THE AMESBURY PSALTER MADONNA AND CHILD

by

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ABSTRACT

The decoration of the Amesbury Psalter, c.1250, is of immediate appeal because of its skilled execution and the richness of its decoration. It is, moreover, interesting iconographically; the Madonna and Child page, which presents Mary as the Virgo lactans, appears to be the earliest representation of this type of Madonna which is of English provenance. Although the Virgo lactans is the oldest image of Mary known to us, it has never been the popular image of the Virgin as has been, for example, the representation of the seated Hodegetria.

This essay traces the history of the Virgo lactans to the cult of Isis in Egypt, explores the image of Mary expressed in theological writings through the centuries, and examines popular concepts of the Virgin portrayed in vernacular literature, and the various ways in which the Madonna and Child theme has been visually presented.

While attempts to link the theological and/or popular concepts of Mary, which obtained at a particular time and place, with specific images of
the Virgin, are sometimes erroneous, there are a few examples of the *Virgo lactans* of late Romanesque and early Gothic Europe which suggest that they were taken over from the Byzantine world because of a new religious atmosphere.

Evidence suggests that the appearance of the Madonna as the *Virgo lactans* in mid-thirteenth-century England might have come about through the personality of Henry III whose piety seemed to be expressed frequently in the form of artistic representation. Furthermore, his interest in the Priory of Amesbury, which has been well documented, might suggest that the so-called Sarum Master, who created the *Amesbury Psalter*, was one of the many artists employed by Henry, whose royal patronage of art has not been equalled in the annals of English history.
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ENGLAND: PLACES MENTIONED IN PAPER
## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER I

In the mid-thirteenth century a group of manuscript illuminations was painted, described as being among "the most beautiful miniatures ever produced in England." One of them, the Amesbury Psalter, c.1250, is the manuscript which is of particular interest to this paper. The artist who created this lovely work is known to us as the Sarum Master because the full-page decorations of three of the works attributed to him, or associated with him, are linked with places close to Salisbury. However, as will be suggested, the artist of this luxurious psalter might have been a court painter employed by Henry III at Clarendon Palace.

In the middle years of the thirteenth century, "the growth of private and personal devotion among lay people in high society ... increased the demand for illuminated psalters"; they were the earliest books of liturgy designed for the use of laymen and the most widely produced of English manuscripts. The contents of psalters were augmented to include a variety of material, not only religious in nature but also secular as, for example, calendar decorations
accompanied by their appropriate zodiacal signs. Thus, psalters became "un authentique compendium de vie et de culture médiévale," with lavish ornamentation which frequently occupied the whole page. The Beatus page of the Amesbury Psalter is particularly rich in its presentation; the initial letter 'B' shows a Tree of Jesse representing six subsidiary Old Testament figures, and includes the first two lines of the text of the psalm. Large historiated initials prefaced the major psalms (the Amesbury Psalter has ten of them) and less elaborately painted initials decorated the beginning of verses within the psalms.

Dating from the middle of the thirteenth century, marginal illustrations were frequent and often "characterized by inventive experimentation of a highly varied nature." The marginal illustrations of the Beatus page of the Amesbury Psalter, for example, demonstrate a delightfully whimsical approach to subject matter; a mild-looking lion wearing a crown is stretched in a bed, the covering of which leaves two large paws bare to the ankles; at the bedside stands a dog (or, as Hollaender suggests, it might be a bear) on its hind legs,
"with head-dressing and crutches, holding up the
typical mid-13th century medicine bottle, specimens
of which can be studied among the objects of medi-
aeval pottery from Old Sarum in Salisbury Museum." 9

To artists from England is credited the devel-
opment of the range of prefatory material included
in psalter manuscripts, a decorative programme which
was "widely adopted in other countries during the
following centuries: the addition to the psalter of
a set of full-page frontispiece pictures." 10 Whereas,
formerly, illuminations concentrated on illus-
trating events in the life of David, Christological
scenes were added "to reveal the prophetic import
of the psalms." 11 Scenes of Christ's Childhood and
of His Passion were most frequently chosen for illus-
tration and thus the Virgin is featured prominently
which, as Nordenfalk comments, is "another indication
of the steady growth during the Romanesque period of
the new cult of the Madonna." 13

While the Albani Psalter, dated after 1145, 14
is not the first psalter to emphasize, in its deco-
rations, scenes from the life of Christ, 15 it is
remarkable because its full-page illuminations in-
clude not only line and coloured wash drawings, but
also forty fully painted scenes. 16 Nordenfalk states
that it is the "earliest example of a de_luxe psalter in the possession of a pious gentlewoman"\textsuperscript{17} and, that it is not by chance that the Virgin in the Annunciation is shown holding a book in her lap, because it is "no doubt a private psalter."\textsuperscript{18} By the middle of the thirteenth century, the full-page illustrations of the life of Christ, which generally prefaced psalters included a Madonna and Child, a Crucifixion, a Christ in Majesty and, frequently, scenes from the Old Testament and Apocryphal writings.\textsuperscript{19}

The full-page illustrations which preface the Amesbury Psalter\textsuperscript{20} are:

- The Annunciation, fol.3a. (5 1/5 x 7 3/5 in.)
- The Virgin and Child, fol.4a. (5 1/10 x 7 3/5 in.)
- The Crucifixion, fol.5a (7 1/2 x 7 3/5 in.)
- Christ in Glory, fol.6a (5 1/2 x 7 3/5 in.)\textsuperscript{21}

It is the intention of this paper, however, to examine but one of these illustrations, the Virgin and Child page, in an attempt to demonstrate its significance in the history of Western art in general, and of English\textsuperscript{22} art in particular (pl.1).

Nothing is known of the history of the Amesbury Psalter from the time of its execution until Dr. Daniel Lysons of Bath, Somerset, a previous fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, donated the manuscript to its library in 1772.\textsuperscript{23} It is assumed that
the psalter was composed for the nun of Amesbury Priory who is pictured at the foot of the Virgin on folio 4a of the manuscript and also beneath the Christ in Glory on folio 6a, where she kneels beside a lectern holding a book on which is inscribed Beatus vir qui non abiit, the opening words of the first psalm. The name of the nun is unknown to us, but it might be supposed that she commissioned the work because, as Dugdale says, after the death of Eleanor of Bretagne in 1241, and her burial at Amesbury, the priory "appears to have been one of the select retreats for females in the higher ranks of life," any one of whom would be in a position to commission this richly decorated manuscript for her private use.

The Virgin and Child folio of the psalter shows the Virgin seated in a cushioned, backless throne, suckling the Child while supporting Him on her left knee. At the feet of the Virgin is a small figure of a nun who holds a scroll reading: AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA D[OM] IN [U]S TECUM BENE [DICTA].

While the Virgin's head inclines towards the Christ Child, and His right hand touches His mother's hand which supports her breast, the Child gazes toward the viewer; although this gaze establishes
communication with the onlooker, the intelligence which seems to inform His eyes presages Christ as teacher and thus diminishes the interdependency of the relationship between the Child and His mother. Moreover, the dragon and the lion beneath the Virgin's feet indicate her triumph over demonic might according to the psalm-verse, "Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and trample the lion and the dragon" (Ps. 90.13) because, to Mary also, "was awarded the triumph over her slanderers and the virgin was celebrated as the destructress of all heresies."²⁶ That her statuesque form towers above the figure of the nun beside her stresses the insignificance of the human state.

When Rickert praises the Sarum Master's Crucifixion scene in the Amesbury Psalter for its "balance between rich linear pattern and strong contour drawing in the figures, between symbolism and emotion,"²⁷ her words are fittingly descriptive of the Virgin and Child folio. Nevertheless, it is largely the "strong contour drawing" which invests the page with a sense of formality in its presentation; the firm handling of line minimises the sensuous expressive qualities apparent, for example, in the
Mother and Child image of the Priscilla Catacomb (pl.5).

The visual richness of the work, however, is abundantly clear. The large flowing rhythms and the variety of smaller curves of the painting impart a sense of vitality to the scene which is particularly evident in the drawing of the figure of the Christ Child with its attention to the muscular structure of the body so noticeable in the execution of His feet. The colours of deep blue, deep rose pink, burnt orange, and pale green are enhanced by a background of burnished impressed gold, characteristic of manuscripts illuminated in the first half of the thirteenth-century. The gold is patterned with a stylized leaf or flower motif within a repeated shell-shape, and clusters of dots pattern the gold about the censing angels in the upper corners of the painting. There is no attempt to indicate an illusion of space or of perspective; the gold merely provides a glowing background for the presentation.

The angel on the left-hand side of the page is dressed in a pale green tunic with a rose-coloured overmantle; the angel on the right wears a tunic of burnt orange and an overgarment of deep blue edged with white, stippled with the three-dot
motif. The same orange hue, worn over a white undergarment, colours the clothing of the Christ Child, the neck of Whose gown opens to reveal a pale green lining which is visible at His wrist and on the inner surface of His flowing hemline.

The Virgin's undergarment, which is close-fitting about her left forearm and wrist and which falls into ample folds about her feet, is white. The material of her gown is blue, patterned with a dot motif, and her cloak of dusky pink is sprinkled with tiny circles, and diapered with a cross and crescent design, which is a variation of the star and crescent device of the badge of Henry III. The lining of the Virgin's cloak is the same pale pink as the scarf which covers her hair; a wisp of hair touches her forehead, another brushes her right cheek. Her waist is circled by a golden buckled girdle, and gold lace borders the hem of her blue gown which reveals a lining of red, as does the wide wrist of her sleeve.

The adoring nun wears a black hood, a white guimp, and a dark blue cloak over a garment of paler blue, the edges of which are touched with white. Both the Virgin and Child are nimbed, and a red halo crossed in gold surrounds the tightly curled hair of the Child on her knee.
The figures are framed by columns supporting a lobate arch surmounted by the architectural detail of a tiled roof flanked by towers, and the whole presentation is bordered by rose-coloured bands at the top and bottom with blue at the sides, patterned with a simple foliate design. Each corner is decorated with quatrefoils of pale green.

It is, however, not the luxurious nature of the decoration of the Madonna and Child page of the Amesbury Psalter that is of interest here, but the fact that Mary is depicted as a Virgo lactans, which appears to be the earliest known manifestation of this type of Madonna in manuscript form which is of English provenance.31 Nevertheless, it is to be noted that the Amesbury illumination is not the earliest known Virgo lactans of Western medieval art. That privilege belongs to a pen drawing with coloured wash produced in France as part of a Jesse Tree design executed at Citeaux between the years 1110-1120,32 (pl.2), a manuscript which has been described as being a "compendium of the new devotion to the humanity of the Saviour and His earthly Mother","33 because it incorporates themes new to Western art34 which were to minister "to the devotion of later centuries."35 That the provenance of the work is
Cîteaux is of interest; all of its houses were dedicated to Mary, and it was there that Bernard joined the Cistercian Order prior to his becoming one of the great monastic leaders whose devotion to the Virgin has been widely documented.

The mood of the Cîteaux work, however, is quite devoid of human feeling and does not in any way accord with the literary works of Western churchmen appearing almost at the same time as the manuscript as exampled by the writings of St. Anselm's pupil and biographer, Eadmer (c.1060-1130). His prose is lyrical in praise of the Virgin's love for the Child and contrasts the stiff and formalistic expression of the Cîteaux manuscript illustration where Mary is shown seated frontally on a bolster-covered backless throne from which she stares into the viewer's space. Apart from supporting her bared breast with her right hand, she pays no heed to the Child on her left knee Who holds a scroll in His left hand and blesses with His right hand. About the head of the Virgin is the Greek inscription Θεοτοκος which bears "eloquent testimony to the proximity of the Byzantine model from which it was derived." The Virgo lactans image itself, however, was not a Byzantine invention; it is the oldest type of
Madonna representation known to us and is of Coptic origin. Thus, the *Amesbury Psalter Maria lactans* c.1250, as the earliest known example of this type of Madonna which is of English provenance, is of significance to Western art in general, and to English art in particular.

2. E.G. Millar, *La Miniature Anglaise du Xe-XIIIe siècle* (Paris: G. van Oest, 1926), 108. The members of the groups of manuscripts related to the *Amesbury Psalter* are: the *Sarum Missal* of Henry of Chichester (Ms Lat. 24, John Rylands Library, Manchester, England), the *Sarum Bible* of William de Hales (Ms Royal 1 B XII, British Museum, London), and the *Wilton Psalter* (Royal College of Physicians, London, England). For a description of these manuscripts and a discussion of their relationship to each other, and to the *Amesbury Psalter*, see Albert Hollaender, "The Sarum Illuminator and his School", *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, CLXXIX, vol. 1 (Devizes; 1943), 231. For information concerning the *Sarum Missal*, see M.R. James, *Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, vol. 1 (Manchester, 1921), entry no. 24, 73-75 and pls. 51-57; Millar, 109; Peter Brieger, *English Art 1216-1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 177; E.W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, vol. 2 (Oxford: University Press, 1950), 174. A medical treatise associated with this group of manuscripts was known to be in private hands in Germany. According to Hollaender, the attitude of the Nazi regime toward the property of non-Aryans, however, and the intervention of war, made the whereabouts of the manuscript a matter for conjecture (Hollaender, 231).


6 Ibid.

7 For an illustration of the Beatus page of the Amesbury Psalter, see Hollaender, pl. X.


9 Hollaender, 246, pl. X.


11 Ibid.

13Ibid.

14Frances Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter* (London: Warburg Institute, 1960), 5. The manuscript is unnumbered and presently at St. Godehard's Hildesheim. It was "probably written at St. Albans and brought together for Christina, anchoress of Markyate, and after 1145 first prioress of Markyate" (Wormald, 5).

15Otto Pächt, *The St. Albans Psalter* (London: Warburg Institute, 1960), 51. Pächt points out that *Cotton Tib.C VI*, a mid-eleventh century psalter, probably based on a tenth century exemplar, also featured full-page decorations of scenes from the life of Christ. These were not painted, however, but executed in outline drawing (Pächt, 51).

16Wormald, 6.

17Nordenfalk, 170.

18Nordenfalk, 172.


20Amesbury Psalter, Ms Lat. VI, All Souls College (Codrington Library), Oxford. See Millar pls. 81-83 and pp. 62, 63, 108; Hollaender, pls. VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII.
21 Hollaender, 242-243.

22 Unless otherwise stated, 'English' and 'England' may refer to any location within the British Isles.

23 Hollaender, 239. The psalter is about 10 x 14 inches, is two inches thick, and is enclosed in a dark morocco binding of the seventeenth century (Hollaender, 241).

24 Tristram, 172; Millar, 62. Brieger writes that "private ownership of such illuminated manuscripts, and the wish to show closer personal contact with sacred figures caused the frequent appearance of the owner's portrait at the feet of Christ or the Virgin. First, these figures were outside the frame, like that of Matthew Paris or the Abbot in the Evesham Psalter, but gradually they were included in the main composition" (Brieger, 171). For examples of female supplicant figures in manuscripts prior to the date of the Amesbury Psalter, see "The Illustrations to St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," Otto Pächt, WC XIX (London, 1956), pls. 15a, 23b, 23c, illustrating Ms Auct. D 26. For further information concerning the private commissioning of psalters during this period, see Günther Haseloff, Die Psalterillustration im 13 Jahrhundert (Kiel; 1938), 5. Amesbury Priory was dedicated in the year 980 to the patronage of St. Mary and St. Melorus (See Sir William Dugdale, Monasticum Anglicanum, II (London: James Bohn, 1846), 333. Concerning the "medieval Life of Melorus the Martyr, abridged from a French work and probably
written at Amesbury," see also Alban Butler, Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. 4, ed. and rev. and supplemented by Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (Aberdeen: University Press, 1956), 4-5. Melorus was a Breton saint, and Canon Doble records that "the tenth century saw a great influx of the relics of Breton saints into England because of the influence of King Athelstan" (Canon G.H. Doble, St. Melor, Cornish Saints," series, no. 13 (Long Compton, 1927), 24).

25Dugdale, II, 333-334; David Knowles, The Monastic Orders in England (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), 362. Furthermore, there is no record of the psalter in the audit of the priory held in 1256, which might be an indication that it was, indeed, held in private hands.

26Ernst Guldan, Eva und Maria (Graz-Köln: Hermann Böhlau, 1966), 95. For a study of the association of this psalm-verse with Mary, see Guldan, 93-95.


28Morgan, "Gothic Manuscripts in England," 238. The Psalter of Robert of Lindseye (1212-1222), Ms 59, Society of Antiquaries, London, made for the Abbot of Peterborough, is an early example of this technique which attained great popularity in the later years of the century both in England and in France; see Millar, pls. 69, 70.

30 Part of the contents of a pencilled note attached to the printed catalogue of 1842 in the Codrington Library of All Souls College, Oxford, which cites the *Amesbury Psalter*, refers to the dress of the monks and nuns pictured in the manuscript as being "blue over green, the colours of the Order of Fontevrault" (Hollaender, 239). The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, however, informs us that "the habit of the Fontevrist nuns was a white tunic and surplice with a black girdle and black veil, the cowl was black;" see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Hebermann et al. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907-1912) vol. 6, 130. This description accords more closely with the habit of the nun pictured on fol. 4a. and fol. 6a. of the *Amesbury Psalter* than does the description appended to the library catalogue of 1842.

31 Victor Lasareff in his "Studies of the Iconography of the Virgin," *Art Bulletin* 20, 1938, lists Ms 1 DX, fol. 4 in the British Museum, as picturing a *Virgo lactans*. This folio is illustrated in Sir G. Warner's selections in *Reproductions of Illuminated Manuscripts*, British Museum, Series III, third edition, 1925, plate XIV, which shows *The Last Supper* and *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet*. The contents of this psalter, dated c. 1220 (thus pre-dating the *Amesbury Psalter*), have been described in detail by J.A. Herbert in "A Psalter in the British Museum (Royal Ms 1 DX) Illuminated in England Early in the
Thirteenth Century," Walpole, vol. 3, 1914, 47-56 pls. XLI-L; in it I can find no mention of the representation of a *Virgo lactans*. The Sarum Master, in the *Sarum Missal* of Henry of Chichester, pictures the Nativity (fol. 149b, Ms Lat. R 24, John Rylands Library, Manchester) in which the Virgin is shown nourishing her Child. This manuscript is dated by Hollaender 1252-1264; see Hollaender, 235. While he dates the Amesbury manuscript as "after 1252" (p. 239) a comparison of the *Virgin and Child* of that manuscript with the *Virgin and Child* of the missal (fol. 150a) shows characteristics in the latter which suggest that it is a work later than the Amesbury Psalter.

Helle Viirlaid, through Dr. Mary Morehart, drew my attention to a decorated initial 'O' in Ms 729 f. 94, Library of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, of a nimbed woman giving suck to two monks, an illustration which is dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century. This initial decorated Psalm 72 of a psalter probably made in York c. 1175. There is no reference in the text of the psalm which seems to warrant such an illustration, although the figure is possibly to be interpreted as representing the Church. The Church has been described frequently by "qualities that originally belonged to Mary" as, for example, when Mechtilde de Magdeburg relates how St. Francis and St. Dominic were "'fed at the two breasts that are so full of sweet milk that they never can run dry -- for these breasts are the Old and New Testament, with which our mother the Church suckles all the children of God'" (Yrjö Hirn, The Sacred Shrine (Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1957), 365). Lasareff notes a
manuscript, the Armenian Gospel of 1323, executed by Toros Taronetz in the collection of Bishop Garegin in Etchmiadzin, in which there are two representations of the Virgin; in one she is shown as a Virgo lactans nursing the Child and, in the other, she is seated on a throne with the Child but is nursing the apostles Peter and Paul. (Victor Lasareff, "Early Italo-Byzantine Painting in Sicily," BM LXIII, no. 2. Jul.-Dec. 1933, 280, n. 10).

32 David M. Robb, The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript (South Brunswick: A.S. Barnes, 1973), 203. The manuscript is fol. 40v of a Lectionary (Dijon, Bibl. Mun., Mss 641-642), dated by Robb as earlier than the Cîteaux work mentioned below, p. 49f.


34 Watson states that this manuscript page represents the only example known to him of the depiction of the prefigurations of the Virgin which dates prior to 1200; see Arthur Watson, The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 79ff, pl. VI.

35 Southern, 239.

36 Southern, 239-240.

37 See Jacques Paul Migne, PL 159:565, in which Eadmer says of Mary: "Superat ergo omnium rerum
creatarum amores et dulcedinis immensitas qua exsultabet et liquefiat anima ejus in eundem Domum Deum suum." ("Therefore, the magnitude of the love of that Virgin toward her Son surpasses all the loves and sweetnesses of all created things, and so does the immensity of the sweetness in which her soul exulted and melted into the same Lord God." Translated by G.B. Riddehough). Southern compares the "metaphysical ecstasy" of Anselm's writings with the "historical rhapsody" of the writings of Eadmer, which are thus closer to "the main stream of popular devotion" (Richard W. Southern, St. Anselm and his Biographer (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), 288).

38 Southern, Making, 239.

CHAPTER II

The iconographic similarities Mary shares with the Egyptian figures of Isis suckling the infant Horus have promoted considerable conjecture concerning the probable influences which the development of the cult of the Isis lactans exerted upon the cult of the Virgo lactans. The visual similarities between them have been too frequently commented upon to warrant elaboration. 1 However, some mention of the history of the Isis lactans as it pertains to the development of the representation of the Virgo lactans is required in order for us to appreciate the unusual nature of this type of presentation.

The cult of Isis was "the most important of all the Egyptian cults because it belonged to all classes from the highest rank to the lowest." 2 It evolved from the cult of Osiris who was regarded as "the ancestor God of all Egypt . . . and flourished . . . until about the beginning of the twentieth dynasty." 3 During the Twenty-second Dynasty, the cult of Osiris waned because of the development of the cult of Serapis, the God of the dead, who was part
Egyptian and part Greek; however, the veneration formerly accorded Osiris was transferred to his son Horus, born of Osiris' sister/spouse, Isis. Horus was worshipped as the "personification of life and strength," and Isis, the mother who nurtured him with her milk, came to be revered as a symbol of the giver of life, and the protector of it.

By the eighth century B.C., hundreds of extant ex-voto images and amulets in bronze and faience testify to the universality of the cult of Isis. So popular were these images that a summary of their general characteristics can be stated as showing a seated, frontally presented figure with her legs and feet close together: she is clothed in a garment which sheathes the contours of her rigid body, and her head is resplendent with the horns and solar disc which signify her status, like that of Hathor, as goddess of the heavens. Isis supports Horus with her left arm and, with her right hand, offers her left breast for his nourishment. Horus does not recline in ease across his mother's knees, but is shown as a stiff, awkwardly seated, almost upright figure, dressed in a close-fitting garment; his legs and feet are pressed together and his arms are held close to his sides. His gaze is not directed toward his
goddess mother, and her gaze is not upon him; indeed, there is no seeming psychological interdependence between mother and child. Thus, the traditional Isis lactans figures can be described generally as being formal and hieratic in their presentation (pl. 3).

The spread of the Isis cult is attested by the fact that even prior to Alexander's conquest of Egypt in 332-331 B.C., the goddess was accorded homage by the Greeks, the Carthaginians (perhaps by the Palestinians), and also by the Phoenicians, who were responsible for transporting Isis/Horus figures to all parts of the known world.  

Later, during the Graeco-Roman period, the images of Isis suckling Horus (Harpocrates) appeared on coins, lamps, amulets, and other portable objects which were so numerous that Tran Tam Tinh divides them into four groups, only one of which is important here -- "the Isis lactans seated on a throne" because of its relationship to the enthroned Virgin suckling the Christ Child.

According to Tran Tam Tinh, the prototype of the Graeco-Roman presentation of Isis suckling Harpocrates "doit avoir été créé à Alexandrie dans un milieu grec qui pourtant n'était pas imperméable aux influences égyptiennes." The many Graeco-Roman
images of the lactans figures available to us permit (as do the Egyptian representations) a consideration of their general characteristics. Compared with the traditional Isis lactans figures, the Graeco-Roman images possess a genre quality which their predecessors lack. The statue from Esh sheik Ibada, dated to the fourth century, demonstrates this difference in mood (pl. 4). Tran Tam Tinh writes that this work is transitional between late Roman and Coptic art, and records "le déclin du culte isiaque devant la poussée du Christianisme." A feeling of movement is implied in this work by the figure of the child who reaches his hand to his mother's breast, and by Isis whose right foot is placed slightly ahead of her left, as if to accommodate her lap to the comfort of the reclining Harpocrates. His head is moulded with a fullness of form indicative of childhood; the striations of his hair, and the articulation of his ear, make of him a more human baby than was his Egyptian counterpart. His mother does not look at him, but her gaze is softened by a faint smile which projects a sense of well-being and contentment with her motherly task. Although Isis displays the traditional isiac knot of her gown across her breasts, the artist allows her dress to curve in ample folds about
her limbs, and to reveal an abundance of material in her undergarment. The hieratic, rigid quality of the Egyptian Isis has been lessened; the mother has become a Demeter figure, a goddess of fertility, who shares with woman kind the comfort of suckling her child,\textsuperscript{13} and frequently the Graeco-Roman mother is shown with her head inclined in a gesture of tenderness towards her infant.\textsuperscript{14}

Thus, while "la typologie égyptienne ne disparaissait pas avec la création du type isiaque gréco-romain,"\textsuperscript{15} there is a notable distinction to be observed between them: the Graeco-Roman figures are imbued with a genre quality of presentation which is lacking in the traditional Egyptian figures. Furthermore, instead of the cubic support of the latter figures, the Graeco-Roman Isis rests on a high-backed chair, or throne.\textsuperscript{16} She has become the "throne-goddess" as her name implies,"\textsuperscript{17} and in so doing she foreshadows the iconography of the Virgo lactans of Coptic art which, according to Tran Tam Tinh, represents the earliest known instance of this type of Madonna.

However, it has been claimed frequently that the earliest known representation of Mary suckling the Christ Child is depicted in the Priscilla Catacomb,
Rome, dated to the end of the second century, but the state of deterioration of this fresco makes it difficult to form a personal opinion as to whether it is, indeed, a *Virgo lactans* (pl. 5). The figure has been obliterated below the waist, but one assumes that the woman is seated. She supports her child with her left hand beneath his head, which is turned to the spectator; his right hand touches her right breast which he might be suckling and, as is usual in Roman catacomb paintings, neither figure is nimbed. As Tran Tam Tinh points out with reference to the representation of the Virgin and Child in catacomb paintings and in the decoration of sarcophagi in early Christian art, it is not the image of the *Maria lactans* which is pictured but the Madonna with Child seated on her knees and the Virgin in relation to the Magi, which in the third and fourth centuries of our era "connait une vogue extraordinaire": Mary is portrayed, not "pour elle-même, mais pour jouer un rôle dans l'économie du Salut." Thus, these presentations do not emphasize the human, motherly aspect of Mary as much as they stress "l'aspect christologique et l'aspect eschatologique" of Mary as the Mother of God.

Because the Priscilla catacomb painting cannot
be indisputably identified as a *Virgo lactans*, one can agree with Tran Tam Tinh that the most ancient representation of this type of Virgin is of Coptic origin; the only images known to us are those which have been preserved in private, not public, places of worship as, for example, the wall-paintings in the monastery of Bawit, and those in the monastery of Saqqara where they decorate what are described by Wessel as 'cells' probably used by monks for private meditation and which they could inherit as personal property. The dating of these Coptic monastic paintings, as Grabar points out, is "highly uncertain" and, in the opinion of Restle, there is not sufficient evidence to support the date of the sixth century which has been "suggested repeatedly."

In the paintings from cell A at Saqqara, Mary is shown seated on a high-backed throne in an attitude reminiscent of the Queen of Heaven (pl. 6). Although the Child is nursing, his head is turned in an attitude which, while it has the effect of establishing communication with the viewer, decreases the sense of intimacy between mother and Child, and diminishes the human quality of the presentation.

The painting from cell 1725 (pl. 7) of the same monastery shows the Virgin supporting the Child
on her right knee and suckling Him with her left breast as He reaches up to her left arm: indeed, it would appear that He clasps her wrist while He gazes at her. Even from the fragments remaining of this lovely painting, one can judge the warmth of the relationship that exists between mother and Child. Nevertheless, these examples of the Coptic *Virgo lactans* are unusual because they are but two of five wall-painting images of this type of Virgin among many picturing Mary enthroned with the Christ child.

At a later date, in the ninth and tenth century, the Virgin is shown as a *lactans* figure in the decoration of Coptic Sayyidic Manuscripts, as for example, in the Pierpoint Morgan Ms 600, fol. iv, dated by Cramer to 906 which Restle describes as showing "a Pantocrator bust in a clipeus being carried by Angels, with four Evangelists and an enthroned *Maria lactans* down below." (see below, p. 33).

With reference to what may be termed the public images of the nursing mother in Coptic art, Tran Tam Tinh questions the funeral stele of Medinet-el-Fayum, dated to the fifth or sixth century, which has been widely accepted as depicting the Virgin nursing the Christ Child (pl. 8). Images of the cross incised in the limestone relief have been
instrumental in its identification, as have been those on a second stele, probably of more recent date.\textsuperscript{37} In support of his opinion that neither of these works can be positively identified as the \textit{Virgo lactans},\textsuperscript{38} Tran Tam Tinh cites the example of a nursing mother carved on a funeral stele in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, the inscription of which reads:

\begin{center}
\begin{verbatim}
Αλών κηρίζει τήν Φιλο
μήτηρα και Φιλίδην
ψόν ὅσον τέτενεν εἰς ᾗμι
κύριον ὡς θέμις ἑστίν
μένη τε μητρός καὶ δεκα-
ψαυ καὶ δεκαδόψιλη εἰς τήν
γυμνά στρατηγόν, ὅπο καὶ ἡ σω-
ψαμνή κατὰ τὸν κύριον λει-
λήτως. Στεφανός καὶ Ἰερός
ΑΔ... ΝΕΙΩΝΕΓΥ
\end{verbatim}
\end{center}

From his translation of it, Tran Tam Tinh concludes that "comme Isis elle [Seratous] a épousé son frère. Comme Isis elle allaite son enfant."\textsuperscript{40} Because the deceased is pictured in the guise of Isis, it is Tran Tam Tinh's opinion that, similarly, "nos chré-
tiennes pouvaient continuer cette tradition en la 'christianisant.'\textsuperscript{41} However, of the many representa-
tions of the Virgin and Child which date to the early Christian period in Egypt, examples of the \textit{Maria lactans} are surprisingly few in number. They do not decorate churches or chapels visited by the
public, but are of a private nature, either in manuscript form or as wall-paintings for the cells of monks, hermits of the desert. As demonstrated by the paintings at Saqqara, they exhibit what may be termed hierarchic or genre qualities of presentation.

Of the early Christian images whose expressionistic content can be termed genre by nature, Lasareff, in reference to the Priscilla catacomb mother and child, which in his opinion is the most ancient example of the Virgo lactans, states that they may be considered to result from the outgrowth of individual creative seeking in a time when religion had not yet become a dogma and no system of iconography had time to fetter the mind of the artist by a thousand conventions.

The genre type of presentation might well have been adopted by Christian art, not only in the West, but also in the East, where a less formal representation of the Virgo lactans was known to Byzantium through early Christian and late Hellenistic art. But, largely because of the conservatism of Byzantine taste especially prevalent at the court of Constantinople, the traditional iconic Egyptian image of the nursing mother was adopted. Thus, the figures of
both Virgin and Child "acquired a cold solemnity and an emphasized ascetism."^{45}

Although one should bear in mind the effects of iconoclasm on the Byzantine empire,^{46} it would appear, as Lasareff points out, that the image of the Maria lactans was more popular in the Christian East than it was in Constantinople, and more popular in the provinces than in the capital.^{47} There are, however, few examples to quote, and these belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Two seals now in the Likhachev Collection, Leningrad, show the enthroned Virgin suckling the Child Who reclines across her lap. In Lasareff's opinion, they probably example the "icon type popular in the provinces"^{48} and are the only two known Virgo lactans representations of Constantinopolitan provenance. Both appear in manuscript form. On folio 163 of the Christian Topography of Cosma Indicopleustes, now in the Smyrna Library, the enthroned Virgin is shown with

the mystic appellation Χρυσάνηςα.

The Child is seated on her knees, His head is turned to the left and He suckles her right breast. Despite the fact that, in this instance, the image of the Virgin is allegorical, its formal character indicates incontrovertibly that it is derived from iconic prototypes. In the Homilies of Jacobus Monachus (Vat. Gr. 1162, fol. 159r) St. Elizabeth is represented feeding St. John
from her breast. Here also the execution is distinctly iconic and affords unequivocal evidence of the presence in Constantinopolitan art of the *Virgo lactans* type, even though it was never widely diffused.\(^49\)

However, these images of the *Maria lactans*, like those pictured in the cells of Coptic monks in Egypt and in Coptic codices, are images of a private, and not a public, nature. Yet, prior to this time, we have literary evidence of the earliest public images of the *Virgo lactans* known to us from literary sources only, as attested by a letter from Gregory II (Pope, 715-731) to Leo the Isaurian (717-741) in which Gregory writes:

> We ourselves when we enter the church and contemplate pictures of the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ and of his Holy Mother holding in her arms our Lord and God being nourished, and angels standing about and singing a thrice-holy hymn we come away not without being moved.\(^50\)

An example of the type of Virgin of which Gregory writes is to be seen in the cave church of the Pantocrator on the Isle of Latmos, Asia Minor, where a fragmentary fresco pictures the Virgin seated on a jewelled, bolster-covered throne, nursing the Christ Child.\(^51\) Wulff hypothesises that the painting of the Pantocrator cave may be dated in the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century.\(^52\)
In the most recent researches on these paintings, however, Restle suggests a tentative dating of the middle of the ninth century and likens the iconography of the *Maria lactans* fresco to that of the Coptic Sayyidic painting, on fol. iv, of Ms 600, dated 906, Pierpoint Morgan (see p.28 above).\textsuperscript{53} Judging from a photograph of this fragmentary work and a sketch which helps to clarify it,\textsuperscript{54} the Child is shown in a semi-recumbent position which suggests a nonhieratic approach to subject matter in a style reminiscent of the Priscilla catacomb painting dated to the end of the second century (see pl. 5), and to the *Virgo lactans* from cell 1725 at Saqqara (pl. 7).

Thus, while there is evidence in the East of both private and public examples of the *Virgo lactans* type of Madonna, there are few examples to be cited: it does not seem to have represented the popular image of the Virgin as was, for example, the seated *Hodegetria* depiction of Mary.
NOTES - CHAPTER II


2 Margaret A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd., 1959) 164.


4 Budge, 181.

5 Ibid. As Tran Tam Tinh records, "l'allaitement appartient en premier lieu à la vache céleste par excellence, Hathor" (2). With the political unification of single kingdoms in Egypt, occurred a unification of separate religious beliefs. The status of some gods was elevated to more than local significance; furthermore, names pertaining to certain gods were equated with others who were invested with similar attributes. Thus, Isis came to share the characteristics of Hathor and "it is often impossible to distinguish one from the other." (Murray, 181; see also H. Idris Bell, Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt (Liverpool: University Press, 1954)10; Françoise Dunand, Le Culte d'Isis et les Ptolemées (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973)I, 14ff.) As is well known, Isis was not alone privileged to succour the pharaohs (Dunand, I, 9, 21, also Tran Tam Tinh, 3), however, if we judge by the number of extant statues of her it was she who was most dear to the hearts of the Egyptian people.

6 Tran Tam Tinh, 8; for a list of examples of these representations, see also Tran Tam Tinh, 8, n.3.

7 Tran Tam Tinh, 9, 10. "Il paraît aussi qu'à l'époque romaine, des bronzes de style égyptien ou égyptisant ont été importés en Europe." (Tran Tam Tinh, 11). For a documented account of finds of these Isis/Horus figures in Europe, see Tran Tam Tinh, 10-12.
Dunand writes that "Il faut remarquer que, selon la tradition rapportée par Arrien, Isis est la seule divinité égyptienne à qui Alexandre ait fait élever un temple auprès de ceux des dieux grecs lorsqu'il fonda Alexandrie." (Dunand (33, n 3))

8 Tran Tam Tinh, 31.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid, 55.

12 Ibid, 37.

13 Erman records that "Vers l'an 450 avant Jésus-Christ, Hérodote a parcouru l'Egypte en observateur attentif et infatigable ... Pour lui, Osiris et Isis ne sont autres que Dionysus et Demeter ..." (Adolphe Erman, La Religion des Egyptiens (Paris: Payot, 1952), 380.

14 Tran Tam Tinh, 33.

15 Ibid, 15.

16 Ibid, 31.

in the nourishment of the infant, points out the importance of the concept of the throne, "since Isis means 'the seat' or 'the throne' and personifies the 'sacred coronation stool charged with the mysterious power of kingship'". The Christian image of the Virgin and Child, therefore, is complex in meaning. As Forsyth writes, "It is intensely religious as well as human. In claiming a seat for himself in the Virgin, Christ takes possession of her not as a male possesses a female, but as Christian divinity possesses the earth and his Church." (Forsyth, 29). Quotations within the Forsyth reference cite E. Neumann, The Great Mother, trans. R. Manheim (New York, 1955), 76; see also Dunand, 3.

18 Tran Tam Tinh, 43-44.

Thames and Hudson, 1967), fig. 177. Whether this representation pictures the _Virgo lactans_ is doubted; see Lasareff, 28, n. 21; Grabar describes the scene as a "mother suckling her child beside a standing figure," (98); Volbach says that it is merely a "Madonna and Child" (W.F. Volbach, _Early Christian Art_ (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961), 13, and Wilpert comments that "Die setzende Frau ist Maria mit dem Christuskinde," Josef Wilpert, _Die Gottgeweihten Jungfrauen in den Ersten Jahrhundert der Kirche_ (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1892), 61.

As far as I am aware, no standing _Virgo lactans_ is known to date from this period. An early example of the type designated as a _Maria lactans_ (although the Child does not partake of His mother's nourishment) is to be seen in the clerestory lancet window in Notre Dame Cathedral, Chartres. Suppl. pl. 5. Frankl dates the stained glass to c. 1221: see Paul Frankl, "The Chronology of the Stained Glass Windows at Chartres, AB XLV, Dec. 1963, 319; Maurice Vloberg, _La Vierge et L'Enfant dans l'Art Français_ (Grenoble: J. Rey, 1933), I, ill. p. 87; A. Stubbe, _La Madone Dans l'Art_ (Brussels, 1958), ill. 118. Dr. Mary Morehart has drawn my attention to a crowned standing _Virgo lactans_ holding the Christ Child on her left arm pictured on a mid-thirteenth century seal; see François Eygun, "Sceaux de Notre Dame de Montmorillon," _Sigillographie du Poitou_ (Poitiers, 1938), pl. XLI.

N.H.J. Westlake, _History of Design in Mural Painting from the earliest times to the twelfth century_ (London: James Parker, MCMV), I, 25.
22 Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis*, 46; see also Werner, "Kells", 2.

23 Tran Tam Tinh, 43. For early depictions of Mary and the Christ Child in relation to the Magi, see Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 225 which shows a carved ivory dated to the mid-sixth century, and pl.222, another ivory, in the British Museum, dated to the end of the sixth century; pl.112 pictures a silver reliquary casket from San Nazaro Maggiore, Milan, also dated to the end of the sixth century, with the Adoration of the Magi on the front of it. Of slightly later date is a silver vial (c. 600, Volbach, pl. 254), and a golden medallion from Cyprus of the same date which is now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Volbach, pl. 248). According to Mango, there is documentary evidence of a mosaic at Bethlehem showing "the mother of God holding the lifegiving infant on her bosom and the adoration of the gift-bearing Magi" which Mango says, "may have been made in connection with the restoration of the basilica of the Nativity by Justinian" (527-565); see Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* 312-1453, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series, ed. H.W. Janson (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972), 114. Concerning these images of the Virgin and Child in relation to the Magi, Male points out that "la formule syrienne diffère de la formule hellénistique"; the former "n'est plus assise de profile, mais de face." Furthermore, Male maintains that "les deux formules, hellénistique et orientale de l'Adoration des Mages se rencontrent dans l'art français du XIIe siècle. La formule hellénistique avec sa Vierge de profil nous est arrivée par l'art carolingien"; see

24 Tran Tam Tinh, 43.

25 Ibid.

26 Tran Tam Tinh, 46.


30 This fresco is now in the Coptic Museum, Cairo.

31 This fresco is now in the Coptic Museum, Cairo.

32 Tran Tam Tinh, 44-45.

33 Maria Cramer, *Koptische Bűchmalerei* (Recklinghausen: 1964), col. pl. VIII.

34 Restle, I, 78.
35 Tran Tam Tinh, 45; du Bourguet, *Early Christian Art*, 155, dates this stele to the fourth century. It measures 50 x 34 cms. and is now in the Berlin Staatliche Museum; John Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, 300-1300 (London: Alec Tiranti, 1963), 17, states that it is "a direct descendant from the statues of Isis and Horus, but only a vague date of 'fifth or sixth century' has been assigned to it . . . an earlier date is arguable."

36 See for example Wessel, who states that this stele represents "the earliest picture of the nursing Mother of God" (97); also du Bourguet, *Early Christian Art*, ill. p. 155, described as depicting the "Suckling Virgin."

37 Tran Tam Tinh, 45; see also Wessel, 97.

38 Tran Tam Tinh, 45; see also Lasareff, 50.

39 Tran Tam Tinh, 30, n.1.

40 Ibid. Tran Tam Tinh translates the inscription "L'éternité proclame celle qui aime sa mère et son frère. Avec l'enfant, je gis ici comme la justice, entre la mère et le frère. Et je suis de mon frère le grand héraut, lui-même étant la sagesse répandue dans l'univers. Seratous (âgée de) 21 ans, Ierax. l'an 4 . . . Neionesy." (Tran Tam Tinh, 30).

41 Tran Tam Tinh, 45. For an example of the
Christian use of a stele, centuries after it was carved with a depiction of Isis suckling Horus, see H. Leclercq, Manuel d'Archeologie Chrétienne Depuis les Origines Jusqu'au VIIIe Siècle (Paris: Letouzy, 1907), II, 325f. ill. 250 on p. 324.

42 Lasareff, 29.
43 Lasareff, 28.
44 Lasareff, 29.
45 Ibid.


47 Lasareff, 33.
48 Lasareff, 30.
49 Ibid. For the Cosmas Indicopleustes ill. see Lasareff, fig. 2. Concerning the analogy between the Virgin Mary and Ἰησοῦς ('table'), see Yrjö Hirn, The Sacred Shrine (Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1957), 460. The Jacobus Monachus manuscript is illustrated in Lasareff, fig. 3.

50 Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed. Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio (Graz: 1960), XII, cols. 965-968;
Greek and Latin texts translated by G.B. Riddehough.


52 Wulff, 201.

53 Restle, Byzantine Wallpaintings, I, 78.

54 Wulff, 197 Abb. 122 a, b.
CHAPTER III

It is not until the twelfth century\(^1\) that several public images of the *Virgo lactans*, executed in a variety of media, can be cited in the West. The best known of them is a mosaic of the Madonna represented on the central tympanum of the façade of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, which pictures Mary flanked by what are referred to frequently as the Five Wise Virgins to her right, and the five Foolish Virgins to her left, although according to the most recent study of this work, Oakeshott thinks it "unlikely that the Wise and Foolish Virgins are the subject matter of the mosaic."\(^2\) It is, however, only the central group of the mosaic which concerns us here and, except for the small donor figures which were added in the thirteenth century, this section of the work dates to c. 1190\(^3\) (Plate 9). There is a certain stiffness of presentation in this *lactans* image which is partly attributable to the use of mosaic, partly to the placing of the Christ Child in an upright position on the Virgin's left knee (a pose reminiscent of the traditional Isis/Horus figures of Egypt), but mainly
due to the strong Byzantine influence evident in the decoration of Mary's throne and in the treatment of the draperies. Although her head is inclined toward the Child, her gaze is abstracted and she does not project the feeling of maternal concern for the Infant she nourishes who is, indeed, represented as a Child and not as a baby.

This seeming lack of concern on the part of the Virgin for the Child is apparent also in another image of the Maria lactans, the carving of Notre Dame de Hal, Belgium, generally dated to the end of the twelfth century, which depicts a somewhat forbidding image of the Madonna. While the work displays a certain fluidity of rhythm which bears traces of what might be described as gothic style, there is a severity about it which denies the presentation of a tender, motherly Madonna, in spite of the fact that she suckles the Child.

Dated to the second half of the twelfth century is an unusual image which, while it is designated as a lactans figure, shows the Child refusing His mother's nourishment. It is the lintel sculpture from Anzy-le-Duc now in the Musée Hiéron, Paray-le-Monial which the Child is seated on the Virgin's right knee; although she offers Him her right breast,
He leans back across the throne in such a violent manner that He appears to be in danger of falling off her lap. The Christ Child's right hand is raised in blessing, and both He and the Virgin are nimbed; otherwise, one might question the identification of the Holy Pair (pl. 10).

Contemporary with the lintel carving of Anzy-le-Duc is another lactans figure in which the Child does not suckle, the so-called Madonna of Dom Rupert. This work is deserving of note because it displays a mood quite different from those previously cited. Mary is shown cradling her Child and offering Him her left breast; He does not turn away from the Virgin, but holds her left breast in both his hands as if about to partake of His mother's nourishment (pl. 11). Of this charming representation, Stubbe comments, "En dehors de son allure réaliste, il convient également de noter sa sensibilité chose étonnante pour l'époque," which sentiment is echoed by Southern who says that

the Child has laid down the symbols of his wisdom and authority. Only the inscription round the border discloses the hidden identity, all else is humanity, frailty and love.

A work of particular interest to this paper, because of the stylistic links which can be established
between it and twelfth century paintings in England, is a fresco of French provenance. Unlike the previously mentioned examples of Mary as lactans figure, it shows the Virgin in a narrative scene during the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt, which is painted above the chancel arch of the chapel of St. Julien-le-Chartreux. This representation of the Virgin performing her motherly duties in unusual circumstances serves to heighten the expressive qualities of the narrative, and to make of it one of the most touching of known representations of the nursing Madonna (pl. 12).

The chapel of St. Julien was probably attached to a hunting lodge built in 1160 by Henry II Plantagenet, King of England and Duke of Normandy, at Petit Quevilly, near Rouen. In 1183, the King donated the hunting lodge and the chapel to a community of nuns whose mission was devoted to the care of gentlewomen suffering from leprosy. Between 1183 and 1190, the chapel was painted with narrative scenes accompanied by the decorative use of acanthus motifs which show remarkable stylistic affinities with similar motifs which appeared in England during the twelfth century. English examples of these similarities occur in wall-paintings in St. Gabriel's Chapel,
Canterbury, dated 1130 - 1140 and in manuscript illuminations such as the Bury Bible (1121 - 1148), the Lambeth Bible (1130 - 1140), and the first volume of the Winchester Bible (c. 1160 - 1170). As Jalabert notes, this type of acanthus motif "est à peu près unique en France," and thus it is probable that English artists are responsible for the work in the chapel, the decoration of which could be a direct result of the foundation of the mission at Petit Quevilly. Support for the suggestion of English workmanship is that artists who worked in Winchester are known to have worked abroad at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Pacht was the first to point out the stylistic similarities between work attributed to the so-called Master of the Morgan Leaf of the Winchester Bible and his associates with wall-paintings formerly in the Chapter House of the Aragonese monastery of Sigena founded in 1183 by Queen Sancia. Subsequent research indicates that artists who worked at Winchester also worked in the monastery in Spain, where, as Boase writes, "the paintings and the decorative motifs constantly recall contemporary English work." Furthermore, the Westminster Psalter, which is dated c. 1200, also manifests stylistic affinities
with decorative motifs in the Petit Quevilly paintings as well as similarities of figure style, especially in the treatment of the draperies. Jalabert concludes that the psalter and the wall-paintings "doivent être de la même famille et du même temps."

Although the nursing Madonna in the chapel of St. Julien and the so-called Madonna of Dom Rupert are both examples of tender Madonnas, it has been stated that this type of representation of the Virgin is unusual in Romanesque art. There are, however, several which could be cited which, although they are not lactans figures, are expressive of maternal love. One can say, however, that they do not seem to be associated with ecclesiastical centres of major importance, except for a manuscript illumination which Decorates a commentary on Isaiah in the Sancti Hieronymi Explanatio Isaiam, executed at Citeaux c. 1125 - 1130 (p1. 13).

The Citeaux manuscript shows the standing Virgin supporting the Child on her right arm. Like the Citeaux lactans figure, she is part of a Jesse Tree decoration (see above, p.9f). Christ's right arm encircles His mother's neck, and his face is pressed against her right cheek. Of this charming
work, Oursel writes that Mary is pictured

'à la manière d'une princesse de la
Cour de Byzance, une admirable Vierge
à l'Enfant qui, par sa magnificence
et sa splendour atteint l'un des
sommets de l'art du Moyen Age, à
l'apogée de la grande floraison romane.  

The illustration is crisply executed in
coloured line and wash, as was the Cîteaux lactans
figure, but the mood of that work is in contrast with
the mood of the little standing Madonna on whose halo
rests the dove of the Holy Spirit.  

To my knowledge, the expressive qualities of this illumination have
been in no way better described than by Watson who
says that "its spiritual import has a closer relation
to humanity than representations more gloriously ma­
jestic as works of art but of a kind alien to the
spiritual needs of mankind."  

Although the Cîteaux work is not a Virgo lactans,
it is important because it is the first example
of French provenance of the Eleousa Madonna.  

Closely related to the lactans, the Eleousa was developed from
the seated Hodegetria when the heads of the Virgin and
Child were brought together.  

Thus, by the end of the twelfth century, both
the Virgo lactans and the Eleousa types of Madonna
were known in France. Because of the close political
associations between France and England during this period, and because of the affinities of style between works of the twelfth century originating in England and the wall-paintings of Petit Quevilly, the fact that no surviving example of an *Eleousa* or of a *Virgo lactans* Madonna of English provenance can be cited before c. 1250 is surprising. At that time, however, both types of Virgin appeared in England simultaneously.
NOTES - CHAPTER III

1Of early examples of the Virgo lactans in the West, Lasareff states that they manifest "undeniable evidence of Eastern, that is Syro-Egyptian influence" (Victor Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," AB, 1938, 33). Unfortunately, Lasareff supports his opinion by reference to but one work, the ivory ninth-century cover of a Gospel book (Bib. Nat. 1043) (Lasareff, 33) which appears to be a forgery. The Virgin of the Gospel book is shown seated on a wide throne on the lower part of the cover, the upper part of which depicts the Crucifixion. Of this work, Lasareff states that "Goldschmidt considers it to be a copy of a Carolingian relief of the Metz school" (Lasareff, 33, n. 46). A consideration of Goldschmidt's scholarship on this ivory, with reference to an illustration of it, however, leaves no doubt in our mind that it is, as Goldschmidt convincingly argues, a forgery, probably devised about the year 1800 (See A. Goldschmidt, Die Elfenbeinskulpturen Aus Der Zeit Der Karolingishcen, VIII - XI Jahrhundert (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1914) pl. XXXII, fig. 79.) Goldschmidt nowhere states that this relief is a copy of a Carolingian work. What he says is "Diese Madonna aber saugt ihr Kind, was im Abendland im frühen Mittelalter sonst nicht nachzweisen ist" (Goldschmidt, 44) and that the ivory reveals "grosses Analogien mit dem zweifellos echten Adalber-orelief in Metz" (44), which, however, depicts the Crucifixion only. Lasareff's comment that the "relief is probably derived from some very ancient iconographical tradition of Egyptian origin" (Lasareff, 34)
is misleading. Nevertheless, because Lasareff cites only this work as belonging to the first examples of the Virgo lactans in Western art, it helps to confirm that it is an unusual representation of the theme.


3 Ibid.


5 The group is accompanied by saints and is set below an enthroned Christ in a mandorla. Male notes similarities of positioning between the Anzy-le-Duc tympanum figures and the arrangement of figures in frescoes at Bawit and is of the opinion that the Romanesque iconography is dependent on Eastern iconographic sources. See Emil Male, *L'Art Religieux du XIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), 35f., pls. 134, 135.

6 Several images which date to the end of the twelfth century, which were formerly designated as Virgo lactans figures, have recently been accepted as images of St. Nicholas and his mother; see William S. Dale, "An English Crosier of the Transitional Period," *AB* XXXVIII, Sept. 1956, pp. 137-141; Virginia Wylie Egbert, "St. Nicholas: the Fasting Child," *AB* XLVI, March, 1964, pp. 69-70; Léon Pressouyre, "Le Saint Hilaire Galeata au Metropolitan Museum of Art,"
GBA vol. 73, 1969, pp. 129-140; Kurt Buach, "Die Madonna aus St. Gengulf," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, 1/4, Berlin, 1970, pp. 13-17; Léon Pressouyre, "St. Bernard and St. Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographic Programs," Gesta XII, 1973, pp. 71-92. In the representations of St. Nicholas and his mother, neither figure is nimbed, and the child is shown refusing nourishment because, according to legend, even as a baby the Saint exercised abstinence, thus proving his extreme piety. At the end of the twelfth century, images of Nicholas were used as exempla for monastic conduct, particularly by the Benedictines.

7 A. Stubbe, La Madone dans l'Art (Brussels, 1958), 67.

8 Richard W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (New Haven, 1965), 240, dated 1170-1190. The inscription which surrounds this work is an integral part of it; clearly distinguishable on the left hand edge of the carving is "Porta Clausa," indication that the figure is representative of the Virgin.


10 Jalabert, 23.
11 Deschamps and Thibout date the work to 1183, 64; Bonnefoy to the end of the century, 157, and Jalabert to a little before 1190, 22.

12 Jalabert, 8. For details of these decorations, see Jalabert, figs. 2-9.

13 Jalabert, 8; dated by E.W. Tristram, Medieval Wall Painting (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), I, 20. Concerning the origins of the acanthus motif and the use of it in Anglo-Norman manuscript illuminations, see Jalabert 17ff. For ills. of the decorative motifs in St. Gabriel's Chapel, see Tristram, I, pls. 20-22, suppl. pl. 2c.

14 Jalabert, 10, figs. 12-14; Bury Bible (Cambridge Corpus Christie Coll., Ms 2). For dating, see David M. Robb, The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript (South Brunswick: A.S. Barnes, 1973), 197. For ills. of the acanthus decoration in the Bury Bible, see E.G. Millar, La Miniature Anglaise du Xe - XIIIe siècle. (Paris, 1926), pl. 37, fol. 70; pl. 38, fol. 94; pl. 39(b), fol. 381v; pl. 40, fol. 344v.

15 Jalabert, 11, fig. 15. Lambeth Bible (London, Lambeth Palace Ms 3, and Maidstone Museum, Ms P 5), executed at Canterbury. For ills. of the acanthus motif in Ms 3, see Millar, pl. 41, fol. 198.

16 Jalabert, 11f. Winchester Bible (Cathedral Library, I, fol. 88. For ills., see Jalabert figs. 16 (a), (b), (c). All the manuscripts of the Winchester
School are noted for this acanthus type of decoration which had been used in English manuscript painting prior to the Norman invasion; see for example, the illustrations of the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold, from the Library of the Duke of Devonshire, c. 975-980, pls. 4-7, fols. 51v, 24v, 25, 90v, 91, 102v, 103 (Millar) and the Benedictional of Robert of Jumièges, end of the tenth century, now in the Bib. Nat., Rouen, pl. 8, fols 21v; pl. 9, 54v - 55. See Jalabert, 8, for examples of this type of decoration executed in England during the twelfth century.

17 Jalabert, 6.

18 Jalabert, 23.

19 Otto Pacht, "A Cycle of English Frescoes in Spain," BM, May, 1961, pp. 166-175, partic. p. 172. Sigena is in the province of Huesca which suffered grave war damage in 1936 when much of the convent was destroyed. The remaining fragments of the frescoes of the Chapter House have been restored and reassembled in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona.

20 T.S.R. Boase, English Art 1100-1216 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 275. Oakeshott is of the opinion that work on the Winchester Bible was abandoned "about the year 1180, with 1190 as a 'latest possible date'" (Walter Oakeshott, Sigena: Romanesque Paintings in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists (London: Harvey Millar and Medcalf, 1972), 142); with reference to the Sigena frescoes, Pacht suggests that "the most likely years to have produced that great
cycle of wall paintings are the first two decades of the thirteenth century" (Pächt, 175); see Jalabert, 24, and fig. 30, for her comparison of the acanthus decorative motifs in the Sigena frescoes with those at Petit Quevilly.


22 Jalabert, 21, figs. 25, 26.

23 Jalabert, 21. For Ills., see Millar, pl. 62ff, fols. 14v-15; pl. 63; fols. 12v, 13, 13v.


25 For examples of the tender Virgin in Romanesque art, see Walter Cahn, "Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections VI: Boston Museum of Fine Arts," Gesta, IX/2, 1970, which illustrates a polychromy and limestone carving attributed to a workshop at Piacenza. It dates to the second quarter of the twelfth century; height, 29", width, 15 3/4", depth, 8 1/2". It is a work of great expressive power, which Cahn says suggests a tender relationship between Christ and His mother which "partakes in something of the mystical union between Sponsa and Sponsus of the Song of Songs," (70). Pictured in the second volume of a
Bible in Lyons is another tender Virgin decorating an initial at the beginning of the Song of Songs, Ms 410, fol. 270v, dated to the latter half of the twelfth century; see Les Manuscrits Peintures en France du VII au XII Siècle (Paris: Bib. Nat., 1954), pl. XXXI, no. 230. Concerning the relationship between the representation of the Virgin and the Song of Songs, see Yrjö Hirn, The Sacred Shrine (Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1957), 440ff. A work which has been variously dated, but which Deschamps and Thibout ascribe to the end of the twelfth century, is the wall-painting of "Le Mariage Mystique de Saint-Catherine" in the church of Notre Dame, Montmorillon, Vienne, which shows the Virgin holding the Child on her right knee and kissing His left hand while He touches the head of Saint Catherine with His right; see Deschamps and Thibout, 61, pl. XXVII; Henri Focillon, Peintures Romanes (Paris: Paul Hartmann, 1950), pl. 44; Vloberg, ill. p. 138.

26 Robb, fig. 137 (Dijon, Mun. Mus. Ms 129, fol. 4v).


28 As is well known, the Tree of Jesse illustrations are based on the biblical prophecy according to Isaiah (XI:1), "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots." As Watson comments, "The dove at rest on the nimbus of the Virgin, is in harmony with the words that follow, "And the spirit of the Lord shall
rest upon him . . . (Isaiah (XI:2); see A. Watson, The Early Iconography of the Jesse Tree (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 89.

29 Ibid.

30 Eleousa, literally translated, means "She who has taken a baby in her hand," or "Child holder."

31 Lasareff, 38; Caiger-Smith, 4; Martin Werner, "The Madonna and Child Miniature in the Book of Kells," AB, March, 1972, 4. Contrary to Lasareff's statement (36), the Eleousa was not a Byzantine invention developed on Byzantine soil. The earliest representation of the Eleousa known to us is variously dated from the seventh to the ninth century and is a small Coptic ivory Mother and Child enthroned between two angels, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

The Virgin holds the Child on her left arm; his arms encircle His mother's neck, and their faces touch each other in affection (supp. pl. 1). The most famous Eleousa Madonna, however, is of Byzantine origin. She is the Virgin of Vladimir (supp. pl. 2) painted in Constantinople c. 1125, taken to Kiev, to Vyshegorod, to Vladimir in 1185, and eventually to Moscow in 1918 (David Talbot Rice, Byzantine Painting: the Last Phase (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 11). Chatzidakis writes that this "Icône miraculeuse par excellence, considérée pendant longtemps comme l'icône protectrice du peuple Russe, elle fut le modèle qui a servi pour un grand nombre d'icônes russes" (Manolis Chatzidakis, "La Vierge de Vladimir," Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte" (Venice, 1958-1959), 2, 24-25).
Only the heads of this painting are original (Chatzidakis, 25), nevertheless, the mood it expresses makes the small Coptic ivory Madonna and Child appear to be somewhat stiff and formal in comparison. Of the Vladimir Madonna, Rice writes that "the interpretation of the concept of love has become the aim of art, rather than the mere description of two figures as symbols of divinity" (Rice, 11). Rice notes also that at the time of the execution of the Vladimir Madonna, nothing comparable was produced in Italy where painting demonstrated the "typical Romanesque" style (Rice, 31, 211-212, n. 14). Concerning this icon, see also Paulo Muratoff, La Pittura Bizantina, (Rome: n.d.), 131-132.
CHAPTER IV

While it would appear that there is no known precedent in England for the creation of the Virgo lactans type of Madonna prior to that of the Amesbury Psalter, c. 1250, this is not the case with the Eleousa Madonna, which appeared fully-fledged contemporaneously with the Amesbury manuscript in the pen and coloured wash drawing of the Madonna and Child by Matthew Paris (pl. 14), and in a variation of this type of Madonna in the wall-painting of the roundel in the Bishop's Palace at Chichester in which the Child stands on His mother's knees (pl. 15). From the first appearance in a Latin codex in the Book of Kells, there were intimations, but no more than intimations, of the possible development of an Eleousa type of Virgin of English provenance.

Although the dating and the place of execution of the Kells manuscript remain problematic, work may have begun on Iona in the last years of the eighth century and continued at Kells in the early years of the ninth century. The Madonna is represented as a full-length figure seated on a high-backed throne which is presented in profile; the Virgin's legs are
also in profile while her upper body is shown frontally. The Christ Child, who extends His left hand towards Mary, is supported on her left knee as He reclines across her lap (pl. 16). It is this semi-recumbent position of comparative ease that has the effect of increasing the sense of dependency between the Child and His mother and which suggests a protective attitude on the part of the Virgin towards her Infant.

The trace of tenderness present in the Kells Madonna is apparent also in the so-called York Madonna (pl. 17), which is dated not later than the twelfth century. It is carved in relief on a stone slab; the upper portion of the work is mutilated, and the heads of the Virgin and Child are missing. MacLagen is of the opinion that "they must have been close together." Although this positioning would indicate the Eleousa type of Virgin, examination of a reproduction of this work does not bear out MacLagen's assessment of it, but accords with that of Rice who, not in agreement about the proximity of the heads, concludes that the York Madonna represents an "intermediate type" between the Hodegetria and the Eleousa, which no doubt was due to a "confusion in copying the models imported from the East."

The works of English provenance that most
consistently display a sense of warmth and tenderness are the ivory carvings of the twelfth century, the best of which demonstrate a "peculiarly intimate and personal feeling." One such work is the charming head of a Tau Cross credited to the School of Winchester and dated about the middle of the century. The central medallion on one side of it shows a three-quarter view of the Virgin who holds the Child on her left arm. In His left hand He appears to hold an apple, while His right hand reaches towards the face of His mother whose head is inclined towards Him.

Also dated to the twelfth century is part of the glass of Canterbury Cathedral which survived the fire of 1174 and which shows the enthroned Virgin crowned as the Queen of Heaven holding the Christ Child seated frontally on her lap with His right hand raised in blessing (pl. 18). What differentiates this presentation from the stained glass window, "La Vierge de la Belle Verrière" (1137), at Chartres Cathedral, which can be compared with it stylistically, is that the Canterbury Virgin supports the blessing hand of the Child with her own and, as Rackham points out, in this small gesture can perhaps be interpreted the "growing sentimentalism" of
the thirteenth century to which the preaching of St. Francis was to give such powerful impetus. 18

As far as the popular veneration of the Virgin and Child theme in the West is concerned, this "growing sentimentalism" had established roots long before the thirteenth century; as early as the poetry of Notker of St. Gallen (d. 912), the foremost of the Carolingian poets, the relationship between Mary and the Child was expressed in lyric terms. As Graef records, "Even in his Assumption hymn there appears the picture of the Virgin suckling the Child 19 and in the hymn for the Purification, the poet bids her exult, because 'your little one has smiled at you.' " 20 Later, in the eleventh century, monastic teaching advocating compassion for suffering, and thus for the humanity of Christ, 21 fostered more vivid forms of devotional expression, not only towards the Saviour, but also towards Mary as the Mother of Christ. 22 However, as Southern comments, it is probable that

the pioneers of medieval spirituality in the eleventh century did not so much initiate, as give way to a prevailing sentiment of pity and tenderness, which they interpreted and expressed in art and letters. 23

With the rise of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century and of the Franciscans and Dominicans
in particular, "the fruits of monastic experience of the eleventh and twelfth centuries" were brought to ordinary people; the teachings of St. Anselm of Canterbury and St. Bernard of Clairvaux "became the property of the lay and clerical world alike" and the effects of Franciscan humility, poverty, and reverence towards all earthly creatures (which has been widely documented) were to lessen the distinction formerly accorded that which was human and that which was divine.

Such was the veneration shown the Virgin by the Dominicans in France, for example, they were frequently referred to as "les frères de Marie." When taking their vows, they "promettent obéissance non seulement à Dieu, mais aussi à la Vierge." Their ardour for Mary is witnessed by the writings of Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) whose Opera include two tracts devoted to her alone; De Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis and the Mariale, which represent "a glorification, -- indeed a deification of Mary." Whether authored by Albertus Magnus or another, these works are impressive in their praise of the Virgin; here, "symbolically, Mary is everything imaginable; she has every virtue and a mass of power and privileges."

The most important impetus to the cult of Mary,
however, was provided by the dissemination of miracle stories associated with her name. It was not the separate legends of the Virgin which had been in circulation from the earliest times that assumed importance, but the compilations of them which originated in England between the years 1100 and 1140, that established for themselves "an independent literary existence . . . which took Europe by storm in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." They were probably translated into French during the reign of Henry II, or shortly thereafter, becoming "in their later development more French than English." Thus, Southern states, they provide an interesting parallel to the history of Gothic architecture, the structural principles of which, according to him, were devised at Durham but not expanded until the second third of the twelfth century when they were given new life in the Île-de-France region. Southern does not argue, of course, that the Mary legends equal the "artistic importance" of the florescence of Gothic architecture, but that "as an expression of medieval sensibility, . . . they are quite as characteristic of the period." Whereas accounts of the miracles of the Virgin had formerly been included among the lives of others (or had been used to "emphasize the sanctity of such
places as Soissons . . . or Chartres”), in the monastic collections compiled by Anselm of Bury, Dominic of Evesham, and William of Malmesbury, Mary alone is honoured. Above all, these writings, in accord with the teachings of Bernard of Clairvaux, stress Mary's role as Mediatrix; the Virgin represents man to God, and while God alone can act, the Virgin, through the medium of the legends, is shown to be pre-eminent in being His instrument. Furthermore, her attributes as a mother are extolled because, as Hirn comments, "He could not, so people imagined, refuse His assent to any of her prayers, if only she reminded Him of the time He lay as a Child at her bosom." 

This universal aspect of the Madonna depicted in the miracle histories typifies Marian legends; while individual saints became associated with specific places, or the protection of particular churches, the legends of the Madonna transcended the bounds of geography and were adopted in different countries where details of the stories were modified as needed. The effects of the stories compiled by Dominic at the monastery of Evesham in the first half of the twelfth century were felt throughout European literature, art and preaching for at least four
centuries after his death." It is with respect to Mary's role, "comme femme, comme mère des hommes," that the legends were of potent influence upon the popular mind. Theological and philosophical writings frequently were equivocal; sometimes Mary was invested with abstract concepts pertaining to the idea of "Church"; sometimes the Church was credited with attributes concerning Mary. On the other hand, "the legends and the works of art are quite unambiguous in their concrete language." There can be no symbolism in the miracle histories when they related how the Virgin cured pious individuals with her milk.

Because of popular belief in the beneficent powers of the milk of the Virgin, it became one of the most valued relics associated with Mary and the cult surrounding it was provided impetus by the Seventh Council of Nicaea in 787 which forbade the consecration of any Roman Catholic church without possession of a saintly relic. There was, of course, a paucity of relics attributed to Mary, whose
body allegedly was taken straightway to heaven after death. Thus, her Assumption is the probable reason for the numerous relics of the milk of the Madonna, which usually consisted of a "parcelle du sol crétacé de la grotte à Bethléhem où la Vierge nourrissait son enfant." In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this particular relic, as those of saints in general, assumed increasing importance because of the growth in the number and frequency of pilgrimages which played a significant role in the shaping of medieval social life.
NOTES - CHAPTER IV

1 Matthew Paris' drawing of the Virgin and Child, widely dated as c. 1250, is included with his Chronica Majora (Bm Ms Royal 14C VII, fol. 6a). Although, to my knowledge, the observation has not been made elsewhere, the inscription on this drawing is not authored by Matthew Paris, but is a quotation from a sermon by Ambroise Autpert (d. 784) on the Assumption of Mary. Autpert was a native of Provence who went to Italy as Abbot of Benevento, but whose importance lies in the fact that his writings influenced Western Mariology under such names as Augustine and Alcuin (Hilda Graef, Mary: a history of Doctrine and Devotion (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), I, 165). Autpert was the first Latin writer to develop sermons devoted entirely to the praise of Mary (Graef, I, 166). For Autpert's text of the Paris inscription, see PL 39, 5:2131.

prior to the Chichester Roundel; for examples, see A. Venturi, La Madone: Représentations de la Vierge dans l'art Italien (Paris: Gaultier Magnier, 1902), 6; a mosaic in the church of Santa Romana, Rome, dated to the ninth century; Victor Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," AB 20, 1938, fig. 2; a manuscript illustration from the Exultet Scroll, c. 1115 (Bib. Nat. no. 710); the Piacenza Madonna, dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century (see above, p. . ); A. Stubbe, La Madone dans l'Art, (Brussels, 1958), 219, fig. 78 illustrates the Nicholas of Verdun (act. late twelfth century and early thirteenth century) Reliquary of Notre Dame in which the Child is shown standing on His mother's knees in relation to the visitation of the Magi; Raymond Koechlin, Les Ivoires Gothiques Français (Paris, 1968) III, pl. IV, no. 12, dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.


4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 According to Lasareff, the seated Hodegetria type of Virgin "was brought into Western iconography directly from Coptic art" as exampled by the Kells Madonna (Lasareff, 61). Of this image of the Virgin, Rosenau comments that "an ancient form has been reconstituted under the social and religious requirements which were similar to those of the earlier
period." (Helen Rosenau, "The Prototype of the Virgin and Child in the Book of Kells," BM LXXXIII, 1943, 228)

Werner, 2. It would appear that it was not until the eleventh or twelfth century that the Infant was frequently shown supported by His mother's right arm. For ills., see Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, Ikonografiia Bogomateri, II, (Petrograd: 1915), ills. 152-161. Lasareff states that this custom had already "become rather widely diffused by the eleventh century" (Lasareff, 58). For works in which the Child is seated and supported on either the left or the right side of the Virgin, see Lasareff, 64.

Werner, 4.


MacLagen, 481.

Rice, 9.


15 In Genesis II: 2-3, only "fruit and not apple is mentioned. But, probably because of the double meaning in Latin of the word "malum" -- apple as well as evil -- the forbidden fruit came to be thought of as an apple"; see O. Schmitt, *Reallexikon zu deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1948), I, 748-750, quoted by Barbara Chabrowe, "Iconography of the Strasbourg Cathedral Choir Screen," *Gesta*, 6, Jan. 1967, 38, n. 14.

16 There is no figured stained glass extant in England which pre-dates examples to be found at Canterbury Cathedral which survived the fire of 1174 (Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd., 1954), 109); Peter Brieger, *English Art 1216 - 1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 94. This representation of the Virgin and Child is part of a lancet window bought in 1938 from a sale at St. Alban's Court, Nonington, because it was considered to belong to the ancient glass of Canterbury Cathedral (Bernard Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Lund Humphries, 1949), 65).
Dated by Paul Frankl, "The Chronology of Stained Glass in Chartres Cathedral," AB XLV, Dec. 1963, 319. See Gothic Painting, Jacques Dupont, Cesare Gnudi, trans. Stuart Gilbert (Skira: Geneva, 1954), 33, for col. pl. of "La Belle Verrière." Frankl states that it is one of four windows from the Romanesque Cathedral which survived the fire in 1194; it was probably saved by the vault of the Romanesque apse in which it was situated. The window was later enlarged "by the addition of angels at the sides and narrative scenes below," and is now in the wall of the south transept at Chartres (see Frankl, 301). Concerning the wide border of the Canterbury window, Rackham writes that it displays characteristics of style present in the Jesse Tree window of Abbot Suger at St. Denis (1150) and in the capitals of Canterbury Cathedral designed by William of Sens (Rackham, 76, ill. 66). For illustrations of portions of the borders of the St. Denis windows, see Carmen Gomez-Moreno, Medieval Art from Private Collections, exh. cat. The Cloisters, Oct. 30, 1968 - Jan. 5, 1969 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art), ills. 174-177.

Rackham, 67.


Ibid. Quoted by Graef from von den Steinen, II, 24.
Concerning the rapid development of the "intimate and emotional image of Christ after 1200," see Caiger-Smith, 68-69.

Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 232; see also Giles Constable, "Twelfth Century Spirituality and the Late Middle Ages," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 5, ed. O.B. Hardison, Jr., (University of North Carolina Press), 30ff. In the years subsequent to the findings of the Council of Nicaea, in 325, when the Son was accepted as being of the "same nature as the Father" (Yrjo Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine* (Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1957), 187), Mary was more frequently referred to as the Mother of God. Her position in the hierarchy of saints was further secured more than a century later, in 431, at the Council of Ephesus and Ephesus became the "birthplace of the official Madonna cult" (Hirn, 189). The Council was propitiated by a sermon delivered by Proclus (d. 446) in which he acclaimed Mary as the Mother of God. Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, refused to grant Mary the title of Theotokos, arguing that there was a distinction to be made between the humanity of Christ and His divinity. Cyril of Alexandria, opposing the Nestorians, argued that "If Christ was truly God as well as man, then Mary, his Mother was also truly the Mother of God" (Graef, I, 103). The resolution of the Council was in agreement with this opinion and thus, Mary was deemed worthy of the title of Theotokos. Henceforth, the attributes of the Virgin were established and her relations to God the Father and to the Child were formulated (Hirn, 188).
Her status was eulogized in exaggeratedly poetic terms, a genre of writing which originated in the East, as exampled by the Akathistos hymn of Romanos. Dated to the sixth century, this hymn was written in twenty-four stanzas, the latter twelve devoted to the praise of Christ and to Mary as Theotokos; it was translated into Latin not later than the ninth century, and it is still sung today (Graef, I, 129). This work later influenced Latin writers such as Venantius Fortunatus (530 - c.600) (Graef, I, 120-130) who refers to Mary as the Mother giving nourishment to her Child and speaks of the Virgin in terms which would indicate that "Almost imperceptibly she has left the strictly theological sphere and become an image fulfilling men's desire for beauty and security" (Graef, I, 130-131). For a brief, clearly stated account of the proceedings of the Council of Ephesus, and the reasons for which it was convened, see Graef, I, 101-111. Hirn writes that the church in which the council was convened "was the first and, at that time, the only church in Christendom which had been devoted to the worship of the Madonna" (Hirn, 189). See also PL 71, col. 713, in which Gregory of Tours records the account of Adamnan of Iona (c. 624 - 704) wherein the building of the Basilica of Constantine (the Cathedral of Ephesus) was accomplished through the divine intervention of the Madonna. The choice of Ephesus as the meeting place for the Council is of interest because, according to Acts 19 of the Bible, Paul's mission to the Ephesians was greeted with no small hostility on the part of the inhabitants who had long venerated the Goddess Diana, both for her virginity and for her motherhood. She was, we are
told, worshipped throughout "all Asia and the world." (Acts 19:27).

23 Southern, 256; see also Constable, 30ff.

24 Southern, 255. The composition of the first hymn in the *lingua volgare* is credited to St. Francis, and in Franciscan poetry in general "the most powerful, as well as the most tender mysticism is linked with unqualified realism and the simplicity of the common man" (Harry B. Gutman, "The Rebirth of the Fine Arts and Franciscan Thought," Franciscan Studies 26, no. 3, Sept. 1945; 216).


26 Brieger, 98.

27 Ahsmann, 34.

28 Ahsmann, 35.

29 Tome XX, dated 1245 - 1248, begun in Paris where Albertus Magnus was teaching; probably finished in 1256 in Germany where he filled the office of

30 Taylor, II, 461.

31 Ibid.

32 Taylor, II, 461-462.

33 The earliest of these stories came from the Middle East and appeared there between the fourth and sixth centuries (J.C. Jennings, "The Origins of the 'Elements Series' of the Miracles of the Virgin," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* (London: Warburg Institute, 1938), VI, 90). One of the earliest extant versions of the Theophilus legend, perhaps the most frequently encountered of any of these stories, is that of Paul the Deacon of Naples, "who flourished in the ninth century" and who adapted the tale from the Greek of Eutychianus (Sister Mary Vincentine Gripkey, *The Blessed Virgin Mary as Mediatrix in the Latin and Old French Legend prior to the Fourteenth Century* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1938), 10.) Hrotswitha, the nun of Gandersheim (c.930) wrote a "metrical version of the Theophilus legend" (Gripkey, 17; Graef, I, 204-205); see also Beverly Boyd, *The Middle English Miracles of the Virgin* (California: Huntington Library, 1964), 6) which is considered to be the forerunner of the Faust legend because Theophilus makes a pact with the devil from which he is redeemed by the intercession of the Virgin (Graef, I, 171; see also Lina Eckenstein, *Woman Under*


35 Southern, "Miracles", 178; Gripkey, 62. The popularity of subsequent versions of the legends which appeared in the vernacular is attested by the fact that the Miracles de la Sainte Vierge, written in France between the years 1218-1227 by Gautier de Coincy, contained fifty-four miracles of which seventy-nine manuscripts are extant (Gripkey, 132); for a further list of these collections, see Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the place of art in Late Medieval Private Piety," GBA 73, 1969, 160. These stories and exempla were frequently illustrated, as for example, the Gautier de Coincy tale of the Saracen which was decorated by Pucelle (Ringbom, 161, fig. 2). The illustration is of the tale of the heathen Saracen who, "in the presence of a representation of the Virgin . . . began to ponder doubtfully on Incarnation" whereupon streams of oil were emitted from the breasts of the image. Thus, "the Saracen became converted together with his family and many fellow Saracens." (Ringbom, 160).

36 Southern, "Miracles", 177.
Ibid. "Durham was the first building in Europe to have ribbed stone vaults throughout; choir, by 1104; nave 1128-1133" (Larousse Encyclopedia of Byzantine and Medieval Art, ed. René Huyghe (New York: Hamlyn, 1963), 294).

Southern, "Miracles", 177.

Jennings, 90.

Anselm, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds (d. 1148), nephew of Anselm who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, is "known to historians as the devoted protagonist of the most advanced form of devotion to the Blessed Virgin then known in Europe -- the Celebration of the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin" (Southern, Making, 251).

Jennings, 90-91. Malmesbury's Mariale was written c. 1143. These three collections were later conflated. The principal manuscript is Ms 97 (thirteenth century) of Salisbury Cathedral (Boyd, 7 and 7, n. 16).

Gripkey, 220.

Hirn, 360. See also Bede's sermon delivered on the Feast of the Assumption of Mary, De Sancta Maria Virgine (PL 94, 422-423) in which he records Pope Zephirus as addressing his listeners in the following terms, "Nunc autem, fratres, serviamus semper tali reginae, quae non dereliquit sperantes in se. Cum diligat orationes sanctorum, et exaudiat, multo
magis matrem suam exaudit pro peccatoribus exorantem."
("So, now brethren, let us always serve such a queen, who abandoneth not those who put their hope in her. Though he loveth the prayers of the saints and heareth them, much more doth He listen to his Mother praying for sinners.") (PL 94; 423A, trans. by G.B. Riddehough).

44 Southern, Making, 248ff.

45 Southern, Making, 249f.

46 Jennings, 84.

47 Jennings, 91. "His legends appear in Latin and vernacular manuscripts (they were translated into Norman-French well before the end of the twelfth century), in innumerable sermons, in the cantigas of Alfonso X of Castile, the poetry of François Villon, in the wall-paintings at the Chapel at Eton College and at Winchester Cathedral, and in Lincolnshire folklore" (Jennings, 91). For a list of the titles of Dominic's stories, see Jennings, 84-85, and for their plots, 92-93. Writing in 1968, Jennings states that "Dominic's collections consisting of a prologue and fourteen legends is to be found in its purest form in two manuscripts -- Balliol College Ms 240, a twelfth century manuscript from Monk's Kirby (fol. 137a - 148a); and an early thirteenth century manuscript from Burton Abbey, now in the possession of Professor Frances Wormald (fol. 35d - 45e)" (Jennings, 84).
82

48 Ahsmann, 23.

49 Ibid.

50 Hirn, 365.

51 Ibid. Similarly, Hirn states that there can be no question of symbolism in the many illustrations of the 'lactation' of Bernard of Clairvaux (365) which became particularly popular in woodcut representations of the sixteenth century. According to legend, "qui ne s'est accréditée qu'après le XIIe siècle, la statue de l'église de Saint-Vorles se serait animée au moment où Bernard récitant devant elle l'Ave maris stella prononçait le verset: Monstra te esse matrem. Marie aurait alors fait jaillir de sa mamelle sur les lèvres de son pieux ami trois gouttes du lait dont elle avait jadis nourri Jésus" (Ahsmann, 32, n. 2; see also Emile Mâle, L'Art Religieux du XIIe siècle en France (Paris: 1922), 427). For ills., see Lexikon der Marienkunde, ed. Konrad Algermissen et al. (Regensburg, 1967), I, col. 714, 717, 719. See also cols. 716ff. for numerous references to other representations of the 'lactation' of Bernard; see also Millard Meiss, "The Virgin of Humility," AB XVIII, Dec. 1936, p. 460ff. and fig. 26 for a fourteenth century Majorcan representation of the legend. In Constable's opinion, the personal devotion of Bernard to Mary has been frequently overemphasized; nevertheless, Constable writes, "Bernard played an important part in the later development of Mariology, right down to the eighteenth century; and the miracle of the lactation, though of relatively late origin, expresses a
spiritual truth in associating Cistercian piety with the maternal and feminine emphasis of later spirituality" (Constable, "Twelfth-Century Spirituality," 46).

52 Orviedo Cathedral was believed also to possess a phial of the Virgin's milk, as was Laon, where it was preserved in a crystal vase. For Guibert de Nogent's condemnation of the latter as a false relic, see Jonathon Sumption, Pilgrimage: an image of Medieval Religion (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 43. The cult of relics associated with the saints began perhaps earlier than the second century (Sumption, 22). This cult reached "epidemic proportions after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, when the market was inundated with objects whose authenticity was impossible to prove" (Sumption, 31); see also Sumption, 21, 22ff, 41ff, for further information concerning the cult of relics.


54 Southern suggests that this is the reason why the Virgin "had played a minor part in the miraculous intervention recorded by pious writers" (Making, 247).

55 Ahsmann, 21; see also 21, n. 5.

56 The principle reasons for pilgrimages included a sense of "closer contact with Christ, His Mother and His saints in certain places; the hope of benefitting
from a physically healing power; and the prospect of earning an indulgence for the remission of an unusually severe penance" (Knowles/Oblensky, Christian Centuries, II, 264; see also C.R. Cheney, Medieval Studies and Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 354). Sumption, however, likens the popularity of pilgrimages during this period to the popularity of the mendicant friars and of local hermits who "offered an escape from the stifling framework of parish life. Pilgrimages offered another escape. A surprisingly large number of pilgrims seem to have left their homes solely in order to deny their parish priest his monopoly over their spiritual welfare" (Sumption, 13).
CHAPTER V

As Southern comments on the place of religion in medieval social life,

before preaching became an important means of spreading new ways of thought and devotion, it is probable that miracles and miracle stories, shrines and pilgrimages were the most important force in disseminating the ideas and sentiments to which St. Anselm and St. Bernard had given in different ways so strong an impulse.¹

The venerated relic of the most important shrine dedicated to the Virgin in England, the Priory of Our Lady of Walsingham, Norfolk, was a phial of the Virgin's milk thought to have been brought from Palestine by returning Crusaders.² Commenting on the non-liquid nature of the relic, kept on the high altar at Walsingham, Erasmus describes how the Virgin's milk fell on the rock as she sat and nursed the Child: "It hardened and then, by God's will so increased."³ Although satirical in vein, his writing demonstrates the strength of popular belief in the relic, and the resulting wealth it attracted to the shrine.

Much of the wealth of Walsingham, however, resulted from Henry III's interest. Although
pilgrimages to it began about 1153, or soon after.\(^4\) Henry was largely responsible for making it a popular shrine;\(^5\) his first visit was in 1226, and there is documentary evidence of twenty more during the next thirty years.\(^6\) It was to Our Lady of Walsingham that the King made his last pilgrimage shortly before he died at Westminster on November 16, 1271.\(^7\) There are numerous documents referring to the gifts Henry bestowed on the shrine, many of them of a practical nature, such as wax, tapers, and trees for building, but in 1246 he donated twenty marks for the making of a gold crown for the image of the Virgin housed there.\(^8\)

On September 30, 1538, the image of the Virgin which had been

long the glory of Walsingham was
brought to London by special injunction from Cromwell, with all the notable images to which any special pilgrimages were made, and they were burnt at Chelsea.\(^9\)

We have no record of wall-paintings that probably once decorated Walsingham but, because of the nature of the relic housed there and, as Meiss points out, the likelihood that the cult of the lactans figure is associated with this relic,\(^10\) it is probable that an image of the nursing Virgin was part of its decorations. Support for this suggestion is to be found
in the small church of Canfield, near Great Dunmow, Essex, where a wall-painting of the crowned Virgin seated frontally on a dais shows her supporting the Christ Child on her left arm and suckling Him\(^\text{11}\) (pl. 19). Furthermore, according to Tristram, pilgrimages were responsible for influencing painting throughout England,\(^\text{12}\) not only through the "transmission of influences" but, also, probably through the dissemination of "technical methods, quite apart from those provided by monastic and royal connexions."\(^\text{13}\)

Canfield lies in the county adjacent to London and, while it cannot be said to be close to Walsingham, its relationship to the site of the shrine is of interest; the most travelled road for pilgrims leaving the city of London to visit Our Lady by the sea at Walsingham lies through Brandon and Fakenham after leaving Newmarket,\(^\text{14}\) which is but twenty-five miles on the map due north of Canfield. Between Newmarket and Walsingham, this road is still called the Palmer's Way.\(^\text{15}\)

Concerning the representation of the Madonna and Child at Canfield there is evidence to suggest that "the influence of the Court School extended to the county"\(^\text{16}\) of Essex, which is not surprising in view of its proximity to London, and of Henry's
patronage of art which stimulated so prodigious a
demand for painting that village churches as well as
abbeys and cathedrals were enriched with decorations. Of Henry III's direct links with Essex, we know he
owned a manor house at Newport, and a palace at Havering-atte-Bower for which we have records of
the commissioning of a Mariola, an Annunciation scene for the Queen's Chapel in 1251, and the purchase of
an image of the Virgin in 1253. Thus, there is a possibility that painters attached to the court of
Henry III were responsible for the execution of the Canfield Madonna. There are, however, aspects of
this work, and of its locale, which suggest the probable reason for the Virgin's being depicted as a Maria lactans.

The stylistic similarities between the Canfield Madonna and the Madonna and Child of Matthew Paris
(pl. 14) produced c. 1250 at St. Albans Abbey, the motherhouse of the English Benedictines, are so striking that we can only assume that the Essex artist was familiar with Paris' work. We know that Matthew might have been involved in the execution of an extensive programme of wall decoration at St. Albans which was taking place in the abbey c. 1220-1150 under the direction of Walter of Colchester.
It is more than likely, therefore, that the Canfield artist could have been brought from Essex (also the home county of Walter, as his name suggests) to assist in this programme, and may have worked with Paris.

As an artist, Matthew Paris (c. 1220 - 1259) demonstrates considerable originality. Not only is his Madona and Child the first example of an Eleousa Virgin of English provenance known to us, (see above, p.61) but also, he is credited with illustrating the first known representation of St. Francis receiving the stigmata; Matthew's illustrations of heraldry in his Chronica Majora are not of artistic interest alone, but demonstrate a breadth of information on a subject which, as far as is known, had not been previously catalogued. Furthermore, throughout Matthew's chronicles, there are drawings which witness his ability to use traditional motifs and invest them with new meaning. It seems reasonable to suggest, therefore, that Matthew Paris might have introduced the Virgo lactans image to the artist of the Canfield Madonna.

Furthermore, that Matthew Paris was on familiar terms with Henry III is attested by numerous entries in Matthew's chronicles which indicate that St. Albans was a favourite visiting place for Henry III.
The abbey was within one day's ride to the north of the King's London residence, and stables were kept at St. Albans to accommodate three hundred horses, thus facilitating frequent visits from members of the royal court. Matthew tells us of one occasion when Henry spent a week at the abbey during which time he, Matthew, was the "king's constant companion in the palace, at table, and in his chamber." In spite of the differences which might have existed between the monarch and the monk concerning political affairs, one cannot doubt that the aesthetic interests of the two men would have provided a bond of sympathy between them. Thus, it is probable that it was through Matthew Paris that Henry III, as well as the Canfield artist, was acquainted with the Lac-tans image, perhaps executed by Matthew, himself, in St. Albans Abbey as part of what was a major decorative programme of which there are but fragments left.

The fact that the Canfield Madonna is situated in a church on, or near, a pilgrimage route from London to the shrine of Walsingham, provides a link with two images of the Virgo lactans in the church of Stone, Kent (pl. 20). This church lies close to the Pilgrim's Way between London and Canterbury, and, because of the wall-painted scenes of the martyrdom
of St. Thomas pictured there, and the probability that there was an altar placed beneath the painting, the church would no doubt be visited by the faithful "after leaving Dartford for Rochester and Canterbury," a road certainly travelled by Henry III when he paid homage to St. Thomas Becket.30

The images of the Maria lactans at Stone are set one on each side of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas and there are several factors which support the hypothesis that they resulted from Henry's patronage: the building of Stone Church is credited to masons from Westminster Abbey; there is an inscription above the Martyrdom of St. Thomas which resembles one of similar arrangement in the royal Painted Palace at Westminster, and the images of the Virgin, although simply executed in ochres and black line, are of monumental proportions and, as Tristram points out, indicative of works of a "high order," perhaps executed under the influence of court painters. Tristram dates the figures as 1250 - 1275, which makes them contemporary with the painting of Mary suckling her Infant in the Amesbury Psalter.

Thus, the Canfield wall-painting and the wall-paintings in the church at Stone are three surviving images of the Virgin represented as the Maria lactans,
all dated to the middle of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, there is a likelihood that there was a fourth image of the nursing Virgin at the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham which, because of Henry's interest in the shrine, could well have been associated with his patronage, either expressed through the use of court painters or as a reflection of court influence.

Henry's activities as a patron of art, and the importance he attached to his role as such, are abundantly evident in his decorative plans for Clarendon Palace, but two and a half miles east of Salisbury. Judged from documentary evidence, the esteem Henry accorded Clarendon which, after Westminster in London, may have been the most important royal residence in England, supports the belief that, had it survived, Clarendon would "probably have deserved to rank in the annals of English painting immediately after Westminster Palace." Beyond a few fragments of masonry, however, little is left of Clarendon but the records of Henry's instructions to his artist/craftsmen. These are so detailed that Clarendon is the palace "concerning whose configuration we can now form the clearest idea." We read, for example, that the wainscot of the King's lower
chamber is to be decorated with "the heads of kings and queens" and that the upper chamber walls must be painted with scenes of "the history of Saint Margaret the Virgin, and the four evangelists." This room, too, is required to have its wainscot painted green but "spotted with gold, and heads of men and women thereon; all painting to be done in good and exquisite colour." Many entries in the rolls applying to Henry's reign indicate that he exercised close supervision over his workmen, at least, Tristram notes, until the last years of his life.

Henry III's role as an art patron was influenced by the new mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans, of whom it has been said their teachings strongly affected "the temper of his devotion." In 1250, Henry built a chapel at Clarendon for the "friars minor following the king's consort," and in the same year we read of the commissioning of paintings of the Holy Trinity and St. Mary for their chamber.

Henry's interest in the Franciscans and the execution of works of art for them at Clarendon links the court painters at the palace with wall-paintings formerly decorating St. John's church, Winchester. These paintings no longer exist, but there is
documentary evidence of them in the form of drawings executed in 1853\textsuperscript{43} which, as Tristram notes, show that

the spirit informing the work as distinct from the qualities displayed in the composition and execution proceeded from a Franciscan source, as is shown by the introduction of St. Francis into the paintings; and this is significant in view of the fact that the first Franciscans did not land in England until 1224.\textsuperscript{44}

As these paintings are dated to the middle of the century, or a little later,\textsuperscript{45} they are contemporary with the decoration of the Clarendon Palace quarters of the Franciscans by court painters. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the paintings formerly to be seen in the church of St. John's, Winchester, but a few miles from Clarendon, could have been carried out by the same artists. Support for this suggestion is provided by Saunders who comments that Henry was in large part responsible for the beginning of the secularization of art in England, for it was the lay authorities and not the religious who were responsible for the direction of decorative programmes designed not only for the church buildings but also for palaces and castles.\textsuperscript{46}

Of more importance to this paper, however, is the fact that the documentary evidence of the drawings
of the Winchester paintings proves that the Virgin was represented there as the Maria lactans. Thus, if court painters executed the Winchester wall-paintings, which seems likely, we can conclude a direct link between the lactans image and Henry III. Prior to the canonization of Thomas Becket, Winchester was "the first city in Britain in popular esteem, and in the number of pilgrims who visited it" to pay homage to King Alfred and St. Swithin, his tutor. A church in Winchester which displayed the Madonna as a Virgo lactans indicates clearly that it was not only a private image, as exemplified by the Amesbury Psalter, but also a public one.

Furthermore, the patterning of the nimbi of the figures painted in St. John's church, Winchester, is unusual and similar to the decorated nimbus of the figure of St. Agnes (C. 1250) in St. Peter's church, Farnborough, which manifests royal associations; St. Agnes is shown in company with Mary Magdalene and with St. Eugenia whose halo features the star and crescent design of Henry III's badge. The three saints are also identified by large Lombardic lettering of skilled execution suggestive of the influence of the scriptorium of the Priory School of Winchester. Thus, as Tristram writes, both the
pattern of the nimbus and the lettering, "may furnish a clue to the origins of the work linking it with Winchester, a royal as well as a monastic centre." Further, the appearance of the motifs of the king's badge in wall-paintings in Farnborough provides a link between Henry III and the lactans image of the Virgin at Winchester.

Moreover, the heads of St. Eugenia and St. Agnes pictured at Farnborough bear a "remarkable resemblance to the head of the Virgin in the altar painting at Winchfield church." Both the Farnborough church and that of Winchfield are close to Farnham Castle, built by Henry of Blois (1129-1171) as a residence for the Bishops of Winchester, and there is documentary evidence to prove that the castle authorities were, to some extent, responsible for its maintenance. There is proof also of a "direct royal association" with Henry III in the matter of the upkeep of the castle. As Tristram says:

This would explain how it came about that in these paintings diverse elements from the two Winchester Schools, the Court and the Priory, were fused with one another and thus account for the various features in them which point to the influence of the one or the other.
That there is a close relationship at this time between wall-paintings and miniature painting has been widely acknowledged. "Miniatures . . . served as types or provided suggestions for the painter; but conversely there are instances . . . in which the miniaturist seems to have worked from wall-paintings." If one examines the firm contours of the head of the Amesbury Virgin, the oval face, the clear definition of the neck, the strong curve of the brows and nose, and the large, round black eyes, it is obvious that the style of the psalter decoration is similar to that of wall-paintings in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel at Winchester painted about twenty-five years prior to the manuscript, and similar also to paintings in the Chapel of the Guardian Angels, Winchester, executed almost contemporaneously with the psalter. These wall-paintings have been cited as examples of "the refinement of court taste"; Winchester was the seat of a royal palace and the ancient capital of Wessex. As Tristram writes, the city was "not only heir to ancient traditions but absorbed also the progressive ideas and methods of the Court School." Indeed, Tristram, whose knowledge of wall-paintings in the thirteenth century is recognized as
authoritative, comments that the stylistic relationship between them and the work of the Sarum Master is such that

If we wish to conceive with the utmost vividness the impression produced originally by the complete series of wall-paintings that once adorned our greatest cathedrals and castles, we cannot do better than study such books as the 'Salisbury' group . . . to attempt to imagine them as wall-paintings executed on a proportionately larger scale.62

It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that the Sarum Master was not only an illuminator, but also a wall-painter.63

The provenance of the 'Salisbury' group of illuminations, and thus the provenance of the Amesbury Psalter, has been generally credited to the new cathedral in Salisbury.64 The origin of the paintings in a manuscript of this period, however, is not necessarily the same as its text.65 It is improbable that works of such outstanding calibre as the Amesbury miniatures would have been carried out in a cathedral setting as "distinct from a monastic school"66 and, further, there is no evidence that the cathedral at Salisbury inherited from Old Sarum any tradition of painting which might have produced works of this high order, nor that the new cathedral had established traditions of its own.67
There is no doubt, however, about Salisbury's reputation for the special regard in which the Virgin was venerated there, even before the construction of the present cathedral began in 1220. When the need for a new cathedral arose, Mary, herself, was credited with choosing the site for it and the building was dedicated to her honour by Archbishop Boniface of Canterbury in the presence of the King in 1258. Thus, the special regard traditionally accorded Mary at Salisbury was given new impetus by the building of the cathedral, and Henry III's interest in it was emphasized by the proximity of Clarendon Palace where the King spent so many of his creative energies in the personal supervision of the decorative programmes carried out there by his court painters.

Of the decoration of Salisbury Cathedral itself (the focal point, as it were, for the veneration of the Virgin, given emphasis in the south of England by the art patronage of Henry III), Tristram explains that the building of the new cathedral may well have provided the impetus for what appears to be the establishment at Salisbury of "one of the earliest predominantly lay schools of painting." He adds,

the men occupied in Salisbury Cathedral were presumably drawn from such groups as may be found locally, or were perhaps
drawn from among the Court painters at Clarendon, or from both.  

Thus, if the Amesbury Psalter paintings were carried out in Salisbury Cathedral, the proximity of artists of the Court School employed at Clarendon indicates the potential of their direct influence upon the work. Tristram suggests, however, that Winchester is the more likely provenance for the psalter illuminations because the Sarum Master produced works for nuns of both Amesbury and Wilton, both of them Benedictine houses situated but twenty miles from the long established Benedictine Priory School of Winchester. However, whether of Salisbury or Winchester provenance, the Amesbury Virgo lactans can be seen to fit into the context of wall-painting representations of the lactans theme which appeared in the south of England, c. 1250. While this region of England was not alone the beneficiary of Henry's artistic patronage, the south of England was the area where the influence of the Court School would be particularly effective; Henry lived in the south, principally close to Amesbury. Thus, the appearance in England during this period of several examples of the Madonna pictures as a Virgo lactans was due to the King's patronage which fostered the image, as it
were; that it was not an isolated representation of the nursing Virgin indicates there could have been others lost to us through accidents of time.

If Matthew Paris did not suggest the theme of the Maria lactans to Henry III, a Madonna pictured as this type of Virgin could have been copied in France and brought to England by one of the numerous artist/craftsmen imported by Henry. This image might have held particular appeal for the King because it is known through documentary evidence that he entertained preferences for certain themes which seemed to be of special importance to him (as, for example, that of Dives and Lazarus) which were repeated. During a period coincidental with the execution of the Amesbury Psalter, the subject of the Virgin was represented many times in the palaces and castles of Henry III. It is reasonable to propose, therefore, that there could have been a wall-painting of the nursing Virgin at Clarendon. Furthermore, it would seem to be an appropriate theme for the decoration of the Queen's apartments, for which, as Tristram notes, documents pertaining to the images there are "disappointing."

Because it is likely that the nun for whom the Amesbury Psalter was probably commissioned was of
royal blood, she could have been privy to the Queen's apartments and seen an image of the lactans Madonna there; at the very least one can assume the theme held particular appeal for her because, in the luxuriously decorated book designed for her personal use, she chose to be pictured kneeling at the foot of the Virgo lactans.

The royal connections of the Amesbury Psalter, however, are more direct. Patterning the dusky pink gown of the Virgin is the star and crescent, a variant of the cross and crescent motif of Henry III's badge, which is a prominent part of the decoration of many of the works of art associated with him. While the device could have been used without any such specific reference to the King, there is documentary evidence to indicate that it signified Henry's personal interest in works in which it appeared. In 1243, for example, Henry commissioned an embroidered banner, for his presentation to Westminster Abbey, to hang near the altar. While the King left the composition and the design of the banner to the needlewoman employed in its making, he detailed its iconography. It was to be "embroidered in gold with a Crucifixion and attendant figures of the Virgin and St. John with 'a star and the crescent moon above.'"
Although there is no colophon in the Amesbury Psalter to indicate that it was commissioned by Henry III, the links between the royal family and Amesbury Priory which preceded his reign, continued throughout it, and persisted after his death, make it probable that his interest in the psalter was occasioned by his personal associations with the nun for whom it was presumably created. Documentary evidence dated January 12, 1233, testifies that an order was transmitted by the King to the Sheriff of Wiltshire which required him "to go in person to Ambresbir(y) and to cause Alpesia, the king's cousin, a nun of that house, to have those things that are necessary for the robes she needs." This is direct proof of Henry's concern for Alpesia when she entered the nunnery and it is tempting to suggest that his personal interest in her later led to the creation of the Amesbury Psalter.

Furthermore, the royal device which diapers the Virgin's gown in the psalter, the high degree of craftsmanship displayed in the luxurious nature of its decorations and the probability that, although the text was written at Salisbury Cathedral scriptorium, the decoration was executed elsewhere (see above, p. 98), indicate that the painter was a member
of the Court School of artists employed by Henry III and, because Salisbury and Clarendon are situated within three miles of each other, that the illuminator of the *Amesbury Psalter* worked at Henry's palace there. Thus, considerations of euphony aside, one could suggest that the artist of the *Virgo lactans* image of the Madonna in the *Amesbury Psalter*, the one we now call the Sarum Master, could as fittingly be referred to as the Master of Clarendon.
CHAPTER V - NOTES


5 Hall, 112. Pevsner writes that the shrine originated in a chapel built "ad instar of the house in Nazareth where the Annunciation to the Virgin took place" (Pevsner, 187).


8 Hall, 112; Pevsner, 187; Dickinson, 82.


10 Millard Meiss, "The Virgin of Humility", *AB* XVIII, 4, 452, n. 52.

518. For a description of this work, see J.G. Waller, *Proc. of Soc. of Antiqs.* 1882, 214. Tristram does not date this painting directly; Waller suggests that it is earlier than the wall-paintings in St. John's church, Winchester, which Tristram dates to the middle of the thirteenth century, or a little later (see Tristram, II, 177).

12 Tristram, II, 256.

13 Tristram, II, 266.


15 Concerning the Palmer's Way, Sumption writes, "On his way home, the pilgrim usually wore a badge or token showing where he had been. The best known and probably the earliest of these souvenirs was the palm of Jericho which pilgrims customarily brought back from Jerusalem" (Sumption, 173).

16 Tristram, II, 331.


18. Tristram, Wall Painting, II, 331.


20. See Tristram, II, 344, where he states that this work was "influenced by the St. Albans School of about the middle of the century"; see also Nikolaus Pevsner, Essex, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1965), 197.


An illustration of this work, Chronica Majora (Corpus Christie Coll. Camb., Ms 16, fol. 66) is shown in M.R. James, "The Drawings of Matthew Paris," Walpole XIV, 1925 - 1926, pl. XI.


25 Vaughan, 11.

26 Matthew Paris, English History, trans. J.A. Giles (George Bell and Sons, 1902), III, 220.

27 As Tristram writes, "the repetition of the same subject matter in such close proximity is a curious phenomenon of which no completely satisfactory explanation can be given" (Tristram, II, 293). However, he conjectures that they might have been votive offerings. (Tristram, II, 293-294).

28 Tristram, II, 294.

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.


32 Newman, 49. Newman comments that the "Bishops of Rochester had a manor house at Stone, and the church was in their patronage. Yet the links of style are not with Rochester, but with Westminster Abbey" (Newman, 525).

33 Tristram, II, 294.

34 Tristram, II, 293.

35 Ibid.


39 Dated at Clarendon, May 25, 1255, LR 1245 - 1251, 63.


42Tristram, II, 215. There is much documentary evidence of the King's interest in the friars minor. We read, for example, of an order dated May 27, 1244, for money to be granted to the Canterbury Franciscans for the building of a church (LR, 1240 - 1245), 233), and on December 7, 1256, the king instructed the feeding of the Salisbury Franciscans. (LR, 1251 - 1260, 346).

43Drawings executed by F.J. Baigent; see Brit. Archeological Journal, 1854 IX, 5-11; Ibid., 1855, X, 53-5, 78 (Tristram II, 177-178, 620): for reproductions of the Crucifixion with St. Francis, and the Martyrdom of St. Andrew and the Last Judgment with St. Francis leading the Blessed into Paradise, see Little, Franciscan History, Ch. 1, pls. v, vi; see also Tristram, III, pls. 55, 56.

44Tristram, 178. Concerning the arrival of the Franciscans in England, see E. Gurney Salter, The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany (London: J.M. Dent, 1926), 6. It is of interest to note that, in Italy, where the Franciscan movement was founded, it was not until the fourteenth century that the Virgo lactans became a frequent image. Then it appeared as the Virgin of Humility wherein Mary usually is shown seated on the ground while she nourishes the Child; see Millar Meiss, "The Virgin of Humility," AB XVIII, Dec. 1936, 434-464; Georgina Goddard King, "The Virgin of Humility," AB XVII,
Sept. 1935, 474-491. This is not to say, however, that the Virgo lactans did not appear in the Dugento (the Trastevere mosaic has been mentioned above, pp. 44f. III); see also Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà, L'iconografia della Madonna col Bambino nella Pittura Italiana del Dugento (Siena, 1934), 55. The few works which can be cited, however, are marked by being iconic in the formality of their presentation.

45 Tristram, II, 177.

46 Saunders, English Art, 116.

47 Tristram, II, 620-621, where the Virgin is described as being "crowned, seated on a Throne with a diapered seat, suckling the Child."

48 Heath, Steps of the Pilgrims, 141.

49 Ibid.

50 Tristram, II, 178, pls. 55-56. As Tristram notes (178), this decoration appears also on the nimbus of Jesse in a representation of a Jesse Tree in Ms 43, fol. 33v, the Beatus page of the Huntingfield Psalter, Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York. Millar dates this manuscript to the end of the twelfth century (Eric G. Millar, La Miniature Anglaise du Xe - XIIIe siecle (Paris: G. van Oest, 1926), pl. 59.

51 Tristram, II, 197, where he states that this is the only wall-painting representation of St. Eugenia known to him.
Ibid. These works are now hidden beneath a thick layer of plaster. Fortunately, they were recorded in drawings made by F.J. Baigent in 1851 and by W.R. Lethaby after 1883 (Tristram, II, 196). Concerning the strategic importance of Farnham dating to ancient times, see Hilaire Belloc, *The Old Road* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1904), 89f., and for information about its direct links with Winchester by prehistoric track perpetuated in the thirteenth century by pilgrims travelling between Winchester and Canterbury, see Belloc, 36, 37, 53; see also Heath, p. 142.

Tristram, II, 197.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Tristram, II, 380; see also Tristram, I, 64; Caiger-Smith, *Mural Paintings*, 78ff.

Tristram, II, 172. With reference to the Sarum Master's miniatures, Tristram says that "Certain features which have been noted as common to them and to the paintings appear also in the productions of other centres; but the combination of them all seems to be peculiar to the works under consideration" (Tristram, II, 173). For ills. of the chapel of the

60 Tristram, II, 172.

61 Tristram, II, 173.

62 Tristram, II, 382. Tristram compares the technique of the wall-painting of the Wheel of Fortune in Rochester Cathedral with the technique of the Amesbury Psalter miniatures (Tristram, II, 287; ills. Tristram, III, pls. 133, 134, 135). See also Tristram, II, 360-361 for a comparison between wall-paintings at Horsham St. Faith, near Norwich, and the works of the Sarum Master, particularly in reference to the Crucifixion of the Amesbury Psalter; ills., Tristram, III, pls. 205, 206, 207).

63 Support for this statement is found in documented examples of artist/craftsmen who were talented in more than one field of creative endeavour; Dunstan, the monk who became Archbishop of Canterbury in the tenth century, was a miniaturist and a goldsmith (Virginia Wylie Egbert, The Medieval Artist at Work (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), 68). Master Hugo, credited with illuminating the Bury Bible (1121-1138) for the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, made bronze doors for the church, "carved a fine rood,
and even cast a great bell” for it (Tristram, I, 63). Matthew Paris, a contemporary of the Sarum Master, was not only a scribe and illuminator, but also a goldsmith and a sculptor (Andrew Martindale, The Rise of the Artist in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), 70). Furthermore, he was probably a wall-painter (Tristram, II, 327; see also p.97£. above).


65 Tristram, II, 174; see also Tristram, II, 379, where he states that "... there is evidence to indicate that the writing of a book might be done and paid for independently of the miniatures."

66 Tristram, II, 174-175. Tristram writes, "Since the function of the cathedral schools was the training of the parochial clergy, it is not likely, and there seems to be no positive evidence to establish the contrary, that they made any contributions to the art of the period" (Tristram, II, 438). As Brieger comments, "The art of medieval England up to the year 1200 is almost entirely a product of the great monasteries. There was no court art in the Byzantine sense, or for that matter in the Carolingian or Salian sense, although the Western courts drew the major part of artistic talent from the monasteries"

67 Tristram, II, 174.

68 The cult of Mary began at Salisbury even before the building of the previous cathedral at Old Sarum, c. 1076 by Hermannus, private chaplain to Edward the Confessor (see John Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales* (London: 1814) XV, 29); for the history of Old Sarum Cathedral, see W.H. Rich Jones, ed. *The Register of St. Osmund* (London: Longman and Co., 1884), II, p. xxv, ci. From the early days of Christianity in England there had been a community of nuns at Old Sarum which was dedicated to Mary (Britton, 31); for further references to the special veneration accorded the Virgin at Salisbury, see Rich Jones, II, ciii, cxx, also Saunders, *English Art*, 146.

69 The building of the new cathedral was occasioned by the friction between the clergy and the castellans; the church at Old Sarum was situated within the castle precincts, and access to it was permitted only at the discretion of the castle authorities (Britton, p. 86ff; Rich Jones, p. xxv). Richard Poor, dean of Salisbury and Bishop of Chichester in 1215, after unsuccessful negotiations with the Abbess of Wilton concerning the granting of land for the building of the cathedral, was allegedly instructed by the Virgin to site it at "Merrifield" (Britton, 128, see also Rich Jones, p. civ - cv).
Indulgences dating from May 21, 1258, were granted to pilgrims visiting the cathedral on feast days associated with Mary (Rich Jones, 329); furthermore, according to Saunders, the reverse of the seal of Robert of Bingham, Bishop of Salisbury, pictures what she describes as a "human presentment" of the Virgin and Child; dated 1228, which pre-dates the tender Virgins of the Salisbury region produced in the mid-thirteenth century (see Saunders, *Illumination*, 65). However, in reference to the writings of Walter de Gray Birch, and particularly to his authoritative work, *Seals* (London, 1907), I can find no trace of this seal, nor does the *History of Wiltshire*, published in 1956, by the Institute of Historical Research, London, list it as being among seals belonging to religious houses of the county (see Pugh/Crittall, 209f). With reference to Henry III's personal interest in the new cathedral at Salisbury, Matthew Paris records that William of York, bishop of Salisbury, was a friend of the King (Matthew Paris, *English History*, III (Giles) 154) who had promoted him to the bishopric (Paris, III, 162). William died in 1256, before the consecration of the new cathedral but, as Tristram writes, the King's associations with it were emphasized because of his friendship (Tristram, II, 207), and the building was generously gifted by him; see for example CR, 1234 - 1237, 279, 280, 409; LR 1245 - 1251, 61, 334.
With reference to the Benedictines, Tristram writes, that of the "various orders of monks in England in the thirteenth century, that most interested in the arts, as regards both patronage and practice, was the Benedictine. Most of the important monasteries, such as those at Canterbury, St. Albans, Winchester, Westminster and Bury St. Edmunds where, or in association with which, the chief English schools flourished, were Benedictine; and when we have examined the different centres throughout the country we have had occasion to remark frequently upon the co-existence at a centre where the arts were evidently cultivated of a great royal castle or palace and a notable Benedictine house" (Tristram, II, 473).

For a list of the names of these workmen, see Saunders, English Art, 116-117; also Caiger-Smith, Mural Paintings, 82.

For references to the theme of Dives and Lazarus, see LR 1251 - 1260, 263; E.W. Tristram, "An English Mid-Fourteenth Century Picture," BM LXXXIII, July 1943, 161; Tristram, Wall Painting, II, 196, 471. For other examples of Henry III's preferred themes, see Borenius, "Palaces and Castles," and Caiger-Smith, Mural Painting, 82.


Tristram, II, 216. As Tristram comments, this could suggest that the instructions for the painting of the apartments of the King's consort
could have been transmitted verbally (Tristram, 216).

78 Tristram, II, 81.

79 Ibid.


81 Lancaster, 85. The name of the needlewoman was Mabel of St. Edmunds, one of the best documented of artists working for Henry III; see CR, 1237 - 1242, 321, 372; CR, 1242 - 1247, 36; see also Lancaster 83ff; Rickert, 128.

82 Tristram, II, 81.

83 See above, p. 5; furthermore, according to Dugdale, 334, and de Gray Birch (Seals) Isabella of Lancaster, the Prioress of Amesbury in 1202, was of royal blood.

84 See Pugh/Crittall, Wiltshire III, 245f. for a list of royal gifts to the nunnery and of court visits made to it; see also Tristram II, 174; CHR, 1226 - 1257, 64, 80; LR 1226 - 1240, 195, 438; CR 1254 - 1256, 334.

85 Henry III died on the sixteenth of November, 1272 (Powicke, 13th Century, 225); Eleanor, his widow,
retired to Amesbury in 1286 (Powicke, Henry and Edward, II, 817; Pugh/Crittall, 247; Dugdale, II, 334). See also Dugdale, II, 334 where it is recorded that in 1285, seven year old Mary, sixth daughter of Edward I, with twelve of her companions, became a nun at Amesbury. For further references to Amesbury's royal associations, see Pugh/Crittall, 247.

86 LR, 1226 - 1240, 195.
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EXHIBITION CATALOGUES


MATERIAL RECEIVED TOO LATE
FOR CONSIDERATION IN THIS PAPER

PLATES
MADONNA AND CHILD, THE AMESBURY PSALTER, c. 1250 (MS. LAT. VI. 40. 4a. 5 1/10 x 7 3/5 ins), ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD (CODRINGTON LIBRARY). PHOTO. FROM A SLIDE BY COLOUR CENTRE SLIDES LTD., FARNHAM ROYAL, BUCKS., ENG.
TREE OF JESSE, CÎTEAUX ABBEY, 1110-1120
BIB. MUN. DIJON, MSS. 641-642 R., SOUTERN,
THE MAKING OF THE MIDDLE AGES, PL. I.
1515. LACTANS, EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.
MUSEUM OF NAPLES 245. Y. TRAN TAM TINH, PI. II, FIG. 8.
GRAECO-ROMAN FIGURE DATED TO THE
FOURTH CENTURY. FROM ESH SHEIK
IBADA. NOW IN DAHLEM MUSEUM J. 10/61.
V. TRAN TAM TINH, PI. XII, FIG. 17.
WALL-PAINTING, PRISCILLA CATA COM B. 2nd CENT. DETAIL 16 X 10 1/2 IN. DESCRIBED BY BOURQUET AS "BALAAM POINTING OUT THE STAR TO MAR Y." BOURQUET, EARLY CHRISTIAN PAINTING, PI. 67.
MARY NURSING HER CHILD, WALL-Painting. Monastery of Saggara, now in the Coptic Museum, Cairo. W. De Grüneisen, pl. XXXVI.
MARY NURSING HER CHILD, WALL-PAINTING, MONASTERY OF SABBARA, NOW IN THE COPTIC MUSEUM, CAIRO. KLAUS WESSEL, PI. II.
MEDITET-EL-FAYUM. SUCKLING VIRGIN, (fourth cent.). INCISED LIMESTONE. 50X34 cm.
BERLIN, STATE MUSEUMS. BOURQUET, EARLY CHRISTIAN ART, P. 155.
STA. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE. MOSAIC OF THE FACADE.
CENTRAL GROUP. THE DATE IS C. 1190, EXCEPT FOR THE
SMALL FIGURES OF DONORS (THIRTEENTH CENTURY).
WALTER OAKESHOTT, MOSAICS OF ROME, FIG. 139.
THE MADONNA OF DOM RUPERT, LIÈGE, LATE TWELFTH CENT. RICHARD SOUTHERN, THE MAKING OF THE MIDDLE AGES, PI. IV.
MADONNA AND CHILD, EXPLANATIO IN FAAM, CITEAUX ABBEY, C.1130. BIB.
MUN. BIZON, MS. 129, FOL. 4 V. 38X12 CMS.
GEORGE ZARNECKI, ROMANESQUE ART,
PL. 190.
CHICHESTER ROUNDDEL c. 1250, BISHOP’S PALACE, CHICHESTER. FRONTISPIECE, TRISTRAM, II.
MADONNA AND CHILD, BOOK OF KELLS.
TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN (MS. 58, A. I. 6, FOL. 7).
SULLIVAN, PI. III.
THE VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED, CRYPT, EAST WINDOW, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, C. 1190-1200. RACKHAM, PL. VII.
THE VIRGIN AND CHILD, WALL-PAINTING, C.1250.
GREAT CANFIELD, ESSEX, TRISTRAM, III, PI. 171.
VIRGO LACTANS. WAllPAINTINGS IN STONE CHURCH, KENT, C. 1250.
(a) 5' x 2' 7"
(b) 10' x 5' 8"
TRISTRAM, III, PLS. 144(a), 144(b).
SUPPLEMENTARY PLATES
Virgin enthroned between two angels. Ivory, c. ninth century. Height 26 cm., width 11.6 cm. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Bourguet, Coptic Art, p. 44.
OUR LADY OF VLADIMIR (DETAIL). PANEL, 1130. THE TRETYAKOV GALLERY, MOSCOW.
ANNUNCIATION. THE AMESBURY PSALTER, c. 1250 (MS. LAT. VI, fol. 55a. 5 1/2 x 7 3/8 in.), ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD (CODRINGTON LIBRARY). PHOTO. FROM A SLIDE BY COLOUR CENTRE SLIDES LTD., FARNHAM ROYAL, BUCKS., ENG.
THE VIRGIN AND CHILD, WITH HENRY OF CHICHESTER (?). SARBUM MISSAL, MS. LAF. R 24, FOL. 150A. JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER. HOLLANDER, PI. III.
MADONNA AND CHILD (DETAIL). THE AMESBURY PSALTER, C. 1250 (MS. LAT. VI, F.4 A. 3½ X 7¾ IN.), ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD (ODRINGTON LIBRARY). PHOTO FROM A SLIDE BY COLOUR CENTRE SLIDES LTD., FARNHAM ROYAL, BUCKS, ENG.
EXCURSUS

While working on this paper, I began to question the composition of the Virgin and Child folio of the Amesbury Psalter; the longer I looked at it, the more puzzling it appeared to be. I have no authoritative support to cite for the observations which follow; they merely represent a visual opinion, as it were, which suggests an area for research beyond the scope of the present essay.

An aspect of the Amesbury Virgo lactans page, in which it differs from other works in the Salisbury group of manuscripts, is the addition of the band of rose pink colour inside the cinquefoil architectural framework which encloses the figures. It does not appear in the Annunciation scene of the same psalter, nor in the Virgin and Child representation in the Sarum Missal (Ms Lat. 24, fol. 150a, John Rylands Library, Manchester, England), both of which present their figures within arches of similar design. This banding seems to function as a means of integrating the haloed head of the Amesbury Virgin within the highest lobe of the arch, the apex of which indicates the central axis of the painting. The opinion that
this treatment of the head and halo might have been due to aesthetic consideration is borne out by exami-
nation of the Annunciation page of the same manu-
script (supp. pl. 3); although the Virgin's head is
inclined toward the angel on the left of the paint-
ing, the apex of the arch is emphasized by the broad strip of bright, red colour emanating from it and
enclosing the dove of the Holy Spirit which is thus linked to the Virgin's halo. Similarly, while in the left hand panel, Gabriel's head, as he inclines it toward the Virgin, is positioned to the right of centre, yet from a compositional point of view, it is brought back, as it were, to the central axis of the space he occupies by the topmost curves of his half-closed wings which are set slightly higher than the halo, and by the inner edges of the wings which echo its shape.

Whereas, in the Annunciation and the Christ in Majesty, one is impressed by the harmony of the relationship between figures within the framework, an equivalent sense of harmony is lacking in the Virgin and Child (pl. 1). One surmises that the artist might have attempted to unify his work by the use of the non-representational device of the band of colour which cannot be considered to be part of the
architectural framework. However, I would like to suggest that part of the artist's concern might have been to integrate a design that had been altered from its original conception; we might be looking at a figure designed initially not as a seated Virgin, but as a standing Virgin.

Immediately obvious to the viewer is the fact that the left and right hand sides of the Virgin's throne are unmatched. Furthermore, the awkward juxtaposition of the left hand edge of the throne and the nun's face makes it appear as if the dais had to be squeezed into an area already largely occupied by her figure. Moreover, the right hand side of the throne is considerably larger than the left, and would seem to be more so were it not for the lining of the arch which 'captures its profile,' and reduces the insistence of its visual impact. On the nun's side of the page, this framing veers slightly to the left, again as if to allow room for her presence.

Another awkwardness manifest in the Virgin and Child concerns the painting of the legs of the Madonna, particularly that of her right leg which bears no relationship to her body; it seems to be an afterthought. If one tries to ignore this 'leg', the suggestion that Mary was once a standing Virgin
FOLIO 43 OF THE AMESBURY PSALTER.
RECONSTRUCTED FROM A COPY OF HOLLANDER,
PLATE VII.
gains in credibility; furthermore, the proportions of the Madonna measure a ratio of 9:1 — exactly the proportions of the standing Virgin in the Annunciation scene. When one reconstructs the Maria lactans by a simple rearrangement of the draperies, the presentation appears to be visually much more acceptable (fig. 2).

A comparison between the Amesbury Madonna and that of the seated Virgin in the Sarum Missal (supp. pl. 4) attributed to the same artist and dated by Hollaender 1252 - 1264, shows the latter figure portrayed with more plausibility, although the relationship between the legs of the Sarum Virgin and her body is still not convincingly achieved. The proportions for this figure are not 9:1, as in the Amesbury Madonna, but 7:1. Assuming that the Amesbury Madonna was originally designed as a seated figure, the ineptness of its composition compared with that of the Sarum Madonna suggests that the former is an earlier work. Nevertheless, I propose that the awkwardness of the Amesbury Madonna and Child page in the handling of the compositional elements is such that the suggestion it has been altered merits consideration.

However, if in the original design, the Virgin
was standing, was she then a *Virgo lactans*? Traditionally this type of Virgin is a seated figure. Nevertheless, there is a stained glass representation of a standing Virgin (c. 1221) (supp. pl. 5) in Chartres Cathedral who holds the Child on her right arm. The Child's head is close to that of the Virgin, and He does not partake of the nourishment preferred by His mother. The breast area of the Madonna is prominently displayed, an unusual feature for this period, and one which does not become general until the appearance of the *Madonna of Humility* in the first quarter of the fourteenth century in Italy. The breast area of the *Amesbury Madonna* is emphasized also (supp. pl. 6), but the anatomical awkwardness of it suggests that it was added after the original conception of the page.

If Mary was once a standing figure holding the Child on her left arm and inclining her head toward Him, a combination of the traditional *Hodegetria* type of Virgin (demonstrated by the twelfth century mosaic in Torcello Cathedral) and the *Eleousa* type of presentation, would be indicated, and suggests that the positioning of the hands of the Virgin and Child was otherwise.

Furthermore, the drawing of the undergarment
about the feet of the *Amesbury Madonna* seems to be unnecessarily complicated. It suggests alteration also; it is not the warm honey-coloured garment she wears in the Annunciation scene and there is no indication of a right foot. In the *Sarum Missal*, both feet of the seated Virgin are prominently displayed.

The disproportionately large size of the figure of the Child would appear to be more so if held by a standing figure, particularly if the Virgin's outer garment was employed in the usual manner and crossed Mary's body to enfold His right foot and allow the left foot to lie across its lower edge before being caught over the Madonna's left wrist. However, her outer garment could have been draped to either side of the standing figure, which would have provided a more harmonious arrangement.

From observation of reproductions of the Amesbury page, there does not appear to be more than one hand involved in its painting; therefore, I suggest that it was after the painting of the overly large figure of the Child, which shows considerable interest in modelling, and is a more accomplished drawing than is that of the Virgin, that the Sarum Master decided to alter his standing Virgin to a seated Virgin.
Because we know nothing of the commissioning of the Amesbury Psalter, nor of its original owner, the reasons for the Sarum Master's probable alteration of the Virgin and Child page, which I propose can be argued because of its visual awkwardness and its lack of compositional harmony compared with the other full-page illustrations of the psalter, remain matters for conjecture.