

A Canterbury Tale:

STUDY AND ANALYSIS OF THE EADWINE LEAVES

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Abstract

This study set out to analyse the main factors which influenced the artists of the Christological cycle of the fragment of a Romanesque Psalter known to art historians as the Eadwine Leaves, to deduce the likely purpose which the Leaves were intended to serve, and to assess the extent to which this purpose was achieved. In order to accomplish this, the various factors affecting manuscript illustration in twelfth-century England are considered. The physical properties, provenance, artists, textual sources, and illustrations of the Eadwine cycle are examined and comparisons made with other contemporary manuscripts. The dissertation argues that the overall intention of the artists was to illustrate the Redemption, and medieval views of the Redemption are therefore outlined. The scope of the study does not permit detailed analysis of every scene in the cycle; a selection of scenes for study has therefore been made, based on their perceived relevance to the objectives of the study. The research undertaken for this dissertation allows us to conclude that the primary theological influence on the artists of the Eadwine Leaves was the Satisfaction Theory of the Redemption as set out by Anselm of Canterbury, and that the Christological cycle clearly illustrates this while at the same time acknowledging the importance of Christ's ministry in providing humankind with a moral framework within which to live their lives.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1(i) The Eadwine Leaves

The four sheets of parchment which are the subject of this study have come to be known as the Eadwine Leaves,¹ as they are generally believed originally to have constituted a prefatory cycle of illustrations of the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17.1). The Eadwine Psalter itself derives its name from the full page illustration of the scribe Eadwine (f. 283) and was produced at Christ Church, Canterbury, between 1155 and 1160,² probably for use within the Christ Church community or for one of its senior members.³ The Psalter is a triple psalter, with three columns of text in Latin, each being one of the three versions of the medieval European psalter, that is, Romanum, Gallicanum and Hebraicum,⁴ and vernacular translation of the psalms.⁵ In addition to the illustrations of the prefatory leaves, the psalter itself contains one hundred and sixty six full page illuminations, more than five hundred fully painted major initials highlighted in gold, and numerous gold or silver minor initials⁶.

The four Leaves are fully decorated on both recto and verso, each side being subdivided into compartments by decorative borders; each compartment contains

¹ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 724; London, British Library Additional MS 37472; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 521; London, Victoria and Albert Museum 816-1894

² M. Gibson, *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth Century England* ed. M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop, & R.W. Pfaff (London and Pennsylvania: Modern Humanities Research Association and Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), p.209

³ *ibid.*, p.212

⁴ *ibid.*, p.1

⁵ T. Webber, 'Codicology and Palaeography' in *The Eadwine Psalter* ed. M. Gibson et al., pp.13-14

⁶ T. A. Heslop, in 'Decoration and Illustration' *The Eadwine Psalter* ed. M. Gibson et al., p.25

one or more individual scenes illustrating events described in the Old Testament, the New Testament, or in other historical texts. Documentary evidence suggests that the Psalter, complete with its prefatory leaves, remained at Christ Church, Canterbury, until 1584, when the Psalter was given to Cambridge University. Evidence also suggests that the prefatory Leaves were excised from the Psalter between 1597 and 1615, when the Psalter was given to Trinity College, Cambridge; the individual leaves subsequently took independent paths.

1(ii) Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of this study are first to consider the Eadwine Leaves in the social, economic, theological and artistic contexts pertaining at the date and in the location of their production, and to attempt to discern some of the variety of sources which may have influenced the illustrators of the Leaves in the planning and execution of this work. Secondly, the study aims to compare the organisation, content, style, and iconography of the illustrations of the leaves with other contemporary manuscripts in order to ascertain the extent to which they can be said to be representative of their date and place of origin. Thirdly, it is hoped that detailed consideration of the illustrations of the Leaves will shed light on the theological ideas which they illustrate, allowing an opinion to be formed about the purpose they may have been intended to serve. Finally, by consideration of contemporary theological views and attitudes that pertained to these ideas, a conclusion will be drawn as to the extent to which the illustrations of the Leaves are successful in reflecting this in the light of such views and attitudes.

1(iii) Materials

Full details of all primary and secondary sources used are given in the Bibliography at the end of this study. The primary sources should be the Eadwine Leaves themselves, but for practical and financial reasons it has not been possible to view the originals. However, high resolution digital images of three of the four Leaves are available on the websites of the British Library, London, and the Pierpont Morgan Museum, New York, and these have formed the basis of the work undertaken for this study. The fourth of the Leaves is held by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and, while digital images of this are available on the museum's website, the resolution is not as high as those of the other three leaves, and the verso is only imaged in grayscale rather than full colour; however, in the absence of any more detailed images of this leaf, these have had to suffice.

Other manuscripts have been studied from facsimiles, published catalogues including the catalogue of the 1984 exhibition of Romanesque art at the Hayward Gallery,⁷ and websites, in particular the St. Albans Psalter,⁸ and the Winchester Psalter.⁹ There is a considerable body of scholarship on Romanesque manuscript painting in England, such as *Romanesque Manuscripts: A Survey of Manuscripts Illustrated in the British Isles*,¹⁰ which provides much valuable information about manuscripts of this period, and *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066 -*

⁷ *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200* ed. G. Zarnecki, J. Holt, T. Holland (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1984)

⁸ <http://www.stalbanspsalter@abdn.ac.uk>

The website for the St. Albans Psalter Project, The University of Aberdeen

⁹ http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Nero_C_IV

The website for the British Library, London

¹⁰ C. M. Kaufmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts: A Survey of Manuscripts Illustrated in the British Isles* (London: Harvey Miller, 1975)

1200 by C. R. Dodwell.¹¹ It is therefore no surprise that the Eadwine Psalter has found its share of commentators.

Crucial to this dissertation is *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, edited by M. Gibson, T.A. Heslop and R. W. Pfaff.¹² This book sets out information pertaining to the text and illustrations of the Eadwine Psalter, with pages 25 - 42 inclusive devoted to the four prefatory Leaves which are the subject of this study. The main foci in these pages are the relationship between the Leaves and the Psalter, the visual sources of the Leaves, and the textual basis of the Leaves. This dissertation builds on this information, examining the illustrations of the Leaves both as a whole and individually, and considering their place in English manuscript illustration of the twelfth century. In doing so, it makes a contribution to our understanding of the overall design and intention of the Eadwine Leaves.

1(iv) Methodology

Four main lines of enquiry were followed in the preparation of this study. First, the information obtained from the main and supplementary reference material was analysed and considered, in order to establish a framework of ideas and images within which the Eadwine Leaves could be studied.

The Leaves themselves were then reviewed in their entirety, without particular reference to details within individual scenes, and their organisation, content, style, and iconography were compared with other contemporary manuscripts; following this, a selection of individual scenes was then examined in detail.

¹¹ C. R. Dodwell *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066 - 1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954)

¹² *The Eadwine Psalter* ed. M. Gibson at al.

A hypothesis as to the underlying theological tenet of the Leaves was then proposed, and secondary sources of information about medieval theology consulted in order to ascertain the theological views and attitudes concerning this tenet prevailing at the time when the Leaves were produced. From the work carried out, a conclusion was then drawn as to the extent to which the illustrations of the Leaves are successful in reflecting the underlying tenet in the light of such views and attitudes.

The study itself is presented in six chapters, closing with a full bibliography; each chapter is subdivided into discrete sections with subheadings as appropriate.

Reproductions of illustrations, with captions, appear in the Appendix. Footnotes are placed at the bottom of each page, with numbering beginning afresh with each chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Manuscript Illustration in Twelfth Century England

The period [the century after the Norman Conquest] is the greatest in the history of English book production. Manuscripts were . . . accurately copied, competently and often beautifully written and decorated . . . ¹

These words of N. R. Ker express a view with which few, if any, experts in the field of manuscript studies would disagree. The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries saw a rise in economic prosperity in Europe and a simultaneous intellectual revival.² These factors fuelled an increased demand for books, and by the twelfth century a significant increase in the production of books had taken place in England, as in much of the rest of Europe, with the majority of manuscripts being produced by monasteries; however, although the texts were largely written by monastic scribes, the illustration of the manuscripts was increasingly undertaken by secular artists, many of whom travelled from place to place to work.

Manuscript production in twelfth century England was concentrated in a few major centres, notably Durham, Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury, Worcester, Exeter, Rochester, Canterbury, Winchester, St. Albans, and Bury St. Edmunds;³ different traditions and priorities at each centre led to the development of individual styles of decoration.⁴ Although some secular manuscripts such as scientific, medical,

¹ N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest: The Lyell Lectures 1952-53* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) p.1

² C. M. Kauffman, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, p.11

³ N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 4

⁴ C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, pp. 12-13

and astrological texts were produced, the vast majority of the manuscripts of this period were religious and intended for use in a cathedral or other church, monastery, or for private devotion, with the psalter being the most commonly illustrated manuscript. Psalter styles varied, with some having illustrations of individual lines of the Psalms, some being illustrated at liturgical divisions, and some containing full page miniatures; many of the miniatures were of Old Testament and New Testament scenes, although there are numerous examples of miniatures of individual saints, typological illustrations and theological diagrams. Several psalters, including the St. Albans Psalter, the Eadwine Psalter, and the Winchester Psalter, contained substantial prefatory Christological cycles.

The illustration of religious manuscripts was not a static art form but one undergoing a continual process of evolution, absorbing ideas from eastern and western traditions of sculpture and carving, fresco and other painting, stained glass, enamelwork and metalwork, pottery, textiles and literature. During the seventh and eighth centuries, a style of illustration combining elements of Classical, Carolingian and Celtic traditions developed, reaching its apotheosis in the northern centres of Lindisfarne, Jarrow and Wearmouth with the production of manuscripts such as the magnificent Lindisfarne Gospels.⁵ This style, known as Insular or Anglo-Saxon, included intricate interweaving designs which often contained representations of humans, animals and plants.

⁵ British Library, London, Cotton MS Nero D. IV
Available: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv

The Anglo-Saxon style was typified by its detailed patterning, tinted outline drawings, fine lines, and figures positioned to indicate space, with their draperies arranged to create a sense of movement, as seen in this illustration of King David with his musicians (figure 1) from the Vespasian Psalter which was produced in Kent, England, during the eighth century: the two figures at the bottom of the picture seem to be dancing, an impression which is conveyed partly by their posture and gesture, and partly by the lines and folds of their clothing.

While the Anglo-Saxon style flourished in England, the Carolingian style was dominant towards the end of the eighth century in the Continental Europe of Charlemagne and his successors. This style combined elements from Byzantine art, early Christian art from the Roman era, and Anglo-Saxon art. Carolingian manuscript illustrations are characterised by increased three dimensional treatment of figures, and detailed interweaving and patterning, as exemplified by the evangelist portrait of John (figure 2) from the Lorsch Gospels, which are generally believed to have been made for Charlemagne between 778 and 820 A.D.

With the end of the Holy Roman Empire of Charlemagne, the Ottonian Empire grew in power and influence, and the Carolingian style of manuscript illustration was gradually superseded by a style known as Ottonian, which flourished particularly in centres such as Echternach and Reichenau. Although there were differences in the styles of illustration at different centres, in the Ottonian style naturalism is generally regarded as less important than the portrayal of expression, which was achieved largely by the use of gesture by the figures

depicted;⁶ this move away from naturalism can be seen by comparing illustrations typical of the two styles, such as the portraits of John from the Carolingian Lorsch Gospels (figure 2) and from the Ottonian Odalricus Peccator Gospel Lectionary which was produced in Germany in the first half of the eleventh century (figure 3).

Although manuscript illustration in England was influenced to some extent by continental styles, the Anglo-Saxon was, until the middle of the eleventh century, dominant. However, the style of illustration in English manuscripts underwent significant change following the Norman Conquest in 1066. The emphasis turned away from the simple illustration of a scene or action, and towards achieving a balanced composition; delicate lines and fine tints gave way to thicker, heavier lines and stronger colours, and figures gained expression with the increased importance attached to the inclusion of gesturing hands. The portrayal of physical space began to be regarded as undesirable as it distracted the viewer from the religious meaning, and to this end backgrounds commonly consisted of a plain rectangular panel, a backcloth in front of which figures could be carefully arranged. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman styles of illustration slowly fused, giving rise to the style known throughout northern Europe as Romanesque, and, although the Anglo-Saxon style persisted in some English centres such as Ely until the second quarter of the twelfth century, the Romanesque style dominated manuscript illustration in England in the latter half of the twelfth century, as seen in the illustrations of the Bury Bible (figure 4).⁷

⁶ 'The History of Western Painting: Western Dark Ages and medieval Christendom' in Encyclopaedia Britannica Macropedia 15th Edition Vol 25 (Chicago/London/New Delhi/Paris/Seoul/Sydney/Taipei/Tokyo: Encyclopaedia Britannica Incorporated, 2005), p. 353

⁷ C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, p. 12

With the development of the Romanesque style of illustration came a diminution of the differences in style between one geographic area and another; previously, illustrations from one part of Europe were easily distinguished from those of another, but although there were small regional differences in Romanesque style it can generally be regarded as an international style.⁸ One of the most significant features of the style is the extensive depiction of 'damp fold' draperies: an adaptation of a Byzantine style in which clothing is shown clinging to the body as if wet, outlining the form of the body beneath.⁹ Damp fold drapery is found in English manuscript illustrations from the early twelfth century, with the earliest known example dating from circa 1120.¹⁰

The education, outlook, experiences and religious beliefs of a twelfth century reader of illuminated manuscripts are very different from those of a present-day reader, and consequently their approach to, and understanding and appreciation of, the illustrations will necessarily have been very different. For example, one aspect of medieval manuscript illustration which is difficult to fully appreciate in the twenty-first century is the use of different colours, as their significance changes as society, culture, economics, fashions, and tastes change.¹¹ An example of this is the establishment of distant trade routes, by means of which new pigments may become available, or the cost of those already known reduced: for example, as the twelfth century progressed, blue superseded purple as the most

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 12

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 24

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 25

¹¹ A. Petzols, 'Of the Significance of Colour: The Iconography of Colour in Romanesque and Early Gothic Book Illumination' in *Image and Belief, Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 125

prestigious colour, probably in part at least due to expanded trade routes leading to the greater availability of ultramarine, which until then had only been sourced from what is now Afghanistan.¹² Different colours carry different connotations at different times and in different societies: for example, in twelfth - century Europe, bright red suggested kingship, and coronation mantles were often bright red.¹³ A single colour can also signify two different things, for example green used for Christ's clothing signified faith, immortality, and resurrection, while at the same time green has demonic overtones in folklore;¹⁴ in today's world, many of these subtleties and nuances which, to a twelfth century reader would have been familiar and obvious, have been lost and are no longer instantly recognised. From the above discussion of the use of colour, it can be seen that care must be taken when considering manuscripts created in an era far removed from the present.

The Norman influence affected not only the style of manuscript illumination, but also the content. For example, in the years immediately following the Norman Conquest, the practice of including a prefatory cycle of miniatures in psalters decreased but subsequently slowly revived, as exemplified by the prefatory cycle of forty eight miniatures of the St. Albans psalter which was produced in the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁵ During the same period, the approach to prayer also altered. Under the influence of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 to 1109, prayers took on a more intense and emotional approach than

¹² *ibid.*, p. 127

¹³ *ibid.*, p.128

¹⁴ *ibid* p. 130

¹⁵ Geddes, J., *The St. Albans Psalter: A Book for Christina of Markyate* (London: British Library, 2005), p.7

had previously been the norm, with a heightened sense of personal engagement; it has been suggested that illustrations of psalms in psalters assisted the viewer in his or her meditation and prayer, and it is possible that the prefatory picture cycles of psalters supported this, providing a focus for meditations and helping the viewer to empathise with the figures illustrated.

In summary, manuscript production in England in the twelfth century was at its peak, with the production of many illustrated volumes. Stylistically, illustrations changed as the Romanesque style developed and eventually superseded the earlier Anglo-Saxon style; this meant that lines became thicker, colours stronger, gestures of figures increased in importance, draperies took on a damp fold appearance, backgrounds became increasingly simplified culminating in plain panels of colour, and the composition and balance of a scene became more important than the simple portrayal of the persons and events within the scene. It has been recognised and acknowledged that any study of medieval manuscript illustrations must take into account the social, cultural, religious and economic differences between that period and the present.

CHAPTER 3

The Eadwine Leaves

The Eadwine Leaves are comprised of four leaves of calf vellum, each measuring approximately 460mm in height and 330mm in width;¹ each leaf is decorated on both recto and verso with miniature scenes which illustrate events described in the Old Testament or the New Testament, although a very few are derived from other texts and are apocryphal or legendary in character. The overall layout on each leaf is of twelve compartments arranged in four rows of three, but this is not strictly adhered to throughout each of the eight illustrated sides, with some scenes taking the space normally occupied by two or more scenes, while in other places the space for a single scene is subdivided to allow the illustration of two or more smaller scenes. Each compartment is bounded by its own individual gold frame within a black outline; the compartments are separated one from another by horizontal and vertical coloured, ornamented borders which, however, are in places breached with a foot of a figure or detail of architecture spilling out of the space confined within. Although it is felt that they are worthy of more detailed consideration and analysis, these borders fall outside the scope of the current study; however, it should be noted that, while their colours and motifs reappear from leaf to leaf, there appears to be no discernible overall pattern or order in their usage. The colour scheme used in the Leaves is similar to that of the Eadwine Psalter itself, with the pigments and gold of the Leaves and the Psalter being 'indistinguishable in hue, tone, texture and thickness.'² The colours are

¹ N. Pickwood, 'Codicology and Paleography' in *The Eadwine Psalter*, ed.M. Gibson et al., p. 4

² T. A. Heslop, *ibid.*, p.27

restricted in number, being blue, red, green, yellow ochre, brown and white, and have been identified as being watercolour with egg or gum binding.³

The suggestion that the Eadwine Leaves originally formed a prefatory cycle to the Eadwine Psalter was first put forward by Hans Swarzenski in 1938,⁴ and endorsed by C. R. Dodwell in 1954. In support of this hypothesis, Dodwell offered several pieces of evidence, including similarities between the iconography, details in individual illustrations, and the colour schemes in the Leaves and the Psalter, and between the painted areas of the Leaves and the ruled space in the Psalter.⁵ Also in support of the hypothesis, T. A. Heslop detailed evidence regarding similarities between the leaves and the Psalter of their vellum size, inclusion of silk shields and sewing holes.⁶ Heslop regarded the body of evidence from Dodwell and his own research as adequate to uphold fully the hypothesis that the Eadwine Leaves did indeed originally form a prefatory picture cycle in the Eadwine Psalter,⁷ and no contradictory evidence has been found during the course of the current study. The Eadwine Psalter, with its prefatory Leaves, was almost certainly produced at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the middle of the twelfth century. Heslop notes that the Calendar commemorates the dedication of Christ Church in 1130,⁸ and Woodman notes that the Waterworks Drawings, produced before 1774, were added to the Psalter after its completion;⁹

³ <http://www.collections.vam.ac.uk/item086305/leaf-from-a-psalter-eadwine-manuscript-unknown>

⁴ H. Swarzenski, 'Unknown Bible Pictures by W. de Brailes and Some Notes on Early English Bible Illustration', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol 1, 1938, p. 67

⁵ C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, p. 100

⁶ T. A. Heslop, 'Decoration and Illustration' in *The Eadwine Psalter*, ed. Gibson *et al*, p. 28

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 29

⁸ T. A. Heslop, 'The History of the Eadwine Psalter' in *The Eadwine Psalter*, ed. Gibson *et al*, p. 193

⁹ F. Woodman, 'The Waterworks drawings of the Eadwine Psalter' in *The Eadwine Psalter*, ed. Gibson *et al*, p. 171

these two facts, taken together, indicate the date of production of the Eadwine Psalter was after 1130 and before 1174.

The earliest known documentary evidence of the Eadwine Psalter is an entry in the library catalogue of Edmund, Prior of Canterbury, which was compiled between 1284 and 1331.¹⁰ In 1584, the Leaves and the Psalter were given to Cambridge University by Richard Arkininstall. Between 1597 and 1615, the four prefatory Leaves were excised from the Psalter; Thomas Neville (Dean of Christchurch, Canterbury from 1597 to 1615) gave the Psalter to Trinity College, Cambridge without the Leaves. There is no known documentary evidence detailing the whereabouts of the Leaves after their separation from the Psalter until 1838¹¹ when, following the death of William Young Ottley in 1836, they were sold at Sotheby's, London, to four different purchasers. Leaf 1 (PM MS M.521) was bought by Payne and Foss, who sold it on to Quaritch in 1893; J. Pierpont Morgan bought it in 1911 and it is currently still in the Pierpont Morgan collection. These histories can be shown diagrammatically as seen in figure 5 (Appendix 1).

¹⁰ T. A. Heslop, in 'The History of the Eadwine Psalter' in *The Eadwine Psalter*, ed. Gibson *et al*, p. 193

¹¹ <http://www.themorgan.org/collections/collections.asp?id=406>

The eight sides of the Leaves depict scenes from the Old Testament and the New Testament together with some that are taken from non-Biblical sources. The organisation of the scenes is summarised as follows:

Leaf 1	recto	Old Testament	Scenes from the lives of Moses and David
	verso	Old Testament	Scenes from the life of David; Jesse Tree;
		New Testament	Scenes relating to the births of John the Baptist and Christ
Leaf 2	recto	New Testament	Christ's infancy
	verso	New Testament	Christ's adult life: baptism; temptations; ministry: miracles
Leaf 3	recto	New Testament	Christ's ministry: miracles, parables
	verso	New Testament	Christ's Passion
Leaf 4	recto	New Testament	Passion; Crucifixion
	verso	New Testament	Entombment; Resurrection; Ascension; Pentecost

Reproductions of the eight sides of the Leaves are given in Appendix 1, figures 6 - 13 inclusive. The following pages give descriptions of the scenes depicted on each leaf, and details of the biblical (or other) text which each illustrates. The description of each scene is taken from the websites of the places where they are held, namely the Pierpont Morgan Museum, the British Library, and the Victoria

and Albert Museum, and from the catalogue of the Exhibition of Romanesque Art held at the Hayward Gallery, London, in 1984. The textual sources for each scene are taken from T.A.Heslop's analysis on pages 40 and 41 of *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-century Canterbury* edited by Margaret Gibson, T.A. Heslop and Richard W. Pfaff (1992): each given source has been read and checked for its relevance to the scene; in some instances, further sources have also been identified for a scene and these are discussed below.

Leaf 1 recto			
row	column	subdivision	scene
1	1	upper	left: Pharaoh with midwives Shiprah and Puah <i>Exodus 1. 15-19</i> right: Jochebed with Moses <i>Exodus 2. 2-3</i>
		lower	Moses in basket in river <i>Exodus 2. 3</i>
	2	upper	left: woman lifts Moses out of river <i>Exodus 2. 5</i> Moses handed to Miriam <i>Exodus 2. 6 and Josephus: Antiquities of the Jews II ix.5</i>
		lower	left: Moses as child at court of Pharaoh <i>Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews II ix.7</i> right: Moses tramples Pharaoh's crown <i>Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews II ix.7</i>
	3	upper	Moses and Miracle of Burning Bush, Miracle of Rod <i>Exodus 3. 1-2 and 4. 2-3, 6</i>
		lower	Moses, Aaron and Miracle of Rod <i>Exodus 8. 10-12</i>
2	1		Moses crossing Red Sea <i>Exodus 14. 22</i>
	2		Moses crossing Red Sea <i>Exodus 14. 27-28</i>
	3		Moses' camp in the wilderness, quails and manna <i>Exodus 16. 13-17</i>
3	1		left: Moses receiving the Law <i>Exodus 34. 4</i> right: Moses and the serpent of brass on column
	2		Joshua and the conquest of Jericho <i>Joshua 6. 20</i>
	3		Saul proclaimed King and crowned <i>1 Samuel 10.24 fulfilling Deuteronomy 17.14-20</i>
4	1		David arming himself before Saul <i>1 Samuel 17. 38</i>
	2		David slinging at Goliath <i>1 Samuel 17. 40-49</i>
	3		left: David carrying Goliath's head, walks away right: David beheading Goliath <i>1 Samuel 17. 45-51 and 37</i>

Leaf 1 verso			
row	column	subdivision	scene
1	1		David proclaimed King <i>I Kings 1. 30</i>
	2		David and the battle against Zion <i>I Kings 1. 38</i>
	3		Visitation - Mary and Elizabeth <i>Luke 1. 39-55</i>
2	1 & 2		Tree of Jesse <i>Isaiah 11. 1-2, with Annunciation to Mary Luke 1. 28-38, Espousal of Mary and Joseph I Luke 1. 2, and Annunciation to Zacchariah Luke 1. 11-20</i>
	3		Birth of John the Baptist <i>Luke 1. 57-61</i>
3	1 & 2		Tree of Jesse (as above)
	3		Naming of John the Baptist <i>Luke 1. 63</i>
4	1 & 2		Tree of Jesse (as above)
	3		Birth of Christ <i>Luke 2. 7</i>

Leaf 2 recto			
row	column	subdivision	scene
1	1		Annunciation to Shepherds <i>Luke 2. 8-14</i>
	2		Magi follow the star <i>Matthew 2. 1-2</i>
	3		Magi visit Herod <i>Matthew 2. 2-3</i>
2	1		Herod asks wise men to tell him where Jesus is <i>Matthew 2. 4-6</i>
	2		Wise men leave Herod to find Jesus <i>Matthew 2. 19</i>
	3		Adoration of the Magi <i>Matthew 2. 11</i>
3	1		Angel comes to wise men in dream <i>Matthew 2. 12</i>
	2		Presentation of Jesus in the Temple <i>Luke 2. 22-34</i>
	3		Angel comes to Joseph in a dream <i>Matthew 2. 13</i>
4	1		Flight into Egypt <i>Matthew 2. 14</i>
	2		Massacre of the Innocents <i>Matthew 2. 16-18</i>
	3		Herod's suicide <i>Matthew 2. 15, 19 and</i> <i>Josephus: Antiquities of the JewsXVII.vii.1</i>

Leaf 2 verso			
row	column	subdivision	scene
1	1		Baptism of Christ <i>Matthew 3. 15-17</i>
	2	upper	Wedding at Cana <i>John 2. 1-2</i>
		lower	Christ orders servants to fetch the wine <i>John 2. 3-5</i>
	3		Wine is brought <i>John 2. 7-8</i>
2	1		First temptation of Christ <i>Matthew 4. 3-4 Luke 4. 3-4</i>
	2		Second Temptation of Christ <i>Matthew 4. 5-, Luke 4. 9-13</i>
	3		Third temptation of Christ <i>Matthew 4. 8-10, Luke 4. 5-8</i>
3	1		Healing the leper <i>Matthew 8. 2-3</i>
	2	upper	Christ heals Peter's mother-in-law <i>Matthew 8. 14</i>
		lower	Peter's mother-in-law waits on Christ <i>Matthew 8. 15</i>
	3	upper	Foxes have holes <i>Matthew 8. 20</i>
		lower	Christ with Apostles <i>Matthew 8. 19</i>
4	1	upper	Calming the storm <i>Matthew 8. 24-26</i>
		lower	Christ cures the men possessed by demons <i>Matthew 8. 28-32</i>
	2	upper	Paralysed man brought to Christ <i>Matthew 9. 2</i>
		lower	Christ cures the paralysed man <i>Matthew 9. 7</i>
	3	upper	Jairus asks Christ to raise his daughter <i>Matthew 9. 18</i>
		lower	Christ raises Jairus' daughter from the dead <i>Matthew 9. 25</i>

Leaf 3 recto			
row	column	subdivision	scene
1	1	upper	Blind men call to Christ <i>Matthew 9. 27</i>
		lower	Christ heals the blind men <i>Matthew 9. 28-30</i>
	2	upper	Apostles eat corn on the Sabbath <i>Matthew 12. 1</i>
		lower	Christ and Apostles rebuked by Pharisees <i>Matthew 12. 2-8</i>
	3	upper	Christ heals a man's withered hand <i>Matthew 12. 10-13</i>
		lower	Christ heals the dumb man possessed by demons <i>Matthew 12. 22</i>
2	1	upper	Disciples bring loaves and fishes to Christ <i>Matthew 14. 18</i>
		lower	Christ feeding the five thousand <i>Matthew 14. 19-21</i>
	2	upper	Christ praying on the mountain <i>Matthew 14.22-23</i>
		lower	Christ and Peter walking on the water <i>Matthew 14. 24-33</i>
	3	upper	Canaanite woman asks Christ to help her daughter <i>Matthew 15. 22</i>
		lower	Dogs eating crumbs fallen from the table <i>Matthew 15. 27</i>
3	1	upper	Peter receives the keys of Heaven from Christ <i>Matthew 16. 13-20</i>
		lower	The Transfiguration <i>Matthew 17. 1-13</i>
	2	upper	Parable of the unmerciful servant <i>Matthew 18. 23-34</i>
		lower	The debtor led to prison <i>Matthew 18. 23-34</i>
	3	upper	Parable of the vineyard <i>Matthew 20. 1-16</i>
		lower	<i>Matthew 20. 1-16</i>
4	1	upper	Woman taken in adultery <i>John 8. 3-5</i>
		lower	Christ stops the stoning. <i>John 8. 6-10</i>
	2	upper	Rich man seated, to right Lazarus dies <i>Luke 16. 19-31</i>
		lower, left & right	Rich man dies, suffers, to right Lazarus in heaven <i>Luke 16. 19-31</i>
	3	upper, left, centre & right	Parable of the Prodigal Son <i>Luke 15. 11-32</i>
		centre, left & right	Parable of the Prodigal Son (continued) <i>Luke 15. 11-32</i>
		lower, left, centre & right	Parable of the Prodigal Son (continued) <i>Luke 15. 11-32</i>

Leaf 3 verso			
row	column	subdivision	scene
1	1	upper	The wise and foolish virgins <i>Matthew 25. 1-13</i>
		lower	The wise and foolish virgins (continued) <i>Matthew 25. 1-13</i>
	2	upper	Parable of the talents <i>Matthew 25.14-30</i>
		lower	Parable of the talents (continued) <i>Matthew 25.14-30</i>
	3	upper	Christ talks to Zaccheus in the tree <i>Luke 19. 2</i>
		lower	Zaccheus offers Christ a dish as he sits at table <i>Luke 19. 6</i>
2	1	upper	Simon the leper <i>Matthew 26. 6 and John 12. 2</i>
		lower	Mary Magdalen (?) anoints Christ's feet, wipes them with her hair <i>Luke 7. 38</i>
	2	upper	Christ meets Samaritan woman at well <i>John 4. 7-27</i>
		lower	Christ followed by Samaritans <i>John 4. 40</i>
	3	upper	Christ in House of Martha and Mary; left, Mary kneels at his feet, right, Martha beneath arch <i>Luke 10. 39</i>
		lower	Christ's head anointed by woman <i>Matthew 26. 7</i>
3	1	upper	Mary and Martha comforted <i>John 11. 19-32</i>
		lower	Raising of Lazarus <i>John 11. 39-44</i>
	2	upper	Apostles fetch ass <i>Luke 19. 30-34</i>
		lower	Christ's entry into Jerusalem <i>Luke 19. 35</i>
	3	upper	Judas receiving silver in payment <i>Luke 22. 3-4</i>
		lower	Judas receiving silver in payment (continued) <i>Luke 22. 5-6</i>
4	1	upper	Preparation of Last Supper <i>Luke 22. 10</i>
		lower	Christ and Apostles at Last Supper <i>John 13. 21-27</i>
	2	upper	Christ washes feet of Peter <i>John 13. 6-9</i>
		lower	Christ in Gethsemane, right, apostles sleeping <i>Luke 22. 41-46</i>
	3	upper,	Betrayal of Christ <i>Luke 22. 47</i>
		lower	Betrayal of Christ (continued) <i>John 18. 3-10 & Luke 22. 51</i>

Leaf 4 recto			
row	column	subdivision	scene
1	1	upper	Christ before Annas <i>John 18. 13</i>
		lower	Peter's first denial of Christ <i>Luke 22. 53</i>
	2	upper	Soldier strikes Christ <i>John 18. 22</i>
		lower	Peter's second denial <i>Luke 22. 62</i>
	3	upper	Christ led before Caiaphas <i>John 18.24</i>
		lower	Peter's third denial <i>John 18. 16</i>
2	1		Christ in the hall of judgement <i>Luke 22. 68</i>
	2	upper	The mocking of Christ <i>Luke 22. 63</i>
		lower	The scourging of Christ <i>John 19. 1</i>
	3		The crown of thorns <i>John 19. 2-3</i>
3	1	upper	Christ carrying the cross <i>Luke 23. 25</i>
		lower	Simon of Cyrene carries Christ's cross <i>Luke 23. 26</i>
	2	upper	The crosses erected <i>Luke 23. 32-33</i>
		lower	Christ and the thieves on the crosses <i>John 19. 29</i>
	3	upper	Longinus pierces Christ's side; two men break thieves' legs <i>John 19. 31-37</i>
		lower	The earthquake <i>Matthew 28. 51</i>
4	1		Crucifixion of Christ, with Mary and John <i>John 19. and Luke 23</i>
	2	upper	Joseph of Arimathea begs Pilate for Christ's body <i>John 19. 38</i>
		lower	Joseph of Arimathea leads women to deposition from the cross <i>John 19, 39-40</i>
	3		The deposition from the cross <i>John 19. 39-40, Luke 23. 53</i>

Leaf 4 verso			
row	column	subdivision	scene
1	1	upper	Jews ask Pilate for a guard <i>John 19. 21-22</i>
		lower	Soldiers cast lots for Christ's clothes <i>John 19. 23-24</i>
	2	upper	Swathing of Christ's Body <i>John 19. 40</i>
		lower	The entombment <i>John 19. 42</i>
	3	upper	Three Marys at the tomb <i>Luke 24. 1-7</i>
		lower	Peter and John at the tomb <i>John 20. 4-8 & Luke 24. 12</i>
2	1	upper	Mary Magdalene at the tomb <i>John 20. 12</i>
		lower	Noli me tangere <i>John 20. 17</i>
	2	upper	Journey to Emmaus <i>Luke 24. 15</i>
		lower	Journey to Emmaus (continued) <i>Luke 24. 29</i>
	3	upper	Supper at Emmaus <i>Luke 24. 30</i>
		lower	Christ rises to leave <i>Luke 24. 51</i>
3	1	upper	Christ appears to the disciples <i>Luke 24. 36</i>
		lower	Christ appears to the disciples (continued) <i>Luke 24. 39</i>
	2	upper	Incredulity of Thomas <i>John 20. 27</i>
		lower	Thomas believes and prostrates himself <i>John 20. 28</i>
	3	upper	Christ appears on shore of Tiberias <i>John 21. 11</i>
		lower	Christ eats with the disciples <i>John 21. 15-19</i>
4	1	upper	Disciples touch Christ's arm <i>Luke 24. 40</i>
		lower	Disciples give Christ fish and honeycomb <i>Luke 24. 42</i>
	2		The Ascension <i>Luke 24. 51 & Acts 1. 9-11</i>
	3		Pentecost <i>Acts 2. 1-4</i>

From consideration of the artistic styles employed, Dodwell suggested that the illustrations of the Leaves were the work of two different artists, with the first being responsible for the illustrations of Leaves 1, 2, 3, and half of Leaf 4 recto, and the second artist being responsible for the rest of Leaf 4 recto and all of Leaf 4 verso;¹² while accepting that the issue of style in the illustrations of the Leaves is complex, Heslop was in general agreement with this view.¹³ In 2009, a fresh interpretation of the evidence was put forward by J. Munns.¹⁴ He proposed a three-artist theory, with the following attribution of work:

Artist 1

Leaf 1 recto and verso; Leaf 2 recto; Leaf 2 verso Rows 1, 2, Row 3 column 1

Artist 2

Leaf 2 verso Row 3 columns 2 and 3, Row 4; Leaf 3 recto and verso;

Leaf 4 recto Rows 1 and 2

Artist 3

Leaf 4 recto Rows 3 and 4; Leaf 4 verso

Munns's suggestion was based on his analysis of a number of factors, including the pace of the cycle, the number of scenes depicted within each compartment, the number of figures in each scene, drapery styles, and inclusion and detail of architecture. In the course of this study, no evidence has been found that conflicts with or contradicts Munns's hypothesis and on this basis it is therefore presumed to be correct.

¹² C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, p. 101

¹³ T. A. Heslop, 'Decoration and Illustration' in *The Eadwine Psalter*, ed. Gibson *et al*, p. 27

¹⁴ J. Munns, 'The Artists of the Eadwine Leaves', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2009), pp. 115-126

Several suggestions have been put forward with regard to earlier cycles of illustrations of which the Eadwine Leaves may be a copy, or which the artists of the Leaves may have used as a model. Kauffmann stated that the Leaves, together with the St. Albans Psalter and the New Testament in Pembroke College were ' . . . probably derived from a common model similar to the 11th century Ottonian cycles from Echternach . . . '; however, he also acknowledged that the Leaves contain more scenes than any known Ottonian manuscript, and suggests that their content may have been influenced by the 6th/7th century cycle in the Gospels held by Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Gospels of St. Augustine, Corpus Christi M.S286):¹⁵ examination of the two surviving leaves of this cycle shows one with twelve scenes arranged in four rows of three, some informally subdivided horizontally as in the Eadwine Leaves, and the other containing the rare scene 'Foxes Have Holes' (Matthew 8. 20 and Luke 9. 58) which also appears in the Eadwine Leaves. Heslop concludes that although there is some commonality between the Augustine Gospels and the Eadwine Leaves, there are also significant differences between them in terms of their iconography and composition.¹⁶ Heslop further suggests that the artists of the Eadwine Leaves may have used a prefatory cycle of the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht Univ. Lib., 32) as their model, although he acknowledges that it cannot be ascertained with any certainty whether or not *Utrecht* did originally contain a prefatory cycle of illustrations.¹⁷ Kauffmann drew attention to the similarities between the Eadwine Leaves and the prefatory cycles of two other twelfth-century English manuscripts, identified as the St. Albans Psalter and the Bury Gospels (Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS

¹⁵ F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospel of St. Augustine (Corpus Christi MS 286)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 13

¹⁶ T. A. Heslop, 'Decoration and Illustration' in *The Eadwine Psalter*, ed. Gibson *et al.*, p. 29

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 29

120; no.35)¹⁸, and suggested that, although none of these was a direct copy of another, there were strong indications of linkage between them, and raised the possibility that the artists of each based their work around an earlier common prototype.¹⁹

The Tiberius Psalter (British Library, BL, Cotton MS. Tib. C. VI), which contains a prefatory cycle of miniatures, was produced in Winchester in the middle of the eleventh century. Two twelfth century English psalters with substantial prefatory cycles are the Harley Psalter (London, British Library, Harley MS 603) and the Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero C IV). A copy of the Eadwine Psalter, together with a similar prefatory cycle, is the Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris lat. 8846), which was also produced in Canterbury during the latter part of the twelfth century.

The prefatory cycle of illustrations in the St. Albans Psalter begins with the scenes from Genesis of the Garden of Eden, the Fall, and the subsequent expulsion by God of Adam and Eve from Paradise; the cycle from the Winchester Psalter also begins with Adam and Eve and other scenes from Genesis. The Eadwine Leaves, however, have no Genesis scenes, beginning instead at Exodus, showing scenes from the life of Moses. This has led to the suggestion that, without the customary opening Genesis scenes, the Eadwine Leaves cycle is incomplete and that one or more of its leaves have been lost.²⁰ However, Henderson noted that the scenes on Leaf 1 recto summarise the text in Psalm 77

¹⁸ C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, p. 32

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 33

²⁰ T.A. Helsop, 'Decoration and Illustration' in *The Eadwine Psalter* ed. Gibson *et al*, p. 26

(78 in BCP);²¹ Saint Augustine, in his commentary on this psalm, said that

. . . For it is not from the beginning, what time the Heaven and earth were made, nor what time humankind was created in the first man: but what time the congregation that was led out of Egypt . . .

From this it is seen that, to Augustine, the 'beginning' meant not the beginning of the Old Testament of the Creation followed by the story of Adam and Eve, but rather the delivery of the Jews from Egypt by Moses. As Moses, (and David, scenes from whose life are also depicted on Leaf 1) were regarded as types for Christ, it could be hypothesised that the Old Testament scenes of the Eadwine Leaves served a typological purpose in foreshadowing the life of Christ. This expands Henderson's suggestion that ' . . . the first leaf was planned to provide a specific thematic preface to the New Testament subjects chosen, rather than being merely the tail end of a long Old Testament cycle, now lost, reproducing some earlier model.'²²

If the Old Testament scenes were so carefully chosen, and for such a specific purpose, then it may be inferred that the same applies to the New Testament scenes. This raises the question as to what criteria led to the inclusion of some scenes and the exclusion of others. As is evident from the information presented in Tables 1 - 8, the textual sources of the New Testament scenes do not follow a simple progression through one Gospel, nor do they illustrate the events of Christ's life and his ministry in strict chronological order; rather, they move back and forth between Gospels, suggesting a purpose beyond merely the narration of the life of Christ. It is the contention of this study that the overall purpose of the

²¹ Henderson, G. 'Decoration and Illustration' in *The Eadwine Psalter*, ed. Gibson *et al*, p. 36

²² *ibid.*, p. 35

Eadwine Leaves was to illustrate The Redemption, that is, the salvation of mankind brought about by the Incarnation, Passion and Crucifixion of Christ.

Medieval views of the Redemption are discussed in Chapter 4, while in Chapter 5 individual scenes and their relevance to the above hypothesis are discussed.

CHAPTER 4

Medieval Views of the Redemption

A fundamental doctrine of Christianity is that, by his incarnation, passion and death on the cross, Christ was the redeemer of humankind, securing its salvation. This is known as The Redemption, or Atonement. In the modern world, the words 'redemption' and 'atonement' are regarded as being virtually synonymous with each other, but the word 'atonement', (which was derived from the Middle English term 'onement', meaning 'at one with') was not used in this way until the early sixteenth century;¹ as this study pertains to a period at least three centuries before this, the word 'redemption' will be used exclusively throughout.

The Oxford Dictionary of English gives the following definitions:²

- redemption: 1. the act of saving or being saved from sin, error, or evil
 2. the action of regaining or gaining possession of
 something in exchange for payment, or clearing of a debt

Applying these to the Christian doctrine of The Redemption in which Christ redeemed mankind, four questions arise, namely a) What was the nature of the sin, error, or evil from which Christ saved mankind? b) What was regained? c) What was given as payment, or to clear a debt? and d) By whom and to whom was payment made? The answers to these questions have changed and evolved over the centuries, with several different theories of the Redemption having been put forward at different times.

¹ C. W. Marx, *The Devil's Rights and the Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1995), p.3

² Oxford Dictionary of English, ed. C. Soames and A. Stevenson, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 1475

One of the earliest documented theories of the Redemption can be found in the writings of Early Christian fathers such as the second century theologians Irenaeus and Origen. It has come to be known as the Ransom Theory; as it was the view of many (though not all) of the Early Christian fathers, or Patricians, it is also known as the Patristic Theory; and Aulen refers to it as the Classic Theory.³ According to the Ransom Theory, the death of Christ on the cross was a ransom payment to Satan as satisfaction for the souls of mankind which Satan held in bondage following the original sin committed by Adam.⁴ In terms of the questions posed above, the Ransom Theory proposes that a) the sin was Adam's original sin, b) the souls of mankind were regained, c) the payment was Christ's death, and d) the payment was made by God to Satan. References to Christ's death on the cross as a ransom payment for the salvation of mankind are found in the New Testament, for example in Timothy 2:5-6:

5. For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus;

6. Who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.

and in Mark 10:45:

For even the Son of man came not to be ministered to but to minister, and to give his life as a ransom for many.

The concept of payment of a ransom in exchange for a prisoner was a familiar one in the medieval period, with the release of prisoners of war frequently being secured by such a means; the Ransom theory of the Redemption prevailed at this time, following the teachings of, amongst others, Augustine of Hippo (354-430

³ G. Aulen, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three main Types of the Idea of the Atonement*, transl. A. G. Herbert (London: SPCK, 1931), pp. 50-51

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 50-51

AD), whose writings on the subject were very influential in the Western Christian church. In his *Ethics*, Augustine states that

. . . universal order requires the subordination of what is lower in the scale to what is higher: body is subject to spirit and spirit to God.⁵

For Augustine, original sin and the Redemption were inextricably linked. His view was that, by his act of original sin, Adam chose to reject this natural order, and thus yielded to Satan, which gave Satan power and rights over all mankind; this could not be reversed by man but by God alone, and was effected by the ransom payment to Satan of the innocent Christ's death. God tricked Satan, who did not know that Jesus was actually God; Satan could not have power over Jesus' soul: God emerged victorious and Satan was defeated.⁶

However, it should also be noted that Augustine did not adhere exclusively to the Ransom theory of the Redemption; there are references in his writings to the role of Christ being to set an example to mankind through his ministry of divine love and grace, an approach developed further in the Moral Influence theory, which is discussed later in this chapter.

Anselm of Canterbury (1034 - 1109AD) rejected the Ransom theory of the Redemption, proposing instead an alternative which became known as the Satisfaction theory (or the Scholastic theory). This was set out in Anselm's book *Cur Deus Homo*, which was written between 1094 and 1098.⁷ The customs of the feudal system by which medieval society was governed entitled a person who had suffered a wrong at the hands of another to demand recompense from the

⁵ 'Augustine', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Macropedia* 15th Edition, Vol. 14, p. 399

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 399

⁷ 'Anselm', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica.Micropedia*, 15th Edition, Vol. 1, p. 434

offender for the offence; the amount of the recompense, or satisfaction, to be paid depended on the status of the person wronged, so that the higher their status the greater the recompense due: thus an offence committed against a king would incur greater recompense to be paid than if the same offence were to be committed against a nobleman, which would in turn incur greater recompense to be paid than if the same offence were to be committed against a peasant.⁸ This custom underpins the Satisfaction theory of the Redemption: through the original sin committed by Adam, man committed a sin against God for which recompense was required, but the respective statuses of God and man meant that man could never pay sufficient recompense and so satisfaction by this means was unattainable. The satisfaction due to God could only be made by Christ, who voluntarily accepted his own death and thus secured the salvation of mankind.⁹

It is thus seen that the Ransom theory and the Satisfaction theory differ in the identity of the person to whom payment is due: in the Ransom theory, this is Satan, while in the Satisfaction theory it is God (although it should be noted that some writers did suggest an adaptation of the Ransom theory in which payment was due to God).¹⁰ Anselm rejected the idea that Adam's original sin meant that Satan acquired rights and power over mankind and was therefore owed payment; he also rejected the suggestion that the offence of the original sin committed by Adam was passed on to every individual; by this means, Anselm removed any connection between original sin and the Redemption of mankind by Christ. In

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 434

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 434

¹⁰ '*Doctrines and Dogmas, Religious: Salvation*' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Macropedia* 15th Edition, Vol.17 p. 415

Anselm's view, God owed Satan nothing but punishment, and God alone had any rights over mankind.¹¹

For Anselm, the Incarnation was the 'necessary (but freely chosen) means for accomplishing man's salvation.'¹² The idea that the incarnation of Christ took place in order to secure the salvation of mankind is found in various Bible references, as well as in the words of the Nicene Creed, which originated in the fourth century:

I believe in one God . . . And in one Lord Jesus Christ . . . Who for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate . . .

Anselm's view of the fundamental necessity of the Incarnation is another departure from the Ransom theory viewpoint, which was that the incarnation occurred simply because it was more suitable for God to treat Satan with justice than with force.¹³

Although the Ransom Theory was the prevailing view in the Western Christian church for centuries, a theory known as the Moral Influence theory gained in popularity during the early twelfth century. This theory, which is referred to by Aulen as the Idealistic or Subjective Theory,¹⁴ was held by some of the Fathers of the Early Christian Church and was widely advocated by some medieval theologians, including Peter Abelard, as a reaction against Anselm's Satisfaction theory.¹⁵ Writings of the Early Christian Fathers include the suggestion that the

¹¹ J. Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), p. 27

¹² *ibid.*, p. 190

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 27

¹⁴ Aulen, *Christus Victor*, p. 18

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 26

role of Christ was, by his example and his teaching, to bring about a positive change in the morality of mankind.¹⁶ The Moral Influence theory develops this idea, stating that the purpose of Christ's death was not to satisfy the recompense due by mankind to God, but rather to demonstrate God's all-embracing, unending love, so that mankind would repent of all sins.

At the time when the illustrations of the Eadwine Leaves were being created, each of these three theories had its adherents; controversy abounded, with fierce debate between theologians in different centres. For example, Bernard of Clairvaux was a staunch supporter of Anselm's Satisfaction theory and wrote in its defence and against the Moral Influence theory,¹⁷ while Peter Abelard and Peter Lombard argued the opposite point of view.¹⁸

It would seem likely that, if the intention of the artists of the Eadwine Leaves was to illustrate the redemption, the choice of scenes illustrated would be influenced by one of these theories over the other two; this is discussed further in Chapter 5.

¹⁶ Augustine of Hippo, 'Sermon 261' in *The Fathers of the Church, Vol.38*, transl. M. S. Muldowney, p. 379

¹⁷ W. Dyrness, V-M Kärkkäinen, *Global Dictionary of Theology: A resource for the Worldwide Church* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press England, 2008), p. 89

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 89

CHAPTER 5

The Illustrations of the Eadwine Leaves

A Introduction

The parameters of this study preclude detailed analysis of all the scenes depicted in the Eadwine Leaves and it has therefore been necessary to select a small number of scenes for individual consideration. The Old Testament scenes, together with New Testament scenes showing events of Christ's life, have been selected as being most suited to achieving the overall objective, namely to form a view as to the extent to which the Leaves can be considered to illustrate one (or more) of the three theories of the Redemption outlined in Chapter 4. To this end, the following scenes will be considered in detail:

- Old Testament:**
 - seven scenes from the life of Moses
 - three scenes from the life of David
 - The Tree of Jesse
- New Testament:**
 - Nativity of Christ
 - Baptism of Christ
 - Three Temptations of Christ by Satan
 - Transfiguration
 - Crucifixion
 - Ascension

It will be seen from the above that the New Testament scenes depicting Christ's infancy, ministry and Passion (with the exception of the Crucifixion itself) will not be studied in detail, although they are worthy of further study.

The rationale for the selection of scenes for study was the consideration of the relative importance of each scene to the overall objective. Typology played an important part in twelfth-century theological thought, and, in the light of this, consideration of the Old Testament scenes was essential to the study. The Transfiguration is included because of its links to the Old Testament, and the revelation of Christ as 'God-man' who will redeem mankind. The Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Ascension of Christ were all essential to the idea of the Redemption and are therefore seen as crucial elements to this study. The Redemption may be regarded as the triumph of God over Satan, or good over evil; this accounts for the inclusion of the three scenes of the Temptations of Christ by Satan. Pentecost was deemed to merit inclusion because the descent of the Holy Spirit to the disciples enabled the mission of disseminating the news of God's love for mankind and of their salvation to begin in earnest.

With the exception of the Nativity as noted above, Christ's infancy plays no essential role in the theories of the Redemption and these scenes are therefore excluded from the study. Although Christ's ministry was fundamental to the Moral Influence theory of the Redemption, these scenes are not analysed in detail as it was felt that the importance of the ministry lay rather in the fact of its having taken place than in the many individual miracles and parables of which it was comprised. Other scenes of Christ's passion, and the scenes between the

Crucifixion and Ascension are excluded as they are not thought to be central to the theories of the Redemption.

Typology

As has already been noted, typology was important to medieval theologians.

According to the theory, which originated in the Early Christian church, figures and events in the Old Testament prefigure those of the New Testament.

Augustine wrote

It is the new covenant being foreshadowed in the old.¹

The Old Testament figures and events are known as 'types' and the New Testament figures and events which they prefigure are known as 'antitypes'. The Bible itself provided the basis for the development of typology, with passages such as the following in St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians found in 2 Corinthians 3. 14-16 suggesting that the Old Testament can only be understood with reference to the New Testament:

- 14 But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same vail untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament: which vail is done away in Christ.
- 15 But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart.
16. Nevertheless when it shall turn to the Lord the vail shall be taken away.

These ideas will be considered in relation to the Old Testament scenes of the Eadwine Leaves.

¹ Augustine of Hippo, 'City of God, XVI, 26' in *The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 14*, transl. Walsh, G.C. and Monahan, G. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1952), p. 536

B The Old Testament scenes

Introduction

The Old Testament scenes are found on Leaf 1 recto and verso (Pierpont Morgan 724r and v). They fall into four groups, namely a) scenes from the life of Moses, b) a single scene of Joshua, c) scenes from the Life of David, and d) the Tree of Jesse. The sequence of Old Testament scenes begins with the birth of Moses, illustrating Exodus 1. 15-22. This is a departure from the pattern seen in other pictorial cycles of the period, which typically start with scenes from Genesis depicting Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and their subsequent expulsion therefrom by God; for example, both the St. Albans Psalter² and the Winchester Psalter³ contain such scenes from Genesis. Consideration of the many similarities between the Eadwine Leaves and the Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Latin 8846) whose prefatory cycle does include Genesis scenes, led Kauffmann to suggest that the lack of such scenes in the Eadwine Leaves could be due to pages having been lost;⁴ however, Heslop refutes this suggestion and offers convincing evidence to support his view.⁵ From the evidence available, the conclusions drawn in his study are that the Eadwine Leaves are complete, that they did not originally contain any Genesis scenes but instead simply began with the birth of Moses. The possible reasons for this will be discussed in chapter 6.

² O. Pacht, C.R. Dodwell, F. Wormald *The St. Albans Psalter* (London: Harvey, Miller & Metcalf, 1960) p. 80

³ Wormald, Francis *The Winchester Psalter* (London: Harvey Miller & Medcalf, 1973), p. 30

⁴ J. Alexander & C.M. Kauffmann, 'Manuscripts: Introduction and Entries' in *English Romanesque Art* ed. G. Zarnecki, p. 111

⁵ T. A. Heslop, 'The place of the Leaves in the Eadwine Psalter' *The Eadwine Psalter*, ed. Gibson et al., p. 27

After the initial scenes of the birth of Moses, the Moses cycle continues with scenes from his childhood followed by the miracles of the Burning Bush, Moses's rod turned into a serpent, Moses parting the Red Sea and the passage of the Jews; the camp of Israel with quail follows, and the cycle concludes with Moses receiving the Law and the miracle of the Brazen Serpent.

The single Joshua scene shows a battle for a city; although it is not possible positively to identify the city, it has been suggested that it may be Jericho.⁶

The Davidic cycle begins with David armed before Saul, David facing Goliath, his victory over Goliath, and his beheading of Goliath. The penultimate scene of the Davidic cycle is on folio 1v, and shows David proclaimed king, with the final scene showing David and his men at the gates of Jerusalem.

The final Old Testament scene of the Eadwine Leaves is the Tree of Jesse which is situated below the last two Davidic scenes. (The right hand column of folio 1v contains New Testament scenes.)

The underlying organization of the illustrations found on recto and verso of each of the Eadwine Leaves is of twelve compartments arranged in four rows of three. However, some single compartments show more than one scene, some with both events shown together, others formally subdivided; in other cases, a single scene takes the space of two or more compartments. For simplicity, therefore, the same system of organization is adopted as in chapter 3: individual compartments are

⁶ J. Alexander and C.M.Kauffmann, 'Manuscriptss: Introduction and Entries' in *English Romanesque Art* ed. Zarnecki, G, p. 11

identified according to their position by row and then by column, and multiple scenes within a compartment are in turn identified according to their position therein.

C Leaf 1 recto: The Moses Cycle

ROW 1, COLUMN 1: figure 14

UPPER: Pharaoh with the Midwives; Jochabed with Moses

At the left of the picture, Pharaoh is seated on a throne; he wears a crown, a red cloak with a blue robe beneath, and holds a sword in his left hand. Facing him are the two midwives, Shiprah and Puah. This illustrates the text from Exodus 1. 15-19 in which Pharaoh, being worried about the increasing size (and therefore power) of the Hebrew population in his lands, instructs the midwives to kill every male Hebrew boy at birth. This was seen as a type for the massacre of the innocents ordered by Herod, from the New Testament text at Matthew 2. 16-18.⁷ To the right of these three figures, Jochabed is shown holding Moses in an ark in her arms while she gazes at him.

LOWER: Moses in the Bulrushes

A basket, or ark, with Moses lying in it, is shown floating on water, in which can be seen the bodies of dead children. The scene illustrates the text from Exodus 2. 3 in which Jochabed hides the basket in the bulrushes in an attempt to save her son's life. This was seen as a type for the flight into Egypt of Mary, Joseph, and the infant Christ, a journey which was undertaken to escape from King Herod's massacre of the innocents related in Matthew 2. 14.⁸

⁷ J. Hall *Dictionary of Signs and Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray, 1996) p. 213

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 213

ROW 1, COLUMN 2: figure 15

UPPER: Moses rescued and handed to Pharaoh's daughter

At the left of the picture, a woman, with hair loose and naked above the waist, stands in the water and pulls the ark towards her. To the right, a woman hands the swaddled Moses to Pharaoh's daughter who reclines on a couch. These two scenes illustrate the text of Exodus 2. 5-6; the same story also appears in Josephus *Antiquities of the Jews* II. ix. 5.⁹

LOWER: Pharaoh gives his crown to Moses; Moses tramples the crown

At the left, Pharaoh sits enthroned in green cloak, red robe and blue undergarment; he puts his crown on the head of Moses, who stands facing him with a woman (possibly Miriam, Pharaoh's daughter) standing behind him, her hands resting on Moses's shoulders. At the right, Moses tramples the crown underfoot while two anxious-looking people try to stop him; one is the woman from the previous part of the picture, while the other is a man with foot raised to kick Moses.

Neither of the events illustrated appears in the Old Testament; instead, the textual source is Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, II ix. 7:

. . . and so he took him, and hugged him to his breast; and . . . put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it to the ground, and, in a puerile mood, he wreathed it round, and trod upon his feet, which seemed to bring along with evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt . . . But when the sacred scribe saw this, . . . he made a violent attempt to kill him . . .

⁹ S. Mason, ed., L.H Feldman,., transl. *Flavius Josephus, translation and commentary* v.3, *Judean antiquities* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) pp. 1-4

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 5

ROW 1, COLUMN 3: figure 16

UPPER: Moses and the miracle of the Burning Bush; Moses and his rod turned into a serpent

At the left of the picture is a bush with leafy branches entwined, engulfed in flames yet not consumed, as described in Exodus 3. 2. Moses, wearing the loose headcloth of a shepherd, stands facing the bush, his right hand (which is covered with red spots) raised with fingers outstretched; according to the text of Exodus 4. 6-7, his hand was leprous but God cured it. His left hand points downwards, towards a serpent which crawls towards him from the base of the bush. Behind Moses, four sheep stand on a hillock. This illustrates text from Exodus 4. 2-5.

The symbolism of the burning bush, which the text states is not consumed by the flames, is complex. It may refer to Deuteronomy 4. 24: ". . . the Lord their God is a consuming fire . . ." or to the same idea found in Hebrews 12. 29: ". . . For our God is a consuming fire.". Thus the fire may be understood to symbolise God's anger, but the bush which is not consumed by the fire symbolises his mercy.

An alternative interpretation is a message from God to Moses that troubles (the flames) will arise in Egypt but Israel (the bush) will survive them. A third interpretation is that God simply used what was available (a bush) to indicate his glory (the flames) which lit up the bush with its dazzling light. A dialogue between Moses and God begins in the verse after the description of the burning bush, and in Exodus 3. 8 God tells Moses that he will lead the Israelites out of Egypt; the burning bush may therefore also symbolise this deliverance of the

people of Israel.¹¹ The unconsumed burning bush was also regarded by the medieval church as a type of the Virgin Mary, who gave birth to Christ yet retained her virginity;¹² this suggests a link between Moses as the deliverer of Israel and Christ as the saviour of mankind. It was also regarded as prefiguring the Nativity of Christ, an idea which dates back to the ninth century and can be found in writings including the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianus (circa 880, Constantinople); according to Schiller, the image does not appear in works in the Carolingian tradition or in those of the Reichenau School.¹³

**LOWER: Moses and the Miracle of Rods, and Aaron and the
Miracle of Rods**

At the left, Pharaoh, crowned, is enthroned and holds a rod in his left hand; he holds out his right hand toward Moses and Aaron, who stand facing him; behind Aaron stand two men, (possibly magicians), hands gesturing as if in conversation. On the ground, one serpent is at Pharaoh's feet, head lifted towards him, while two more serpents face the two standing men. This scene illustrates the text from Exodus 7: 10-12, in which Moses and Aaron repeat the miracle of rods in front of Pharaoh and his servants, in order to convince Pharaoh that God had indeed spoken to Moses. Pharaoh, however, does not believe them; even when his men throw their own rods on the ground and they become serpents, and Aaron's serpent then eats them all.

Moses's rod was held to be of great importance by the medieval church, symbolising the power of God and also prefiguring the cross on which Christ was

¹¹ J. Hall *Dictionary of Signs and Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray, 1996) p.214

¹² Cross, F.L. & Livingstone, E. A. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 257

¹³ G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* transl. J. Seligman Vol. 1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), p.71

crucified: as Moses used his rod to save the Israelites in Egypt, so the cross was the vehicle by which Christ would save mankind. This view was clearly stated by Origen:

'But the rod by which all these things are done [*i.e. the plagues of Egypt, subjugation of Egypt and overcoming Pharaoh*] is the cross of Christ by which this world is conquered . . .'¹⁴

ROW 2, COLUMN 1: figure 17

Moses parts the Red Sea

At the left of the picture stands a group of Israelites, all facing the right of the picture where Moses stands, dressed in blue robe and red cloak; in his right hand, Moses holds a rod which slants downwards pointing towards the Red Sea at his feet in which fish can be seen. The picture illustrates the text from Exodus 14. 21, which describes how Moses stretched out his hand over the Red Sea and the waters parted.

ROW 2, COLUMN 2: figure 18

Moses and the Israelites cross the Red Sea

This scene follows on directly from the previous one, illustrating the text of Exodus 14. 22. Moses stands on the right of the picture, with the Israelites behind him. He holds his rod out horizontally over the sea as he walks across the dry sea bed; the Israelites also stand on dry ground. The parting of the Red Sea allowed the Israelites to cross safely to the other side. Origen, one of the Fathers of the Early Church in the fifth century, likened this event to the sacrament of baptism:

The Israelites passed through the sea; you have passed from death to life.

¹⁴ Origen *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, p. 267

They were delivered from the Egyptians; you have been delivered from the powers of darkness.¹⁵

ROW 2, COLUMN 3: figure 19

Moses's Encampment in the Wilderness

Eight tents are shown, with groups of men clustered between them talking. On top of the largest tent is a bird perched on top of a small ball-shaped object. The scene illustrates the text from Exodus 16. 13 - 17; the previous verses describe how the Israelites, having pitched camp in the wilderness under Moses's leadership, are angry because there is no food in the wilderness and they fear they will all starve. God then promises Moses he will provide food for everyone. In the text illustrated, God has kept his word and the Israelites found quail to eat in the evening and manna on the ground in the morning, sufficient to feed them all.

The bird shown on the tent in this picture may be a quail, as in the text; alternatively it has been suggested it is a weather vane.¹⁶ Henderson favours its identification as a quail, suggesting its purpose was to 'emphasise the faithlessness of the *'congregatio filiorum Israel'* who spurned God's gift. Another possible reason for inclusion of the manna and quail is the fact that they were regarded as prefiguring the food served at the wedding at Cana and at the Last Supper;¹⁷ additionally, Graber points out that, to the Early Christian Fathers, all references to meals prefigure the sacrament of the Eucharist, and that this explains "the solemn and hieratic representations of the people who eat the

¹⁵ Origen, 'Homilies on Genesis and Exodus: Exodus Homily', p. 276

¹⁶ Pierpont Morgan Library catalogue available at [http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=2&ti=1,2&Search%5FArg=M%](http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=2&ti=1,2&Search%5FArg=M%5F)

¹⁷ A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A study of its origins* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1968), p. 143

manna and quails in the middle of the desert: in a noteworthy anachronism, they are already communicants."¹⁸

ROW 3, COLUMN 1: figure 20

Moses receives the Tablets of the Law, and Moses and the Brazen Serpent

Two events are shown in this compartment. The first, at the left, illustrates the text from Exodus 34. 4-5, in which Moses ascends Mount Sinai and receives the Law from God, while the other, at the right, illustrates the text from Numbers 21. 6-9, which relates the miracle of Moses and the Brazen Serpent. The juxtaposition of illustrations of these two events is unusual, the first being more commonly followed by the Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf (Exodus 32. 2-6).¹⁹

At the left of the compartment, Moses stands on Mount Sinai, which is shown as a mound of stones; he holds two tablets of stone in his hands. He faces across the compartment towards the top centre where the hand of God is seen in the sky, with the index finger pointing directly at Moses.

At the centre of the compartment, Moses stands holding a pillar on top of which is a serpent made of brass which he has made according to God's instructions. In this picture, Moses is shown horned, a common detail in this period; it arose from a translation of the Bible by Jerome from Hebrew into Latin of the description of Moses in Exodus 34. 29 in which the word *cornatum* (horned) is used to translate the Hebrew *karan* which means 'shine' - the mistake is explained by the fact that

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 143

¹⁹ Henderson, G. A. 'Textual Basis of the Picture Leaves', in *The Eadwine Leaves* ed. Gibson, et al., p. 35

the Hebrew word for 'horn' is *keren*, so the two are very similar.²⁰ To the right of the compartment is a group of eight Israelites, all facing Moses, with serpents twined among them and around their legs and feet. The Israelites, having complained about God and Moses, were punished by a plague of deadly serpents; however, God tells Moses that any person who had been bitten by one of the serpents would be cured by looking at the serpent which Moses had made. This event was seen as prefiguring the Crucifixion;²¹ the interpretation is found in John 3. 14 - 15:

- 14 And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so
 must the Son of man be lifted up:
15 That whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have
 everlasting life.

The parallel is clear: the Israelites could be saved from death by looking at the serpent on which the power of God had bestowed curative properties, and in a similar manner mankind could be saved by believing in Christ.

D Leaf 1 recto: The Davidic Cycle

The five Davidic scenes of the Eadwine Leaves occupy the bottom row of Folio 1 recto and the first two compartments of the top row of Folio 1 verso. David, the shepherd boy who eventually became King of Israel, was seen as a type for Christ; also, according to the lineage detailed in Matthew 1. 1-23, he was a direct ancestor of Christ.²²

²⁰ J. Hall, *Dictionary of Signs and Symbols in Art*, p. 213

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 216

²² *ibid.*, p. 92

ROW 4, COLUMN 1: figure 21

David before Saul

In the first scene, Saul is shown on the left, seated on a decorated throne; he has a crown on his head, wears long blue robes beneath a red cloak, and holds a sword in his left hand, while his right hand is held by his side with elbow bent and hand extended with one finger pointing. David stands in the centre of the scene, facing Saul, with a small group of men standing behind him. David wears a blue knee-length coat of mail over a longer light-green robe; he has a helmet on his head, a shield on his left arm and a staff in his right hand. The scene illustrates the text from 1 Samuel 17. 38 in which Saul gives David arms and armour with which to fight the giant Goliath.

ROW 4, COLUMN 2: figure 22

David fights Goliath

This composition is a conflation of two events which could not have occurred simultaneously, and it has been suggested that early illustrations of these events may have been shown as two individual pictures.²³ The scene illustrates the text of 1 Samuel 17. 39. David stands on the left of the scene, dressed in shepherd's clothing (having rejected the armour which Saul had given to him); his right arm is raised behind him in the action of slinging a stone. Goliath, a much larger figure than David, stands facing him; he wears a helmet, knee-length mail coat, and carries a sword in his right hand and shield on his left arm. On his forehead is a patch of red which depicts the blood from the fatal injury which David's stone had inflicted on him.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 92

The disparate size of the two figures follows the Early Christian tradition rather than the Byzantine tradition in which David and Goliath are commonly shown as being of similar stature.²⁴ Also, the depiction of David about to throw the stone together with Goliath already having been struck by it is unknown in the Byzantine tradition.²⁵

ROW 4, COLUMN 3: figure 23

David beheads Goliath, and David carries away Goliath's head

Again, two events are shown in this compartment, illustrating the text from 1 Samuel 17. 45-51. Unusually, the event which must have occurred first (David beheading Goliath) is shown to the right of the event which followed (David carrying Goliath's head away); this reverses the normal reading sequence which is from left to right, forcing the viewer to 'read' the picture from right to left. A possible rationale for this might be that, as David walks to the left, away from Goliath's body, he is facing the figure of Saul at the far left of the row, and it is to Saul that he is carrying Goliath's head.

In the centre of the compartment, David, in blue cloak and green robe, bends over Goliath's body which lies on the ground; in his right hand, he holds Goliath's sword with which he is in the process of severing Goliath's head. To the left of the compartment, David, in simple white robe, carries Goliath's head, with his sword pointing upwards and behind him over his right shoulder. Above him, the hand of God is seen in the sky, blessing his actions.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 87

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 87

According to Hall, David's victory over Goliath prefigured Christ's triumph over the temptations of Satan in the wilderness,²⁶ and was also used more generally as a symbol of the triumph of right over wrong.²⁷

E Leaf 1 verso:

ROWS 2, 3 AND 4, COLUMNS 1 AND 2: figure 24

The Tree of Jesse

As has been noted above, the illustration of the Tree of Jesse takes the space of six compartments. It illustrates the prophetic text from Isaiah 11. 1:

1 And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse,
and a Branch shall grow out of his roots:

Additionally, it illustrates the ancestry of Christ which is detailed in Matthew 1. 1-18 and Luke 4. 23-38. The image can be read from top to bottom or from bottom to top; the former shows the lineage of Christ reaching back to Jesse, as in Luke's text, while the latter shows the descent of Christ from Jesse as in Matthew's text. The image was a popular one in the western medieval church and is found in many stained glass windows, carvings, paintings, and manuscripts. The image developed during the eleventh century,²⁸ with one of the earliest known examples being of a stained glass window in York Minster dating from circa. 1150. It arose from the fact that the Latin word for a shoot - *virgo* - is very similar to that for a virgin - *virga* - and from this the link between the tree growing from Jesse and the Virgin Mary was established.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 93

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 92

²⁸ K. E. Haney, *The Winchester Psalter: An Iconographic Study* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), p.94

The illustration of the Jesse Tree on Folio 1v shows the body of Jesse lying at the bottom of the picture. From his trunk a coloured band rises vertically upwards, broken at regular intervals by six roundels, each of which contains a portrait; the lower four roundels each enclose a crowned male head, the fifth shows The Virgin Mary, haloed, with a book in her left hand, and at the top the sixth roundel shows Christ, haloed, his right hand raised in a gesture of blessing. A dove with wings outstretched, symbolising the Holy Spirit, is shown above the roundels of Christ and Mary. Six branches arch outwards from each side of the central band, extending to the edges of the illustration and creating twelve separate spaces between them; within each of the six spaces on the left and the bottom four on the right is the figure of a crowned male, while the two remaining spaces (the top two on the right) show the Annunciation to Zachariah (Luke 1. 11) and the betrothal of Joseph and Mary (Luke 1. 27). The position of Joseph as Mary's betrothed husband was settled, according to St. Jerome, by the drawing of lots; these lots were in fact rods and this in itself is a reference to the story of the flowering rod of Aaron (Numbers 17. 1-11).²⁹ The Annunciation to Mary (Luke 1. 26-38) is shown by a figure of Gabriel in the top left space facing Mary in the roundel on the centre band.

In total, fourteen crowned males are shown in the picture. In some images of the Jesse Tree, such as that in the Shaftesbury Psalter,³⁰ some at least of the male figures are identifiable by prophecies or other text or attribute associated with specific individuals, but this illustration does not include details of this kind and it has not, therefore, been possible to identify these portraits; however, the fact that

²⁹ J. Hall, *Dictionary of Signs and Symbols in Art*, p. 1

³⁰ K. E. Haney, *The Winchester Psalter*, p.94

there are fourteen of them is felt to be of significance as, according to Matthews

1. 17:

17 So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations; and from David until the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations.

The illustration of the Tree of Jesse was regarded as providing a transition between the Old Testament and the New Testament, showing as it does how the Christ of the New Testament was descended from figures of the Old Testament and this seems to be precisely the purpose which this illustration achieves in the Eadwine Leaves.

F Summary

To summarise, the Old Testament illustrations which appear on Folio 1r and 1v of the Eadwine Leaves show scenes from the lives of Moses and David, both of whom were regarded as prefiguring Christ; as detailed above, some scenes from their lives also prefigured scenes from the life of Christ. The final Old Testament illustration of the Tree of Jesse provides a link between these and the New Testament scenes which follow.

G New Testament Illustrations

Introduction

The New Testament scenes are found on Leaf 1 verso, and recto and verso of Leaves 2, 3, and 4. They fall into six groups, namely a) events preceding Christ's birth, b) Christ's nativity, c) Christ's infancy, d) Christ's ministry, e) Christ's Passion and crucifixion, and f) events following Christ's crucifixion. As has been previously noted, it is not possible within the constraints of this study to give detailed consideration to all of the New Testament illustrations of the Eadwine Leaves, and scenes have therefore been selected as outlined on page 41.

The first three New Testament scenes, placed vertically in column three of Folio 1 verso, lead up to the birth of Christ which is the final scene on this leaf. The three scenes are a) The Visitation with Mary and Elizabeth, b) the birth of John the Baptist, and c) the naming of John the Baptist. It might be expected that the Annunciation by Gabriel to Mary would appear at the beginning of this sequence, as would be usual in a cycle of this kind, and its apparent omission seems puzzling; however this event is not in fact missing, but appears as a small scene within the large Tree of Jesse illustration to the left of this New Testament column. Detailed information about this scene is given on pages 56 - 58; here, it is sufficient to note that the scene is in fact depicted, but in Christological cycles of this period its small size and non-prominent position is unusual.

LEAF 1 VERSO

ROW 4, COLUMN 3: figure 25

The Nativity of Christ

This scene illustrates the text of Luke 3. 6 & 7:

- 6 And so it was, while they were there, that the days were accomplished that the child should be delivered.
- 7 And she brought forth her first-born son and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.

The picture shows the figures of Mary, Joseph, and Jesus, with an ox and an ass, Mary, veiled, is on the right of the picture, reclining on a couch; her right hand is raised with fingers extended, and she gazes upwards rather than towards her baby. The figure of Mary recumbent and her attitude of ignoring her baby both originated in the early Byzantine tradition and were borrowed as western art developed; Mary continued commonly to be portrayed in this pose until the thirteenth century. and the practice in fact did persist in some later representations.¹ Early Christian images of the Nativity often show Mary sitting rather than reclining, indicating the miraculous painless birth, but this was not common in western art. Joseph, on the left of the picture, is seated on a chair, his chin resting on his upturned left hand in an attitude suggesting thought;² As with Mary's pose this is derived from the eastern tradition.³ Joseph, bearded, wears a pointed hat of a type commonly worn by Jews in medieval Europe.⁴ The position of the fingers and thumb of Joseph's right hand suggests that the initial intention was to show him holding a staff, as a reference to the drawing of lots by which

¹ G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, p. 70

² *ibid.*, p. 72

³ *ibid.*, p. 68

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 72

Joseph was chosen to be Mary's husband, but there is no staff in the finished illustration here.

At the centre of the scene, the baby Jesus is swaddled and haloed, and lies in a manger. The manger is situated between and slightly behind the figures of Mary and Joseph, an arrangement typical of the nativities of the Metz and Carolingian tradition, whereas the Anglo-Saxon tradition was to place the manger below Mary's couch.⁵ An ox and an ass stand behind the manger, their heads facing the baby almost close enough to lick him or warm him with their breath. The ox and ass, so often present in nativity scenes, are not mentioned in the Bible, but they do appear in the eighth-century Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.⁶ Their close proximity to the Christ-child and apparent act of licking him is a common motif of the Ottonian school of Fulda.⁷ Pächt et al suggest it may derive from a phrase in a Christmas benediction, in which Christ is described as ‘ . . . the food of the faithful animals in the crib of the Church . . . ’⁸ This links the incarnation to the role of the bread (the body of Christ) in the Eucharist, and his redemptive death. An additional significance of the portrayal of the ox and the ass together is their symbolism for Jew (ox) and Gentile (ass) which takes up the text from Isaiah 1: 3

Thus, the incarnation of Christ may be seen to be the means by which the reconciliation of Jews and gentiles will be achieved.

Above the figures are two coloured bars which form the shape of a ridged roof, indicating that the event takes place inside a building which, given the presence

⁵ O. Pächt, C. R. Dodwell & F. Wormald, *Iconography of the St. Albans Psalter* p. 54

⁷ *ibid.*, p.82

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 54

⁸ A. Prescott, *The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold* p. 21

of the animals, may be inferred to be a stable. On close examination of the illustration the faint outline of a second, lower roof ridge can be seen, with a haloed angel with a censer flying below it; both of these outlines form part of an underdrawing but were not included in the final version.

The place where the nativity occurred is not mentioned in the Bible. The idea of its being a stable arose from the mention of a 'manger', suggesting a place where animals were housed, which in the west would mean a stable. However, from as early as the sixth century, the Eastern tradition sets the nativity in a cave, possibly from the fact that animals in the Bethlehem area were often housed in caves hewn out of rocks under houses.⁹ The cave suggests a reference to a tomb, thus linking Christ's incarnation to his crucifixion and ascension, but this does not appear in western art until a later period.

An element commonly seen in many other nativity scenes (particularly those from the eastern tradition) but not present in the Eadwine Leaves nativity scene is the presence of two midwives; these are not mentioned in the Bible but appear in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew,¹⁰ the Protoevangelium, and the Golden Legend.¹¹ In some nativities, the midwives are shown bathing the Christ child. It has been suggested that the inclusion of the midwives may also have been adapted from classical accounts of the birth of the god Dionysus, and that the washing of the Christ child is a prefiguration of his baptism.¹²

⁹ G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, p. 62

¹⁰ A. Prescott, *Benedictional of St. Aethelwold*, p. 18

¹¹ G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, p. 64

¹² *ibid.*, p. 64

From the analysis above, it can be seen that the image of the nativity of Christ is highly significant. The Christ child fulfils the Old Testament prophecies as the leader for whom the people of Israel have long waited; he is also the means by which Jews and Gentiles will be reconciled, and the redeemer of humankind, providing by his sacrificial death eternal life and salvation. Yet, despite his greatness, he is seen not in riches and splendour but in a humble stable among the animals, suggesting he is on earth for the good of all men, not just the rich and powerful.

It could be argued that the scene would be better placed as the first scene of Folio 2 recto, being the first scene of Christ's life. However it serves a dual purpose and in reality is ideally placed as the final illustration of Folio 1, fulfilling as it does all that is prefigured in the Old Testament scenes and heralding the promise of the New Testament scenes which follow.

LEAF 2 VERSO

ROW 1, COLUMN 1: figure 26

Baptism of Christ

This scene shows the baptism of Christ by John the Baptist in the River Jordan. It illustrates the texts from Matthew 3. 13-17, Mark 1. 9-11, and Luke 3. 21-22. The picture shows Christ in the middle, facing forwards, haloed but naked, with the waters of the River Jordan rising from the bottom of the compartment to his waist; his right arm crosses his body below the water level, and his right is raised in blessing. Above his head, with wings outstretched and beak touching the top of his halo, hovers a white dove. To the left of Christ stands John the Baptist,

haloed, and wearing a blue robe beneath his familiar cloak of animal skins; in his left hand is a red, spherical, lidded container, and his right hand is raised above Christ's head. To the left of John the Baptist is an angel, looking towards him and Christ, a towel draped over his arms; he is mirrored by a second, very similar, angel on the right side of the picture, also with a towel. The only apparent differences between the two angels are the colours of their wings (red on the left, blue on the right) and the positions of their feet (flat on the left, heels raised and toes missing at the bottom edge of the picture on the right). The background of the scene is plain ochre.

The portrayal of the baptism of Christ was commonly used from the Early Christian period, throughout the Middle Ages, and beyond, to represent the Holy Trinity of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit.¹³ According to the accounts of Matthew, the voice of God the Father spoke to the onlookers, saying:

17. This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

In the accounts of Mark and Luke, the voice of God was also heard, but speaking to Christ rather than the onlookers, saying "Thou art my son . . ." rather than "This is my son . . .". The voice of God cannot easily be depicted visually and so the hand of God pointing down from the heavens towards Christ was often used to signify this aspect of God the Father. God the Son, as Christ, is clearly seen as the central character in any image of his baptism; God the Holy Spirit is usually depicted as a dove, whose appearance was related in each of the three gospel accounts. In the Eadwine image, Christ and the dove are present, but the hand of

¹³ A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, p. 115

God is missing; in some other representations, where the hand of God is omitted, God the Father is suggested by inclusion of descending clouds or an opening in the heavens,¹⁴ but even these are absent in the Eadwine image. However, although the image contains no direct visual reference to God the Father, to a medieval viewer the image of Christ's baptism would almost certainly have prompted recall of the gospel text; thus, although not fully complete, the image can be regarded as conveying the concept of the Trinity.

Christ's baptism was seen as the fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah (42. 1-4 and 53. 1-12)¹⁵, and was the means by which his divine status was revealed to humankind. The water, which is such an integral part of the sacrament of baptism, was also symbolic; according to Schiller, Christ's baptism

. . . signifies his descent into the abysses of the world and the "waters of death" which he enters in order to transform them and to rise from them as the Son of God transfigured.¹⁶

The 'waters of death' are analogous to the descent into hell and thus a link is established between Christ's baptism and his victory over death and Satan; in this respect, Christ's baptism may be regarded as a parallel to his harrowing of hell, images of which (such as that in the Winchester Psalter, BL Cotton MS. Nero C.iv, produced in England at a similar date to the Eadwine Leaves) similarly illustrate this victory. There are also parallels involving water and salvation in the Old Testament, including Moses leading the Israelites across the Red Sea, Noah's ark and the survival of its inmates of the flood, and Joshua leading the Israelites

¹⁴ G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, p. 138

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 127

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 130

across the River Jordan. The dove carrying the olive branch to Noah has been seen as prefiguring the dove descending on Christ at his baptism.¹⁷

ROW 2, COLUMNS 1, 2 & 3: figures 27, 28 & 29

Temptations of Christ

These three scenes illustrate the temptations of Christ by Satan in the wilderness. The events are narrated in detail in the gospels of Matthew (4. 1-11) and Luke (4. 1-13) and are mentioned briefly in the gospel of Mark (1. 12-13).

The first of the three illustrations shows the first temptation described by both Matthew and Luke, in which Satan appeared to Christ after he had fasted for forty days in the wilderness and commanded him to prove he was the son of God by turning a pile of stones into bread; Christ refused. According to Matthew 4. 3-4:

- 3 And when the tempter came to him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.
- 4 But he answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

At the centre of the picture is a tree, which stands in front of a blue rectangular panel on a green background. To the left of the tree stands Christ, haloed, his right hand raised with index finger extended and his left hand holding a parchment or book. Satan stands to the right of the tree, facing Christ; he holds a pile of stones in his left hand and is gesturing with his right.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 130

The second illustration shows the second temptation described by Matthew, although it is the third according to Luke. Matthew 4. 5-7 says:

- 5 Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on the pinnacle of the temple,
- 6 And saith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee: and in *their* hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou at any time thou dost dash thy foot against a stone.
- 7 Jesus said unto him, It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

At the bottom left of the picture is a temple with two pointed towers, one on each side; at the centre back of the temple is a third tower with a flat roof on which Jesus stands. Again he is haloed, with a book in his left hand and his right hand raised; his head is directed downwards towards Satan who stands at the right of the picture. Satan looks up at Christ, with his right hand pointing above his head and his left hand pointing downwards towards the ground, illustrating clearly what he has commanded Christ to do. Behind the temple and the two figures is a light tan background with a central green panel.

The third picture illustrates the third temptation according to Matthew (the second in Luke's version). Matthew 4. 8-10 says:

- 8 Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them;
- 9 And saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.
- 10 Then Jesus said unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

At the bottom left of the picture is a mountain, on top of which Christ stands. As in the first two pictures, Christ is haloed, and stands with right hand extended with index finger pointing at Satan while in his left hand he holds a book; again, too, Satan stands at the right of the picture looking up at Christ, his right hand pointing upwards while his left hand points to a pile of gold below Christ on the mountainside. The background matches that of the first of the trio of pictures, namely a green background with a central blue rectangular panel.

These three pictures illustrate very clearly the text from Matthew. They were probably intended to be considered as a single unit, filling as they do a single row of the folio and with the symmetry of their background colours and panels creating a visual link between them.

The figures and postures of Christ and Satan are virtually unchanged from one picture to the next. In each, Christ is haloed, barefoot, and wearing a red cloak over a blue robe; his gestures have been described above. Satan is naked and blue-grey in colour, with a tail, elongated nose, fangs, non-human feet with a backward-facing claw, and wild hair; his stance, however, is that of a human. The depiction of Satan in medieval art has been studied extensively. The first known depiction is in the sixth-century mosaics in the church of Sant' Apollinare Nuova, Ravenna; here, the Archangel Gabriel, dressed in red, sits on Christ's right, while Lucifer, dressed in blue, sits on Christ's left as Christ sorts the sheep from the goats. (Matthew 25. 31-33). In the modern world, the red of Gabriel and the blue of Lucifer seem to be the wrong way round, as we think of heaven as sky blue and hell as red and fiery, but in the classical and medieval worlds red signified

light and blue signified darkness.¹⁸ Ulbrich suggests that the Christian image of Satan was derived from depictions of ancient pagan gods,¹⁹ and Hall suggests that these models originated in Persia and Egypt.²⁰ There are considerable similarities between the Greek satyr and the early Christian and medieval Satan, with their beards, cloven hooves, and tails. By the twelfth century, Satan had become imbued with characteristics that were regarded as undesirable and un-Christian.²¹ The depiction of the blue, half-animal Satan in the Eadwine pictures fits entirely within this scheme, and Schiller further suggests that, when his grotesque characteristics are exaggerated, Satan is the opposite of Christ.²²

Several Old Testament events parallel the forty days that Christ spent in the wilderness prior to his temptations by Satan, including the forty days Moses spent in the desert, and Elijah's forty day journey through the wilderness. Traditionally, the wilderness was seen as a place of trial.²³ Other Old Testament events prefigure Christ's resistance to Satan's temptations, seeing it as a triumph of good over evil; these include Job's acceptance of God's will, despite the trouble which befell him, (Job 1. 13-22)

¹⁸ 'How the Devil Got His Horns', BBC 4, presenter Andrew Sooke, 6/11/2012

¹⁹ *ibid*

²⁰ J. Hall, *Dictionary of Signs and Symbols in Art*, p. 272

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 272

²² G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, p. 144

²³ *ibid.*, p. 145

LEAF 3 RECTO

ROW 3, COLUMN 1, LOWER: figure 30

The Transfiguration

This scene illustrates text from the gospels of Matthew (17. 1-6), Mark (9. 2-9), and Luke (9. 28-36), in which Christ appears to three disciples in radiant glory.

According to Matthew:

1. And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart.
2. And he was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.
3. And behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him.
4. Then answered Peter, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.
5. While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them; and behold a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.
6. And when the disciples heard *it* they fell on their face, and were sore afraid.

The definition of 'transfiguration' given by the Concise Oxford English Dictionary is "a complete transformation into a more beautiful or spiritual state";²⁴ this seems to encapsulate the underlying concept of the event as outlined by the three gospel accounts.

The illustration, which takes up half the vertical space of one compartment of the folio, shows Christ, haloed, at its centre in a golden aureole, the background of

²⁴ *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, Eleventh edition, ed. C. Soames and A. Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 1531

which is blue; in his left hand he holds a book while his right hand is raised in blessing. To the left of the scene are the three figures of the disciples Peter, James and John, all of whom are standing facing Christ. To the right of the scene are the figures of the Old Testament prophets Moses and Elijah. Moses appears horned, a depiction which has been discussed previously on page 52; it has been suggested that Moses is present in this scene as the representative of the Law,²⁵ while Elijah is present as the representative of the Old Testament prophets.²⁶

The three gospel accounts of the Transfiguration all describe the radiant Christ and the appearance of Moses and Elijah; however, in Luke's account, the disciples fall asleep and wake to see the transfigured Christ with Moses and Elijah, and Mark mentions their fear but not their falling on their faces as in Matthew's description. These differences in the actions of the disciples resulted in different forms of illustration of the event. The disciples in the Eadwine Leaves picture are shown standing and gazing at Christ, which suggests the intention was to illustrate the text from Mark or Luke rather than that of Matthew; this contradicts Heslop's analysis, in which the first three rows of this folio are all identified as illustrating Matthean texts.²⁷

The first known depictions of the Transfiguration date from the sixth century;²⁸ Graber suggests that they were derived from classical depictions of the Sun rising

²⁵ *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F.L. Gross and E.A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 1118

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 539

²⁷ T.A. Heslop, (*Decoration and Illustration*) in *The Eadwine Psalter* ed. Gibson et al., pp. 40,41

²⁸ A. Graber, *Christian Iconography*, p. 114

in the sky in a tradition used to depict the ascension of the soul of deceased emperors.²⁹

The inclusion of a visual reference to the voice of God, whose words appear in all three gospel accounts, is a feature found in many illustrations of the Transfiguration.³⁰ However, this is missing from this depiction of the scene, as it was in the picture of the Baptism of Christ on Folio 2 verso. The words of God at the Transfiguration proclaim Christ to be his Son, thus emphasising his future role as the redeemer of mankind; in the verses which follow this, in each of the three accounts Jesus himself talks to the disciples of his coming death and the resurrection which will follow it. It has been suggested that the Transfiguration is itself a prediction of Christ's Ascension into heaven.³¹

LEAF 4 RECTO

ROW 4, COLUMN 1: figure 31

The Crucifixion of Christ

This picture illustrates the crucifixion of Christ as described in very similar accounts in the gospels of Matthew (27. 35-51), Mark (15. 24-37), Luke (23. 33-46), and John (19. 18-30). The gospels each contain accounts of events which immediately preceded and succeeded the crucifixion and these are illustrated in the scenes of Row 3, Row 4 columns 2 and 3, and Row 1 of the verso of this folio. The central events which are described in all four of the gospel accounts are a) the crucifixion of Christ between two thieves, (Row 3, columns 3 lower and column 4 upper) b) soldiers casting lots to share Christ's clothes between them,

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 117

³⁰ G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, p. 146

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 146

(verso, Row 1 column 1 lower) c) the notice nailed to the cross proclaiming Christ to be King of the Jews, (Row 4, column 1) d) soldiers offering him vinegar to drink, (Row 3, column 3 lower) and e) Christ's eventual death (Row 4, column 1). The accounts of Matthew, Mark and Luke each describe darkness falling at the sixth hour, and the veil of the temple being torn in two at the ninth hour when Christ died; John's account does not include these details, but does tell that the thieves' legs were broken to hasten their deaths (Row 3, column 4 upper), and Matthew alone adds that "the earth did quake, and the rocks rent" at the moment of Christ's death (Matthew 27. 51) (Row 3 column 4 lower).

Only the scene shown in Row 4, column 1 will be considered in detail. The picture shows a frontal view of Christ, haloed, naked apart from a blue cloth covering his hips and thighs, with his head tilted to his right (the left of the picture), his eyes shut, and his arms stretched out horizontally on the cross. This image is of the dead Christ; until the first half of the ninth century, it had been usual in western art to depict Christ as still alive, but a new tradition of depicting his dead body developed in Carolingian works, one of the earliest examples of which is found in the Utrecht Psalter.³²

To the left of the picture stands the figure of a woman, who is almost certainly Mary; the presence of several women is noted in the gospel accounts, but it seems most likely that, if only one were to be shown, it would be Jesus' mother. Mary, haloed, looks up towards Christ's face, and wrings her hands. To the right of the picture stands the figure of a man, also haloed; he too looks up towards Christ,

³² G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, p. 105

pointing with his right hand; the book he carries in his left hand identifies him as John the Evangelist.

In the top left and top right corners of the picture are two white spheres, which on close examination each appear to be the side view of a head and face looking in and down towards Christ. In early illustrations of the crucifixion, images of the sun and moon were included; although almost indistinguishable from each other now, it is suggested that originally a difference in their colours would have identified each. Traditionally, the sun was shown on Christ's left and the moon on his right. Their role was symbolic, but this symbolism evolved and changed subtly with time, as did the images themselves. Their depiction changed from being naturalistic, and became faces or figures expressing grief at what they were witnessing. They also took on additional layers of meaning, such as the moon representing the Old Testament and the sun the New Testament; the moon also came to symbolise Christ, whose death was a victory over darkness.³³ In this scene, as in many other crucifixion scenes of the period, both sun and moon are seen, with no apparent attempt to illustrate the darkness which the gospels describe as falling at the sixth hour.

The background of the scene is green, with a central rectangular blue panel; this is the same as the background of the scene of Row 4, column 3, showing the Deposition from the cross, and this gives a sense of visual cohesion to the row. It should also be noted that the only other scenes in the four leaves with the same background layout and colours are those of the first and third temptations of

³³ *ibid.*, p. 109

Christ by Satan; this may of course be simply a coincidence, or it may have been an intentional visual link between the temptations and the crucifixion, each being an instance of the triumph of Christ over evil.

LEAF 4 VERSO

ROW 4, COLUMN 2: figure 32

The Ascension of Christ

This scene shows the Ascension of Christ into Heaven, as recounted in the gospels of Mark (16. 19) and Luke (24. 51). Neither of these accounts is complex or detailed:

Mark 16. 19 So then after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God.

Luke 24. 51 And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.

An account of Christ's Ascension is also found in Acts 1. 9-11, giving a little more information:

9 And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight.
10 And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood beside them in white apparel;
11 which also said, ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.

Unfortunately, only black and white images of this folio are available for study and therefore no discussion of the use of colour is possible. The Ascension scene as illustrated here shows a central group of twelve upward-gazing figures

standing on a mound which represents the Mount of Olives (Acts 1. 12); the front five figures are haloed, with Mary in side view at the centre left of the group, while at the centre right is John the Evangelist (identifiable by the fact that he carries a book) on each side, this group is flanked by a single figure who looks inward towards the group and points with the right hand. It seems likely that these two figures are the two angels mentioned in Acts 1. 10-11, reassuring the disciples and Mary that Christ will return; the inclusion of the angels is common in the Byzantine and Carolingian traditions.³⁴ At the top of the picture is an arc curving downwards, with another smaller arc above it indicating an opening between two surfaces. Between these, and extending below the edge of the lower arc, the feet and lower legs of Christ are visible; the impression is given that the upper part of Christ's body has already ascended into Heaven through the implied opening, and is therefore not visible to those on Earth.

The method by which Christ's Ascension was accomplished was the subject of much theological discussion in the early Christian and medieval periods. Some writers followed the teachings of Gregory and held that Christ had ascended without help; this idea was developed further by various theologians including Bede, who suggested that Christ was able to ascend without assistance because his body was not weighed down by corruption,³⁵ and Haymo, who suggested that Christ's body, being born of a pure Virgin, did not carry the weight of mortal sin.³⁶ Others, however, held the opposing view, that Christ had indeed been assisted by angels.³⁷

³⁴ A. Prescott, *Benedictional of St. Aethelwold*, p. 59

³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 62

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 61

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.62

From the early Byzantine and Carolingian traditions of illustrating the Ascension in which Christ was shown often in a mandorla stepping into heaven, (a version of which is found on Folio 64v in the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold), or within a cloud, an Anglo-Saxon tradition known as the 'disappearing Christ' developed in the eleventh century, in which only his lower legs and feet are shown, as in the Winchester Psalter³⁸ and the St. Albans Psalter.³⁹ This version, which was common in eleventh century illustrations,⁴⁰ is clearly the one followed in this Ascension scene.

With the Ascension of Christ into heaven, his physical role on earth was completed. According to Christian doctrine, through his incarnation, life, sacrificial death and resurrection, the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled and the redemption and salvation of humankind was achieved. The only element of this which at first sight does not seem to be illustrated in this cycle is the Resurrection of Christ, a central tenet of Christian doctrine which holds that, three days after his death by crucifixion, Christ rose again from the dead.

However, this event was not witnessed, and was therefore usually only portrayed as a series of events which, according to the New Testament accounts, took place after Christ's entombment.⁴¹ These commonly include the three Marys at the tomb, Mary Magdalene meeting Jesus (whom she takes for the gardener), the incredulity of Thomas, the journey to Emmaus and the supper which followed.⁴²

Each of these events is illustrated in eight of the twelve scenes on Leaf 4 verso. It

³⁸ K.E. Haney, *The Winchester Psalter*, p. 123

³⁹ Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England* p. 127

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 126

⁴¹ J. Hall, *Dictionary of Signs and Symbols in Art*, p. 263

⁴² A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, p. 123

is therefore suggested that the cycle follows the accepted tradition and that these scenes do in fact constitute a full and detailed illustration of the Resurrection; this sequence of scenes would certainly have conveyed this meaning to a medieval reader.

As has been shown in this chapter, the illustrations in this Christological cycle, from the Old Testament scenes, through Christ's birth, childhood, adult life, death, resurrection, and ultimately his Ascension, illustrate the doctrine of the Redemption thoroughly; the nature of the theological detail and outlook which underpinned the work of the artists will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Summary and Conclusions

In this study, evidence has been presented to support the generally-accepted hypothesis that the four pieces of parchment which comprise the Eadwine Leaves originally constituted a prefatory Christological cycle in the Eadwine psalter, and were created by three artists working in Canterbury, England, in the middle of the twelfth century. The cycle is one of the most extensive and detailed of its period and may be regarded as being an outstanding example of English Romanesque manuscript illustration.

It has been seen that, in illustrating the Eadwine Leaves, the artists drew on a variety of artistic traditions, with the scenes including details found in Classical art, Byzantine art, the western styles of the Carolingian and Ottonian periods, as well as the Insular tradition. The artists chose to illustrate Biblical and non-Biblical texts, in places using both to depict a sequence of events; this is seen, for example, in the illustration of Moses' life which contains scenes based on text found both in the *Antiquities of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus and in Exodus. In the New Testament scenes, textual sources were also selected purposefully and deliberately; the artists did not simply follow a sequence of events as narrated in one gospel, but selected texts from each. In places, scenes from each of the gospels are used to illustrate a single event or a sequence of events. As discussed in the previous chapter, the sequence of Crucifixion scenes includes details common to the

gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, as well as a detail found only in John, and another found only in Matthew, so that the texts of the four gospels are woven together to give a full and detailed visual account of the events.

The artists were clearly very familiar with their textual sources; otherwise they would not have been able to interweave them as skilfully as they did. However, the question arises as to what may have influenced the choices they made, and that in turn gives rise to the question as to the purpose which the Christological cycle of the Eadwine Leaves was designed to fulfil.

Considering the Leaves as a whole, and the Psalter of which they were originally a part, the large size (460mm x 330mm - larger than the modern A3 paper size) and consequently the substantial weight of the volume, it is unlikely that they were designed for the private prayer and meditation of an individual. Rather, these factors suggest that the Leaves were intended for use by a monastic community or the clergy of a church, and it is not unreasonable to speculate that, having been created at Christ Church, Canterbury, they were intended for use in that place and by the monastic community there. That the Psalter (with its prefatory cycle) was there subsequently (though not necessarily continuously) is supported by an entry in the library catalogue of the prior of Canterbury, which was compiled at least one hundred and fifty years after the production of the Psalter, recording its presence in his library. If it is accepted that the Eadwine Psalter, with its prefatory cycle, was indeed made for use at Christ Church, Canterbury, it may be argued that it is likely that its creators were influenced

by the theological outlook prevalent in that place and at that time. Anselm held the post of archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 until his death in 1109; he was a respected theologian and his writings were highly influential both during and after his lifetime; although no evidence has been found during the course of this study to support or negate the hypothesis, it is suggested that Anselm's teachings would still have been a dominant influence in Canterbury in the middle of the twelfth century.

As detailed in Chapter 4, the Ransom Theory of the Atonement held that every human was born carrying the guilt of the original sin of Adam, and that the price which had to be paid for this was the sacrificial death of Christ on the cross. If this was the view that influenced the artists of the Eadwine Leaves, the cycle should surely begin with scenes from Genesis showing Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, their sin, and their subsequent expulsion from Eden, as is seen in the prefatory cycle of the St. Albans Psalter. However, the cycle of the Eadwine Leaves does not contain any scenes from Genesis. As discussed in Chapter 3, a range of evidence indicates that the four leaves are complete and that there are no missing scenes. It therefore follows that the cycle was not designed to reflect the Ransom Theory of the Atonement.

The Moral Influence Theory of the Atonement, which was supported energetically by some twelfth-century theologians but also opposed just as vigorously by others, stated that the role of Christ was to influence the morality of mankind by his teaching and his example, and that the purpose of

his death was to demonstrate God's universal and eternal love. Although scenes of Christ's ministry do constitute a significant proportion of the illustrations of the Eadwine Leaves, they do not form the majority, appearing only on Leaf 2 verso and Leaf 3 recto and verso. It is suggested, that, had this theory been the prime influence on the artists, a larger proportion of the illustrations would have depicted Christ's ministry, and that the space allotted to the Old Testament scenes, and scenes of Christ's infancy, his Passion, Crucifixion and Resurrection would have been correspondingly reduced. However, the fact that the ministry scenes are included does suggest that the artists acknowledged the importance of this aspect of Christ's life.

Anselm of Canterbury was one of the foremost opponents of the Moral Influence theory. His own viewpoint, which became known as the Satisfaction Theory of the Atonement, was set out in his writings, namely in his book entitled *Cur Deus Homo*. As discussed in Chapter 4, Anselm rejected the suggestion that original sin was passed on to every individual at birth. His argument was that Christ's death was necessary to make satisfaction for the sin of humankind. The cycle of illustrations of the Eadwine Leaves largely reflects this idea, with the Old Testament scenes foretelling the kingship and greatness of Christ, his struggles with Satan showing his triumph over evil, and his Passion and acceptance of his death showing his willingness to die for the salvation of humankind.

This study therefore concludes that, based on a) the lack of any Genesis scenes, b) the inclusion of scenes establishing Christ's role as a great leader, and c) the full pictorial account of his Passion and Crucifixion, the primary influence on the artists of the Christological cycle of the Eadwine Leaves was the Satisfaction Theory of the Atonement, as set out by Anselm of Canterbury, while at the same time the inclusion of the scenes of Christ's ministry suggests that the artists also acknowledged the importance of Christ's ministry in providing humankind with a moral framework within which to live their lives.

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