THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIFE AND MIRACLES OF ST. EDMUND: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONTENT AND STYLE OF ITS ILLUMINATED MINIATURES

by

PAMELA MARIA FRASER
B.A., University of San Francisco, 1968

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES Department of Fine Arts

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
September, 1978

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Department of Fine Arts

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date Oct. 10, 1978
ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with a twelfth-century English manuscript, The Life and Miracles of St. Edmund (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 736), and in particular with the thirty-two illuminated miniatures which decorate its opening pages. The manuscript is one of the two earliest surviving examples of an illustrated saint's Life made in England. It is also among the first English manuscripts to contain pictures painted in the Romanesque style. For these reasons, among others, the Morgan Life is a fascinating book to study.

The first main section briefly discusses the physical details of the manuscript-- its content, organization, provenance, dating, authorship and function. The next section deals with the story of the saint and the development of his abbey in order to place the manuscript in its proper historical framework. Woven in with this is a discussion of the subject matter of the miniatures which attempts to answer the following questions: how do the illuminations relate to the text? does the choice of topics for illustration reflect the concerns and aspirations of Edmund's abbey? can the ideas and ideals exemplified by the pictorial narrative be connected with the thoughts and beliefs of Western society in the twelfth century?
The final part of the paper undertakes an examination of the Morgan miniatures from a stylistic point of view. There is a continuing controversy among art historians concerning the authorship of the St. Edmund miniatures: some scholars suggest that the artist of the Morgan Life was the same man responsible for the paintings in the St. Albans Psalter -- the famous manuscript which introduced the Romanesque style to English illumination; other scholars hold different theories of authorship. This section consists of a comparison between the introductory miniatures of the Psalter and those of the St. Edmund libellus in order to determine whether or not these paintings should be attributed to the hand of one master.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank Dr. Mary Morehart for her numerous helpful suggestions and constant encouragement, without which this paper would not have been completed. Thanks are also due to Professor Marc Pessin for agreeing to be second reader of this paper at rather short notice.

Finally, I would like to thank the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, for granting me permission to use photographs of MS 736 to illustrate my paper.
I. INTRODUCTION

The twelfth century witnessed the introduction to England of a new style in European art—a style with varying interpretations in different countries within an overall span of approximately three hundred years—which is referred to under the general title of "Romanesque". In Britain, a gradual change from the flamboyant art of the Anglo-Saxon period to the more sombre, controlled art of the twelfth century can already be detected at the close of the eleventh century. But the St. Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Treasure of St. Godhard's), produced about 1123 and including among its decorations some forty full-page miniatures, is one of the earliest and finest extant examples of a major English work in a fully developed Romanesque style.

Not unnaturally, the appearance of this Psalter had an immediate impact upon English manuscript illumination, and the St. Albans style spread rapidly to other scriptoria, foremost among them that of the prestigious abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. Of the books made at or for Bury in the new manner, shortly after the production of the Psalter, the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 736) is the most elaborate, with its thirty-two full-page paintings and its numerous decorated or historiated initials.

1.
This manuscript, its place in the history of its abbey and its times, and the nature of its relationship with the St. Albans Psalter, is the subject of the present paper.

As well as being an excellent example of the new Romanesque style in England, the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund is also one of the two earliest remaining examples of an illustrated saint's Life to be produced in Britain; the other work in this genre is a Life of St. Cuthbert (Oxford, University College, MS 165). Because of its importance on these two counts, the St. Edmund manuscript has been mentioned by several art historians and discussed in some detail by a few. However, since a complete study of the Life has never been made, and since scholars offer differing opinions on such matters as dating, authorship of the text, and the identity of the miniaturist, there is ample room for research into diverse aspects of the manuscript. In the following pages, I will explore some of these areas in the hope that a fresh look at the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund may help to clarify its position in the history of manuscript illumination in early twelfth-century England.

The first section of the paper will deal with the physical details of the Life—its size, its contents and
their order of arrangement, its material makeup and script style, the controversy over the authorship of part of its text, the number and subjects of its historiated initials, its provenance, and the problems surrounding its dating. This section will also include a discussion of the several purposes such a luxurious book might serve within the monastery--from a teaching device for the monks, to a symbol of the wealth and power of the abbey, to a beautiful treasure in honour of the patron saint and adorning his shrine.

The second part of the paper will examine the Morgan manuscript in a social rather than a physical context. I will discuss the libellus primarily in relation to the history of the saint and his abbey. My method will be to recount the development of Edmund's cult and the establishment of his monastery as these events are recorded by the illuminated miniatures and to suggest how the episodes chosen for illustration have special significance for the glory of either the saint or the abbey.

In this section, I will also attempt to show how the libellus reflects the values and concerns of the epoch which produced it, and to indicate that certain modes of thought and ways of life revealed by the manuscript were not purely
local but were part of a wider European tradition. Some aspects of the medieval mind, its methods of making sense of the physical and spiritual world, are expressed through the manuscript, and I will point out how the illuminations help to describe the tenets and conditions of their age.

In a sense, the last part of the paper will return to a consideration of the physical elements of the manuscript, since I will discuss the illuminated miniatures from a stylistic rather than a social point of view. But firstly, I will briefly outline the general development of the illustrated saint's Life in Europe in order to place the St. Edmund manuscript in its proper art historical context.

The primary purpose of this section will be to compare and contrast the miniatures in the St. Edmund manuscript with those in the St. Albans Psalter in order to suggest how and if their respective artists are related - or if both sets of paintings are the products of one man's hand. Therefore, I will mention the differing theories which art historians concerned with the question of authorship have put forth and will then begin a point-by-point comparison of the style of the two picture cycles.

In this way, I hope to add something constructive to
the still unsolved problem of the identity of the St. Edmund miniaturist. The solution of this puzzle is of more than purely academic interest; if the question of the attribution of the St. Edmund miniatures can ever be satisfactorily settled, art historians will be one step further in resolving the wider and more pertinent problem of the relative importance of St. Albans and Bury St. Edmunds as centers of book illumination and as disseminators of a new style in English manuscript printing.
II. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Physical Composition

The Life and Miracles of St. Edmund, MS 736 in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, is an excellent example of a type of book which was especially popular during the eleventh and twelfth centuries— the saint's life which, when augmented by prayers and songs, was called a libellus. Before dealing with other aspects of the manuscript, I would like to describe its physical composition and to discuss its provenance, dating, and the general function of this type of book.

As is normal for a libellus, the Morgan manuscript is relatively small both in dimension and in number of pages: the leaves, made of vellum, measure 10-3/4 by 7-1/4 inches, and there are one hundred folios in all; however, the manuscript ends imperfectly due to a loss of several pages at the end. The handwriting of this and other major products of the Bury scriptorium in the twelfth century has been carefully analyzed by Elizabeth Parker; she identifies the present manuscript as one of a group written by an unknown scribe working in the second and third decades of the century. The lettering is in a carefully executed miniscule, and Miss Parker
describes this attractive round hand as being a reflection of the Carolingian tradition prevalent in the Bury scriptorium until shortly before the second decade of the twelfth century. Yet another reminder of former practice occurs in the format of the text which is written in thirty-two long lines right across the page rather than in the double columns more common to twelfth century Bury books. The headings of the various chapters are worked in small red rustic capitals, while the initials of the chapters are large and beautifully illuminated. Whenever St. Edmund's name appears in the text, it is distinguished by being written in gold uncial.

A number of Bury books still retain their ancient bindings because they are housed in libraries which have attempted to preserve the old covers. However, MS 736 has lost its original binding and its present olive-green morocco cover dates from the mid-nineteenth century; it would no doubt have first been bound in the smooth white leather favoured by the Bury scriptorium at this time.

Now to examine the Latin text itself, this is composed of three major sections plus a number of minor additions. I will discuss the various items in order of appearance rather than importance so as to give a clear idea of the actual
arrangement of the book. MS 736 opens with a separate quire of six leaves which is probably an original part of the book, but which is contemporary with it at any event. These pages have a special interest with regard to the dating of the manuscript and will be mentioned again below. Following normal usage, folios 1-4 would have been left blank originally so that items of importance could be recorded as occasion demanded. Such additions have been made to the present volume which therefore opens on folio 2 with copies of two undated letters written to Anselm, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds from 1121 to 1148.

The first letter is from King Henry I forbidding the abbot to undertake a desired journey abroad on the grounds that the monks and knights of his abbey object to the proposal; it is generally agreed that this letter refers to a pilgrimage to Compostella which Anselm wished to make shortly after his election as abbot. As a consequence of the king's letter, Anselm did not embark upon the journey to Spain; however, most likely as compensation for this disappointment, Henry granted the abbot an annual fair at Bury to continue for six days surrounding the feast of St. James. The second letter, also on folio 2, is from Prior Talbot and the convent ardently requesting the abbot to return to Bury since he had apparently
gone farther than his original destination of Normandy and had been away too long. As Talbot speaks of official crown business, it seems likely that his letter was written to Anselm while the abbot was on a mission to Rouen in 1125 where he was sent by Henry to witness two royal charters. These letters are followed on folios 3 and 4 by a series of pittances granted by Anselm to the monks, a list of the sacrist's holdings from which these allotments were to be financed, and notations of the feast days upon which the monies were to be distributed. The final additions written on the six opening folios consist of four extra lections for the vigil of St. Edmund, probably intended as alternatives for those found in the main body of the text.

Intervening between these preliminaries and the text proper are the thirty-two illuminated miniatures with which this paper will be primarily concerned. These pictures occupy folios 7 through 22 and are followed immediately by the main text which consists of three sections: a Miracula sancti Eadmundi regis et martiris in two books with a preface begins on folio 23; next appears the Passio sancti Eadmundi by Abbo of Fleury, including his dedicatory letter to St. Dunstan, on folio 77; and finally, on folio 87 begins the major set of offices for the vigil and feast of St. Edmund, which is
essentially a group of selections from the writings of Abbo and archdeacon Herman interspersed with hymns, antiphons and responses with musical notes included; these items are all typical features of the *libellus*. As stated above, this third section is missing its final pages, leaving incomplete most of the actual Mass for the feast.

While the second part of the main text is a complete copy of the earliest known *Vita* of Edmund, Abbo's tenth century Latin work, there is some controversy concerning the author of the first section, the *Miracula*. Since the identity of the writer is one of the elements pertinent to the dating of the manuscript, it will be worthwhile to examine the possibilities for authorship of the two miracle books.

This particular miracle text is a unique copy, not extant in any other manuscript; it has not been published to date. However, the first of its two books is largely based on the *Liber de Miraculis sancti Eadmundi*, written by Herman, a monk of Bury, shortly after the translation of the saint's relics to a new shrine in 1095; the second book includes more recent miracles not recorded by Herman. Two reasonable suggestions have been made concerning the compiler of the miracle books: that he was a monk known as Osbert of Clare; or that he was an as yet unidentified monk working at Bury
sometime early in Anselm's abbacy. Concerning Osbert, we unfortunately know little about his dates and career with any precision. Thanks primarily to his letters, we do know that Osbert was a monk at the monastery of St. Peter's, Westminster; that he argued with his abbot, Herbert, sometime after 1121 when the latter was appointed; that he consequently spent the years between about 1123 and 1134 in exile at both Ely and Bury; and that he was recalled to Westminster and named (or renamed) prior in 1134. We also know that Osbert wrote several lives of English saints, including Eadburge and Ethelbert, members of the royal Anglo-Saxon house; he was an especial champion of the canonization of Edward the Confessor, the last of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and to this end wrote his well-known *Vita* of Edward in 1138.

Since he did spend time at Bury and since he had a propensity for writing about saintly English kings, it is not difficult to accept the suggestion that Osbert recorded some additional miracles of Edmund at Anselm's request; however, we do not have solid proof that MS 736 contains this work. The attribution to Osbert is made in a roundabout way via a later manuscript, *Cotton MS Titus A VIII*, which was compiled by Samson of Bury who was abbot from 1182-1212; this manuscript also contains the *Passio* by Abbo and two books of
miracles; the prologue to book two has a marginal note in a fifteenth century hand ascribing this prologue and thirteen of the miracles to Osbert. Even though the prologue is completely different from that in Morgan 736, and even though the thirteen miracles mentioned in the note are absent in our manuscript, Arnold and Williamson, as well as recent authors following them, maintain that MS 736 represents an early form of Osbert's work because of its similarity to his flowery literary style. Therefore, the connection with Osbert is rather tenuous, though not frivolous, and perhaps it would be safer to agree with Warner and Thomson that this text is the product of another monk, intermediate between Herman and Osbert, since the latter's work is extant only insofar as Samson used it for his own version of the miracles.

In support of the theory of an intermediate author, there may be a hint of his identity in a fourteenth century note at the end of a late eleventh-century manuscript, Cotton MS Tib.B.ii, containing Herman's miracle text which he left unfinished; the note mentions that six miracles are lacking in Herman and can be found in the book by Prior John of C.; we know nothing of this prior, but it is precisely his six miracles which provide the additional material, not mentioned by Herman, which makes up book two of the Morgan miracle texts.
The *Passio* by Abbo of Fleury which follows the *Miracula* is the basic liturgical text for St. Edmund's life and martyrdom and is also found in the two extant lives of the saint which predate the present manuscript, *Cotton MS Tib.B.ii* and *Lambeth Palace MS 362*. Abbo was a monk of Fleury-sur-Loire who had been called to Ramsey abbey as a teacher by Oswald in 986, during the period of the first great monastic reform in England. As Abbo says in his dedicatory letter to Dunstan, the *Passio* was written at the request of the monks of St. Edmund, and it seems that he composed the story during his two-year stay at Ramsey abbey. The history of the saint is written in a straightforward, educated style but is quite concise, concentrating on the main flow of events without much elaboration or attention to detail. However terse the text may be, the story is developed according to a long-established hagiographic pattern which will be discussed further in connection with the genre of the *libellus* in general.

Finally, brief mention should be made of the physical details of the miniatures and initials. As has been noted above, thirty-two nearly full-page miniatures are placed immediately before the main text. They occupy sixteen folios and are arranged consecutively with no text or blank pages intervening: the first miniature, depicting the Angles,
Saxons, and Jutes arriving in ancient Britain, appears alone on folio 7 recto; the next thirty pictures are in pairs facing each other; and the closing scene, an Apotheosis of St. Edmund, is again alone on folio 22 verso; this final image of Edmund in glory therefore faces the opening page (folio 23 recto) of the Miracula, serving as an effective introduction to the history of the saint. The miniatures are painted on doubled vellum leaves which are slightly narrower than the text pages; the pictures themselves are enclosed within frames which measure about 8 by 5-1/4 inches so that there is a border of approximately 3 by 2 inches around each miniature; this blank space is sometimes used as well, since the artist does not hesitate to extend his figures or their accessories outside the frame on occasion. All of the scenes have been completed and are fully painted and illuminated; gold is laid on in leaf but is not raised or burnished, and it is used sparingly--primarily as an accent on robe edges, crowns, architectural details, etc.; the narrow outer band of each frame is also gilt.

Thirty-nine illuminated initials accompany the text, making MS 736 one of the most decorated Bury books of the period. Scholars who have studied the subject agreed that these initials are by a different artist than the one respon-
possible for painting the miniatures. Consequently, I will not be discussing the initials again at any length, but to ignore them entirely would be to give an incomplete and unsatisfactory view of the manuscript; therefore, a short summary of their style and contents follows. As far as I can ascertain, Elizabeth Parker is the only art historian who has written in any detail about these initials, listing their subjects and describing their characteristics; for this reason, most of the physical information given here is based on her research.¹⁷

Fifteen of the thirty-nine large initials are historiated, containing scenes or figures in some way pertaining to the text which they introduce. The remaining twenty-four are primarily ornamental, consisting of warriors, strange beasts, exhuberant foliage and acrobatic figures. The subjects of the historiated initials are not in strictly chronological order, and Miss Parker does not find any particular principle guiding the choice of sections to receive narrative as opposed to ornamental initials; nor does she discover an underlying order in the actual characters or events portrayed in these initials, noting that the subjects often deal with a topic or person mentioned in the opening paragraphs of the relevant chapter. While the fourteen (of the fifteen total) initials which Miss Parker lists and describes may not form a precise and logical
pictorial programme, it seems to me that there is a certain rationale in the choice of subject matter which reveals itself in an emphasis on two underlying themes: the principal manifestations of Edmund's sanctity; and the beneficial effect on the abbey of the saint's patronage.

As for Edmund's holiness, six initials deal with the major indications of his sainthood: the martyrdom (f94v); the all-important witness to the hiding of the martyr's head (f96); the wolf protecting the severed head (f97); the miraculous light shining from the body (f24v); the body found incorrupt in the tomb after many years (f43v); and the cure of a fevered soldier which can stand as an example of Edmund's many healing miracles (f50).

With regard to the second theme, two initials describe the salient parts of an event of vital importance to the abbey, the demand for tribute by the Danish king Swegn, and Edmund's slaying of this king for his presumption. The initial "I" on folio 5, which contains the extra lection for the feast of St. Edmund, depicts the saint appearing to the monk Egelwin and instructing him to request Swegn to withdraw his unjust demand; it can scarcely be mere coincidence that this important scene occurs at the very opening of the book. The second initial
dealing with the conclusion of the same episode is also the second historiated initial in the manuscript; it too occupies a prominent position, as it is on folio 23, the first page of the Miracula text; it will be recalled that the illuminated miniature of St. Edmund in glory faces this page. It was precisely the series of events surrounding the tribute money which led to the establishment of the Benedictine abbey of Bury St. Edmunds by King Cnut which explains the inclusion of the episode here.

Furthermore, there is a series of seated and standing kings represented in five other initials. Miss Parker feels that these kings, one of whom is Edmund himself:

have caught . . . the essence of majesty and regal authority: a king reigns, dies, and is succeeded by another king, and such is the primary function of the monarchs in the Miracula, whose names are used chiefly to establish the relative chronology of events.

This notion of the continuation of the royal line is of course important, especially since Edmund was a member of the ancient Anglo-Saxon royalty. However, on a more practical level, it should be remarked that, aside from Edmund, two of the other kings pictured have a special connection with the abbey: Cnut appears twice, once as a seated monarch with sceptre and sword (f41), and once as a pilgrim to the shrine (f58); according to the accompanying text, the second seated king, with palm
and sword, would appear to be William the Conqueror. William was a substantial benefactor of the abbey: among other things, he confirmed Pope Alexander II's grant to Bury of freedom from episcopal control; he also allowed the abbey to prosper without the despoilation and turmoil that occurred at other monasteries as a result of the Conquest.

Since I have not yet outlined the history of the saint and his abbey, the above remarks concerning the relationship of the historiated initials to the sanctity of the king and the founding of the abbey have been extremely cursory; the significance of these two basic themes will be expanded later in the discussion of the miniatures themselves. However, at this point I simply wish to suggest that most of the scenes and figures depicted within the historiated initials were chosen with more purpose than Miss Parker believes. And although it is true that the initials do not depend on the miniatures or vice versa for their style or iconography, I hope to show that a similar spirit or point of view underlies the content of both.

The thirty-two illuminated miniatures of the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund and the thirty-nine large decorated initials make MS 736 the most lavish of the early twelfth-century books illuminated at Bury before the production of the famous Bury Bible of c. 1135. The remainder of the approxi-
mately twenty extant manuscripts made at Bury in the 1120's and early 1130's are more modestly decorated, the most common type of ornament consisting of initials embellished with foliage scrolls entwined with flowers and animals; unshaded, transparent primary colours were used to produce the neat and good looking "flat colour" style which was a hallmark of Bury books for much of the twelfth century.

At first sight, it may seem surprising that an abbey as large and powerful as St. Edmund's undoubtedly was at this time should be producing rather meagrely decorated manuscripts, especially in comparison with the magnificent contemporary work of Canterbury and St. Albans. However, the library and scriptorium of Bury abbey were both relatively young in relation to those of the great monasteries mentioned above. The first books arrived at Bury with Uvius when he came from St. Benet's Hulme in 1020 to be the first abbot of the new foundation. The second abbot, Leofstan, who held office from 1044-1065, made an inventory of the books and other treasures belonging to the abbey: he listed twenty-one volumes consisting of service books and devotional aids; in another section of the inventory, he noted a further thirty books of unspecified subject; this adds up to only fifty-one volumes available for the monks' reading prior to the Conquest, which certainly ranks as a minor
collection. Strangely enough, it does not seem as though the size of the library or scope of its collection increased greatly during Baldwin's time, even though his abbacy (1065-1097) coincided with the monastic reform of the Normans with its tremendous influx of Continental culture. However, it is most likely during Baldwin's term that the scriptorium came into being as a permanent centre for book production, since the first manuscripts which can confidently be assigned to the House date from the latter years of his abbacy. Among these books is one of the two previously mentioned libelli which predate the Morgan work, Cotton MS Tib. Bii, containing both Abbo's Passio and Herman's De Miraculis.

It was apparently not until the second decade of the twelfth century, the period during which the Morgan manuscript was produced, that the scriptorium actually operated on a continuous basis and began to copy large numbers of books of all kinds—service books, patristic texts, and contemporary authors as well. R.M. Thomson makes the plausible suggestion that, having had such a late start as a library and scriptorium, Bury had a tremendous amount of catching up to do in an attempt to produce the numbers and varieties of texts which abbeys like St. Albans and Canterbury already possessed; consequently, with the heavy load of writing to be done, the abbey was "more
concerned to turn out modestly attractive, workmanlike products than *objets d'art*, and it is common to find Bury books of this period with their decoration left incomplete." The reasons for the sudden surge in book copying at this time will be discussed below in connection with the history of the abbey. But Thomson's explanation helps to clear up the puzzling dearth of richly illuminated manuscripts remaining from the early decades of the twelfth century.

**Provenance**

Next we must turn to the question of provenance. MS 736 is not distinguished by an *ex libris* or by the special pressmark which was usually imprinted at the top of the first leaf as well as on the spines of Bury volumes. Neither is the work listed in the earliest known catalogue of the library, compiled in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that at least the text portions, with their initials, were produced by the Bury scriptorium, and historians have long attributed the volume to the abbey.

The omissions mentioned above are not really difficult to account for. Firstly, since the original binding has been lost, we have no way of knowing whether or not it included a
pressmark. Secondly, service books were not generally kept with the library books and would therefore not be marked at all—neither on the spine nor on the first leaf. This manuscript, because of its splendour, was probably kept in a secure place—the treasury, sacristy, high altar or saint's shrine—with other precious books and objects rather than in the cloisters or refectory. Finally, since service books were considered as separate from library materials, the former were often omitted from lists of books in the abbey's possession, which explains the ancient catalogue's failure to include the Morgan Life among its titles.

The attribution of MS 736 to Bury is based on various sound observations. To begin with, everything in the libellus pertains directly to the monastery: the entire manuscript glorifies its patron saint; the names of the sacrist and abbot appear among the opening pages; there is a listing of pittances to be granted to Bury monks; and letters to abbot Anselm are included among the preliminaries of the book. Furthermore, as Miss Parker has pointed out, the distinctive style and organization of the script can definitely be connected with the abbey and even with a particular scribe; two other works by this man are written in the same script hand and are similar to MS 736 in that they are also of octave size and have their script
arranged according to the same format of continuous lines of text rather than the more common double columns. The problem of the provenance of the miniatures will be discussed below in the section dealing with these pictures.

It is likely that the libellus remained at Bury until the dissolution of the abbey under Henry VIII. Although the monastery's books were scattered in the sixteenth century, we know several of the early owners of this manuscript: the names of George Roche (sixteenth century), W. Stonehouse (seventeenth century), and Robert Parker (seventeenth century) are written on the opening pages. The manuscript was in the possession of the Parker family until about 1800; it belonged to various English collectors during the nineteenth century and was finally purchased by the Pierpont Morgan Library from the estate of Sir George Holford in 1927.

Problems of Dating

The next item in these preliminary remarks concerning the basic physical details of MS 736 is its probable date. Had the monks left a record of the commission to write the manuscript, we could have been spared the rather tedious inquiry into dating! Unfortunately, no such record exists, and more laborious methods must be used in the attempt to accurately
date the *libellus*. The broadest possible time span for the production of the Morgan volume is the first half of the twelfth century, but it is generally accepted that the book was made sometime within the second quarter of the century, with most modern scholars opting for a date between 1130 and 1135. However, there is good evidence, both internal and external, to suggest that the work was produced toward the opening of the second quarter, and I would like to pursue this possibility as well.

Whether the manuscript was made in the 1120's or the 1130's may not seem of material importance, ten years or so difference appearing a rather minor discrepancy. However, it seems to me that the more precisely one can date a particular work the better, since a more accurate idea may be gained of the position of the book in relation to others from the same workshop or from other workshops of the same period. Furthermore, with regard to MS 736 in particular, its dating may influence the more important matter of the authorship of its artwork; that is, the attribution of the miniatures to one or another artist or workshop is partly dependent upon the date at which the book was illuminated. A variance of ten years takes on more significance considered in relation to the development of style, presentation, iconography, etc., which may alter the
productions of an artist or workshop through time. Consequently, I feel that it would be worthwhile to examine the various possibilities for the date of Morgan 736.

To begin with the most concrete evidence for dating, that of paleography, I refer again to Miss Parker's identification of the scribe responsible for the main body of the manuscript as the man whose hand can be discerned in a group of manuscripts produced from about the mid-1120's until the early 1130's. However, the separate quire of six folios at the beginning of the book has items written in different hands from that of the main text: firstly, the extra lections for St. Edmund's feast on folios 5 and 6 are in a hand contemporaneous with the principal scribe and open with an initial "I" identical in style to those in the main portion of the text; the less elaborate, foliated initials of lections two and three resemble the "flat colour" type used at Bury during this period; the script of the two letters to Anselm beginning on folio 2 is more difficult to place, but Thomson feels that these were included shortly after the completion of the manuscript. Perhaps the similar hands in these letters belong to scribes in another group identified by Miss Parker as being contemporaneous with but different from the chief scribe of the Morgan libellus. On folios 3 and 4 are entries in later, but mostly
unpractised hands which list the pittances granted by Anselm to the monks on specified feasts. Since it is difficult to pinpoint the dates of these informal entries on paleographic grounds, other internal evidence must be consulted.

To conclude, considering only the various script hands in different sections of the manuscript, and excluding miscellaneous entries obviously added long after the book was completed, the libellus can be confidently assigned to the period of the mid-1120's and early 1130's, but the date cannot be determined more precisely than this.

To return to the copies of the two letters written to abbot Anselm, these have intrigued scholars for years: the events to which they refer; the dates of their original composition and subsequent copying; and the reasons for their inclusion in the manuscript have been the subject of varying interpretations. As far as dating is concerned, the letters serve to bolster the evidence already given by the paleography.

The terminus ante quem non of 1135 which is now often accepted is partly derived from the first letter, since this was written to Anselm at the behest of the king; Henry I died in 1135, and since his death is not mentioned even in the margin, the inference is that he was still alive when the letter
was copied. Furthermore, among the list of pittances to the monks is one to be given on the king's anniversary, again with no indication that Henry is dead. While it is generally agreed that this preliminary letter concerns Anselm's proposed pilgrimage to Compostella early in his abbacy, and was therefore written sometime between 1121 and 1124, there is disagreement surrounding the subject and date of the second letter from Prior Talbot.

To recall the basic point of this letter, it is a plea from the prior for Anselm to come home from Normandy as his official business is apparently finished and he has been delaying his return unnecessarily. The passing mentions of Normandy and a crown commission are the only clues by which to trace the occasion for this communication. Warner believes that this letter also refers to Anselm's projected pilgrimage to Spain, probably because the abbot was sent to Rome in 1123 with William of Corbeil to request the latter's pallium as Archbishop of Canterbury; however, Talbot seems to indicate that the abbot's business should take him no farther than Normandy, so perhaps the letter refers to another mission. At the other extreme, Arnold dates the second letter at 1140, referring to another visit abroad; this seems too late taking into consideration the script style in which the letters were copied into the
The most reasonable suggestion I have read is given by Thomson who notes that there is only one known instance in which Anselm was abroad on official business for Henry between his 1123 Roman trip and the king's death. This was a mission to Rouen in Normandy in 1125 where Anselm was witnessing two royal charters. It may very well be on this mission that Anselm was given his annual fair at Bury on the feast of St. James since the charter granting this privilege was witnessed at Rouen by Bishop Thurston who was there with Anselm in 1125. Thomson argues that, if the original letters were written quite early in Anselm's abbacy, by 1125, it is possible that they were copied into the manuscript immediately upon the abbot's return from Normandy to serve as a reminder of his duties to the monastery--that is, about 1126. This may seem a rather tenuous conclusion, but it should be added that it was common to copy onto the blank leaves of Gospel books in particular, but libelli and other service books as well, some important documents or privileges of an abbey as a means of preservation. These books were considered especially holy and were venerated almost like reliquaries; consequently, it would be sacrilegious for anyone to interfere with them, making their pages a safe repository for precious information. Seen in this light, Thomson's suggestion
is more plausible: these letters were obviously regarded as containing serious matter and it seems more likely that they would be copied into the manuscript early in the new abbot's reign while the admonitions they contained were fresh in his mind rather than that they would be casually added a few years later. If this is indeed the case, the *libellus* must already have been completed by 1126 or so in order for the letters to be copied onto its opening pages. This evidence is far from conclusive but adds veracity to the theory that Morgan 736 may be dated early in the second quarter of the century.

If the *terminus ante quem non* of 1135 seems unconvincing on the basis of the absence of any mention of the king's death, another more definite internal source may be consulted. The last entry among those listings of pittances on folios 3 and 4 mentions abbot Anselm and his sacrist Hervey as though they were still active. Hervey's term as sacrist ended in 1138 and Anselm was temporarily out of the abbacy between 1136 and 1138. This would indicate that the latest of those additions made soon after the completion of the manuscript were written before 1136. Therefore, a terminal date of 1135 is certainly reasonable and does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the major portion of the book was finished well before this, especially since the latest entries
30.

are made in a spiky, informal hand quite unlike that of the main text. 30

I have already introduced the name of Osbert of Clare above, primarily because the attribution to him of the Morgan miracle text is of some interest in connection with the dating. We have seen that Osbert was in residence at Bury off and on between about 1123 and 1134 and that he was asked by Anselm to write a collection of Edmund's miracles. Williamson believes that Osbert made his compilation about 1130 and that this early version of his work appears in Morgan 736. 31 If true, this dismisses the case for an early date for the libellus.

However, even though Osbert's name is often brought up in connection with this text, there is no solid evidence for his authorship as I have pointed out earlier. It seems more likely that Osbert composed his miracle books during the 1140's when he also wrote a life of King Ethelbert, another martyr of the royal Saxon line. Finally, even if we do not wish to deny Osbert's authorship of the Morgan miracle text, is it not possible that he composed it prior to 1130, sometime early in his exile?

Aside from the clues provided by the manuscript itself, external evidence may also be helpful in determining the
approximate date of the work. To this end, I would like to
discuss the circumstances in which the monastery and its scrip­
torium existed during the 1120's. Since Bury St. Edmunds abbey
was officially founded in 1020, the year 1120 would have marked
its first hundred years as a Benedictine monastery and would
naturally have been a time of special significance for the
community. It would seem most appropriate to commission a
libellus in honour of the patron saint on such an occasion,
just as a new miracle text had been ordered to commemorate the
translation of Edmund's relics to his new shrine in 1095. Al­
though no documentary proof exists, a desire on the part of the
monks to pay special homage to their patron on this important
anniversary seems the best explanation for the sudden appear­
ance of so richly illustrated and illuminated a volume at a
monastery which had not previously indulged in sumptuous
manuscripts.

In support of this theory for the impetus behind the
production of Morgan 736 can be cited the content of some of
the introductory miniatures: the last few pictures (excepting
the final scene of Edmund's Apotheosis) deal with those mira­
cles which led directly to the foundation of the abbey, and
none of the more recent wonders worked by Edmund and recorded
in the miracle text are illustrated. Such a concentration on
events surrounding the inauguration of the Benedictine Rule at Bury would be most acceptable in a book intended to celebrate the abbey's centenary.

If a *libellus* was indeed planned for the anniversary, the project was not carried out immediately; considering both the script and the style of the miniatures, 1120 is a slightly premature date to assign to this manuscript. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to suppose that the production of the saint's *Vita* would have been begun as soon as possible after 1120 which would support a date early in the 1120's.

Two basic reasons may account for the postponement of the book. Firstly, the abbey had experienced some unsettled times in the opening decades of the twelfth century because there were years when the abbacy was vacant and the terms of the abbots had tended to be short. The period between 1119 and 1121 was one of those in which no abbot had been elected. Even though construction of the abbey church founded by Baldwin continued sporadically during the early twelfth century, work slowed down in the years of Albold's reign (1114-1119); activity in the arts was certainly not at a peak at this abbot's death; the situation was not likely to change dramatically during the following vacancy, especially since a portion of the abbey's revenues were held back by the king whenever the
abbacy was unfilled. Secondly, since the scriptorium had not yet begun to function on a continuous basis, it is quite likely that its operation was suspended during the two year vacancy. It will be remembered that the scriptorium was producing books only intermittently in the years before 1120 and that the scribes identified by Miss Parker did not operate until after abbot Anselm's arrival.

With the election of Anselm as abbot in 1121 came intellectual and cultural change as well. He was an educated and well-travelled man, an Italian by birth and the nephew of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been the abbot of Santa Saba at Rome, and Pope Paschal had appointed him the papal legate to England because Anselm had attended school at the cathedral priory at Canterbury. Anselm inaugurated a period of book copying which laid the foundations for a scriptorium so productive that, of some two hundred fifty extant Bury books from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, about one hundred belong to the twelfth century alone. It seems entirely reasonable that Anselm would commission a lavish work in honour of the patron of his new abbey, especially since the centenary of its foundation had recently passed. And surely such a project would be carried out in the early years of his reign, perhaps as soon as a new miracle text had been composed,
rather than after a decade or so of rule.

In conclusion, I admit that it is still not possible to give an exact date for the Morgan manuscript. It may have been produced any time between about 1124 and 1135, judging by the available evidence. Nevertheless, I think that a good case can be made for assigning it to the period between 1124 and 1126 considering the early dates of the letters to Anselm, the probability that the miracle text was written prior to Osbert's version, and the likelihood that such a beautifully illuminated book would be commissioned for, or prompted by, the celebrations surrounding the one hundredth anniversary of the abbey's establishment. This matter of dating will necessarily arise again in connection with the style of the remarkable miniature cycle.

Function

The final topic for consideration in this section is the purpose for which the books of saints' lives and their expanded versions, the *libelli*, were made. The stories of the saints had two major functions: to exalt a particular Christian hero or heroine for the greater glory of God; and to serve as an inspiration to the faithful who read or listened to them. As for the former, the power of the saint, as manifested by
his miracles, was seen as an extension of the power of God; therefore, to pay special homage to a patron saint by writing a book of his life was also to honour God, whose servant the saint was. Most books of saints' lives were not lavishly illustrated or illuminated; the ones which were seem to have held a place of special importance in the abbey and were regarded almost as highly as the actual relics of the saint. As with the reliquary, these highly decorated books can be seen as the outward symbol of the saint's spiritual greatness, and they were kept with the gospel books, chalices, and other treasures of the monastery.35

Mention has already been made of the practice of recording vital documents on the opening pages of such books, a proof of the esteem in which they were held.

Naturally, the richness and beauty of a volume such as the Morgan libellus would also reflect favourably upon the abbey which owned it. Pilgrims arriving at the shrine of a saint expected magnificence: wonderful surroundings—beautiful paintings and carvings, luxurious hangings, precious reliquaries, and lavish books—created an atmosphere of grandeur which visitors wanted to experience in the presence of a powerful saint. The more opulent a shrine, the more effective the saint was seen to be, and the more prestige would attach to
his abbey. The illuminated *libellus* was part of the trappings of the shrine and would no doubt be displayed on the altar in the saint's chapel, at least on special feast days. It would be available upon request for important guests of the abbey to see; these visitors would hopefully respond to its content and physical beauty with a generous donation to St. Edmund's shrine.

Aside from serving as an object of homage to the saint and as a material expression of his efficacy, the *libellus* was also composed to edify its readers, to serve as a source of inspiration for the monks in carrying out their continual round of work and prayer. Reading held a prominent place in the Benedictine Rule, and time for this activity was to be set aside each day. For reading in the refectory during meals and in private as well, the saint's life gained popularity in England from the early days of her exposure to Christianity. The success of this type of literature in Britain was partly due to the similarity between the daring and often exciting tales of the saints and the heroic sagas popular in Anglo-Saxon oral and written tradition. These stories were especially satisfying in that they showed saintly heroes triumphing over all kinds of enemies—human foes, human weakness, disease, pain, natural elements such as cold and storms, and even death.
The recounting of so many miracles gave helpless man the comforting faith that the saints could and would help him in times of need. And the exemplary lives of these Christian warriors served as a constant impetus to the monk to carry out his service to God with dignity and piety.

Since these books were spiritual guides, emphasizing the Christian ideals, moral conduct, and steadfast faith of the saints, they were not intended or expected to be historically accurate in the strict sense. Rather, the stories of "newer" saints were adapted from earlier Christian examples and a few set patterns became established as the acceptable modes for recording the lives and miracles of British saints. Often, only such specifics of biography as names, dates, and places vary from one saint to another, while their basic conduct, their words, deeds and miracles strike one as being essentially the same. This practice of applying similar attributes to several saints was not limited to Britain, but was part of a European hagiographic tradition; furthermore, the repetition of conventional patterns was seen as a virtue rather than a fault and is an example of the medieval delight in the "infinite adaptation of set pieces." As we shall see, the story of St. Edmund contains elements of both the heroic Anglo-Saxon saga and the general European type of saint's life based on
early Christian models. The result is a story which fulfills the purpose of instruction and inspiration while retaining enough "local colour" to make the tale pertinent to English monks.

Considering that few of the *libelli* were illustrated at this early date, the Morgan manuscript must have had a special impact as a teaching instrument. The miniatures--for their numbers, richness, liveliness, and quite faithful narration of Abbo's original biography--combined with the many illuminated initials sprinkled through the text present a stunning visual image to modern eyes; but they must have added a significant measure of reality and immediacy to the story of the long dead saint for those who meditated upon his life and tended his shrine. Of course, this particular volume would not have been kept in the refectory or handed out for private reading, but would have to be viewed at the shrine, where the additional aura of sanctity would add to rather than detract from its influence.
Footnotes

1 Francis Wormald equates the popularity of the *libelli* in these centuries with the corresponding growth and prosperity of the monasteries; see his article "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of Saints," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* XXXV (1952): 265-66.


4 Ibid., pp. 39-40. The New Paleographical Society, *Facsimiles*, plate 113 illustrates two pages of the text, one of which is the opening page of Abbo's *Passio*.


6 Parker, "The Scriptorium," p. 27.

7 The remainder of the manuscript is sewn in gatherings of eight folios which was the common practise at Bury and was also used in other English monasteries.


13 Published by Williamson, *Letters*.

14 Warner, *Facsimiles*, reports that there is another note in a fifteenth century hand at the end of the Morgan miracle text, folio 76, indicating that fourteen miracles lacking in this book can be found in a book in the refectory reading desk, presumably a copy of Samson's book, p. 51.

15 *Ibid.* Warner dates Cotton MS Tib. B.ii to around 1125, but it is now thought to be earlier.

17 Parker, "The Scriptorium," pp. 102-114. Warner illustrates two of these initials in Facsimiles, plates 112-113.


19 Cnut was believed to have begun the practise of offering the crown at the shrine. Although Cnut is the king mentioned in the text accompanying this initial, it would not be difficult to see Edward the Confessor in this role as well, since he was said to have completed his pilgrimage to the shrine on foot (the king in the initial leans on his walking staff) as reported by Dugdale, Monasticon, III:100. King Edward was also a great benefactor of Bury St. Edmunds. This is Herman's story: see Arnold, Memorials, I, p. 363.

20 Parker, "The Scriptorium," pp. 46-48, mentions three more elaborate decorations: Lambert Palace MS 67 has an author portrait of Boethius in red outline in an initial "I"; Chester Beatty MS W. 26 has on its opening two pages a badly preserved archer and king facing one another which may represent a scene from Edmund's martyrdom; finally, Oxford College MS e Mus. 36 has another outline drawing of Christ in glory accompanied by Adam and Eve and various animals in an initial "I".

21 Rodney M. Thomson, "The Library of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," Speculum 47 (October, 1972): 623-25. Thomson admits that it is possible that a small scriptorium may have existed in Leofstan's time, since the Bury St. Edmund's Psalter of ca. 1050 (Rome, Vatican Library MS Reg. 12) which includes outline drawings in its margins, may have been made at the abbey.

22 Ibid., p. 630.

23 It seems to me that this question of the authorship of the initials is open to some conjecture. Miss Parker
assigns them to the scriptorium because the text itself was undoubtedly written at Bury. This may indeed be the case; however, since they are so much more elaborate than the usual "flat colour" initials of Bury, the possibility of outside workmen being called in should not be ignored. It would be instructive to examine the Morgan initials in relation to those produced by contemporary scriptoria elsewhere to see whether one might pinpoint their origin more satisfactorily.

24 Parker, "The Scriptorium," p. 75.

25 Thomson, "Early Romanesque Book Illustration," p. 216. He opts for a date of 1124-1125 for the manuscript which would place it immediately after the St. Albans Psalter to which Morgan 736 is closely related.

26 Warner, Facsimiles, p. 51.

27 Arnold, Memorials, III:xxxvi.


31 Williamson, Letters, p. 29. He admits, though, that MS 736 may have been the work of an earlier author, p. 31.

32 The miniatures depend for their style upon the St. Albans Psalter which was not made until ca. 1123.

34 Parker, "The Scriptorium," p. 27.


III. MS 736 IN RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF THE ABBEY AND ITS SAINT

Story of St. Edmund

Basic Historical Facts

The Morgan manuscript chronicles and illustrates the life and miracles of St. Edmund, an obscure ninth century Anglo-Saxon saint who had achieved tremendous popularity in England by the twelfth century. The rise of the saint's cult was so successful that the desire to nurture and protect his shrine led to the establishment of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, which was destined to become one of the most prosperous and powerful religious houses in the country. In order to fully appreciate the intimate relationship between the abbey and its saint as revealed through the libellus produced in the patron's honour, it is necessary to be acquainted with the basic history of this Christian hero and that of the institution founded in his name.

To begin with Edmund himself, the actual facts surrounding his origins, kingship, and martyrdom are extremely scant. The earliest reference to the king occurs in the various surviving versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Under the
year 870, we are given the following information concerning Edmund and the marauding Danes:

In this year the raiding army rode across Mercia into East Anglia, and took up winter quarters at Thetford. And that winter King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes had the victory, and killed the king and conquered all the land.

The two other early secular accounts which mention Edmund, Asser's Annals of Alfred (ca. 894) and the Chronicle of Ethelwold (ca. 975) add nothing of substance to this brief notation except to say that the king fought fiercely against the enemy.

This hardly seems the kind of material that could raise a relatively minor king to the stature of a courageous saint! However, the invasion of the Danes came to be regarded as a kind of divine judgment upon the sins of the English, and those who resisted the infidels bravely and died in defense of the faith were considered saints; this, coupled with the tendency, in England and on the Continent as well, to equate violent death with martyrdom and to venerate the slain hero as a saint, may have been the germ of Edmund's future greatness. But as Miss Whitelock speculates, something memorable must have occurred during the battle to keep the king's memory alive and vivid long enough for him to become a cult figure; in this regard, Porter and Baltzell suggest that "... his murder was
either unusually brutal or . . . his stand against his enemies was exceptionally heroic. However, no reliable contemporary evidence exists to indicate just what it was that distinguished Edmund from countless other brave warriors during these tumultuous times.

The Passio by Abbo of Fleury

In the absence of more revealing early information, Abbo of Fleury's tenth-century rendition becomes the first written source for Edmund's illustrious history. As mentioned above, the Passio was written in the late tenth century, over one hundred years after the king's death. In his dedicatory preface, Abbo states that he had spent some time visiting the guardians of Edmund's shrine and had been asked by them to compose a history of their patron; they were anxious for him to undertake the project as the story had never been written down and was generally not well known.

Of course, since such a long time had passed between the actual events of Edmund's life and Abbo's recording of them, verification of the facts was essential if the story were to be accepted. The question of authenticity must not be taken lightly, as it was of the utmost importance to the success of a saint's cult that the basis of his sanctity, which determined
the honour due him, should have a firm foundation. This necessity for verifying the circumstances of the life and holiness of an individual was an integral part of Western hagiography in general, but it was also an important element in contemporary heroic sagas, particularly Scandinavian ones which were known in Anglo-Saxon England. It was felt that the account of a hero—Christian or otherwise—should be truthful, and it was especially satisfying if the story could be traced from one recited to a previous one and so on back to a source in contact with the event itself.

Therefore, in his dedication Abbo is very careful to establish the authenticity of his *Passio*, and he does so in a way which is remarkably like the Scandinavian method: he asserts that he first learned the story from Archbishop Dunstan himself who in turn heard it as a young man at King Athelstan's court, where an aged veteran swore that he had been armour-bearer to Edmund on the day the king was martyred; Dunstan was struck by the simplicity of the old man's account and by the sincerity of his manner and consequently came to believe in the accuracy of his reminiscences. So Abbo traces his story to an eyewitness and supports its truthfulness further by calling upon the authority of the highly respected Archbishop of Canterbury. Such reliance on a trustworthy witness was actually one of the
most important criteria for the acceptance of miracle stories, and Abbo has provided an impeccable source in Dunstan.

I have lingered upon this matter of authenticity because of its general importance, but primarily because the miniatures accompanying Abbo's text are also careful to emphasize those elements in the story which underline its veracity; witnesses to the events of the saint's life and to his miraculous deeds after death occur in strategic places to assure the viewer of the truth of the history he is following. The illuminated miniatures illustrate Abbo's story quite faithfully and with a good deal of spirit; therefore, instead of relating the saint's life and then comparing the text with the illustrations, I think it will be more interesting to follow the progress of Edmund's history as visualized by the Morgan miniaturist.

The author tells us practically nothing about Edmund's immediate family or his youth; he informs us only that the saint was descended from a line of kings which could trace its lineage to the Old Saxons who had come to the island many years before. In order to establish the claims of this ancient royal house and to emphasize Edmund's place as an authentic early English king from an illustrious line, Abbo begins his story in those misty times when the German tribes first arrived in
Britain. He relates that the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles were asked by the Britons for assistance in war. The arrival of the foreign soldiers is depicted in the opening miniature of the book (figure 1, f7): Britain appears as a walled city set apart in a roundel in the centre of the picture; the sea surrounding the country is filled with German ships which are arranged in three layers, most likely to denote the three tribes. That the ships are sailing around the island is suggested by the varying directions in which their oars pull.

Abbo reports that these hired soldiers at first fought valiantly to defend the Britons against their enemies; however, they eventually took advantage of the reluctance of the natives to take a part in their own defence and determined to dispossess them. The next miniature (f7v) quite vividly illustrates the expulsion of the Britons from their land by the more aggressive and manly immigrants. This picture is sometimes taken to represent the Germans in their capacity as mercenaries, fighting the enemies of Britain; and it has even been envisaged as a battle with the Danes. However, a good look at the scene itself clears up the matter: three groups of mounted warriors relentlessly pursue a similar number of soldiers who flee before them while looking anxiously over their shoulders. These unfortunates are surely the Britons
who are being quite literally driven out of the scene, with only the hindquarters of their horses still visible! This is certainly a most convincing and literal translation of Abbo's statement that the natives were routed from their own territories by their former defenders.

Having rid themselves of the lazy and pleasure-loving Britons, the three tribes divided the island among themselves, each settling in a different area, with East Anglia falling to the Saxons. Abbo mentions that the tribes were ruled by leaders at first, and then by kings. But the miniaturist has chosen to depict the division of the land by showing the investiture of the three rulers as though they were already kings, possibly to lay special emphasis on the founding of the royal houses, one of which would produce Edmund (figure 2, f8). After all, the whole point of this introductory digression about ancient Britain was to establish a noble ancestry for the martyr king.

Three different sections of the investiture ceremony are shown: on the top left, a king receives the sword of office while an attendant waits with the mantle; on the right, another king receives a spear, similar in appearance to the rod, and an attendant holds his mantle as well; the third king, in the lower half of the picture, is wearing his mantle and has
just accepted the shield.

It is tempting to suggest that this miniature provides a glimpse into a part of the investiture ceremony as it was practised in England during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It may be argued that these pictures were based on prototypes rather than on contemporary reality; nevertheless, since the English coronation service did not change drastically from Anglo-Saxon times to Norman ones, the scenes presented here should give a fair idea of parts of the service. In any event, among the various regalia offered to the king at his investiture were the sword and rod, both of which seem to have preceded the mantle in order of presentation as is the case here. However, I have not found any mention of the shield as being among the coronation insignia. The only allusion to a shield which I have come across occurs during the point in the ceremony when the nobles raised the king into his seat; this may have been a survival of the old Teutonic custom of raising the new ruler on his shield. Of course, the regalia which the miniaturist has chosen are those which focus on the king as a warrior— the sword, spear-like staff, and shield— and these may have been picked to acknowledge the primary role of these early kings as military leaders.

It should be mentioned that this scene is sometimes
referred to as the investiture ceremony of King Edmund, which is an understandable interpretation. However, the emphasis which Abbo places on the division of the territory, the fact that this picture faces the one depicting the rout of the Britons, and the artist's deliberate separation of the scene into three sections with three kings makes it quite clear that the formation of the three kingdoms is intended.

Abbo includes a short section extolling the virtues of East Anglia as a desirable spot for settlement because of its fertile land and its good strategic position, but there is no pictorial equivalent for this. At this point, Edmund finally makes his entrance. His noble background has been thoroughly traced, since kinship with the royal house was an essential requirement for accession to the throne even in the days before the theories of divine right and primogeniture had become firmly entrenched.

We are told little of Edmund personally beyond the fact that he was physically attractive, morally virtuous, and an ardent Christian since childhood. The author brings us almost directly to the election of Edmund as king, a position which was practically forced upon him by an enthusiastic populace. And this important event is the subject of the next miniature (f 8v). In this quite striking picture, an imposing
Edmund sits enthroned in the centre of the miniature, his royal mantle clasped in front according to tradition, while one bishop crowns him and another hands him the sceptre of regal authority. In reality, these things would not happen simultaneously; but this picture is symbolic rather than strictly narrative which accounts for its formal, hieratic appearance and symmetrical design. The importance of the position of king and the reverence with which this office was regarded in Medieval England must not be underestimated. It was truly a great honour for Bury St. Edmund's to have a patron who was both a king and a saint.

The king was a true ruler with real power in military affairs, in the appointment of officers of Church and State, and in legal matters as well. Aside from this, the coronation service, which took place in Church and which was similar in many respects to that used for the consecration of a bishop, made the king not only a secular ruler but bestowed upon him divine authority as well. The king then became "rex et sacerdos," a member of the clergy (but without priestly functions) and a representative of God on earth. Consequently, the Medieval monarchy was surrounded by a sacred aura which greatly enhanced its dignity and authority. And while the divine source of the king's temporal and spiritual power was
generally accepted throughout Christian Europe, the Anglo-Saxon royal house was imbued with a religious character unequalled by any of the other Germanic royalties; not only Edmund, but several other members of this line had achieved sainthood. It is this exalted view of kingship which is represented by the artist's severe and stately interpretation of Edmund's coronation.

One final word concerning the importance of the coronation. It was during the investiture ceremony that the king gave his oath, swearing on the Gospels that he would help the Church and people maintain peace, that he would dispense justice to his subjects, and suppress robbery, rapacity and other evils; in other words, the king bound himself to his people as well as expecting them to support him. These promises made by the king date from the tenth century, but they were augmented with others through time; such an addition was made in the form of a coronation charter at Henry I's accession in 1100, with one of the provisions being that he would respect the property of the Church.

The king's promise to be mindful of the welfare of the Church was especially pertinent to Bury St. Edmund's since the abbey had close connections with the monarchy from the outset. Successive kings had increased the monastery's wealth and
privileges during the eleventh century, with each new king reconfirming the grants of his predecessor. However, kings could be capricious, and some tended to keep abbeys vacant for extended periods of time in order to collect the revenues themselves; this happened more than once at Bury, and the practise finally prompted abbot Robert II at the beginning of the twelfth century to distinguish between the revenues of the abbot and those of the monks so that only the abbot's portion would be confiscated during a vacancy.

In order to function properly, the monastery needed the cooperation and goodwill of the reigning monarch. Bury's patron had been a just and gracious ruler, willingly chosen by his people, as Abbo says. As well as emphasizing the splendour of kingship, this image of Edmund's coronation— with the bishops proffering him the royal insignia— would surely call to mind the solemn obligations undertaken by every king towards the Church, especially since the monarch's promises were attaining an ever-increasing prominence in the investiture ceremony.

Having been unanimously chosen to rule by his fellows, Edmund proved himself a wise and generous king. In the Ordo Coronationis of Ethelred II,¹⁴ there is a sermon by St. Dunstan in which the archbishop admonishes the new king to protect
widows, orphans and strangers, and to be good to those in want, giving alms to the needy. It is precisely these virtues that Abbo bestows upon Edmund, and the miniature facing that of the king's coronation focuses upon his role as almsgiver (figure 3, f9). Edmund is crowned and seated upon the throne personally dispensing coins to the poor and lame.

While the distribution of alms to the unfortunate became a tradition of the English Crown, this charitable act was also a most appropriate activity for the patron of an abbey to engage in. For the giving of alms to the poor, especially in the form of food and clothing handed out daily at the gate, was an important duty of the abbey. In addition, since Dunstan's time, each monastery was expected to provide work and shelter for a number of the needy; at Bury, as at St. Albans, there was also a group of nuns to be supported. Therefore, it seems fitting that the miniature extolling Edmund's virtues should depict him as fulfilling an obligation that was also expected of his ministers; the good example of the patron would no doubt inspire the monks gathered in his name.

Because of his just rule and exemplary life, Edmund aroused the enmity of the devil who stimulated the Danish generals Inguar and Hubba to ravage Britain and destroy the peaceful reign East Anglia was enjoying. Abbo embarks upon a long
and fascinating diatribe against the Danes and their evil habits before describing their campaign in England; but as this is a digression from the main theme, there is no pictorial equivalent of his angry words.

Having first attacked and devastated Northumbria, the two generals arrived suddenly in East Anglia with a large fleet, set fire to one of the cities and massacred its inhabitants. The next two miniatures depict the landing of the Danes on the coast (figure 4, f9v) and their devastation of the town (figure 5, f10). The latter scene is a particularly vivid translation of Abbo's account: flames leap from the windows below the city's battlements, soldiers with swords drawn swarm in at the gate while others already inside murder the populace; Abbo specifically states that the Danish leader had given order to massacre the innocents, and the artist has treated the scene of mothers with dying infants in much the same way as the Biblical murder of babies at Herod's order is envisaged in manuscript illumination; of course, men, women, and older children are also victims of the slaughter here, but the image is still reminiscent, and purposely so, of Herod's cruel order.

The miniature departs from Abbo's text in one particular though: while the author maintains that the Danes' surprise attack gave the citizens no time to arm themselves, the
illustration shows some soldiers putting up a spirited defence—three spearmen attack a similar number of advancing Danes while an archer in the tower seems to have hit the first Dane and is about to strike again. The inclusion of the resisting warriors injects a spirit of heroism, which English audiences expected in their sagas, into an otherwise sordid episode.

Inguar had heard reports that Edmund, who was staying at a town some distance from the ravaged city, was a valiant soldier. The general proceeded to march toward Edmund's district, destroying on his way as many of the local countrymen as possible to prevent their coming to the king's aid. Meanwhile, Inguar sent ahead a messenger to Edmund demanding that he capitulate, share his wealth and treasures, and rule as an underling of the Danes; if the king failed to submit to these terms, death would be his reward. The despatch of the envoy to Edmund is the subject chosen for the next miniature (figure 6, f10v), as this is the act that set in motion the central story— that of Edmund's martyrdom. Inguar gives the fatal message to his courier who stands in front of the unfortunate captives who have been forced to divulge the king's whereabouts.

Upon receiving this ultimatum, Edmund consulted the bishop who acted as his personal advisor; the bishop, fearing for the king's life, urged compliance or flight, but Edmund
staunchly refused. Abbo gives the king a long and eloquent speech here, the gist of which is that he does not wish to outlive his slaughtered people and that he has no intention of submitting to any heathen tyrant; he will be the servant of no one but God. In the miniature which illustrates this dramatic part of the text (figure 7, f11), Edmund is speaking with the bishop in the presence of the messenger. It is impossible to pinpoint the exact moment in the action; rather, the image can be said to sum up the entire episode—the arrival of the courier, the consultation with the bishop, and the ultimate refusal to bow to the Dane.

So Edmund rejected Inguar's terms, but determined to surrender himself willingly rather than face his enemy in battle because he wished to follow Christ's example. He sent back the message that, although his body might be broken, his soul would remain free, never to be enslaved by pagans. Edmund had just finished his speech when Inguar arrived at the palace with his army and immediately seized the king. Although the miniaturist often condenses Abbo's story by combining various ideas in one picture, in this instance he elaborates the tale somewhat by devoting an entire illustration to a relatively minor episode. Abbo has Inguar arriving at the palace just as his courier is leaving; the general does not want to hear Edmund's
reply but intends to burst in upon him. But the picture (figure 8, fllv) seems to indicate the messenger relating the king's reply to Inguar who listens intently. Since this miniature is almost identical with the one in which Inguar despatches his courier, it seems odd that such a repetition should occur, especially since there is no textual basis for it. It may be that whoever was responsible for the choice of subjects wanted to stress the fact of Edmund's refusal to come to terms by including the envoy's return with the momentous decision. It may also indicate a desire for order on the designer's part—if a messenger is sent to deliver a communication, he should complete his mission by returning with an answer. This may seem fanciful, except that a little farther on in the series, the Danes depart on their ships just as they had arrived (figure 15, f15); it is not vital to the story that they be shown physically leaving, but this scene ties up the loose ends and provides a firm conclusion to one part of the action.

Before continuing with the flow of events, I must acknowledge the discrepancy between Abbo's version of the Danish invasion and that quoted above in the excerpt from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It seems that two views of the martyrdom grew up through time, the "secular" and the "clerical" as Arnold calls them.15 The brief accounts by various court chroniclers
Edmund as having stood in battle against the Danes and having been overwhelmed by force of arms; this is an eminently reasonable statement of the event. However, beginning with Abbo and continued by clerical historians from his time onward, the notion of Edmund as having delivered himself up to certain death became the accepted version. The reason for portraying Edmund, whom Abbo characterizes as a brave and skilled soldier, as a meek and willing victim is to compare his attitude and sufferings with those of Christ. By making Edmund a Christian warrior, sacrificing his life for his people and his Faith, as Christ did, Abbo raises the king from the level of a good monarch to that of a saint. Such a comparison between the life of a saint and that of Christ is a common hagiographic theme, and it makes a very effective story in Edmund's case. The Morgan miniaturist exploits this theme fully; in the pictures which illustrate the martyrdom of the saint, he quite explicitly likens the king's trials to those of Christ in several instances.

The series of six miniatures devoted to Edmund's martyrdom begins with the capture of the king in his palace (figure 9, f12). Edmund appears resigned and offers no resistance as he is dragged from his throne, just as Christ went quietly and calmly with his captors. After the saint's
seizure, he was brought in chains to stand before Inguar, after which he was mocked and beaten. As a final connection with the Saviour, Edmund was tied to a tree and whipped, all the while remaining patient and steadfast in his Faith. The three miniatures dealing with these events reinforce Abbo's comparison between the two martyrdoms: while Edmund is led away from the palace, firmly bound, he is struck from behind and spat upon (figure 10, f12v); then, having reached the tree to which he is to be tied, the king's mantle is roughly pulled over his head (figure 11, f13); finally, in what is probably the most masterly picture in the manuscript (figure 12, f13v), he is tied to the tree and ferociously whipped; this is a very moving portrayal, and no one looking through the _libellus_ could fail to regard Edmund's torture as a re-enactment of Christ's scourging.

As though these sufferings were not enough, Abbo testifies that Edmund was shot full of arrows, reminiscent of the indignity visited upon the early Christian hero, Sebastian. This saint was extremely popular during the Middle Ages as a protector against the plague. The connection with Edmund was probably made because Sebastian was also a warrior—a captain of the guard under the Emperor Diocletian—who refused to yield his Faith in the face of paganism. In any
event, the accompanying miniature (figure 13, fl4) shows Edmund pierced by the arrows of numerous archers; until the fifteenth century, Sebastian was usually depicted as an older man, bearded and clothed; the similarity between the two saints would therefore have been more apparent to the Medieval viewers of the libellus than to our modern eyes, accustomed as they are to Renaissance depictions of Sebastian as a practically nude youth.\textsuperscript{16}

When Inguar realized that Edmund would not yield to his demands, the Danish general ordered the king's execution. According to Abbo, the saint was beheaded on November 20, which remains his feast day to the present. From this point on, the story is concerned with the miracles which began to occur as soon as Edmund was dead and which were a clear indication of his sanctity; consequently, his body became a sacred relic to be cherished and venerated. Such miracles were all-important to the Medieval mind because it was only through the working of wonders that a person's sainthood was made manifest; and the more miracles which occurred at the shrine of a saint, the more efficacious his patronage was considered to be.

After the beheading of the king, the Danes left Edmund's body in the field where he was martyred, but carried his head away with them, tossing it into the dense undergrowth of a wood
through which they passed on their way to attack other regions. Fortunately, one of the Christians was hiding in the vicinity of the forest, saw the Danes enter with Edmund's head, and was able to inform his fellow survivors of its probable fate.

One miniature (figure 14, fl4v) serves to illustrate both the execution and the disposal of the head. The picture is divided horizontally, with the upper section slightly larger than the lower one. In the top portion, the executioner strikes Edmund's head off with a single blow, as Abbo specifies; the king's soul, in the form of a dove, is cradled in God's hand to be carried to heaven. Beneath this scene of martyrdom, we see one of the Danes thrusting Edmund's head among the brambles while the witness views the contemptuous act from the safety of a tree. The illustration departs from the text here because Abbo maintains that the witness did not see the actual disposal of the head, even though he surmised that it had been left in the thicket. Most likely for clarity's sake, the miniaturist places the witness in the forest at the moment when the Danes conceal Edmund's head; certainly, the viewer is left in no doubt that the head was deliberately hidden but that the deed was observed.

This is the only miniature of the thirty-two which is divided; it occurs in the middle of the series and illustrates
the climax of the story when Edmund's earthly life ended and his immortal one began; it also marks the transition between Edmund as an historical character and as the centre of a cult—between Edmund the remote king of East Anglia and Saint Edmund the future patron of a great monastery. I believe it is for these reasons that the miniature combines these particular events: the compression is certainly not because the episodes depicted are of insufficient importance to warrant separate folios!

Also, when dealing with relics, the question of authenticity arises again. Because genuine relics were so vital to the success of a saint's cult, it was absolutely essential for the guardians of his shrine to establish that the relics in their possession did indeed belong to the saint in question. This was not merely an academic matter, of interest only to theologians or philosophers; rather, it seems that the ordinary citizens, the people who made pilgrimages to the various shrines, were the ones most interested in the authenticity of relics. As Sumption asserts, "any suggestion that a relic of note was false or had been stolen provoked intense public concern." Consequently, in the part of his story dealing with the recovery of Edmund's head, Abbo is careful to point out that it was truly the king's head which
was found and subsequently joined to the body; hence, the wit­ness to the removal of the head is an important element in the documentation of the tale. Likewise, the miniature leaves no uncertainty concerning the identity of the relic: the king is beheaded and, immediately beneath the scene of his murder, the executioner himself conceals the precious head among the brambles.  

Their iniquitous mission in East Anglia accomplished, the Danes departed again by sea, in search of fresh conquests elsewhere; the miniature showing the invaders returning to their ships (figure 15, fl5) has been mentioned previously as seeming to have for its purpose the closing of one chapter in the saga of St. Edmund.

Meanwhile, the few Christians who escaped slaughter gradually emerged from their hiding places and gathered to bury the body of their king. The body was easily located, and Divine inspiration plus the testimony of the witness encouraged the people to organize a search party in the woods. They agreed to carry horns with which to signal each other in the forest so as not to miss any places or to cover ground already searched. The accompanying miniature (figure 16, fl5v) condenses three events into one, but manages to include the main elements of Abbo's narrative: Edmund's lamenting subjects discover his
body lying in the field where it fell; the witness, to the right of the picture, reveals the location of the head; and two men blow horns in the background as an indication of the signals to be used in the search.

While the searchers were combing the woods, the first two miracles connected with Edmund occurred: first, the severed head began to speak, calling out "here, here, here," until a group of men in the search party were attracted to it by the sound. As though this were not sufficient, when the men arrived at the spot where the head lay, they found it cradled in the paws of a huge wolf which had been sent by God to protect the relic from any harm. In the appropriate miniature (figure 17, fl6), the illustrator follows the text very closely, portraying the astonishment of the men upon seeing the wolf stretched out full length upon the ground guarding the head like a sentinel. Accompanied by the wolf, the searchers joyfully carried the head back to the king's body, carefully joined the two together, and buried their saintly monarch. They constructed a rough chapel over his remains since they did not have the means to provide anything finer. Abbo's text concerning the reuniting of the head to the body and the interment of the saint is quite brief, but the theme is expanded and altered somewhat in the miniatures.
Four pictures are used to illustrate this section. In the first one (figure 18, f16v), the leader of the search party reverently carries the head in his cape while another man calls attention to the continued presence of the wolf. In the next scene (figure 19, f17), one man duly attaches the head to Edmund's body while another gently covers the saint with a blanket; but contrary to the author's statement that the wolf disappeared into the forest as soon as the head had been carried to the body, in this picture the animal crouches on the ground near the sacred head he has protected.

In connection with this miniature, I should mention an important sequel to the episode which it re-enacts. A little farther on in the story Abbo relates that, years later when the body was examined it was found to be perfectly preserved with the head miraculously attached: a thin red line circling the neck was the only sign that it had ever been severed. This later miracle served as compelling proof of Edmund's moral victory over the Danes: not only had the attempt to hide his head been foiled, but even the beheading of the saint was negated. The narrow line around Edmund's neck faintly visible in this miniature and more prominent in the next one is most likely an allusion to the miraculous joining of the two parts of the king's body.
In the third illumination in this group of four (figure 20, f17v), Edmund's body is borne on a litter to the place of burial. The wolf trots purposefully in the centre of the page, keeping a watchful eye on his charge; this is again a departure from the text, since Abbo states that the wolf accompanied the mourners to the place of entombment, which clearly indicates that Edmund was buried in the spot where his body originally lay. However, the inclusion of this not strictly necessary episode is a successful addition to the legend: it immediately conveys to the viewer the idea of a solemn procession to translate the sacred remains to the tomb; the image of the saint carried on the shoulders of his former subjects creates an atmosphere of great dignity, an impression which is heightened by the stern symmetry of the design; although this is a sad occasion, there is also cause for joy because a new saint has been created, and a sense of this triumph is conveyed by the magnificent, leafy tree dominating the background.

The final miniature of the four (figure 21, f18) quite naturally depicts the actual interment. The body, wrapped in a shroud, is gently laid in its sarcophagus above which the hand of God hovers to bless the proceedings. The churchlike setting of the burial scene does not agree with Abbo's description of a rude structure, but such a poor shrine may have seemed too
ordinary for an honoured patron saint.

One may wonder why the text and the miniatures focus so much attention on the disappearance of the head and its subsequent discovery and re-attachment: not only one, but two miracles are worked in connection with this event; and the illustrator devotes six and one half pages to the unfolding of the story from the finding of the body to its final entombment—more than were required to chronicle the actual seizure and martyrdom of the king. Aside from the inherent fascination of this rather strange tale, I think that another more practical reason may have dictated the emphasis upon this particular aspect of the legend.

Bury abbey was one of a privileged few British shrines which could claim such a prestigious relic as the entire, incorrupt body of a martyr. The significance of this becomes clear when we realize that during the Middle Ages it was considered especially important for a religious house to possess the whole body of a saint, and in particular a martyr. It was even better if this body remained in a perfect state of preservation, since such a miracle indicated unquestioned sainthood, and was also seen as a promise to all men of the final resurrection of the body at the Last Judgment. Because of
the value placed on the entire body of the saint, it is understandable that such importance should be attached to the quest for Edmund's head and to the miracles which occurred to make his person truly whole again.

Naturally, if a shrine boasted such a potent relic, it would have to be prepared to defend its authenticity. I think it is reasonable to suggest that the inclusion of the wolf, as an emissary of God, in three miniatures--from the discovery of the saint's head through the burial procession--is in part a visual assertion that the remains were both genuine and divinely sanctioned. Although the wolf is not present at the actual burial, the hand of God gestures in benediction directly above the sarcophagus.

The entombment concludes the early part of Edmund's history, and the next development in the growth of his legend concerns the rise of the martyr's cult which was vital to the future establishment of the abbey.

**Growth of Edmund's Cult**

Abbo relates that the saint's body remained in its original humble tomb for many years until the country was again relatively peaceful, which was not until the reign of Edward
the Elder early in the tenth century. At this time, miracles began to occur at the sepulchre and the relic was removed with great pomp to a new shrine in the apparently already important—Abbo calls it a "villa regia"—Suffolk town of Beadoricewyrth (to use one of its many spellings). However, Edmund's cult was already established by the time of this translation: during the reign of King Alfred, who died in 902, commemorative coins were struck in honour of Edmund on which he is called "saint;" these coins are the earliest surviving evidence of the public veneration of Edmund as a saint.  

As for the question of "sainthood," it is uncertain if and when Edmund was officially canonized. In the early years of the Church, only martyrs were recognized as saints and it was not considered necessary to canonize them formally as their violent deaths for the Faith were sufficient proof of their sanctity. It seems that the Anglo-Saxon "saint-kings" like Edmund were prime examples of heroes who were popularly acclaimed as saints with the encouragement of the local clergy.  

It was not until the eleventh century that a process of papal canonization was developed, and even then it was not always used; not until the end of the eleventh century was a more strict system enforced by Urban II in which a certain number of authenticated miracles were required before saint-
hood would be conferred. As far as Edmund personally is concerned, I have come upon references to a canonization at an Oxford Council in 1122. If this were true, what a marvellous reason to produce a lavish *libellus* in his honour; and what a boost for the theory that Morgan 736 was made at an early date! However, as far as I can determine, there was no council at Oxford in 1122 or anytime near that date; records exist of such a council in 1222, and since Edmund's feast day seems to have been an authorized feast day in England from the thirteenth century on, it may well be this council that granted him his official sainthood or at least sanctioned the widespread celebration of his feast.

In any event, Edmund was clearly thought of as a saint when his body was translated to the more elaborate shrine at Beadoricewyrth; a small group of clergymen administered the new church and were incorporated into a College around 925. It seems that the shrine attracted costly gifts and grants of land from the beginning, and there was a tradition at Bury that King Athelstan (924-939) gave the College a charter which granted it jurisdiction over the territory of Beadoricewyrth and freed it from external control and taxation. This important franchise, whether or not it was originally given by Athelstan, was reconfirmed and augmented by subsequent monarchs and was jealous-
ly guarded by the abbey; the "liberty" of Bury St. Edmunds, as it was known, plays a large role in the history of the monastery and will be discussed below.

With the increasing fame of the saint due to the miracles which occurred at his tomb and the consequent growth in prosperity of his resting place, it was only natural that his followers should want a record of his life and deeds. The brief accounts given by the early chronicles were far too sketchy to be satisfactory, and various stories about the heroic king must have been circulating for years. Therefore, in order to have an authentic and compelling account of their patron, the ministers of Edmund's shrine asked Abbo to write his *Passio*. Not long after this was completed, the monk Aelfric included an Anglo-Saxon version of Edmund's life in his *Lives of the Saints*, composed about 990-998. Aelfric's poem was based entirely on Abbo's work, the only original addition being a greater emphasis on Edmund's military prowess and courage. The production of a vernacular version of Edmund's life so soon after Abbo's official Latin text is a good indication of the growing popularity of the saint's cult.

One incident which Abbo relates with regard to the early years of Edmund's cult provides an insight into the times as well as an example of the saint's power. As has been
mentioned, the shrine began to attract valuable gifts almost immediately, and soon after the establishment of the College an attempt was made to steal these pious offerings. Eight robbers tried to break into the church at night, and the next miniature in the series (fl8v) accurately details Abbo's description of their crime--they dig at the foundations, hammer at the bolts, and try to reach the windows by ladder. While the thieves were thus engaged, Edmund froze them in the midst of their activities so that they could neither move nor speak. Consequently, they were easily captured the next morning and brought for trial to Theodred, Bishop of London. 29

In the following illustration (figure 22, fl9), we see the eight criminals firmly bound and meekly standing before the bishop. Judging from the unhappy countenance of the foremost thief, this scene must represent the actual sentencing of the culprits, a sentence which was harsh indeed as the next picture amply indicates (figure 23, fl9v). In this vivid and rather grisly representation, the eight men who so boldly defiled Edmund's precinct are being executed by hanging; almost naked, they are strung up in a row, hands bound, eyes blindfolded, and mouths gaping. Abbo states that the bishop immediately repented of his severe sentence and performed various penances to atone for his lapse of judgment. However, this is the final
miniature to accompany the episode of the thieves— we see nothing of Theodred's remorse; therefore, the viewer is left with a strong if unpleasant reminder of the fate which befell those who dared to violate Edmund's sanctuary.

The tale of the eight robbers is an example of a common type of miracle in hagiographic literature. One of the strongest beliefs concerning patron saints, and one which was no doubt fostered by the ministers of their shrines, was that they could and did punish those who were disrespectful to their relics or who interfered with the abbeys or churches under their protection. The accounts of saints' lives abound with such stories, and at least one other saint performed the very same "freezing" miracle upon the would-be burglars of his shrine.

One reason for the frequent occurrence of such miracles was the need felt by the guardians of the more popular shrines to defend their wealth. Those houses fortunate enough to have the remains of a famous saint were naturally well endowed with gifts including large tracts of land. As Sumption points out, "vigorous efforts were made by the monks to acquire intervening holdings which would consolidate their estates." This practice of attempting to enlarge the holdings they had been granted by "filling in the gaps" was as true of Bury as elsewhere and
often earned the large abbeys local enemies. This helps to explain why "many miracle collections, notably the *Miracles of St. Benedict*, are largely concerned with showing how the saint had miraculously intervened to defend the estates of his abbey.\(^{33}\) Since Abbo came from the abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire which sheltered the body of St. Benedict, he must have been well acquainted with this problem.

Of course, when Abbo was writing his *Passio*, Edmund's shrine was still relatively new and probably not the subject of intense jealousy. However, during the following century, the abbey which eventually replaced the original College grew to be one of the largest and wealthiest in the country, with huge landholdings—a privileged position which it had to defend fiercely. Therefore, the stress placed upon the unsavoury incident of the thieves, which merits three illustrations in the manuscript, seems especially appropriate in relation to the power and riches which Bury St. Edmunds had attained by the twelfth century when this *libellus* was written.

**Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds**

**Early History to 1066**

The conclusion of Abbo's *Passio* relates directly to the guardians of Edmund's shrine for whom the work was composed.
The author again speaks of the incorruption of the saint's body and adds that this wonderful condition is a distinction granted to virgin martyrs in particular. Tradition had it that the king had never married and had remained chaste all his life, earning for himself an even more exalted position in the hierarchy of saints than he would otherwise have achieved. Abbo then goes on to admonish the servants of this holy man to strive to imitate his purity of life, "if they cannot do so with the flower of virgin modesty, let them at least steadfastly mortify their desire for pleasure . . ." As we have seen, the men who served at the shrine were not yet monks, but were what is known as secular clergy, not bound by vows of celibacy. Abbo was obviously uncomfortable about this situation and would have preferred a community of monks to administer the shrine of the virgin saint: it was, of course, during the tenth century that the first wave of monastic reform swept Britain, led primarily by Abbo's mentor Dunstan. In any event, the closing paragraphs of the Passio were a portent of things to come, because less than fifty years after Abbo voiced his concerns, the Benedictine monks took over the duties of St. Edmund's shrine.

The miracle text by Archdeacon Herman, commissioned by Abbot Baldwin and written soon after the latter's death in 1097,
provides the primary information concerning the early history of the abbey; and it is essentially from Herman's text that the illuminator of the Morgan miniatures drew the material for his last few illustrations.  

The foundation of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds took place during the reign of Cnut. With the permission of this king, Bishop Ælfwine of Elmham expelled the secular clergy in 1020 and replaced them with twenty Benedictine monks drawn from the monasteries of Ely and St. Benet Hulme. Uvius, a monk from the latter abbey, became the first abbot of the new establishment, and it was he who brought with him the first few books which were the basis of what eventually was to be an impressive library. The incidents which precipitated the chartering of the abbey became quite famous and included one of Edmund's most spectacular miracles. And it is precisely these events and wonders that form the subject matter of the final narrative scenes in the Morgan libellus.

The caretakers of the relics apparently grew lax toward the end of the tenth century; to counteract this unacceptable situation, the local bishop appointed a devoted monk by the name of Aethelwine to be the chief guardian of the shrine. In the meantime, the Danes had begun their incursions again, burning and ravaging the countryside and demanding tribute to
pay their armies. In 1010, during one of these raids, Aethelwine removed the relics of the saint in fear for their safety. In order to avoid any dishonour befalling Edmund's relics should the Danes invade his shrine, the monk made an arduous and roundabout trip to London where he brought the body to the church of St. Gregory. While making his way to London, the monk witnessed two notable miracles which proved the power of the saint and the extent of God's concern for the dignity of Edmund's relics; these miracles each receive an illustration in the Morgan *libellus.*

Aethelwine arrived in Essex and sought shelter with a priest of that region named Eadbruht. However, the priest refused to offer hospitality to the monk and rudely ordered him to leave with his cart bearing the precious relics. God would not accept such an insult to his saint and caused Eadbruht's property to catch fire and be destroyed. In the artist's depiction (figure 24, f20), Eadbruht stands at the door of his house threatening Aethelwine with what looks like a blackjack; but as the monk moves away, the wrath of God, whose hand sheds a beam of light on Edmund's bier, has already been aroused—flames leap from the windows of the uncharitable priest's home.

The second miracle occurred when Aethelwine attempted
to cross a narrow, broken bridge with the relic cart. As we see in the miniature (figure 25, f20v), the monk looks anxiously back at his wagon whose wheel hangs precariously over the edge of the bridge; however, the protecting hand of God is still present as an indication that no harm will come to the saint's remains; Aethelwine did, of course, arrive safely at his destination.

The saint's body remained in London for three years, during which time many miracles of healing occurred at Edmund's temporary shrine. Yet it is not these miracles which are illustrated in the Morgan book. The wonders chosen for inclusion are those which concentrate upon God's direct concern for the dignity and safety of his saint's remains and which emphasize the role of Aethelwine as caretaker of the relics. It must be remembered that Aethelwine was an important figure in the history of Bury St. Edmunds, both because of his devotion to the saint and because he served as a link between the secular and monastic guardians of the abbey. He would naturally be revered by the community of St. Edmund as one of its original members whose exemplary conduct would serve as an inspiration to future generations of monks, including those who would use the Morgan libellus.

As well as acting as a vehicle to call attention to
Aethelwine, the episode of the inhospitable priest is another example of the penalty paid by those who dared to insult the saint or his servants and would be popular with the monks for this reason also.

It was during the sojourn in London that Edmund's fame began to spread, so much so that the local bishop wished to keep the saint's relics in his own district. However, this attempt was foiled by another miracle; the bier would not budge when the bishop's men tried to move it; but Aethelwine and his partisans lifted it easily and brought it back to its proper shrine.

The final episode leading to the foundation of a monastery at Beadoricewyrth also involves Aethelwine and concerns Edmund's best known miracle— the slaying of the tyrant Swegn. Herman's treatise appears to be the earliest authority for this story which may have begun as a local legend during the eleventh century. The intervention of the saint on this occasion was destined to become the most popular of Edmund's actions and potently demonstrates the power to safeguard his property and its inhabitants which the patron saint was thought to possess. Both relief from the Danish tax within the saint's precinct and the establishment of a Benedictine community at the shrine were directly attributed to the working of this
particular wonder which merits three illustrations in MS 736.

Soon after Aethelwine's return from London with Edmund's body in 1013, the Danish chief Swegn launched another of his frequent attacks against England which are reported in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Not unlike his infamous ancestor Inguar, Swegn sent messengers to Beadoricewyrth demanding the payment of a large tribute in exchange for sparing the shrine and the village which had grown up around it. The Dane's demand was refused and prospects did not look good for the community at Bury. However, Edmund appeared to Aethelwine in a dream, instructing the monk to approach Swegn to ask for cancellation of the tax. Aethelwine went to Swegn's camp to fulfill this mission, and the interview between the two men is recorded by the miniaturist (figure 26, f21): here, the large and dignified figure of the monk confronts the Danish chief who rudely repulses the request for clemency; Aethelwine is set upon by two of Swegn's retainers and the attempt to obtain relief for Beadoricewyrth fails.

As luck, or Providence, would have it, Swegn died quite suddenly and mysteriously soon after this encounter— at the beginning of February, 1014, to be exact. The cause of his death is not known and the contemporary chronicles make no mention of miraculous intervention; but according to Herman,
Edmund himself appeared to the Danish chief during the night and slew him. In the fine miniature accompanying this scene (figure 27, f21v), a triumphant Edmund clutches the money which Swegn coveted while spearing the evil heathen with a powerful thrust of his lance for threatening the people of Beadoricewyrth.

Like Abbo, Herman is a careful hagiographer; he does not ask his readers to accept this marvellous story without further proof. He reveals that a sick nobleman in Essex had a dream during the night in which it was revealed to him that Swegn had succumbed to Edmund's just vengeance. As has been manifested before in the Morgan work, the matter of credible witnesses was an essential element in the authentication of miracles; therefore, the final miniature in this series of three (figure 28, f22) portrays the dying noble announcing the slaying of Swegn before any official news of the chief's death had reached the populace. 40

This entire episode, especially as represented in the stunning image of Edmund victorious over a descendant of the invaders who had put him to death, must have been a satisfying one for the monks of Bury. Furthermore, the depiction of Edmund as an active avenger of his ministers coincides well with the ancient accounts of him as a courageous warrior as opposed to the Christ-like role he assumed during his martyr-
dom; the historiated initial depicting the same scene (initial "C", f23) emphasizes the concept of Edmund as warrior even more strongly, since here the saint is attired in his full military armour. The glamour of this miracle coupled with its obvious appeal for the monks would be sufficient for it to occupy a prominent place among the illuminated miniatures. However, its inclusion may be attributed to other more important considerations as well.

Firstly, the immediate consequence of Swegn's death was deliverance from both the heavy tribute and the threatened devastation of the town, since the Danes immediately departed with the body of their chieftain. This was a great boon to the people in St. Edmund's territory and signalled the saint's ability to look after his own. It will be seen that the abbey had need of the protection of such a powerful patron in later years, which explains the stress on miracles such as this one and that of the thieves—stories which credit the saint with fending off marauders of all kinds.

Secondly, the most momentous, if not so immediate, result of Swegn's death was the establishment of a monastery at Beadoricewyrth. The attention attracted by the miracles surrounding Edmund's temporary shrine in London, combined with the saint's astounding performance with regard to Swegn, had
made Edmund's name more widely revered; yet the keepers of his shrine had apparently not improved their conduct appreciably despite Aethelwine's good example. Consequently, in 1020, King Cnut authorized the removal of the unsatisfactory seculars in favour of a community of Benedictines.41

Cnut was the son of Sweyn and had recently managed to secure for himself the crown of all England; unlike his father, Cnut attempted to appease the people he had conquered, married the widow of the Anglo-Saxon King Aethelred, and became a noted patron of the Church. In atonement for his father's crime against St. Edmund, Cnut was said to have offered his crown at the shrine, redeeming it with costly gifts, a practice which became traditional.42 More important to the fortunes of the fledgling abbey than the foregoing symbolic gesture was the generous charter of liberties which Cnut granted to the monks in 1028; this stipulated that the farm at Bury was to be forever in the possession of the monks, free from episcopal jurisdiction; furthermore, whenever the English people were required to pay the "Danegelt" tax originally levied to support the Danish fleet and army, the portion collected from St. Edmund's tenants would accrue to the abbey.43 Considering the splendid results of Edmund's strong action against Sweyn, it is no wonder that this miracle should be a
favourite of the abbey’s and should hold such a prominent position in the Morgan *libellus*!

Bishop Aelfwine, who had been instrumental in bringing monasticism to Bury, continued to play an important role in its early history. In 1021 or 1022, under the sponsorship of Cnut, this bishop began construction of the first stone church at the abbey which was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1032. Furthermore, Aelfwine is said to have renounced for himself and his successors as bishop of Elmham any claim to episcopal control over the abbey or the territory surrounding it for one mile. This vital exemption was the one confirmed by Cnut in his charter of 1028; by formally freeing the abbey from outside ecclesiastical interference, the king placed Bury, from the outset, in possession of "the highly privileged ring of land, usually a mile in radius, known later as the *banleuca*, from which the episcopal as well as the royal jurisdiction was expressly excluded by royal grant."44 This early franchise is the one upon which Bury based her tenacious claim to exemption during the two bitter controversies with the local bishop which arose during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

Bury's royal patron died in 1035, and although grants of land and other gifts were made by private citizens and
clergy during the reigns of Cnut's sons Harold and Harthacnut, the next major privileges and exemptions were given to the abbey after the accession of Edward, later known as the Confessor, in 1042. Although Edward had lived in Normandy for thirty years prior to his accession to the English throne and was thoroughly Norman in education and outlook, he belonged to the ancient line of Anglo-Saxon kings which had been interrupted by Cnut. Therefore, it is not difficult to see why Edward displayed a special regard for St. Edmund as a sainted member of the old English royalty. Edward made a pilgrimage to Edmund's shrine shortly after his coronation and Herman reports that the king traversed the last mile on foot as a sign of respect to his holy kinsman.

Various charters, some of them spurious, still exist which record Edward's important grant of the "eight and one half hundreds" to the abbey. Control over these Suffolk hundreds was the basis of Bury's "Liberty" and had originally been given to Edward's mother by Cnut upon her marriage to the Danish king. Edward had taken them from her at his accession and almost immediately transferred them to Bury. Possession of this privilege entitled the abbot to legal jurisdiction over all men, not only his tenants, within this fairly compact area (which now comprises West Suffolk) and to
all the revenues from land, taxes, legal fines, etc., which it produced. Edward also confirmed all the gifts and franchises granted by previous kings, and toward the end of his reign allowed the abbot to mint coins--a rare privilege indeed. Naturally, such extensive rights also involved responsibilities: the abbey had obligations to its tenants and others who lived within the precinct; the lands required a good deal of administration and undoubtedly occupied the energies of several members of the monastery; to efficiently govern the eight and one half hundreds, the abbot required the support of the king and would therefore have to spend time at court. And so it was that, from early in her history, Bury became a large landholder with secular as well as religious concerns and with a continuing connection with the royal house which was to become even stronger under the feudal system of the Normans.

Shortly after Edward's accession to the throne, Bury's first abbot died and Leofstan, one of the abbey's original monks, was chosen as successor and ruled until 1065; not much is known of him except for an unsavoury story which Herman records in which the abbot opened Edmund's casket and tugged at the head to see if it was truly attached! Upon Leofstan's death, Edward "suggested" to the monks that they choose as
their next abbot Baldwin, a French monk and physician to the king. Although Baldwin was appointed in the Norman manner rather than freely elected by the monks, the choice proved to be a good one. An able, educated and energetic man, an intimate of both Edward and King William after him, Baldwin inaugurated the period of Bury's development into the powerful, highly privileged, and architecturally noteworthy monastery which she was to become by the middle of the next century. Even though he was selected by Edward, Baldwin's abbacy coincided with the reign of William the Conqueror and he served his abbey well in the changing times brought about by the Norman Conquest.

Development Under the Normans

When William of Normandy became King of England in 1066, there were approximately thirty-five independent Benedictine monasteries in the country which were nationalistic and even provincial in outlook, neither dependent upon any foreign mother house nor involved in the surge of scholastic activity which was already well underway in Europe. These English monasteries were generally observant of the rules of their Order, but their monks enjoyed "a less enclosed life and wider external relationships" than their Norman counterparts.
William soon began to reorganize the English Church on the Norman model in which, among other things: the abbots were considered as barons, formally bound to the king as his tenants-in-chief; the monasteries were more strictly cloistered and organized according to the Benedictine Rule; and the cathedral monasteries played a much more important role in the life of the Church than they did in England. Although William's chief aide in this project, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, generally fulfilled his commission in a wise and careful manner--systematically but not precipitantly replacing English abbots with Norman ones and gradually introducing Norman intellectual thought and reforms--there was a certain amount of resistance to the new regime in the early years and the English monks did have some justifiable grievances.

Fortunately for Bury, the abbey was able to pass through the transitional period with less turmoil than others due to the influence of Baldwin who became physician to both William and Lanfranc. The list of Baldwin's achievements is impressive: he began an ambitious program of building, which included laying the foundations and completing the choir, crypt and a substantial portion of the walls of a huge Norman church; he enlarged the town of Bury and introduced a new grid-iron plan for its layout; he introduced Latin as the official
language of the abbey; he stimulated the scriptorium at Bury, even though he seems to have concentrated upon the copying of necessary service and inspirational texts rather than on the patristic and contemporary theological works that were being produced on the Continent; he was often at court, which can be ascertained from the large number of royal charters that he witnessed, and was therefore in a position to inform the king of the needs and desires of his monastery; Baldwin was also an ardent champion of the abbey's rights and it was probably due to his efforts that William reconfirmed the privileges which had been bestowed upon St. Edmund's by previous monarchs and added many more grants of his own.

One of the most important events which occurred during Baldwin's abbacy was the difficult ecclesiastical controversy in which the abbey was embroiled. Herman is the primary source for our knowledge of the dispute; his account is a first-hand one since he was personally involved with the principals in this matter.

As part of Lanfranc's reorganization of the Church, he instituted a policy of moving bishops' sees from remote villages to larger centres. Therefore, Lanfranc supported the proposal by the newly appointed Norman Bishop Arfast of Elmham, the diocese within which Bury lay, to move his East Anglian See to
Bury St. Edmunds. Had this proposal been successful, Bury would have become a cathedral priory and would have lost the highly valued independence which was so earnestly sought after by English monasteries at this time.\textsuperscript{51} Such a serious threat to Bury's continued autonomy must have alarmed the monks considerably, and in 1070 Baldwin journeyed to Rome, with the permission of King William, to seek the protection of Pope Alexander II. This mission proved fruitful, with the result that Bury St. Edmunds was placed among those few most honoured houses which were subject to the pope alone and whose rights were not to be tampered with by any secular or ecclesiastical authority. At this time, Alexander's grant was the only example of complete monastic immunity confirmed by papal charter to an English abbey.

Unfortunately, to invoke papal authority was not especially effective at this early date,\textsuperscript{52} and Lanfranc confiscated the document from Baldwin since the archbishop believed that the English metropolitan should have jurisdiction over monasteries which had been freed from diocesan control. Herman, who was at the time an archdeacon under Arfast, reports that the bishop continued to press his claim despite the pope's action. One day, while riding in a wood, Arfast was struck in the eye by a low branch and was in danger
of losing sight in it-- an indication of St. Edmund's displeasure. Herman says that he urged the bishop to see Baldwin since he was a physician. Arfast agreed, was cured by Baldwin and promised to end his attempts to transfer his see to Bury. But Arfast soon forgot his pledge and the case was finally heard before Lanfranc and a jury and then before a royal council at Winchester in 1081. Unable to have recourse to his papal privilege, Baldwin was forced to fight Arfast on purely secular grounds, relying on the original privilege of King Cnut in his charter of 1028.

The decision went to Baldwin, but it was by no means a foregone conclusion that Bury would triumph. Actually, it seems probable that the verdict was in favour of the abbey largely due to a letter written by the new pope, Gregory II, to Lanfranc in which the former told the archbishop that Arfast's claim was a slight to papal authority. William confirmed the decision of the court by a royal charter issued in the same year which repeated the pope's injunction that no see should be established at Bury. Baldwin won the undying affection of the monks for his efforts on their behalf; after his death, the abbot was highly venerated and it was even said that miracles occurred at his tomb.

This decisive victory of Baldwin's seem to have
encouraged donations immensely, since by the time of William's Domesday Survey in 1086 the abbey was among the twelve wealthiest in the country in terms of yearly revenue, owned land in seven counties, and possessed about three hundred manors—more than any other monastery listed in the Domesday book, more even than Ely with its vast wealth.  

Moreover, it was immediately after Baldwin's triumph that the abbot, with the help of his sacrists Thurstan and then Tolinus, began construction of Edmund's new church (figure 30) which, at about five hundred feet long at its completion in the next century, must have been one of the largest Norman churches of its day.  

By 1094, the eastern end with its apse and three radiating chapels was completed and Baldwin wished to arrange for the transfer of Edmund's relics to his new shrine behind the main altar. But the king was now William's son, known as Rufus, who was no friend to the Church; he agreed to the translation of the body and the simultaneous dedication of the new church, but then changed his mind. In 1095, Herman reports that a rumour went about among Rufus' courtiers that Edmund's body was not incorrupt, and they suggested that the saint's costly shrine be stripped of its valuables to help pay the king's troops. Such a thing never came to pass, and the translation was finally carried out with
great pomp on April 29, 1095, with Bishop Walkelin of Winches-
ter officiating; at the dedication, the bishop granted a par-
tial indulgence to all present and to anyone visiting the
shrine on its anniversary. 57

It was in honour of this occasion that Baldwin commis-
sioned Herman to write his miracle text; considering the
difficulties which the abbey had encountered in recent years--
the dispute with Arfast and the problems surrounding the
translation--it is little wonder that Herman should have
recorded, probably for the first time, Edmund's vengeance
against the greedy tyrant Swegn who tried to impose his will
on the people under the saint's protection; neither is it
surprising that this miracle should rapidly have become one
of the most popular of the patron's actions, proclaimed as a
warning to secular or ecclesiastic intruders.

Although Herman often embroiders his stories with
improbable events, his statement concerning the sinister
designs of Rufus' courtiers upon Edmund's shrine is most like-
ly based on fact, for the king's rapacity is well known. 58
Rufus wished to use the Church's wealth for his own purposes
as far as possible, and to this end made a practise of keep-
ing abbacies and bishoprics vacant for long periods so that
he could claim the revenues which such positions enjoyed. Bury
suffered in this way: when Baldwin died in 1097, the abbacy was left unfilled by Rufus until his own death in 1100.

The early years of Henry I's reign were not easy ones for Bury either, because the king claimed the right to select abbots of his own preference. Accordingly, soon after his accession in 1100, Henry appointed the young son of his cousin Hugh, Earl of Chester, as abbot. The monks of Bury bitterly resented this blatant disregard for their ancient right--as set out by Dunstan in his Regularis Concordia--to elect their own abbot with the advice and consent of the king.

As though this were not enough, there was a renewed attempt by the East Anglian See to claim jurisdiction over the abbey! Bishop Herbert of Norwich (the city to which the see had been transferred in 1094) tried to gain papal sanction for his proposal in 1101 but failed to persuade the pope. In the following year, Herbert again unsuccessfully raised the issue with the pope; in the same year, 1102, at a solemn council called by Anselm, Lanfranc's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, Herbert's claim was denied and the suit finally abandoned.

It was during this same Westminster council that nine abbots were deposed because of simony or other offenses, and
Robert of Bury was one of those who lost their positions. Anselm nominated another Robert, a prior of Westminster, and the monks elected him; but the king would not agree to his consecration and apparently appropriated whatever revenues he could during the next four years. The monks resisted Henry by refusing to accept or elect any other abbot, and Robert appears to have fulfilled the duties of this post unofficially. It was during his term of office that the revenues of the abbey were divided between the monks and the abbot to limit the amount which the king could claim.

In August, 1107, Robert was finally consecrated by Anselm, but unfortunately died the next month; the community elected a monk named Baldwin, but Henry refused to appoint him because he was an Englishman and the abbacy was again vacant—this time for seven years. Had Archbishop Anselm not died in 1109, the interregnum might not have been so long.

Despite the unsettling effect which these disputes with the king and the bishop of East Anglia must have had upon the monastery, the history of Edmund's abbey in the early years of Henry's reign is not all unpleasant. In 1101, Cardinal John of Tusculum was sent as a papal legate to England; while there, he granted a seven day's indulgence to pilgrims visiting Edmund's shrine; Archbishop Anselm confirmed this indulgence
and added three days to it. This is an early date for a papal indulgence of this type and may have been prompted by the increasing fame of Edmund's shrine; this fame was to extend beyond the borders of England in the following years; in 1113, a group of canons from Laon who were touring England to raise funds for the rebuilding of their cathedral were sufficiently impressed with Edmund's miracles that they carried stories of them home to the Continent.

Construction of Baldwin's church and of new monastic buildings continued as well: the second Robert's energetic sacrist Godfrey enlarged the original plan of the church by adding a bay to the presbytery and widening the central aisle by twenty-two feet; he also built the transepts, two bays of the nave and a central tower to roof level— for which belfry he purchased a large and costly bell. As well as making progress on the church, Godfrey also completed the new refectory, chapter-house, infirmary and abbot's residence.

In 1114 the abbacy was filled with the election of Albold, a Norman prior of Nicasius at Meaux who was a friend of Anselm. Not much is known of his reign and no new building activity is recorded as having taken place during his five year rule; at his death in 1119, the abbacy was once again vacant until the election of Anselm—nephew to Anselm of
Canterbury, former abbot of Santa Saba in Rome, and one-time papal legate to England.

Anselm had previously experienced difficulties with Henry who had refused to receive the monk as papal legate in 1116 and had kept him at Rouen for four years waiting in vain for permission to enter England. However, Henry's quarrel was with the pope rather than with his representative, and once Anselm became abbot, he and the king enjoyed quite a good relationship; this must have played an important part in initiating the period of tremendous prosperity accompanied by artistic and intellectual growth which characterized the abbey during the twenty-seven years of Anselm's rule.

My reason for summarizing the history of St. Edmund and his abbey up to the time of abbot Anselm has been to establish the background against which the Morgan libellus must be seen. There were numerous miracles associated with St. Edmund, and naturally they could not all be depicted in the manuscript. Due to the limitations of space, there had to be an emphasis on particular occurrences to the exclusion of others. The choice of topics for illustration in the thirty-two miniatures preceding the text depended upon the primary function which these pictures were expected to serve—the glorification of the saint and the edification of his
followers: to this end, the major events in the life and passion of the patron had to be recounted; the nobility of his ancestry and the authenticity of his relics had to be indicated; the most spectacular and best known of the saint's miracles required inclusion; and because of their location en masse at the opening of the manuscript, the miniatures had to be organized in a clear, easily followed sequence and executed in a straightforward, lively manner in order to attract, inform, and ultimately inspire the viewer even before he arrived at the text.

Aside from this rather obvious necessity for the illustrations to convey the salient points in the saint's life and miracles, it seems to me that other less obvious reasons also influenced the choice of subject matter: firstly, specific conditions of life and modes of thought existed during the Medieval period, some of which are reflected in the Morgan miniatures; secondly, some of the events which enlivened Bury's chequered history dictated that a few choice miracles be featured among the illuminations of the abbey's beautiful libellus.

With regard to the general historical framework of the time as it affected the picture program, it has been suggested in the preceding pages that: some of the current
notions regarding the power and responsibility of kingship may be embodied in the scenes of the investiture ceremony (figure 2, f8 and f8v) and in the one depicting Edmund's kingly virtues (figure 3, f9); the insistence of Medieval man that the relics he honoured be genuine is amply demonstrated by the care with which the miniaturist includes human witnesses and divine assurances of the relics' authenticity (figure 14, f14v; figure 17, f16; figure 21, f18); the special reverence which was reserved for those relics which consisted of the entire body of a martyr helps to explain the emphasis placed upon the discovery of Edmund's head and the subsequent reuniting of the separated parts of his anatomy (figure 16, f15v through figure 21, f18); the concern with which wealthy shrines viewed the widespread problem of pillaging is reflected in the grim episode of the thieves (figure 22, f19; figure 23, f19v); and the popular conception of the patron saint as a capable guardian of his earthly servants and of the property which they held in his name is demonstrated in the impressive series recounting the saga of Edmund versus Swegn (figure 26, f21 through figure 28, f22).

But MS 736 was written to honour a specific saint and by association to shed glory on his own particular abbey; therefore, it is not unreasonable to expect the pictures
illuminating Edmund's life to pertain in some way to the community which revered his name. And such is indeed the case. The last quarter of the series is devoted to Edmund's shrine and its caretakers from the time when the first simple memorial was raised in the patron's memory to the period immediately prior to the chartering of Bury Abbey: the earliest manifestation of Edmund's efficiency as a protective patron, the thwarting of the thieves, includes a representation of Bishop Theodred (Figure 22, f19) who was an honoured benefactor of the abbey; a special place is accorded to Aethelwine since he served as the transitional figure between the secular and monastic ministers of the relics, (Figure 24, f20; Figure 25, f20v; Figure 26, f21); and the incident concerning Swegn had a personal significance for the monks of Bury in that this dramatic episode was held to be the reason for their existence as a religious community.

Although the last group of miracles portrayed in the miniatures occurred before the monastery was officially founded, I believe that the ideas which they embody were just as pertinent to Bury St. Edmunds in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries as at any time in her early history. First, to consider Bury's position vis-à-vis the monarchy: the abbey had always maintained close connections with the royal house and could therefore be expected to be adroit in her dealings with
successive kings. However, her relations with the Norman monarchs, especially with Rufus and Henry I, were strained with regard to the election of abbots since both the kings and the monks claimed the right to choose the monastery's leader. Another point of friction was the unfortunate habit, shared by these two kings, of leaving the abbacy vacant in order to expropriate a portion of the establishment's revenues. The monks considered such actions on the part of the kings as tyrannical, and they would naturally stress the reputation of their patron as an enemy of despots—a role which is most forcefully displayed by Edmund's slaying of Swegn (figure 27, f21v and initial "C", f23). By the time the _libellus_ was illuminated, things had improved in this regard, since Anselm was accepted by both king and monks, and since limits had been placed upon the revenues which the king could claim in case of a vacancy. But Bury's impressive collection of royal grants and privileges depended upon the continued support of the monarchy, and these recent altercations with the Norman kings had shown that a constant reminder of Edmund's vindictive capabilities might be in order. William of Malmesbury gives an example of the effectiveness of Edmund's reputation: "The exactors of taxes ... who, in other places, gave loose to injustice ... ceased their cavilling at St. Edmund's boundary, admonished thereto by the punishment of others who had
presumed to overpass it."\textsuperscript{62}

Secondly, to touch upon the ecclesiastical controversy which began in 1070 and was not finally settled until 1102, this was a very real and serious threat to Bury's autonomy; I am convinced that, once again, the image of Edmund as the vanquisher of tyrants is a direct warning to intruders on the abbey's freedom to beware the vengeance of her patron. Even though the monastery had emerged triumphant from her encounters with the East Anglian See, this was no cause for complacency: in 1123, abbot Anselm obtained a papal privilege which provided that, if the abbey were ever to become the seat of a bishopric, it would only be served by monk bishops.\textsuperscript{63} Obviously the abbot was not under any illusion that the question of jurisdiction was permanently settled; there was still need for vigilance and for the protection of a powerful patron.

Since I have insisted upon a close connection between certain of the Morgan illustrations and the abbey's ecclesiastical difficulties, one may ask why the episode of Bishop Arfast's mishap in the woods was not accorded a miniature; surely, to include this direct sign of Edmund's displeasure at the attitude of the abbey's most persistent foe would have been more to the point that the depiction of a remote combat with an only vaguely remembered Danish enemy? This argument
seems plausible on the surface, but I feel that the heroic and truly supernatural quality of Edmund's earlier victory is far more effective as an example of his ability to intervene in human affairs than is the rather mundane story of Bishop Arfast.

As a conclusion to this section of my paper, I would like to introduce one more development which began during the Norman period and which I think pertains directly to the production of St. Edmund's *libellus*—namely, the emergence of a sense of national identity and patriotism in Britain.

When Lanfranc began his reorganization of the English Church, one of his actions which greatly upset the native monks was the demoting of many of their favourite Anglo-Saxon saints. In his zeal for reform, the Archbishop wished to purge the Church of saints whose holiness was doubtful, but sometimes not only cult figures of minor importance, but highly venerated saints were treated with suspicion as well. For example, Lanfranc questioned the worthiness of Cuthbert, one of England's most revered saints; and the Norman abbot of Abingdon refused to allow the celebration of any feast of St. Ethelwold, one of Dunstan's partners in the tenth century monastic reform, or of St. Edmund.64
However, Lanfranc was not wholly opposed to indigenous saints and he commissioned the writing of some new accounts of the better known ones. When Anselm succeeded Lanfranc as Archbishop of Canterbury, he encouraged a renewed respect for the customs of the Anglo-Saxon Church; as a result, there developed a tremendous interest in pre-Conquest saints: numerous lives of the old English saints were composed, preeminently by Goscelin, Osbert, and Eadmer; it is to this period of literary activity that Herman's miracle text in honour of St. Edmund belongs.

The desire to commemorate the virtues and exploits of the Anglo-Saxon saints preceded a more general fascination with all things English which arose during the reign of Henry I. There suddenly appeared a group of monastic historians, such as William of Malmesbury, Ordericus Vitalis, Eadmer, and Simeon of Durham who undertook the ambitious project of recording the ecclesiastical and secular history of England from Anglo-Saxon times to their own day. A sense of pride in England's history and in her people can be discerned in these works, as an example from William of Malmesbury indicates; speaking of the battle of Hastings, the historian remarks of the English defenders that "they were few in number and brave in the extreme; and sacrificing every regard to their bodies,
poured forth their spirit for their country."\textsuperscript{65}

Malmesbury wrote these words in his \textit{Gesta Regum} about 1124-1125, just when the Morgan manuscript was being prepared. In a contemporary work, the \textit{Gesta Pontificum} which includes accounts of the major English monasteries, William regarded Edmund as the national saint of England,\textsuperscript{66} and certainly the awakening interest in the Anglo-Saxon past found an excellent focus for its enthusiasm in Edmund: not only was he an authent­ic old English Christian hero, but he was also a "political" saint— a king who had played a role in his country's history. It may well be that this contemporary concern with Britain's pre-Conquest past is reflected in the three opening miniatures of the series (figure 1, f7 and figure 2, f8) which deal with the arrival and settling of the Germanic tribes in England. And perhaps Edmund's fortuitous position as an Anglo-Saxon saint-king in a period of dawning nationalism provides a good reason for the appearance of this luxurious \textit{libellus} at a time when Bury was not otherwise producing costly decorated books.

In any event, the final miniature in the series (f22v) definitely portrays Edmund as a being exalted enough to be his country's patron saint. Appropriately, this is a strictly hieratic representation: Edmund is enthroned in the centre of the page in an absolutely frontal pose; his wide, staring eyes
and severe expression convincingly convey an impression of supernatural grandeur; the saint is surrounded by angels, two of whom swoop down from heaven to crown him with the "crown of righteousness" as Abbo describes it while two others simultaneously hand him a sceptre and palm, symbols of his role as king and martyr. Meanwhile, grateful for past favours and ever mindful of their dependence upon Edmund's continued good will, two small monks kneel before the saint and caress the feet of their majestic patron. It is with this effective image of the national saint in view that the reader turns to contemplate the text of Edmund's life and deeds.
Footnotes


The variety and order of presentation of the regalia changed through time as the ceremony became more elaborate. There are varying coronation "ordos" and directories in existence which offer somewhat conflicting evidence of the different items presented to the king and the order in which these were given. It seems that the ceremony only became more fixed during the course of the twelfth century. For differing interpretations of the development of the coronation ceremony, see: Percy Ernst Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1937), Chapters one and two; H.G. Richardson, "The Coronation in Medieval England," *Traditio* XIV (1960): 111-202.

J. Wickham Legg, ed. *Three Coronation Orders* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1891), p. xxiii; Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, p. 3 says that this custom was a martial version of the ceremony of placing the new heir to the throne on the chief seat of the royal hall.


The copy in *MS Cotton, Claud. A.iii* is published by Reverend Thomas Silver, *The Coronation Service or Consecration of the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, as it illustrates the Origin of the Constitution (Oxford: J. Parker and J. Murray, 1831). It is not certain that this ordo is the one used for the coronation of Ethelred II, but it is contemporary with his period.

This is not to say that Sebastian was always shown fully clothed. There is a fresco in the chapel of St. Sebastian in the Old Lateran Palace, Rome, in which the saint wears only the white cloth often shown on Christ at his crucifixion. Sebastian is a bearded man though, not a youth. C.R. Dodwell dates this fresco to the period 1100-1130, making it contemporary with the Morgan manuscript, and illustrates it in his Painting in Europe 800-1200, Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd. 1971), plate 155.

Sumption, Pilgrimage, p. 39.

The illustrator is not generally consistent in his portrayal of the incidental attributes of individuals; the clothing and accessories of one person often vary from page to page, even when the action is continuous. Therefore, it must be to identify the executioner as the man who hid the head that the two figures in the miniature are clad in virtually identical garments and have large, prominent swords.

Irene P. McKeehan, "St. Edmund of East Anglia: The Development of a Romantic Legend," University of Colorado Studies XV (1925): 19-21, gives a brief summary of the themes of the talking head and the guardian wolf. Both are parts of the hagiographic tradition. There are variations on the theme of the head, in that sometimes the saint picks up his head and walks with it, and sometimes the saint revives when the head is replaced. As for the talking head itself, this is not encountered so frequently, but its origins go back to classical times, as in the singing head of the dead Orpheus. As for the guardian wolf, this belongs to an even more common class of miracle--that of the use of animals for divine purposes. The wolf in particular is frequent in Irish legends, and another East Anglian saint, Ethelburga, had a wolf protecting her monastery from the Danes.

In the early twelfth century, the only other British shrines which had the entire bodies of martyrs were Durham, Shaftesbury, and St. Alban's according to Sidney H. Heath, In the Steps of the Pilgrims (London, New York, and Toronto: Rich and Corvan, 1950), pp. 48-49. This book was first published in 1911 as Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages.
21 Claire Wheeler Solt, "Relics and Reliquaries of French Saints on the Pilgrim Roads to Santiago in the Romanesque Era," a paper read at the Medieval Workshop, University of British-Columbia, Nov., 1976. Mrs. Solt discussed this matter with regard to local French patron saints, but there is no doubt that the same would apply to England.


23 Hervey, Corolla Sancti Eadmundi, p. xiv; George C. Brooke, English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day (London: methuen and Co. Ltd., 1950), pp. 30-31, says that these were probably minted by Danish settlers who liked such memorial coins of saints. This is the earliest known issue of such coins in England and was probably struck between 870-878 and may have continued until 905.

24 Sumption, Pilgrimage, pp. 146-48, discusses the question of canonization.

25 Heath, In the Steps of the Pilgrims, p. 212. The process of papal canonization began to be regularized in the late tenth century, the earliest known being that of St. Udalricus in 978. The papal influence grew gradually as bishops began to ask the pontiff for formal approval of their local canonizations; at first, the pope simply gave his approval for the translation of the remains; not until the thirteenth century, under Gregory IX, did the papal process become pre-eminent.

26 Porter and Baltzell, "The Old French Lives," note 9, p. 82, mention that a feast day was assigned to Edmund at a council in Oxford in 1122 according to J.J. Herzog, Real Encyklopädie fuer protestanische Theologie (Stuttgart, 1855), vol. III, p. 618. However, the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Maccauly Jackson, 12 vols. (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1909): IV, 78, which is based on the third edition of the previous work, maintains that "whether Edmund was ever formally canonized is doubtful, but . . . his sainthood was unquestioned in the popular estimation."

Since Edmund enjoyed all seven honours that derive from official canonization, i.e., to have his name written in the calendar, to be invoked in prayer, to have churches dedicated in his name, to have Mass said in public in his honour, to have his day as a festival, and to be shown in art with a halo and a heavenly glory surrounding him (Edmund has a halo in the initials of MS 736), and to have his relics revered, the Council of 1222 must have been confirming an already accomplished fact just as "Equivalent Canonization" is used by the pope to confirm the validity of authentic ancient cults.

McKeehan, "St. Edmund of East Anglia," p. 22 makes this observation about Aelfric's contribution and suggests that he was more in touch with Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry than was Abbo.

Abbo speaks highly of this Bishop Theodred and asserts that it was he who verified the wholeness and incorruption of the saint's body when it was examined. Furthermore, this same bishop was one of the witnesses to a charter (the text of which is preserved in Bodley MS 297) granted by King Edmund in 945 which provided the College with substantially the same benefits as Athelstan's franchise was said to have done. Since Theodred was a man definitely connected with the best interests of the shrine, it is not surprising to find him personally included among the figures of the Morgan manuscript.

Sumption, Pilgrimage, p. 41.

Mrs. Solt, in her talk "Relics and Reliquaries," mentioned this in connection with a French saint revered during the Romanesque period, but I do not know the name of the saint.

Sumption, Pilgrimage, p. 62.
Ibid., p. 63.

Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, p. 57.

The earliest extant copy of Herman's *De Miraculis* is found in the eleventh century Bury book, *Cotton, MS Tib. B.ii*, and is published by Arnold, *Memorials*, vol. I, pp. 26-92. In his prologue, Herman claims to have got his story from oral tradition and from an old work in a hand difficult to read.

Aethelwine was a self-styled monk, more or less in the manner of the desert fathers, but became a Benedictine when the abbey was founded.

Tales of the wanderings of saints' bodies are common enough in hagiography, and the remains of Durham's prestigious saint, Cuthbert, had also been moved in order to avoid the depredations of invaders. Judging from Bishop Wulfstan's famous "Sermon of the Wolf to the English," in about 1014, and translated by Dorothy Whitelock in *English Historical Documents*, vol. I, pp. 855-56, Aethelwine had every reason to be worried. The Danes had no respect for churches or shrines, and Wulfstan lamented that "... sanctuaries are violated far and wide, and the houses of God are entirely despoiled of ancient privileges and stripped inside of all that is seemly."

See note 36.

It will be remembered that this vision of Edmund as he appeared to the monk is commemorated in the first historiated initial of MS 736, Initial "I" on folio 5.

The episodes of the sojourn in London and the death of Swegn have been reversed in the miniatures. Although the order in which these events are illustrated is historically accurate, this arrangement does not agree with the text. In the accounts by Herman, by the author of the Miracle text in MX 736, and also by Samson in his later twelfth century compilation, the slaying of Swegn is placed before the London flight. Miss Parker, in "The Scriptorium of Bury Saint
Edmunds in the Twelfth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1965), p. 101, suggests that the killing of Swegn may have been put at the end of the series, just prior to the "Apotheosis" miniature, because "St. Edmund's defense of his people against Swegn's threat to their financial welfare appears to have been one of his most popular miracles." I agree that this is probably the best explanation for the alteration. It is also possible that the designer of the picture series, probably the Precentor of the abbey who had charge of such matters, wanted to be historically truthful, since the authenticity of the story of St. Edmund would be enhanced by the accuracy of such details; Herman had recorded that Aethelwine had gone to London in 1010, while the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle listed Swegn's death as occurring in 1014; this sequence of events would presumably have been known to the educated reader by the twelfth century. Why Herman should have muddled the events is a mystery, unless he was simply copying the inaccuracies of the older writer whose manuscript he was using; it is even less easy to explain why the author of MS 736 and Abbot Samson repeated the error, and so the whole matter remains unresolved at present.

41 Laxity on the part of the seculars was the reason given by Herman for their removal. However, just as the theft of relics was often justified in hagiography by asserting that the relics had been neglected, perhaps the alleged neglect of Edmund's remains was a convenient excuse for replacing the College with an abbey. The actual reason for installing the Benedictines probably has to do with the strength of the monastic reform which had begun in the tenth century, and Cnut obviously wished to take advantage of the support which a friendly monastery could provide him during his reign.

42 Cnut's generosity toward Bury was not forgotten by the abbey: Herman speaks highly of him; and he appears twice among the illuminated initials of Morgan MS 736, once as a seated king with sceptre and sword (initial "C", f41v), and once as a pilgrim king (initial "C", f58). Malmesbury speaks of the tradition of offering the crown: "even kings . . . sent him their royal crown; redeeming it, if they wished to use it, at a great price," Chronicle of the Kings of England, p. 242.
Arnold, Memoriales, details this charter which is extant, pp. xxvi-xxvii. There is a great deal of original material remaining concerning Bury abbey. This monastery is the main single source of knowledge about Old English land records in the vernacular. Numerous charters, writs, and wills referring to Bury are extant and many have been published. Some extensive listings of Bury charters may be found in: D.C. Douglas, ed., Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, The British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, vol. VIII (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932); C.R. Hart, The Early Charters of Eastern England (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966); Francis Hervey, The Pinchbeck Register, vol. II (Brighton, 1925) includes a list of papal charters to Bury as well as a list of benefactors; P.H. Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968); and Dorothy Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).


Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters, lists three grants specifically dealing with the 8-1/2 hundreds; one of them, no. 1069, considered authentic, dates from the beginning of Edward's reign; another, no. 1084, also genuine, dates from the end of the reign and is a confirmation.

Douglas, Feudal Documents, p. cli, lists the territories included in this franchise.

Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters, no. 1085.


Knowles, The Monastic Order, p. 78.


This controversy is summarized well by Davis, "The Monks of St. Edmund," pp. 233-35. V.H. Galbraith has written a most interesting article concerning the arguments used by Bishop Arfast in, "The East Anglian See and the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds," *The English Historical Review* XL (1925): 222-28.

This charter is printed in various places, including in Douglas, *Feudal Documents*, no. 7.

William Page, ed, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, vol. II: *History of the County of Suffolk* (London: Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd., 1907): 9-11, gives various information on the abbey gleaned from the *Domesday Book*. Ely was second only to Glastonbury in annual income and is credited with one hundred manors.


In the *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, pp. 339 and 346, William makes stinging remarks about Rufus and his courtiers and includes their suggestions that shrines be stripped to pay the military.


This charter is printed in, Douglas, *Feudal Documents*, no. 171. Douglas feels that the original indulgence was granted in 1070.


Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, pp. 118-19, gives a good summary of this matter.


Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 185, gives a quotation from Malmesbury to this effect.
IV. THE ILLUMINATED MINIATURES

Illustrated Saints' Lives

As has been mentioned above, the Middle Ages saw the rise in popularity of literature dealing with the lives of saints, especially of saints who were the patrons of growing monasteries. While the majority of such works were not illustrated, the Morgan Life and Miracles of St. Edmund belongs to a select group of *libelli* which were accompanied by extensive miniature cycles and numerous decorated initials; these *de luxe* books were produced primarily during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and achieved their greatest vogue in France and England.

Although the use of picture cycles to illustrate the lives of saints in manuscripts reached its height in the twelfth century, the history of such series begins considerably earlier than this period. However, the most ancient extant representations of episodes from the lives of Christian heroes do not occur in manuscripts, but on the walls of churches and on various items of church furniture. In his article concerning the development of the illustrated saint's Life, Francis Wormald notes that pictures of the deeds of popular saints were used to decorate churches and their
fittings-- reliquaries, altars, plaques, etc.-- from as early as the fourth century, although none predating the ninth century remain in the West.¹

For the purpose of this paper, it is not necessary to go into detail concerning these early illustrated Lives, and I would like to mention just two examples close in time to the Morgan manuscript. The first object is a portable altar in the church of St. Francis in Paderborn. It was made for Henry, Bishop of Paderborn, in the period 1100-1118 and may have been a product of the famous goldsmith Roger of Helmarshausen.² The altar is made of silver with niello engraving and depicts the martyrdoms of various saints; on one of the long sides is a series of three scenes detailing in bold, energetic style the torture and beheading of St. Blaise. This is not a complete cycle of the saint's life, since only his martyrdom is included, but the Passion of a martyr was a popular topic for illustration; since the fact of martyrdom was the most impressive proof of sainthood, it seems quite natural that the details of this ultimate sacrifice should be featured to the exclusion of other events, especially where space was limited-- as on portable altars and reliquaries.
The second example consists of two groups of frescoes in the lower church of San Clemente in Rome. These murals were commissioned and painted sometime between 1085 and 1115 and present episodes from the lives of St. Clement (in the narthex) and St. Alexis (in the nave). Two types of narration are employed in these frescoes: sometimes, as in the "Translation of St. Clement's Relics to Rome," one painting describes a single event; in other pictures, such as the "Scenes from the Life of St. Alexis," several activities are portrayed in strip fashion within the same fresco, even though these may be merely different aspects of one episode.  

As for the decoration of illuminated manuscripts with similar illustrations of the earthly and supernatural deeds of saints, Wormald finds that the earliest extant manuscripts in this category date from the late tenth century and that they already display certain features which were maintained and expanded during the following two centuries. He discusses two such manuscripts which exemplify the different methods of arranging pictures in relation to the text which were to become standard in subsequent works. The first manuscript was produced at Fulda (Hanover, Niedersächsische Bibliothek, MS 189), and chronicles the lives of two saints, St. Kilian of Würzburg and St. Margaret of Antioch; the stories of these saints are
illustrated by eleven and ten miniatures respectively, and in both cases the pictures are scattered throughout the text.

The second late tenth-century manuscript mentioned by Wormald was once owned by the abbey of St. Bertin (St. Omer, Library of St. Omer, MS 764) and contains a Life of St. Wandrille. The format of this book differs from that of the previous manuscript but prefigures Morgan 736 in two respects: rather than appearing at intervals throughout Wandrille's biography, the scenes from the saint's life are grouped on two pages preceding the text; also, included among these preliminary sketches is a depiction of the saint in glory, an image which later became a common attribute of the libellus—as can be seen in the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund where the Apotheosis of the saint holds a prominent position as the concluding miniature of the picture cycle. Unlike the full-page, painted miniatures in MS 736, however, the pictures of St. Wandrille's life consist of various rough outline drawings gathered on the two leaves.

Still in existence are several illustrated Lives dating from the eleventh century and produced mostly in France. It should be remembered that during this century the use of lengthy picture cycles in libelli was still unusual; it was more common to decorate these books with carefully executed
large initials placed at the beginning of the text. Nevertheless, some fine illustrated works remain, prominent among them a Life and Miracles of St. Amand (Valenciennes, Municipal Library, MS 502) and a Life of St. Quentin (St. Quentin, Chapter Library, MS 1). The former work is illustrated by thirty-two vigorous and brightly-painted scenes incorporated with the text; the latter manuscript is decorated with twenty pictures of the life and martyrdom of St. Quentin in a lively, whimsical manner which belies their serious subject matter but which is reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon outline drawing style. As with the St. Amand manuscript, these illustrations are also scattered throughout the text and are intended as immediate visual counterparts of the written word.

Although these and other libelli survive from the eleventh century, the first such manuscripts made in England (of which we have knowledge) date from the early twelfth century. The earliest two are a Life of St. Cuthbert by Bede (Oxford, University College MS 165) from Durham and the manuscript presently under discussion-- the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund from Bury. It is not certain which of these libelli was produced first, although Kauffmann and PHcht place the Cuthbert Life slightly ahead of the Edmund manuscript; in any event, the two works are contemporary with each other
and offer excellent examples of the English interpretation of the illustrated saint's Life; they also provide us with representative specimens of the two distinct methods, indicated above, of integrating text and pictures.

Although the Life of St. Cuthbert opens with a painted and framed miniature of Bede writing the biography and presenting his finished work to the Bishop of Lindisfarne, the major decoration in the manuscript consists of a series of fifty-five multi-coloured outline drawings depicting events and miracles in the monk's life; one drawing accompanies each chapter with the pictures spaced throughout the book and incorporated into the text—each occurring among the lines of writing instead of on a separate page. This lengthy series of illustrations is the forerunner of two later Cuthbert cycles dating from the second half of the twelfth century (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.I. 64 and London, British Library, MS Add. 39 943); since there are iconographic variations among the three manuscripts, Kauffmann thinks it probable that they all ultimately derive from a now lost eleventh century illustrated Life of Cuthbert.11

As we have seen, the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund is organized in a completely different manner, with all the
painted and framed miniatures gathered together at the beginning of the manuscript, resulting in a pictorial unit separate from the text. The Continental precedent for such an arrangement has been mentioned previously, but the use of an extensive picture cycle as an introduction to the text also has an English foundation--in another type of service book. During the eleventh century, English artists began to illustrate Psalters with a series of full-page introductory pictures. A good example is a Psalter from Winchester (London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius C. VI) which was made about mid-century and which includes a preliminary set of coloured outline drawings depicting episodes from the lives of Christ and David. More immediately related to the Morgan Life, however, is another Psalter, the famous St. Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Treasure of St. Godehard's) produced about 1123 at St. Albans. The text of this long and elaborate work is prefaced by a Cristological cycle consisting of forty full-page illuminated miniatures. Since Morgan 736 is closely related to the St. Albans Psalter in style and may emanate from the same workshop, the decision to illustrate the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund with a similar prefatory cycle is probably largely due to the influence of the earlier service book.
In conclusion, not only is the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund one of the two earliest extant examples of an illustrated saint's Life to appear in England, but it is also one of the most lavishly decorated. It can be seen as a direct, but more elaborate, descendant of the eleventh-century libelli produced on the Continent; and it belongs to an even older tradition of cyclic representations of the lives and martyrdoms of Christian heroes as seen in frescoes and on church treasures. Yet its format also relates closely to the cyclic method of illustration in English Psalters— a method which was developed during the eleventh century, which lapsed after the Norman Conquest, and which was renewed in the early twelfth century with the appearance of the St. Albans Psalter.

Morgan MS 736 and the St. Albans Psalter

The Nature of their Connection

The Life and Miracles of St. Edmund is one of the most ambitious and among the earliest of a group of manuscripts produced by various English scriptoria in the wake of the magnificent St. Albans Psalter. Otto Pächt has listed the several manuscripts which can, in his opinion, be directly attributed to the St. Albans Master, his workshop, or his immediate followers, and other art historians have made studies of the
more prominent of these books. Therefore, I will not attempt to reproduce their efforts but will concentrate instead upon the relationship between the miniatures in Morgan 736 and those of the Psalter.

Of course, the nature of the connection between these two manuscripts, in particular with regard to the authorship of their illustrations, has been examined to a greater or lesser degree by various art historians whose diverse theories on the subject will be briefly outlined below. While it is generally agreed that one master was responsible for the painted miniatures in the St. Albans Psalter, there is disagreement concerning the artist of the St. Edmund illuminations. Was he the St. Albans master himself? Was he a close follower in the same workshop, employed temporarily by Bury to decorate the libellus? Or was he an illuminator from Bury who introduced the new style to his own workshop where it became the basis for other Bury productions—such as the twelve pages of drawings of New Testament scenes in a Gospel book formerly belonging to the abbey (Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 120)?

Since a step-by-step comparison of the style of the miniatures in these two manuscripts, comprising such features
as figure and facial types, drapery, background architecture, composition, etc., has not been undertaken, I think that such an analysis is worthwhile and will help to suggest which current theory of artistic authorship is the most likely. This is the investigation which I would like to make in the remainder of this paper.

Since the St. Albans Psalter is the point of departure for a discussion of the miniature style of Morgan 736, I will briefly discuss the former manuscript before outlining the different theories of authorship and launching into a comparison between the two manuscripts. This splendid Psalter marks the beginning of the Romanesque style in English manuscript illumination and is a landmark in British book painting of the early twelfth century for several reasons.

Firstly, it heralds the dramatic reappearance of the fully coloured and illuminated service book which had been popular with Winchester artists of the late tenth century but which had been superceded by the outline drawing technique during the next century. Secondly, as we have seen, the Psalter represents a revival of the Anglo-Saxon practice of preceding such a book with a Cristological cycle, a usage which was to become popular again during the course of the twelfth century, probably due to the impetus of the St. Albans
Psalter. Thirdly, this manuscript is the earliest extant example of a luxury Psalter made for a lady of high social rank, a type of service book which was to gain its greatest popularity in the following century. The major features of the luxury Psalter—lavish illustration, elaborate psalm initials, and a preference for scenes from Christ's childhood and Passion—are all present in the St. Albans Psalter which was in all probability made for the fascinating recluse, Christina of Markyate, between 1119 and 1146 (with the bulk of the manuscript, including the introductory miniatures, finished by 1123). Lastly, the St. Albans Psalter ushers in a new style to replace the agitated, flamboyant Anglo-Saxon one which had its beginnings in the tenth century; the new emphasis is on controlled design, on gravity and monumentality rather than on the exhuberance and liveliness so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon illumination.

The Psalter itself is large and elaborate, consisting of 418 vellum pages which measure 10 x 7-1/4 inches. Its text is prefaced by a Calendar, forty full-page miniatures depicting the life of Christ (but beginning with the Fall), a vernacular poem, "The Song of Alexis" which is accompanied by outline drawings, a letter of St. Gregory's, three more outline drawings concerning the Miracle at Emmaus, and finally by the
Beatus initial of the first psalm. Each psalm is prefixed by an historiated initial, and there are over two hundred such initials sprinkled throughout the text. The Psalter closes with two more full-page miniatures, the "Martyrdom of St. Alban" and "David with his Musicians".

Such an ambitious project was not the work of one man. Aside from the various scribes responsible for the text, more than one artist was at work upon the various illustrations. While scholars disagree upon the authorship of the line drawings, they are unanimous in attributing the forty fully illuminated miniatures preceding the text to one artist— the master— while recognizing another lesser hand at work upon the initials. The identity of the principal artist is not known, but he is generally referred to as the Alexis Master, a title coined by Adolf Goldschmidt in 1895 and followed by Otto Pächt in his study of the artist's work.16

Theories of Modern Art Historians

Of the art historians who have concerned themselves with the Morgan Life during the past twenty-five years, five have paid particular attention to the problem of the identity of the artist of its opening miniatures and the nature of the connection between this man and the Alexis Master. The
earliest of these modern scholars, Margaret Rickert detects three hands at work in the St. Albans Psalter: according to her perception, one person painted the calendar illustrations, the initials and the two full-page miniatures which close the Psalter (this attribution is generally accepted); one master was responsible for the forty introductory miniatures, and Rickert believes that he was a Continental artist, influenced by the Reichenau school of a century before, who was either introduced to the St. Albans scriptorium by Abbot Paul or whose miniatures were imported to decorate the book; finally, the Beatus initial and the outline drawings were produced by yet another artist whom Rickert equates with the master of the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund. She bases the latter identification on a comparison of both this third artist's work and the Morgan miniatures with the forty introductory paintings in the Psalter; Rickert makes the general observation that, in relation to the latter illuminations, the former two sets of illustrations are characterized by a less crisp painting technique, a lack of solidity in the figures, and a predilection for decorative detail. 17

Otto Pächt disagrees quite emphatically with Rickert; he argues that there were only two artists at work on the St. Albans Psalter and that the Alexis Master was responsible for
the Beatus initial and the outline drawings as well as the prefatory paintings. Furthermore, Pächt believes that the Alexis Master and the St. Edmund master are one and the same man—an English artist from the scriptorium of St. Albans. While acknowledging the discrepancies between the full-page paintings and the outline drawings in the Psalter, Pächt maintains that these variations are the result of the difference in technique between drawing and painting; likewise, he explains the comparatively crude appearance of the Morgan miniatures as exemplifying a later phase in the artist's development "in which a heightening of the dramatic expression of the narrative is obtained at the expense of formalistic refinement."

Elizabeth Parker does not enter into the discussion of the number of hands at work in the Psalter, confining her observations to a study of the Morgan miniatures in relation to the forty Psalter paintings; neither does she commit herself to a theory of authorship as unreservedly as Rickert or Pächt, even though she makes a more detailed comparison of the paintings than either historian. She concludes that the main differences between the St. Albans and the Morgan paintings are in the general coarsening of the drawing in the latter, coupled with an exaggeration of the Alexis Master's mannerisms
and a reassertion of the Anglo-Saxon admiration for pattern and fluttering line.

Having said this, Parker makes a number of suggestions regarding authorship: perhaps these alterations in style are the result of an aging master or perhaps they indicate the work of a pupil; maybe the Alexis Master designed and sketched the miniatures which were then painted by others; or perhaps the illuminations were entirely carried out by a close associate, by "a professional artist closely allied with the Alexis Master but not the great master himself;" it is this last theory which Parker tentatively accepts.

Fifteen years after Pächt's study, C.M. Kauffmann still finds his suggestions of authorship convincing. He accepts Pächt's identification of the Alexis Master as the same artist who produced the Morgan Life and Miracles of St. Edmund.

Most recently, Katherine Baker has attempted a fresh look at the problem of authorship and comes to a different conclusion from any of the above authors. Examining certain elements of iconography in the St. Albans Psalter, Morgan 736, and the previously mentioned Bury Gospels (Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 120), she concludes that the artist of Pembroke 120 was also a member of the St. Albans workshop and that it was he
who was responsible for spreading the new style by influencing others--including the artist who was called to Bury to illustrate the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund. Baker therefore places the Morgan miniaturist within the same milieu as the Alexis Master but at a fair distance from him since she believes that the former was a follower of the artist of Pembroke who was the primary protégé of the Master.

After all these years, the identity of the Morgan miniaturist is still disputed. I will now proceed with the stylistic comparison between the St. Albans Psalter and the Morgan Life in order to add my observations concerning the difficult problem of authorship to those of the above-mentioned art historians.

Stylistic Comparison

It is not easy to point to exact sources for the style of the Alexis Master. Previous to the appearance of the St. Albans Psalter, the scriptorium at this abbey had no particularly distinctive style; its artists followed the traditional outline drawing method of illustration. Most probably, the Alexis Master received his inspiration from Ottonian as well as contemporary Byzantine and Italian sources: examples of Continental art would most likely have been available in the
St. Albans library which had been founded by Abbot Paul in the late eleventh century and enlarged by gifts from the influential Norman bishop, Lanfranc; more direct Byzantine influence became increasingly important after the Norman conquest of Sicily at the end of the eleventh century; and the illuminator may have journeyed to Italy himself, where he could have seen the latest developments in Italian art. 22

However, it is essential to remember that the Alexis Master has an individual style which cannot be tied to any particular prototype but which itself had a powerful impact upon and became the example for much English manuscript illumination in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

The conception of the figures themselves is the most striking aspect of the paintings in the St. Albans Psalter. They represent a formal, hieratic, strictly controlled treatment of the human body which is in marked contrast to the sketchy, energetic style so favoured by Anglo-Saxon artists of the previous century. First of all, one notices the proportions of the figures which give the viewer a general impression of tallness and narrowness; this impression of height is confirmed by checking the relative head to body proportion of various figures. For example, in the "Visitation" scene, 23
the pencil slim forms of St. Elizabeth and the Virgin measure eight and eight and one half heads high respectively, while the twin attendants on either side of the central pair stretch to an incredible nine heads. 24

Aside from exaggerating the length of the body in relation to the head of many characters in the manuscript, the artist has consistently drawn his figures narrower through shoulder, torso, and hip than a strict observation of nature would warrant; he was obviously not concerned with a faithful imitation of the real world, and at this stage in art history it would be highly unusual if he were. Again using the example of St. Elizabeth standing to the right in the "Visititation" scene, the lines of her body do not describe the curves that one would expect to find in an actual person; rather, Elizabeth's cloak falls in an almost straight line from her shoulders to her feet; there is just the faintest indication of broadening at the hips which are only slightly wider than the saint's head. Such slenderness, combined with her stiffly upright figure, emphasizes Elizabeth's extreme height.

This narrowness and elongation of body applies to many of the figures in the Psalter, and the overall effect of this technique is to instill a sense of otherworldliness in the characters and in the episodes they enact. In their general
physical appearance, the figures echo nature, but their unusual proportions play a part in creating the abstract, ethereal, and very formal quality which pervades the miniatures. This is not to imply that tall, slim proportions did not exist in English manuscript painting before the Alexis Master; Anglo-Saxon line drawings are often populated with lean giants; if Christ in the Cotton Psalter "Harrowing of Hell" (London, British Museum, Cotton MS Tiberius C. VI) were to stand erect, he would be well over eight heads high. However, the agitated, vigorous quality of such a drawing is replaced in the St. Albans Psalter by a calmness and solemnity which surrounds the slender figures with an aura of dignity and seriousness.

The figures in the Morgan Life exhibit similar distortions in height and breadth, but not to the same extent as those in the Psalter. While the majority of main characters in both manuscripts range between seven and eight heads high (which is actually within "normal" bounds), the figures in the Psalter tend toward the latter proportion while those in the Life are more frequently of the former ratio. Furthermore, while several miniatures in the Psalter contain subsidiary figures which are nine heads high or better, only one of the characters in the Life approaches this proportion (the tallest soldier in figure 5), and few reach eight and one half heads.
Also, several secondary figures in Morgan 736 are less than seven heads tall, an occurrence which is rare in the Psalter.

Therefore, while the figures in the Life do appear elongated, they are less so than those in the Psalter, and the impression of height which they create is probably due more to their narrowness of body than to their actual head to body proportions. And even though the characters enacting St. Edmund's story are undoubtedly slender, they do not generally share the same narrow verticality of their counterparts in the Psalter; they are relatively bulky and consequently heavier and less elegant than the St. Albans figures. This is largely due to their clothing which is fuller, thicker, and more agitated than the St. Albans garments.

The above observations can be checked in a comparison between two scenes with a similar arrangement, "The Three Magi Before Herod" from the Psalter and "The Thieves Before Theodred" (figure 22) from the Life. In the former, the three lean kings stand eight heads tall; these long and slender proportions are emphasized by their close-fitting robes and by the vertical lines of their cloaks. The restrained, rhythmic gestures of the kings coupled with their quiet demeanour gives them a truly regal aura and helps to impart solemnity to the
episode. The thieves who stand before Theodred in the Life are also quite tall, ranging from eight to eight and one half heads high. However, they appear larger and much less calm than the kings, partly because of their bulky, more agitated drapery, and also because of their prominent hands and awkwardly jutting out elbows. The thieves also vary in size from right to left across the picture which contrasts with the uniformity of the Magi and results in a far less settled scene. Of course, one would expect kings to be more imposing and self-possessed than thieves, but the same type of contrast between the figures in the Psalter and the Life is evident throughout the two sets of miniatures: elegant, slim and dignified figures of arrowlike straightness like the three kings or Elizabeth and Mary in the "Visitation" scene are common in the Psalter but relatively rare in the Life.

Although it is generally true that the actors in the St. Albans narrative are long and thin, it should be noted that there is considerable variation in the head to height proportions of the figures throughout the Psalter; furthermore, differences in scale among figures can be easily discerned, with as many as three distinct sizes governing the characters in a single miniature. This variety in the proportion and relative size of the figures seems to serve
several purposes: to pay homage to certain major characters such as Christ and the Virgin; to clarify the episode pictured by emphasizing the most important figure or group within the narrative; to harmonize the figures with their allotted space, thereby using them to organize and pattern the picture plane; and sometimes also to add drama or intensity to particular scenes.

The most obvious use of size variation is in the treatment of the figure of Christ in comparison with the ordinary people surrounding Him. In almost every miniature in which He appears, Christ is manifestly larger—taller, broader, filling up more of the picture plane—than anyone around Him. There is nothing unusual in this; portraying the divine Person as larger than mortal men follows a long tradition in manuscript illumination. It is interesting, though, that Christ's size in relation to others is not uniform throughout, but varies from scene to scene. He reaches His most majestic stature in miniatures whose formal structure immediately signals that the scenes portrayed are didactic and hieratic rather than purely narrative. For example, in the "Incredulity of Thomas" Christ completely dominates the page as He towers above the rather insignificant Apostles grouped at either side of His victorious figure; the impact of Christ's all-powerful presence
overshadows the personal narrative of the gospel story which becomes distinctly secondary to the portrayal of the deeper meaning of the incident—Christ's triumph over death.

While this example is drawn from the period after Christ's Resurrection when His divine nature superceded His human one, the artist uses the effective device of a large and dominating Christ in other instances as well: "The Mocking of Christ" and "The Deposition" are two other examples in which the superhuman proportions of Christ coupled with the perfectly symmetrical and centralized structure of the miniature combine to create a picture in which stress is laid on the image as a devotional object more than as a simple narrative.

Conversely, there are a few (about four) pages in which Christ appears to be about the same size as His companions; these miniatures center around the later events in Christ's life and are generally well populated scenes of a busy, narrative nature. One such is the relatively active episode of "Christ in the House of Simon"; Simon discusses with Christ the propriety of the Lord's allowing Mary Magdalen to approach Him; Mary devoutly dries Christ's feet with her hair; two other guests at the table comment upon the proceedings between them-
selves; and a servant stands behind Christ holding Mary's jar of oil while gesturing toward the assembled diners. The telling of this colourful story in a lively manner is the main concern here. The major characters seated at the banquet table are the same size, while Mary and the servant are drawn to a smaller scale. However, in this scene and in the others in which Christ is not physically larger than the other main figures, He is always set apart and emphasized in one way or another.

There is only one picture in which Christ is actually smaller than another figure, and that is in the "Second Temptation" where the Lord seems dwarfed by Satan who leaps from the rooftop tempting Christ to follow. I am not sure whether the artist had a pictorial precedent for such a reversal of scale, or whether he wished to portray the enormity of the evil which Christ was called upon to overcome. In any event, on the opposite page which depicts the "Third and Final Temptation" Christ once again towers over the defeated Satan.

St. Edmund plays much the same role as Christ: he also is a king who suffers indignity, torture, and martyrdom for his people, and he too triumphs in the end. Consequently, the saint is treated as a Christ-like figure in the miniatures, larger than the ordinary men around him. But as was true of
Christ in the Psalter, Edmund also varies in size in relation to others and appears at his most majestic in the only two formal, didactic pictures in the series: the "Coronation" and the "Apotheosis" which is the final miniature. The "Coronation" is symmetrical in design, with all attention centered directly on the king; the imposing figure of the monarch is seated in a severely frontal position as he accepts the staff and crown from the bishops while the consenting nobles look on from either side. This picture is clearly not simply a description of the crowning of Edmund, but conveys all the mystique of kingship—its power, sanctity, and responsibility. This is surely one of the most impressive miniatures in the Life, and its total effect is one of solemn grandeur. The "Apotheosis", in which St. Edmund is crowned by angels while two tiny monks from Bury kneel at his feet, is even more obviously hieratic in appearance. In this strictly formal picture, the saint fills up most of the picture, sits in a perfectly frontal pose (in the "Coronation" Edmund's head is at a three-quarter angle), clasps a sword in one hand and a palm leaf in the other, and stares directly ahead with wide eyes; this is clearly an image of Edmund triumphant, a power to be reckoned with and a saint worthy of veneration.

While these two scenes depict Edmund as an extraordi-
nary personage, his size is generally not quite so large in relation to the surrounding figures. But, unlike Christ in the Psalter, Edmund is always at least marginally larger than other men— with one exception: in the miniature depicting "Edmund Seized" (figure 9) the king is not much larger than his tormentors and is drawn to the same scale as the Danish chief Inguar; perhaps the artist has reduced the king's size here in order to emphasize his vulnerability and meek submission to the Danes. However, once Edmund's various tortures have begun, he regains his preeminent physical presence and dwarfs his persecutors.

In the Psalter, Christ is not the only figure who has the advantage of size over his companions. The Virgin is usually larger than those surrounding her, notably in the "Ascension" and the "Pentecost;" an exception occurs when she appears with Christ, as in the "Deposition" where the Virgin is naturally smaller than her Son. Likewise, the central character of a scene with no divine personalities may also be of heftier proportions than the minor actors; an example occurs in "The Massacre of the Innocents" in which Herod dominates the scene by his size, followed by the slightly smaller figure of the central soldier who in turn is substantially larger than the remaining soldiers and their victims. This use of a descending scale helps to clarify and organize
the scene by quickly identifying the chief characters, thereby establishing a focal point for the action.

The artist of Morgan 736 uses much the same system of size variation. Major characters, other than Edmund, are also larger than less important actors. Thus, Theodred is more imposing than the thieves (figure 22) who are in turn larger than the bishop's servant since they are of more interest than he in the context of the story. Likewise, the man bearing Edmund's head to attach it to the saint's body (figure 18) is a more impressive size than his companions in order to draw the viewer's attention to him and his precious burden. However, the artist of the Life tends to use a greater number of sizes for the figures populating his miniatures than does the St. Albans Master. While the Psalter illustrations generally feature characters of two or three different sizes-- and occasionally four, as in the "Ascension"-- the St. Edmund manuscript contains a number of scenes with figures of four different sizes and at least two pictures have characters ranging through five sizes ("The Thieves Before Theodred," figure 22, and the "Devastation of an East Anglian Town," figure 5).

Furthermore, in the Psalter, such variations in size occur primarily to indicate the relative importance of the
characters and secondarily to fit several figures comfortably within the allotted space. While the miniatures in the Life follow the same basic rules with regard to varying figure sizes, they are not so consistent as those in the Psalter with regard to their use of this technique. As an example, I will compare two scenes of similar content: "The Massacre of the Innocents" from the Psalter and the "Devastation of an East Anglian Town" (figure 5) from the Life. As was mentioned above, the differences in size of figures in the former miniature helps to organize the action of the scene: Herod giving his order for the massacre is the largest figure; the king is followed in stature by the soldier to whom he gives the command; finally, the remaining soldiers and the Innocents are the smallest actors, crowded together in two tangled groups.

Next, to consider the illustration from the Life, this scene is also of a massacre. However, there is no general giving the order, and the entire miniature is taken up with the actual assault on the town. The figures are drawn in several sizes in a more or less haphazard fashion: the Danish soldiers entering by the gate vary in size but are all larger than those storming the battlements; three of the defending soldiers perched on these battlements are similar to one another in size, while a fourth standing in a tower is quite tiny in comparison;
inside the village, the soldiers and their victims are again of several different sizes. This is a lively and effective miniature, but its rather informal use of differing figure sizes does not have the orderly, unifying quality of the Psalter illustration with its stricter scheme.

As was mentioned above, the Alexis Master often uses figures of varying sizes to organize and pattern his pictures. For instance, in the "Baptism of Christ," the imposing and rather weighty figure of Christ is just over seven heads high and occupies the center of the miniature; St. John stretches to just over eight heads in height, while the slim attendant angels to the far left and right of the picture reach more than nine heads high. Not only does Christ possess stockier proportions than the other figures, but He is also drawn to a larger scale. The combination of both these elements--descending order of size and gradual slimming of proportions from Christ outward to the angels--serves to emphasize the divine Person, underlines the formality of the presentation, and results in a pleasing overall design, balanced but not monotonous. This type of arrangement, with a large central figure flanked by increasingly smaller and narrower ones, is used several times in the Psalter but is not a feature of the Life. There is only one picture which is organized in a
similar manner, and that is the formal Coronation scene. The St. Edmund master tends not to use characters of differing sizes as decorative elements in the design of a picture as does the Alexis Master.

The overall formality and dispassionate quality characteristic of the majority of the miniatures in the St. Albans Psalter is augmented by the types of poses, facial expressions, and gestures that the artist employs. To begin with pose, the majority of figures are seen from a side view, with the head in strict profile and the body in a more three-quarter view. The artist uses a considerable repertoire of poses, but his favourite stance, repeated over and again with slight variations, is one in which the figure strides slightly forward, the farther foot stepping ahead while the closer one leans backward. This typical position can be seen in the miniature of "The Expulsion" in which God, Adam, and Eve all share a similar walking pose with arms characteristically raised and feet in an almost tiptoe stance. A charming reversal of this pose occurs here and there throughout the Psalter: focussing on the attendants in the "Visitation," one sees that the leg closer to the viewer is now extended in front of the figure while the farther leg bends backward, reminiscent of a delicate and formal dance step.
The artist of the Life uses poses much like the above, but his figures are generally more awkward and their stances are less controlled and rhythmic than those in the Psalter. Also, the St. Edmund master makes use of a pose not found in the St. Albans manuscript at all: this is a variation of the dance-like step of the attendant ladies in the "Visitation", and two versions of it can be seen in a single miniature, "The Envoy before Edmund" (figure 7); the Danish envoy approaches the King from the right and stands in a cross-legged position with his feet spread apart but pointing towards one another; a member of the court to the left of the picture also has his legs crossed and his toes pointing inward, but his feet are touching. This odd pose occurs several times throughout the manuscript and is an exaggeration of the graceful one used in the Psalter. 39

As a rule, the figures in both the Psalter and the Life are calm and dignified, without the frenetic movements and contorted poses so often apparent in Anglo-Saxon works. Bodies are normally held quite erect with rather stiff limbs, giving a distinct impression of angularity. In fact, the figures often resemble marionettes with wooden limbs controlled by strings. Exceptions to the relative stillness of the figures occur when the narrative demands more action, such as in the "Mocking of
It is in these more active pictures that a difference may be discerned between the two manuscripts: in such scenes, the figures in the Life tend to be more dynamic than those in the Psalter. As an example, let us compare two very similar episodes, the "Flagellation" from the Psalter and "Edmund Scourged" (figure 12). Both pictures are organized in much the same way, with the holy victims positioned slightly to the right of centre and tied to a post and tree respectively. In both cases, three other figures occupy the picture: in the Psalter, Christ is beaten by two men while Pilate looks on; and St. Edmund is scourged by two men as his hands are tied by a third. However, while these paintings have similar themes and physical arrangements, the St. Edmund miniature is much more active, with the two tormentors in violent motion—hair flying, legs spread, bodies twisting and arms stretched—in comparison with those in the Psalter. Again, the St. Edmund artist has exaggerated poses developed by the Alexis Master, and the result is a more frenzied, dramatic presentation.

The faces of the actors in the St. Albans and St. Edmund narratives are not especially expressive. The characters normally have rather matter-of-fact, passive countenances,
often appearing resigned and even unconcerned. However, the figures do look at each other directly with large, wide-open eyes, and sometimes open their mouths in speech; this gives the impression that real communication is occurring. It is primarily through these direct and often fervent gazes that a feeling of life and intensity is conveyed to the viewer.

There are scenes in which action and emotion are definitely called for, such as the two just discussed, and in such cases there is a greater variety of facial expressions. In the scene of the flogging, Pilate gazes nonchalantly at Christ who grimaces in pain at His ordeal; one tormentor scowls darkly and the other actually bares his teeth as he prepares to strike another blow; the varied expressions of the three main figures add the dimension of reality to the episode and are quite effective in eliciting a sympathetic response from the viewer. Much the same is true of the scene of Edmund's flogging: the saint stares steadily at the heavens where God's hand appears from a cloud in a blessing; one tormentor opens his mouth wide as if in an oath as he raises his arms to strike Edmund, and the other frowns as he swings his bundle of sticks.

As far as facial types are concerned, the angel Gabriel and the Virgin in the "Annunciation" can be used as typical examples of the profile and three-quarter view heads, which
are the two types most often used by the Alexis Master. The completely frontal head and body is employed only three times in the painted miniatures of the Psalter, near the end of the series: Christ in the "Doubting Thomas" and the "Dream of St. Martin" and Mary of the "Pentecost." 43

The angel possesses the usual type of the beardless profile head: a firm line is drawn all the way around the face, from the hairline down the nose, around the chin and up past the jaw to meet the hairline again; the neck is extended stiffly from the shoulders, a convention familiar from Anglo-Saxon works; the eyebrows are thin and almost straight; the eyes are large and wide with the dark pupil placed at the top of the eye but extending almost to the bottom line; the nose is straight but curves inward at the tip much like a Byzantine nose; the mouth is indicated by a simple line, curving slightly downward; there is some modelling within the face--at the side of the nose, around the eyes, and along the line which marks the chin and jaw; the area beneath the chin is shaded heavily half-way down the neck, and this type of shading would appear to stem ultimately from Byzantine or Ottonian sources since Anglo-Saxon artists did not generally model faces in light and shade.

The Virgin's face in three-quarter view is a smooth oval.
Like Gabriel, she has a curving nose, wide eyes, and straight eyebrows; her mouth is drawn with two straight lines, and a few other lines complete her features— a small semicircle marks her chin and a straight vertical line indicates the dip beneath her nose; modelling is the same as for Gabriel. This three-quarter pose is rare and is usually reserved for the head of Christ or God the Father. 44

These two facial types are indicative of those throughout the Psalter, although there are variations on the basic themes: some characters have straighter noses or noses with a pronounced hump at the bridge; there are many bearded faces that seem to scowl more than the beardless ones; and there is considerable variety among the hair and beard styles, although hair is always neatly drawn with individual locks indicated by parallel lines or orderly rows of curls.

Turning to the Life, one can see that the artist has based his facial types on those of the Psalter, with the profile head being the most common, with the three-quarter view used only three times (twice for Edmund and once for a Germanic king), and with the complete frontal pose reserved for the last and most formal miniature of the series. But while the St. Edmund manuscript employs similar facial poses and features to the St. Albans book, the drawing and painting in the Life is
cruder than that of the model. For example, if we compare a scene from the Life in which both the beardless profile and the three-quarter view of the head are used, "Edmund Dispensing Alms," (figure 3) the similarities and the differences between the faces here and those in the "Annunciation" are evident: while the several profiles in the former picture are certainly like that of the angel Gabriel, none are drawn as delicately and as precisely as his— with his perfectly rounded chin, fine nose, and careful shading around the eye and under the chin. Likewise, Edmund's face in the three-quarter view is quite like the Virgin's in the Psalter. However, while Mary's head is a graceful oval, well-proportioned in relation to her body, Edmund's is rather large for his body and appears irregular because the features of his face do not fit comfortably within it. Again, the careful shading apparent in Mary's face is absent in Edmund's. With regard to this application of colour to the faces in the Life, Miss Parker has observed that orange and green shading is used, as in the Psalter, but that it is often applied unblended over a "pasty white ground" which contrasts sharply with the sensitive handling evident in the St. Albans manuscript.

Not only is the painting coarser, but the black outlines surrounding faces and figures in the Life are also
usually thicker and more obvious than those in the Psalter. In the same vein, while the hair and beards in the St. Albans manuscript are carefully indicated by fine lines applied over the paint, those in the Life are only summarily executed with a few rough strokes suggesting curls or waves.

Since figures do not generally engage in energetic activity, and since faces do not reveal much sentiment, gesture becomes the primary means by which the Alexis Master enlivens the narrative. In some cases, the gestures are quite emphatic, with arms sweeping away from the body. For example, in the "Magi guided by the Star," the three wise men crane their necks to see the large star above, and two of them stretch their arms out to point at the brilliant light; the hands of the gesturing figures are very large, as large as their heads in length. The use of large hands to emphasize gesture occurs throughout the Psalter, but this is not to suggest that all hands are larger than normal; often, only those hands which are important to the central action of the scene are of disproportionate size. While the gestures of the two Magi are quite expansive, those of many figures in other miniatures are more restrained but still effective. In the scene depicting "Christ in the House of Simon," the main emphasis is on the discussion between the two major characters;
the artist highlights this aspect of the story through the large size and prominent position given to Christ and Simon and also through the placement of their gesturing hands. Christ's left and Simon's right hand, while not especially dramatic in expression, are in close proximity to each other and are isolated against a plain background; the hand gestures of the other two guests and of Mary Magdalen are less obvious than those of Christ and Simon, while the open hand of the servant inclines directly toward the Lord. This miniature also contains examples of the artist's most frequently used gestures of communication: the open hand, palm up, as used by Simon and the servant; and the hand, palm up or down, with three fingers curled and long curved index finger extended, as seen in both Christ's hands and in those of the two other guests. These particular gestures, economic and precise, occur over and over again; by their careful placement and skillful variation they are quite sufficient to focus attention on the central action and to add a breath of life to these formal presentations.

The artist of the St. Edmund Life is also adept at using gesture to tell his story. He employs the same basic hand positions as the Alexis Master as well as the device of a larger hand to draw attention to the central character or
event. However, the former painter tends to be more repetitive in his use of hand positions, not employing the same variety of gestures as his St. Albans counterpart. Nevertheless, at his best, the St. Edmund artist can be most effective in telling his story through hand, arm and head movements. The scene depicting the confrontation between the monk Aethelwine and the Danish king Swegn is a case in point: enthroned at the left of the picture, Swegn raises his hand to order the expulsion of the monk; as if to fulfill this command, one of the king's servants raises a stick to strike Aethelwine as another man pushes the cleric away; the stately monk ignores these minions and stares directly at Swegn while stretching his arm toward the king as though to warn him of the consequences of his rash behaviour. It is in such episodes of dramatic content that the artist excels rather than in scenes where more subtlety is required.

As with the other aspects of the preliminary miniatures concerning the life of Christ, the drapery style devised by the Alexis Master is distinctive, consistent, and of uniformly high quality. In order to discuss the characteristics of the draperies, I will concentrate on the figures in the "Annunciation" since the details of line, colour, and shading are illustrated very well in the colour photograph reproduced in Romanesque.
It is generally stated that the drapery style, with its "damp-fold" technique and use of highlights and shadows to indicate the presence of the body beneath, is derived from Byzantine sources. As Pächt observes, this "Byzantinizing" drapery began to be used in the West around 1100 and he maintains that the earliest English examples occur in the frescoes of St. Gabriel's chapel in Canterbury Cathedral (1120-30) and in the contemporary St. Albans Psalter. The whole question of Byzantine influence in drapery patterns can become very confusing, especially since it is difficult (and in the present case impossible) to point to exact prototypes. Therefore, I would prefer to outline the specifics of the Alexis Master's style itself, always bearing in mind its ultimate dependence upon outside sources.

Looking at the "Annunciation," one can see that the clothing of the figures tends to cling quite closely to the body; this is especially true of Gabriel's robe which presses against his right leg as though water had been thrown on it; the same is true of Mary's gown which closely follows her legs from the knees down. Consequently, one senses the presence of a body beneath the garment which is a definite departure from the Anglo-Saxon practice of using the body as a rack for fanciful linear draperies. Nevertheless, the clothing of Gabriel
and Mary does not fall in naturalistic folds; its configuration is tightly controlled and carefully organized to accord with the artist's desire to create a harmonious, orderly design. For example, the drapery mentioned above as revealing Gabriel's leg is at the same time quite unrealistic, since clothing would not arrange itself in such beautiful, well-defined sections; neither would the hem of the angel's gown rise and fall over and between his feet with such perfect symmetry. One of the constants in the Alexis Master's work is his desire for order and simplicity in drapery design. Clusters of two or three parallel lines, either straight or curving, are used repeatedly to define the various divisions and folds of the robes; this insistence upon repetitious, reinforcing line contributes significantly to the neat, highly structured quality of the drapery.

The highlights and shadows which are employed by the Alexis Master do convey a certain sense of volume in the figure and fullness in the drapery; however, light and shade are not really dispersed over the figures in a naturalistic manner. Shadows and highlights are arranged, not according to the way light would fall on the figures from a consistent direction, but according to the artist's own stylized scheme. Shaded areas are used in conjunction with line to emphasize the
various sections into which the draperies are divided, to indicate the location of folds, and to mark points where parts of the body project through the clothing (e.g., Mary's knees). Shadows are also used as a foil for the unusual system of white highlights developed by the artist. These highlights consist of a network of thin white lines, lying on the surface of the garments and creating a lively pattern of their own; these highlights can be clearly seen tracing delicate designs over Gabriel's robes.

The Alexis Master is sparing in his use of embellishments for the clothing; a solid line of gold decorates the edges of the cloaks, but there are few examples of embroidered or otherwise patterned fabrics. This lack of ornamental frills adds to the simplicity of the miniatures and is in perfect keeping with the somber mood of the entire work.

The artist of the Life borrows many of the techniques of drapery arrangement developed by the Alexis Master: garments tend to cling to the body, outlining its limbs; striped bands cross the chests of figures in short tunics; circular lines indicate shoulders, knees and stomachs; light and shade is used in a stylized, decorative manner; and white highlighting lines punctuate the surface of many robes. But while such basic elements of style are visible in both manuscripts, important
differences are also apparent.

It has been mentioned above that the garments in the Life appear thick and bulky, with the result that they do not cling so closely to the body as their counterparts in the Psalter; they are also far less graceful in the way they fall, with a less sensitive and consistent use of repetitious parallel lines, white highlights, or shading. For example, let us compare the "Annunciation" with the depiction of "The Envoy Before Edmund" (figure 7). In these two miniatures, both Mary and Edmund are seated in a similar position upon a cushioned, throne-like chair and both wear similar garments. However, while the drapery of Mary's gown falls in a relatively natural series of gentle curves from her lap to her feet, Edmund's clothing falls in a set of sharper "v" shaped curves which are barely shaded and which drop abruptly from the horizontal fold across his lap. Again, while Mary's cloak closely follows the outline of her body and continues around her legs in an elegant curve, Edmund's cloak simply disappears behind his cushion, so that the clothing does not compliment his figure as well as the Virgin's drapery enhances hers.

Still looking at the same miniatures, the thin white lines which follow the curves of Gabriel's gown, conforming to the shape of his body beneath, become much more rudimentary in
the St. Edmund picture where they are used in a rather haphazard fashion. For instance, the servant to the left of the scene has a collection of white lines sketched over his costume which simply tend to follow certain outlines of his garments or to parallel areas of shade; on his forward leg can be seen a series of highlights drawn in the form of a circle with rays, a design which is purely ornamental and which does not have the additional function of shaping the garment— a quality possessed by the triangular patterns on Gabriel's cloak.

The costumes used in the Life— short tunics with cloaks, long stockings, pointed shoes, and round or pointed caps— certainly derive from very similar ones in the Psalter. However, the St. Edmund artist uses a greater variety of outfits and accessories than are employed in the Psalter. For example, while the tunics in the St. Albans pictures are usually calf-length and sometimes knee-length, those in the St. Edmund miniatures range anywhere from calf-length to very short, with a greater tendency to show the knee. Also, the Danes are garbed with an interesting assortment of knee stockings— some plain, some striped— and with open-toed shoes and boots as well as the usual pointed slippers.

In the St. Albans Psalter, there are very few instances in which patterned fabrics appear, and then usually in demure
designs applied to small areas. On the other hand, ornamented garments occur more frequently in the Life, especially toward the beginning of the series and when Edmund is featured. One of the most lavish examples is the "Coronation" where the two bishops as well as the King wear a colourful variety of striped and spotted garments which is in vivid contrast to the restricted use of decorated drapery in the Psalter. The application of gold trim is similar in the two manuscripts except that while gilded haloes are abundant in the Psalter, no haloes are used in the miniatures of the Life.

As a final word regarding drapery, it should be mentioned that the figures in the St. Edmund manuscript tend to exhibit more sway in their clothing than do their counterparts in the Psalter. For example, while the Alexis Master only employs active drapery when real motion is implied, as in "The Magi Guided by the Star," the St. Edmund artist sometimes uses swinging ends even when no movement is indicated, as in the second thief from the left in "The Thieves Before Theodred" (figure 22). As Miss Parker points out, the appearance here and there throughout the Life of drapery with a life of its own may signal the re-emergence of the Anglo-Saxon love of fluttering garments which is all but submerged in the Psalter.
Colour is an important element in setting the dominant mood of any manuscript, and the range of hues chosen by the Alexis Master is consistent with the restraint and gravity that his figures project. The basic colours are: three shades of purple, two of blue, and a dark green; brown, orange and white are the accent colours. As can be gathered from the list of principal hues, the colour scheme is aristocratic and rather austere, admirably suited to a hieratic style.

Again using the "Annunciation" as an example, colours are distributed over the surface of the painting so as to create an harmonious, balanced pattern: figures are set against a background panel of blue; the colours of Gabriel's robes are complimented by those of the Virgin-- for example, the purple of the cloak visible on the lower part of his body is repeated in the mantle which hangs from Mary's shoulders, while the orange lining at the hem of her skirt finds its colour mate in the row of orange feathers in the angel's raised wings. The muted colours of the draperies set against the panels of solid blue also serves to flatten the figures, making them appear as though pasted on the surface which in turn denies them the three dimensionality that their clinging garments suggest.

The colours in the St. Edmund Life also include shades
of purple, blue, green, brown and orange. However, these colours are often more intense than those of the Psalter and include a very dark blue and a bright orange-red. Since the colours are not generally applied with the fine sense of balance evident in the St. Albans manuscript, the effect is not always subtle and is sometimes rather garish. For example, in the scene of "Edmund Dispensing Alms" (figure 3), several vivid colours are used in relatively large patches: Edmund wears a patterned red-orange gown covered by a dark green decorated cloak and accompanied by bright blue stockings; these colours are repeated in the clothing of the minor figures and in the background architecture. As if this were not brilliant enough, the predominant shade behind Edmund is orange, so that the King does not stand out so sharply from his background as do Gabriel and Mary. The effect of so much bright colour, combined with the various patterns applied to much of the surface, is somewhat overwhelming. This use of colour contrasts with the more organized, consciously harmonious tones of the "Annunciation" in which the warm orange is reserved for the accent areas in which the background hues serve as foils for the figures rather than competing with them.

The final area of comparison between the two manuscripts which I would like to discuss is that of composition, both with
regard to the organization of the picture plane and to the type and use of background elements. The basic structure of the St. Albans miniatures is symmetrical and centralized: the major figure or group is either placed at the centre of the picture with minor figures grouped at each side (e.g., "The Expulsion"), or figures are arranged at either side of the central axis which may or may not be indicated by a background element (e.g., "The First Temptation" and the "Annunciation" respectively). Not every scene conforms to these basic layouts, but the two schemes appear in the majority of miniatures. It is generally true that the more static and hieratic scenes are more obviously centralized and purely symmetrical than those of a narrative character. For example, in the miniature of the "Ascension," Mary occupies the center of the picture with Christ's disappearing feet directly above her; the apostles are grouped at either side of the Virgin-- six on the left and five on the right, with Mary's extended hand occupying the place of the missing Judas; the two angels swoop diagonally from the upper corners, wings inclined toward Mary's head and fingers pointing to the rising Christ-- all in all an extremely formal composition.

Turning to the more casual depiction of "Christ in the House of Simon," the organization seems freer and more natural.
Simon does occupy a central position, with his left hand resting exactly in the middle of the picture; however, the surrounding figures are placed at unequal distances from the centre and the single form of Mary Magdalene beneath the main group precludes a perfectly symmetrical arrangement. The result, intentional I am sure, is a far more lively presentation than that seen in the "Ascension."

The paintings in the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund include a much smaller percentage of strictly centralized and highly symmetrical scenes than found in the Psalter. For example, there are only three miniatures in the Life in which a main character clearly occupies the exact centre of the picture and is surrounded by balanced groups of figures (the "Coronation," "The Envoy Before Edmund," (figure 7), and the "Apotheosis") whereas over a dozen instances occur in the Psalter. The device of a clear vertical axis with figures arranged on either side (often used in the Psalter) also occurs in the Life, as in the scene in which Edmund's head is attached to his body (figure 19): here, a large branching tree occupies the centre of the picture and is surrounded by the saint's followers. However, even in this example, the central verticality is interrupted by the horizontal block of Edmund's body across the bottom, and an example of the different
approach to composition in these manuscripts can be seen in a comparison between two similar scenes, the "Entombment" from the Psalter and "Edmund's Burial" (figure 21) from the Life.

The latter scene is clearly based on the former: figures are placed at the head and foot of the coffin; the architectural background is divided into three sections; and the same style of sarcophagus is featured in both. However, while the central area in the St. Edmund miniature is occupied only by the Hand of God in an otherwise blank space— which tends to divert attention from the saint's body— the St. Albans picture includes a central column and lamp which draws the eye inward toward the figure of Mary who bends over her Son, thus focussing attention upon the Virgin and Christ.

The St. Edmund artist often creates compositions which do not have an obvious central emphasis and in which the main character is either located at one side or slightly off centre—a device which is used to a lesser extent by the Alexis Master. For instance, in the depiction of "Edmund Scourged" (figure 12), most of the saint's body stands to the right of centre, a position which is emphasized by the large tree to which he is tied; the attackers to the left, one with his arms extending beyond the picture frame, also accent the non-symmetrical composition. Of course, this type of organization produces a lively picture
with an emphasis on action which is in keeping with the informal, narrative quality of much of the St. Edmund manuscript as opposed to the more hieratic nature of the St. Albans work.

In the St. Albans Psalter, the figures are of primary importance, with all other elements secondary to and supportive of them. This is especially true of the background architecture which is used in many of the illuminations. Such architectural backdrops which resemble stage sets in front of which the actors move, may derive from either Italian or Ottonian sources (or both) as they are not a featured part of Anglo-Saxon art. Whatever his inspiration, the Alexis Master uses his architecture very effectively to highlight the major characters and to underscore the order and harmony of his compositions. For instance, in the "Mocking of Christ," the Lord and His tormentors act their roles before an arcade of three arches; a large arch encloses Christ while two smaller ones articulate the mocking soldiers who attack Him. This balanced triple arch emphasizes the symmetry of the scene and sets Christ apart from the lesser men.

Several of the Morgan miniatures are also decorated with architectural backgrounds. They are similar in conception to the St. Albans ones as they are also backdrops against which the action is played and they too serve as organizational
elements. However, the St. Albans architecture has a more definitely vertical emphasis, has greater variety from scene to scene and within individual pictures, places a greater emphasis on curves and arcades, and is lighter and more delicate in general appearance than the St. Edmund versions. Furthermore, the St. Albans architecture contains its figures better in that the characters fit within their allotted areas, whereas the St. Edmund actors do not always sit comfortably within theirs. For example, in the miniature of "Edmund Dispensing Alms" (figure 3), the King's crown bumps into the arch above him while the figures at the outer edges are superimposed over the arch rather than being situated under it. Also, the single, uninterrupted, large arch seen here and in other miniatures in the Life is never used in the Psalter.

Not only do the figures sometimes push against the confines of their framing architecture, but they also occasionally burst the bounds of their frames! There is only one instance in the Psalter in which part of a figure protrudes from the frame: the servant to the left of the picture in "Christ in the House of Simon" holds Mary's jar of oil outside the frame. On the contrary, in the Life there are about a dozen instances in which figures or parts of their equipment extend beyond the frame. Particularly noteworthy in this
regard is the episode of "The Thieves Attacking the Shrine" in which more than half of one miscreant's ladder leans out beyond the border.\textsuperscript{55}

In outdoor scenes where buildings are not called for, a rudimentary landscape setting is provided by the Alexis Master--consisting of imaginative stylized trees, bumpy ground variously resembling rows of rocks, fern fronds or snail shells, and wavy water complete with fish. These highly structured landscape details fulfill the same function as the architecture: they help to organize the space, accentuate the main figures, and decorate the background. Again, the St. Edmund miniaturist uses similar types of trees and bumpy ground; but he carries the motif of the tree much further than his predecessor, being especially fond of large, flamboyant plants which occupy a good portion of the picture plane. In the miniature of "Edmund's Body Borne on a Litter" (figure 20), the curving branches of the central tree fill one third of the available space; and in the scene showing Edmund's head being attached to his body (figure 19), the spreading branches of this background tree stretch right across the page.

In contrast, only the opening scene of the Psalter, representing the "Fall" with Adam and Eve eating from the tree of Knowledge,\textsuperscript{56} features a large central tree; here, of course,
the tree is an important part of the story. In other places, the Alexis Master prefers to use one or more small, compact trees as accents in his pictures; he also occasionally places a narrow branch behind the head of a main character for further emphasis (e.g., behind Gabriel in the "Annunciation"), a subtle device which never appears in the Life.

Even more effective than the architecture or landscape as organizers of space and foils for the figures are the coloured panels which serve as backgrounds for all the illuminations in the St. Albans Psalter. The striking effect of these panels, whose colours are always purple, green and blue, but whose shapes vary from scene to scene, is entirely lost in black and white reproductions; therefore, it is necessary to look at the coloured photograph of the "Annunciation" again to get an accurate idea of their function. This Psalter represents the earliest extant example of the use of panelled backgrounds in an English manuscript, although this system had been developed on the Continent in late Ottonian times. The Alexis Master uses this continental device masterfully to immediately isolate the major characters from their surroundings, thereby focussing the viewer's attention on the primary parts of the miniature. In the "Annunciation," Mary and Gabriel stand out clearly against their panels of solid blue;\textsuperscript{57} this is an
uncomplicated picture with only two people, and one can imagine how much more this panelling would help to crystallize an image like the "Deposition" with its several figures on different levels.

These panels are obviously not naturalistic, as they occur in landscapes as well as in conjunction with architecture; they are mostly geometric shapes which rule out any sense of depth or realism in the backgrounds. As with the architectural settings, the panels are designed to enhance the figures in order to glorify the religious truths which are the essence of these narrative stories.

The illuminations in the Morgan Life also have panels of different colours as background elements. However, the hues are not restricted to green, blue and purple—witness the orange under the arch in "Edmund Dispensing Alms" (figure 3). This same miniature points up another difference between the two works: while the panels in the Psalter generally consist of layers of different colours with a small, well-defined area behind an individual (as in the "Annunciation"), the panels in the Life often become large areas of a single colour, as in the expanse of orange under the arch in figure 3. Also, as can be seen in the same illumination, the panels are sometimes decorated; in the present case, it is difficult to determine...
whether the blue and green patterned arches under the gold band are intended as panels or as a part of the architecture. It should be mentioned that there exist two examples of ornamented panels in the Psalter: in both the "Magi Guided by the Star" and the "Dream of the Magi," delicate arabesques decorate one panel of the miniature. However, the pattern is restricted to a single area in each case, unlike figure 3 in which the two arched panels plus the orange area behind the King are filled with various geometric designs.

As Miss Parker remarks, these background panels are not used as skillfully as aids to organization as are those in the Psalter; she rightly maintains that they are in fact "often eccentric in shape and unrelated to the composition." For example, in "Inguar Despatching the Envoy" (figure 6), the several background rectangles, some plain and some patterned, tend to live a life of their own rather than to contribute to the layout of the picture; this peculiar "checkerboard" type of panelling does not occur in the Psalter.

The above comments about the Morgan Life in relation to the St. Albans Psalter may seem disparaging to the former manuscript. The Life and Miracles of St. Edmund is an effective work whose series of miniatures tell their tale in a direct, imaginative, and often vivid fashion. However, it
cannot be denied that the St. Albans Psalter is a much more sophisticated work with a consistent, logical, and tightly controlled system of figure design, colour application, and pictorial composition which is not matched in the Life.

Conclusion

Having looked at both the St. Albans Psalter and the Life and Miracles of St. Edmund with regard to their style, I have come to agree with Elizabeth Parker that the two picture cycles were produced by different men and that the artist responsible for the Morgan Life was a close follower, which is definitely not to say a slavish imitator, of the Alexis Master. Otto Pächt and C.M. Kauffmann would disagree completely with this conclusion since they believe that the Alexis Master was the author of both sets of illuminations. Pächt acknowledges that the Morgan Life is characterized by a "coarsening of the style" developed in the Psalter, but decides that this change is "partly conditioned as well as compensated by the more dramatized treatment of the narrative" and that the Life represents a late phase in the Master's art.

It is certainly true that the scenes in the libellus are less formal and more narrative than those in the Psalter and that such a shift in emphasis might partially account for
some of the changes apparent in the later work: the increased activity of the figures; the often dramatic poses; the decrease in the number of centralized, symmetrical compositions, especially those of static and insistently hieratic organization; and the increase in the amount of compositions which are slightly off-balance and non-centralized.

Nevertheless, Pa'cht's contention that the artist has simply moved toward a more dramatic interpretation in the later manuscript does not satisfactorily account for some of the other deviations from the Psalter's style—such as, the change in proportion of the figures from tall and lean to shorter and more stocky, the bulkiness of the drapery, the more awkward relationship of figures to their architectural settings, the less effective deployment of background panels to emphasize the characters and to coordinate the action, the harsher hues and less subtle use of colour as an adjunct to composition, and the obvious delight in patterned fabrics and backgrounds. It seems to me that such alterations suggest a difference in approach to the fundamentals of style rather than a progression in one artist's vision.

Furthermore, while Pa'cht (and most others) has accepted a time around 1130 as the approximate date of production for the Morgan Life, in the second section of this paper I pre-
sent and accepted as reasonable the arguments of R.M. Thomson who suggests a date of 1124-1126 for the *libellus* which would place its creation immediately after that of the St. Albans Psalter of 1123. If this is indeed the case, it seems less likely that the Alexis Master would alter his style so dramatically between the appearance of two quickly succeeding manuscripts.

This question of authorship is a far from settled problem, but even if we agree that the Morgan manuscript was made by a man other than the Alexis Master, we are still faced with the puzzle of his identity. As far as the St. Edmund miniaturist is concerned, the most that can be said is that he was either a professional from St. Albans, hired to illuminate the Bury manuscript, or that he was a Bury artist inspired by the new style of St. Albans. Of course, this matter may never be "proven" one way or the other, but I would like to suggest that a case exists for the latter possibility. It has been stated in the second section of this paper that the scriptorium of the abbey at Bury became very productive during the abbacy of Anselm, under whose leadership there was a concerted effort to build up the library's collection in order to "catch up" with the well-stocked libraries of monasteries like Canterbury and St. Albans. Granted that the Bury books surviving from the
early part of this period are not lavishly decorated, it still seems reasonable to suppose that a wealthy and prestigious abbey like Bury would wish to employ its own illuminators on a major project like the Life rather than to rely on an artist from another monastery.

Furthermore, the St. Edmund miniaturist was an accomplished artist in his own right and cannot be considered a minor figure in a Master's workshop. One would expect a man of such skill to be employed in some capacity upon an important work like the St. Albans Psalter. And yet, despite Rickert's contention that he was responsible for the line drawings in the Psalter, I do not believe that his hand is discernible anywhere in the St. Albans manuscript. This in turn suggests that he was not a member of the St. Albans atelier. Instead, might he be the Master of the Bury workshop, successfully embracing the amazing new St. Albans style?

Whether or not the artist of the Morgan miniatures was imported from St. Albans, another question remains. Are there other works in the St. Albans idiom which were made at Bury, and, if so, do they show a further development of the new style in a centre other than St. Albans? There is one work in particular produced at Bury in the wake of the libellus which also follows the St. Albans style: this is the previous-
ly mentioned Bury Gospels (Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 120) whose six introductory folios contain thirty-nine tinted outline drawings of New Testament scenes. These drawings (but not the text of the manuscript) are generally accepted as being produced for Bury, but as has been noted elsewhere in this paper, opinions as to their authorship vary.

In her study of the Bury Gospels, Elizabeth Parker makes a good case for the painting and drawing of this manuscript by the Bury workshop and suggests that the Gospels received their inspiration from both the St. Albans Psalter and the Morgan Life. In connecting the Gospels with the *libellus*, she suggests several motifs and compositions which are found in both of these manuscripts but not in the Psalter; the kinds of parallels which she points out between the two Bury works indicate that the Gospels relied on the Life rather than vice versa. 61

Katherine Baker disputes this claim in her recent essay; as was outlined earlier in this section, she believes that both the Morgan Life and the Pembroke Gospels were made at St. Albans, and that the *libellus* looked to the Gospels for some of its compositions and incidental details; consequently, she concludes that the Bury scriptorium did not engage in the independent production of any works in the St. Albans style. 62
However, in comparison with Parker's analysis, the kinds of suggestions that Baker makes are not entirely convincing. For example, the latter maintains that the "Apotheosis" from the *libellus* represents a modified version of the depiction of "Christ Mocked" in the Bury Gospels. Yet, as John Beckwith (among others) has pointed out, the crowning of Edmund by angels is "a direct descendant from Ottonian coronation portraiture, even to the shape of the crown," a striking example being the image of Christ crowning King Henry II from the Sacramentary of King Henry (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4456). Therefore, since the "Apotheosis" derives from an established coronation iconography, it seems much more likely that the "enthroned" Christ of the Pembroke Gospels— who is blindfolded as in the same scene in the Psalter but seated as in the St. Edmund miniature— was developed from the Morgan interpretation rather than the other way around.

While Miss Baker's theory should not be dismissed without further study, since the influence from one artist to another could go in either direction, it does seem that the more derivative artist of the Pembroke Gospels relied upon certain compositions and motifs of the St. Edmund illuminator. Consequently, it is possible that there did exist a school of painters at Bury who produced works in the St. Albans style and who
perhaps helped to spread the new art to other scriptoria. This would indicate that Bury played a positive, if minor, role in the development of twelfth-century illumination even before the emergence of the distinctive style of Master Hugo as exemplified by the Bury Bible of ca. 1135.

Whether or not the Bury scriptorium played a part in carrying the new Romanesque art of the Alexis Master to other centres, the abbey certainly produced one of the earliest and most extensive illustrated saint's Lives to be made in England—a far from negligible achievement. This lavish book, generous in its use of illuminated miniatures and decorated initials, admirably fulfills its functions: it honours the patron saint through its **de luxe** quality and its lengthy chronicling of his life and martyrdom in words and pictures; it points up the prestige and wealth of the abbey through its luxury; and it serves as an excellent teaching vehicle through its uncomplicated and vivacious pictorial rendering of the deeds of the saint and his followers.

This lively, narrative quality of the illustrations is the best feature of the miniatures and proves that the artist responsible for them was a man of imagination, able to tell a story with freshness and vitality. At times, his pictures capture the essence of an episode remarkably well. For
example, in the "Expulsion of the Britons," three rows of Teutonic soldiers (representing the invading tribes of Angles, Saxons and Jutes) charge across the page from the left, spears poised to attack the rapidly retreating Britons; the utter rout of the natives by the manly Germans of Abbo's story is graphically portrayed by the delightful device of depicting the Britons as dashing off the page behind the frame, with only the hindquarters of their horses remaining in view. Turning from this rather whimsical picture to the gruesome illustration of "The Hanging of the Thieves," we can see that the artist effectively conveys the essential horror of the episode by placing the bound and blindfolded thieves in assorted limp positions, their naked legs dangling and their mouths gaping open in the throes of death.

Sometimes, the narrative calls for energetic physical activity, and in these cases the illuminator works to make his images vigorous. An especially successful example is "The Thieves Attacking the Shrine." The eight evil-doers are absorbed in their destructive task, hammering at the door, prying out nails, climbing through the window, and digging around the foundations. Besides showing the thieves busily engaged in these various criminal activities, the artist uses other elements to add vivacity to his picture: the four figures
standing in front of the shrine seem to float lightly before the heavy architecture of the shrine; the thief in the centre of the picture and the one on the far right have expansive gestures and swinging tunics; two intruders are depicted in the act of entering the building, one with his head disappearing behind a door and another leaning into an upper window; finally, the thief digging to the left of the miniature and the ladder behind him extend considerably beyond the frame as though the border cannot contain the feverish assault.

I would like to discuss one final miniature which bears witness to the artist's versatility as a narrator. This is the impressive picture in which "Edmund Slays Swegn" (figure 27). In the illustration of this momentous event, the large and noble figure of Edmund hovers in midair above the Danish king who is lying in bed; with one hand, the saint proffers the tribute money which the greedy Dane demanded of the abbey, and with the other hand the Christian king slays Swegn with a single spear thrust. The triumphant Edmund appears in marked contrast to his defeated enemy who sprawls in his bed, mouth agape and hands thrown apart. This is a most satisfying portrayal of the victory of good over evil, of justice over tyranny.

Since few prototypes for this type of manuscript exist,
it is not easy to point to sources for these and several of the other scenes in the Life. I think that a useful topic for further research would be a study of the specific iconography of the *libellus*’s illustrations in order to discover if they can be related to earlier Continental or Byzantine Lives or to other types of manuscripts. Of course, some of the Morgan scenes clearly derive from the St. Albans Psalter and others, like the "Apotheosis," have a definite Ottonian origin. But there are many pictures for which no one has suggested a prototype, and I think that an investigation of possible sources would provide art historians with another dimension to the artist’s work. I suspect that further study along such lines would reveal the St. Edmund illuminator as a more strongly original artist than he is generally regarded at present.
Footnotes

1 Francis Wormald, "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Life of Saints," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library XXXV (1952), p. 253. This article gives a brief but good introduction to a neglected area in art history; according to Wormald, the longest series of scenes which can confidently be dated to the mid-ninth century occurs on the golden altar in the church of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan; enclosed in enamelled roundels on the back of this opulent altar are twelve scenes from the life of St. Ambrose rendered in gilt bas-relief. A shorter series, also dating from the mid-ninth century, is located in the abbey church of St. Germain at Auxerre; in a small side chapel dedicated to St. Stephen, three frescoes in lunettes illustrate one episode each from the life of the first martyr as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles; other such examples from the ninth century on are mentioned by Wormald, and some are discussed and illustrated by C.R. Dodwell, Painting in Europe, 800-1200, Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1971), pp. 173-4 and 184-5.

2 This attribution is suggested by Hans Swarzenski, Monuments of Romanesque Art: The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe, 2d ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), p. 27; one side of the altar, with the martyrdom of St. Blaise, is illustrated in pl. 102, fig. 232.

3 Coloured reproductions of the frescoes in San Clemente can be found in vol. IV, pls. 239 and 242 of Joseph Wilpert, Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV-XIII Jahrhundert, 4 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, Wein: Herder, 1976); first published 1916.


5 Ibid., p. 236.

6 The "Ascension of St. Amand" is illustrated in colour in André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, Romanesque Painting from

7 The scene depicting the "Tortures of St. Quentin" is reproduced by C.R. Dodwell, Painting in Europe, fig. 101 and by Swarzenski, Monuments of Romanesque Art, pl. 82, fig. 191.

8 Nordenfalk lists other important eleventh-century manuscripts in this genre in Romanesque Painting, p. 148, and includes an illustration of one of them, a Life and Miracles of St. Omer (Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 698), p. 149; Dodwell, Painting in Europe, briefly discusses a few of these and has another illustration from the St. Omer manuscript, fig. 102, as well as one from the Life of St. Radegund (Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 250), pl. 89; Swarzenski, Monuments of Romanesque Art, reproduces yet another scene from the Life and Miracles of St. Omer, pl. 83, fig. 193.


10 Kauffmann dates the Cuthbert manuscript to the period c. 1100-20, while placing the Edmund life around 1130 or a bit earlier, Ibid., pp. 66 and 73-4. Kauffmann lists all the drawings, their subjects and page numbers, p. 66, and also illustrates five of these scenes, figs. 59-63; Otto Pächt, The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1962), mentions the Cuthbert Life as the earliest illustrated saint's life in England and illustrates two of its scenes, p. 14 and pl. 1, figs. 2-3.

11 Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts, p. 67
12 A page from this manuscript is illustrated in colour in Grabar and Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting*, p. 184.

13 These are all reproduced in proper sequence by C.R. Dodwell, Otto Pächt, and Francis Wormald, *The Saint Albans Psalter* (Albani Psalter) (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1960); this monograph is a thorough and excellent study of the St. Albans Psalter.


18 Pächt, et al., *The Saint Albans Psalter*, p. 167; Pächt assigns Pembroke 120 to a distant follower of the Alexis Master.
19 Parker, "The Scriptorium," p. 84.

20 Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, p. 73; he also agrees with Pföcht that Pembroke 120 is by a follower of the Alexis Master, although he suggests a close rather than a distant follower.


22 For a discussion of the sources used by the Alexis Master, see Pföcht, et al., *The Saint Albans Psalter*, pp. 99-104 and 115-123 (sources for style); pp. 54-96 (sources for iconography); Pföcht makes a convincing case for an Italian journey by the Alexis Master, p. 125.

23 Ibid., pl. 16a; this is also reproduced in colour on the page opposite the preface.

24 As a basis for comparison, I am considering my own proportion of 7.4 heads to be normal.

25 This scene from the Cotton Psalter, ca. 1050, is reproduced in colour in Grabar and Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting*, p. 184.

26 Pföcht, et al., pl. 18a  
27 Ibid., pl. 32a.

28 Ibid., pl. 27b.

29 Ibid., pl. 29b; Pföcht discusses the "Mocking of Christ" and especially the "Deposition" in some detail, pp. 110-111; he includes a colour reproduction of the "Deposition" on the page opposite the preface.
There are coloured transparencies of both these miniatures in the slide library, University of British Columbia Department of Fine Arts. The "Apotheosis" is also reproduced in colour in John Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art*, Praeger World of Art Series (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 184.

"farther" and "closer" in relation to the viewer.

This pose with the toes pointing inward is also used by the artist of the initials in the Psalter in four initials: initial "D," pl. 46a; "C", pl. 47c; "O", pl. 49a; and "D", pl. 53c.

Ibid., pl. 27b.  
Ibid., pl. 28a.

Ibid., pl. 15b; a colour reproduction of this can be found in Grabar and Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting*, p. 171.

The only exceptions to this rule are: the angel guarding the gate in "The Expulsion;" the Virgin in the "Annunciation;" and one apostle in "Mary Magdalen Reporting the Resurrection;" Ibid., pls. 15a and b, pl. 31b.
The opening miniature of the Life, the "Arrival of Angles, Saxons and Jutes," fig. 1, is strictly centralized and symmetrical, but the island of Britain rather than a figure occupies the middle of the page. Three other pictures, "Inguar Despatching the Envoy," fig. 6, the "Discovery of Edmund's Body," fig. 16, and "The Thieves Attacking the Shrine" have a character who is almost entirely in the middle; but in these cases, the centrality is offset by the arrangement of figures or background elements around him.

Ibid., pp. 119-120; Plfcht feels strongly that the settings derive from Italian monumental art, such as the frescoes at San Pietro in Tuscania or those in the Lower Church of San Clemente in Rome.

There are two other instances in which some feature protrudes slightly from the frame: in the "Massacre of the Innocents," a soldier's swordtip just extends beyond the frame, and an angel's wing does the same in the "Harrowing of Hell."

There is a coloured transparency of this scene in the slide library, University of British Columbia Department of Fine Arts.
57 The blue has become mottled through time.

58 Plicht, et al., pl. 19a.

59 Parker, "The Scriptorium," p. 82.

60 Plicht, et al., p. 142, n. 1.

61 Ibid., pp. 265 and 267-268.


63 This scene is reproduced by Parker, "A Twelfth-Century Cycle," pl. 37.

64 Beckwith, Early Medieval Art, p. 194; the Sacramentary miniature and the "Apotheosis" are reproduced in Plicht, et al., pls. 138a, 139.

65 This is illustrated in Rickert, Painting in Britain, pl. 66.
1. ARRIVAL OF ANGLES, SAXONS AND JUTES
2. DIVISION OF LAND AMONG THE TRIBES
3. EDMUND DISPENSING ALMS
4. ARRIVAL OF THE DANES
5. DEVASTATION OF AN EAST ANGLIAN TOWN
6. INGUAR DESPATCHING THE ENVOY
7. THE ENVOY BEFORE EDMUND
8. THE ENVOY RETURNS
9. EDMUND SEIZED
10. EDMUND LED AWAY
11. EDMUND STRIPPED
12. EDMUND SCOURGED
13. EDMUND SHOT WITH ARROWS
14. EDMUND BEHEADED
15. DEPARTURE OF THE DANES
16. DISCOVERY OF EDMUND'S BODY
17. THE WOLF GUARDS EDMUND'S HEAD
18. THE HEAD CARRIED TO THE BODY
19. THE HEAD ATTACHED TO THE BODY
20. EDMUND'S BODY BORNE ON A LITTER
21. EDMUND'S BURIAL
22. THE THIEVES BEFORE THEODRED
23. THE HANGING OF THE THIEVES
24. EADBRICT AND AETHELWINE
25. AETHELWINE CROSSES THE NARROW BRIDGE
27. EDMUND SLAYS SWEGN
28. A NOBLEMAN ANNOUNCES SWEGN'S DEATH
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