

## The Prophets and Apostles Write: Images and the Medieval Understanding of Writing

My goal in this paper is a relatively simple one. It is to fix the meaning of an image of signal ubiquity in the high Christian cultures of the Middle Ages, the image of the man writing.<sup>1</sup> The *imago hominis scribendi* seems to have enjoyed few if any temporal or geographical exclusions from the age of Cassiodorus up to that of Trithemius, save for what has been engineered through loss or destruction.<sup>2</sup> The artefacts used for illustration below, and the texts married to them, perceptively or rashly, have some mediterranean associations, as is only fit and proper given the nature of this volume of papers, yet what is said concerning those artefacts and texts is of equal significance for the remainder of medieval Latin Christendom, and possibly beyond. Latin texts cited herein circulated where Latin was read, and the images were familiar things to Gospel users from the British Isles, the lands on the extreme west of the world, to the crusader states, representing Europe in the Middle East.<sup>3</sup> The facts of production and provenance of some of the artefacts illustrate well the striking interconnexions of the heartland areas of mediterranean culture with those regions queueing for mediterranean cultural adoption.<sup>4</sup> Equally arresting is the longevity of the ideas conveyed in the texts. And it is the durability of those ideas concerning the activity of the scribe which embolden the author occasionally to use the idiom of typification: the medieval scribal image, the medieval concept of the scribe, and so on. This is not to deny that there are distinctions in the corpora of depictions and texts, variations dependent on time and place, nor that exceptions of importance do occur. These, nevertheless, do not fracture the unity of the material, they merely add depth to it.

If the goal is to fix the meaning of the image of the scribe, whose meaning is to be established? The only people whose opinions are worth bothering about here, are of course the contemporaries of the artisans who produced the artefacts. The goal then is to establish

how a medieval viewer of a picture of a scribe would read and comprehend that picture.

This uncomplicated end, to settle the meaning of these images, is also an attempt to solve the close question: What is the function of the images of scribes found on medieval artefacts?

There are, not unexpectedly, numerous profitable ways to frame this question towards an answer. Suppose, for instance, that our scribe is an evangelist set before the text of his Gospel.<sup>5</sup> One can then answer that the economy of design of the book ordains that a grand image of the evangelist as scribe be put on a folio just before the beginning of his text to act as a quick means of locating his Gospel within the codex. This image of the scribe found in this Gospel book would be said to function as a principal graphic signpost, dividing the text into major units, and as a quick means to find the beginning of that Gospel text, a bookmark.<sup>6</sup> Or, one can answer just as appositely, that the economy of display and status of the codex demands that a labour intensive work of fine materials executed by a skilled hand should be part of the book.<sup>7</sup> This same image of a scribe found before the text of his Gospel would have an ornamental function, making the book a symbol of wealth and power, and, if the codex resides in an ecclesiastical treasury, a rich cultic offering as well.<sup>8</sup> These two functions, one stemming from an economy of design, the other from an economy of display, are by no means mutually exclusive. They are also both answers somewhat obvious and practical to the question of function, answers which are sufficient, which yet fail to close with the meaning on the plane of the learned signification of Christian symbols, the level on which the available texts, all theological exegesis of one sort or another, are intended to function. Indeed, given that we lack direct medieval comment on the significance of these images, we can only approach an educated contemporary's understanding of them through the matching up of the iconography with the symbols expounded in Christian exegetical texts. It follows, then, that the symbols, those small elements which make up the scribal image, those iconographies of the figure, the figure's occupation, writing tools and inspiration, have to be invested with meaning culled from appropriate texts, yet before the texts can be mined the iconographic objects which make up the scribal image have to be identified. It is salutary to realize that both operations

yield imperfect results, for the first relies on informed judgement, and the second on the state of current knowledge; as to that, we do not even possess a name for every *instrumentum scribendi* depicted.<sup>9</sup>

As a prolegomenon to the consideration of the texts it would be well to rehearse briefly the history of scribal images in the pre-modern West, and the limited scholarly literature that has been devoted to it.<sup>10</sup>

A sketch of the history of scribal depictions may start most profitably with the materials available in Late Antiquity. It is out of these stuffs that the medieval scribal representations were fashioned.

The three portraits in the *Vergilius Romanus*, portraits of Virgil by common reckoning, have been together elevated to the position of a pictorial *locus classicus* in the histories of both author portraits and evangelist(!) representations (fig. 1).<sup>11</sup> This is due in part to lack of competition. The *Vergilius Romanus* portraits are thus considered to be rare survivals of a common feature in expensive late antique codices of Augustan literature.<sup>12</sup> Those author portraits, together with late antique sculptural representations of philosophers, have been decreed to be the double origins of medieval portraits of the Gospel authors.<sup>13</sup> Many, and perhaps the majority of medieval evangelist portraits are portraits of men writing, or in the acts preparatory to writing.<sup>14</sup> The question of the origins of evangelist portraits, thus far the province of art historians, must also be a question of the origins of the iconographic tradition of evangelists as scribes. The discussion, to date, has not evidenced any awareness of this. The *Vergilius Romanus* portraits are depictions of a man who uses books, not of one who makes them. The figure holds what may be a *volumen*, and is flanked by a lectern on one side, and a *capsa* on the other; thus the portrait shows a figure, a written document, and the furniture for displaying and storing written documents, not for creating them. Similarly, the Late Antique philosopher or poet statues generally presented display the accoutrements of reading, but not those of writing.<sup>15</sup> If the activities and objects associated with the figures are iconographic features as important as the evangelists' expression, posture, clothing, or the architectural setting, then activity as well as countenance, stance, vesture or background ought to be taken into account when describing the origins of medieval evangelist portraits, that is, medieval portraits of the evangelists as scribes.<sup>16</sup> The activi-

ties of the figures, and the objects associated with them are probably of more importance than the number of folds in the evangelist's himation or chiton, or whether Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John sits or stands. The common account of the origins of medieval scribal depictions is therefore somewhat unsatisfactory. It can be made more satisfactory by incorporating those Late Antique iconographies of writing which entered medieval iconographic tradition.<sup>17</sup>

If philosophers and poets are rarely, if at all, shown as writers in the arts of Late Antiquity, who is? The answer here should not be entirely surprising: those who write in Late Antique art are chiefly the servants of the state and keepers of administrative records.<sup>18</sup> More than a few surviving artefacts have writers on them, but two in particular can stand as representative of the Late Antique writing imagery 'big with consequences' for the development of medieval scribal images.

The first is found on the 'largitio' scene, one of the panels newly commissioned for the north side of the Arch of Constantine (315 A.D.), and the figure writing there is not one of the most significant in the composition (fig. 2).<sup>19</sup> One need not be adventurous to see a functionary here recording the disbursement of coin.

The second example, is also a work from the fourth century, though from its close. The vicarial diptych of Probianus is stylistically imposing but physically small (fig. 3).<sup>20</sup> The writing occurs in the upper belt of each tablet. Probianus, as depicted on one leaf, writes on a scroll, and on both wings the two officials who flank him write with styli on multiple-leaved wax tablet codices.

A point to note here is that it is not just low grade officials, such as financial or law court functionaries,<sup>21</sup> who can be shown with writing equipment, but also a higher-up, such as the VICARIVS VRBIS ROMAE. The fact that various grades of the Roman civil service could be shown with *instrumenta scribendi* suggests that the writing instruments are signs, a shorthand to indicate membership in the Roman bureaucracy. Symbols need not be exclusive, witness the *bonus pastor* of Late Antique sarcophagi, an image with meanings for various mystery religions,<sup>22</sup> yet the majority of scribal images with ascertainable contexts surviving from before the sixth century seem to be associated with administrative activities, or at least record keeping.

If the origins of, or rather broad models for the iconography of the evangelists as scribes are sought, then recourse must be had to the Late Antique iconographic types who actually do write. A broad-minded account would accept the two iconographic exemplars of the poet-philosopher of Late Hellenism and the Late Roman civil servant as the twin visual images which were combined to produce the effigies of the Gospel writers writing. Perhaps, if it is so, one can speculate that this mixed iconography, an iconography which might have given offence to artistic and social conventions in the first or third century, had become acceptable by the sixth century, the time of the first extant evangelist-as-scribe depictions.<sup>23</sup> This was also the period when a high Roman office-holder such as Gregory the prefect of Rome could become Gregory the bishop of Rome, a transformation which seems natural enough to us in light of Gregory's collegial predecessors who had suffered a similar exchange of office through rabble enthusiasm (evidently a professional risk for the highly placed and highly competent from the fourth century on); Ambrosius of Milan or Sidonius of Auvergne come to mind. One could even argue that the bishops of the fourth to sixth centuries combined some of the functions that poets, philosophers and administrators had separately performed.<sup>24</sup> One more transformation in a transformed late classical world. Perhaps it is not this simple. Ambrose, Sidonius and Gregory, and many of their colleagues were not just administrators made bishops, they were Roman gentlemen made bishops, men who had a good knowledge of the rhetorical arts, and mayhap even more than a passing acquaintance with Greek philosophy in Latin guise. The worlds of the Late Hellenistic poet-philosopher and the Late Roman civil servant may not have been as far apart and exclusive as the iconographic types alone suggest.

The product of the joining of the iconographical exemplars of the Late Hellenistic poet-philosopher with the Late Roman civil servant is to be seen among the corpus of evangelist representations of the sixth century. In these, the earliest extant medieval scribal depictions,<sup>25</sup> the evangelist is represented either as writing or in the company of writing tools. The range of materials on which this iconography of writing is found is quite startling. It occurs on artefacts as seemingly humble as a clay pilgrim's ampulla, carrying a St Matthew from Asia Minor (fig. 4),<sup>26</sup> and contrastingly, as august as

the Matthew on the mosaic of the south wall of the chancel in San Vitale, Ravenna, an imperial commission in a politically important city, at that time the Italian capital (fig. 5).<sup>27</sup>

The San Vitale evangelists offer us the first securely dated examples of the Gospel writers as scribes, and indeed of Late Antique writers who are not record keepers. There is no reason to think that this iconographical type was created by the 'planners' for this imperial commission, working from the pre-existing materials described above (that is, the iconographies of the poet or philosopher of Late Hellenism and that of the record keepers of Imperial Rome). The incident of this very iconographical type on humble pilgrims' flasks of approximately the same period, and thought to have been produced a quarter circuit of the Mediterranean away, would argue for the earlier invention of this image and opportunities for its dissemination. Barring massive redatings, fortuitous finds, or the uncovering of an uncharacteristically communicative text, the exact place and time of the invention of medieval Christian scribal images will remain uncertain.<sup>28</sup> It is certain, however, that our earliest secure examples come from the Empire ruled by the Justinian dynasty.

The fact that the image of the evangelist writing is found on items of 'mass production,'<sup>29</sup> made from and containing humble but valuable materials is worth some digression. It is the combination of the particular function, production and decoration of these objects which gives them their importance for this topic.<sup>30</sup> Intended to hold water or oil come into contact with saints' relics and fashioned out of earth from the vicinity of their tombs, these ampullae were mementos empowered with the efficacy of the saints' healing power and the safeguard of their protection. They were secondary relics through the materials involved. When decorated from the mould with the figure of an evangelist as scribe, did the ampullae remain simply decorated secondary relics, with the depiction of the saint as scribe merely performing a function analogous to an eighteenth century madeira label, or could the scribal depictions themselves be considered as secondary relics? The resolution of this crux would require vigorous prospecting in the sources for the Eastern theology of icons, the main texts of which were collected and commented on by the Damascene and the Studite centuries after the production of these first images.

What we are presented with in the San Vitale St Matthew and the

St Matthew of the Paris ampulla here illustrated, is a notable correspondence in the depictions, which the acute observer may attribute to the use of formula. One hesitates to use the term 'visual trope.' In both, the inspiring figure of the man, the evangelist's symbol, is present, though its function is more obviously expressed in the San Vitale example. The evangelist in either depiction is seated, writing in a bound codex with a calamus, or possibly a stylus. In the San Vitale example, there is a 'writing table' holding a cylindrical atramentarium, a calamus, and an unidentified object,<sup>31</sup> and, placed near the Apostle's feet, is a capsula stuffed with volumina. The evangelist on the ampulla is accompanied by what appears to be a short column fulfilling a similar function to the table in the image of imperial commission, and there may be an unidentifiable writing tool in this ensemble as well. Detail is, not surprisingly, better in the costlier imperial project erected on Italian soil.

By viewing the discrete objects in these two representative early images, not as separate things, but as grouped by function, one can isolate the essential elements which frame the medieval Christian image of the scribe in art. Those elements, classed by function, which are indubitably common to these two depictions, are three. The first is the text carrier, upon which the copy is written, the second is the principal writing implement, that is, the instrument actually used for forming the letters, and the final element is the figure of inspiration, in this case, the evangelist symbol of Matthew.

Of the other objects present on the mosaic and ampulla, the surface to hold writing tools, that is, the 'writing table' or 'writing column,' is also common to both images, provided one decides it truly is a writing column to the left of the St Matthew on the ampulla. Items which are not common to the two representations, namely the capsula, the volumina, the atramentarium, occur with greater or lesser frequency in the subsequent corpus of scribal images; of these, the atramentarium is iterated most often.

The pattern of these earliest Christian scribal depictions is to be found traced in the lineaments of all their descendents through a thousand years duration, though, extending the metaphor, direct patrilineal descent is rarely proveable. This recurring formula of scribe, text carrier, instrument for forming the letters, ink reservoir, and a figure of inspiration can be found buried within the later elaborate



profusion of instrumenta scribendi of many Eastern examples, and as well, within the majority of Western examples, starkly unelaborated. In not a few Western instances, one can even find these elements minimalized to, excluding the ever present scribe, the text carrier and the instrument for framing the letters (a development much less characteristic of the Eastern material). The reduced formula carries the same import; it enables us to identify the figure as one who is, or was, writing, or is going to write.

The last 'pre-Carolingian' images to be introduced here are good illustrations, respectively, of a depiction which embodies a reduced formula (fig. 6),<sup>32</sup> and one whose richness of writing tools transcends the formula (fig. 7).<sup>33</sup> These two depictions also stand out for they are especially difficult of interpretation.

The first is the image of Mark from the Chad, or Lichfield Gospels, saec. VIII<sup>1</sup>. The Evangelist clasps his closed codex(?), on his right is either a stylized stylus, or an atramentarium on a pointed stick,<sup>34</sup> stuck into a part of the cathedra, and the inspiring figure of the evangelist's symbol, the lion, which carries a closed codex (the exemplar?) in its claws. From the standpoint of a scribal depiction, the chief oddity here is the presence of the stylus or atramentarium as the only visible instrumentum scribendi. It is shown oversize, and its documentary value is probably low. The work is otherwise not an unexpected one for a portrait of an evangelist emanating from an eighth century insular workshop.

Before detailing the instrumenta scribendi in the Codex Amiatinus Ezra picture, or commenting on the interpretative difficulties presented by them, I offer this book and this image as a forcible example of the cultural interconnexions of the Mediterranean with geographically removed cultural clients, alluded to at the inception of this paper. The codex first. It was produced around the end of the seventh century, one of three similar biblical manuscripts of gargantuan proportions, from the scriptorium of an Anglo-Saxon monastery, either Monkwearmouth or Jarrow in Northumbria.<sup>35</sup> The Amiatinus copy was destined for presentation to Pope Gregory II, and was being transported to that end by abbot Ceolfriith, who perished en route in 716, within Burgundy. This manuscript, the earliest surviving to contain the Vulgate entire, has been thought by many to be a close copy, textually and visually, to the Codex Grandior produced at the



southern Italian twin monastery of Vivarium, prior to the death of its lay head and founder, Cassiodorus (in A.D. 580). The Codex Grandior, following this historical reconstruction, may have found its way to Northumbria in the baggage of Benedict Biscop or Coelfrid, acquired on the Roman leg of their A.D. 678 Grand Tour. Those who do not believe the Northumbrian book to be a slavish copy of the southern Italian pandect, are still willing to authorize the last named codex in a reduced role, as one among many models; and if not that manuscript, they move the verbal model of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* in its stead.<sup>36</sup> And none deny the fine Late Antique patina to the image, however it was imparted. The import of 'Roman' books to Albion, and the export of Roman-looking books thence to the city on the Tiber; was ever 'coals to Newcastle' better reversed?

Aside from the discussion of models and copies, Ezra (for so he is labelled in clear contemporary capitalis) and his scribal tools are intractable. The prophet is seated, codex in lap, calamus in his right hand. Nearby, a double-compartment atramentarium rests on a stretcher table ('writing table'), and in the background is a bookpress, containing a *novem codices* bible, perhaps even Cassiodorus'. Scattered on the floor around the scribe, are six instrumenta scribendi; calamus, circinus, dua vasa,<sup>37</sup> a narrow tapered object with a fine point, and a triangular object with incurving sides and one spatulate end. The last two objects have thus far eluded convincing identification. If every object in an illumination cannot be identified, and that convincingly, some doubt may be expressed as to whether we have the technical means to interpret that illumination; this is a problem which recurs, particularly with the Eastern Christian materials.<sup>38</sup> There remains a further difficulty with the Amiatinus painting, one which goes to the heart of the codicological use of these materials; before 'reading' every medieval image of a scribe, a question must be asked: what is the documentary value of this image? At first, the documentary value of the Amiatinus Ezra as scribe would seem to be quite high, following on its apparent naturalism, barring the handling of perspective, which would be considered deficient by highest first-century standards. Yet, this handling of the relationship of object parts in space might itself indicate that something else, rather than correct, cool classicism or twentieth century photographic accuracy, is intended. This may or may not invalidate the documentary value

of any element shown. Some have seen the codex open on the floor as the exemplar being copied. One, 'reading literally' along these lines, could marvel at the scribe's eyesight. A similarly minded viewer would, then, have to ask why the scribe is beginning four lines down his blank recto page, why he is rendering *sacra scriptura* in what is meant to be an extremely cursive script, and, how it is that his arm can span the reach to the *atramentarium* to recharge his reed pen. Would this viewer then be justified in believing that the very manner in which Coelfrid's scribes held their pens is indeed mirrored here, with the ring finger placed ahead of the index finger, and thereby controlling the *calamus*? Perhaps.<sup>39</sup>

Scribal images from the later eighth century forward show broad, easily characterized patterns and divergences, though, as always with large classes of material remains, a goodly number stand contrary to the characterization of the many.

The chief divergence lies between East and West. Eastern Christian depictions of scribes are marked by a definite lack of uniformity, an absence of formula in the rendering of the *instrumenta scribendi* (though every Eastern rendering can be thought to include the basic formula found in the sixth century material discussed above; it is as if the post-sixth-century images are unsystematic elaborations of what came before). The other elements in the compositions, such as the position of the scribe, the rendering of volumes, costume, perspective, architectural details, and physical characteristics of the evangelists are all treated according to the strict iconographical types and conventions that prevail in Byzantine and related art. This fluidity in the representation of type and number of writing implements, though a standard lineament of Eastern scribal images, is an apparent oddity in the whole of Byzantine art. It certainly calls for an explanation.

The phenomenon is clearly seen in three thirteenth century evangelist depictions (figs. 8, 9, 10).<sup>40</sup> The images are clearly related among themselves. Similarities in pose, dress and features are as striking as are the differences in *instrumenta scribendi*, writing furniture, and the products of writing. In the Princeton example (fig. 9), a St Matthew, we see three *calami*, an oval, double-compartment *atramentarium*, a *vas*, a curved, straight-backed *cultellus*, one *circinus*, a *lectern*, two tables equipped with a lower tray for writing equip-

ment, two codices and two volumina. The picture of John from a Stauronikita monastery manuscript (fig. 8), on the other hand, displays one calamus, a cylindrical, single compartment atramentarium, one vas, a cupboard for writing tools, and a lectern, both combined into one integral piece of furniture, and two codices. And finally, in the Smyrna illumination (fig. 10), again of St John, we find one vas, a lectern, a two-tiered cupboard for writing equipment, and two codices. These three similar images are by no means exceptional, in the degree to which the tools of calligraphy shown in each are dissimilar.

Western images of scribes are characterized by the use of formula in the very area where Eastern images are not; the illustration of the writing tools. The basic formula employed there, made of those elements common to the depiction on the sixth-century pilgrim's ampulla now in Paris, and that of St Matthew in the chancel of San Vitale, consists, as the reader will recall, of the text carrier, the principal writing implement, an inspiring figure, and possibly a surface to hold the tools. The last mentioned item, though it may be common to both early images, did not become an invariable part of the formula, however, the atramentarium, present in the San Vitale depiction, did. And the basic formula was sometimes further expanded to include at least one of the following: a work surface, a further product of writing, and, increasingly from the ninth century, a cultellus.<sup>41</sup>

The formula is well illustrated by two stylistically different, but functionally similar images. The Matthew from the Ebo Gospels (fig. 11)<sup>42</sup> sits at a 'writing lectern' (for want of a better term), he writes into a codex with a penna, and in his left hand, which holds the codex open, he holds a horn-shaped atramentarium. His evangelist symbol is also present, holding a partially unwound volumen. The figure of John from the 'Gospel Book of Francis II' (fig. 12),<sup>43</sup> is likewise seated, and a lectern carrying a codex is at his side. Another codex rests in his lap, and he holds a penna in his right hand, and with his left he supports a horn-shaped atramentarium. His evangelist symbol, which holds an open scroll, is contained in a rondel on the opposite recto page.

With a persistence which is striking, this tradition of scribal depiction lasted beyond the period under examination here; the portraits

of Erasmus by Dürer and Quentin Massys demonstrate this.<sup>44</sup> A good example from the later fifteenth century is found in the scribal 'group portrait' of the four Evangelists in the 'Schwarzes Gebetbuch' of Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy (fig. 13).<sup>45</sup> All four scribes are in the same room, and there is only one work surface, a table, which is set between Matthew and Mark. Mark's codex rests on the table, as does a rectangular, triple compartment atramentarium, along with two pennae, and a crumpled leaf(?). Matthew, Luke and John hold their codices, or volumina on their laps. Matthew and John write, Luke examines the end of his pen, and Mark appears to be splitting the nib of his pen with a cultellus. The four evangelist symbols are also present.

It is a common perception that, with the rise of the use of a more naturalistic perspective, and a greater attention to the careful rendering of detail in illuminations, many depictions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries offer a more reliable record of quotidian objects and processes than earlier works. Yet, no one viewing works of these centuries can afford to ignore the eloquent words and demonstration of an eminent art historian, that in the most naturalistic works ". . . all meaning has assumed the shape of reality; or, to put it the other way, all reality is saturated with meaning. . . ," and that furthermore, earlier and more direct use of visual symbolism, such as is explicated in Durandus' *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (c. 1286), had not disappeared by the fifteenth century; that, indeed, direct symbolism and 'symbols disguised under the cloak of real things,' could be found side by side in the same composition.<sup>46</sup> The sort of problems encountered in interpreting this material, in light of its meaning(s), is well illustrated in the evangelist depictions in a book of hours produced in the third decade of the fifteenth century, which belonged to the Bronchoven family of Brabant in the first half of the sixteenth century (fig. 14),<sup>47</sup> and in a roughly contemporary illumination of Augustine in a copy of the *De civitate dei*, formerly in the library of the celebrated Baron Montesquieu, author of the *Esprit de lois* (1748) (fig. 15).<sup>48</sup> The depiction in the book of hours of Matthew as a scribe presents the viewer with a naturalistic-looking portable pennaculum and atramentarium ('penner and ink-horn,' sometimes referred to as a scriptorium[!]), and naturalistic colonettes. The penna, on the other hand, is certainly oversize, and the angel leaning through the win-

dow and holding the end of a scroll, was almost certainly seen in the fifteenth century as a 'symbol disguised under the cloak of a real thing,' and a symbol not untouched by humour, but what is its documentary value for daily life in the scriptorium? Alternately, one may find instrumenta scribendi apparently accurately draughted, but shown handled in an awkward or futile manner. The writing tools, penna, cultellus and two horn-shaped atramentaria, in the portrait of Augustine, set before the *De civitate dei* text, are certainly drawn to scale. The saint's hands, however, are not accurately rendered, and the penna and cultellus are placed on that part of the text carrier which is not supported by the writing desk, and, indeed, which could not be seen by the saint.

Neither of these depictions, therefore, offers an absolutely naturalistic representation of reality, nor does the reality they present represent just the book production process they show. Matthew performs an operation on his pen while his angel looks on, yet it is not a pen one could find in nature, and Augustine places pen and knife on a 'book,' but not in such a manner that he could ever hope to write while on this earth. Each element in these compositions has to be given a separate assessment to determine its possible symbolic content, the manner in which that symbolic content is made manifest, and whether the particular compositional element, either object or process, symbol or not, is a naturalistic representation. This conclusion should surprise no one, for it is by no means a radical one. It is just one which has been largely absent from the literature on scribal depictions of the last eighty years.

I end this sketch of the history of medieval scribal depictions with a nod in the direction of those images which go beyond formula. They form a respectably numerous class of representations, with little in common other than that they show an abundance of instrumenta scribendi, and, occasionally, a wealth of scribal techniques. They are no easier to interpret than the more usually encountered, formulaic depictions. They may, however, be more valuable witnesses because they illustrate tools and technologies which are often not shown. The only problem, needless to say, is the old problem: the relationship between possible symbolic content, method of conveying the symbolism, and the degree of naturalism in the depiction.<sup>49</sup>

The reader will by now have gained some knowledge of the appearance of the medieval image of the writer. The design for which the foregoing history was undertaken may by now be somewhat indistinct in the reader's recollection. To reiterate, the purpose of this study is to learn something of what these images meant to the literate contemporaries of their creators, through touching on the purpose of the scribal image. For this, it is necessary to turn to the evidence afforded by texts.

Here, yet a further difficulty is encountered, for of texts, there are none which have so far been identified as direct commentaries on scribal images. It is necessary, naturally, to turn to literatures which do exist, and of these, a reasonable place to turn to is biblical exegesis, for there are both evangelists and scribes in the Bible. Needless to say, the 'scribes' of the Old Testament can be thought to have had little in common with medieval copyists, and this was realized by some medieval exegetes.<sup>50</sup> Yet the Old Testament 'scribes' were in some respects functionally similar to the evangelists, and to medieval scribes who were also authors, or even interveners into the text, and indeed, even to those who took their duty as simple copyists (those beloved of Lachmannians) seriously enough.

*Cassiodori Senatoris institutiones* is a sixth century text,<sup>51</sup> authored by the great administrator of the Rome of the Ostrogoths, who retired to his own personally devised monastic otium, and who continues to play a large, though necessarily posthumous, part in Amiatinus scholarship. His *Institutiones* are, among other things, a syllabus for the study of biblical scholarship which, in Augustinian wise, embrace the study of classical literature and its expression as a preparation to 'divine' study. It is a text, that, to judge by manuscript survivals, remained popular even when its importance as a transmitter of a classically informed, biblical programme of study had been eclipsed.

It is in two passages that Cassiodorus furnishes mystical readings of the 'historical' activity of writing. The first, occurring at I.XXX.I, concerns the fingers as they manipulate the calamus on the page: "Man multiplies the heavenly words, and in a certain metaphorical sense, if one may so express himself, that which the virtue of the Holy Trinity utters is written by a trinity of fingers."<sup>52</sup> The scribe who copies biblica is not merely a scrivener copying a text; he is, in

a sense, a figure for the Trinity, the original creator and promulgator of scripture. And it is the three fingers united in the one action of writing, which lead the mind to God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The second passage is found at the conclusion of the same paragraph. It emphasizes, in forcible fashion, the unity of the Trinity: "They [the scribes] deserve praise too for seeming in some way to imitate the action of the Lord, who, though it was expressed figuratively, wrote His law with the use of His all-powerful finger."<sup>53</sup> God, therefore, provides a model for the scribe who wishes to see the wider significance of the activity in his work; writing biblical texts with his pen, he 'imitates the action of the Lord,' who writes the law with His finger. It is also that the scribe is a figure for the Lord, and his pen a figure for the finger of the Lord graving the decalogue. When one peers in through the scriptorium door at the scribe, contemplation will lead one from the scribe to the Lord of Exodus 31,18. It is important to be reminded that this text of Cassiodorus' was available throughout the Middle Ages.

Cassiodorus' 'Handbuch' is a work meant to provide an education adapted from the old classical formation, and is overtly intended for a monastic audience. Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, on the other hand, is a work aimed at a broader section of the populace, and if not to the literate laity fluent in Latin, at least assuredly to those who spoke to the laity.<sup>54</sup>

The *Legenda aurea* was written before its mendicant author became the Dominican provincial for Lombardy in 1267. He was later elevated, reluctantly, to the office of archbishop of Genoa, the region of his birth, and he ended his career at the summit, or rather began it, with a popular cultus.

The popularity of Jacobus' collection of brief hagiographical vitae ranged according to the sanctorale, is such as to astonish even his modern critics.<sup>55</sup> Matter of chief interest to this study is found in the lives of the evangelists, particularly SS Matthew and Luke.

Of St Matthew, we read that: "Matthew is a double name . . . or [vel] from manus, hand, and theos, God, as it were the hand of God . . . and the hand of God through the writing of the Gospel of God."<sup>56</sup> This is a rather clear statement of the instrumental nature of the evangelist; if Matthew is not God's pen, he is certainly the hand of the creator of sacred scripture, the hand which writes the letters



of the text on the page. Matthew is a cog in the machine of textual transmission, he moves the text from God the author to the audience of Christians. The etymology of Matthew's name provides a figure of God writing His Gospel. Is this what is to be seen when one looks at a later thirteenth century depiction of St Matthew as a scribe? Would a copyist contemporary with Jacobus de Voragine, stopping to reflect in the middle of copying the *Evangelium secundum Mattheum*, see himself as a figure of God writing His sacred text, and so be drawn up to contemplate the creator of The Book, and the universe? It is an image worth entertaining. It is certainly not far in effect from Cassiodorus' mystical readings, if a little less subtle.

Touching on the *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, we read: "... his [i.e. Luke's] gospel is authenticated by the authority of many; of course it was authenticated by the authority of many, seeing that it was appointed beforehand by the Father. . . , it is inspired by the Holy Ghost, whence Jerome says in his prologue on Luke: 'At the instigation of the Holy Spirit he wrote this Gospel in the district of Achaia.'"<sup>57</sup> One is left in no doubt as to the identity of the predestinator of the gospel. Taken alone, this statement seems to leave more for Luke to contribute as author to his gospel, than Matthew to his, yet read in the context of the collection, that is together, the two passages complement each other. The emphasis on the sufficiency of God's authority in the passage from the vita of Luke is then a statement of Luke's instrumentality in the realization of the *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, corresponding to Matthew's role in the writing of the first gospel.

One of the sources used by Jacobus de Voragine in the *Legenda aurea* is the *Glossa ordinaria*, a work of the preceding century, whose history of composition is very complex and incompletely explored.<sup>58</sup> The *Glossa ordinaria* became the standard gloss on the Bible, as its somewhat subsequently acquired name, and abundant manuscript witnesses testify. As a work of Latin biblical exegesis it was directed to a more learned audience than the hagiographica of James the Dominican.

The passage of greatest significance in the *Glossa ordinaria* for the understanding of the meaning of images of the apostles as scribes, is the commentary on Matthew 13,52. The biblical text is: "He said to them: This is why every scribe learned in the kingdom of Heaven

is like to a mortal paterfamilias, who brings forth from his treasury goods new and old."<sup>59</sup> One of the glosses on *scriba* states that: "The apostles are the scribes and notaries of Christ, impressing his words on the tablets of the heart, and they are potent in the treasures of the paterfamilias [i.e. Christ], putting out new and old goods from the treasury of His teachings, since whatever is proclaimed in the gospel they prove with the words of the law and the prophets."<sup>60</sup> Again, the idea of the apostles, of whom the evangelists are four, as intermediaries ('scribes and notaries') in the transmission of Christ's text ('His words') to us ('impressing His words on the tablets of the heart') is clearly presented. Some elements in the interpretation in this gloss can be found stated as late as the end of the fifteenth century. In the words of Johannes Trithemius (1497): "Scribes, therefore, are the heralds of the divine will which they have handed down to us through the visible written word."<sup>61</sup>

It is interesting to see a choice of language by the author of the gloss which evokes the circumstances of the transmission of the decalogue, recalled through the use of the metaphor of 'the tablets of the heart' as the text carrier of the New Law. Intriguing also to note that the *Glossa ordinaria* does not elaborate on, or even reproduce Cassiodorus' mystical reading of Exodus 31,18.<sup>62</sup>

The gloss on the first word of psalm 44,2, 'He belched' ('erucavit'), is relevant to a discussion of figurae of writing, and, what is more, has a touch of humour about it. It is, in verity, a rather breathless parody of a gloss: " 'Inwardly the replete prophet belches forth praise,' which is taken by certain people who, not considering the text, judge, rather more superstitiously than truly, that these things be understood thus of the Father: 'He belched'; that is, from my fullness and the secret essence I begat the Word, through whom, known, 'I speak'; that is, I order all things through Him [the Word] when 'I speak'; and this is 'my tongue,' and He is the 'pen of my scribe,' for as a scribe is nothing without his pen, and a pen without a scribe is likewise nothing, so the Father and Son cooperate."<sup>63</sup>

This passage is clearly meant to be a set piece of misinterpretation, worthy of ridicule. One wonders if it is an invention of the glossator, or if, as the words of the glossator imply, there were contemporaries who held these views. One suspects the glossator of hyperbole. What is more, the theology contained there is curious: in which orthodox

statement of faith is the relation of the Father and Son characterized as 'cooperative'? As for the Holy Spirit, it is not directly mentioned in the figure of the relationship of the scribe to his pen. In this case one would have no choice but to bring the Spiritus Sanctus into the mind's contemplation through a burlesque of an Augustinian position: as the mutual love of the first and second persons of the Trinity explains the third person, so this is figured by the mutual love of the scribe and his pen . . .

What, finally, is the meaning of Western medieval depictions of holy figures as scribes?

According to Cassiodorus, the scribe can be seen as a figure of the Lord in two ways. When man 'multiplies the text, uttered by the Trinity,' the three fingers which guide the pen metaphorically signify the Trinity, and the undifferentiated activity of the scribe reproducing the scriptures imitates, after a fashion, the Lord writing the Old Law with His 'all-powerful finger.' These two mystical readings are, of course, complementary. Someone in the sixth century or later who, upon seeing a scribe at work, recalled Cassiodorus' text, would find his contemplation ascend from the earthly image of the writer before him to the higher plane of the writer who authored the *liber vitae*. Cassiodorus does not speak of the scribe as necessarily physically present, rather it is the idea of the scribe that he considers. The form of the scribe is as immediate in a painted or fashioned image of a scribe as in the true presence of the animate scribe; one as well as the other will lead to the contemplation of God. Cassiodorus' two mystical readings have a great deal to tell us about how a learned audience could read a scribal depiction, from the sixth through the fifteenth century. I would go further and venture the opinion that the Western medieval corpus of scribal 'portraits' are to be read first and foremost in this way, as devotional images.

Jacobus de Voragine informs his auditors, or readers, that the evangelist Matthew signifies the 'hand of God' (*manus=hand+theos=God*), and that Matthew is to be understood in this sense as the 'hand of God' writing the 'gospel of God' (*Evangelium secundum Mattheum*). The identification of the scribe with God is more direct, less qualified, than in Cassiodorus' text. Regarding Luke, we learn that his gospel is authoritative, for it is authorized by the Father, Luke being inspired by the Holy Ghost.

From the *Glossa ordinaria* exegesis on Matthew 13,52, we learn that the apostles are the 'scribes and notaries of Christ,' who 'impress His (Christ's) words on the tablets of the heart.' And this is echoed in a text from the very end of our period, in which the 'humanist' German Benedictine Trithemius states that 'scribes are the heralds of the divine will which they hand down to us through the written word.'

The texts presented here, from Cassiodorus to Trithemius, are concordant in stating that the Christian holy man is not the final originator of his text. He is, rather, instrumental in insuring the transmission of the text of scripture from its divine author to its divinely-ordained receiver, humankind.<sup>64</sup> The holyman, prophet or evangelist, transfers the inspired text to a technology we can use, the written word. It is, I believe, a principal function of medieval scribal images to show in visual form what these texts describe. An apocalyptic evangelist symbol or the Holy Spirit inspires the text into the mind of the evangelist or prophet, who is shown writing out the text to give to us. The text is, indeed frequently shown being written into a bound codex to indicate that the entire work of sacred scripture has another, ultimate author, different from the intermediary depicted writing the text on the medieval artefacts.

To the meaning of the medieval image of the scribe as a devotional representation, may be added a second meaning of importance. The medieval image of the scribe shows the transmission of the divinely authored text from God, via the evangelists, to us. The presence of the Western Christian formulaic scribal image, which is a schematic representation of the transmission of a text, may, when placed before that text, in fact function as a guarantee of its authenticity, that it has come down through the 'right channels,' as it were.

The minimalist nature of the formulaic depiction of the scribe, as encountered in the vast majority of Western medieval scribal representations, requires further comment. Its use can surely be accounted for. It is a good example of not multiplying entities beyond necessity. Only the bare minimum of *instrumenta scribendi* are shown, because that is all that is required to indicate that the figure is a scribe. The illuminators did not intend to provide us with highly detailed illustrations for *artes scribendi*. As Gregory I remarks, in the preface to his *Moralia in Iob*: "It is pointless in the extreme, to

ask who wrote these things, when the Holy Spirit is believed through faith to be the author of the book . . . When therefore we recognise the work, and we hold the Holy Spirit to be the author of the work, when we seek the writer, what do we do than when reading the characters, we inquire by what pen it was written?"<sup>65</sup>

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## NOTES

- 1 Or woman, though the characteristics of the images of female scribes adopt the idiom of the male depictions, i.e. the illustration of the relationship to authority and transmission, the posture and activity of the writer, the instruments, etc. One can, for example, compare one from among the most famous images of a female scribe, that of Hildegard von Bingen on f. 9r of Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, MS 1942, saec. XIII<sup>in</sup>. with that of, for example, Peter the Deacon on f. 2v of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9916, saec. XII, and speculate on general influences. Dr. Lesley Smith of Linacre College, Oxford, is preparing a major study on depictions of female scribes, which will appear in a collection of papers edited by David Ganz and Randall Rosenfeld (forthcoming).

The scope of materials on which the image of the scribe is found range from mosaic (evangelists in the chancel of San Vitale, Ravenna, sixth century), sculpture (evangelists on the tympanum of the Puerta del Sarmental of Burgos cathedral, c. 1240–1250), gold metalwork and cloisonné enamel (evangelists on the central plaque of the Pala d'Oro, in the Tesoro di San Marco, Venice, early twelfth century), to the rather more humble slip-covered terracotta (evangelist on ampulla from North Temenos House at Aphrodisias in Caria, Trench B, inv. nos. 67–70, sixth century?). As to the number of such objects produced in the 'Middle Ages,' or even surviving from the sixth to the fifteenth century, none have been tempted to guess their number. A catalogue would fill volumes.

- 2 It would be as difficult to gauge destruction as to estimate original production.

We still await a comprehensive treatment of all aspects of the subject. A good, general survey of eastern materials can be found in Herbert Hunger and Klaus Wessel, 'Evangelisten' in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. Klaus Wessel, vol. II, Stuttgart, 1971, cols. 452–507. For Western items see V.I. Mazuga, 'Observations sur les techniques utilisées par les scribes

latins du haut moyen âge' in *Scriptorium* XLIV (1990), 1, 126–130, and his larger studies in Russian cited therein. For a review of the critical literature, including later work by Hunger, see Randall A. Rosenfeld, 'Mediaeval Depictions of Scribes from Manuscript Sources: Their Codicological Significance' (M.S.L. thesis, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies), Toronto, 1991. I would like to thank Dr. Mazuga for making his articles available to me.

- 3 For example, see the depiction of John on f. 170v of the Gospel Book of MacDurnan, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1370, saec. IX<sup>2</sup>, Armagh?; see J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century* (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles vol. I), London, 1978, no. 70, pp. 86–87; and the portrait of Jerome on f. 1r of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS nouv. acq. 1404, c. 1280–1281, Acre, Biblia; see Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*, Princeton, 1976, cat. no. 5, pl. 37, pp. 60–75.
- 4 This last point has been chronicled many times, particularly with regard to literary culture and the 'fine arts.' Classic statements are R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries*, Cambridge, 1954, supplemented by *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500–1500*, ed. R.R. Bolgar, Cambridge, 1971; and Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, trs. John J. Contreni, Columbia, 1978. It must be said, however, that the military, economic and 'political' relations between Rome and the barbarians cannot be characterized in quite this fashion; see Walter Goffart, *Rome's Fall and After*, London, 1989, 'Rome, Constantinople, and the Barbarians,' pp. 1–32 (= *American Historical Review* 86 (1981), 275–306), where at page 12 the author nevertheless remarks: "Such a view [slow infiltration of alien peasants and soldiers, according to Mommsen and Dopsch] presupposes the existence of a uniform Germanic or at least a barbarian identity. The certainty of its absence implies that the infiltrators were more likely to acquire coatings of Greco-Roman culture than to impress their variegated ethnicities upon their adopted home."
- 5 As, for example, the evangelist images in the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 14000, A.D. 870, fols. 16r, 46r, 65r, 97r; see Florentine Mütterich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, pp. 27, 102, pl. 35 (f. 16r). Unfortunately, neither *Der codex aureus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, ed. G. Leidinger, 6 vols., Munich, 1921–1931, nor the works of Wilhelm Reinhold Walter Koehler on Carolingian miniatures were available to me for the writing of this paper.
- 6 Perhaps a crude ancestor of the devices discussed in Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the 'Manipulus florum' of Thomas of Ireland*, Toronto, 1979, pp. 27–36. This *raison-d'être* of evangelist portraits is alluded to by Otto Pächt, who arrives at it from the standpoint of liturgical use; Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction*, with a preface by J.J.G. Alexander, London-Oxford, 1986,

- pp. 35–36. A multiplicity of finding aids are illustrated in *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, eds. Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin, Paris, 1990.
- 7 A direct, though not invariable, relation between social station, resources, and the level and quality of decoration in a book seems to be an inescapable theme running through Christopher De Hamel's *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1986. For a discussion of books as wealth in the Carolingian cultural world see Rosamund McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 148–157.
  - 8 There are many examples. One imagines the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram (see note 5 supra) in this role. The exhibition catalogue *The Medieval Treasury. The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, ed. Paul Williamson, London, 1986, presents a St Mark on a leaf from a saec. XII Byzantine Gospel book in this context (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 8980 E (MS 1420), pp. 158–159, colour plate 14), as well as the four evangelists as scribes on several German ivory plaques, saec. XI<sup>2</sup>, which, if from a book cover, would show this iconography used externally as part of the design for display of a book (220–220c–1865, pp. 100–101). See also Manfred Groten, 'Schatzverzeichnisse des Mittelalters' in *Ornamenta ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik in Köln*, ed. Anton Legner, vol. II, Köln, 1985, pp. 149–155.
  - 9 This has led to interesting results in published studies. It is greatly to Hunger's credit that he carefully describes the instruments of writing which we cannot identify in the Eastern Christian depictions; Hunger, 'Evangelisten,' 1971, col. 478, and Herbert Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur* (Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek, ed. Hans von Steuben and Martin Restle (Byzantium)), Munich, 1989, p. 87. Other scholars, when faced with instrumenta scribendi unknown to them, have not always offered an exemplary or laudable presentation of the information; see, for example, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts; an Iconographical Catalogue c. A.D. 625 to 1100*, ed. Thomas H. Ohlgren, New York, 1986, p. 5.
  - 10 See note 2 supra and the survey of works in Rosenfeld, 'Mediaeval Depictions,' 1991, A.I. and II. et seqq.
  - 11 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS vat. lat. 3867, ff. 3v (before Eclogue II), 9r (before Eclogue IV), 14r (before Eclogue VI), saec. V<sup>med.</sup>, Syria? On this manuscript see *Vergilius Romanus codex vaticanus latinus 3867* (Codices e vaticanis selecti. . . , vol. LXVI), commentary by Carlo Bertelli et al., Zurich, 1986.
  - 12 Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Martin Classical Lectures, vol. XVI), Harvard, 1959, p. 121. Weitzmann's interpretation is questioned at points by Carlo Bertelli, 'Die Illustrationen des Vergilius Romanus im historischen und künstlerischen Kontext' in *Vergilius Romanus*, 1986, p. 141, note 2, and by Rosenfeld, 'Mediaeval Depictions,' 1991, A.II.a).
  - 13 A.M. Friend, jr., 'The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manucri-



pts' in *Art Studies* 5 (1927), 141; Weitzmann, *Ancient Book*, 1959, p. 155; Hugo Buchthal, 'A Byzantine Miniature of the Fourth Evangelist and Its Relatives' in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 15 (1961), 132; Hunger, 'Evangelisten,' 1971, col. 457; Robert S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (Monographs in Archaeology and the Fine Arts XXXVI), New York, 1980, p. 12, note 29. Nelson's book is a first class study.

- 14 For all questions associated with medieval scribal images, modern authorities are in agreement that depictions of the evangelists as scribes have priority in time and number to any other medieval depictions of writers. All others, be they of Church Fathers, Dominicans, or vernacular authors, are based on the evangelist depictions. See Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen*, 1989, p. 86, and Mazuga, 'Observations,' 1990, 126.
- 15 See for instance, the examples in Friend, 'Portraits,' 1927, pl. XVI, ills. 154, 155, 157-160, 162, 163.
- 16 Discussion and classification of these materials since Friend has considered, for the most part, only clothes, background, general posture, and aspect, with the first three characteristics being given priority. See, for example, Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making. Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century*, Cambridge, 1980, pp. 35-36, or Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York, 1977, pp. 96, 100, 126.
- 17 It should be noted that there are Roman iconographic traditions of writing which did not make it down to the Middle Ages. The frescoes of Pompeii provide some examples, apparently seven and mostly showing female 'writers,' but only two are well known and widely reproduced: Naples, Museo Nazionale, acc. no. 9058, c. A.D. 60-79, and acc. no. 9084, c. A.D. 40-50 (William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 263, and note 459), but there are some much less well known traditions of the iconography of writing, which are found on funerary monuments; see Dela von Boeselager, 'Funde und Darstellungen römischer Schreibzeugfalterale zur Deutung einer Beigabe in kölnen Gräben' in *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989), 221-239. Harris could, unfortunately, not make use of von Boeselager's report in his fine study of ancient literacy.

It is an open question to what extent the Greek material such as is collected in F.A.G. Beck, *Album of Greek Education. The Greeks at School and at Play*, Sydney, 1975, pls. 8, 10, 13, and 71, could have directly influenced Byzantine depictions.

- 18 The disciples of the works of the votaries of Polyhymnia and Calliope, and indeed the muses themselves do appear to be shown writing, yet the scholars who have published this material acknowledge its relative rarity and difficulty of interpretation. Theodor Birt in his *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst. . .*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 207, 'laments the meagreness of the tradition' ("Hier muss ich . . . die Karglichkeit der Überlieferung beklagen"), and, two pages later, the 'poor list of artefacts' ("Dies lehrten uns unsere dürftigen Zusammenstellungen") he

has managed to assemble. In a like vein Henri-Irénée Marrou comments in his *MOYCIKOC ANHEP. Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains*, Rome, 1964<sup>2</sup>, p. 148, that 'scenes of writing are not numerous, and they are for the most part difficult to interpret, or are without significance for the object of our study' ('Elles sont peu nombreuses et pour la plupart difficiles à interpréter ou sans rapport avec l'objet de notre étude . . .'). Indeed, half of the examples from Marrou's list with an identifiable context show figures writing within a record-keeping (administrative or business) context (nos. 187, 189, and 191). And some of the figures Birt and Marrou took to be scenes of writing have since been reinterpreted; Marrou no. 193 has been read by Beck, *Album*, pl. 71, fig. 359, as a scene of reading and not of writing, and Birt's fig. 137 could just as well be a picture of a muse untying a roll, or reading, as of writing. Birt, p. 198, advances a possible cultural reason for the iconographic rarity of Antique images of writers who are not record keepers, 'that for the Greeks and Romans the copying of written documents had sunk to the level of manual work fit for servants' ('. . . das Schreiben auf der Charta . . . war . . . bei den Griechen und Römern vielmehr zur Sache der Dienerschaft und des Handwerks herabgesunken.'). This would require a thorough study to prove or disprove.

Many of these problems are illustrated in the Pompeian material mentioned in note 17 supra, where, for example, there is ongoing difficulty in identifying the subjects portrayed in Naples, Museo Nazionale, acc. nos. 9058 and 9084, and even in determining the 'social' level of those depicted; see George M.A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art: A Modern Survey of the Art of Imperial Rome*, New York, 1975, no. XLIII (Naples 9058) and XLI (Naples 9084) for a succinct report; Harris, *Literacy*, p. 263 note 459. Discussion is hampered by the lack of comparanda with inscriptions, and the dearth of this material from archaeological contexts with more definite implications of social status.

- 19 Antonio Giuliano, *Arco di Costantino*, Milan, 1956; *Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann, New York, 1979, no. 58, pp. 67–69; Richard Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312–1308*, Princeton, 1980, pp. 28–29 (for the imperial and civic contexts of the monument). The instrumenta shown are a stylus or calamus (reed or bronze), and tabulae.
- 20 Berlin, Staatbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS theol. lat. f. 323, c. A.D. 400, Rome. See *Age of Spirituality*, 1979, no. 53, pp. 55–56.
- 21 As in the example discussed immediately above, or the law court scribe shown in Rossano, Museo dell'Arcivescovado, s.n., f. 8v, saec. VI<sup>ex</sup>–VII<sup>in</sup>., Syria? On this MS see *Codex purpureus Rossanensis. Museo dell'Arcivescovado, Rossano Calabria* (Codices selecti. . . , vol. LXXXI), eds. Guglielmo Cavallo, Jean Gribomont, and William C. Loerke, Rome, 1987, and the important review of Anthony Cutler 'The End of Antiquity in Two Illuminated Manuscripts' in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2 (1989), 401–409.
- 22 For the symbol in Christianity see Henri Leclercq, 'Pasteur (bon)' in *Dictio-*

- naire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, eds. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, vol. 13, pt. 2, Paris, 1938, cols. 2272–2390; Klaus Wessel, 'Christussymbole' in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. Klaus Wessel, vol. I, Stuttgart, 1966, col. 1051. For some examples which are believed most likely to be non-Christian, see *Age of Spirituality*, 1979, nos. 462–464, 466.
- 23 This may be in step with the complicated changes, ironically, mostly simplifications of culture, which Peter Brown observes in the sixth century, and which he chronicles in, among other works, *The World of Late Antiquity A.D. 150–750*, London, 1989<sup>2</sup>, pp. 174–175.
- 24 Brown, *World*, p. 32; Frank Daniel Gilliard, 'The Social Origins of Bishops in the Fourth Century' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley), University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1966. Gilliard notes (pp. 135–137), commenting on his massed prosographical data: ". . . that the bishops of the fourth century were well-educated men from families of some distinction. . . ." It should be noted that Gregory's career course was actually from prefect of Rome to monk, and from monk as apocrisiarius in Constantinople back to Rome and an abbacy on his own land, and thence to the chair of St Peter. For Gregory the Great see the venerable, outdated but not superseded work by F. Homes Dudden, *Gregory the Great. His Place in History and Thought*, vol. I, London, 1905, pp. 3–15 (family), 99–106 (pre-monastic career), 215ff. (episcopal elevation and career); for Ambrose see Angelo Paredi, *S. Ambrogio e la sua età*, Milan, 1960<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1–16 (family and youth), 95–126 (pre-episcopal career), 157–182 (episcopal career); and for Sidonius see C.E. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 1–18 (education), 88–107 (pre-episcopal career), 108–129 (episcopal career).
- 25 That is, the earliest extant certain depictions of the evangelists as scribes. The earliest possible depictions are Ancona, sarcophagus, fourth century A.D.?, and Vatican City, Museo S. Callisto, sarcophagus, fourth century A.D.?.; see Giuseppe Wilpert, *I sarcophagi christiani antichi* (Monumenti dell' antichità cristiana), vol. I, plates, Rome, 1929, pl. XIV, fig. 1, and vol. II, plates, Rome, 1932, pl. CCLVIII, figs. 3–4.
- 26 Paris, Louvre, A.O. Section islamique, Inv. 41, terracotta pilgrim's flask, sixth century A.D., Asia Minor?; see Catherine Metzger, *Les ampoules à eulogie du Musée du Louvre* (Notes et documents des Musées de France 3), Paris, 1981, figs. 97a and b.
- 27 Ravenna, San Vitale, south wall of chancel, Matthew panel, mosaic, c. A.D. 540–547; see Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Wiesbaden, 1958<sup>2</sup>, pls. 312, 332 (close-up). For the other evangelists as scribes see pls. 312 (St Mark), 313 (St John), 334 (close-up of St Mark), and 335 (close-up of St John). On Ravenna as capital city of the West see *ibid.*, *Ravenna Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*. vol. I. *Geschichte und Monumente*, Wiesbaden, 1969, pp. 1–9. On San Vitale, see *ibid.*, *Ravenna Hauptsadt*, 1969, pp. 226–256, and *ibid.*, vol. II. *Kommentar*, 2. Teil, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 47–230.

- 28 One dramatic piece of redating has removed an important image from the formative period here under discussion. The Rossano codex St Mark, Rossano, Museo dell'Arcivescovado, s.n., f. 121r, is a tip-in redated to saec. XI–XII from saec. VI<sup>ex</sup>–VII<sup>im</sup>, on codicological and stylistic grounds; see Otto Kresten and Giancarlo Prato, 'Die Miniatur des Evangelisten Markus in Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: eine spätere Einfügung' in *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 27 (1985), 381–399.
- 29 The terracotta ampullae cited in notes 1 and 26 supra.
- 30 Sheila D. Campbell, 'Armchair Pilgrims: Ampullae from Aphrodisias in Caria' in *Mediaeval Studies* L (1988), 539–545; *Saints and Their Cults. Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 9–11; a general, popular presentation is found in Marie Madeleine Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith. Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela*, trs. J.A. Underwood, Secaucus, 1986, pp. 17–18.
- 31 Recently, and unsuccessfully identified as a penna in Michael Finlay, *Western Writing Implements in the Age of the Quill Pen*, Wetheral, Carlisle, 1990, p. 88, monochrome pl. I.
- 32 Lichfield, Cathedral Treasury, s.n., p. 142, saec. VIII<sup>1</sup>, Wales?, St Chad Gospels. See Carl Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting. Book Illumination in the British Isles 600–800*, New York, 1977, pp. 29, 79, pl. 24; Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, 1978, no. 21, pp. 48–50. This MS, like many which were produced in divers parts of the British Isles throughout the early Middle Ages, has been the object of the Northumbrian fantasy, a methodological weakness latterly prevalent in some parts (to their credit, both Nordenfalk and Alexander are innocent of this charge). The facts concerning the St Chad Gospels are set straight in Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels. Part I' in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 5 (1983), 41–48 (the section on 'The Date and Origin of the Lichfield Gospels').
- 33 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, f. Vr, c. 689–pre 716, Northumbria. See Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 7, pp. 32–35.
- 34 Nordenfalk, *Celtic*, p. 79, advances the second suggestion, and in support of his interpretation one can cite the depiction of St John on f. 170v of MacDurnan's Gospel (see note 3 supra), where the evangelist appears to be dipping a pen into a very similar object.
- 35 The essentials regarding this MS are well summarized and presented by Alexander; see note 33 supra.
- 36 The chief statement against the Amiatinus being a direct copy of one of the Cassiodorean bibles is put by Karen Corsano, 'The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus' in *Scriptorium* XLI (1987), I, 3–34. Corsano's argument is tightly constructed and detailed, as it would have to be. The traditional view has been restated by Fabio Troncarelli, 'I codici di Cassiodoro: le testimonianze più antiche' in *Scrittura e civiltà* 12 (1988), 52, and note 7, who cites Guglielmo Cavallo, "'Dallo 'scriptorium' senza

biblioteca alla biblioteca senza 'scriptorium'" in *Dall' eremo al cenobio. La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, Milan, 1987, pp. 336–337. One could wish the answer to Corsano had been constructed with as much care as went into her argument, for Troncarelli's view is most probably the correct one.

- 37 Sometimes given the unlikely interpretation of a vas and its umbra; see the final reference in note 9 supra.
- 38 See the first two references in note 9 supra, and Rosenfeld, 'Mediaeval Depictions,' 1991, A.III.c).
- 39 Cf. the general approach of Mazuga in the works cited in note 2 supra.
- 40 I) Mount Athos, Stauronikita Monastery, MS 53, f. 253v, saec. XIII?; see Hugo Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century* (Byzantina Vindobonensia . . . vol. XII), Vienna, 1979, pl. XLI, fig. 60; II) Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 2, f. 44r, saec. XIII<sup>1</sup>, Latin Patriarchate?; see Buchthal, "Musterbuch", pl. XXVIII, fig. 41; *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. Gary Vikan, Princeton, 1973, no. 50, pp. 176–179; III) Smyrna, Church of St John (olim), s.n., f. 7v, saec. XIII?; see Buchthal, "Musterbuch", pl. XLIV, fig. 63.
- 41 Early examples are: I) Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf, MS A 14, f. 119v, saec. IX<sup>in</sup>; see David Ganz, 'The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule' in *Viator* 18 (1987), 44, fig. 1; II) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm. 14000, cover, c. A.D. 870, Rheims or St Denis?; see Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art. The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, Chicago, 1972<sup>2</sup>, pl. 10, fig. 20, and note 5 supra; III) and possibly the picture of John in MacDurnan's Gospel, for which see note 3 supra.
- 42 Épernay, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1, f. 18v, c. A.D. 816–835, Rheims; see Mutherich and Gaehe, *Carolingian Painting*, 1976, pp. 25, 58, pl. 14.
- 43 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 257, ff. 147v–148r, saec. IX<sup>2</sup>, St Amand; see Mutherich and Gaehe, *Carolingian Painting*, 1976, pp. 26–27, 93, pls. 30–31.
- 44 In the Massys in Rome, Palazzo Barberini (olim Galleria Corsini), however, note the presence of scissors (not a regular feature of western medieval depictions), and in both this oil and Dürer's 1526 engraving (Bartsch no. 107), Erasmus is using a calamus. For the Massys see Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*. vol. II. *Quentin Massys*, comments and notes by H. Pauwells, trs. Heinz Norden, Leyden-Brussels, 1971, no. 36, p. 64, pl. 40. For the Dürer see *The Complete Engravings, Etchings and Drypoints of Albrecht Dürer*, ed. Walter L. Strauss, New York, 1973, p. 220, pl. 105.
- 45 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1856, f. 32v, c. 1466–1476; see John Harthan, *The Book of Hours*, New York, 1982, pp. 106, 108–109.
- 46 Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character* (The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures 1947–1948), New York, pp. 141; 140–

144.

- 47 Horae (Use of Paris), c. 1430, Ghent?, f. 22v ; see *Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, Tuesday, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1989, no. 68, pp. 118–122.
- 48 *Augustini De civitate dei*, c. 1430–1450, Milan, f. 1r; see *Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, Tuesday, 18 June, 1991, no. 107, pp. 149–151. This scribal portrait has points of comparison with some other Italian depictions from the end of the Middle Ages. Some of the idiosyncracies in the Augustine portrayal commented on below are to be found in the scribes shown in a manuscript of the *Extravagantes Bonifatii VIII*, British Library, MS add. 23923, f. 2r, saec. XIV<sup>2</sup>, Northern Italy?; see Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, Toronto, 1990, no. 47, pp. 122–23, pl. 47. All of these contrast in their turn with a depiction such as the portrait of Francesco Petrarck found in an Italian translation of his *De viris illustribus*, Darmstadt, Hessischen Landes-und Hofschulbibliothek, MS 101, f. IVr, saec. XIV<sup>ex</sup>, Padua, with its thorough-going naturalism, and different approach to symbolism, some of which may be due at this stage to the differences in the figures portrayed; for a reproduction of the drawing of Petrarck see De Hamel, *History*, 1986, p. 216, pl. 221.
- 49 Examples are Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Art, Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus?, 'St Jerome in His Study,' A.D. 1441–1442?, Bruges; and Washington, National Gallery of Art, acc. no. B–22,920, saec. XII<sup>ex</sup>, Tuscany. For the panel painting see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*. vol. I. *The van Eycks—Petrus Christus*, preface by Erwin Panofsky, comments and notes by Nicole Veronee-Verhagen, trs. Heinz Norden, Leyden-Brussels, 1967, p. 104, pl. 103. For the Tuscan illumination see *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art*, compiled by Carra Ferguson, David S. Stevens Schaff, and Gary Vikan, under the direction of Carl Nordenfalk, ed. Gary Vikan, Washington, 1975, no. 2, pp. 6–11, figs. 2a and 2c; and, in some respects, the portrait of Petrarch mentioned in note 48 supra.
- 50 Nicolas of Lyra (c. 1270–1349) in his gloss ad litteram, for instance, as in his commentary on Mt 13,52; see *Bibliorum sacrorum tomus quintus, cum glossa ordinaria, et Nicolai Lyrani expositionibus, literali et morali. . .*, Lyons (Antonius Vincentius), 1545, f. 46v.
- 51 *Cassiodori Senatoris institutiones*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1937; *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings by Cassiodorus Senator*, tr. L.W. Jones, New York, 1976. Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, c. 485–c. 580.
- 52 "verba caelestia multiplicat homo, et quadam significatione contropabili, si fas est dicere, tribus digitis scribitur quod virtus sanctae Trinitatis effatur." Mynors, *Institutiones*, p. 75; Jones, *Introduction*, p. 133. The Jones translation is cited above.
- 53 "accidit etiam laudibus eorum, quod factum Domini aliquo modo videntur emitari, qui legem suam, licet figuraliter sit dictum, omnipotentis digiti operatione conscripsit." Mynors, *Institutiones*, p. 76; Jones, *Introduction*, p. 133.
- 54 See Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradox-*

- ical History, Madison, 1985.
- 55 Reames, *Legenda*, pp. 197ff.
- 56 "Matheus binomius [late form of classical 'binominis'] . . . vel a manus [sic.] et theos [sic.] quasi manus dei . . . manus dei per evangelij conscriptionem." Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, Lyons, 1493, f. CLXVIIv.
- 57 ". . . eius evangelium autenticatur multorum autoritate. Multorum quippe autoritate autenticatum fuit. Quoniam e patre fuit preordinatum . . . a spiritu sancto inspiratum. Unde dicit hieronymus in prologo super lucam: Sancto instigante spiritu in achaie partibus hoc scripsit evangelium." Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda*, f. CLXXXVIIIr. The passage of Jerome is probably pseudo-Hieronymus, *Expositio quattuor euangeliorum* (recensio I), in *Patrologia latina*. vol. XXX. *S. Eusebii Hieronymi . . . opera omnia*. . . , Paris, 1846, col. 567 ('In evangelium secundum Lucam').
- 58 Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1984<sup>3</sup>, pp. 52–66; J. Gribomont and L. Hödl, 'Bibel glossen' (B.I.1.b), cols. 41–42, and H. Riedlinger, 'Das 12.Jh.' (B.I.2.c), cols. 50–52 in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, eds. Robert-Henri Bautier et al., vol. II, Munich and Zurich, 1983.
- 59 Mt 13,52: "ait illis  
ideo omnis scribe doctus in regno caelorum  
similis est homini patri familias  
qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera."  
*Biblia sacra iuxta vulgata versionem*, eds. Robert Weber, Boniface Fischer et al., Stuttgart, 1983<sup>3</sup>, p. 1547.
- 60 "Apostoli sunt scribae et notarij Christi verba eius signantes in tabulis cordis et pollent opibus patrisfamilias, eijcientes de thesauro doctrinarum suarum nova et vetera, quia quidquid in evangelio praedicatur legis et prophetarum vocibus comprobant." *Bibliorum sacrorum tomus quintus, cum glossa ordinaria, et Nicolai Lyrani expositionibus, literali et morali*. . . , Lyons, 1545, f. 46v.
- 61 "Nuncii ergo voluntatis dei scriptores sunt, qui hanc nobis per litteras tradiderunt." Johannes Trithemius, *Johannes Trithemius In Praise of Scribes De laude scriptorum*, ed. Klaus Arnold, tr. Roland Behrendt, Lawrence, 1974, pp. 58–59. Behrendt's translation is cited above.
- 62 The image of Ex 31,18 is used by the glossators quite differently. The gloss on II Cor 3,3 contrasts eternal things engraved on the tablets of the heart to temporal things written with pen and ink, or the Old Law written on stone to the New Law written on mens' hearts; *Bibliorum sacrorum cum glossa ordinaria . . . Tomus sextus*. . . , Paris, 1590, cols. 374–375. This becomes more distant still, as the gloss to II Io 12 refers to the writing fluid and text carrier as 'the voice of death'; *ibid.*, cols. 1425–1426. This last sentiment is, as far as I know, not reflected in medieval scribal portraits.
- 63 "Intus enim satur propheta laudem eructat, licet quidam magis superstitiose quam vere, non considerantes textum, ex persona patris haec arbitrantur intelligi, sic: Eructavit, ex plenitudine mea et secreta essentia genui verbum, per



quem notus dico id est dispoño omnia, et per cum loquor, et hoc est lingua mea, et hic est calamus mei scribae, ut scriba nil sine calamo, et calamus sine scriba, sic cooperantur pater et filius." *Bibliorum sacrorum cum glossa ordinaria* . . . *Tomus tertius*, Paris, 1590, col. 741.

- 64 Garnier, in the portion of his important and encyclopedic study of medieval gesture which deals with scrolls ('phylactère'), states a similar conclusion, though the presentation is thoroughly unsystematic and undocumented; see François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge*. vol. II. *Grammaire des gestes*, Paris, 1989, pp. 238, 401 (explication of pl. 178), 402 (explication of pls. 179 and 181). Garnier does not examine the act of writing as a gesture in this work, but he would put the scholarly world further in his debt if undertook the project at some time.
- 65 "Sed quis haec scripserit, ualde superuacue quaeritur, cum tamen auctor libri Spiritus sanctus fideliter credatur . . . Cum ergo rem cognoscimus, eiusque rei Spiritum sanctum auctorem tememus quia scriptorem quaerimus, quid aliud agimus, nisi legentes litteras, de calamo percontamur?" *S. Gregorii magni moralia in Iob libri I-X* (Corpus christianorum, series latina CXLIII), ed. Marc Adriaen, Turnholt, 1979, praefatio I, 2, pp. 8-9.



FIGURE 1 **DETAIL OF VERGILIUS ROMANUS:** Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS vat. lat. 3867, f.3v, saec. V<sup>med</sup>, after Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York, 1977, fig.III.  
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Fig. 3 detail, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek,  
 Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
 MS theol. lat. f. 329, c. A.D. 400,  
 ivory

Figures 2-4, 8-10, and 13 were drawn by the author.

Fig. 4a, Paris,  
Louvre, A.O.  
Section  
islamique,  
Inv. 41,  
sixth  
century  
A.D.  
terracotta



Fig. 2 detail, Rome, Arch of  
Constantine, 315 A.D.,  
marble

Fig. 4b, Paris,  
Louvre,  
A.O.  
Section  
islamique,  
Inv. 41,  
sixth  
century  
A.D.,  
terracotta





FIGURE 5 **MATTHEW PANEL:** Ravenna, San Vitale, south wall of chancel, c.A.D. 540-547, mosaic, after Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Stuttgart, 1958<sup>2</sup>, pl.332.  
*Reproduced by permission of Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH.*



FIGURE 6 **ST. CHAD GOSPELS:** Lichfield, Cathedral Treasury, s.n., p. 142, saec. VIII<sup>1</sup>, Wales?, after Karl Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*, New York, 1977, pl. 24.  
*Reproduced by permission of George Braziller, Inc.*

CODICIBVS SACRIS HOSTILI CLAOE PERVICTO  
ESDRA DŌ PERVENS HOC DICARAVIT



FIGURE 7 **CODIX AMIATINUS:** Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, f.Vr, c. 689-pre-716, after Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York, 1977, pl. 48. *Reproduced by permission of George Braziller, Inc.*





Fig. 8 detail, Mount Athos, Stauronikita Monastery, MS 53, f. 253 v, saec. XIII?



Fig. 10 detail, Smyrna, Church of St. John (olim), S.N., f. 7 v, saec. XIII?



Fig. 9 detail, Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 2, f. 44 r, saec. XIII?



FIGURE 11 **EBO GOSPELS:** Epernay, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1, f.18v, c.A.D. 816-835, Rheims, after Florentine Mütterich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, pl. 14.  
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FIGURE 12A **DETAIL OF 'GOSPEL BOOK OF FRANCIS II'**: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 257, ff.147v.-148r, saec.IX<sup>2</sup>, St Amand, after Florentine Mütherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, pls.30-31.  
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FIGURE 12B **DETAIL OF 'GOSPEL BOOK OF FRANCIS II'**: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 257, ff.147v.-148r, saec.IX<sup>2</sup>, St Amand, after Florentine Mutherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, pls.30-31.  
*Reproduced by permission of George Braziller, Inc.*



图

Fig. 13 detail, Vienna, Österreichische  
Nationalbibliothek, MS 1056,  
f. 22v, c. 1466-1476



FIGURE 14 **DETAIL OF HORAE:** f.22v, c.1430, Ghent?, after *Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, Tuesday, 20 June 1989, no.68, p.122. *Reproduced by permission of Sotheby's London.*



FIGURE 15 **DETAIL OF AUGUSTINI DE CIVITATE DEI: f.9r, c.1430-1450, Milan,** after *Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, Tuesday, 18 June 1991, no.107, p.149.  
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