque Sculpture*, London, 1991.
- Kauffmann
Kauffmann, C. M., *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, vol. 3, London, 1975.
- Kauffmann (1966)
Kauffmann, C. M., 'The Bury Bible', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 29, 1966, pp. 60-81.

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- Lawrence (1982) Lawrence, A., 'Manuscripts of Early Anglo-Norman Canterbury', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Canterbury before 1220*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 5, 1982, pp. 101-11.
- Lincoln* Thomson, R. M., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, Cambridge, 1989.
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- McLachlan (1979) McLachlan, E. P., 'In the Wake of the Bury Bible: Followers of Master Hugo at Bury St. Edmunds', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 42, 1979, pp. 216-24.
- McLachlan (1986) McLachlan, E. P., *The Scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds in the Twelfth Century*, New York, 1986.
- Mynors Mynors, R. A. B., *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1939.
- Normans in Norfolk* *The Normans in Norfolk*, eds. S. Margeson, F. Scillier and A. Rogerson, Norfolk, 1994.
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- Oxford Libraries* *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Oxford College Libraries, the University archives and the Taylor Institution*, eds. J. J. G. Alexander and E. Temple, Oxford, 1985.
- Pembroke College* James, M. R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College*, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1905.
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- Robinson Robinson, P. R., *Catalogue of Dated and Dateable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1988.
- Royal and Kings Collections* *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, eds. G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, 4 vols., 1921.

- St. Albans* Thomson, R., *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey 1066-1235*, 2 vols., Woodbridge, 1982.
- St. Albans Psalter* *The St. Albans Psalter*, eds. C. R. Dodwell, O. Pächt and F. Wormald, London, 1960.
- Trinity College* James, M. R., *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4 vols., Cambridge, 1900-1904.
- Trinity College Dublin* *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, ed. M. L. Colker, 2 vols., Aldershot, 1991.
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Initials with Human Heads, Figures and Hybrids in English Manuscripts, ca. 1060 to 1200

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18

Figs. 101-108

Rochester Bible (Vol. V: New Testament)

Rochester Cathedral Priory, ca. 1124

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 1, **L**, Matthew, one profile head between two beasts' mouths in the shaft; fol. 29, **I**, Mark, one bearded frontal head on upper terminal, one profile head in a beast mouth on the shaft and one horned blue frontal head in the base terminal; fol. 146, **P**, I Peter, one bearded profile disgorging a stem from which a Janus head sprouts, both heads eating grapes; fol. 161v, **P**, Romans, one blue bearded profile on the base terminal looking into text; fol. 212, **P**, II Thessalonians, one profile in the foliage of the shaft, facing upside down and away from the text opening; fol. 220v, **P**, Philemon, one profile in the foliage of the bowl looking towards rubrics; fol. 221v, **M**, Hebrews, one tricephalous head in the centre of the initial; fol. 232v, **A**, Apocalypse, one profile in foliage of the letter looking towards the right column of text.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 152, **Q**, I John, one hybrid creature with two dog heads and a clothed human body seated in the bowl of the initial.

The other surviving volume of the five-volume Vulgate set from Rochester Cathedral is London, British Library, MS Royal 1.C.VII. MS W.18 is number ninety-four in the *Textus Roffensis* library list. It is an addition to the list and may be dated after 1124 when the main portion of the catalogue was completed. The New Testament is decorated by a different artist than the Joshua to Kings volume in the British Library. The 'Walters artist' copied motifs from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7, a manuscript decorated by the 'Royal artist'. The shaft of the II Timothy initial (fol. 216v) is closely related to the impost of the Rochester chapter house doorway, constructed during the bishopric of Ernulf (1114-24).

D.S. Berkowitz, *In Remembrance of Creation: Evolution of Art and Scholarship in the Medieval and Renaissance Bible*, Brandeis (MA), 1968, cat. no. 65. Boase, pp. 61-65. E. Burin, 'Mixing Styles on the Pilgrimage Roads: A Romanesque Manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54, 1996, p. 18, fig. 16. Cahn cat. no. 33. Dodwell (1954), pl. 37g. Kahn (1991), pp. 53 & 73. Kauffmann cat. no. 45, fig. 126 (labelled incorrectly as MS Royal 1.C.VII). Richards (1981), pp. 59-67 and figs. 1 & 6; *Texts and Their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Library*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 78/3, 1988. *Textus Roffensis (Rochester, Cathedral Library, A.3.5)*, ed. P. Sawyer, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. 11, Copenhagen, 1962.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2

Bury Bible (Vol. I: Genesis to Job)

Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, ca. 1135

Figs. 1-10

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 1, **F**, *Frater Ambrosius* preface, four bearded profiles attached to stems on fruit clusters, all with open mouths and horns on the front and the back of their heads; fol. 5v, **D**, *Desiderii mei* preface, four profiles with open mouths inside fruit clusters, the two outside the letter frame have golden horns; fol. 115v, **E**, Joshua, pairs of double profiles on upper and lower terminals facing text with blue beards and leaf-like crowns, the inner heads have open mouths; fol. 129v, **P**, Judges, two bearded profiles in acanthus foliage inside bowl facing text, both with open mouths; fol. 148, **F**, I Samuel, two bearded profiles with open mouths set into terminals facing two green lions; fol. 167v, **F**, II Samuel, two profiles attached to terminals with blue hair and long red tongues, the upper head wears a peaked blue hat; fol. 183, **E**, I Kings, two beardless profiles with open mouths attached to foliate terminals facing the text; fol. 201v, **C**, II Kings, two bearded profiles with open mouths on terminals facing one another; fol. 275, **H**, Baruch, one bearded profile with an open mouth in foliage facing downward with tail-less monkey in foliage above; fol. 327v, **E**, Jonah, two bearded profiles in foliate terminals facing the text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 1v, **F**, *Frater Ambrosius* preface, one man in green tunic seated in foliage, holding a baton and striking the letter B, a second man with green loincloth holding a basket of flowers. A third man wearing a red tunic and a round hat has a wooden leg and chases a red rabbit while holding a pair of shears; fol. 220, **N**, preface to Isaiah, a man in a blue tunic with red tights holds a mace and a bear on a lead; fol. 246, **V**, preface to Jeremiah, two men in purple and blue tunics with an axe and a sword stand in the foliage of the letter and prepare to decapitate two foliage-spewing dragons.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 1v, **F**, *Frater Ambrosius* preface, a centaur with a green shield and a lance with pennon charges in a roundel at the top of the letter. A mermaid or a siren with long red hair and blue body holds two fish in a roundel at the base of the letter.

The only surviving volume of a large two-volume Bible produced by Master Hugo for the monks of Bury St. Edmunds, Corpus Christi College MS 2 was commissioned by Prior Talbot and Brother Hervey the sacrist, enabling it to be dated ca. 1135-38. Six of the full-page miniatures and two of the prophet initials have been excised, losses aided by the fact that the miniatures and initials were painted on separate sheets of vellum and could be removed easily. A number of marginal drawings have been added to the Bible; these include sketches of a bird, a man's bearded head, a tree and a crown (fol. 54), a goat (fol. 55), a man (fol. 154), stags and manticores (fol. 300), and the crowned head of King Edmund on a vellum patch (fol. 322).

Cahn, cat. no. 27, pl. 123. R.G. Calkins, 'Pictorial Emphases in Early Biblical Manuscripts', *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. B.S. Levy, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 89, Binghamton (NY), 1992, pp. 77-102. *The Cloisters Cross: Its Art and Meaning*, eds. E. C. Parker and C. T. Little, London, 1994. *ERA*, cat. no. 44. T.A. Helsop, 'The Production and Artistry of the Bury Bible', *Bury St. Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20, 1998, pp. 172-85. Gransden (1998), pp. 245-46. Kauffmann, cat. no. 56, figs. 148-153 and text fig. 12; (1966), pp. 60-81, figs. 20d, 23c & d, 24a, b & c, 25a & d, 26d; and 'Elkanah's Gift: Texts and Meaning in the Bury Bible Miniature', *JWCI*, 59, 1996, pp. 279-85. McLachlan (1986), pp. 196-248, figs. 92 & 95. E. C. Parker, 'Master Hugo as Sculptor', *Gesta*, 20/1, 1981, pp. 99-109. R. Thomson, 'The Date of the Bury Bible Reexamined', *Viator*, 6, 1975, pp. 51-58. T. Webber, 'The Provision of Books for Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Bury St. Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20, 1998, pp. 186-93.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 3 & 4

Figs. 25-30

Dover Bible (Vol. I: Genesis to Minor Prophets & Vol. II: Job to Epistles)

Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1150

HUMAN HEADS: MS 3 fol. 112, **I**, Ruth, head of a veiled woman in roundel attached to shaft and looking towards text; MS 3 fol. 115v, **F**, I Samuel, two brown bearded profiles with round ears and open mouths on upper terminals facing text; MS 3 fol. 159v, **P**, II Kings, two blue profiles with open mouths on upper interlace terminal, one disgorging bowl with dog-like features; MS 3 fol. 173v, **V**, Isaiah, three blue profiles on upper interlace terminals; MS 3 fol. 195, **V**, Jeremiah, two gold bearded profiles on left interlace terminal with thick black outlines, one with a foliate sprig in his mouth; MS 3 fol. 222v, **E**, Ezekiel, three brown bearded profiles, two on terminals facing text and one in foliage of letter with an open mouth; MS 3 fol. 261v, **V**, Obadiah, one grey profile with a beard at juncture of letter, disgorging the right shaft; MS 3 fol. 268v, **I**, Zechariah, one silver coloured profile in leaf facing down in base terminal; MS 4 fol. 66v, **O**, Ecclesiasticus, one bearded and moustached profile with blue hat attached to chair on which the son of Sirach sits, he looks away from the author and the text; MS 4 fol. 155, **F**, II Maccabees, one frontal head with white hair and flared nostrils in a roundel at the base of the letter; MS 4 fol. 183, **I**, Mark, one bearded profile with an open mouth wearing a red and green fool's hood with two blue horns, attached to base terminal and looking into text; MS 4 fol. 209, **I**, John, one frontal head with a beard and a moustache in a roundel in the centre of the shaft.

HUMAN FIGURES: MS 4 fol. 241v, **N**, III John, two artists grinding pigments and painting the frame of the letter.

The human heads in this manuscript frequently have hairy faces and bestial ears, features that link them to the animal heads and beast masks that are also affixed to the terminals of letters. These heads are related to others on the terminals of initials in a

copy of Augustine's *Confessions*, probably from Christ Church, Canterbury (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 253). A two-volume Bible from Christ Church, Canterbury, the Dover Bible may be the *Biblia Edwini* listed in Prior Eastry's catalogue of Christ Church manuscripts. It was given to Dover Priory, a cell of Christ Church, ca. 1389. Dodwell has analysed the artistic styles of the two volumes, describing the first volume as the work of a Byzantine-influenced artist and the second volume as the work of a Romanesque artist possibly inspired by Flemish manuscripts. The artist of MS 4 also worked on the Eadwine Psalter, a contemporary product of the Christ Church scriptorium. Several male and animal heads have been added to the lower margins of MS 3 to mark words added to the text column. Drawn in the ink of the text, these heads are the work of the scribe: folios 4, 10, 18v, 75 and 95.

M. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols., Kalamazoo (MI), 1997, cat. no. 51, figs. 699, 702, 703 & 708 for CCC MS 253. Cahn cat. no. 28. R.G. Calkins, 'Pictorial Emphases in Early Biblical Manuscripts', *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. B.S. Levy, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 89, Binghamton (NY), 1992, pp. 77-102. Dodwell (1954), pp. 84-88 & 92-97, pls. 29e, 29g, 33b, 34a, 43a, 43b, 51c, 54a, 54c, 55a, 55b, 56b, 57a, 58a, 61c, 62a, 63a & 64a. *The Eadwine Psalter*, pp. 47-48 & 60. Kauffmann cat. no. 69, figs. 188-91 and text fig. 29.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48

Figs. 113 & 114

St. Albans Bible

St. Albans Abbey, ca. 1180

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 154v, **P**, Proverbs, one blue profile with white highlighting in yellow beast mouth at upper terminal, facing away from text opening; fol. 194, **F**, II Maccabees, one orange profile with a blue hat and white highlighting on the base terminal facing the blank lower margin.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 263v, **P**, Philemon, one naked blue giant with a beard and an open mouth, hanging from bowl with a beast biting his arm.

A single volume Vulgate probably intended for private study and containing three columns of text, Corpus Christi College MS 48 has been linked to the patronage of Abbot Simon (1167-83). It is considered the work of the Simon Master. Most initials are 1" high with gold, grey and red frames. Experiments with 'speech balloons' may be seen in the historiated initials to the *Desiderii mei* preface (fol. 7), Song of Songs (fol. 160v), Ecclesiasticus (fol. 173) and the four parallel Gospels (fol. 305v).

Cahn, cat. no. 29; 'St. Albans and the Channel Style in England', *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1975, pp. 187-230.

Kauffmann, cat. no. 91, figs. 258 & 278. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 3, pp. 32, 55-56 and figs. 177, 179-184, 230.

Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 16

Gregory, *Homiliarium in Evangelia*

Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 19v, **S**, Homily 10, one frontal head with a crown in a roundel affixed to the centre of the letter; fol. 90v, **E**, Homily 34, two bearded profiles in foliate terminals facing the text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 47, **M**, Homily 21, two men in yellow and green gowns facing each other within letter, holding shields but no weapons, one man with arm behind his back; fol. 63, **P**, Homily 26, one man playing a fiddle in the bowl while a bearded man watches from the left; fol. 102v, **H**, Homily 36, a profile man in green tunic stands in shaft and thrusts an arrow through the neck of a beast while looking up at the Gospel reading; fol. 112v, **L**, Homily 38, naked man climbing in foliage scrolls and looking up at the Gospel reading.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 32, **I**, Gospel reading for Homily 15, one frontal tonsured head on a green fish, standing upright.

Many initials in the manuscript have been excised. The remaining initials are a combination of historiated, inhabited and foliate letters painted in red, green and buff washes. Two initials were intended to mark each homily: one for the Gospel reading and the other for Gregory's sermon. McLachlan has demonstrated that the initial to Homily 10 (fol. 19v) illustrates the Epiphany with an Adoration of the Magi scene inspired by the *Officium Stellae*. Three other historiated initials are found in the manuscript.

ERA, cat. no. 45. Gransden (1998), pp. 255-56, pl. LXIXA. Kauffmann, cat. no. 57, figs. 154 & 156-57. McLachlan (1979), pp. 216-24, fig. 46c; 'Possible Evidence for Liturgical Drama at Bury St. Edmunds in the Twelfth Century', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology*, 34/4, 1980, pp. 255-61; (1986), pp. 251-57, figs. 111, 113, 114 & 115. *Pembroke College*, pp. 13-14.

Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 68

Glossed Gospel of Matthew

Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, ca. 1175

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 2, **L**, Matthew, one bearded profile with a large nose and crude features attached to crossbar, awkwardly crowded against the text.

The manuscript is heavily glossed with a single initial at the opening. Painted in blue, green, red and buff washes, it is sandwiched between the text and the glosses. McLachlan characterised the foliage in this initial as the work of a weak follower of Master Hugo. *Nota bene* heads and hands appear throughout the manuscript.

McLachlan (1979), pp. 216-24, pl. 45e; (1986), pp. 261, fig. 123. *Pembroke College*, p. 60.

Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 120

Bury Gospels and New Testament

Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, ca. 1125-50

Figs. 13-16

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 13v, **A**, Matthew 5:43, one profile with a long nose drawn into the flourish of a minor initial and facing the text of Matthew 5:45-46; fol. 31v, **M**, Prologue to Mark, profile cupped in the flourish of a long descender, looking at the historiated initial of the Evangelists above; fol. 88, **P**, Acts of Apostles, one profile in foliage of bowl facing text; fol. 120v, **I**, Prologue to Jude, one profile in lower flourish looking into text; fol. 123, **R**, Prologue to Romans, one silver coloured profile with a blue hat and a gold tongue in foliage of upper terminal, facing upwards; fol. 153, **P**, Philippians, one profile in large pink funnel-like leaf on base terminal, facing the text; fol. 155v, **P**, I Thessalonians, one bearded profile with a green hat and a red tongue that is bitten by a green serpent that emerges from a mound floating in margin beside upper left terminal; fol. 163v, **P**, II Timothy, one bearded frontal head held in the paws of an upright dragon that forms the shaft of letter; fol. 168v, **I**, Prologue to Hebrews, one blue pen-outlined profile in a funnel-like leaf at base of initial, disgorging a leaf; fol. 173v, **I**, Prologue to Apocalypse, one bearded profile with pointed nose in foliage at base of initial facing text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 117, **I**, Prologue to John's Epistles, man in blue tunic standing on one leg with a bleeding foot, defending himself from a beast which bites his head; fol. 124v, **P**, Romans, half-length naked man with a peaked cap holding a large ball and pointing to the text above; fol. 157v, **P**, II Thessalonians, one bearded man in a brown tunic at base of letter with his arms and legs wrapped around the shaft of the letter; fol. 165, **P**, Titus, one naked man peering from behind bowl of letter, clutching the letter frame while a beaked bird bites his head.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 11, **L**, Matthew, centaur with serpentine tail holding stick which he shoves into the mouth of beast in the foliage of the crossbar below the Evangelist's feet; fol. 45v, **L**, Prologue to Luke, bearded human head attached to the long neck of a green beast which forms the crossbar, facing the text.

The twelve prefatory miniatures of the Gospels (fols. 1-6v) were executed by an artist related to the Alexis Master and the St. Albans Abbey scriptorium. The initials are by a separate artist and are similar to the initials of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.736. The miniatures and the New Testament text were probably bound together in the fourteenth century. The anathema at the top of folio 7 indicates that the manuscript was given to Bury in the fourteenth century by Reginald de Denham, the sacrist; the anathema has a green frame with a profile head attached to the outside. A notable feature of MS 120 is the presence of human heads in the minor initials of the text.

K. R. Bateman, 'Pembroke 120 and Morgan 736: A Reexamination of the St. Albans Bury St. Edmunds Manuscript Dilemma', *Gesta*, 17/1, 1978, pp. 19-26; *St. Albans: Its Ivory and Manuscripts Workshops*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1989.

ERA, cat. no. 21. Gransden (1998), pp. 255. T.A. Helsop, 'The Production and Artistry of the Bury Bible', *Bury St. Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20, 1998, pp. 172-85. Kauffmann cat. no. 35, figs. 91-102. McLachlan (1975), pp. 3-18, figs. 1, 2, 4, 6 & 8; (1986), pp. 120-37, Text fig. C, p. 122. *Pembroke College*, pp. 117-25. *St. Albans Psalter*, p. 169.

Cambridge, St. John's College, MS A.8 (8)

Fig. 21

Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities and Wars* (Vol. II)
Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1130

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 39v, **A**, Book 17 of *Jewish Antiquities*, one profile with open mouth in foliage of letter facing Moses; fol. 76v, **G**, Book 19 of *Jewish Antiquities*, one blue bearded profile on terminal of letter disgorging a foliage flourish; fol. 219, **C**, Book 7 of *Jewish Wars*, two three-quarter view heads with blue hats and red collars attached to terminals and looking into text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 1v, **S**, Book 15 of *Jewish Antiquities*, two large men in red and yellow tunics, one has fallen and the other disgorges a stem; fol. 16v, **I**, Book 16 of *Jewish Antiquities*, man in olive tunic climbing shaft of letter; fol. 61, **C**, Book 18 of *Jewish Antiquities*, man in green tunic climbing letter frame and looking upward; fol. 76v, **G**, Book 19 of *Jewish Antiquities*, man in green tunic climbing on foliage scrolls to attack the bearded human head on the terminal with a baton; fol. 91, **M**, Book 20 of *Jewish Antiquities*, two naked men with long blonde hair and eels wrapped about their bodies, they tug on their beards; fol. 136v, **T**, Book 2 of *Jewish Wars*, man with blue cap and curly hair clings to top of letter and looks away from text; fol. 191, **A**, Book 5 of *Jewish Wars*, man in green tunic stands in right shaft and holds a book before an altar.

St. John's College, MS A.8 is the second half of Flavius Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities and Wars* of which the first volume is Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.1.4. Several Christ Church artists are responsible for the initials. The 'Royal artist' was responsible for the initials on folios 16v, 39v, 48, 61, 76v, 91, 102, 103v, and the design at least of folio 1v. The second artist of MS A.8, working in bright colours with thick black outlines, is related to the artists of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.2.34 and Trinity College MS B.3.9. The man clinging to the letter **T** on folio 136v has probably been copied from the St. Augustine's Abbey Priscian, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.51, folio 46 (Fig. 31). Knife, diamond shaped dots and .a. marks appear throughout the manuscript.

Dodwell (1954), pp. 32 & 36-39, pls. 14e, 25a & b, 37a & d, 42a & 47b. *ERA*, cat. no. 43a. T.A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus' and Painting in Kent around 1120', *Burlington Magazine*, 126, 1984, p. 200. Kauffmann, cat. no. 44, figs. 117-118 & 121.

Cambridge, St. John's College, MS D.19 (94)

Ivo of Chartres, *Sermones de Sacramentis* and other theological works
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, ca. 1112-1126

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 1, **Q**, Sermon 1, one tonsured and bearded frontal head flanked by beasts inside bowl of letter.

Although MS 94 appears not to have been made at Bury, it was given to the abbey by Prior Baldwin (1112-26) who, according to an inscription on flyleaf iii, had the manuscript made: *Baldwinus prior fecit fieri hunc librum*. Neil Ker has suggested that it was written by a professional scribe working at Bury St. Edmunds.

Gameson (1999), no. 122. Gransden (1998), pp. 231, 266-67 and pl. LXXXIA. N. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1960, p. 11. Robinson, cat. no. 298. R. Thomson, 'The Library of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum*, 47, 1972, p. 630.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.2.34

Jerome, Various tracts and commentaries on the Old Testament
Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1120

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 117, **F**, Commentary on I Samuel, one ink-outlined profile head with a red and blue peaked hat on upper terminal looking towards initial and text opening.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 34, **S**, *de Mansionibus Filiorum Israel*, two naked men in centre frame of initial, upper man with peaked hat struggling with a serpent-like beast, the lower man has a tail and sits with an open mouth watching the first; fol. 79v, **A**, *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*, pink-outlined man holding a flail and facing an upright hare that plays a lyre; fol. 137v, **I**, Commentary on II Samuel, man in tunic doubled over at base of initial with a dog standing on his back.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 47v, **A**, *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Locorum*, a green creature with human body, beast head and long feathery tail holds a hammer; fol. 117, **F**, Commentary in I Samuel, a creature with a blue outlined human body and a human head with rabbit ears looks into the text; a man with a fiddle and a tail stands in the shaft.

Reflecting the work of at least two Christ Church artists, the initials in the second half of MS B.2.34 are noted for their anthropomorphic animals in coloured outline. The text of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7 was copied from this manuscript. The margins of MS B.2.34 have diamond and knife marks typical of Christ Church manuscripts. At the end of the manuscript are zodiac drawings, which may account for the unusual initial on folio 137v in which a *canis* has been copied from an astronomical manuscript. Other motifs in the manuscript's initials like the ass playing a lyre can be related to Christ Church crypt capitals.

Dodwell (1954), pp. 23, 29, 64 & 74, pls. 14b, 18a, 38i & 45g. Gameson (1999), no. 136. Kahn (1991), pp. 54-55, fig. 67. *Trinity College*, vol. I, cat. no. 77.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.9

Fig. 17

Ambrose, *Expositio in Lucam*

Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1090-1100

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 4, **S**, Prologue, one profile with blue beard in beast mouth on lower terminal facing away from the text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 56v, **E**, Book 5, man in a red outlined gown holding a sword and preparing to decapitate a winged beast; fol. 92v, **C**, Book 6, man in buff outlined tunic caught in foliage of letter, looks at text above; fol. 119v, **L**, Book 7, two men in buff outline, upper man stands in initial with a red sword and ignores the lower bearded man who kneels on the crossbar and raises his hand to the upper man; fol. 130, **I**, Book 8, man standing in frame with sword under his arm looking at text below.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 15, **E**, Book 2, man in red outline with heart-shaped face and a fish body, oriented sideways to form the crossbar. He grabs the necks of two birds that bite his ears.

Many of the initials contain men and hybrid creatures engaged in struggle or clinging to the letter structure. Gameson argued that the initials of MS B.3.9 were the work of a Norman artist working in an English scriptorium. At least two artists worked on this manuscript. The artist of the initial on folio 4 also painted initials in Canterbury, Cathedral Library, MS Lit.E.42. On folio 36v the head of a woman is pencilled into the margin; diamond shaped dots appear throughout the margins.

Dodwell (1954), pp. 20, 37 & 72, pls. 5h & 44a. Gameson (1995), pp. 106, 121, n. 38, fig. 2. *Trinity College*, vol. I, cat. no. 88.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.13

Figs. 18-20

Angelomus, *Enarrationes in Libros Regum*

Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1120

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 4v, **F**, Commentary on I Samuel, two large profiles with green peaked hats and thick beards attached to shaft and disgorging dragons that form the crossbars of the letter; fol. 52, **P**, Chapter 29 of the Commentary on I Samuel, one red pen-outlined bearded face inside a minor initial looking at the text above; fol. 54, **V**, Commentary on II Samuel, two bald profiles inside foliage within the initial, with red outlined mouths and facing one another.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 4v, **F**, Commentary on I Samuel, man in a red tunic with a hood squatting inside letter and holding a green branch while gesturing towards the text; fol. 149, **T**, Commentary on II Kings, one bearded man in a red and green cloak holding a dragon over his shoulder.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 88v, **E**, Commentary on I Kings, two green manticores with human heads looking away from text.

The initials of MS B.3.13 are loosely related to those of Cambridge, St. John's College, MS A.8; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7; and London, British Library, MS Royal 1.C.VII. The initial on folio 4 is closely linked to MS Royal 1.C.VII, fol. 55v; both **Vs** are composed of winged dragons painted bright yellow, blue and green. The texts open with identical words: *Vigniti et duas*, Jerome's prologue to the Books of Kings. The heads, foliage and letter structures of MS B.3.13 recall the work of the Royal and Walters artists, but the paint in MS B.3.13 is thick applied, and the foliage is not painted in the characteristic style of either artist. It is probably the work of a related Christ Church artist.

Trinity College, vol. I, cat. no. 92.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.2

Fig. 80

Lincoln Bible (Vol. II: Wisdom to Epistles)
Lincoln Cathedral, ca. 1100-09

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 12v, **D**, Wisdom, one profile upside-down in the scrolling foliage of the bowl; fol. 75, **E**, I Maccabees, one profile with an open mouth and a red dot on cheek is upright in foliage of letter facing away from the text; fol. 168, **P**, I Corinthians, one profile attached to upper terminal with a red tongue and a red dot on his cheek, facing away from the text and disgorging a beast; fol. 175v, **P**, Titus, profile on base terminal with open mouth looking at margin away from text opening.

The second volume of a two-volume Bible given to Lincoln Cathedral by Nicholas, canon and archdeacon of Huntingdon, before his death in 1109, the manuscript contains initials almost identical to those in the first volume (Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 1). In this volume, the initials are increasingly larger and have greater surface detail, but they retain the same blue, red, green and yellow backgrounds and beast heads as volume one. This artist also decorated the initials of Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 90.

Cahn, cat. no. 32. R.G. Calkins, 'Pictorial Emphases in Early Biblical Manuscripts', *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. B.S. Levy, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 89, Binghamton (NY), 1992, pp. 77-102. *ERA*, cat. no. 12. Gameson (1999), no. 154 and pl. 12. Kauffmann, cat. no. 13, figs. 32-33. *Lincoln*, p. 212.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.51

Fig. 31

Priscian, *Grammaticae*
St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, ca. 1070-1100

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 2, **P**, Book 1, one profile in roundel on shaft, looking away from text opening; fol. 9, **S**, Book 2, a woman's head in a roundel in

centre of frame; fol. 21, **D** Book 4, heads of a veiled woman and a tonsured monk, facing inward; fol. 26, **Q**, Book 5, two roundels with woman's head and young man's head; fol. 34, **Q**, Book 6, naked man as tail of letter with a serpent twisting around his leg; fol. 46, **T**, Book 7, two profiles inside terminals, facing a naked man in centre of crossbar.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 46, **T**, Book 7, one naked man climbing shaft of letter, clinging to crossbar and pointing to text above his head; fol. 59, **V**, Book 8, one man in tunic sitting in right frame holding a sword and fighting a winged beast in the foliage of the letter; fol. 74, **D**, Book 9, one man striding through foliage of letter with a beast biting his head; fol. 81v, **I**, Book 10, one man in frame, climbing up with beast below him; fol. 90, **Q**, Book 11, two men in tunics with knives fighting one another in foliage of letter, one with a green face, an open mouth and long hair; fol. 96, **P**, Book 12, one man in frame, grabbing foliage while a beast bites his foot; fol. 105, **Q**, Book 14, two men, one with a knife and the other with a stone, wrestling one another.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 46, **T**, Book 7, one centaur with long hair and a bow shooting a naked man at the top of the initial; fol. 100, **C**, Book 13, a green centaur with a bow and arrow in centre of letter, aiming at bird in upper terminal; fol. 111v, **A**, Book 15, one man with a serpent body and a tail looking up at text.

A small glossed guide to learning Latin grammar, MS O.2.51 has a series of lively initials with men and beasts drawn in an Anglo-Saxon style. Gameson has suggested that the decorated initials filled with struggle formed an analogy for the student's struggle to learn Latin grammar.

Dodwell, pp. 19, 26-27, 63, 79, 122, pls. 11c, 15b, 15d & 36d. *ERA*, cat. no. 11. Gameson (1995), pp. 134-35; (1999), 165. Kauffmann, cat. no. 8, figs. 13-16.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7

Figs. 93-97

Jerome, Various tracts and commentaries on the Old Testament
Rochester Cathedral Priory, ca. 1122

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 2, **I**, Commentary on Genesis, profile in beast mouth facing text in lower shaft and frontal horned mask in base terminal; fol. 32v, **S**, *de Mansionibus Filiorium*, a frontal head with beard and large ears peering from foliage of upper bowl; fol. 48v, **A**, *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Locorum*, large profile with beard, open mouth and Phrygian cap attached to lower terminal; fol. 112, **F**, Commentary on I Samuel, two profiles with open mouths in foliate terminals of crossbars looking into text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 1, **Q**, Preface to the Commentary on Genesis, man with knotted cloak seated on a horse with a raised sword, fending off a bear that attacks his horse; fol. 2, **I**, Commentary on Genesis, one man in short tunic carrying a fish on his shoulder as he turns to look upward with an open mouth, inside shaft of the letter; fol. 48v, **A**, *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Locorum*, bearded man in short tunic astride a winged and

hoofed beast that eats the man's head; fol. 74, **P**, Preface to Hebrew names, man with an open mouth clinging to the bowl of the letter; fol. 75, **A**, *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*, two men in tunics with open mouths, one climbs in foliage and eats a leaf while the other holds bear on a lead and says 'ABC'.

The text of this manuscript was copied from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.2.34 by the main scribe of the *Textus Roffensis*. The initials in MS O.4.7 are well planned and fit the space provided perfectly. They are outlined in ink and are unpainted. The rubrication is complete and on folio 75 it overlaps the initial. The artist is the 'Royal artist' who worked on several Christ Church and Rochester manuscripts ca. 1120-30. The manuscript was in Rochester by ca. 1122 since it appears on the *Textus Roffensis* library list as number twenty-nine, and it influenced the 'Walters artist' in his decoration of the Rochester New Testament (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18).

M. Camille, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8, 1985, pp. 29-30. *ERA*, cat. no. 42. Gameson (1999), no. 167. T.A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus' and Painting in Kent around 1120', *Burlington Magazine*, 126, 1984, p. 200. Kauffmann, cat. no. 23, figs. 47 & 48. M.P. Richards, *Texts and Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 78/3, 1988, p. 26. *Textus Roffensis (Rochester, Cathedral Library, A.3.5)*, ed. P. Sawyer, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. 11, Copenhagen, 1962.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.5.8

Peter Lombard, Glossed Pauline Epistles

St. Albans Abbey, last quarter of the twelfth century

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 2, **P**, Gloss on Romans, one bearded profile in base terminal with blue face, looking away from text; fol. 60, **P**, I Corinthians, one profile on upper terminal with red hat, open mouth and thick clumps of hair, looking away from text opening; fol. 148v, **P**, Gloss on Ephesians, one small blue profile in lower base terminal looking towards text; fol. 183, **P**, Gloss on I Thessalonians, one blue profile in base terminal, looking away from text; fol. 194v, **P**, Gloss on I Timothy, one bearded profile in blue beast mouth on upper terminal looking away from text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 2, **P**, Gloss on Romans, four human figures in roundels on shaft: a blue man fighting a lion, two blue knights on horseback jousting, a blue man holding shields; fol. 102v, **P**, II Corinthians, one man with large head holding a spear and fighting a blue lion in foliage.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 148v, **P**, Gloss on Ephesians, one grey atlantes with an orange bearded and grimacing face hanging from the bowl of letter with a yellow beast biting his arm.

Two large initials mark the opening of each epistle and its gloss. The main artist of the initials has been identified as Simon Master. The atlantes and biting beasts of this

manuscript are blue and orange like those in Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS 2 and the St. Albans Bible, two other manuscripts attributed to the Simon Master.

W. Cahn, 'St. Albans and the Channel Style in England', *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, pp. 187-230. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 13 and pp. 33, 54-56 & 61-62, figs. 185-188.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.10.28

Eutropius, *Breviarium historiae romanae ab urbe condita* with Paul the Deacon's continuation
Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1110-20

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 1, **P**, Book 1, one profile on upper terminal with a long beard and a pointed green cap, looking away from text opening.

HUMAN FIGURE: fol. 1, **P**, Book 1, man in blue tunic holding onto curtain while pointing to the opening text and looking at the Christ-like figure seated behind a table.

Gameson hesitated to attribute this manuscript to a Norman or an Anglo-Saxon artist since his "talent is so minimal". The opening and only painted initial appears to be copied from a Last Supper scene in which a man in a blue gown is seated behind a table on which a chalice, a knife and a loaf of bread are laid. The looped curtains behind the man have parallels in several eleventh-century miniatures. The scene may be related to an initial in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS A.85, folio 121 where Christ and several of the disciples are seated behind a table within the bowl of the letter **P**. In the MS O.10.28 initial, a grotesque man hangs from the right curtain and points to the text. The placement of the head and its hat in MS O.10.28 are identical to heads in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.2.34 and Cambridge, St. John's College, MS A.8.

ERA, cat. & fig. 6 for the Rouen initial. Gameson (1995), nn. 74 & 87; (1999), no. 172. Lawrence (1982), p. 108, n. 21. *Trinity College*, vol. III, cat. no. 1480.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1

Eadwine Psalter
Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1150

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 11v, **D**, Psalm 6, one profile in foliate terminal of letter facing away from text opening.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 109v, **T**, Psalm 64, one naked man entangled in the scrolling foliage of the letter and looking up at miniature of the Heavenly Jerusalem; fol. 230v, **N**, Psalm 123, one man with a shield and a sword fighting a lion across the bar of the letter; fol. 232v, **I**, Psalm 125, one man with an open mouth clinging to the letter.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 48, **A**, Psalm 28, human body with an animal head and a tail bitten by dragon and dog; fol. 263v, **E**, Cantic of Hezekiah, one naked human figure with donkey ears holding a book.

The Eadwine Psalter, pp. 53-56, pls. 16c, 30c, 30e, 30g, 31a & 31b. *ERA*, cat. no. 62. Kauffmann, cat. no. 68, figs. 181-87. *St. Albans Psalter*, pp. 169-70. *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, eds. K. van der Horst, W. Noel and W. C. M. Wüstefeld, Utrecht, 1996, fig. 47.

Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS 2

Fig. 112

Ralph of Flavigny on Leviticus
St. Albans Abbey, ca. 1167-83

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 3v, **V**, Book 1, one orange profile in terminal facing away from text opening and the figures of Moses and God inside the letter; fol. 30v, **L**, Book 4, one blue profile in beast mouth on crossbar facing away from the text opening.

W. Cahn, 'St. Albans and the Channel Style in England', *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, pp.187-230. *ERA*, cat. no. 70. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity Hall*, Cambridge, 1907, pp. 4-5. Kauffmann, cat. no. 90, fig. 277. *St Albans*, cat. no. 15, figs. 172, 205-207 & 212-213. B. Smalley, 'Ralph of Flaix on Leviticus', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 1968, pp. 35-82.

Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS 4

Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities & Wars*
Monkland Priory, Herefordshire, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 2, **Q**, Capitula, one tonsured face with buff tinting drawn into bowl of letter; fol. 2v, **I**, Book 1 of Jewish Antiquities, two bearded profiles with green pointed caps on interlace terminals at top of letter.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 1, **I**, prologue, two men with green caps sit inside foliage playing a lyre and a horn; fol. 36, **H**, Book 4 of Jewish Antiquities, two men, one upright in shaft of letter wears a green gown and a red halo and points to the text, the other man is doubled over beneath his feet.

Trinity Hall MS 4 contains a number of marginal drawings and sketches for the foliage of the letters. On the opening folio for Book 17, a profile head with tight brown curls and a beard appears with an open mouth in the lower margin marking a word that hangs below the text column. The heads in the initial to Book 1 recall those of Winchcombe Abbey manuscripts in their fat faces and grotesque features. The strap-like foliage and decoration of MS 4 is also related to the decoration of capitals and columns at Kilpeck and Leominster Priory Churches. An inscription on folio 1 identifies the manuscript as from Monkland, a small priory in Herefordshire.

Boase, fig. 32a. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity Hall*, Cambridge, 1907, pp. 6-7. Kauffmann, cat. no. 63, fig. 166.

Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.1.4

Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities and Wars* (Vol. I)

Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1130

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 34v, **I**, Book 3 of Jewish Antiquities, one blue-outlined profile in a green and purple leaf on the base terminal facing away from the text opening.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 64v, **M**, Book 5 of Jewish Antiquities, entangled man clambering in foliage; fol. 81, **T**, Book 6 of Jewish Antiquities, two men entangled in foliage, one in profile and other in a frontal position with a pointing finger as if instructing the other; fol. 100v, **M**, Book 7 of Jewish Antiquities, man in green tunic caught in foliage; fol. 170, **P**, Book 11 of Jewish Antiquities, man with blue hair holding axe, caught in foliage; fol. 184v, **A**, Book 12 of Jewish Antiquities, two blue-haired and bearded men in tunics in foliage, one falling with beast biting his neck, other man with axe attempting to rescue his companion; fol. 220, **A**, Book 14 of Jewish Antiquities, one large man in an olive tunic stabs a lion while another man in a green tunic points to the text. A naked woman holding a beast emerges from the mouth of the lion.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 34v, **I**, Book 3 of Jewish Antiquities, one naked man with bald forehead, a ring of blue hair, a long tongue and a blue tail stands in shaft, grabbing beasts that bite him.

The first volume of the Christ Church Josephus is decorated by several different artists; one works in an impressionistic Anglo-Saxon style while the other uses crisp lines and has a miniaturist hand. With the exception of the Royal artist's initial on folio 220, none of these artists worked in the second volume (Cambridge, St. John's College, MS A.8).

Dodwell (1954), pp. 22, 33, 68 & 79, pls. 13a, 20a, 30a, 36a, 41c & 46b. *ERA*, cat. no. 43, figs. 116 & 122. T.A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus' and Painting in Kent around 1120', *Burlington Magazine*, 126, 1984, p. 200. Kauffmann, cat. no. 43.

Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.6.6

Boethius, *de Consolatione Philosophiae*

West Country, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 32v, **O**, Book 3, meter 9, two profiles facing each other in the bowl.

Kauffmann noted the similarities between the miniature of Boethius in Prison (fol. 2v) and the same miniature in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct F.6.5, a copy of Boethius decorated by the Entangled Figures Master. The initial on folio 32v of MS

Dd.6.6 may link the two manuscripts further. The foliage and profile heads on folio 32v closely resemble the work of the Entangled Figures Master, suggesting that the manuscript is the work of a follower. A pencil drawing visible in the left frame of the letter **O** to the *O qui perpetua* poem in MS Dd.6.6 indicates that a profile head inside a funnel-like leaf was intended to decorate the letter like the head in MS Auct F.6.5, folio 7v (Fig. 124). The manuscript is heavily marked with grotesque faces in the margins.

Kauffmann, cat. no. 50, fig. 136.

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 22

Figs. 117 & 118

Walsingham Bible (Vol. I: Genesis to Ruth)

Walsingham Priory, Norfolk, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 3v, **F**, *Frater Ambrosius* preface, two profiles in beast mouths on upper terminals facing the text; fol. 6v, **D**, *Desiderii mei* preface, human heads in foliage of bowl, set on a gold ground; fol. 8v, **I**, Genesis, four profiles in foliage on the upper and lower terminals of the letter, facing outwards; fol. 32v, **H**, Exodus, two bearded profiles nose to nose in frame of letter.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 3v, **F**, *Frater Ambrosius* preface, one man in white clothing with a pointed hat holds a shield and a spear with which he attacks a winged beast in the upper shaft while another man wearing a round cap grabs a lion and bites his tail; fol. 89v, **H**, Deuteronomy, a man in a dark tunic holding a knife is entangled in the foliage of the letter and looks up at a beast.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 89v, **H**, Deuteronomy, a human head on a pig's body wears a hooded gown and cuts the tongue of a beast.

The Bible dates to ca. 1140 but the foundation of the Augustinian Priory of Walsingham in 1153 suggests that the manuscript was acquired after its production. The heads resemble those in the Dover Bible and the Eadwine Psalter while the thick foliage recalls that of Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.8.3, a Hereford Cathedral manuscript.

Cahn, cat. no. 30. *ERA*, cat. no. 52, fig. 52. Kauffmann cat. no. 59, figs. 159-162. *Normans in Norfolk*, pp. 57-59, fig. 60. E.G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1927, cat. no. 22, pls. lxiv-lxvii. A. Stones, *Review of Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190* by C. M. Kauffmann, *Speculum*, 53, 1978, p. 588.

Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 53 (A.1.1)

Fig. 122

Winchcombe Psalter & New Testament

Winchcombe Abbey, ca. 1130-40

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 1, **B**, Jerome's letter to Damascus, one profile in foliage of lower bowl disgorging a foliate scroll; fol. 151, **B**, Psalm 1,

(Hebrew version), two round profiles hanging from leaves in foliage of lower bowl, facing one another; fol. 178v, **D**, Psalm 101 (Gallican version), one bearded and horned profile attached to stem on upper terminal, facing a beast head below.

HUMAN FIGURE: fol. 64, **P**, Acts of the Apostles, man in a tunic emerges from upper shaft of letter with a raised axe and prepares to decapitate a long-necked bird that stands in the bowl of the initial.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 1, **B**, Psalm 1 (Gallican version), a creature with a fish tail, two chicken-like legs, a winged human profile on its torso and a bearded human head faces backwards and disgorges a foliate stem in the lower bowl. Upside down in the lower frame, a two-headed beast with a human torso, human arms and hands is attached to the twisted body of a dog.

The capitals of the canon tables prefacing the volume are composed of frontal human heads with beards and veils. Additionally, roundels with human heads ornament the upper arch of these folios (fols. 2v-4v).

Heimann (1965), pp. 86-109, pls. 15a, 18e & h. Kauffmann cat. no. 53, figs. 144-146. *Trinity College Dublin*, pp. 97-101.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.I.10

Fig. 69

Anselm of Laon, Berengaudus & Cassiodorus, Commentaries on Matthew, the Apocalypse and *de Anima*

Durham Cathedral Priory, ca. 1130-40

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 146, **S**, Book 4 of the commentary on Matthew, two profiles, one bearded, inside foliate terminals facing into the initial and eating leaves.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 1v, **C**, Book 1 of the commentary on Matthew, naked man with beard and moustache wearing black shoes, entangled in foliage and holding a brown stone to throw at dog; fol. 179, **P**, second vision of the commentary on the Apocalypse, a moustached man in a purple tunic with black shoes inside bowl rams spear through neck of beast which spurts blood; fol. 212v, **V**, fifth vision of the commentary on the Apocalypse, bearded man in orange tunic spears beast in neck; fol. 227, **S**, seventh vision of the commentary on the Apocalypse, a bearded man in a green tunic holds a stone and chases a lion in foliage.

A large volume decorated with historiated and inhabited initials, MS A.I.10 has a fifteenth-century inscription on folio 104 that indicates it was read in the refectory at that date. The commentary on Matthew (fols. 1-168) is heavily discoloured and has marginal notations identifying the authors of the commentary; in another manuscript this text is attributed to Anselm of Laon.

Gameson (1999), nos. 208 & 209. Kauffmann, cat. no. 47, figs. 129 & 130. Mynors, cat. no. 66, pl. 40. A. J. Piper, 'The Libraries of the Monks of Durham', *Medieval*

Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker, eds. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson, London, 1978, p. 230, n. 46.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.II.1

Puiset Bible (4 vols.)

Durham Cathedral Priory, ca. 1170-80

HUMAN HEAD: Vol. III, fol. 109, **I**, Esther, bearded profile with open mouth upside-down in blossom facing away from the text.

A significant number of initials have been excised from this manuscript, and the Esther initial is the only surviving initial with a human head. Since many of the initials have plain frames, it is unlikely that human heads were used extensively in this Bible. The bearded head in the Esther initial can be compared to similar heads in the Bury Bible and to several heads in the New Testament initials of the Winchester Bible.

Cahn, cat. no. 31. *ERA*, cat. no. 77. Kauffmann, cat. no. 98, figs. 279-282 & 285. D. Marnier, *The Bible of Hugh du Puiset: Authority, Appropriation and Invention in the late Twelfth Century*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of East Anglia, 1995; 'The Bible of Hugh of le Puiset (Durham Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.II.1)', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, Woodbridge, 1994, pp. 471-84. Mynors, cat. no. 146, pl. 51.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.II.19

Peter Lombard, Glossed Pauline Epistles

Durham Cathedral Priory, ca. 1180

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 250, **P**, II Thessalonians, profile with white hair attached to upper terminal, looking into bowl at two men who behead a kneeling man.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 4v, **P**, Romans, man in green cowl playing a harp in upper roundel of shaft, naked man playing a viol in lower roundel; fol. 87v, **P**, I Corinthians, man with purple flesh and white shorts riding a serpent who bites his nose; fol. 230, **P**, Colossians, three men in roundels in shaft, upper man in orange tunic holding a white stone, centre man in profile with hand raised in greeting, lower man in a pink tunic bent over backwards like an acrobat.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 218, **P**, Philippians, a short, fat beast with a red human head is in roundel at the top of the shaft, looking up at the capitula.

Given to Durham by Bishop Hugh du Puiset, MS A.II.19 is decorated with small dogs, hybrids and beasts in roundel on the shafts of letters. The use of orange, green and blue paint and coloured frames surrounding the initials is typical of late twelfth-century initials. The initial to Galatians on folio 175 contains Paul holding a book and teaching while the initial to II Thessalonians may contain an unusual version of the martyrdom of Paul. Some of the decorated initials suggest a relationship to the text; a

half-length human figure in the initial to Colossians (fol. 230) turns towards the text and waves at the word *salutant* beside him.

Kauffmann, cat. no. 99, figs. 286 & 287. Mynors, cat. no. 149, pl. 55.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.III.10

Gilbert de la Porrée, Glossed Psalter (Vol. II: Psalm 80 to Canticles)

Durham Cathedral Priory, 1158

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 2, **E**, Psalm 80 with *catena* gloss, two pink profiles with open mouths in beast mouths on terminals.

The artist of MS A.III.10 also painted a copy of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 491) with gold and the same pink, deep blue and green paint.

C.F.R. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade*, Woodbridge, 1984, pp. 11 & 19. Mynors, cat. no. 124, pl. 45a.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library MS B.II.8

Figs. 62-68

Jerome, *Commentarium in Isaiam*

Durham Cathedral Priory, ca. 1120-30

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 1, **E**, preface, one three-quarter view head in green beast mouth on upper terminal, one frontal head on end of crossbar and one profile of a monk in a roundel facing away from text; fol. 1v, **V**, Book 1, one three-quarter view head in foliage of upper terminal; fol. 34v, **I**, Book 4, two profiles in mouths of beasts at base of initial; fol. 87, **S**, Book 8, one profile with green hair in foliage on left side of initial, facing away from the text; fol. 162, **C**, Book 15, one profile with an open mouth on lower terminal looking into text; fol. 198, **D**, Book 18, two profiles nose to nose on upper terminal and one profile disgorging an animal on the lower terminal facing away from the text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 109, **D**, Book 19, one man in a green tunic caught in foliage; fol. 128, **N**, Book 12, two men in yellow and red tunics form the uprights of the letter, holding swords and battling the beast that hangs between them.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 10v, **F**, Book 2, a centaur with a green body and an axe inside foliage between crossbars; fol. 162, **C**, Book 15, a bearded human head with dog on top of his head with a dragon body and chicken feet.

The artist of MS B.II.8 is identical to that of Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.26. Many of the initials in this manuscript are historiated with the figures of Christ and Isaiah holding speech scrolls and books. The scrolls are sometimes inscribed with verses from the book of Isaiah. According to the nineteenth-century cataloguer of Durham manuscripts, Thomas Rud, a fifteenth-century inscription in the

opening of the manuscript indicated that it was stored in a cupboard near the infirmary for reading in the refectory.

Boase, p. 229, pl. 33b. Kauffmann, cat. no. 46, figs. 127 & 128. Mynors, cat. no. 68, pl. 42. A.J. Piper, 'The Libraries of the monks of Durham', *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker*, eds. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson, London, 1978, p. 230, n. 46.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.13

Augustine, *Enarrationes en Psalmos 51-100*

Durham Cathedral Priory or Normandy, ca. 1088

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 30v, **A**, exposition on Psalm 56, one profile with red dot on cheek wearing a yellow hat and attached to upper ascender, looking into the end of the previous text; fol. 143v, **I**, exposition on Psalm 78, one frontal face with blue beard inside arabesque initial; fol. 203v, **E**, exposition on Psalm 94, two profiles on terminals facing text, both with green collars; fol. 215v, **F**, exposition on Psalm 98, two profiles with long green hair face each other in foliage at base of initial; fol. 222v, **P**, exposition on Psalm 100, one profile with a yellow hat and an open mouth on base terminal facing the text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 68, **A**, exposition on Psalm 64, man in green gown caught in foliage of the letter, looking upwards and pointing to foliage; fol. 108, **G**, exposition on Psalm 70 ii, two men in foliage, upper in green gown hangs onto scroll and faces a bunch of fruit while lower man in a buff gown holds a sword; fol. 153v, **P**, exposition on Psalm 81, man in yellow tunic with red tights inside bowl, holding onto foliage and looking towards the text; fol. 155, **P**, exposition on Psalm 82, man in identical clothes as above wraps his arms and legs around shaft and looks up; fol. 169v, **P**, exposition on Psalm 86, man in green tunic with red legs clings to frame of bowl, looks over his shoulder away from the text; fol. 214, **C**, exposition on Psalm 97, man in yellow tunic stands inside the left frame of the initial; fol. 222v, **P**, exposition on Psalm 100, man in green gown seated inside bowl with fingers raised in blessing.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 184, **P**, exposition on Psalm 90, one profile head with a red and blue peaked cap attached to the back of a beast, looks towards text.

There is debate concerning whether this manuscript was produced in Durham or in Normandy ca. 1088-91 when Bishop William of St. Carilef was in exile. The third volume of the set is Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.14; it has a colophon stating that it was made during Carilef's exile in Normandy. It contains an initial painted with beast heads; the remainder are arabesque or minor initials. The artist of MS B.II.13 and MS B.II.14 has been identified as Robert Benjamin, the man kneeling below Bishop Carilef in the initial to the exposition on Psalm 70 (fol. 102). Bishop Carilef gave a three-volume set of Augustine's commentary on the Psalms to the priory in 1096; MS B.II.13 and MS B.II.14 have been identified as the second and third volumes of this set.

A. C. Browne, 'Bishop William of St. Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium*, 42/2, 1988, pp. 140-55. M. Gullick, 'The Scribe of the Carilef Bible', *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. L. L. Brownrigg, Los Altos Hills (CA), 1990, pp. 61-83. Mynors, cat. no. 31. Wormald (1945), pp. 128-31, pls. IX a & b.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library MS B.II.16

Figs. 42-45

Augustine, *In evangelium Iohannis*

St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury and later Durham Cathedral Priory, late eleventh century

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 123, **H**, Tract 50, one bearded pink profile with open mouth on upper terminal, facing away from the text opening; fol. 126v, **P**, Tract 52, one pink profile disgorging foliage of bowl on upper terminal.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 17, **F**, Tract 6, man in green and red tunic blowing on horn and standing in foliage while facing the text; fol. 41v, **L**, Tract 14, man in purple tunic with open mouth turned towards margin with beast biting his waist; fol. 44v, **N**, Tract 15, man caught between two upright dogs, his hand is in one's mouth while the other bites his head; fol. 47, **P**, Tract 16, man in orange tunic stands in shaft of letter with a dragon biting his calf. He looks and points to end of Tract 15; fol. 56v, **V**, Tract 20, naked man in centre, caught in foliage and turning away from text; fol. 62v, **N**, Tract 22, man in orange tunic is left upright of letter, holding a grey horn; fol. 69, **M**, Tract 24, man in blue-green tunic is left shaft of letter, touching the chin of a blue mask in centre of letter; fol. 76v, **V**, Tract 27, man in right frame, pulls on his chin; fol. 88, **Q**, Tract 34, half-length man with sword and shield fighting lion; fol. 127, **P**, Tract 53, man clinging to shaft and looking away from text while a beast bites his ankle; fol. 170, **A**, Tract 104, man with club fighting lion who bites his waist; fol. 175, **D**, Tract 175, man in left frame with beast tail in his mouth; fol. 191v, **N**, Tract 124, man in orange tunic as crossbar of letter, looking towards the text.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 8, **G**, Tract 3, pink profile with a large ear looking into text and attached to purple dragon body; fol. 69, **M**, Tract 24, one blue mask with pink horns as centre clasp of the letter.

According to Bishop, the script of MS B.II.16 is consistent with several manuscripts from St. Augustine's Abbey and may have been written there. Bishop was able to find few parallels for the initial decoration of MS B.II.16 at Canterbury or Durham. The fifty initials of MS B.II.16 are painted in chalky pink, orange and green paint.

Gameson compared the style of MS B.II.16 to the late eleventh-century Caligula Troper (London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.XIV). While many of the initials contain beasts and men, only a few of them are related to the text. The initial to Tract 44 on folio 108v is one of these; it depicts Christ healing the man born blind, the subject of that sermon. The leaf-like hat worn by the head in the initial to Tract 52 appears in a foliate initial of Canterbury, Cathedral Library, MS Lit A.8, folio 41v, a St. Augustine's Abbey manuscript of ca. 1090. Mynors argued that MS B.II.16 was

given to the cathedral by Bishop Carilef in 1096, but this identification has been rejected since another copy of Augustine's sermons on John (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.17) is in a Norman hand and can more readily be identified as the manuscript in Carilef's bequest. Durham did acquire several manuscripts from Canterbury in this period; MS B.II.16 may be one of these.

T. A. M. Bishop, 'Canterbury Scribe's Work', *Durham Philobiblon*, 2/1, 1955, pp. 1-3. A.C. Browne, 'Bishop William of St. Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium*, 42/2, 1988, pp. 140-55. *ERA*, cat. no. 3 for the Caligula Troper. Gameson (1995), pp. 126 & 139; 'English Manuscript Art in the mid-eleventh century', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 71, 1991, pp. 93-94, p. 113n.172 & fig. 25; (1999), no. 226. M. Gullick, 'The Scribe of the Carilef Bible', *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. L. L. Brownrigg, Los Altos Hills (CA), 1990, p. 69, n.48. N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1960, p. 30. Lawrence (1981), p. 98 & fig. 8.13; (1982), p.103. Mynors, cat. no. 35.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.21

Fig. 47

Augustine, *Epistolae*

Durham Cathedral Priory, before 1096

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 12, **D**, Epistle 137, bearded profile attached to foliage scroll and looking upwards.

The opening initial on folio 12 is the only painted letter in the manuscript; the rest are minor or arabesque initials. On folio 81v several grotesque faces with bulbous noses, tongues and curling hair are added in the margin.

A. C. Browne, 'Bishop William of St. Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium*, 42/2, 1988, pp. 140-55. Gameson (1999), no. 229. M. Gullick, 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, Woodbridge, 1994, pp. 101-105. Lawrence (1981), pp. 95-103, fig. 8.4. Mynors, cat. no. 34.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.22

Fig. 46

Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*

Durham Cathedral Priory, before 1096

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 27v, **G**, Book 1, one bearded head with flame-like tongue and spiked hair on upper terminal, two three-quarter view heads in roundels attached to the frame.

Lawrence has accounted for the presence of an initial painted in a Christ Church, Canterbury style in this manuscript which is written in a Durham hand, by demonstrating that in the late eleventh century, several Durham scribes were sent to Canterbury to copy exemplars. Presumably while the Durham scribe was in Canterbury, a Canterbury artist added the first and only painted initial in MS B.II.22.

A. C. Browne, 'Bishop William of St. Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium*, 42/2, 1988, pp. 140-55. Gameson (1999), no. 230. M. Gullick, 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, Woodbridge, 1994, p. 101. Lawrence (1981), pp. 95-103, fig. 8.18. Mynors, cat. no. 33.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.26

Figs. 49-61

Augustine, *de Trinitate*

Durham Cathedral Priory, ca. 1120-30

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 5v, **L**, Retraction, profile with a moustache in the mouth of golden beast head, looking away from text; fol. 17, **C**, Book 2, two profiles on terminals, upper one is upside-down looking into the text while the lower one is right-side up, looking into the initial with an open mouth; fol. 28, **C**, Book 3, frontal bearded head on its side between the mouths of two green dogs; fol. 48, **H**, Book 5, two profiles nose to nose on base terminal, one moustached profile in bowl facing a beast mouth; fol. 53v, **E**, Book 6, two moustached profiles with open mouths, entangled with beasts and biting them; fol. 64, **D**, Book 8, one three-quarter view head on upper terminal and one profile on lower terminal, both looking at left column of text; fol. 97, **I**, Book 13, one three-quarter view head in roundel in centre of shaft.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 77, **N**, Book 10, man in profile with an arrow on his cheek wearing a red tunic and sitting on the back of bird in the centre of initial; fol. 90, **A**, Book 12, man in tunic with a hat and a hybrid creature on his head, holding the tail of a beast in his hand.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 83, **N**, Book 11, two upright beasts with hooves, claws and human heads, one of them is bearded; fol. 90, **A**, Book 12, one open-mouthed profile on a horse-like body that rests on the head of the standing man fol. 108v, **N**, Book 14, one naked man with a horn on his forehead, pointing a spear into a beast.

Kauffmann, cat. no. 28, fig. 65. Mynors, cat. no. 62, pl. 39.

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.14

Fig. 48

Various authors, Lives of Saints

Durham Cathedral Priory, ca. 1090-1110

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 170, **B**, Life of Nicholas of Myra, two bearded profiles on frame in red and purple outline with red tongues, facing away from text.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 2v, **G**, Life of Gregory the Great, two centaurs with human heads and chests, hairy lower bodies on terminals: upper man points to text, lower man, with beard, wears a Phrygian cap and holds a shield and a horn; fol. 170, **S**, preface to Life of Nicholas, two hybrids with human heads

on terminals, upper hybrid with a shield and a baton facing text, lower hybrid with a bow and an arrow facing the gutter.

A.C. Browne, 'Bishop William of St. Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium*, 42/2, 1988, pp. 140-55. Gameson (1999), no. 263. M. Gullick, 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, Woodbridge, 1994, p. 101. Mynors, cat. no. 55, pl. 35.

Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 4 (S.1.4)

Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities & Wars*

?Reading Abbey, ca. 1120-40

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 64, **P**, Book 7 of Jewish Antiquities, outlined but unfinished profile facing downward in foliage of bowl, lacking facial features; fol. 98, **C**, Book 10 of Jewish Antiquities, two profiles in foliage of letter facing one another with grimacing expressions.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 64, **P**, Book 7 of Jewish Antiquities, man with thick hair clings to foliage of bowl with his legs crossed around it while pointing to the unfinished human head in the foliage above him; fol. 156v, **I**, Book 16 of Jewish Antiquities, figure in a vair-lined cloak with flaming hair standing with crossed legs on a green beast, holding a green branch and blowing on a horn; fol. 165, **A**, Book 17 of Jewish Antiquities, man in green tunic with red and blue domed hat cutting branches and placing them in a basket.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 165, **A**, Book 17 of Jewish Antiquities, beast with human body wearing a blue tunic and holding a green branch, looking at text. His head is green with a red eye, long neck, ears and goat-like beard.

The initials in this manuscript are in varying stages of completion; many of the early initials are pencil sketches with pen outlines while the later ones are fully painted initials or arabesque letters. The main artist of the completed initials reappears in two Leominster manuscripts; his work may be visible in the I Chronicles initial of the Leominster Bible (Fig. 76). M. R. James suggested that the half-erased inscription on folio 1 reads *de monasterio . . . radingis*. Rodney Thomson has assigned the manuscript to Hertford on the basis of a fourteenth-century press-mark, but he notes that its place of manufacture is unclear.

Glasgow, cat. no. 10. *St. Albans*, pp. 38, 40 & 136, n.10. Young, cat. pp 6-7.

Glasgow University, MS Hunter 85 (T.4.2)

Bede and other authors, *Writings on the Calendar*

Durham Cathedral Priory, ca. 1125-50

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 35, **D**, preface to *de Tempore Ratione*, one profile in terminal flourish with foliage in his mouth and a 'q' on his cheek, looking away from Bede and the text opening.

Gameson (1999), nos. 301 & 302. *Glasgow*, cat. no. 9, fig. 7. M. Gullick, 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, Woodbridge, 1994, p. 101. Mynors, cat. no. 71. Young, pp. 91-94.

Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 438 (V.5.8)

Bede, *Expositio in Acta Apostolorum*

?Rochester Cathedral Priory, ca. 1130-40

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 80v, **S**, Preface by an unidentified author, a moustached frontal head in a medallion held between the mouths of two fish-like beasts.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 81v, **P**, Retraction, one man entangled in foliage of bowl, another man in the shaft, aiming his bow and arrow at a beast below the entangled man. A winged beast bites the shoe of the hunter.

The style of the initials is related to that of Rochester manuscripts of the 1120s, especially the pen-outlined initials with foliage and humans in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7 and London, British Library, MS Royal 12.E.xx. The main initials in MS Hunter 438 are ink-outlined and set against purple grounds. The foliage is arranged in scrolls and blossoms typical of Canterbury and Rochester work. The initial on folio 73 is similar to the Apocalypse initial in the Rochester Bible with its biting beasts and the twisting, seemingly three-dimensional neck of the dragon (Fig. 108). The human figures clambering in the letter shaft of the initial on folio 81v recall the figures of the Rochester medical tracts, MS Royal 12.E.xx. The head in the initial on folio 80v is caught in the mouths of two fish-like creatures similar to those in Canterbury manuscripts such as Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.9, folio 4 and London, British Library, MS Harley 624, folios 93v & 114v (Figs. 17, 23 & 24).

Glasgow, cat. no. 11. Young, cat. pp. 360-61.

Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.8.3

Figs. 71-73

Gregory, *Homiliarium in Evangelia*

Hereford Cathedral, ca. 1150

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 1, **I**, Preface, two profile heads in foliate capital at top of shaft, facing outwards; fol. 11, **Q**, Homily 6, one horned profile with dot on his cheek attached to the tail of the letter and looking upwards at bowl; fol. 15, **Q**, Homily 8, one bearded head with four horns on tail of letter with an open mouth, looking towards bowl; fol. 21, **C**, Homily 11, two profiles in beast mouths on terminals facing text; fol. 28v, **A**, Homily 14, one profile in beast mouth facing away from text opening; fol. 62, **M**, Homily 25, one frontal female head held in mouth of a winged beast.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 52v, **M**, Homily 21, two men in orange and blue tunics grasp a blue pole between them, left man steps up into the initial

holding a club while other is seated with a pointing finger; fol. 70v, **C**, Homily 27, a man in white loincloth wrestles a bear inside the letter.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 23, **S**, Homily 12, a bearded human head on a chicken body; fol. 40, **I**, Homily 40, one tonsured profile head attached to a fish, wearing a cowl and looking away from text opening.

Hereford, cat. p. 54, pl. 5b, figs. 5b, 73b & c.

Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P.3.2

Pauline Epistles & Canonicae

Priory of Sts. Peter and Guthlac, Hereford, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 48, **S**, Life of St. Paul, one bearded head of a Christ-like figure in upper bowl with two green outlined profiles on either terminal, facing outward.

Hereford, cat. p. 81, fig. 68b.

Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P.5.3

Fig. 70

Augustine, *de Trinitate*

St. Mary's, Cirencester, ca. 1130-50

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 144, **V**, Book 15, one red-outlined profile in flourish of terminal looking away from text opening; fol. 166, **D**, *oratio s. augustini* following Book 15, one bearded profile in upper terminal with open mouth and teeth looking away from text.

Hereford, cat. pp. 96-97, fig. 69.

Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P.8.4

Fig. 121

Augustine, *Epistolae*

Winchcombe Abbey, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 1v, **D**, Epistle 137, one profile with beard, beast ear and purple tinting inside folded leaf of lower shaft, looking up.

Like many Winchcombe Abbey manuscripts, the first folio is severely damaged with flaking blue paint and discoloured vellum. The background of the opening and only painted initial in the manuscript is blue with green, purple, red and orange washes. The foliage is varied and tendrils of it extend beyond the letter. The jewelled collars of the letter are repeated in the initial to Psalm 1 in the Winchcombe Psalter and New Testament (Fig. 122).

Gameson (1999), no. 321. Heimann (1965), pp.107-109. *Hereford*, cat. p. 115, fig. 65.

Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P.9.5

Fig. 119

Augustine, *In evangelium Iohannis*
Winchcombe Abbey, ca. 1120-30

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 2, **I**, Tract 1, one bearded profile with an open mouth and red shading in base terminal facing away from text.

The initial on folio 2 is repeated in the Winchcombe Psalter and New Testament for the John initial where an eagle is seated on top of a foliate column and holds a scroll on which *Iohannis* is written (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 53, fol. 55). The MS P.9.5 initial suggests inspiration from Anglo-Saxon foliate frames such as those in the Winchcombe Psalter, Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.1.23, a manuscript that appears to have influenced the decoration of several twelfth-century Winchcombe manuscripts.

Gameson (1999), no. 322. Heimann (1965), p. 107. *Hereford*, cat. pp.123-24. E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, vol. 2, London, 1976, cat. no. 80 for CUL, MS Ff.1.23.

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 1 (A.1.2)

Fig. 79

Lincoln Bible (Vol. I: Genesis to Job)
Lincoln Cathedral, ca. 1100-09

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 59v, **H**, Deuteronomy, a profile with a red dot on his cheek in base terminal looking away from text opening; fol. 70v, **T**, Preface to Joshua, one profile with a large nose and sloping chin on left terminal of the crossbar, facing away from the text and the figures of Christ and Joshua; fol. 176, **A**, Daniel, one profile with red lips and an open mouth, upside-down in scrolling foliage of letter; fol. 183, **V**, Hosea, one profile with a red dot on his cheek and an open mouth, facing away from text opening.

MS 1 is the oldest surviving English Romanesque Bible. Decorated with painted letters and one almost full-page historiated **T** to Jerome's prologue to the book of Joshua, the Bible is modestly decorated. A large profile head is drawn in the lower margin of folio 55; it appears to be a model for the grotesque heads appearing in the Deuteronomy and Joshua initials. The inscription *Nicholaus canonicus et archidiaconus dedit hanc bibliothecam in duobus voluminibus sancte Marie Lincol* appears on folio 1; the 1148 library catalogue of Chancellor Hamo is on folio 2 and is printed in Woolley.

Cahn, cat. no. 32. R.G. Calkins, 'Pictorial Emphases in Early Biblical Manuscripts', *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. B.S. Levy, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 89, Binghamton (NY), 1992, pp. 77-102. Gameson (1999), no. 328. Kauffmann cat. no. 13, figs. 30 & 31. *Lincoln*, p. 3, colour frontispiece. R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, London, 1927, pp. v-ix.

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 90 (A.3.17)

Augustine, *de Verbis Domini et Apostoli*

Lincoln Cathedral, ca. 1110

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 67, **F**, Sermon 21, two profiles, one disgorging the upper crossbar, the other disgorging foliage in base terminal; fol. 74v, **A**, Sermon 26, profile with red shading inside scrolling foliage, looking away from text opening; fol. 93v, **G**, Sermon 37, profile with open mouth in foliage of letter, facing away from opening; fol. 107v, **S**, Sermon 44, profile with open mouth in foliage of letter, facing text; fol. 133, **H**, Sermon 54, profile with open mouth in centre of letter, facing text; fol. 217v, **A**, Sermon 80, profile with red shading and open mouth facing away from text inside foliage of letter; fol. 220v, **H**, Sermon 81, profile with open mouth facing away from text; fol. 227v, **B**, Sermon 83, profile with open mouth and red cheek looks upwards.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 30, **M**, Sermon 11, kneeling man with an uncoloured tunic, pointing in both directions; fol. 67, **F**, Sermon 21, man standing in centre of letter, pointing in both directions; fol. 147v, **C**, Sermon 61, man in blue gown with yellow dots standing in centre of letter, holding onto frame with one hand, other hand clenched in a fist; fol. 162v, **A**, Sermon 66, man in red gown seated beside initial, pointing in both directions; fol. 178, **H**, Sermon 70, man in yellow gown with red hose, holds an axe and points to text above; fol. 185v, **A**, Sermon 72, kneeling man in green gown holds frame and turns to point at text; fol. 192v, **P**, Sermon 75, kneeling man in yellow tunic within bowl; fol. 199v, **V**, Sermon 77, man in long yellow gown holding a scroll and looking away from the text; fol. 211v, **A**, Sermon 79, man in green tunic pointing both ways; fol. 241, **A**, Sermon 88, kneeling man in yellow tunic with bow and arrow, pointing to text.

The initials in this manuscript are the work of the Lincoln Bible artist, probably of a slightly later date due to the greater shading on their faces and the dots on the scrollwork. The sermons are numbered here as they appear in the manuscript; the modern compilation is given in Verbraken.

Kauffmann, cat. no. 14, figs. 34-36. *Lincoln*, cat. pp. 64-65. P. Verbraken, 'La collection de Sermones de Saint Augustin «de verbis domini et apostoli»', *Revue Bénédictine*, 77, 1967, pp. 27-46.

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 150 (B.I.16)

Figs. 77 & 78

Passional

Leominster Priory, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 2, **E**, Sts. Peter & Paul, one green bearded profile with red eye and receding hairline on upper terminal disgorging leaf; fol. 37v, **F**, St. Arnulf of Tours, one crowned Janus head with green beard at upper terminal disgorging foliage and blue crossbar of letter; fol. 133v, **O**, St. Genesius of Arles, one three-quarter view head with beard and moustache drawn into the bowl of the letter; fol. 165v, **I**, Sts. Protus & Hyacinth, one profile with

foliage in mouth, facing down in base terminal; fol. 170v, **T**, Exaltatio S. Crucis, one frontal head with moustache, red tongue and green hair in roundel on shaft of letter.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 6, **P**, Simon Magus, a man in brightly coloured clothing, face down in bowl holding foliage in his hand; fol. 13, **T**, Simon Magus, identical man in multi-coloured gown in mouth of beast, horizontal and forming crossbar; fol. 117v, **S**, St. Philibert, bust of a crowned Janus figure in upper portion of initial; fol. 151, **C**, Sts. Felix & Adauctus, man in tunic with shovel digging at the base of a tree; fol. 154v, **V**, St. Justus, man in tunic with stick and hoe weeding.

Ker attributed MS 150 to Leominster Priory Church, a cell of Reading Abbey. He considered MS 150 to form a set with Gloucester, Cathedral Library, MS 1 and Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 149 since it fits exactly between them; these two volumes date to the thirteenth century. MS 150 opens with the martyrdom of Sts. Peter and Paul, an appropriate opening for the earliest volume of the set since Leominster Priory was dedicated to Peter and Paul. The decoration has similarities with a Bible tentatively attributed to Leominster (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Q.b.5), the Reading *Josephus* (Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 4) and the sculpture of the west portal of Leominster Priory Church. The scalloped fronds and fragmented painting technique of the initial on folio 2 recall the work of a Reading artist also responsible for the I Chronicles initial of the Leominster Bible (Fig. 76) and the Reading *Josephus* (Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 4). The figural scenes of the initials in MS 150 appear to be copied from an illustrated calendar. The initials on folios 37v and 117v are decorated with crowned Janus heads (January), folio 121 with a scorpion (June), folio 151 with a man digging (March) and folio 154 with a man holding a hoe and a stick (June). Two figures cutting branches, related to the Labour scene for September, may be found in the II Samuel initial of the Bible (fol. 112) and on a capital on the west portal of Leominster Church, helping to link these manuscripts to Leominster. MS 150 might be item number ten, a *Passionalis*, listed in the 1192 inventory of Leominster manuscripts.

English Benedictine Libraries, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, vol. 4, ed. R. Sharpe et al, London, 1996, B.75.10. B.R. Kemp, 'The monastic dean of Leominster', *English Historical Review*, 83, 1968, pp. 505-15. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, eds. N. R. Ker and A. G. Watson, supplement, London, 1987, p. 44; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1977, pp. 934-39. *Lincoln*, cat. pp. 117-20.

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155 (A.I.18)

Figs. 81-92

Augustine, *Enarrationes en Psalmos 1-50*

Lincoln Cathedral, before 1148

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 7, **T**, exposition on Psalm 5, two profiles on ends of crossbar, left head with an open mouth looking upwards between text columns and right head with stem of foliage in his mouth; fol. 41, **P**, exposition on Psalm 23, two profiles facing one another in foliage of bowl and a third profile in base terminal looking up at text; fol. 132, **Q**, exposition on Psalm 40, two

profiles addorsed in bracket-like leaves within bowl of letter, each facing text; fol. 152v, **I**, exposition on Psalm 45, one bald profile emerging from top of letter shaft and facing text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 9, **I**, exposition on Psalm 6, naked man wrapped around top of the letter and looking into text; fol. 28, **D**, exposition on Psalm 14, bust of man inside bowl of letter pointing at text opening and wearing a crown and a red and green cloak; fol. 28, **T**, exposition on Psalm 15, man in red gown holding a blank scroll in his hands above his head; fol. 32v, **D**, exposition on Psalm 18, man in green gown and round cap kneeling before text with open hands; fol. 41, **P**, exposition on Psalm 22, naked man caught in foliage of bowl, looking away from the text; fol. 46v, **D**, exposition on Psalm 26 ii, naked man hanging horizontally in foliage while looking into text; fol. 55, **I**, exposition on Psalm 30, naked man standing in initial, pointing into the text with a long finger; fol. 91v, **A**, exposition on Psalm 34 ii, man in trousers with an open mouth leaning against letter frame while looking into the text opening; fol. 135v, **O**, exposition on Psalm 41, naked man hanging horizontally in foliage while pointing into the text; fol. 142, **P**, exposition on Psalm 43, naked man caught in foliage with open mouth set against blue ground, looking up; fol. 158v, **T**, exposition on Psalm 47, naked man caught in foliage of initial, facing text; fol. 166v, **H**, exposition on Psalm 48 ii, large bald man in brown tunic with green trousers leaning against letter with open mouth, looking away from text opening.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 43v, **I**, exposition on Psalm 26, siren with blonde hair, green tail holding a fish in one hand and pointing into the text with the other hand while looking away from the text.

MS 155 is number twenty-five in Chancellor Hamo's catalogue of Lincoln Cathedral manuscripts, indicating a production in the 1140s. The initials of MS 155 have many similarities with St. Albans manuscripts, notably Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 70; London, British Library, MSS Royal 13.D.VI & VII; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 752. The foliage and naked human figures in all of these manuscripts resemble those of MS 155. The entangled figures of MS 155 may also be related the jamb columns of the west facade of the Cathedral, sculpted in the 1140s.

Kauffmann, cat. no. 61, figs. 163-165. *Lincoln*, cat. p. 123. R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, Oxford, 1927, p. vi.

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 171

Haimo of Halberstadt, *In epistolas Pauli*

Lincoln Cathedral, before 1156

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 187v, **P**, Gloss on Philippians, one profile with open mouth in foliage of base terminal looking into text.

Four initials with gold, brilliant colours and fantastic creatures survive in this manuscript; eight others have been excised. It is likely that this is one of the Lincoln

manuscripts damaged by nineteenth-century Lincoln choirboys who reportedly cut initials out of the cathedral manuscripts while putting their robes on in the library.

Lincoln, cat. pp. 137-38, fig. 42d (mislabelled as fol. 187). R. W. Wieck, 'Folia Fugitiva: The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54, 1996, p. 236.

London, British Library, MS Add. 15350

Codex Wintonensis

St. Swithun's, Winchester, ca. 1130-50

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 9, **A**, *Althithronius totius...*, one green-outlined profile with cap and open mouth, emerging from frame to look into the gutter.

The section of the cartulary containing the initial with a head is referred to as Codex Wintonensis II by Rumble; it consists of twelfth-century charters and material related to Bishop Henry of Blois' two attempts to gain metropolitan status for Winchester in 1144-45 and in 1148-50.

Boase, p. 175. *Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, cat. no. 172. K. Lowe, 'As Fre as Thowt?': Some Medieval Copies and Translations of Old English Wills', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 4, 1993, pp. 3-10. A. R. Rumble, 'The Purposes of the Codex Wintonensis', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 4, 1981, pp. 153-66.

London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius E.V

Corpus of Canon Law

Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1126

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 20, **C**, St. Clement, two bearded profiles with pointed noses in green leafy terminals facing text; fol. 32v, **A**, St. Alexander, one bearded profile with red dot on cheek on lower terminal; fol. 46v, **C**, two profiles in terminals facing text; fol. 52, **K**, two profiles with hooked noses disgorging leaves on ends of shaft.

HUMAN FIGURE: fol. 17, **B**, St. Jerome, two men, one holding a pig and the other a lamb, stand facing the text opening; fol. 25v, **A**, St. Benedict, man with knife being attacked by beasts; fol. 28, **A**, St. Benedict, man with pointed ears wearing a feathered kilt and eating a bunch of grapes; fol. 32v, **A**, St. Alexander, man in profile with a red cheek inside letter; fol. 40, **O**, man with shield and sword within the letter; fol. 41v, **A**, man in green tunic with sword spearing a white fish that spews blood; fol. 49, **V**, man with basket of grapes hanging from his neck, turns to gather and eat grapes while an upright fox blows a horn on his right.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 25v, **A**, siren-like creature with a human head, arms and hands on a bird body with wings; fol. 54, **D**, man with a serpentine lower body and a bell on his tail, holding a hatchet and blowing on a horn.

Dodwell (1954), pp. 65, 66 & 71-74, pls. 26b, 39d & e, 43e & f and 44b & f. *ERA*, cat. no. 41. Gameson (1999), no. 373. T. A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus' and Painting in Kent around 1120', *Burlington Magazine*, 126, 1984, p. 200. Kauffmann, cat. no. 21, figs. 51 & 52.

London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.VII

Passional

Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1110-40

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 42v, **F**, St. Frontonius, two bearded profiles with open mouths in cowl-like terminals facing text; fol. 46v, **P**, St. Alphege, one profile with open mouth in tail of beast at base of initial; fol. 58, **B**, one profile in frame of initial facing text.

Three portions of the Christ Church Passional survive: London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.VII; MS Harley 315; and MS Harley 624. While some of the initials are relevant to the saint's life and a few are copied from the St. Augustine's Abbey Passional (London, British Library, MS Arundel 91), many initials contain Gorgon heads and scenes of human and animal combat.

Dodwell (1954), pp. 28, 65, 67, 72, 74, 75 & 79, pl. 38f. Kauffmann, cat. no. 22.

London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E.IV

Bede, *de Temporum Ratione, de Natura Rerum & de Temporibus*

Winchcombe Abbey, ca. 1120-30

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 146, **D**, *de Natura Rerum*, one profile in green outline with beard and curly hair at upper terminal, facing away from text opening.

H. Bober, 'An Illustrated Medieval School-Book of Bede's *De Natura Rerum*', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 19-20, 1956-57, pp. 77-78. Gameson (1999), nos. 408 & 409. Heimann (1965), pp. 107-108.

London, British Library, MS Harley 624

Figs. 23 & 24

Passional

Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1120-30

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 93v, **O**, St. Ambrose, one bearded frontal head in acanthus leaf in centre of initial, flanked by two manticores; fol. 107v, **T**, St. Pancras of Rome, one frontal blue-bearded face with tonsure and red headband in centre of crossbar; fol. 112, **P**, Sts. Petronilla & Felicula, one frontal head with leaf-like ears in foliage of bowl; fol. 114v, **D**, St. Maximus, one frontal face between the mouths of two dolphin-like beasts in frame of letter; fol. 115, **B**, St. Germanus, four frontal faces in upper frame of letter, one profile face in foliage; fol. 120, **R**, St. Conon, one bearded profile with long pointed nose disgorging stem in bowl; fol. 132, **T**, St. Boniface, one frontal head emerging from two beasts and a lion mouth in centre of crossbar;

fol. 141v, **T**, Sts. Primus & Felican, one tricephalous head in centre of crossbar.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 103v, **P**, St. Domitillevis, man with a spear attacks beast at top of letter; fol. 108v, **N**, Sts. Hero & Achilles, two men in tunics holding a shield and a blue axe emerge from uprights of letter to fight beast in centre; fol. 121, **V**, St. Odo, blue-bearded man holding a yellow ball and the reins of a captive hybrid creature; fol. 137, **Q**, St. Elpheoi, man in tail of letter holding foliage.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 93v, **O**, St. Ambrose, two manticores biting serpents in bowl, left with tonsure, right with beard and pointed ears; fol. 106v, **T**, St. Gordiani, human body with orange beast head holding a red eel in a roundel on crossbar; fol. 121, **V**, St. Odo, hybrid creature with green peaked hat, red body, furry belt, blue legs and chicken feet tied with rope, holding bells and basket and being led by man; fol. 128v, **F**, St. Herasmi, an amphisbaena—a creature with a human torso, fish tail and beaked head, bearded, with a large ear and holding a serpent.

Dodwell (1954), pls. 17b & c, 29a, 37h, 40d & f and 45a. Gameson (1999), no. 433. Kahn (1991), fig. 115. Kauffmann, cat. no. 22, figs. 53 & 54.

London, British Library, MS Harley 652

Various authors, Homilies & saint's lives

St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, ca. 1090-1100

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 160, **P**, Homily on the Birth of Christ, one red-outlined profile in bowl with upright ears and a horn in his mouth.

T. A. M. Bishop, 'Canterbury Scribe's Work', *Durham Philobiblon*, 2/1, 1955, p. 2. Gameson (1995), p. 126; (1999), no. 438. Lawrence (1982), pp. 101-11.

London, British Library, MS Royal I.B.XI

Fig. 33

Gospels

St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, ca. 1140-50

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 2v, **P**, prologue to the Gospels, one bearded profile with horns and open mouth on upper terminal facing away from text opening; fol. 6v, **I**, prologue to Matthew, one bearded profile upside-down in foliage at base of initial, disgorging stems.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 2v, **P**, prologue to the Gospels, two clothed men, one in bowl with sword entangled in foliage and fighting a beast that bites his chin while another man stands in the shaft, aiming a bow and arrow at the beast above him; fol. 6v, **I**, prologue to Matthew, naked man with arm wrapped around frame, stands in shaft looking at text and pointing to his closed mouth.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 6v, **I**, prologue to Matthew, creature with human body, hooves and head of an ox clings to frame while pointing to his bestial ears.

Dodwell (1954), pl. 21b. H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England*, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 159-66. Kauffmann, cat no. 65, figs. 171 & 172. *Royal and Kings Collections*, vol. I, p. 12.

London, British Library, MS Royal 1.C.VII

Figs. 98-100

Rochester Bible (Vol. II: Joshua to Kings)

Rochester Cathedral Priory, ca. 1122-24

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 2, **P**, capitula to Joshua, two profiles facing downwards in foliage of bowl; fol. 55v, **V**, preface to the Books of the Kings, two profiles with open mouths facing downwards in foliage; fol. 92, **F**, II Samuel, two profiles with open mouths in base terminal facing in both directions; fol. 120v, **E**, I Kings, two profiles with open mouths facing text.

HUMAN FIGURE: fol. 154v, **P**, II Kings, man wearing yellow tunic blowing on pink horn and holding a red club while two dogs chase a hare in the shaft.

Entirely the work of the 'Royal artist', MS Royal 1.C.VII was written and decorated in Rochester. Mary Richards has demonstrated that MS Royal 1.C.VII is number thirty-three in the *Textus Roffensis* library list, suggesting that it was completed ca. 1122-24.

Cahn, cat. no. 33. *ERA*, cat. no. 24. Kauffmann, cat. no. 45, figs. 123-25. Richards (1981), pp. 59-67; *Texts and Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Library*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 78/3, 1988. *Royal and Kings Collections*, vol. I, pp. 14-15. *Textus Roffensis (Rochester, Cathedral Library, A.3.5)*, ed. P. Sawyer, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vols. 7 & 11, Copenhagen, 1957 and 1962.

London, British Library, MS Royal 5.C.I

Augustine, *de Genesiam*

Rochester Cathedral Priory, ca. 1122-25

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 54, **H**, Book 5, one fleshy profile with open mouth facing upwards in foliage of letter.

Decorated by the 'Royal artist', the initials in this manuscript may be compared to his work in Cambridge, St. John's College, MS A.8 and London, British Library, MS Royal 1.C.VII. Two of his letter **Es** (fols. 25 & 36v) have a rounded shape like the Joshua initial of the Rochester Bible. The terminals of several other letters have triangular knobs like the initials in St. John's College MS A.8. Ker identified the hand of MS Royal 5.C.I with the scribe of the *Textus Roffensis* and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7. Although the manuscript is not listed in the *Textus Roffensis*

library list, it is contemporary with the Royal artist's work in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7; London, British Library, MS Royal 5.D.III; and MS Royal 6.D.II, all of which are listed in the main part of the *Textus Roffensis* library list. Since MS Royal 5.C.I is a copy of Augustine and the folios of the *Textus Roffensis* listing the Augustine manuscripts are crowded, it is possible that MS Royal 5.C.I was left out of the catalogue or was still in production when the catalogue was compiled.

N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1960, pp. 14-15 & 30-31. *Royal and Kings Collections*, vol. I, p.105. *Textus Roffensis (Rochester, Cathedral Library, A.3.5)*, ed. P. Sawyer, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, vol. 11, Copenhagen, 1962.

London, British Library, MS Royal 5.C.VIII

Augustine, *Sermones*

Rochester Cathedral Priory, ca. 1122-25

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 3, **E**, Sermon 109, profile with red tinting and a green leaf in his mouth, attached to crossbar and looking into text.

Like the above entry, MS Royal 5.C.VIII dates to the early 1120s but is not listed in the *Textus Roffensis* library list. MS Royal 5.C.VIII is decorated by the 'Walters artist'. Its foliage has his characteristic colouring technique using median white lines. The beasts with their triangular red tongues in the initial on folio 65, the block-like foliage forms and the frieze frames of the three decorated initials are typical of the work of this artist.

Gameson (1999), no. 488. *Royal and Kings Collections*, vol. I, p. 110.

London, British Library, MSS Royal 5.D.I & 5.D.II

Augustine, *Enarrationes en Psalmos 51-100 & 101-150*

Rochester Cathedral Priory, ca. 1107-13 & 1115-24

HUMAN HEAD: MS Royal 5.D.II, fol. 103v, **B**, exposition on Psalm 119, one profile with an open mouth facing downwards in foliage of upper bowl.

HUMAN FIGURES: MS Royal 5.D.I, fol. 1, **P**, exposition on Psalm 51, two men in green and blue tunics, one holds a knife and cuts the nose of a beast while the other man grasps neck of a bird in foliage of bowl; MS Royal 5.D.II, fol. 52, **Q**, exposition on Psalm 109, man in green tunic forms tail of letter with his arm and his leg holding onto the foliage; MS Royal 5.D.II, fol. 70v, **M**, exposition on Psalm 118, sleeping man at the base of the letter appears to have a dream in which he grabs the hem of an ascending angel's garment; MS Royal 5.D.II, fol. 197v, **P**, exposition on Psalm 143, a moustached man on a horse holding a sword, cuts a pink beast in the shaft in two; MS Royal, 5.D.II, fol. 227v, **M**, exposition on Psalm 148, two men in blue and green tunics hit a boy with a stone and rescue him, all set against a black cross.

Boase, p. 62. Harris (1964), pp. 41-48, pl. IV (5). T. A. Heslop, 'Brief in Words but Heavy in the Weight of its Mysteries', *Art History*, 9, 1986, pp. 3-5. Kauffmann, cat. no. 16, figs. 38 & 39. *Royal and Kings Collections*, vol. I, p. 110.

London, British Library, MSS Royal 13.D.VI & 13.D.VII

Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities & Wars* (Vols. I & II)

St. Albans Abbey, ca. 1120-30

HUMAN HEAD: VII fol. 16, **I**, Book 16 of Jewish Antiquities, one frontal head with leaf headdress on upper terminal.

HUMAN FIGURES: VI fol. 1, **H**, prologue, naked man falling in foliage; VI fol. 47, **H**, Book 4 of Jewish Wars, naked man in foliage, looking away from text with a twisted neck; VI fol. 61v, **M**, Book 5 of Jewish Wars, two naked men addorsed in foliage and staring at two beast heads with long tongues.

Kauffmann, cat. no. 32, figs. 88 & 89. *Royal and King Collections*, vol. II, pp. 110-11. *St. Albans*, cat. nos. 36 & 37, figs. A, B, 34 & 38-44. *St. Albans Psalter*, p. 168.

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3

Figs. 35-40

Lambeth Bible (Vol. I: Genesis to Job)

St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, ca. 1150-60

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 1, **F**, *Frater Ambrosius* preface, eight profiles with open mouths scattered throughout the foliage of the letter plus one white frontal mask with red cheeks below Jerome, two profiles disgorging stems of foliage and two heart-shaped frontal heads with eels in their mouths in the base terminal; fol. 4v, **D**, *Desiderii mei* preface, two profiles in foliage of terminal flourish with open mouths facing left and right; fol. 6v, **I**, Genesis, two profiles with open mouths in foliage and two profiles with stems in their mouths in lower terminal; fol. 67, **L**, Numbers, one profile with brown hair in centre of blossom facing away from the text; fol. 88, **H**, Deuteronomy, two profiles with open mouths attached to outer side of shaft, upper one with red hair facing downwards; fol. 151, **F**, II Samuel, two profiles with open mouths in foliage of base terminal, one with ring on his head and in the mouth of a beast; fol. 182, **C**, II Kings, two profiles in leaf terminals facing text, three additional profiles in foliage blossoms of bowl, facing away from text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 1, **F**, *Frater Ambrosius* preface, naked man climbing in foliage of letter while looking behind him at the text with open mouth; fol. 67, **L**, Numbers, man in pink tunic holding an axe over his head and preparing to decapitate a human-headed hybrid; fol. 301, **A**, prologue to Amos, naked man wrestling a lion; fol. 309, **I**, Haggai, naked man with beard and an instrument seated at base of letter, facing text; fol. 314, **M**, Malachi, unfinished initial with naked man straddling foliage at top of letter.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 1, **F**, *Frater Ambrosius* preface, centaur entangled in foliage and looking towards text with an open mouth; fol. 67, **L**, Numbers,

one brown winged beast with a bearded human head about to be chopped off by a man with an axe, one human body with a blue rabbit head astride a lion holding a shield against an imaginary foe, and one human body with a blue rabbit head playing an instrument; fol. 165, E, I Kings, one bearded profile with horns on crossbar facing text.

The second volume of this Bible is Maidstone Museum (Kent), MS P.5. Although Dodwell argued that the Bible was a Christ Church product on the basis of its stylistic connections with Christ Church manuscripts, there was much artistic contact between the two Canterbury houses in the twelfth century. Dorothy Shepard has proposed that the Lambeth Bible is from St. Augustine's Abbey on the basis of its texts and prefaces. The main artist of the Lambeth Bible, a man dubbed the Lambeth Master, worked in Avesnes as well. There is a stylistic similarity between the decoration of the Bible and London, British Library, MS Royal I.B.XI, a mid-century Gospel book from St. Augustine's Abbey. In both manuscripts, lower terminals of letters such as **P** or **F** have trailing foliage tendrils that extend to the right of the terminal. These flourishes contain grotesque masks, entangled foliage, human heads and serpent-like creatures. In addition, horned and bearded human heads may be found attached to the terminals of letters (MS Royal I.B.XI, fol. 2v and Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fol. 165).

R.G. Calkins, 'Additional *Lacunae* in the Lambeth Bible', *Gesta*, 28/2, 1989, pp. 127-29; 'Pictorial Emphases in Early Biblical Manuscripts', *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. B.S. Levy, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 89, Binghamton (NY), 1992, pp. 77-102. C. R. Dodwell, *The Great Lambeth Bible*, London, 1959, colour frontispiece, figs. 29b & 41b; (1954), pls. 31a, 41b, 48a, 49b, 50a & c, 51a, 52a, 53a, 59a, 60a, 61b. Kauffmann, cat. no. 70. *Lambeth Palace*, part I, pp. 2-9. J. Riedmaier, *Die "Lambeth Bibel"*, European University Studies, vol. 218, Frankfurt, 1994. D. Sheppard, *The Lambeth Bible: A Textual and Iconographic Study*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1993. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 81, pp. 31-33, figs. 115 & 119.

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 4

Fig. 34

Wingham Bible (Vol. II: Psalms to Epistles)
St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, ca. 1150

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 3, **B**, Psalm 1, profile with dark brown hair and beard in foliage of lower bowl facing away from text; fol. 27, **I**, Preface to the Books of Solomon, a green-bearded man in three-quarter view and a profile head, both attached to the upper interlace terminal; fol. 62v, **A**, I Chronicles, two profiles in spoke-like blossom with open and closed mouths.

Shepard has dubbed this volume the Wingham Bible since an inscription at the end of the volume attributes it to this church, a possession of Canterbury from the tenth century onward. Initially thought to be volume two of the Lambeth Bible, the text of MS 4 is almost identical to that of the Lambeth Bible, suggesting that they were written from the same exemplar. The decoration of Lambeth MS 4 is different from that of the Lambeth Bible; there are fewer initials and most are decorated or arabesque rather than historiated. The Psalm 1 initial with its dark colouring is

unusual; its colours and foliage forms may be compared to initials by the Leaping Figures Master of the Winchester Bible, particularly in the use of dark blue grounds and fruit clusters. The rounded faces attached to the Solomon preface initial are also similar to those on figures in the Exodus initial of the Winchester Bible by the Leaping Figures Master (Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 21v). The Solomon initial (fol. 27) has crisply outlined scrollwork suggestive of a metalwork origin, and Dodwell compared the I Chronicles initial to a ca. 1120 initial in MS Harley 624, the Christ Church Passional.

Dodwell (1954), p. 51, pl. 29b. *Lambeth Palace*, part I, pp. 9-13. J. Riedmaier, *Die "Lambeth Bibel"*, European University Studies, vol. 218, Frankfurt, 1994. D. M. Shepard, *The Lambeth Bible: A Textual and Iconographic Study*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1993. *St. Albans*, pp. 32-33.

Maidstone Museum (Kent), MS P.5

Fig. 41

Lambeth Bible (Vol. II: Psalms to Epistles)
St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, ca. 1150-60

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 26, **E**, Psalm 80, two profiles with open mouths attached to terminals facing text; fol. 237v, **P**, Acts of the Apostles, two large bearded profiles in foliate clusters of bowl and lower shaft, both face away from the text opening.

R.G. Calkins, 'Pictorial Emphases in Early Biblical Manuscripts', *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. B.S. Levy, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 89, Binghamton (NY), 1992, pp. 77-102. Dodwell (1954), pls. 24c, 29c & 40b; *The Great Lambeth Bible*, London, 1959. Kauffmann, cat. no. 70. S.W. Kershaw, 'On Manuscripts and Rare Books in the Maidstone Museum', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 11, London, 1877, pp. 189-98, pl. II. J. Riedmaier, *Die "Lambeth Bibel"*, European University Studies, vol. 218, Frankfurt, 1994. D.M. Shepard, *The Lambeth Bible: A Textual and Iconographic Study*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1993. *St. Albans*, pp. 31-32.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.736

Figs. 11-12

Life & Miracles of St. Edmund King and Martyr
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, ca. 1130

HUMAN HEADS: p. 158 (fol. 78), **A**, Chapter 1 of *Passio*, one profile in funnel-like leaf on terminal flourish facing downwards into text; p. 182 (fol. 92v), **D**, Chapter 7 of *Passio*, one three-quarter view head with blue hair in mouth of beast as terminal of letter.

HUMAN FIGURES: p. 77, **I**, Miracles, man standing inside frame of initial wearing a tunic with a beast biting his head and a serpent biting his ankle; p. 99, **A**, Miracles, man in tunic with a pointed hat, shield and sword battling a beast who bites his neck; p. 109, **N**, Miracles, two men in initial, upper man is naked with sword and fights a lion who attacks his shoulder, lower man in a tunic is seated on a serpent with his hand raised to his face; p. 158, **A**, Chapter

1 of *Passio*, man in armour on horseback with shield and raised sword fighting a beast; p. 193, **S**, Office, naked man in lower half of initial with sword fighting beast.

MS M.736 is most noted for its thirty-two full-page miniatures of the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund, painted in the style of the Alexis Master. Abou El Haj and Hahn have demonstrated that there were political motivations behind the production and illumination of the *libellus*. The thirty-nine initials of the *Passio* of Abbo of Fleury and the *Miracula* are decorated by a different artist than the miniatures; seven of the initials are historiated with scenes from the Passion and Miracles of St. Edmund. Another seven initials are decorated with kings. Six initials have inhabited figures engaged in struggle with animals. One initial is excised from the manuscript. Judging from its textual location, it may have contained an image of St. Edmund. Several initials in MS M.736 resemble those of the Bury Bible and the Bury Gospels and New Testament, two contemporary manuscripts from Bury St. Edmunds Abbey. These initials employ bright blue, red and green paint and have plump foliage forms, beast heads and human heads in petunia-like blossoms.

B. Abou El-Haj, 'Bury St. Edmunds Abbey Between 1070 and 1124: A History of Property, Privilege and Monastic Art Production', *Art History*, 6, 1983, pp. 1-29. K. R. Bateman, 'Pembroke 120 and Morgan 736: A Reexamination of the St. Albans Bury St. Edmunds Manuscript Dilemma', *Gesta*, 17/1, 1978, pp. 19-26; *St. Albans: Its Ivory and Manuscripts Workshops*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1989. Gameson (1999), no. 606. Martyr', *Gesta*, 30/2, 1991, pp. 119-39. F. Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi: The Garland of Saint Edmund King and Martyr*, London, 1907. T.A. Helsop, 'The Production and Artistry of the Bury Bible', *Bury St. Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20, 1998, pp. 172-85. Kauffmann, cat. no. 34, fig. 90. McLachlan (1986), pp. 75-119. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 80, pp. 25-26, figs. 77 & 78. *St. Albans Psalter*, p. 167. R. Thomson, 'The Date of the Bury Bible Reexamined', *Viator*, 6, 1975, pp. 51-58; 'Early Romanesque Book-Illumination in England: The Dates of the Pierpont Morgan Vitae Sancti Edmundi and the Bury Bible', *Viator*, 2, 1971, pp. 211-25. T. Webber, 'The Provision of Books for Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Bury St. Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20, 1998, pp. 186-93.

Oxford, Balliol College, MS 6

Augustine, *In evangelium Iohannis*
England, ca. 1125-50

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 76v, **L**, Tract 14, profile with purple hair and red tinting, attached to crossbar and facing text; fol. 195, **L**, Tract 46, profile with red tinting on terminal facing text; fol. 221, **P**, Tract 53, profile with red hair cupped in bud-like blossom inside foliage of bowl; fol. 233, **N**, Tract 60, three frontal heads attached to a stem inside foliage of letter; fol. 248v, **M**, Tract 73, two heads in rounded orange and red hoods inside foliage; fol. 251v, **P**, Tract 75, head with red hair looking from foliage into text; fol. 267, **S**, Tract 89, heads in rounded hoods, facing away from text opening; fol. 268v,

A, Tract 90, profile with red hair and beard in terminal looking away from text; fol. 295, G, Tract 105, profile in red blossom, looking toward the text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 126v, H, Tract 25, naked man clutching base of letter, leg wrapped in foliage of bowl, he looks up at a hybrid; fol. 229, N, Tract 57, man with bare chest in green trousers stands in right frame and looks into initial while grasping foliage and eating grapes; fol. 246v, A, Tract 71, man in yellow tunic with red hair and open mouth, holding a spear which he points into beast mouth; fol. 250, A, Tract 74, naked man with grey hair and beard caught in foliage while a red beast bites his back; fol. 268v, A, Tract 90, man in yellow gown holds a knife which he thrusts into beast; fol. 292, Q, Tract 103, man in blue gown as tail of letter, holding onto bowl; fol. 314v, Q, Tract 115, man with red hair in buff tunic as tail of letter.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 126v, H, Tract 25, bird with bearded human head inside foliage facing man; fol. 184, I, Tract 43, creature with legs and body of a dog and a human head with an open mouth and tongue faces rubrics.

R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford*, Oxford, 1963, p. 6. *Oxford Libraries*, cat. no. 37, fig. 37b.

Oxford, Balliol College, MS 218

Julianus Pomerius, *Prognosticon*

?West country, ca 1150

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 2, S, capitula, three profiles in foliage with open mouths, face downwards and towards text; fol. 4, S, Preface, five profiles in foliage, three of them face the text and have open mouths.

The profile heads in this manuscript, though in a small scale, resemble those of the Entangled Figures Master. They are set into folded leaves and spurred fronds like his work in the Auct Bible. The paint colours, pink, purple, green and yellow, are heavily faded. The text has been marked for reading aloud, and the margins contain many annotations and corrections. Several comic drawings in pencil fill the lower margins: a beast (fol. 19), two men with large heads and stick bodies pulling the others' nose on a string (fol. 83v), two profile heads with long noses and open mouths, facing left (fol. 85v-86).

R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford*, Oxford, 1963, p. 213. *Oxford Libraries*, cat. no. 49, fig. 49.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.4

Fig. 123

Glossed Psalter

West country, ca. 1140-50

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 1, B, Psalm 1, one profile in foliate blossoms inside letter, facing text; fol. 79v, D, Psalm 109, two profiles, one in foliage of bowl and one in upper terminal flourish facing text.

HUMAN FIGURE: fol. 1, **B**, Psalm 1, naked man with red hair entangled in foliage.

A manuscript decorated by the Entangled Figures Master before his work on the Auct Bible, MS Auct. D.2.4 was given to Winchester ca. 1200 by Geoffrey Coridon. Oakeshott thought that it might have been given with a Boethius, MS Auct F.6.5. A mark in the calendar beside the year 1168 has often been used to date the manuscript, but the decoration of the manuscript may be ten to twenty years younger. The chalky paint and gold frame of the initial on folio 1 recalls the Jonah, Daniel and Hosea initials of the Auct Bible (Figs. 130-132). The initials of MS Auct. D.2.4 are also closely related to the Entangled Figures Master's work in the Le Mans Pliny (Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 263).

L. M. Ayres, 'The Work of the Morgan Master at Winchester and English Painting of the Early Gothic Period', *The Art Bulletin*, 56, 1974, p. 209. T. A. Heslop, 'Books for Use and Beauty', review of *The Two Winchester Bibles* by W. Oakeshott, *Art History*, 5, 1982, pp. 124-28. Kauffmann, cat. no. 81, fig. 213. Oakeshott (1981), esp. pp. 100-102, 124-125 & 131-132, fig. 132; (1984), p. 230; 'St. Albans and Winchester Contributions to St. Hugh's Bible', *Manuscripts at Oxford: Exhibition in Memory of R. W. Hunt*, eds. A.C. de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield, Oxford, 1980, pp. 33-37. *Oxford Libraries*, cat. no. 129. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 86, p. 34.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D.2.15

Figs. 125 & 126

Gospels

Winchester, ca. 1150

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 26, **I**, Mark, one blue-bearded profile inside a pink leaf in the base terminal, facing away from text opening.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 2, **L**, Matthew, orange beast with long scrolling tail and claws, large neck and human head with dark hair and fleshy features, facing the text.

MS Auct. D.2.15 is often attributed to the Apocrypha Drawings Master, one of the artists of the Winchester Bible who also worked at St. Albans on a copy of the Comedies of Terence (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct F.2.13). The strongest comparison with the Apocrypha Drawings Master involves the historiated initials to Luke in this manuscript (fol. 42) and the Winchester Bible (Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 392). Further similarities may be found in their thick acanthus leaves with pink, orange and green paint and white highlights, as in the MS Auct. D.2.15 initials and the Ezra initial of the Apocrypha Drawings Master in the Winchester Bible (fol. 342). Larry Ayres has argued, however, that the Bodleian Gospels were illuminated by an artist working in the St. Albans milieu and that the manuscript should be dated to the 1160s and 1170s.

L. M. Ayres, 'The Role of an Angevin Style in English Romanesque Painting', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 37, 1974, pp. 217-21, figs. 37 & 38. *Bodleian Library*, cat. no. 131, fig. 131a. Kauffmann, cat. no. 80, fig. 214. Oakeshott (1981),

pp. 131-32. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 91, pp. 35-36, fig. 131. *St. Albans Psalter*, p. 200 & pl. 72b.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1

Figs. 127-140

Auct Bible

?West country, ca. 1150-60

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 66, **L**, Numbers, one profile in foliate shaft of letter, facing a lion which forms the crossbar; fol. 104, **P**, capitula to Joshua, one profile in foliage of bowl opposite a dog head; fol. 192v, **V**, Isaiah, one profile in frame of letter facing a bird head; fol. 214v, **E**, Jonah, seven profiles in foliage of letter and one tonsured profile on crossbar facing text; fol. 264v, **A**, Daniel, one blue bearded head in lower terminal facing text and one profile inside foliage of letter; fol. 274v, **V**, Hosea, one profile inside letter facing text; fol. 278v, **V**, Amos, two profiles face down in foliage with open mouths confronting two dog heads, the head of a king and a speaking man in roundels on frame; fol. 282v, **V**, Micah, two bearded profiles in foliage of terminals facing outwards; fol. 288, **I**, Zechariah, two profiles in a foliate 'capital' of upper terminal, left head with a gold leaf in his mouth; fol. 292v, **S**, preface to the books of Job, one profile inside letter facing away from text; fol. 292v, **H**, Old Latin translation of Job, two profiles in frame of letter, one with beast ear and the other facing upwards with blue hair and pointing finger; fol. 303, **C** preface to Job, two profiles in terminals facing text; fol. 303v, **D**, capitula to Job, three profiles, one in terminal facing upwards and two in bowl facing each other; fol. 304, **V**, Vulgate translation of Job, one profile facing upwards in terminal, one bearded head held in paws of dragon at bottom of initial facing text.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 6v, **I**, Genesis, elongated man in an orange tunic as caryatid forming the shaft of the letter, holding a roundel with Christ and standing on a church; fol. 214, **I**, preface to Jeremiah, naked man entangled in foliage at top of letter, facing text opening; fol. 214v, **V**, Jeremiah, man in pink gown caught in foliage of upper terminal, pointing to the text; fol. 264v, **A**, Daniel, man in orange tunic holding an axe and a spear, striding through foliage and looking up at profile head and two fighting dragons; fol. 281, **V**, Obadiah, man in orange tunic with an open mouth, caught in foliage scrolls with serpent biting his ankle; he turns to look behind him; fol. 304, **V**, Vulgate translation of Job, naked man with red hair caught in foliage reaches to grasp feathered crown of human-headed dragon.

HUMAN HYBRID: fol. 304, **V**, Vulgate translation of Job, serpentine beast with human head, green beard, pointed animal ears and a feathered crown.

There remains no satisfactory provenance for the Auct Bible; it was in Winchester in the 1170s and at Witham in the 1180s. It was probably begun outside Winchester since its texts had to be corrected to the Winchester use. The main artists of *infra 1* are the Entangled Figures Master and the Brilliant Pupil, two itinerant and professional artists whose work may be seen in west country manuscripts. Oakeshott argued that the Bible was begun at St. Albans Abbey due to connections with

Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 73 and the Simon Master's interest in unusual texts. The Bible shares textual oddities with a Bible associated with Taunton (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.823) and decorated by the Brilliant Pupil. MS M.823 in turn has textual similarities with a Bible closely linked to Abbot Simon (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48). Oakeshott noted a ring given by Henry of Blois to St. Albans Abbey as evidence of a connection and possible exchange between the two communities. The opening initial of MS Garrett 73 resembles the work of the Entangled Figures Master and has been cited as evidence of his work there. As the Princeton initial is significantly earlier than the Auct Bible, it may indicate that the Entangled Figures Master received his training at St. Albans but worked elsewhere.

L.M. Ayres, 'The Work of the Morgan Master at Winchester and English Painting of the Early Gothic Period', *The Art Bulletin*, 56/2, 1974, pp. 207-23. Cahn, cat. no. 35. T. A. Heslop, 'Books for Use and Beauty', review of *The Two Winchester Bibles* by W. Oakeshott, *Art History*, 5, 1982, pp. 124-28; *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain*, ed. B. Ford, vol. 2, *The Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 161-62. Kauffmann, cat. no. 82, figs. 225-226 & 228. Oakeshott (1981), esp. pp. 99-112, fig. 134a, 178, colour plates X & XI; (1984), p. 230; 'The Origin of the Auct Bible', *Bodleian Library Record*, 11/6, 1988, pp. 401-406; 'St. Albans and Winchester Contributions to St. Hugh's Bible', *Manuscripts at Oxford: Exhibition in Memory of R. W. Hunt*, eds. A.C. de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield, Oxford, 1980, pp. 33-37. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 83, pp. 33-35, fig. 121.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.6.5

Fig. 124

Boethius *de Consolatione Philosophiae*

West country, ca. 1130-40

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 7v, C, Book 1, profile in funnel-like leaf in frame of letter, facing away from text and the figure of Boethius.

Bodleian Library, cat. no. 103. M. A. Farley and F. Wormald, 'Three Related English Romanesque Manuscripts', *The Art Bulletin*, 22, 1940, pp. 157-61. Kauffmann, cat. no. 49, figs. 137 & 138. Oakeshott (1981), pp. 124-25; 'St. Albans and Winchester Contributions to St. Hugh's Bible', *Manuscripts at Oxford: Exhibition in Memory of R. W. Hunt*, eds. A.C. de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield, Oxford, 1980, pp. 33-37. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 87, p. 34.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 26

Glossed Pauline Epistles

England, ca. 1150-75

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 5, P, Romans, one bearded profile with a Phrygian cap disgorging the bowl of letter while Paul stands in the shaft below, offering a book to the head.

Bodleian Library, cat. no 187, fig. 187.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 86

Ambrose, *Hexameron*

?Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 1, **T**, Book 1, one profile in terminal flourish looking into bowl of letter at scene of Ambrose writing.

The human head in the terminal of the initial on folio 1 recalls several profile heads in the Bury Gospels and New Testament with their short striped hair and rounded noses. Likewise, the biting beasts of the crossbar of the letter **T** are related to beasts in the initials of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 736, another manuscript whose initials are considered to reflect Bury St. Edmunds work. The minor initial on folio 37v has the suggestion of a 'cream horn' motif, an arabesque form that appears in Bury initials. It is possible that MS Bodley 86 is the copy of Ambrose's *Hexameron* (no. 206) listed in the late twelfth-century library catalogue from Bury St. Edmunds. Ker lists MS Bodley 86 as belonging to Windsor in the sixteenth century, but he notes that it may have belonged earlier to a monastic house.

Bodleian Library, cat. no. 113, fig. 113. *English Benedictine Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, vol. 4, ed. R. Sharpe et al, London, 1996, B.13.206. McLachlan (1986), p. 50. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. N. R. Ker, London, 1964, pp. 202-203.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a

Figs. 156-164

Augustine, *Enarrationes en Psalmos 101-150*

Yorkshire, ca. 1150-75

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 70v, **M**, commentary on Psalm 118, two profiles with yellow hair and red faces, both look towards left text column; fol. 72v, **P**, commentary on Psalm 118 iii, profile attached to upper shaft, looking away from text opening; fol. 79, **I**, commentary on Psalm 118 xi, profile in brown ink attached to lower shaft and looks into left text column with serpent below; fol. 102, **B**, commentary on Psalm 119, profile with blonde hair in foliage of upper bowl looking up at margin; fol. 132, **P**, commentary on Psalm 128, two profiles in base flourish extending into lower margin looking up at text; fol. 137, **I**, commentary on Psalm 130, profile head at top of shaft looking left and frontal face with beard at bottom of shaft; fol. 160v, **T**, commentary on Psalm 137, two profiles attached to shaft, looking left, lower with brown hat and open mouth; fol. 170v, **I**, commentary on Psalm 139, one profile in green bud with open mouth on upper terminal facing away from text; fol. 174v, **A**, commentary on Psalm 140, one profile in centre of foliage with balled fruit in his mouth looking upwards.

An offset on one of the boards of MS Bodley 270a suggests that a fifteenth-century deed of the church of St. Mary of Whitkirk was once in the binding. A parish church in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Whitkirk appeared in the Domesday Book and was associated with the Knights Templar at Temple Newsam in the thirteenth century. The presence of a clove-curl motif in one of the initials (fol. 174v) suggests that MS

Bodley 270a is a Yorkshire manuscript influenced by Durham decoration, but it is difficult to determine to which house it belonged.

Bodleian Library, cat. no. 172, fig. 172. N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1960, p. 41. A. Lawrence, 'The Artistic Influence of Durham Manuscripts', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, Woodbridge, 1994, pp. 451-69. F. Madan, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Oxford, 1922, vol. II, part I, cat. no. 1937. *The Victoria Histories of the Counties of England*, ed. W. Page, York, vol. 2, 1912, p. 245 & vol. 3, 1913, pp. 259-62.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 271

Fig. 22

Anselm, *Works*

Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1120-30

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 50, **I**, *de Casu Diaboli*, one blue bearded frontal head in beast mouth at top of initial, one profile with open mouth in foliate tail of the beast, facing downwards.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 36, **T**, preface to *de Veritate*, man in green tunic with blue hair and beard stands on a yellow dog and holds a green and red beast on his shoulders, his hand on his hip; fol. 127v, **D**, *de Concordia*, boy in yellow tunic with blue hair rides a bird that bites his face.

Bodleian Library, cat. no. 86, fig. 86b. Dodwell (1954), pp. 22, 39, 41 & 73, pls. 26c & 31b. Gameson (1999), no. 653. T.A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus' and Painting in Kent around 1120', *Burlington Magazine*, 126, 1984, p. 200. Kauffmann, cat. no. 42, figs. 119-20.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 422

Origen, *Homilies*

England, ca. 1125-50

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 1, **I**, Homily 1, one frontal head with curling hair attached to right terminal, facing the text.

Bodleian Library, cat. no. 110.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 752

Fig. 109

Ambrose, *de Fide*

St. Albans Abbey, ca. 1125-50

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 30v, **Q**, Book 3, two profiles flanking a large frontal head in foliage of bowl; fol. 65v, **Q**, Book 5, two frontal heads in bracket-like leaves within bowl.

Gameson (1999), no. 687. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 44, pp. 23-24, figs. 35-36, 45-47 & 92. *St. Albans Psalter*, p. 168.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 368

Fig. 120

Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*
Winchcombe Abbey, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 80, **D**, Life of St. Kenelm, one rounded profile with red tinting hanging from leaf outside the frame, looking into text.

Bodleian Library, cat. no. 104. Heimann (1965), pp. 86-109, pl. 18c.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 12

Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*
Selby, ca. 1110-30

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 4, **G**, Book 1, one bearded profile with curling tongue on upper terminal facing text.

Bodleian Library, cat. no. 73. Gameson (1999), no. 723.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 742

Leges Longobardorum
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, ca. 1150

HUMAN HEAD: p. 32, **I**, Laws concerning homicide, one red outlined profile with flaming buff-coloured hair and a serpent in his mouth, on lower terminal facing text.

McLachlan (1986), p. 263

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Q.b.5

Figs. 74-76

Bible (Vol. I: Genesis to II Chronicles)
?Leominster Priory, ca. 1140-50

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 4, **I**, Genesis, four frontal heads with beards in the shaft; fol. 48v, **L**, Numbers, three frontal heads in compartments inside shaft: a Christ-like figure, a woman and a man; fol. 86, **P**, Judges, three frontal heads hanging from leaves in centre of bowl; fol. 170, **O**, Ecclesiasticus, two profiles addorsed within bowl and looking outwards; fol. 187v, **A**, I Chronicles, one three-quarter view bearded head on upright facing text above initial.

HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 86, **P**, Judges, woman with long hair in buff gown holding a sword and a shield while standing in foliate scroll at the top of the initial fighting a basilisk-like dragon; fol. 112, **F**, II Samuel, two women in buff tunics with knives cutting leaves.

Pächt and Alexander suggested that MS Rawl. Q.b.5 might be from Worcester since leaves in its sixteenth-century binding are related to others in a Worcester Cathedral manuscript. Due to the appearance of several west country artists in the initials of MS Rawl. Q.b.5, Worcester is a plausible origin. However, the manuscript may be attributed to another west country house, Leominster Priory Church. A cell of Reading Abbey from its 1121-23 endowment on Reading by King Henry I, Leominster was administered from Reading as a monastic grange or a daughter house. Thus, it is not surprising to see a Reading artist at work in this Bible. His work in the I Chronicles initial and in the Leominster Passional parallels that in the Reading *Josephus* (Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 4). The other artists of the Leominster Bible are associated with west country manuscripts, suggesting that the manuscript was produced at or near Leominster. The unusual medallion heads of the Genesis initial (fol. 4) have strong colouring and triangular marks on their cheeks and are the work of the artist of Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P.4.3, a glossed Minor Prophets from Hereford. An artist working in a style similar to that of the Entangled Figures Master and a west country Boethius (Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.6.6) appears in other initials of the Bible. The II Samuel initial of the Bible (fol. 112) depicts two women cutting leaves, a harvesting scene related to the Labour for the month of September. A capital on the western portal of Leominster Priory Church also has harvesting figures cutting foliage with knives, and the Leominster Passional initials are decorated with other Labours of the Months scenes. Hillaby has suggested that the Priory Church had a series of capitals depicting the Labours of the Month in the early twelfth century.

Bodleian Library, cat. no. 179. Cahn, cat. no. 37. *Hereford*, pp. 90-91 for Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P.4.3. J. Hillaby, *The Sculpted Capitals of Leominster Priory*, Leominster, 1993. B.R. Kemp, 'The monastic dean at Leominster', *English Historical Review*, 83, 1968, pp. 505-15.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 31

Hilary, *de Trinitate*

?Abbey of St. Saviour, Faversham, ca. 1150-1175

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 1, C, Book 1, two bearded profiles in cowl-like terminals facing text.

Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books, ed. N. R. Ker, 2nd ed., London, 1964 p. 87. *Oxford Libraries*, cat. no. 75.

Oxford, St. John's College, MS 20

Haimo of Halberstadt, *Commentarium in Isaiam*

Priory of St. Andrew, Northampton, ca. 1140

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 1, V, Book 1, one profile in terminal looking at Isaiah.

Oxford Libraries, cat. no. 24.

Oxford, University College, MS 87

Augustine, *Contra Faustum*

England, ca. 1120-40

HUMAN HEAD: fol. 1, **F**, Book 1, one profile with feathered headdress attached to crossbar, facing text.

Oxford Libraries, cat. no. 12.

Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 73

Fig. 110

Haimo of Halberstadt, *Commentarium in Isaiam*

St. Albans Abbey, ca. 1120-30

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 1, **Y**, prologue, two profiles in foliate flourish at top of initial, facing a winged beast that disgorges foliate stem of initial.

Two artists completed the decoration of MS Garrett 73; a follower of the Alexis Master is responsible for the initials to Books One and Two. The opening initial to Haimo's prologue, in another hand with a crisper outline and washes of green and blue, is frequently compared to the Numbers initial of the Auct Bible (Fig. 127). The Princeton initial may represent an early stage in the career of the Entangled Figures Master.

L.M. Ayres, 'The Role of an Angevin Style in English Romanesque Painting', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 37, 1974, pp. 215-16. *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. D. Miner, Baltimore Museum of Art and the Walters Art Gallery, exhibition catalogue, Baltimore, 1949, cat. no. 20. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 65, pp. 23-25, 33-35 & 49, figs. 59-60 & 120. *St. Albans Psalter*, pp. 168-69. Oakeshott (1981), pp. 124-25.

Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17

Figs. 141-155

Winchester Bible

St. Swithun's, Winchester, ca. 1160-1180

HUMAN HEADS: fol. 69, **E**, Joshua, one flesh-coloured tonsured profile on crossbar and two blue bearded profiles on upper and lower terminals, all three look towards the rubrics; fol. 88, **F**, I Samuel, one blue three-quarter view head with red hat in base terminal with a blue finger pointing towards text; fol. 120v, **P**, II Kings, one red bearded profile in upper terminal with grey spirals about face, looking away from text and two profiles in base terminal, one blue and one flesh coloured, both looking towards text; fol. 148, **V**, Jeremiah, one bearded profile with green leaf hat and open mouth on upper terminal facing text opening, fol. 197v, **N**, prologue to Minor Prophets, one blue profile looking down on a scene of a blue man being pulled between a beast and a rescuer; fol. 200v, **V**, Joel, one bald profile in terminal flourish above prophet; fol. 209v, **S**, prologue to Haggai, two bearded three-quarter view heads on upper and lower terminals tormented by men with spears: upper face is red, lower face is blue with a tonsure; fol. 210v, **Z**, prologue to Zechariah, one bearded and tonsured blue profile in terminal facing away from text opening; fol. 268, **V**, Ecclesiastes, one bearded three-quarter view head attached to

upper terminal above the seated Ecclesiastes; fol. 373v, **L**, Matthew, one profile in foliage of crossbar, facing a bear; fol. 392, **Q**, Luke, one profile in tail of the letter, facing downwards; fol. 407, **I**, John, one bearded three-quarter view face attached to base terminal, looking away from text; fol. 427v, **P**, I Peter, one profile in foliate flourish at base of initial facing into text; fol. 434, **S**, II John, two bearded three-quarter view heads on terminals and two profiles in foliage of letter; fol. 434, **S**, III John, one profile in upper terminal of letter looking at II John initial; fol. 456v, **P**, I Timothy, one bearded three-quarter view head in flourish at base terminal, looking away from text.

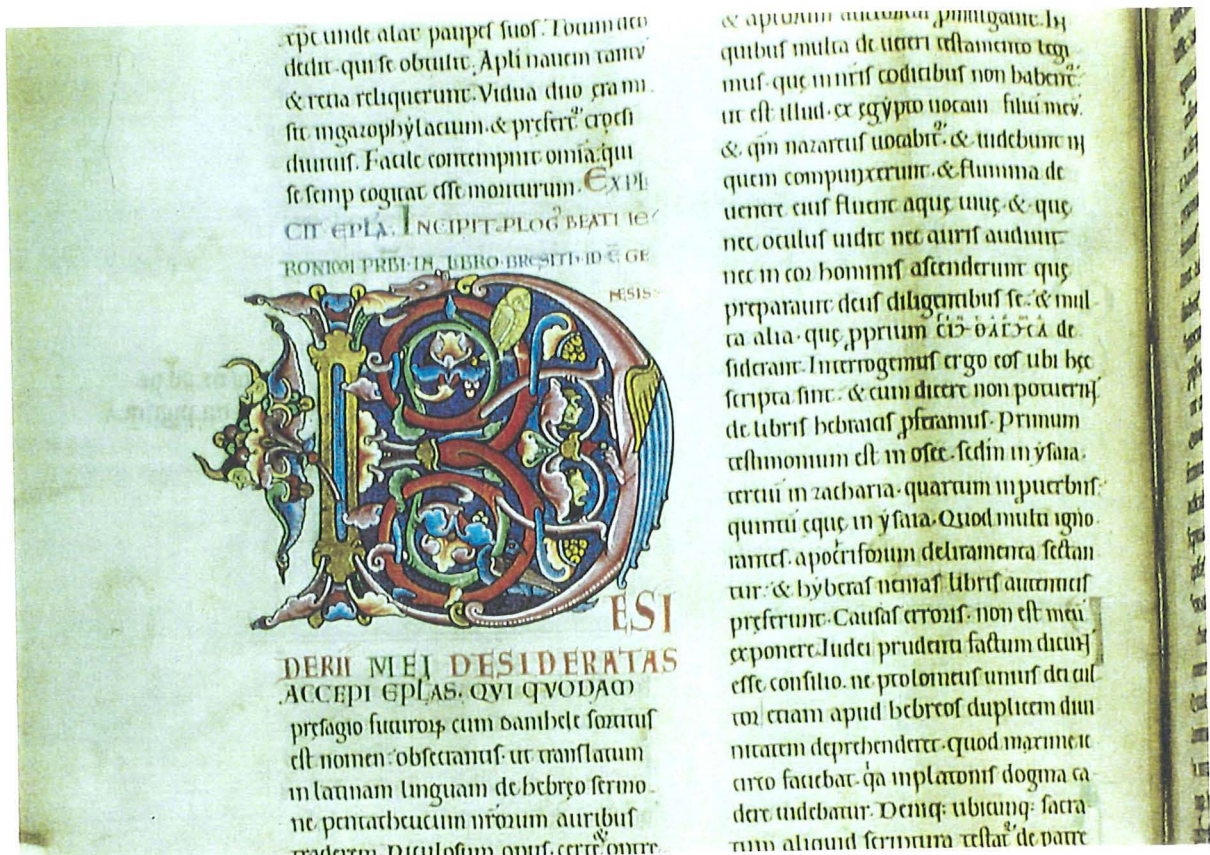
HUMAN FIGURES: fol. 193, **B**, Daniel, chapter 5, two men in tunics cling to left frame of letter to escape biting beasts in the bowls of the letter; fol. 197v, **N**, prologue to Minor Prophets, three men in centre of initial, one in blue fur sits in foliage with hand behind his head and looks into the centre of the initial where a blue-skinned man in a pink gown is pulled sideways between a blue dragon which bites his head and a man in a green tunic with a hood who pulls his leg; fol. 209v, **S**, prologue to Haggai, two red and two blue skinned naked men point to each other and to the bearded heads on the terminals, one man has a hat and a spear; fol. 342, **I**, Ezra, four naked men with dark hair, two with a sword and an axe and two with fingers pointing to upper men and text, all caught in foliage frame of letter; fol. 373, **L**, Matthew, half-length man wearing a peaked cap emerges from a foliate leaf and grabs a foliate stem; fol. 435, **P**, prologue to Pauline Epistles, man in uncoloured gown caught in foliage of bowl, looks away from text; fol. 459, **P**, Philemon, man in uncoloured gown with curly hair caught in foliage of bowl, looks towards text.

HUMAN HYBRIDS: fol. 197v, **N**, prologue to Minor Prophets, a blue centaur with a pink beast body holds a bossed shield and a lance with pennon in lower left shaft and looks towards a tormented blue man in centre; fol. 373, **L**, Matthew, a large manticore with an open mouth and a scrolling tail wears a peaked cap.

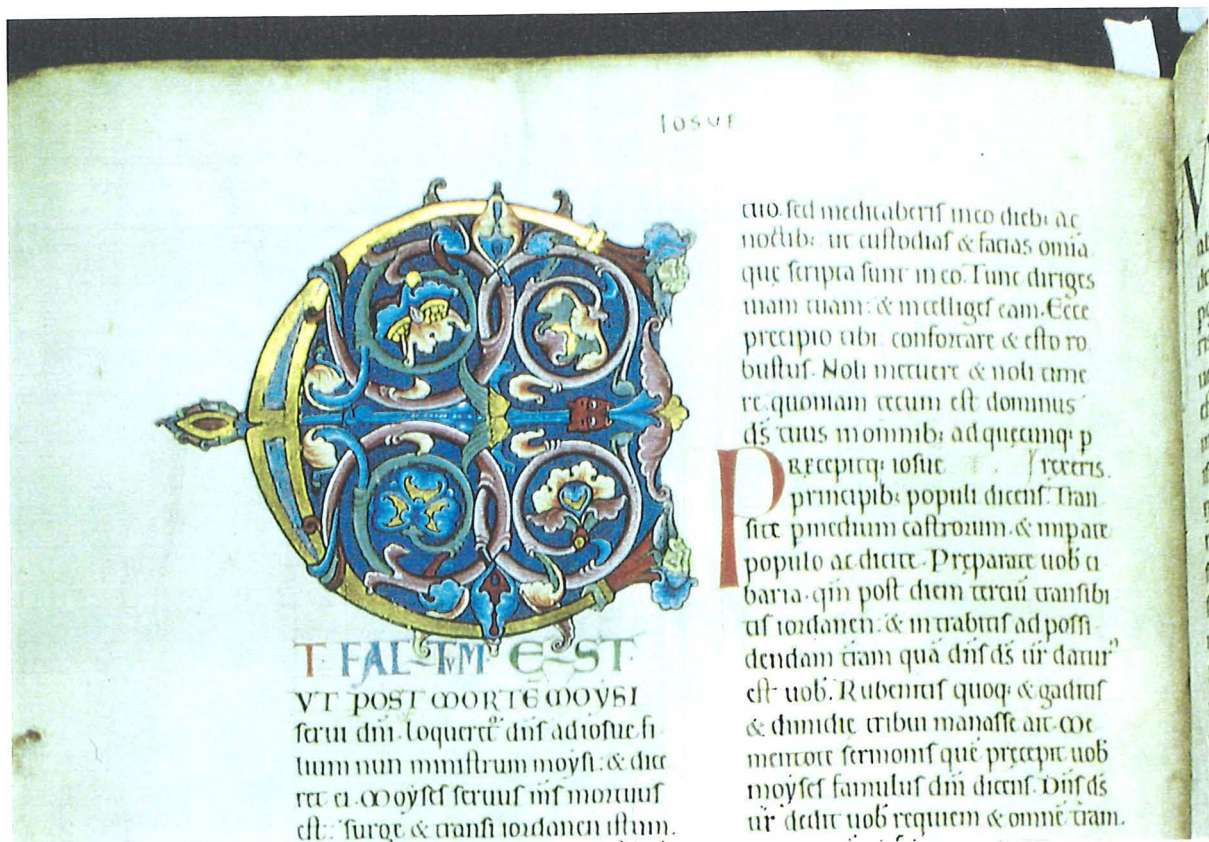
L. M. Ayres, 'Collaborative Enterprise in Romanesque Manuscript Illumination and the Artists of the Winchester Bible', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 6, 1983, pp. 20-27; 'The Role of an Angevin Style in English Romanesque Painting', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 37, 1974, pp. 193-223; 'The Work of the Morgan Master at Winchester and English Painting of the Early Gothic Period', *The Art Bulletin*, 56/2, 1974, pp. 207-23. R.G. Calkins, 'Pictorial Emphases in Early Biblical Manuscripts', *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. B.S. Levy, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 89, Binghamton (NY), 1992, pp. 77-102. Donovan (1993). T. A. Heslop, 'Books for Use and Beauty', review of *The Two Winchester Bibles* by W. Oakeshott, *Art History*, 5, 1982, pp. 124-28. Kauffmann, cat. no. 83, figs. 229-239 and text figs. 26, 34 & 38. Oakeshott, (1981), figs. 39, 55, 114, 115a, 119, 127 a & c, 147 and colour plate VIII; 'The Origin of the Auct Bible', *Bodleian Library Record*, 11/6, 1988, pp. 401-406; 'St. Albans and Winchester Contributions to St. Hugh's Bible', *Manuscripts at Oxford: Exhibition in Memory of R. W. Hunt*, eds. A.C. de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield, Oxford, 1980, pp. 33-37. *St. Albans*, cat. no. 89, pp. 33-36 & 61, figs. 128-129 & 226.



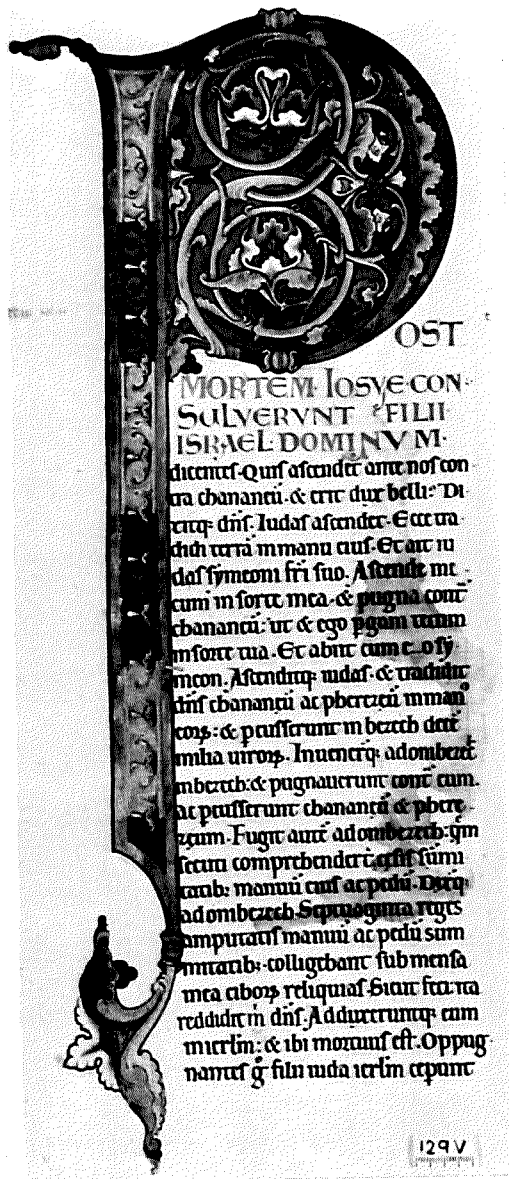
1. Initial to *Frater Ambrosius* preface, Bury Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 1v.



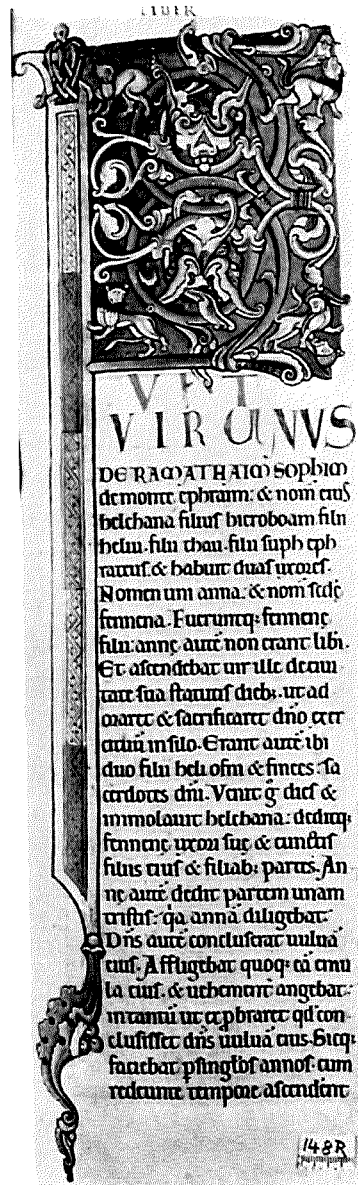
2. Initial to *Desiderii mei* preface, Bury Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 5v.



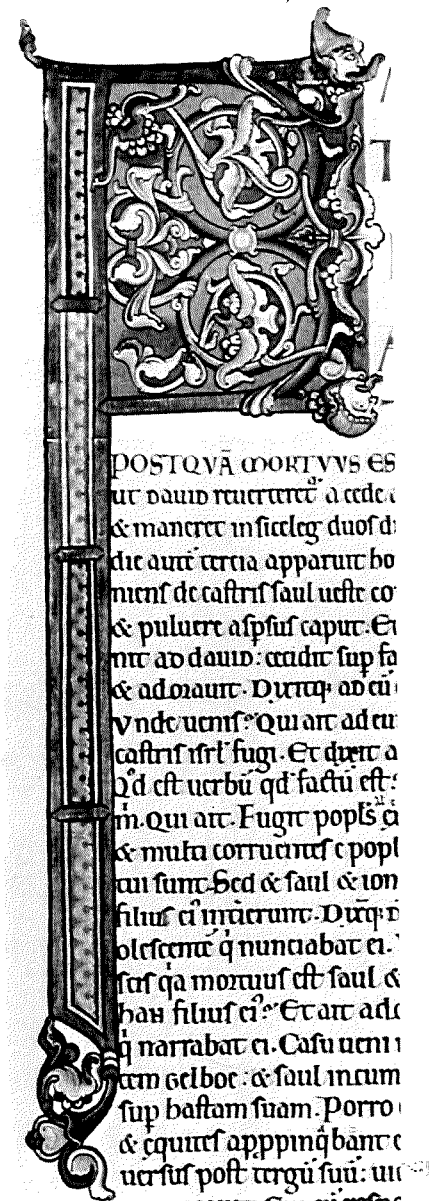
3. Initial to Joshua, Bury Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 115v.



4. Initial to Judges, Bury Bible.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College,
MS 2, fol. 129v.



5. Initial to I Samuel, Bury Bible.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College,
MS 2, fol. 148r.



6. Initial to II Samuel, Bury Bible.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College,
MS 2, fol. 167v.



7. Initial to I Kings, Bury Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 183.



8. Initial to II Kings, Bury Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 201v.



9. Initial to Baruch, Bury Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 275.



10. Initial to Jonah, Bury Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 327v.



11. Initial to opening of Abbo's *Passio*, Life and Miracles of St. Edmund. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.736, fol. 78.



12. Initial to Chapter 7 of Abbo's *Passio*, Life and Miracles of St. Edmund. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.736, fol. 92v.

SCD

ARCVS
 euanglista
 dei electus
 & pater in
 baptisate
 filius. atq; in
 diuino sermone discipulis. sacerdoti-
 um in israel agent. secundum carnem leuita.
 conuersus ad fidem christi euangelium
 in italia scripsit: ostendens in eo quid &
 generi suo deberet & christo. Nam in
 initium principii in uoce prophete excla-
 mationis instituent. ordinem leuita
 & electionis ostendit: ut predicans io-
 hannem predestinatum filium za-
 charie in uoce angeli annuntians
 emissum. non solum uerbum carne
 factum. sed & corpus domini per uerbum
 diuine uocis animatum. initio eu-
 angelice predicationis ostendit: ut
 qui hoc legent sciunt cui initium car-

13. Initial to prologue to Mark, Bury Gospels. Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 120, fol. 31v.

Explicit uerba capitulo;
Incipit liber actuum
 apostolorum
 quidem
 sermone
 factus de
 o the-
 ophile. qui ce-
 pit ibi facere & docere: usque in
 diem qua precipiens apostolis per spiritum
 sanctum quos elegit assumptus. Qui-
 bus & prebuit scriptum unum
 passionem suam in multis ar-
 gumentis per dies quadraginta
 apparet eis: & loquens de reg-
 no dei. Et conuersens precepit
 eis ab ierosolymis ne discederent:
 sed expectarent promissionem patris

14. Initial to Acts, Bury Gospels. Cambridge, Pembroke College. MS 120. fol. 88.



17. Initial to prologue, Ambrose on Luke. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.9, fol. 4.

fuit steril & post
 itate letata. cui
 st anna qd gra
 ipsa religione
 postremo dei
 at. qua nobis
 a qd: eccliam q
 nunc fecunda
 letat. Sunt eni
 numerabilia. qb'
 iste spualibus
 t. & allegoricis
 bz pollet. De qb'
 describem' in
 a q' egreuer' in
 im posterum.
 s pauca suffici

qua pri' erit iudicium deinde se
 que' sempiternu' impiu'. At eni
 sacra descriptio.



VIT VIR
 unus de ra
 mathan
 sophim de
 monte effu
 im. & no
 men ei hel
 chana. fili
 ieroam. filii helui. filii
 tau. filii suph ephraim.
Quia eni in plego
 uena. immo in yfago
 re polliciti sum. pri'
 fundamenta hystorie

18. Initial to Chapter 1, Commentary on I Samuel, Angelomus of Luxeuil. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.13, fol. 4v.

uifortis
 mundi
 onuertit.
 xentia re
 quia suu
 quama
 re claud
 nu mun
 iersus in
 l p'dican
 ra corda

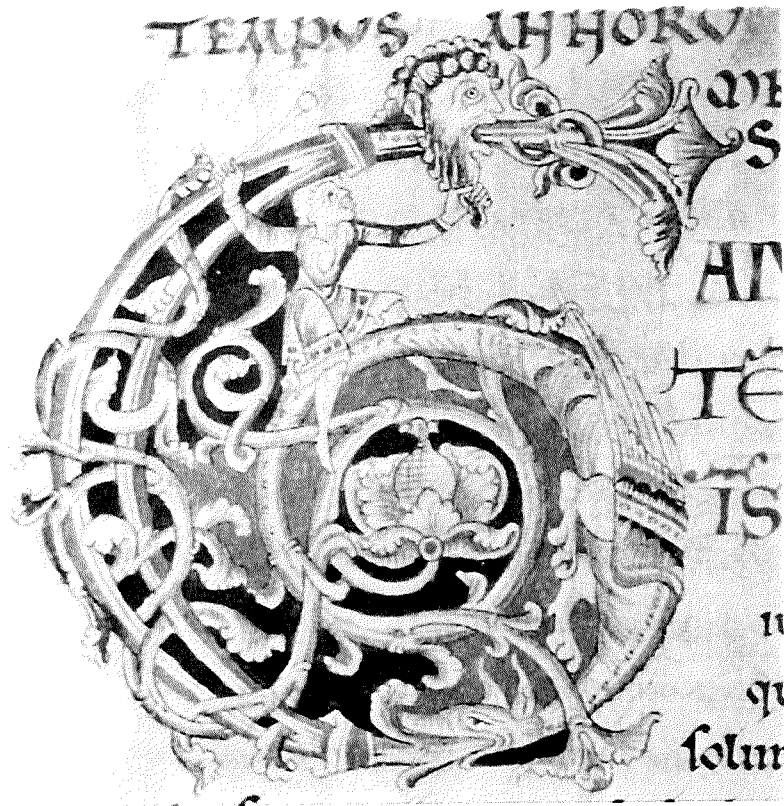
& relicto dec
 consulebat. i
 tur. Sequit
 Post me
 gregati
 tra isrl. consi
 n' respondit
 sacerdotes. I
 p doctrina n
 debat dñs p
 brei asserunt

19. Initial to Chapter 29, Commentary on I Samuel, Angelomus of Luxeuil. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.13, fol. 52.

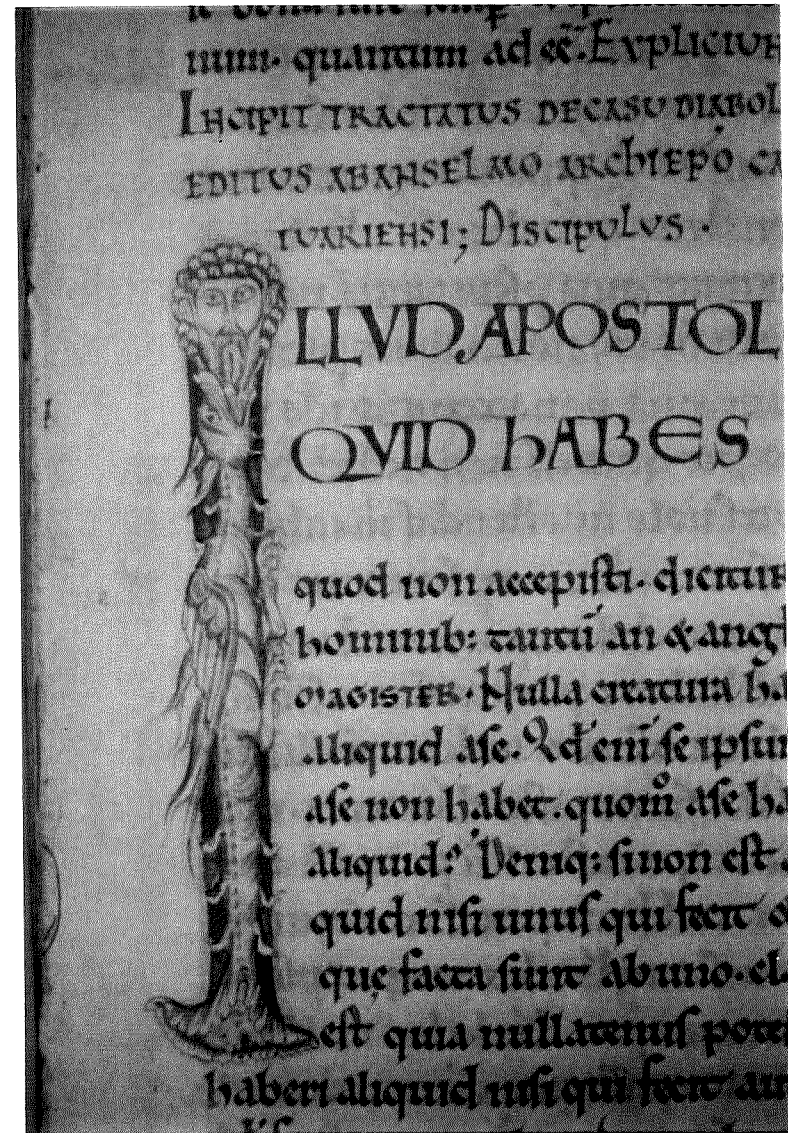
pater mi iponte. & ponte eni ma
 pater ei saul male agendo adqui
 siuit. ut taliter una cu' filiis pime
 retur. **Explicit LIB' p' a. Incip. II.**

ERV
 quonia
 fauente
 diuina
 gra qua
 qua for
 tassis in
 docte. pri
 mu' librum
 hui' historie
 digessim'. & quasi unione' spualis
 intelligentie quoda' modo in con
 culis maris hui' uidelicet uolumi
 nis lactante' uelut alta uel...

20. Initial to prologue to Commentary on II Samuel, Angelomus of Luxeuil. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.13, fol. 54v.



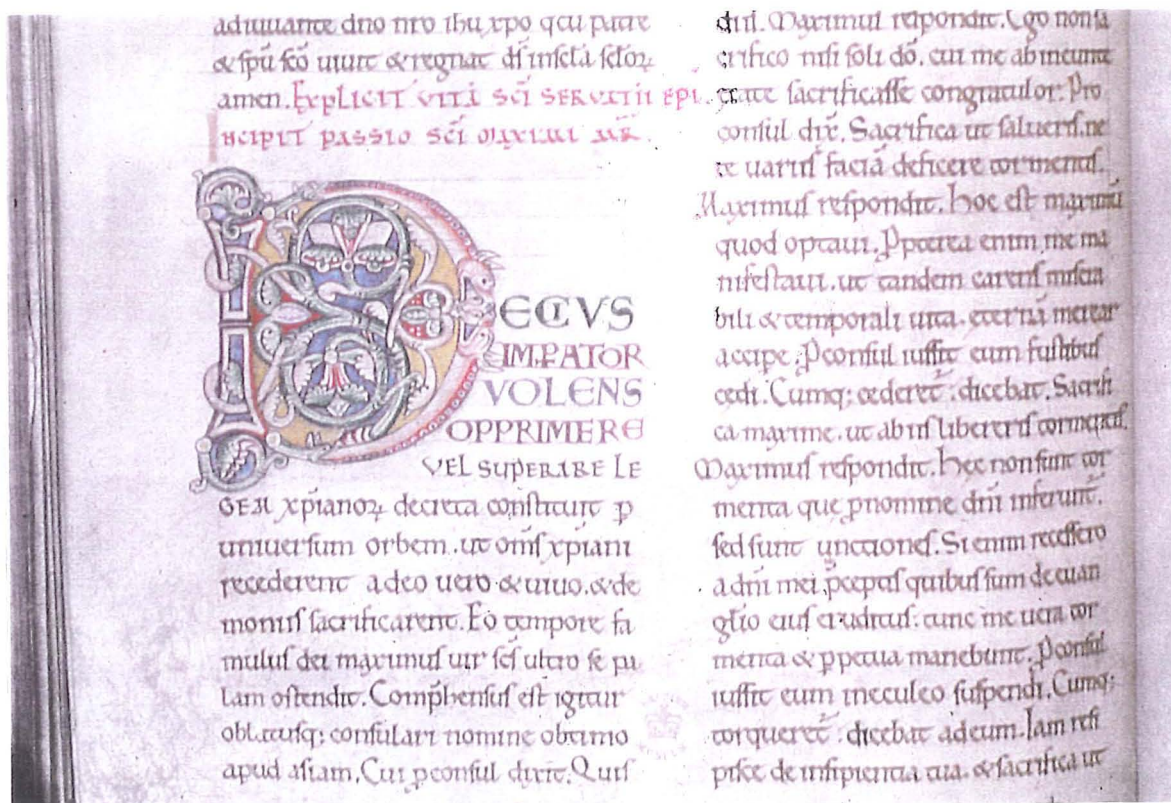
21. Initial to Book 19, Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*.
Cambridge, St John's College, MS A.8, fol. 76v.



22. Initial to *De Casu Diaboli*, Anselm. Oxford,
Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 271, fol. 50.



23. Initial to Life of St. Ambrose, Christ Church
Passional. London, British Library, MS Harley 624,
fol. 93v.



24. Initial to Passion of St. Maximus, Christ Church
Passional. London, British Library, MS Harley 624,
fol. 114v.

CXXXVIII. Oratio iesu filii sirach.
 CXXXIX. Oratio salomonis.
 Explicunt capitula. Incipit liber iesu filii sirach.




MINIS
 SAP
 ENTIA
 A DHO DO
 EST. Et
 cum illo
 fuit semp.
 ET EST ANTE
 EYVA.

Arenam maris & plu-
 uie guttas. & dies sc̄i quis dimenerant.
 Altitudinem celi & latitudinem terrę. & p-
 fundum abyssi. quis mensus est. Sapi-
 entiam di p̄cedentem omnia. q̄s inuestiga-
 uit. Prior om̄iu creat̄a est sapientia.
 & intellectus prudentię ab euo. Fons sa-
 pientię uerbum dei in excessit. & ingress̄
 illi mandata eterna. Radix sapientię cu
 reuelata est. Astutias illi q̄s agnouit.
 Disciplina sapientię cu reuelata est &
 manifestata. & multiplicatiōe m̄

29. Initial to Ecclesiasticus, Dover Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 4, fol. 66v.

Sec̄m MARCVS

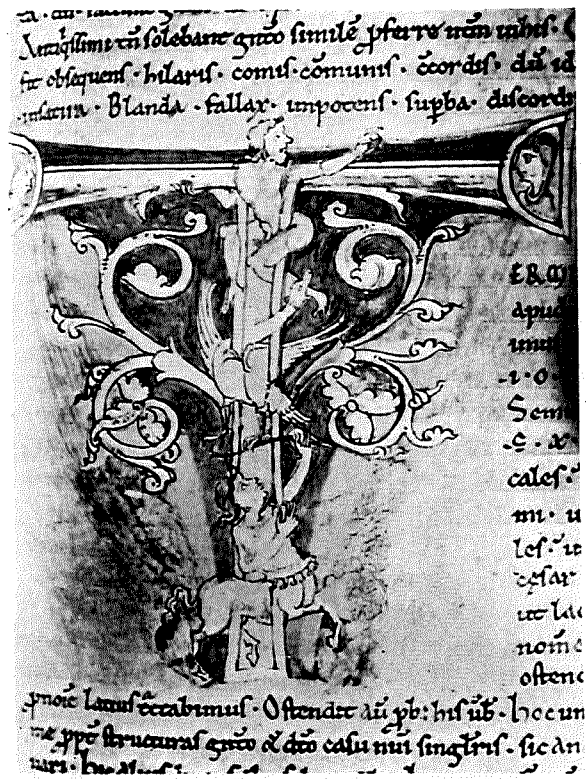


INCIPIT EVAN
 GLIUM SCD̄M MARCV
 NIIVS SCD̄I
 EVANGELII IESV
 XPI FILII DEI.

Sicut scriptum est
 in saia p̄pha. ecce
 mitto anḡm meū
 ante facie tuā. qui p̄parabit
 uiam tuam: uox clamantis
 in deserto. parate uiam d̄m.
 rectas facite semitas ei. fuit
 iohannes in deserto baptizans.
 & predicans baptismū pe-
 nitentię. in remissionem pec-
 catorū. Et egredietur ad il-
 lū omnis iudeę regio. & ie-
 rosolimitę. uinuerſū. & bap-
 tizabunt ab illo in iordane confite-
 tes peccata sua. Et erat ioh̄s uestit̄ pi-
 lis camelis. & zona pellicia circa lumbos
 ei. & locustas & mel siluestre edebat &
 b̄dicabat dicens. Venite forte me p̄-
 ſe. curus non sum dign̄ p̄cibens solue-
 re corrigiam calcamentorū ei. Ego
 baptizo uos in aqua. ille ū baptizabit uos
 in sp̄u sc̄o.

Et factū est
 in diebus illis uenit ih̄s a nazareth galilee.

30. Initial to Mark, Dover Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 4, fol. 183.



31. Initial to Book 7, Priscian, *Grammaticae*.
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.51, fol. 46.



32. Initial to Book 21, Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.
Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS
Plut. XII.17, fol. 199v.



TERAM
BRO
SIVS

tua mehi munuscula pferens deaurat
& suauissimas litteras: que in pueri
pio allocutionis fidem pbare iam
tunc ueteris amicitie pferrebant.
Vera enim illa necessitudo est & epi
glimo copulata: qua non utilitas
rei familiaris non presentia tantu
corpore non subdola & palpani ad
ulatio: sed dei timor & diuinarum
scripturarū studia conciliant. Legi
mus in ueterib; hystoriis quosdam
lustrasse puincia. nouos ad. iste po
pulos. aaria transisse: ut eos quos
ex libris nouerant coram quoq; uide
rent. sic pythagoras memphinos
uacat: sic plato egyptū. & architam
tarentinum. eandemq; oram italie.
que q̄dam agriciis interrogata dicebat
laboriosissime pagrauit: ut q̄ archem
magister erat & potens. cuiusq; dof.
trinam academię gymnasia psona
bant. hieet pegrinus atq; discipuls:
malens aliena uerecunde disere. qua
sua impudenter ingerere. Deniq; dū
litteras quasi toto fugiens orbe psequi
tur. captus apyratis & uenundatus.
etiam tyranno crudelissimo pariter
captiuus. unctus & seruus: tamen
quia phylotophus maior euenire
se fuit. Aditum libū lacto eloquen
tis fonte manante uisendum de uir
nis hispanie galliarumq; fimb; q̄
dam uenisse nobiliter legimus: & quos
ad contemplationē sui roma n̄ tace
rat. unius hominis fama pduxit.
habuit illa grat̄ in auditiū omnib;
stis celebrandumq; miracū. ut
urbem tamā ingressi. aliud extra
urbem quererent. A pollonius sine
ille magus ut uulgus loquit̄. fuit.
phylotophus ut pythagora tradunt.
incauit psal. p̄transiit caucasi.
albanos. scythas. massagetas. opu
lentissima indis regna penetrauit:
ad ultimū latissimo physon amne
transmisso. puenit ad bagmanas.

BIBLIOTHECA
LAMBERTIANA

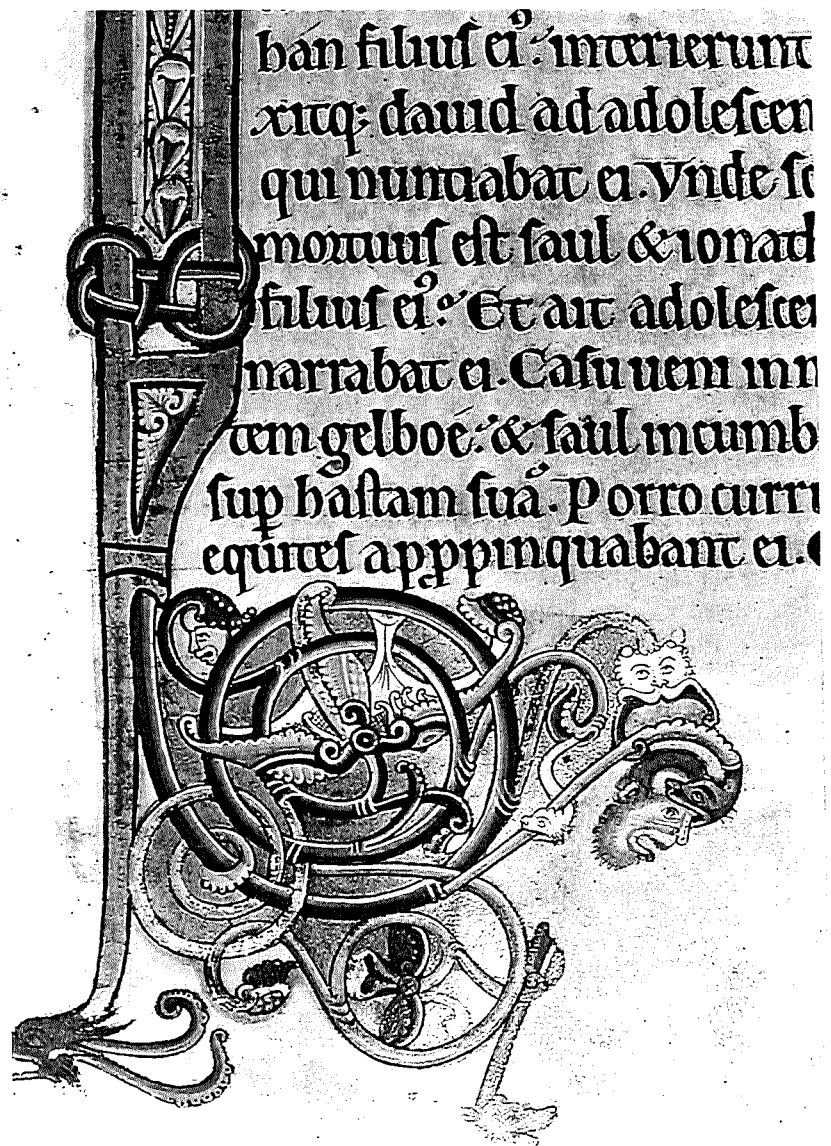
35. Initial to *Frater Ambrosius* preface, Lambeth Bible. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fol. 1.



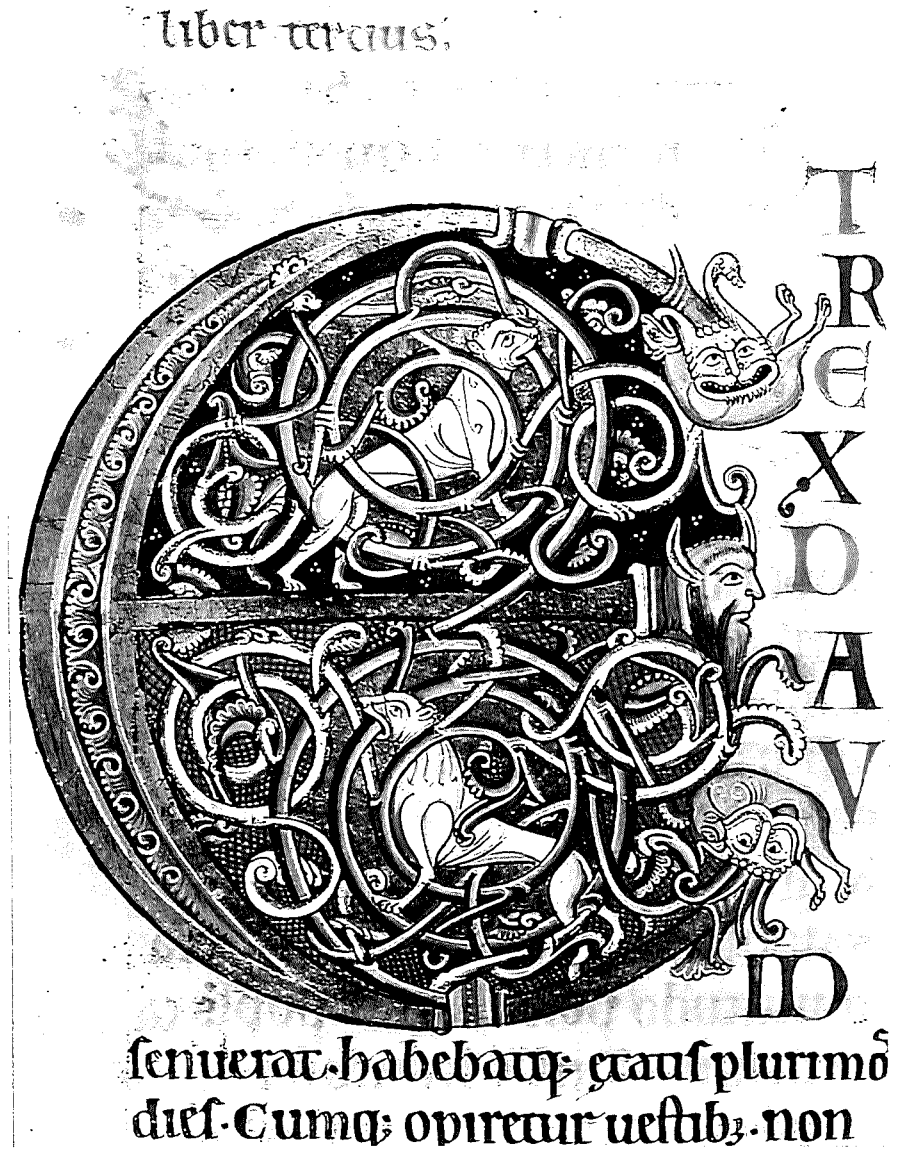
36. Initial to Genesis (detail), Lambeth Bible. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fol. 6v.



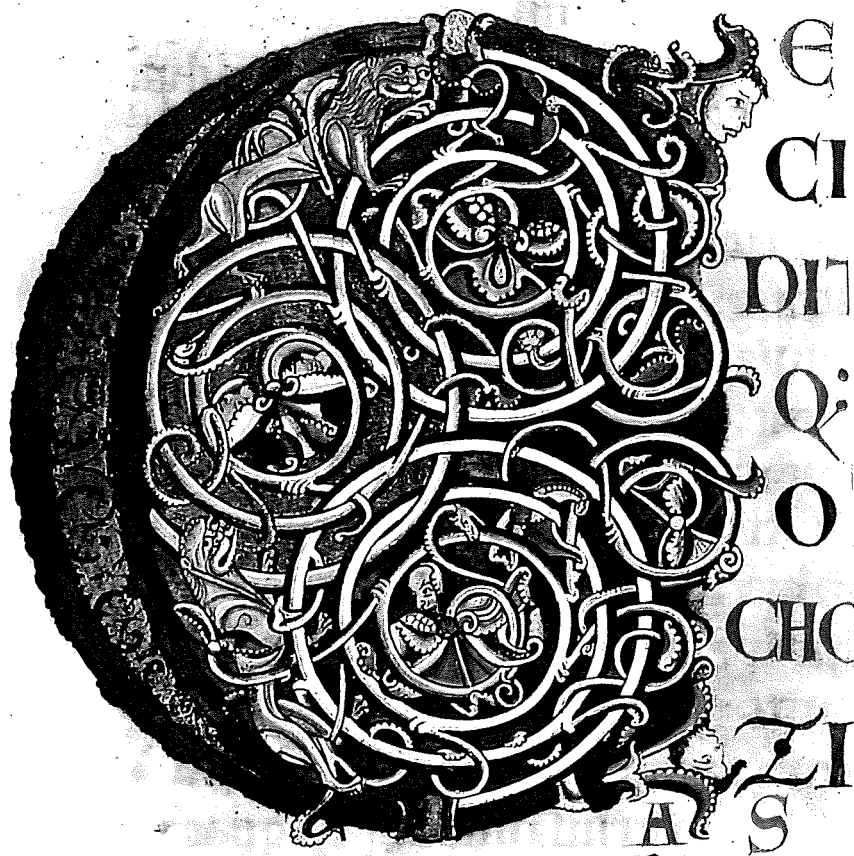
37. Initial to Deuteronomy, Lambeth Bible. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fol. 88.



38. Initial to II Samuel (detail), Lambeth Bible.
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fol. 151.



39. Initial to I Kings, Lambeth Bible. London,
Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fol. 165.



40. Initial to II Kings, Lambeth Bible. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fol. 182.



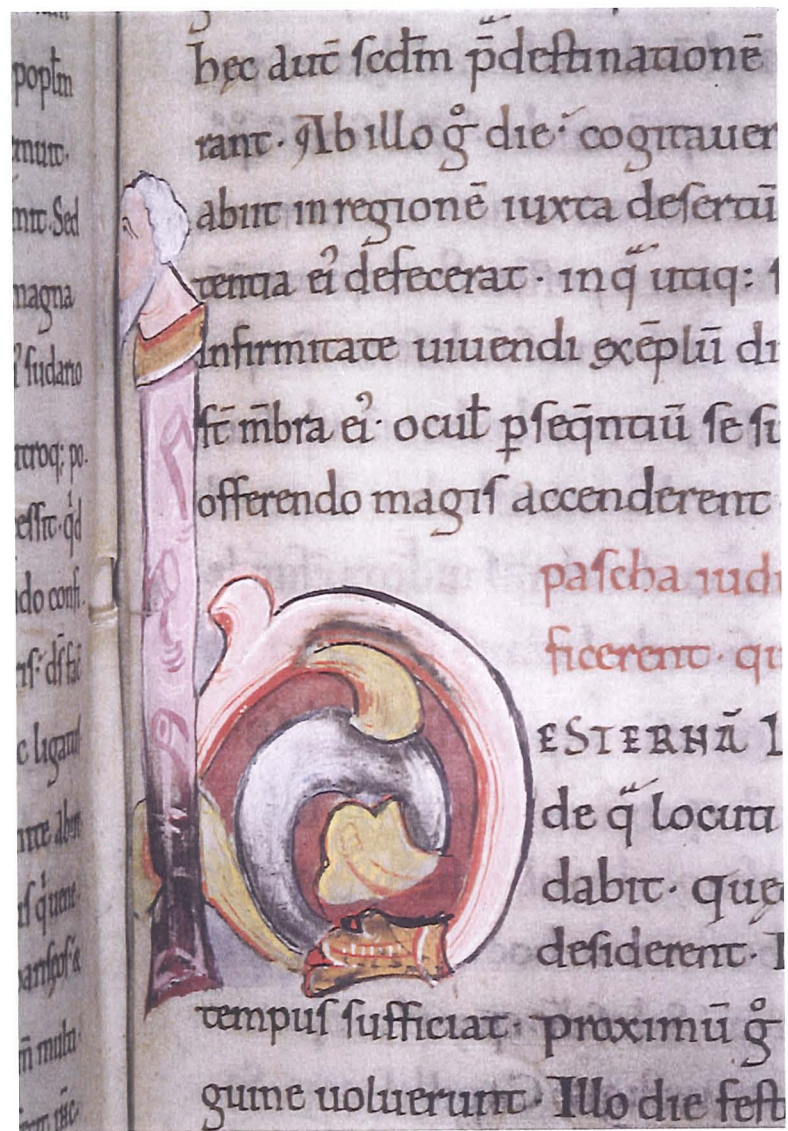
41. Initial to Psalm 80, Lambeth Bible. Maidstone Museum (Kent), MS P.5, fol. 26.



42. Initial to Tract 3, Augustine on John. Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.16, fol. 8.



43. Initial to Tract 24, Augustine on John. Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.16, fol. 69.



44. Initial to Tract 50, Augustine on John Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.16, fol. 123.



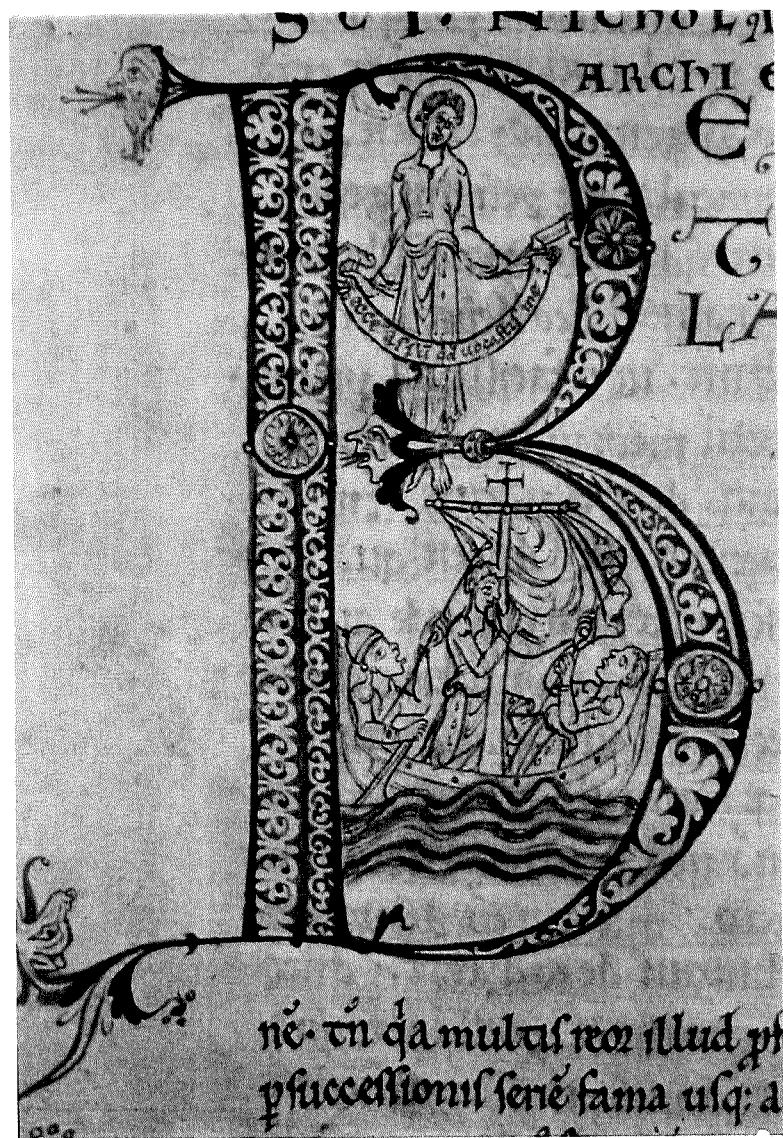
45. Initial to Tract 52, Augustine on John Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.16, fol. 126v.



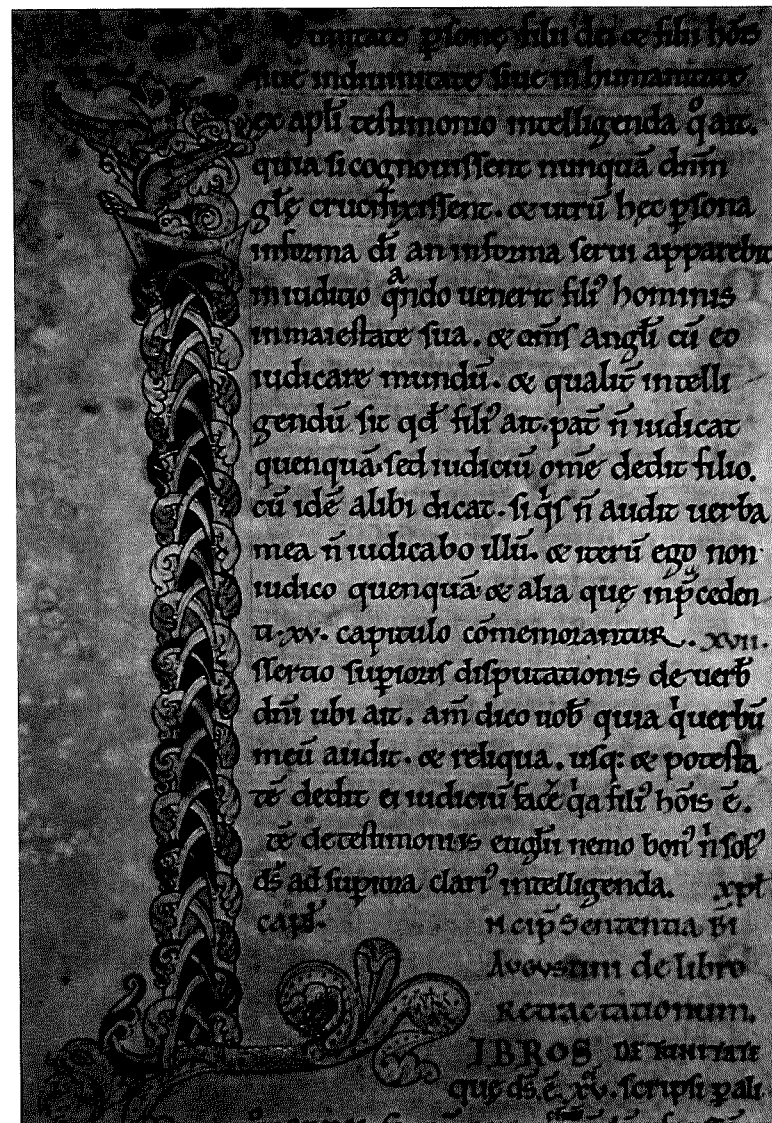
46. Initial to Book 1, Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*. Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.22, fol. 27v.



47. Opening initial to Augustine's Letters. Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.21, fol.12.



48. Initial to Life of St. Nicholas of Myra, Durham Passional. Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.14, fol. 170.



49. Initial to Retractions, Augustine, *De Trinitate*. Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.26, fol. 5v.



50. Initial to Book 2, Augustine, *De Trinitate*.
Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.26, fol. 17.



51. Initial to Book 3, Augustine, *De Trinitate*.
Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.26, fol. 28.



52. Initial to Book 5, Augustine, *De Trinitate*.
Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.26, fol. 48.



53. Initial to Book 6, Augustine, *De Trinitate*.
Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.26, fol. 53v.

8

habere nouit quid sit animi ag-
noscat querendū. ēē. unde ut ubi
iustus animi agnoscat & diligat
eū ab eo qui nondū iustus ē.

Definitio quid sit animi iustus. & ut
hoc quisq; ēē. possit illa summa pre-
cipue diligere eiq; inharere debeat
ubi quid sit iustus animi uideat. Ob
hoc eadē se ipse & primū diligat.
aut quia iustus ē. aut ut iustus fit.

Ad trinitatē que dē unū & uerū
ē. diligendā atq; intelligendā ne-
cessariū ēē. diligere & intelligere
dilectionē. Que cū in duob; p̄ceptis
pendat. plerūq; scriptura p̄mittit
unū ponit. Sicut canit dī ut dili-
gentib; dñi omnia cooperant̄ in bonū.
sicut tantū p̄mittit ut in uicē one-
ri uia p̄mittat. & sic adimplebitis
legem. xvi.

Homines qui prop̄ mundanas
potestates dñi appetit adeo longius
recedo. magis appetentes habet
qd̄ humana infirmitas misetur.
q̄ unde beata requies ad quietat̄.
Aqua uiam uat dñi suos auertat
cū ait. distice a me quia misus su
& humilis corde.

Sufficere hōi ad uidentā & dili-
gendā trinitatē que dē ē. uidē
ac diligere karitatē. se primūq;
diligentē. Quī ipsa dilectio q̄ pri-
mus diligit. n̄ solū ex deo s; dñi.
causa q; n̄ uidentū dñi ēē n̄ dilige-
re primū.

Ad bonū uita diligendā & im-
mandā hoīes ex dilectione illi sum-
me scdm̄ q̄ in ipse credunt accen-
di. Cosq; scdm̄ hunc uiuere ex-
tiloz creatū uita exortari.

Ad cognoscendū & amandū dñi
fidē mām ualere. & qd̄ dilectio
& karitas amat sic boni cui tri-
nitas. amans & qd̄ amat. & amo-
uoliter copulans amantē & qd̄
amatur. Explicunt capiti
libri. viii. Incipit liber. viii.
De indifferentia & magnitudi-
ne trinitatis. in qua non est p̄-
ipsa trinitas simul. quā simatā
queque per sona.

IN TALIBUS LIBRIS
EA CHIC PROPRIE
IN ILLA TRINITATE
SIC DISTINCE
SIC AD SINGULAS P-
SONAS PERTINENTIA
QUE RELATUE DICUNT
ADMUICE. SIC PAT̄ &
FILIUS & UTRIUSQ; DONI SPC̄ SES.
NON ENI PAT̄ TRINITAS. AUT FILIUS
TRINITAS. AUT DONI TRINITAS. Qd̄
ū ad se dicunt̄ singuli. n̄ dici
plura licet tres s; unū ipsa trinita-
tē. sic dē pat̄. dē filius. dē sp̄
ses. & boni pat̄. boni filii. bonus
sp̄ ses. & om̄s pat̄. om̄s filii.
om̄s sp̄ ses. nec unū tres dñi.
aut tres boni. aut tres om̄po-
tentēs. s; unus dē boni. om̄s.
ipsa trinitas. & quicqd̄ aliud
n̄ admuice relatur s; ad se
singuli dicunt̄. hoc enī scdm̄
essentiā dicunt̄. quia hoc ē. sibi ē.
qd̄ magnū ēē. qd̄ bonū. qd̄ sapi-
entē ēē. & acqd̄ aliud ad se ima-
quet; sibi p̄sona. ut ipsa trini-
tas dñi. Ideoq; dicit̄ tres p̄sonas

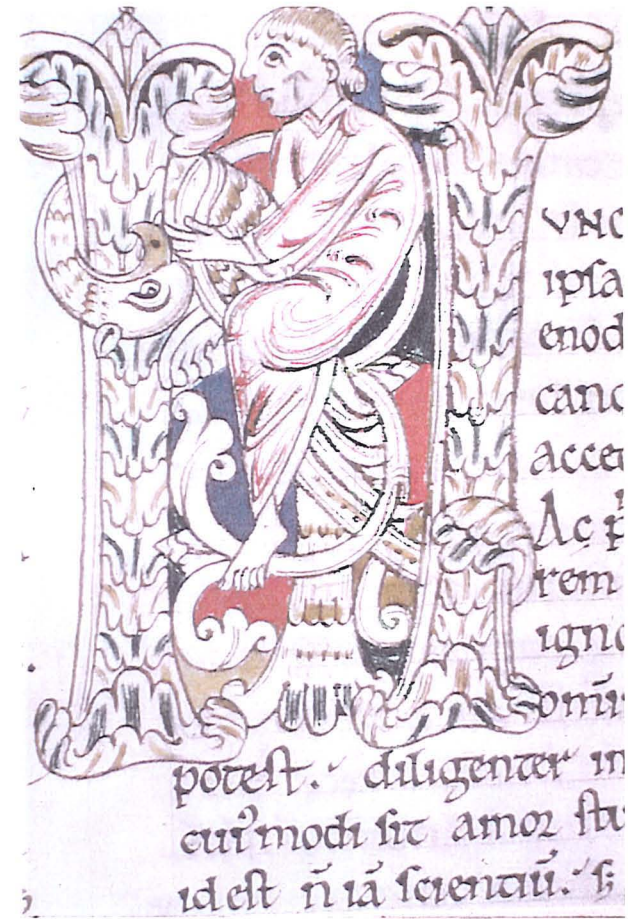
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Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.26, fol. 64.



55. Initial to Book 8 (detail), Augustine, *De Trinitate*.
Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.26, fol. 64.



56. Initial to Book 9, Augustine, *De Trinitate*.
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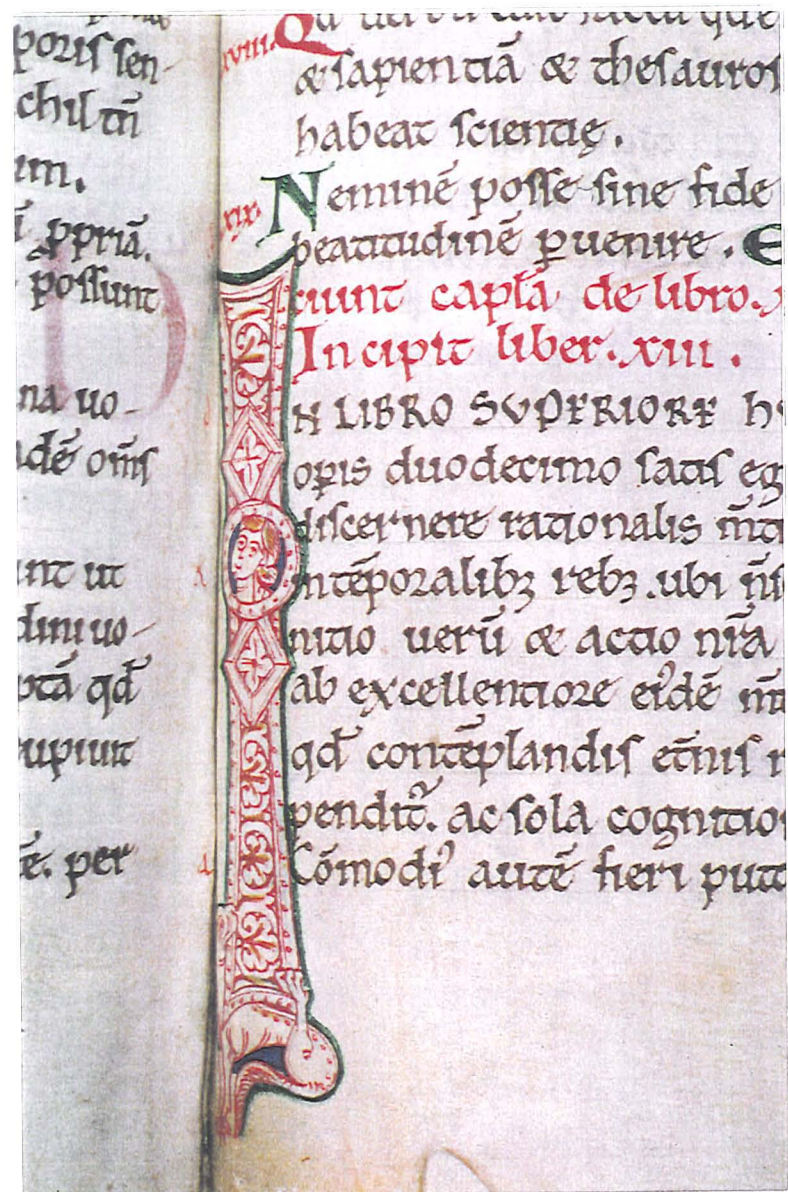
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59. Initial to Book 12, Augustine, *De Trinitate*.
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60. Initial to Book 13, Augustine, *De Trinitate*.
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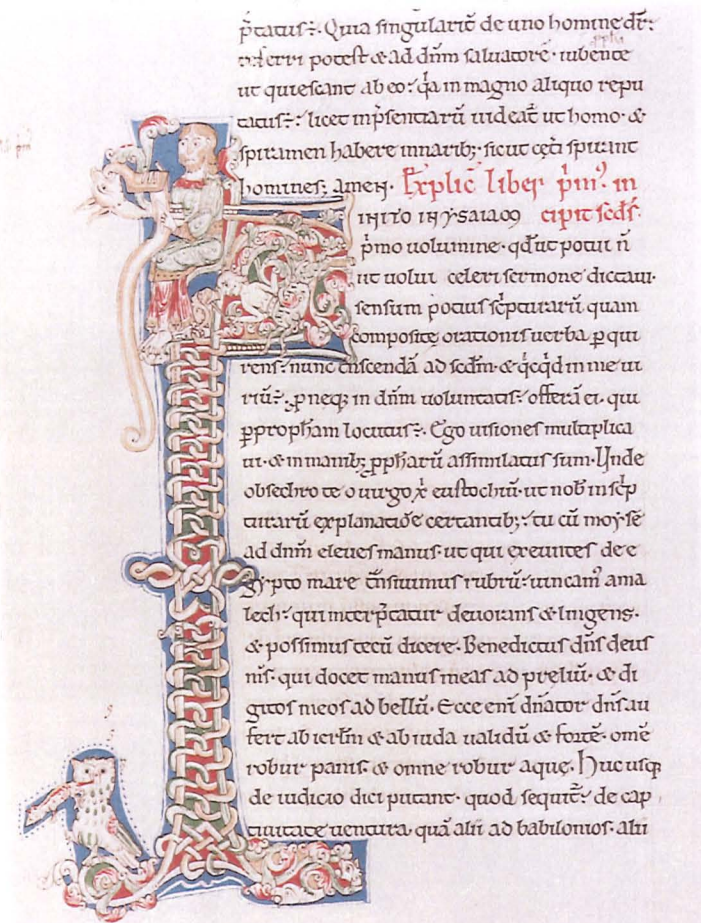
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62. Initial to preface, Jerome on Isaiah. Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.8, fol. 1.



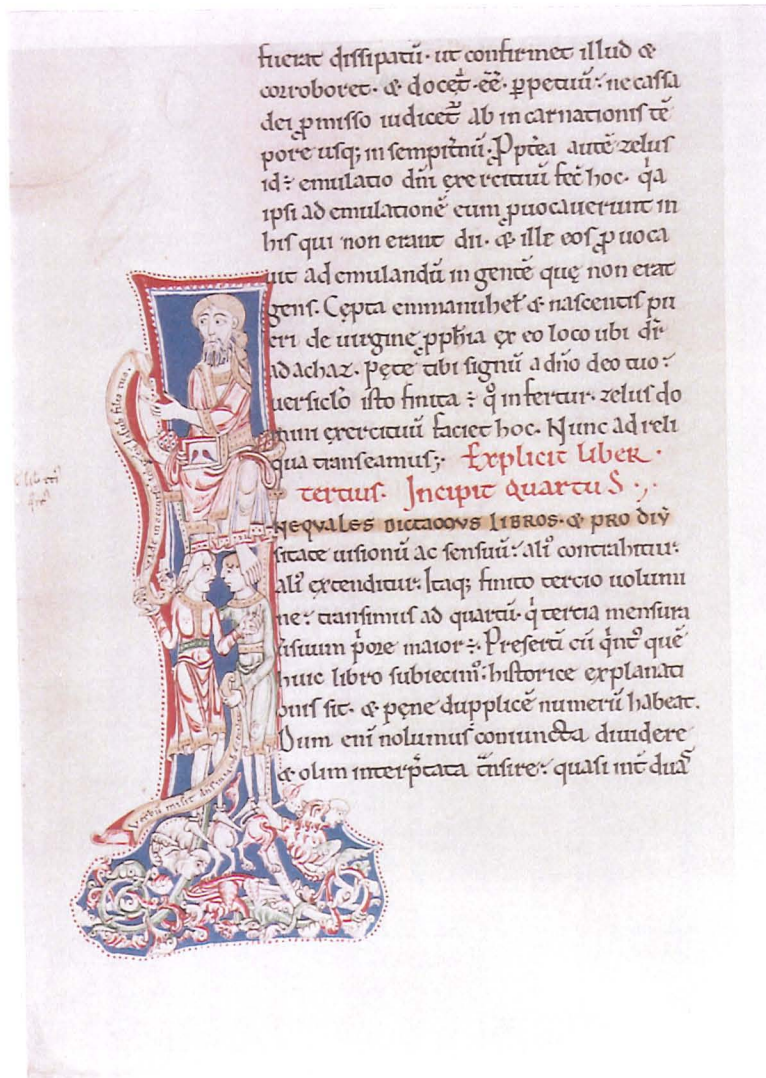
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65. Initial to Book Three, Jerome on Isaiah. Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.8, fol. 22.



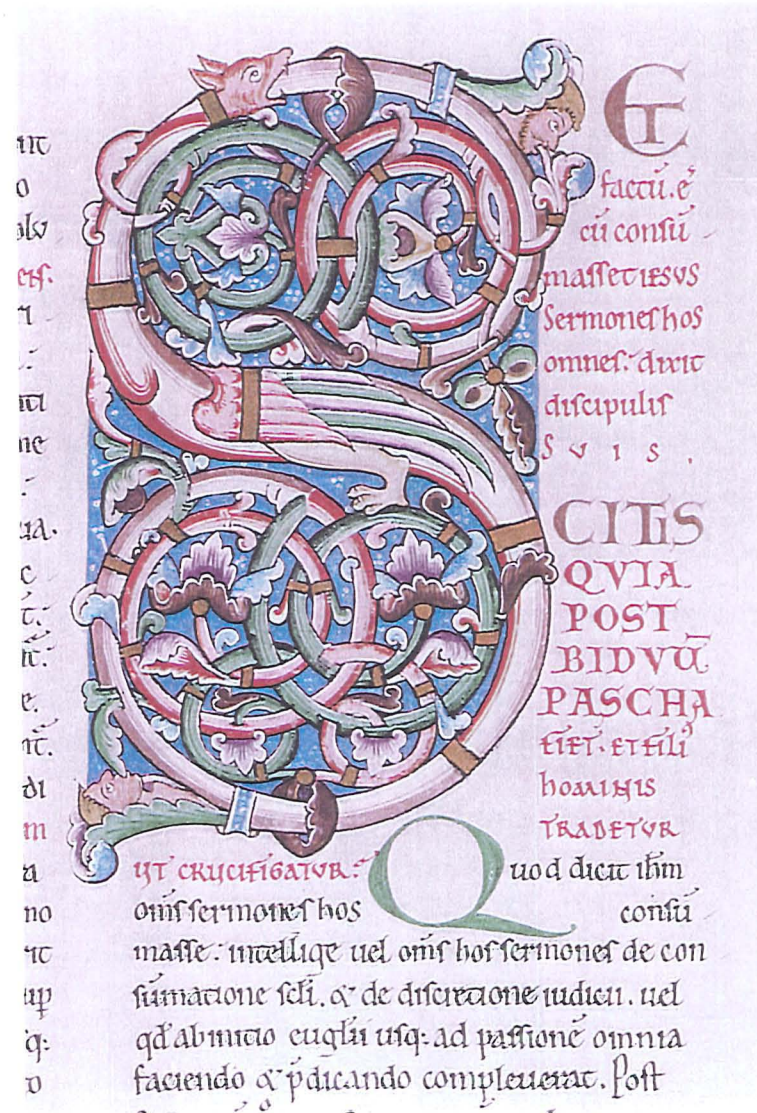
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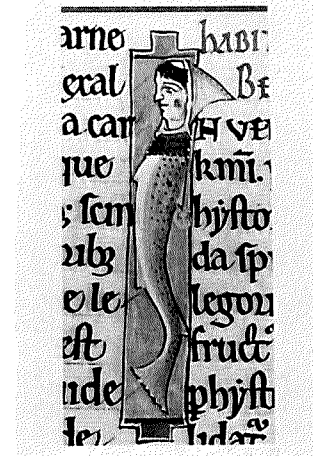
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69. Initial to commentary on Matthew 25-26, unknown author. Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.I.10, fol. 146.



72. Initial to Homily 14, Gregory on the Gospels.
Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.8.3, fol. 28v.



73. Initial to Homily 40,
Gregory on the Gospels.
Hereford, Cathedral Library,
MS O.8.3, fol. 128v.



74. Initial to Judges, Leominster Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl Q.b.5, fol. 86.



75. Initial to Ecclesiasticus, Leominster Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl Q.b.5, fol. 170.

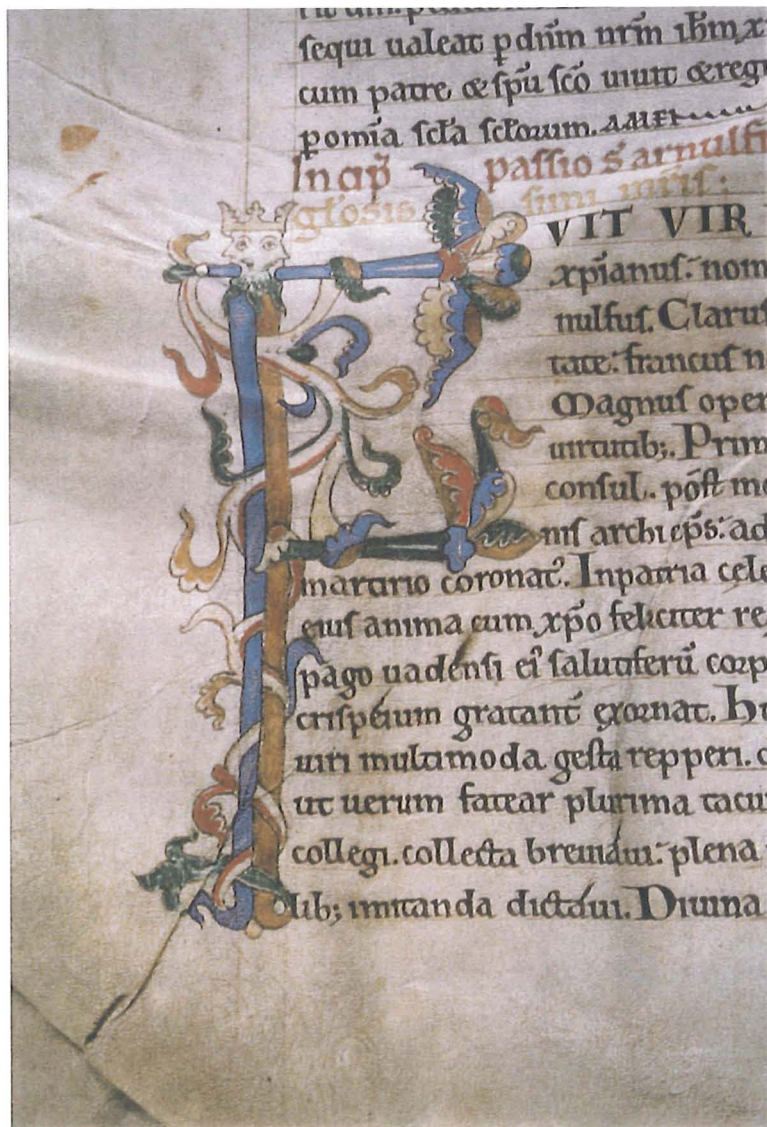
aptius & puer suum cola digere: mi-
 chimet ipsi & meis iuxta bismenium
 canens. si aures surde sunt ceterorū;
Expliat prefacio. **I**ncipit lib' dabraia
 min id est uerba uerum. quod est
 paralipomenon

DACO. SETH.
 enoch. caman. ma-
 laeel. Jared. enoc
 matufale. Iamet
 noe. sem. cham.
 & iafeth. **F**ilii
 iafeth: gomer.
 magog. mada
 & iauan. thubal. moloch. thiras. Porro
 filii gomer. ascenez. & riphaz. & thogor-
 ma. Filii autē iauan: elisa. & tharsis.
III. cethchim. & dodanim. **F**ilii cham. chui
 & mefram. phut. & chanaan. Filii autē
 chus: faba. & euila. sabacha & rechma.
 & sabachacha. Porro filii rechma: saba-
 chadai. Chus autē genuit cuban.

76. Initial to I Chronicles, Leominster Bible.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl Q.b.5, fol.
 187v.

PAV-
 LVS
 ad urbem Romam puenerunt ad eum om-
 nes iudei dicentes. Nosram fidem in qua nati
 es ipsam defende. Non est enim iusti-
 u cum sis hebreus ex hebreis ueniens.
 tu magister uenisti iudices. & in arcana
 dei de fensor factus: tu cum sis circucisus.
 id est circucisionis euacuus. Cum ergo petrus
 uideris: suscipe contra eius doctrinam. quia
 absterge iura nra legum.

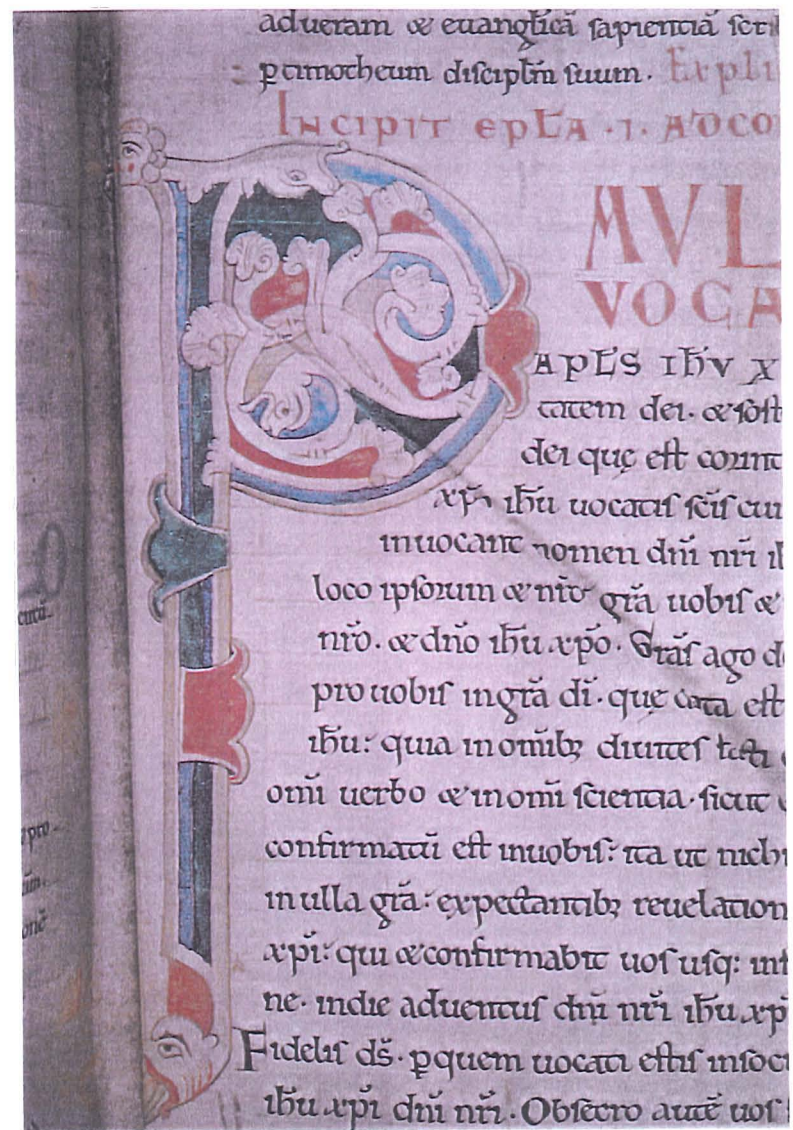
77. Initial to Lives of Sts. Peter and Paul, Leominster
 Passional. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 150, fol. 2.



78. Initial to Life of St. Arnulf of Tours, Leominster Passional. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 150, fol. 37v.



79. Initial to Deuteronomy, Lincoln Bible. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 1, fol. 59v.



80. Initial to I Corinthians, Lincoln Bible. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.2, fol. 168.

...itur aggrauat
 ...tatio sensum
 ...temporalium
 ...e. id. ea tempore
 ...trabilib: com
 ...icata. e: ut n
 ...te de dno in
 ...dis querite
 ...simplicitati
 ...tis relictis
 ...temporalium
 ...it nob bona,
 ...cordis simpli
 ...s exultat &
 ...nia & sonum
 ...ib: omni in
 ...ib: reb: & mi
 ...re nomine

...dinis aut credentiu: era
 ...cor unum. Singulare
 ...e. secreta a multitudine
 ...tum reru atq: mouen
 ...nitatis & unitatis. ce. del
 ...dno nro cupim in her

DE PS. V. I.
IN V. LIS

...que hereditate accepit
 ...que accepit hereditate
 ...dum nrm ihm xpm. u
 ...dm. cui ad herens beat
 ...Beati mites. qm ipsi he
 ...bunt terra. Qua terram
 ...mea est tu. portio mea
 ...Et illud manifestus. T
 ...tis mee & calicis mei. di
 ...uicissim ecclā. scdm illu

81. Initial to exposition on Psalm 5, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 7.

...quod pmiu iusti
 ...uenert. & donec p
 ...sustinuert ab eo c
 ...los ds. usq: in fine

Explic. t. d.
IN FINE

...psalmus dauid
 ...obscurum. Nam
 ...nifesta sunt. Visu
 ...diem iudicū sign
 ...uentus dñi nri. c
 ...uiuos & mortuo
 ...tis annis ab adar
 ...futurus credit. u
 ...tanqm septē die
 ...illud tanquā di

82. Initial to exposition on Psalm 6, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 9.

PSALMVS ipsi ad. De hoc
 titulo nulla questio. **O**se
 quis peregrinabit in tabernaculo
 tuo. Quamvis aliquando ponat
 tabernaculo etiam phabitatione sempiterna
 tamen cum proprie accipit tabernaculo belli
 esse. Unde & concubinales milites dicuntur
 tanquam simul habentes tabernacula. hic
 sensus ad iudicium. ex eo quod dictum est.
 quis peregrinabit. Ad tempus enim cum diabolo
 dimicant. tunc opus est tabernaculo quod nos
 reficiamus. quod significat maxime fidei tem-
 poralis dispensationis. que pro nobis facta est.
 temporalis pro incarnatione domini. **E**t quis re-
 dicit in montem sancto tuo. hic fuisse tam
 ipsam quam habitationem significat. ut
 montem intelligamus super eminentiam cari-
 tatis christi in terra sancta. **Q**ui ingreditur
 sine macula. et operatur iustitiam. hoc propositum
 demerit id esse sequitur. **Q**ui loquitur ve-
 ritatem in corde suo. Non nulli enim in
 labiis habent veritatem. et in corde non
 habent. Tanquam si aliquis dolose ostendat
 vitam scientiam in ea esse. lacrimas et dicat. si
 hac ient a lacrimis. cuius erroris et tangat
 ut ient ibi non inueniant lacrimas. uerum
 ille loquitur. sed non in corde suo. **A**liud enim
 putabat. et nesciens uerum dixit. Ergo parum
 est uerum loqui nisi etiam in corde ita sit.
Qui non egit dolum in lingua sua. Lingua
 agit dolum. cum aliud ore profertur. aliud
 pedore cogit. **N**ec fecit primo suo malum.
 Primum omnium hominum accipi oportere
 nocuum est. **E**t opprobrium non accepit ad
 uersus primum suum. Id est non libenter aut
 temere creditur criminatum. **A**d nihil
 deductus est. in conspectu eius malignus.
 Ista profectio est. ut nihil in homine tractat
 malignus. **V**e hoc sit in conspectu eius. id est
 certissime noverit malignum non esse. nisi
 cum animi ab specie sui creatur eterna. et
 incommutabili. ad certam speciem auertit.

que de meliore facit. **T**unc et autem
 dominum glorificat. **V**erumque. **I**nguitur
 autem sapientie amor domini. **S**icut ergo illa
 superiora pertinent ad profectum. ita ea que in
 dicturis est. pertinent ad imperium. **Q**ui
 ueracis primo suo. et non decipit quod peccatum
 suam non dedit ad usum. et munera super
 in nocentes non accepit. **I**sta non se magna
 sed quia nec ista potest. malum enim po-
 loque ueritate in corde suo. et non dolum ad
 in lingua sua sed ut est. in corde uerum
 ita profertur. et habere more est. est. non.
 et non facere primo suo malum. id est. ni-
 li homini. et opprobrium non accepit ad
 uersus primum suum. que se profectorum
 in quorum conspectu ad nihilum de-
 ductus est. malignus. **I**am etiam ista in-
 noxa ita concludit. **Q**ui facit hec non
 morietur in eternum. **I**d est. pueniet ad
 illa maiora. in quibus est. magna et in con-
 cussa stabilitas. **N**am et ipsa tempora
 sine causa fuisse sic uariata sunt. ut in
 superiore condicione profecti tempore pon-
 tur. hic autem futurum. **N**am ibi dictum
 ad nihilum deductus est. in conspectu eius
 malignus. hic autem non morietur in eternum.

**Explicit ccc de ps. xiiii. hic
 incipit ps. xv.**

Incipit psalmus ipsi david. Rex nost-
 ri in hoc psalmo loquitur ex persona suscep-
 tionis humane. de quo titulus regalis
 tempore passionis inscriptus continetur
 hic autem hec. **C**onserva me domine. quoniam
 in te speraui. **D**ixi domino. **D**omi-
 nus est et cetera. quoniam homo
 nouam mentem non indiget. quoniam bonus me-
 non expectat tu fieri beatus. **S**ed quoniam in terra
 sunt et. **S**ed quoniam in terra inueniuntur spe sua
 postuerit autem. uerum celestis. quoniam uer-
 sacro spiritus panchem spiritus in illa parte
 figit. que ueritate diuina nominat. quoniam
 ad hoc in his tunc carne ueritate. **O**mnis
 caritatis omni uoluntate meam in illis. hic ergo

83. Initials to the expositions on Psalms 14 & 15, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 28.

non in
 i co
 uulta
 et meis.
 etis
 bi non
 celligit.
 suauis
 ulera
 ore
 e finit
 munda
 tabul
 arce
 q: em
 a suis.
 the. non

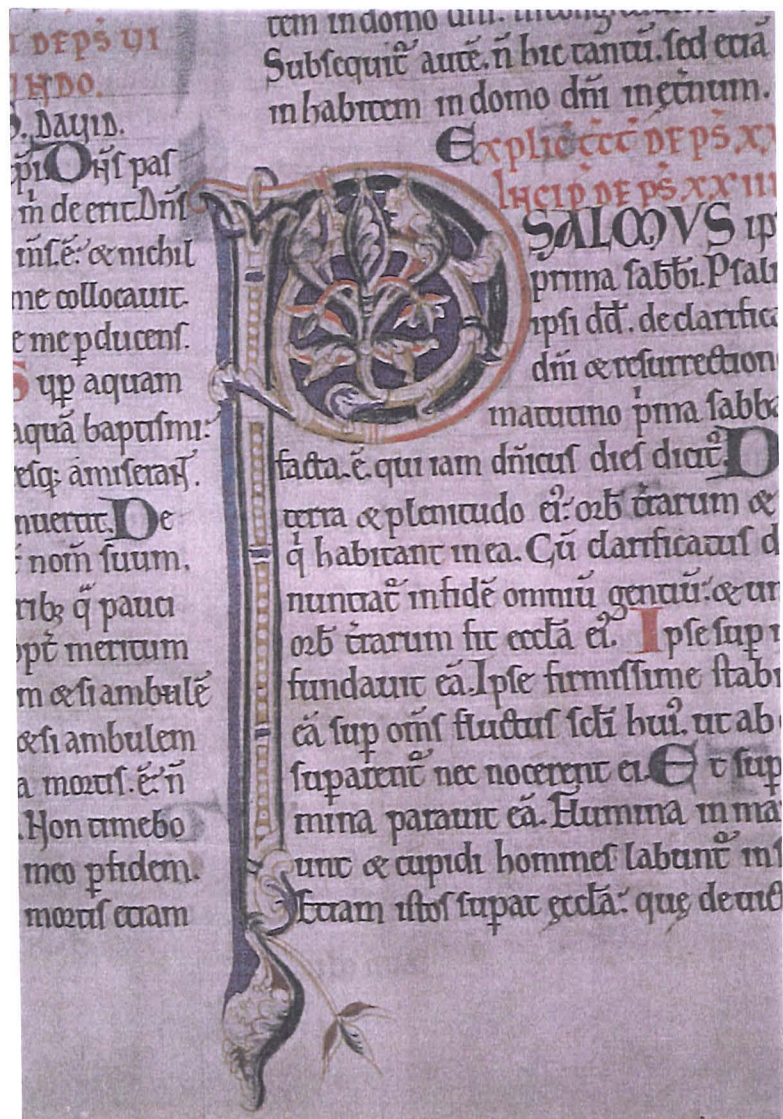
repellat abs te quod superbia
 mundat a delicto mac
 in conspectu tuo. qui re
 & adiuuas ut pueniam

**TRACTATUS DE PS
 SCDS DEE
 EPI**

T ab occ
 nos o
 seru
 in te
 hum
 auuim uoce cantem.
 psytaci & corui & pice
 cres. sepe ab hominib;
 nesciunt. **S**cienter au
 hominis diuina uolu



84. Initial to exposition on Psalm 18, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 32v.



85. Initial to exposition on Psalm 23, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 41.



86. Initial to exposition on Psalm 26, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 43v.

vi pium. aut
 Confessio geni
 t. Quando nob
 nificam peccata
 exultatione iusti
 Sine confessione
 dñs & misericors
 d dedicationem
 Oñs factus. e.
 sa resurrectione
 in gaudium m.
 tuncisti me leticia
 Saccus de capris
 e & hedi mē pec
 meno nro saccum
 t meritum facti.
 saccus ille morta
 talitate. q meri
 ritū em mortis



tebor t. In cōtinuum l
 fessionem & in lau
 Conficere q homo
 bens qd tibi fecerit
 Qd dñs t conficenti
 peccata. ut ei poste
 in cōtinuum non con
EXPLICIT
INCIPIT
IN FINEM
 In finem psalmu
 fona. & in psecuti
 dita. e. titulo. gree
 fit uel pauore. ul
 hoc psalmo pauo
 ti popli dei. p secu
 de festu p orbem
 mediator. de ino

87. Initial to exposition on Psalm 30, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 55.

& receptor mi. si de cui ui
 uoluerit. in de cadet unde p
 de alterius. dñari uult. n̄ sul
 g unus querendus. e. qui &
 ros fecit. & sanguinē suum
 dedit. & seruos suos fr̄s fecit.

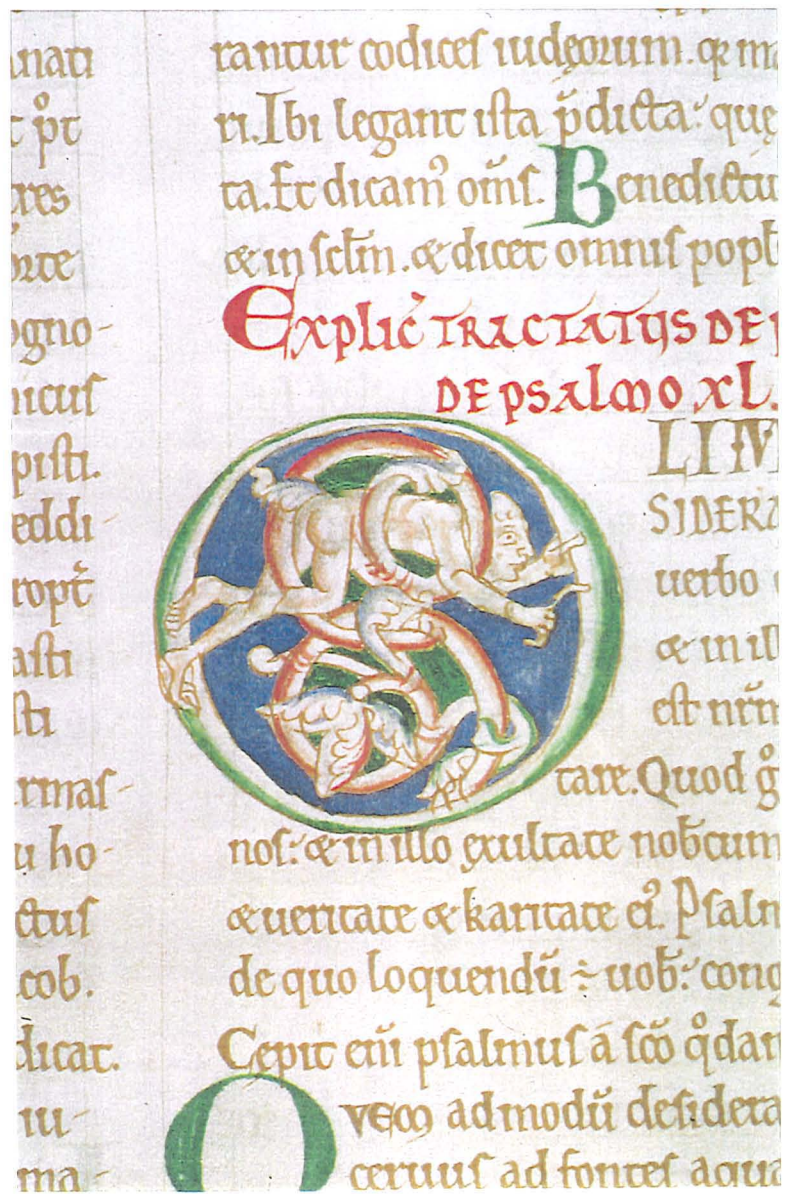
I. DE PS. XXXIIII
AD RELIQV
 psalmi intenc
 dñiq; & dñi
 nitate in cell
 fructu bene
 cernur. Quo
 die disputatū sit. credo men
 tatem urām. Ex ipso loco ho
 exordiū. In telligimus hic enī
 uocē scilicet capitis & corpori
 audis. noli sponsū ā sponsa



88. Initial to exposition on Psalm 34 ii, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 91v.



89. Initial to exposition on Psalm 40, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 132.



90. Initial to exposition on Psalm 41, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 135v.

Propatris tunc na
 eos pncipes sup om
 a ecclā. filii ei con
 iē trān: filii ei con
 t qui p̄si sunt. ue
 tantē in templū regis.
 locant: fundamta
 q: firmavit. filios
 eos ppatrib: suis
 m. **M**emores enim
 in generatione & ge
 popli confitebuntur
 ri. & ext̄ templū con
 i. & in monte non pre
 c ad dñm clarnati.
 nte scō suo. De quo
 non potest civitas ab
 ituta. De quo monte
 paruo lapide creuis
 na trarum: & imple
 re. Ibi adoret q̄ uult
 te exaudiri. ibi confi
 rum. & manifestet cogitat
 laus uniuersq: a dō. Ipsa e
 q̄dam in confitebit. cū po
 ipsi civitati confitebuntur
 nulla parte se lateat. nul
 cuius aliquid lateat. **E**
DE PSALMO XLIII. HIC
AD RARITATE
 dam sic notissima loqu
 tari n̄ debem. q̄ ea que
 tari debent. filios chore.
 memoro em̄ uos scientes
 uitiū. dñm q: n̄m qui
 fixus. ē. ad dext̄s sibi
 granū qd̄ n̄ mortificat
 & eos q̄ ad ducti s̄t appo
 in mysterio. Ceterū fue
 chore. illo tēpore q̄ndo
 nos unificare debet n̄
 intelligam. & uidete si e
 que habet psalmi ipse
 nob. & inuenim? hie no

91. Initial to exposition on Psalm 45, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 152v.

rt. ad mor
 it illi. So
 tris ipsos.
 ellexit cō
 & similib
 hominib:
 uitā cum
 utos. si ha
 rasi etnam
 ubstantiā
 tris ipsos.
 domū eter
 ibi uitam
 us. seq̄ opa
 re ei cum
 ante ra
 ximinim?
 on intel
 in corde id faciunt & c
 est in ore benedictio. &
 Et p̄tea in ore suo ben
 psalmū finiam. suffi
 audistis int̄m hodie
 rit audietis. **Expli**
ps̄ XLIII. I
ES
 cepto
 batu
 uia.
 ad
 nat
 attendentes nisi ad
 rena. & postūm p̄t h
 cantes. neq: ullā felu
 n̄ diuitias & honores
 uirtutē, p̄t obitū au



92. Initial to exposition on Psalm 48 ii, Augustine on the Psalms. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 166v.

nolū
 quae
 bonū
 alcerū
 laco
 lecto
 in cole
 etiam
 r' acq
 pau
 ceteri
 que
 incur
 leni
 rum
 ē qd
 stant
 c. Ac
 iose
 cum
 amū
 s' ab
 moq
 etofū
 red a
 si cca
 l' c' sym
 lon
 nol le
 idca
 care
 scanti

uolentib; manent. balsamū
 pip. & poma palmarū r' r' u
 ci non emant. De origine
 autē adlamanio sileo. cum
 nomen si parua licet cōpo
 nere magis. meo nomine
 multosus est. Qui cū in
 omelū suis quas aduulgū
 loquit' cōmūne edicionem
 sequatur. mōmū idest in
 dīspūcacione maior hebrai
 ca ueritate supat. & suoz
 circumclat agnūm; mē
 dū lingue pegime quere
 auxilia. Hoc autē unū di
 co. quocūuēllē cū mūcta
 nommū ei' habere etiā sci
 enciā scripturarū. flocci
 pendens imagines i'braicq;
 latinarū. quarū natura
 esse dicit' terrere paruulo.
 & mangulū garrire tene
 brosi.

Explicet plogus.

Incipit liber beati ieroni
 mi presbiteri de hebraicis
 questionibus in genesi.



IN PRINCIPIO
PROFEFIDVS
ELVM ET TERRA.
 Meriq; estimant
 sicut inalcacione
 quoq; insonū & pa
 pūci scriptū est &
 cercullian' in libro
 contra prapocā dī
 putat. necū hylari
 in expōsicionē quā
 dā psalm affir
 mē hebreos haberi
 filio fecit qd est
 & terra. qd falsū
 esse rei ipsius ue
 tal cōptat. Ma
 Lxx. interpret
 symmachus & ec
 tion in principio c
 tulerunt. & in
 breo scriptum est
 breshū quod aq
 mēprecat' in cap
 tulo. & n' habent
 appellatū in fil
 Odagn' itaq; scē
 sentum quā scē
 uerbi etiam laci
 de xpo accipi po



& pluuū irrigatā non au
 det attingere. Et an cū
 postea eoz agm' et uide signa
 ti. & ope loquebant'. Digna
 cū est sup nos lumen uide
 tuū dñe. Unde appellat' ap' s
 solennitat' phale quā nos etiam
 sicuti possum' appellare eoz qd
 de priuū; ad meliorā p'gen
 tes. tenebrosa egyptū relin
 quim'. Sed iam temptus est
 ut p'missa complent' mā
 sionū israhel ordīne p'sequam'.
 Explicet plogus.

Incipit liber beati ieronimi
 presbiteri de mansionibus
 filiorum israhel.



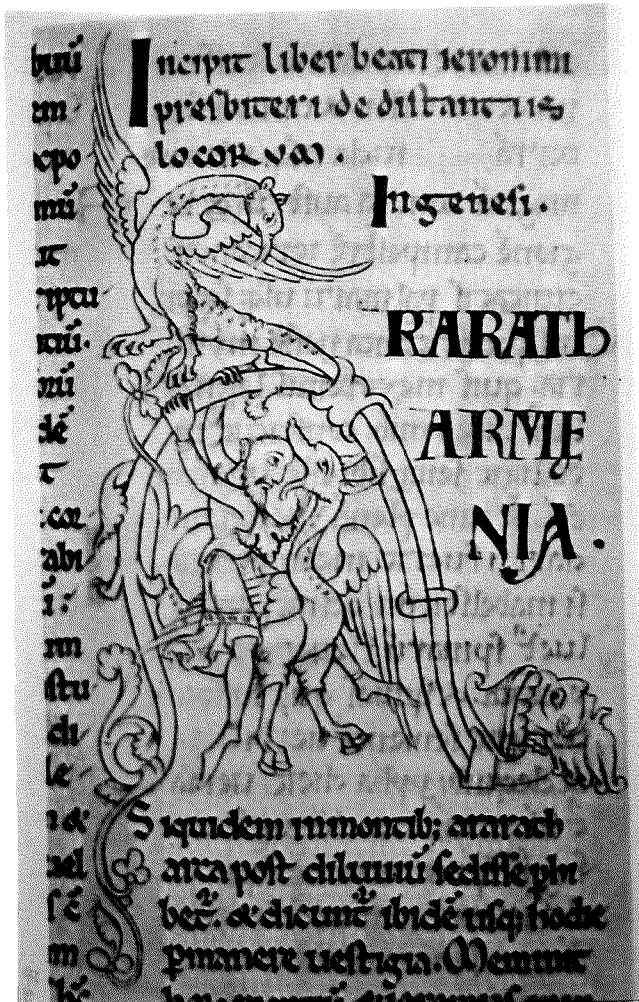
PRINCIPIVM
EST

in ymo
 parte uolu
 mmū nu
 meroy. qd
 apud hebreos unedauer ap
 pellat'. Hec sunt castra filioy
 isrl' qui egressi sunt de tra
 egypti p'cur' moī suā in manu
 moysi & aaron. quā g'eci

atarant' uocant. nos p'pter lin
 guā p'p'etū significanti' mān
 sionū. hinc quā d' quā cū dī
 castra etiam dicit'. Et autem
 catalogū mansionū a prima
 usq; ad uide mē. cōmūnerantur
 simul q'draginta duo. de qb;
 mactent loquit' ab abrahā
 usq; dauid generationes q'
 tiordecim. a dauid usq; ad
 etiam migrationē babiloni' ge
 nerationes q'tuordecim. & a
 migrationē babiloni' usq; ad
 xpm generationes q'tuordecim.
 idest simul generatio
 nes quadraginta duo. Phas
 currit uerū hebreū. qd de
 terra etiam s'eb' m' ad egyptū
 lū. & egypto s'eb' dicit' terra
 tā rep'missionis ingreditur.
 Nec mirū si in illo numeri sa
 cramento pueniam' ad regna q'
 loy. sub quo dñs acq; saluata
 a p'mo p'cur' iarcha puenit ad
 unguine quā ad iordanē. qui
 pleno gurgite fluent' h'c scī
 gratiū redimēbat. Quod
 autē in manu moysi & aaron
 egressos scribit. intellige legē
 & sacerdotiū. oya & cultū dei.
 quoy alterū altero indiget.
 Nichil enī p'lest exercere unatē.

93. Initial to commentary on Genesis, Jerome on the Old Testament. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7, fol. 2.

94. Initial to *De mansionibus filiorum israhel*, Jerome on the Old Testament. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7, fol. 32v.



95. Initial to *Interpretationes Hebraicae locorum*, Jerome on the Old Testament. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7, fol. 48v.



96. Initial to *Interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, Jerome on the Old Testament. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7, fol. 75.

Quid exemplar vide in Bibl. Trincolle

VII
VIR
VIVS
DE

RAMATHAIOS sophio
 demonte ephram. ano
 men ei helcan filius
 ieroam. filii helu. filii
 chou. filii suph ephra
 teus. Ramacham me
 precat excelsa duo. Et
 hec excelsa duo: dug
 intelligunt trib; re
 gra uidelicet & sacer
 dotalis. Quod pater
 helcan de tribu fue
 rit leui. liber paralp
 pomenon plenissime
 docet. in quo series gene
 alogis illi usq; ad leui
 pducitur. Matre quoq;
 ei de tribu iuda exti
 tisse monstratur. meo qd e
 phrateus uocatur. Ephra
 teus ab ephrata uocae caleb
 qua constat fuisse de tribu
 iuda dictus est. Et si quem

mouet qd
 ephrata e
 uideat in
 dauid fil
 cu lu
 sai n e
 nu iud
 de hel
 phrata
 Soph
 precat
 hic m
 helcan
 ram. C
 fuisse e
 uatio. i
 q; trib
 caru i
 i asce
 ur i
 uci di
 b; pale
 sten. s
 uloye: i
 chi.
 edico
 fuz s
 et i iab; pa
 uestes mte
 mensde tri
 iuxta moie
 b; & liber i

O.4.7 f 112



beati ieronimi
 questionibus
 221111.

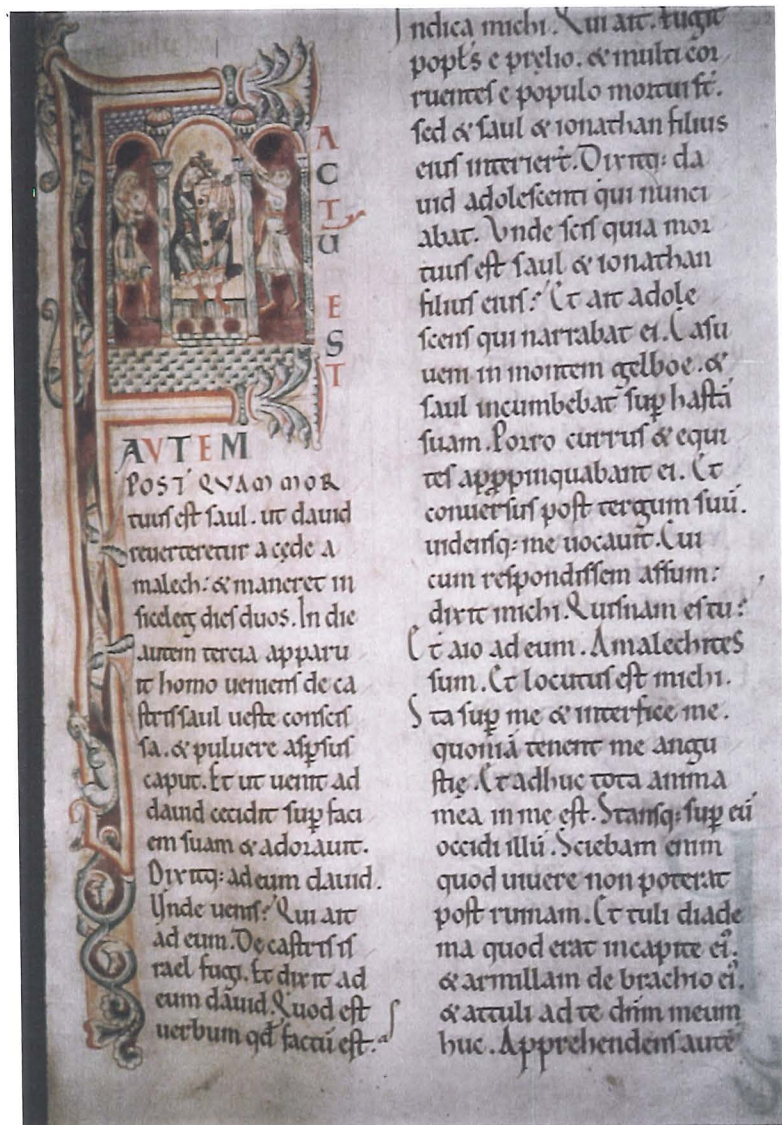
97. Initial to commentary on I Samuel, Jerome on the Old Testament. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7, fol. 112.

INCIPUNT CAPI
 TVLA IN LIBRV
 IOSUE

QUODATI TIT dicit iohue dicens
 ficut fui cu moysse ero & tecu.
 Preparare cibaria iubet poplo ut
 transeant iordanem.
 Destinant exploratores a iohue in iericho.
 Promittit dicit iohue dicens. hodie in
 cipiam exaltare te cora omni isrl.
 ut sciant qd ficut fui cum moysse
 ita & tecum sum.

Pe
 Su
 Co
 ic
 so
 Iu
 ca
 Ru
 ita
 a
 hi
 to
 Diu
 de

98. Initial to capitula to Joshua, Rochester Bible. London, British Library, MS Royal 1.C.VII, fol. 2.



99. Initial to II Samuel, Rochester Bible. London, British Library, MS Royal 1.C.VII, fol. 92.



100. Initial to I Kings, Rochester Bible. London, British Library, MS Royal 1.C.VII, fol. 120v.

INCIPIT
 EVGELI
 SCIDON
 MATHI

Capitulum primum

LIBER.

GENERATIONIS
 IHSU XPI FILII DAVID
 FILII ABRAHAM.

Aminadab
 Haason autem
 Salmon autem
 Raab. Booz
 ex Ruth. O
 Jesse autem
 David autem
 monem ex
 Salomon autem
 Roboas autem
 Abias autem
 Asa autem
 Josaphat
 Ioram autem
 Ozias autem
 Ioacham autem
 Achaz autem
 Ezechias autem
 Manasses autem
 Amon autem
 Josias autem

101. Initial to Matthew, Rochester Bible. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 1.

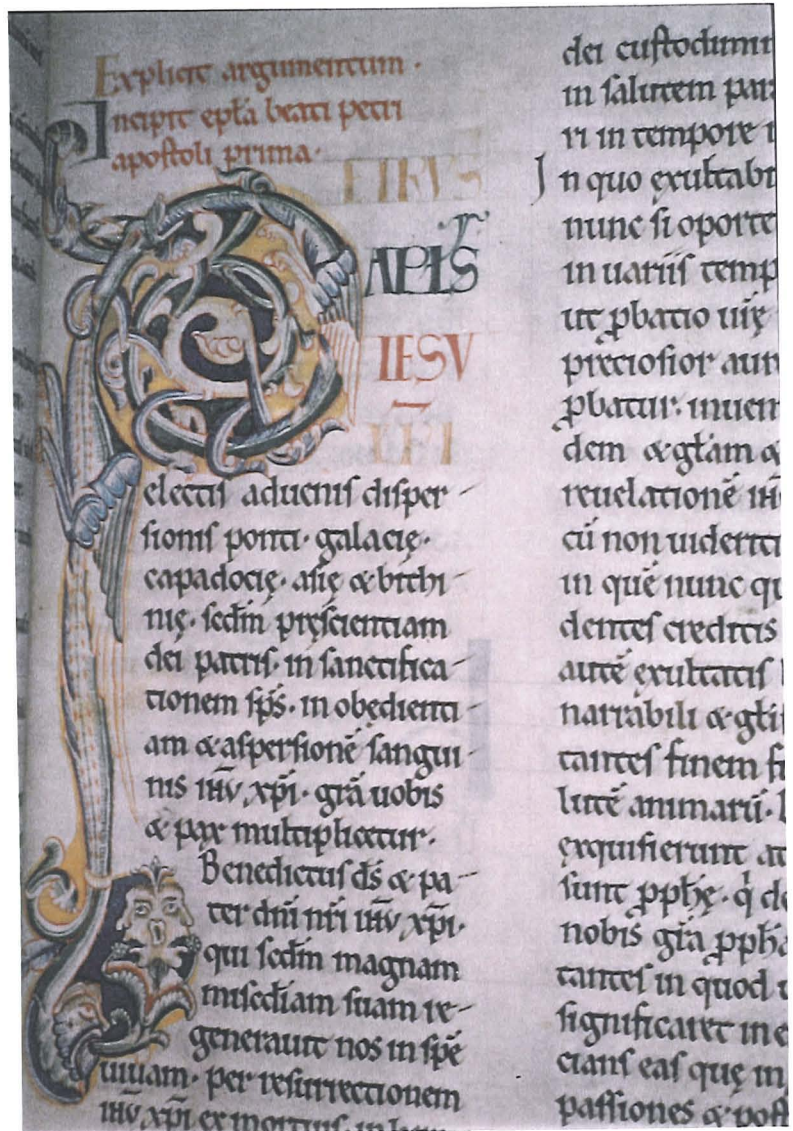
29

INCIPIT
EVANGELIUM
 SECUNDUM M^{AR}CUM

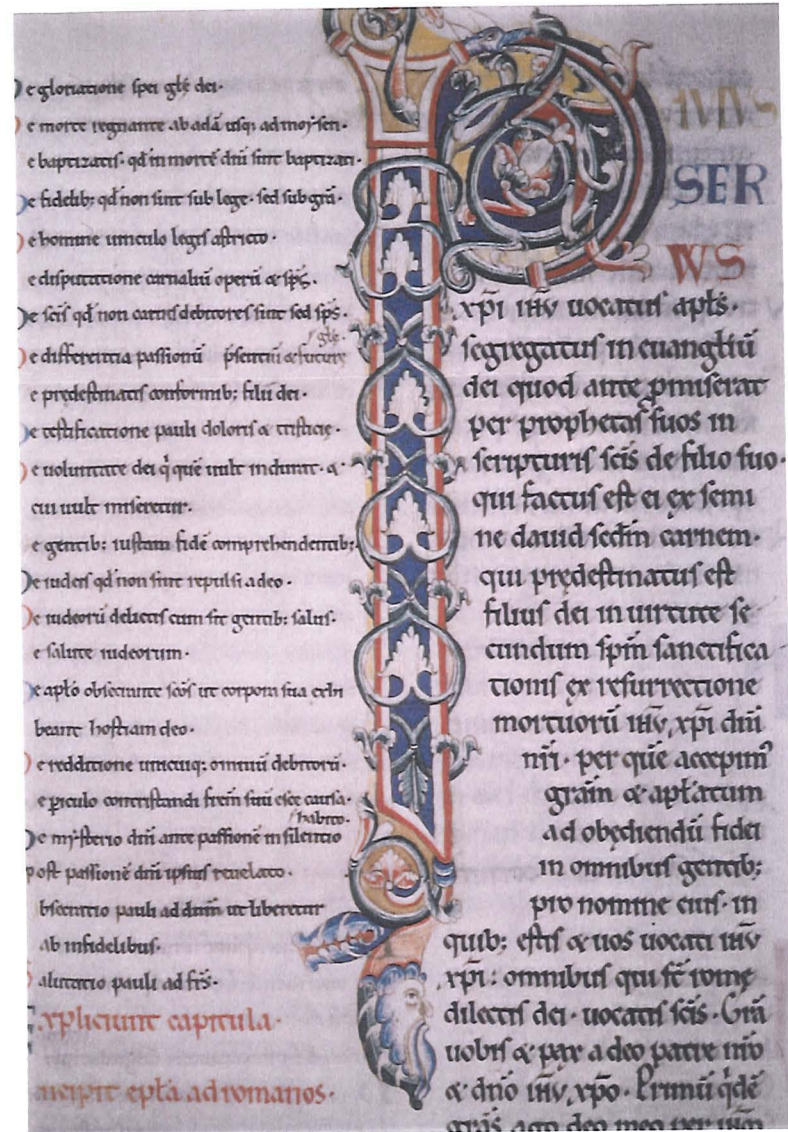
INCIPIT
EVANGELIUM
IESU XPI
FILII DEI.

Sicut scriptum est
 in isaia propheta.
 ecce mitto angelum
 meum ante faciem tuam.
 qui preparabit viam
 tuam: ut qui clamatis
 in deserto. parate viam
 domini. rectas facite semitas
 eius: sicut iohannes in
 deserto baptizans. &
 predicans baptismum penitentie
 in remissionem peccatorum.
 Et egrediebatur
 ad illum omnis iudeus

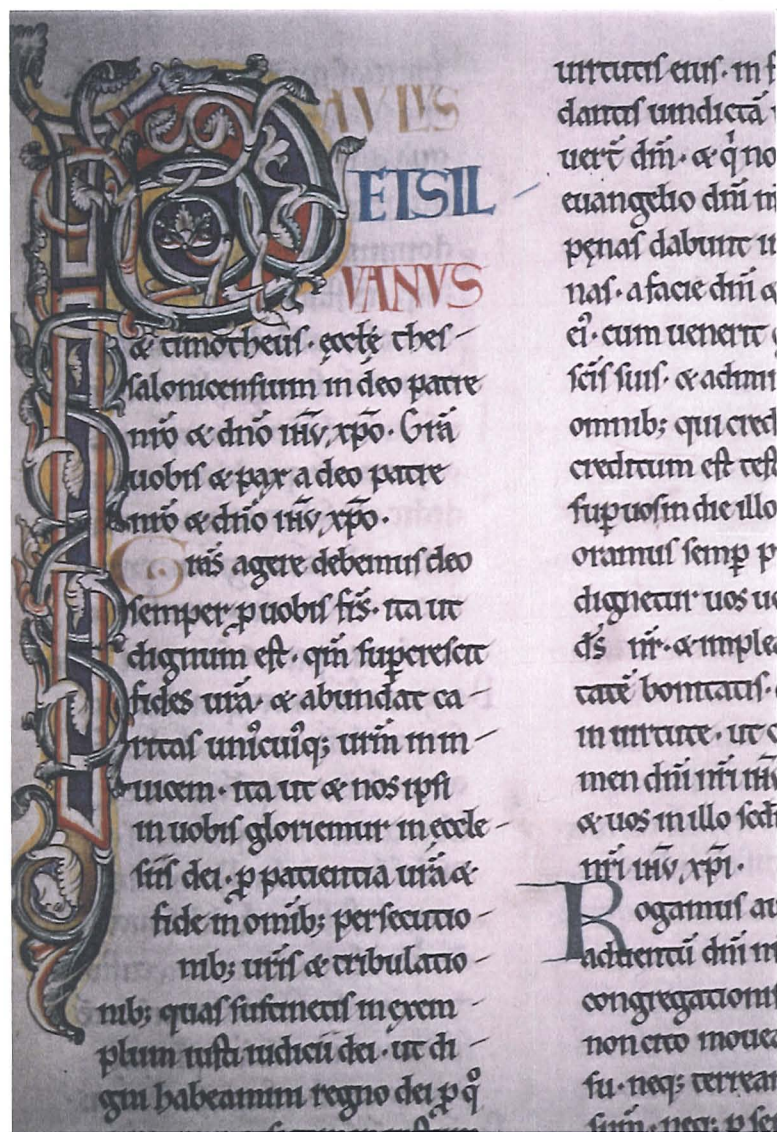
regio. & ierosolimites uniuersis
 si. & baptizabantur ab illo
 in iordane confitentes pec-
 cata sua. Et erat iohannes
 uestitus pilis cameli. & zona
 pellicia circa lumbos eius.
 & locustas & mel siluestre
 esebat. & predicabat dicens.
 Veniet fortior me post me.
 cuius non sum dignus pro-
 cumbens soluere corrigiam
 calciamentorum eius. Ego
 baptizo uos aqua. ille uero
 baptizabit uos spiritu sancto.
Et factum est. In diebus
 illis uenit ihesus nazareth
 galilee. & baptizatus est in
 iordane a iohanne. Et statim
 ascendens de aqua uidit ap-
 tos celos & spiritum tanquam
 columbam descendentem
 & manentem in ipso. & uox
 facta est de celis. Tu es filius
 meus dilectus. in te complacui.
 Et statim spiritus expulit eum
 in desertum. & erat in de-
 serto quadraginta diebus
 & quadraginta noctibus.
 & temptabatur a sathana.
 Et erat cum bestiis. & angeli



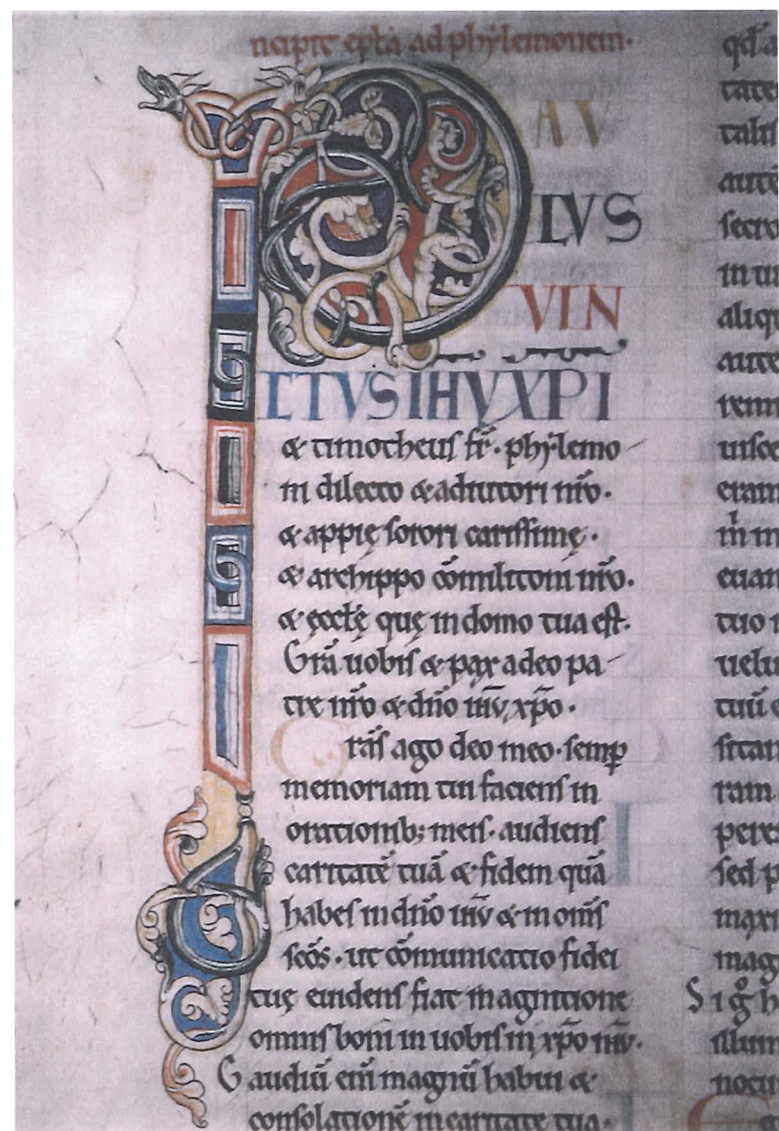
103. Initial to I Peter, Rochester Bible. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 146.



104. Initial to Romans, Rochester Bible. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 161v.



105. Initial to II Thessalonians, Rochester Bible. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 212.



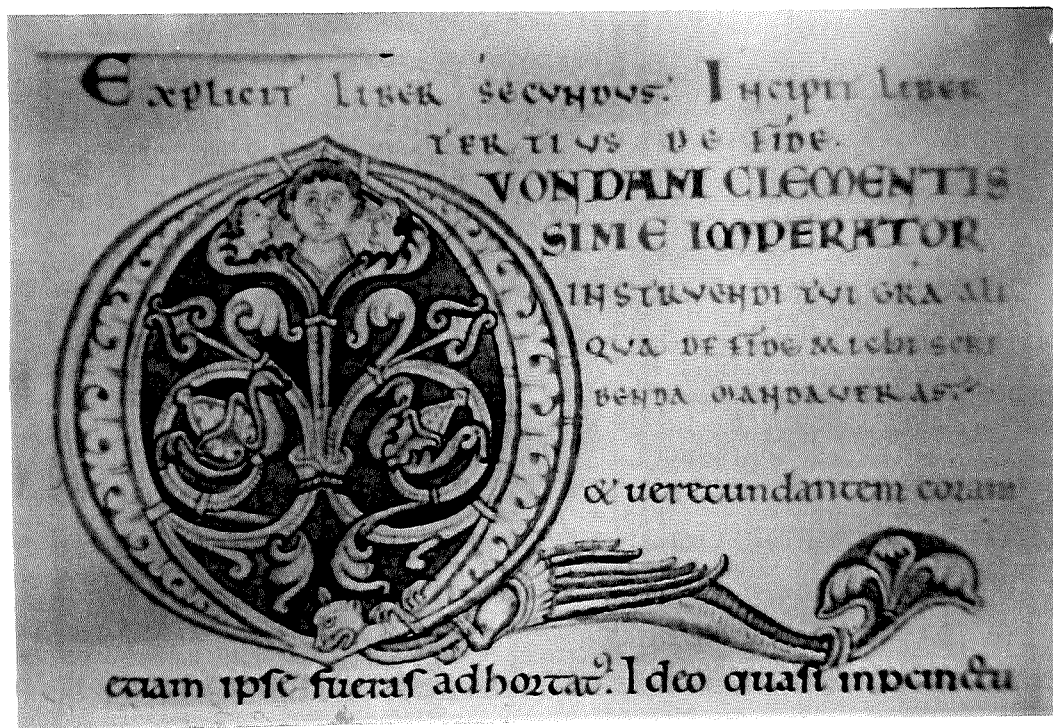
106. Initial to Philemon, Rochester Bible. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 220v.



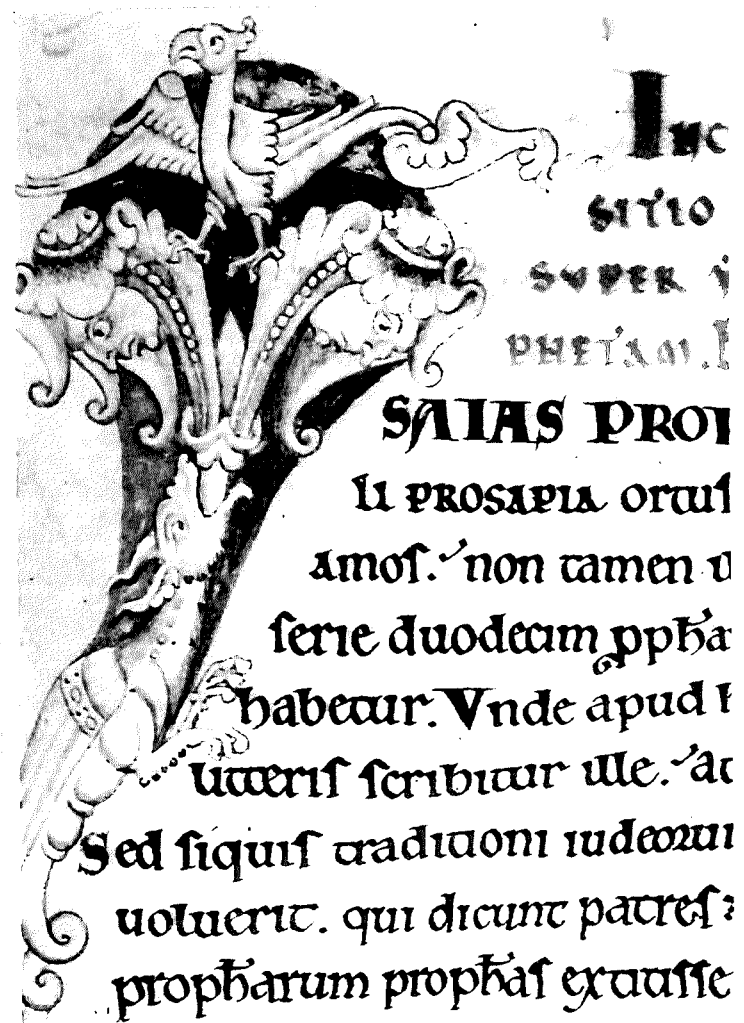
107. Initial to Hebrews, Rochester Bible. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 221v.



108. Initial to Apocalypse, Rochester Bible. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 232v.



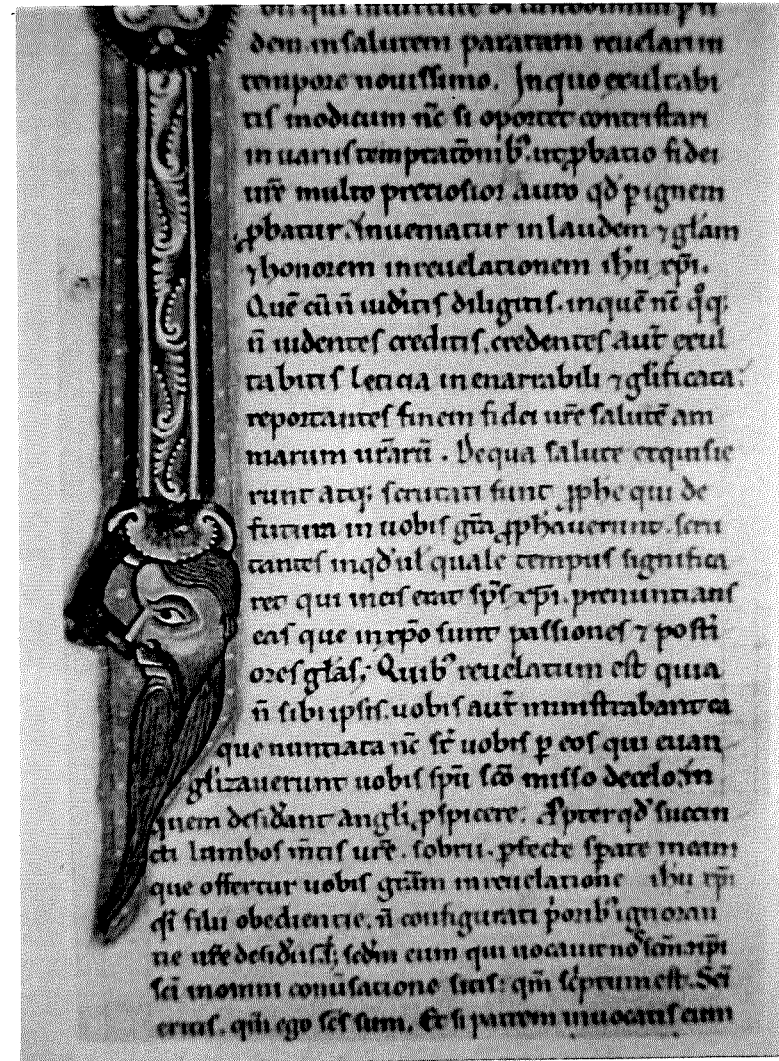
109. Initial to Book 3, Ambrose *De Fide*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 752, fol. 30v.



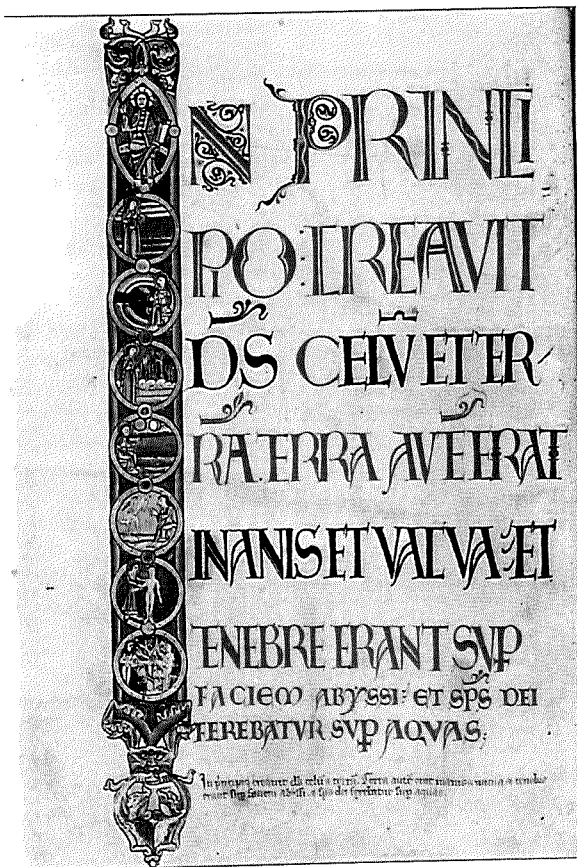
110. Initial to Prologue, Haimo on Isaiah. Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 73, fol. 1.



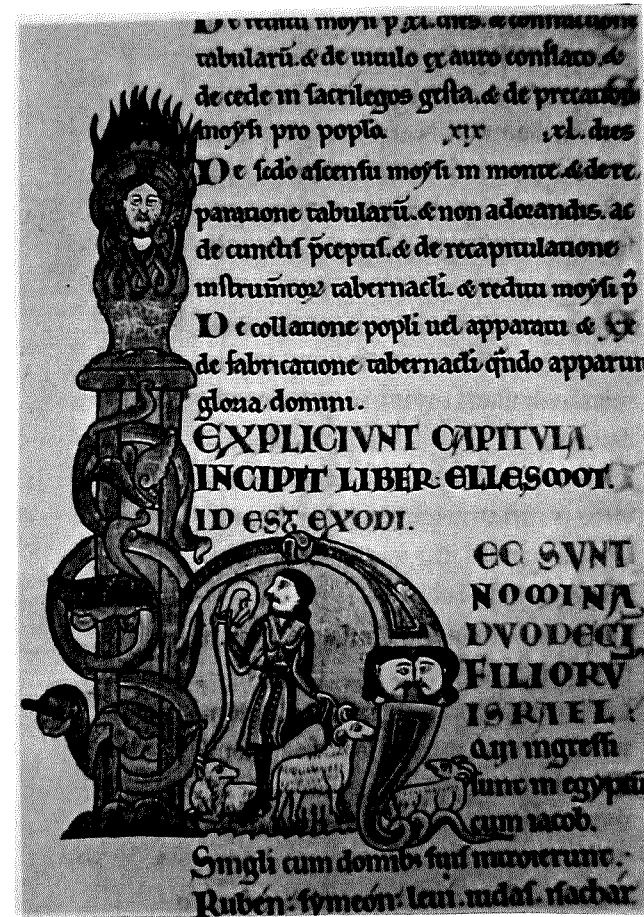
115. Initial to Hosea, Dereham Bible. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 51, fol. 90v.



116. Initial to I Peter (detail), Dereham Bible. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 51, fol. 158.



117. Initial to Genesis, Walsingham Bible. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 22, fol. 8v.



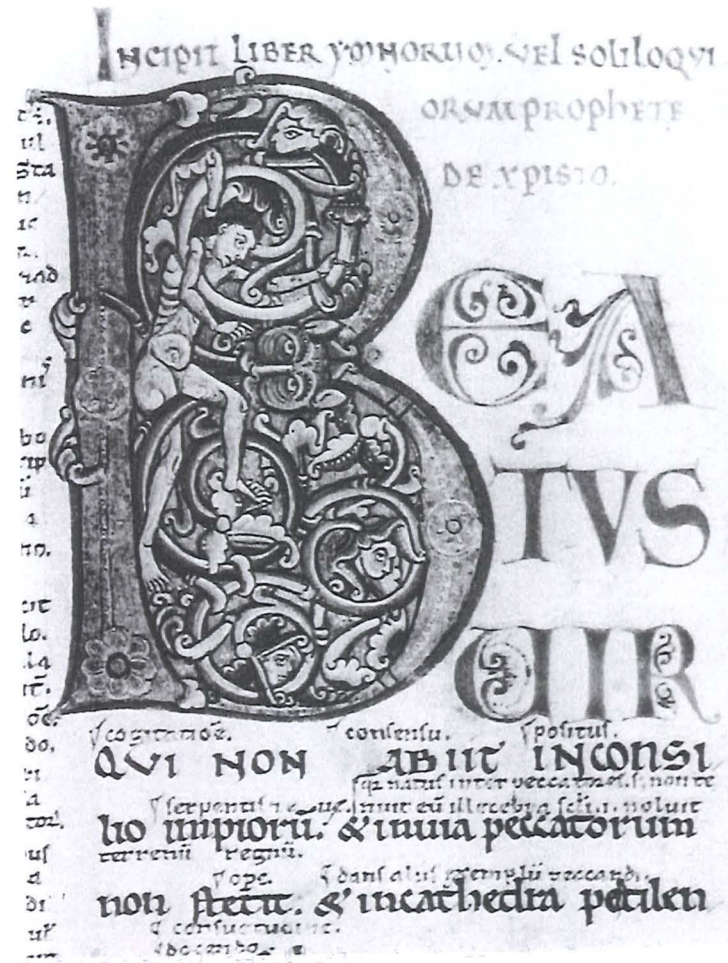
118. Initial to Exodus, Walsingham Bible. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 22, fol. 32v.



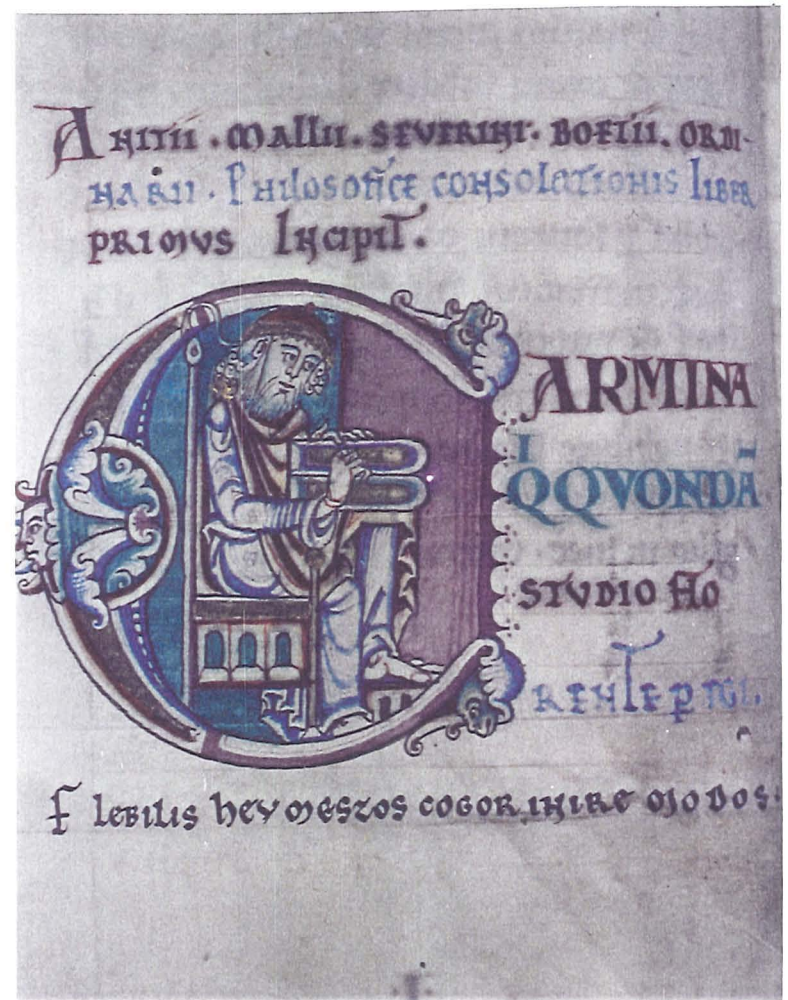
121. Opening initial to Augustine's Letters. Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P.8.4, fol. 1v.



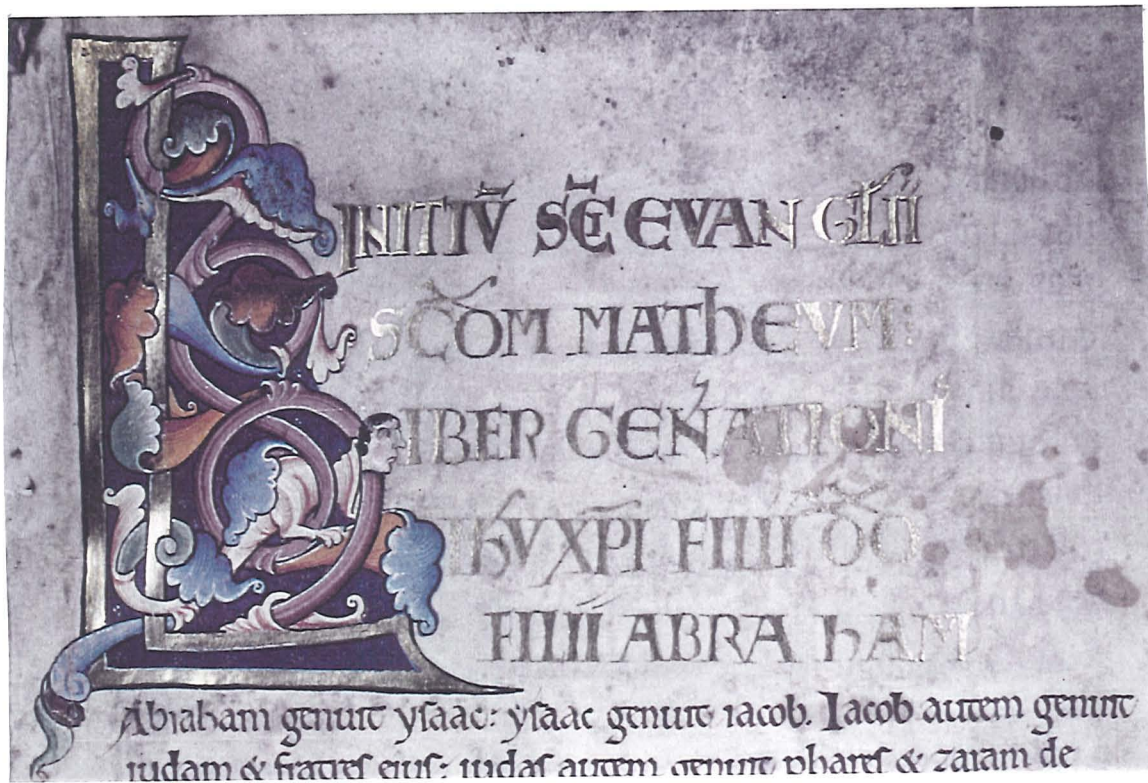
122. Initials to Psalm 1, Winchcombe Psalter and New Testament. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 53, fol. 151.



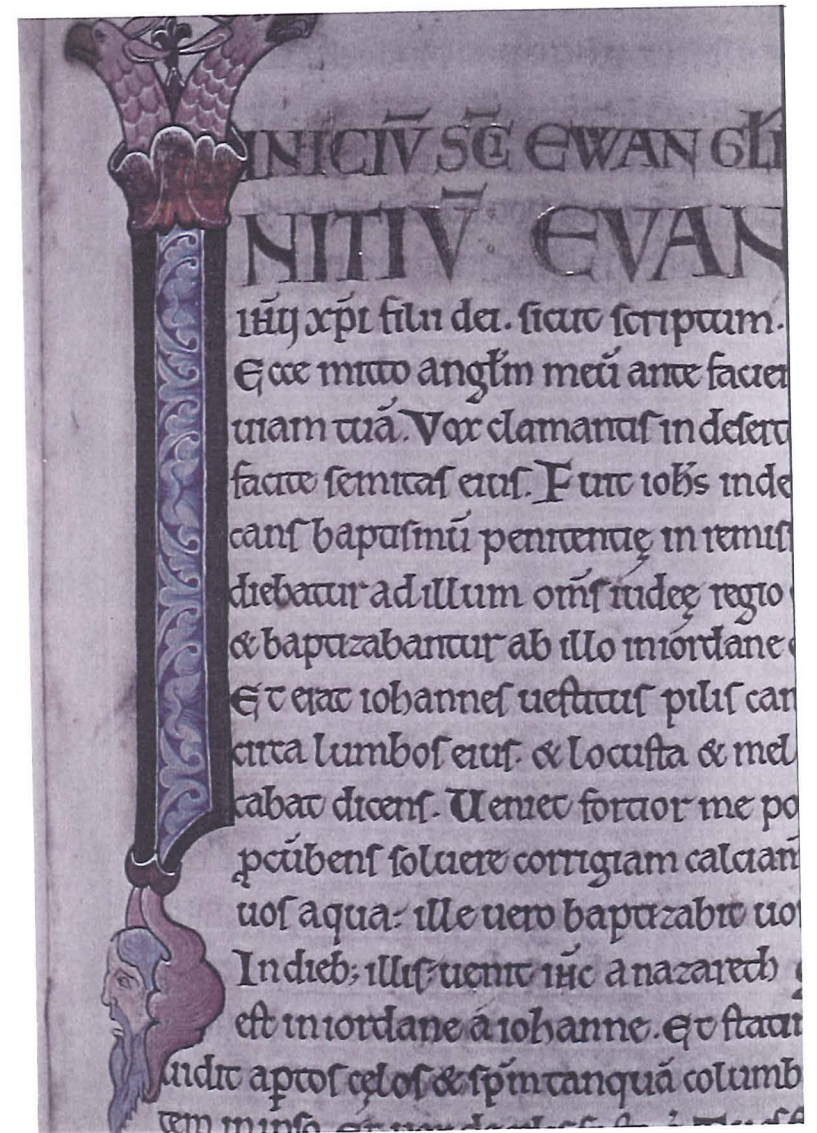
123. Initial to Psalm 1, Glossed Psalter. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.4, fol. 1.



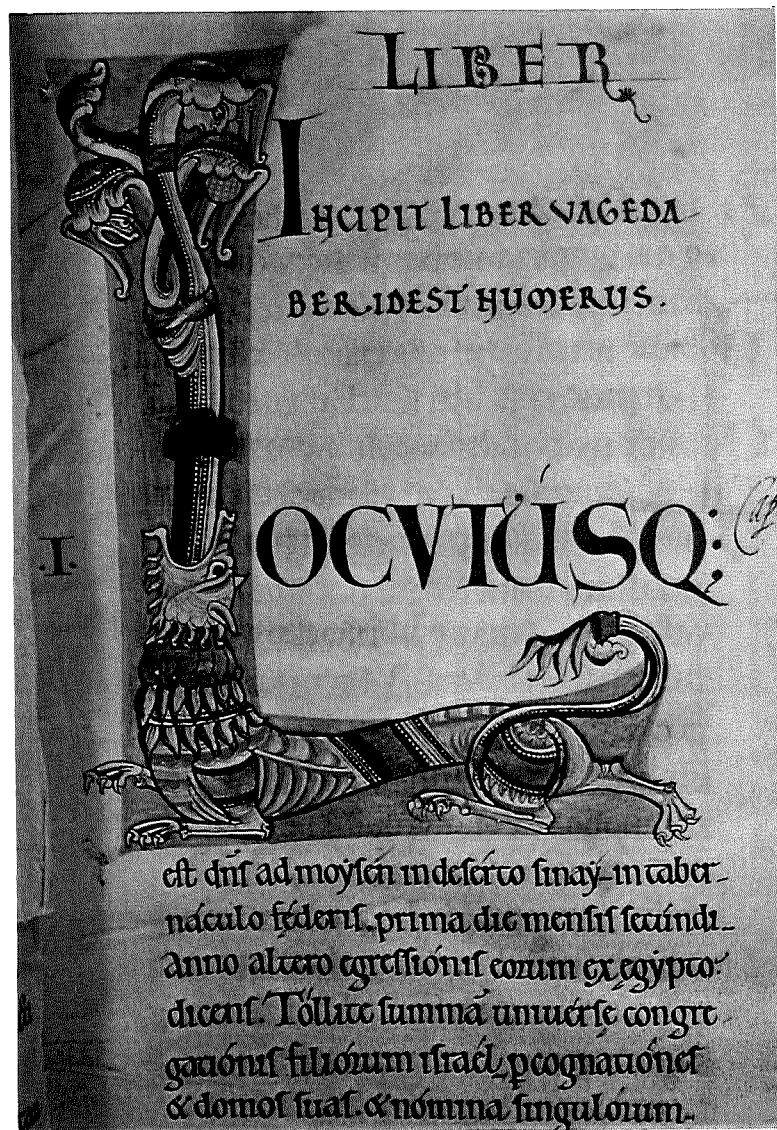
124. Initial to Book 1, Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.6.5, fol. 7v.



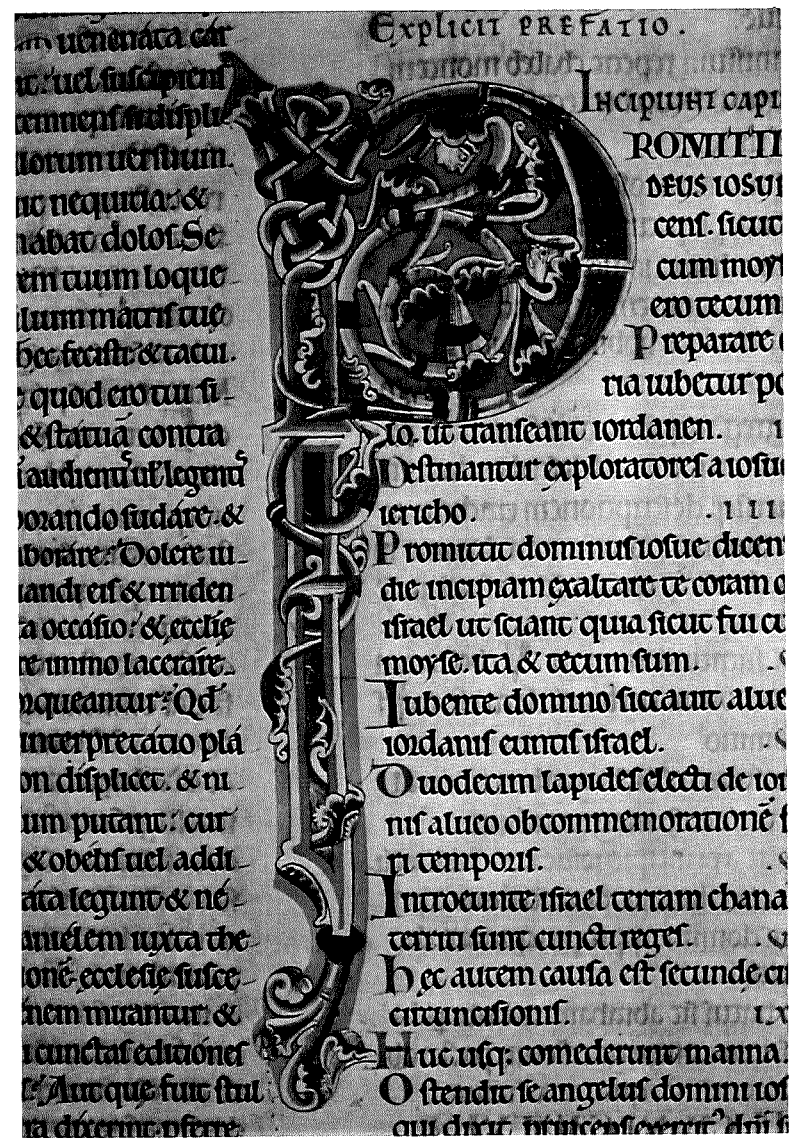
125. Initial to Matthew, Gospels. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct D.2.15, fol. 2.



126. Initial to Mark, Gospels. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct D.2.15, fol. 26.



127. Initial to Numbers, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 66.



128. Initial to capitula to Joshua, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 104.



129. Initial to Isaiah, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 192v.



130. Initial to Jonah, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 214v.



131. Initial to Daniel, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 264v.



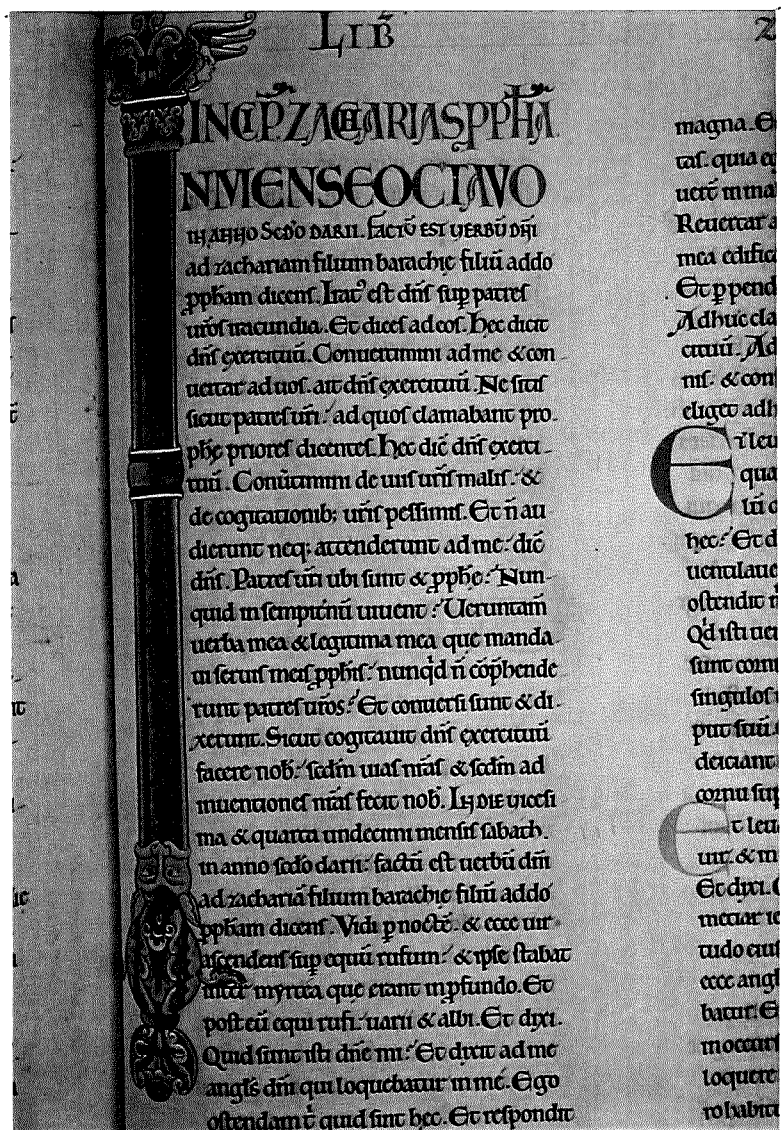
132. Initial to Hosea, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 274v.



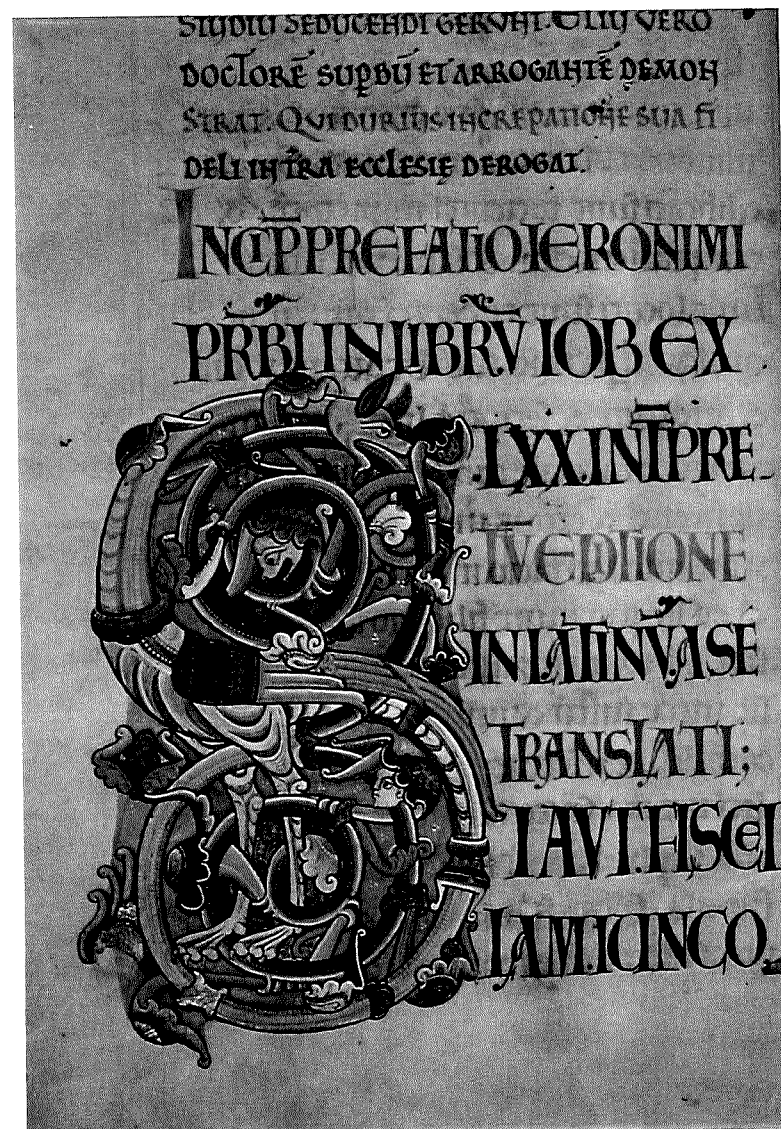
133. Initial to Amos, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 278v.



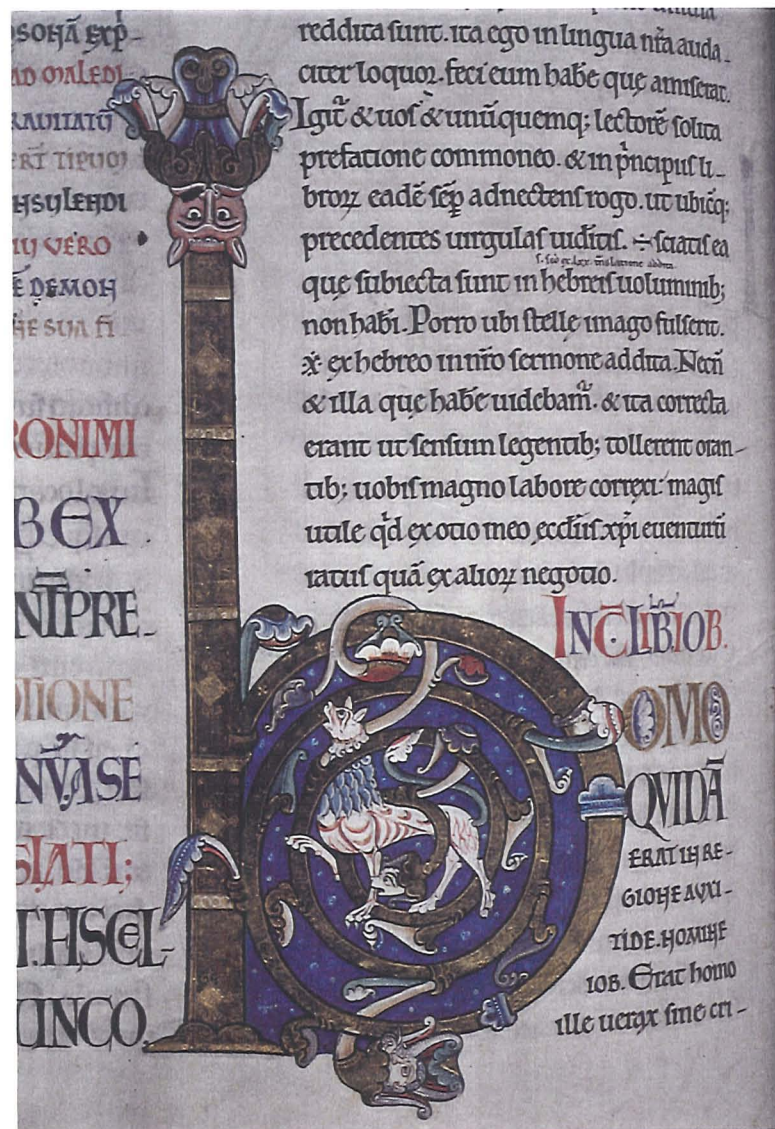
134. Initial to Micah, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 282v.



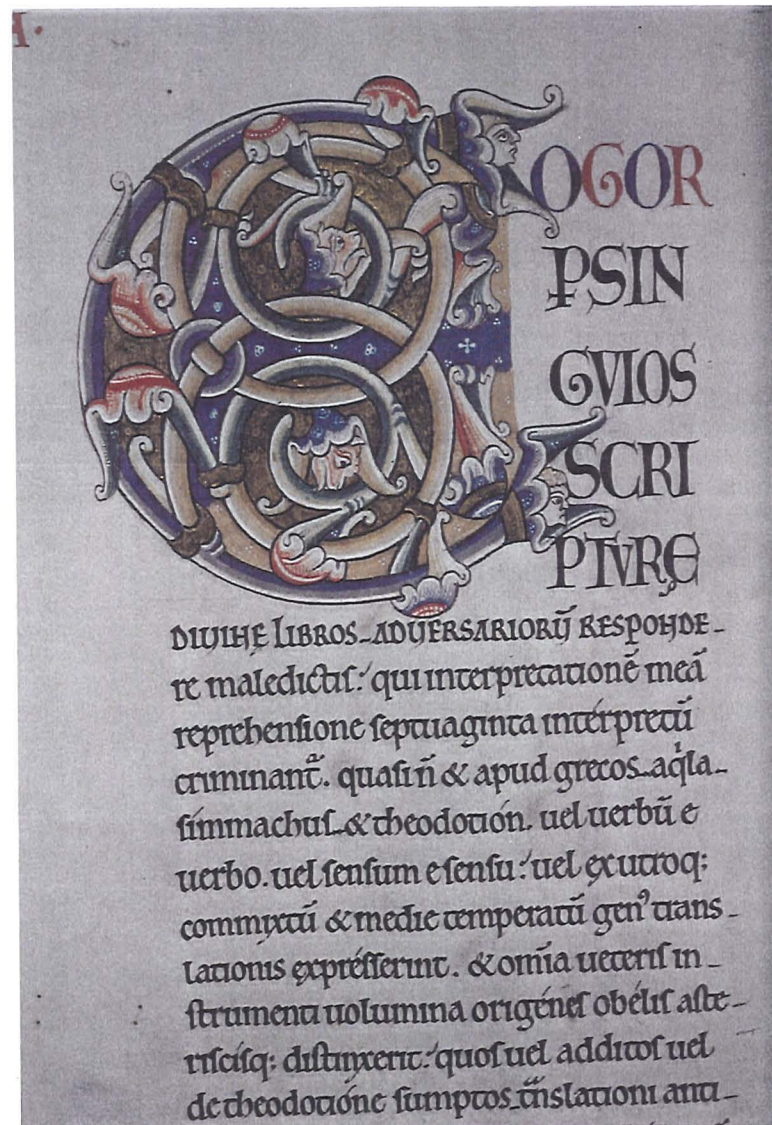
135. Initial to Zechariah, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 288.



136. Initial to Books of Job, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 292v.



137. Initial to Jerome's first translation of Job, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 292v.



138. Initial to Jerome's preface to Job. Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 303.

uxta grecos. & mea iuxta hebreos. in la-
tinū meo labore translata est. Et uocat
unusquisq; qd̄ uult. & studiosū se magis
quam maliuolū probet.

EXPLICIT PREFATIO.
INCIPIUNT CAPITULA.



DE ORIGINE .I.
quos & enu-
meratio fi-
liorū ac sub-
stantia eius.
DE SATAN UBI .II.
astans ante do-
minū petit ab eo
substantiā iob. & data est ei. **.III.**
DE SATAN UBI .IIII.
pdidit omnē substantiā iob
& filios eius. **.IIII.**
UBI IOB AUDIENS .V.
pdicionē substantie sue.
ac filiorū interitū. scidit uestimenta sua.
UBI SATAN PETIT .V.
a dño temptandū iob. **.V.**

139. Initial to capitula to Job, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 303v.

ad
xxxvii. **V**bi uenerunt ad iob om̄s parentes ei. &
multiplicata est om̄is substantia ei ac filii.
uidens bona omnib; dieb;.

EXPLICIT CAPITULA.
INCIPIUNT LIBER IOB.



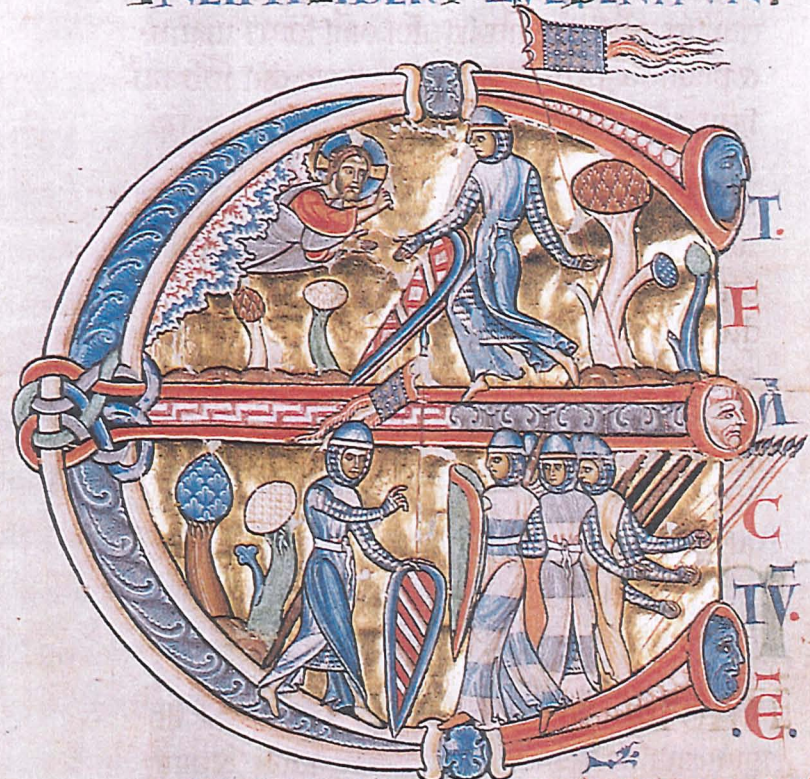
ERAT
INTER
RAHVS
NOMI
NE IOB.
ET ERAT VIR

ille simplex et rectus actiuehs deum.
& recedens a malo. Natiq; sunt ei septem
filii. & tres filie. Et fuit possessio ei septē
milia ouū. & tria milia cameloz. q̄n-
genta quoq; iugaboum. & quingente
asino; ac familia multa nimis. Eratq;
uir ille magnus inter om̄s orientales.

140. Initial to Job, Auct Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E, infra 1, fol. 304.

m
di
n
af
r
m
nen
lon
tan
pe
sq
m
or
m
ida

INCIPIT LIBER JOSUE BENN VN:



VT. POST. MORT. MOYSI.

serui dñi. loqueret̃ dñs ad iosue filium nuñ ministrū

141. Initial to Joshua, Winchester Bible. Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 69.

AND e uonabz de dauid amore & de obitu suo & de dauid & de
causa p̃p̃terit̃ philiſtinaum accire michal filiam ſaul
uxorem eius p̃p̃ter dolum p̃cedit ſolum fecit dauid **XVII**
De fuga dauid ad ſonambelen & de p̃p̃terito quomodo ſuſcitauit
uxorem ſuam p̃p̃terit̃ philiſtinaum uxor ſua ſuſcitauit pro
phetaur & de p̃p̃terito ac ſigno uonabz & dauid quod m̃uſe
p̃uſſerit **XVIII** ſuſcitauit ad regem n̄ ſoabz
De fuga dauid in nobz & de ſig̃is de ſemedech ſacerdote
facto eſſe ueterit̃ & quomodo dauid m̃uſicauit uulnum
ſuum coram adit̃ regē q̃bz & collaboret̃ & cum ſiſt̃ om̃iſ **XX**
De q̃ad p̃p̃terit̃ uxor om̃iſ q̃bz dauid fugerit in terra iuda
in ſolim̄. erit̃ alauit ſaol̄ & edoeb̄ p̃cedere occiſus eſt ab
m̃elchior̄ r̄at̄ octoginta ſacerdotibz & quomodo dauid
p̃uſſit philiſtin̄ & ſuſcitauit eadē **XXV**
De ſaule quomodo uoluit dauid m̃elchior̄ capere & quomodo
genit̃ uenit m̃elchior̄ r̄at̄ uxor ſua ſonambelen ad eum uenit
& p̃uſſit uxor̄ ſaol̄ coram dñō & conſeruaue nonas dñi
uid & ſeruaſit eū in domum ſuam **XXVI**
De dauid ubi m̃p̃d̄at̄o p̃p̃cedere om̃iſ claudet̃ ſaul filiar̄
& p̃uſſit eam ſuam & p̃cedit uxor̄ ſuam p̃p̃terit̃ ſe in dñō dñi
ne m̃uſicauit manum manū m̃d̄m̄ meū regem quia x̄p̄ dñi
De ſamuel def̄ morte & de p̃p̃terito eius m̃uſicauit & **XXVII**
que de uabal carnelo ac de uabal q̃bz eūſ g̃it̄a r̄eſeruit̄
De dauid ubi allegat̄ & ad m̃uſicauit uxor̄ ſuam **XXVIII**
& ubi ſuſcitauit p̃p̃terit̃ ſaol̄ & ubi ſuſcitauit uxor̄ ſuam
ſecundo p̃p̃terit̃ **XXIX** Item om̃iſ ſalut̄
De m̃uſicauit dauid in q̃bz ad dñō regem philiſtin̄ & quomodo
ille g̃it̄a r̄eſeruit̄ eadē ſaule & quomodo p̃p̃terit̃ m̃uſicauit
De p̃p̃terit̃ ſuſcitauit ſaol̄ & quomodo p̃p̃terit̃ m̃uſicauit
m̃uſicauit g̃it̄a r̄eſeruit̄ & de dauid ubi p̃p̃terit̃ om̃iſ cap
uenerit̄ & ubi ſuſcitauit ſaol̄ & quomodo m̃uſicauit ſaol̄
p̃p̃terit̃ dauid **XXXI** ſuſcitauit
De ſaule philiſtina m̃uſicauit g̃it̄a r̄eſeruit̄ in quo ſaol̄ uenerit̄

EXPLICIT IN CAPE:

INCIPIT LIB REGV PRIM:



VII
MIR
UN
DERA
MATHA
SOPHI
EMOTE
EPHRAIM ET NODEN
EUS HELCHANA FILIUS IEROBAM
fili helu fili can fili ſaph q̃bz
uſ & habuit duos uxor̄ nomen
una ſima & nomen ſede ſenima
Fueruntq̃ ſenima fili ſime autē
non erant liberi Et aſcendebat
uir ille decurſare ſua ſtatuſq̃ dñi
ut adorare & ſacrificare dñō cor
erant niſo Erant autē ſi duo
fili heli ophim & ſime ſacerdot̄
dñi Venit ergo dñs & immolauit
helchana & dñs ſenima uxor̄
ſua & uenerit̄ ſime uſ & ſime
p̃p̃terit̃ Amc autē dñs p̃p̃terit̄
unam tr̄it̄ ſua om̃iſ dñs
Dñs autem conſeruaſit uulna c̄
Affligebat quoq̃ eam mala cruſ
& uenerit̄ ang̃ebat m̃uſicauit
ut exprobrante quod conſeruaſit
dñi uulnam cruſ Sicq̃ faciebat
p̃ ſingul̄s annos Cumq̃ rediret
te c̄mpore aſcenderit̄ templū
dñi & ſic puocabat eam Poro
illa ſcl̄ ac & non capiebat ob̄
Dicit ergo ei helchana uir ſiſt̄
Auiā uir ſcl̄ Et quare non
comedit Et quā obrem aſ
ſiguit̄ coram dñō Numq̃d
non ego melior tibiſum quā
decem ſiſt̄ Surrexit autē an
na poſtquā comedere niſo
& uenerit̄ & heli ſacerdote ſedente ſup ſellam
ante poſtes templi dñi cum eēt om̃iſ amaro
anno orauit dñs ſtens largiter & uocato
uir decem Dñs exercituum ſiſt̄ p̃terit̄ in dñi
afflictoſe familie tue & recedat̄ mei fuerit̄
nec oblitus anille tue dederit̄q̃ ſeruo tue
ſocum uiritem Dabo cum dñō om̃iſ dñs uir

142. Initial to I Samuel, Winchester Bible. Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 88.

Et erat abbaie. Dicitur babilonem non in di-
 ctatum nescio. Et apprehendit eum angeli dñi
 muerat eum. et portavit illum capitulo capi-
 tis sui. et portavit eum in babilone sup lacum in
 impetu sp̄s sui. Et clamavit abbaie dicens.
 Danibel serue dei. tolle prandium quod misit
 tibi dñs. Et ait danibel. Recordatus est enim
 mei dñs. et non dereliquit diligentes te. Sur-
 gensq; danibel. comedit. Porro angeli dñi resti-
 tuit abbaie consilium in loco suo. Venit ergo
 rex die septima uelageret danibelem. & ue-
 nit ad lacum & interrogat. & ecce danibel
 sedens in medio leonum. Et exclamavit rex
 uoce magna dicens. Magnus est dñs dñi da-
 nibelis. Et exorat eum de lacu. Porro illos
 qui perierunt eius causa fuerunt incommite.
 & delectati sunt in momento coram eo. Tunc
 exare. Puerant om̄s habitaculi terri dñi
 danibeli. ipse est enim dñs uiuent in secula.
 ipse liberat. atq; saluato. faciens signa &
 mirabilia. in celo & in terra. qui liberauit
 danibelem de lacu leonum. **EXPLICIT DANIEL
 ET PROPHE.**

INCIPIT PROLOGVS IN MINORIBVS



INCIPIT
IN MINORIBVS
PROPHE
TARVM:
IN IDEM
ORDINE
DIODECI
PROPHE
 apud hebreos qui
 & apud nos. Vnde
 scribitur in quod ibi
 legitur. hic quoq;
 dispositio. Osee enim commacutus est.
 & quasi p̄sentat̄ loquitur. Iohel pla-
 nus in p̄ncipit. In fine est obsecror. Et
 aitq; ad malachiam habent singuli propri-
 tates suas. quod etiam scribam legisti.
 & dicitur hebrei autumant. Et quia longum
 est nunc de omnib; dicere. hoc tantum uos
 opauit. & custodiam ad montes uolo scri-
 re unum librum cō duo decim p̄phetarum.
 Et osee synchronon ysaię. malachiam uero
 aggeri & zacharie fuisse temporibus. In quib;
 autē tempus non p̄scribitur. in titulo. sub
 illis uos regibus p̄phetauit. sub quib; & hi qui
 ante eos habent uelut prophetauerunt.

**INCIPIT PROLOGVS
 IN OSEE PROPHE.**

Tunc et roboam filius regis israhel. & osee filius
 beeri ad p̄phetam in dicendam sp̄s r̄o replerit
 est. De memoria quo itaq; numero rex achaz
 rex iuda. & roboam rex israhel dereliquerunt
 uehementer regum. & paraly p̄misionem iudicant.
 etiam israhel. idolatrici erimen impio ac potesta-
 te sua ad mittere cogunt. Propter quod
 dñs ad osee hoc loquitur est dicens. Accipit uer-
 uos fomicarij. sive fomicationum. & fac fi-
 lios fomicationis. Fomicationem itaq; non deli-
 cati corpore meretricē. sed gentile plebs dñi non
 tantē appellat. que dei creatur sit amice
 contempto simulachrorū se subiecerat de de-
 nis. Sed cum propheta. dea p̄cepto in bacere
 parauit. concēpti exca filium israhel. p̄-
 cipitur nominare. deo pellicente post breue
 tempus sanguine israhel. in domo huius im-
 dicari. Cuius p̄missionis hec causa est huius
 phetisum in regni uentū ad defendendam
 sanguine naboth. cuius israhel quē tunc
 tempus metropolis erat. quē israhel achab
 regis israhel uox interuenit. sicut hystoria
 regum exponit. Et cum grauer itera dñi
 num p̄ceptum in dicandi sanguinis causa
 in omne memoria domum desuisset. hoc
 pacto dñi dereliquit in uentur. Cui p̄nc-
 pote roboam qui lectone comprehensit est
 originis sup facta immanis. & contra dei p̄-
 cepta. & religionē cū populo israhel ageret.
 sanguis naboth qui in toto certe israhel
 fuerat. p̄fusus in domo huius patris in memora-
 roboam. p̄pter peccati. redimaturus signifi-
 cat. Hinc factū est ut in dñi impopulum israhel
 p̄denuntiamem prophete p̄cessit diceret.
 Domui autem iuda in fedita lectone compre-
 hensa. ob hoc p̄missa est. quia exchias rex iu-
 da filius achaz. subleuit idolos. que tam pat-
 eus quam ceteri reges consecrauerunt. exempli
 de purgasse ac purificasse monstrat.

EXPLICIT PROLOGVS:
INCIPIT LIBER
OSEE: PROPHE:

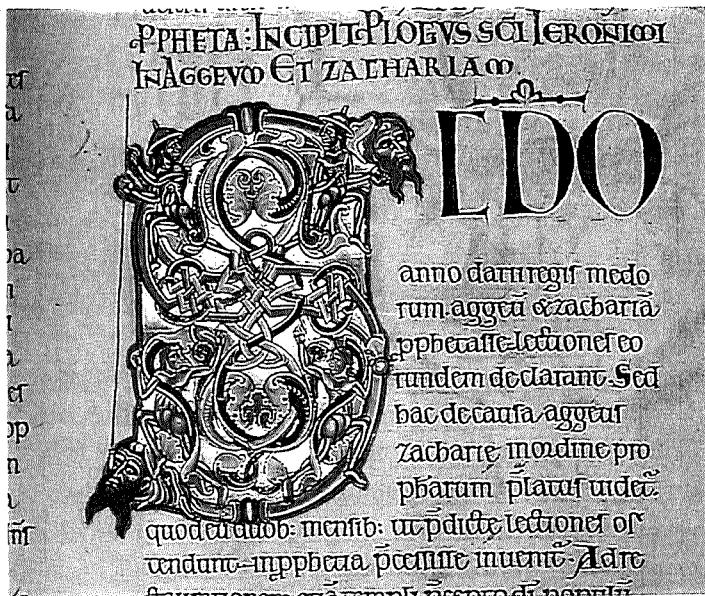
di in uulnus meum: & tu uene in uul-
 nus meum. Et esaias. Audite celi & auribus pe-
INCIPIT IOHEL PROPHE



FACTUM EST AD IOHEL FILIUM BATH

146. Initial to Joel, Winchester Bible. Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 200v.

145. Initial to prologue to Minor Prophets, Winchester Bible. Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 197v.



147. Initial to prologue to Haggai, Winchester Bible. Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 209v.

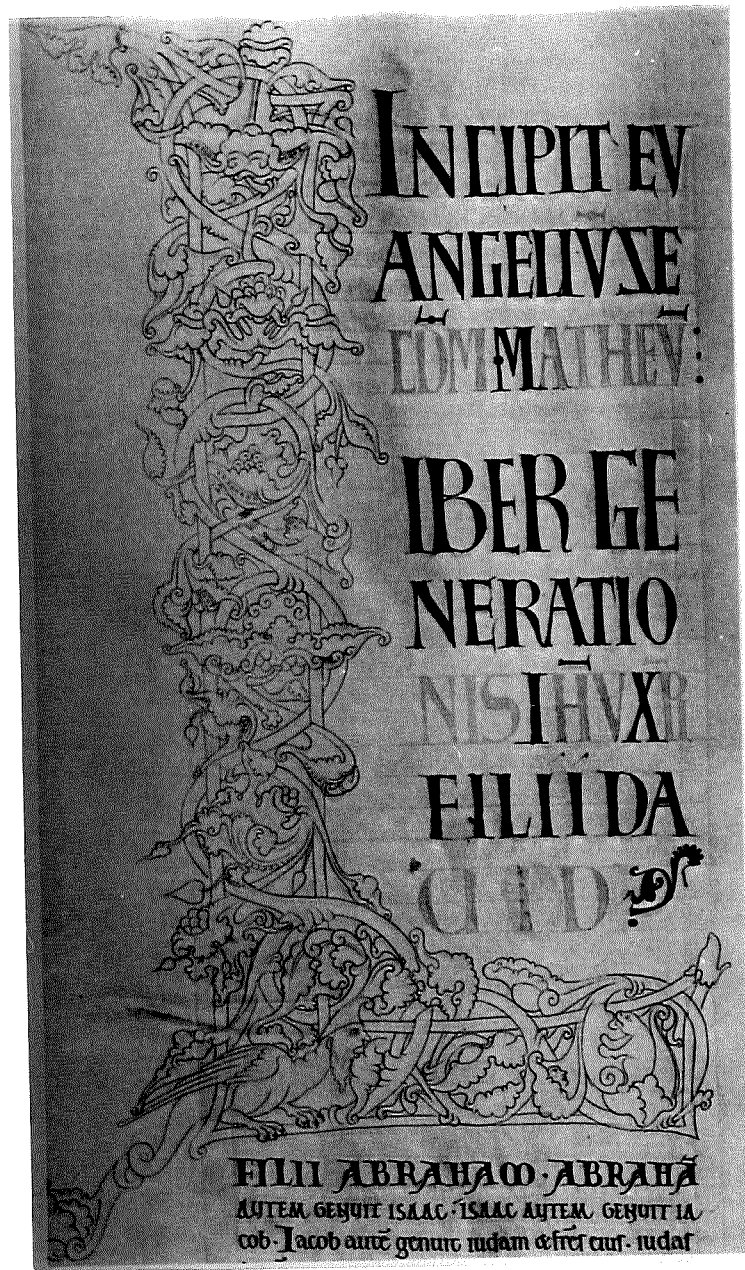


148. Initial to prologue to Zechariah, Winchester Bible. Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 210v.



fili dauid regis ierlm. Vanitas uanitati dicit
ecclesiastes. uanitas uanitatum & omnia uanitas.
Quid habet amplius homo de uniuerso labo-
re suo de quo laborat sub sole? Generatio pre-
terit & generatio aduenit. terra uero in eternum stat.
Natur: sol & occidit. & ad locum .II.

149. Initial to Ecclesiastes, Winchester Bible. Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 268.



150. Initial to Matthew, Winchester Bible. Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 373v.



qui viderunt am
hec ubi euangeli
non poterit loq
pro eo quod non
buntur in tempo
zachariam. & in
templo. Egressu
& cognoverunt e
Et ipse invenit e
Et factum est ut
abit in domum i
cepit elisabeth y
sibus quinque d
in diebus quibus
meum inter hon
mister est angl
lites
gine
erat ioseph dedi
nis MARIA. Et
Aue gra plena
in multis

151. Initial to Luke, Winchester Bible. Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 392.

INCIPIT EPLA SCDA:
ENIOR

ELECTE

domine & natif ei
quos ego diligo in
ueritate & non ego
solus sed & omnes
qui cognouerunt
ueritate propter

ueritatem que pmanet in uob & nobiscum erit
in eternum sit uobiscum gra & misericordia & pax
a deo patre & xpo ihu filio patris in ueritate
& caritate. II **C**ausus sum ualde
qm inueni de filiis eius ambulantes in
ueritate sicut mandatum accepim a patre.

De multiplica sacramento quod ut reudari

EXPLIANT CAP
INCIPIT EPISTOL
EN

EN

que
mu
dec
fac
grec
pspe
tua

Causus sum ualde uenturabi
monium perhibentab: uerit

154. Initials to II John & III John, Winchester Bible.
Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 434.

THEVM

AVLVX

APLXPL

IESV

SECVNDV

imprium dei saluatois
mri xpi ihu spei nre timotheo dilecto
filio in fide gra misericordia & pax a deo pa
tre nro xpo ihu dno nro. Sicut rogau
te ut remaneres ephesi cum rem in mace
domiam & denuntiares quibusdam ne
aliter docerent neq; intenderent fabu
lis & genealogis interminatis que
questiones prestant magis qua edifica
uonem dei que est in fide. Finis aute
precepti est caritas de corde puro &
conscientia bona & fide non ficta.

155. Initial to I Timothy, Winchester Bible.
Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 17, fol. 456v.

fallunt picula inter ni. S; p ea qua & ego u
 bulatione & dolorem inueni. nom dñi in
 uocaui. Latebat enim me tribulatio & do
 lor utilis. Tribulatio de qua dat auxiliū cui
 dictū ē. da nob auxiliū de tribulatiōe. & uana
 salus hominis.



156. Marginal drawing in commentary on Psalm 114, Augustine on the Psalms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a, fol. 66.

mi
 .
 ro
 tet
 e
 to
 lmi
 mi.
 os
 no
 id

de quo istud uisum ē p̄loquendum. Ex
 plogus. Inci
 sermo p̄mus
 postitōis. salu
 centesimi oct
 agens iste d
 psalmus ab ex
 suo km̄i exho
 nos ad beatitu
 quam nemo ē qui non expe-
 tat. Quis eni
 quam uel potest. uel potuit. uel poterit



157. Initial to preface to commentary on Psalm 118, Augustine on the Psalms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a, fol. 70v.

clusa e. Per quam
 o legem fidei. Hec e. lex
 us p. gram nob. dona
 sos implere n. possum?
 e. nram uolentes con
 necti. In lege itaq;
 a. in lege aut fidei.
 ut dixisset. & lege tua
 nus que iam consecut
 tribit. ut impleteret
 utus. At enim.
 aa tua n. sum oblit.
 ne nolime confunde.
 rrerem. iudicia tua
 i. Adhesi testimoniis
 fundere. Quo curro
 iam. Non enim uolen
 entis e. di. Demq; seqt.
 curri. cum dilatasti
 dilatastet cor meum.
 ar. quemadmodum

quid dixerit. hoc aut
 accepturi erant cred
 possent de ista condit
 nis iam contradicitur
Sermo de
 psalmo isto magno s
 te dno considandum.
 pone in dne uiam ius
 ram eam semp. Ap's
 iustis aut & non subd
 dens ait. Et siquid a
 satur. que e. sedm eu
 creditum e. in. Nunq
 legem pone in dne. o
 positam legem. Abs
 dixisset. uiam mand
 dilatares cor meum
 lex adno ponatur. t
 in non ponitur iust
 contumacia in tabul
 cordis. carnalib; sed
 te. signa quod inse

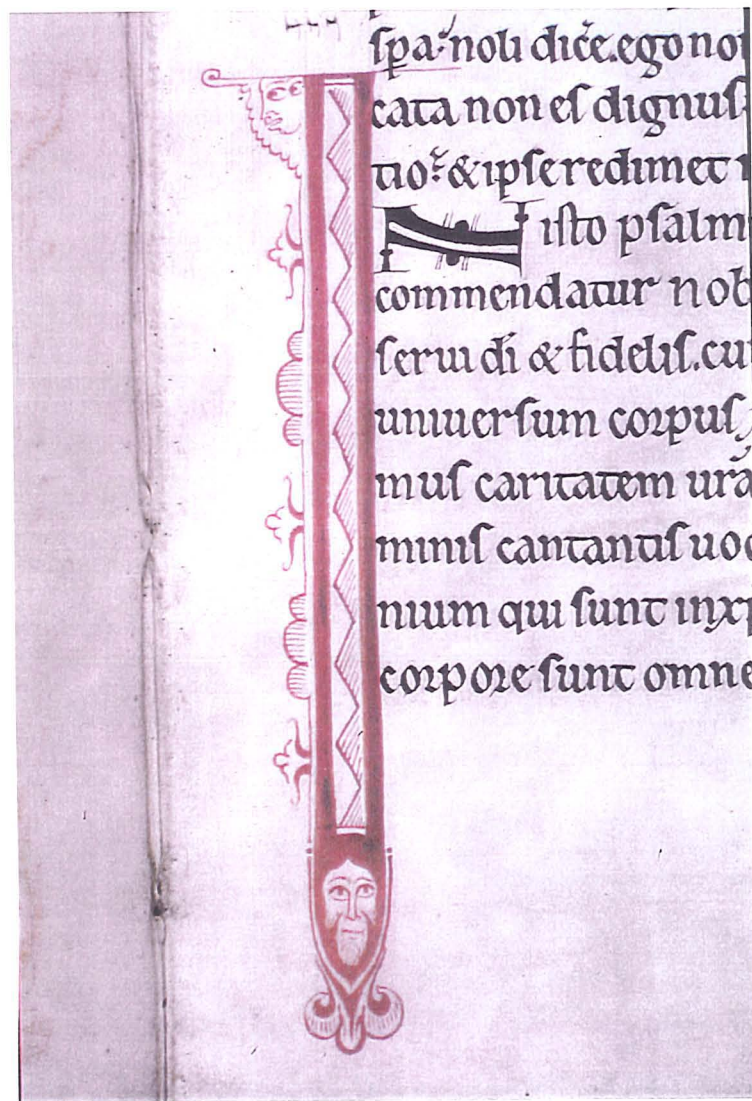
158. Initial to sermon 12 of commentary on Psalm 118, Augustine on the Psalms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a, fol. 79.



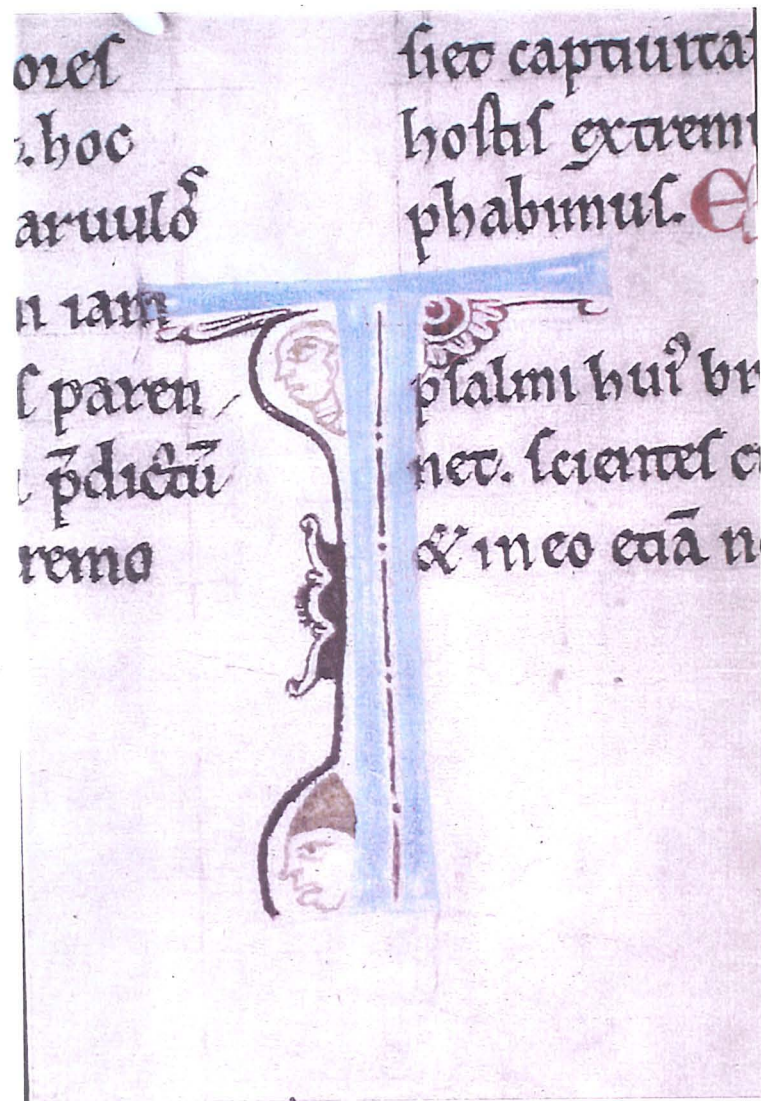
159. Initial to commentary on Psalm 119, Augustine on the Psalms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a, fol. 102.



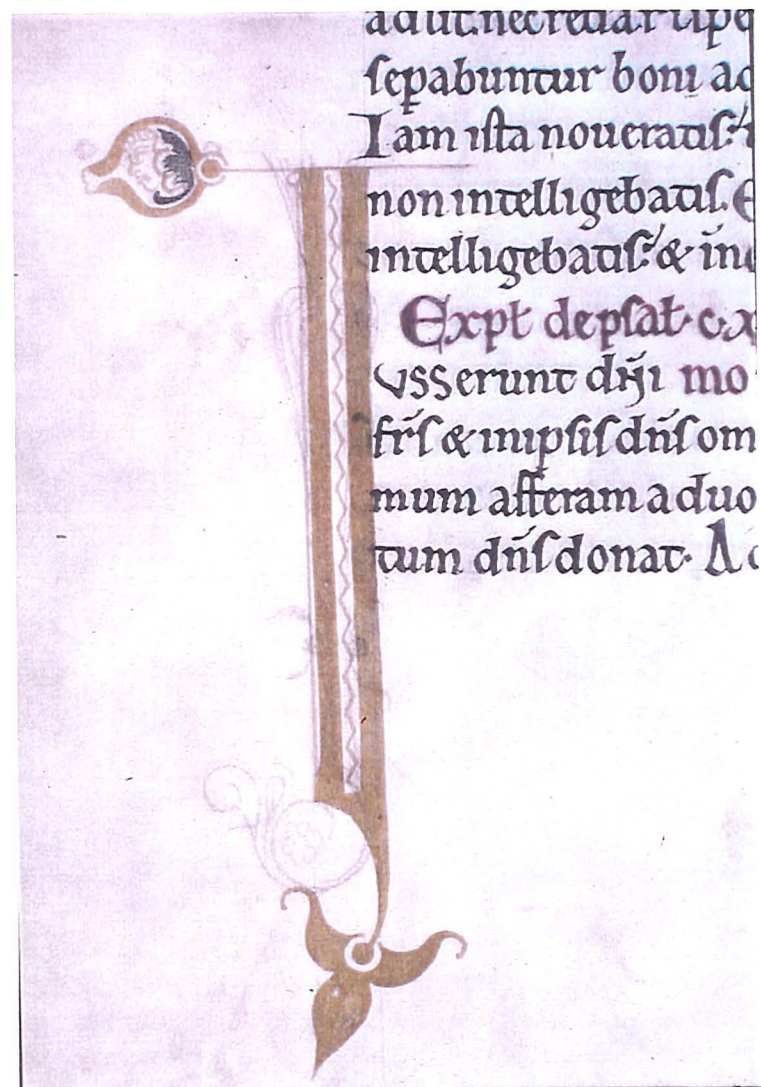
160. Initial to commentary on Psalm 128, Augustine on the Psalms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a, fol. 132.



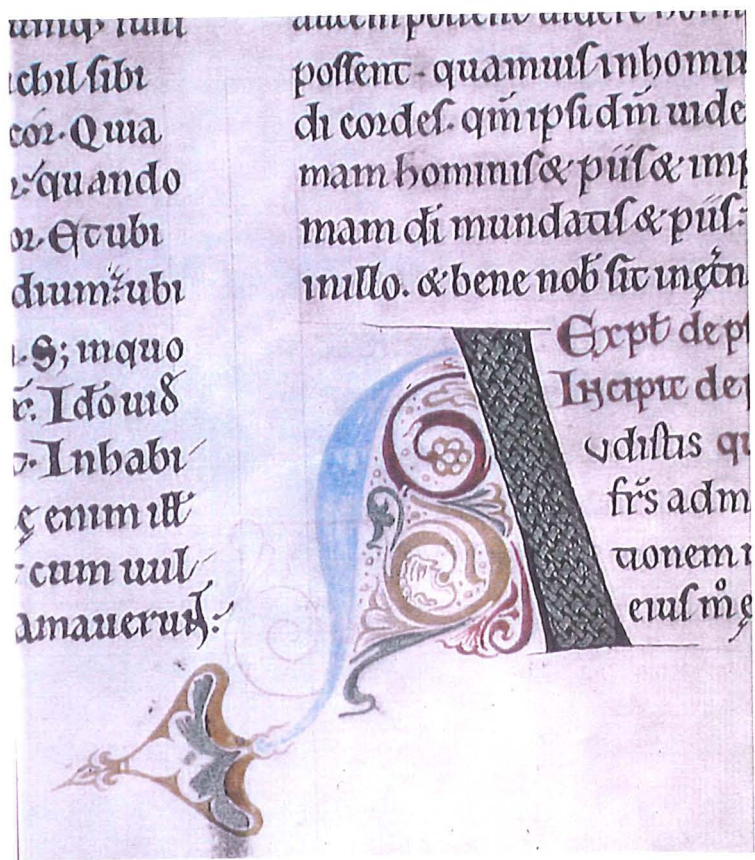
161. Initial to commentary on Psalm 130, Augustine on the Psalms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a, fol. 137.



162. Initial to commentary on Psalm 137, Augustine on the Psalms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a, fol. 160v.



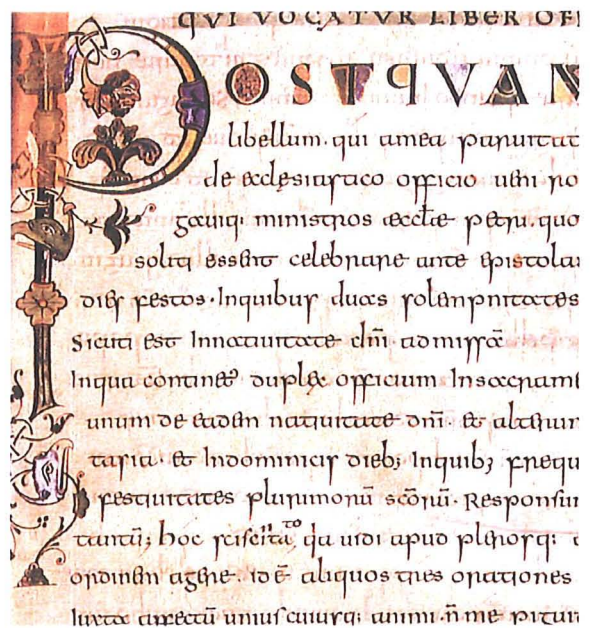
163. Initial to commentary on Psalm 139, Augustine on the Psalms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a, fol. 170v.



164. Initial to commentary on Psalm 140, Augustine on the Psalms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270a, fol. 174v.



165. Initial to *Canticum gradium*, Junius Psalter, Winchester, c. 925-50. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27, fol. 135v.



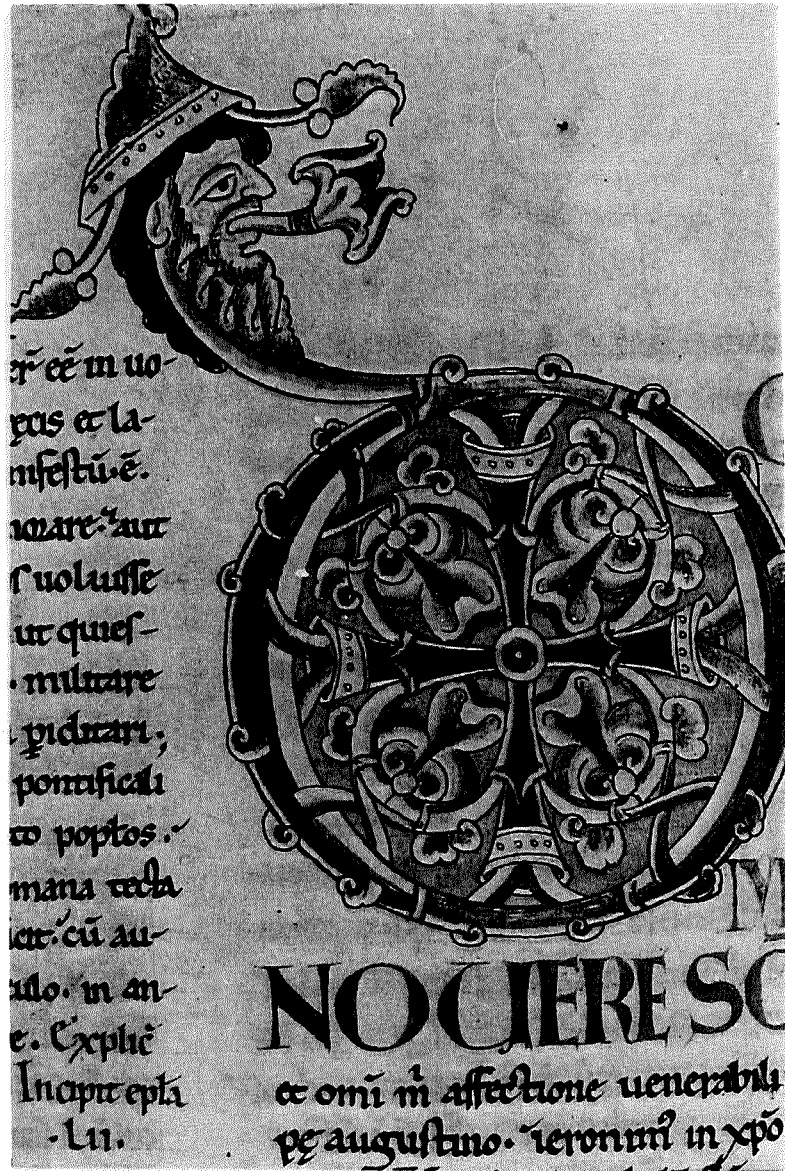
166. Initial to Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, c. 950-75. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.II.2, fol. 4.



167. Initial to Proper for Easter, Mont St. Michel Sacramentary, Mont St. Michel, c.1050-1065. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.641, fol. 76.



168. Initial to II Chronicles, Mont St. Michel Bible, Mont St. Michel, c.1070-1095. Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun., MS 1, fol. 140v.



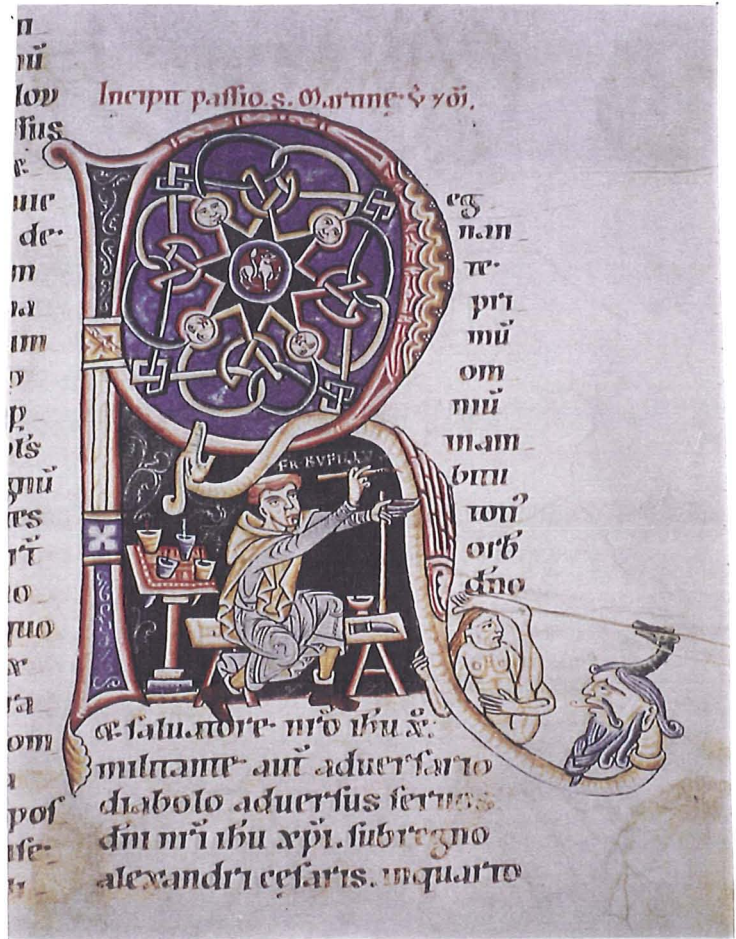
169. Initial to Jerome's Letters, Cîteaux, c.1120. Dijon, Bibl. Mun., MS 135, fol. 88v.



170. Initial to Book 15, Augustine, *De Trinitate*, Cîteaux, c.1130-50. Dijon, Bibl. Mun., MS 141, fol. 165.



171. Initial to II Timothy, Glossed Pauline Epistles, Florence, late twelfth century. Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Plut, XXIII.5, fol. 154.



172. Initial to Life of St. Martin, Weissenau Passional, Weissenau, c.1200. Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cod. 127, fol. 244.



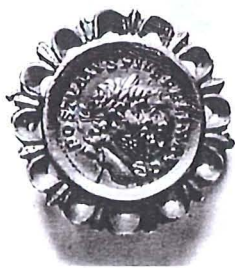
173. Initial to Leviticus, Glossed Pentateuch of Herbert of Bosham, Paris, c.1180. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E., infra 7, fol. 116.



174. Crypt Capital, Christ Church, Canterbury, c.1120-30.



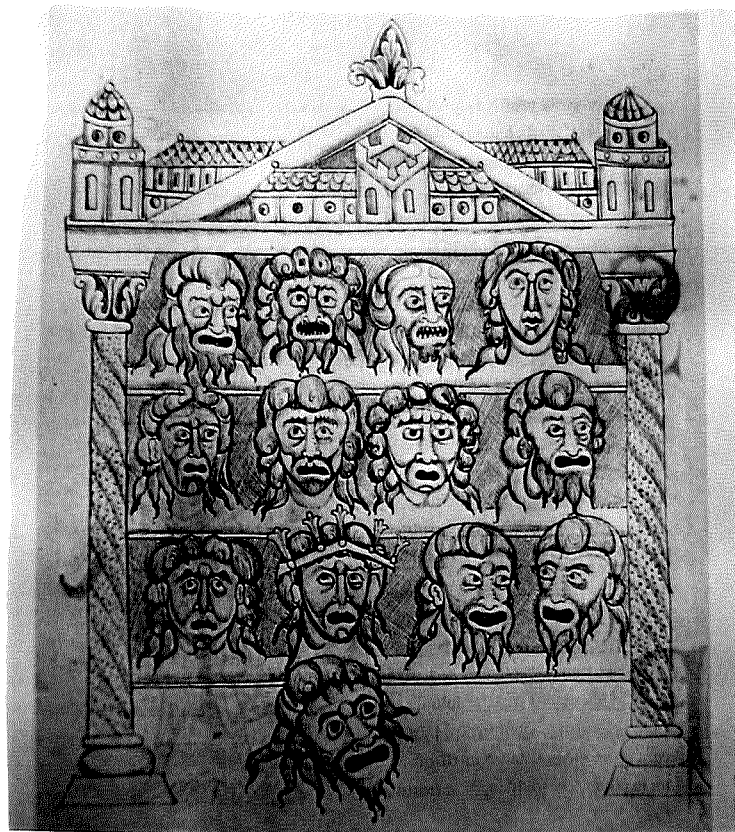
175. Grotesque mask, southwest doorway capital, Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire, c.1130.



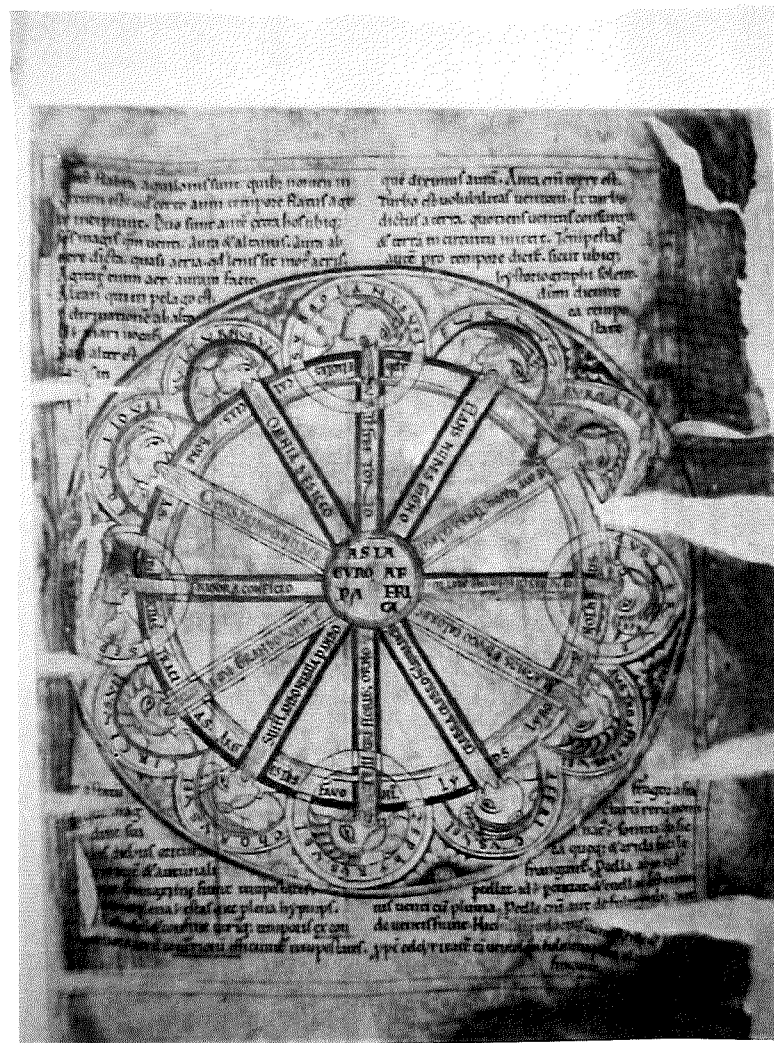
176. Gold brooch of Postumus, 258-67 A.D. British Museum, no. 2871.



177. Initial to Joshua (detail), Bury Bible. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 115v.



178. Aedicula, Comedies of Terence, St. Albans, c.1145-55. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct F.2.13, fol. 3.



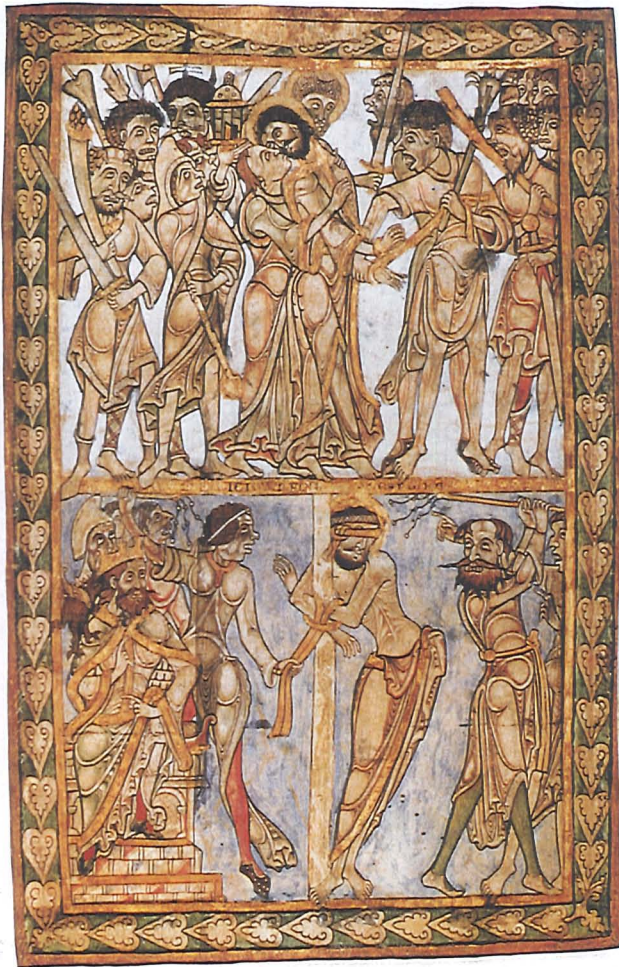
179. Wind Rota, *De Natura Rerum*, Winchcombe, c.1120-30. London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E.IV, fol. 30.



180. Miniature of *Dunstanus Archiepiscopus*, Christ Church, Canterbury, c.1120. London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A.III, fol. 8.



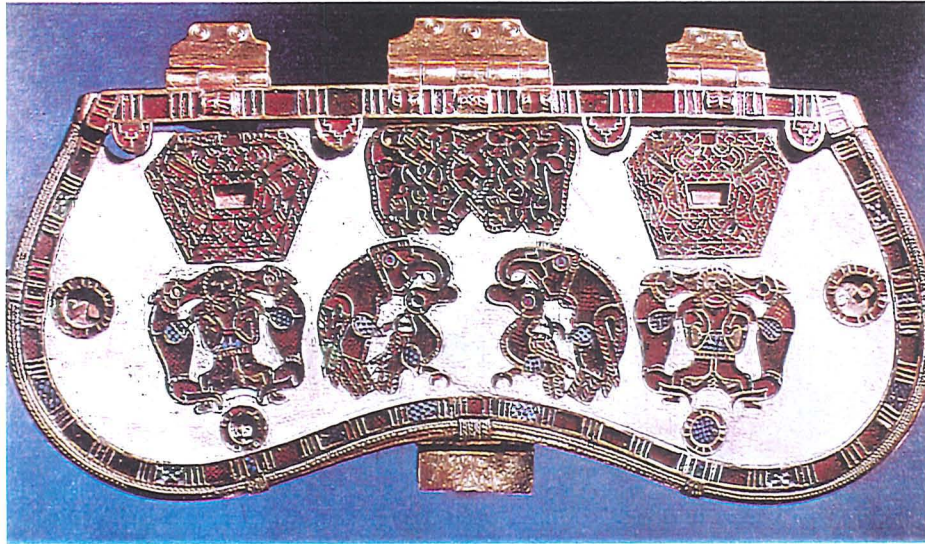
181. Moses instructing the Israelites, Miniature to the Book of Deuteronomy, Bury Bible, c.1135. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, fol. 94.



182. The Betrayal and the Flagellation, Winchester Psalter, Winchester, c.1150. London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.IV, fol. 21.



183. Angel Locking the Damned in Hell, Winchester Psalter, Winchester, c.1150. London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.IV, fol. 39.



184. Purse Lid, Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, c.800. London, British Museum.



185. Tarasque, third century A. D. Musee Lapidaire, Avignon.



186. Adam and Eve, Cloister Capital,
Hyde Abbey, Winchester, c.1141.



187. The Fall, Cloister Capital,
Hyde Abbey, Winchester, c.1141.



188. Doves, Reapers and Serpents, west portal of Leominster Priory Church, Herefordshire, c.1130.

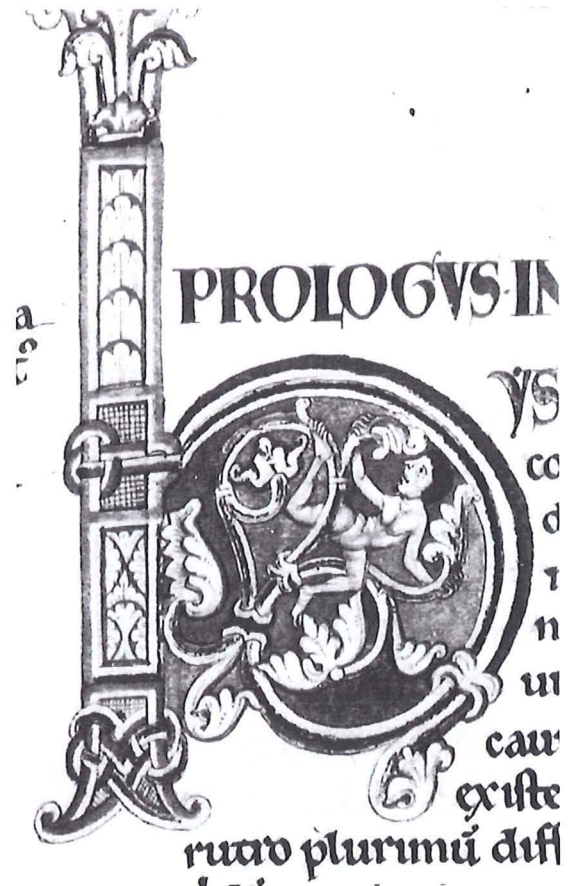


toboli potentiam timor anticiparet formidaret. ti-
mens ne quid ab eo pateret. propter inimicitias. latentem
excitac contra eum iudeorum ualidissimos uiros.
inultum esse dicent negligere. dum uiderent aristo-
boli inique principatu habere. frimq. ei priorē
electum. cui magis. propter etate impium debeba-
tur. Et cum hec ad hyrcanum uerba faceret fre-
quenter. & diceret periclitari uitam suam. nisi
puideret. fecit eum discedere. Nam indicabat aris-
toboli amicos nullum tempus pretermittere. in q-
non psuaderent eum interficere. quatinus firmum
sibi generet principatu. His hyrcanum uerbis mi-
nime credebat. dum natura bonus. esse. & accusa-
tionē facile non admitteret. Faciebat autē eum
innocentia & mental remissio. ut debilis & in-
ualidus putaret. cum contrarie nature aristobo-
lus esse. Nam facinorosus & arrogans erat. Sed
cum anticiparet uidisset hyrcanum non accendere
uerba sua. nullatenus parebat singulis diebus.
accusationes factas de aristobolo illi inserere.
tanquam eum interficere festinaret. & tūc uix im-
pulsit ad aretham regē arabii confugere. Nam
punitabat ei auxiliatorem suum. futurum. Iam

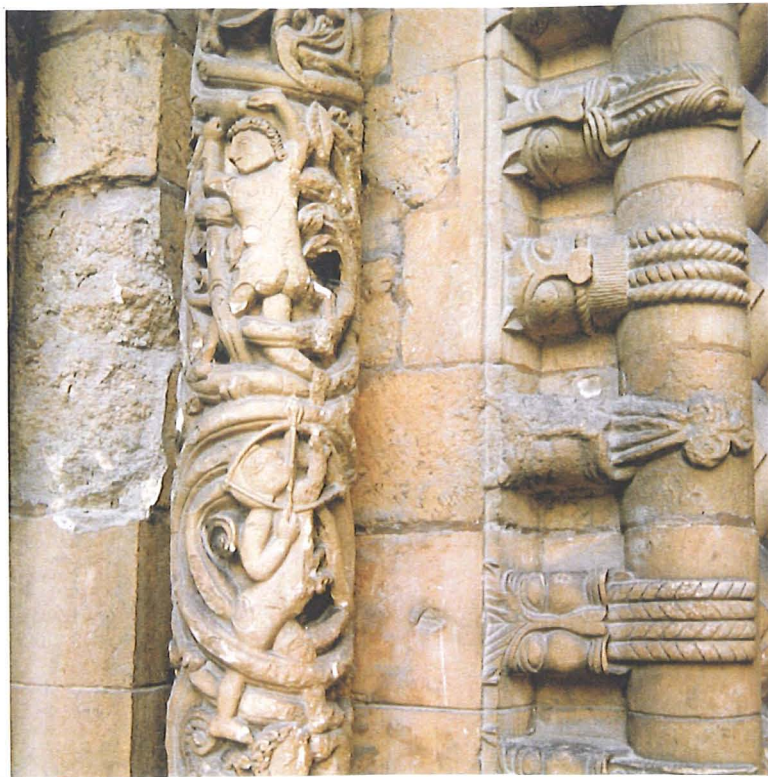
189. Initial to Book 14, Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Reading, c.1125-50. Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 4, fol. 136.



190. Initial to commentary on Psalm 41, Augustine on the Psalms, Lincoln, before 1148. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 155, fol. 135v.



191. Initial to Prologue, Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, St. Albans, c.1130. London, British Library, MS Royal 13.D.VI, fol. 1.



192. Jamb column, west door, Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, c.1140.