

The Salisbury Chapter House
and Its
Sixty Old Testament Scenes

By
Pamela Z. Blum

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Acknowledgements

Preface

Part 1

- 1 The See of Sarum and the Sarum Use
 - Historical Background
 - English Chapter Houses and the Iconography of a Centrally Organized Plan
 - Uses and Customs at Salisbury
- 2 The Chapter House
 - Design
 - Evidence for Dating
 - The Iconographical Program
- 3 Vicissitudes in Succeeding Centuries

Part 2

- 4 The Restorations of 1855
- 5 Days of Creation and the Adam and Eve Cycle
- 6 The Story of Cain and Abel and the Noah Cycle
- 7 Scenes from the Lives of Abraham and Lot
- 8 The Jacob Cycle
- 9 The Joseph Cycle
- 10 Scenes from the Life of Moses
- 11 Stylistic and Intellectual Sources for the Old Testament Cycle

Appendixes

- A Various Stones Used in the Salisbury Chapter House
- B Dendrochronological Report
- C Documents Pertaining to the Restoration of 1855

Short Titles and Abbreviations

Bibliography of Works Cited

Illustrations

Plans

Figures 1-169

Text Figures I-IX

Key to Plate Diagrams

Plates I-LXII

List of Illustrations

Plans

- A Ground plan of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary, Salisbury. F. Nash and S. Porter, del. (After Dodsworth 1814)
- B Ground plan of Salisbury chapter house showing arrangement of Old Testament scenes. P.P. Blum, del.

Figures

- 1 Salisbury chapter house, view from the south
- 2 Detail of east walk of the Salisbury cloister. View from the garth with the south end of the fifteenth-century library above and the chapter house in the background
- 3 Bosses of the Salisbury cloister, south walk from the east (a) eighth bay (b) fifth bay (c) ninth bay
- 4 Entrance to the Salisbury chapter house from foyer, detail (Photo: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)
- 5 Central column and vaulting (a) Salisbury chapter house (b) Westminster chapter house
- 6 Salisbury chapter house before 1905, interior view looking east showing the peeling of the nineteenth-century polychromy (Photo: National Monuments Record, BB80/2517)
- 7 Capitals of the chapter house blind arcade, Salisbury (a) southwest bay, number one (b) southeast bay, number eight (c) north bay, number eight (d) northwest bay, number eight
- 8 Head stops of the chapter house blind arcade, Salisbury (a) northwest bay, number seven (b) northeast bay, number seven (c) southeast bay, number two (d) southeast bay, number six (e) southwest bay, number seven (f) west bay (left), number two
- 9 Sketches of the head stops along the blind arcade, chapter house Salisbury (a) preceded by the five scenes of the Moses cycle (b) followed by fifteen capitals. J. Carter, 1802. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 29939, pp. 75, 77
- 10 Salisbury chapter house, west and northwest bays (Photo: courtesy of the Dean and Chapter, Salisbury cathedral ©, no. F25 34 03)

- 11 Westminster chapter house, interior view looking east.
- 12 Lincoln cathedral, clerestory windows, retrochoir, detail of the south elevation (Photo: V. Jansen)
- 13 Beauvais cathedral, choir, south aisle window
- 14 Amiens cathedral, clerestory window, north elevation of the nave
- 15 Interior or east face of the inner entrance to the chapter house, Salisbury (Photo: National Monuments Record, AA66/825)
- 16 Details, (a) and (b): the carved ornament, interior face of the inner entrance to the chapter house, Salisbury. J. Buckler, 1813. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36392, fol. 84v, fig. 44 and fol. 84, fig. 43
- 17 Masonry of the south walk of the cloister, Salisbury, seventh bay, (left) and eighth bay (right) from the east, showing gargantuan blocks of ashlar from the Old Sarum reused in the lower beds and the disrupted coursing in the eighth bay caused by a break in construction
- 18 Cloister bosses, Salisbury (a) northeast junction bay (b) southeast junction bay
- 19 Cloister bosses, south walk, Salisbury, in sequence from southeast junction bay (a) first bay (b) second bay (c) third bay (d) fourth bay (e) sixth bay (f) seventh bay
- 20 Foliate ornament on lintels carrying the blind arcade, eastern bay, chapter house, Salisbury (a) grape vine (b) fig (c) common hawthorn (d) stylized foliage
- 21 Entrance to chapter house, Southwell Minster, right, detail of the foliate ornament on the capitals and archivolts
- 22 Foliate ornament in the chapter house, Wells (a) roof bosses, detail (b) capitals of colonnettes flanking the entrance, detail
- 23 Roof bosses, chapter house, Salisbury (a) west bay (b) northwest bay (c) north bay (d) northeast bay (e) east bay (f) southeast bay (g) south bay (h) southwest bay
- 24 Carved spandrels and cusps of the Purbeck marble arches forming the inner entrance to the chapter house, Salisbury (a) left arch (b) detail of right arch
- 25 Monsters with foliate tails in the central spandrel of the arcade above the inner entrance, chapter house, Salisbury
- 26 Dying moldings on springer, of the easternmost pier, north side of the presbytery, Salisbury cathedral

- 27 Eastern bay of the chapter house foyer, exterior, south elevation, showing the masonry and oculus crowded by the adjacent thirteenth-century buttress of the chapter house, Salisbury
- 28 Grisaille from the chapter house, Salisbury (a) panel from a lancet, Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, PA (b and c) drawings of remnants of the thirteenth-century glass in the lancets and tracery of the east, south, and west windows. J. Carter, 1802. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS 29939, pp. 81, 82 (Photo: (a) courtesy of the late Jane Hayward)
- 29 Drawing of grisaille from the chapter house window, Westminster (Photo: after Lethaby, 1926, fig. 44)
- 30 Thirteenth-century inlaid tiles from the chapter house, Salisbury (a and b) tiles now set in the pavement of the eastern bay of the north side aisle, Salisbury cathedral (c) tile with griffon set in a floriated circle (Private collection)
- 31 Bosses of the west walk, Salisbury cloister, numbered from the southwest junction bay (a) bay one (b) bay three (c) bay ten (Photo: (a) National Monuments Record)
- 32 Drawings of the Virtues and Vices in the archivolt, foyer, or west side of the inner entrance to the chapter house, Salisbury. J. Carter, 1802. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS 29939, p. 92
- 33 Drawing of the western face of the inner entrance to the chapter house, viewed from the foyer. J. Carter, 1802. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS 29939, p. 90
- 34 Drawing of the interior, or eastern face of the inner entrance to the chapter house, Salisbury. J. Carter, 1802. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS 29939, p. 86
- 35 Signs of the Evangelists surrounding Christ in Majesty on the tympanum, eastern face of the inner entrance to the chapter house, Salisbury (a) Angel of St. Matthew (b) Eagle of St. John (c) Lion of St. Mark (d) Ox of St. Luke
- 36 Angel of the Apocalypse with a censer, tympanum of the eastern or interior face of the inner entrance to the chapter house, Salisbury
- 37 Remnants of thirteenth-century glass from the chapter house in the windows of the cathedral, Salisbury (a) angels in roundels, south aisle, west window (b) angel in roundel flanked by bishops, south aisle window, third bay from the west
- 38 Detail of the remnant of the Angel Choir screen, ca. 1265, now in the Morning Chapel, Salisbury cathedral
- 39 Eighteenth-century drawings of the thirteenth-century angel choirs in the vaults of the eastern transept arms, Salisbury cathedral, before their overpainting on the orders of J. Wyatt. Pencil with color wash. J. Schnebbelie. Oxford, Bod. Lib.

Gough Maps XXXII, fols 60, 61 (Photos: Bodleian Library)

- 40 Christ in Majesty of the Second Coming with Apostles and Evangelists in the vaults of the eastern crossing bay, Salisbury, repainted in the nineteenth century by Mssrs Clayton and Bell
- 41 Angel in a quatrefoil, detail of angel choir, west facade, Wells cathedral
- 42 Details of the angel choir in the triforium of the retrochoir, Lincoln cathedral (a) angels with scroll and pipes (b) angels with scroll and book
- 43 Detail of the Judgment Porch, Lincoln cathedral, from a plaster cast made before the restoration of the sculpture (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)
- 44 Drawings of the surviving statues of the west facade, Salisbury. J. Carter, 1802. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 29939, pp. 39, 40 (a) number five, St Peter with the keys (b) number eleven, St John the Baptist; number twelve, St Paul with his sword; number fourteen, James the Greater, in hat with a cockle shell
- 45 Bishop and king, thirteenth-century glass, removed from an oculi of a chapter house window, now in the south aisle window, third bay from the west, Salisbury cathedral
- 46 Detail of the west facade, Wells cathedral, showing bishops, kings, queens, warriors etc.
- 47 Central portal, west facade, Wells cathedral (a) Virgin and Child in the tympanum before the recent restoration (b) detail of the standing figures representing the Virtues Triumphant in the archivolt
- 48 Coronation of the Virgin, west facade, Wells cathedral
- 49 St John with the eagle of the Apocalypse, west facade, Wells cathedral
- 50 Heraldic devices formerly in the chapter house windows and now in western lancets of the nave, Salisbury
- 51 Thirteenth-century heraldic shields, Westminster abbey (a) shields originally set into the grisaille of the chapter house windows (b) two of twelve shields carved in the spandrels of blind arcades, north and south choir aisles (Photo: (a) after Lethaby 1925)
- 52 Interior view of the chapter house, Salisbury as of 1821 showing heraldic devices still in the east window. O. Cattermole, del., Le Keux, engr. (Photo: after Britton 1841)
- 53 Seven heraldic shields from the chapter house now in the lowest zone of the three

western lancets of the nave, Salisbury cathedral (a) Gilbert of Clare (b) composite shield (c) paternal arms of Eleanor of Provence, consort of Henry III (d) royal arms of France (e) royal arms of England (f) Richard Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III (g) Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshall

- 54 Detail of drawing showing remnants of glass in the north west window of the chapter house, Salisbury, including portions of the 'composite' shield now in western lancets of the nave (Fig. 52b). J. Carter, 1802. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 29939, p. 83
- 55 Detail of a 1610 drawing depicting eight shields formerly in windows of the chapter house, Salisbury. London, Brit. Lib. Lansdowne MS. 847, detail, fol. 32R (Photo: British Library)
- 56 Westminster chapter house, entrance bay and portal flanked by the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation (Photo: Ministry of Public Buildings and Works)
- 57 Pre-1905 view of the north bay of the Salisbury chapter house with the nineteenth-century polychromy (Photo: courtesy of the late Canon Dawson)
- 58 Roof boss in the east bay of the Salisbury chapter house surrounded by foliate designs repainted in the nineteenth century (Photo: R. Morris, University of Warwick Archive)
- 59 Pre-1905 view of the northwest bay of the Salisbury chapter house
- 60 Line engraving of Salisbury cathedral from the southwest showing the bell tower to the northwest with its original octagon and steeple. London, Society of Antiquaries, Country Views Album, vol. VIII, 35 (Photo: Society of Antiquaries)
- 61 Remnants of the thirteenth-century central column from the chapter house stored in the southwest junction bay of the cloister (a) base surmounted by uppermost drums and free-standing colonnettes, capitals, abaci and springers of vaulting with iron collar (b) view from above showing the construction of the collar (c) capitals of paired colonnettes (Photo: (b) National Monuments Record)
- 62 Framing of roof above central column of chapter house (a) detail showing thirteenth-century post with turned molding at the head supporting the thirteenth-century low-pitched roof (b) thirteenth-century timbers directly below reinforced by a modern splice
- 63 Pre-restoration drawings showing designs and disposition of patterns of inlaid tiles in the floors of the chapter house and foyer, J. Carter, 1802. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 29939, pp. 70-72
- 64 Pre-restoration engravings (a) view of the interior of the chapter house looking west. F. Nash, del. W. Smith, sculp., finished by J. Pye (b) Pharaoh's Dream,

- spandrel three, south bay. T. Baxter and J. LeKeux (Photos: (a) after Dodsworth 1814 (b) after Britton 1814)
- 65 Sketches of the canons' stalls with notes recording the thirteenth-century polychromy as of 1855. Pencil and color wash. W. Burges. London, R.I.B.A., Drawings Collection, Wm Burges, Sketchbook no. 64, pp. 310-11 (Photo: R.I.B.A.)
- 66 Joseph and the seneschal riding off to Egypt (a) pre-restoration drawing of spandrel four, southeast bay, 1854, W. Burges. London, R.I.B.A., Drawings Collection, Wm Burges, Sketchbook no. 64, p. 89 (b) Drawing after Queen Mary's Psalter by W. Burges. London, R.I.B.A., Drawings Collection (Photos: R.I.B.A.)
- 67 Drawing of the arcades and spandrels flanking the southeast angle of the chapter house. Pencil with color wash, G. Scharf, 1853 (Photo: Society of Antiquaries, London)
- 68 Pharaoh's Dream, spandrel three, south bay. Pre-restoration engraving, F. Nash, del., G. Cooke sculp. (Photo: after Dodsworth 1814)
- 69 Two proposals for the restoration of roof, A. Salvin, del. (a) diagram showing thirteenth-century framing of roof (b) plan for reframing of building with new low-pitched roof (c) plan for new roof with a high pitch (d) drawing of chapter house with proposed high-pitched roof, Trowbridge, Wilts. Salisbury Cathedral Archives, G. G. Scott Papers, ii
- 70 Pre-restoration view of the cathedral and chapter house from the bishop's garden, Salisbury. J. Buckler, 1812. Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Museum, Devizes, Wilts. (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)
- 71 Exterior masonry of the chapter house (a) north bay (b) east bay (Photos: R. Sargent)
- 72 Detail of nineteenth-century Minton tiles, Salisbury chapter house floor
- 73 Drawings by J.B. Philip (a) sculptural details, Lichfield cathedral (b) architectural details, Chester cathedral. University of Glasgow, Art Library, Birnie Philip Collection, J. B. Philip, Sketchbook, n.d., unpaginated
- 74 Original roof bosses in foyer of chapter house with vestiges of thirteenth-century polychromy and remnants of unrestored foliate designs painted in severies of the vaults
- 75 Drawings of the chapter house roof bosses and painted ornament in the severies of the vaults. J. Carter, 1802. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 29939, p. 80
- 76 Pre-1905 photograph showing deteriorated nineteenth-century polychromy in the

- canons' stalls, west and northwest bays of the chapter house (Photo: National Monuments Record)
- 77 Nineteenth-century chapter house pavement viewed from above (Photo: courtesy of R.K. Morris, University of Warwick. Neg. W15/58/2A)
- 78 The least restored Virtues and Vices who have retained their thirteenth-century heads. Inner archivolt of the doorway from the foyer into the chapter house (a) left, number seven, top (b) left, number six (c) left, number four (d) right, number seven, top (e) right, number five
- 79 Genesis page, Chaillot Bible. Paris, Bib. Mazarine MS. 36, fol. 6 (Photo: after Batut)
- 80 Second day of Creation, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. MS. Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 3 (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
- 81 Third day of Creation (a) Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. MS. Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 3 (b) Bible moralisée. Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS 270b (Photos: (a) after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974 (b) after Laborde)
- 82 Fourth day of Creation, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. MS. Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 4v (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
- 83 Fifth day of Creation, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. MS. Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 3v (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
- 84 Naming of the animals, left; Creation of Eve at far right (a) Smyrna, Codex A 1, fol. 9v (b) Seraglio, Codex 8, fol. 42v (Photos: (a) after Hesseling (b) after Uspenskii)
- 85 Birth of Achilles, detail of fifth-century mosaic, Nea Paphos, Cyprus (Photo: after Weitzmann (ed.) 1979)
- 86 Creation of Eve and the Injunction, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. MS. Claudius B. IV, fol. 6v (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
- 87 Rest on the Sabbath, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. MS. Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 4v (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
- 88 Scenes from Adam and Eve cycle. New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS. 638 (formerly known as the Maciejowski Bible) (a) Creation of Eve and the Injunction (b) Temptation and Fall (c) Expulsion (d) Labors of Adam and Eve (Photos: after Cockerell and James)
- 89 The Temptation, Bible moralisée. Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS. 270b, fol. 7v (Photo: after Laborde)

- 90 Detail of the Damned, twelfth-century mosaic of the Last Judgment, west wall, Torcello cathedral
- 91 Hiding in the Garden, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. Cotton MS. Claudius B. IV, fol. 7v (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
- 92 Incipit page, Bible of Robert de Bello of Canterbury (1225-1240). London, Brit. Lib. MS. Burney 3, fol. 5 (Photo: after Rickert)
- 93 Abraham entertaining the Angels, mosaic. Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore (Photo: after Checchelli)
- 94 Detail of Labours of Adam and Eve, spandrel II, north bay of chapter house
- 95 Labors of Adam and Eve, English Psalter, detail. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. Lat. 8846, fol. 1v (Photo: after Omont)
- 96 Labors of Adam and Eve, detail, Good Samaritan window, Chartres cathedral (Photo: courtesy of Virginia Raguin)
- 97 Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, with Adam as Christ/Jacob type (center); Hell's mouth below Cain's offering, Holkham Picture Bible. London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 47628, fol. 5 (Photo: after Hassall, 1954)
- 98 Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, capital from the abbey of Moutiers-Saint-Jean, Cambridge, Fogg Museum of Art
- 99 Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, Murthly Hours. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. 21000, fol. 2 (Photo: courtesy of J. Higgitt)
- 100 Genesis Page, William de Brailes, illuminator, ca. 1230-1240. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 330 (Photo: after S. Cockerell, 1930)
- 101 Murder of Abel, view from the left, spandrel IV, north bay of chapter house
- 102 Murder of Abel, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib., Cotton MS. Claudius B. IV, fol. 8v (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
- 103 Cain and Abel cycle. Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS. Junius xi, p. 49 (Photo: after Gollancz)
- 104 Murder of Abel, Murthly Hours. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. 21000, fol. 3 (Photo: courtesy of J. Higgitt)
- 105 Sentencing of Cain, view from the right, Salisbury chapter house, spandrel V, north bay
- 106 Sentencing of Cain, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. Cotton MS. Claudius

- B. IV, fol. 9r (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
- 107 Noah's Ark. Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS. Junius xi, p. 66 (Photo: after Gollancz)
 - 108 (a) Head of Noah, detail of Noah's ark, spandrel VI, north bay (b) Head of Ham, detail, Drunkenness of Noah, first spandrel, northeast bay, chapter house, Salisbury
 - 109 Noah building the ark. Cambridge, St. John's College Lib., MS. K 26, fol. 7v (Photo: Cambridge, The Master and Fellows of St John's College)
 - 110 Noah's raven feasting on the carcass of a horse, detail, Noah cycle, mosaic, San Marco, Venice
 - 111 Noah tending the vines, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. Cotton MS. Claudius B. IV, fol. 17 (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
 - 112 The Drunkenness of Noah, Murthly Hours. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. 21000, fol. 4 (Photo: courtesy of J. Higgitt)
 - 113 Building the tower of Babel, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. Cotton MS. Claudius B. IV, fol. 19r (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
 - 114 Pre-restoration engraving of Abraham entertaining the three angels, T. Baxter, del. J. LeKeux sculp. (Photo: after Britton, 1814)
 - 115 Abraham entertaining the three angels (a) San Vitale, Ravenna, sixth-century mosaic (b) Murthly Hours, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. 21000, fol. 5 (Photo: courtesy of J. Higgitt)
 - 116 Destruction of Sodom and Gomorra and Lot's departure with his family (a) Murthly Hours, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. 21000, fol. 6 (b) New York, Morgan Lib., MS. 638, fol. 3r (Photos: (a) courtesy of J. Higgitt (b) after Cockerell and James)
 - 117 Abraham and Isaac on route to the Sacrifice, detail, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. Cotton MS. Claudius B. IV, fol. 38 (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974)
 - 118 Sacrifice of Isaac, Vatican gr. 747, fol. 43^v (Photo: after Princeton Index of Christian Art)
 - 119 Sacrifice of Isaac (a) Salerno ivory antependium, detail (b) Millstatt Genesis, Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, fol. 29 (c) l'Histoire Universelle, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. 2576, fol. 21 (d) Averbode Evangeliary, detail (Photos: (a) after Bergman (b) after Gartner (c) Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (d) Liège, Bib. Universitaire)

- 120 Isaac Blessing Jacob (above); Isaac and Esau (below) Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. MS. Roy. 2 B. VII, fol 13v (Photo: after Warner, 1925, pl. 25)
- 121 Jacob and Rachel meeting at the well (a) Vatican gr. cod. 747, fol. 50v (b) Millstatt Genesis, Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, fol. 38v (Photos: (a) after Princeton Index of Christian Art (b) after Gartner)
- 122 Vatican Lib. MS. gr. 747 (a) The meeting of Laban and Jacob, fol. 51r (b) Abraham's elder servant Eliezer swearing an oath with his hand on his master's thigh, fol. 44v (Photos: after Princeton Index of Christian Art)
- 123 Jacob and Laban. Pre-restoration engraving of chapter house spandrel, T. Baxter, del., J. LeKeux, sculp. (Photo: after Britton, 1814)
- 124 Pre-restoration drawing of the fourth and fifth canon stalls, east bay, with the scenes of Jacob and Rachel at the well and Jacob covenanting with Laban, 1848, A. Salvin, del. London, R.I.B.A., Drawings Collection (Photo: R.I.B.A.)
- 125 Jacob's ladder and Jacob wrestling with the angel, detail of Winchester Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. MS. Nero C iv, fol. 5 (Photo: after Wormald, 1973)
- 126 Joseph departing for Egypt, Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. Roy. MS. 2 B vii, fol. 15 (Photo: after Warner)
- 127 Drawings of Joseph departing for Egypt: spandrel scene (above), Queen Mary's Psalter miniature (below). Wm Burges del. (Photo: after Burges, 1859)
- 128 Joseph telling his dreams, Murthly Hours. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. 21000, fol. 6 (Photo: courtesy of J. Higgitt)
- 129 Joseph thrown into the pit, Murthly Hours. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. 21000, fol. 7 (Photo: courtesy of the National Library of Scotland)
- 130 Joseph presented to Pharaoh and pledging fealty, Murthly Hours. Edinburgh National Library, fol. 8 (Photo: courtesy of J. Higgitt)
- 131 Bible moralisée, Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS. 270 b, fol. 23v (Photo: after Laborde)
- 132 Brothers showing Joseph's coat to Jacob, Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. Roy. MS. 2 B.vii, fol. 15v (Photo: after Warner)
- 133 Joseph presented to Pharaoh, Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. Roy. MS 2 B VII, fol. 15v (Photo: after Warner)
- 134 David pledging fealty to Saul. N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS. 638, fol. 29, detail (Photo: after James and Cockerell)

- 135 Pharaoh's queen trying to seduce Joseph, Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. MS. Roy. 2 B vii, fol. 16 (Photo: after Warner)
- 136 Joseph thrown into prison and incarcerated with the Pharaoh's baker and butler, Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. Roy. MS. 2 B vii, fol. 16v (Photo: after Warner)
- 137 Joseph receiving the rod of authority, Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. Roy. MS. 2 B vii, fol. 17v (Photo: after Warner)
- 138 Joseph throwing chaff into the Nile (left) which Jacob sees from his castle. Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. Roy. MS. 2 B vii, fol. 18. (Photo: after Warner)
- 139 Joseph's brothers in Egypt: the filling of the sacks with corn; a brother pledges to return with Benjamin. Pre-restoration engraving of spandrel scene. F. Nash and G. Cooke (Photo: after Dodsworth, 1814)
- 140 Joseph's family kneeling before him. Pre-restoration engravings of the spandrel (a) by T. Baxter and J. LeKeux (b) by F. Nash and G. Cooke (Photos: (a) after Britton, 1814 (b) after Dodsworth, 1814)
- 141 Joseph presenting his father to the Pharaoh, Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. Roy. MS. 2 B vii, fol. 19v (b) Vatican grec. 747, fol. 65v (Photo: (a) after Warner (b) after Princeton Index of Christian Art)
- 142 The reunion of Jacob and Joseph (a) Queen Mary's Psalter. London, Brit. Lib. Roy. MS. 2 B vii, fol. 19 (b) Vatican grec. 747, fol. 65. (Photo: (a) after Warner (b) after Princeton Index of Christian Art)
- 143 The reunion of Jacob and Joseph, Detail of the frontispiece, second roundel from the right, third row from the bottom, Hebrew Pentateuch. Jerusalem, Salmon Library (Photo: after Leveen)
- 144 Moses receiving the Law (upper left) and Moses with horns on his descent from mountain, Aelfric's Hexateuch. London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Claudius, MS. B IV, fol. 105v (Photo: after Dodwell and Clemons, 1974)
- 145 Moses with horns as he received the tablets of the Law. London, Brit. Lib., Cotton Nero MS. C IV, fol. 4 (Photo: after Wormald)
- 146 Moses striking the rock and bringing forth water and Moses and the brazen serpent, Munich Psalter. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Mon. Lat. 835, fol. 20 (Photo: after Princeton Index of Christian Art)
- 147 The drowning of Pharaoh and his troops. N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS. 638, fol. 9 (Photo: after James and Cockerell)

- 148 Lot and his daughters, detail of spandrel XXIV
- 149 (a) Joseph's brother pledging to return with Benjamin, detail of spandrel XLIX (b) brother slitting the throat of the kid, detail of spandrel XXXVII
- 150 Surviving heads by the second artist (a) Jacob with Joseph's brothers, detail of spandrel XXXVI (b) one of Joseph's brothers on route to Egypt, detail of spandrel LIII
- 151 Detail of Abraham entertaining the three angels, spandrel XXII
- 152 Virtues and Vices from doorway in the foyer to the chapter house (a) Largitas subduing Avaritia (b) Caritas subduing Luxuria. Virtues' heads are nineteenth-century restorations
- 153 Angel of the Annunciation, inner portal, chapter house, Westminster abbey (Photo: after Stone, 1955)
- 154 Figure sculpture of the Judgment Porch, south transept, Lincoln cathedral (a) Ecclesia (b) Synagoga (c) Virtues in the outer order of archivolt
- 155 Statues of the 1290s (a) an Apostle, west facade, Salisbury cathedral (b) 'Queen Eleanor' on the Eleanor Cross, Hardingstone, Northamptonshire, 1291-1293
- 156 (a) Creation of Adam, Old Testament cycle, west facade, Wells cathedral (b) patroness and mason, spandrel carving, east chapel, Worcester cathedral
- 157 Ivory statuette of Nicodemus, from a Deposition group, ca. 1250-1260 (formerly known as the 'Rothschild Prophet'). Paris, Musée du Louvre
- 158 Ivory. Scenes of the Passion. The 'Salting leaf', French, ca. 1270-80. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (Photo: courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum)
- 159 Ivory. Scenes of the Passion, the 'Soissons diptych', French, 1280-1300. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (Photo: courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum)
- 160 Chapels added on north side of the choir by 1271, Notre-Dame de Paris
- 161 Scenes from the life of Christ, choir screen, Le Bourget-du-Lac, Haut Savoie, 1260-1265 (a) Entry into Jerusalem, detail (b) Christ and Mary Magdalene (c) Joseph, detail of the Adoration (d) Two magi, detail of the Adoration
- 162 Tympanum depicting the legend of St. Thomas, Semur-en-Auxois
- 163 'Porte Rouge', Notre-Dame de Paris (a) tympanum depicting the Coronation of the Virgin and archivolt (b) foliate ornament, detail of outermost archivolt

- 164 Tympanum of the north transept portal, Notre-Dame de Paris (Photo: Yale University, Visual Resources Collection)
- 165 Details of relief carvings on the buttress flanking the south transept portal, Notre-Dame de Paris
- 166 (a) Head from the interior west screen, Reims cathedral, now in the archbishop's palace (b) drawing of head in the Salisbury chapter house, the second from left, south east bay, Wm Burges. London, R.I.B.A., Drawings Collection, Sketch book, vol. 43649, no. 30, fol. 68 (Photos: (a) courtesy of Donna Sadler (b) R.I.B.A.)
- 167 Two Apostles carved for the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 1243-1248. Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age
- 168 Statue of Childebert from the refectory of Saint-Germain-des Prés, Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age
- 169 Details of the lintel zone of the tympanum, 'Portail St Honoré', south transept, Amiens cathedral

Text Figures for Chapter 2: Molded Profiles

Text figure I. Profiles of capitals

- (a) Westminster abbey, north transept (after 1245)
- (b) Salisbury, northeast passageway leading to cloisters from south arm of the main transept of the cathedral, capital on south wall at junction with east walk (ca. 1247)
- (c) Salisbury capital, north walk of cloister, eastern bay (ca. 1270)
- (d) Salisbury, chapter house, capital of arcade framing canons' seats, abaci of foliate capitals: scroll motif and variant
- (e) Salisbury, foyer of chapter house, capital of blind arcade, north wall, east bay
- (f) Salisbury, foyer of chapter house, north wall, capital of vaulting shaft between east and west bays
- (g) Salisbury, south walk of cloister, bay eight, capital of eastern colonnette (ca. 1276)
- (h) Salisbury, south walk of cloister, bay eight, capital of western colonnette (ca. 1290)

Text figure II. Profiles of bases, Salisbury

- (a) Northeast passageway leading to cloister from main transept, base of left exterior jamb of door in south transept arm (ca. 1247)
- (b) Northeast passageway to cloister, base of northeast corner colonnette (ca. 1247)
- (c) Northeast passageway to cloister, north wall, base of center colonnette (ca. 1247)
- (d) Northeast passageway to cloister, north wall, base of second colonnette from northeast corner
- (e) Cloister, north walk, base in east bay (ca. 1270)
- (f) Chapter house, east face of inner entrance, trumeau, base of center shaft
- (g) Chapter house, east face of inner entrance, base of lateral shaft
- (h) Chapter house, east arcade, base of colonnette
- (j) Chapter house, base of northeast corner shaft and supporting plinth
- (k) Foyer of chapter house, north wall, bases of western bay and of vaulting shaft between the west and east bays (ca. 1290)

Text figure III. Molded arches, Salisbury

- (a) Chapter house, arch of inner entrance
- (b) Chapter house, northwest arcade, profile of molding between seventh and eighth arch
- (c) Chapter house, profile of arch framing canons' seats
- (d) Foyer of chapter house, north wall, east bay, hexafoil at its point of tangency with arch of blind arcade
- (e) Foyer of chapter house, north wall, blind arcade, molding of oculus
- (f) Foyer of chapter house, north wall, west bay, hood molding, jamb of door to stairway

Text figure IV. Salisbury chapter house. Key to drawings of moldings in Text figures VI-VIII. Drawn by R.K. Morris

Text figure V. Chapter house windows, moldings of octafoil and main arch, Salisbury.
Drawn by R.K. Morris

Text figure VI. Chapter house windows, moldings of quatrefoil, head of lights, arch over each pair of lights, capitals at springing of vaults and of windows: nos. 806, 810, 830, 831, 832. Drawn by R.K. Morris

Text figure VII. Chapter house, profiles of ribs: main, transverse, and wall ribs, Salisbury.
Drawn by R.K. Morris

Quatrefoil, no. 833

Head of lights, no. 835

Arch over each pair of lights, no. 834

Capitals, nos. 836-839

Text figure VIII: Comparison

(a) Wells, vestibule of chapter house, rib. Drawn by V. Jansen

(b) Wells, bishop's palace. Drawn by V. Jansen

Text figure IX: Comparison

(a) St Mary's, York, molded arch (after Bond)

(b) Lincoln, presbytery, molded arch (after Bond)

Plates

Key to Diagrams

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| I | Creation on the First Day |
| II | The Second Day of Creation |
| III | The Third Day of Creation |
| IV | The Fourth Day of Creation |

V	The Fifth Day of Creation
VI	The Sixth Day of Creation
VII	Rest on the Sabbath
VIII	The Injunction
IX	The Temptation
X	The Hiding in the Garden
XI	The Expulsion
XII	The Labors of Adam and Eve
XIII	The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel
XIV	The Murder of Abel
XV	The Sentencing of Cain
XVI	God commands Noah to build the Ark
XVII	The Ark Afloat
XVIII	Noah in the Vineyard
XIX	Drunkenness of Noah
XX	The Building of the Tower of Babel
XXI	Abraham Offering Hospitality to the Three Angels
XXII	Abraham Entertaining the Three Angels
XXIII	The Fall of Sodom and Gomorrah
XXIV	Lot's Departure with his Wife and Daughters
XXV	Abraham and Isaac on Route to the Sacrifice
XXVI	The Sacrifice of Isaac
XXVII	Isaac Blessing Jacob
XXVIII	Isaac and Esau

XXIX	Jacob Leaves for Haran (Padanaram)
XXX	The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel at the Well
XXXI	Jacob Covenanting with Laban for the Hand of Rachel
XXXII	Jacob Wrestling with the Angel; Jacob's Dream
XXXIII	Angel Touching Jacob's Thigh; Jacob Raising an Altar
XXXIV	The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau
XXXV	Joseph's Dreams
XXXVI	Joseph Telling his Dreams to his Family
XXXVII	Joseph Arriving in the Fields; Joseph in the Well, the Brothers bloodying Joseph's coat
XXXVIII	Brothers Selling Joseph into Bondage; Joseph Departing for Egypt
XXXIX	Brothers Showing Joseph's Coat to Jacob
XL	Joseph Pledging Fealty to Pharaoh
XLI	Pharaoh's Wife Seducing Joseph
XLII	Pharaoh's Wife Denouncing Joseph
XLIII	Joseph Cast into Prison
XLIV	The Baker Hanging; the Butler Serving Pharaoh
XLV	Pharaoh's Dream
XLVI	Pharaoh Consulting the Magi
XLVII	Joseph Released from Prison; Joseph Accepting the Rod of Authority
XLVIII	Joseph Ruling Egypt and Ordering Chaff Thrown into the Nile
XLIX	Brothers in Egypt to Obtain Grain; The Pledge to Return with Benjamin
L	Placing of the Silver Cup in Benjamin's sack
LI	Discovery of the Cup in Benjamin's Sack

LII	Joseph Revealing his Identity to his Brothers
LIII	Jacob and Family on Route to Egypt
LIV	Fulfillment of Joseph's Dreams
LV	Reunion of Joseph and Jacob
LVI	Moses and the Burning Bush
LVII	Moses Parting the Red Sea Waters
LVIII	Pharaoh's Troops Drowning
LIX	Moses Striking the Rock and Bringing Forth Water
LX	Giving of the Law
LXI	Pre-restoration drawings of the first twenty-eight spandrel carvings of the Old Testament scenes in the blind arcade of the chapter house, Salisbury. Drawn by J. Carter. London, Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 29939, p. 73
LXII	Pre-restoration drawings of the spandrel carvings of the Old Testament scenes, continued. Spandrels twenty-nine through fifty-five. London, Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 29939, p. 74

Acknowledgements

To the many friends and for the many kindnesses received in the course of writing this book I would like to say thank you and also acknowledge the financial assistance received from a number of institutions. I am especially grateful for a travel grant from the Samuel H Kress Foundation which facilitated my search for the stylistic influences upon the chapter house sculptures. Summer Research Grants from Columbia University funded both travel and the indispensable purchase of a portable scaffolding needed for examining and photographing the Old Testament scenes. The privilege of holding the Miriam Sacher Visiting Fellowship for a term at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, provided me with the perfect environment for writing as well as congenial colleagues.

Everywhere I traveled in France and the United Kingdom I was met with most helpful responses. I owe special thanks to Mr. Rafe Clutton who has physical custody of the Henry Clutton papers for the privilege of using them; to M. F. McDonald, archivist of the University of Glasgow Library who facilitated my work in the John Birnie Philip papers; to John Higgitt who introduced me to the unpublished Murthly Hours and provided photographs of the miniatures; to Helen Smith of the Courtauld Institute of Art for her assistance in tracing the career of Octavius Hudson; to M. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg for permissions to photograph in the Musée de Cluny (now the Musée National du Moyen Age); as well as to John Harris and his staff in the Drawings Collection of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments; Mme. Geneviève Sennegui of the Musée des Antiquités in Rouen; and John Hopkins of the Society of Antiquaries in London, all of whom showed me every courtesy.

While in London and Oxford I enjoyed the unfailing cooperation of archivists and librarians in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Geology Museum, and the Manuscripts Departments of the British and Bodley Libraries. I am particularly grateful to Paul Williamson, chief curator of sculpture in the Victoria and Albert, who went out of his way to try to trace lost plaster casts made of some chapter house relief carvings.

I owe much to Gavin Simpson of the Historic Building Research Unit of Nottingham University for facilitating the dendrochronological analysis of timbers in the roof of the chapter house and for patiently educating me on the process as well as instructing me on how to interpret results. I am also most grateful to the American Philosophical Society for a grant that funded that analysis, and to Michael Drury, the cathedral architect of Salisbury cathedral, who readily granted permission for the timber samples to be taken.

In addition, I have benefited greatly from dialogues with colleagues here and abroad who have shared their expertise and taken time to read sections of my manuscript. They include Richard Morris of the University of Warwick, the acknowledged expert in molded profiles; Virginia Jansen, whose interest and writing has focused on Early English Gothic architecture; Jean Givens, whose studies of medieval foliate ornament is breaking new ground; Bernice Jones, a former student and classicist; and Tim Tatton-Brown, with whom I have had a continuing and stimulating dialogue on many aspects of his and my research at Salisbury. I owe them much for their comments and helpful suggestions. To Marion Roberts, whose close reading of the entire manuscript in its penultimate stage, my special thanks are due not only for undertaking that task but also for the many other ways in which she and her husband, Robert Sargent, assisted me, including photographing masonry and other details at Salisbury. I have benefited greatly from her knowledge of Salisbury sculpture, her skillful editing, her thoughtful suggestions, and warm encouragement. Although acknowledgements for photographs appear in the captions, I should also like to thank Kenneth Grinstead and Donna Sadler, who as favors took photographs for me.

I owe gratitude and acknowledgement for their help in various ways to Adelaide Bennett of the Princeton Index of Christian Art; Beatrice K. Taylor, Librarian of the Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection in The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum; Janie and Eric Ericsson whose hospitality at 10 Chapel Street, London, proved that scholarship need not be a lonely pursuit; and the late Jane Hayward, Curator of Medieval Glass at The Cloisters, who generously shared her knowledge of the widely dispersed glass from Salisbury.

Gratitude and deep affection flood my memories of days spent in Salisbury. Roy Spring,

recently retired Clerk of Works and now cathedral archivist, cheerfully allotted his equipment and time whenever and wherever I needed it. He and his workshop instructed me in their procedures, materials, and projects. Their technical information proved invaluable. John Hayes, former head verger of the cathedral, and Peter Wheatcroft who succeeded him, granted me what seems in retrospect carte blanche to pursue my research. Pamela Stewart, formerly of the Diocesan Records Office in Wren Hall, in the close, and Penelope Rundell of the Trowbridge branch, cheerily dispensed assistance and bracing tea as I struggled with the handwriting in the Salisbury fabric accounts through the centuries. Assuredly one of my greatest debts at Salisbury is owed to George Woolnough, formerly the Honorable Secretary of the Friends of Salisbury Cathedral, who offered his hospitality, his staff, desk-space, his time and energy to expedite my work and to introduce me to everyone whom he knew could assist me. That lengthy roster includes the late Hugh Shortt, Director of the Salisbury Museum, and P. R. Saunders, his successor; the late Norman Drinkwater of the Royal Commission on Historical Buildings in the Salisbury close; the late R. E. Sandell, Honorary Librarian of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Museum in Devizes; and Selby Whittingham, author of several pamphlets published by the Friends. They all of answered questions, shared their expertise, and smoothed my path. I cannot leave the Salisbury close without mentioning that a welcome and convenient parking space always awaited me; everywhere a friendly greeting and even a gentle reminder that I had been missed when I did not stop working in time to attend evensong.

To Marion Roberts who first suggested that this study appear on the University of Virginia's Salisbury website and to Catherine Walden whose expertise has been indispensable in implementing that project, my gratitude cannot be measured, especially as it extends to the time and care devoted to the undertaking. I also relied on and am equally grateful to Dereck Mangus who expertly digitized the illustrations. I have been most fortunate in having the technical aspects of the project in the most capable hands.

Last and above all, I wish to thank my husband for his firm faith in the value of my work, for his willingness to tolerate my absences for research abroad and all the inconveniences they

entailed, but most of all, for his unfailing support, tangible and intangible. His own scholarship and writing set standards that gave me worthy if unattainable goals. I therefore lovingly dedicate this book to the preeminent scholar of our house.

New Haven, Connecticut

June 1998

Preface

The octagon at Salisbury ranks among the best examples of English polygonal chapter houses. Yet because the scholarly literature has treated it mainly as a building patterned on the better-known chapter house at Westminster, the Salisbury edifice and its sculpture have received only cursory attention. In the interior, sculptural ornament of the highest quality and interest abounds. Besides a profusion of foliate capitals often inhabited by fanciful and antic beasts, sixty exceedingly fine heads act as label stops in the blind arcade that frames fifty-eight seats for the canons. Most noteworthy of all, sixty Old Testament scenes fill the spandrels formed by the arches of the arcade.

The chapter house enjoyed daily use until the Reformation. From then on, the building gradually deteriorated. In the seventeenth century during the Wars of Religion, iconoclasts mutilated the Old Testament scenes and in the process damaged some of the adjacent heads and capitals. Inadequate buttressing also contributed to the dereliction of the building. Thereafter the history of the fabric and ornament was one of neglect and unarrested decay until the complete restoration of 1855.

New information culled from the cathedral archives, from early prints and drawings, and from observations made by travelers, antiquarians, topographers, and also from architects from the seventeenth century forward establish the sorry condition of the building, its figurative and decorative sculpture, and what remained of its medieval glass on the eve of the restoration. The chapter appointed the London architect Henry Clutton as architect in charge of the work. In 1854, knowing that the restoration would forever alter what had survived, Clutton's partner William Burges made note of the condition of the spandrel scenes and recorded all extant polychromy throughout the building. He published his notes in 1859 along with an iconographical analysis of

the sculptural program and a description of the subject in each spandrel.¹ Well-informed about medieval art and iconography, he gave valuable council to John Philip Birnie, the sculptor responsible for restoring the Old Testament scenes. Burges's article deservedly remains the authoritative work on the building and its ornament.

Even though much of Burges's information is quite precise, at times his notes were too general, lapsing into phrases such as "All heads are gone besides other mutilations." Because of that and related uncertainties about what carvings had survived unmodified by the restorers, the Old Testament scenes have received scant attention in literature concerned with English thirteenth-century sculpture. Further, no one has attempted to correlate Burges's pre-restoration record with the restored carvings. Therefore without exception, critics have mistakenly accepted the restored scenes as unmodified iconographically.

In scope and depth, every discussion of style has fallen within the limits imposed either by general surveys of English sculpture or guide books. In 1912, Edwin Prior and Arthur Gardner published a short but well-considered stylistic analysis of the spandrel carvings that later, briefer treatments have either depended upon or failed to surpass.² For the most part, comments on style have not discriminated between restored portions of the figures and unretouched thirteenth-century carving.

In 1966, I undertook to identify all nineteenth-century carved Caen stone insets and went on to consider whether those insertions had preserved the original iconography of each scene.³ Knowledge of the characteristics of the Chilmark limestone used in the thirteenth century and that of the stone for restorations from Caen in Normandy proved essential to the analysis. Equally important was an understanding of the methods, materials, techniques, and work habits of the nineteenth-century restorer and his atelier. The analysis provided a sound preliminary study later expanded to identify all additional repairs made with mastic and mortar, or by sanding and

¹ Burges 1859, 109-14; 147-62.

² Prior and Gardner 1912, 255-59, 325.

³ Blum 1968.

re-cutting. Coded diagrams superimposed on photographs of each spandrel contain the results of that archeological analysis. A well-rewarded search for pre-restoration information, both written and visual, has verified and refined those conclusions, some of which have appeared in three published articles.⁴

The accumulated archeological evidence now permits valid discussions of the style and iconography of the Old Testament carvings. In the surviving thirteenth-century work, two distinct styles emerged indicating that two artists, indubitably English, had worked together in the chapter house. The analysis also revealed the artists' connections with continental art. Whether through first-hand knowledge or through familiarity with portable objects, both artists were conversant with aesthetic ideas expressed in sculptures of Amiens, Reims, and Paris. The Old Testament scenes at Salisbury emerge as one of the first insular expressions in monumental sculpture based on stylistic concepts formulated in the Ile-de-France during the fifth decade of the thirteenth century—a style that did not become truly international until the 1270s.⁵

As a narrative cycle, the Old Testament scenes also reflect the intellectual climate of thirteenth-century theologians who showed renewed interest in the historical as opposed to the typological relationship between the Old and New Testament events. In effect, the Salisbury scenes lie in the French tradition of the second half of the thirteenth century when narrative sequences of biblical scenes proliferated in relief sculptures decorating portals and choir screens. Even so, the imagery in the Salisbury scenes has perpetuated typically English iconographical elements traceable to Anglo-Saxon biblical illustrations. The continuity of those ideas emerged as one of the most striking characteristics of the Old Testament cycle. Legendary material from a Middle English ballad also informed many of the scenes in the lengthy Joseph cycle.⁶ Even though

⁴ Blum 1969, "The Middle English Romance, 'Iacob and Iosep,' and the Joseph Cycle of the Salisbury Chapter House," *Gesta* 8, 18-34; eadem, 1991, "The Sequence of the Building Campaigns at Salisbury," *A.B.* 73, 6-38; eadem, 1996, "The Sculptures of the Salisbury Chapter House," *Medieval Art and Archaeology at Salisbury Cathedral*, L. Keen and T. Cocke (eds), B.A.A. Conference Transactions 17 (Leeds 1996), 68-78, and pls. XIX-XLI.

⁵ Blum 1996, 68-78.

⁶ Blum 1969, 18-34.

predominantly narrative in character, certain scenes include exegetical elements emphasizing Salvation and Redemption through Christ's sacrifice. Those interpolations enlarge the meaning of the cycle as a whole. In the exegesis of the Old Testament scenes, the Douay edition of the Vulgate has been used for all quotations.

A century and a half has elapsed since Burges made his notes and attempted to reconstruct the iconography of the sculptural program. Since then, an ever-expanding store of information has furthered our understanding of medieval thought and its expression in art. Consequently, some of Burges's interpretations needed revisions. Further, a comprehensive program has emerged in the chapter house that informed not only the spandrel carvings, but also the heraldic and figural glass in the windows, as well as the sculpture on both faces of the inner entrance to the chapter house. On analysis, the program accords well with the uses of the chapter house and the symbolism adhering to such buildings.

The Salisbury spandrel carvings are the most extensive and most complete of the four pre-fourteenth-century Old Testament cycles carved in stone that have survived English iconoclasm. They embellish a building that Nikolaus Pevsner called one of the finest examples among English polygonal chapter houses, an architectural group that he considered an English specialty and one of the happiest achievements throughout the history of English art.⁷ Viewed in the aggregate, the reconstruction that follows of the Salisbury chapter house as it looked in the thirteenth century, the elucidation of its imagery, and the history of its damages and repairs through the centuries reflect in microcosm the history of ideas and attitudes in England from the late thirteenth century into the middle of the nineteenth century.

⁷ Pevsner 1955, 93; 1964, 113

The See of Sarum and the Sarum Use

Historical Background

The see of Sarum, or Salisbury, came into existence soon after the Norman conquest. Prior to that, in 1058, the appointment of Bishop Herman (Hereman) of Ramsbury to the bishopric of Sherborne had united the two rural sees.¹ A decree of the ecclesiastical council held in London in 1075 designated the precincts of Sarum castle, a strategic military site, as the new episcopal seat for the combined sees.² In choosing a military emplacement, the council disregarded its own stipulation that all sees located in remote villages be re-situated in cities. Dwelling on the physical deficiencies of the site, the contemporary chronicler, William of Malmesbury, denounced the council's failure to select an urban location.³ Physical problems such as lack of water and the constant buffeting by winds sweeping across the Salisbury plain, climaxed in the twelfth century by bitter tensions that arose between the clerics and the king's castellans, finally forced the cathedral community to relocate in the thirteenth century in the nearby valley of the Avon

Bishop Herman had lost no time in constructing a church in the outer bailey of Old Sarum, but he died before its completion. Under his successor, Bishop Osmund (1078-1099), a trusted councilor of William the Conqueror, the work continued until 1092, the date given by William of Malmesbury for the dedication of the finished church.⁴ A successful administrator, Osmund fostered excellence by gathering around him canons celebrated for their scholarship.⁵

After the conquest, the Norman bishops appointed by King William introduced the

-
- 1 For the history of the sees of Ramsbury, Sherborne, and Salisbury, and for a calendar of their bishops and other dignitaries, see William of Malmesbury, Hamilton (ed.) 1870, 175-83; Jones 1879, passim; and on the transfer to Old Sarum, *ibid.*, esp. 36-39.
 - 2 William of Malmesbury, Hamilton (ed.), 1870, 67-8, 175-83. The decree of the council ran counter to the edicts of Damascus, Lyon, Sardis, and Laodicea which forbade episcopal seats in cities.
 - 3 *Ibid.*, 183.
 - 4 *Ibid.*, 183-84. Only five days after the consecration, a savage storm destroyed the tower: William of Malmesbury, Stubbs (ed.) 1889, 2, 375.
 - 5 William of Malmesbury, Hamilton (ed.), 1870, 184.

continental concept and form of the secular cathedral. In 1090, Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York, established the first such chapter. In the same year, Bishop Remigius established another chapter at Lincoln, and within a few months Bishop Osmund founded the third at Sarum in 1091.⁶ King William Rufus witnessed the foundation charter for the cathedral, known as the Carta Osmundi. In actuality the document confirmed the already existing chapter of secular canons, but also provided for their financial independence.⁷ Until Osmund's charter the clerics had had no corporate existence in the cathedral and had acted as individuals responsible only to the bishop. Convened as his council, they had assisted him in conducting services and other affairs of the cathedral, but had neither received income from the see nor benefited from shares in the wealth of his estates.

The term canon, when applied to an individual, denoted a relationship to the cathedral acknowledged by the inclusion of his name on the cathedral role. In its secondary sense, the term canon denoted a rule or statute. Thus the word canon came to describe not only someone on the list of clerics attached to the cathedral, but also one who subscribed to rules that assumed his continuous presence and his performance of functions as set forth in the cathedral's consuetudinary, or constitution. The continental form of secular cathedrals differed from English customs in that the canons, clerics, and scholars lived communally, like monks, under a rule that varied from monastic orders in only a few particulars. It was the canons' right to own property that differentiated secular and monastic foundations, and from that privilege came the term seculares.⁸

6 Frere 1898, 1, xv.

7 Freely and in perpetuity, Osmund granted the canons certain manors within the bishopric which he held in fief from the king. He also granted them half of the offerings presented at the main altar and all of those received at other altars. The income accruing to the canons was to take two separate forms: the communa, or common fund, and each canon's individual endowment from his living or prebend. Osmund also made provisions for the canons' residences by setting aside land for houses and gardens on either side of the road leading up to the castle gate. For a thirteenth-century copy, the earliest surviving document, see Frere (ed.) 1898, 1, 257-58; also Jones (ed.), 1883, repr. 1965, 1, 198-200.

8 Writing in the fourteenth century, Magister Hugh Wistinc, a canon of the secular chapter in the cathedral of Utrecht, protested, 'through a misuse of words we are referred to by the name of seculares, in that we do not live a secular life, but seculares we are, in that we are able to hold and dispose of property.' Wistinc, Muller (ed.) 1895, 152-53.

A second document known as the Institutio Osmundi also bears the date of 1091. That constitution or consuetudinary sets forth the terms by which the Sarum chapter should govern itself.⁹ Diana Greenway has demonstrated convincingly that the Institutio in the form that we know it was not drawn up in 1091, but is a compilation achieved in three stages: the 'first in the 1150s, with additions in the 1160s, and the whole completed around 1200.'¹⁰ The document incorporates what by 1150 was believed to have been the constitutional structure formulated by Osmund. Yet not until 1200 did Salisbury fully fit the 1091 'blueprint'. The earliest surviving copy of the consuetudinary, known as De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Tractatus and dated to ca. 1210, contains those amplifications and additions made during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.¹¹

Based on the Norman model, the chapter was to have four principal persons at its head: a dean, chantor (or precentor), chancellor, and treasurer, followed in rank by four archdeacons responsible to the bishop, and thirty-two canons--a number that increased in later years. The Institutio Osmundi also stipulated the terms of residence for each office.¹² Together the two

For a concise summary of the early history of the see, Edwards 1956a, in V.C.H. 3, 156-61. For a discussion of the distinguishing characteristics of the English secular cathedral and its body of canons, see Jones 1879, 186-87, 192-96; and for a general study, Edwards 1967.

- 9 Frere (ed.) 1898, 1, 259-61; and Jones (ed.) 1883, repr. 1965, 1, 212-15. The Institutio Osmundi was also witnessed by Archbishop Thomas and Bishop Remigius. The charter has survived only in a thirteenth-century transcript of the original. On the manuscript containing the transcript, see below, n. 11.

The other English cathedrals of secular foundation, nine in all, are: Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, St. Paul's (London), and Wells.

- 10 Greenway 1996, 2. See also idem 1985, 77-101; and idem 1991.

- 11 The manuscript into which the Tractatus was copied is a two volume work known as Vetus Registrum alias dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi, Trowbridge, Wilts., Diocesan Records Office, Salisbury Cathedral Archives. For published versions, see Frere (ed.) 1898, 1, 1-256; and Jones (ed.) 1883, Kraus repr. 1965, 1: 1-185. Actually a collatio written by various hands, the manuscript consists of lost chartularies dating from 1091-1294, an account of early thirteenth-century prebendal visitations in the see of Sarum, an inventory of cathedral treasures for the period 1214-1222, and narrative accounts of the founding and dedication of the thirteenth-century cathedral entitled Historia Translationis Veteris Ecclesiae Beatae Mariae Sarum ad Novam: in Jones (ed.) 1884, repr. 1965, 2, 1-36; and Nova Basilica, ibid., 37-123, written by William de Wanda, precentor of the cathedral in 1218 and dean from 1220-1228.

- 12 For example, a canon was allowed a limited number of absences either for scholarly purposes or in service of the king. Yet if an absence was for the benefit of the church or of his prebend, he could be absent from Salisbury for as long as a third of a year.

documents outlined the rights, duties, financial obligations, and dignities of each member of the chapter, his share in the communa, or common fund, and, most specifically, they made provisions for self-rule by the chapter. Thereafter the dean and canons were answerable to the bishop not as individuals but collectively as a chapter. By the charters, the bishop had granted away some of his own rights, endowments from certain lands under his control, and portions of the revenues of the cathedral. In effect, he had abrogated much of his authority in favor of the chapter's autonomy.

In reforming the liturgy for Sarum cathedral, Osmund drew on continental practices with which he was familiar. But respectful of insular traditions, he also adapted and selected from uses and practices of the Anglo-Saxon church.¹³ Despite some re-ordering and presumed additions, the thirteenth-century form of the Tractatus probably enshrines much of the original work of Osmund. Known as the Sarum Use, the consuetudinary became widely adopted throughout the realm. Many characteristics of English medieval church architecture owe their genesis to the requirements of earlier insular rituals and processions perpetuated in the Sarum Use.¹⁴

In its thirteenth-century form, the Tractatus not only defined the chapter, its organization, and administration, but also specified the ritual for daily and Sunday services, the lessons, homilies, hymns and antiphons for each hour, as well as the processional routes for every occasion. In stipulating the places in processions and the seating in both the choir and chapter house, the Tractatus established a hierarchical rank affecting every member of the cathedral community. As former Dean Haworth of Salisbury wrote, 'The Sarum Use differed from the Use of York or Hereford, Rheims or Trondheim, more in arrangement than in material. It was thoroughness and tidiness that commended...[it] to the rest of England, to Scotland, Ireland, even to Portugal.'¹⁵ In

13 On the liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon church, see Rock 1905, 4, 1-134.

14 Increasingly scholars are looking at the influence of liturgy on English cathedral architecture. Such English preferences as the longitudinal emphasis of the plan, the double transept, the numerous subsidiary doorways, and even idiosyncratic passages seem designed to accommodate rituals, processions, and special events in the liturgical year. See the pioneer study for the Norman church of Sarum: Hope 1917, 111-26. For the thirteenth-century cathedral, Shortt 1970; Brieger 1957, 19-21; Blum 1986b, 145-50; and McAleer 1988, 147-48.

15 Haworth 1973, 3, 9.

regulating the various rituals for feast days, fast days, and octaves, in setting ceremonies for christenings, acts of penance, burials, consecrations, ordinations, and daily meetings in the chapter house, as well as in stipulating the vestments and liturgical instruments for each office, the Tractatus embodying Osmund's consuetudinary touched upon every aspect of the ecclesiastical community throughout the liturgical year.

Having characterized Bishop Osmund as a most learned and virtuous man, one who neither wasted his own wealth nor sought that of others, William of Malmesbury found Osmund's successor, Bishop Roger (1107-1139) cast from a different mold. Elected in 1102, but not consecrated until 1107, Roger, as chancellor of the realm under Henry I, continued to wield great secular power throughout his episcopacy.¹⁶ His building program both enlarged the church and expanded the castle complex and fortifications.¹⁷ Enriched by royal patronage, Roger obtained control, if not ownership, of Sarum castle.¹⁸ But the wealth and power acquired during Henry's reign caused the bishop's downfall in the subsequent reign of Stephen (1135-1139), with consequences that ultimately forced the cathedral community out of the castle precincts.

When Stephen first came to the throne, the interests of church and king seemed synonymous, and royal grants continued to benefit the bishop and the cathedral.¹⁹ Soon an intense rivalry

16 William of Malmesbury, Hamilton (ed.) 1870, 109-10, 117; and Stubbs (ed.) 1889, 2, 493. On the career of Bishop Roger, see *ibid.*, 483-84, 530, 538-39, 547, 552-53, 557, 558-60. Because William knew Bishop Roger personally, the chronicle contains particularly vivid accounts of the man and the heights to which he rose. For a more negative report, see Gesta Stephani, Howlett (ed.) 1886, 3, 61.

17 Roger also built and fortified castles at Sherborne and Devizes, and before his death he had begun another at Malmesbury.

On the church of Osmund and the eastern and western extensions added by Roger, see now Stalley 1971, 62-83; and McDowell 1980, 1, 15, with plan opp. 15, showing his castle and the extent of his building campaign in the cathedral.

18 In 1086, Sarum castle was held from the king by Edward of Salisbury, sheriff, and presumably passed to his son Walter. Only from the latter part of the reign of Henry I (1100-1135), sometime after 1130 until 1139, did the castle come under the control of the bishop, but the terms of his possession are not clear. See William of Malmesbury, Stubbs (ed.) 1889, 547. Upon the death of Roger, Stephen resumed the castle, and the heirs of Edward of Salisbury were put in charge: Hill 1962, 54. For a summary of the history of the castle from that time into the fourteenth century: *ibid.*, 53-60.

19 For the royal grants by Henry I and Stephen to the bishop and church of Sarum, see Jones (ed.), 1883, repr. 1965, 1, 196, 200-203, 206, 208-10, 239, 381; and Jones and Macray (eds.) 1891; repr. 1965, 3-11.

developed between Roger and the king. Suspicious of Roger's loyalty and that of his nephews, the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, and alarmed by the power their numerous castles evinced, the king expanded a minor incident into a conflict that dispossessed them of their lands and castles and stripped them of their wealth. When Roger died in defeat in 1139, the control of Sarum castle presumably reverted to the crown, and, by the king's orders, the treasure earmarked for the completion of the church was confiscated.²⁰

With the castle once again under secular control, friction arose between the cathedral community and the king's castellans. By the end of the century, during the episcopacy of Herbert Poore (1194-1217), tensions had mounted to the point that the bishop petitioned the king for authority to move the cathedral from within the battlements. A new site was selected, the marshy water-meadow of Myrfield (mare- or Meerfelde, i.e., boundary field) by the river Avon. The plot lay within the bishop's own domains²¹ and was probably the site where the thirteenth-century cathedral now stands. Although the request found favor with Richard I (1189-1199), circumstances forced the ecclesiastical community to postpone the removal.²²

After the conquest, William the Conqueror had established a feudal state patterned on the duchy of Normandy. In post-conquest England feudalism emerged in its strongest and most organized form. The bishops and abbots ranked with the leading nobles of the realm as land-holders, and what they owed to their king as his vassals had first been determined and put on record in the Domesday Book. After every royal or episcopal succession, the feudal tenure, all rights, grants, earlier privileges, and exemptions had to be renewed or reaffirmed by the king. Stephenson 1971, 90-91, wrote: 'Without the vigorous support of his barons the Conqueror's government could have had no permanence....The anarchy under Stephen was the logical result of the king's incompetence.'

20 William of Malmesbury, Stubbs (ed.), 1889, 559-60. For his account of the events of the year 1139-40, including the downfall of Bishop Roger, *ibid.*, 547-65.

21 According to the Domesday Book, the twelfth-century pipe rolls, and a papal bull of 1146, there was more than one area referred to as Salisbury. The recurrence in the documents of 'Old Salisbury' in the plural, veteres Sarisberias, referred both to the Salisbury market, a shire town belonging to the king and taxed as a borough, and to the bishop's manor of Salisbury with its surrounding estates. Taxed as a manor, the bishop's demesne lay in the hundred of Underditch, which included the meadows on which the city and cathedral of New Salisbury arose: Hill 1962, 51-52; and Department of the Environment, repr. 1972, 1. The many variations in Latin for Salisbury include Serisberia, Salesberia, Sarisberia, Saresbiria, and Sarisburia, but the abbreviated genitive form, Sarum, appears most frequently, as in Ecclesia Beatae Mariae Sarum.

22 Jones (ed.) 1884, repr. 1965, 2, 3-4.

The prelacy of Bishop Herbert spanned the troubled reigns of Richard and his brother John (1199-1215). In the first year of his reign, Richard had appointed Herbert's predecessor, Hubert Walter, to the see of Sarum, but almost immediately thereafter a royal summons called the bishop to France to join the king on the ill-fated Third Crusade (1189-1192). From then on until Hubert Walter's advancement to the see of Canterbury, he was immersed in the affairs of the king and never in residence.²³ Thus, in 1194, Herbert Poore inherited a see that had been without leadership for almost a decade.²⁴ He assumed his episcopal duties at a time when the country was also suffering from the neglect of the absent monarch. The king's exploits in the Holy Land had already drained the financial resources of his lay and ecclesiastical vassals. The divisive and depleting internecine warfare fostered by John during his brother's absence further burdened the economy. Then, in 1193 and 1194, a levy of sums to pay the outrageous ransom demanded by the Emperor Henry IV for Richard's release brought the kingdom close to bankruptcy. Even after his release, the king continued to make ruinous demands upon his vassals. Bishop Herbert had also suffered enormous financial losses as a result of his stand against the king at the Council of Oxford in 1198. Following the leadership of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, Herbert had opposed subsidies for an expeditionary force of two hundred knights to join Richard in Normandy on the grounds that feudal obligations did not include extraterritorial enterprises. In retaliation, Richard had confiscated the bishop's possessions.²⁵

Although those times were inauspicious for the start of a building program, an undated letter written shortly before 1200 indicates that a meeting was held to allocate land for the canons' residences at the new site.²⁶ Yet eighteen years would pass before the request for papal permission to

23 For a summary of Hubert Walter's career, see *ibid.*, 2, xxvii-lxxxiii; and for the years 1189-1193: Cheney, 1967, 31-48.

24 After a long incumbency (1142-1184), Bishop Jocelin de Bohun retired to a Cistercian monastery. The vacancy was not filled until the appointment of Hubert Walter in 1189. During vacancies the revenues of a see reverted to the crown: Hill 1962, 52. Needing to replenish his treasury, Henry II had postponed making the appointment.

25 Eventually, in 1212, by paying enormous redemption fines, Herbert repossessed his properties from King John: Adam de Eynsham, Dimock (ed.), 1864, 248-51, 257-59.

26 Peter of Blois, a canon of the cathedral, wrote to explain his absence from the chapter meeting called to allocate the land: Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae* 104, *P.L.* 207, 327.

move was dispatched, and two more before the foundation stones of the new cathedral were laid.

Richard Poore, Bishop Herbert's brother, succeeded to the see in 1217.²⁷ Acting in concert with the dean and chapter, Richard sent a petition to Rome within the year of his return in which they requested papal authorization for the translation of the beleaguered church. Backed by Gualo, the papal legate, the petition elicited the bull of the fourth Kalends of April (29 March) 1218, by which Pope Honorius III approved the move.²⁸

The bishop, dean, and chapter wasted no time in implementing the papal bull. Convening the chapter in April 1219 to ratify the move, they formulated and enacted a variety of measures for funding the building campaign.²⁹ The following year on the fourth Kalends of May (28 April) 1220, the foundation stones for the new cathedral were laid. Dean William de Wanda's eyewitness account describes the ceremonies and festivities.³⁰ Five years later, work had advanced to the point that services could be held in the eastern chapels, and on 28 September, the Feast of St. Michael, the bishop consecrated three altars in the eastern portion of the church. By 1246, the year of the death of Bishop Robert de Bingham, Richard's successor, the eastern and main transepts had been completed.³¹ Work on the nave progressed so rapidly during the incumbency of Bishop William de

27 Richard was well acquainted with the problems of Old Sarum. From 1198 until his appointment as bishop of Chichester in 1215, he had held the office of dean under Herbert: Jones 1879, 45.

28 As Marion Roberts advised the author, Osmund's Register incorrectly gives the date of the bull as 1219, and J. Chandler was the first to note the error: *Endless Street*, 1983, 15. See also, Bliss (ed.) 1893, 1, 53; and for a letter requesting Cardinal Gualo to inquire and report on the facts of the petition: *ibid.*, 46. See also Jones (ed.) 1883, repr. 1965, 2, 5-7; and the eighteenth-century translation of the bull by a Mr. Boucher, first published by Price 1753, 3-5; see also Dodsworth 1814, 109-11. In his preamble to the bull, Pope Honorius recapitulated the oppressions by the castellans and the physical conditions that had plagued the cathedral community for over a century. For additional problems that drove the community from Old Sarum, see Ledwich 1770, 52-55.

29 See Blum 1991, 9, for a summary of the fund-raising measures.

30 Jones (ed.) 1889, repr. 1965, 2, 12-3; Price 1753, 8-9. See also another translation in Dodsworth 1814, 117-19.

31 For an analysis of the phases of this building campaign from 1220-1246 based on examination of the changes in the practice of laying the masonry, together with a reassessment of the significance of recorded deeds and new determination of personnel involved in each phase of the campaign, see Blum 1991, 9-16. Gavin Simpson's analysis of documentary references to royal gifts of timbers for the cathedral confirmed the author's proposed chronology of construction: Simpson 1996, 10-20.

Eboraco (York) (1246-1256), that his successor, Bishop Giles (Egidius) de Bridport could set the date for the consecration of the cathedral on the day following the Feast of St. Michael (30 September) 1258.³² We know from a marginal note in a document written between 1317 and 1319, that the church was not completed until 1266.³³ Critics agree, however, that 1266 is too early to have included the statues of the west screen. The few surviving original figures belong to a later period, with 1290 the earliest date proposed, but one somewhat later, say around 1300, easily arguable. Like the Queen Eleanor Cross at Hardingstone, Northamptonshire (1292), to which they have been compared,³⁴ the statues heralded a style that would prevail throughout the fourteenth century. The upper reaches of the tower and spire also postdate 1266. The dates proposed range from 1280 to the 1330s.³⁵

Salisbury cathedral stands today in a close surrounded by an expanse of greensward accented with elms, cedars of Lebanon, clusters of limes, and rows of chestnut trees, and dominates the horizon as well as the city that grew around it in the green and marshy valley of the river Avon. Such a serene setting belies the bitter tensions that flared and clashes that intruded upon the cathedral community through the centuries.

32 Ibid., 16-22.

33 Statua Roger[i] de Mortivall, Sar. epi. A.D. 1319, fol. xxxii^v, Bishops' Register, Salisbury Cathedral Archives; for the text, see Blum 1991, 22 n. 76.

34 Stone 1955, 144.

35 See Blum 1991, 22 n. 79; and Cocke 1993, 10-11. For the 1280-1300 dating, see Spring 1987, 48; and most recently Tatton-Brown 1991, 94-96 argued for a date in the first decades of the fourteenth century. See also idem 1996, 59-67.

In a paper read at the British Archaeological Association Conference held at Salisbury, 15-18 July 1991, Timothy Tatton-Brown, 'The Archaeology of the Tower and Spire of Salisbury Cathedral,' proposed a date at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. In the published version, idem 1996, 59, 65-66 he dated the spire in the earliest decades of the fourteenth century. As generally acknowledged, only the lantern tower, the lowest stage, dates to the mid-thirteenth century. At the same conference, Gavin Simpson, 'Some Dendrochronological Findings from Salisbury Cathedral,' dashed expectations that by applying tree ring dating to the timbers of the tower and spire, he would resolve the problem. The results were disappointing. Not only were there re-used timbers in the spire dating to 1231, the internal scaffold at the base of the spire consisted of young trees with too few rings to give any valid dates. Some timbers re-used for diagonal braces in the tower and some in the spire bore carpenters' marks 'MLXVI'--doubtless braces added for stability at that date. See now, Simpson 1996, 10.

Upon completion of the cathedral, presumably the chapter embarked on a second building campaign in the late 1260s. The program encompassed a bell tower (destroyed), the bishop's consistory court (now modified), a cloister and the chapter house.³⁶ In the late eighteenth century during restorations directed by James Wyatt, the bell tower was demolished in order to improve the view of the cathedral from the northwest. We only know the appearance of the bell tower from early prints and drawings and its dimensions from outlines of the foundations visible beneath the grass during very dry summers.³⁷ The visual documents indicate that the tower was built in the Early English style of the cathedral, but we learn from the records of Francis Price, the eighteenth-century carpentarius of the cathedral, that the walls and buttresses were 'of a like kind with those of the chapter-house, and cloysters.'³⁸ The only two shared characteristics distinguishing their masonry from that of the cathedral were the much smaller blocks of ashlar and the lack of beveling along the vertical edges of the buttresses. Those two changes probably indicate the arrival of a new workshop.³⁹ The great workshop responsible for completing the nave would have been disbanded, and a new one formed for the second campaign. To judge from the slow pace of construction evidenced, among other things, by numerous breaks in the coursing of the masonry in the cloister walks, the workshop was probably considerably smaller, less well funded, and, as indicated by the

36 For a close analysis of the chronology of the second campaign based on concrete evidence in the masonry and ornament as well as on pertinent texts and deeds, see Blum 1991, 17-32. But see now Kemp and Tatton-Brown, 2008, who translated curia in the 1263 document of Bishop Walter de la Wyle, not as consistory court, but as the bishop's palace or court. That interpretation led them to conclude that the consistory court did not exist in 1263, as assumed in Blum 1991. See also Cocke 1993, 8-10, who based his dating of the chapter house in the 1260s on its stylistic similarities with the Westminster chapter house and with the tracery on the tomb of Bishop Giles de Bridport (d. 1262). (Unlike the cloister, the latter is plate, not bar tracery, but the design imitates bar tracery.) He also adhered to a 1248 date for the deed to enlarge the cloister, a dating disallowed by the signatories witnessing the deed who held the designated offices in 1263.

On the mathematical system, fundamental dimensions and ratios of the designs for the cloister and chapter house, see Kidson 1993, 80-82.

37 See now Blum 1991, 23-25.

38 Price 1753, 67.

39 For an analysis of the mural masonry and its pertinence to the chronology of the first and second campaigns, see Blum 1991, 15-20, 23-25. Figs. 3-6

introduction of the Decorated style in the cloister and chapter house, under new direction. The chapter was planning a meeting place of some magnificence, profusely ornamented with gilding, polychromy and an ambitious sculptural program (Fig. 1 and Plan A).

In ca. 1270, a flurry of fund-raising activities suggests that the second campaign continued in the cloister after completion of the bell tower and the bishop's consistory court.⁴⁰ The latter no longer exists as such.⁴¹ In the nineteenth century, after the dismantling of its south wall, the court became a three-bay passageway leading from the south aisle of the cathedral into the west walk of the cloister.⁴² Until then, the court and the cloister had been discrete entities. The wall of the west walk of the cloister when finally built, probably towards the end of the thirteenth century, was aligned and made contiguous with the west wall of the court.

In the north walk of the cloister, the first one constructed, bar tracery and the Rayonnant style were introduced at Salisbury (Fig. 2).⁴³ Upon completion of the north walk, construction continued from north to south along the east walk. Numerous breaks and discontinuous courses in the masonry suggest that interruptions slowed the work. During construction along the east walk, the masonry in the sixth bay from the northeast junction turned the corners to form the opening for the entrance to a vestibule or foyer for the chapter house. Work on the walls of the foyer ceased abruptly, and construction continued along the east walk. As the evidence will show, the foyer linking the octagon

40 Tatton-Brown has disagreed with the author's proposed chronology of construction for the cloister walks and chapter house and posited that not only the cathedral, but also the belfry, cloister, chapter house and even the muniment room were all completed by 1266. Tatton-Brown to author, 6 Nov. 1995 and 8 Feb. 1996. See also *idem* 1995, 6-11.

41 *Ibid.*, 29 n. 109.

42 James Wyatt, whose modifications and alterations of 1789 were notorious, never worked in the cloister or chapter house: *An Architect* 1803, 643. The removal of the south wall of the consistory court did not take place until the prelacy of Bishop Edward Denison (1837-1854), who had restored the cloister primarily at his own expense: Anonymous, 1854. See also the 1814 plan (Plan A), showing the interior arrangements with steps leading to and from an elevated platform presumably occupied by the bishop when holding court. The plan shows the terminal south wall of the court about one third of the thickness of the wall in the earlier plan--a puzzling difference--and includes two double lancet windows in the east wall. The width of the windows and the amount of mural masonry flanking them, suggest that, like those of the bell tower, the windows conformed to the Early English style.

43 Pevsner 1975, 419; Blum 1991, 29.

with the east walk was not finished until the chapter house had been completed.⁴⁴

By 1276, the date when Edward I (1272-1306) granted the dean and chapter permission to use stone from the Old Sarum for their walls, construction had progressed no further than the southeast junction bay of the cloister.⁴⁵ On the exterior of the south wall of that bay we find the first carved spolium from Old Sarum in the cloister masonry.⁴⁶ Beginning on the interior of the first bay of the south walk, gargantuan masonry blocks from Sarum cathedral form the lower masonry coursings. As in the east walk, discontinuous masonry signifies breaks in construction, the most significant of which occurs in the seventh and eighth bays from the east. Carved in two distinct styles, the roof boss of the eighth bay (Fig. 3a) signals a major pause. The foliate forms on the eastern half of that boss have stylistic affinities with bosses in the bays to the east begun ca. 1276 (Fig. 3b), whereas the undulating leaves of the foliage on the western half of the boss and in the next three bays to the west belong to a style associated with the 1290s (Fig. 3c), the decade when that leaf-type first made its appearance in England and began to undermine naturalism in foliate forms. The abrupt stylistic change suggests that work could not have resumed along the south walk until about the 1290s.⁴⁷

The question of the place of the chapter house in the sequence of construction remains a problem. Pennies from the reign of Edward I found in the foundations propose 1280 for start of work

44 Blum 1991, 36, and below.

45 Letter Patent of Edward I, 16 Dec. 1276: Poole (ed.) 1901, 1, 363, 385. See also Blum 1991, 32 n. 125.

46 A six-petalled flower carved in low relief was inscribed in a circle. The flower is typical of stylized twelfth-century floral ornament achieved by a compass. Stones from the Old Sarum have been identified in the masonry of the triforium of the cathedral, evidence of earlier use of the twelfth-century building as a quarry. I am grateful to V. Jansen for pointing this out.

47 The same undulating leaves continue on the bosses along the west range, the last walk to be built. For a fuller discussion of the stylistic changes in the foliate forms of the cloister bosses, see Blum 1991, 31-5, figs. 15-19; and for an excellent discussion of the progression and dating of foliate forms, see Givens 1985, U.M.I. 1987. I am deeply indebted to Professor Givens for her thoughtful reading of the section on foliate ornament below in chapter two and for examples of comparable carved ornament dated to the last two decades of the thirteenth century that she could cite in other monuments.

which would have been immediately after the first coinage of his reign in December 1279.⁴⁸

According to William Burges, the pennies came to light during the nineteenth-century restoration 'in those parts of the foundations requiring under pinning.'⁴⁹ Architectural historians have found the year 1280 disturbingly late for a building modeled on the Westminster chapter house that was constructed in the 1250s.⁵⁰ Yet, as the analyses will demonstrate, the date proposed by the pennies proves congruent both with the figure style of the Old Testament scenes and with the naturalistic foliate forms that occur within the ornament, neither of which were conceivable in England in the 1250s and 1260s.

In the expectation of pinpointing the date of the building, we requested a dendrochronological analysis of thirteenth-century timbers in the chapter house roof. This resulted in an estimated date of 1265 for the felling of the trees.⁵¹ Since that best estimate disagrees with the date proposed by the pennies--the only other objective evidence for start of work on the chapter house--we will consider this conflicting information in the next chapter in terms of the most advanced ornamental details present in the foliate forms, the moulded profiles, designs of the grisaille, and patterns of inlaid tiles. In that many of those decorative details fall comfortably into the decade of the 1280s and others would allow the earlier date, the difference may be irresolvable. But if the earlier date is accepted, the question remains as to why the Salisbury chapter house, a conservative building architecturally speaking, contains a goodly number of details that did not have currency until the last two decades of the thirteenth or even the first decades of the fourteenth century. Even though the cloister and chapter house were both built in the geometrical phase of the Decorated style and planned as part of the same building program, as will be shown, careful scrutiny of the masonry and ornament suggests that the chapter lacked funds to sustain a campaign of

48 Although Edward ascended the throne in 1272, the first coinage of his reign did not occur until December 1279: Powicke 1962, 633-34.

49 Burges 1859, 109. For a discussion of other documentary evidence making the year 1280 significant for dating start of work in the chapter house, see, Blum 1991, 35.

50 See above, n. 36; and for the chronology of construction of the Westminster building, see Colvin (ed.) 1963, 1, 138-43.

51 See below, Chapter 2.

construction without interruptions.

English Chapter Houses and the Iconography of a Centrally Organized Plan

The existence of chapter houses in England cannot be documented until after the Norman conquest.⁵² Yet meetings in chapter go back to the Early Christian period when the bishop met in capitulo with the clerics who served within his episcopal jurisdiction. They convened as his council in the apse of the church, the locus of his episcopal throne, or cathedra (by definition the chair of a teacher). On the continent, as conventual compounds became more extensive, the custom of meeting in capitulo shifted to an out building separate from, but of easy access to the church. Because the upper story of the chapter house customarily housed a dormitory for the monks, a rectangular shape became the usual plan on the continent. Practical considerations must have determined the location of the dormitory. Easy access from it by way of the transept was necessary for the monks who had to attend divine offices during the night.⁵³ Always consecrated, chapter houses also provided space in the crypts for burials of dignitaries and patrons of the cathedral or abbey.

In England, the rectangular design, sometimes with an apsidal east end, prevailed until ca. 1120-1130, when the first surviving centrally organized chapter house was built at the cathedral monastery of Worcester.⁵⁴ There the vaults spring from a central column that divides the circular

52 The Westminster chapter house associated with the church of Edward the Confessor probably was not built before the consecration of the abbey in 1065. The range of possible dates proposed for the building stretch to 1120. The pre-Conquest dating proposed in the last century does not have adequate evidence to support it. On the dating and design of the building, see the problems caused by the various interpretations of the thirteenth-century text in the French Life of St. Edward: Wickham 1912, 175-78; Gardner 1976, 111-13.

53 Brooke 1974, 156. Literature on chapter houses is slight, but growing. Among recent studies the most comprehensive one examines their evolution, including some developments that were typical of English buildings: Braunfels 1972, 58, 165-73. In a most penetrating study, Gardner 1976, esp. 73-88, focused on English developments, but was primarily concerned with monastic foundations and, in particular, the chapter house at Worcester. See also Beck 1965/66, 7-118; Clutton 1855, 85-97; Wickham 1912, 143-248; and Webb 1965, 58-63, 153-55.

54 Gardner 1976, 2. For Worcester, other important studies include Willis 1973, 213-25; and Stratford 1978, 51-70. Stratford dated the building slightly earlier than Gardner, ca. 1100 and 1115, but both discarded the traditional dating of ca. 1160. See also Brieger 1957, 122-23; and Webb 1965, 59-62. On the question

building into ten bays. (Later modifications transformed it into a polygon on the exterior.) As Stephen Gardner demonstrated, liturgical and funerary functions, as well as complex medieval associations with centrally planned architecture, lay behind the innovative design.⁵⁵ Organized around central space, a design first associated with the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem, the circular plan at Worcester departed from the customary arrangement at the expense of the upper storey for a dormitory.

In seeking the sources that inspired the Worcester plan, Gardner noted that traditionally baptistries as well as martyriums were centrally organized.⁵⁶ Besides providing the locus for baptisms, baptistries also had funerary functions which imbued them with symbolism attached to martyriums and mausoleums. As early as ca. 780 in England, the baptistry erected by Archbishop Cuthbert outside of the church of St Augustine at Canterbury affirmed the multiple functions. Cuthbert specifically stipulated that the new baptistry was also to serve as a mausoleum for future archbishops.⁵⁷ In fact, in Early Christian liturgy, triple-immersion in the ritual of baptism conveyed a threefold meaning with funerary implications. The first immersion signified that the candidate was dying to his former life of sin; the second, that he was renouncing Satan; the final immersion effected his rebirth or regeneration by water.⁵⁸

Chapter houses, per se, also had symbolic associations with the three baptismal themes of repentance, absolution, and regeneration. For by the eleventh century the chapter assembly had become the locus for individual confessions of dereliction from the Rule and of "grave faults". Punishment and absolution in the presence of the chapter effected a symbolic regeneration of the penitent. He was thus restored into the community of the Church. As in baptism, rebirth into the

of whether Edward the Confessor's chapter house provided the prototype for the circular plan, see Wickham 1912, 175-78; Gardner 1976, 111-14.

55 On the sources of the symbolism and the derivative forms, see Krautheimer 1969, 115-50; Götz 1968, 312; and Gardner 1976, 164-223. See also Binski 1995, 187 on the diversity of chapter house program as a reflection of the diversity of functions.

56 Ibid., 222-23: e.g., the seventh-century baptistry of San Vitale in Ravenna.

57 Wickham 1912, 179.

58 Daniélou 1947, 40-41.

Church through absolution provided the penitent with the way to Salvation.

As for funerary associations, chapter houses were historically as important as the choir and church for burials. Yet the Salisbury chapter house has no crypt, and there is no evidence that burials ever took place there.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the liturgy of the Sarum Use conveys the memorial significance of the chapter house in the daily ritual. The service held there every morning after prime included the reading of the obits for the day from the cathedral's Martyrologium, a record that commemorated dignitaries and benefactors who had died on that date, and the obits were followed by prayers for the souls of the deceased.⁶⁰

Those multiple associations presumably informed the decision taken by the monks of Worcester to depart from the traditional rectangular shape for their building. With a precedent set by ca. 1120-1130 for a centrally organized building, other such chapter houses arose in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The small Cistercian communities of Abbey Dore and Margam built twelve-sided chapter houses.⁶¹ Next, dated between 1220 and 1235, the Early English building at Lincoln was conceived as a decagon with coupled lancets in each bay and vaulting springing from a central pier. Lincoln began the series of spacious lofty thirteenth-century chapter houses, centrally organized and polygonal in design, that provided chapters of important churches with magnificent

59 The consecrated ground for a cemetery lay to the southeast of the church and due east of the chapter house. Tombs of bishops and others of special dignity were placed inside the church, and records show that burials also took place in the cloister garth.

60 Jones (ed.) 1883, repr. 1965, 1, 58-59.

61 For a list of chapter houses built on the central plan, see Gardner 1976, Appendix IV, 297-98.

Variations of design within that series of buildings include the omission of the central support (Southwell, a smaller building than Salisbury, and York). Wells, like Westminster, had an undercroft that was once dated as early as the 1220s, but recent scholarship has revised the dating to the 1260s, with a terminus post quem of 1263 proposed.

On the various buildings in the filiation of centrally organized space, see i.a., Webb 1965, 61-62, 153-55; Prior 1905, 13; Bilson 1893/1895, 262-66; Wickham, 1912, 172-89; Nordström 1955, 262-66; Brieger 1957, 122-24, 241-43; Coldstream 1972, 15-23; Wander 1976, 236; idem 1978, 41-49 (but where comparisons include details of the Salisbury chapter house, a lack of precision mars this study); and idem 1977, 78-90. The nearly destroyed chapter house at Thornton Abbey (1282-1308) also belongs in this series, as do the ruins of an octagon at Carlisle cathedral and the chapter houses of Alnwick and Cockersand abbeys, and of Bolton and Bridlington priories. On those, see Clapham 1946, 173; and Gardner 1976, 281-96.

chambers in keeping with the prestige of the foundation and the dignity of the meetings to be held there. At Beverley minster, a relatively small octagonal chapter house was begun in ca. 1230, and soon after, between 1240 and 1250, Lichfield erected an irregular octagon. York, begun in ca. 1276, Salisbury 1265? (1280), Southwell dated between 1293-1307, and Wells built between 1293-1307 all have octagonal plans. That last group reflects the artistic importance and influence of the octagonal chapter house at Westminster built in the 1250s. As Nikolaus Pevsner wrote: 'The English chapter-house, without any question an English specialty...is polygonal and not square or oblong...and it has in its finest examples large windows with French type tracery (Westminster, Salisbury, York). It is true that their proportions, made visually effective particularly by means of their palm tree vaults, mark the chapter-houses as English....Their classicity, the sense of a final achievement which they convey, is the outcome of a synthesis of French and English--the happiest throughout the history of English art.'⁶²

Uses and Customs at Salisbury

Like the others, the Salisbury chapter house enjoyed daily use until Henry VIII broke with Rome and established the Church of England. Up to that time, following the Sarum Use, the cathedral community walked in procession to the chapter house every morning after prime-song. There the daily ritual continued as prescribed by the consuetudinary of St. Osmund known as De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Tractatus.⁶³ The dignitaries and canons took the seats permanently assigned to them by the Tractatus. When present, the bishop occupied the central seat along the east wall, with the dean, chancellor, and sub-dean on his left. On either side in the following order, ranged the canon-priests and vicars of a superior grade; the canons of the second form, the deacons, sub-deacons, and clerks in minor orders.⁶⁴ The boy choristers stood in order of rank on either side of the

⁶² Pevsner 1953, 113.

⁶³ Frere (ed.) 1898, 1: 18, 50-52; Jones (ed.) 1883, repr. 1965 1: 58-61.

⁶⁴ See Frere 1898, 1: 51. Wordsworth, 1901, 137, gave a seating plan differing from the above arrangement. His was based on the nineteenth-century repainting of the names of the prebends in the chapter house stalls by Hudson.

pulpitum, and service in capitulum began with the reading of the first lesson from the martyrologium by the boy chorister designated as reader for the week. After the lesson, he read the obits for the day, if any. The priest standing behind him then blessed the souls of those deceased and completed the liturgical ritual for remembering the dead. The service continued with the second lesson, again delivered by the boy reader. At Salisbury this lection was usually taken from the writings or homilies of Haymo, a ninth-century scholar associated with Alcuin in Charlemagne's court.⁶⁵ A benediction then concluded the daily service. Next, stepping down from the pulpitum the boy read the tabula, the 'brede bord' or common table containing the roster of daily and weekly assignments set by the precentor.⁶⁶ It was, and still is, his duty to designate the places of the canons and boys in processions and in the choir.

As noted above, the rituals in the chapter house also included acknowledgements by members of the community of any derelictions in their duties and the administration of their punishments. The Institutio Osmundi was quite specific about discipline, and any recalcitrant who did not reform after admonishment by the dean had then to prostrate himself in capitulo to receive his punishment.⁶⁷

In addition, the chapter house was the locus for a variety of other functions. Convocations of the chapter to conduct business were held there, but those meetings remained distinct from the daily ritual and, unlike the latter, involved only the canons and dignitaries, not the entire cathedral body. Then, too, the building housed the archiepiscopal visitations and the bishop's synodal meetings. Apart from discipline and punishments administered to individuals, the tenets of the church were

65 'Quotidie per totum annum, nisi duobus diebus ante Pascha, post Preciosa est legitur in capitulo una lectio de Sancto Haymoe:' Rock, 4, 145-46 and n. 57. See also Hatcher and Benson 1843, 19-28.

66 Frere 1898, 1: 107-109; and Jones (ed.) 1883, repr, 1965, 1: 60-61.

67 Ibid., 20-21; Frere 1898, 1: 12. If flagrant insubordination continued, the offender was then deposed from the choir and had to do penance at the choir door. If still incorrigible and neglectful of the prescribed penance, the offender had to endure severe punishment. Authority for physical punishment rested on biblical texts: 'A fool receiveth not the words of prudence [Proverbs 18:2],' and, 'Thou shalt beat him with a rod, and deliver his soul from hell [Proverbs 23:14].'

On the central function of monastic chapter houses and cloisters as places for correctio materialis and iconographical programs pertaining thereto, see Pressouyre 1973, 72-92.

upheld and enforced not only in the chapter meetings, but also in the visitations and at the bishops' convocations. Other proceedings that took place in the chapter house included elections of bishops and deans. Their installations and the attendant processions formed there. The great dignity accorded the two offices required the assembled to stand whenever either official entered the chapter house or the choir.

And finally, one of the most solemn rituals of the liturgical year took place in the chapter house on Maundy Thursday. After evensong and the washing of the altars, the procession repaired to the chapter house for the Mandatum, or washing of feet, and for the potum caritatis, or loving cup received first by the bishop and then administered to the clergy and others present. A sixteenth-century entry in the cathedral accounts records payment for 'iiii dosen of bunes [buns] on Maundy Thursday....a coule [caske or cowle] of stale Ale,' and the 'bearyinge of yt to the chapter house....[and] a gallane of Clarott wyne.'⁶⁸

After figuring largely in the daily and occasional rituals from the time of its completion until the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the Salisbury chapter house then stood idle and neglected for the next three centuries.

68 Salisbury Cathedral Archives, *Accomptes of Richard Chaundler, Canon, referend and Master of the Worke*, 1588-59, June 1559. N.B. Although his records were kept with the fabric accounts of the clerk of the works, the Master of the Fabric (or, as here, of the Worke) was responsible for a much greater spectrum of expenditures and receipts than the fabric proper.

The entry cited here has always been interpreted as purchases for distribution to the masses. For that, the 'gallane' of wine and 48 buns would hardly have been adequate.

2

The Chapter House

Design

The visitor approaches the chapter house through a doorway off the east walk of the cloister. This leads into a two-bay vestibule, or foyer. There the blind arcade continues with the same design as the tracery along the cloister walls.⁶⁹ An inner doorway opens onto the main chamber from the foyer (Fig. 4). The octagonal chapter house derived its proportions and design from the earlier building at Westminster completed in 1253. The building agreement for Salisbury may have specified that the chapter house 'be like' the one at Westminster, a common clause in such contracts in the Middle Ages.⁷⁰ Both buildings measure 58 feet across, but the height of the Westminster vaults, 54 feet, exceeds Salisbury's vaults by two feet.⁷¹ As at Westminster, the vaults spring from a tall central column surrounded by eight slender, detached Purbeck marble shafts trisected by molded bands or annulets (Fig. 5a, b). Although the parentage of the building is beyond dispute,⁷² variations in detail avoided a slavish copy.

Clockwise around the octagon, beginning and ending at the doorway in the western bay, a plinth approached by one step forms a continuous base for the fifty-one seats of the canons. In the eastern bay an extra step elevates the seats of the dignitaries above the others (Fig. 6). The seats of the eastern bay are not only higher but also more deeply recessed than the others. Detached, quatrefoil Purbeck marble shafts support a continuous blind arcade. Its cinquefoiled, broken arches define and frame the seats.

69 In the blind arcade, the main arch of each bay is subdivided into two subsidiary arches, with a hexafoil in the heading of each main arch. For the tracery of the arcades along the garth, see Blum 1991, 29 n. 114.

70 On this aspect of medieval contracts, see Shelby 1976, 93-94; and Salzman 1963, 22-24.

71 For the chapter house measurements, see Kidson 1993, 81-82; and Price 1753, 20. The vaulting of the Westminster building was entirely reconstructed in the nineteenth century.

72 On this, see, *i.a.*, Webb 1965, 153; Pevsner 1963, 380-81; 1975, 420-21; Brieger 1957, 183; Clifton-Taylor 1967, 137-39; and Bony 1979, 15.

Human heads, animals, and birds invade the richly varied, stiff-leaf foliage of the capitals of the arcade (Fig. 7a-d). The heads, remarkable for their quality and variety, act as label stops for the hood molding of the arches (Fig. 8a-f). Some caricatured, others idealized, classicized, or realistic, the heads represent all walks and stations of life, from kings, queens, and princes to friars, nuns, priests, merchants, damsels, and laborers. Drawings dated 1802 by John Carter, one time artist for the Society of Antiquaries of London, have preserved a record of the heads and capitals in enough detail to show their condition before the nineteenth-century restorations (Fig. 9a, b).⁷³ And finally, sixty narrative scenes from the Old Testament, the sculptural treasure of the building, fill the spandrels of the blind arcade (Plates I-LX, and Plan B).

Above the arcade, traceried windows of four lancets stretch across the bays to create the illusion of walls of glass (Fig. 10). Two quatrefoiled oculi occupy the headings of enframing arches that divide the lancets into pairs. Above, in the enclosing arch that spans the bay, a large, octafoiled oculus crowns and dominates each window. The cusps of the octafoils terminate in another series of heads notable for quality and variety.⁷⁴

73 The heads, sculptures of the highest quality, deserve a study in depth. As a basis for stylistic analysis and comparisons, the author is preparing an article presenting diagrams to show restorations, if any, to each head. For notes on condition and polychromy as of 1854, see Burges 1859, 148-57; and for a discussion of carved heads in the cathedral and chapter house, see Whittingham 1970.

Carter was the official artist to the Society of Antiquaries for a short time in the 1780s, but resigned over some perceived slight. Later, when Richard Gough, one of Carter's supporters, headed the Society, he contracted with it for publications of cathedrals. I am indebted to Marion Roberts for so informing me.

A head acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, along with other fragments from Salisbury (V. and A. acq. no. A. 44-1916) was returned to Salisbury and is on display in the Salisbury Museum. Despite its attribution to the chapter house, *ibid.*, 22, no. 11, not only is the head too small, but also the foliage below the neck differs in style and design from the ubiquitous flattened trefoil carved in low relief below all the heads in the chapter house. Those differences override the resemblance of the head to Carter's sketch of the missing male head number 1 in the eastern bay.

Close examination of the eight heads in the upper arcade above the portal showed that five are later replacements: from left to right, numbers 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8. The type of stone used has not yet been determined, but the replacements are neither Chilmark stone nor the Caen stone used in the nineteenth-century restoration. The circlet embellished with Tudor roses worn by the young man, second from the left, suggests that the replacements date from the sixteenth century, when extensive work was done on the windows.

74 Photographs of the tracery in the heads of the windows, taken with a telephoto lens by Richard Morris,

Like the tracery of the arcades along the cloister garth (Fig. 2), the design of the windows has a closer affinity with tracery at Lincoln than with the windows of the Westminster chapter house (Fig. 11). At Lincoln (Fig. 12), the clerestory windows in the retrochoir differ from Salisbury only in having trefoils instead of quatrefoils in the oculi surmounting the paired lancets. On the continent, in the south aisle of the choir at Beauvais, we find a tracery design identical to that at Salisbury (Fig. 13). But Lincoln, Beauvais, and Salisbury are all indebted to the ultimate source of the pattern, the clerestory windows in the nave at Amiens (Fig. 14).

In order to accommodate the fenestration of the western bay of the chapter house to the high rising arch of the entrance, the designer resorted to an awkward device reminiscent of the arrangement in the entrance bay of the Westminster chapter house. Above the arch of the Salisbury doorway, an upper tier of blind arcading, trefoiled rather than cinque-cusped, reduces the height of the lancets in the window above by approximately one-third (Figs. 10 and 56).

Jean Bony described the Salisbury octagon as the most faithful copy of Westminster. He also concluded that, whatever the nationality of Albericus, the master associated with the Westminster chapter house, the pure Rayonnant design of the building proved that Albericus had trained in France.⁷⁵ Like Westminster, the Salisbury design maintains the self-sufficiency of the bay units, the vertical linkage of the zones, and the assimilation of mural surfaces into the windows--the inseparable principles of the French Rayonnant system. Yet despite the universally accepted and striking similarities of the Salisbury and Westminster buildings, differences emerge on close inspection that say much about the background and preferences of the Salisbury designer. Albeit minor, those differences involve a subtle anglicizing of the vocabulary of the French Rayonnant style. The bays have undergone a series of modifications that increases our awareness of the mass of

bring into question the authenticity of many of the heads on the cusps of the octafoils: University of Warwick, neg. nos. W15/58/5A-7A, W15/58/8A-13A, W15/60/14A, and W15/60/20A-23A. Although confirmation of what is original and what restored would require close inspection from scaffolding, facial styles and headdresses suggest a sixteenth-century date for the questionable ones. See especially nos. W15/58/7A, W15/59/12A, and W15/60/14A. I am indebted to Professor Morris for copies of the photos listed above.

75 Bony 1979, 3-4, 15.

the walls and adds to the plasticity of mural surfaces. In effect, the design at Salisbury begins to subvert the 'flat skeletal treatment (that prerequisite of thinness)' characterizing the Rayonnant style, as Bony put it, achieved by the rational and systematic elimination of 'all forms that remained substantially plastic.'⁷⁶

Even though the designer of the Westminster chapter house introduced the French style as a coherent system, the mutations visible at Salisbury run counter to it. For example, several minor changes in the design of the architectural ornament increased the surface articulation. Instead of repeating the Westminster blind arcade verbatim (Fig. 11), the Salisbury arcades subdivide into eight rather than five units to a bay, with a resulting acceleration in surface rhythms (Fig. 10). Then too, except in the arcade above the entrance bay, the trilobed arch of Westminster has given way to a more active, five-cusped design with enframing arches formed by strongly articulated moldings. Increased articulation also occurs at the angles of the octagon. At Westminster, a single, slender corner shaft rises from the plinth to the capital at the springing of the vault. But at Salisbury, instead of one vaulting shaft at each angle, the designer introduced clusters of three, with an attendant increase in volume and salience. In both buildings, a horizontal molding or stringcourse defines the upper limit of the blind arcade and continues across the corner shafts. But at Salisbury a second, equally strong banding interrupts the vertical ascent of the vaulting shafts. This occurs at the level established by the bases of the colonnettes flanking the truncated window above the western entrance (Fig. 10). Resembling a continuation of the molded bases, those annulets also subdivide the colonnettes and mullions of all the windows. Yet at Westminster, the vertical integrity of shafts, mullions, and colonnettes was understood as part of the Rayonnant system. In effect, the English preference for horizontal emphasis reasserted itself at Salisbury. All in all, drifting towards a more English statement, the designer at Salisbury deviated from the system by creating horizontal subdivisions in all the vertical elements. Such interruptions in the vertical linkage, especially in the vaulting shafts, ran counter to the rationale of Rayonnant design.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 2, 3.

Bony has pointed to thickness in masonry walls as a persistent characteristic of English Gothic buildings, one also at variance with the principles of French Rayonnant construction.⁷⁷ That preference also emerges in the Salisbury design. The shallow splays of the window sills and frames at Westminster have been supplanted by deeper ones that reflect the thickened masonry of the Salisbury building (Figs. 10 and 11).⁷⁸ The increased mural mass resulted in greater articulation of the moldings of the bar tracery of the windows. The thickness added weight and visual importance to their geometric design.

The same plasticity characterizes the moldings of the inner entrance (Fig. 15). Surmounted by a much articulated enframing arch, the two cinquefoiled arches that form the entrance spring from a central column surrounded by four Purbeck marble shafts. Unlike the completely nineteenth-century moldings and architectural ornament of the entrance to the vestibule from the cloister, and also contrary to opinions in the literature, the Purbeck marble ornamental details of the inner doorway survive from the thirteenth century. The few broken elements recorded in the meticulous, early nineteenth-century drawings by J.C. Buckler (Fig. 16a, b) were discreetly repaired in the mid-nineteenth-century restoration, either with small insets or by minor re-cutting and sanding of damaged leaf terminals. Close examination verified that the arches, cusping, and foliate capitals of the inner doorway survived very nearly intact.⁷⁹

77 Ibid., 6-7.

78 Kidson 1993, 81, stated that the walls are 2 ft. 6 3/4 in. thick.

79 According to an oral tradition communicated to the author by the late Norman Drinkwater, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Salisbury, two stiff-leaf Purbeck marble capitals and four Purbeck marble spandrels (the latter the component parts of a cinqucusped arch for a doorway), originally came from the inner entrance to the chapter house. Acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington in 1916, the fragments were recently sent on permanent loan to the Salisbury Museum (V. and A. acq. nos. A. 40-1916, a-d; A. 48-1916 and A. 49-1916). The stone decay and the badly deteriorated state of the ornament insists upon an outdoor location for all six pieces. Indeed, red Purbeck marble like those spandrels was used at Salisbury for all exterior locations. Although the spandrels repeat the foliate motifs found on the inner doorway of the chapter house, their dimensions exceed those of the double arches forming the entrance from the cloister. Since the local oral tradition has entered the literature, the misconception stands in need of correction: Wynn Reeves 1973, Appendix, 397. Possibly the fragments of the archway and capitals were dismounted during restorations to the cloister in the 1840s, when limestone replaced most of the weathered Purbeck details. The original location of the

Evidence for dating⁸⁰

As previously noted, critics who have dated the chapter house on the basis of the design alone have had difficulty accepting the terminus post quem of 1280 proposed by the pennies,⁸¹ nor do the results of Gavin Simpson's recent dendrochronological analysis of the timbers in the chapter house roof settle the matter unequivocally, as hoped.⁸² That analysis provided only an estimated rather than an actual felling date.⁸³ Three of the nine samples collected failed to date. Unfortunately, number thirty-five, one of the three, was the only sample with all of its sapwood rings. The other six gave an estimated range of felling dates from 1250 to 1285 with a 'best estimate' of 1265. The year 1265 resulted from adding thirty, the number of sapwood rings most often found in modern oaks in southwest England, to the average date of the last heartwood ring in each of the six samples. The sapwood rings sometimes number as many as fifty or as few as fifteen. Basing the estimate on fifteen, the fewest number of sapwood rings, resulted in a felling date of 1250. At the other end of the statistical spectrum, fifty, the largest number in modern oaks, gave the date of 1285, which Simpson wrote 'is just about possible,' but he cautioned against relying on it. He wrote that experience has shown that 'the addition of 30 to the averaged LHR [last heartwood ring of the dated samples]...usually produces an estimate fairly close to the actual felling date.'⁸⁴

spandrels cannot be determined from existing evidence.

80 Some of the evidence given below for the dating was summarized in Blum 1991, 31-36.

81 For the literature that discounted the evidence of the pennies, see *ibid.*, 23 n. 83. Bony interpreted the excavated foundations as referring specifically to the footing for the central column that was entirely rebuilt in the restorations of the 1850s. He therefore considered 1280 as the terminus ab quo for everything but the central column and vaulting, with a date of *ca.* 1275, ten years before his proposed date of the mid-1280s for the York chapter house: *idem* 1979, 15-16. But Burges reported on 'sundry pennies found in those *parts* [*italics mine*] of the foundations [*plural*] requiring underpinning.' That description seems more general than Bony's interpretation allows. During the restoration, Clutton not only took down and rebuilt the central column, he also stabilized the building by reinforcing the foundations and enlarging and recapping the buttresses. See below, Chapter 4.

82 See Chapter 1, pp. 12-14.

83 See Appendix B for Nottingham University Tree-Ring Dating Laboratory, 'Dendro sample record and summary, initial report, 31 August 1995,' 2. See also Simpson 1996, 89-91; and *idem* 1996a, 79, 81, in which the author unequivocally accepts the estimated date of 1265.

84 Simpson to Blum, 4 September and 4 October 1995.

The dendrochronological analysis therefore suggests that the timbers for roofing the chapter house were cut and shaped fifteen years earlier than the date proposed by the pennies for the laying of the foundation. According to Simpson, because of the hardness of seasoned oak, the timbers were usually shaped when still green and not given time to season. For the building to be ready for the roofing in 1265, construction would have started by ca. 1260 at the latest. That would put the completion of the chapter house a year before the cathedral was finally finished.⁸⁵ Tim Tatton-Brown has proposed 'that the whole cathedral complex (including the belfry, cloisters, chapter house and vestry/muniments room) was completed by 1266.'⁸⁶ Since the only two pieces of objective evidence contradict each other, evaluation of the plausibility of the two dates must take into consideration all other available data that might bear on the problem. Those data include the dates of fund-raising efforts, changing styles of foliate ornament, the most advanced forms of the molded profiles (bases, ribs, abaci and arches), as well as patterns in the grisaille windows and inlaid tiles. Evaluation of the dates of the chapter house should also include comparisons of architectural and ornamental details at Salisbury with similar ones in other securely dated monuments. That analysis will show that many of those decorative details fall comfortably into the decade of the 1280s while other details allow the earlier date. Consequently it may be necessary to settle for uncertainty.

Simpson's article correlating the documentary with the dendrochronological evidence for the

85 Salisbury, Bishops' Registers, Statua Roger de Mortivall, Sar. epi. A.D. 1319 fol. xxxii v. A marginal note states that the cathedral was finished on the 8 Kalends of April (March 25) in the year 1266. See also Jones 1880, 94.

86 Tatton-Brown to author, 6 November 1995. Also, in a recent article, *idem* 1995, 6, he suggested that the south transept arm and its doorway to the cloister in the west wall were built in the 1220s. His conclusion rested on the 'distinctive plinth with a roll molding above the chamfered plinth.' Tatton-Brown's dating places the depressed arch and the profile of the bases in the doorway with a triple roll as the topmost element twenty plus years before they made an appearance in king's works at Westminster abbey. Pevsner 1978b, 412; *idem* 1975, 406, identified the depressed arch as a Westminster motif, and Morris so identified the triple roll of the bases: see below, section on molded profiles. It seems unlikely that those motifs occurred first at Salisbury and went on to influence the king's works. For a different chronology of construction for the cathedral, the south transept doorway and the north wall of the north walk of the cloister based on concrete evidence in the masonry and on contemporary documents, see Blum 1991, 6-25; and for a discussion of the immediate influence of Westminster on the Salisbury design, see *ibid.*, 15, 21.

building sequence of Salisbury cathedral indicates that lapses of time have occurred between the felling date of timber and its use.⁸⁷ In his study of the cathedral timbers, eight samples were taken from the floor at the base of the lantern. Because many of the outer sapwood rings were missing from all of the samples, here too the analysis provided only an estimate. Six of the eight samples gave ca. 1250 as the estimated date of felling. The other two timbers sampled came from trees felled considerably earlier, in the mid 1220s. (One had a heartwood/sapwood boundary of 1181; the boundary of the other was 1204.) Since Simpson found no evidence of reused timbers in the floor, he cited 'considerable evidence [in the Lincoln cathedral roofs] for similar storage of timber and its use some years after its felling.'⁸⁸ We should therefore be alert to the possibility of elapsed time between the felling and the use of the timbers in the chapter house roof.

All critics agree that the chapter house forms an architectural entity with the cloister (Figs. 1 and 2). Apparently both belonged to the program anticipated by Bishop Walter de la Wyle's gift of land in 1263 to enlarge the cloister compound to the south.⁸⁹ As discussed above, thanks to Francis Price's telling observation that the masonry and buttresses of the bell tower, cloister and chapter house differed from those of the cathedral, we can link the three buildings technically.⁹⁰ The changes he remarked on in the masonry imply that the cloister and chapter house were not part of the same campaign as the cathedral or by the same workshop. Indeed, Bishop Walter's deed of 1263 makes it clear that the cloister had not yet been constructed by that date. His gift stipulated that it 'be suitably embellished, conforming in design and material to the church of Salisbury, and the same...be nobly joined to our cathedral church.'⁹¹ But an area allotted for the cloister was well enough known in the

87 Simpson 1996, 1-20.

88 Ibid., 10-11.

89 For the deed, its translation and evidence establishing the date of the deed as 1263, not 1248, see *ibid.*, 26-27. The year 1248, though still accepted by some scholars, is absolutely refuted by the signatures of three of the witnesses, the archdeacons 'S' (Simon de Bridport) and 'N' (Nicholaus de Capello) and subdeacon 'J' (John de Burton) who held those positions in 1263, but not in 1248.

90 Price 1753, 66-67. Nevertheless, Price attributed the bell tower to the first architect and deemed it essential for giving notice of the services.

91 Liber evidentiarius B. Charter no. 450, fol. 141r. See Blum 1991, 26-27 for the full text and translation.

1220s to provide a landmark in a deed of 1227.⁹² From that we may suppose a temporary enclosure, possibly with wattle fencing around the perimeter.

Without question, the plans for the cloister and chapter house were being formulated in 1263, and all critics agree that the king's new works at Westminster, especially the chapter house, influenced the design.⁹³ As noted elsewhere, bar tracery was first introduced into England at Westminster and made its initial appearance at Salisbury in the arcades along the cloister garth.⁹⁴ Yet fund-raising efforts for this campaign apparently did not begin until about four years after 1266, the documented date when the cathedral was finally completed. In 1270 Bishop Walter increased revenues by securing rights to hold another annual fair on the feast of St. Remigius (30 September to 6 October).⁹⁵ This represents a major means of increasing revenues. Then a flurry of indulgences between 1271 and 1277, plus the newly granted right for a second fair, suggest efforts to meet the financial needs of a building campaign in progress.⁹⁶ It also seems significant that there are no recorded fund-raising efforts or granting of indulgences for gifts to the fabric or for worshipping at Salisbury in the second half of the 1260s, and the few gifts in the first half of that decade specifically benefited some aspect of the cathedral proper.⁹⁷

Another series of indulgences granted in the 1280s and 1290s also suggest building activity at Salisbury. Although abuses abounded, indulgences granted in this period could be for particular occasions such as the launching of a building campaign. In 1280 and 1286 we find forty-day indulgences granted for gifts to the fabric, two more in 1291 for contributions to Salisbury and for worshipping there, another in 1296, again specifically for the Salisbury fabric, and one in 1299 for

92 Poole 1901, 1, 382. See also Blum 1991, 11 n. 35, 17-18.

93 For the building of the Westminster chapter house, begun in ca.1250 and completely furnished by ca. 1258, see Colvin 1963, 1, 138-43.

94 See Roberts 1983, 564, who noted that the canopy of Bishop Giles de Bridport's tomb (d. 1262) contained plate tracery only and therefore does not provide the first occurrence of bar tracery at Salisbury, as formerly believed. See also Tatton-Brown and Bowen 1991, 8, who pointed out the proto-bar tracery in a window of the great hall in the archbishop's palace at Canterbury in existence by 1248.

95 Ransome 1962, 124.

96 For a list of indulgences granted between 1271 and 1277, and their provisions, see Blum 1991, 27 n. 109.

97 Wordsworth 1898, 11-13, 18, 22.

worshippers at Salisbury.⁹⁸ Documented fund-raising efforts therefore suggest a second building campaign undertaken in ca. 1270 and continuing through the next decades.⁹⁹

A dubious reference to the year 1280 occurs in Godwin's early seventeenth-century catalogue of bishops of England. It contains a badly garbled entry recording an event at Salisbury: 'In this time, viz. the year 1280, upon Michealmasse day [29 September] the Cathedrall Church (upon what occasion I cannot tell) was again new hallowed by Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury.'¹⁰⁰ Although the chapter house is a consecrated building, we cannot assume Godwin's entry marked that event. First of all, Boniface who died in 1270 could not have presided, and the datelines of the letters of John Pecham, the primate in 1280, show him traveling from Huntingdonshire to Lincoln between 26 September and 6 October of that year.¹⁰¹ Presumably Godwin's entry represents a garbled transcription from some source no longer retrievable that mentioned a consecration ceremony taking place at Salisbury in 1280. Possibly it involved the laying of the foundation stones for the chapter house, but Godwin's errors make the entire entry suspect.

In 1276, as previously noted, the king granted the chapter permission to use stone from the Old Sarum.¹⁰² Although spolia from there can be found at the triforium level in the cathedral, evidence of reused stone from the Old Sarum first appeared in the cloister on the exterior of the south wall in the southeast corner bay.¹⁰³ Immediately thereafter, gargantuan twelfth-century blocks

98 Wordsworth 1913, 25-27:

'1280. 40 days granted by John [de Derlington], Abp. of Dublin, for the fabric of Salisbury Cathedral....

'1286. 40 days granted by William [de Breuse], Bp. of Llandaff, for the fabric of Salisbury....

'1291. 40 days, granted by Nicholas Longespee, Bp. of Sarum for contributors to Salisbury....

'1291. 40 days granted by Thomas Inglethorpe, Bp. of Rochester, for worshippers at Salisbury....

'1296. 40 days, granted by Walter de Langton, Bp. of Coventry and Lichfield, for Salisbury fabric....

'1299. 40 days, granted by Nic. (?Ric. de Ferings), Abp. of Dublin, to worshippers at Salisbury Cathedral...

'1305. 40 days, granted by John de Halneton, or Halghton, for Salisbury fabric.

99 See below, pp. 24-25.

100 Godwin 1601, 2, 279.

101 Daur's and Douie 1969, 1, xi; 1968, 2, 141.

102 Letter Patent of Edward I, 16 Dec. 1276. See Chapter 1, n. 45.

103 See Chapter 1 n. 46.

of limestone from Sarum formed the lower courses of masonry in the eastern bays of the south walk (Fig. 17). That reused ashlar in the first bays of the south walk coincided with an increased incidence of pseudo-naturalistic foliate forms in the bosses alongside the heretofore nearly ubiquitous stiff-leaf type.

The fund-raising efforts in the seventies and the king's grant of 1276 corroborate the chronology of construction in the cloister proposed by Nikolaus Pevsner. Basing his conclusions on stylistic changes in the foliage of the roof bosses, he observed that only the stiff-leaf type occurred on the bosses of the north walk, the first to be built (Fig. 18a). Along the east walk, the next one constructed, the bosses exhibit similar stiff-leaf forms, but a few botanically plausible leaves begin to intermingle in the southern bays of that walk, though much subordinate there to the overall patterns created by stylized foliage (Fig. 18b). Thereafter, the ratio of more naturalistic to stiff-leaf forms increases in the first seven bosses of the south walk (Figs. 3b and 19a-f).¹⁰⁴

The trend towards naturalistic representations of foliate forms for ornamental, not symbolic purposes originated in ca. 1240 in France, with Reims the focal point from which the style spread. In England naturalistic foliage appeared precociously at Lincoln, Westminster, and at Windsor in a few capitals and bosses, all dated between ca. 1240-1260.¹⁰⁵ The style spread slowly and did not begin to flourish in England until ca. 1275. From then on through the last quarter of the thirteenth century the older, stiff-leaf forms persisted usually in diminishing proportions alongside naturalistic or 'pseudo-naturalistic' vegetal forms. (The term 'pseudo-naturalistic' applies to the recognizable leaves that do not replicate organic growth.)¹⁰⁶ Indeed, stiff-leaf forms still appear on a boss at Exeter in St John's

¹⁰⁴ Pevsner 1963, 372, 378; 1975, 412, 419-20. For a stylistic analysis in greater detail of the bosses in the vaults along the cloister walks, see Blum 1978, 34-36; and idem 1991, 31-35.

¹⁰⁵ Stone 1955, 138. For excellent discussions of the geographical and intellectual origins of naturalistic foliage, see Pevsner 1945, 38-64. See also Gardner 1927; Wynn Reeves 1973. Givens 1985, 69-94, provides a comprehensive survey and analysis of the early pseudo-naturalistic forms, primarily found on bosses.

¹⁰⁶ Writing about the Gothic doorway from Moutiers-Saint-Jean, Forsyth 1979, 41-43 used the term 'pseudo-realism' to describe this type of leaf. Givens 1985, 5, distinguished between naturalistic, identifiable foliage that evokes the organic growth and character of a living plant, and other carvings that have a 'plausible "leafy" character, but which prove on close inspection to be ambiguous as to the plant

chapel dated roughly in the last two decades of the century.¹⁰⁷ They are comparable to stylized carving on one of the lintels supporting the arcade framing the canons' seats in the east bay of the Salisbury chapter house (Fig. 20d).

In the last decade of the century, botanical realism reached its apex in the rendering of the delicate, recognizable leaves on the capitals and moldings of the chapter house at Southwell minster, justly celebrated for their exquisitely carved, botanically correct specimens of leaves, flowers, fruits, nuts, and berries (Fig. 21).¹⁰⁸ That last stage, fully realized in the Southwell chapter house ca. 1293,¹⁰⁹ marked the moment before the introduction of undulating leaf forms which tended to undermine the realism (Fig. 3c). Along with that last change came a tendency to emphasize the overall pattern or composition at the expense of the individuality of each leaf. That concern with the overall design created by the distribution of leaves across the surface of the boss or capital is quite evident in the bosses of the chapter house at Wells, a building in progress in the 1290s and completed by 1307 (Fig. 22a).¹¹⁰ Yet we find an interesting comparison between some of the foliate capitals at the entrance to the Wells chapter house (Fig. 22b), and carved elements that have survived on the mutilated capitals of the colonnettes of the original central column from the Salisbury chapter house (Fig. 61c). (What remains of the column is now stored in the southwest corner of the cloister.) The strongly articulated stems from which large leaves spring are distinctive characteristics that they share. The strikingly prominent stems are found also in the capitals of the Wells Bishop's Palace Chapel of the 1290s and even on some of the capitals of the Salisbury chapter house blind arcade, particularly in the east bay. Although arranged in two tiers on the capitals of the Wells chapter house

reference.'

107 See Givens 1985, fig. IV: 6-2.

108 Although the dating of the rebuilding of the east end and choir of Exeter cathedral remains problematical, the program of naturalistic foliage sculpture in the retrochoir may be one of the earliest of that type, possibly dating from the 1270s. The architectural features of the new construction have been associated with the new style developed in London in the 1280s and 1290s: Bony 1979, 13, 16-17; and Givens 1985, 95-115.

109 Pevsner 1945, 9, cited a reference to funds ad fabricam novi capituli dated 1293.

110 On the dating of the Wells chapter house, see now Harvey 1982, 67-73, 76, 99.

entrance (Fig. 22b), the maple leaf forms there compare well with those of the central column. Those large leaves bridging the gap between the stiff-leaf capitals are the only ones still legible on the central column.

In effect, the bosses of the east and south walks at Salisbury paralleled the trend in England from the mid-1270s on, as the stiff-leaf foliage gradually yielded to pseudo-naturalistic flora. Then, in the bosses of the chapter house (Fig. 23a-h) we find more botanically accurate representations, and in the east bay of the octagon, we see beginnings of the concept of organic growth (Fig. 20a-c). Not until work resumed along the south walk, presumably after completion of the chapter house and foyer, do the proclivities typical of the 1290s appear at Salisbury. In the ninth bay we find the new style of undulating leaves spreading across the surface of the boss (Fig. 3c). A change in the molded profile of the capitals also marks the resumption of construction.¹¹¹

Foliate Forms in the Chapter House

In the chapter house, the capitals of the blind arcade continue in the stiff-leaf or English trefoil style that dominated for the first seven decades of the thirteenth century (Fig. 7). The cloister bosses of the first seven bays from the east along the south walk, especially the bosses in bays one, four, five, and seven (Figs. 3b and 19a, c, d, f), provide the closest comparisons both in composition and style with the bosses in the vaults of the chapter house (Fig. 23a, e, f, g). Yet none along the south walk equals the chapter house bosses in delicacy of form, depth of undercutting, intricacy of composition, and proliferation of pseudo-naturalistic forms. Nor do any in the chapter house appear as stylistically retardataire as those in the second and sixth bays of the south walk (Fig. 19b, e), which look back to the trefoiled, stiff-leaf and stylized vegetal motifs along the north and east walks. In the chapter house bosses, the carver seems to have refined his techniques and elaborated upon some designs that had already appeared in the south walk. The increased virtuosity of the carving there suggests a progression from work on the south walk to work in the

¹¹¹ The profile of the false abacus changed, and the cone of the capital between the scroll formation and the astragal became noticeably taller than those to the east (Text fig. IIIg, h).

chapter house, but such an hypothesis would be tenuous were it not for the half-finished boss in the eighth bay from the east, coupled with the discontinuous courses of masonry in the bay (Figs. 3a and 17). The break in construction is further underscored by significant changes in the profiles of the molded capitals of the colonnettes between the seventh and eighth bays compared with those between the eighth and ninth bays (Text fig. 1g, h). The interruption in work on the south walk seems to mark the beginning of work on the chapter house. With the king's gift and technical evidence proposing 1276 as the terminus post quem for the first seven and a half bays and bosses of the south walk, the date of 1280 proposed for the chapter house by the pennies becomes more credible than 1265. In addition, the consecration cross of the chapter house compares closely with the pinwheel boss in the fifth bay of the south walk which suggests that they were fairly close in date.¹¹²

Increasing in amount, but still ignoring the laws of nature, the pseudo-naturalistic foliage in the chapter house bosses sprouts from such highly stylized conventions as whorls, or pinwheels, and spokes organized around a hub (Fig. 23a, e, f). Botanically plausible forms resembling oak, ivy, and grape leaves appear side by side on the northeast boss (Fig. 23d), and the central element of the northwest boss resembles a ranunculus or the single blossom of a hawthorn cluster (Fig. 23b). The presence of berry clusters and capsular fruit in the same boss typifies the attitude of the artist who further complicated identifications here and elsewhere by the random juxtaposition of different types of leaves (some still stylized) with the nuts, fruits, and flowers. In general, however, the quatrelobed, cinquelobed, and hexalobed leaves found in nature have displaced the trefoil. The artist was awake to nature and aware of the new trend towards carving plausible botanical forms. Yet the multifoiled, dissected, and compound leaf-types that provided him with models did not necessarily inspire him to render them literally.

Although stiff-leaf foliage prevails in the capitals of the blind arcade and the inner doorway of the chapter house, pseudo-naturalistic forms also occur at eye-level, but so inconspicuously that they have gone unnoticed.¹¹³ On both faces of the inner doorway, carved in the spandrels of the

¹¹² For an illustration of the consecration cross, see Blum 1991, fig. 23.

¹¹³ Pevsner 1963, 381; 1975, 421, mistakenly described the foliage in the chapter house as exclusively stiff-

Purbeck marble cusps, looping fronds sprout realistic leaves. Without the flowers, again identification lacks certainty, but the foliage resembles that of the ranunculus, of several members of the composite family (field daisy, mugwort, and wormwood), the rose, the mustard, and the corydalis (Figs. 16 and 24a, b). Even on the volutes of some of the cusps, naturalistic forms have supplanted the once ubiquitous stiff-leaf trefoil. Across the chapter house in the eastern bay, the artist responsible for the stiff-leaf capitals also participated in the new trend. Branching from the same cluster of stems supporting the stiff-leaf volutes of the capitals, grape leaves with fruit clusters spread across some of the lintels that carry the deeply recessed arches above the dignitaries' seats; and in the same bay, sprouting organically from broken twigs, leaves and fruit of the fig cling to the surface of the lintel (Fig. 20a, b). Another has leaves resembling the common hawthorn (Fig. 20c). Yet on the far right and left, the lintels display trefoil leaves in stylized compositions (Fig. 20d). Because each stiff-leaf capital is carved from the same block as the lintel behind it, we have to conclude that the same bold hand was responsible for both styles of ornament in that bay.

In the roof bosses, fanciful beasts, drolleries, and winged serpents with human heads and foliate tails inhabit and encircle the pseudo-naturalistic foliage. Again, above the blind arcade over the inner entrance, similar creatures undulate and intertwine, their tails terminating in both naturalistic and stylized leaves (Fig. 25). The sinuous bodies of the serpents and the earthy antics of the 'babuineries' typify a trend well recognized in manuscripts that was also current in sculpture from 1275 to 1310. The period was distinguished by a veritable 'incursion of grotesques executed with vigor and naturalism...a profusion of "babuineries" ...a term used to describe grotesques, dancers, jugglers, and small animals performing human acts.'¹¹⁴ William Burges, having seen the rim of the boss in the northwest bay from scaffolding (Fig. 23b), wrote: 'Each of three divisions into which it [the boss] is separated by ribs is occupied by a grotesque group of figures...respectively the armourers, musicians, and the apothecaries....The figures, although similar in style to those below, exhibit a vast

leaf.

¹¹⁴ For a good discussion of the invasion of foliate forms by babouins between 1275 and 1300, see Pankhurst 1976: 154-60.

difference in their execution, inasmuch as every feature is marked and distorted in the strongest manner. Indeed, concerning one group (viz., the musicians), the less said the better, for the artist has by no means confined himself within the bounds of decency.¹¹⁵

Molded Profiles

Like the sculptural ornament, the most advanced profiles of moldings in the chapter house are consonant with a date of 1280. In evaluating the moldings, we will consider not only the most advanced motifs in the building, but also those known to have had continuing use at Salisbury, but not at other monuments until the last decades of the thirteenth century.

For example, in ca. 1245, Westminster had introduced the scroll motif on capitals in the first or easternmost work (Text fig. 1a). That design did not achieve general use elsewhere until the decade of the 1280s.¹¹⁶ The scroll motif therefore numbers among up-to-date elements in buildings of that decade. At Wells, the scroll motif prevails on the capitals throughout both the vestibule and main chamber of the chapter house (1286 sqq.), and in the chapel of the bishop's palace (ca. 1290).¹¹⁷ Although Richard K. Morris advised that the consistent use of scroll moldings remained rare until that time, he saw no reason why they should not have begun to appear in fashionable

¹¹⁵ Burges 1859, 162.

¹¹⁶ Morris 1979, 20-21, and fig. 16. See also R.C.H.M.E. 1924, 94-95.

¹¹⁷ Morris to author, 6 Sept. 1979. On the dating of the hall of the bishop's palace at Wells and the vestibule and main chamber of the chapter house, see also idem 1974, 32-36; and for the scroll capitals, esp. 32-33 and fig. 5, and below, n. 58. The dating of the vestibule presents problems, and opinions differ. For a summary of earlier opinions, see Givens 1985, 118 nn. 35, 36.

My analysis of the Salisbury moldings depended heavily on comparisons made by Morris in his computerized files of molded profiles and his comments to the author, 16 July 1979, concerning profiles he took of the tracery, ribs, and capitals in the east bay of the chapter house. His are the only profiles available to date from the upper level of the building, and I am most grateful to him for allowing their publication. His letters conveyed his initial impressions. Also indispensable to this evaluation, Morris's articles have provided reliable comparative details. See also Morris 1978, 18-57, and *ibid.* 1979, 1-48.

I am also much indebted to Virginia Jansen for comments on the dating of comparative details and for the opportunity to study her paper on dying moldings delivered at the Fifteenth International Congress of Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, in 1980. See now, Jansen 1982, 35-45. The methods and interpretations of both correspondents have informed my analysis, but the conclusions are my own.

works soon after they were seen at Westminster, as indeed they did at Salisbury.

In fact, the Salisbury designer adopted the detail almost immediately. Along with other Westminster design elements, the scroll motif occurred on capitals in the Early English corridor or passageway leading from the south arm of the main transept into the north walk of the cloister--work dated to ca. 1246-7 (Text fig. Ib)¹¹⁸--as well as on the capitals of the blind arcade along the three cloister walks constructed as proposed above in the 1270s (Text fig. Ic, g). We find the scroll motif next in the chapter house on approximately half of the abaci of the foliate capitals in the blind arcade framing the canons' seats (Text fig. Id). The rest had abaci formed by a plain roll with a deeply undercut hollow beneath (Text fig. Id' variant). At the upper level, the scroll motif occurs on a few of the capitals of the springers between the northeast and eastern bays (Text fig. VI, no. 839); also on the astragal of the capital of the blind arcade in the chapter house foyer (Text fig. Ie, f). For the capital supporting the transverse arch dividing the east and west bays of the foyer (Text fig. If), the profile of the molding above the cone anticipates the wave moldings of the fourteenth century. Because of the early occurrence of the scroll motif at Salisbury in ca. 1247 and its continuous use on the capitals of the blind arcade from the beginning of the second campaign in the cloister, its presence at all levels of the chapter house, although consonant with work in the 1280s, would have been just as possible in the 1260s.

The profiles of the bases prove equally ambiguous for bringing precision to the dating. The dominant design used at Westminster soon after 1245¹¹⁹ had an immediate impact on the molded bases at Salisbury. Beginning in the doorway in the south arm of the main transept, the typical Westminster triple roll appeared in ca. 1246 as the upper element on bases of the shafts on the portal in the west wall that opened into the one-bay Early English passageway (Text fig. IIa), and in the same campaign, continued throughout the corridor proper (Text fig. IIb, c, d). With minor variations, the triple roll recurred as the top member of the bases of the blind arcade along the cloister walks in the work of the 1270s (Text fig. IIe), and informed the design of the bases

¹¹⁸ Blum 1991, 15-21.

¹¹⁹ R.C.H.M.E. 1924, 20, 94-95.

throughout the chapter house and foyer (Text fig. II f, g, h, j, k). The various forms used for the central and lower members of the bases also followed Westminster profiles--forms derived either from the bases of small shafts in the muniments room or from those in the vestibule to the Westminster chapter house (Text fig. II j).¹²⁰ So again the evidence is inconclusive.

Because of its early appearance at Salisbury, another architectural detail known as a dying molding also offers ambiguous evidence for dating. Typically in that formation, a molded element of the rib or arch dies or fades into the wall or springer. The motif appeared in the earliest work at Salisbury on the springers of the easternmost piers of the presbytery (Fig. 26).¹²¹ That work belonged to the 1220-1225 campaign encompassing the eastern chapels, rectangular ambulatory, and easternmost piers of the choir.¹²² The precocious appearance of dying moldings at Salisbury has led to the speculation that they actually had their genesis in the eastern portions of the cathedral.¹²³ Described as a court mannerism of the 1270s, moldings that die into the springer block did not achieve widespread usage until the 1280s.¹²⁴ But at Salisbury the reappearance of dying moldings in the chapter house in the springers above the central column apparently represents a renewed interest in an indigenous design at a time when it was enjoying general acceptance (Fig. 5a). Thus, though consonant with a 1280s date, the dying moldings of the vaulting ribs could also have been revived in the 1260s and thus fail as a definitive detail in dating the chapter house.

120 The early appearance of molded profiles following Westminster designs offers additional support for the proposal that Bishop William de Eboraco (York) (1246-1256), the king's chaplain, and his appointed official, magister Nicolaus de Eboraco (ca. 1247-ca. 1260), with knowledge of the building underway at Westminster abbey, provided the catalyst for changes in design details in the nave that show the influence of the king's works: Blum 1991, 21.

121 See Jansen 1982, 35-38. The study includes a discussion of the dying moldings in the choir, transepts, and nave of Salisbury cathedral. In the last, she noted how the forms were modified as work progressed westward. She also remarked on their presence in Giles de Bridport's tomb (ca. 1262), in the cloister in the 1270s and then again in the chapter house. See also Bony 1979, 14, 16, and 76, n. 22.

122 Jansen 1982, 38-39.

123 *Ibid.*, 44.

124 Bony 1979, 14, 16. In France, dying moldings appeared in ca. 1230-1240, almost simultaneously with their first appearance at Salisbury, and, as in England, did not become popular until the 1270s and 1280s: *ibid.*, 76 n. 22.

At Salisbury, the roll molding with central fillet and flanking rolls proves a more telling detail than the others. That motif used at Westminster in the eastern parts, transepts, and in the vestibule to the chapter house appears in the termination of the main ribs of the Salisbury chapter house (Text fig. VII, no. 840). The same formation also occurs in the undercroft of the chapter house at Wells, part of the chapter house complex traditionally assigned to the prelacy of Bishop Jocelyn (d. 1242), but now given a later date in the 1260s. That recent revision makes the Westminster examples the earliest of that type known in England.¹²⁵ The profile remained popular at Wells into the fourteenth century, especially for ribs and mullions. Morris compared the detail at Salisbury with the main rib termination in the vestibule of the Wells chapter house (1286 sqq.) and in the chapel of the bishop's palace (1280s or early 1290s; Text fig. VIIIa, b).¹²⁶ In the Wellsian examples, the demi-roll and fillet occurred in conjunction with the terminal motif, but in the Salisbury rib, we find instead the asymmetrical roll and fillet with canted half-roll. The demi-roll and fillet also appeared in the Salisbury chapter house in other contexts. That profile occurs on the wall rib (Text fig. VII, no. 842), and again, on the lower level in the moldings of the arches of the blind arcade framing the canons' seats (Text fig. IIIb), as well as in the outer order of limestone moldings on the arches of the inner entrance to the chapter house (Text fig. IIIa).¹²⁷ The closest parallel for the profile of the Salisbury wall rib occurs not at Wells, but at St. Mary's Abbey, York, in the wall rib of the nave aisle

¹²⁵ Morris to author, 16 July 1979.

¹²⁶ For a review of the problem of dates for the Wells chapter house, its stairway, and vestibule, as well as for the chapel and hall of the bishop's palace, see Draper, 1981, 18-20. Draper argued for 1263 as the terminus post quem for every part of the chapter house complex (crypt and stairway), more than twenty years later than the date proposed for the undercroft by Colchester and Harvey 1974, 205. Draper's dating is not inconsistent with the 1286 document referring to the 'new building begun long since.' Draper would have the chapel in the bishop's palace dated nearer to 1290 than in the mid-1280s, preceded, as is generally agreed, by the staircase, entrance archway, and vestibule of the chapter house up to the level of the capitals.

¹²⁷ Forrester 1972, 14, proposed 1220-1300 as the dating range for the popularity of that motif. Its appearance dwindled in the fourteenth century, but regained favor and flourished between 1400 and 1500.

(1280s; Text fig. IXa).¹²⁸ Taken as a group, the several comparisons with Wells and St. Mary's support a construction date for the Salisbury octagon in the 1280s but do not rule out 1265.

Other molded details reinforce the later date. In the window tracery, the formation of the termination of the arch surmounting each pair of lancets consists of a roll and fillet flanked directly by canted roll and fillet moldings (Text figs. IV and VI no 834). The detail recurs in the chapter house foyer, where the hexafoil of the blind arcade is tangent to the arch (Text fig. IIIId).¹²⁹ Another motif common to Wells and Westminster, the undulating roll and hollow molding carved on a chamfer plane, was also used in the Salisbury chapter house for ribs (Text figs. IV and VI nos. 833-35), and in the foyer on the jamb of the door to the staircase in the north wall (Text fig. IIIIf). Again, Wells provides valid comparisons dated in the latter part of the century. We find the same formation at Wells in the frames of the chapter house windows on both the interior and exterior (work in progress in the 1290s).¹³⁰

Although the narrow comparisons cited above involve specific formations found at Westminster and Wells, the profiles at Salisbury were handled conservatively, in a manner reminiscent of the earlier work at Westminster. More general comparisons of molded profiles in those two works indicate that the Westminster moldings made a more refined statement. There the profiles generally have narrower fillets, as well as bead and keel moldings, elements introduced to achieve a sharper outline and to break up the flowing line of undulating roll and hollow formations. At Wells, there is also a different flavor. In the vestibule and main chamber of the chapter house, the

128 On the dating of St. Mary's Abbey, see Pevsner 1972, 112-13. Begun in 1271 at the east end, work progressed rapidly so that the crossing tower was in progress by 1278. That suggests a date in the 1280s for a wall rib of the nave. For a sampling of profiles, see also Bond 1905, repr. 1972, 661, 671, 676. Bond gave 1296 for the termination of the work: *ibid.*, 657. Pevsner 1972, 113, simply stated, 'All this is decidedly late 13C and not later.'

129 For a discussion of forms such as this from which the double ogee molding probably evolved, see Morris 1978, 35. As a rule of thumb for differentiating between a proto-double ogee molding and a true double ogee formation, he wrote that the latter must look like 'Two coherent double-ogee moldings rather than a group of three roll-based moldings.'

130 Morris to author, 16 July 1979.

elements shared with Salisbury occurred in a more modern context.¹³¹ The conservative character of the Salisbury profiles becomes apparent by comparing their undulating movement with spacing and rhythms found before the middle of the century, for example, at Lincoln in the moldings of the nave, and with those of the 1270s in the Lincoln presbytery (Text fig. IXb).¹³²

A very unusual element shared by Wells and Salisbury acts as the joint between two moldings in the blind arcade framing the canons' seats (Text fig. IIIc). This curious motif shaped like an ogee arch also appears at Wells in the arcades between the retrochoir and Lady Chapel (ca. 1306), and again later in the clerestory of the Wells choir and in St. Mary Redcliffe, south porch. Morris stressed the strong links between Wells, Salisbury, and Exeter, which these chapter house moldings have helped to document.¹³³

When work at Salisbury resumed in the foyer, construction began where the masonry of the 1270s broke off at the corner. The masonry beds of the south wall are discontinuous not only with the courses of the 1270s which turned the corner and then ceased abruptly, but also with the patterned beds in the abutting southwest bay of the chapter house. The linkage of the south wall of the foyer with the octagon is awkward with the buttress between the west and southwest bays of the chapter house crowding the eastern bay of the foyer. Adjustments were needed to accommodate the oculus in that bay to the available space (Fig. 27).

In summary, the most advanced elements in the chapter house moldings when compared with other monuments support dating proposed by the pennies in the 1280s. But the uninterrupted

131 The more advanced details at Wells include ogee mouldings, the ballflower motif, the three-scroll capital typical of the Decorated period, and overall, a greater delicacy in the tracery. For a discussion of Wellsian characteristics, see Morris 1974, 33-36.

132 St. Hugh's body was translated to the presbytery in 1280. Although work continued in the eastern complex into the fourteenth century, 1280 is the date traditionally assigned to the eastern wall: Pevsner and Harris 1978, 105, 114, and 116.

133 The evidence of the strong affinity between Wells and Salisbury accumulates and deserves more extensive treatment. In commenting on the affinity, Morris wrote that there probably had been a 'frequent exchange of masons (note, e.g. William de Schokerwyche/Schoverville...who went from Salisbury to Exeter in 1311; Harvey 1987, 239, master mason, Salisbury, who visited Exeter); also Thomas of Whitney, who went from Winchester to Exeter, then probably to Wells about the same time.'

occurrence at Salisbury of two Westminster motifs from 1247 on, and the analysis characterizing the moldings as generally conservative could argue for the earlier date. Yet, however conservative the overall design, the most advanced elements in the molded profiles seem to anticipate motifs that had currency in the fourteenth century. In reflecting the practices and innovations of the last two decades of the thirteenth century, those details seem to chart a slow pace for the second campaign and make it difficult to accept a date of 1265 for the roofing of the building which, in order to stabilize the walls, had to precede the building of the vaults.

Grisaille and Inlaid Tiles

The literature has not achieved a consensus on the dating of the glass. In what is still the most authoritative study, Charles Winston concluded that the glass could not possibly be earlier than 1270-1280, as did William Lethaby.¹³⁴ Winston supported his dating with diagrams of the geometrical forms of the grisaille that overlap in depth.¹³⁵ Basing his proposal on the heraldry, Canon Fletcher proposed a date in ca. 1280, but using the same criterion, Hugh Shortt proposed a date of 1268.¹³⁶ N.H.J. Westlake thought the grisaille could be even later than 1280.¹³⁷ His

¹³⁴ Winston 1851, 130, 140-46, 149-51; and Lethaby 1925, 1972, 234-42.

By 1849 Winston had located all the glass in the cathedral windows that had been removed from the chapter house. Some of the locations he gave no longer obtain because of changes made during re-leading work in 1922 and again in 1947, when the old glass was reinstalled after having been dismounted and stored during World War II. The figural panels from the tracery of the chapter house windows were first set into the great west lancets of the nave, but are now in the south aisle, left lancet, third bay from the west. The grisaille from the chapter house formerly in the east window of the north aisle was relocated in 1947 in the lancets of the Trinity Chapel where it replaced Victorian glass (Quirk 1947, 5-6 and plates). In 1980 the grisaille gave place to modern glass designed by Gabriel Loire of Chartres: Spring 1987, 108-109. That author's surmise that a panel survived from the Old Sarum (*ibid.*, 111) runs counter to the history of painted glass in England in the twelfth century. An earlier publication described and located glass dating from various restorations through the centuries: Spring 1973.

¹³⁵ For the diagram, see Winston 1851, pl. II, fig. 1.

¹³⁶ Fletcher 1930, 253; Shortt 1958, 21.

¹³⁷ Westlake 1881, 1, 140-41. Also using that armorial glass to date the building, Shortt proposed a date between 1263 and 1268 for construction of the building: Shortt 1958, 16-21. His early dating demonstrates the difficulties inherent in assigning a date on the basis of the heraldry. As experts agree, 'Most medieval Rolls of Arms suffer from the defect that...they are retrospective in character': Denholm-

conclusion also rested on the complicated, overlapping geometrical forms in the windows and the presence of some foliage that overruns the limits of the geometrical patterns (Figs. 28a, b), both dominant characteristics of grisaille towards the close of the century.¹³⁸ Neither of those later tendencies was in evidence in grisaille surviving from the 1250s and 1260s at Westminster (Fig. 29). Westlake based his dating on comparisons with grisaille probably from the Westminster chapter house, which he concluded had predated the Salisbury chapter house glass by about twenty years. Although the foliate designs compared well, at Westminster there was no overlapping of either geometric or foliate forms. Then, too, after close analysis of the grisaille panel from a window of the chapter house in the Raymond Pitcairn collection (Fig. 28a) and comparisons with other English grisaille, Jane Hayward, the late curator of medieval glass at The Cloisters, New York, concluded that the glass was made well into the 1280s.¹³⁹ Most recently, though without any stylistic and technical analyses of the grisaille, the survey of English glass by Richard Marks suggested a date in the 1260s.¹⁴⁰

Dating of tiles presents difficulties because even when documents provide dates for a building, the installation of the tiles may have occurred sometime after the documented construction date. Along with nineteenth-century drawings recording the patterns used in the chapter house,¹⁴¹ some tiles removed during the mid nineteenth-century restorations have survived (Fig. 30). Relaid in the east bay of the north aisle of the church, they pave an area nine by four feet. Elizabeth Eames proposed a date in the late thirteenth century for two of the designs and assumed they came from the kiln at Clarendon.¹⁴² We find among those preserved in the north aisle installation both the addorsed birds separated by a conventional tree with stiff leaf foliage, all set diagonally on the tile and what

Young 1965, 12.

138 Westlake 1881, 1, 140-41. See also a drawing by Burges of the same pattern in the Glencairn panel which he noted was used in four of the windows: London, R.I.B.A., Drawings Collection, Sketchbook 66, p. 81.

139 Glencairn Museum, Bryn Aethn, Pa., Inv. no. 03.SG.218: Hayward, Cahn *et al.* 1982, cat. no. 90, 229-31.

140 Marks 1993, 141-43.

141 See Shaw 1858, pls 23 and 24; Stevens 1936, 366 fig. 5, 370 pl. 3, reproduced in Shaw's drawings; and J. Carter, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 29939, 70-72.

142 Eames 1959, 220-21.

Eames described as 'four fleur-de-lys springing from the corners of a central square containing a pierced quatrefoil'. These and other chapter house patterns have been found in Wiltshire at Stanley Abbey (ca. 1280); Corsham Court (late thirteenth-century); the Queen's Chamber at Clarendon Palace (1250-1252); Britford; Ivychurch; St. Nicholas Hospital, Salisbury (completed in ca. 1245); Amesbury (ca. 1279),¹⁴³ and in the muniments room of the cathedral, now the choir practice room, which critics generally date after the chapter house.¹⁴⁴

Dated by royal grants of rights to timber in 1231 and 1235, the thirteenth-century building program at St. Nicholas Hospital probably neared completion in ca. 1245, by which time Bishop Robert de Bingham could make a reference to the Vetus Hospitale towards the north. Another pertinent monument, the Queen's Chamber at Clarendon Palace, reliably dated soon after 1245, was excavated by Professors Borenius and Charleton before World War II. The floor tiles of the chamber had many patterns identical to those in the chapter house floor. They included lions and griffins in floriated circles and birds addorsed, regardant. Although the muniments room of the cathedral lacks a precise date, most agree with a dating in the late thirteenth century. Until recently a wooden floor protected and completely hid the tiled pavement. That floor, intact and unrestored, replicates most, but not all, of the designs from the chapter house. Some inlaid tiles also survive on the landings or stagings of the circular stairway leading to the room, as well as on the sills and embrasures of the

143 Shaw 1858, pls. 23, 24; Stevens 1936, 365-66. More recently, Eames 1960, 220-22; and idem 1972, 74, dated the chapter house tiles in the late 1270s and attributed similar tiles at Corsham Court to the late thirteenth century. See also Pevsner 1963, 162; 1978, 180; Edwards 1956, 343-44; and Chettle and Kirby 1956, 273, on the dating of the Hospital of St Nicholas, Salisbury. Styles 1965, 289, cited royal grants from 1236 to 1271 to the Priory of Ivychurch, a range suggesting more than one building campaign, rather than a single one. Pugh 1956, 246, indicated that grants to Amesbury abbey for the thirteenth-century building program occurred over an extended period.

144 Anonymous 1961, 21-24 compared the chapter house and muniment tiles. After proposing a date for the chapter house, between 1263 and 1271, the author puts the muniment room, an after thought, in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). Taking exception to that dating, Tatton-Brown concluded that this structure was completed by 1266. See above p. 6.

The paving of the east end of Winchester cathedral was undertaken sometime between 1260 and 1280. In the thirteenth-century retrochoir of Winchester cathedral, a fragmentary pavement containing tiles with patterns similar to those at Salisbury is dated ca. 1270, and another inserted panel dated to ca. 1250 containing lions and griffins originally belonged in the Lady Chapel: Norton 1980, 78-82, and pl. 22, 23.

stairway windows.

Those various monuments establish a range of more than forty years for the occurrence of the same patterns, and would allow either 1265 or 1280 for dating the chapter house. But to judge from the loss of clarity in outlines, some of the wooden forms used to impress designs on the extant tiles from the chapter house had seen long service--a valid reason for dating the pavement towards the end of the period. Yet, most recently Norton favored the earlier date in the 1260s for the tiles. He saw them as 'the direct successors of the ca. 1250 [Clarendon] workshop.'¹⁴⁵ He also noted that many questions about the relation of the Salisbury tiles to those at Clarendon have yet to be answered.¹⁴⁶ Norton found uncertainties remaining as to whether there was a second kiln at Clarendon, whereas Eames's late dating of two of the chapter house designs is consonant with the terminus post quem of 1280 proposed by the pennies.

In effect, opinions of the experts diverged when it came to dating both the inlaid tiles and grisaille. With the proposed dates ranging from the 1260s to the 1280s, the evaluation of glass and tiles has not dispelled uncertainties about the date of the chapter house. Yet Winston's close analysis with diagrams demonstrating how the geometric forms in the grisaille overlapped in depth is congruent with a later dating.

In summary, in 1263 the deed by which Bishop Walter de la Wyle gave land to enlarge the cloister precinct specifically stated that the cloister was to 'be suitably embellished, conforming in design and material to the church of Salisbury.'¹⁴⁷ That statement tells us unequivocally that the cloister had not yet been built in 1271. The bishop also enunciated his conservative attitude with respect to the cloister's design. He asked that it be constructed to harmonize with the stone and design of the cathedral, just as preference for visual unity and stylistic harmony had prevailed throughout the building of the cathedral over a forty-year period. This conservatism could explain the stylistic continuity in the design of the cloister and chapter house despite a protracted chronology

¹⁴⁵ Norton 1996, 95-100.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 98.

¹⁴⁷ See above, n. 89.

of construction.

Recently, Paul Williamson concluded that the evidence for a post-1279 date for the chapter house date was 'far from watertight.' He concluded that 'the closeness of the design to the Westminster chapter house, the practical necessity for a meeting place for the chapter, and the style of the head stops, the Purbeck marble stiff-leaf capitals¹⁴⁸ and stained glass, all suggest an earlier date, perhaps in the 1260s.'¹⁴⁹ His arguments restate in summary the reasons others have given for dating of the building in the 1260s. And this the dendochronological analysis now seems to reinforce.

Yet that conclusion does not take into account the more naturalistic foliate forms in the chapter house that occur alongside the stiff leaf capitals in the eastern bay, the botanically plausible foliage in the bosses, geometric patterns in the grisaille that overlap in depth, or the most advanced molded profiles, none of which is compatible with a date in the 1260s. The same may be said for the Purbeck marble naturalistic foliate details of the inner portal, notably in the spandrels of the cinquefoiled arches and on volutes terminating the cusps of the foliage on the capitals. (Figs. 16a, b and 24a, b). As for the label stops, stunning in their variety, the heads quite defy dating (Figs. 8a-f and 9a, b). They range from many that seem like portraiture to boldly caricatured male heads, idealized women's faces, and even include a classicized male head (Fig. 8c) that suggests the artist's knowledge of sculpture from Antiquity (or perhaps French interpretations of it). Unlike the Purbeck heads in the cathedral, those in chapter house were carved in limestone by sculptors gifted with a remarkable and timeless talent. The most datable aspect would be the coiffures and headdresses, both male and female, which are typical of the last quarter of the century. Then too, in the discussion to come of figure and drapery style in the Old Testament scenes, we will find mannerist tendencies

148 Except for the inner entrance to the chapter house, all of the capitals in the building are carved of limestone.

149 Williamson 1995, 287 n. 71.

and reflections of the Paris Court style that did not become truly exportable until the 1270s. Probably those ideas were best carried abroad by ivory carvings of that decade.¹⁵⁰

Decorative elements generally offer artists the greatest leeway to experiment and therefore tend to contain the most up-to-date and innovative details, as, for example, the marginalia of manuscripts. Where the artists did not have to perpetuate established iconographical traditions, they enjoyed greater freedom of expression. Thus, for purposes of dating, ornament can prove quite telling. The inconspicuous locations of naturalistic foliage could reflect the conservative resolve of the chapter not to deviate from the original plan formulated in 1263. Had the chapter house been completed by ca. 1265, the amount of naturalistic foliage we find there would have been extraordinarily precocious. The same would have been equally true of the most advanced molded profiles and the overlapping designs of the grisaille. When the fund-raising efforts that did not begin until 1270 are also considered, it becomes as difficult to dismiss the 1280 date proposed by the pennies as it is to accept the earlier date of 1265. The accumulated evidence favors a date sometime after 1270 which is certainly not incompatible with the range of dates proposed by the analysis of the timbers. Nevertheless, the date that work began and the year of completion still remain uncertain.

The Final Phase of the Second Campaign

Three indulgences granted in 1286 and 1291 indicate continuing efforts to augment the fabric fund, presumably for works in progress. Bishop William of Llandaff issued an indulgence of forty days for gifts to the fabric at Salisbury. Again for contributions, Nicholas Longspee, Bishop of Sarum, also granted forty-day indulgences. A third indulgence in the same year was granted by the Bishop Thomas Inglethorpe of Rochester.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter 11.

¹⁵¹ Wordsworth 1913, 25, and above n. 93. In addition, a writ of Edward I to the Barons of the Exchequer directed them to pay the fines and amercements due the dean and chapter (in accordance with a grant

After completion of the chapter house foyer, perhaps following a pause, the final phase of the second building program began. Possibly the indulgences granted for contributions to the fabric and worshippers at the cathedral from 1291 to 1305 were designed to bring in funds for this phase of construction in the cloister.¹⁵² It involved the extension to the west of both the north and south walks of the cloister, as well as the construction of a west walk to complete the quadrangle.¹⁵³ If work resumed in the 1290s along the south walk as suggested by the undulating style of foliage in the western bays (Fig. 3c), then turned the corner into the west walk, construction probably dragged on into the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁴ In fact, the west walk was not even paved before the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁵ The later style of many of the bosses along the walk (Fig. 30a-c), indicates that a new hand had come onto the scene, one less adroit than those responsible for the bosses along the south walk and in the chapter house.

The halting progress of that last phase of the campaign may well have mirrored the state of affairs in the see. Exactions and interference by the pope were increasing. Pluralism (*i.e.*, one appointee holding numerous positions, often in widely scattered locales) and promotions and appointments, often to foreigners, made as favors granted by Rome, led to abuses that probably depleted cathedral coffers. Rebukes for non-residence of canons, suspensions for neglect of duties, and even a reprimand for failure to repair 'certain manifest defects' in the cathedral give evidence of the deteriorating situation at Salisbury.¹⁵⁶

Despite those difficulties, the second campaign achieved two buildings that belong on the list of the finest architectural achievements in the geometric phase of the Decorated style. They owe their

made by Henry III) ad sustentationem et conservationem fabricae.

152 See above, n. 98.

153 On the enlargement of the cloister to the west see, Blum 1991, 30-31. Tatton-Brown, who allowed me to see his notes on the masonry of the north end of the west walk of the cloister, originally dated construction of the west walk at the end of the thirteenth century, but has since taken the view that both cloister and chapter house were completed by 1265.

154 Blum 1991, 26-37; and Pevsner 1963, 379; 1975, 419.

155 Excerpt from letter of Dean Pierce, 1683, saying that he recommended paving the fourth walk of the cloister which was 'hitherto unpaved.' Fisher Papers.

156 Jones 1880, 114-18.

harmonious proportions and visual unity to the plan formulated in ca. 1263 and, to judge by breaks in the masonry coursing along the cloister walks and striking changes in the style of the roof bosses, slowly implemented. Whether the pennies from the reign of Edward I found beneath the foundations of the chapter house provide the terminus post quem for the start of construction there, or the felling of the timbers provide a terminus ante quem, there can be no doubt about the protracted chronology of the second campaign.

The Iconographical Program

Despoiled in the sixteenth century by the removal of much of the glass, then marred by deliberate mutilation of the sculpture in the next century during the Civil Wars, the thirteenth-century program again suffered irretrievable losses in the early nineteenth century. Although no record of that work exists in the archives, severely mutilated vestiges of relief sculptures on both faces of the inner entrance were completely eliminated. Nevertheless, with the aid of pre-restoration drawings, enough remains to enable us to reconstruct the original iconographical plan, one perfectly suited to the uses and symbolic meaning of the building itself. The program encompassed the sculpture on both faces of the inner doorway, the sixty Old Testament scenes in the spandrels of the wall arcade, the heraldic devices set into the grisaille in the lancets of the eight bays, and the figurate glass in the tracery above those lights.

On the west or vestibule side of the doorway, the inner order of the enframing arch contains fourteen niches with statuettes depicting the Virtues and Vices in combat.¹⁵⁷ Damages and losses to the figures recorded by J. Carter (Fig. 32) and F. P. Cockerell in pre-restoration drawings were repaired in the mid-1850s.¹⁵⁸ Beneath trefoiled canopies surmounted by villes sur arcatures (Fig. 4), elegant and erect figures of the Virtues, having conquered the Vices, inflict hideous and appropriate punishments on them. Fortunately, the surviving polychromy gives assurance that the hand of the restorer was fairly restrained, making these figures the best preserved and least restored of any in the

¹⁵⁷ On the iconography of the Virtues and Vices, see Green 1968, 148-58.

¹⁵⁸ Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 29939, p. 92; and R.I.B.A Drawings Collection, Box H 10.

building.

Unfortunately, no traces of the figurate sculpture in the tympanum have survived. By the mid-nineteenth century, when William Burges made his notes on condition, the two figures that originally occupied the central niche had completely disappeared. But another of Carter's drawings recorded vestiges of the sculptures still visible in the first decade of the century (Fig. 33). The sketch depicts two badly damaged, seated figures symmetrically placed beneath the five-cusped arch and supported by a wide foliate socle (the latter still extant). As sketched, the composition evokes the traditional imagery of the Coronation of the Virgin. The figure on the left represents the Virgin who is seated on Christ's right. His gesture provides the crucial evidence for establishing the iconography. The stump of his raised right arm is reaching towards the Virgin's head.¹⁵⁹ More than a century earlier, the imagery for the Triumph and the Coronation of the Virgin had evolved from the Feast of the Assumption. After the Virgin's bodily assumption into Heaven, Christ had elevated her to share his throne. In Carter's sketch of the tympanum, he is placing the crown on her head to claim her as his bride. Christ and his bride, Maria Ecclesia, a type for the Church, would rule under the New Law through all eternity.¹⁶⁰ Thus, the information preserved in Carter's drawing has overcome the lacuna that heretofore presented a major obstacle to reconstructing the thirteenth-century program.¹⁶¹

On the interior face of the same doorway, the loss of the sculptures formerly in the niches of

159 In the drawing an unusual pattern formed by the joints of the masonry appears to fuse with the lines defining the two figures. Those confusing lines must be factored out of the sketch to make the figures more legible. For the pattern of the masonry, see Fig. 4. The possibility that the drawing represented an Annunciation seems unlikely. Traditionally, with raised hand either holding an attribute or making the gesture of salutation, the Angel Gabriel approaches the Virgin from the viewer's left.

160 On the development, first in England, of the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin, see Blum 1986a, 212-14; and for the theological concepts, biblical and apocryphal elements, and textual sources that informed the theme, see Katzenellenbogen 1964b, 56-60; Pelikan 1978, 69-74, 158-74; Schiller 1980, 4, 114-18; and for much expanded treatments, Verdier 1980; and Th  rel 1984, passim.

161 Among critics who considered the problem of the missing scene at all, only Burges proposed the Coronation of the Virgin, not, however, as an element in a cohesive program, but as an idea probably derived from the Litany honoring the Virgin: Burges 1859, 110. In summarizing various proposals, White seemed to have confused the two faces of the doorway. His text incorrectly implies that the Virtues and Vices are on the interior face of the entrance: White 1896, 75.

the blind arcade above the entrance also caused problems in reconstructing the original program (Fig. 15). Noticing iron crampons used for securing statues in the four full-sized niches of the arcade, Burges posited the loss of four full-length figures, even though no other traces remained.¹⁶² Among the many early views of the east face of the inner entrance, only those by Carter (Fig. 34) and Buckler give support to the hypothesis. In addition to pencilled notes recording red and green grounds in the niches seeded with white floral motifs, Carter's sketch contains the outlines of damaged elements beginning approximately at the level of the capitals flanking the outer niches. There Carter scribbled a series of indefinite lines similar to those he consistently used to indicate mutilated areas when sketching the Old Testament scenes (Pls. LXI, LXII). Validating Burges's hypothesis, Carter's scribbles apparently represented vestiges of lost figures. Considerable 'tidying' has removed all vestiges of the silhouettes of four large-scale figures. Like his sketch recording the lost Coronation scene, the drawing provides further evidence of undocumented work in the chapter house between 1802 and 1854.

The disappearance without a trace of the four figures in the arcade above the east face of the entrance seriously hampers the reconstruction of the original program, and proposals about their identities must remain speculative. Nevertheless, enough survives of the sculpture and the thirteenth-century figurate glass to propose an iconographical program embracing the Old Testament cycle in the spandrels, as well as the sculpture on both faces of the inner portal and all figures and heraldic devices in the painted glass of the windows.

Early nineteenth-century drawings and prints authenticate fragments of thirteenth-century carving still extant on the east, or interior face of the inner entrance. Remnants include a quatrefoiled oculus containing the symbols of the four Evangelists. Those elegant and elongated carvings occupy the spandrels formed by the cusps (Fig. 35a-d). Three of the four figures have survived in excellent condition. The fourth, the eagle of St. John, has lost most of its detail and vigor because of re-cutting and sanding. Directly below in the angle formed by the springing of the two arches of the doorway, a

¹⁶² Burges 1859, 112.

small mutilated demi-figure of an angel is emerging from a cloud formation (Fig. 36).¹⁶³ No traces of the central figure in the oculus have survived.¹⁶⁴ Yet the nineteenth-century figure of Christ in Majesty now filling the quatrefoil was correctly construed from the presence of the Evangelists' symbols. Although stylistically incongruous, the restoration continues an iconographical tradition rooted in art of the preceding centuries. The enframing quatrefoil, instead of an almond shaped mandorla, supplies a particularly English flavor.¹⁶⁵ Without any verifying remnants, Burges supposed that the ensemble originally included censing angels both within and flanking the quatrefoil, a questionable supposition.¹⁶⁶ But the damaged demi-angel in the spandrel below Christ

163 The deceptively meticulous drawing of the angel made by Buckler in 1813 (London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36392, fol. 83, fig. 42) proved misleading; one can easily misread the drapery of the garment below the waist as a veiled attribute. For another pre-restoration representation, see Britton 1814, frontispiece.

164 Burges 1859, 112. Although Burges published his observations in 1859, he made his notes in 1854 before the restoration began. By his own account he wished to record details of the sculptures and any polychromy still extant that he knew were about to be lost forever. Overall, as an observer and iconographer he has had no peer.

None of the pre-restoration engravings shows any remains of the figure in the quatrefoil. Among those who published comments on the chapter house in the first half of the nineteenth century, several proposed that the missing sculpture depicted the Crucifixion: *i.a.*, Britton 1814, 76; Dodsworth 1792, 226, and White 1896, 75. Although in need of some revisions, the published topographical works of Britton and Dodsworth contain much well-documented information and observations.

Charles R. Cockerell, an iconographer and antiquarian scholar highly regarded by his contemporaries, published an unfortunate piece on the sculptures at Salisbury in an appendix to his study of the figure-sculpture at Wells: Cockerell 1851, 95-100. Despite his nineteenth-century reputation, his iconographical analysis of the sculptures at Salisbury crumbles under scrutiny. Therefore, having analyzed and evaluated his contribution in an unpublished master's thesis, part of which appeared as an article, I will not, as a rule, cite his interpretations here: Blum 1968; *idem* 1969, 18-34.

165 Earlier insular examples of Christ in Majesty enclosed by a quatrefoil and surrounded by the Evangelists' symbols include, *i.a.*, the relief carving in the Worcester refectory: Saxl 1952, pl. 96; a wall painting in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, Winchester cathedral (*ca.* 1220): Rickert 1965, pl. 113A and Park 1983, 60 n. 88 and pl. XIV; the Judgment Porch, Lincoln Cathedral, begun *ca.* 1260 (Fig. 43); also at Lincoln, Christ in Majesty of the north transept rose; the Amesbury Psalter, *ca.* 1255 (All Souls College, Oxford, MS. Lat. 6, fol. 6). Although that manuscript presents a variant on the quatrefoil, the attribution to the school of the Sarum illuminator gives the imagery special significance here: Hollaender 1943, 230-31. The similar arrangements of the scrolls held by the symbols of the Evangelists shared by the chapter house sculpture and the manuscript suggest that the Salisbury artist knew the illuminator's work, or, at the least, they shared a common reference. On the quatrefoil in the central gable of the Salisbury west front, see below, n. 110.

166 Burges 1859, 112. Aware of the then recently rediscovered statues of the Virgin and Angel of the

still retains a vestige of his original attribute. Despite sanding by the restorer to smooth broken edges, the bowl of a censer is discernible somewhat to the left and forward of the cloud formation. The attribute associates the figure with the angel of the Apocalypse, who, when the seventh seal was broken, 'came and stood before the altar, having a gold censer; and there was given him much incense, that he could offer the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar which is before the throne of God' (Apoc. 8:3).

The motif of demi-angels emerging from clouds recurred again in the tracery of the chapter house windows. Sixteen medallions of painted glass originally located in the quatrefoils above the lancets represented an angel choir. Now considerably restored, ten surviving roundels are scattered in the composite windows of medieval glass in the western parts of the nave and side aisles (Fig. 37a, b). The angels either gesture and/or carry an attribute associated with the apocalyptic Second Coming of Christ: the palm and crown of the martyrs, a crescent moon, a harp or lyre, a book, and censers.

Of the numerous thirteenth-century prototypes for such a company of angels, two are close by in the cathedral.¹⁶⁷ An angel choir fills the spandrels of the surviving portion of the rood screen

Annunciation with censing angels framed in trefoils in the Westminster chapter house, Burges may have influenced Octavius Hudson, the artist responsible for the nineteenth-century polychromy in the chapter house. On either side of the quatrefoil Hudson added a censing angel in a roundel (Fig. 76). At Westminster, the arrangement with the angels facing away from the central figure of Christ, and instead, turning to honor the laterally placed annunciate pair, raises questions about the accuracy of the nineteenth-century addition of a central figure of Christ in Majesty. Presumably, as at Wells and York, the central element of the tracery of the doorway was open and not occupied by a sculpture. At Westminster especially, the need for light coming through the tracery into the vestibule must have been compelling. With the open tracery and no central figure, the angels facing the Virgin and annunciate angel would have been properly positioned (Fig. 56). On the restoration, see Scott 1863, 41.

¹⁶⁷ Elsewhere, other examples of angel choirs include the angels in roundels on the vaults of the Chapel of the Guardian Angels at Winchester, *ca.* 1240 (no attributes, recently over restored); the angel choir carved in foliated medallions on the soffits of the lancet windows, third stage, inner face of the north transept at Westminster Abbey, *ca.* 1260 (attributes primarily musical instruments); the angel choir in the retrochoir at Chichester, *ca.* 1276 (part of a quite varied program). See Stone 1955, 123 and pl. 95; Tanner 1948, 18 and pl. 30; and Brieger 1957, 127-28.

Apparently particularly appealing to English taste, the concept of angel choirs was not, however, peculiar to insular monuments. They occur with great frequency in the archivolt of French thirteenth-

(ca. 1265) that Wyatt dismantled and installed in the Morning Chapel (Fig. 38). The other prototype was painted on the vaults in both arms of the eastern transept. Each of forty-eight medallions contained a demi-figure of an angel on a cloud. Still hidden beneath the coat of buff-colored wash applied during Wyatt's restoration, the imagery was preserved in drawings by Schnebbelie made before the eighteenth-century overpainting (Fig. 39a, b).¹⁶⁸ The attributes carried by the angels include all of those found in the roundels from the chapter house windows, plus the sun and stars, a wreath, a circle inscribed with a cross, a viol, chalices and wafers, vials, and a circle or globe. That heavenly choir accompanied Christ in Majesty of the Second Coming painted on the vaults of the choir at the eastern crossing and surrounded by the Apostles and Evangelists (Fig. 40). Filling the compartments of the vaults to the west, twenty-four patriarchs, in an ensemble representing the apocalyptic vision, carry scrolls that refer to the First as well as the Second Coming (Apoc. 4-5:1).

In the 1870s, because the figures in the vaults of the choir and presbytery were still visible through the thin wash applied by Wyatt, George Gilbert Scott could make tracings of them. He claimed that the sizing or other 'vehicle' protecting the thirteenth-century paint had perished, causing the pigments to powder and making it impossible to remove the wash. Instead of restoring the originals, Scott directed Messrs. Clayton and Bell to redraw and repaint all of the figures, including the Labors of the Months above the presbytery. Although the fundamental program was preserved and the polychromy supposedly followed indications still visible in the thirteenth-century ensemble, Schnebbelie's drawing indicates that untoward liberties were taken in the figure and drapery style, in

century portal ensembles, and notably in the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, in the spandrels of the wall arcades in the upper chapel. Perhaps the most spectacular angel choir, full-length figures encircle the exterior of the chevet at Reims: Frisch 1960, 1-24.

168 Some of these eighteenth-century drawings by Jacob Schnebbelie, draftsman to the London Society of Antiquaries (Scrapbook, MS. 263) and his finished drawings (Oxford, Bod. Lib., Gough Maps. 32, fols. 57-65) were reproduced in Horbleck 1960, 116-30. See now also Reeve 2008.

On the eighteenth-century tinted wash, see Milner 1811, 9; Dodsworth 1792, 41; and a review of Dodsworth's publication in Anonymous 1793, 444-45, that last attacked Dodsworth as Wyatt's apologist. Feelings ran high for and against every aspect of Wyatt's restoration. See i.a. Gilpin 1808, Section 5, 56-57.

the elimination of identifying labels and gross exaggeration of attributes.¹⁶⁹

Between 1220 and 1225, an earlier and most significant prototype for the angel choirs at Salisbury was carved for the west screen of Wells Cathedral. Framed by quatrefoils, demi-figures of angels emerging from clouds flank the central scene of the Coronation of the Virgin. The quatrefoils stretch across the facade in the headings of the arches forming the aedicules containing the lowest tier of statues (Fig. 41). That angel choir has suffered many losses, as well as nineteenth- and twentieth-century restorations, but the few surviving attributes parallel those of the angel choir in the vaults of the eastern transept arms at Salisbury.¹⁷⁰

In Lincoln cathedral, a better-preserved and more famous angel choir carved between 1270 and 1280 fills the triforium arcade of the thirteenth-century choir and presbytery (Fig. 42). Twenty-eight full-length angels with outstretched wings belong to an iconographical program with intricacies still not completely understood.¹⁷¹ In one of the spandrels, however, a seated Christ wearing a crown of thorns displays his wounds. This image, together with an angel carrying scales for the weighing of souls, explicitly associates the Lincoln choir with the Last Judgment. Attributes displayed by the other angels include a wreath representing Christ's crown of thorns, a spear (possibly the nails or sponge were in his other hand, now broken), the personification of a soul, and the sun and moon. A goodly number of the angels simply play musical instruments.¹⁷² The theme of the Last Judgment occurs twice more at Lincoln: in ca. 1280 on the tympanum of the south porch, known as the Judgment Porch (Fig. 43),¹⁷³ and in the earlier rose window of the north transept, dated to ca.

169 Schnebbie, del., Oxford, Bod. Lib., Gough Maps XXXII, fol. 56. On the repainting, see Armfield and Scott 1876, 477-9.

170 See Blum 1986b, 145-50, on the Wells angel choir as the visual counterpart of choristers stationed in a passage behind the wall to sing the Gloria laus in the Palm Sunday liturgy during the reenactment of the Entry into Jerusalem at the west portals. With the apertures hidden by the figures of angels in the quatrefoils, the voices seemed to be those of the angel choir.

171 For this and discussions of a number of other thirteenth-century angel choirs, see Glenn 1986, 102-108; also Gardner 1952.

172 Seven in all carry a particularly interesting assortment of instruments: a viol, pipes, a horn or trumpet, a drum and a stringed instrument (not lute shaped), which the angel is plucking with a pick.

173 See Roberts 1985, 132-33.

1220.¹⁷⁴

Just as the theme of the Last Judgment dominated the iconography of the thirteenth-century programs at Lincoln, the apocalyptic Second Coming was the preferred theme at Salisbury where we find three thirteenth-century versions in all. Besides the vault paintings, it occurs a second time in the decimated sculptures of the west facade. The eagle perched on a banderole in the central gable, the symbol of St John the Evangelist, was correctly identified as early as 1897, but its significance has been generally ignored.¹⁷⁵ Carter's drawing (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 29939, 2) leaves no doubt that the eagle was original and not part of the 1876 restoration of the west facade.¹⁷⁶ The symbol of St. John with its reference to his apocalyptic vision provides the key to the iconographic program, as did the eagle perched on the lectern of the angel of the Apocalypse at Wells (Fig. 49). Located in the quatrefoil that precedes the series of New Testament scenes that stretch across the facade to the north, the eagle and Angel of the Apocalypse informed Brieger's interpretation of the Wells program as the New Jerusalem of the apocalyptic vision.¹⁷⁷ At Salisbury, both the organization of figures in aedicules and the program of the west front was derived from Wells. The interpretation of the Salisbury facade as an apocalyptic vision proposed here gives coherence to the few remaining legible elements of the sculpture. In the gable, the fragment of a seated figure presumably represented Christ in Majesty, with the symbol of St. John above and Sts Peter, Paul, James the Greater, and John the Baptist in the tiers below. These and the figure of a bishop are all recognizable in early drawings (Fig. 44a, b).¹⁷⁸ Not all of the aedicules were ever filled, and today most of the

174 For the Last Judgment of the north rose, see Lafond 1946, 144-45.

175 Anonymous 1889, 27. J. Carter's drawing in 1802 of the west facade clearly shows the eagle with a banderole in the peak of the central gable above a large quatrefoil (London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 29939, p. 32). Incorrect identifications of the bird perched on a banderole in the central gable as a dove (Cockerell 1851, 96-99) or the pelican in her piety (Bod. Lib. MS. Gough Wilts. 3, fol. 54; Pevsner 1963, 360; 1975, 398; Cochrane 1971, 41) undermined attempts to reconstruct the original iconographical program by extrapolating solely from the ten surviving figures, most of which are not identifiable.

176 See also Carter 1807, 55 and pls. 74-75.

177 Brieger 1957, 41-42

178 Carter, Brit. Lib. MS. 29939, pp. 39 and 40, figs. 6, 7, nos 5, 11, 12, 14; and R.I.B.A., F. P. Cockerell Drawings. The 1876 restoration by Redfern commissioned by Scott failed to restore all figures correctly.

statues date from the nineteenth century.

The third depiction of the apocalyptic Second Coming occurs in the chapter house. Since there was never any representation of the Resurrected Dead or of the Weighing of Souls in either the glass or sculpture, we may reasonably conclude that the angel choir in the tracery of the windows accompanied Christ of the Second Coming enthroned in majesty in the quatrefoil above the entrance. Collectively, the demi-figures represented 'the voice of many angels' heard around the throne (Apoc. 5:11). The Old Testament cycle in the spandrels, beginning with Creation and ending with the Giving of the Old Law, accompanies the New Testament Christ of the doorway. Because the series is essentially narrative in character rather than typological, its aggregate meaning is inherent in and emphasized by the subject matter of the terminal scene. In the context of the chapter house program, the Old Testament cycle symbolizes the Old Law in apposition to Christ of the Second Coming who embodies the New. Christians approached and understood the Old Testament through the New. The New Law was the gospel and, in the words of the Apostle Paul, 'the end of the law is Christ (Romans 10:4),' and as a corollary, the path by which one goes to Christ is the Law. Those interpretations put the emphasis on Salvation through moral obedience--an apt emphasis for a building where the New Law was administered and discipline enforced, and where prayers were said daily for the souls of the dead. In addition, as will be shown, the imagery and symbolism inherent in many of the Old Testament scenes refer explicitly to Salvation through the Church.

Any reconstruction of the program must also account for the fragments of glass portraying kings and ecclesiastics--remnants of figurate glass that once filled the tracery of the windows--as well as the heraldic shields formerly interpolated into the grisaille of the lancets. The sole surviving medallion from one of the oculi at the headings of the windows pictures a bishop and a king, each in an aedicule surmounted by a turreted architectural motif (Fig. 45). Three more extant figurate panels from the Salisbury window tracery depict two bishops (Fig. 37b) and a king. Those kings and ecclesiastics have their counterparts in the program of the west screen at Wells cathedral (Fig. 46). Begun in 1220, the Wells facade was probably completed by ca. 1260, up to and including the frieze

of the Resurrected Dead.¹⁷⁹ (The sculpture of the stepped gable surmounting the screen-like facade dates from the fifteenth century.) Stretching across the facade and turning the corners of buttresses and towers, niches or aedicules ranged in three tiers enframe figures of kings, queens, bishops, clerics, deacons, saints, knights, martyrs, and prophets, but most of the figures are no longer identifiable. In his compelling interpretation of the Wells west screen, Brieger proposed that the sculptural ensemble represents the Church Triumphant, the Heavenly City revealed to St. John of Patmos (Apoc. 21:2-3):¹⁸⁰ 'And I John saw the holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down out of Heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice from the throne saying: Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men.' We can carry Brieger's interpretation further. The kings, bishops, saints, warriors, *et al.*, would be those who kept the New Law and 'washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb: that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in by the gates to the city' (Apoc. 22:14).

In extending Brieger's interpretation of the vast sculptural program at Wells, we should take into account the Virgin and Child in the tympanum of the central portal. They refer to the First Coming by which the Church was established (Fig. 47a). The Virgin's foot resting on the basilisk, a metaphor for evil, imbues her figure with the special meaning of Maria Ecclesia, and signifies the triumph of the Church over evil.¹⁸¹ Directly above, under a trefoiled arch, the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, also equated with the Church Triumphant, explicitly represents Maria Ecclesia as the Bride of Christ (Fig. 48).¹⁸² Again the figures are treading on the symbols of evil: Mary upon the adder, Christ upon the basilisk. A third ensemble, the figures in the archivolts enframing the Virgin and Child below, reinforce the metaphor of the Church Triumphant. These

179 Tudor-Craig 1982, 111, 115; and Brieger 1957, 34.

180 Ibid., 41-42.

181 The symbolism derives from Psalm 90:13, Vulgate (91:13 King James version 13): 'Thou shalt walk on the asp and basilisk: and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon.' Recently and inappropriately restored, the Virgin received a new head, and the mutilated figure of the Child was completely redone.

182 On the inception and inspiration for the theme, see Verdier, 1976, 227-36; Blum 1986b, 209-15.

badly mutilated, standing female figures have been identified as Virtues (Fig. 47b).¹⁸³ Having overcome the Vices in combat and standing alone, victorious, they too signify the Church.¹⁸⁴ The row of quatrefoils flanking the Coronation scene contains the heavenly choir of angels. Above them on the left, the angel of the Apocalypse with the eagle of St. John perched on the lectern before him (Fig. 49) prefaces a cycle of New Testament scenes filling a second row of quatrefoils that stretch across the facade on the left towards the north. Depicting episodes in the life of Christ, the New Testament scenes are juxtaposed to an Old Testament narrative cycle extending to the south on the same level. Together they signify the Old Law and the New. Above, in the frieze at the top of the screen, the resurrected Dead arise from their sarcophagi, and in the summit of the gable, sculptures of the later period complete the program. There Christ (now a modern replacement) sits in majesty above the twelve Apostles and the nine orders of angels. Since the Resurrection frieze contains no imagery referring to the Weighing of the Souls or to the Elect and the Damned, the ensemble consistently refers to the Second Coming of Christ rather than the Last Judgment.

By necessity, reduced in scale and complexity to comply with the spatial requirements of the Salisbury chapter house, the iconographical program presents a shorthand version of the apocalyptic Second Coming. In effect, as in the Wellsian scheme, the Coronation of the Virgin on the west face of the inner door supplies the vital reference to the Church Triumphant signified by Maria Ecclesia, the Bride of Christ--a theme particularly appropriate to a church dedicated to the Virgin. Fortunately, Carter's drawing has removed doubts about the subject matter of those lost sculptures (Fig. 33). With substitutions and simplifications, all vital elements of the Wells west front appear at Salisbury as follows: in the archivolts enframing the Coronation of the Virgin, fourteen Virtues have overcome the Vices in combat. They too stand for the Church Triumphant.¹⁸⁵ On the eastern face of the inner portal, Christ of the Second Coming sits in majesty surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists.

183 Similar contemplative figures of the Virtues occupy the archivolts of the Judgment Porch at Lincoln.

184 Katzenellenbogen 1964a, 42-43. The author cited the vision of St. Hildegard von Bingen in which Salvation takes the specific form of the City of God and the Virtues are introduced, not in combat, but as contemplative figures.

185 Ibid.

Below the throne of Christ, an apocalyptic angel swings the golden censer. In the spandrels of the arcades, the Old Testament narrative represents the Old Law in apposition to the sculptures on the doorway equated with the New Law. The tracery in the headings of the windows contained the Keepers and Defenders of that Law--the kings, clerics, and bishops painted on glass who, in their architectural surround stand, as promised, at the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Even the heraldic shields formerly set into the grisaille of the lancets fit neatly into the program (Fig. 53a-g). Heraldry had also appeared in the decoration at Westminster in the mid-1250s, first in the painted glass of the chapter house (Fig. 51a),¹⁸⁶ and next, in ca. 1265, carved in high relief in the spandrels of the choir aisles to the west of the crossing (Fig. 51b).¹⁸⁷ Not surprisingly, that colorful and decorative innovation recurred in the Salisbury chapter house, but as part of a much more integrated program than is discernible at Westminster. The heraldry adds new precision to an older iconographical concept. Whereas most of the figures of kings, queens, princes, and warriors at Wells can no longer be identified, and the ecclesiastics and kings in the figurate glass of the chapter house remain anonymous, the noble personages symbolized by the heraldic shields in the Salisbury lancets can still be named, and their actual roles as defenders of the New Law survive in the records of the period. On one occasion or another, most of them for whom shields exist had vowed to take the Cross. Because of the preponderance of crusaders, one writer concluded that the heraldic devices represented a memorial to the eighth crusade.¹⁸⁸ Yet their broader roles as benefactors of the church and defenders of the faith, together with their noble birth and royal kinship seem more arguable reasons for the armorial representations in the chapter house.

Early drawings again enlarge our knowledge of the original program. Six of the shields formerly in the east window (Fig. 52) and a seventh, presumed to be an invention, now occupy the lowest zone of the three great lancets at the west end of the nave (Figs. 50 and 53a-g). From left to right they are: (1) The arms of Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, d. 1295 (2) the composite shield (3)

186 Tanner 1948, 9-10; Lethaby 1972, 193-94; Colvin 1963, 142 n. 1.

187 Lethaby 1972, 125, 238.

188 Dorling 1902, 102-26.

the paternal arms of Eleanor of Provence, consort of Henry III, d. 1291 (4) Louis IX of France, d. 1270 (5) Henry III, d. 1272 (6) His brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, d. 1272 (7) Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and the Earl Marshall, d.1270; or his nephew, Roger, who succeeded to the earldom, d. 1304. Carter's drawings provide evidence of a lost seventh shield that survived until 1802 in the window of the north bay of the chapter house (Fig. 54). He labeled it 'imperfect' and noted its 'white gr[ound]' and a blue rampant beast that he called a blue dragon. In describing the 'invented,' or more accurately, 'composite' shield in the nave, Winston designated the white ground and blue legs as thirteenth-century fragments of the same date as the chapter house glass, but they are attached to the green body of a sixteenth-century imp.¹⁸⁹ The congruence of the colors can hardly be a coincidence. Clearly the 'composite' device in the western lancet of the nave contains some of the glass from the shield drawn by Carter in 1802. Carter published another shield from the chapter house, the eighth one known, that of John de Warren, Earl of Surrey (checky or and azure) who died in 1304.¹⁹⁰

A description of two more shields from the Salisbury chapter house survives in the early literature of heraldry (Fig. 55). In a manuscript dated 1610 (Brit. Lib. MS. Lansdowne 874), the caption above a row of armorial devices reads: 'These-8-Stand in the windowes of the Chapter House.' Doubtless the plural, 'Windowes' is correct, for, instead of only eight shields all presumed to have been in one window, the shields of Pevensey and of Edward, Prince of Wales, pictured in the manuscript raise the known total to ten.

For the thirteenth century and on into the fourteenth, uncertainty and confusions resulted in heraldry because the eldest son assumed the father's device upon death of the sire by dropping the cadet label that had differenced the shield. Thus, for example, the arms of the king of England remained unchanged from the reign of John through that of Edward II. Therefore we have no reason to dismiss the possibility that the differenced arms of England borne by Edward I as Prince of Wales until 1272, thereafter referred to his son, the future Edward II, born in 1284, twelve years after Edward I's accession. The other shield represented the arms of Pevensey carried by Gilbert Marshal,

¹⁸⁹ Winston 1851, 142.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 143; and Carter [1814], pl. 74.

Earl of Pembroke, until he fell into disfavor, as recognized by Hugh Shortt. They were then given to Peter of Savoy who died in 1268.¹⁹¹ Since the arms of Pevensey were conferred on Edward I as Prince of Wales in 1268 on the death of Peter of Savoy, the chances are good that the differenced royal arms were those of the future Edward II. This undermines Shortt's conclusion that the death of Peter of Savoy in 1268 marked the date that the chapter house was completed.

A possible eleventh shield never accounted for in the literature appears in the early nineteenth-century interior view of the chapter house showing the glass in the east window drawn and etched in 1820 for Britton's publication of 1841 (Fig. 52).¹⁹² The artist took great pains to reproduce the other shields so accurately that we can hardly suspect him of lapsing into fantasy in the design of the shield visible on the far right. What should have been suspected now becomes obvious. Only a fraction of the shields originally in the chapter house windows has survived. As with the rest of the glass, of a possible sixty-four shields, probably little more than one-eighth remains. Positing two to a lancet as pictured in the nineteenth-century drawing of the east window, we can imagine the brilliance of the armorial devices set into the grisaille to form a continuous band around the octagon.

The influence at Salisbury of the emblems in the Westminster chapter house glass and the twelve shields in the choir aisles of the abbey seems paramount. Seven of the ten known devices from the Salisbury chapter house replicate arms represented in the abbey. That proportion argues for the symbolic character of the chapter house heraldry. Presumably it honored the bearers as noble Defenders of the Faith--their role as Keepers of the Law paralleling that of the kings and warriors of the west front at Wells.

The only element so far unaccounted for in the chapter house program is a reference to the

¹⁹¹ Shortt 1958, 16.

¹⁹² On the far right the artist drew a shield with a 'cross paty' or 'patonce', within a bordure 'bezanty', i.e. having ends splayed like paws within a border studded with roundels. Lacking adequate color notes, the bearer of the shield pictured by Carter in its original state in the north west window cannot be identified. According to Winston 1851, 142-43, the gold bezants in the composite shield in west window of the nave were thirteenth-century glass, comparable to that from the chapter house. The bezants could well have been reused remnants of that lost device pictured in the drawing of the east window.

First Coming or Incarnation found both at Wells in the figure of the Virgin and Child above the central door, and at Salisbury on the scrolls of the prophets in vaults of the choir. In his article, Burges hypothesized that figures of the Annunciation occupied two of the niches in the upper arcade that flanks the enframing arch of the inner doorway (Figs. 15 and 34).¹⁹³ If correct, his conjecture completes the program in the Wellsian tradition. But Burges proposed them not as an integral part of an iconographical scheme, but as sculptures inspired by the Annunciation figures in the chapter house at Westminster (Fig. 56). He also made the less likely suggestion that Sts Peter and Paul filled the two remaining empty niches of the arcade. Without the other ten Apostles, the appearance of Peter and Paul in a program representing the apocalyptic Second Coming lacks precedents. Then, too, they have no place in the iconography of the Annunciation. However plausible Burges's hypothesis, Annunciation figures in the niches cannot be verified from existing evidence. Nevertheless, the program as reconstructed here argues strongly in their favor.

The Polychromy

Any attempt to reconstruct the Salisbury chapter house as it appeared in the thirteenth century must recreate its original polychromed splendor in the mind's eye. Burges's monograph provides the most reliable and complete information about the color still visible before the mid-nineteenth-century restoration began.¹⁹⁴ In the absence of any record of an earlier repainting, his assumption that he was looking at the original color seems valid. Knowing that the restoration would destroy all vestiges, he noted and described the color wherever it occurred:

The colour began with the tile pavement, which was divided from the walls by the white colour of the stone benches. Then came the arcade richly coloured, the Purbeck columns dividing a series of curtains painted upon the walls. The colours of these last are very doubtful; but the most probable...pink, diapered, edged with yellow, and lined with green. The caps

¹⁹³ Burges 1859, 112.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 110-14, 145-47, 161-62. Britton 1814, 75-76, also commented on the paint remnants and concluded that the entire building had been resplendent with gilding. Color wash used by Scharf in his drawing of the eastern arcade (Society of Antiquaries of London) and annotations in Carter's drawings supplement Burges's notes, as do some of the latter's drawings (R.I.B.A.).

of columns are gold, pricked out with colour. The abaci are in Purbeck marble. The colours of the mouldings of the arcades are counter-changed in each bay. The principal ones were powdered with various patterns, such as lions, fleur-de-lys, the heraldic cinquefoil, &c. The space within the arches had the name of the prebend inscribed in a square frame within a circle, while the spandrels were filled in with the polychromed sculptures....It will be perceived that the greatest amount of colour is in the arcade; from this it is carried up to the groining by means of (1) the coloured parts of the grisaille glass; (2) the Purbeck shafts of the mullions and jambs; and (3) a red fillet on the principal mouldings.

The ribs of the vaulting have their mouldings divided by red hollows and fillets; and a nebulé ornament of the same colour occurs at the sides. The main body of the vaulting is covered with red lines, not unlike imitation stone work. The bosses are gilt, relieved with red, and on each of the three sides is painted a mass of green and yellow foliage on a triangular dark red ground.¹⁹⁵

Even the black and white photographs showing the nineteenth-century repainting suggest the concentration of color in the floor tiles (Figs. 57 and 59). The original were red and black with patterns inlaid in white pipe clay yellowed by the glaze (Fig. 30a-c). The eye moves up from the dense color of the floor to the rich polychromy of the arcade, then to the translucent coloring of the grisaille of the windows above, and finally, to touches of color accenting the ribs, red outlines simulating masonry joints, color on the vaulting bosses, and painted designs surrounding them (Fig. 58). The arcades of the bays must have rivaled illuminated manuscripts in brilliance. In fact, the treatment of the arches of the arcade with 'powdering' of various patterns such as fleurs-de-lys and heraldic cinquefoils strongly suggests the influence of manuscripts. In the spandrel scenes, here and there, additional painted trees and houses originally filled in the blank spaces between the scenes at the apex of the arches.¹⁹⁶ The nineteenth-century painter, Octavius Hudson, interpreting remnants of the polychromy in one of the scenes of Creation as vestiges of diapering, undertook to diaper the background planes. Forming hexagonal compartments, his diapering bore an unfortunate resemblance to mosaic bathroom tiles (Fig. 59). But, as the photographs show, where there is no diapering, and where he also failed to reproduce the thirteenth-century painted architectural and foliate details observed by Burges, the scenes lack cohesion (Fig. 57). Then, too, the polychromed

¹⁹⁵ Burges 1859, 161-62.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 113-14.

figures and carved vegetation appear spindly and too sparse. Certainly with the original polychromy, diapering, gilding, and painted glass, the Salisbury chapter house must have seemed like a jewel box emulating the splendor of the chapter house at Westminster which had enjoyed the munificent, royal patronage of Henry III.

3

Vicissitudes in the Succeeding Centuries

Damages and Repairs

The history of the chapter house in the next centuries and the events affecting it up to the mid-nineteenth century can be pieced together from a variety of sources. Despite many lacunae in the fabric records, the cathedral archives provide a prime source of information equalled only by the visual evidence in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century prints and drawings. Numerous and comprehensive in what they picture, the visual documents record the appearance and condition of the building and every detail of its architecture and ornament prior to the complete renovation undertaken in 1855. Giving persuasive testimony about the impact of man and time on the structure, the best of the drawings have a precision that elucidates and supplements notes made by travelers, observations recorded by antiquarians, and comments published in journals and periodicals. Even specific reports and records left by topographers and architects proved more informative when considered in conjunction with the visual documents.

The early chapter records and cathedral archives contain nothing about the chapter house in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The scattering of extant fifteenth-century fabric accounts does little more than break the silence. Those accounts contain seven entries itemizing payments for work done in the chapter house. Five involve repairs to windows and include purchases of materials, as well as payments to the glazier and smith, pro Reparone fenestr citj...in domo capitul, and pro emendatione iii barrs ferr fenestras citj in dom capitul, and for op[er]ant ad reparoñ viii fenestras citj in domo capitul,¹⁹⁷ presumably routine maintenance and repairs. Others entries involved a bolt, keys,

197 Trowbridge, Wilts., J. Spryng, Clerck of Fabrick, Fabric Accounts: no. 3a, 1477/78; 17 March 1481; 14 April 1481. The fiscal year ran from 1 Oct. the 30 Sept. (Michaelmas to Michaelmas). Most of the Fabric Accounts are unpaginated; most, but not all, list expenditures by the month, not by the project.

Until 1969, the pre-twentieth-century fabric accounts were kept with the muniments of the cathedral. They were then transferred to the Diocesan Records Office, Wren Hall, The Close. Since then, they have been transferred to the County Archives, Trowbridge, Wilts. For brief summaries of extant cathedral records, see Stewart 1973, Part 4.

and lock for the chapter house door.¹⁹⁸ Between 1464 and 1550, fabric accounts or accounts of the clerks of works have survived for only fifteen of the eighty-six years. Two are merely fragments, and one without a date is placed in those years by its paleography. Then, for the second half of the sixteenth century, twenty-six annual accounts survive in broken runs beginning in the last two years of the 1550s.¹⁹⁹

Upon the accession of Elizabeth I (1558) and the reestablishment of the Church of England, we read of case after case of 'newe (or nue) glase' delivered from the store to the 'glase house.' The accounts kept by the 'Clerck of the Fabrick' list multiple repairs to windows in both the chapter house and cathedral. Indeed, except for a rash of repairs to roofs and gutters in the 1580s, payment for work on windows monopolizes the pages of accounts for the second half of the sixteenth century. In one five-month period, Aug. 1567 to Jan. 1568, the accounts specify payments to the glazier for setting a total of 435 feet of new glass in the chapter house--a figure that excludes any references to the resetting of old glass. The overall figures are striking. For instance, in Jan. 1568, eight cases of new glass were delivered to the glass house. We also find repairs to the roof, gutters, and drain pipes of the chapter house and foyer.²⁰⁰

In that connection, month by month the clerk paid the 'smythe' for 'mendinge' or for 'makyinge anew,' or for 'Pesynge' (piecing) the 'barrs' for 'wyndowes.' The store routinely supplied 'tees,' 'lyme' for 'sowdre' (soder), 'soccotes,' 'keyes,' 'nayles,' 'rosome' (rosin), 'salet' or 'sallet' and 'linsyd oylle,' 'ledd,' and occasionally 'allome' (alum), and 'stone clints' (or 'clynts') to the glazier.²⁰¹

198 Trowbridge, Wilts., Fabric Accounts for the years 1480/81.

199 Beginning with those for 1558-1559, the nine kept by John Mody fall between 1558 and 1573. The thirteen kept by Edward Hyde date between 1578 and 1597. The last annual accounts from that century mark the beginning of the co-clerkship of William Hyde and William Pickhauer.

200 Trowbridge, Wilts., Fabric Accounts, July 1584, Oct. and Nov. 1585, July and Aug. 1598.

201 The 'clynts' (by definition small sharp stones like flint) were probably used to for cutting glass: Fabric Accounts, September 1582 and 1587. See also Halahan 1924, 11-15.

For the second half of the sixteenth century, the accounts cover thirty-six of the fifty years. For typical entries concerning supplies for the glazier, see *i.a.* Fabric Accounts, June 1558. Alum listed among supplies was used for cleaning glass: 'allome to make cleane the glase;' and an 'earthe pane (pan) to put the said allome in to be boyled on the fyre:' Fabric Accounts, February, March, and June 1570. The linseed and 'sallet' (salad) oil was needed to make 'siment' (cement) to caulk the windows and to mix with

The 'carpynter' received frequent payments for making new frames for windows and for raising 'scavoldes' to implement the glazier's work.²⁰² Numerous payments to the 'masson' recompensed him for a variety of tasks including 'making holes to lett [set] in the bares [bars] of wyndowes' and 'hollyinge and mending the bantes of wyndowes'.²⁰³ Behind such recurring payments to the mason lay the continuing problem of stone deterioration caused by the iron bars that secured the leaded panels of glass. On one occasion, the mason received payment for making a new window for the chapter house, to which purpose 'xxvi fonts [feet] of frye [free] stone' had been delivered earlier in the month.²⁰⁴ But for the most part, in the decades after 1558, the work on windows reflects the antipathy of the Established Church to idolatrous imagery. From that time forward, when windows needed repairs, there appeared little inclination to preserve the medieval glass.

John Jewel became bishop of Salisbury in 1560, after a vacancy of three years. Having spent much time abroad during the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary I (1553-1558), he returned to England on Elizabeth's accession to become her acknowledged spokesman for the Church of England against Rome. By royal order, his Apology for the Church of England was chained to the desk in every parish church. In 1559, Jewel had visited Salisbury as a royal commissioner, and to judge from the fabric accounts, his official visit triggered the massive re-glazing campaign. After serving on the commission, Jewel wrote, 'We found everywhere votive reliques of Saints, nails with

'kalmes of lead' (potash of lead, lead ash, or letharge). See, *i.a.*, Fabric Accounts, March and December 1589; August 1590; September 1592; December 1594; and March and May 1596.

A bolt of lightning struck the Salisbury spire in 1559 and opened a fissure 60 ft. in length. The missing fabric accounts for the years 1559/1560 and 1561/1562 probably would have recorded emergency repairs. The sustained efforts to maintain the fabric in the ensuing seventy-five years were so effective that in 1634 a contemporary could comment, 'no fault is found in the fabric save the pavement in the cloisters and some other small defects.' Edwards 1956a, 188.

Beginning in 1589, the fabric accounts contain many entries re-equipping and repairing equipment in the glass house. See *i.a.* July 1589; December 1589 and 1591; May 1593; November 1594 (mis-labeled 1595); March, May and July 1595; and Blum 1997, n. 2.

202 See, *i.a.*, Fabric Accounts: April 1562, Sept. 1568, Feb. 1573, July 1579, Nov. 1595, Jan. 1596, and Feb. 1597.

203 Fabric Accounts: April 1562, July 1582 (a/c no. 27) and 1589.

204 Fabric Accounts, July 1582.

which the infatuated people dreamed that Christ had been pierced, and certain fragment of the sacred cross.²⁰⁵

During Jewel's prelacy (1560-1571), the re-glazing activity intensified, reaching a peak in 1567/1568. Long lists of payments for work on windows in the chapter house are interpolated among much more numerous records pertaining to windows in the church. The accounts of the year 1581/1582 give quite detailed information about varying amounts of 'nue glasse' installed in every bay of the octagon.²⁰⁶ Throughout those records, the relatively infrequent references to cleaning and resetting old glass--and then in limited amounts only--and the rapid progress in mounting the new suggest that from 1558 on into the seventeenth century the work involved primarily clear (or Normandy) glass.²⁰⁷ Yet only once did the accounts describe the contents of a case delivered to the glass house for the chapter house as containing 'Normandy glase'. Then, in the following entry, 'Petre the Glasyer' received payment for setting 'lxxxvi foots of new glase.'²⁰⁸ The accounts of Sept. 1567 offer a very rough estimate of the contents of a case of glass. One entry makes payment to the glazier

205 Robertson 1969, 131. On Salisbury during the Reformation, see also *ibid.*, 128-30; Whiteman 1956, 28-36; Edwards 1956a, 183-92; Jones 1880, 52-77; Hatcher and Benson 1843, 31-36.

206 Beginning in July 1582 and continuing through September, the accounts contain over sixty entries involving payments recompensing the glazier, mason, smith, and carpenter for scaffolding, work, and materials in connection with the chapter house windows. Detached leaves written in the same hand as the other fabric accounts of that year itemize payment to the glazier window by window. Although the leaves are undated, worm holes matching those in the preceding pages of accounts for 1582 associate the leaves with the extensive window work itemized in the July and Sept. records for that year.

207 Fabric Accounts, April 1562. The term 'Normandy glass' occurs in a lease executed in ca. 1672. An inventory of fittings for the house to be leased describes a room as having a window glazed with clear white Normandy glass: Fisher Papers, Book 7, 103v. Fisher had also excerpted information from fourteenth-century records in a packet among his papers labeled 'The Rev. Mr. Kingdon's Extracts. M. Harding's Translations.' The extracts refer to accounts kept by Settle for Sachem Hall, Gages, Suffolk. From them Fisher learned that French glass, also called Normandy and formerly Lorraine glass, is wholly attributed to nine glass works in those provinces--five in forests near Lyon, four in Normandy, and one of the latter in Beaumont, near Rouen. The glass was described as thinner than English 'Crown Glass,' and, when placed on white paper, the imported glass had a 'dirty greenish' tint.

208 Fabric Accounts, April 1562. The accounts of 1567 also provide the only reference to the production of patterned glass for a window (indeed, the only reference prior to 1789 when the alterations supervised by James Wyatt began). In Sept. 1567, Peter Horne the glazier received payment 'for makeinge my Lord Bisshopes armes in one of the newe wyndowes in the southe syd of the Body of the church.'

for 'working up two cassis of glase of store for two windows or lyghts in the church.' Although the lancets vary considerably in size, the series of entries of April 1562 associating a case of Normandy glass with the subsequent working of 'lxxxvi foots of newe glase' for the chapter house probably filled one lancet. A voucher of 1823 confirms this estimate in the charge for 363 feet of 'New quarry lights' destined for the east window of the chapter house, the bay from which all the old glass had just been removed.²⁰⁹

Window work continued, but at a somewhat diminished rate until the end of the century.²¹⁰ During the first four decades of the seventeenth century, the entries record considerable activity, mostly routine maintenance and repairs of windows.²¹¹ By the time of the Wars of the Rebellion, new 'glase' had replaced vast amounts of medieval painted glass in both the church and chapter house. Unfortunately, lacunae in the records make the totting up of footages meaningless. The lack of fabric accounts for the earlier and even more fanatical period of iconoclasm in the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) further devalues any computations and estimates. For in Edward's regency, the Visitors, a committee of six, had gone through the kingdom with the intent of purging the churches of false relics and images of saints considered idolatrous. After their Salisbury visit, fabric accounts

209 Fisher Papers, Notebook 7, 22 Feb. 1823.

210 The accounts specify window work in the church in the 'missle [mesle or indented] aisle' on the 'south syd' of the choir, in the 'lady chappel [Trinity chapel]': Fabric Accounts, March 1582; in the windows of the 'votts [vaults]' above 'oure ladye's chappell': Nov. 1584; then in Sept. 1585, a fair amount of 'ould glase' was reset: the great window above St. Thomas' door (in north transept terminal, now blocked); more in the north transept and choir, as well as the 'fyne wyndowes' in 'oure ladyes chappell,' the great windows standing before the 'round tabell' (south east transept?), and then considerable work on the 'gret wendow in the west ende that was blone doune' in a devastating storm (Oct. 1586). The following August (1587, mislabeled 1586), 'Peter the Galyser' received payment for setting 'Dxxvi [526] font of nue glase in the gret west wyndow;' in March 1589 'woodes the mason' mended the 'rounde of the wyndow at the west end of the church [in the gable].' The location of much window work in the 1590s is not specified, but storms continued to cause damage that required 'cordes to fasten the glase that was lose wth the last great wynde [May 1594].' The entries leave no doubt about the continued activity of glaziers throughout the second half of the century.

211 Twenty-seven annual accounts have survived for the period from 1600 to 1642. Thereafter, during the years encompassing the Civil Wars and the Cromwellian period up until the Restoration in 1660, a rough draft for the accounts of 1642/1643 is all that has survived.

of the nearby churches of St. Thomas and St. Edmund contain a series of payments to laborers for the removal of images and altars and for carting the broken glass and rubble out of the church.²¹²

Doubtless the lost cathedral accounts for that period contained similar entries, and presumably the tragic destruction and dispersal of the medieval glass was well underway there in the decade before the accounts for the cathedral resume. However inoffensive to iconoclasts the grisaille of the chapter house must have appeared, the extant records indicate that by 1643 (the beginning of hostilities in the Wars of the Rebellion), countless running feet of new glass had been installed at the expense of the old.

Iconoclasm During the Reformation and the Civil Wars

The Old Testament scenes carved in relief around the walls of the chapter house were as vulnerable as medieval figurate glass to changing attitudes and religious biases. Contrary to some opinions, we should not date the mutilation of those reliefs or the loss of statues on the west facade to the iconoclasm in the reign of Edward VI.²¹³ To do so overlooks archival evidence, as well as attitudes and events in Salisbury just before and during the Wars of the Rebellion, and also fails to account for the different targets of iconoclasm during those two periods. When Protestantism

212 See Whiteman 1956, 29-30; Hatcher and Benson, 1843, 256-62. The Visitors ordered the removal of images 'abused by pilgrimages and offerings,' prohibited processions, and denounced superstitions such as holy water, ringing of bells, and lighting of candles to repel evil spirits. The Reformation accelerated after the death of the Protector in 1549. Hatcher noted that 'All the antient [Latin] service books were to be destroyed, the prayers to saints contained in the primer...to be erased; and all images in churches and chapels to be defaced.' The concept of transubstantiation was also eliminated, chantries suppressed, and chantry lands sold. The shrine of Saint Osmund had been stripped of its treasure and demolished in 1539; and the crown continued to arrogate the proceeds of sales of church ornaments, copes, altar cloths, and jewels: Edwards 1956a, 183-86; Whiteman 1956, 28-29; and Jones 1880, 163.

213 On the statues of the west front, see Waylen 1857, 119-24; Jones 1880, 212-14; Anonymous 1889, 24-25; Dale 1963, 74. The above authors all disputed the assertion that iconoclasm during the Civil Wars bears the blame for most of the losses and for the damages to the Old Testament scenes in the chapter house: Hatcher and Benson 1843, 404-405. Gilpin 1808, 66, who first published his observations in 1798, attributed the damage to the chapter house sculptures to the time of the Civil Wars: 'the parliament commissioners sat in this Chapter-house; and have left behind them marks of their rough ideas of religion. At this [the Old Testament cycle] they seem to have taken particular offense.'

became the state religion in the reign of Edward VI, the avowed intent to purge altars of false relics and carved or painted images of saints apparently did not include biblical saints. Focusing their attack on non-biblical representations, the Protestants expunged the latter-day saints from the Book of Common Prayer published in 1549, but at the same time emphasized and encouraged the reading and availability of the Old and New Testaments translated into English.²¹⁴

After the relatively short reign of Mary Tudor, the fabric accounts reflect the resumption of efforts on the part of the cathedral community to pursue the same reforms. Besides payment for 'taking downs the broken glasse about the churche' and 'bordinge the wyndowes' on the 'south syd,'²¹⁵ then on the west and 'northe syde,'²¹⁶ we also find entries for the 'takinge down of aulters,' and 'layinge of aulter stones,' and the 'caryinge of ruble out of the churche,'²¹⁷ as well as an expenditure for 'makeinge the deske for the Byble' and a 'cheyne for the same.'²¹⁸ Perhaps the most telling entry occurs soon after the excommunication of the queen by the pope in 1570. In 1571, still within the prelate of Bishop Jewel, a sum was 'paid to a paynter for wasshinge oute of Imegery in the churche.'²¹⁹ Significantly, the 'paynter' did not expunge the thirteenth-century images painted in the vaults of the choir. Representations of the Apostles and Evangelists surrounding the figure of Christ in Majesty, the Old Testament prophets, and the choir of angels in attendance remained undisturbed until the late eighteenth century.

The sixteenth century probably could also tolerate the biblical saints on the west front, although some of the statues of lesser saints may have been felled at that time. The earliest known view of the west facade dates well after the stormiest years of the Reformation, but before the Wars

214 Hatcher and Benson 1843, 278-80: 'Paid for a homily book set out in parts, 16 d;' payment 'to the painter and his man for writing scripture in the church, 6 s 8 d.' See also Jones 1880, 162-63; Edwards 1956a, 184-88; Whiteman 1956, 29.

215 Fabric Accounts, 3 Nov. and 24 Dec. 1558. See also Hatcher and Benson 1843, 280: Payments for 'carrying out the stones of the altar and for lime to the walls and to our Lady's altar, 5 s 2 d.'

216 Fabric Accounts, Jan. 1559.

217 Fabric Accounts, 12 Aug. 1558; 9 Oct. 1558.

218 Ibid.

219 Fabric Accounts, April 1571.

of the Rebellion. Based on a drawing by Wenceslas Hollar, the print shows twenty-four statues on the west screen.²²⁰ Another early print and an anonymous line engraving using the device of planar perspective show a total of twenty-eight figures in niches (Fig. 60).²²¹ The asymmetrical arrangement of the statuary depicted in the latter print may be the result of some figures destroyed during the Reformation. But today's literature has dodged the question of whether the Salisbury facade ever had more than a fraction of the niches occupied by statues. The lack of socles in many niches makes a display of statues comparable to that on the Wells west screen seem highly improbable.²²² Despite nineteenth- and twentieth-century attempts to identify the figures, John Carter's drawings indicate that by 1802 there were only four statues still identifiable, all representing the biblical saints: John the Baptist, and Sts. Peter, Paul, and James the Greater (Fig. 44a, b).

Iconoclasm during the Wars of the Rebellion (1642-1660) posed a far greater threat to the statuary of the west facade and the Old Testament scenes in the chapter house than had the Visitors of Edward VI's reign or the reestablishment of Protestantism under Elizabeth I. Those who believed the sculptures had not survived the depredations of the sixteenth century probably gave too much weight to a passage in Walter Pope's biography of Bishop Seth Ward (1666-1688): 'His [the

220 See Wiltshire Prints [album], Edward's Bequest, Salisbury Museum, fol. 13, fig. 19, a line engraving of 1672 made after a pre-1643 drawing by W. Hollar of the cathedral and bell tower.

221 The number of statues, the damaged churchyard cross repaired in 1630, and the presence of a coach-and-four (banned in the close in 1626) seem sufficient evidence to give a pre-Civil Wars date to the drawing upon which the anonymous engraving and the print published by Robert Thacker were based. Two little-known artists signed the print: J. Collins and N. Yeates. James Collins flourished in ca. 1715, and among his few known works is a large plate of Canterbury cathedral. Another Collins named John, also obscure, flourished in ca. 1644, and a second John Collins in flourished in 1682. The last was an indifferent artist, which seems to disqualify him as the person responsible for a print of such high quality. Nicholas Yeates flourished in ca. 1670-80, but like the others, he, too, is an obscure figure. Robert Thacker, an engraver, also flourished in ca. 1670. As with the Hollar drawing from which many post-Civil Wars engravings were made, the anonymous line drawing and the published print seem to record the appearance of the west front before the seventeenth-century iconoclastic damages were inflicted. For the listing of artists, see Bryan 1964, 1, 263; 3, 65; 5, 164, 402. Bryan attributed the print to Thacker, but the legend and signatories on the print cited contradict this. 'N. Yeates, fecit' seems to refer to the artist, with 'J. Collins, sculp,' identified as the engraver, and Thacker as the publisher.

222 See White 1896, 29, 30; Pevsner 1963, 358; 1975, 398; Stone 1955, 120, 144. Anonymous, 1889, 24-25, suggested that the niches may never have been completely filled with statues.

bishop's] first care was to beautify and repair the cathedral, though it did not want much reparation; for to the eternal honour of the local gentry of that diocese...during the whole time of the civil wars, when there was neither Bishop nor Dean to take care of it, they employed workmen to keep that sacred and magnificent pile in repair....There not being much to be done as to reparation, the bishop enjoyed himself in the decoration of the cathedral.'²²³

The history of the city and the cathedral close during the Civil Wars belies the words of Ward's biographer. Almost from the first years of the rebellion, fighting in the streets, violence in the cathedral close, and looting in the church itself are a matter of record. Hostilities broke out locally in 1643, and in that year, from time to time, marauding bands entered Salisbury. They extorted money and committed outrages against those who held opposing political or religious views. Yet throughout that year, the rival parties within the city avoided open conflict.²²⁴ In 1644, Parliamentary troops under William Balfour came through Salisbury in pursuit of Royalist forces, and Balfour permitted his soldiers to plunder. Next, the Earl of Essex and his Parliamentary soldiers occupied the city. After their departure, supplementary detachments transited, and in August 1644, one group, 'guilty of great disorders,' not only plundered and raided the city over a seven day period, but also robbed the cathedral.²²⁵ By 1645, Parliamentary soldiers were garrisoned in the cathedral belfry, by then fortified as an observation post. During the ensuing months, as armed conflict flared in the streets, the city changed hands a number of times. Before the end of that year, citizens of the area banded together under the title Clubmen in an effort to control the violence. Although their sympathies lay with the Royalists, their avowed purpose was to check excesses by the soldiery of both forces.²²⁶

Early in the conflict, the dean and chapter had procured arms and hoped to align themselves with the Royalist forces as they approached the area.²²⁷ Their known hostility to the Parliamentarians, however, increased the probability of retaliatory as well as iconoclastic ravaging

223 Pope 1824, 72.

224 Hatcher 1834, 74-79; Hatcher and Benson 1843, 394.

225 Ibid., 397.

226 Ibid., 402.

227 Jones 1880, 211.

within the cathedral precincts. Damage to the cloister by Dutch prisoners captured by the Royalist forces became a matter of record.²²⁸ With troops garrisoned in the belfry, Huguenot prisoners confined in the cathedral complex, Parliamentary commissioners holding their sittings in the chapter house, and depredations by the soldiery in the cathedral itself, the stage was set for the destruction of the numerous images that adorned the west front, and of those 'exquisite specimens of antient sculpture' that graced the chapter house.²²⁹

The high concentration of damage to spandrels containing representations of the Deity, especially to the scenes of Creation and his several appearances to Moses, reflected the Puritanical aversion 'to any image or similitude of God the Father, Creator of Heaven and Earth.' So spoke Mr. Thomas Sherfield, Recorder of the City of Salisbury, a staunch Puritan, and parishioner of the local church of St. Edmund's in 1639, when he stood trial for mutilating a window picturing the scenes of Creation in his own church.²³⁰ His trial achieved particular fame because a popular London clergyman had applauded the act of vandalism. In his own defense, Mr. Sherfield said that 'the true History of Creation was not contained in the window. The painter, to represent God the Father, had depicted the forms of diverse little old men, barefooted and clothed in long blue coats.' Sherfield's sense of outrage focused on the medieval conflation of the works of the days, which he mistook for an inaccurate and disorderly representation of Creation. By 'breaking the obnoxious representations with his staff,' he had eliminated an 'impious falsification and profane abuse of history' peopled with 'ungodly' and 'altogether unlawful Images.'²³¹ Sherfield's act, his spirited, self-righteous defense, as well as the remission of much of his sentence, voiced the temper of the times,²³² a mood that

228 Ibid., 214; Robertson 1969, 196.

229 Hatcher and Benson 1843, 405. For a summary of events in the close during the Civil Wars, see Edwards 1956a, 192-94.

230 Hatcher and Benson 1843, 372-73. See also Hargrave 1776, 1, 399.

231 Hatcher and Benson 1843, 372-73.

232 Sherfield's trial was held in London. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pronounced the first sentence in which Archbishop Lord concurred. Sherfield was fined £500, sentenced to imprisonment, deprived of his office, and ordered to acknowledge his offense publicly before the bishop of Salisbury. Because of the temper of the times, his punishment was mitigated and much of the sentence remitted. The chancellor allowed bond for good behavior, and the fine Sherfield actually paid to the crown was half of his recorded

intensified in the years of civil conflict.

Viewed in the context of such events, the wording of a letter written in 1683 loses its ambiguity. Referring to the damages to the Old Testament scenes in the chapter house, Dean Pierce wrote to the Subdean:

I am for the raising and new paving of the Chapter House either with marble or Purbeck stone, as also for adorning all the Stalls in the House, which [ever] since the Great Rebellion have been scandalously defaced, in...particular for the restoring of all the titles in the said Stalls in Gilded letters upon Azure as they are in the choir, that every Dignitary and Canon may know and use his own Stall, not invade another Man's, for until this is done I conceive our Founder's Will is under habitual violations.²³³

The chapter apparently failed to act on the dean's proposal, for a century later, in the 1790s, William Gilpin commented, 'Both the cloister and the chapter house are in so decaying a state that it would require a great sum to restore them.'²³⁴ The sculptures which he found lacking in 'grace and taste' were miserably 'hacked.' But, he continued, if 'the inside of this elegant building were washed over with one uniform stone color, the sculpture obtrudes itself so little on the eye, that bad as it is, it might easily pass unobserved.' For the tasteful effect, as James Wyatt knew, Gilpin's century preferred to suppress rather than restore the polychromy.

Contrary to his biographer, in the decades following the Restoration, Bishop Seth Ward was as much or more concerned with the structural soundness of the buildings in the cathedral complex as with their beautification. The records certify that the 'cures' needed to correct the defects and decays of time far exceeded the gentry's interim provisions during the Civil Wars. In 1669, at the bishop's invitation, Sir Christopher Wren examined the structures and recommended measures to preserve them. To his much quoted survey of the cathedral and spire, Wren appended a report on the chapter house. The first one known, his evaluation of the building focused entirely on its design

sentence.

233 Trowbridge, Wilts., Papers of Bishop Seth Ward (1667-1689).

234 Gilpin 1808, 66-67. Gilpin's report continued, 'there is now in the library an estimate given about 100 years ago, from which it appears that the whole [chapter house] might have been completely repaired for 150 £.' That estimate no longer exists, but may have been the missing estimate to which Canon Colton's survey referred. See below, n. 252.

deficiency, an intrinsic weakness in the buttressing, for which Wren proposed a palliative, but not a cure:

The other buildings adjoyning, the Chapter-House & Cloyster, are worth the preserving. The Chapter-House is an Octagone, or 8 sided figure with a Pillar in the center: it wants buttment and therefore the wall is secured by 8 Irons that tye the center to the walls: they are fastened like curtain-rods upon hookes; the hookes are yeoted into [obs. for jot, or set into] the walls with lead, but they of the vault have broken the stones into which they were yeoted, & drawn out 5 of the 8, by which meanes the walls and vaults are spred and cleaft with many great cracks. It seems the hookes were too short, and they should have been yeoted into hard stone, not free stone; the Remedy will be to take out those hookes, and to bore cleane through the Coynes [corners], and so putt in hookes with long stems and ancher them on the outsides, and this can never faile.²³⁵

Apparently Wren's remedy did not have the highest priority, for in 1691, Thomas Naish, Clerk of Works, rendered another, slightly more detailed report on the condition of the chapter house, which, he believed, 'threatened the suddenest ruin.'²³⁶ In describing the iron brace, he noted that 'severall' of the tie bars were 'drawn out of their fixed place six inches, some more some less,' and that the vault was 'spread, & hath rent the walls in severall places 3 or 4 inches wide & drawn the collume which standeth in the middle...about 6 inches from its Perpendicle, & by a small declension farther must in all likely:hood fall to the ground.' He also commented on the roof decay and the outward thrust of the walls which 'helps toward its ruine.' Some buttresses were 'decayed at foot, the stones being loose or scaled by frosts. Part of the walls between the vaulting and roofe...by

235 A copy of the survey by Sir Christopher Wren, 1609, in Trowbridge, Wilts., Papers of Bishop Seth Ward; another in Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS. Aubrey 21, Miscellaneous Papers, fols. 69-74. Wren's survey of the cathedral proposed 'cures' for 'defects' and decays that included bracing the steeple, replacing crushed stones, pointing and wedging cracks, mending timbers in the tower, shoring the walls of the west facade, providing new timbers for arches of the eastern crossing, roofing anew where needed, pointing the footing of the buttresses, and attending to gutters. That costly list of repairs required the allocation of one fifth of the revenues from every prebend, pledged for a year beginning May 1668. By summer of 1669, those funds were exhausted, which necessitated the renewal of the pledges for two successive years: Dodsworth 1792, 172-73.

Bishop Ward also undertook the restoration of his palace, the new paving in the cathedral and cloister walks, and the 'beautification' of the choir: W. Pope, in Cassan 1824, 73.

236 Survey of T. Naish, 1691, in Trowbridge, Wilts., Papers of Bishop Thomas Sherlock.

some former wett so shattered' could 'scarce...support the rooffe.' Despite all window work recorded in the fabric accounts of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Naish's report concluded, 'The Mullions of the windows are scaled by the rusting of the Iron barrs, that are fixed in them, & some of the tracery work like to dropp by the spreading of the walls.'

The sorry situation could not have worsened measurably since Wren surveyed it, but Naish's note of doom brought immediate action. Between the time of the writing and before the penning of his attached list of cures, the iron bars had been lengthened as Wren had directed. Indeed, Naish's first cure speaks to the new problem created by that repair. The tie rods that were then penetrating the buttresses and had been anchored on the exterior by brackets or crooks had created new stresses and pressures. (Two of the crooks still survive on the southwest and northwest buttresses.) Fearing the worst from any lateral movement of the rods, Naish proposed a 'brace of Iron round each buttress...[to be] fixed by y^e barrs which are now on Crooks.' For additional stability, he proposed 'An Iron band quite round the Chapter:house on top of the windows.' There is no evidence that those braces were ever applied, and Naish's proposals seemed to lapse into oblivion.

Naish had been aware that the tie rods radiating from the central column never had and never could compensate for the inadequate buttressing. In fact, as Wren's report indicated, the device was not his invention.²³⁷ He had merely recommended an extension or improvement upon a remedy already in situ. Apparently the defect in buttressing had manifested itself soon after completion, as the building began to settle. The collar of iron (Fig. 61), a marvel of strength and endurance, dates from the middle ages, perhaps the thirteenth century, but possibly later and so from the same forge responsible for the remarkable iron work bracing the crossing tower of the cathedral on the interior.²³⁸ William Lethaby considered the iron collar a later fitting added to relieve the strain on

237 Some nineteenth-century writers in commenting on the restoration of 1855 mistakenly concluded that the bars had not been installed until the seventeenth century: Anonymous 1867, 12.

238 On the structure of the tower, the iron bandage and braces, see Price 1753, 33-40, pls. 7-9. The latest restoration of the tower was begun in the mid-1980s, under the direction of the late Peter Taylor, architect of the cathedral.

hooks installed at the time of construction.²³⁹ In fact, such hooks and ties were not unique. G. G. Scott, who restored the Westminster chapter house, described the methods used there: 'The central pillar still exists and is about thirty-five feet high....On top of the capital is a symmetrically constructed set of eight hooks of iron for as many cross ties. The same was the case at Salisbury, and I have no doubt that the hooks on the columns in the [abbey] church are many of the original and intended for security during the works.'²⁴⁰ Scott retained or replaced the hooks when he restored the central column. Unlike Scott, Lethaby considered the tie-rods a permanent fixture too costly to have been temporary braces. He speculated that, as at Salisbury, the tie rods began to draw away from the springers, and, because of this, the flying buttresses were added at Westminster in the fourteenth century. He also commented on the three tiers of strong iron bars, mainly original, which thread the windows of the Westminster octagon and assumed that they had a linkage at the angles, thus providing three stabilizing bands of iron around the building.²⁴¹ They would have functioned much more effectively and inconspicuously than Naish's proposed 'Iron band quite around the Chapter:house on top of the windows.'

Decayed roof timbers that had allowed the 'outward thrust of the walls' waited for attention until the late 1730s. A few of the estimates and accounts kept by Francis Price, carpentarius of the cathedral in the eighteenth century, have survived. Estimating timber needed to repair the cathedral and adjacent buildings, he allocated some eighty-four feet of the total for trusses and bridging over the chapter house.²⁴² Presumably he carried out the work as planned, for in the early 1790s, when the chapter house roof was reframed, the clerk of works found minor repairs to the timbers of what he described as an essentially medieval structure (Fig. 62).²⁴³

In 1784, before Wyatt began his infamous alterations to the church, the chapter resolved 'that

239 Lethaby 1925, 1972, 298, n. 2.

240 Ibid., 103.

241 Ibid., 104-105; also Colvin 1963, 1, 143.

242 Trowbridge, Wilts., Fabric Accounts, Bills, Estimates, Receipts, Letters, Survey, etc., relating to repairs to the cathedral, 1736-1746. Timber estimates, March 1736: 49-1/2 ft. allocated for trusses and bridgings for the chapter house; April 1737, 35 ft. for trusses over the chapter house.

243 Oral communication, Roy Spring to author, confirmed by Norman Drinkwater, R.C.H.M.E.

the whole of the Chapter House shall be put in complete repair and that the Master of the Fabric do cause proper Estimates to be prepared at the expense thereof [of the fabric fund].'²⁴⁴ Yet no estimates or expenditures followed that would suggest implementation of the resolution.

The next mention in the cathedral records of the chapter house occurs in the 'Survey of Necessary Repairs of y^e Cathedral Church of Sarum. Taken in 1794 by Order of y^e Rev. Canon Colton.'²⁴⁵ The only pertinent item in the estimate allocated £50 for repairs to the chapter house windows. Apparently the resolution was also ignored, and the sum proposed seems paltry in comparison with the £650 allocated for the cloister and £2380 estimated for basic repairs to the cathedral. The records indicate that in the last two decades of the eighteenth century all available funds were directed solely toward repairs and alterations to the church begun in 1789 under the direction of James Wyatt.

In one of a series of articles published in 1803 and signed 'An Architect,' John Buckler, the author and Wyatt's gentlemanly but relentless critic, confirmed the unrestored state of the chapter house. He rejoiced that the building had never undergone any repairs. The exceptions, he noted, were the painted windows, too many of which had been 'despoiled of their transparent shew.'²⁴⁶ The tile that Dean Pierce had wanted replaced with marble or Purbeck particularly appealed to Buckler who approved the 'disposure' of the 'armorial Pavement,' which assimilated 'itself to the wayward turn of the octagonal design.' Carter's diagram shows the original disposition and patterns of the tiles (Fig. 63a, b, c). While admiring the interior, he tells us that he was joined by one of the dignitaries of the church. From their conversation Buckler learned that Wyatt had declared it safe to remove the iron bars bracing the chapter house. Afraid that Wyatt's lack of judgement would prevail, Buckler devoted the next fortnight to making 'views, details of parts, &c.' for posterity.²⁴⁷

Observers continued to wonder at the unstable condition of the octagon. After visiting Salisbury in the 1720s, Daniel Defoe wrote:

244 Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Act Book, 7 June 1784, 287.

245 Trowbridge, Wilts., Papers of Bishop Thomas Sherlock (1734-48).

246 *An Architect* (July) 1803, 73: 643.

247 *Ibid.*

'The cloyster, and the chapter-house adjoyning to the church are the finest here of any I have seen in England; the latter is octagon, or eight square, and is 150 foot in circumference; the roof bearing all upon one small marble pillar in center, which you may shake with your hands; and it is hardly to be imagin'd it can be any great support to the roof, which makes it the more curious.'²⁴⁸

Over a century later, an anonymous estimate of the effectiveness of the tie-rods concluded, 'He [Wren] tied it [the chapter house] together with strong iron bars radiating from a central shaft, and by this contrivance the bulging walls were held, not upright, but held together.'²⁴⁹ After describing the tie-rods as a spider's web of iron, a member of the chapter commented:

'In times past--say 150 years ago--the Chapter-house at Salisbury might have been seen very much in the position--I say it without irreverence--of a man who is intoxicated. It was reeling on its legs, and the wind had blown it round to a position from which a little more would have blown it over altogether. What did they do?...They got together all the blacksmiths in Salisbury, if not all the blacksmiths in the county, and they welded together a number of things, something like splints which are used to mend men's legs when they are broken, and with these they tied and buckled all the loose members of the Chapter-house to the loosest member of all--the pillar in the middle.'²⁵⁰

The brace in fact most resembled the spokes of an umbrella. Only one pre-restoration drawing, the work of an amateur, shows the contraption. Although omitted by all other artists, the irons remained in place until the mid-nineteenth-century restoration.²⁵¹

In the late eighteenth century, occasional comments on the chapter house by travelers and interested observers add to the sorry picture of dilapidation and neglect:

The church-yard is like a cow-common, as dirty and as neglected, and thro' the center stagnates a boggy ditch. I wonder that the residents do not subscribe to plant near, and rowl the walks, and cleanse the ditch, which might make a handsome canal....I hope that when the new bishop arrives, who is a scholar, and a gentleman [Shute Barrington]; he will be shock'd at the

248 Defoe 1962, 66-67. Gilpin 1808, 66-67. See Gilpin's report, above n.234, that may have referred to the missing estimate mentioned in Canon Colton's survey.

249 Anonymous 1856, 17, 375.

250 Fane 1857, 257-58.

251 See an anonymous pencil drawing with grey wash, Wiltshire Prints [album], Edward's Bequest, Salisbury Museum, fol. 20, no. 36.

dilapidations of the beautiful old chapter house; and the cloisters; thro' the rubbish of which they are now making a passage for his new Lordship's installation in the chapter house.²⁵²

The high-minded but high-handed restorations directed by James Wyatt in 1789 restored beauty and dignity to the churchyard.²⁵³ Those vistas which artists and photographers have since found so pleasing were artfully contrived, but at some cost. Wyatt destroyed such buildings as the bell tower thought to interfere with the view, leveled burial mounds and gravestones, and 'purged' or disencumbered the cathedral of most post-thirteenth-century additions to the exterior in other styles.²⁵⁴ By eliminating stagnant ditches and their stench, raising the level of the lawns, planting anew, and laying new walks, he created the setting in which we see the cathedral today. On the interior he also tailored the space by removing or remodeling later additions. His reordering of the furnishings, realignment of the tombs, and changes in the levels of pavement answered to the preferences of the day.²⁵⁵ Indeed, within the cathedral community and in the chapter, one lone voice

252 Torrington 1935, 1, 106.

253 For Wyatt's plans presented to the chapter, see Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Act Book, 1789, 12ff. For the two most comprehensive accounts of the restorations, see Dodsworth 1792, 31-43; and a completely negative review, Milner 1811; also R.G. (Richard Gough) 1789, 2: 873-75, a letter denouncing the restorations and giving a survey of the state of the cathedral just prior to the start of work. The controversy over Wyatt's alterations raged in the Gentleman's Magazine in the ensuing years. See, *i.a.*, Dec. 1789, 59: 1042, 1064-66; Aug. 1790, 60: 692; Sept. 1790, 60: 787-88; Dec. 1790, 60: 1194-95; July 1803, 73: 642-44; Aug. 1803, 73: 735-37; Nov. 1803, 73: 1020-23.

The attack by antiquarians engendered a defensive, secretive attitude on the part of the dean and chapter: 'while the keys of the cathedral are so closely kept,' wrote one frustrated and indignant protestor, 'no critic's eye can interrupt...[Wyatt's] design.' Ibid. 1790, 692

254 The Hungerford and Beauchamp chantries that flanked the Trinity chapel were removed, also the thirteenth-century porch before St. Stephen's door (south choir aisle, third bay, now blocked), and St. Thomas's porch that stood before the door in the north transept terminal (now blocked).

255 On Wyatt's restorations, see also the Trowbridge, Wilts., Fabric Accounts of the period and vouchers of the carpenter (Lush), the plumber and glazier (Berry), and the painter (Teboult), as well as the Papers of Bishop Shute Barrington.

This was the period of the wholesale destruction and sale of medieval glass. Much was beaten to pieces for the lead, and the fragmented remains used to raise the ground level around the chapter house and to fill the ditches around the city. See Nightingale 1881, 227. The re-glazing of the cathedral windows catered to the preferences of the day for non-figurate clear or colored quarries. In 1778/1779 alone, the glazier Berry submitted bills for new glass totaling 1380 feet. But in the 1780s and 1790s two figured windows were installed: The Brazen Serpent, gift of the Earl of Radnor, designed by Mr. Mortimer and

opposed him.²⁵⁶ Critics drawn to the scene found refuge in the cloister and chapter house from the 'tribe of errors' perpetrated by Wyatt everywhere else; there they found all 'unchanged' and 'as the pious founders left it.'²⁵⁷

Architects, artists and knowledgeable observers appreciated the inherent elegance of the chapter house. Neither deformations nor decay could hide its aesthetic worth from the well-trained eye. In 1814, less than a quarter of a century after Wyatt's disastrous alterations in the cathedral, John Britton sounded the first call for a restoration of the chapter house. Moved by what he saw, in print he entreated the dean and chapter who 'have charge of this glorious fabric...to guard the whole from all possible dilapidations and to preserve its beauties from careless or wanton injury.'²⁵⁸

The Chapter House in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

After the turn of the century the literature took increasing notice of the chapter house. In 1814, the books published by Britton and William Dodsworth included descriptions of the building accompanied by engraved views (Fig. 64a), and some details of the ornament and spandrel carvings

executed by Mr. Pearson; and for the east end, the Resurrection window designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds and executed by Mr. Eginton, located near Birmingham. Windows on either side of the latter were executed in colored glass set in a mosaic pattern: J.B. 1848, 12-13.

In the 1930s, Stanley Baker undertook a search for Salisbury glass. In 1933, just west of De Vaux Place, he recovered enough glass for 300 feet of window. In Aug. 1935, he doubled that amount with glass found in rubbish being cleaned out of the triforium of the cathedral. Unfortunately, while he was out of town for two days, the unsifted rubbish was dumped to make the substratum for a new road and the glass was thus too widely dispersed to reclaim. Using what he had recovered, plus two gifts from the U.S. (480 pieces from a Mr. Wilfred Drake, one piece from Canada, and two pieces found in the cathedral in 1920), Baker began to set the glass with lead after the grisaille pattern then near the southwest door of the cathedral. The dean and chapter refused his offer of the composite window on the advice of Bernard Rackham, the authority on medieval glass for the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Rackham had, however, authenticated Baker's fragments as 13th-century glass. Winchester cathedral then accepted the sixteen panels forming a window 19' x 5', which, according to Baker, was installed in the thirteenth-century retrochoir. Baker then promised the rest of the glass to Winchester cathedral, as well as some fifteenth-century glass from Shrewsbury that he had also rediscovered. The extraordinary account given as a lecture by Baker was reported in 'The Quest for Salisbury Glass,' Salisbury Times, 16 July 1937.

256 Gentleman's Magazine (suppl. for year 1789) 59: 1196 n.

257 An Architect (July) 1803, 68: 643.

258 Britton 1814, 119.

(Fig. 64b).²⁵⁹ Charles Winston's monograph of 1849 on the painted glass in Salisbury, Henry Shaw's book on medieval tiles, William Burges's article on the condition, iconography, and surviving polychromy of the chapter house sculpture, as well as Henry Clutton's published lecture on chapter houses with particular attention to Salisbury, all create a fairly full, but depressing picture of the building up to the eve of the 1855 restoration.²⁶⁰

Despite earlier efforts to initiate repairs, the literature reveals the unchecked progress of deterioration. Shaw and Britton indicate that most of the inlaid tiles had survived, but with many worn, rearranged, or lying loose.²⁶¹ According to Winston's survey, during a glazing campaign begun in 1819 under William Ranger's direction, all thirteenth-century glass still remaining in the chapter house was removed and clear glass quarries substituted. Until then, Winston believed that all remnants of the medieval glass had been left in the original locations both in the cathedral and in the chapter house.²⁶² Yet the cathedral records contradict him by documenting the transfer of thirteenth-century glass from the chapter house to the cathedral beginning in the first decade of the nineteenth century and continuing into the 1840s.²⁶³ Although John Carter's (1747-1817) drawings of 1802

259 Dodsworth 1814, 225-27. In 1826, Britton published five volumes on architectural antiquities in Great Britain. In volume five, he treated Salisbury in less detail than in his 1814 publication, but included additional engravings that pre-date the chapter house restoration of 1855. See also, Britton 1836.

260 Winston 1851, 135-59; Shaw 1858, 135-36; Burges 1859, 109-14, 147-62; Clutton 1855, 85-97. Gilpin 1808, 66, also commented on the condition of the sculpture in the chapter house and referred to the Old Testament scenes as 'miserably hacked,' then added, 'Both the cloister and the chapter-house are in so decaying a state that it would require a great sum to restore them.'

261 Shaw 1858, pls. XXIII and XXIV and n.; Britton 1814, 76.

262 Winston 1851, 135-36.

263 Trowbridge, Wilts., nineteenth-century Voucher and Accounts, 26 June 1812: 'To Painted West window...Some pieces of Chapter House Glass....' Prior to that, there were a number of references to new glass in the chapter house. Fabric Accounts for Dec. 1807, Jan. and Oct. 1808. A series of entries in 1811 indicates the setting of over 2300 quarries of new glass, but the destinations were not specified. In 1823, 353 feet of 'new quarry lights' were installed in the east window of the chapter house, and much of the old glass from that window relocated in the east end of the cathedral. By 1835, the entries referring to window work in the chapter house seem associated with the re-glazing of lancets in the south transept, where panels of thirteenth-century grisaille were supplemented by a considerable amount of nineteenth-century glass based on thirteenth-century designs: 18 April 1835.

Winston identified the position of all chapter house glass relocated in the cathedral, but that placement no longer obtains, first because of changes made during the re-leading work of 1922, and then again in

establish the location and designs of all chapter house glass then *in situ* (Figs. 28b, c and 54), by 1809 other sketches had begun to reflect removal of glass.²⁶⁴ The campaign was underway to set all surviving medieval glass into composite windows for the cathedral. As records of the original locations and patterns of grisaille, heraldic shields, and figurate panels, Carter's drawings have proved invaluable, making it possible to identify not only the glass in the composite windows in the cathedral, but also the panel of grisaille and another fragments in American museums (Fig. 28a).²⁶⁵

His numerous drawings of the chapter house provide a comprehensive set of visual documents of the building, its architecture, sculpture, and ornamental details. At one time the artist, archaeologist, and draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries of London, he preserved information on the appearance and condition of every aspect of the building, often with notations about vestiges of polychromy. Only a few details have ever been published.²⁶⁶ His quick, tiny, and somewhat rough sketches of the Old Testament scenes, for example, captured not only the condition and content of each spandrel scene, but also recorded the poses and gestures with remarkable fidelity (Pls. LXI and LXII). His drawings supplement Burges's notes and sketches of 1855 that were made a little

1947, when the old glass was remounted following World War II. More recently the grisaille from the chapter house in the east end of the cathedral was dismantled giving place to new windows made to order in Chartres: Dunlop 1980, 12-13.

264 See the drawing of the interior of the chapter house by J. Buckler as of 1814 (London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS 36392, fol. 59); and a similar view in Dodsworth 1814, drawn by F. Nash and engraved by J. Pye.

265 Raymond Pitcairn Collection, Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, ref. no. 218, first identified as chapter house glass when the author showed Carter's drawings to the late Jane Hayward, Curator of Medieval Glass at The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of New York. See now, Hayward and Cahn 1982, 229-30. Four panels in the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, three lancets 38 inches high and a roundel with a diameter of 17 inches (gift of Edward Drumond Libbey), resemble the composite windows of thirteenth-century grisaille located in the clerestory of the south transept which contains glass from both the cathedral and chapter house. Like most of the composite windows in the cathedral, the arrangement of medieval glass is random and irrational, formed of discontinuous vines and foliage, berries, single-petaled flowers, and border designs. Characterized by a fine overall hatching, the thirteenth-century grisaille from the cathedral is easily distinguished from the unhatched chapter house glass. Both types intermingle in the Toledo panels.

266 London, British Library, John Carter, 1802, Add. MS. 29939, fols. 79-92. For published details, see Carter (1814), pls. LXXI, LXXVIII, and LXXIX.

On the artist himself and his early and pioneering role in the Gothic Revival in England, see Frew 1982, 315-19.

over half a century later. Some of Burges's drawings have color wash and copious annotations (Fig. 65); but others lack even identifying labels. He used only two of the drawings to illustrate his article, one the scene of Joseph and the chapman riding off to Egypt (Fig. 66a), and his drawing of the same scene in Queen Mary's Psalter (Fig. 66b: London, Brit. Lib. MS. Roy, 2 B. VII). In his text Burges relied heavily on notes that he had penciled next to drawings. Unfortunately Clutton's drawings of the chapter house were not with his papers and could not be traced. He referred to them in a lecture he had delivered before his appointment as architect-in-charge of the restoration. Some of them illustrated his proposals for reconstructing parts of the interior; others were architectural drawings and details that accompanied specifications sent to contractors for bids.

As previously noted, John Buckler had spent weeks drawing various aspects of the chapter house in the first two decades of the century. As an architect, he focused more on architectural and spatial effects than on the sculpture. But when he occasionally turned his attention to ornamental details, his drawings in a miniature sketchbook (2 x 3 inches) have astonishing clarity and precision (Fig. 16a, b). We can only regret that he drew so few ornamental details and none of the Old Testament scenes.²⁶⁷

Other informative drawings of the interior that pre-date the restoration include pencil sketches with color wash by George Scharf (Fig. 67), and Anthony Salvin.²⁶⁸ Their work has

267 Buckler also did a series of water-colors of Wiltshire monuments. For views of the chapter house, see Buckler, *Drawings Collections for Wiltshire*, vol. 9, fols. 28, 29, 31, 38, 39, 41, Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Museum, Devizes. Other drawings of the chapter house made in situ are as follows: J. C. Buckler, *Architectural Drawings. Sketchbook*, vol. 37, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36392; vol. 44, Add. MS. 36399; vol. 48, Add. MS. 36402; vol. 54, Add. MS. 36408; and Add. MS. 36411.

In cataloging the Buckler drawings, neither the museum at Devizes nor the British Library has distinguished between the corpus of John Buckler (1770-1851) and that of his son, John Chissel Buckler (1793-1894). The majority of the chapter house sketches dated prior to 1815 and as early as 1803 and distinguished by unity of style insist on an attribution to the elder Buckler. Of the two, the style of J. C. Buckler seems the drier and more mechanical. Williams 1972, 62, called Buckler a 'dull artist, though skilful in representation of buildings, particularly those of stone. His most taking quality was a knack of showing a house in relation to its surrounding grounds and placing aptly the rather pretty figures with which he decorated his views.'

268 The question of whether to attribute the detail of the chapter house arcade to George Scharf, senior (1788-1860) or to George Scharf, junior (1820-1895), is less clear than the Bucklers' drawings. The elder Scharf,

particular value as documentation of the pre-1855 appearance of several spandrel scenes and sections of the interior arcade.

Among the most regrettable losses are the plaster casts of spandrels made by Mr. Cottingham before their restoration and, according to Burges, given to the Architectural Museum in South Kensington (now the Victoria and Albert Museum).²⁶⁹ The missing casts of some of the best preserved of the Old Testament scenes could have revealed more about techniques of restoration than any two-dimensional drawing. Only casts could have supplied exact information concerning the amount of thirteenth-century carving sacrificed when preparing damaged areas to receive insets or provide measurements indicating the depth of re-cutting and sanding to eliminate surface damages.

Made in 1849 and 1856, Winston's meticulously tinted tracings of the chapter house glass belong in this roster of outstanding visual resources.²⁷⁰ He traced the figurate panels and examples of the intricate, elegant foliate designs forming the arabesques of the grisaille. As a record of the delicate color and form, the tracings could have been useful to the designers replacing the chapter

a water-colorist born in Munich, but London based, was a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London. His son, more closely associated with the Society than the father, catalogued the drawings in the collection in 1865. By 1853, the date of the water-color, the younger artist would already have been flourishing. See Bryan 1964, 5, 33.

Although there are many other unpublished pre-restoration prints and drawings of the chapter house, both interior and exterior, as well as details of the ornament and architecture, they duplicate the visual material cited and reproduced here. Among reliable ones not used in this text are drawings by R. Willis, Sketchbook, vol. 1, fol. 305; vol. 3, fol. 506, R.I.B.A.; idem, Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 5022, sheets 16, 17; Add. MS. 5036, fol. 7; Add. MS. 5054, fols. xvii, xxxi; also Collings, 'Original Sketches and Drawings,' R.I.B.A.; and W. Osmund, Downs MS. No. 64 x 119, The Henry Francis Dupont Winterthur Museum.

269 Burges 1959, 112. In October 1974, upon application to see the casts, I was informed by John Beckwith, Keeper of Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum, that the casts has just been dismantled and sent into 'dead' storage in a building on the grounds of a military installation at Barking, outside of London. This was confirmed by the Keeper of the Collection of Plaster Casts whom Beckwith consulted in my presence, but access was denied. Upon reapplication in 1977, I was told that the museum had no record that any such casts had ever been in the collection. A decade later, Paul Williamson, Chief Curator of Medieval Art, was kind enough to search once again, but he, too, found no record of the missing casts.

270 British Library, Charles Winston, Coloured Drawings on Painted Glass, 3, pls. AA 4, AA 6-11; 4, pls. AA 12-15, AA 17-19, AA21, AA24. There are tracings of two of the grisaille patterns and the foliate ornament in the tracery at the springing of the double lancets; two bishops (one a fragment), two kings, one angel, two border designs, and four heraldic shields.

house glass in the nineteenth century, and again to the glazing atelier set up at Salisbury in the 1970s.²⁷¹ Comparisons of the thirteenth- and nineteenth-century patterns show a stiffening of line through simplification of forms. Perhaps because the windows are no longer juxtaposed to polychromy in the arcade below, and the color progression described by Burges no longer obtains, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century glass now intrudes boldly upon the eye.

Published engravings that pre-date 1855 provide another category of visual evidence for reconstructing the pre-restoration condition and appearance of the chapter house and its ornament and for evaluating the accuracy of the restorations to the Old Testament scenes. The topographical artist, Frederick Nash (1782-1856), collaborated with various engravers to illustrate Dodsworth's book on Salisbury.²⁷² Although the figure and drapery style of Nash's engravings of the spandrel scenes are overlaid with his nineteenth-century aesthetic vision, they prove valuable as another record of both condition and iconographical details (Fig. 68). The engraver, John Pye, was the happiest of Nash's collaborators. Pye's association with Turner, among others, and his anti-Royal Academy attitudes may explain the airiness of the spatial and lighting effects in his engravings.²⁷³ R. Cattermole and John Le Keux both worked with Britton (Fig. 52), as did Frederick MacKenzie, a London based artist who exhibited at the Royal Academy. But feeling exploited, MacKenzie eventually broke with the author.²⁷⁴ The artist-engraver Thomas Orlando Jewitt did many

271 In Jan. 1967, the chapter authorized the dismounting of the nineteenth-century glass in the chapter house and its replacement with quarries of clear glass. Protests aired in the London *Times*, 25, 27, and 28 Jan. 1967 halted the work, but not before two windows had been dismounted and destroyed. The glass in the south and southeast windows were exchanged and the ensuing program begun of repairs to and replacements for others: Spring 1973, 22. In 1973, a new glazier was engaged and a glass shop organized on the premises. The chapter then approved the designs for new grisaille windows 'to harmonize' with the nineteenth-century glass, and in the autumn of 1977 the first new window was installed in the northwest bay. See also *idem* 1974, 21; 1976, 20; 1978, 24.

272 Bryan 1964, 4, 4. Nash was a draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries and also a member of the Watercolour Society where he exhibited from 1801-1856.

273 *Ibid.*, 169. See the pre-restoration view of the chapter house interior in Dodsworth 1814, opp. 224.

274 Cattermole (1808-1868) did engravings for other publications including Meyrick 1836, and Roscoe 1836. Le Keux's (1783-1854) active career included illustrations for Beck 1844 and Tredgold 1853. He also worked as illustrator and engraver for Pugin 1831-38, and engraved Pugin's drawings for Britton 1847. Le Keux's association with Britton extended over many years. See also, Bryan 1964, 3, 204. MacKenzie

illustrations for R. B. King's series, Handbooks to English Cathedrals, and, like Le Keux, later collaborated with G. G. Scott.²⁷⁵ To judge from the incomplete state of the nineteenth-century polychromy in Jewitt's engravings of the chapter house, they must date from ca. 1856 in the decade of the restorations.²⁷⁶ Mechanical but detailed, they seem very precise. Yet because we find such artistic license as spandrel scenes in the incorrect order, caution is needed when using his illustrations as visual documents.

In 1843, a decade before Henry Clutton presented his proposals for the restoration of the chapter house, the dean and chapter solicited an opinion 'on the practicality and safety of carrying into effect certain proposed alterations and restorations of the chapter-house.'²⁷⁷ Anthony Salvin, a London architect associated with the firm of Digby Wyatt, replied as follows:

Apparently the walls and buttresses were at no period of sufficient strength and weight to resist the pressure of the vaulting, the arches of the windows and some lateral pressure from the roof. The general expansion of the walls and the consequent shattered state of the vault show that some greater power of resistance, either by buttresses or by ties, was necessary the latter having been adopted. I do not think they can be removed without substitution of the former. In a building so disjoined in all its parts as the Chapterhouse at Salisbury the danger to be apprehended is, that in making any alteration in the bearings, a movement may take place of which it is impossible to calculate the consequences unless direct resistance of ample power is prepared....²⁷⁸

Salvin feared that if one side of the groining in a vault were weaker than another, any new central pillar would soon yield and arrive at the same declivity as the old one. He believed the walls could

(1788?-1854) and Le Keux also worked together on illustrations for Tredgold 1853. See also Bryan 1964, 3, 264-65.

275 Although styled as Thomas Orlando Sheldon Jewitt (1799-1869), in Bryan 1964, 3, 112, he signed his engravings O. Jewitt. His acquaintance with John Henry Parker in Oxford led to his work for architectural and topographical publications. Jewitt's name predominates on the signed illustrations for Scott 1863. Jewitt also contributed the text of the section on the crypt of the Westminster chapter house, *ibid.*, 195-97. Le Keux's role in illustrating the book was considerably smaller than Jewitt's.

276 See King 1861, pls. XVI-XIX.

277 Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Minutes, 1834-1851, 6 June 1843, 121.

278 Anthony Salvin, letter to the Dean and Chapter, 11 Nov. 1843, Trowbridge, Wilts., G. G. Scott Papers, Bundle 7.

be left in their current state without danger, since a new roof could stabilize the building and act as a tie--an adequate substitute, he thought for tie bars. 'It is the option of some well qualified to judge in such matters, that there is little or no weight on these bars,' but the mere removal of the bars could, he speculated, affect the walls and arches 'so cracked as to have no bond of one part to another....Buttresses should be added of such dimension as to leave all questions, of any movement taking place, beyond a doubt.' And in defense of that proposal, he wrote:

I am not one who would recommend any change of outline of such a building as the Chapter House, even though I thought it would be an improvement, for I would rather hand such works down to posterity as we have found them but in this case there is an evident break up in construction which I would provide against...rather than to allow the iron bars to remain an unsightly interruption to the beauty of the interior.

A century and a half had elapsed since Thomas Naish and Dean Pierce had appealed to the chapter to undertake structural and cosmetic repairs and improvements in the chapter house. Doubtless interior dampness and the passage of time had aggravated every problem they described. In 1838, Bishop Edward Denison (1837-1854) initiated and sponsored a complete restoration of the cloister,²⁷⁹ but death intervened before he could implement his plans for the chapter house. Salvin's opinion represented the first step towards his goal. A decade later, the dean and chapter would require further assurances about the 'safety and practicality' of major structural repairs proposed for the building before entrusting the work to another architect who would then proceed along the same lines suggested by Salvin.

279 In 1838, the nineteenth-century Fabric Accounts and Vouchers begin to reflect the campaign to restore the cloister. The work was accomplished during the tenure of Frederick Fisher, whom the chapter elected clerk of works in January 1838, to succeed his father, Money Fisher, deceased: Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Minutes, 1834-1851, 3 Jan. 1838, 55. See also Fabric Accounts and Vouchers for 1838 and 1843.

The Restorations of 1855

In March 1854, immediately following the death of Bishop Edward Denison (1837-1854), a group convened at the deanery to discuss a memorial to him. Inasmuch as the bishop had restored the cloister primarily at his own expense and had planned to proceed with the chapter house, the group resolved 'that for such a purpose no Memorial would be so appropriate...since it is well known that this was an object that the late Bishop...had earnestly at heart.'²⁸⁰ A further resolution appointed a committee of important laity and clergy in the diocese to take charge. By September, the committee had designated Henry Clutton as the architect and had solicited money and pledges totaling £4375 to finance the restorations.²⁸¹

Henry Clutton (1819-1893) was in his early thirties when the committee awarded him the commission. At the age of sixteen he had entered the offices of Edward Blore, where he received his architectural training from 1835 to 1840.²⁸² By 1844, apparently he had his own practice which William Burges (1827-1881), at age twenty-four, joined in 1851 as a partner. One of Burges's biographers suggested that the two young men had little in common but their love of Gothic architecture.²⁸³ That interest was founded on a knowledge kept well-nourished by research, travel, and writing. As his publications indicate, French architecture particularly attracted Clutton.²⁸⁴

280 Anonymous 1854. Two and a half years earlier, at a meeting of 8 October 1851, the chapter had recommended that a survey of the fabric of the chapter house be undertaken, a recommendation no doubt reflecting the bishop's intention to proceed with the restoration of the building: Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Minutes, 1834-1851.

281 Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 2 Sept. 1854.

282 Sir George Clutton to Stephen Welsh, 11 Aug. 1967, Henry Clutton Collection. Property of Owen Clutton but now in the custody of Rafe Clutton, Clutton Ltd. (Chartered Surveyors, 5 Great College St., London SW1P 3SD). The Clutton papers, together with an unpublished manuscript by Welsh 1973, R.I.B.A., provided the primary sources for biographical information. For a bibliography of Clutton's publications, see also Courtauld Institute of Art, McHardy 1969, and the personal reminiscences by Clutton's daughter Sister Alice Mary, 'Notes written for his grandchildren and also perhaps for his great-grandchildren,' unpub'd MS., n.d., Henry Clutton Collection.

283 See R.I.B.A., Handley-Read 1963, 187-220; Pullan 1881/82, 183.

284 Among Clutton's publications there is an article based on a lecture he gave on the Sainte Chapelle, Paris,

Also a pupil of Blore, Burges had accumulated an additional year's experience (1850-1851) in the offices of Digby Wyatt before entering Clutton's firm. A tour of England in 1849 had awakened Burges's enthusiasm for the Gothic. Then, between April 1853 and November 1854, he visited and sketched medieval monuments as he journeyed all over Europe. The numerous drawings by his skilled and disciplined hand map his itinerary. Recording his travels with an eye attuned to architectural and ornamental detail, he collected and absorbed images and ideas.²⁸⁵ When filtered through his creative imagination, those images from the past re-emerged as designs in his own idiom--an arresting style that marks him as one of the most interesting contributors to the Gothic Revival movement.²⁸⁶

In 1854, after making numerous sketches in the Salisbury chapter house, Burges undertook research in medieval manuscripts to resolve the puzzling iconographical problems presented by the mutilated spandrel carvings depicting the story of Joseph. As restored, the cycle reflects the research and expertise that informed Burges's article on the iconography of the chapter house and its sculptures.²⁸⁷ Lack of his guidance, or its disregard, becomes apparent in the restoration of the badly defaced scenes of Creation and the early scenes in the Adam and Eve cycle, as well as in the repainting of the arcades. Though attention to his opinions could have prevented numerous errors,

and books about French domestic architecture: Clutton 1853 and *ibid.* 1856b, 247-53. Burges assisted with the illustrations for the latter.

285 See Crook, 1981, 44-53. Sixty small bound sketchbooks on which Burges based his 'Abstract of Diaries' (the latter now in the collection of J. Mordaunt Crook, but formerly in the possession of Mrs. Brian Mallock) compiled in 1880 are divided between the Victoria and Albert Museum and the R.I.B.A. See *i.a.*, R.I.B.A., Drawing Book, no. 40092, vols. 1, 5, 13, 20, 25, 27, and 41. This sampling includes sketches of Gothic monuments at Troyes, Châlons, Beauvais, Reims, Paris, Cluny, Bourges, Le Mans, Wells, Ely, Waltham, and Bradfield. Burges also published extensively on medieval topics, including Villard d'Honnecourt, Chertsey tiles, Gothic portals, misericords, masonry, ornament, lead works, jewelry, manuscript illumination, and stained glass. For Scott 1863, 80-194, Burges was the author of nine of the articles on various aspects of Westminster abbey and its ornament. See bibliography in R.I.B.A., Handley-Read, 'Roughs for short catalogue;' *idem* 1963, 187-220; and R.I.B.A., Burges, Drawing Book no. 43649, vols. 29, 90, 91, with a list of his published articles as of 1860.

286 See *i.a.*, the finished designs and detail drawings for his house, R.I.B.A., Burges, Drawings Collection; and Briggs 1996, 131-59, which was based on the collection of Burges's work in the R.I.B.A.

287 Burges 1859, and see R.I.B.A., Drawing Books, no. 40092, vol. 2; no. 43649, vol. 30; and no. 62695, vol. 64.

there is no doubt that Burges played an active, if unofficial, role in the restoration of the building up to the time when he severed his professional association with Clutton.²⁸⁸

The partnership of the two architects did not survive much beyond April 1856. In 1855 they had submitted the winning plans in a design competition for a new cathedral at Lille,²⁸⁹ but in April 1856 news came that it would be built to another design. An entry in Burges's diary for 13 May mentions a row with Clutton which presumably ended their partnership.²⁹⁰ But rows were not Clutton's style. His letters reveal him as a serene and gentle man who bore success and adversity with equal equanimity, and even the affliction of blindness in later years without bitterness. The divisive issue seems to have been Clutton's decision to become a Roman Catholic. Like so many in Cardinal Newman's circle, Clutton made the change with intellectual awareness and spiritual conviction, and to judge from his correspondence, with the foreknowledge that the decision would alter his professional as well as his interior life. Burges apparently felt impelled to disassociate himself from a partner with a religious affiliation unacceptable to their clientele. Their break in 1856 coincided with Clutton's loss of the commission to restore Salisbury cathedral.²⁹¹

288 Burges 1859. Handley-Read 1963, 195, 199, noted that doubts had arisen over the 'Burges-Clutton' restorations in the chapter house, but did not try to assess the extent of Burges's responsibility or involvement. See now Crook 1981, 181-3, for an account of Burges's participation in the restoration.

289 On the Lille competition see *ibid.*, 170-75; and Anonymous 1856b, 375-76.

290 R.I.B.A., Handley-Read, 'Essay on Burges...1, Early years' (Rough for short cat. entries); Crook 1981, 44. According to the latter, *ibid.*, 90, 'with Burges there were always plenty of rows,' but the 'row' with Clutton apparently was smoothed over by 1860; *ibid.*, 349 n. 77.

291 On Oct. 9 1856, the chapter resolved 'that the Dean be authorized to instruct Mr. Clutton to make a Survey...and to report as to its general state of repair.' Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Minutes, 1852-1864. A day later, Bishop Walter Kerr Hamilton (1854-1869), well-pleased with the restorations in the chapter house, also invited Clutton to undertake a survey of the cathedral and submit a report on the work required to preserve and improve the building: Hamilton to Clutton, 10 Oct. 1856, Henry Clutton Collection. A letter from the deanery written by one of Clutton's friends regretfully advised him that in going over to Rome, he would disconnect himself in the future from the Church Establishment: *ibid.*, E. Hulse to Clutton, 14 Oct. 1856. Then, on 21 Oct., the dean reported to the chapter that 'Mr. Clutton had declined the undertaking.' Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Minutes, 1852-1864. Exactly two years later, on 8 Oct. 1858, the chapter authorized the dean 'to instruct Mr. [G. G.] Scott the architect to survey the fabric of the Cathedral,' and in the same year, awarded him the commission to restore the cathedral: *ibid.* Clutton's advice and services ceased to be in demand at Salisbury, or ever again by any member of the Established Church. Clutton's decision also seems to have limited his activities in the R.I.B.A. Elected in

Two years earlier, Clutton's prospects at Salisbury appeared assured.²⁹² He had completed the background study for the restoration of the chapter house, and on 1 September 1854, one week before the press announced his selection by the restoration committee as architect-in-charge, he gave a lecture in Salisbury at the meeting of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society. In his talk, 'On Chapter-Houses. Their Form and Uses,' he repeatedly referred to the 'Report' he had prepared on the chapter house and to drawings illustrating his proposals for the restoration. He first mentioned the report in his comparisons of the Salisbury and Westminster chapter houses: 'The high-pitched roof at Westminster was removed in 1714. This,' he said, 'is a recorded fact and confirms the opinion set forth in my Report that no chapter house of polygonal shape was ever entirely finished without the addition of this very characteristic feature.'²⁹³ Clutton's conclusion did not go unchallenged. Disagreeing politely, Burges wrote, 'Whether there was or was not anciently a high pointed roof [at Salisbury] remains a disputed point. All we know is, that the...poinçon has evidently formed part of an older roof contemporary with the building.'²⁹⁴ An 1856 report on the restorations stated that £1500 was wanted to build a conical roof. 'Restore, we say, in deference to Mr. Clutton's conclusions: for however...desirable and necessary to the artistic effect...we doubt whether this roof ever was erected. That it ought to have been...we have no doubt; but neither the present roof exhibits any trace of it, nor are there, as far as we are aware, any records of its existence.'²⁹⁵ Modern opinion

1854, he was active in the fellowship for only three years.

292 On 8 Oct. 1852, the chapter had 'resolved that the Dean be authorized to instruct Mr. Clutton, the Architect, to make a survey and report on the present state of the Chapter House--the work necessary to...place the same in a complete state of repair--and probable expense of the work.' On 11 Oct. the Dean reported that he had so instructed Clutton, and the forthcoming report would receive consideration at a future meeting: Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Minutes, 1852-1864, 20, 41.

As the records indicate, actions taken by the committee on the restorations required an implementing resolution by the chapter. The committee, however, seems to have accepted Clutton as architect, an association initiated by the chapter during Bishop Denison's lifetime.

293 Clutton 1855, 90.

294 Burges 1859, 109.

295 Anonymous 1856a, 376. See also the dean's speech at the reopening of the chapter house: Anonymous 1856c. Although he accepted Clutton's opinion about the roof, he noted that he had found nothing in the chapter records about the elimination of a peaked roof: *ibid.* The author's search also failed to uncover any such entry, and the technical evidence that has survived in the thirteenth-century framing shows

concur with Clutton's critics and with Burges's date for the timber of the poinçon. The inadequate buttressing could not have withstood the additional load of a conical roof. Drawings by Anthony Salvin include an exterior elevation of the chapter house showing how a high-pitched roof would look, as well as interior sections detailing the actual construction of the medieval roof, and also plans for reframing a new roof with either the same low pitch or with a conical form (Fig. 69a-d).²⁹⁶ The last drawing may have influenced Clutton. Photographs taken in 1980 show the thirteenth-century timbers that have always supported a low-pitched roof (Fig. 62a, b). The newest beams spliced into the thirteenth-century framing date from a restoration in the early 1970s.

Before continuing his comparisons with the Westminster chapter house, Clutton interjected other observations and conclusions about the Salisbury octagon:

My restoration of that [arcade with a continuous curtain painted as a backdrop] at Salisbury must necessarily be, to some extent arbitrary.²⁹⁷ Enough remains, as I have already mentioned in my Report, to warrant a restoration [in color] of the moulded parts....²⁹⁸ Although I have shown the

Clutton was wrong.

296 Trowbridge, Wilts., Plans 5, ii, G.G. Scott Papers.

297 Burges admitted to some uncertainty about the colors of the curtains. His notation in his drawing book says: 'I cannot decide the colour but think it has been pink and all walls white.' In his article he added that the pink was 'diapered, edged with yellow, and lined with green': *idem* 1859, 161. His chart of colors and his tinted sketch show the curtains banded in yellow and lined with green and also indicate alternation and minor variations in the colors of the prebendary labels above the curtain (Fig. 65).

As noted above, Carter's descriptions of colors in the eastern bay do not correlate perfectly with Burges's findings, but together they indicate the difficulties encountered in determining the original colors from the vestiges of polychromy: Carter, *Brit. Lib. Add. Ms.* 29939, p. 88. The tinted drawing by G. Scharf (Fig. 67), like Burges's colored sketches, indicates pink curtains bordered in gold, with a greenish lining. All observers described the background wall in the arcade as white with red in the headings of the arches. Burges indicated the red ground semé with a four-petaled flower similar to the motif Carter suggested on the wall within the upper arcade above the inner entrance (Fig. 34). See also Burges 1859, 161. Nothing in the visual or written documents sanctions the bold patterns on the curtains as restored (Figs. 6, 57, and 59).

298 On this, see *ibid.* Scharf represented the colors on the moldings of the cinq-cusped arches of the eastern bay from the inner order out as follows: green, blue, gold, purple, a blank, two red filets followed by two blanks, and red indicated on the outermost order. In the southeast bay the colors were altered: green, a blank, purple, blue, gold on the spandrels of the cusps, purple, a blank, red, and the inner order of the cusps semé with a six-petaled ornament. This corroborates Burges's report that the principal moldings were powdered with various patterns, but wherever Scharf left a blank for the color, Burges had observed

niches over the doorways...as charged with paintings, I am inclined to think they were formerly filled with figures, as in the case of Westminster....The recess over the outer side of the doorway at Salisbury in all probability once contained a representation of the Crucifixion. In the quatrefoil on the inside I have introduced a figure of our Lord in the act of benediction....There is one other remarkable coincidence in these two chapter-houses, namely the non-evidence of the existence of any medium by which the external air was excluded from the interior. This subject is fully entered upon in my Report as regards Salisbury.

Clutton's conviction that the chapter house never had a door is contradicted by archival evidence. Entries in the fabric accounts repeatedly itemize payments to the 'smyth' for repairs to the 'chapter house dore.' Periodically he repaired or supplied new bolts, hasps, keys, staples, and locks.²⁹⁹ Other entries specifically refer to the door in the eastern bay of the foyer, north side, that gives access to the stairway leading to the chapter house roof: 'It[em] for a keay to the dore that goeth up over the chapter. iv [keys] neade [needed].'³⁰⁰ Two entries in 1615, one 'for mending the locke of the foyer doore in the chapter house,' the other for 'mending the locke and peysing [piecing] the key of the chapter doore,' itemize work involving both doors.³⁰¹ Indisputably the chapter house had a door, probably in the entrance to the foyer from the cloister. Because today's completely modern entrance dates from the restoration of the cloister sponsored by Bishop Denison, all evidence of the earlier closure had vanished before Clutton made his survey.³⁰²

Clutton must have won the commission as architect-in-charge on the basis of his Report, preliminary drawings, and specifications submitted to the dean and chapter, but no copies have survived. Final drawings and specifications also accompanied Clutton's requests for bids from

that the gilding had been carefully scraped off. There were, however, traces of murrey (mulberry) that he assumed were the vestiges of an undercoat for the gilding. In repainting, Hudson restored those moldings as murrey: Burges 1859, 161, n. 1.

299 See *i.a.* Trowbridge, Wilts., Fabric Accounts: March 1481, June 1558, Sept. 1582, Aug. 1603, and Aug. 1613.

300 *Ibid.*, Sept. 1582.

301 *Ibid.*, March and Sept. 1615.

302 When in regular use, the chapter house also had a stove inside the door to mitigate the rigors of the English climate. But in the wake of the Reformation, the stove was removed and a sum paid 'to Hancock the smyth for a Locke and Keye to the stove that stode wⁱn the Chapter house dore and nowe plasyd in the quire to ley in the songe bokes:' *ibid.*, 7 Nov. 1566.

contractors. But since they too have disappeared without a trace,³⁰³ the chapter house as restored provides the best evidence of his work. Some of it differs from the proposals set forth in his lecture. As his talk indicated, he had taken pains to inform himself on every aspect of the building and its decoration. His conclusions, however, did not always agree with Burges's who, of the two, emerges as the superior iconographer and observer.

Despite the missing plans and specifications and the lack of any traceable letters exchanged between Clutton and the contractor, mason, sculptor, or painter, we can reconstruct the chronology of the restoration and many details of the work by piecing together the information in the chapter minutes, treasurer's reports, news releases, fund-raising brochures, published reports, and critiques. We also have a transcript of the chapter's legal agreement with the contractor, unfortunately minus the pertinent attachments.³⁰⁴

Before the chapter signed the contract and adopted the designs and specifications, or even 'retained and employed' Clutton to superintend the work, he was asked to render a professional opinion assuring Bishop Hamilton that his proposals would not endanger the stability of the fabric. Upon receipt thereof, the chapter passed resolutions implementing the arrangements made by the committee on restorations, and on 15 March 1855, executed the agreement with the London contractor George P. White of Pimlico (Appendix C-1). White agreed to undertake the job for the sum of £2832, a shade less than Clutton's estimate of £3064, which was exactly the amount put at the disposal of the chapter by the committee.³⁰⁵ The final accounting indicates a cost overrun of

303 Even the 'Perspective drawing of proposed restoration of Chapter House, Salis.' listed by Welsh in May 1973 as an item in the Clutton Papers has since disappeared. For the full list, see R.I.B.A., Welsh 1973. Soon after Welsh compiled the information the collection passed from the estate of the late Sir George Clutton to his heir, Owen Clutton, a resident of South Africa: High Court of Justice, Family Division, will dated 12 January 1970.

304 Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Lease Book, 1855-1859, 1-5. See also Appendix C-1 for excerpts and a summary of the contract.

305 For the correspondence, opinion, and resolution of the chapter, see Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Minutes, 1852-1864, 85-87; for bids and estimates, see Trowbridge, Wilts., Bundle 7, G. G. Scott Papers. Dated 18 Dec. 1854, White's low bid of £3,237 was reduced by approximately £400 by the time the contract was signed--a reduction of over twelve percent.

G. Myers of Ordinance Wharf, Lambeth, submitted two estimates: a quotation of £4939.6.0 with

approximately £560 (Appendix C-2).

Work began in April 1855, and for fifteen months proceeded rapidly.³⁰⁶ Although much still remained to be done, on 30 July 1856, the dean reopened the chapter house after a special service held in the cathedral.³⁰⁷ By that date, Clutton had completed all structural repairs.³⁰⁸ On the interior, he had taken down and rebuilt the main shaft of the central column and replaced its eight detached Purbeck colonnettes and their bases and capitals.³⁰⁹ Before removing the tie rods, he had stabilized the building by underpinning the foundations and enlarging and recapping the buttresses. (Compare Figs. 1 and 70.) The masonry of the interior and exterior walls and the window tracery had also undergone the necessary repairs. The heavily restored exterior masonry of the north bay, when compared with that of the well-preserved eastern bay, shows that although decay was extensive,

Purbeck marble used where indicated; and a lower estimate of £3426.6.0 with Chilmark stone substituted for the Purbeck. Even so, the lower bid exceeded the accepted one, and fortunately, cost cutting did not result in the elimination of the contrasting Purbeck marble details.

Only by reading the transcript of Scott's contracts pertaining to the work in the cathedral can we appreciate how much valuable information those missing drawings and specifications contained, not only about work done, but, by extension, about the condition of every architectural and sculptural detail of the building. Working with the same contractor, G. White, Scott supplied diagrams and detail drawings for every aspect of the work. He designated the types and grades of stone, the various designations depending on the use and intended location. He listed the components of cement and specified their quality, in each case suiting the formula to the use. Similar variables governed his choice of timber and types of glass, as well as specifications for the preparation and 'seasoning' of both: Trowbridge, Wilts., Chapter Lease Book, 1859-1863, 128-67; 1863-1877, 1-66, 92-103, 115-49, 196-223, 244-50, 270-85.

306 Notice of the start of work: Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 7 April 1855. An angry letter to the editor in the next issue complained that the contract had not been entrusted to a Salisbury firm: *ibid.*, 14 April 1855.

307 The notice of the pending reopening in *ibid.*, 26 July 1856, the next week was followed by full coverage of the service in the cathedral, the order of the procession, the ceremony in the chapter house, and the dean's speech: *ibid.*, 2 Aug. 1856. The occasion included the installation of a new prebendary, an honor accorded the acting secretary of the restoration committee in recognition of his services. The restoration and the dean's speech received critical attention in *i.a.* The Guardian, 1856g; The Builder 1856e, 436; Gentleman's Magazine 1856f, 36; and Ecclesiologist 17 1856i, 375-76.

308 See the printed appeal for funds for the restoration by Clutton detailing the work done and the work still outstanding, as well as an account of the reopening: Trowbridge, Wilts., Bundle 1, G. G. Scott Papers. The leaflet also functioned as a news release, and many of the articles cited above quoted freely from it.

309 As Crook 1981, 182, pointed out, the nineteenth-century sculptures depicting the saga of Reynard the Fox around the base of the central column cannot be verified by vestiges of the thirteenth sculptures on the base of the original column stored in the southwest corner of the cloister.

Clutton replaced masonry only as needed (Fig. 71a, b). Where decayed, the Purbeck vaulting shafts and many, but not all, of the shafts of the colonnettes supporting the blind arcade were also replaced. Piecing and patching often sufficed to eliminate decayed stone in the Purbeck bases and to repair damages in the Purbeck foliate ornament of the inner doorway. The restoration included the installation of a hot water heating system, an amenity still enjoyed from November to Easter. Inaccurately described as replicas of the original inlaid tiled floor, new Minton tiles were in place that had been installed under the direction of Mr. Minton, who also contributed one quarter of the cost (Fig. 72).³¹⁰ John Birnie Philip had carried out the restoration of the Old Testament scenes, and presumably of the label heads and capitals as well.³¹¹ Philip had engaged the artist Octavius Hudson to restore the polychromy. By the date of the re-opening, Hudson had completed all repainting above the level of the arcade which is the only portion of the nineteenth-century repainting that survives today. He had also finished applying color to the spandrel carvings, moldings, capitals, label heads, and stalls in one bay. Besides renewing the red lines simulating masonry joints in the severies of the vaults, he had repainted the roof bosses, redone the foliate designs on the triangular fields that radiate from each boss (Fig. 58), and restored the color on the moldings, mullions, and tracery of the windows.³¹²

Spurred by new fund-raising efforts timed to coincide with the re-opening, subscriptions began to accumulate to defray the costs of work still outstanding.³¹³ Eventually donors were found to

³¹⁰ See *i.a.* Anonymous 1856d, 374.

³¹¹ Only one published account, a protest of the restoration, coupled the restoration of the foliate ornament with that of the Old Testament scenes: 'Sarisburiensis' 1855, 53. Since the techniques and materials used to restore the label heads and capitals are the same as those used by the restorers in the spandrels, doubtless Philip and his atelier were responsible for both.

³¹² Burges 1859, 162, took particular exception to the blue used by Hudson in restoring the foliate designs in the vaults. Having made tracings that he colored according to vestiges of the original polychromy, he described the ornament as a 'mass of green and yellow foliage on a dark red ground.' Unfortunately the tracings have disappeared, but the designs as repainted bear little resemblance to the unrestored, delicate arabesques of the stylized foliate forms in the vaults of the foyer (Fig. 74).

³¹³ See list of donors and subscriptions, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 2 Aug., 13 Aug., and 30 Aug. 1856; also further appeals and progress reports, *ibid.*, 18 July 1857 and 17 July 1858; and below, Appendix C-2.

subsidize the re-glazing of the eight windows with nineteenth-century grisaille. Another gift sponsored the carving of the nineteenth-century Christ in Majesty planned for the great quatrefoil above the inner door. Groups and individuals gradually contributed funds for the polychromy in the remaining seven bays (for donors, see Appendix C-2). Fifteen hundred pounds, the sum needed for a high-pitched roof, was not in hand. Whether for lack of final approval by the chapter or because the funds were never forthcoming, Clutton eventually abandoned his plan for that controversial addition.

The printed brochure that Clutton had written to stimulate additional support for the restorations functioned also as a press release at the time of the re-opening. Published accounts carried his assurances that 'Care [had]...been taken to retain the original features of the building, and not to retouch any old work, but simply to replace the parts broken away.'³¹⁴ That assessment seems valid in the main for the architectural repairs (except, of course, the buttresses now double their original depth), and for replacements and repairs in Purbeck marble. But not all contemporary evaluations of the work of Messrs. Philip and Hudson were as generous. Although they received lavish praise from some quarters, they also evoked what George Godwin, editor of The Builder, at first considered 'very intemperate animadversions.'³¹⁵

From the start of work, occasional letters appeared in the local newspaper and professional journals opposing various aspects of the restoration. One writer, arguing against Clutton's plan to restore the Old Testament scenes, reminded the readers of the value of the sculpture in its unrestored state: 'In an artistic point of view the sculptures themselves are rude, and perhaps even grotesque; but as illustrative of the state of English art of an early period they are of surpassing interest to the Archaeologists; and if we attempt to replace whole groups of figures by guess, as must be done to a

314 Notice of the pending reopening of the chapter house, Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 26 July 1856.

See also Anonymous 1956d, 374.

315 Five years later he changed his mind, but he had let the opportunity go by to mount a timely campaign in The Builder to save the sculptures, a campaign urged upon him by such writers as 'Sarisburiensis' 1855, 53; and An Amateur 1856, 196. But five years later Godwin 1861, 389 cited the Salisbury chapter house as a tragic example of over-restoration.

great extent in the present instance, the whole work will necessarily become a sham.'³¹⁶ One of Godwin's correspondents complained, 'What is more to be dreaded than all is the "scraping off" of the surface of the exquisitely carved foliage and the "restoration" of the figures in relievos....Ask any artist of feeling to restore, he will tell you he would rather hand down any work, mutilated as it might be, to future students, than to destroy their interest by any additions of his own.'³¹⁷ Unfortunately, the protests went unheeded, and John Birnie Philip proceeded with the restoration of the sixty narrative scenes.

For the London-based sculptor (1824-1875), his better-known works came after the Salisbury commission.³¹⁸ In 1856, after completing the chapter house restorations, Philip worked with George Gilbert Scott, first at Ely where he carved the reredos to Scott's design, then, in 1863, at Westminster, which again involved a reredos by Scott. A year later, Philip began working on Scott's designs for the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park. Sharing the commission with H.H. Armstead, Philip executed the marble friezes on the north and west sides of the podium and made models for the statues at the four corners to be cast in bronze. The critics generally found more to admire in Armstead's sculpture than in Philip's. In this Queen Victoria concurred, judging Philip 'not so clever a man, as this young Mr. Armstead.' Others spoke of the 'chaste gentleness' and 'respectable mediocrity' of Philip's work.³¹⁹

Like Burges and Clutton, Philip studied and sketched Gothic monuments and furthered his knowledge of the Middle Ages with archival research. His two extant drawings books are filled with

316 J.L. 1854.

317 *An Amateur* 1856, 196.

318 The biographical information about Philip depends primarily on material in the Birnie Philip Collection now divided between the Art Library and the University Library, University of Glasgow. The collection contains contracts, accounts, his address book, photographs of some of his sculptures, drawings, and sketch books, as well as reference books and memorabilia. Unfortunately nothing in the collection predates the decade of the 1860s or mentions his work at Salisbury. For published biographical information, see *Dictionary of National Biography* 15, 1044.

319 For a summary of critical responses, see Sheppard (ed.) 1875, 162-65. See also University of Glasgow, Birnie Philip Collection, B. P. III 6/12, 15, 20, 23-27, 32-33, for information and accounts with respect to the Albert Memorial; for the Westminster reredos, *ibid.*, III 6/2-3; notice on the Ely commission, Anonymous 1856h, 688; and Scott 1879, 265-69.

architectural and sculptural details, not only from Ely, but from Lichfield and Chester as well, where he also worked with Scott (Fig. 73a, b). Unfortunately, nothing from the Salisbury period has survived in his papers.³²⁰ For his own designs, he drew heavily on the English medieval heritage. Perhaps because of an over-dependence on models, unlike Burges, he failed to develop a strong personal style, and we can recognize his borrowings. For example, one of his designs for an arch surmounting a funeral monument merely copied the sculptures on an archivolt of a portal at Lichfield.³²¹ Although much sought after for monuments and memorials during the Gothic Revival period, today his work seems unexciting and derivative.

Besides adopting Gothic designs, Philip also borrowed his working methods from the Middle Ages. His address book and accounts show that he organized his studio at Hans Place as a medieval atelier.³²² He executed his commissions with the assistance of a workshop composed of carvers, metalworkers, carpenters, masons, plasterers, and engravers, whose hours in peak periods were recorded by a timekeeper. Evidence of such collaborative procedures also marks his restoration of the sixty Old Testament scenes at Salisbury. Indeed, the analysis of the restorations revealed attitudes, approaches, and techniques varying so markedly that it became impossible to think of the restorer in the singular. But the lack of any of Philip's papers for the 1850s makes it impossible to name his assistants.

Octavius Hudson, the fourth member of the group restoring the chapter house, is less well-known today than the others. The artist was engaged by Philip, not Clutton, for the two apparently knew each other through their association with Scott. They both would work with him next at Ely, Chester, and Lichfield. But Hudson remains a figure in the shadows, who generally received little more than one-line credits for his work.³²³ Professionally, his major interests lay in ecclesiastical

320 See University of Glasgow, J. B. Philip, Sketchbook, n.d., unpaginated.

321 Angels, voussoirs, north door, Lichfield Cathedral.

322 University of Glasgow, J. B. Philip, address book, Box, Art Library; and cost sheets, *ibid.*, B. P. III 6/23-27. Birnie Philip Collection, University Library,

323 For assistance in tracing the professional activities of Hudson, I am indebted to Helen Smith of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London. For his work with Scott at Hereford, see Scott 1879, 291; at Lichfield, where the chapter failed to approve the sample of coloring he applied to the vaults of the choir, *ibid.*, 293;

commissions, although his career included an appointment in 1852 as Professor of Ornamental Art in the Department of Practical Art at the London School of Design--a department concerned with such domestic arts as woven textiles and paper staining. In 1855, he became a lecturer on ornament at Marlborough House, an association that led to his involvement in the decoration of the first refreshment room in the South Kensington Museum (Victoria and Albert).³²⁴ Again there are no traceable drawings, correspondence, instructions, or extant notes concerning his work at Salisbury. Yet when the Wiltshire Archaeological Society inspected the chapter house in 1865, the members were told that Mr. Hudson had visited the building before the restoration began to make copies of many things before they became obliterated. According to the report, when his work was finished the members 'saw everything as perfect as possible in the way of colouring and decoration.'³²⁵

By the date of the re-opening, Hudson had painted the southwest bay at his own expense as a sample intended to raise enough subscriptions to permit him to repaint the other seven bays. Although accepted by most observers as a re-creation of the original polychromy and praised by others as a selfless contribution (Figs. 57 and 59), in one critic's estimation the repainting had restored the sculptures to 'their original hideousness:'

The figures in the spandrils of the arcade are painted in greyish blue and green garments--their faces and hands flesh colour, with gilt hair on their heads--their legs black--the ground is of grey green--the wall at the back of the figures is gold stripes crossed on a blue ground [diapered]--the mouldings of the arches are eleven or twelve in number and painted in from the upper one thus: gold, black, gold, blue, pink, deep red, green with small fleur-de-lis in gold on it, purple, gold, blue, pink, below the mouldings deep red, with a circle of dirty yellow and a square of the same colour within. Below this, extending from one side of the compartment to the other is that which I think is intended for a curtain suspended in festoons by gold and black cord; the bottom of the curtain terminates by violently swaying lines, perhaps intended to represent folds, but the curtain is flat as the wall, and painted with large and small circles, alternately filled with green birds and gold fleur-de-lis. The

and at Chester, *ibid.*, 331; also, Anonymous 1861, 889; and Anonymous 1856a, 376.

324 Anonymous 1852, 1038; *idem* 1855, 1247; and Sheppard 1875, 38, 100, 142 n., 144. Unlike the other participants in the restorations, there is no published bibliography for Hudson and no catalogue of his oeuvre.

325 'The Eleventh General Meeting of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society,' 1867, 11.

human heads supporting the mouldings are flesh colour, with gilt hair--the capitals of the pillars are gold, picked out with rich crimson and green--the whole painting in the very worst taste.³²⁶

The critic did not dispute the authenticity of the nineteenth-century coloring, yet as he described it, the re-painting often disagrees with the color remnants recorded by Burges (Fig. 65) and Carter, as well as with Scharf's water-color showing a section of the arcade along the east wall (Fig. 67).³²⁷

As the funds accumulated, Hudson progressed bay by bay around the building. By July 1858, four of the eight bays remained unpainted.³²⁸ The same report noted that Mr. Ward of Frith Street, London, had installed four of the eight windows, and that the £100 donation from Her Majesty had gone toward a pair of brass gates for the entrance from the cloister. The committee estimated that £1500 to £1600 more would be needed to defray the cost of the remaining glass, the polychromy for the walls and ceiling of the foyer, as well as repainting in the arcades of the last four bays. In fact, Hudson never worked in the vestibule, perhaps because Scott in the meantime had begun restorations in the cathedral. That project would have channeled energies, if not funds, away from the chapter house. The treasurer's final accounting indicates that, in order to complete the repainting in the octagon, each of the dignitaries and several of the prebendaries had to bear the expense of the painting in his own stall.³²⁹

After viewing the backgrounds of the stalls with the continuous curtain, one observer commented: 'We may be wrong, but giving every praise to Mr. Hudson's pattern of the wall diaper, we think his tints far too washy. The colors are only indicated, the whites especially in the diaper patterns fail in body and substance. Yet we have been assured by very good authority that Mr. Hudson adopted this tone on purpose, under the conviction that the original colors were equally light.'³³⁰ The evidence in the drawings by Burges and Scharf corroborates the pale tints of the

326 Letter to the editor, Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 4 Oct. 1856.

327 See above, Chapter 2, pp.65-66.

328 Anonymous 1858a.

329 'Extract from Minutes of Chapter Meeting held 9th May 1866,' Trowbridge, Wilts., Bundle 7, G. G. Scott Papers, Cathedral Archives. See also, summary below, Appendix C-2.

330 Anonymous 1856a, 375.

original curtain--pink banded in yellow (Burgess) or gold (Scharf) with green lining, against a white ground. But nowhere do they suggest diapering comparable to the brocaded designs that Hudson apparently adapted from the patterns of the tiles (Figs. 57 and 59). The original polychromy still extant in the vestibule (Fig. 74) contradicts and corrects Hudson's colors and also his rendering of the foliate designs in the vaults of the octagon, work praised by his contemporaries, Burgess excepted, for its 'exact replication of existing remains' (Fig. 58).³³¹ Nor do the patterns fully agree with Carter's sketches of the designs in the groins (Figs. 28b upper zone, and 75).

Hudson's fee for the repainting, £1032, was more than double the £504 received by Clutton as architect-in-charge, and nearly quadruple the fee of £263 paid to the sculptor. Of the three, Hudson's work proved not only the most expensive but also the most ephemeral. (See Appendix C-2.) Reacting almost immediately to dampness in the walls, the polychromy had begun to deteriorate by 1865.³³² Around 1900, the peeling had become so unsightly that the dean and chapter ordered all paint removed from the arcades (Fig. 76).³³³

In all areas outside his own competence, the architect-in-charge could also have benefited from the advice of acknowledged experts. Although as early as 1854 Clutton had received recommendations from Charles Winston about the restoration of the glass, the advice, perhaps gratuitously given, went unheeded. In writing to the dean, Winston may have been seeking an ally. 'I told him [Clutton] it would be best to put the 7 shields back into the chapter-house windows,' Winston began, and then countering Clutton's intention of filling the other windows with modern devices, Winston suggested that the old shields be repeated in every bay, with the royal shield duplicated each time to make eight per window. Reminding the dean of the fortuitous find at Lincoln of a list of lost shields, all formerly in the Lincoln windows, Winston urged a search of the cathedral library for a similar roll of arms. He also strongly recommended the Messrs. Powell of Whitefriars as

331 'The Eleventh General Meeting of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society,' 1867, 10, 11.

332 Ibid., 12.

333 Bumpus 1905, 1, 156.

the glaziers best able to simulate old glass,³³⁴ advice that Clutton ignored by awarding the commission to the firm of Ward and Hughes. In his Recollections, Scott remarked that Mr. Winston had alienated everyone by his 'bitter invectives' and purist views. Obviously Scott had smarted under Winston's criticism, but respected him, at the same time deploring his manner and describing him as the 'universal abuser of everyone who in the smallest degree differs from him.'³³⁵

As for the newly tiled floor, the patterns of the Minton tiles emulated those of the thirteenth century inlaid brick tiles (Figs. 30a, b, c and 72). But the dry, mechanical designs of the nineteenth-century ceramic tiles appear relentlessly regular and visually intrusive. The smooth glaze of the finish, now dulled by wear, lacks the texture and surface interest of the original glazed brick tiles. The contrasting green/black of the thirteenth-century narrow edging was achieved by deliberately burning the red brick. But the intense uniform color in the Minton tiles under the ceramic glaze appears monotonous and the border tiles too dominant in the overall design (Fig. 77). Although the nineteenth-century layout of the design followed the extremely complex thirteenth-century arrangement diagrammed by Carter (Fig. 63), the ceramic tiles lacked the pleasing irregularities of the inlaid designs.

The subtle congruence inherent in the original decoration of the chapter house also failed to survive the restoration. In the medieval ornament, the designs of the grisaille in the lancets recurred in the patterns of the inlaid tiles. (Figs. 28a, b, c and 30a, b, c) The foliate forms copied in the nineteenth-century windows are so lacking in delicacy that it is difficult to think of the trefoil terminals as foliage or to see the mechanical curves of the patterns as vines (Fig. 10). The grace, airiness, and relationship of figure to ground in the original tiles echoed the units of design created by the tendrils in the grisaille, where the same petaled flowers of the border tiles also punctuated the overall patterns in the lancets.

In August 1865, the restoration committee 'handed back the Chapter House free of debt, and completely restored, to the care of the Dean and Chapter.' After a total expenditure of £8082.6.4, the

334 C. Winston to Dean Parr, 8 Nov. 1854, Trowbridge, Wilts., Bundle 7, G. G. Scott Papers.

335 Scott 1879, 219-20.

committee had finished its work which was hailed by one critic as one of the best medieval restorations yet accomplished.³³⁶ But Godwin's final evaluation and second thoughts about the work touched upon the problem central to all restorations:

Now independently of the question whether the chapter-house be or be not now in exactly the same state in which it was left [when first built]..., such an elaborate restoration is very dangerous. I believe it to be quite impossible, and very wrong, ever to attempt the restoration of sculpture.

You have no more right to touch up or patch the work on which an ancient sculptor bestowed his art, than you have to touch up, finish, and repaint the work of a Giotto or a Fra Angelico. They are all works of individual artists; and, because their names happen to be unknown, we are not relieved from the duty of preserving them exactly as they have been handed down to us.

In the Chapter-house at Salisbury no absolute necessity for the restoration of the sculpture existed. The old sculpture, damaged as it was, gave us, nevertheless, the exact measure of the artist's power; had all the interest which the certainty of antiquity imparts; and presented to us in every part the sculptor of the fifteenth century [Godwin's dating of the chapter house]. Now it is difficult to know what to trust: the work has been done with singular care; yet I am confident that it must be impossible to repair and patch any old work without at the same time running the risk of having the old work chiselled, filed, and fitted to the new; whilst the final operation of painting has effectually concealed much of the delicacy of the sculptor's work.

[We] ought never to forget that in all restorations this evidence of antiquity is the one thing which, above all others, must never be destroyed on any account.³³⁷

The Restoration of the Old Testament Cycle and Critical Responses

The Old Testament cycle in the spandrels of the blind arcade begins with Creation according to Genesis 1. Starting in the western bay at the right of the inner entrance, the scenes read clockwise around the octagon (Plan B). The first seven scenes (two in the western and five in the northwest bays), depict the days of Creation (Pls I-VII), followed by five spandrels containing an Adam and Eve cycle (three in the northwest and two in the north bay. Pls. VIII-XII). The narrative continues with the three main events in the story of Cain and Abel (Pls. XIII-XV), a short Noah cycle of four

336 'The Eleventh General Meeting' 1867, 11. See also Appendix C-2 for a summary of the final accounting, 337 Godwin 1861, 389.

scenes (ending in the first spandrel of the northeast bay. Pls. XVI-XIX). The Building of the Tower of Babel and six incidents in the lives of Abraham and Lot occupy the rest of that bay (Pls. XX-XXVI). All eight spandrels of the eastern bay contain a Jacob cycle (Pls. XXVII-XXXIV). Then an unusually long Joseph cycle fills the next twenty-one spandrels (southeast, south, and southwest bays. Pls. XXXV-LV). The narrative concludes with five episodes in the life of Moses from Exodus (Pls. LVI-LX: the last two occupying the spandrels of the western bay to the left of the inner entrance).

The Salisbury and Winchester Journal carried a full account of the ceremonies reopening the chapter house.³³⁸ Besides the somewhat garbled summary of the content of each Old Testament scene, the article included a critical evaluation of the sculptures, without, however, citing the source. The local reporter had drawn upon a study published in 1840 by Charles Cockerell in which the antiquarian had rated the aesthetic achievement of the scenes well below the Virtues and Vices in the voussours of the entrance from the foyer in to the chapter house and the sculptures on the west front of the cathedral (Figs. 44a, b and 78a-e).³³⁹ Paraphrasing Cockerell, the reporter described the Old Testament scenes as 'curious, but of inferior hands' to those other sculptural ensembles. By comparison, the little figures in the foyer as yet unrestored had been 'executed with a delicacy and freedom which could not be surpassed in marble, and which are equal to the works of the best ages of sculpture. The taste and correctness displayed in the draperies, attitudes and expression of the figures will scarce permit us to imagine we are contemplating a work of the thirteenth century.' Continuing to echo Cockerell, the article praised the designs as equal to the best by the English

338 Anonymous 1856c.

339 Cockerell 1851, Appendix N, 99. Storer's rebuttal did little to reverse opinions, although J.B. 1848, 27, gave qualified approval: 'Though faulty in regard to proportion and perspective, there is great richness of invention displayed in some of the figures; the draperies are easy, and the expression in the various countenances well imagined and executed. On the whole the Chapter House is extremely curious on many accounts, and ought always to be seen by those who visit the cathedral.' Waagen 1854, 3, 137-8, also reported favorably on the spandrel carvings in his survey of British monuments and collections: 'A series of bas-reliefs, beginning with the Creation of the World, and ending with the History of Joseph [sic] are unfortunately injured. Yet we may still recognize the good, and even unconstrained attitudes, and the correct style in the treatment of the alto rilievo.'

eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artists Charles Stothard and John Flaxman. On a less chauvinistic scale, the reporter went on to rank the archivolt figures as 'not inferior in quality' to Ghiberti's bronze reliefs on the Florence baptistry doors. The reporter viewed the Old Testament scenes rather more condescendingly: 'Though faulty in regard to proportion and perspective they display many admirable effects with the chisel.' Burges concurred that the figures of the Virtues and Vices were superior to those in the Old Testament scenes, as had all but a few of the pre-restoration observers.³⁴⁰ James Storer's evaluation was among the exceptions: 'The work [Old Testament cycle] is greatly defaced; yet enough remains to prove that some of the sculptures were graceful and elegant..., although it has been unthinkingly asserted that "there is neither grace, taste, nor proportion in the figures themselves."' ³⁴¹ Storer was quoting Gilpin, whose criticism reflected the typical criteria of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for measuring the worth of works of art: 'As Gothic workmanship, it is not bad; though it is very inferior to Roman or Modern sculpture. There is no idea either of grace or taste, or even of proportion in the figures themselves; nor in the mode of combining them. They all represent scripture stories, some of which are very ill-managed. In the story of Noah two [sic] beasts are looking out of a window in the ark, sufficient to load it; and Noah himself praying on the poop is sufficient to sink it.'³⁴² His critique followed the general observation that, 'In portraying or combining such ornaments that have nature for their original, either in human or animal life, the Gothic sculptor is generally miserably deficient. He had little knowledge of Nature in forming, and less of Art in combining: and yet he is often offending with some gross representation of this kind.'

The article in the Salisbury Winchester Journal congratulated John Birnie Philip on 'his careful reproduction of the quaint yet expressive objects,' and in conclusion noted that 'according to the authority of this gentleman none of the works has ever been scraped over; the new parts are simply additions, where parts were damaged or mutilated, and no portion of the old sculptures has in

³⁴⁰ Burges 1859, 112.

³⁴¹ Storer 1819, 4, 'O' [alphabetical pagination].

³⁴² Gilpin 1808, 65-66.

the least degree been injured.' The archaeological examination of the spandrel carvings undertaken for this study did not substantiate Philip's self-serving assertions, nor have close stylistic comparisons allowed Cockerell's attribution of the Virtues and Vices to a hand other than the ones responsible for the Old Testament scenes.

For the most part, the post-restoration nineteenth-century literature has not only concurred with Cockerell's aesthetic judgment, but, in approving the restoration, also accepted Philip's assertions at face value.³⁴³ Godwin's demurrer quoted above was the exception. As he adduced, losses and modifications were bound to occur in the process of adapting the original carving to later insertions. Certainly, in many of the scenes the restorers had used much less restraint than Philip claimed. Yet while deploring the heavy impact of the reworking on the style, Godwin never suspected that the restorations had deviated in any way from the original iconography, nor has recent literature questioned that aspect of the restoration, even though, in a footnote, Burges had even pointed to the gratuitous addition of an extra figure in one of the scenes.³⁴⁴ By simply correlating the post-restoration content of each spandrel with his pre-restoration descriptions, he could have signaled other modifications.

Either accepting the iconography or ignoring the question, writers in our century have, to varying degrees, been more skeptical of the restoration than earlier critics. Around 1907, Edward Prior and Arthur Gardner wrote that the Old Testament scenes 'belonged to the best period of our art, though...the restoration...vitiated their genuineness.'³⁴⁵ Although the authors accepted the draperies as original throughout, they concluded that the 'drastic removal of the nineteenth-century polychromy had blunted the 'stone edges' of the folds and obscured 'the distinction between the genuine work and what was so cleverly imitated to match it.' Style, not iconography, was the sole concern of that study, whereas, more recently, Pevsner commented on both: 'The carving was unfortunately savagely, i.e. sentimentally, restored in the 1860s [sic]....But iconographically the

343 See, *i.a.*, King 1861, 102; White 1908, 75-76.

344 Burges 1859, 148 n. 2.

345 Prior and Gardner 1912, 48, 255.

series remains extremely valuable all the same, a veritable picture book with any number of lively, well-observed genre details.'³⁴⁶ Treating the sixty scenes in his survey of thirteenth-century art in a single sentence, Peter Brieger condemned the 'devastating restoration,' but applauded the 'smooth flow of the narrative' and the softness of overlapping draperies still discernible.³⁴⁷ Lawrence Stone called the restoration 'substantial' but 'skilful.'³⁴⁸ He also perpetuated Prior and Gardner's mistaken attribution of the actual work to Burges. After referring to the scheme as one of 'great iconographical interest,' Stone briefly considered the stylistic characteristics of the carving and proposed an affinity to manuscript illumination. Decades after his collaboration with Prior, Gardner acknowledged that 'the work had suffered severely from the restoration,' but deemed it more skillfully done than usual.³⁴⁹ Again he blamed the removal of the polychromy for creating difficulties in tracing the genuine work, impossible, he asserted, without the help of Burges's article. On the contrary, the removal of the polychromy has facilitated attempts to discriminate between the original carving and the restorations. Until then, paint had concealed differences in surface color and texture, distinctions crucial to the identification of the old and new stone, as well as surface repairs made with mastic and mortar or by re-cutting and sanding.

Although Prior and Gardner believed that the 'drastic removal' of polychromy had blunted the ridges of the drapery folds, in fact, the restoration deserves the blame. Overall sanding has affected some scenes by blurring the contours of the drapery. (See, for example, Pl. XLVIII.) But the sanding was not ubiquitous. The technique was used sparingly, except in the south and southwest bays, where the effects are precisely those described by Prior and Gardner. In those bays, very few figures escaped sanding, apparently the finishing touch characteristic of one the sculptors in Philip's atelier. Perhaps that restorer hoped to eliminate the tell-tale differences in color and texture between freshly reworked surfaces and those with the undisturbed patina of age. Or possibly he sought to 'improve' the style by softening the forms. Had sanding been the technique for removing the nineteenth-

³⁴⁶ Pevsner 1963, 381; idem 1985, 422.

³⁴⁷ Brieger 1957, 183-84.

³⁴⁸ Stone 1955, 131-32, 253 n. 7.

³⁴⁹ Gardner 1973, 125, also illustrated three of the 'more genuine pieces:' *ibid.*, figs. 143-45.

century paint, we would expect to find that all bays had suffered equally, which is not the case. Instead, a different technique for removing paint has left scars. In some scenes irregular but quite closely spaced nicks dapple the background plane or affect the surfaces of the figures. (For example, see Pls. XVI, XXXIV.) Already noticeably deteriorated by 1865, less than a decade after its application, the paint came off more readily in some places than others. Wherever it adhered stubbornly, the tool used to chip it off left a multitude of tiny marks on the stone. Elsewhere, probably a stiff brush supplemented with water sufficed. Today the vestiges of polychromy in the spandrels are insignificant, although many traces of colour survive in the crannies and recesses of the foliage on the capitals below.

Ever since the turn of the century when the paint was removed, the sculptures enjoyed a period of benign neglect, with one exception. A recently ill-advised vacuum cleaning broke a number of fragile, free-standing elements, all dating from the nineteenth century.³⁵⁰ The dark brown glue used to re-attach the retrieved fragments resulted in joinings as unprofessional as was the use of powerful suction to clean the sculptures. Furniture glue and crude workmanship identify that sprinkling of post-1855 repairs made by one of the cleaning crew (Pls. VI, XIX, LVII). That being said, the archaeological examination will focus on work done by Philip and his atelier.

Techniques and Materials of the Restoration

Referring to the Old Testament scenes at the reopening ceremonies, Dean Hamilton remarked that 'the casual observer would find it difficult to distinguish the new from the old. To the professional eye,' he added, 'the difference will at once be perceptible; the original being of Chilmark, and the restoration in Caen stone.'³⁵¹ The dean's remarks subsumed the archaeologist's

350 Damage caused by the vacuum cleaning is as follows (*asterisk identifies a permanent loss): Spandrel I, *the Deity's left hand; Spandrel V, *the Deity's right hand; Spandrel VI, Deity's right arm and hand (2 breaks); Spandrel X, *the Deity's right fingers and left thumb; Spandrel XI, *Eve's right hand; Spandrel XIV, Abel's left forearm and hand; Spandrel XV, Cain's right hand; Spandrel XIX, Ham's left hand and upper arm (2 breaks); Spandrel XXIX, *Jacob's left fingers; Spandrel XXXVIII, *chapman's right foot; Spandrel LV, *Joseph's left hand; Spandrel LVII, Moses' staff (broken in 3 places).

351 Anonymous 1856c.

ability to discern the difference between the yellowish tones of the newly carved insets of Caen stone and the grayish-white Chilmark limestone used by the thirteenth-century sculptors throughout the building. The stone from the nearby Chilmark quarries derived its distinctive grayish hue from the dispersion throughout the limestone of minute flecks of green glauconite, specks which appear black to the naked eye (see Appendix A). Except in the southwest bay painted by Hudson at his own expense, those assembled to celebrate the occasion were looking at the restored sculpture before the repainting had masked differences between the two limestones.

Color discrepancies would also have differentiated the newly re-carved or sanded areas from surfaces unretouched by the restorer. Pristine thirteenth-century carving is readily recognizable thanks to the grayish green patina of age on its surface. The patina, a silky skin and protective coating, is attributable to minerals carried to the surface and deposited there as the moisture present in all freshly quarried stone comes to the surface and evaporates. Where re-cutting or sanding has removed the patina, the surface of the Chilmark stone appears lighter and whiter, and slightly more granular in texture than the unretouched areas.

The restorers ordinarily resorted to the technique of re-cutting or sanding to eliminate minor surface damage such as nicks, scratches, and abrasions. For more extensive losses, they carved Caen stone replacements that were dowelled and/or cemented in place. They secured the larger insertions to the spandrel stones with bolts, their heads countersunk and covered with mortar (Pl. XXVI). A fine-grained grey cement and a very hard, smooth pinkish-buff mortar consisting of gypsum in an oil base were used interchangeably to bind the insets, to fill in gouges and other losses, and also to smooth abraded or marred surfaces.³⁵² Wherever the abutting surfaces of old and new stone did not

352 A similar pinkish-buff, oil-based cement or mortar was used in the late 1830s in the restoration of the portal sculpture of the west facade at Saint-Denis. Even in the most exposed areas such as the outer archivolt of the central portal, that type of mortar showed no signs of weathering, and the hairline joints appeared as firmly bonded as if new: Crosby and Blum 1973, 215; Blum 1992, 18, 135 n. 61. Frederick Fisher, nineteenth-century clerk of works at Salisbury, referred to an oil-based cement, a mixture which he called 'Mastick cement.' It was used to point up the masonry of the spire instead of the Roman cement used for the same work in 1819 and 1820. Implicit in the change was the search for a more durable binder: Trowbridge, Wilts., Fisher Papers, Notebook no. 3.

make a good joint, mortar or cement fills the gap and sometimes spreads out over the surrounding area. Both kinds of mortar, as well as a more malleable grayish mastic, repair the damaged ridges of drapery folds, restore broken edges of hems, and remodel small details such as toes, fingers, heels, elbows, etc. Adding ground Chilmark stone to the mastic created another mixture that was flecked with particles of glauconite thus simulating the color and appearance of the thirteenth-century stone.³⁵³ That malleable compound was a kind of pierre factice, or manufactured stone. When used to fill in major losses, it contracted as it dried which occasionally exposed air holes below the surface. Vestiges of air bubbles, as well as the pinkish mortar used to fill them, helped to identify such repairs. They proved the most difficult to recognize because they not only approximated the appearance of Chilmark stone, they also lacked clearly defined mortared joints that advertise the presence of carved insets.

Knowledge of the techniques and materials employed in the restorations led to an awareness of the different ways the restorers in Philip's atelier worked. Each had his preferred methods which gradually emerged in the course of the archaeological examination. Respect for the original carving seemed to vary, as did the skill in effecting the repairs. As a general procedure, the restorers dismantled the spandrels before working on the sculpture and re-cemented them in place again when repairs were completed. After the remounting, insets of stone were frequently needed to close spaces between spandrels, gaps probably caused by cropping to eliminate decay along the edges. (See for example, Pls. XXVII-XXIX). For reasons that remain unclear, occasionally the restorer would make a cut across a spandrel to remove it. This left a V-shaped wedge of original stone at the springing of the arches to which the restored spandrel was later re-cemented (Pl. LVII).

Goals and Techniques of the Archaeological Examination

The archaeological examination of the sculptures provided the necessary preface to any discussions of iconography and style. Only by determining what remained of the thirteenth-century

³⁵³ For an excellent description of techniques and materials used today in the restoration of sculpture, see André 1977, 29-54.

carving and exactly what portions were nineteenth-century restorations was it possible to evaluate the reliability of the nineteenth-century work in perpetuating the original imagery. The results of the examination are presented in diagrams made directly on photographs of each Old Testament scene (see Key to Diagrams). Supplementing the text, the diagrams indicate all nineteenth-century insets of Caen stone and identify the more superficial repairs made with mastic, mortar, cement, and pierre factice. The diagrams also map the subtler repairs made by re-cutting and sanding,³⁵⁴ processes that inevitably destroyed the patina of age. Wherever the surface integrity of the original carving has been destroyed, the text describes the degree to which re-cutting and sanding blurred or modified the drapery arrangement, caused unwonted skimpiness in the silhouettes, or reduced the salience of carved elements. The most savage re-cutting could distort the anatomy or pose of a figure and at times create a marked recession in the level of the background plane. For each scene as restored, the text provides evaluations of its iconographical and stylistic validity.

As Burges predicted, the restoration eliminated all traces of the original polychromy in the spandrels. Although his notes on the remnants visible in 1855 are exquisitely detailed, his descriptions of the condition of the sculptures vary from quite specific statements of losses within a spandrel to vague or general comments.³⁵⁵ The diagrams not only fill in the missing details but also delineate all work done that postdates his observations.

For each scene, the evaluation of the iconographical accuracy of the restoration will draw upon all pre-restoration evidence. When visual documents such as Carter's drawings and information preserved in Burges's notes or in the spandrel itself leave doubts about the correctness of a detail, confirmation of the iconography will be sought in English and northern French manuscript illumination and in monumental cycles that depended on the same pictorial recension. We cannot,

354 In the diagrams, the insets are outlined and the areas circumscribed are hatched with broadly spaced parallel lines running on a downward diagonal from right to left. The closely spaced hatching in the reverse direction indicates the presence of mortar, mastic, cement, or ground Chilmark limestone in a binding matrix, various materials used to fill in losses, rebuild broken edges of garments, or restore smallish missing elements. The broken, cross-hatched lines identify all surfaces that have been sanded or re-cut.

355 Burges 1859, 153, 155.

however, look to one particular manuscript or monument as a model for all sixty Old Testament scenes. Yet a recent discovery by John Higgitt of a manuscript known as the Murthly Hours, acquired by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (MS. 21,000), suggests that a common model may have existed, one that presumably pre-dated both the manuscript and the spandrel carvings. According to Higgitt, the main part of the book of hours probably dates from ca. 1290, and the eight Old Testament miniatures prefacing it apparently came from another manuscript of a slightly earlier date.³⁵⁶ Unfortunately only eight of the prefatory Old Testament scenes have survived (Figs. 99, 104, 112, 115b, 116a, 128, 129, and 130). Yet they contain parallels for the most unusual iconographical elements in the equivalent scenes in the Salisbury cycle. Thus, the Murthly miniatures offer compelling evidence that both cycles drew on a model, now lost, undoubtedly from the same region, probably southwest England. Since that model was itself derived from a series of different models, we encounter the problem at Salisbury of working with a polycyclic cycle containing elements often many generations from the archetypes. In general, by the thirteenth century we can no longer expect the transmission of an uncorrupted recension, nor at Salisbury hope for purity even in a sequence of scenes such as the six days of Creation. The sculptor's need to adapt the composition to the demands of the nearly triangular shape of the spandrels further eroded our chances of finding a model in manuscripts reproduced without modifications.

Since we do not have the immediate model presumed to lie behind the Salisbury and Murthly cycles, and only eight scenes from the latter are available for comparisons, we will look instead for clusters of comparisons with earlier or, when possible, nearly contemporaneous manuscripts and, if available, manuscripts that exemplify insular traditions. At Salisbury we are looking at the later life of biblical narrative illustration also complicated by the intrusion of some legendary material. Where

356 Higgitt to author, 16 July 1986. In a fund-raising brochure, the National Library assigned the slightly later date of 1310 to the Murthly Hours and noted that the book was in Scotland by the early fifteenth century. Only after seeing the photographs of the Salisbury Joseph cycle in the archives of the Princeton Index of Christian Art could Higgitt decipher the subject of the two most cryptic scenes and assign them to the story of Joseph. Like the Joseph cycle in the chapter house, two of three surviving miniatures from the Joseph cycle depend on and can be explained only by legendary material found in the Middle English paraphrase of the story of Joseph, Iacob and Iosep. On this see, Blum 1969, 18-34.

the iconography deviates from the biblical text or an iconographical element appears that rarely occurs elsewhere, the literary or textual inspiration will be cited if at all possible. In effect, the analysis of the accuracy of the most mutilated scenes as restored has often relied on comparisons with a number of works. When consecutive scenes in another work of art compare well with the Salisbury scenes, those similarities infer a similar model lying behind both sequences; when subsequent scenes in the same series deviate, a variant within the same recension often offers a valid parallel for the Salisbury iconography.

In evaluating the iconographical accuracy of a restoration, the analysis often touches upon the problems of the transmission of eastern and western recensions. At times tracing an iconographical element through the centuries to the archetype shows how the motif lost its purity as it was copied and adapted.

Unfortunately no scenes depicting Creation or an Adam and Eve cycle have survived in the Murthly Hours for comparisons. Because the particularly heavy damage incurred by those two cycles is coupled with the cavalier attitude of the nineteenth-century restorer to remnants of thirteenth-century carving then extant, the evaluation of the accuracy of the restorations of necessity will be more detailed than for subsequent cycles. Thereafter, with few exceptions, the validation or repudiation of a scene as restored has been simplified by the survival of crucial evidence in the spandrel that the restorer had either followed or, in a number of instances, failed to understand.

When visual documents such as Carter's drawings and the information provided by Burges's notes or preserved in the spandrel itself leave doubts about the accuracy of a detail, confirmation of the iconography will be sought not only in manuscript illumination, but also in sculpture, glass, mural painting, and above all, in the tradition of English biblical illustration that goes back to the Anglo-Saxon period.

Days of Creation and the Adam and Eve Cycle

(Plates I-XII; Plan B)

Because of their offensiveness to iconoclasts, the scenes of Creation with images of the Deity were severely mutilated. Burges wrote that the 'whole of the sculptures of the West and North-West Arcades had been so destroyed that little more remained than the silhouettes of the figures; they were consequently reworked altogether.'³⁵⁷ Plates Ib through Xb show how little remains of the thirteenth-century carving. Large excisions of original stone made way for insets of Caen stone that in several cases replaced more than half of the original spandrel stone. In the third day of Creation, except for a small wedge of Chilmark stone at the springing of the arch, the entire scene was excised and replaced (Pl. III). Presumably upon discovering this unacceptable practice, someone in authority intervened to stop it.

From the sixth day of Creation on, even when the restorer reworked every figure, he preserved the thirteenth-century spandrel stone so that telling vestiges of the original figures survived. In the first five scenes of Genesis, however, the excisions left so few traces of original carving that authentication of gesture, pose, and iconography depended on other evidence. Pre-restoration observations, prints and drawings, as well as comparisons with manuscripts containing scenes stemming from the same biblical pictorial traditions show that the restorer responsible for the first eight spandrels of the Old Testament cycle paid too little attention to the information still available to him in the spandrels. Thereafter the attitude towards surviving vestiges became more respectful, errors decreased, and techniques employed indicate that the restorer tried to minimize his impact on the original carving.

³⁵⁷ Burges 1859, 148 n. 1.

Creation on the First Day. Spandrel I, West Bay (right of entrance)

(Plate I)

In the western bay the spandrel to the right of the inner entrance depicts the first day of Creation. The demi-figure of the Deity on the left, a nineteenth-century replacement, emerges from clouds of amorphous matter. Patched and thoroughly re-cut, dough-like billows spread along the ground line that follows the arc of the arch. Like puffs of smoke, the billows rise on both sides of the figure to merge with the heavily repaired cloud formation above. In describing the scene, Burges observed, 'GOD creates the light, apparently a representation of Chaos, with the figure of God;' and in noting the condition, he wrote, 'Almost entirely destroyed, with no traces of colour.'³⁵⁸

Although Burges gave no details, Carter's drawing (Pl. LXI) authenticates the demi-figure, its placement, the nimbus, and the position of the left arm as restored. The Deity is directing his gesture of Creation (left hand now broken) towards the billows of unformed matter and the clouds above on his left. The sketch does not confirm the gesture, but, albeit tenuously, suggests a circular attribute in his left hand that calls to mind a cloud-ringed circle, a well-established symbol or convention representing Chaos in the work of the first day. Yet, rather than Chaos, Carter's swirls could be part of the cloud formation. The sketch proves even less informative about the position and gesture of the right hand. Since no vestige of the original disposition has survived, we must look to manuscript illumination for assistance in evaluating the iconography.

The Incipit page of Genesis in the Chaillot or Mazarine Bible (Paris, Bib. Mazarine, MS. 36, fol. 6, formerly MS. 30), a northern French manuscript tentatively linked with the school of Corbie and written in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, offers a number of parallels with this and the other restored Salisbury Creation scenes. Concurrence with the most unusual elements in those scenes gives the comparisons special weight. The literature has recognized the Mosan character of the Incipit page in which episodes from Genesis are framed by the letters 'IN' (Fig. 79).³⁵⁹ Unfortunately, we cannot cite a Mosan or northern French manuscript at Salisbury in the

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 148.

³⁵⁹ Batut 1933, 5-13, and pl. IV. Although the historiated Incipit initial reflects Mosan influence, I am

thirteenth century or any that belonged to the pictorial recension of the Chaillot Bible.³⁶⁰ Yet whatever sources informed the iconography of the Creation cycle in the chapter house, comparisons with the Chaillot Bible Incipit page suggest that they both drew on the same recension.

As in the chapter house spandrel, the scene at the head of the letter 'I' depicts the first day of Creation with the Deity represented as a demi-figure, the only truncated figure of God in both Creation cycles. In both, the Creator stretches one arm towards the clouds above in a gesture of acclamation and the other towards the unformed matter below. The scenes refer to the lines from Genesis 1:1-2, written along the right margin of the Chaillot illumination: 'In principio creavit d[eu]s c[a]l[u]m et teram. Terra autem erat inanis et vacua et tenebre erant sup[er] facie abyssi.' [In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was void and empty and darkness was on the face of the deep.]³⁶¹ Both scenes contain cloud like forms representing the heavens which are clearly differentiated from the billows below indicating 'unformed matter,' or earth. In both, a cruciform nimbus equates the figure of the Deity with the Creator-logos. The sole discrepancy involves the frontal pose of the Deity at Salisbury as opposed to the three-quarter view in the manuscript. That difference necessitated a reversal of the hand pointing to the heavens. At Salisbury the Creator's right hand is making the gesture of acclaim; in the Chaillot scene his right arm crosses his body to point to the billows below. A similar modification in pose and gesture recurs in the fourth day of Creation at Salisbury (Pl. IV), where a frontal pose better suited the shape of the spandrel. Carter's sketch assures us that in both cases the restorer perpetuated the original poses (Pl. LXI). Where the sketch fails to define the gesture, the Chaillot cycle gives credence to the arrangement in the spandrel as

indebted to Walter Cahn for pointing out that the Chaillot (or Mazarine) Bible in all other respects shows characteristics of northern French illuminated manuscripts, in particular those of the school of Corbie. See Cahn 1982, 175 n. 182.

The Bible of Robert de Bello, abbot of Canterbury 1224-1253, provides a good example of this type of initial in English art (Fig. 92; London, Brit. Lib. MS. Burney 3, fol. 5). In its quaint unconventionality, the Bible of Robert de Bello provides a number of iconographical parallels with the Salisbury scenes, especially in the Adam and Eve cycle.

³⁶⁰ Ker 1949, 152-83.

³⁶¹ The Douay translation of the Vulgate will be used throughout for biblical quotations.

restored, a credibility furthered by resemblances in succeeding scenes.

The Second Day of Creation. Spandrel II, West Bay (far right)

(Plate II)

In the works of the second day nothing survives of the thirteenth-century sculpture except the thoroughly re-cut and sanded ground line along the lower edge of the spandrel and the background plane directly above. On the right, a Caen stone inset contains the nineteenth-century figure of the Creator. Above, a second inset forms a bank of clouds. Burges identified the scene as the 'Creation of the firmament' and described it as 'Almost entirely destroyed.'³⁶² With only the ground line well articulated, Carter's 1802 drawing shows the spandrel in much worse condition than the preceding one (Pl. LXI). Although the drawing validates the placement of the Creator on the far right, Carter neither outlined the figure nor suggested his pose and gestures. Above center, terminating in a double loop at the left edge of the spandrel, a sweeping horizontal line defines the area now filled by the nineteenth-century bank of clouds. The loops or swirls in the sketch, when considered with Burges's identification of the scene, seem to validate the nineteenth-century clouds as the visual counterpart of the firmament in the work of the second day.

In this respect the spandrel deviated from the illumination in the Chaillot Bible. There divided waters both above and below the firmament represent the second day (Fig. 79, third frame from top the 'I'). Yet the figure of the Creator in the illumination compares remarkably well with the restored Deity in the spandrel. Though mirror images of each other, their full-length figures stand in three-quarter poses. Both have a cruciform nimbus; in both the forward foot assumes a ballet position. The forward arm, slightly bent, reaches across the body; and more surprising, in both representations a swag of the mantle loops over the forearm. The other arm, also bent, is raised, and the hand gestures towards the work of the day. In the Chaillot Bible the gesture is again one of acclaim; in the spandrel, however, the palm faces towards the firmament in a flaccid gesture of

³⁶² Burges 1859, 148.

creation, one that recurs in the restored works of every day but the fourth. Unfortunately there is no evidence surviving in any of the spandrels either to reject or verify the gesture. Yet the Chaillot Bible illumination raises doubts about the Salisbury gesture.

The Creation cycle in Aelfric's *Hexateuch* (London, Brit. Lib. MS. Cotton Claudius B. IV) reinforces those doubts. The Anglo-Saxon illustrated Old Testament written in the vernacular and dated to ca. 1050 established an English pictorial tradition that drew on Near Eastern imagery, but is also considered a less than perfect carrier of the Cotton Genesis tradition.³⁶³ Beginning, as it does, with the works of the second day, the manuscript offers compelling iconographical parallels with many Salisbury scenes as restored (Fig. 80). Although placed centrally in the illumination rather than to one side, the Deity stands on a ground line within the scene as at Salisbury. With open arms he makes the gesture of acclaim with his left hand, a gesture repeated in subsequent scenes (Figs 81a and 82). As in the spandrel, the raising of the firmament of heaven, not the division of waters, represents the work of the day (Genesis 1:6-8).³⁶⁴ In deviating from the Chaillot Bible, the Salisbury cycle was following an insular tradition that accords with Burges's pre-restoration description. The use of the gesture of acclaim in both the French and Anglo-Saxon examples makes its absence from the Salisbury scene all the more suspect.

Another questionable detail is the brooch fastening the Deity's mantle in the center of his chest. That arrangement occurs at Salisbury only in restored figures: the Creator of the third and sixth days, His Rest on the Sabbath, and with Adam and Eve Hiding in the Garden (Pls. III, VI, VII, and X). None of those spandrels retained any vestiges of the original drapery as a control, and only in the sketch of the third day did Carter make any attempt to supply details of the upper torso. There he indicates a mantle draped evenly over both shoulders without any fastening, an arrangement that was common in the thirteenth century, as was a clasp holding the mantle on one shoulder. Although the center fastening did not achieve great currency until the fourteenth century, a scattering of

363 For Aelfric's *Hexateuch*, see Dodwell and Clemoes (eds.) 1974; Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 23, 25.

364 Although the cloud convention in the second day resembles the Greek scroll motif associated with waves, the illuminator's intention to depict clouds rather than water becomes apparent through comparisons with the scenes of the fourth and fifth days (Figs. 82 and 83).

examples appeared in the thirteenth,³⁶⁵ but not in the better-preserved figures at Salisbury. (See God Sentencing Cain and instructing Noah to build the Ark: Pls. XV and XVI.) With a few exceptions, continuity in dress usually carries from bay to bay unless the narrative proposes a reason for change. Here the evidence suggests strongly, but not conclusively, that the mantle as restored did not perpetuate the original arrangement.

The Third Day of Creation. Spandrel I, Northwest Bay

(Plate III)

The work of the third bay belongs entirely to the nineteenth century, except for the small wedge of thirteenth-century stone at the springing of the arch below the figure of the Deity which represents ground swells. Described by Burges as the 'Creation of trees,' the original scene was 'destroyed'. His only notation on color recorded the 'earth on which our LORD stands' as yellow.³⁶⁶ Carter's sketch confirms the placement of the Deity, but as discussed above, not his drapery or his pose (Pl. LXI). Where firmly delineated, the full-length figure appears in a frontal pose closer to the stance of the Creator in the Chaillot Bible page than to the restoration (Fig. 79). The illumination conflates the works of the third and fourth days in a single frame which permits a comparison of gestures for the fourth day only. Carter's drawing indicates either mutilation or total loss of the right forearm. That lacuna thwarts any attempt to reconstruct the gesture of the right hand. In the same scene in Aelfric's Hexateuch, where the placement of the figures is reversed, the Deity stands at the right with his right hand making a gesture of acclaim towards the vegetation (Fig. 81a).³⁶⁷ At

365 Among examples of mantles with center fastenings, see *ibid.*, Schnebbelie's drawings of the angel choir painted in the vaults of the arms of the eastern transepts, Salisbury cathedral (Fig. 39), the Apostles of the destroyed jubé from Strasbourg cathedral (ca. 1260), Strasbourg Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame: Sauerländer 1972, fig. 282; the smiling angel of the left doorway, west façade, Reims cathedral (1245-1255): *ibid.*, fig. 211. In all these examples, the reference may have been to an ecclesiastical vestment, the cope. On vested angels, see below n. 55. The hooded cloak of secular dress provides numerous examples of a centered brooch, but they are not relevant to this discussion.

366 Burges 1859, 148.

367 The Deity in the Bible of Robert de Bello (Fig. 92) makes the gesture of blessing, and his left hand holds a scroll. Yet in the work of the third day his gesture approximates that of the Salisbury Creator's left hand

Salisbury, because the right hand would have had to cross his body to gesture towards the works of the day, only the left could have gestured in acclamation. Yet Carter shows that arm coping with the drapery of the mantle, seemingly an echo of the Hexateuch where the Deity's drapery over the left arm swaddles his hand. In effect, both the drapery and left arm and hand as restored are suspect, but the restored right hand is correct in making the gesture of Creation.

In its scale the vegetation as restored agrees with Carter's sketch of the work of the third day when the Deity created the 'green herb, and such as may seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit' (Genesis 1:11). If we can trust Carter's drawing, and the better-preserved scenes will prove him to be a good observer, the restorer may have been over generous. The trees probably numbered three, possibly four, certainly not five. We will discover that overcrowded compositions are uncharacteristic of the scenes by this thirteenth-century carver.

Whether recognizable leaf forms occurred among the original vegetation cannot be determined. Though Carter's tiny sketch suggests only abstract stylized representations, thirteenth-century Parisian manuscripts provide examples where the oak, palm, or grapevine occur alongside stylized vegetation on the third day, notably the Bible moralisée (Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS. 270b, fol. 2v), and the Morgan Bible (New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS. 638, fol. 1), two manuscripts that share numerous iconographical features with Salisbury throughout the Genesis cycle, some quite unusual.³⁶⁸ The

as restored.

368 We will discover numerous other shared iconographical elements, some quite rare, linking the Bible moralisée and the Salisbury cycle. On the manuscripts, see i.a. Laborde 1911-27; the study by Hausherr 1972, 356-80 and plates; and Guest (ed.) 1995, a facsimile with translation and commentary on the Bible moralisée, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 2554.

As Hausherr wrote, the Bible Moralisée belongs entirely to the tradition of the twelfth-century system of biblical exegesis that at a slightly later date was made into a great compendium by Hugh of Saint-Cher in his Postilla. The 5000 miniatures of the Bible moralisée are arranged with a Bible scene then a moralizing scene. French in origin, the production centered in the court of Saint Louis with the original perhaps dedicated to him.

On the Morgan Bible, MS 638, see Cockerell and James 1927; a more available recent edition, Plummer (ed.) 1969; and Stahl, 1974, passim. Plummer's facsimile also includes leaves separated from the manuscript and now in other collections.

Stahl examined the pictorial sources for the illuminations in Morgan MS 638. When comparing miniatures with the Salisbury scenes, we will find that even when an illumination deviates from the

crowded roundel illustrating the work of the third day in the *Bible moralisée* has a triple branching, stylized tree (2nd from right) with terminals that resemble a fan of palm leaves; all other vegetation in the roundel is schematized (Fig. 81b). The roundel thus offers some support for the palm tree in the Salisbury restoration. In the Morgan Bible MS. 638, formerly the Maciejowski Bible, we also find schematized and naturalistic foliage juxtaposed. There, in the foreground grapevines wind around three upright poles. (Trinitarian and Salvation symbolism may have been intended.) Recognizable fruit and leaves of the grape supported by a trellis also occur in the Salisbury scene of Noah tending the vines (Pl. XVIII). Though none of the above examples of recognizable and schematized foliage can verify the restoration, they increase the plausibility of at least some realistic vegetation in the original version. The comparisons suggest that the restoration may perpetuate some of the original plant forms, but probably not the oak as represented here. In subsequent spandrels, the oak always appears as a stylized, double-branching tree with outsized, recognizable leaves applied to ovoid or lollipop-shaped terminals. (See for example, Pls. X, upper right, XXXIV, and LIX.)

Salisbury scene because of a conflation or additions, the compositions of the scenes under comparison prove very close indeed. The differences may have resulted from what Stahl's analysis revealed as particularly idiomatic aspects of the miniatures, reflections, he concluded of its Parisian origins and the climate of thought there in the mid-thirteenth century. Stahl pointed to the Anglo-Saxon traditions that 're-emerged' in the Morgan Bible, principally elements also found in Aelfric's *Hexateuch*: *ibid.*, 77-80. Stahl's conclusion that the archetypes for the Bible had been quite diverse, and the manner in which the influences were transmitted to each manuscript extremely complicated—an observation that also applies to the Salisbury scenes. The discussion of the sources of imagery in Morgan 638, according to Stahl, introduced 'most of the major problems of East-West transmission.' He reconstructed a group of continental manuscripts of various dates (including Spanish illuminations) where the elements that they shared with a Byzantine cycle pointed to a 'single pictorial tradition of considerable force:' *ibid.*, 71, 149-50, 240-41.

Stahl spoke of English or Anglo-Saxon iconographical elements characteristic of Morgan 638 that re-emerged in early fourteenth-century manuscripts in England. In calling them 'repatriated formulas' he overlooked their persistence through the centuries in English art. Their appearance in mid-thirteenth-century manuscripts such as Morgan 638 may owe much to the period in the second decade of that century when the heir to the French throne, the future Louis VIII, controlled London and the east coast of England as far north as Lincoln. We can never know how many treasures, including English illuminated manuscripts, crossed the Channel to France during that period. One of the manuscripts cited by Stahl as a vehicle of 'repatriated' ideas was the early fourteenth-century Queen Mary's *Psalter*: Warner 1912. Besides the legendary material that aided Burges in reconstructing the Joseph cycle at Salisbury, we will discover other iconographical affinities with scenes in the chapter house. See Burges 1859, 158.

The Fourth Day of Creation. Spandrel II, Northwest Bay

(Plate IV)

The fourth day of Creation contains an intricate network of Caen stone repairs set into the thirteenth-century spandrel stone. The vestiges of original sculpture consist of the re-cut and patched ground line, the stumps of both tree trunks, and, in the upper left corner, a segment of the cloud formation that still retains the patina of age. By comparison with the adjacent nineteenth-century clouds, the overlapping scallops in the remnant of stylized clouds seem less undercut and less sharply articulated than those of the restoration.

For the first time a fragment has survived of the thirteenth-century figure of the Creator. His original left foot confirms the placement of the nineteenth-century figure, an arrangement that Carter's sketch verifies (Pl. LXI). Burges identified the scene as the 'Creation of the sun and moon (Genesis 1:14-18),' which, he added, was 'very nearly destroyed; but the pose of GOD [is] excellent.' As for colors, 'The sky [is] the ordinary light green, shaded with lake; the earth...yellow, apparently with white highlights shaded with red.'³⁶⁹ Carter's sketch adds to our information by verifying the accuracy of the restored trees branching into double clusters of foliage and confirming the cloud formations along the upper edge of the spandrel on both sides of the figure.

Neither the drawing by Carter nor the remnants of thirteenth-century carving gives any information about the original disposition of the sun and moon. In the nineteenth-century inset, the Deity is cradling them in the palms of his upraised hands, a rare but not unique conceit until the thirteenth century when the arrangement began to proliferate in Parisian manuscripts.³⁷⁰ Prior to that time, in the western tradition the Creator gestured towards the firmament of heaven where he had already set the 'two great lights...to shine upon the earth' (Genesis 1:14-17). The work of the fourth day in Aelfric's *Hexateuch* follows that formula. There the Creator stretches his arms towards the firmament above containing personifications of the sun and moon. Late Antique influences persist in

³⁶⁹ Burges 1859, 148.

³⁷⁰ For thirteenth-century Parisian examples, see Branner 1977, figs. 130, 146, 152, 168, 272, 332, 335, and 382.

those torch-carrying demi-figures framed by roundels, each pulled through the sky by a pair of beasts (Fig. 82).

The Anglo-Saxon illumination preceded by about fifty years the frescoes at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe (ca. 1100), where the Deity holds circumscribed personifications of the sun and moon in his hands prior to placing them in the inverted hemicycle representing the firmament.³⁷¹ A Near Eastern tradition lies behind both the Anglo-Saxon manuscript and the Saint-Savin fresco. Even though the Hexateuch pre-dated the fresco, the illustrator had already modified the tradition more than the fresco by placing the Deity within the scene of Creation, rather than positioning him at a remove. Unlike the Eastern Church, which used the manus Dei to signify divine action, the West had never been reticent about giving bodily form to the Deity. The frame conflating the works of the third and fourth days in the Chaillot Bible pictures him within the scene facing right in a three-quarter stance as he places the sun in the heavens with his left hand and holds the moon just below in his right. Four stars resembling four-petalled daisies fill the background space above and below his right arm (Fig. 79). In composition, the Salisbury spandrel parallels the Hexateuch with a central, frontal pose for the Creator, but recalls the imagery of the Saint-Savin fresco and Chaillot Bible with

371 See Henderson 1963, 11-12. The article established convincing parallels between the frescoes and selected illuminations in the eleventh-century pictorial cycles of Aelfric's Hexateuch and the metrical paraphrase of the Bible (Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS. Junius xi). Henderson saw all three pictorial cycles as dependent on the lost Late Antique archetype that Weitzmann 1948, 6-7, 30-38, supposed lay behind the Eastern Octateuch recension and posited that the Late Antique eastern imagery came to Saint-Savin by way of England.

Yet recently Lowden, 1992, passim, has refuted the hypothesis of a Late Antique archetype for the Octateuchs formulated by Weitzmann. Lowden, esp. 79-104, has demonstrated convincingly that in the family of five Octateuchs, the prototype was the eleventh-century Octateuch produced in Constantinople after the Iconoclastic period, possibly between ca. 1050-1075. The earliest surviving copy of the prototype, Vatican, Biblioteca, Cod. gr. 747, was probably reproduced by ca. 1075. This and three more known copies of the prototype were made in Constantinople in the twelfth century, the first of which, probably Smyrna Cod. A. 1, was destroyed in a fire in 1922. We know it today thanks to the publication of the miniatures by Hesseling 1909. By ca. 1155, the Istanbul, Seraglio, Cod. 8 (the Topkapi Octateuch) and Vatican, Biblioteca, gr. 746 had followed. Both were based on the Smyrna Octateuch. The last Octateuch of this family, the Mount Athos, Vatopedi 602, was made between ca. 1275 and 1300, and copied after Vatican gr. 746. Accepting Lowden's careful analysis makes the means of transmission of Near Eastern or Byzantine imagery to Anglo-Saxon England obscure.

the two celestial bodies in his hands.

The question arises as to what influenced and popularized that imagery. The answer may lie in liturgical drama. The unique twelfth-century manuscript preserving the Anglo-Norman drama of Adam, Ordo representationis Ade, contains stage directions that could explain the appearance of a demi-figure in the work of the first day at Salisbury. The rubrics call for draperies of silk to hide all but the shoulders and heads of the Deity and Adam and Eve. They enter a setting complete with fragrant flowers and branches that represent the diverse trees loaded with fruit in paradise.³⁷² Before the dialogue begins, readings and chants recite the biblical account of the works of the six days. The dialogue starts with the Deity establishing Adam and Eve in paradise and enjoining them against eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. In her comprehensive monograph, Lynette Muir concluded that the opening rubrics provided a complete play in mime.³⁷³ Though the surviving manuscript is unique, Muir tempts us to suppose that some lost version had included rubrics providing mime and gesture to accompany the readings. For works of the fourth day the figura Dei could well have held the sun and moon in his upraised hands. That may explain the proliferation of the arrangement in thirteenth-century biblical illustration, until then an exceedingly rare concept.

Although Carter's sketch shows no traces of the heavenly lights, presumably enough survived of the original sculpture to inform the restorer of the arrangement. Considering the growing acceptance of the imagery in the thirteenth century, but lacking authenticating vestiges in the spandrel itself, we may presume the correctness of the scene as restored, but not positively verify it.

Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI) raises a stylistic question. Note the pencilled 'S'-curve running down the center of the figure as a guideline for the artist. That line emphasizes the essential asymmetry of the pose, and the silhouette reflects a contrapposto stance typical of figures in the second half of the

372 The rubrics read: Constituatur paradisio loco eminenciori; circumponantur cortine et panni serici, ca altitudine et persone que in paradiso fuerint, possint videri sursum ab humeris: Palustre 1877, 2.

373 Muir 1973, 43-54. See also the bibliography, 177-94. Cohen 1943, 333-34, reported that he had not found 'sufficient convincing proofs of the influence of Le Jeu d'Adam et Eve on representations in art'. Yet more examples of the possible influence of liturgical drama in the Salisbury Old Testament scenes will receive attention in due course.

thirteenth century. A shifting of weight to one foot and the raised hip of the weight-bearing leg are also reflected in Carter's delineation of the Deity's shoulders. Yet in its severe symmetry, the nineteenth-century version has eliminated the easy movement of the contrapposto pose as sketched. In short, the restorer ignored the 'step' that had liberated the Gothic figure from rigid frontality.

The Fifth Day of Creation. Spandrel III, Northwest Bay

(Plate V)

In the spandrel depicting the works of the fifth day, for the last time the restorer took the liberty of excising a major portion of the thirteenth-century stone to make way for a large Caen stone inset. Only about one third of the original scene survives. It includes a small triangle of ground at the springing of the arches directly below the centrally placed figure of the Creator and a more extensive remnant on the right side of the spandrel depicting the 'great whales, and every living and moving creature, which the waters brought forth' (Genesis 1:21). According to Burges the works of the fifth day contained the 'Creation of fishes and birds; the birds are on the right hand of GOD and the fishes on the left.'³⁷⁴ Although he described the scene as 'Destroyed,' he added, 'a part of the sea is cut into the wall with excellent effect.' As for color, he found 'traces of light green near birds, also near fishes; on the latter the green is somewhat darker [the color consistently used for water]; trunks of trees yellow.'

The drawing by Carter shows that, as in the third day, the nineteenth-century inset replacing a portion of the thirteenth-century spandrel did not recreate the scene according to vestiges recorded in the sketch (Pl. LXI). Instead of the frontal position indicated by Carter, the Creator, restored in a three-quarter pose, has turned towards the water, his back to the fowls of the air. Carter pictured the Deity's arms as stumps broken off below the shoulders, but as in the fourth and sixth days (Pls. IV and VI), God originally extended his arms laterally towards the works on his left and right. Confirming extensive damage on the left side of the spandrel, the drawing shows only remnants of

³⁷⁴ Burges 1859, 148.

one tree on the far left (Burgess, however, noted 'trees' in the plural), plus approximately two-thirds of the ground line, with no indication of birds or a second tree. Consequently, both the number of birds and their placement in the original scene remain unknown.

The Chaillot Bible illumination (Fig. 79), contains three identical birds placed in tiers, with the lowest perched on the Deity's left hand. Aelfric's Hexateuch (Fig. 83), depicts eight, some on the ground, others in flight. Their variety is suggested by differences in size, in shapes of the beaks, tail feathers, and claws. The recurring problem of divergent iconography in these two manuscripts leaves the reconstruction of lost details on the left side of the spandrel unresolved. Yet with some regularity the Salisbury scenes have agreed with the Hexateuch in representations of things created, whereas the important comparisons with the Chaillot Bible have focused on the figure of the Deity. Thus, we might expect that the original birds in the spandrel had followed the tradition in the Hexateuch. With some birds in flight, the Anglo-Saxon illumination adhered closely to the biblical text which mentions 'the fowl that may fly over the earth under the firmament of heaven' (Genesis 1:20).

The right side of the spandrel draws on both traditions. In its form, the water parallels the Chaillot Bible. The presence of a whale among the fishes follows the imagery in the Hexateuch where the artist took pains to illustrate the biblical text: 'God created the great whales and every living and moving creature, which the water brought forth' (Genesis 1:21). The Salisbury artist differentiated the heads of fishes breaking the surface of the water, and the Anglo-Saxon illuminator showed even more variety by including an eel and a lizard among the sea life, along with the whale. This contrasts with the three identical fishes 'applied' to the 'hummock' of water in the Chaillot illumination.

In restoring the left side of the spandrel, the nineteenth-century sculptor took liberties, as he had with the figure of the Creator. He over-developed the second tree so that the anomalous outgrowth of its twisted right branch invades the area formerly occupied by the Creator's outstretched arm. The altered pose and gestures in the restoration allowed space for that branch, the elongation of which has no parallel in any of the unrestored, thirteenth-century trees in better-preserved scenes.

In summary, although the restoration of the left side of the spandrel is questionable, Carter's drawing documents the liberties taken by the restorer with the figure of the Creator. Beyond authenticating a second tree and more than one bird, Burges's notes and existing evidence can neither reconstruct the original arrangement on the left side of the scene nor verify the number of birds. Fortunately the right side preserves the thirteenth-century carving. This allows telling comparisons with other scenes depicting water where harsh re-cutting or sanding has deprived the representations of the delicate modulation of the surfaces and much of the interplay of waving lines in the overall design (Pls. XLVII and LVII).

The Sixth Day of Creation. Spandrel IV, Northwest Bay
(Plate VI)

As the complicated diagram indicates, the scene of the sixth day was much restored. If, as seems likely, the restorer had been enjoined belatedly to preserve the thirteenth-century spandrel stone and not replace whole sections, he nevertheless continued to excise major portions of the damaged figures. Also, in restoring the left side of the spandrel he failed to heed the original iconography. Burges described the scene as the 'Creation of beasts on the right hand and of Eve from Adam's side on the left hand of GOD [Genesis 1:24-25, 28]. The beasts are a cow and a horse.'³⁷⁵ Burges found few traces of color in the spandrel, but enough to suggest a continuation of the scheme described in the preceding spandrels. Then in a footnote written after seeing the restored spandrel, he added, 'Adam has now been inserted on the right hand of OUR LORD. In the present [above] notice I merely stated what was to be seen before the restoration.'³⁷⁶

The insertion of the figure of Adam by the restorer constitutes a significant iconographical change and one that crowds the composition. The vestiges of original carving on the same side of the spandrel include the body and long flowing tail of the large animal at the top of the hillock, far left; the rump and hind legs (except the left foot) of the animal below, plus the ground beneath its cloven,

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

right hind hoof; and also the ground formation to the right of the hillock (not including the section encompassed by the nineteenth-century inset supplying Adam's feet). Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI) confirms the existence of two animals only, with the one on the left headless, and corroborates Burges's comment about the gratuitous addition of Adam by the restorer.

The scattered remnants of thirteenth-century carving supply a surprising amount of information. Enough remains of the two animals to verify their identification as a horse and a cow. Ignoring the flowing tail characteristic of horses, not cows, the restorer supplied the upper animal with the head of a cow and transformed the thirteenth-century cow into a domestic pig. His nineteenth-century forelegs appear disproportionately short when compared with the original, longer hind legs. No trace of a sheep exists, which is another nineteenth-century fabrication without precedent in the spandrel or in the pre-restoration visual and written evidence.

The insertion of Adam on the Creator's right required the restorer to alter the Deity's original gesture towards the animals on his right. Instead of the outstretched arm pictured by Carter broken off below the elbow, the restored arm projects forward, hand raised to the level of the head, palm facing out. The centered figure of the Deity still turns slightly to the left as Carter's drawing suggests. The torsion and placement of the body depend on the advanced position of his original right foot and toes. Again in accordance with the sketch, the Deity still glances back over his right shoulder towards the beasts on the hummock. The pose approximates the one in the work of the fourth day, but here the figure was less well-preserved above the waist. Both outstretched arms had been broken off below the elbow, not near the shoulders as in the fourth day. The sketchiness and lack of detail about the drapery arrangement suggest that Carter had little more than a battered silhouette to inform him. Though the drawing shows the hemline lifting as the drapery fluttered out behind, in the restoration the drapery of the tunic fails to reflect movement in the manner proposed by Carter.

On the right side of the spandrel the pre-restoration drawing records the headless, upright demi-figure of Eve in profile. She faces the Deity, her arms bent and raised as she emerges from Adam's right side. In the sketch, the severely mutilated recumbent figure of Adam is

indistinguishable from the ground swells, but possibly the several smudges represent the broken stumps of his right arm and two legs. The large-scale groundswells or hummocks in the sketch still have prominence behind Adam's restored legs, but the tree now standing on the far right appears as little more than a faint loop in the drawing.

Vestiges still extant of the figure of Adam prove more informative than Carter's drawing. As diagrammed, the torso, right shoulder, right leg to the knee, left leg to mid-thigh, and toes of his left foot have survived. They inform and govern the position of the restored figure and authenticate all but his left arm and hand. Equally informative remnants of the original figure of Eve agree with Carter's sketch and verify the pose as restored. A vestige of her entire right side from the shoulder down lies behind the nineteenth-century inset, and her original upraised right arm and hand still survive with patches of mastic filling in surface losses.

Though the Salisbury creation of Eve includes the figure of the Creator rather than a manus Dei, the tradition of Eve emerging from Adam's side occurs in the Eastern Octateuchs where the Creation of Eve is in the same frame with Adam naming the animals. On the right lower edge of the miniature, she emerges from the sleeping Adam's side, a figure fully formed to the hips, summoned forth by the manus Dei (Fig. 84a, b).³⁷⁷ By the thirteenth century, this had become a familiar formula for illustrating the creation of Eve. Aelfric's Hexateuch must contain the earliest known example in England of Eve emerging from Adam's side (Fig. 86). In the Anglo-Saxon version the Deity is modeling Eve, as in the twelfth-century Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Museum Rudulfimum, Cod. VI) and Hortus Deliciarum.³⁷⁸ But her creation has gone much further in the

377 The same image occurs in the unpublished eleventh-century Octateuch, Vatican gr. 747. Unfortunately the badly eroded scene is almost illegible when reproduced in black and white. Apparently, in the west this imagery also began to appear in the eleventh century. See Colombier 1968, 255-58, who cited the earliest Creation of Eve from Adam's side on the bronze door at Augsburg (eleventh century). Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1969-1971, 240-44, thought that the ultimate source for representations of Eve emerging as a full figure from Adam's side, "une conception antinaturaliste et monstreuse," was the Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Museum Rudolfinum, Cod. VI, 19, fol. 8), but she assigned the manuscript to the mid-eleventh century, not, as generally accepted, to the twelfth century.

378 In the Cotton Genesis recension, Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 23, 25, placed the Millstatt Genesis in the 'secondary group,' not the primary one, that they used to reconstruct the damaged illuminations of the

insular version, where Eve, fully formed to the ankles, is ready to step out of Adam's side.³⁷⁹

Thirteenth century variants included God grasping Eve by the arm and drawing her forth, or as at Salisbury, the Deity standing apart and performing the act of creation by gesture.³⁸⁰

In this pictorial tradition, arrangements of the figures differ slightly in gesture or show minor variations in the pose of the recumbent Adam. In the spandrel, no remnants exist to authenticate Adam's restored left hand resting on his chest, an arrangement that is not as usual as Adam using his left hand to support his head. Yet the same scene in the Smyrna Octateuch (Fig. 84b) shows that rarer arrangement. This suggests that the restoration is probably correct and the original depended on a model that perpetuated the less usual pose.

Eve's gesture as indicated both by Carter's drawing and remnants of the original sculpture that include the fully formed right arm, also compares well with the Octateuchs. Her bent arms and open handed gesture in Smyrna codex A 1 and Seraglio codex 8 (Fig. 84a, b) should not be confused with gestures of prayer or acclamation. The stiff, open-handed gesture made with arms and hands reaching forward belongs in the roster of iconographical elements borrowed from pagan art. We find the gesture associated with the new born in scenes of birth, for example, in the fifth-century mosaic showing the birth of Achilles (Fig. 85); also on a fourth or fifth-century ivory once identified as Isis and Horus (or less probably as the Virgin *lactans*), but recently recognized as Dionysus with his

Cotton Genesis. They placed the *Hortus Deliciarum* in the 'tertiary group'. Variants indicated that both manuscripts derived from a Cotton Genesis archetype or sister manuscript, rather from the Cotton Genesis itself.

379 In the Millstatt Genesis God is modeling Eve's head from an enormous rib sprouting from Adam's side. The same scene in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, increases Eve's image to a demi-figure that God is modeling from a rib that he has already removed from Adam's side. See Green 1955, 343-44, figs. 1c and 8; and the recent meticulous reconstruction of that lost manuscript which was destroyed during a bombardment of Strasbourg in 1870, Green 1979, fol. 17r, pl. 10.

380 The same scene occurs at Wells in the Old Testament cycle occupying quatrefoils on the west facade, but the loss of Eve's and the Deity's arms make it impossible to determine whether God was actually drawing her forth from Adam's side.

nurse.³⁸¹ In the Salisbury spandrel the fingers are no longer separated decisively, presumably a modification after knowledge and memory of pagan models had faded with the copying and recopying of the motif. The gesture had persisted in Christian art on the continent and in Mediterranean countries through the centuries,³⁸² and we find it also in the Anglo-Saxon scenes of the Creation of Eve in both the metrical paraphrase of Genesis (Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS. Junius xi),³⁸³ and in Aelfric's Hexateuch where Eve's arms splay sideways to adapt the gesture to the composition (Fig. 86), as well as in the twelfth-century Chaillot Bible (Fig. 79).

The Salisbury scene and the Eastern Octateuchs followed the order of Creation in Genesis 1:25-27, wherein God created beasts, man, and woman all on the sixth day. His work completed, God rested on the Sabbath (Genesis 2:1-3). Then Genesis 2:4-25 retells the story of Creation according to an older tradition. In the second version, the one followed in the Cotton Genesis

381 Oral communication, Bernice Jones, New York Institute of Fine Arts. For illustrations of these and other examples, see Weitzmann 1979, nos. 167, 207, 208, and 213. The gesture also occurs in a less dramatic form in the Octateuchs in the inspiring of Adam, Vatican gr. cod. 747, fol. 19, and in Smyrna codex A 1, fol. 36v. See also Uspenskii 1907, pl. 10, fig. 22; Hesseling 1909, fol. 9; and Weitzmann 1971, 73.

382 See, *i.a.*, the creation of Eve in the frescoes from the eighth-century church at Ferentillo, Abbazia san Pietro in Valle; and the mid-thirteenth-century wall painting at Aime, basilica of Saint-Martin, in the Savoie, both reproduced in Demus 1970, pl. 60 and p. 302 (Ferentillo); 431-32, fig. 21 (Aime). See also the mosaics of Monreale (last quarter of the twelfth century): Kitzinger 1960, fig. 42; the frescoes at Sigena: Oakeshott 1972, fig. 181, and the mosaics at Palermo, *ibid.*, fig. 183. See also the creation of Eve in the twelfth-century wall paintings in the Sigena chapter house, Oakeshott 1972, fig. 10. A later occurrence appears in the East Anglian manuscript of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the Holkham Picture-Book Bible, London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 47682, fol. 3, reproduced in Hassall 1954. We will also find unusual iconographical details in the Salisbury Cain and Abel cycle which coincide with imagery in that manuscript. See below, Chapter 6.

383 Gollancz (ed.) 1927, (facs.), p. 9. That Old English metrical paraphrase of the Bible (*ca.* 1000 A.D. for text; illustrations probably second quarter of the eleventh century) provides many interesting parallels with Salisbury from this point in the cycle on through the scenes of Noah. But the seemingly unique illustrations of the first six days of Creation in Junius xi where Creation takes place in hemicycles have nothing in common with the Salisbury works of the days. For an interpretation of those scenes and their probable dependence on the Near Eastern concept of the universe and for a summary of the questions of dating and provenance, see Blum 1976, 211-26; and Raw 1976, 133-48 (and pls.). Raw's provocative, but not always rigorous analysis has been accepted only so far as it pointed to similarities in details with the frontispieces of the Carolingian Bibles of the school of Tours. See the major study by Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 24, for a general discussion of the dependence of Junius xi (there called the Caedmon Paraphrase) on the Cotton Genesis tradition, particularly in the scenes of Creation of man and woman.

recension, God formed man of clay, created paradise for man's pleasure, and then enjoined Adam alone to abstain from eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. After the Injunction, God brought the beasts and fowl for Adam to name before casting him into a deep sleep and creating Eve from his rib. With two distinct biblical traditions, small wonder that different pictorial traditions developed for the Creation of woman, and, as at Salisbury, one tradition also included Eve in the scene of the Injunction (Pl. VIII).

Rest on the Sabbath. Spandrel V, Northwest Bay

(Plate VII)

The diagram of the scene depicting the Rest on the Sabbath (Genesis 2:1-3), shows a network of insertions restoring both the enthroned figure of the Deity and the mandorla that frames him. Using light, hesitant strokes, Carter sketched little more than an outline of a nimbed figure seated within an almond-shaped vesicle, the left edge of the seat of his throne, and a molded socle supporting his feet (Pl. LXI). The artist's sketchy technique and the absence of any detail indicating the drapery of God's garments imply a severely mutilated figure. The firm dark lines with which Carter drew the best-preserved portions of the figures in the preceding scenes occur here only in the socle or footrest and in the multi-branched tree on the far right. Carter handled the tree on the left more tentatively, although his outline indicates a typical double branching of the trunk.

In view of Carter's hesitant lines and forms, Burges supplied a surprising amount of detail, especially about the polychromy then visible on the surfaces. His description begins, 'GOD rests on the seventh day. The Deity in an aureole, a tree on either side. He is blessing the earth.' The report continues, 'Interior of aureole, a good decided blue, light green on foliage of one of the trees. Cloak of GOD, green; with two black lines on the border; tunic light pink, with black powdering.'³⁸⁴

Though the two pre-restoration records give quite different impressions of condition, the fullness of Burges's color notes need not indicate that the restorer eliminated more of the original carving than

³⁸⁴ Burges 1859, 148.

was prudent. The detailed information could have depended on remnants of the tunic around the Deity's feet and a portion of the mantle draped over the left side of the throne, the better part of which survives today in the restored scene. Nonetheless, the suspicion remains that the restorer may have sacrificed an excessive amount of the original figure in his restoration

Carter's sketch not only defines the pose, but also establishes the original position of both arms with light but sure lines. The right arm and hand make the gesture of blessing in accordance with the text of Genesis 2:2-3: 'and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had done. And he blessed the seventh day and sanctified it.' As restored, however, that arm is now bent more acutely than Carter's drawing proposes, with the hand raised aloft rather than extended to the right, as in the sketch. Carter also showed quite a different position for the left arm, a difference that alters the iconography significantly. Originally held away from the body, the bent elbow was raised nearly to shoulder level, not held close to his side as in the restoration. Since the position established by the drawing precludes his holding an orb, the attribute supplied by the restoration must be incorrect. Following the indications of Carter's sketch, the left hand must have been supporting an object balanced on his left knee, probably a book. Although the orb and the book are equally appropriate in scenes of the Rest on the Sabbath, the latter had a well established insular tradition going back to Anglo-Saxon biblical illustration. In the Rest on the Sabbath, the book is God's attribute in Aelfric's Hexateuch (Fig. 87), and also in the Genesis poem Junius xi.³⁸⁵ In almost every detail the miniature in the Hexateuch offers a close and convincing parallel for the Salisbury scene. The plinth-type bench, the mantle cascading along the Deity's left side, and the almond-shape mandorla all compare well. The comparison falters only in the absence of a nimbus in the illumination and the presence of a veil covering the hand holding the book. Yet in the spandrel the drapery cascading over the bench could have been part of a veil. Nevertheless, we lack evidence to verify that supposition.

In short, Aelfric's Hexateuch with its close affinities to the Salisbury spandrel reinforces the

385 Gollancz (ed.) 1927, (facs.) 11.

doubts raised by Carter's pre-restoration drawing. The Deity's attribute and the position of both arms as restored probably deviate from the original iconography. The drapery and arrangement of the mantle are also questionable as noted above in the discussion of the works of the second day.

The Adam and Eve Cycle

The Injunction. Spandrel VI, Northwest Bay

(Plate VIII)

Carter's sketch once again leaves no doubt about the severe mutilation of this scene (Pl. LXI). Only the typical double-branched tree on the left has a recognizable shape. (The left half of the scene appears at the end of the second tier of scenes; the right half begins the third row.) The left portion suggests the silhouettes of three figures, two of them standing close together in the center of the spandrel above the springing of the arches. The quick and indefinite lines that continue the scene in the next row indicate an additional element in the composition, doubtless the tree of the knowledge (Genesis 2:17), as restored in the spandrel. Burges's notes prove more informative than the sketch: 'GOD shows Adam the tree of good and evil; behind is Eve; and behind her another tree, probably the tree of life.' Reporting on the polychromy he added, 'Cloak of GOD, light green, lined with light pink; between Eve and end of panel [left] there are traces of bunches of leaves on the ground; they have been probably gilt; they cover the whole ground like a powdering.'³⁸⁶ Burges's description establishes the location of every element in the original composition, but neither he nor Carter gave any indication of the third tree provided by the restoration, the fig tree on the far right. Presumably an invention of the restorer, the tree may represent the restorer's attempt to balance the composition

A significant iconographical blunder also mars the restoration. In replacing the figures of Adam and Eve the restorer reversed their original positions. Eve now stands next to the Deity and Adam follows behind her. Perhaps unconsciously the restorer imposed the manners and mores of nineteenth-century polite society on the medieval scene. Yet by having Eve precede Adam the

³⁸⁶ Burges 1859, 148.

restorer overlooked evidence still visible in their well-preserved original feet. The Caen stone figure of Eve now stands on the large feet of Adam. Following politely behind, he in turn is poised on Eve's small, dainty thirteenth-century feet. The original scene deviated from the biblical text (Genesis 2:15-19), wherein God enjoined Adam only, saying: 'Of every tree of Paradise thou shalt eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat.'

The right foot of the Deity, the only remnant of his original figure, and the thirteenth-century feet of Adam and Eve determined the spacing of the restored figures in accordance with the original composition. To judge from the proximity of the two central figures, the Deity presumably held Adam by the hand as he now holds Eve.³⁸⁷ Carter's sketch does not authenticate Adam's raised hands and bent arms, but they may well perpetuate the original gesture of Eve which resembles her pose in the same scene in both Junius xi and Aelfric's Hexateuch (Fig. 86).³⁸⁸

No trace of the original fruit and foliage survive to validate the restoration of the Tree of Knowledge as an apple tree. The play on words so typical of medieval symbolism had long associated the apple tree, or in Latin, genus malum, not only with the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the book of Genesis, but also with arbor malum and arbor bonum of the gospel according to Matthew 7:17-20.³⁸⁹ The fig (or figus) also had a long tradition as the species identified with the tree of knowledge.³⁹⁰ Since no trace of the original foliage survives in this or the next spandrel depicting

387 Among the many examples in which God holds Adam by the hand with Eve standing behind Adam, see Aelfric's Hexateuch (Fig. 86) and the Morgan Bible, MS 638 (Fig. 88a, right). In the Wells quatrefoil depicting the injunction Adam is embracing the Deity who is pointing to the tree, and Eve stands behind Adam.

388 See also Gollancz (ed.) 1927, (facs.) 10.

389 As floral and fruit symbolism developed in medieval art and literature the apple became associated in legends with evil men such as Herod and Judas Iscariot. See Voragine 1969, 67-68, 173; also Behling 1959, 139-54; and Wolffhardt 1954, 177-96.

390 The association of the fig tree with the Temptation and Fall occurs in the Jewish legendary and exegetical work, Apocalypsis Mosis, a misnomer for the Greek version of a first-century Hebrew or Aramaic work upon which the Latin Christian version, Vita Adae et Evae, was based. The Apoc. Mosis contains Eve's own account of the fall which was not included as such in the Vita, although much of her narrative was interpolated into the Apoc. Mosis, chs. 15-21: Charles (ed.) 1913, 2, 145-47, esp. ch. 20, 146.

On the Vita as a source for various extra-biblical elements in the Genesis illuminations of the Touronian Bibles, see Kessler 1977, 29-30. Numerous concepts or details derived from Jewish legends also found

the Temptation, the case to be made for validating the restoration in those two spandrels rests on the size of the fruit that Eve is proffering to Adam in the Temptation (Pl. IX). Eve's left hand and wrist, as well as the apple she holds, survive from the thirteenth century; the size of this fruit eliminates all other possibilities such as the fig, grape, or cherry,³⁹¹ and authenticates the genus of the tree as restored, but not the style or the arrangement of foliage.

The Injunction belongs to the roster of spandrels seriously modified by the restorer. The incorrect placement of Eve next to the Deity not only departs from the original iconography of the spandrel but also violates the biblical text. Furthermore no such arrangement existed in medieval art.

The Temptation. Spandrel VII, Northwest Bay

(Plate IX)

Although the diagram of the restorations shows a patchwork of insets, this spandrel preserves more of the original sculpture than any thus far discussed. For the first time we find both figures backed by the original silhouettes defining the poses and governing the restoration. Although not visible from ground level, a remnant of Chilmark stone extending from head to knee on the viewer's left lies behind the restored figure of Eve. That vestige also encompasses a segment of her right shoulder and upper arm, her sagging right breast, the silhouette of her abdomen, as well as her right thigh to the knee (now patched with mastic). The remnants also validate the proportions of her body distinguished by an attenuated torso. That exaggeration seems to emphasize the abnormally short measurement from groin to knee. The inset restoring Eve's left leg joins the original foot just below the ankle. The restoration to the right leg also replaced the foot down to, but not including the original toes, and both remnants validate her stance. A separate inset repairing her left arm joins the thirteenth-century hand above the wrist and extends to the middle of the upper arm. Her thirteenth-century hand still holds the original forbidden fruit she is offering to Adam. A final inset replacing

visual expression in Anglo-Saxon Genesis illustrations and then achieved a continuing life in insular art.
 391 On the regional preferences, see Cabrol and Leclercq 1924, cols. 2701-709, 'arbres'. In Normandy the apple tree was the preferred genus for the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

her head joins the nineteenth-century body above the shoulders.

A major rectangular inset set into the background plane includes Adam's restored head, the shoulders and head of the serpent (restored as a woman), all the foliage of the tree of knowledge, plus the fingers of Adam's left hand, as well as Eve's right wrist and her hand plucking a second piece of fruit. A significant vestige of Adam's original figure survives on the viewer's left behind the nineteenth-century inset supplying his body. Establishing the silhouette of his torso, the remnant of Chilmark stone begins below the shoulder blade and continues the length of his back and around his left buttock. The inset replacing the rest of his torso and also his entire right arm and hand joins the old stone along the ridge of his spine. At the right knee another inset forms the lower part of his leg and connects below the ankle with the thirteenth-century right foot, now much patched with mastic. As diagrammed, another inset replaces his left leg and most of his left foot. Mastic now resurfaces the thirteenth-century left toes. Although heavily remodeled with mastic, Adam's left arm and hand also belong to the original work, except for the fingers that are of a piece with the large rectangular inset supplying his head.

Carter's drawing (Pl. LXI) proves less informative than the remnants but agrees with those findings. The sketch shows two stick figures in profile flanking a centrally positioned tree. A short dark diagonal line near the base and to the right of the tree trunk presumably represents Eve's advancing foot and ankle which then lacked the connecting lower leg. The direction of Adam's bent left arm and hand receives definition by a firm dark line, but the mutilated upper portions of the serpent directly to the right of the arm were drawn less decisively. Eve's right arm reaching into the branches finds verification in the sketch, but Carter failed to give any indication of the serpent coiled in a spiral around the tree. This is a surprising lacuna because the serpent's legs and body, except for the tail and head, are original, though now considerably patched with mastic.

Unfortunately, neither the drawing nor Burges's notes specified whether the serpent's head represented Lilith, the first woman. According to Jewish legend, God had created her before Eve but

banished her from Eden because of her irredeemably evil nature.³⁹² In the twelfth century, the concept of Adam's two wives was popularized by Petrus Comester, and representations of the first wife, Lilith, as Eve's temptress gained considerable currency in the thirteenth century.³⁹³ In the Middle Ages, Lilith became a night temptress of men and received blame for harming pregnant wives and infants. The etymological association of Lilith with Lilet, the Hebrew word for screech owl, may account for her reputation as a winged demoness, as well as for her nighttime activities. In some thirteenth-century manuscripts where she is pictured in place of Eve, she has become a creature half-woman, half-serpent. Parisian manuscripts that contain numerous parallels with the Salisbury Adam and Eve cycle depict the serpent as Lilith (Figs. 88b and 89). They give credence to the restoration of the serpent with a woman's head, despite the lack of verifying objective evidence.

Carter's sketch indicates that Adam's upper torso had suffered serious damage. The blurred, lightly pencilled lines associated with mutilated areas vaguely suggest an arrangement for his right arm similar to that in the restoration. The line rising from Adam's hip on a steep diagonal across the upper torso proposes that the thirteenth-century right hand was placed on his left breast. The iconography of that unusual but probably valid arrangement and its meaning stem from earlier precedents worth investigating.³⁹⁴

Unfortunately Burges's notes confuse rather than clarify. He wrote, 'Adam and Eve eating of

392 On the source and potency of the legend, see Hoffield 1968, 430-40. See *i.a.*, Morgan Bible, MS. 638 (Fig. 88); and *Bible moralisée*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 255, reproduced in Guest (ed.) 1995, fol. 2. Here and in the same scene in the earlier *Bible moralisée*, Oxford, Bod. Lib. Ms. 270b, fol. 7v, Lilith has not yet received her wings (Fig. 89).

393 Petrus Comestor, *P. L.* 207, 62-73. Peter compiled the *Historia* between 1169 and 1173. His summary of biblical history achieved enormous success and became a 'set book' in schools. Almost a gloss on biblical glosses, it borrows without acknowledgements from contemporary commentaries and includes material from Jewish and other unauthorized sources as well. The nickname, Comester, contains the concept that Peter had eaten and digested the Scriptures. See Daly 1957, 62-73 and Smalley 1964, 65.

394 Among other examples, see the scene in the *Hortus Deliciarum* (second half of the twelfth century): Green 1955, pl. LIV, fig. 2a; also an early twelfth-century capital in the nave of the abbey church of Sainte-Madeleine, Vézelay: Salet 1948, pl. 13. On the pertinent scene, see also Green 1955, 344-45. Adam's gestures in the Salisbury Temptation are mirror images of those made by Adam in the Hiding in the Garden of the lost cycle of San Paolo fuori-le-mura preserved in the drawings in Cod. Barbarini. lat. 4406, fol. 27r. For a reproduction, see Kessler 1977, fig. 27.

the tree of life [sic]; the serpent and Adam on the right of the tree, also a tree on the left and right. The trunks of the trees are yellow; the serpent a light green.³⁹⁵ Burges's notes indicate that the serpent had survived and also authenticate the second tree flanking the scene, although Carter pictured only the one on the right. We are left with the question of whether or not Adam's bent right hand should have been restored holding an apple to his mouth. The biblical order of events suggests not. According to Genesis 3:6, 'And the woman saw that the tree was good to eat, and fair to the eyes, and delightful to behold: and she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave to her husband who did eat.' Since Eve is plucking one fruit and offering a second to Adam, an arrangement fully authenticated by thirteenth-century vestiges, she herself has not yet eaten. Thus technically the scene represents the Temptation only, rather than a conflated Temptation and Fall. We may reasonably assume, then, that Adam was not putting the fruit to his mouth with his right hand, nor would he have been clutching at his throat as if choking on the fruit.³⁹⁶ His gesture as restored exactly parallels an arrangement associated with remorse and despair and identified as such in the twelfth-century mosaic of the Last Judgment at Torcello (Fig. 90).³⁹⁷ Unfortunately the limp right hand of the

395 Burges 1859, 149.

396 On the implications of Adam clutching at his throat, see Barasch 1976, 17.

397 Ibid., 10 and 17. The author discussed only the most dramatic gestures made by the group of the Damned, but for the others, the implications of despair and grief are clear. The same gesture is made by Adam in the Expulsion scene in the Sigena chapter house, Oakeshott 1972, fig. 14. We find a variant in scenes of the Temptation and the Deity sentencing Adam and Eve in the *Hortus Deliciarum*. See Green 1955, pl. LIV, figs. 2a and c; also the Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Museum Rudulfinum, cod. VI, fol. 12), dated between 1180 and 1200, *ibid.*, fig. 11. Both manuscripts reflect the Cotton Bible, a sixth-century illustrated manuscript of the Septuagint (London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Otho Ms. B VI), nearly destroyed by fire in 1731. On the manuscript, see *i.a.*, Weitzmann 1955, 112-31; and *idem* 1971, 46-48. Many of the illustrations from that earliest extant illustrated Septuagint are no more than charred fragments that have been reconstructed from the thirteenth-century mosaics of San Marco, and from the twelfth-century ivory antependium in Salerno. Both works descend from the Cotton recension, as do the ninth-century Turonian Bibles. The San Marco mosaics have become the exemplar of that Early Christian western pictorial tradition. For a discussion that takes into account the various hypotheses set forth in recent literature, see Weitzmann 1984, 105-42; and Kessler 1977, *passim*; and for the most exhaustive analysis and reconstruction of the charred fragments, see now Weitzmann and Kessler, 1986. That monumental study includes the classification of manuscripts and cycles in other media into three groups according to whether they had copied the Cotton Genesis itself or the earlier, lost Cotton Genesis archetype. If the latter, the study assesses the degree to which improvisations or compositional and iconographical changes

nineteenth-century restoration provides a weak echo of the emotion that prompts one to strike one's breast in remorse and throw up one's hands in dismay. Despite the lack of vigor, Adam's gesture in the spandrel implies full recognition of the enormity of the sin he was about to commit. His left hand and the distribution of his weight on his back foot also suggest that he is recoiling as he rejects the fruit. That first refusal so forcefully dramatized in legendary versions, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon metrical paraphrase of Genesis, Junius xi and in the Apocalypsis Mosis, may also add a second layer of meaning to his left hand, that of refusal.³⁹⁸ In accord with this hypothesis, we can describe the scene as a conflation of the Temptation of Eve and the Temptation of Adam (Genesis 3:1-6), which includes a visual reference to the legendary first refusal of Adam. The restoration, not Burges's interpretation, has preserved the original iconography.

The attention paid to vestiges of the thirteenth-century carving in the restoration of this spandrel suggests that another member of J. B. Philip's atelier, one who respected and benefited from all surviving evidence, began his work here and continued to restore the rest of the scenes in the Adam and Eve cycle. They too have been restored according to the dictates of remnants of the original carving. This is a welcome change from the free-wheeling attitude of the first nineteenth-century hand towards surviving iconographical evidence that should have guided him in restoring the preceding scenes of Creation more accurately.

The Hiding in the Garden. Spandrel VIII, Northwest Bay

(Plate X)

As Burges noted, the final scene of the northwest arcade was the best preserved in that bay. 'Adam and Eve hide themselves, they perceive their nudity; on the left hand, i.e., nearest the door,

have corrupted the recension and made the cycle less than reliable as a carrier of the pictorial tradition. Both Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Junius xi and Aelfric's Hexateuch, belong in that last group. See especially, *ibid.*, 18-29. Also the close relationship between the Hortus Deliciarum and the Millstatt Genesis, first analyzed by Rosalie Green is here reaffirmed. Neither is an uncorrupted carrier of the Cotton Genesis tradition, and both appear to derive from the common archetype or sister manuscript of the Cotton Bible.

398 Gollancz (ed.) 1927, 28 (facs.); Charles (ed.) 1913, 2, 146-47.

GOD speaks to them from the clouds....The trees grow up and cover their nakedness.³⁹⁹ The note continues with the polychromy: 'The clouds from which GOD is issuing are blue, green, and yellow; the earth as usual [yellow]; the nude parts are treated with a very slight tone of pink upon the stone itself.'

The survival of thirteenth-century drapery fluttering below the major inset replacing the demi-figure of the Deity authenticates his placement, but those billowing folds appear entirely re-cut. In the upper left-hand corner a small triangle of Chilmark stone contains a portion of the thirteenth-century cloud formation. Carter's drawing (Pl. LXI) confirms the pose and gesture of the modern demi-figure calling to Adam and Eve in hiding amid the trees. The sketch, however, fails to include the figure of Eve, an inexplicable omission since, without question, a great deal of the original figure has survived as diagrammed.

Carter's drawing of Adam beneath the branching foliage agrees with the pose and forms still visible today. Each inset repairing the figure follows the arrangement governed by extant thirteenth-century carving. In making the smaller repairs, the restorer used both pinkish-buff mastic and a grayish compound made with pulverized Chilmark limestone. With them he filled in losses on Adam's right thigh and repaired the edges of the fig leaf covering his genitals, a leaf presumably plucked from the tree that hides Eve. Carved insets of Caen stone replaced Adam's head, right arm to the wrist, left arm and hand, except for the tips of his fingers, as well as both legs from mid-thigh to just above the ankle, plus the toes of his right foot. Using mastic, the restorer also patched Adam's right hand and left fingers.

The restoration of Eve suggests that equal care was taken to avoid major excisions of the original carving. Mastic rebuilds her right knee cap, her left shin and ankle and also the fig leaf hiding part of her lower leg. Caen stone insets replaced her head, right shoulder, arm, and hand.

The Salisbury spandrel illustrates the biblical narrative of Genesis 3:8-10: 'And when they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in paradise at the afternoon air, Adam and his wife hid

399 Burges 1859, 149.

themselves from the face of the Lord God, amidst the trees of paradise. And the Lord called Adam, and said to him: Where art thou? And he said: I heard thy voice in paradise; and I was afraid because I was naked, and I hid myself.' The scene represents their shame as they cower amid the trees. According to Genesis 3:7, 'when they perceived themselves to be naked, they sewed together fig leaves, and made themselves aprons.'

This and the following scene of the Expulsion seem better to reflect apocryphal embellishments of the story in the Apocalypsis Mosis than the biblical account. There, in telling of the Fall, Eve says, 'And I began to seek...leaves to hide my shame, but I found none, for as soon as I had eaten the leaves showered down from all the trees...except the fig tree only. But I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle.'⁴⁰⁰ In the spandrel Eve holds a leaf still on the stem with her left hand, and a second leaf branches from the main trunk to cover her genitals. But in the following scene of the Expulsion (Pl. XI), Adam and Eve are wearing girdles of leaves, not aprons.

In the same scene in Aelfric's Hexateuch (Fig. 91), Adam's hands are folded on his chest, another gesture associated with despair.⁴⁰¹ This, as well as the inclusion of the figure of the Deity, makes a reference to the Sentencing. Thus the Spandrel scene represents sequential events of Genesis 3:7-19, the Shame, the Hiding, and the Sentencing.

Adam and Eve depicted seated or crouching on either side of a centrally positioned tree has a long tradition in the scenes following the Fall. The arrangement occurs in both the Eastern and Western recensions, including the Anglo-Saxon biblical paraphrase Junius xi.⁴⁰² At Salisbury the customary symmetry with Adam and Eve flanking the tree must have yielded to the exigencies of the half-spandrel that terminates the northwest arcade. Yet the asymmetrical arrangement of the figures in Aelfric's Hexateuch and the manipulation of the boughs to provide concealment, as well as Adam's hands folded upon his chest (Fig. 91) provide interesting parallels to the most unusual aspects of the Salisbury scene. Here the insular tradition and the Apocalypsis Mosis seem equally

400 Charles (ed.) 1913, 2, 146.

401 Again comparable gestures occur in scenes of the Damned at Torcello (Fig. 90); and also in the tympanum of the west portal at Autun (ca. 1135). See Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, pl. k.

402 Gollancz (ed.) 1927, facs., 39.

important to iconography.

The Expulsion. Spandrel I, North Bay

(Plate XI)

This heavily restored scene depicting the Expulsion of Adam and Eve by an angel retains vestiges of the original carving in all three figures. A remnant backing the inset restoring the shoulder and upper half of the angel's wing validates the angel as God's agent in the Expulsion. That imagery deviates from the biblical account wherein the 'Lord sent him [Adam] out of the paradise of pleasure, to till the earth from which he had come' (Genesis 3:23).⁴⁰³ A second vestige of the original wing lying just above the inset restoring the lower tip, together with Carter's drawing (Pl. LXI), leaves no doubt that the wing as restored perpetuates the generous dimensions of the original. Nothing survives of the carving to authenticate the sword held upright in the angel's right hand. Yet the thirteenth-century remnant that forms the right shoulder and continues along the outer face of the right arm to below the elbow, plus the contiguous, slightly re-cut segment of his wing, leave no doubt about the validity of the restored position of the forearm and hand. Although a less vigorous, less menacing gesture than that of the sword-wielding angel of the Morgan Bible, MS. 638 (Fig. 88c), and of the Bible of Robert de Bello (Fig. 92), the backward thrust of the arm seems adequate

403 The textual source for the expulsion by an angel is found in the Apoc. Mosis. According to Eve's account of the Fall, after the sentencing God bade the angels have the couple cast out of paradise: Charles (ed.) 1913, 2: 148.

The pictorial archetype for the angel as God's agent could well have been the model for Eastern Octateuchs. For example, the Octateuchs depict two stages of the expulsion: first a manus Dei propels Adam and Eve towards the gate of paradise; then, in the same frame, they stand outside the gate guarded by the cherubim. An angel placed between the gate and the fallen couple has a hand on Adam's shoulder. See Uspenskii 1907, fig. 26; also below, n. 404. To transform that second image into an expulsion scene, one would need only to shift the group nearer to the gate.

In the Cotton Genesis recension as exemplified by the San Marco mosaics, the Deity himself expels the fallen pair in accordance with the biblical text.

validation of the iconography.⁴⁰⁴ The gesture of the angel's left hand on Adam's shoulder follows the dictates of the thirteenth-century fragment forming the left upper arm and acutely bent elbow. The angel's placement and pose have full confirmation in the thirteenth-century fragment that backs the nineteenth-century inset from shoulder to hem and is visible along the length the angel's left side. The original feet also survive, and the angel of the restoration still has his weight principally on his left foot. Carter's sketch suggests a somewhat greater sense of motion than the restoration achieved.

Burges's description of the Expulsion indicates that the thirteenth-century polychromy once supplied a good amount of detail: 'Angel's wings coloured pink, with feathers marked in black. Angel's garment probably white. The door of Paradise painted on the general ground: it is a yellow color with black foliated hinges; the part of the doorway through which Adam and Eve are passing is hollowed out from the wall surface, and further toward the east there has been a tree painted with yellow trunk and green branches with black outline. Very imperfect,' he continued, 'figures all destroyed.'⁴⁰⁵

The door with the hinges has a parallel in the same scene in the Morgan Bible, MS. 638 (Fig. 88c), and in the royal psalter probably ordered and owned by Blanche of Castile (ca. 1223-1226; Paris, Bib. de l'Arsenal, MS. Lat. 1186).⁴⁰⁶ The Expulsion is one of the first Salisbury scenes in which painted details, now lost, were important to the composition. (Burges's information that the painted tree had a black outline keeps us from mistaking the tree for a carved element.)

The determining vestiges of the original figure of Adam prove more informative than Carter's sketch, and the angel's hand on Adam's shoulder seems indicated in the drawing. As restored, the

404 In two of the Turonian Bibles we find the imagery of the cherubim with the flaming sword placed by the Lord to guard the gate and the 'way to the true life' (Genesis 3:24), has merged into the image of the angel of the Expulsion. The Bamberg Bible version (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Misc. class Bibl. 1, fol. 1, 7v) is closer to the Salisbury representation than the same figures in the Bible of San Paolo fuori-le-mura, fol. 8v. In the former, the angel expelling Adam and Eve has his left hand on Adam's shoulder and holds his sword behind him, his right arm bent and hand raised to shoulder level. The San Paolo angel stands apart menacing them with the sword raised above his head as if to strike: Kessler 1977, figs. 2, 4.

405 Burges 1859, 149.

406 On the dating (1223-1226), northern French provenance, and ownership of Arsenal MS. 1186, see Branner 1977, 4 n. 11, 30-31, 204; and for a reproduction of the illumination, Martin 1909, pl XVIII.

hand is of a piece with the inset replacing Adam's head and shoulders. We cannot be certain whether Adam's head originally turned back towards paradise as in the same scene in Arsenal MS. 1186 (Carter's sketch does not rule out the possibility), or whether the restoration preserves the original position. A significant thirteenth-century vestige on Adam's left side begins in the lower half of his rib cage and backs the lower part of the inset replacing the upper torso. The amount of the original remnant increases quickly on a shallow downward diagonal and supplies the entire figure from waist to pelvis. Mastic restores the broken edges of the thirteenth-century fig leaves girdling his hips.⁴⁰⁷ Insignificant re-cutting at the waist merely eliminated the patina of age. The insets restoring Adam's legs include the two leaves covering his genitals. Although repaired with mastic to the mid-calf, the right shin, ankle and foot are original, as are the somewhat re-cut left ankle and foot. Their placement indicates that the medieval carver composed the figure of Adam to accommodate to the shape of the spandrel. In exiting from paradise Adam climbs the steep incline created by the arch. On the viewer's right, the thirteenth-century remnant of the left leg backing the inset further confirms Adam's active pose.

Set into Eve's lower back and Adam's left breast, a separate Caen stone inset restored his clasped hands. Unusual, but not unknown in this context, the gesture lacks any pre-restoration evidence to authenticate it; nor can we verify the position of Eve's hands as restored. Arms slightly bent, she holds her hands in front of her, palms facing and hands almost parallel.⁴⁰⁸ (The right hand is now broken.) Adam's and Eve's gestures compare well with the gestures of despair in the scenes of the Damned at Torcello (Fig. 90), yet hands folded in front of the body can also have the connotation of submission. Eve's gesture approximates that of the lead figure (Eve?) in the Expulsion scene of the Turonian Moutier-Grandval Bible.⁴⁰⁹ Though Eve's left arm consists of

407 See Charles (ed.) 1913, 2: 146.

408 See Adam's comparable gesture in the same scene in the Hildesheim Missal (late twelfth century), reproduced by Sanoner 1909, 148, fig. 1. Barasch 1976, 50, stated that hands so folded signified submission, awe, or humility. In this context submission seems the preferable interpretation. Ladner 1961, 258 and n. 33, saw the gesture as deriving from the medieval procedure of a vassal surrendering his land to his feudal lord.

409 See Barasch 1976, fig. 2; and Kessler 1977, fig. 1. Ladner 1961, 247-75, traced that gesture back to

Chilmark stone from below the shoulder to the middle of the forearm, this is not thirteenth-century work. The restorer cut back the surface plane to the right of Eve and re-carved that portion of the arm from stone that originally lay behind the background plane, plus a flange to support the new Caen stone wrist and hand. The same technique produced the contours of Eve's left thigh behind the nineteenth-century inset. Carter's sketch suggests that the position of the leg as restored is in error. The drawing indicates that like Adam's left leg, Eve's was originally bent and raised as they climbed the steep incline together. In scenes of the Expulsion, Adam and Eve typically exit in step, and differences are usually those of gesture or the tilt of the head, rather than posture and gait. The kneeling pose of Eve as restored has neither precedents nor parallels, and all surviving evidence discredits it. Her right leg below the knee, now cut back, patched, and realigned to conform to the kneeling position, presumably once followed a line approximating that of Adam's. As the diagram indicates, the restorations of Eve's torso and right leg to the knee were built around vestiges of the thirteenth-century figure which include her sagging left breast and also the girdle of leaves, now pointed up with mastic. Carter's sketch confirms the angles of the heads as restored. Eve's head bowed in sorrow is particularly well defined.

Although crenellations are a pervasive architectural motif throughout the Salisbury Old Testament cycle, the crenellations crowning the tower gate lack any authenticating vestiges of the original. Yet their nearly ubiquitous occurrence on the rest of the buildings argues for the validity of the nineteenth-century Caen stone inset.

This spandrel belongs on the list of scenes where the iconography and composition have been modified, first by the change in Eve's pose and then by the loss of polychromy supplying painted details. A final iconographical motif, although lacking verification, deserves mention. If valid, the ecclesiastical vestments worn by the angel introduce another layer of meaning to the scene. Burges described his garment as 'probably white,'⁴¹⁰ the appropriate color for an alb (a term derived from *alba vestris*). Vested angels occurred in thirteenth-century art in contexts that made explicit reference

Antiquity, when captives surrendering to the conqueror stretched out their hands to be bound.
410 Burges 1859, 149.

to the Eucharist.⁴¹¹ An earlier example occurred at Salisbury in the angel choir painted in the vaults of the arms of the eastern transepts of the cathedral (Fig. 39a, b), where the angel carrying the host and chalice is the only one wearing an alb and amice.⁴¹² The influence of liturgical drama may have inspired the imagery of the vested angel, since the earliest liturgical dramas took place in the context of the Mass. The alb and amice worn by angels has been traced back as far as the tenth century at Winchester to rubrics found in the *Regularis concordia* for *Visitatio Sepulchri* or re-enactment of that event on Easter morning during the reading of the third lesson at Matins.⁴¹³ The meaning attached to the vested angels as subministers of the Mass probably did not stem from the drama itself, but from its close association with the Mass.

Vested angels appear in other scenes in the Salisbury cycle, notably in the two scenes representing Abraham and the three angels (Pls. XXI and XXII). Because those are among the best preserved figures in the chapter house, no question arises concerning the validity of the vestments. In that context, the liturgical vestments refer to the traditional exegesis of the event as a type for the Eucharist.⁴¹⁴ That meaning was clearly expressed in art at an early date, for example, in the fifth-century mosaic of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome where we see the bread, the vessel of wine in front of the table, and a fish, a symbol of Christ, on Abraham's platter (Fig. 93).

Because of the Eucharistic imagery, the vested angel in the Expulsion associates the scene with Christ's sacrifice as the means of man's salvation. The juxtaposition of the Fall of Man with a reference to his Redemption enriches the narrative cycle with a doctrinal concept well-understood by those who used the building. If, as seems probable, the restoration perpetuated the original

411 See McNamee 1972, 263-78. Thirteenth-century examples cited include vested angels carrying utensils of the Mass, north transept portal, Notre-Dame, Paris; an angel wearing alb, dalmatic, and maniple, and holding a missal, exterior of the apse, Reims cathedral; and the angel with the three Marys at the tomb, Peterborough Psalter (Brussels, Bib. Roy. Albert 1er, MS. 9961-9962, fol. 73). See *ibid.*, figs. 4, 5, 11.

412 There are other notable thirteenth-century English examples, e.g., in the angel choir, west front, Wells cathedral; and the angel choir carved in the window soffits, north transept, Westminster abbey: Cave and Tanner 1935, 63-67.

413 On this, see McNamee 1972, 268-74.

414 See Demus 1976, 49 and pl. 41; and Bovini 1969, 44.

iconography of the Expulsion scene, the doctrinal implications of the vested angel also include the concept of Divine Wisdom, the all-knowing Creator, who knew 'when he wrought Adam, the first created man, that he would sin through the prompting of the devil....And God likewise knew at that time how he himself should determine the atonement.'⁴¹⁵ Not until the coming of the Son of God in the sixth age and the resurrection of Christ would the flaming sword be moved which the Lord had placed at the gates of paradise after the Expulsion. So wrote Aelfric of Eynsham, the Anglo-Saxon scholar-monk, around the year 1005, in his exegetical work on Creation. His restatement in the vernacular of ideas derived from the writings of the Early Church Fathers had visual expression in the cryptic scenes of Creation illustrating the Old English Genesis poem Junius xi.⁴¹⁶ Following in that exegetical tradition, the vested angel in the Salisbury Expulsion would have been making an equally cryptic reference to Divine Wisdom and the foreknowledge of man's salvation by means of the sacrifice commemorated in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

The Labors of Adam and Eve. Spandrel II, North Bay

(Plate XII)

The last spandrel in this cycle pictures Adam and Eve at their labors. In sentencing Adam and Eve, the Lord had said to Eve: 'I will multiply thy sorrows, and thy conceptions; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children (Genesis 3:16).' Then to Adam, he said: 'Cursed is the earth in thy work, with labor and toil shalt thou eat thereof all the days of thy life' (Genesis 3:17). Burges described the scene as 'Adam working with a spade; Eve suckling Cain.'⁴¹⁷ His observations on color and condition supply several details now missing: 'Adam destroyed: and Eve nearly so. Eve is only clothed from the waist, as also Adam; there are traces of something like a distaff.' And as for color: 'Eve's drapery white with blue ornaments; distaff green. Beyond Adam is a thick circular bush

415 Crawford (ed.) 1921, 63-4. The author of the exegesis is the same Aelfric responsible for the translation of the Bible into Anglo-Saxon preserved in an illustrated version as Aelfric's *Hexateuch*, the manuscript that has provided the insular archetype for so much of the imagery in the Salisbury Old Testament cycle.

416 On this, see Blum 1976, 219-21.

417 Burges 1859, 149.

painted, beyond that are traces of another.' Carter's sketch supplies less information than the notes, but it evokes the poses of Adam and Eve as restored (Pl. LXI). With one exception, carved elements surviving from the thirteenth century agree with the sketch. The restorer altered the position of Eve's right arm and elbow. Instead of the effortless, natural arrangement as sketched, where her elbow is at the level of the hand offering her breast to Cain, she now holds her restored right arm and elbow close to her side. Yet, as the diagram indicates, remnants of thirteenth-century carving determine the infant's pose and the placement of Eve's left arm and hand cradling him. Vestiges of Cain include the back of his head and shoulders, the silhouette of his back, and a sliver of his buttock, both feet, as well as the back of his tiny left hand resting on Eve's right hand. With the exception of the nineteenth-century head and insets restoring both arms, we have Eve's original seated figure, full length from shoulder to toes. Slight re-cutting and in-fill with mastic, some made with ground Chilmark stone, some with the pinkish-buff colored compound, discreetly effected the repairs. But severe re-cutting distorted the form of her right foot. Mastic well matched to the old stone fills in surface losses and spreads across joints of the insets.

Less obvious than the extant thirteenth-century carving in Eve's figure, the remnant governing the pose of Adam begins at his hip and increases in salience as it rises along his back until it forms the back of his shoulders and most of his neck. Enough of his left knee remains behind the inset replacing his hands to determine the position of that leg. The entire right side of the spandrel has been cut back so extensively that the band of stone forming his left elbow and providing the silhouette that backs the lower half of his upper arm consists of re-carved Chilmark stone that once lay behind the surface plane (Fig. 94).

The painted detail of the green distaff recorded by Burges indicates that two traditions had merged in the Salisbury scene. The tradition of Eve spinning is conjoined with the iconography of Eve nursing.⁴¹⁸ Thus the removal of the polychromy robbed the scene of an unusual combination

418 Eve with a spindle and distaff is peculiar to the Cotton Genesis tradition. See the exemplar in the mosaics of San Marco, Demus 1976, 43. This scene in the Wells quatrefoil shows Eve with a spindle only, a clumsy restoration, and a pose that could not have accommodated an infant. The oldest of the Turonian Bibles, the Moutier-Grandval Bible, offers a prototype for the nursing Eve, who, as in the Salisbury

that probably had its insular origins at Canterbury. There the two traditions associated with Eve's labors came together, perhaps for the first time, in one of the Bible pictures prefacing the third English copy of the Utrecht Psalter made at Canterbury (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 8896, fol. 1v)(Fig. 95).⁴¹⁹ All known examples containing that dual imagery also picture Adam working the ground with a spade, an attribute generally acknowledged as an English iconographical element, as opposed to the continental preference for a hoe or mattock.⁴²⁰ The spade as Adam's tool also seems to have originated at Canterbury in the Anglo-Saxon Genesis illustrations of Junius xi and Aelfric's *Hexateuch*.⁴²¹

The final iconographical question concerns the validity of Adam's garment restored as one of cloth, a detail for which no authenticating pre-restoration evidence survives. In the two Anglo-Saxon Canterbury prototypes showing Eve nursing and spinning, Adam and Eve wear garments of hair or fur (Figs. 92 and 95).⁴²² The Salisbury spandrel must have drawn on a different model, for Adam and

spandrel, is depicted clothed from the waist down in a garment of cloth (London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 10546, fol. 5v). See Kessler 1977, pl. 1; and for a discussion of the Marian imagery intended by Eve spinning and the pictorial model for the Turonian Genesis frontispieces, see *ibid.*, 22, 34.

419 See Omont 1906, fol. 1. Dodwell 1954, 98-100, proposed a date between 1170 and 1200, a range recently narrowed to 1178-1200 by Caviness 1977, 154, who based her case on comparisons with Canterbury glass. For a bibliography, see Hoffmann 1970, 1, 258-59, no. 157. The Canterbury Psalter illumination differs from the Salisbury scene in that the suckling infant is Abel, not Cain, who, in the miniature, sits on the ground nearby.

We find the merged traditions in another thirteenth-century Canterbury manuscript, the Bible of Robert de Bello (Brit. Lib., Burney MS. 3, fol. 5v; and above, n. 3) (Fig. 92), and on the continent in a late thirteenth-century Mosan manuscript from Liège, Pierpont Morgan Library catalogue 1934, 25 and pl. 45).

Because the scene also pictures Adam with a spade, English influence, presumably a Canterbury source, seems certain. See also above, n. 416.

420 On the spade as an English variant, see Henderson 1963, 24, who attributed its earliest appearance in France at Saint-Savin and at Tavant to Anglo-Saxon influence. Caviness 1977, 113, cited the spade as a 'distinctive Canterbury tradition, that goes back to Aelfric's *Hexateuch*'. The motif also occurred in the Biblical metrical paraphrase, MS. Junius xi (ca. 1035), a work generally attributed to Canterbury with some dissenting opinions. For a summary of the dating and provenance, see Blum 1976, 223, n. 14.

421 Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS. Junius xi, p. 45; London, Brit. Lib. MS. Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 7v.

422 Caviness characterized the loin cloth of hair or fur, as well as the spade, as a 'distinctive Canterbury tradition' also going back to Aelfric's *Hexateuch*, as opposed to the loincloth of fabric found in French examples: Caviness 1977, 113 and figs. 6, 7. The hairy loin cloth appears in the expulsion scene of the

Eve invariably are dressed in the same type of garment.⁴²³ We must therefore accept the restoration and assume that, in accordance with Burges's description of Eve, Adam's loincloth was white with blue ornaments. That deviation from the Canterbury models reflects a tradition found in two French Adam and Eve cycles that have close affinities with the Salisbury scenes: the Morgan Bible, MS. 638 (Fig. 88d), and the Adam and Eve cycle at Chartres in the Good Samaritan window (Fig. 96). They both portray Adam stripped to the waist, his loins amply draped in folds of cloth. In both French examples the reason for showing Eve bare to the waist has been forgotten, for she is spinning and not nursing. Nevertheless, the figures of Adam and Eve in both compare well in pose and dress with the spandrel scene, although Adam in the illumination is a mirror image of the Salisbury figure. The garments of cloth seem to reflect a Near Eastern tradition. A fourth-century midrash on the Pentateuch incorporating the sayings of Rabbi Tanhuma bar Abba and the Genesis Rabba, a Palestinian work of the fifth century, lists garments resembling Egyptian linens among other possibilities for Adam and Eve's clothing.⁴²⁴

The elimination of the painted shrubs, although of minor significance to the iconography, affected the overall composition. Their loss deprived the spandrel of elements on the right side that would have carried the eye to the next spandrel.

Just as the vested angel enriched the meaning of the Expulsion scene with salvation symbolism, the distaff originally included as an attribute invested the Labors with deeper significance. Herbert Kessler characterized the spindle interpolated into the Genesis scenes of the

Hexateuch, but not in the labors where Adam is wearing a full garment of cloth. In the Canterbury Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. Lat. 8846), Adam and Eve have full tunics of hair (Fig. 95); the Bible of Robert de Bello (Fig. 92), and the representation of Adam delving in the clerestory window at Canterbury (ibid., fig. 7), show him clothed in the more abbreviated loin coverings of hair--the latter knotted on one hip, as in the Salisbury scene.

423 In citing continental examples in which Adam works with a spade but wears a plain loin cloth, Caviness 1977, 113, thought the French were following a different tradition.

424 The Jewish exegetical and legendary texts offer the full range of possibilities including goat skins, coney skins, camel's hair and Circassian wool: Graves and Patai 1966, 77-78. Such a text could have been the inspiration for the garments changing from scene to scene within the Hexateuch and in later works reflecting Anglo-Saxon influences.

Turonian Bible as Marian symbolism.⁴²⁵ According to the Apocryphal Book of James, or Protoevangelium, at the moment of the Annunciation Mary was spinning purple thread for the veil for the Temple of the Lord.⁴²⁶ Just as Eva lactans is the antitype for Maria lactans, Eve spinning evokes Mary spinning and, by extension, makes reference to the Annunciation and Mary as an instrument for the redemption of man. Among the many thirteenth-century examples illustrating the concept of Mary as the second Eve, who by virtue of her obedience undid the harm caused by the disobedient first Eve, are figures on a buttress of the cathedral of Verdun where Adam and Eve are juxtaposed with the Annunciation.⁴²⁷ At Salisbury, however, the attribute sufficed to convey the symbolism.

Summary

In the scenes of Creation and the Adam and Eve cycle, the polycyclic character of the Old Testament cycle becomes evident. They are scenes for which no single model or known pictorial recension suffices. The analysis reveals characteristics that persist throughout the entire Old Testament cycle: the perpetuation of Anglo-Saxon iconographical motifs; parallels with Mosan and northern French cycles; imagery that also occurs in the Eastern Octateuch manuscripts and in ninth-century Turonian Bibles; as well as elements characteristic of the Cotton Genesis recension. The scenes not only include ideas generated at Canterbury in the late twelfth century but also bear comparison with thirteenth-century Parisian manuscripts of royal patronage.

Gesture has received considerable attention in the preceding analyses and will continue to as the narrative proceeds. The artists seemed intent upon communicating mood as well as content through gestures, and their importance will increase as the means of interpreting later scenes. The

425 Kessler 1977, 22. Kessler also viewed the enthroned Eve of the Bamberg Bible as an image borrowed from Marian iconography: *ibid.*, 22 and pl. 2; and Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Misc. class, Bibl. 1, fol. 7v.

426 James (ed) 1963, 43.

427 For other examples of the image of the Virgin depicted in conjunction with the fall, expulsion, and labors, see Schiller 1971, 1, 40-41. The writings of Iranaeus, Bishop of Lyon (d. ca. 200 A.D.), provide the earliest reference to Mary as the second Eve: Iranaeus 1952, 69. The analogy developed as a parallel for the concept of Christ as the second Adam. See also Pelikan 1971, 1, 144-45, 241.

influence of drama became evident in dress as well as gesture, and the most surprising aspect of the scenes, generally thought of as purely narrative, is the subtle interpolation of doctrinal concepts that enrich the significance of the biblical event. Only a few of the scenes to follow suffered as severely as the first thirteen spandrels, so from this point forward the integrity of the style as well as the iconography becomes a factor in evaluating the scenes.

6

The Story of Cain and Abel and the Noah Cycle

(Plates XIII-XIX; Plan B)

The Cain and Abel cycle consists of three scenes: the Sacrifice, the Murder of Abel, and the Sentencing of Cain. The next four spandrels present the story of Noah. They begin with God instructing Noah to build the ark, then the ark afloat, Noah tending the vines, and finally the Drunkenness of Noah. With the exception of the ark afloat, the scenes are extensively repaired, re-cut, and patched. Yet both cycles contain enough unspoiled original carving to provide the first valid examples of the thirteenth-century facial and figure styles. The cycles are also of great iconographical interest, especially the scenes of Cain and Abel. Comparisons of the Sacrifice and the Murder of Abel with the first two of eight surviving miniatures in the Murthly Hours (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. 21,000)⁴²⁸ establish the continuing links between the illuminations and the equivalent scenes in the chapter house. Both show the intention of the lost model lying behind the cycles to imbue the events with meaning well beyond a simple representation of the biblical narrative.

The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel. Spandrel III, North Bay

(Plate XIII)

In this spandrel we see Abel on the left, bareheaded, clean shaven, and wearing a long tunic. Leaning back slightly, he is looking skyward at the manus Dei directed towards him from the clouds above. In the center of the spandrel, rising from an altar formed by a mound of earth, flames burn upward as they consume Abel's offering of two sheaves of wheat. Those sheaves depart from the biblical text in which Cain the husbandman 'offered of the fruits of the earth, gifts to the Lord. Abel [the shepherd]...offered of the firstlings of his flock, and of their fat.' (Genesis 4:3-4). On the right of

428 Formerly at Mount Stuart in the collection of the Marquess of Bute: Morgan 1988, 2, 67, 192.

the spandrel, half crouching, Cain has turned away from the altar where flames are consuming his two sheaves. 'The fire,' wrote Burges, 'has descended on Cain's offering, but has turned against him and burns him.'⁴²⁹ With bent arms raised in front of him, Cain is looking back over his right shoulder towards the vertical flame carrying Abel's sacrifice to heaven. The spandrel vividly represents the biblical text, 'and the Lord had respect to Abel, and to his offerings. But to Cain and his offerings he had no respect' (Genesis 4:4-5). Bearded rather than clean shaven, Cain is wearing a pointed hat, and his tunic with a split skirt reveals bloomer-like drawers, or breeches beneath. The latter mark him as a peasant or laborer.⁴³⁰ As early as the twelfth century, the pointed hat, or pileus cornutus, had become an attribute to identify the wearer as a Jew.⁴³¹ At first a symbol of status in the Jewish community, the headdress acquired a derogatory meaning after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), with the decree requiring a qualitate habitus to differentiate Jew from Christian. The implications of heretic as well as Jew were intended, and the thirteenth century saw vigorous persecution of both. Such attitudes found expression in English art. The anti-semitic feelings aroused in the twelfth century culminated in 1290 with the expulsion of Jews from England.⁴³²

Burges's notes on color suggest a vibrant scene: 'Abel's garment green, and the fire red; the two upper clouds yellow, the lower [behind the manus Dei] green. Inside of Cain's tunic green; outside probably white or pink; hose red; traces of painted tree between this and last group.'⁴³³ The tree eliminated by the removal of all thirteenth-century polychromy during the restoration has left an empty space behind the figure of Abel. The void exaggerates the compositional problem already created by the loss of polychromed vegetation on the right side of the preceding spandrel (Fig. 57). Together those missing painted details would have carried the eye from one spandrel to the next.

The manus Dei appears here for the first time in the Salisbury Old Testament cycle. Although

429 Burges 1859, 149.

430 On the dress of the low-born in the thirteenth century, see Boucher 1970, 198; Houston 1939, 50-51, fig. 85 a, b; and Viollet-le-Duc 1858, 3: 78-79.

431 On the pileus cornutus, see Braude 1968, 23, 28 n. 35. The author attributed its appearance in western art in ca. 1096, to the first crusade.

432 Ibid. For earlier anti-semitism in English art, see Scarfe 1973, 75-85.

433 Burges 1859, 149.

an eastern motif, at times it also replaced the full-length figure of the Lord in western representations of the Sacrifice.⁴³⁴ Yet the scene contains a more valid indicator of influences from the eastern Mediterranean in the column of fire rising heavenward which was the legendary Jewish sign of the Lord's approval and an extremely rare motif in the West.⁴³⁵

Pearl Braude has shown that with the introduction of iconographical embellishments such as the motifs of the fires of approval and rejection and differences in dress and appearance distinguishing the two brothers, representations of the Sacrifice went far beyond a simple narrative statement.⁴³⁶ Establishing those elements as particularly English developments, Braude posited an

434 Sanoner 1921, 215-19, and 234; and see, *i.a.*, the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel on the plinth of the central portal of the west facade of Saint-Gilles; a Romanesque capital in the Raymond Pitcairn Collection, no. 09.SP.70, Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, PA.; and another from Moutiers-Saint-Jean, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA. (Fig. 98).

435 On the Jewish source for fire as a sign, see Weitzmann 1971, 82-83; and on its rarity in western art in the scenes of the Sacrifice, see Sanoner 1921, 227, who characterized the fire consuming Abel's sacrifice as an eastern motif found in the Eastern Octateuch, Vatican grec. cod. 746. Since the motif does not appear in the oldest illustrated Octateuch, Vatican Grec. Cod., 747, *ca.* 1050-1075 (Lowden 1992, 121), we cannot be sure how the motif entered the Octateuchs, or, indeed, whether it first appeared between 1125 and 1155, the dates assigned to Octateuch 746: *ibid.*, 122. Yet we should bear in mind the antiquity of the column of fire as a Jewish symbol.

Besides the examples discussed below, the motif occurs in a manuscript containing many elements in common with the Salisbury cycle, the Saint Louis Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 10525), dated after 1253 and before 1270 by Branner 1977, 238. For the illumination, see Omont 1910, pl. 1. The fires of acceptance and rejection also occur in an English Psalter dated 1270-1280: Cambridge, St. John's College MS. K 26, fol. 5v, illustrated in Morgan 1988, cat. no. 179, fig. 382. Sanoner cited the motif again in the fifteenth-century *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Chantilly, Musée de Condé, and in a sixteenth-century window in the church of Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, *op. cit.* Here we will focus on earlier or nearly contemporary examples.

436 Braude 1968, 23-26. In Sanoner 1921, 212-38, a compendium of scenes of the sacrifice supports Braude's contention that those elements of didactic imagery did not begin to accrue to representations of the Sacrifice before the twelfth century. But a less comprehensive treatment of the subject making the same points suggests that the typological sense and moral significance attached to the figures began not with the Early Church Fathers, but with the New Testament: Michel 1958, 194-99, who dated the moment when that change affected visual representations to the Canterbury Psalter, last quarter of the twelfth century (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 8846). His generalizations overlook many early texts, including Jewish exegetical literature, and representations predating the psalter that incorporated imagery of an unmistakably moral and didactic nature reflecting concepts found in the commentaries by Early Church Fathers. See Braude 1968, 17-22, 27 notes 10-19.

iconographical progression that she characterized 'as a gradual shifting from mere disregard for Cain, as shown by the hand [of God] which blesses Abel alone, to a signal of fire which comes down only for Abel's sacrifice, then to a fire which burns steadily upward for Abel while Cain's fire burns downward into hell's mouth; and finally, to a fire whose flaming tongues also threaten to consume Cain.' Validation of those details as restored therefore assumes particular importance if we are to understand the original iconographical content of the spandrel.

The archaeological examination indicated that for the first time thirteenth-century carving predominates. Although not faultless, the work of the restorer shows restraint and finesse--restraint in the excision of old stone; finesse especially in the delicacy of his repairs to the best-preserved portions of Cain's figure. Seven insets restore the figures of Cain and Abel. Those insets are supplemented by mastic repairs made with ground Chilmark stone in a binding matrix. Because particles of glauconite characteristic of Chilmark limestone suffuse the malleable compound, it matches the old stone very well and may well completely mask boundaries of an inset in the lower half of Abel's figure. The patina of age, which identifies carving unmodified by any re-cutting or sanding, is dispersed over the unrestored portions of Cain's tunic and breeches. The patina prevails in the thirteenth-century cloud formation and predominates in the flames and sheaves of wheat. In Cain's figure we have enough unspoiled thirteenth-century carving to provide the first valid example of the original drapery style. Carter's sketch (Pl. XLI) and Burges's notes, plus the recurrence of telling details in the subsequent scenes of the cycle, allow us to authenticate most, but not all of the significant features as restored.

As Burges noted, 'Upper parts of both figures destroyed.'⁴³⁷ Yet the Caen stone inset replacing Abel's head, shoulders, chest, and right arm builds outward from a generous original remnant that supplies approximately half of his back from shoulder to waist, plus a portion of his left rib cage. Old stone still backs the nineteenth-century inset repairing his left arm from elbow to wrist, which validates the gesture of the hand. Carter's sketch captures Abel's pose as restored, the bent

⁴³⁷ Burges 1859, 149.

right arm, the raised left hand, and the tilt of his head as he looks up at the manus Dei. Although slightly reworked with pink mastic, the hand of God is original. Remnants of the thirteenth-century coiffure with pin curls along the right side of Abel's face in the next scene depicting the Murder (Pl. XIV) provided the restorer with a model. That survival validates the pin curls in the Sacrifice scene.

Probably Abel's right hand originally rested on his breast, but this arrangement cannot be authenticated from existing evidence. Since Cain and Abel customarily hold their offerings with both hands, comparative material proved scant, and no exact parallels for Abel's hand on his chest could be discovered in manuscript illuminations, even where the offerings were not held. For example, in the eleventh-century Octateuch, Vatican grec. 747, the offerings lie on the ground, an arrangement that achieved limited acceptance. Scenes with the offerings lying on an altar are equally rare.⁴³⁸ A variant in the Holkham Picture-Book Bible (Fig. 97), an East Anglian illumination dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century (London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS 4768, fol. 5), substitutes mounds of earth for altars. Braude described that full-page illumination as the visual synthesis of 'all implications of Cain's dubious sacrifice which developed through the centuries.'⁴³⁹ The altars are reminiscent of the amorphous butte, or swelling of earth, which serves as the altar in the spandrel.⁴⁴⁰ Kneeling and facing left in the Holkham Bible, Abel has his back to Cain. Adam, his feet and arms crossed, sits between them.⁴⁴¹ Abel's upraised hand, as at Salisbury the one away from the viewer,

438 Sanoner 1921, 221. In the seventeenth-century copies of the lost Early Christian frescoes of San Paolo fuori-le-mura in Rome (Vatican, Biblioteca, Cod. Barbarini lat. 4406, fol. 32), we see the sacrifices burning on altars in the background of the scene conflating the Murder of Abel with the Sentencing of Cain. The fire on Cain's altar curls in puffs, but the flames consuming Abel's acceptable sacrifice rise heavenward in a column. (In the actual scene of the Sacrifice they are holding their offerings above a single altar.) See Kessler 1977, figs. 39, 42.

439 Braude 1968, 24-25, and fig. 12. The Anglo-Norman text that accompanies the scene is based on the Bible Historiale, a glossed translation (1291-1295) of Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica by Guyart (Guiart) des Moulins (Desmoulins), a canon of Aire in Artois. (See above, Chapter 5 n. 393.) On the Holkham Bible, see James 1922-1923; Hassall 1954; Rickert 1965, 135, 241 n. 58; and Pickering (ed.) 1971.

440 Instead of an altar, amorphous swirls reminiscent of the Salisbury spandrel also occur in an English Psalter, Cambridge, St. John's College MS. K26, fol. 5v; the Saint Louis Psalter, Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 10525 depicts a rocky butte. For illustrations, see above, n. 435.

441 On the significance of that representation of Adam as an Adam/Jacob/Christ figure, see Braude 1968, 24. His gestures refer to Jacob's blessing of Ephraim and Manasses. By pointing to Abel, Adam indicates the

replicates the gesture found in the spandrel. Thereafter the comparison with the Holkham illumination falters, for Abel's other hand is touching the rump of the sacrificial lamb already in flames on the altar. Although without precedents, parallels or verifying evidence in the spandrel, the restoration of Abel's right hand on his chest seems reasonable. Indeed, given his half-kneeling position, he could not have been making the orant gesture which requires the person to stand.⁴⁴²

With right foot pointed and elegantly turned, Abel's pose approaches that of a dancer. The lower half of his figure consists primarily of re-cut Chilmark stone and mastic fill made with ground Chilmark stone. With the latter, the restorer remodeled the drapery from the waist on down, apparently to repair major damage. He worked the mastic to create a series of deep, concentric, crumpled, V-shaped folds. Below the waist, overall re-cutting both diminished the silhouette of the figure and left almost no original carving untouched. Those modifications complicated the evaluation of the accuracy of the restoration about which Carter's sketch raises questions. Carter drew two ballooning forms in the lower half of the figure (Pl. LXI), which cast doubt on the V-shaped folds and even on the garment as a long tunic. Although difficult to interpret, Carter's outlines evoke a rustic's breeches or drawers similar to those worn by Cain.

Unfortunately neither Carter's sketch nor Burges's notes makes any distinction between Cain and Abel's dress, yet the differentiation in the scene as restored, if valid, has considerable

acceptance of Abel who is equated with the Church; with the other hand he rejects Cain, there equated with the Synagogue. The crossed feet and arms of Adam also symbolize the Crucifixion, another layer of meaning based on Jacob's blessing of Ephraim and Manasses with crossed arms (Genesis 39:12-20), which had become a typological reference to the Cross. The metaphor is reinforced by the exegetical association of Ephraim, the younger son of Joseph, with the Church, and Manasses with the Synagogue, and that typology thus applies here to Cain and Abel. See also Schiller 1972, 2, 126.

442 An orans stands upright with outstretched arms, palms of the hands upturned. The two examples known to me of Abel in an orant pose postdate the Salisbury spandrel scenes: a fourteenth-century Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS. 5211); and the fifteenth-century *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Ems (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 4). See Sanoner 1921, 226-27.

iconographical significance.⁴⁴³ In the Murder of Abel (Pl. XIV), his tunic is split like Cain's, with a suggestion of the fullness of breeches in the drapery between the legs. The restoration of the right leg has distorted the breeches, though Carter interpreted the vestiges correctly in his sketch (Pl. LXI). As restored, those under-drawers now resemble a short, pleated skirt. Although consistency in dress usually obtains throughout a cycle, neither Cain nor Abel's garments as restored have remained the same in all three scenes. Yet in the Sacrifice, despite the restorer's extensive re-cutting and reworking of the lower half of the figure, the cutting back was not sufficiently drastic to permit him to invent the existing tunic with its hemline sweeping down across the ground line from the heel of the left foot to the out-turned right one. The powerful curve formed by the hem is clearly indicated in Carter's drawing, albeit less strongly delineated than the double loops above that suggest pantaloons. In this instance, the archaeological examination showed the impossibility of a drastic change from breeches and overskirt to a tunic, thereby validating Abel's garment as restored. The tunic differentiating Abel's dress from that of Cain affirms the symbolism of Abel as a type for Christ. In Christian exegesis Abel's acceptable sacrifice and blameless death prefigured Christ's sacrifice and death upon the Cross.⁴⁴⁴

Cain's garments also change. Though still wearing the pileus cornutus, in the final scene he no longer wears the breeches of a peasant. But then, he will no longer till the soil, for cursed will he be upon the earth that had opened to receive Abel's blood. The Lord told Cain, 'When thou shalt till it, it shall not yield to thee its fruit; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be upon the earth' (Genesis

443 On the significance attached to their garments, see *ibid.*, 223; and Braude 1968, 23-25. For example, in order to differentiate between the types for Jew and Christian, two thirteenth-century manuscripts (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 10434, a Psalter, and Bib. Nat. lat. MS. 11534-11535, a Bible) show Abel vested as a bishop and wearing a mitre. Opposite him in both manuscripts Cain appears in sacerdotal vestments worn with a pointed hat. Thus the dress of bishop and priest evokes the concept of Church and Synagogue. We should recognize that the pileus cornutus can have its original connotation signifying the wearer as a leader of rank and dignity in the Jewish hierarchy. For an illustration of MS. lat. 11534-11535, see Clark 1978, 40 fig.7. See also Branner 1977, 65, for the attribution of MS. lat. 10434 to the painter or atelier associated with the Oxford and Toledo Bibles moralisées, an attribution suggesting a dating of *ca.* 1240. For the proposal of a northern French origin for MS. lat. 11534-11535, see Clark 1978, 41, 46 n.14.

444 See *i.a.* Schiller 1972, 2, 124; Cabrol and Leclercq 1924, 1/1, 1907, cols. 61-66; Bandmann 1968, 1, cols. 5-10; and for additional bibliography on the iconography of the sacrifice, see Braude 1968, 26 n. 5.

4:12). The change to an ankle-length tunic seems in keeping with his life thenceforth as a fugitive rather than a tiller of the soil.

In the scene of the Sacrifice five insets restored Cain's figure. A significant remnant of the original carving backs the inset that encompasses his right shoulder and arm, his chest, and right and central portions of the upper torso to the waist. The line of joining curves forward around the shoulder and under the arm, then descends on a downward diagonal leaving the original right side of the rib cage to the waist. A fragment of the left upper arm survives, but another inset supplies both hands and the rest of the left arm. Two more insets replace lost portions of Cain's legs. Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI), recreates the pose of the lower half of the figure and evokes the torsion of the upper half of the body, though nothing authenticates his restored hands raised before him. In fact, if we did not have remnants of the original figure for reference, Carter's rendition of vestiges above the waist would be unintelligible. The sketch suggests portions of Cain's thirteenth-century head had survived, but the drawing has no indication of the pileus cornutus of the restoration. Because Cain still has his original peaked hats in the next two scenes (Pls. XIV and XV), we may reasonably suppose that the restoration is correct and the intention was to mark him as a Jew throughout the cycle.⁴⁴⁵

Fortunately, except for the insert replacing the face, the entire head with vestiges of his original beard survive in the final scene (Pl. XV). This validates the straight hair and beard as restored in the first two scenes. Also, in the last scene, for the first time the figure survives intact from head to foot which gives the sculptor's thirteenth-century head-to-body ratio of approximately one to four and

445 Scenes of the Sacrifice with Cain wearing the pileus cornutus are few, although other examples of the pointed hat as an attribute identifying the wearer as a Jew abound. Significantly, the intention is not always derogative, e.g. the Old Testament prophets on the Bury St. Edmunds cross in The Cloisters, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. To the four examples cited by Braude 1968, 28 n. 35, where that attribute occurs in the Sacrifice, we should add the following: a twelfth-century capital, Châlons-sur-Soane; three twelfth-century Bibles (the Manerius Bible, Paris, Bib. Sainte-Geneviève MS. 8-10, fol. 7v; and Warsaw, Nardova Library MS. lat. F-V, I 32, fol. 6v); and another Bible, according to Branner closely related to the Manerius circle (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 11534-11535, fol. 6v): Branner 1977, 26. See too a thirteenth-century Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 10434) that Branner assigned to Paris and to the hand of a Dominican painter associated with the Oxford and Toledo Bibles moralisées, thereby suggesting a date of ca. 1240, *ibid.*, 65. Branner's attributions for MS. lat. 11534-11535 and Sainte-Geneviève MS. 8-10 were not accepted by Clark. See above, n. 443.

one half.

The iconography of the Salisbury Sacrifice goes well beyond standard typologies. As Braude has demonstrated, Cain's and Abel's seemingly identical sheaves as offerings and the fire that turns on Cain to consume him add deeper meaning to the scene.⁴⁴⁶ In her analysis of a twelfth-century capital (ca. 1133) from the destroyed Burgundian abbey of Moutiers-Saint-Jean (Cambridge, MA, The Fogg Art Museum), Braude showed that the rejection of Cain's offering reflected the unacceptable quality of the sacrifice.⁴⁴⁷ Inscribed as CAIM CUM LOLIO (Fig. 98), the offering was contaminated with weeds, a concept derived from Jewish commentaries on the imperfect character of Cain's offering. Christian exegetes perceived Cain as a heretic by associating his offering with the parable of the cockle (Matthew 13:24-30, 36-43), a concept further developed in the fifth century in the sermons of Peter Chrysologus.⁴⁴⁸ The parable likened the kingdom of heaven to a man sowing good seed in his field. Later his enemy came and sowed over the field with cockles. Rather than risk destruction of his wheat by rooting out the cockles, the man knew it was wiser to wait until harvest time. He then instructed his servants: 'Gather up first the cockle, and bind it into bundles to burn, but the wheat gather ye into my barn' (Matthew 13:30). Expounding the parable to his disciples, Jesus said, 'He that soweth the good seed, is the Son of man. And the field, is the world. And the good seed are the children of the kingdom. And the cockle, are the children of the wicked one. The enemy that sowed them, is the devil. But the harvest is the end of the world. And the reapers are the angels. Even as the cockle therefore is gathered up, and burnt with fire: so shall it be at the end of the world' (Matthew 13:37-40). Elaborating on the metaphor in the parable, Chrysologus equated the good seed with the gospel from Heaven and the cockle with heresy sown by the devil to confuse. The mixture created by the devil in the sheaves of faith became 'bundles for Hell.'⁴⁴⁹ Weeds mixed with wheat meant heresy, and in terms of tithes owed to the Church, symbolized false tithes. By the thirteenth century numerous earlier concepts had fused to characterize Cain as first-born of the devil;

446 Braude 1968, 17-23.

447 Ibid., 15-18

448 Ibid., 17; and 'Sermon 96,' Peter Chrysologus 1953, 152-56.

449 Ibid., 155.

guilty of false tithing in his offering (non recte diviserat); guilty of offering impaired grain or stubble (spicas attritas); guilty of offering his sacrifice to the devil.⁴⁵⁰ Those ideas converged in the Salisbury scene with imagery that reflected Chrysologus's sermon: 'Cain, bringing his stubble, found it to be tinder for himself, fuel through which he was to be set on fire,' the bundles for Hell of the parable;⁴⁵¹ Abel's sheaves represented the bundles for Heaven. The parable of the sower had predicted death by fire as the end for all children of the wicked one. Giving visual expression not only to the concepts of Cain as the proto-Jew and heretic, but also showing him as damned to eternal hell fire, the Salisbury spandrel goes beyond the Moutiers-Saint-Jean capital in fully representing the Sacrifice according to Chrysologus's exegesis. For on the capital, Abel offers the first-born of his flock rather than sheaves, thereby omitting the metaphor of bundles for Heaven. (Although paradise and the devil can be understood in the images on the lateral faces of the capital,⁴⁵² the scene lacks the symbolism of fires.)

As Braude observed, 'It is especially in the scriptoria of England that the portrayal of Cain as the proto-heretic and proto-Jew finds its most effective realization.'⁴⁵³ The imagery of the fires of acceptance and rejection was rare in the West. Braude discovered two other examples, both English: the Huth Psalter, an East Anglian manuscript of the late thirteenth century (London. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 38116, fol. 9); and the Holkham Picture-Book of the first quarter of the next century.⁴⁵⁴

450 Peter Comester, P.L. 198, cap. 26, col. 1077.

451 'Sermon 109,' Peter Chrysologus 1953, 173.

452 Braude 1968, 20, 27 n. 28, interpreted the tree on the left face, behind Abel, as symbolizing paradise. In the scene on the right face behind Cain that shows Samson slaying the lion, Braude saw Samson as a figure for Christ and the lion as the devil they overcame. Her argument rested not only on the Glossa ordinaria, P.L., 112, col. 531; but also on the juxtaposition of images in the Bible moralisée. See Guest (ed) 1995, fol. 63v.

453 Braude 1968, 23.

454 Ibid., 23-25, figs. 8, 12. In the Huth Psalter, the fires and offerings appear below the figures of Cain and Abel in the Murder scene. Below Cain, who is wielding the jawbone of an ass, the fire consuming his sheaves bends down into the mouth of Hell located outside of the frame. The imagery makes an unmistakable reference to Cain's damnation, just as the rising fire burning brightly around Abel's offering symbolizes his salvation. On the dating of the manuscript from the 1280s, see Rickert 1965, 397, n. 3; and Brieger 1957, 220-21. See also Morgan 1988, 2: 167-69 no. 167, for bibliography. His dating 'after 1280 (?)' agrees in essence with the other proposals. For the Holkham Bible, see above, n. 439. Slightly later

To those listed by Braude, we can add the Sacrifice in the Murthly Hours (Fig. 99). There, as at Salisbury, identical offerings of sheaves placed by Cain and Abel on the mound of earth serving as an altar have burst into flames. Dressed identically in the miniature, they both wear long tunics beneath enveloping mantles, and both have modified versions of the pileus cornutus. Except for the undifferentiated dress, the imagery of the miniature closely parallels that at Salisbury. Yet the static poses of the figures and the feeble flames consuming the sheaves as they turn upon Cain have been drained of the dynamics and clarity of expression that distinguish the Salisbury scene. Nevertheless the common ancestry and iconographical intentions of the two versions are unmistakable.

One of the roundels on the Genesis page of a mid-thirteenth century manuscript attributed to William de Brailes, an English artist noted for his originality and eclecticism,⁴⁵⁵ contains the Sacrifice and also includes the fires of rejection and acceptance (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 330).⁴⁵⁶ The offerings lie on the ground completely engulfed in flames (Fig. 100). The fire of Abel's offering burns upward, whereas Cain's has turned against him. Although the two stand back to

the imagery of the fire turning on Cain appeared in literature in the Middle English version of the Life of Adam and Eve, or Canticum Creatione. See Emerson 1906, 848. The tradition also found expression in the fourteenth-century Towneley Play, The Killing of Abel, as smoke rising from the sheaves and choking Cain: *ibid.*; also Harnett 1971, 21-29; and Cawley 1958, 8.

The themes of false tithing, weeds contaminating Cain's offering, and the concept that Cain offered fallen rather than standing fruits, all occur in the literature to explain the rejection of Cain's sacrifice by God. The 'ivel will' with which Cain presented his offering provided another explanation. Emerson 1906, 838-40.

455 See *i.a.*, Swarzenski 1938, 55-69, who recognized the strong artistic personality that characterized the oeuvre of de Brailes, the unusual iconographical details for which important English prototypes existed (certainly known to de Brailes), and evidence both compositional as well as stylistic that the artist had at his disposal in the same 'ancient cycle of Bible pictures' still preserved in some of the illuminations in the Gospel of Saint Augustine (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 286).

456 The page is one of seven picture-Bible leaves that must have prefaced a Psalter and was formerly in the Chester Beatty Collection, MS. 38, and dated to ca. 1230-1240. Besides the Genesis page, the other leaves depict the Fall of the Angels; the Last Judgment; the Wheel of Fortune; Christ with the Evangelists, and David and his musicians; the Tree of Jesse. A seventh leaf (New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS. M. 913), contains scenes of the childhood of Christ. More pictures are presumed to have existed because the biblical cycles are incomplete. See for the bibliography and a discussion of the Oxford scriptorium as well as evidence of work by other hands in the oeuvre attributed to de Brailes: Morgan 1982, cat. nos. 71 and 72, 117-19.

back, Cain glances over his shoulder at the flames accepting his brother's offering just as in the spandrel. At the same time he is thrusting a two-pronged fork into the flames that bend to engulf him (a detail also found in the Holkham Picture-Book) (Fig. 97).⁴⁵⁷

Sanoner observed that the Sacrifice in Sainte-Geneviève MS. 20 follows the formula for the Sacrifice exactly as prescribed in the thirteenth-century Byzantine Painter's Manual by Dionysius of Forna.⁴⁵⁸ Dionysius specified that the flame of Abel's altar should mount to the sky; that of Cain was to turn on him and lick his face. The Salisbury scene and the six others incorporating the Jewish motif of the fire of acceptance seem, then, to reflect an eastern iconographical tradition as codified in that Manual written for artists in the Greek monastery of Mt. Athos around the middle of the thirteenth century, roughly the same time that the fires of acceptance and rejection first appeared in English scenes of the Sacrifice. The English examples have either no altar at all or a butte of earth. Those without an altar adhere to the eastern tradition exemplified in the Octateuch, Vatican 747; the others, like Salisbury, with the mound or butte, have modified it.

In summary, by deviating from the biblical account, the spandrel scene of the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel included imagery that extended the significance of the event to encompass exegetical elaborations by the Early Church Fathers. The full implications of those concepts gained currency in western art primarily in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Sources for the concepts underlying the iconography of the Salisbury scene of the Sacrifice go back to Jewish as well as Early Christian exegetes, with the latter building upon Jewish allegories and giving them Christological interpretations. Although earlier writers had associated Matthew's parable of the cockle with Cain's unworthy offering,⁴⁵⁹ the sermons of Peter Chrysologus inspired the imagery for

457 Sanoner 1921, 227, cited another example of the fires of acceptance and rejection in the fourteenth-century Bible Historiale (Paris, Bib. Sainte-Geneviève MS. 20), a French, not an English manuscript. The text of that Bible by Guyart des Moulins (the glossed translation of Peter Comestor's Bible Historiale), is the same as that used for the caption of the scene of the Sacrifice in the Holkham Bible.

458 Sanoner 1921, 227. Dionysius of Forna 1974. The eastern examples cited by Sanoner all postdated the Salisbury spandrel. For dating, a brief description, and further bibliography for the manuscript, see Kohler 1893, 1, 22-23.

459 Braude 1968, 17-8, 27, notes 10-17.

bundles for Heaven and bundles for Hell. We have authenticated Cain's appearance which characterized him as the proto-heretic and proto-Jew, the personification of Synagogue, whose contaminated offering could be equated with false tithing. The fire of rejection turning to consume him had the implications of eternal damnation for Cain. However anomalous the sheaves of wheat may have seemed to the restorer, he took no liberties. The bundles for Heaven and the flames mounting to the sky show only minor repairs. Archaeological evidence authenticates the tunic worn by Abel. Although pervasive in the lower half of the figure, re-cutting achieved the objective of eliminating evidence of surface damage. Yet the restorer's chisel never cut deeply or drastically enough to alter Abel's dress. That and his clean-shaven, bareheaded appearance characterize him as a type for Christ who also made the perfect sacrifice.

The Murder of Abel. Spandrel IV, North Bay

(Plate XIV)

After the Sacrifice, 'Cain was exceedingly angry and his countenance fell....And Cain said to Abel his brother: Let us go forth abroad. And when they were in the field, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and slew him' (Genesis 4:5-8). Despite many repairs, the lively version of the first murder retains a generous amount of important thirteenth-century detail. The same restorer who worked on the preceding spandrel also left vestiges that authenticate all but one significant iconographical element as restored.

To some extent the well-defined blousing of Abel's tunic just above the waistband modifies Burges's statement that the upper part of Abel was destroyed; yet damages were extensive.⁴⁶⁰ As in the scenes of the Expulsion and the Labors, the restorer cut back the surface plane in order to regain the proper relief for the most severely damaged and reworked portions of Abel's figure. In this way he carved a new right arm for Abel out of the Chilmark stone that originally lay behind the surface plane, but replaced the thirteenth-century hand with an inset. Cutting back the surface also gave the

⁴⁶⁰ Burges 1859, 150.

necessary salience to the re-cut right knee (Fig. 101). The inset below replacing the calf and lower part of the leg is freestanding. Two nineteenth-century insets repaired his left arm from shoulder to finger tips, but the larger inset was recently broken in two places, and a clumsy repair with a copper cleat now reattaches the fragments of the hand and wrist. Attributable to the same later repair, plaster of Paris that builds forward from the background plane reinforces the once freestanding nineteenth-century arm (Fig. 101). Backing the inset restoring Abel's face and the top left side of his head, the thirteenth-century remnant of the head projects one and a half inches from the original surface plane. As noted above, that generous vestige preserved the complete right side of Abel's head. The tight pin curls framing his face were achieved by means of a drill.⁴⁶¹ The vestige of the head includes the tip of the original weapon, but re-cutting erased any evidence to indicate what Cain was wielding. The type of the original murder weapon remains the major question to be discussed.

The view from the left also shows the degree to which the nineteenth-century restorer pared back the lower half of Abel's left hip and thigh, presumably to eliminate surface damage, as well as the extent to which he cut away the background plane in partial compensation for the reduced salience of the figure (Fig. 101). Besides flattening the figure below the waist, re-cutting effaced the original drapery pattern over the left hip and leg so that well-articulated ridges and hollows no longer form the folds that would be stylistically congruent to the unspoiled drapery in the blousing of the tunic above the waistband. Instead, incised lines create creases of the vertical folds flanking the left hip and leg. Also heavily patched with mastic, that area is now almost devoid of modeling. Re-cutting has not only modified the thirteenth-century drapery over Abel's right knee, but also, as discussed above, transformed the breeches shown in Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI) into a short pleated underskirt. The sketch echoes the pose from the waist down, but unfortunately supplies no information about the original disposition of the arms.

Continuing his notes, Burges reported the destruction of Cain's legs, face, and arms. 'A hand

⁴⁶¹ The pin curls probably reflect the use of curling irons in the thirteenth century, as does a slightly longer coiffure in which the ends of a medium-length bob curl out in a continuous sausage roll, the latter the more pervasive arrangement found on some of the original heads surviving in the spandrels. See for example, Plates XXIV and XXXVI. On hair styling, see Enlart 1916, 3, 133.

comes out of the clouds and there is a large tree behind Cain, which is coloured in the usual way.'⁴⁶² In a footnote Burges added that in contrast to the extended hand of God in the scene of the Sacrifice, the partially mutilated hand issuing from the clouds above the murder appeared to form a clenched fist. Pinkish mastic now resurfaces the arm and fist. Burges's notes on traces of color indicated another vivid scene: 'The upper ranges of clouds are yellow; the next green; the third light red, almost pink.' As before, Abel's dress was green, and, in addition, traces of red had survived on his hose. Burges continued, 'Cain has a light red garment; a red countryman's hat and yellow hair; traces of a painted tree between this and the last group. Sundry lines below the clouds may be trees or forks of fire.' Again, the loss of painted details has diminished both the composition and the iconography. Possibly what Burges called forks of fire were rays emanating from the manus Dei and directed towards Cain that, like the clenched fist, gave expression to God's wrath.

The archaeological evidence confirmed Burges's observations that Cain's losses were confined to his face and extremities. Much unspoiled carving survives in the upper half of the figure, with the best-preserved drapery beginning on his bodice below his arms and extending down to the patch on his left flank. The drapery behind and below his raised right leg also retains the patina of age. The pileus cornutus typing him as a Jew, although original, is retouched with gray mastic along the rim. His head, left temple, and part of the bearded left jaw-line consist of unre-cut thirteenth-century stone, but an inset has replaced all his features. A single inset supplies his entire left hand and arm from the shoulder, most of the handle of the pickaxe, and the right arm up to the middle of the upper arm. Three insets restore his legs. Otherwise the figure consists of thirteenth-century Chilmark stone patched with pink mastic on his chest and under his left arm. The restorer also used the grayish mastic made with ground Chilmark stone to fill in superficial losses over the left thigh and to repair the surface and smooth the transition to the inset replacing the left leg and foot. Along the full length of the spine and over the rump re-cutting has muted the original articulation of the drapery and slightly reduced the salience of the hips and the volume of the silhouette along the spine.

462 Burges 1859, 150.

Yet the unretouched drapery above and below the gathering at the waist remains an especially fine example of the drapery style of the thirteenth-century artist.

Carter's sketch shows both of Cain's legs missing below the knee, but suggests a more pronounced bend of the left knee than we see in the restoration. The pose as drawn increases the sense of force propelling the other foot that is kicking Abel in the back and forcing him to his knees.⁴⁶³ The thirteenth-century toes of the nineteenth-century right foot still survive between Abel's shoulders and validate Cain's brutal pose. Nothing survives to authenticate the slippers that button with straps around the ankle or the angle of the restored left leg and foot set into and replacing a small portion of the adjacent ground. Remnants of thirteenth-century stone lie behind Cain's right forearm, and a mutilated portion of original stone protruding from the surface plane backs the portion of the inset forming the lower end of the shaft and most of the pick of the axe. That remnant authenticates the placement only and sheds no light on the type of weapon. Also, as noted above, old stone backing the tip of the weapon still protrudes from the remnant of Abel's original head.

Since the Bible never specified what Cain used to kill his brother, texts and pictorial recensions offer numerous variants. The weapon restored as a pickaxe in the spandrel scene conforms to one of the continental traditions where agricultural tools such as the mattock, axe, or hoe were favored. In the English pictorial tradition, the jawbone of an ass was the weapon first

463 We find Cain also kicking or cruelly stamping on Abel in several Italian monuments, notably in the scene of the murder in the Salerno ivories dated to ca. 1180, illustrated in Bergman 1980, fig. 7; in the twelfth-century bronze doors of San Zeno, Verona, and earlier, ca. 1085, in the frescoes of San Angelo in Formis. For illustrations, see Boeckler 1931, 3, pl. 41; and Demus 1970, pl. 22. Remarkably close to the fresco in poses, the English Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat. lat. MS. 8846, fol.1) also shows Abel already pinned to the ground by Cain's foot. See Omont 1906, pl. 2. The Psalter and the Salisbury Old Testament scenes have many English iconographical elements in common (e.g. the Labors of Adam and Eve), though in the Psalter Cain's violence is even more pronounced as he swings a club, not a jawbone, to kill his brother.

represented in the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript, Aelfric's *Hexateuch* (Fig. 102).⁴⁶⁴ Cain used a club in the other major Anglo-Saxon pictorial prototype (Fig. 103). Neither Carter nor Burges shed any light on the problem. But in the scene of the Murder, the second surviving illumination in the Murthly Hours, Cain is striking Abel on the back of the head with a jawbone (Fig. 104). This, plus an anomalous detail in the next and final spandrel of the cycle, the Sentencing of Cain (Pl. XV), cause us to question the pick axe in the restoration. Together they propose that the original Salisbury version depicted Cain using the jawbone of an ass to murder Abel. In the next spandrel, his back to the Deity, Cain is looking furtively over his shoulder. His bent right arm, a nineteenth-century inset, crosses his upper torso. Now broken at the wrist, a dowel protrudes that once attached the missing nineteenth-century hand. The inset replacing his left arm and a portion of the drapery below is backed by remnants of the original arm and hand, but the remains of the thirteenth-century hand and wrist invalidate the restoration. They protrude from the background plane at a forty-five degree angle as if to meet the other hand. Although ignored by the restorer, the remnant suggests that Cain's two hands originally closed on an object, presumably the murder weapon, hidden under the loops of drapery. In Carter's sketch of the scene (Pl. LXI), the lack of definition in that area suggests that neither Carter nor the restorer could understand the thirteenth-century arrangement. Yet surviving portions of drapery still form a large loop below the nineteenth-century inset. The series of folds

464 See Schapiro 1932, 205-12. Esp. 205 n. 8, for a list of illustrations in English manuscripts showing Cain using a jawbone as the murder weapon. The examples range from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, with Aelfric's *Hexateuch* the earliest, and include Queen Mary's Psalter, an early fourteenth-century manuscript that contains many iconographical elements found in the Salisbury cycle. See above, Chapter 5, n. 368, and Warner 1912, pl. 8. The earliest appearance of the imagery on the continent occurs in the thirteenth century and is attributable to English influences: Schapiro 1932, 209. See also Henderson 1963, 108-14, refuting Schapiro's philological explanation for the introduction into art of the jawbone as a weapon; and Barb 1972 386-89, proposing that the association of the jawbone of an ass with the murder derived from Near Eastern primitive sickles in the Neolithic Age. Schapiro dismissed that hypothesis in favor of his philological explanation. Barb saw this motif as one more example of Near Eastern influences entering Hiberno-Saxon art with emigrating Syrian or Coptic monks as the carriers. Schapiro noted that the earliest Anglo-Saxon literary reference pre-dated the representation in Aelfric's *Hexateuch* and quoted a ninth-century text, *Solomon and Saturn*: 'Tell me why stones are not fruitful? I tell thee, because Abel's blood fell upon stone when Cain slew him with the jaw-bone of an ass.' Schapiro 1932, 207; and Kemble 1843, 187.

suggests the shape of the jawbone as depicted in the Anglo-Saxon representation. Supporting this hypothesis, the raking view from the left reveals a bulge in the swag congruent with the shape of a jawbone (Fig. 105). Significantly, although Cain wears no mantle in the other scenes, here the thirteenth-century artist provided him with over drapery. It hangs down his back in a vertical fall of material but also swings across the front of the figure like a chasuble and then develops into a festoon-like arrangement below the left arm. Unless the purpose of the mantle was to conceal the jawbone, the garment seems gratuitous. If, as proposed, Cain was turning away to conceal the murder weapon from the Lord, the nineteenth-century pickaxe in the murder scene was an iconographical error. As the blank space between the two brothers in Carter's sketch of that scene indicates (Pl. LXI), vestiges of the original weapon were not enough to inform the restorer.

In summary, the restorations to the spandrel depicting the Murder of Abel, although extensive, left enough of the original figure and drapery styles to provide useful comparisons with other English thirteenth-century figure sculpture. As in the preceding spandrels, the elimination of painted details modified the thirteenth-century composition, but a major iconographical error appears to be the restoration of the murder weapon as a pickaxe instead of the jawbone of an ass. The proposal that once again the Salisbury cycle perpetuated an insular pictorial tradition of Anglo-Saxon origin has support in the imagery of the same scene in the Murthly Hours where Cain wields a jawbone. Once again we may presume that the manuscript and the spandrel stemmed from the same pictorial model. As we will see, the final scene of the cycle contains another unusual iconographical image also traceable to Anglo-Saxon biblical illustration.

The Sentencing of Cain. Spandrel V, North Bay

(Plate XV)

The Cain and Abel cycle concludes with the Sentencing of Cain. Like the first two, the final scene contains unusual, though not unique iconographical elements descended from Anglo-Saxon biblical illustration. In addition to the concealed jawbone of the ass posited in the discussion of the

preceding scene, the spandrel includes the half-buried figure of Abel raising his hands in prayerful supplication. The image gives visual expression to the Lord's angry questioning of Cain: 'What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the earth' (Genesis 4:10). Behind the figure of God the demi-figure of Abel emerges from a hummock of earth below the tree on the left.⁴⁶⁵ The entire silhouette of the original figure backs an inset restoring the head and shoulders. Although re-cut, Abel's chest and his arms and hands clasped in prayer survive from the thirteenth century. In the Anglo-Saxon metrical paraphrase of the Bible (Bod. Lib. MS. Junius xi), at the bottom of the full page depicting the story of Cain and Abel, the half-buried figure of Abel looks up at the Lord, arms bent and outstretched, palms upturned in the orant gesture of prayer (Fig. 103). Among the numerous examples where the figure of Abel appears in the scene of the Sentencing, the Anglo-Saxon image provides the closest parallel, despite the orant gesture of prayer.⁴⁶⁶

465 Burges 1859, 150, recognized the imagery as 'Abel's blood crying out from the ground,' but in a footnote he suggested the half-buried body might also be a reference to the 'subject of Cain burying Abel.' For this he referred to Queen Mary's Psalter (London, Brit. Lib. MS. Roy. 2 B. VII, fol. 5), where Cain is pictured trying in vain to bury Abel and to hide him with a covering of leaves. See Warner 1912, fol. 5, facs. 8. The imagery of the spandrel is therefore quite different; the figure of Abel depends on the biblical text, whereas the scene in Queen Mary's Psalter illustrates a Jewish legendary embellishment on the Book of Genesis. The *Apocalypsis Mosis*, one of the sources of the legend, states that when Cain tried to conceal Abel 'the earth would not receive him for the body sprang up from the earth and a voice went out of the earth saying: "I will not receive a companion body, till the earth that was taken and fashioned in me cometh to me."' According to the legend, Abel therefore remained unburied until his father Adam died. At that time God commanded his angels to bury them together on the spot where he had taken the dust to form Adam: Charles 1913, 2, 151-22. For a concise summary of other legends concerning the disposal of the body of Abel and their sources, see Graves and Patai 1966, 92-94.

466 Other examples of the sentencing of Cain that include representations of the blood of Abel crying out from the ground include John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, ninth century (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. gr. 923, fol. 69), reproduced by Weitzmann 1979, fig. 12; the eleventh-century Roda Bible (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 6, vol. I, fol. 6), where a roundel frames the bust of Abel: Lauer 1927, pl. 8; the Farfa Bible, also known as the Ripoll Bible and now attributed to the Spanish monastery of S. Maria at Ripoll (Rome, Bib. Vaticana MS lat. 5729, fol. 6), shows Abel curled up in a roundel between God and Cain: Sherman 1981, fig. 2; the early twelfth-century bronze doors of San Zeno, Verona, where the small figure of Abel is lying flat on his back with both arms raised: Boeckler 1931, 3, pl. 41; the twelfth-century mosaic in the cathedral of Monreale, nave, left wall, zone 2, where Abel appears as a tiny, naked figure standing with arms upraised between God and Cain: See Demus 1949, 249, and pl. B. Demus called the imagery the 'Hellenistic personification of Abel's blood'.

Burges wrote, 'Arms and faces destroyed, otherwise perfect.' His notes on color indicated that Abel's garment once again was green, Cain's hat still red, but the color of his ankle-length tunic had changed to green, with a 'brownish red lining to the upper garment.' All three figures, he noted, had yellow hair, and the Lord had a nimbus painted, rather than carved.⁴⁶⁷ The loss of that painted detail belongs on the roster of iconographical modifications. Unquestionably the figures of the Lord and Cain are in better condition than any in the preceding scenes. Yet, as the diagram of the restorations indicates (Pl. XVb), the restorer made more extensive repairs than Burges's adjective 'perfect' would lead us to expect. Even so, with both figures still showing evidence of unrepaired damage and losses, the archaeological evidence suggests that the restoration, though clumsy, was not over-zealous. In the figure of the Lord the fold-backs formed by the cascade of drapery beneath his left hand still have damaged surfaces, as do the folds along the hems of both tunics. What remains indicates how strongly the thirteenth-century sculptor had articulated the convoluted edges of the drapery. We still find nicks and chips disfiguring the outer edge of the over-mantle along the length of Cain's back. Where the restorer actually re-cut the drapery to eliminate surface damage, it must have been quite disfiguring. Extensive cutting back has caused serious distortions, especially to the lower half of the figure of God. Re-cutting on ridges of the two lower deep, crumpled folds formed by the sweep of the mantle across his hips has diminished their volume and the silhouette of the figure to the extent that it now appears top-heavy. The flare of the lower section of Cain's over-mantle and that of his tunic near his left ankle also appear much reduced by re-cutting. Despite the cropping of the silhouettes of both figures, the restorer preserved the original disposition of the drapery, with one exception. Resembling a loose and bulky cummerbund, the roll of folds that is part of the inset restoring the Lord's left hand fails to function as an integral part of the drapery of the mantle as it is caught up to loop over his left arm. The inset restoring his left forearm and the drapery directly below it transform the folds intended to give variety and movement to the mantle into a stiff and awkward arrangement.

⁴⁶⁷ Burges 1859, 150.

Despite restorations, the elegant poses of both figures survive. Swaying slightly in a contrapposto stance, the Deity has shifted some of his weight onto his forward foot. In a more mannered stance Cain's feet have assumed the third ballet position. Also as noted earlier, the figure of Cain provides the original head-to-body ratio of approximately one to four and a half, as compared with the human norm of one to eight. The Lord as restored has a head-to-body ratio of one to five. Neither the hair framing his face nor the beard survives, but a portion of the right side of head and shoulder-length locks of his hair clinging closely to his neck indicate that the original coiffure adhered to the typical thirteenth-century hair-style for the Deity. A bearded Deity was usual though not universal in this period, but his sausage-like roll of bangs seems suspect.⁴⁶⁸

One question unanswered by Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI) or by remnants of the thirteenth-century carving concerns the Lord's gesture with his right hand. Yet considering the lengthy dialogue between the Lord and Cain (Genesis 4:9-15), the restoration of the hand in the gesture of speech seems proper and accords with Aelfric's Hexateuch where his elongated index finger adds emphasis to the gesture (Fig. 106). As is true throughout the Salisbury scenes, where the gestures are restorations, they appear flaccid. Also, as in earlier comparisons to the Hexateuch, the Salisbury composition reversed the two figures. In the miniature, the Lord on the right is walking away and looks back over his shoulder towards Cain as he speaks. Cain has his hand on his breast in a gesture of remorse appropriate to his repentance in Genesis 4:13: 'And Cain said to the Lord: My iniquity is greater than that I may deserve pardon.' The reversed positions, pose of Cain and the demi-figure of Abel in the spandrel scene better reflect Cain's first evasive response to the Lord in Genesis 4:9: 'And the Lord said to Cain: Where is thy brother Abel? And he answered, I know not: am I my brother's keeper?'

468 A center part with straight or slightly waving shoulder-length hair as pictured in the Morgan Bible MS. 638 (Fig. 88) typifies the mid- to late-thirteenth-century coiffure of the Deity. Rather than a continuous roll of bangs across the forehead in the restoration, a single curl at the center part was more usual for the period in question. Yet bangs occur on many of the original heads that have survived in the chapter house. See *ibid.*, the head of Ham (Fig. 108b); Abraham (Pl. XXII); and Lot (Pl. XXIV). The question about the appropriateness of that detail pertains only to representations of the Deity.

A strong diagonal line marks the upper limit of severe cutting back of the ground in front of Cain where the restorer failed to make a smooth transition between the original level of the ground line and the re-cut area. Carter's sketch suggests that the poor condition of the trees, particularly the one on the left, necessitated the insets replacing the inner branching of both trees. On the left tree, the eroded surfaces of the surviving thirteenth-century foliage probably prompted the cropping or elimination of some of the most degraded thirteenth-century leaves. This explains the skimpiness of its foliate terminal. The restoration of the left tree as an oak and the right as a mulberry (or maple) was justified by the few remaining thirteenth-century leaves on the trees. According to Burges, a 'painted tree between this sculpture and the last group, [was] coloured as usual.'⁴⁶⁹ Once again Carter sketched only the carving and omitted the painted detail (Pl. LXI). In this instance, unlike the earlier scenes where painted details have disappeared, the composition of the spandrel does not seem as wanting.

In summary, this spandrel proved to be less perfect than Burges's notes suggest. The significant aspects of the scene lie in the persistence of Anglo-Saxon imagery: the voice of Abel crying out from the ground and the probability that the murder weapon secreted by Cain was the jawbone of an ass. Also noteworthy, the spandrel provides some good examples of the drapery arrangements and figure-style of the thirteenth-century carver. Although re-cutting caused some distortions and diminution in the folds, enough remains to allow us to factor both figures into the final discussion of the stylistic preferences and idiosyncrasies of this artist, the hand responsible for approximately half of the spandrel scenes. In all three scenes of the Cain and Abel cycle, as in other spandrels attributed to him, his uncluttered compositions exploit the shape of the spandrels. The narrative advances through pose and gesture designed to heighten the drama of the events depicted. In the Noah cycle we will find those same characteristics, and our understanding of the style of this artist is augmented in the next cycle by the survival of two heads with the original faces.

⁴⁶⁹ Burges 1859, 150.

The Noah Cycle

(Plates XVI-XIX; Plan B)

The Noah cycle begins with the scene of God instructing Noah to build the ark (Pl. XVI), continues with the ark afloat (Pl. XVII), followed by Noah pruning his vines (Pl. XVIII), and ends with the drunkenness of Noah (Pl. XIX). Using an imaginative and an original conceit which telescoped time, the thirteenth-century artist presented the long biblical narrative (Genesis 6-9) in four spandrels. That contrasts with the prototypical fifth/sixth-century Cotton Genesis recension containing twenty-five scenes, the most extensive Noah cycle known. Fourteen of them covered biblical events from God commanding Noah to build the ark to the debarkation after the Flood waters had subsided (Genesis 6:14-8:17). All subsequent cycles, including the major exemplar of the Cotton recension in the mosaics of San Marco, present more abbreviated versions.⁴⁷⁰ With considerable ingenuity the Salisbury artist managed to conflate the ten incidents in the Cotton Bible that followed the building of the ark into one spandrel (Pl. XVII).

The earliest images of the ark, those of the second and third centuries, demonstrate the assimilation of Aegean, Egyptian, and Near Eastern ideas into Christian iconography. Each civilization had its own flood story based on historical memory. Not only the images but also the early exegetical writings of the Church Fathers depended on Classical and pagan legends, as well as Eastern religious traditions. Eastern Mediterranean cultures generally attached symbolic meaning to ships and water.⁴⁷¹ The Judaic heritage with its own exegetical interpretations of the Old Testament

470 For a reconstruction of the pages containing the Noah cycle in the Cotton Bible, see now Weitzmann and Kessler, 1986, 63-68, 139-46, color figs. 8-10. For the Noah scenes in San Marco, see Demus 1984, 80-81, pls. 147-53, 155-59, 161-44, 169-70, 174-75; also Weitzmann 1984, 2, 105-42, 253-57. The Wells Old Testament cycle contains six, possibly seven scenes of the story of Noah: Noah building the ark, the ark afloat, Noah giving thanks, Noah and his wife (?) with the vines, the Drunkenness of Noah, and Noah cursing Ham (?), which is usually identified as Isaac Blessing Jacob. Marion Roberts has proposed this new reading for the final scene. Although the Wells and Salisbury cycle have four scenes in common, the numerous differences indicate that they did not depend on the same model.

471 For an introduction to Jewish and Islamic thought, see *i.a.*, *The Jewish Encyclopedia* 1903, 5, 'Flood', cols. 410-16; 'Ark of Noah', 1902, 8, cols. 110-3; 'Noah', 1905, 9, cols. 318-23; and Goodenough 1958, 8: 158, 160-64, particularly for Philo's views and for ship symbolism. On the universality of the flood story, see Worcester 1901, 455-65; on ship symbolism and how it was linked with the ark, Dölger 1925, 272-86;

exerted an especially important influence on the development of Christian doctrine. As early as the second century A.D. patristic literature began to imbue the Old Testament account with Christian significance and symbolism.⁴⁷² The interpretations of the Early Church Fathers influenced the pictorial representations of the ark so that through the centuries the various forms given to it reflected their thinking.⁴⁷³

Dated to ca. 1025, the Anglo-Saxon illumination in Junius xi depicting the ark afloat (Fig. 107) probably represents the earliest multi-storied structure on a Viking hull. To judge from the circular form suggested by the tiled roof, the artist intended a reference to the centrally organized Holy Sepulchre.⁴⁷⁴ Like all such allegorically inspired designs, the towering ark on a shallow hull would have capsized or swamped as the waters rose.

The writings of the twelfth-century theologian Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1142) challenged the

'Arche,' Cabrol and Leclercq 1924, 1/2: cols. 2709-32; 'Navire,' 12/1, cols. 1008-19; Bonner 1941a, 49-64; idem 1941b, 84-91, which emphasizes Greek rather than Jewish ship symbolism as the primary influence on Christian exegesis. For comparisons of Babylonian and Christian versions of the Flood, see Parrot 1955. On a myth that includes the Greek version of the flood in which Prometheus closed his nephew and wife into a box to ride out the deluge, see Raggio 1958, 44-62. (The memory of the latter legend conjoined with the allegorical interpretation of the ark as the Ark of the Covenant may lie behind the box-like shape found in, i.a., the Eastern Octateuch, Vatican gr. 747, fol. 29r and v and the Cotton Genesis.) Rahner 1963, makes a case for Greek concepts underlying the allegory of the ship of the Church; and Allen 1963, although focused on Renaissance literature, contains an excellent discussion of biblical versions of the story of Noah with comments of the Early Church authorities.

472 See i.a., Daniélou 1947, 103-107, mainly concerned with the concept of Baptism and the typologies of the ark. For a discussion of Christian exegesis of ship symbolism and the Church, with emphasis on Jewish rather than Greek sources for the concept, see idem 1964, 58-70; and Lundberg 1942, an oasis of information on baptismal typology; also Kirschbaum 1968-1976, 4, cols. 161-63, esp. for the bibliography of patristic sources; and Boblitz 1972, 159-70.

473 Those types included: the shape of a chest and of a sarcophagus, of altars, tombs, and shrines, and of a sea-serpent with mast and sails set; also a stepped pyramid, a three- or four-sided pyramid, a multi-storied building on a Viking hull, the same type of structure on a hull woven of wattle and fencing, a church with a twin-towered façade, and the Holy Sepulchre church. See Ehlers 1972, 171-87.

474 At Canterbury, the presumed provenance of Junius xi, representations of the ark as a type for the Holy Sepulchre persisted. We find that imagery in two representations of the ark in late twelfth-century windows. See Caviness 1977, figs. 143, 144. In the Genesis page of the Bible of Robert de Bello (Fig. 92), the lower stories of the ark seem more allied to a sarcophagus: e.g. the sarcophagi of the resurrected dead on the lintel zone of the central portal of the west facade of the abbey of Saint-Denis, Crosby and Blum 1973, pls. Va, VIa, and fig.5.

views of Origen (d. ca. 254) and other Early Christian exegetes whose unseaworthy arks required Divine Providence to stay afloat. Reflecting on their instability, Hugh looked to twelfth-century shipbuilding practices. Pondering the problems of weight distribution below the waterline of a ship, he tried to reconcile empirical data with the biblical text to formulate an hypothesis on the shape of the ark.⁴⁷⁵ In keeping with the spirit of the times, Hugh brought rational argumentation to the question. This led to his version of a structure with four straight sides and a peaked roof, like a house, built on a seaworthy hull. Not until the twelfth century do we find the ark represented in this way, yet, as Grover Zinn concluded, the relationship between text and image cannot be established as direct cause and effect.⁴⁷⁶ Neither the Viking hull of the Junius xi ark (Fig. 107) nor the finished ark in the mid-eleventh-century miniature in Aelfric's *Hexateuch* (fols. 14 and 15) can be counted as seaworthy structures anticipating Hugh's concern. The shallowness of their hulls indicates that no thought had been given to ballast, cargo, or waterlines, all of which concerned Hugh. Though its Viking hull seems reminiscent of the forms given the ark in both Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the ark afloat in the Salisbury spandrel with its deep hull and high waterline reflects a stability first introduced in text and image in the preceding century,

Rich and multi-layered, the typological meanings attributed to the ark had Redemption and Salvation as the over-arching concepts. Beyond the assimilation of eastern Mediterranean ship symbolism, through the centuries the ark of Noah evoked the following metaphors: the ark of the

475 His conclusions disallowed the traditional view of Origen who postulated a pyramidal shape in accordance with the biblical dimensions (Genesis 6:15): 'The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits; the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits'; of Tertullian (d. ca. 220) who saw the ark as a type for the Church; and of others who had based their constructs solely on a variety of allegorical interpretations. See Hugo de Saint-Victor 1962. For an illuminating discussion of Hugh's empirical approach to the question of the shape of the ark and his dependence on literal exegesis of the biblical text, see Zinn 1977, 261-62.

476 The ark in the Saint-Savin frescoes (ca. 1100) may provide the earliest in the form of a house with a tapered roof placed on a hull. Henderson 1963, compared it with the Junius xi ark (Fig. 107), although the illumination may be later with a date in the second quarter of the eleventh century. For a discussion of the dating, see Blum 1976, 223 n. 14. As Zinn 1977, 268, observed, no clear relationship can be established between Hugh's *De arca Noe morali* and the new form, even though Hugh was the first to introduce the concept of a seaworthy ark into exegetical literature.

Covenant; the ark as a sarcophagus, as the tomb of Christ, as the Trinity, and, by its dimensions (Genesis 6:15), as a prefiguration of Christ. Noah became one of the Old Testament types for Christ, and by extension the ark built by Noah thus prefigured the Church, inasmuch as Christ had built the Church. The ark floated on the waters of the Flood to teach man that Salvation lay in the waters of Baptism.⁴⁷⁷ The various forms that the ark took reflected the symbolic significance attached to it, and we can observe accretions to the imagery through the centuries. In considering the narrative of the Noah cycle in the chapter house, we may subsume for it the traditional sacramental concept of Redemption and Salvation by water as in Baptism. Yet the iconographical interest of the scene of the ark afloat lies not so much in its reinforcement of the Salvation symbolism already established by imagery in the Adam and Eve and Cain and Abel cycles, but in the presentation itself--the way the artist compressed time and selected detail that advanced the narrative within the limited space.

All four scenes survived in better condition than any in the preceding cycles. Both the figure of Noah entering the ark (Pl. XVII), and of Ham in the final scene (Pl. XIX), escaped the iconoclastic attacks almost unscathed. They required no insets, and received only minor repairs with mastic and light sanding. And in those same spandrels, two thirteenth-century heads have also survived undamaged: the idealized head of Noah in the bow of the ark (Fig. 108a), recorded by Burges as 'quite perfect,'⁴⁷⁸ and that of Ham leering at his father's nakedness (Fig. 108b). The head of Ham provides the first indication that the thirteenth-century artist took pains to reveal mood and character through facial expression. The loss of most of his original heads and their replacement with uniformly bland nineteenth-century faces has deprived the scenes of elements that would have vitalized the figures and animated the scenes.

477 Eight persons were saved (Noah, his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and the four wives); eight was the number of life, regeneration, and baptism. On Flood symbolism, see *i.a.*, Schiller 1971, 1, 129; and Daniélou 1947, 95-112.

478 Burges 1859, 150.

God Commands Noah to Build the Ark. Spandrel VI, North Bay

(Plate XVI)

In Genesis 6:14-16 God orders Noah to construct an ark. Facing Noah, God stands in the spandrel at left of center, and on the right looking towards God, Noah is at work on the ark. Drilling with an auger, he half-kneels on what may represent either a saw-horse or an extension of the keel of the ark on a trestle. To the right, the bow of the half-finished hull rests on dough-like swells representing the ground. As Burges observed, the figurehead of a dog terminates the prow. He also reported that the spandrel had survived 'in pretty good condition; but the heads and arms [were] mutilated.'⁴⁷⁹ His notes on color recorded the [back]ground as blue. 'Noah,' he continued, 'has a green dress, red hose, and black shoes. God has a flesh-colored mantle. The Ark has been yellow; and there appears to have been a [painted] interior....This is shown on the wall in a reddish chocolate colour with black lines.' Once again the removal of polychromy destroyed details elaborating the scene.

Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI) shows the figure of God intact, but fainter lines delineating his head suggest some mutilation. He stands with arms bent, hands raised before him as he instructs Noah concerning materials, dimensions, and the design for the ark (Genesis 6:14-16). Two insets restored God's hands. His palms are facing but apart, as if to indicate a dimension. Unfortunately no thirteenth-century remnants have survived to verify the gesture. Although the figure of God appears quite well-preserved, an inset restored the front half of his head, as well as the right side of his face above the beard. Grayish mastic rebuilt the contours of his right arm above the elbow, and superficial re-cutting scraped the surfaces above and below the arm, the two upper folds of the mantle, and the folds of the tunic near the hem. Two more insets replace both branchings of the tree on the left, another patches the uppermost strake of the hull. The deep, crumpled, irregularly spaced folds of the mantle in the lower half of God's figure and the sweeping fold-back from arm to ankle provide a well-preserved example of the thirteenth-century artist's handling of drapery. Sanding that

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

erased the surface mutilations around the Deity's knee seems negligible, but more extensive re-cutting reduced the fullness of his silhouette behind his right knee and calf.

Carter sketched the figure of Noah with head and arms broken. One inset replaced the missing head and a portion of his right shoulder. The other inset restoring his arms included the handle of the auger and the upper third of the bore. Nothing survives of Noah's original head, but the restorer modeled its replacement on Noah's unrestored thirteenth-century head in the next spandrel (Pl. XVII).

Using a firm line, Carter delineated the well-preserved, half-completed hull of the ark with the figurehead of a dog. An interesting but not exact parallel to Noah working on the half-finished ark and drilling with an auger occurs in an illustrated English Psalter (Fig. 109) dated 1270-1280 (Cambridge, St. John's Coll. MS. K. 26, fol.7v).⁴⁸⁰ Fierce, long-eared, long-snouted, animal figureheads crest both the bow and stern of the ark. The figureheads in both scenes carry on the pictorial tradition found in both Junius xi (Fig. 107) and Aelfric's Hexateuch, but the animal heads in the thirteenth-century Psalter appear closer to the Anglo-Saxon prototypes than does the carved dog's head in the spandrel.

In summary, the archaeological examination and pre-restoration evidence failed to verify two aspects of this straightforward narrative--God's gesture and the turn of Noah's nineteenth-century head toward the Lord, but both restorations seem credible.

The Ark Afloat. Spandrel VII, North Bay

(Plate XVII)

This spandrel, one of the best preserved of the Old Testament scenes, conflates the series of events from Genesis 7:6 to 8:11: 'the waters of the flood overflowed the earth. And Noe went in...the ark....and of beasts clean and unclean, and of fowls, and every thing that moveth upon the earth, two and two went in to Noe into the ark, male and female, as God had commanded Noe....And the rain

480 For the Psalter, see Morgan 1988, 182-83, no. 179. The miniature omits the figure of God whose presence is indicated by rays of fire emerging from the clouds above.

fell upon the earth forty days and forty nights....And the waters prevailed beyond measure upon the earth; and all the high mountains under the whole heaven were covered....And all flesh was destroyed that moved upon the earth....And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days....And the waters were going and decreasing until the tenth month; for in the tenth month...the tops of the mountains appeared. And after that forty days were passed, Noe, opening the window of the Ark which he had made, sent forth a raven: Which went forth and did not return, till the waters were dried up upon the earth. He sent forth also a dove after him to see if the waters had now ceased upon the face of the earth. But she not finding where her foot might rest, returned to him....And having waited yet seven other days, he again sent forth the dove....And she came to him in the evening, carrying the bough of an olive tree with green leaves, in her mouth. Noe therefore understood that the waters were ceased upon the earth.'

In the spandrel we see Noah bypassing the last three rungs of the ladder to step onto the deck of the ark in one great stride and, ducking his head, enter the cabin through the door to the stern. Indicating the passage of time during which the waters rose and abated, the demi-figure of Noah next emerges through the open door in the bow of the ark. Reaching with his right hand, he receives the dove returning with the olive branch. Astern of the ark and perched on the body of a horse, the raven who failed to return rides the swelling waves as he pecks at the carcass. Its stiff forelegs are visible beneath the raven's tail. A wave seems about to break over the curving body of the beast and threatens to suck it under. In the West, the Cotton Genesis tradition exemplified by the San Marco mosaics (Fig. 110) also shows the raven feasting on the body of a dead horse.

The raven feasting on a carcass goes back to the legend of the Flood in the eastern Gilgamesh epic.⁴⁸¹ But differing from the western tradition, the eastern legend has the bird feasting on humans, especially the eyes. The concept of the Damned adheres to that imagery--a reference to the raven plucking out the eyes of the ungodly (Proverbs 30:17): 'The eye that mocketh at his father, and that

481 See Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 65, 143, and fig. 118. On the legend, see Gutmann 1977, 63-71; Graves and Patai 1966, 114-15 n. 13, showing that all textual references to the legend derive from the Babylonian Talmud compiled about 500 A.D.

despises the labour of his mother in bearing him, let the ravens of the brooks pick it up, and the young eagles eat it. 'A variant on the eastern tradition occurs in Aelfric's *Hexateuch* where the raven is pecking at the eyes of a human head impaled on a pole set into the animal figurehead on the prow, imagery that apparently had no following.⁴⁸² The raven feasting on the horse in the Salisbury spandrel adheres to the western tradition of the Cotton Genesis recension.

Burges who reported incorrectly that the raven was feeding on dead bodies, otherwise described the scene accurately: 'The Ark is a boat supporting a structure with two tiers of circular arches and an imbricated roof...[with] a doorway at either end; one of them [the forward one] has a door with floriated hinges.'⁴⁸³ Earlier he had observed, 'The upper part of the Ark is tenanted with birds and the lower with beasts. The 1st beast is like a giraffe or camel; the 2nd a heifer; the 3rd an ibex; and the 4th a sheep.' God had ordered Noah to make the ark 'with lower, middle chambers, and third stories' (Genesis 7:16), but had not specified how Noah was to stow the creatures. Although the two-storied ark of the spandrel runs counter to biblical specifications, the omission of a third storey probably represents a modification that accommodated the ark to the height of the spandrel. In the placement of the animals on the lower level and the birds on the second deck the spandrel follows the plan given in an eighth or early ninth-century midrash that elaborated on the biblical text. There the third storey was reserved for Noah and his family along with all creeping things.⁴⁸⁴

On the condition of the spandrel, Burges reported, 'Very perfect. Dove broken and parts of dead bodies.'⁴⁸⁵ Carter's drawing contradicts Burges and shows the raven and the carcass just as we see them today. Apparently expecting a human corpse and unable to see one, Burges reported losses in that area. But the well-preserved spandrel required only two insets. One restores the dove, even though, as the sketch suggests, remnants of the dove had survived. Portions of the bird's original tail and left wing still visible behind the inset confirm the arrangement. The same inset also repairs the prow of the ark, which Carter's sketch shows damaged. The dog-headed prow in the preceding

482 On that unique imagery, see Gatch 1975, 5-15, esp. 10-12.

483 Burges 1859, 150, and n.4.

484 *Pirque Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 23: see Graves and Patai 1966, 111 and 289.

485 Burges 1859, 150.

spandrel raises a question about the restoration of the bow without the figurehead. Because no vestige of the thirteenth-century prow has survived, that part of the inset remains unverified. A second inset joins Noah's upper arm to the nineteenth-century hand holding the bird. As diagrammed, other repairs consist of a scattering of small mastic patches that fill in minor surface losses on the raven and animal carcass, on Noah's right leg, and on the bird in the upper left window. Additional reworking with mastic repaired the ark amidship. According to Burges's note on color, again the [back]ground was blue; 'the sea, green with touches of yellow; body of Ark yellow; roof green. The interior where the animals are...black; inside red. Noah in both cases has a green dress, red cap, and red hose.'⁴⁸⁶

In summary, Burges found the spandrel in excellent, nearly but not quite perfect condition. The energetic figure of Noah striding aboard survives as an unspoiled example of the thirteenth-century figure and drapery style. The well-articulated drapery above the waistline is particularly fine; both the strong horizontal of the sleeve pulled taut as Noah stretches his arm forward and the sweep of the fold-back along the edge of his split tunic enhance the sense of vigorous forward movement. Throughout the entire spandrel the patina of age prevails on the surfaces, and the clarity and quality of the original carving remains undiminished by any reworking. The spandrel demonstrates the exceptional narrative skill of the artist, who by selective detail not only created an uncluttered composition but also succeeded in covering the same material that spreads across ten episodes in the Cotton Genesis Bible.

Noah in the Vineyard. Spandrel VIII, North Bay

(Plate XVIII)

The third scene of the cycle illustrates the text of Genesis 10:15. 'And Noah, a husbandman, began to till the ground, and planted a vineyard.' The spandrel depicts the vineyard at the time of the vintage, rather than the planting. According to Burges, 'Noah prunes his vineyard; the vines are

486 Ibid.

trained on a trellis in the Italian fashion....Stalks of the vine yellow; leaves green, and grapes red;' and as before, the background blue.⁴⁸⁷ Possibly, as in Morgan Bible MS. 638, fol. 3, Noah was beginning to gather the grapes, although the spandrel scene lacks the basket which Noah is filling in the miniature.⁴⁸⁸ Burges's only comment on condition concerned Noah's broken face. Considering the delicacy of the carving and the undercutting of the vine, leaves, fruit and trellis, the amount that has survived unbroken seems extraordinary. Yet the repairs prove more extensive than Burges's notes suggest. Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI) shows Noah's arms broken, but indicates remnants of the branch that Noah is pruning. Apparently enough had survived to guide the restorer and inform Burges that Noah was holding a pruning knife. The sketch points to an iconographically insignificant but aesthetically unfortunate error. In the three insets repairing the central stem at the left of the right post the restorer fused the double branching of the vine, a division quite clearly delineated in Carter's sketch. Instead of the graceful arc made by the upper branch as it bent under the weight of the lowest cluster of grapes, the insets created a single thick, stiff stem. Another small inset replaced the stem of the leaf above Noah's head. To judge from the well-preserved head of Noah in the preceding spandrel, the nineteenth-century sculptor also erred in restoring the face. Beginning just above the brow, the inset distorts his features by increasing the height of his forehead disproportionately.

Noah's figure shows signs of re-cutting from the waist down, but not enough to eliminate all damage. Once again, although the arrangement remains decipherable, the folds of the skirt have lost some of their clarity, and the silhouette of the figure from knee to hem has been reduced by marked re-cutting behind the right leg. The patina of age prevails on all the carving that has survived from the top of his head to the re-cutting that begins at hip-level. The unspoiled surfaces attest to the superb condition of those parts of the figure. The blousing of the drapery above the waist is notable, as is the series of concentric V-shaped folds over the abdomen. Head-to-body proportions established by the better-preserved figures in the Cain and Abel cycle, approximately one to five, also obtain

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ See Plummer 1969, (facsimile), fol. 3. As in the Adam and Eve cycle, the Bible continues to provide interesting parallels with the Salisbury Noah cycle. See below, n. 489.

here.

Aelfric's Hexateuch provides the insular prototype for the Italianate trellis supporting the grapevine (Fig. 111), but, as usual, the composition of the Salisbury scene is a mirror image of the illumination. Standing at the left in the miniature, Noah prunes left handed as he supports a spade for cultivating the vines against his right shoulder. Doubtless the shape of the half-spandrel required the reversed images, and in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon miniature, the thirteenth-century carver created his usual uncluttered composition. The straggling, stylized foliage of the vines in the miniature follows the conventions of the mid-eleventh century, whereas the naturalistic foliage of the Salisbury scene, like the fig leaves in the scenes of the Hiding in the Garden and Expulsion, as well as the frequent appearance of naturalistic foliage applied to stylized trees, reflects the new tendencies to carve realistic and schematized forms side by side.⁴⁸⁹

Drunkenness of Noah. Spandrel I, Northeast Bay

(Plate XIX)

In the final scene of the Noah cycle we find the illustration of Genesis 10:21-23: 'And drinking of the wine [Noah] was made drunk, and was uncovered in his tent. Which when Cham [Ham] the father of Chanaan had seen, to wit, that his father's nakedness was uncovered, he told it to his two brethren without. But Sem [Shem] and Japheth put a cloak upon their shoulders, and going backward, covered the nakedness of their father: and their faces were turned away, and they saw not their father's nakedness.' Standing at the far left of the spandrel, Ham is leering or grinning at his

⁴⁸⁹ Dated to ca. 1250, the Morgan Bible MS. 638 also has naturalistic fig and grape leaves, respectively, in the scenes of the Expulsion and of Noah tending his vines: Plummer 1969, (facsimile), fols. 2r, 3r. But unlike the chapter house cycle, the Genesis scenes in the manuscript have only schematized foliage on the stylized terminals of the branches. Doubtless the later dating of the sculptures accounts for the introduction of realistic leaf forms on some of the foliate terminals. Using caution and taking into consideration the variables differentiating the work produced in urban and provincial artistic centers, Henderson 1967, 85-90, discussed the degree to which the occurrence of naturalistic foliage in a manuscript and the artist's facility in handling the new realism can assist in determining the date for an English thirteenth-century work when no documentation for dating exists.

unconscious father, whereas the two brothers avert their heads and shield their eyes with one hand to avoid the proscribed sight. With the other hand, the son on the right is cloaking his father's nakedness. At the right, Noah lies sprawled in a drunken stupor on ground swells that increase in height with the arch of the spandrel and prop him into a half-seated position. His body turns outward better to reveal his nakedness to the viewer. Noah's head rests on his left hand, and his right arm hangs across his body. The slit skirt of his tunic has parted to reveal his genitals. The drapery of the skirt spills across the ground in a series of deeply undercut, looping fold-backs that spread to the edge of the spandrel.

Writing on the condition of the scene, Burges reported, 'Head of Ham perfect; the heads of the two other brothers and of Noah broken; also sundry of the arms.'⁴⁹⁰ As noted above, Ham's original head has particular importance with his facial expression suited to mood and character (Fig. 108b), just as the idealized features of Noah in the scene of the ark afloat reflected his status as a patriarch who had found grace in the eyes of the Lord.

As shown in the diagram (Pl. XIXb), insets replaced the three damaged heads, as well as the left arms and hands of Ham's two brothers, also the right arm from the elbow down of the brother covering Noah. Originally a single inset restored his head and left arm, but recently the arm was broken into three pieces and reset with black glue. On his left, vestiges of his thirteenth-century head and the locks of hair framing it lie behind the inset which also restored the folds of drapery falling from his hand. But the stiff, unnatural fall defies the pull of gravity and contrasts with elegant handling of the well-preserved drapery in the skirt of Noah's tunic. A final, small inset provided the thumb of the middle brother's right hand and the end of the swag of his mantle pulled across his body. The patina of age survives over all of Noah's figure, and on the upper half of Ham, including the folds of the mantle that loop over his wrist. The lower half of Ham's figure is actually in better condition than the diagram would suggest. Except around his left knee where the damage to the carving was greatest, the re-cutting was so superficial that some of the patina of age survives. The

⁴⁹⁰ Burges 1859, 151.

same holds true for the lower half of the figure of the middle brother. Interesting, although not entirely successful, the arrangement of Ham's mantle and the deeply undercut convolutions of the hemlines represent one of the thirteenth-century artist's most ambitious drapery designs that neither sanding nor re-cutting has blurred. In the final analysis, this spandrel will provide crucial information about the aesthetic preferences of that thirteenth-century carver and help to distinguish his work from the hand responsible for the second half of the chapter house spandrels.

The Drunkenness of Noah, the third Old Testament scene surviving in the Murthly Hours (Fig. 112), again offers telling comparisons, but, as before, the manuscript contains minor variations in the basic, shared composition. As at Salisbury, Noah lies prone on an inclined ground-line reminiscent of the rising curve of the spandrel. He supports his head with his left hand, and a pillow propped upright is behind his head. In both representations the three brothers stand above him to the left, but in the miniature Ham stands between his brothers and is raising Noah's mantle as if to further uncover his father's genitals which the reticent artist of the Murthly hours failed to depict. On the right, either Shem or Japheth is raising his mantle to his face with his left hand, the classical gesture of mourning, which in this instance also shields his eyes against the sacrilege of viewing his father's nakedness. With head turned sharply to the right to avoid looking at Noah, the third brother is staring into the distance, his right hand raised in blessing, and his left index finger pointing upward as if to indicate that the Lord will bestow a blessing on him for his forbearance. According to Genesis 19:25-27, upon awakening, Noah first cursed Ham's posterity for his sacrilegious deed, and then invoked God's blessing on the other two: 'May God enlarge Japheth, and may he dwell in the tents of Sem, and may Chanaan [Ham's son] be his servant.' Thus by gesture and by varying the moment depicted, the uncovering rather than the covering of Noah, the Murthly artist elaborated the scene with concepts not found in the spandrel. Nevertheless the basic compositions reflect their common model.

7

Scenes From the Lives of Abraham and Lot

(Plates XX-XXVI; Plan B)

The northeast bay contains incidents from the lives of Abraham and Lot (Plates XX-XXVI). The series begins with the building of the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11:1-9), continues with Abraham entreating the three angels to accept his hospitality, then Abraham entertaining the angels (Genesis 18:1-15). The fourth scene depicts the fall of Sodom and Gomorrha [Gomorrhah], and the fifth shows Lot and his family fleeing the city (Genesis 19:24-26). In the sixth spandrel, Abraham is leading the ass carrying Isaac to the place of sacrifice (Genesis 22:2-3), and the final scene represents the Sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22:2-13). Although the scenes follow the chronological order of events in Genesis, they lack the thematic cohesiveness of the preceding cycles.

The condition of the spandrels ranges from nearly perfect to severely damaged, the first and last having suffered most. Seven thirteenth-century heads have survived almost untouched by the restorer, and several more needed only portions of the faces replaced. This unexpectedly large number of original heads provides excellent, varied, and telling examples of the facial style of the thirteenth-century carver. The seven underscore his use of facial expression to dramatize an event. Equally well-preserved, full-length figures supplement the information gleaned from earlier examples of the artist's figure and drapery styles. The characteristically uncluttered compositions confirm that the hand responsible for the four preceding cycles continued to work throughout the northeast bay. With a few exceptions, enough of the original carving has survived to validate the iconography as restored.

Here again, significant comparisons exist between three of the Salisbury scenes and two miniatures in the Murthly Hours. The first of the miniatures depicts Abraham entertaining the Angels. The second illumination includes the departure of Lot and his family in the same frame with the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha. Interesting comparisons with twelfth-century mosaics of

Monreale suggest that they too were dependent on a model stemming from the same recension as the Salisbury scenes.⁴⁹¹ Miniatures in the Eastern Octateuchs, Aelfric's Hexateuch, and the Morgan Bible MS. 638, as well as other manuscripts attributed to the Paris region also provide significant, if less striking, iconographical parallels.

The Building of the Tower of Babel. Spandrel II, Northeast Bay

(Plate XX)

Burges noted that the 'tower consists of three stages: the upper one is unfinished. One mason holds a plumb-bob [upper stage, right]; another carries stone on his head [second from the left]; and a third receives it [upper stage, left]; another is dressing stone with an axe [far left]; and a fifth is carrying something on his head [far right]; these two latter have quite disappeared. An inclined plane with planks across is used instead of a ladder....Two of the heads pretty good; the others broken away.'⁴⁹² The complicated diagram of restorations provides additional details without contradicting Burges's notes. The diagram (Pl. XXb) shows how the original right toe and instep of the mason on the far left established the placement of the otherwise entirely nineteenth-century figure. The cutting edge of his axe and about three-quarters of the ashlar he is dressing have also survived. Surprisingly, enough of the original figure existed before the restoration for Burges to record green as the color of his tunic,⁴⁹³ but to judge from Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI), Burges had only fragments to inform him. The line of joining of the inset passes through the stone, the axe and the mason's right foot before entering into the ground line. The clean diagonal line formed by the joint indicates that the restorer

491 In an unpublished paper (Blum files), 'The Salisbury Spandrels,' M. Woodbridge proposed that the Abraham and Lot scenes at Salisbury were based on drawings of the Monreale mosaics. Close comparisons reveal inconsistencies that make it more likely that the two cycles derive from a common pictorial tradition instead of a direct dependency of the sculptures on the mosaics.

492 Burges 1859, 151.

493 Ibid. Burges also reported that the mason carrying the stone wore green; 'the one receiving it a light pink tunic with red diaper.' The tower itself was 'coloured yellow; with the stones marked in white lines. At all events the upper story was so. Cavetto mould green. Inside of embrasures on upper story [middle stage] as well as sides of stones of unfinished work red.' Once again the color remnants indicate a vividly polychromed scene.

excised all vestiges of the original carving to make way for the single large inset which completed the mason's figure, his axe and the stone he is dressing.

The spandrel provides a genre scene of medieval building practices. The mason's square lying on the ground near the block of ashlar conforms to the type then in use. Unlike today's version, the inner edges of the thirteenth-century tool did not form a right angle. As in the spandrel, the short arm decreased in width and the long arm widened so that the edges of each arm were not parallel.⁴⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the plumb-bob held by the mason at the right of the tower was incorrectly restored. In the nineteenth-century repair, the plumb line falls in a way that could not have measured the vertical alignment of the masonry.⁴⁹⁵ Except for his right hand, the demi-figure of the mason using the plumb-bob is original, but flecks of gypsum smooth and fill in surface losses over his arm and torso, and minor re-cutting and patches of mastic retouch his thirteenth-century head. The other surviving thirteenth-century head belongs to the figure at ground-level to the left of the tower, but patches of mastic also repair surface damage. Although an inset replaced his right elbow and upper arm, the upper part of the figure from head to hips appears well-preserved, as is the stone he carries on his head. The lower half of the figure consists of a single nineteenth-century inset that also includes some of the ground on which he is standing. Coarse and rustic, the two original heads contrast strongly with the nineteenth-century face and profile of the mason dressing the stone at the left whose features have a Classical refinement. The arms and body of the workman receiving the stone (upper left) are also original, but a nineteenth-century inset has replaced his head and shoulders. Yet the drapery, especially the blousing of the tunic above his waist and the folds over his hips, is perfectly preserved.

Although four insets restore the stone carrier ascending the ramp on the far right, remnants of

494 Various theories explaining the implications of the square with non-parallel edges to medieval building and architecture are posited and discussed in the following works: Branner 1957, 65-66; Morgan 1961, 55-69; and Shelby 1965, 244-48, esp. 247-48.

495 The plumb line emerges incorrectly from the straight edge of the measure. To function properly the straight edge of the plumb-bob must be placed against either a vertical or a horizontal edge of the coursings. On this see Shelby 1961, 127-28, figs. 1, 3.

the thirteenth-century figure have survived. His original right foot and the sole of his left on the lowest cross-bar of the ramp verify his placement. His right arm and abdomen also consist of completely reworked but original Chilmark stone, and below his waist on the left, the silhouette of the tunic also survives behind the inset, a remnant that projects seven-eighths of an inch from the surface plane. Yet much of that figure as restored disagrees with Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI), which shows stumps of the bent arms extending forward and reaching upwards. Possibly they originally supported the unidentified load that Burges said the workman carried on his head. Burges reported that the figure had 'quite disappeared,' yet Carter's sketch indicates that telling fragments were still extant in 1802. Collating the evidence from Carter and Burges, we cannot accept the pose of the stone carrier as restored with both arms held close to his sides. Even though re-carved Chilmark stone now forms his right arm and a wedge of the figure the midriff section, reworking modified the original arrangement.

The well-known scene of the building of the tower in Aelfric's *Hexateuch* supports that conclusion (Fig. 113). In the miniature, four workers are transporting blocks of ashlar. At the left, the stone carrier on a scaffolding is handing a masonry block in a sling to the man above him on the third stage of the tower. Two more workers below at ground-level use their hands to balance ashlar blocks on their heads, and at the far right another worker on a ladder is delivering an outsized stone to the mason on the upper level.⁴⁹⁶ In location and function the first and fourth workmen compare fairly well with the two stone carriers in the spandrel. The combined evidence discredits the stone that is balancing unsupported on the head of the Salisbury workman climbing the ramp. Also, however plausible, we cannot be certain that his burden was a stone.

Carter's bold delineation of the tower suggests that he was looking at a well-preserved building. Perhaps the nearly ubiquitous sanding of the lower two stages of the tower was gratuitous. But given the poor condition of the crenellations today with edges crumbling on all three levels, the nineteenth-century mastic repairs probably were essential. Despite the ten insets restoring and

496 Dodwell and Clemons 1974 (facs.), fol. 19.

patching all five workmen, and despite the sanding and a scattering of mastic patches filling out minor losses, the spandrel still presents a lively genre scene of thirteenth-century building practices and masons at work. The minor problems created by unverifiable aspects of the restoration do not diminish the interest of this scene.

Abraham Offering Hospitality to the Three Angels. Spandrel III, Northeast Bay

(Plate XXI)

According to Burges, in the third spandrel of the cycle 'Abraham implores the three Angels to stop with him.'⁴⁹⁷ The scene illustrates Genesis 18:1-5: 'And the Lord appeared to him [Abraham] in the vale of Mambre....And when he had lifted up his eyes, there appeared to him three men standing near him: and as soon as he saw them he ran to meet them from the door of his tent, and adored down to the ground. And he said: Lord, if I have found favor in thy sight, pass not away from thy servant....And I will set a morsel of bread, and strengthen ye your heart....And they said: Do as thou hast spoken.'

Burges continued, 'Abraham is on one knee, and the Angels are in albs with amice.' In the notes on condition, he added, 'Abraham's head and hands gone; the hands of the Angels are mutilated, as also their faces: otherwise quite perfect.' For the most part the archaeological examination corroborated Burges's observations. As the diagram indicates (Pl. XXIIb), Abraham's head is a nineteenth-century replacement. The restorer used the better-preserved example in the next spandrel as his model (Pl. XXII). The inset replacing Abraham's broken hands also included a large slice of the left edge of the nearest angel's right wing. The repairs to the angels' faces proved quite restrained with both insets set into the original heads. Thus their head-to-body ratio of approximately one to five remains unmodified. The middle angel is perfect except for the inset replacing his face which facsimilates the original half-smile still animating the face of the angel on the right. The inset includes the curls framing his forehead and the left side of his face. The damage to the angels' hands

⁴⁹⁷ Burges 1859, 151.

mentioned by Burges required a new right hand and wrist for the left angel, plus the elbow and adjacent portions of that arm. Apparently never restored, his damaged left hand still lacks its index finger. As for the angel on the right, an inset from elbow to wrist replaced his left forearm, but mastic retouched the damaged thirteenth-century hand. Finally, a small inset completed the tip of the shoulder of his left wing. The restorer barely touched Abraham's garments or those of the center angel and the one on the right, as evidenced by the nearly ubiquitous patina of age on the carved surfaces. Negligible sanding between the legs of the right angel near the hem, and more down the length of Abraham's back caused no blurring or deformation of the drapery arrangements. Some re-cutting, however, affected the figure of the left angel, mainly over his right hip and thigh and on the folds behind that leg. The reworking of the drapery occurs exactly where the lines of Carter's sketch lose sharpness and suggest areas that had suffered significant surface losses (Pl. LXI). There the re-cutting has diminished the articulation of the folds, especially over the angel's right thigh. Nevertheless, much of value remains, and the other three figures present particularly fine examples of figure and drapery styles for analysis and comparison with other thirteenth-century figure sculpture.⁴⁹⁸

According to Saint Augustine, Trinitarian symbolism adhered to the three angels, for: 'He [Abraham] saw three and one he worshipped.'⁴⁹⁹ Thus Christian dogma of the Trinity became fused with the three visitors who by the late fourth century came to represent the Theophany in art.⁵⁰⁰ Also, as discussed in the scene of the Expulsion, by the thirteenth century the vested angel made a liturgical reference to the Eucharist, thereby imbuing the scene with Salvation imagery.⁵⁰¹ That holds

498 Burges's notes on color create a lively scene in the mind's eye: 'Tunic of Abraham green; the cloak, flesh coloured, 1st Angel has probably had a white tunic with red diaper; 2nd, flesh colour; and 3rd green; traces of blue on the wings.' Ibid.

499 Schiller 1971, 1, 150; and idem 1980, 4, 190, n. 46.

500 E.g. catacomb painting, Rome, Via Latina, late fourth century; mosaic, Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, ca. 430, illustrated in Grabar 1968, figs. 272, 274. The typology became more explicit in the Klosterneuburg altar (1181) where Abraham offering hospitality to the Angels was one of two Old Testament scenes juxtaposed to the plaque depicting the Annunciation. In the former, one of the three Angels holds a scroll inscribed with the Augustinian concept: Tres videt et unum oravit. See Schiller 1971, 1, 41, fig. 85.

501 See above, Chapter 5, 149-51.

true to an even greater extent in the following spandrel, where, seated at table, the three vested angels are enjoying Abraham's hospitality. Eucharistic symbolism surrounding that event had a long tradition in art (Fig. 93). In the Salisbury scene, various iconographical details leave no doubt that both the eucharistic and trinitarian meanings adhere to this and the next scene.

Abraham Entertaining the Three Angels. Spandrel IV, Northeast Bay

(Plate XXII)

Burges never commented on the symbolic imagery in the scene, nor did his description of the spandrel list all the extant iconographical details that imbue the scene with eucharistic, trinitarian, and Salvation symbolism. He mentioned only the cup and the fish. 'Abraham waits on the Angels at table;' he wrote, 'Sara laughs from behind the door of the house [left]. One Angel has overturned his cup [center], and talks with his companion [far right]; the first one talks with Abraham; he [the angel] has his [left] hand on a fish [in a bowl].' Though Burges described the scene as 'very perfect,' he nevertheless added, 'Abraham's hand gone, also those of the two Angels [center and right]. The faces of Abraham and of the Angel with whom he is conversing are mutilated; the other two perfect.'⁵⁰² Their stylized feminine faces with small mouths and noses perpetuate the delicate facial style that characterizes the angels on the Salisbury choir screen (Fig. 38).

As the diagram indicates (Pl. XXIIb), the largest of the five insets restored Abraham's arms, veiled hands, and the dish he is carrying, as well as the crumpled folds of the veil that loops below his hands. A second inset restoring his face has a line of joining that defines a half-mask. The Phrygian cap, coiffure, and beard remain fine examples of thirteenth-century carving, as do the coiffures of the angels, center and left. Negligible repairs of gray mastic made with ground Chilmark limestone rebuilt the angels' and Sara's noses and filled out minor surface abrasions on the brow and temple of the angel on the right. Carved insets completed the right arm of the center angel from wrist to fingertips and the left arm of the right angel below the elbow. A fifth and final inset replaced the

⁵⁰² Burges 1859, 151.

entire face of the angel on the left, as well as the first row of enframing curls. Also, despite Burges's description of the spandrel as 'very perfect,' in the figure of Abraham, mastic and evidence of considerable re-cutting over and behind his right leg have reduced the volume of the figure in that area.

Dividing the scene between the sixth and seventh registers, Carter's drawing (Pl. LXI), clearly indicates that Abraham's forearms and the serving dish he carried had disappeared. His figure in the sixth register compares well with the pre-restoration engraving of the spandrel published by Britton in 1814 (Fig. 114). With the advantage over Carter of a larger format, the engraving clarifies details and leaves no doubt that the restorer reworked the lower half of Abraham's figure. The restoration erased much of the articulation of the drapery still visible in the first decades of the nineteenth century. A comparison of the engraving with the diagram of restorations suggests that the damage to the overhang of the tablecloth was confined to the central group of V-shaped folds. Yet gratuitous re-cutting has blurred the better-preserved outer swags. The diagram shows and the engraving confirms that much carving of interest survives, including iconographical details such as the chalice on the table in front of the left angel and the bread placed before the angel seated on the right. Apparently mistaking the overturned cup mentioned by Burges for bread, the restorer reworked it into the form of a nineteenth-century loaf.

The scene illustrates events of Genesis 18:6-15, in which Abraham first ordered Sara to make cakes on the hearth. He then selected a very tender calf from his flock for his servant to boil. Unfortunately no evidence exists, visual or written, to determine what the dish carried by Abraham originally contained. In the fifth-century mosaic of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (Fig. 93), and the sixth-century mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna (526-547) (Fig 115a), Abraham is proffering a calf on a platter. Although the Salisbury spandrel scene has much in common with the two mosaics,⁵⁰³ too

⁵⁰³ The sixth-century mosaic on the lower part of the north wall of the presbytery at San Vitale presents antitypes of Christ. At the right of the lunette the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac underscores the Salvation symbolism made explicit by the three wafers on the table in the adjacent central scene of Abraham and the angels, where each 'cake' is inscribed with a cross. For illustrations of the entire lunette, see Grabar 1968, fig. 273; and Demus 1976, pl. 41.

many centuries lie between the representations to postulate that the serving dish in the Salisbury scene also contained a calf. Nor does the comparable scene in the Murthly Hours solve the problem (Fig. 115b). The miniature shows Abraham presenting a vessel containing a fish, whereas at Salisbury the dish containing a fish is already on the table beneath the left hand of the left angel. Also, the angels are vested in the Salisbury scene, but not in the miniature. Yet many similarities proclaim their common model and iconographical intent.

Because the biblical narrative never mentions a fish but expressly specifies the cooking of a calf, the fish in the Murthly Hours signals a deliberate substitution. Given the traditional signification of fish as a symbol of Christ,⁵⁰⁴ the fish in this context would have expressed Franciscan concepts concerning the Annunciation as expounded by Saint Bonaventura (1221-1274).⁵⁰⁵ The Franciscan interpretation emphasized the active role played by the Trinity in effecting the Incarnation. Thus with the symbol of Christ interpolated into the scenes of the three angels who came to announce to Abraham that Sara would conceive a son, the spandrel and miniature not only refer to the Trinitarian nature of God, but, by intent, they also prefigure the Annunciation of the birth of Christ.⁵⁰⁶

Especially appealing to popular feeling, Franciscan theology exerted an important influence in art and seems to have informed the model lying behind both cycles. Implicit in the Incarnation is Salvation. Thus once again selective details imbued both spandrel and miniature with that deeper meaning.

Despite differences in detail, parallels link the Salisbury and Murthly scenes and reassert their common parentage. For example, Sara and Abraham are similarly posed, and the conversational groupings are identical. In both, the veil with which Abraham holds the dish loops back from his hands to his shoulder and trails down his back. Other shared details include the chalice

504 As a reference to Christ, the symbolism of the fish derives from the Greek monogram of Christ ICHTHYS: I[esous] Ch[ristos] T[heou] Hy[ios] S[oter]. (Jesus God's Son or Ichthys, the Greek word for fish.) See Schiller 1971, 1, 165 n. 6.

505 Ibid., 45.

506 Ibid., 41.

and ruffled-edged unleavened bread on the table. Similarly coiffed and positioned in miniature and spandrel, Sara looks over her shoulder towards the angels, her body half turned towards the interior of the building, her left hand resting on the door jamb. In the miniature she is peering at the visitors with a quizzical look, but in the chapter house scene she smirks as she overhears the exchange between Abraham and the angel: 'Where is Sara thy wife? He [Abraham] answered: Lo, she is in the tent. And he [the angel] said to him: I will return and come to thee at this time, life accompanying, and Sara thy wife shall have a son. Which when Sara heard, she laughed behind the door of the tent' (Genesis 18:9-10).

Finally, in addition to the concept of the fish on the table as a symbol of Christ and a reference to the Incarnation, another layer of meaning traditionally adhered to the fish because it was the food served at the Last Supper. The Gospel of John first associated the loaves and fishes in the miracle of Christ feeding the multitudes with the meal at which Christ instituted the Eucharist (John 6:1-14, 48-59). Fish were prominently featured on the table in Near Eastern representations of the Last Supper as early as the beginning of the sixth century, and in the west by 600 A.D. In the Salisbury spandrel the fish on the table together with the chalice and bread leaves no doubt that the meal served by Abraham prefigured the Last Supper.⁵⁰⁷ As in the San Vitale mosaic (Fig. 115a), where trinitarian and eucharistic implications are unmistakable in the cross impressed on each of the three cakes set before the angels, the Salisbury scene emphasized the same concepts by means of the liturgical vestments worn by the angels. In effect, we should read the scene as a prefiguration of both the Annunciation and the institution of the Eucharist. Thus, the imagery reaffirms the promise of Salvation made possible by the Incarnation and by Christ's Sacrifice, as does the miniature in the Murthly Hours with the jewel-embellished chalice, ewer, wafer, and the fish in the proffered serving dish.

⁵⁰⁷ See Schiller 1972, 2, 36. Representations of the Last Supper with fish shown as the food have a long tradition that includes a mosaic in Ravenna, seventh-century (*ibid.*, fig. 67); an ivory relief from the Salerno antependium, second half of the twelfth century (*ibid.*, fig. 70); Book of Pericopes of Heinrich II, 1007-1012 (*ibid.*, fig. 84). See also, *ibid.*, figs. 68, 69, 74, 86, 92, and 93.

The Fall of Sodom and Gomorrha. Spandrel V, Northeast Bay

(Plate XXIII)

The spandrel containing the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha depicts events of Genesis 19:23-24: 'And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrha brimstone and fire from the Lord out of Heaven. And he destroyed these cities, and all the country about, all the inhabitants of the cities, and all things that spring from the earth.' The scene has survived in remarkably good condition. 'Quite perfect,' noted Burges, 'Except for the noses of the figures.'⁵⁰⁸ Indeed, mastic has repaired the noses of the two demi-figures about to be crushed by the falling towers. As diagrammed (Pl. XXIIIb), a scattering of small mastic patches also restored the crumbling edges of the crenellations. Except for very light sanding over two of the buildings toppling on the left side of the spandrel, the patina of age has survived on all of the other surfaces. Carter's sketch is especially notable for its accuracy, despite the miniature scale of the drawing. It reaffirms the integrity of the thirteenth-century carving before the restoration began (Pl. LXI).

Combining the scene of the destruction with the departure of Lot and his family, the Murthly Hours crowded the falling cities into the lower left corner of the miniature. Instead of two demi-figures, one tiny head stands for all of the inhabitants (Fig. 116a). The jumble of buildings lacks the architectural detail that distinguishes the Salisbury spandrel. Yet despite the usual simplification of the forms and variations of dress noted in earlier comparisons with the Murthly miniatures, the common model again seems unmistakable when considered with the next spandrel depicting Lot and his family fleeing (Pl. XXIV). Like the Murthly miniature, a single illumination in the Morgan Bible, MS. 638 (Fig. 116b), combines the two events and provides interesting parallels to both the Murthly Hours and the two Salisbury spandrels.⁵⁰⁹ Dependent on a model of the same recension and using the same pictorial scheme, the sophisticated Parisian miniature provides much more elaborate architectural and narrative detail and more fashionable dress than the Murthly version. The Salisbury

508 Burges 1859, 151. Burges added, 'Roofs of the buildings and the cavetto, green; very slight marks of green on some of the buildings, especially in the long triplet of one of them. The figures, both green dresses.'

509 Plummer 1969, 38-39, fol. 4.

spandrels lie between those two extremes.

All three versions depict the biblical event without the intrusion of exegetical material, yet their message was unmistakable. In and of itself, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha served as an example of punishment of the ungodly, whereas Lot's escape with his family in the next spandrel stood for the deliverance of the just (2 Peter 2:6-7). Christ himself compared the rain of fire and brimstone on Sodom with the Last Judgment: 'Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man shall be revealed' (Luke 18:29-30).

Lot's Departure with His Wife and Daughters. Sixth Spandrel, Northeast Bay
(Plate XXIV)

The iconoclasts' hammer or staves fell lightly on the spandrel depicting Lot and his family fleeing from Sodom. 'Very perfect,' according to Burges, 'except Lot's face, and right hand, and the second daughter's [directly behind Lot] two hands.'⁵¹⁰ Lot's wife has turned into a pillar of salt that Burges reported as painted white. '1st daughter, green tunic and white veil,' he continued, '2nd daughter, doubtful--perhaps yellow, or white. Lot's dress is green, with a red cap.' The diagram (Pl. XXIVb) shows that the repairs agree in essence with Burges's observations, but the inset repairing Lot's hand also includes the top quarter of the staff. Below the inset, mastic covers half of the remaining shaft. Mastic also rebuilt the noses of the daughters and filled in areas adjacent to the insets restoring Lot's hands and face. Except for mastic on tip of her nose, the figure of the daughter on the left is perfect, an unspoiled example of the style of the first artist. Sanding over a limited portion of the veil and on the right leg of the other daughter did little more than remove the patina of age. Thus, except for the restoration replacing her right hand, she too provides an exceptionally fine example of thirteenth-century carving. The survival of her original left arm and hand, minus the fingers, authenticates her clasped hands, as restored, a gesture suggesting anguish.⁵¹¹ More damaged

⁵¹⁰ Burges 1859, 151.

⁵¹¹ The same gesture occurs in the mosaic of Torcello, made by one of the souls condemned to eternal hell-fire in the scenes of the Damned (Fig. 90).

than the others, the stolid figure of Lot has lost some of the definition of folds on the right sleeve, on his back in the blousing above his waist, and between his legs. But the chisel of the restorer did not distort the arrangement. Perfectly preserved, Lot's wife seems to be turning into a pillar of salt before our eyes. The nearly amorphous mass constituting her head and body retains only shadowy vestiges of arms, bent and held close to her body as in the Murthly Hours, plus the fading definition of her legs.

The sorrowing faces of the two daughters dramatize the fateful moment when Lot's wife disobeyed and 'looking behind her, was turned into a pillar of salt' (Genesis 19:26). Their downturned mouths reflect their grief, as does the bowed head and attitude of the daughter on the left, whose left hand is raised to her cheek in the Classical gesture of mourning. One of the daughters in the Murthly Hours is making the identical gesture (Fig. 116a). As in the Salisbury spandrel, shoulder-length veils folded back from their foreheads cover their heads, but unlike the spandrel, both daughters, as well as Lot, wear mantles over their gowns.

Earlier comparisons made between the Salisbury spandrels and the Murthly Hours showed how differences mainly involved dress. In contrast to the spandrel, in the miniature Lot wears a flat hat that evolves into a skimpy peak on top of the head. This may represent a variant of the pileus cornutus similar to headgear worn by Lot and others in the Morgan Bible, MS. 638 (Fig. 116b).⁵¹² In the spandrel scenes of Cain and Abel, the pileus cornutus had pejorative implications that marked Cain as a heretic and Jew (Pls. XIV and XV). Perhaps for this reason, in the chapter house version, Lot, the just man, wears a Phrygian cap, headgear of the eastern Mediterranean with no negative connotations. His cap is identical to those worn by Noah in the preceding cycle (Pl. XVII) and later by Laban (Pl. XXXI) and Jacob (Pl. XXXVI).

Like the preceding scene, the spandrel depicting the departure of Lot with his family presented no iconographical problems. Thanks to its fine state of preservation, the scene contains two superb examples of the figure style of the first artist. Like the preceding scene, the story of Lot

⁵¹² See i.a., Plummer 1969, 39 fol. 4; 43 fol. 5; 63 fol. 10; and 69 fol. 11.

and his family conveyed the concepts of punishment for those who disobeyed the Lord and salvation for those who heeded his word.

Abraham and Isaac on Route to the Sacrifice. Spandrel VII, Northeast Bay

(Plate XXV)

The spandrel showing Abraham leading Isaac to the place of sacrifice depicts the events of Genesis 22:2-6. God had commanded him to offer his only begotten and beloved son 'for a holocaust upon one of the mountains....So Abraham rising up in the night saddled an ass: and took with him two young men, and Isaac his son: and when he had cut wood for the holocaust he went his way to the place which God had commanded him. And on the third day, lifting up his eyes, he saw the place afar off.' At that point in the biblical narrative, Abraham left the two men with the ass behind. He laid the wood upon Isaac, and they went on together, with Abraham carrying the fire and the sword.

In describing the scene Burges wrote, 'Abraham leading the ass, which is loaded with wood. Isaac is on its back. The ass is yellow, the tunic of Isaac blue, and Abraham's green. Abraham's head and arms gone; also Isaac's face; otherwise quite perfect.'⁵¹³ As the diagram indicates (Pl. XXVb), the well-preserved scene required only four insets, negligible re-cutting, and minor retouching of surface losses. Both heads are nineteenth-century replacements, but the entire left half of Isaac's thirteenth-century head and face lies behind the inset. Although the restorer followed the indications of the coiffure in that remnant, he failed to preserve the expressive pout of the mouth that originally characterized Isaac as a reluctant rather than a willing victim.⁵¹⁴ The stump of Abraham's head also

⁵¹³ Burges 1859, 152.

⁵¹⁴ The reluctant or pouting Isaac seems inconsistent with the iconography of Isaac as a willing victim and a type for Christ. Yet the pout may be a dying echo of earlier more emphatic versions of the unwilling victim. Weitzmann 1947, 174-75, figs. 173, 175, demonstrated that the imagery of Isaac pictured as if trying to escape, found *i.a.*, in the scene of the sacrifice in the ninth/tenth-century copy of the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius (Paris, Bib. Nat. Cod. Lat. 8318, fol. 49), goes back to a much earlier pictorial tradition of Old Testament cycles derived from the classical prototype, the attempted and failed sacrifice of the child Orestes by Telephus; idem 1971, 103-104, fig. 77.

Squibbeck 1965, 79-95, traced the evolution in the West from the image of Isaac bound (Gen. 22:9), and often blindfolded to the willing victim kneeling on the altar with hands clasped in prayer. He attributed

survived which included half of the curling ends in the back. At that level the fragment projects one and a quarter inches from the surface plane but diminishes to seven-eighths of an inch at the top of his head. Abraham's original right arm survived to below the bend of the elbow, thereby validating the inset that replaced the forearm and hand. Two insets replaced the tree on the right. The scene depicts the moment on the third day of the journey, when 'lifting up his eyes, he saw the place afar off' (Genesis 22:4). With his right hand Abraham is gesturing towards the designated site. The inset replacing the left hand and wrist also followed the dictates of the remains of the original arm held close to his body. Abraham holds the slack lead-rein with that hand, a somewhat awkward arrangement, but one that gives prominence to the other hand gesturing towards the place of sacrifice. Typical of scenes by this first artist, the shape of the spandrel was used to maximum effect, and all extraneous elements omitted.

In the thirteenth century, scenes picturing events leading up to and following the sacrifice are rare: God ordering Abraham to sacrifice his son, Abraham and Isaac on route to Mount Moriah accompanied by two servants (Genesis 22:1-6), and the promise by God to Abraham that he would bless him and multiply his seed (Genesis 6:16-18). But two centuries earlier, Aelfric's *Hexateuch* devoted a page to the sacrifice that included some of the aforementioned events. Except for the presence of the servants who bring up the rear, the depiction in the lowest register of the Anglo-Saxon illustration offers a fairly close comparison with the spandrel (Fig. 117). Both depict Isaac mounted on the ass with Abraham striding ahead as they begin the climb to Mount Moriah.

Similarities cease as the scenes in the manuscript develop along a rising ground line that angles back and forth.⁵¹⁵ By omitting all extraneous elements such as the servants whom Abraham ordered to

that iconographical development to Mosan art. The author also cited the representation of the sacrifice in the *Homilies of Origen*, dated between 1125 and 1150 and attributed to the abbey of Saint-Bertin (Bibliothèque Municipale de Saint-Omer, MS. 34, fol. 1^v), as a possible earlier example based on the same model informing the *Averbode Evangeliary* (Fig. 119d). The Saint-Omer sacrifice, however, does not belong in the classification of the willing victim because Isaac's hands are bound, and his pose deviates somewhat from the attitude of *proskynesis*. For dating and an illustration, see Swarzenski 1967, pl. 127 fig. 290.

⁵¹⁵ The sacrifice proper in the *Hexateuch* is notable for several unusual iconographical motifs. See below, the

stay behind, as usual the Salisbury artist presented the story economically, but with maximum effect. The intention of the scene seems purely narrative, since the bundle of wood lashed to the saddle does not form a cross. Whenever Isaac was pictured with sticks of wood that form a cross, the imagery made explicit the concept so popular in the twelfth century of Isaac as a type for Christ carrying the cross.

The Sacrifice of Isaac. Spandrel VIII, Northeast Bay

(Plate XXVI)

The last spandrel of the northeast bay contains the extensively restored scene of the sacrifice of Isaac narrated in Genesis 22:9-13: 'And they came to the place which God had shewn him, where he built an altar, and laid the wood...upon it: and when he had bound Isaac, his son, he laid him upon the altar upon the pile of wood. And he put forth his hand and took the sword, to sacrifice his son. And behold an angel of the Lord from heaven called to him, saying; Abraham, Abraham....Lay not thy hand upon the boy, neither do thou any thing to him: now I know that thou fearest God, and has not spared thy only begotten son for my sake. Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw behind his back a ram amongst the briars sticking fast by the horns, which he took and offered for a holocaust instead of his son.' Deviating from the text of the Vulgate in which Abraham uses a sword, the spandrel shows him wielding a knife or dagger. If that dagger can be authenticated, the iconography derived from the East. In the text of the Greek Septuagint, the knife or dagger was the implement used for the sacrifice.⁵¹⁶ Yet Isaac placed on an altar represents a development in the western pictorial tradition doubtless intended to emphasize eucharistic symbolism and Isaac's sacrifice as a prefiguration of Christ's Passion.⁵¹⁷ In early western representations he was shown sitting or lying on

discussion of the next spandrel.

516 Van Woerden 1961, 230. In the predominantly English examples cited below (n. 521), where an angel is staying the hand of Abraham and pointing to the ram in the thicket, Abraham always wields a sword.

517 See *i.a.* Schiller 1972, 2: 4, 25, 26, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129. The eucharistic interpretation of the sacrifice of Abraham was made explicit in the liturgy by the fourth century in Milan with the inclusion in the canon of the Mass of the sacrifice of Abraham with that of Abel and the meeting of Abraham and Mechisedech as prefigurations of the Eucharist: Van Woerden 1961, 220.

the altar. Later he is shown kneeling or even sprawled. But, except for the Jewish scene of the sacrifice in the frescoes of Dura Europus, Isaac was never shown on an altar in Near Eastern representations.⁵¹⁸

Neither Burges's pre-restoration observations nor Carter's sketch assist us in verifying iconographical details as restored. Burges merely stated, 'Abraham about to slay his son, an Angel and a ram.'⁵¹⁹ As for color and condition, Burges added, 'The Angel probably had a green dress; Abraham a green cloak, a blue under garment, and black shoes. Very imperfect; the only perfect part is the lower part of Abraham.' Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI) delineating only the lower half of Abraham's figure shows how little he could decipher. A single detail, the firm horizontal line in front of Abraham at his waist level, contradicts what we now see by suggesting that Isaac originally knelt on an altar, not the mound of earth formed by amorphous ground swells. Yet the archaeological examination validated those ground swells that function as an altar. Along the right side, its irregular forms have retained the patina of age. As the diagram shows (Pl. XXVIb), although re-cutting predominates in all surviving thirteenth-century carving, the reworking was minimal on that earth-like formation. A comparable, but not exact comparison occurs on a cross reliquary (ca. 1170) attributed to Liège in which a rock formation provides the altar.⁵²⁰ The amorphous mound in the Salisbury scene could be read as a pile of rocks, but they appear more akin to earth and are reminiscent of the altar on which Cain and Abel made their sacrifice (Pl. XIII).

Thirteen insets restore this badly mutilated spandrel. At the left, a large inset encompassed the trunk of the tree, its lower left branch and foliage, and also the head and the forelegs of the ram nearly to the first joint. Originally the ram may have been 'sticking fast by the horns;' otherwise the lower branch would seem redundant. Yet such an arrangement remains unverifiable. Now, with the ram's head peering out from beneath the bough, the restoration provides a pale reflection of the biblical text. The surviving lower portions of the forelegs verify the ram's placement which also

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 220-31.

⁵¹⁹ Burges 1859, 152.

⁵²⁰ Schiller 1972, 2: 128 and fig. 430. The reliquary is now in the treasury of the Collégiale de Notre-Dame, Tongres [Tongeren], Belgium.

follows the indications of the remains of his original spine and tail. That remnant lies behind a second inset completing the body and hind legs of the beast. Two more insets restore the upper branches and foliage of the tree with only the right foliate terminal a thirteenth-century remnant.

In the center of this half spandrel, thirteenth-century portions of both wings of the angel validate the placement of the nineteenth-century demi-figure and the cloud formation from which he is emerging. Though re-cut, the upper segment of the right wing and the mid-section of the left are original. A dowel near the angel's right collar bone secured the large inset that included the angel's torso, his right arm and all but the uppermost portion of the wing behind it, as well as his left arm to the elbow and the left part of the left wing. Another inset supplied the angel's head.

The restoration raises the question as to whether the angel's right hand originally pointed to the ram, a gesture that generally occurs in sacrifice scenes containing a winged angel rather than the manus Dei.⁵²¹ The latter occurred not only in Eastern but also in numerous Early Christian western depictions of the sacrifice.⁵²² But the importance of gestures in advancing the narrative throughout the Salisbury cycle makes its omission highly suspect.

The large inset restoring most of the upper half of Abraham's figure includes the angel's left forearm and hand. Both the angel's arm and Abraham's right hand are backed by a remnant of the original carving. Although coated with mastic, Abraham's left shoulder and a small segment of his

521 For angels pointing to the ram, see i.a. the Klosterneuburg altar (1181) illustrated in Swarzenski 1967, pl. 218 fig. 514; the Morgan Bible, MS. 638, fol. 4, illustrated in Plummer 1969, fol. 4; the English Psalter, Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 8846, fol. 1v: Omont 1906, pl. 2; the Incipit page, Bible of Robert de Bello (Fig. 92); the Genesis initial, Winchester Bible, vol 1, fol. 5, illustrated in Cahn 1982, fig. 136; the 'Picture Bible,' John Rylands Lib., MS. Fr. 5, fol. 21v, illustrated in Fawtier 1924, pl. 29; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 835, fol. 12, illustrated in Morgan 1982, 1, fig. 77; the Psalter, Cambridge, Trinity College Lib., MS. B. II. 4, fol. 10, illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 172; and a Bible, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius, College Lib., MS. 350/567, fol. 3, illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 229. Aelfric's Hexateuch offers an interesting exception, Brit. Lib. Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 38 (Fig. 117). Instead of pointing, the angel is holding a book, as if relaying the word of God to Abraham.

522 Van Woerden 1961, 234-48. Even though the biblical text states that an angel appeared to Abraham (Genesis 22:9), the winged angel did not occur in the West before the fifth century: *ibid.*, 230 n. 57a, 246 nos. 143-44. Earlier, on numerous sarcophagi the angel had assumed the form of a man: *ibid.*, 223-24, 230, 234, 243-45.

left side above the waist have survived from the thirteenth century, enough to indicate the torsion of the original figure as he turned in response to the angel's restraining hand. Set into the surface plane, a separate inset replaced Abraham's head and neck almost to the collar line. Re-cutting and mastic fill have eliminated all evidence of surface damage on his right hip and thigh in the area directly below the joint of the inset. Along his left leg and across the hems of the over- and underskirts re-cutting has reduced the salience. Both the re-cutting and extensive reworking in mastic has deprived the lower half of Abraham's figure of any stylistic significance.

Two insets supplied the entire figure of Isaac. Behind and below them no original carving survives to authenticate his kneeling pose, his back to Abraham, or his hands fettered behind him. Carved in the round, the first of the two insets provided his head. The second supplied his entire body, as well as Abraham's left hand resting on Isaac's left shoulder. The second inset joins the first at the collar line and includes a tiny wedge of the altar to the left of his right knee.

In the West, in ca. 340, the earliest examples of the sacrifice with Isaac on the altar depicted him seated.⁵²³ Thereafter, the Eastern and Early Christian formula that placed him near or beside the altar became extremely rare. Represented variously, he sits on the altar, lies on it either face-up or down, or kneels facing either towards or away from Abraham. Until the twelfth century he was always bound, usually his hands only, but occasionally his whole body.⁵²⁴

Because of the limited space in the Salisbury half spandrel, we can eliminate the possibility of any of the prone positions. Significantly, the kneeling pose of the restoration best fits the dimensions of the altar, and its downward slope best accommodates a figure facing away from Abraham. When a dagger, knife, or stiletto was the weapon, Isaac usually had his back to Abraham.⁵²⁵ Also, in scenes where Isaac is shown facing away from his father, his hands are usually tied behind his back. (The reverse holds true when he faces Abraham.) Thus, even lacking means to verify the figure Isaac, we have no reason discredit the restoration.

523 Ibid., 223-24

524 Ibid., *passim*.

525 The sacrifice scene on the Salerno ivory antependium provides an important exception (Fig. 119a).

The sacrifice scenes in the Eastern Octateuchs depict Isaac facing away from Abraham. In Vatican gr. 747 (Fig. 118), Abraham has his knee in the back of the kneeling Isaac who faces an altar constructed of dressed stones. Having forced his son's head back by the hair, Abraham is about to plunge the dagger into Isaac's throat. (The brutality of the pose was much modified in the other Octateuch manuscripts.)⁵²⁶ The flames of the fire for the holocaust mount above the altar. The dagger as the weapon reflects not only the text of the Greek Septuagint, but also the Jewish ritual for preparing a sacrificial animal for the holocaust. The first chapters of Leviticus set forth the laws that governed holocausts: the animal was first 'immolated' or killed at the side of the altar, then the blood was let and sprinkled around the altar.⁵²⁷ The Octateuchs reflect the biblical ritual. Thus Abraham's dagger at Salisbury adheres to the eastern recension, whereas the victim on the altar follows the western tradition dating back to the fourth century.

We cannot look to the Cotton Genesis as a model for the weapon because the leaf that contained the sacrifice is missing.⁵²⁸ Evidence for reconstructing the lost scene from three works stemming from that recension proved inconclusive because they vary so much in details. For example, in the Salerno ivory (ca. 1280), the demi-figure of the Lord, not an angel, appears in the upper left corner (Fig. 119a).⁵²⁹ Half-facing Abraham, the nude, blindfolded Isaac is slumped sideways on the altar in a half-seated, half-kneeling position. His bound hands crossed before him, he lies so close to the front edge that his feet overlap. But following the Octateuch formula, Abraham, dagger in hand, has jerked Isaac's head back by the hair. In the late twelfth-century Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, Cod. 6/19, fol. 29), another carrier of the

526 See also Smyrna, Cod. Grec. A 1 in Hesselting 1909, fol. 35, fig. 80.

527 Leviticus 1-7 sets forth the laws of the holocaust. The offering varies, as does the reason for making the sacrifice and the animal offered. But the ritual of immolating the animal and draining its blood remains constant.

528 Given the absence of the scene in the thirteenth-century San Marco cycle, Weitzmann 1955, 122, concluded that the leaf was already missing by then, but not all agree: Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 86 n. 3.

529 The Salerno antependium has been classed by Weitzmann and Kessler in the secondary rather than the primary group of artifacts that conformed in general to the Cotton Genesis imagery, but contained variations that derived from another common archetype: *ibid.*, 21, 22-23.

Cotton Genesis tradition (Fig. 119b),⁵³⁰ Isaac, clothed and without a blindfold, lies sideways on the altar, almost in a fetal position, with feet dangling over the edge and hands bound before him. Instead of grasping Isaac's hair, Abraham has his left hand on Isaac's head in accordance with the laws of the holocaust. The ram is in a thicket at the right, on the side opposite from his place in the Salerno ivory. But here Abraham uses a large sword, and neither God nor the angel appears in the scene to stay his hand. Another manuscript, one placed in the primary group following the Cotton Genesis recension but to be used cautiously, is the late fourteenth-century *L'Histoire Universelle* (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2576, fol. 21). It contains a scene close to the Eastern Octateuch version (Fig. 119c).⁵³¹ The wood for the holocaust burns on the altar, but Isaac kneels on the ground before it. Unlike the other two, but as at Salisbury, Isaac has his back to Abraham, and his hands are bound behind him. The nimbed figure of Abraham, holding Isaac by the hair with his left hand, is raising a stiletto-like knife with his right hand. A winged angel in the upper left corner stays the thrust of the knife as he points to the ram in the thicket behind the altar.⁵³² The differences among the scenes associated with the Cotton Genesis tradition seem so striking that one might readily conclude that each artist had looked to a different model.

Significantly, none of the examples shows Abraham's left hand on Isaac's shoulder, the most questionable detail in the restoration. The laws of the holocaust repeatedly instruct whoever is making the sacrifice to 'put his hand on the victim's head' (Leviticus 1:4; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:4, 24, 29, 32). With Abraham using a dagger, we should expect one of two well-established formulae: either Abraham grasping Isaac by the hair and cruelly jerking his head back in order to slit his throat as in Eastern Octateuch, Vatican gr. 747 (Fig. 118), the Salerno ivory (Fig. 119a), and *l'Histoire Universelle* (Fig. 119c), or the gentler version of Abraham placing his hand on Isaac's head as in

530 The Millstatt has also been classed in the secondary group of the Cotton Genesis recension. *Ibid.*, 21, 23.
 531 *Ibid.*, 20-21. See also Koshi 1973.

532 Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 86 n. 3 and figs. 254, 255, and 256. For the most recent literature, dating, and attribution of the Salerno ivories to doors at the entrance of the sanctuary in the basilica at Amalfi, see *ibid.*, 22-23; and Bergman 1980, 87-91, 102-108, fig. 16. For *l'Histoire Universelle*, the Millstatt Genesis and clarification of their places in the Cotton Genesis recension, plus earlier bibliographies, see Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 20-21, and 23.

Smyrna A 1 and the Millstatt Genesis (Fig. 119b), possibly modified by elimination of the blindfold.⁵³³ The closest comparison to the Salisbury gesture occurs in the *Evangelary of Averbode*, (Fig. 119d; Liège, Bib. Universitaire) where Abraham has his left hand between the shoulders of the prostrated Isaac. The angel and the ram are similarly placed, but there the resemblances cease. Abraham, holding a large sword upright, has pinned the kneeling Isaac face down on the altar. Isaac, nimbed, hands unbound and clasped in prayer, has assumed the position of *proskenyis* characterizing him as the willing victim, posited as the Mosan type.

Whatever the uncertainties about the iconography of the miniature missing from the Cotton Genesis, the Salisbury spandrel adopted the western imagery of an altar with its eucharistic implications, but followed the eastern tradition of the dagger. Given Isaac's kneeling pose with his back to Abraham and hands tied behind his back, plus the dagger as the weapon, all found in the Eastern pictorial tradition, we should reject the restoration of Abraham's left hand on Isaac's shoulder. Whether the thirteenth-century spandrel showed Abraham brutally yanking Isaac by the hair or, instead, putting his hand on Isaac's head cannot be ascertained from existing evidence.

In summary, the scene of the sacrifice in the Salisbury cycle combines eastern and western motifs, a practice in no way unique in the West. We find the western winged angel and altar and the eastern dagger (or stiletto) in such important and varied works of art as the late twelfth-century mosaics of Monreale and the Palatine chapel in Palermo, in the fresco in Sant' Angelo in Formis, and in the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS. 9, fol. 11).⁵³⁴ Therefore we can question the restoration on only two counts, both involving gestures: Abraham's left hand on Isaac's

533 See above, n. 514. The pose, but not his bound hands, is characteristic of Isaac as the willing victim, the prefiguration of Christ's sacrifice. Dated about a century earlier than the Mosan examples given by Squilbeck, Aelfric's *Hexateuch* offers an interesting variant on the pose. The sacrifice in the *Hexateuch* depicts Isaac in profile standing alongside a draped altar with Abraham opposite and the altar between them. Bending over it, Isaac is leaning on his elbows with his unbound hands held together in prayer.

534 Woodbridge (Blum files) saw this scene in the Monreale mosaics as a possible model for the Salisbury scene, but Isaac lying back down on top of the wood piled on the altar with flames flaring out of a round-arched opening in the altar bespeak a different pictorial model. For an illustration see Demus 1949, pl. 34; and Bergman 1980, fig. 89.

shoulder and the angel's right hand resting flaccidly against his right wing instead of pointing to the ram in the thicket.

The iconographical significance of the scene depends on the altar that imbues the scene with eucharistic connotations prefiguring Christ's Sacrifice. The willingness of Abraham to sacrifice his son was understood as a liturgical event pertaining to the history of Salvation and God's willingness to sacrifice his son.

Unfortunately, nothing survives in the spandrel that has value in the context of thirteenth-century sculptural styles. And as usual, the nineteenth-century faces lack the expressive qualities we have come to associate with the thirteenth-century carver responsible for this and all preceding spandrels.

Yet the scenes in the northeast bay picturing events from the lives of Abraham and Lot provide some excellent examples of the thirteenth-century sculptor's figure and facial styles. He continued to advance the biblical narrative with characteristically uncluttered compositions and depicted events with clarity and economy. Also, as in the preceding cycles, a number of scenes contain iconographical details that endow the narrative scenes with salvation, eucharistic and/or trinitarian symbolism.

The Jacob Cycle

(Plates XXVII-XXXIV; Plan B)

Eight scenes depicting events in the life of Jacob fill the spandrels of the deeply recessed arcade in the eastern bay (Pls. XXVII-XXXIV). The cycle begins with Isaac blessing Jacob (Genesis 27:6-29), continues with Esau at Isaac's bedside deprived of his rightful blessing (Genesis 27:30-40), then Rebecca sending Jacob to Haran (King James' version: Padanaram; Genesis: 27:42-45; 28:1-5). The fourth spandrel shows Jacob removing the stone from the well to water the flocks tended by Rachel (Genesis 29:1-10), and the fifth depicts Jacob covenanting to serve Laban for seven years in return for Rachel's hand (Genesis 29:16-19). Heretofore that scene has been identified as Rachel introducing Jacob to Laban.⁵³⁵ The next scene, a conflation of Jacob's two miraculous encounters with the Lord, violates the biblical sequence of events. That anomaly does not happen anywhere else in the Old Testament cycle. On the left side of the spandrel, we see Jacob wrestling with the angel (Genesis 32:22-24); on the right, Jacob's dream of the ladder reaching to heaven (Genesis 28:11-15). The next spandrel conflates the two events immediately following both miraculous encounters: on the left, the touch of the angel shriveling Jacob's thigh (Genesis 33:25); on the right Jacob raising the altar to mark the sacred site of his dream (Genesis 28:16-22). The final scene of the cycle represents the reunion and reconciliation of Jacob and Esau (Genesis 33:1-6).

Except for the sixth and seventh spandrels containing the two miraculous encounters, the scenes of the Jacob cycle survived in good condition, although no thirteenth-century head has survived. The final spandrel of the bay provides the first well-preserved examples of the figure style of another artist. His style, when compared with that of the first artist, is generally marked by more complicated and crowded compositions, quite different figure proportions, a sharper, more linear

535 For example, Burges 1859, 151, described the scene as Rachel bringing Jacob to her father; as did Whittington 1974, fig. 18, scene 31; Anonymous 1897, 53; and Spring 1987, 152, who called the scene the introduction of Jacob to Laban.

treatment of the crumpled drapery style, and a noticeably different way of handling hemlines. The two carvers appear to have divided work almost at midpoint in the Old Testament cycle, with the second sculptor responsible without question for the final twenty-seven, perhaps twenty-nine scenes. The first five scenes of the Jacob cycle provide well-preserved examples of the work of the first carver. In the sixth and seventh spandrels we see more elongated figures than before, but they are almost entirely nineteenth-century carving. If the restorer perpetuated the original head-to-body proportions, as seems possible, those scenes would also belong to the oeuvre of the second artist. Whether or not the two artists worked side-by-side on the entire sculptural program, not seriatim, will receive attention in the final chapter on style.

Since the Jacob cycle appears primarily narrative in intent, the conflated scenes of the miraculous encounters represent an interesting iconographical deviation from the biblical chronology. We can trace the ultimate source for those conflations to marginal illustrations in Psalters, but the immediate model remains obscure. Formal details such as the introduction of a building with a domed roof and a Syrian strain of cattle with a hump (mistaken by the restorer for a camel; Pl. XXX) suggest that at least for that one scene the carver was looking at a model ultimately based on a Near Eastern recension.

Isaac Blessing Jacob. Spandrel I, East Bay

(Plate XXVII)

The spandrel depicts the climax of events in Genesis 27:1-29. Isaac, old and blind, had commanded Esau, the first born of the twin brothers, to go hunting and prepare the 'savory meat' of his quarry so that before dying he, Isaac, might eat thereof and bless Esau. Upon hearing this, Rebecca plotted to gain the blessing for her favorite son Jacob, the younger twin. Telling Jacob what she had overheard, she instructed him to bring the two best kids of the flock that she would prepare for Isaac. But Jacob protested, 'Thou knowst that Esau my brother is a hairy man, and I am smooth. If my father shall feel me and perceive it, I fear that he would think that I would have mocked him, and I shall bring upon me a curse instead of a blessing' (Genesis 27:12). Whereupon Rebecca took

upon herself any such curse and dressed the meat as Isaac liked it. She put Jacob in Esau's 'very good garments....And the little skins of the kids she put about his hands and covered the bare of his neck' (Genesis 27:15-16). When Jacob served the meat, Isaac asked, 'Who art thou my son?' and Jacob replied, 'I am Esau thy firstborn' (Genesis 27:18-19). But hearing the voice of Jacob, Isaac said, 'Come hither, that I may feel thee, my son, and may prove whether thou be my son Esau, or not' (Genesis 27:21). Isaac felt the kidskins on Jacob's hands and said, 'The voice is indeed the voice of Jacob; but the hands are the hands of Esau' (Genesis 27:22). Isaac then summoned Jacob to kiss him. After Jacob had come near, Isaac smelled Esau's garments redolent with the fragrant 'smell of a plentiful field,' and bestowed the blessing on the younger son (Genesis 27:27-29).

Burges described the scene as 'Rebecca...listening in the door....Rebecca's left arm perfect; all heads and other arms broken: otherwise perfect.'⁵³⁶ Burges's copious notes indicated a colorful scene: 'Cavetto and bead of building above door, green. Rebecca's tunic green, and cloak red. Jacob's tunic white, or light yellow, with blue diaper[ing]. Counterpane, green. Traces of blue on the tunic of Isaac; and the drapery at the head of the bed red.' Carter's sketch (Pl. LXI) delineates the building in detail, including the window, its gabled head-molding, and Rebecca in the doorway. Incorrectly, he showed both of her arms broken off at the elbow. The archaeological examination found the left arm and hand to be perfect, as was the drapery of the mantle that she is pulling across her hips. Carter pictured the recumbent Isaac as headless, but firmly outlined Jacob's head and figure. Yet as drawn, the head appears sufficiently undersized in proportion to his body to suggest a damaged vestige. The inset supplying the new head also included Isaac's right hand. Carter included no details such as the bowl or the kidskin covering Jacob's chest, although the latter still survives from the thirteenth century, as does the silhouette of the lower edge of the bowl. Carter also failed to delineate Isaac's right arm that is still extant from shoulder to wrist. That vestige validates the placement of Isaac's hand on Jacob's head. The third inset restoring Jacob reconstituted the left side of his upper right arm from below the shoulder to below the elbow.

⁵³⁶ Burges 1859, 152.

Three more insets repaired the spandrel. The first replaced Isaac's head; the second supplied most of his freestanding right arm and hand. The fingers, no longer of a piece with the inset, have been broken off and repaired. The gesture Isaac is making with that hand seems suspect. A comparable scene in Queen Mary's Psalter provides a mirror image of the Salisbury spandrel. In the illumination, Isaac has placed his left hand on Jacob's head and is blessing his son with the right (Fig. 120). Since blessing with the left hand would be unacceptable, the destroyed hand was probably making the gesture of speech. But the hand as restored, raised with fingers together and palm facing forward, seems meaningless in a cycle notable for clarifying and relevant gestures.

Isaac lying in bed as in the Psalter affirms the common recension from which the miniature and spandrel scenes were derived.⁵³⁷ Yet in the Psalter, the placement of Rebecca differs from the Salisbury arrangement. Rather than standing in the doorway, she has emerged from an aedicule representing the entrance to the house and is pushing Jacob towards his father. Nevertheless, the details of her dress compare well with the Salisbury figure. Their toques with a chin-strap, the buns of hair, gowns and cloaks all suggest a common model. The survival of most of Rebecca's chin-strap and the bun in the nape of her neck authenticate her coiffure and toque, both typical of the headdress worn by a married woman. A similar example occurs in one of the women's heads that acts as label stop (Fig. 9a).

Other restorations belie Burges's report that everything but arms and heads was perfect. Mastic used liberally repaired surface damage on the coverlet, the building and its eroded

⁵³⁷ Isaac recumbent on a mattress is characteristic of manuscripts in the Eastern Octateuch family. In the Cotton Genesis, the first two folios are missing, and all that remains of the third, part of a fairly extensive treatment of the narrative, is indecipherable. On the verso, what was probably a depiction of Esau bringing venison to Isaac has only traces of the setting with no legible figures: Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 91-92. As in the case of the Sacrifice of Isaac, the evidence provided by later exemplars of the recension supply mixed evidence. In *l'Histoire Universelle*, fol. 27v: *ibid.*, fig. 287, Isaac is seated at a table, as he is also in the scene when he blesses Jacob in the Millstatt Genesis, fol. 35: *ibid.*, fig. 288; and again in the same manuscript when Esau offers the venison, fol. 36: *ibid.*, fig. 290. In the last miniature, although sitting upright, he is on a pad or mattress. We also find the mattress rather than a chair in Aelfric's Hexateuch, fol. 42r and v, and in the mosaics of Monreale and the Palatine Chapel, Palermo. Demus 1988, pls. 35B, 107, suggested that Eastern influence lies behind all those versions of the event.

crenellations. Considerable cutting back is also visible along the large crumpled folds below Isaac's left leg. In general, re-cutting has blurred articulation of the folds of the bed draperies, but has not compromised the arrangement. In-fill also repairs the upper right corner of the pillow, but whether the fill is mastic only, or mastic coating an inset is unclear.

Spared such reworking, the blousing above and the drapery immediately below the waist in Rebecca's figure provide unspoiled and beautifully executed examples of the original carving. The Psalter does not assist in verifying Rebecca's restored right hand touching her chin-strap. Carter's sketch suggests that more of that arm had survived than now exists, and the arm as drawn survived to below the elbow and projected forward. Yet the sketch could be misleading because in this scene Carter seemed to be more interested in details of the architecture than in the figures. The former he depicted with his usual accuracy, but he failed to indicate the well-preserved folds of Rebecca's cloak drawn across her body and incorrectly suggested that her left arm was broken. Without evidence to supplement or contradict Carter's sketch, Rebecca's right hand raised to her chin remains suspect.

In summary, the restoration of the spandrel raises three questions, involving insets replacing hands. The absence of fur coverings to disguise Jacob's smooth hands, a significant detail in the biblical narrative and equally so in the Psalter, constitutes the major, most probable error. The gestures made by Isaac's left hand and Rebecca's right hand remain doubtful, but lack alternatives. All other restorations followed the indications of the surviving thirteenth-century carving. The figures of Rebecca and Jacob retain well-preserved drapery above and below the waist. Except for the surface of the house where light sanding has removed much of the patina, the re-cutting and mastic repairs appear consistent with work needed to remedy damaged or degraded surfaces. A band of cement repairing erosion or damage along the right edge spreads onto the adjacent spandrel. All in all, the archaeological examination indicated that more repairs were needed than Burges's report indicated.

The Blessing of Esau. Spandrel II, East Bay

(Plate XXVIII)

The Blessing of Esau survived in much better condition than the preceding spandrel. The scene illustrates the narrative in Genesis 27:30-40 wherein Esau, having returned from a successful hunt, prepared and offered venison to his father, only to discover that through deceit Jacob had robbed him of his rightful blessing as the elder son. Then Esau asked, 'Hast thou only one blessing, father? I beseech thee bless me also. And when he wept with a loud cry, Isaac being moved, said unto him: In the fat of the earth, and in the dew of heaven from above, shall thy blessing be. Thou shalt live by the sword and shalt serve thy brother; and the time shall come, when thou shalt shake off and loose his yoke from thy neck' (Genesis 27:38-40).

After identifying the scene, Burges wrote, 'He [Esau] is turning away his head, and holding his dish with the food untouched. There is no Rebecca here.'⁵³⁸ The notes on color and condition continued, 'Esau, green tunic; counterpane, yellow; and the drapery at the head of the bed, red. The trefoiled head of the door, green; the interior jamb of ditto, dark red. The tunic of Isaac, light red; pillow green. Heads and arms of both figures broken; otherwise perfect.'

Four insets restored the figure of Esau, but Isaac's needed only one. A portion of the left side of Esau's thirteenth-century head and neck backs the inset that included his right hand as well as most of his head and neck. Set into and encompassing a portion of his bodice, a second inset completed his right arm and shoulder. The back half of the original bowl lies behind a third inset supplying the front half of the bowl and all of Esau's left fingers and thumb. The fourth Caen stone repair furnished his left hand and arm to the elbow.

Although mutilated, Isaac's damaged right hand and fingers consist of thirteenth-century Chilmark stone re-formed with mastic. Re-cutting eliminated surface damage along his forearm. The only inset repairing the figure supplied a new head and included his left hand and arm to the bend of the elbow. In-fill of mastic also repaired the surface of his pillow. As in the preceding spandrel,

⁵³⁸ Burges 1859, 152.

mastic rebuilt the crenellations of the house as well as portions of the corner posts and the right surface of the hipped, trefoil arch. Evolving from the door-jambs without any intervening capitals, the trefoil arch is a more advanced type than any in the chapter house.

Once again the usually accurate Carter proved more meticulous in sketching the architecture than the figures. His drawing would lead us to think that both of Isaac's arms were broken off at the elbow. Yet the archaeological examination established Isaac's right hand on Esau's head as original and validated the restoration of Isaac's left hand raised to his face in the Classical gesture of grief. That, and Esau's similar gesture, reflect the text of Genesis 27:29-30 wherein 'moved' by Esau's weeping, Isaac bestowed the second blessing, but Esau still mourned the loss of his rightful blessing.

In effect, the scene as restored proves iconographically correct and true to the biblical text. But in Esau's figure, evidence of re-cutting both above and below the waist destroyed its stylistic value. The drapery of recumbent Isaac had insignificant sanding and retouching with mastic to eliminate superficial abrasions on the counterpane and bed draperies. Those repairs do not detract from their value as excellent examples of thirteenth-century carving.

Jacob Leaves for Haran. Spandrel III, East Bay

(Plate XXIX)

This narrative scene shows Rebecca sending Jacob on his journey to Haran (Padanaram), events in Genesis 27:42-44. Having overheard Esau threatening to kill his brother as soon as Isaac died, Rebecca warned Jacob of the danger. She counseled him to go to her brother Laban in Haran and to stay there until Esau's 'indignation cease, and he forget the things thou hast done to him.' In the biblical text, Isaac rather than Rebecca dispatched Jacob with instructions to 'take...a wife...of the daughters of Laban thy uncle' (Genesis 28:2). The spandrel depicts Rebecca standing in front of the house. With her right hand she is adjusting Jacob's knapsack which is looped over the end of the stick balanced on his right shoulder. With her left hand she is waving him off. As he strides away, he looks back somewhat apprehensively over his shoulder, waves with his left hand, and with his right steadies the stick holding the knapsack.

In recording the condition of the spandrel Burges wrote, 'Both heads gone, as well as Jacob's right hand: otherwise perfect.'⁵³⁹ Insets joined along the collar line replaced both heads. Another restored Jacob's right hand holding the stick, as well as half of his forearm. A portion of the stick to the left of his hand has been repaired with plaster instead of an inset, but the other end of the stick is original. The rounded end protruding beyond the knapsack disallows the broad, board-like shape of the repair. The inset supplying Rebecca's head followed the indications provided by a remnant of her original head and veil. The entire back right half of Jacob's thirteenth-century head lying behind the inset informed the style of his coiffure.

Three more insets patched the figures, repairs which Burges's notes on condition did not seem to indicate. One inset supplied Rachel's right arm from the shoulder to below the bend of her elbow. Another smaller inset repaired the bulge at the top of Jacob's knapsack. Supplemented by mortar overlay, the third inset replaced his right foot, as well as some of the ground on either side of it.

Scars still visible on the ground swell at the far left suggest that the restorer effected only repairs that he deemed essential, but their number belies Burges's somewhat generous assessment of condition. Even so, much good, if not 'perfect' thirteenth-century carving has survived. Remnants of the thirteenth-century heads that provided complete silhouettes of both validate the head-to-body ratios as restored: one to four and a half and one to four, respectively. We recognize those proportions as the preference of the first artist, as is Rebecca's low slung waist line which resembles those of Lot's two daughters (Pl. XXIV).

The minor restorations to the garments (negligible re-cutting and sporadic patches of mastic) caused no distortions, nor have they diminished the articulation of the folds which the artist handled here somewhat more broadly than before. Both figures, excellent examples of the artist's figure and drapery styles, provide good comparisons with the work of the second artist and with other thirteenth-century sculptures including the Virtues and Vices of the portal. In the particularly fine

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

figure of Rebecca, the vertical folds of her gown break softly into crumpled folds as the hem spreads out across the ground. The fabric breaks acutely over her instep in response to the forward movement of her right foot. The pointed toe of her shoe peeps out from beneath the undulating hem.

We see not only the figure proportions preferred by the first artist, but also his typically uncluttered composition. The characteristic space-filling tree on the right carries the eye to the next scene. The next two spandrels of the cycle provide the final examples of his work.

The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel at the Well. Spandrel IV, East Bay

(Plate XXX)

Like the preceding spandrel, this scene has the purpose of advancing the narrative. According to Burges's description, 'Jacob takes the top off the well, to give water to Rachel's cattle. She points to the house. One beast is a camel: there are also two oxen and an ass which Rachel holds by a bridle. The camel has two very small humps, and he is no larger than the other animals.'⁵⁴⁰ Burges's color notes provide additional details: 'Jacob has a red tunic, green wallet, and belt; and Rachel a green dress. The house has a green cupola, with, I think, black marks for tiles. The ass is yellow, and the bridle blue. Rachel has flowing hair.' On the condition of the spandrel, Burges added, 'Both heads broken, and one of Rachel's arms; also the camel's head: otherwise the compartment is perfect. The figure of Jacob is very good.' As the diagram shows (Pl. XXXb), Jacob's figure was untouched by the restorer, except for his new head, a patch of mastic on his chest below the inset, and another on his left fingers. Although no trace of his original head lies behind the nineteenth-century replacement, we have no reason to question the restoration in that it follows the indications of the remnants of his coiffure in the preceding spandrel.

The figure of Rachel required three insets, one to restore her head and two supplying her left arm. On her right, a remnant of her original head lying behind the inset informed the restoration. The flowing hair over her right shoulder which characterizes her as an unmarried woman also survived

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

from the thirteenth century. The two insets for her right arm and hand join just below the elbow. The contours of the original hand backing the inset validate the restoration, as does Burges's comment on her gesture. Mastic rebuilt the knuckles and thumb of her left hand, and considerable re-cutting occurred on her chest and down her left side.

The long necked animal on the far right received the fifth and final inset. Although restored as a camel, in so identifying the beast, Burges and the restorer probably erred. Knowledge of the double humped Bactrian camels of central Asia may have misled them. But the 'very small,' double humps on the back of the beast in question are the telling characteristic of Syrian cows and bulls.

There is considerable evidence to support the hypothesis that the animal on the left was originally a Syrian cow or bull. First and foremost, there is no tradition of camels in representations of Jacob and Rachel at the well. Camels belong instead in the meeting of Rebecca and Abraham's servant Eliezer at the well. There, according to the text of Genesis 24:11-27, Rebecca drew water for the camels, ten in number, which Eliezer took with him on a mission to get a wife for Isaac in Abraham's homeland (Genesis 24:2-10). But in the meeting of Jacob and Rachel, she had come to the well to water her father's flock of sheep (Genesis 29:9). Second, significant for the new identification of the beast, Jacob's journey had taken him to Mesopotamia in Haran or 'Aram,' the Hebrew for Syria.⁵⁴¹ On arriving at the field Jacob conversed with the shepherds and said to them, 'There is yet much day remaining, neither is it time to bring the flocks into the fold again: first give the sheep drink, and so lead them back to feed. They answered: we cannot, till all the cattle be gathered together, and we remove the stone from the well's mouth, that we may water the flock' (Genesis 29:7-8).

Here the word cattle was used in its first meaning which referred generically to flocks, in this instance a flock of sheep. The word evolved to mean bovine animals held collectively, which may explain the appearance of cows rather than ewes or rams in the Salisbury spandrels and other

541 Aram (Padamaram) or Haran, Jacob's destination, included what is modern Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan, perhaps also northern Arabia. In Genesis 28:2, Isaac had ordered Jacob to go to 'Mesopotamia of Syria,' to the house of Rachel's father Laban.

illustrations of the event. Unfortunately, the folio that contained the scene at the well in the Cotton Bible is missing.⁵⁴² But the tradition of sheep dominated both the Eastern Octateuchs and later exemplars of the Cotton Genesis recension. The Octateuch, Vatican gr. 747 (fol. 50v), depicts sheep, but they are accompanied by one black argali, a large Asiatic wild sheep with exceptionally large horns (Fig. 121a). The Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, fol 38v), a late twelfth-century manuscript cited by Weitzmann and Kessler as a tertiary, not a primary example belonging to the same recension, offers an interesting, if not perfect comparison with the Salisbury scene (Fig. 121b). Although the composition is reversed in the Salisbury and Millstatt scenes, the manuscript shows Jacob, aided by one of the shepherds, removing the stone from the well-head. The animal on the left resembles a ram. The one on the right looks remarkably like a cow, and the center one resembles an ass.⁵⁴³ As at Salisbury, Rachel is pointing 'off stage' towards her father's house. In the Salisbury spandrel, the Syrian cow or bull, not a camel, has joined the ram, the cow and the ass, the latter held by Rachel on a lead. The various comparisons show that illustrations of the meeting did not adhere rigidly to the biblical text in depicting the animals, but in the eastern and western recensions we find cattle and sheep, but no camels.

Further evidence for the revised identification of the animal in question was first mentioned by Burges. The beast was approximately the same height as the other two animals drinking from the well, which would not have been true of a camel. In addition, the animal also has cloven hoofs, whereas camels have padded feet and two prominent toes that adapted the foot to the desert.⁵⁴⁴ All in all, the 'very small' humps that Burges described are too small for the Bactrian camel but correct for the hump-backed Syrian cow or steer, an animal totally alien to western European herds. Presumably the thirteenth-century artist at Salisbury knew the animal from a manuscript model.

Carter's sketch (Pl. XLII), and another view of the spandrel in a pre-restoration drawing by

⁵⁴² Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 93.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 94. The authors do not distinguish among the animals, but refer to all three as sheep.

⁵⁴⁴ See the representations of camels in Morgan Bible 638, fols. 5 and 6, in Plummer 1969, 43 and 47.

Salvin of a section of the eastern arcade (Fig. 124), provide additional evidence discrediting the restoration of the animal in question. Neither shows it with the long neck of a camel. In Carter's sketch, the head of that short-necked animal does not rise above the level of the ass's rump. Although the accumulated evidence disallows the camel in Rachel's flock, the restorer's mistake does not seriously affect the narrative scene.

Besides the Syrian cow, other details in the spandrel suggest that the carver had turned to a different source from the one lying behind the first three scenes of the cycle. In the meeting at the well Jacob no longer wears the ankle-length tunic of the preceding scene and has exchanged his knapsack for what Burges aptly called a 'wallet'. In addition, a cupola, or dome, with lines that Burges thought represented tiles, perches ambiguously on the gabled roof of Laban's house. The structure, which shows confusion about the architectural requirements of the dome, suggests that the artist was unfamiliar with domical construction. Although generations of copies probably intervened between the model the artist used and its ultimate source in a Near Eastern manuscript, the two-humped bovine animal seems to narrow the provenance of that model to Syria.

Other restorations consist of a scattering of mastic patches repairing minor surface abrasions or losses on the building, the well head, its stone cover, the ground swell on the far left, and the backs of two of the animals as well as their the horns and noses. The numerous nicks now visible on the surfaces of the spandrel apparently resulted from the removal of the nineteenth-century polychromy, not earlier mutilation.

The lively, well-preserved figure of Jacob provides another good example of the figure style of the artist. The wallet or halter-type pouch put over his head and slung from one shoulder, instead of the knapsack, reappears in the scenes that follow. Never again does Jacob wear a tunic that reaches only to his knee. That short skirt is unique in the cycle, where the longer tunic prevailed, even in the scene of Jacob departing for Haran.

Jacob Covenanting with Laban for the Hand of Rachel. Spandrel V, East Bay

(Plate XXXI)

In his notes Burges wrote, 'Rachel brings Jacob to her father [Laban],' which is the interpretation generally accepted in the literature.⁵⁴⁵ Yet two men embracing traditionally illustrated this moment, and in general depicted any meeting of kinfolk. Octateuch Vatican gr. 747, fol. 51r (Fig. 122a), shows Laban and Jacob embracing, as does Aelfric's Hexateuch (fol. 44v). Both manuscripts adhere to the biblical text wherein Laban went forth to meet Jacob: 'When he [Laban] heard that Jacob his sister's son was come, ran forth to meet him; and embracing him, and heartily kissing him, brought him into his house' (Genesis 29:13).

In the Salisbury Old Testament cycle similar embraces illustrate the reunion of Jacob and Esau (Pl. XXXIV) and the reunion of Jacob and Joseph in Egypt (Pl. LV). In the reading of the scene proposed here the spandrel depicts an event that occurred a month after Jacob's arrival. Jacob kneeling with his hand on Laban's thigh represents Jacob covenanting to serve Laban for seven years without wages in return for Rachel's hand (Genesis 29:18-19). An oath given by placing a hand on the thigh of another person served as a euphemism in the Bible for the ancient custom of swearing an oath on another man's genitals. In Genesis 24:2-3, Abraham said to his elder servant 'Put thy hand under my thigh, that I may make thee swear by the Lord God of heaven and earth, that thou take not a wife for my son, of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell.' Vatican gr. 747 provides an example of such biblical oath taking when the servant, Eliezer, swears with his right hand on Abraham's thigh (Fig. 122b). Although Burges reported that both of Jacob's and Laban's arms and hands were missing, the archaeological examination showed that Laban's right arm to the wrist had survived.⁵⁴⁶ Without question, his original hand would have been touching Jacob's chin, as restored. But we have to evaluate the correctness of the Laban's left hand and Jacob's nineteenth-century right as restored in order to substantiate the proposed interpretation.

⁵⁴⁵ Burges 1859, 152.

⁵⁴⁶ Burges 1859, 152. The color notes continued, 'Rachel has had, I think, a white dress. Jacob's tunic, red, with green hose and green wallet. Laban, green tunic, with red hose. The house contains no trace of colour. Behind Rachel the background has certainly been powdered with leaves.'

Four insets restored the figures of Jacob and Laban. The first replaced Jacob's head and neck as well as the right hand of Laban under Jacob's chin. The stump of his thirteenth-century head backs the lower half of the inset. The second inset encompassed Jacob's right hand and arm to the middle of his upper arm and included Laban's left hand and arm to the elbow. A third inset completing Laban's left arm also supplied his shoulder and the left half of his upper torso. The original right side of Laban's head and face lying behind the inset for his head also authenticated his coiffure and Phrygian cap. The right side of his chest and his right arm reaching toward Jacob's face also survive, but show some re-cutting. The lower half of Laban's figure is well preserved and of interest for stylistic comparisons, especially the drapery over his left hip and leg. From the waist up and below the knees most of Jacob's drapery has survived unretouched, except for the area of severe re-cutting on his right hip. The walls of Laban's house have been sanded lightly, but the tree on the left behind Rachel survives in pristine condition.

Three pre-restoration drawings of this interesting scene provide conflicting information about surviving vestiges of the hands and arms. The sketch by Carter (Pl. LXII) suggests that Laban was extending both hands towards Jacob's head and face. The engraving of 1814 published by Britton shows only Laban's left arm with his hand, the wrong one, touching Jacob's chin (Fig. 123). In Salvin's drawing of 1848, Laban appears to have placed his left hand on Jacob's bowed head (Fig. 124). Yet in evaluating the restoration, the archaeological evidence for Laban's right hand touching Jacob's chin, as restored, is compelling and disallows the conflicting and confused evidence in the drawings. In effect, enough remains of the original right arm, bent at the elbow, to have informed the restoration of the hand, palm up, beneath Jacob's chin. No other arrangement would be feasible.

The crucial question concerns the correctness of the restoration with Jacob's right hand on Laban's thigh. A search failed to uncover any precedents for the meeting of those two kinsmen with that gesture or, indeed, even an illustration showing Jacob kneeling and Laban seated. But a charred fragment of the Cotton Genesis Bible (fol. 58r) shows Laban seated in a scene that depicted Laban

promising Rachel's hand to Jacob.⁵⁴⁷ Sahoko Tsuji identified this scene as Jacob asking Laban for Rachel's hand, a not unreasonable interpretation inasmuch as the miniature followed the text of Genesis 29:15-20, which included Jacob agreeing to serve Laban for seven years.⁵⁴⁸ Though Laban's figure is discernible on the left side of the miniature, only a magenta colored area survives of the figure of Jacob on the right. One or both daughters were probably standing on the far right. Although the placement of the figures mirrors that in the Salisbury scene, the Cotton Genesis miniature lends credence to the interpretation of the spandrel proposed here. The same scene also occurs in Aelfric's *Hexateuch* (fol. 44v), but the Salisbury sculptor must have depended on a different model to illustrate Jacob pledging seven years of service to earn Rachel's hand (Genesis 29:15-19).

With few modifications, the poses and gestures in the spandrel were apparently borrowed from a representation of Isaac feeling the fur coverings on Jacob's hand and neck before bestowing his blessing (Genesis 27:22). Isaac's gestures, when transposed to the scene of Jacob covenanting, show Laban accepting or confirming the covenant by pressing Jacob's hand. Since Jacob's gesture signified his pledge of service to Laban, it would be correct for Jacob to be kneeling and Laban seated. In fact, we find the same poses at Salisbury in the scene of Joseph pledging fealty to the Pharaoh (Pl. XL), poses both inappropriate and without a known precedent in illustrations of Jacob's arrival at Laban's house. Although archaeological evidence authenticated only Laban's right hand under Jacob's chin and the flawed pre-restoration drawings were not helpful, the new interpretation suggests that the restoration is correct. Yet the reason for a scene depicting Joseph pledging his services instead of the traditional meeting remains obscure.

In the spandrel, Rachel, standing behind Jacob, has placed one hand on his shoulder and holds the other close to her chest. Her pose and gestures are similar to Rebecca's in the scene of Isaac blessing Jacob, another detail indicating how the Salisbury sculptor adapted a model depicting the earlier scene. By showing Rachel's head uncovered and her hair flowing, the sculptor transformed Rebecca's figure from a matron to a maiden, the unmarried younger daughter of Laban beloved by

⁵⁴⁷ Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, 94 and figs. 297-98.

⁵⁴⁸ Tsuji 1970, 38 and fig. 9 A, B.

Jacob. Original carving surviving on Rachel's shoulder authenticates her long waving hair.

Except for the inset restoring Rachel's head and neck, her figure survives intact. But re-cutting on the upper half of her torso and upper left arm has blurred the folds of the bodice and sleeve, and deeper re-cutting on her right thigh has erased some of the articulation of the drapery. The rest of her figure and the particularly elegant and fluid folds of her skirt offer valid examples for stylistic comparisons. As in the figure of Rebecca (Pl. XXIX), the vertical folds break at the ankle, and the hem spreads across the ground in sweeping curves. Although Rachel's figure appears somewhat attenuated and has a natural waist line, the treatment of the folds of her skirt and hem of her gown, the flaring drapery of Jacob's tunic, and the handling of the folds in the lower half of Laban's figure fall comfortably within the oeuvre of the first artist. In the detailed analysis of the styles of the two artists that follows, we will find nothing in the work of the second artist that compares closely with those features.

Jacob Wrestling with the Angel; Jacob's Dream. Spandrel VI, East Bay

(Plate XXXII)

As the diagram of this nearly obliterated scene indicates (Pl. XXXIIb), very little thirteenth-century carving has survived. Burges wrote, 'Much mutilated; no part perfect.'⁵⁴⁹ His description of the scene reads, 'Jacob talks with the Angel; two other Angels near: i.e., he sees a host of heaven; the clouds descend almost like a ladder; the two Angels are in them.'⁵⁵⁰ The phrase 'almost like a ladder' proved misleading. In fact, the two lowest rungs of the thirteenth-century ladder have survived, as has the left rail that links them. The lower angel's left hand and the upper angel's right foot on the bottom rung are also original, as is the lower edge of his tunic looping across his ankle and shin. Those vestiges leave no doubt that the two angels were on a ladder, not, as Burges intimated, in clouds.

⁵⁴⁹ Burges 1859, 153.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. Given the condition of the spandrel, the color notes are surprisingly full: 'Jacob's tunic green, 1st angel's, light red; second, ditto, green; 3rd, ditto, perhaps white; traces of red in the clouds.'

As noted above, the scene violates the chronology of the biblical narrative by conflating Jacob's two non-sequential, miraculous encounters: Jacob wrestling with the angel, on the left (Genesis 32:24); and on the right, his dream of the ladder descending from heaven (Genesis 28:11-17). Burges made no comment about the reordering of the biblical events, nor did he or any other observer recognize the conflation in the next spandrel. In an even more economical form, it depicts the aftermath of both events: the shriveling of Jacob's thigh by the touch of the angel with whom he had wrestled through the night (Genesis 32:25); and the raising of the stone as an altar on the site where Jacob had his dream (Genesis 28:16-19).

According to the biblical account of the dream, 'when he was come to a certain place, and would rest in it, after sunset, he took of the stones that lay there, and putting [them] under his head, slept in the same place. And he saw in his sleep a ladder standing upon the earth, and the top thereof touching heaven: and the angels also of God ascending and descending by it. And the Lord leaning upon the ladder, saying to him; I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land wherein thou sleepest, I will give to thee and to thy seed....and IN THEE and thy seed all the tribes of the earth SHALL BE BLESSED....neither will I leave thee, till I have accomplished all that I have said. And when Jacob awaked out of sleep, he said: Indeed the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not. And trembling he said: How terrible is this place! this is no other but the house of God, and the gate of heaven. And Jacob, arising in the morning, took the stone, which he had laid under his head, and set it up for a title [titulus: sign or altar], pouring oil upon it' (Genesis 28:11-18).

The encounter with the angel on the left side of the spandrel took place on route to a reunion with Esau. When the entourage had encamped for the night, Jacob went apart from the others and 'remained alone: and behold a man wrestled with him till morning. And when he [the angel] saw that he could not overcome him, he touched the sinew of his [Jacob's] thigh, and forthwith it shrank....And Jacob called the name of the place Phanuel, saying, I have seen God face to face, and my soul has been saved' (Genesis 32:25, 30). The significance of the conflation and possible prototypes for such representations will receive attention below.

Ten insets restore the spandrel, but enough remains to authenticate all major elements of the

scene. On the far right in Jacob's dream, the upper sliver of the cloud formation into which the right rail of the ladder disappears has survived, as well as a silhouette of the original pouf of cloud below that backs the inset. The upper, or left cloud formation consists of re-cut thirteenth-century carving. Directly below, the upper angel's left arm is original but re-cut, as is the tip of his right wing, as well as the drapery over his shin and right foot and the adjacent upright rail. Those remnants of original carving authenticate the placement of that angel. The placement of the lower angel also has confirmation in thirteenth-century vestiges: his two hands, his entire left arm, the sweeping end of his right wing, the shoulder of his left wing, and his left foot. All those vestiges show some re-cutting, and mastic fills out the underside of the left arm and hand resting on the lowest rung of the ladder. Two insets supply the remainder of his figure. In accordance with the description of Jacob's dream, the upper angel appears to be descending the ladder, but the lower angel is starting to climb. Lack of space would have limited the number of angels to two.

The only remnants of Jacob and the angel in center left consist of the angel's two feet, Jacob's right foot, and the sole and toe of his left, as well as a little more than half of the lower portion of the angel's wing. As diagrammed (Pl. XXXIIb), four insets re-created the two figures. Two complete the upper half of the angel's wing; a third inset supplies the heads, arms and torsos of both figures; the fourth completes their lower halves. The vestiges authenticate the placement of Jacob on the left and the angel on the right. The elegance of Jacob's original pose is suggested by his feet in the third ballet position. Carter's sketch (Pl. LXII) adds nothing to the archaeological information; the squiggle of lines in center left do no more than indicate a badly mutilated area where the figures once stood. Gouges in the surface plane behind the freestanding nineteenth-century heads of Jacob and the angel have been filled in with mastic. Though the gouges suggest the level of their original heads, they do not give enough information to certify the head-to-body ratios as restored. But the one-to-six proportions of the nineteenth-century figures suggest that the second artist began his work in this spandrel, even though the tree filling the space on the far left belongs to a convention employed by the first artist. The inclusion of more than one scene in the spandrel is another characteristic of the second artist.

The combination of the two miraculous encounters in one spandrel needs consideration on two counts: first, that of prototypes and possible models; and second, that of the iconographical significance. The conflation in this and the next spandrel could have been inspired by any one of a number of English Psalters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that combine the two miraculous events. The Winchester Psalter, also known as the Psalter of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester from 1129 to 1171 (London, Brit. Lib., Cotton Ms. Nero C iv, fol. 5), conflates those non-sequential encounters in the top register of the folio above four scenes from the story of Joseph (Fig. 125).⁵⁵¹ Francis Wormald noted the similarities between the Winchester illumination and the same scene in the ninth-century Paris Gregory (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. Gr. 510, fol. 174v).⁵⁵² As at Salisbury, those illuminations reverse the order of the events with the wrestling preceding, instead of coming after, the dream. Yet the two events in one frame have an even longer history traceable on the continent at least as far back as the fourth century.⁵⁵³

Closer in time and place to the Salisbury cycle, the Amesbury Psalter, dated between 1250-1255 and given a Salisbury provenance, also conflates the two miraculous encounters in the initial for Psalm 80 (Oxford, All Souls College MS. 6, fol. 96),⁵⁵⁴ as does the earlier thirteenth-century Imola Psalter (Imola, Biblioteca Comunale MS. 100, p. 174), dated soon after 1204. The latter has a probable Winchester provenance. We find the same conflation in the English Psalter and Hours of the Virgin dated between ca. 1200-1210 (Magrete Skulesdatter's Psalter, Berlin, Kuferstichkabinett MS. 78 A. 8, fol. 80), and in another Psalter with gloss and Hours of the Virgin, also of ca. 1200-1210 (Cambridge, St. John's College MS. D. 6, fol. 102).⁵⁵⁵ The two last have a London provenance

551 On the illustration, see Wormald 1973, 16, 70, and fig. 8.

552 Sermons of S. Gregory of Nazianzenus, ca. 886. See Omont 1929, pl. XXXVII.

553 We find the two miraculous encounters pictured together among the Old and New Testament scenes on the ivory casket known as the Brescia Lipsanotek casket (ca. 360-70), Civico Museo Cristiano, Brescia. The selection of that scene does not appear to have either narrative or typological significance. On this see Grabar 1968, 137 and fig. 336. The scene of Jacob and Rachel at the well was also depicted.

554 See Morgan 1988, 2, 59-61 cat. 101, fig. 21.

555 Idem 1982, 1, 74-75 cat. no. 26, fig. 101; 84-85 cat. no. 35, fig. 130; and 85-86 cat. no. 36 (not illustrated).

and their styles are close, as is the more complicated imagery of the initial in which Christ between two musicians is pictured above the miraculous encounters. That imagery reflects verse 2 of Psalm 80 known as the Exultate Deo: 'Rejoice to God our helper: sing aloud to the God of Jacob.'

An astonishing proportion of English Psalters of the first half of the thirteenth century depict at least one of the two encounters in the initial for that psalm.⁵⁵⁶ A slightly later English Bible dated between ca. 1230-1240, also attributed to London (Peterborough, Cathedral Library MS. 10, fol. 166), included both encounters in the initial for the psalm,⁵⁵⁷ as did the William de Brailes workshop in Oxford a decade later in a Psalter dated to ca. 1240-1250 (Oxford, New College MS. 32, fol. 82v).⁵⁵⁸ Another manuscript also attributed to Oxford, the Munich Psalter with a date of ca. 1200-1210 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 835, fol. 13), contains the two encounters, one above the other, in one of the full page illustrations of biblical scenes prefacing the psalms.⁵⁵⁹ The number of surviving examples establishes the tradition as particularly strong in England, whereas Paris manuscripts of the same period showed a preference for illustrating Psalm 80 with musicians.⁵⁶⁰ Given the currency of the conflated events in insular Psalters, one of them seems a

556 See *ibid.*, 75-7 cat. nos. 27, 28: Psalter and Hymnal, (Winchester, ca. 1210?): Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS. Liturgy. 407, fol. 117v; and a Psalter (Oxford, ca. 1210): London, Brit. Lib. MS. Royal I.D.X. fol. 74v; *ibid.*, 79, cat. no. 31: Psalter with gloss of Alexander Neckham (Oxford, ca. 1210-1220 ?): Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS. Bodley 284, fol. 196; *ibid.*, 73 cat. no. 25, fig. 96, Psalms with Gloss (Winchester, ca. 1200-1210): Liverpool, City Libraries MS. f. 091 PSA, fol. 145v. See also *ibid.* II: 77-78 cat. no. 112, Rutland Psalter (London, ca. 1260): London, Brit. Lib. MS. Add. 62925, fol. 84; and *ibid.*, 122-24 cat. nos. 138, 139, figs. 195 and 199, a Psalter and a Bible (no provenances proposed, ca. 1260): Princeton, Univ. Lib. MS. Garrett 34, fol. 71v; and Ripon Cath. Lib. MS. 1, fol. 223.

557 See Morgan 1982, I, 112-13 cat. no. 66.

558 See *ibid.*, 121-22 cat. no. 74.

559 See *ibid.*, 68-72 cat. no. 23, illustrated in photo archives of the Princeton Index of Christian Art.

560 See *i.a.*, Branner 1977, fig. 342 (Parisian Psalter, after mid-thirteenth century, London, Brit. Lib., MS. Royal 2.B. ii, fol. 88v); fig. 303 (Parisian Psalter, first half of thirteenth century, Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS. Douce 50, p. 265). The image of musicians was also used in English Psalters, for example in a Psalter and Hours of the Virgin, (London, Brit. Lib. MS. Arundel 157, fol. 71v). See Morgan 1982, 72-73 cat. no. 24. For others, see also *ibid.*, 84-86 cat. nos. 35 and 36; *ibid.*, 88-89 cat. no. 40 depicts David with the musicians. Another image showing French influence is David playing bells, found in the York Psalter dated ca. 1260. See *ibid.* II, 115-17 cat. no. 133. Morgan has questioned the traditional attribution to York. He perceived a southern English style, but proposed no alternative provenance.

likely vehicle for the transmission of the imagery to the Salisbury spandrel or to the model used by the sculptor.

At Salisbury the conflation of the two miraculous encounters and of their sequels in the next spandrel, together with the deviation from the biblical chronology imbues them with special significance. Yet in the context of the preceding and subsequent narrative scenes of the Jacob cycle, the traditional typological association of the ladder of Jacob's dream with the Ascension of Christ does not seem applicable.⁵⁶¹ The texts of Genesis 32:30 and Psalm 80 suggest an intended significance consistent with imagery that injected Salvation symbolism into other scenes of the Old Testament cycle. When the night of wrestling had ended, after blessing Jacob, the angel departed. Then, as quoted above, 'Jacob called the name of the place Phanuel, saying: I have seen God face to face, and my soul has been saved' (Genesis 32:30). The text of the exultate Deo, as Psalm 80 is known, bears on God's infinite power to save those whosoever 'hearken' to him; but those who hear him not shall 'walk in their own inventions.' In effect, on those two occasions of divine intervention in the life of Jacob, God had indicated to Jacob that he was one of the elect. By the conflation of the two events in one spandrel, the conflation highlighted the role of Jacob as God's anointed, one whom God blessed so that he knew he had been saved.

Angel Touching Jacob's Thigh; Jacob Raising an Altar. Spandrel VII, East Bay
(Plate XXXIII)

As noted in the discussion of the preceding spandrel, the scene depicts the angel touching and shriveling the sinew of Jacob's thigh after the night of wrestling (Genesis 32:25-30), and Jacob raising the altar, or titulus, to commemorate the holy spot on the road to Haran where he dreamed of the ladder touching heaven (Genesis 28:16-19). In identifying the scene, Burges wrote, the 'Angel touches Jacob upon the sinew of his thigh with a stick,' but mistakenly Burges interpreted the rectangular stone slab as Jacob's staff.⁵⁶² Without exception the literature has adopted Burges's

⁵⁶¹ On this, see Schiller 1972, 2, 128.

⁵⁶² Burges 1859, 153.

reading of the spandrel as a single event.⁵⁶³ Yet the way in which Jacob is steadying the upright stone with both hands distinguishes the altar stone from the staffs used by Lot (Pl. XXIV) and by Jacob and his wife (Pl. LIII) on their journeys, and by Moses as he parts the Red Sea waters (Pl. LVII). The iconography of this scene remains intact and the identification secure despite extensive restorations.

Burges observed that the head and shoulders of both figures were 'much mutilated.'⁵⁶⁴ The insets restoring the figures proved more extensive than Burges's observations would suggest and were supplemented by intensive as well as extensive re-cutting. Also, because of the re-carving of the left half of the angel's figure above the waist, some cutting back of the surface plane around the angel partially restored the original salience of the figure. The left half of the angel's amice is the only part of his garment that appears unretouched. That detail authenticates the restoration of the angel in ecclesiastical vestments in this as well as in the preceding spandrel. Yet re-cutting has so diminished the folds of his alb that no more than the schema of the original drapery survives.

As the diagram of restorations indicates, both heads and necks are nineteenth-century replacements to the collar line, as are both right arms and the angel's staff except for the end touching Jacob behind his right knee. The inset restoring the angel's arm included the entire right side of his body above the waist, plus a segment below it, as well as the stick he is holding. A second inset replaced his right wing down to but not including the tip touching the ground. An oval of white plaster where the wing and arm insets meet raises the possibility of one large inset instead of two. Possibly the plaster masks a dowel fixing a single oversized inset to the spandrel stone.⁵⁶⁵ The original left wing shows re-cutting with patches of pinkish mastic repairing the shoulder of the wing. Two more insets restored the angel's left forearm and hand, and white plaster, an inexplicable addition, covers the top of the new forearm to the cuff edge.

563 See *ibid.* the most recent publications, Whittingham 1974, fig. 18, scene 33; and Spring 1987, 152.

564 Burges 1859, 153, who continued, 'The dress of the Angel white or yellow; wings green. Jacob has a staff--his dress has probably been light red; trees as usual.'

565 Note that plaster hid the dowel affixing the inset replacing the figure of the angel in the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac (Pl. XXVIb).

The figure of Jacob fared somewhat better than the angel's. The entire silhouette of Jacob's head backs the inset completing it. Larger on the left, the remnant has a salience of one inch that diminishes to one-half inch on the right. A second inset replaced Jacob's right shoulder and arm. The repair encompassed both hands supporting the upright stone slab, plus an arc three-eighths of an inch wide under his arm. Plaster hides the joint of the inset on his chest. Although re-cutting predominates in the figure, vestiges of familiar conventions used by the sculptor remain, such as the deep V-shaped folds on his hip and the wallet draped over one shoulder. Yet the folds are too blurred and diminished to exemplify the artist's style, for from hip to knee re-cutting has seriously reduced the articulation of the drapery folds as well as those of the skirt that descend from his left knee.

Overall, the carving of the figures in this spandrel has a blandness also attributable to the general and nearly ubiquitous sanding that softened even areas that escaped severe re-cutting. The tree at the left of the scene appears slightly retouched, probably sanded. Better preserved, the tree on the right is especially interesting. The left foliate branching terminates in a cluster of berries growing from a stalk that lies between the two oak leaves carved in relief on the right side of the lollipop-shaped terminal.

Despite the extensive restorations, the iconography of the scene survives unmodified. The remnant of the original amice leaves no doubt that the angels in this and the preceding scene were correctly restored wearing vestments. Burges observed that the vestment in this scene was white.⁵⁶⁶ As discussed earlier, the alb worn during the celebration of the Eucharist derived its name from the Latin word for white. As was noted in the scenes of the Expulsion and Abraham Entertaining the Three Angels, the angels' albs were intended as a reference to the Eucharist and thus to Salvation. That symbolism obtains here as well. Given that Jacob was marked by God as one of his elect in the two miraculous encounters in the preceding spandrel, the vested angel introduces the concept of salvation into this spandrel.

⁵⁶⁶ See above, n. 564.

The Reunion of Jacob and Esau. East Bay, Spandrel VIII

(Plate XXXIV)

The final scene of the Jacob cycle represents the meeting of Jacob and Esau. As Burges described it, 'Leah and Rachel behind the sheep. The first wife has a wimple, the second the same headdress as the third head [label stop], north arcade.'⁵⁶⁷ Burges made no notes on condition, and failed to enumerate losses. Given the four nineteenth-century heads, and the repairs to the arms of Jacob's wives, we may fairly presume that the spandrel had suffered at least minor damage to those parts. Carter sketched all the heads, but not the wives' arms (Pl. LXII). Three insets replaced most of their arms and hands: the first involved the right hand exclusive of knuckles and fingers, and the forearm to the elbow of the wife on the left, as well as a portion of the right elbow of the other wife. The original fingers and knuckles of that hand resting in the bend of the other wife's elbow validate the gesture that signifies kinship. Indeed, Rachel and Leah, Jacob's wives, were sisters. Another inset supplied both forearms and hands of the second wife, but her right hand has since broken away. The rest of the spandrel survives in nearly perfect condition, with scattered areas of minor re-cutting and mastic in-fill. The thirteenth-century ram (left), and the sheep and pig remain in pristine condition. The hairy left hand of Esau on Jacob's shoulder is an original detail that distinguishes him from his brother.

The spandrel provides the first indisputable example of the style of the second artist with his typically elongated figures. Esau's contorted pose and bonelessness of the arms are also characteristics of the second style, as is the angular and exaggerated blousing above the waist and the folds radiating like rays of a star sapphire, as well as thighs that swell beneath the drapery of the tunic. Esau's hairy hands testify to the artist's respect for telling biblical details.

The brothers' embrace follows the traditional formula for reunions, but Esau grasping the back of Jacob's right hand with his own adds a less usual gesture. His gesture, like the hand of the wife on the left resting on the bend of the other wife's elbow, denotes kinship. The latter can be

⁵⁶⁷ Burges 1859, 153. For the headdress, see Fig. 9a, fourth tier, second from left

traced back to ancient Egyptian representations of Pharaohs and their queens.⁵⁶⁸ The hand on the inner arm also occurs in statues of a Pharaoh and the god to whom he was related. We will find the gesture, again connoting kinship, in the reunion of Joseph and Jacob (Plate LV).

In summary, six of the eight scenes of the Jacob cycle appear purely narrative in intent. Violating the biblical chronology, the sixth and seventh scenes conflated Jacob's two miraculous encounters and their aftermaths. The conflation emphasized the concept of Jacob as one of God's anointed whose soul has been saved. Illustrations for Psalm 80, the Exultate Deo, may have provided the prototype for combining the two encounters. The text of the Psalm praises the God of Jacob and emphasizes deliverance for those who hear and acknowledge the word of the Lord. Thus the conflation injects the concept of salvation into an otherwise purely narrative sequence.

Queen Mary's Psalter offered the closest comparisons with the first two scenes. In the fourth spandrel the introduction of domed architecture and the Syrian strain of cattle indicated the influence of a model stemming from a Near Eastern recension, probably from a Syrian archetype. We cannot ascertain whether the Salisbury artist looked at more than one model to compose the cycle or whether he was depending on a polycyclic model. Yet variations in Jacob's dress and attribute (first a knapsack, then a wallet slung over one shoulder) seem to favor the former. The second artist began to work in this bay, a circumstance conducive to an interaction in style such as we noted in one of Rachel's figures. Unfortunately the severe damages inflicted on the sixth and seventh spandrels make the moment of change uncertain. The second artist was responsible for all the subsequent scenes.

⁵⁶⁸ See i.a., the statue of Menkure and his queen from Giza, Dyn. IV, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

The Joseph Cycle

(Plates XXXV-LV; Plan B)

The first sixteen of the twenty-one scenes depicting the story of Joseph (Genesis 37-50) span the southeast and south bays, and the final five occupy spandrels in the southwest bay (Pls XXXV-LV). Consisting of a little over one-third of the Salisbury Old Testament scenes, the cycle commands attention not only because of its length, but also because of the legendary material woven into the biblical narrative. Although scenes in preceding cycles have included elements based on exegetical interpretations of the Bible and sometimes the Apocrypha, the events depicted adhered to the biblical text. Details or embellishments often imbued those scenes with typological or Christological meanings. In contrast, the Joseph cycle by departing from the Bible with the inclusion of aspects of a nearly contemporary legend had the primary purpose of telling a good story.

In seeking prototypes both visual and textual for those departures, Burges was the first to observe the close relationship between the Salisbury sculptures and drawings illustrating the early fourteenth-century Joseph narrative in Queen Mary's Psalter (Brit. Lib. Roy. MS. 2 B vii).⁵⁶⁹ On the basis of that relationship, Burges used those illustrations to direct John Birnie Philip's restoration of some of the 'defective portions' of the sculptures.⁵⁷⁰ In describing the legendary elements shared by the two Joseph cycles, Burges wrote: 'Joseph is sold to the Seneschal of the King of Egypt, not to the Ismaelites; the Seneschal presents him to Pharaoh; he [Joseph] is tempted by Pharaoh's Queen, not by Potiphar's wife; and he [Joseph] lets his family know there is corn in Egypt by throwing straw into the Nile, which floats past the castle of his father [Jacob], &c.'⁵⁷¹

Despite Burges's unsuccessful search for a textual source for those variants, he had correctly surmised that the legendary elements 'must be sought for in some contemporary author who made

⁵⁶⁹ Burges 1859, 158-61.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., 158 n. 1.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 158.

the story of Joseph into a sort of romance, adapting and altering the incidents to the manners of his time.⁵⁷² The mid-thirteenth-century metrical paraphrase of the biblical narrative, Jacob and Iosep (Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS. 652, fols. 1-10), answers Burges's description. That unique text dated shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century was first published in 1916.⁵⁷³ The poem is an ingeniously embellished paraphrase of the story of Jacob and Joseph written in the vernacular of southwest England.⁵⁷⁴ Critics agree that the poem followed the ballad form rather than that of a reading composed for religious services.⁵⁷⁵

After a short preamble following the convention used by troubadours to attract the attention of audiences, Jacob and Iosep tells the story of Joseph from his prophetic dreams to his reunion with Jacob in Egypt. The narrative concludes as Pharaoh bestows castles by the 'seaside [sic]' upon the aged patriarch. Both the Salisbury cycle and Queen Mary's Psalter reproduced selectively non-biblical elements of the 'romance.'⁵⁷⁶ The close correlation between the poem and the Salisbury sculptures has resulted in new interpretations for several spandrels that differ from those ingrained in the literature.

The intrusion into the Salisbury Old Testament cycle of legendary material from that almost contemporary poem suggests that the 'romance' had particular currency in the Salisbury area. This

572 Ibid., 161.

573 For the text with introductory notes and an analysis of the poem, see Napier 1916; and an earlier publication, Heuser 1905, 83-121. Consisting of 538 lines, the poem lacks one folio between leaves 6 and 7. Two unrelated texts are bound in with the poem. Of the three hands in the manuscript, the earliest was responsible for transcribing the poem. After Napier's publication of the poem in 1916, Canon Christopher Wordsworth (1916, 145, 157-9) first made the connection between the poem and the chapter house Joseph cycle in an unsigned 'Note'. I am grateful to Selby Whittingham for that reference. I had been aware only of a review (C. W. 1916, 425-26), where he also noted legendary elements of the poem that occurred in the chapter house cycle.

574 Napier 1916, xxix-xxx.

575 See Heuser 1905, 104; and Sherwin 1945, 1-18. Using internal evidence, Sherwin's analysis of the poem stressed the passages indicating that the ballad was sung in houses and halls. He postulated that Jacob and Iosep may have been composed and sung by itinerant friars. The distinction between religious readings and the poem is significant in that William Caxton's fifteenth-century publication of the Sarum Breviary, I, col. 655, recorded: 'Th' historye of Joseph and His Brethren is red the thirde Sunday in Lente' as a lesson at nocturns and matins. For this, see Maydeston 1901-2; also C. W. 1916, 157.

576 For a facsimile of the Psalter, see Warner 1912.

may well explain the unusual amount of space allotted to Joseph, almost three times that of the next longest cycle. Such predominance cannot be explained by the traditional symbolism of Joseph as the Old Testament antitype for a bishop. In a building that belonged to the dean and chapter, it seems unlikely that the cycle was intended to symbolize the pastoral role of the bishop or to honor the incumbent prelate. The dean, not the bishop, was the presiding dignitary in the chapter house, and as noted earlier, unless the bishop held a prebend in the diocese, he entered the building only on invitation. His prebend alone entitled him to sit among the canons in the stall designated for his prebend, but not with the chapter dignitaries in the eastern bay.

Both the Salisbury sculptor and the illustrator of Queen Mary's Psalter must have known the Jacob and Iosep poem, or certainly a similar text. The nearly identical way in which they depicted Joseph's departure to Egypt on horseback, mounted behind the seneschal (Fig. 126 and Pl. XXXVIII) raises the further possibility that an illustrated version of the poem once existed. Struck by the similarities of the two representations of Joseph's departure, Burges included a drawing of both in his 1859 article (Fig. 127).

Another coincidence reinforces the hypothesis of a lost illustrated text. The iconography of three surviving miniatures from the Joseph story in the Murthly Hours closely resembles the imagery in the corresponding scenes at Salisbury (Figs. 128-130). Like the poem, the manuscript is also attributed to southwest England. The first miniature shows Joseph kneeling before his father and brothers as he tells his dreams (Fig. 128). As in the spandrel (Pl. XXXVI), his foster mother or nurse Bilhah (one of Jacob's concubines), is standing behind Joseph in a doorway. She has placed a protective hand on his shoulder. In both representations Jacob sits in a chair listening to Joseph, his right hand supporting his head, and six of the brothers cluster behind him in a doorway. A comparison with the photograph of the spandrel on file in the Princeton Index of Christian Art established the subject of the miniature, until then unknown. Without a context, John Higgett, in preparing the manuscript for publication, had found the scene a puzzle.⁵⁷⁷ The similarities of the

⁵⁷⁷ John Higgett to author, oral communication.

Salisbury and Murthly depictions of Joseph and his brothers in the field (Fig. 129 and Pl. XXXVII), and of Joseph pledging fealty to Pharaoh (Fig. 130 and Pl. XL), add credence to the hypothesis of an illustrated version of the poem now lost.

The condition of the twenty-one spandrels varies from two that are nearly perfect (Pls. XXXV and XLV), to many that have numerous and extensive repairs. A few give evidence of an overall sanding of the surfaces (Pls. XXXIX, XLII, and XLIII), the restorer's unfortunate and gratuitous finishing touch. With a few exceptions he preferred to cut off damaged heads at or near the collar line before replacing them (Pls. XXVII, XLVI, and XLIX). Yet a good number of the original heads survives (Pls. XXXVI, XLV, L, LI, LIII, LIV, and LV), and the scene of Jacob telling his dream (Pl. XXXVI) contains a remarkable total of seven. But unlike the first artist, the surviving heads indicate that the second artist had little interest in providing facial expressions to dramatize events.

The head-to-body proportions favored by each artist also differed. In cases where partial insets sufficed to restore the heads (Pls. XXXVII, XLIII, LI, and LIII), the standing figures of the second artist have a head-to-body ratio of approximately one to five and a half or one to six. Besides those more elongated proportions, he also created complicated, often quite crowded compositions containing more than one event. Then too, in his less complex or more sparse arrangements, he usually eschewed the use of stylized trees with which the first artist filled empty lateral spaces. Instead, especially in the Joseph cycle, the second artist preferred to identify the locus of a scene with architectural elements (Pls. XXXVI and XXXIX) that sometimes flanked the figures. He used different types of buildings and furniture to set the scene, whether house, palace, or prison (Pls. XXXV, XL, and XLIII, respectively). For example, Jacob always sits in an unadorned chair (Pls. XXXVI and XXXIX), whereas drapery usually embellishes the Pharaoh's high backed throne (Pls. XL and XLVI). Also, when holding the rod of authority, Joseph is consistently seated on a solid bench finished with moldings along upper and lower edges (Pls. XLVIII, XLIX-LII, and LIV). The numerous Morellian features that further distinguish the work of the second artist will receive detailed attention in the chapter on style.

With the exception of a few minor details, all twenty-one scenes of the cycle can be authenticated as restored. The thirteenth-century artist did justice to the swiftly moving story as it unfolds in the poem of Iacob and Iosep. Lively poses, significant gestures and telling details dramatize that spirited recital. It transformed the biblical text into a medieval ballad set in a city wherein flags and banners flew, streets were broad and long, castles high and proud, fair halls peopled by kings, earls, knights, ladies, and barons, and the principals of the story swoon, wring hands in grief, or sing and dance with joy.

Joseph's Dreams. Spandrel I, Southeast Bay

(Plate XXXV)

Burges identified the scene as 'Joseph's dream,' though 'dreams' in the plural would have been more accurate. Yet Burges described both the sheaves of Joseph's first dream and the sun and the moon of the second.⁵⁷⁸

In the biblical account Joseph is with his brothers in the fields. Upon awakening from his first dream, he tells his brothers: 'I thought we were binding sheaves in the field: and my sheaf arose as it were, and stood, and your sheaves standing about, bowed down before my sheaf' (Genesis 37:7). His dream aroused their envy, which turned to hatred on hearing the content of the second dream that followed immediately: 'I saw in a dream, as it were the sun, and the moon, and eleven stars worshipping me' (Genesis 37:9). On returning to his father's house he repeated the second dream to his father and brothers. Jacob rebuked him asking: 'What meaneth this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother, and thy brethren worship thee upon the earth?' (Genesis 37:10).

Set in the field and conflating the two dreams, the well-preserved spandrel scene omitted the eleven stars of the second dream. Burges described what we see today: 'He [Joseph] is lying down. His wheat-sheaf is on the top of a hill; the others on either side. On each side of his own is the sun and the moon; dexter [sinister] the sun, and sinister [dexter], the moon....Perfect, except Joseph's

⁵⁷⁸ Burges 1859, 153.

head and left hand.⁵⁷⁹ One inset has restored the face (the nose now broken). The second, replacing his left hand and arm, extends to the middle of his upper arm as diagrammed (Pl. XXXVb). Except for mastic repairing the background plane and superficial retouching with mastic on Joseph's tunic skirt and the moon, the patina of age prevails on the carved surfaces. Its excellent condition assures the spandrel a place on the roster of well-preserved scenes.

The conflation of the two dreams in that spandrel accords well with the opening of the story in Jacob and Iosep. After a preamble, the narrative begins with Jacob telling both dreams as one to his father and brothers, a departure from the Bible, for, as noted above (Genesis 37:10), Joseph never mentioned his first dream to Jacob.

Joseph Relates His Dream. Spandrel II, Southeast Bay

(Plate XXXVI)

According to Burges, 'Joseph [is] telling his dream to his father and mother, and his brethren.'⁵⁸⁰ Six of the brothers stand in the doorway and crowd on the stairs behind Jacob's chair. Joseph, center stage, is kneeling before the seated Jacob who supports his head with his right hand, fingers curled, and elbow resting on the arm of the chair. At the left the woman standing in the doorway of the crenellated building has placed her right hand protectively on Joseph's shoulder. Neither the biblical text nor the poem placed Jacob's wife in the scene, but, as noted above, the miniature in the Murthly Hours includes her (Fig. 128), as does the same scene in Queen Mary's Psalter where she is seated beside Jacob.⁵⁸¹ Joseph's gesture of supplication follows the text of the

579 Ibid. Throughout this cycle Burges confused dexter and sinister. For such a well-preserved spandrel, Burges's color notes are thin. He was unsure whether Joseph's tunic had been green or blue. The clouds around the sun and moon had been 'blue, shaded with yellow.'

580 Ibid.

581 Warner 1912, fol. 14, pl. 26. Before the Salisbury narrative begins, Joseph's mother, Rachel, had died giving birth to Joseph's younger brother Benjamin, Jacob's youngest son (Genesis 35:16-19). Yet in both the poem, Jacob and Iosep, and the biblical text, when Jacob interprets Joseph's second dream, the sun and the moon symbolize Joseph's mother and father. The mother is not named in the poem. But since Bilhah, Rachel's bond maid and Jacob's concubine, had, according to Jewish legend, loved and raised Joseph as a mother, the moon of the dream stood for Bilhah. Then, legends held that she died of grief when she saw

poem wherein he 'very eagerly' asked his father's permission to tell the dream. Then, paralleling the conflation in the preceding spandrel, he related both dreams as one.⁵⁸²

In effect, the spandrel perfectly illustrates the poem after the brothers have returned with Joseph from the fields:

Nou he sit in halle, Iacob (th)e elde man,
 (And) his sones alle from felde come(th) hom.
 Iacob bihalt [beheld] his sones, of hen [them] he
 was bli(th)e [pleased].
 (And) Iosep (th)e (y)unge bigan to speke swi(th)e [eagerly].
 His fader he tolde a swefne [dream] ani(gh)t (th)at him mette [dreamed]
 (And) bad swi(th)e erne [very eagerly] telle (th)at me him lette.⁵⁸³

In the Murthly Hours, Joseph is making the gesture of speech instead of entreaty. But as in the spandrel, the fingers of Jacob's right hand also curl against his cheek, a gesture that could be read as one of mourning. Yet in the poem it was the brothers, not Jacob, who were full of 'wo[e]' on hearing Jacob's interpretation of the dream, and thereafter they would hate him as their great 'fo[e]'.⁵⁸⁴

Describing the condition of the scene, Burges wrote: 'Quite perfect, with the exception of Joseph's head, and lady's face, the arms and elbows of Jacob, as well as those of Joseph, are now destroyed.'⁵⁸⁵ As the diagram indicates (Pl. XXXVIb), except for the survival of Jacob's original

his bloody coat and thought him dead. See Graves and Patai 1966, 212-13; and Ginzberg 1909, 2, 8.

Burges 1859, 154, identified Jacob's wife in later scenes as Leah, Rachel's sister (Pls. LIII and LIV).

Lacking a resolution to her identity throughout the cycle, we will refer to the woman simply as Joseph's mother or Jacob's wife.

582 Napier 1916, 2, lines 41-50. All transcriptions of pertinent passages of the poem will substitute modern alphabetic characters in parentheses for the less familiar Middle English forms.

583 Ibid., lines 31-36.

584 Ibid., 3, lines 59-60.

585 Burges 1859, 153. The remnants of polychromy were as follows: '1st house, i.e., dexter, green; cavetto, as usual. 2nd house has green splay, instead of cavetto. Insides of embrasures, red. Joseph, green tunic; and Jacob, a blue ditto; underside of chair, black. 1st brother, light red; next, white; and little one in corner, red tunics.'

right arm and hand, the archaeological examination agreed in essence with Burges's description. The fortuitous survival of seven heads, Jacob's and those of all six brothers, provides us with excellent examples of the uniform facial style of the second artist. Typically he differentiated among the heads merely by adding beards or varying the coiffures.

The close correlation of the poem with the first two spandrels as well as with scenes in Queen Mary's Psalter and the Murthly Hours has accounted for the non-biblical anomalies. The correlation sharpens but does not alter the traditional interpretations of the Salisbury scene.

Joseph Arriving in the Fields. Joseph in the Well. The Brothers Bloodying Joseph's Coat.

Spandrel III, Southeast Bay

(Plate XXXVII)

In accordance with the biblical narrative, the spandrel contains the events of Genesis 37:23-24 and 31: 'And as soon as he [Joseph] came to his brethren [in the fields], they forthwith stript him of his outside coat, that was of divers colours: And cast him into an old pit, where there was no water....And they took his coat, and dipped it in the blood of a kid, which they had killed.'⁵⁸⁶ As Burges noted, 'There are three subjects here: 1st, Joseph on his arrival, with a sack hung on a stick over his shoulder, a package [restored as a basket] in his left hand, and a wallet hung over his left shoulder, seized by one of the brothers; 2nd, he is put in the well, head downward; and 3rd, a kid is having his throat cut over Joseph's garment.'⁵⁸⁷

Although insets repairing the figures total seventeen, a considerable amount of good thirteenth-century carving survived. Burges continued, 'All heads gone, except the brother No. 1 [left], which is mutilated; the arms deficient in first group, and one arm of the kid slayer in [group] No. 3.' Carter's sketch, tiny as the figures are, corroborates Burges's observations (Pl. LXII), as do the repairs to the figures. All heads are indeed replacements joined at the collar line, except for that

⁵⁸⁶ From Joseph's arrival in the field to the sighting of the merchants, the poem dramatizes the brothers' envy and malice, their feasting and laughing after having put Joseph in the pit where, 'in a sori mod [mood], he 'wring(th) his honde [hands]': Napier 1916, 3-4, lines 87-110.

⁵⁸⁷ Burges 1859, 154.

of 'brother No. 1,' whose original face was repaired with an inset resembling a half mask. Nothing survives to authenticate the nineteenth-century basket that Joseph has in his left hand, which, according to Burges, was a package. Though the restoration depended on the same scene in Queen Mary's Psalter where Joseph also carries a basket, the coincidence fails to authenticate that detail. Nor do we get any assistance from the Murthly Hours, where Joseph's left hand is empty (Fig. 129). Joseph's other attribute, his knapsack, although patched with mortar, survived from the thirteenth century, as did the bulging wallet slung from his left shoulder across his body. A fourth inset supplied his right hand and the flanking portions of the stick supporting the knapsack. A mortar patch fills in a small loss on his hip, and another spreads out from the inset at the bend of his left elbow. The flare of the well-preserved skirt of his tunic enhances the sense of forward motion as Joseph, crossing unusually uneven terrain, enters the scene to join his brothers.

Three insets restore the central scene where one of the brothers is lowering Joseph into the pit. The first inset supplied the brother's head, the second his left thumb and a generous portion of Joseph's right knee which was the only restoration to his figure. Backed by the original carving, the third inset replaced the brother's right leg from knee to ankle. Otherwise the two figures are well-preserved.

In the third group, above and to the right, two brothers slitting the throat of a kid have nineteenth-century heads joined along the collar lines. Except for his head, the figure of the brother on the left holding the coat is perfect. The other brother fared less well. In addition to his modern head, the first of three insets supplied his left forearm from elbow to wrist. The second, restoring his left hand, was of a piece with and included most of the body of the kid. The animal's chest and throat, his hind and fore feet are original, and a generous remnant of his thirteenth-century body backs the inset. A separate small inset supplied his tail. The third inset shaped like a shin guard restored the left leg of the brother, and mortar patches repaired the surfaces of his right sleeve and thumb. The well-conceived, unspoiled drapery of the skirt of his tunic that sweeps between his legs as if blown by the wind provides a fine example of the work of the second artist, as does the pronounced, inverted V-shaped fold just above that crumples against his right leg.

The three animals of the flock grazing on the hillside received minor insets that included the left foreleg of the animal in the foreground and the head and neck of the kid or goat directly above. Mastic filled out superficial losses on all three bodies.

The comparable illumination in Queen Mary's Psalter also depicts three subjects,⁵⁸⁸ but the illustration in the Murthly Hours with the same subjects as the spandrel provides a much closer comparison. Despite the miniature's very compact composition, the same number of brothers perform the same functions: one seizes Joseph, one throws him in the pit head first, and two hold the kid as one of them slits its throat (Fig. 129). As in earlier comparisons with the Murthly hours, differences are minor, primarily involving dress, whereas the similarities seem compelling. On arrival Joseph has the same type of double knapsack slung on a stick over his right shoulder, though he lacks the wallet under his right arm. Lacking a staff, the brother who seizes Joseph by the shoulder with his right hand has also grasped Joseph by the wrist with his left. In both scenes, the same brother has taken Joseph by the shoulder to draw him toward the pit.

In the central episode the Murthly Hours and the spandrel both show Joseph being lowered into the pit by his feet. Both depict the gravity-defying skirt of his short tunic covering his legs as if he were upright. Joseph going head first instead of feet first is unusual, though not unique, and therefore an important shared detail. We find it also in the Bible moralisée (Fig. 131), dated in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS. 270 b, fol. 23v).⁵⁸⁹ (There in the

588 Warner 1912, fol. 14v, pl. 26. In the first group, as in the spandrel, the brothers seize Joseph, next they beat and strip him of his coat, and finally they lower him feet, rather than head, first into the pit. In the miniature, variations and elaborations not found in the Salisbury cycle probably represent developments that, although still based on the same metrical paraphrase, postdate the sculptures. Warner, who did not know of the Joseph ballad, described the artist of the Psalter as particularly inventive: *ibid.*, 7.

589 For other examples of Joseph going head first in to the pit, see also the *Bible moralisée*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2554, fol. 7r (1220), illustrated in Guest (ed.) 1995, facsimile fol. 7r, and Hausherr 1972, pl. XIV. Joseph also goes in head first in a Missal (second quarter of thirteenth century), fol. 163, illustrated in Thompson 1918, 7, pl. IX; in a fourteenth-century Haggadah, Sarajevo Museum, MS. 30, fol. 12, illustrated in Müller and Schlosser 1898, fol. 12; and in the Klosterneuburg, retable (1181), center zone, where that is one of the anti-types for the entombment, illustrated in Röhrig 1955, pl. 32, and Schiller 1972, 2, fig. 572. Such significance probably was not attached to the image in the narrative context of the triple events in the spandrel.

adjacent episode the brothers are stripping Joseph of his coat, one of the three acts pictured in Queen Mary's Psalter.)

Although Salisbury and the Murthly Hours depict identical episodes, in the miniature, unlike the spandrel, the brothers holding the kid wear mantles, and the brother seizing Joseph has a short, cowl-necked cape. Also in the miniature, neither brother in the third group actually holds Joseph's coat. A garment resembling Joseph's tunic hovers ambiguously in the air below the killing of the kid. The Murthly miniature also has double the number of animals in the flock. But instead of all grazing on the right hillside, one lies in front of the pit, and the rest are walking towards the right as if to exit from the scene. Yet once again significant iconographical similarities overshadow differences.

In sum, except for the unauthenticated basket, the original iconography of the spandrel scene survived unaltered. Peopled with figures in active poses, feet pointed elegantly, drapery reflecting motion and wind, the three scenes take place on notably uneven terrain. In the first group, Joseph's tunic flaring out behind him as he steps into the scene enhances the sense of forward motion and spatial depth. In the figure of the brother on the far left, the well-conceived, unspoiled drapery of the skirt of the tunic swept between his legs by a wind offers a fine example of the work of the second artist, as does the pronounced, inverted, crumpled V-shape fold just above which is plastered by the wind against the back of his right leg. As composed, the figures and ground swells achieve a sense of recession in space, enhanced by the opening of the pit, which is viewed from above. The upright figure of the brother who still has his thirteenth-century head gives us the head-to-body ratio of one to five and a half, proportions associated with the somewhat attenuated figures of the second artist. Numbered from left to right, the third, fourth, and fifth brothers are sufficiently well-preserved to supply examples of the second artist's drapery style.

Brothers Selling Joseph into Bondage; Joseph Departing for Egypt. Spandrel IV, Southeast Bay (Plate XXXVIII)

The spandrel illustrates equally well both the poem Jacob and Iosep and the text of Genesis 37:28: 'And when the Madianite merchants passed by, they [the brothers] drew him out of the pit,

and sold him to the Ismaelites, for twenty pieces of silver: and they led him into Egypt.' In both accounts, the brothers sell Joseph to merchants, but the poem specifies two in number: 'twei riche chapmen [merchants] come,'⁵⁹⁰ as shown in the spandrel. Noting the double action and using the terminology of Queen Mary's Psalter,⁵⁹¹ Burges described the two groups in the spandrel: '1st, the seneschal is paying the price; 2nd, the seneschal on horseback with Joseph behind him.'⁵⁹² Since Burges's notes indicated different colors for the clothing of the merchants, that information established the presence of two distinct persons: '1st figure (seneschal) yellow tunic, lined with green, light red hosen. 2nd, brother, light vermillion dress, lined with green; black hose. 2nd seneschal in green tunic and hood. Joseph white.'⁵⁹³ The same cloak and hood of green identifies that mounted merchant as the person presenting Joseph to the Pharaoh in one of the subsequent scenes (Pl. XL).⁵⁹⁴ By representing 'twei riche chapmen,' the Salisbury spandrel followed the metrical paraphrase more closely than did the corresponding illumination in Queen Mary's Psalter. In fact, the first event in the spandrel, the sale of Joseph, deviates significantly from its counterpart in the Psalter. There the mounted seneschal is purchasing Joseph from a group of the brothers, not from a single spokesman.

As for the condition of the sculptures, Burges added, 'All the heads are gone, besides other mutilations.' Carter's sketch delineated all the heads except that of the horse (Pl. LXII), which suggests that by writing 'gone' Burges must have meant badly damaged, not missing. In fact, the chapman on horseback has his original head with a modern face inserted. The restorer cut off and replaced Joseph's head at the collar line as well as that of the first chapman. The stump of Joseph's

590 Napier 1916, 4, line 112. Among the embellishments, the poem injects the concept that the brothers, still burning over the interpretations of the dreams, hoped to mitigate the prophecy by selling Joseph to the merchants who would take him away to Egypt: *ibid.*, 4, lines 118-20. The colorful narrative of the sale and departure continues: *ibid.*, 5, lines 121-42.

591 The subtitles in the Psalter read, 'Icij est Joseph vendu a seneschal de Egypte' and 'Coment le seneschal de Egypte amene Joseph au roi de Egypte': Warner 1912, pl. 15.

592 Burges 1859, 154.

593 *Ibid.* The color notes on the horse seem a bit confused: 'Arson of saddle painted black; horse, brown--traces of blue on it, probably for the shading of a white horse.'

594 *Ibid.*

original head backs the nineteenth-century inset. The inset for the horse's nineteenth-century head included an insignificant portion of his neck.

The first chapman, far left, reaches into his purse for money, a detail described in Iacob and Iosep:

Hi [they, the chapmen] casten hond to purse, (th)e panes

[pennies] be(eth) itold [counted];

Nou helpe Crist Iosep, so ung [young] he is solde.⁵⁹⁵

The figure of the chapman on the left required three insets to repair his right and left forearms, left hand and foot. Another inset repaired the right forearm and hand of the brother reaching for the pennies. Mastic and re-cutting sufficed to restore his left arm and the hand holding a purse, which, like that of the chapman, closes with a drawstring. Besides Joseph's nineteenth-century head and the mounted chapman's new face, the latter's right leg and foot were replaced, but the foot has since broken off at the ankle. On the whole, re-cutting in all four figures proved very light, with the most severe on the skirt of Joseph's tunic, and on the first chapman's left arm and hand. Because the restorer favored mastic instead of re-cutting to eliminate surface abrasions and gouges, the figures offer valid examples of the second artist's drapery style. Unlike the previous spandrel where the free-standing legs had to be replaced, those originally carved in the round have survived in this scene.⁵⁹⁶

Burges apparently made his drawing of the spandrel after Philip and his atelier had completed the restoration (Fig. 66a). In the published version based on the original drawing (Fig. 127),⁵⁹⁷ Burges delineated the contours of various insets with lines finer than those defining the thirteenth-century parts. He even indicated by lines where the horse's head and the chapman's leg were attached to the original sculpture. Although the drawing at first seemed like a working model for the restorer, apparently that was not the case. Burges's sketchbooks contain no more drawings of other restored spandrels. Apparently he made the one drawing primarily to demonstrate the close

⁵⁹⁵ Napier 1916, 5, line 133-4.

⁵⁹⁶ The left leg of the first 'chapman,' the right leg of the brother, and the horse's front and rear right legs are all carved in the round. Possibly the right leg of the mounted chapman was also.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., 159.

relationship between the Salisbury scene and Queen Mary's Psalter.

Both the Psalter and the spandrel deviated from the poem by having Joseph leave for Egypt on horseback. According to Jacob and Iosep,

(Th)is [These] chapmen nime(th) [took] Iosep ri(gh)t bi (th)e hond,
(And) so hi [they] lede(th) Iosep into Egipte lond.⁵⁹⁸

The restoration preserved the original iconography of the spandrel, a scene of purely narrative intent. Even though picturing two events, the uncluttered composition is reminiscent of the economy and selectivity characterizing the first artist's work. But unlike those compositions, there are no trees as fillers, and figure proportions and drapery are those of the second artist's style. The viewer's eye moves easily across a void to the next scene thanks to the horse who steps along the rising ground line towards the next spandrel.

Brothers Showing Joseph's Coat to Jacob. Spandrel V, Southeast Bay

(Plate XXXIX)

After the brothers had sold Joseph and dipped his coat in blood of a kid, some went ahead and carried the coat to their father, saying: 'This we have found: see whether it be thy son's coat or not. And the father acknowledging it, said: It is my son's coat, an evil wild beast hath eaten him, a beast hath devoured Joseph' (Genesis 37:32-33).

Describing the scene, Burges wrote, 'The brothers bring back the coat: two houses are represented here. A woman is behind Jacob.' On color and condition Burges referred to her as Leah (Laban's older daughter and Jacob's second wife): 'Jacob, blue tunic; chair at back, yellow, with half-inch green border. Leah, white dress, with two black lines round the neck; band of head-dress going round the chin, blue. 1st brother, i.e., dexter, green tunic; 2nd, yellow, or light red dress, very doubtful; 3rd, also doubtful, perhaps green: the first two have black hose.'⁵⁹⁹ His unusually extensive

⁵⁹⁸ Napier 1916, 5, lines 141-2.

⁵⁹⁹ Burges 1859, 154.

color notes on the buildings indicate that the white walls of the house on the left were 'scored with dark black lines, shaded green at the bottom and yellow at top.'⁶⁰⁰ The scoring with black presumably represented masonry, a technique that echoed the red lines defining the masonry in the vaults of the chapter house. Burges's observations continued with notes on the condition of the spandrel: 'All heads are gone, except Leah's, which is defaced; a good many hands and legs off.'

In this much-restored spandrel, we find all heads except that of Jacob's wife replaced, joined to the figures at the collar lines. The back of Jacob's thirteen-century head lies behind the inset and the remnant governs the restoration of his coiffure and Phrygian cap. The greater portion of his wife's head has survived, and the inset supplied only the front half of her pill box hat and the upper half of her face. Insets replaced both of her hands and forearms with a gesture that reflects her horror and grief at the sight of Joseph's bloody coat, but no vestiges of her original arms have survived. Fortunately Carter's sketch delineating her bent forearms coming together at the wrist (Pl. LXII), seems to verify the restoration that illustrates her grief in the poem:

Euer [ever or continually] seide (th)e moder, 'Wo is me a liue [to be alive],
For mi sone Iosep be ich neuere [never] bli(th)e [glad]'⁶⁰¹

The seated figure of Jacob underwent the most repairs. Six insets restored his figure and chair. Besides his head, his entire left arm and hand are modern, as is his left foot and ankle and right arm from elbow to finger tips. A dowel affixed the last to the spandrel stone. The right side of his figure was newly carved out of stone that originally lay behind the surface plane. As in other heavily restored spandrels, the background plane around the figure was cut way back, therefore nothing survived that would validate the gesture he is making with his right arm and hand. Again Carter's sketch helps to authenticate the bent position of the forearm as restored with elbow close to the body and hand raised. The congruent scene in Queen Mary's Psalter (Fig. 132) provides many parallels, but, given the upright position of Jacob's head in the spandrel and the angle formed by his original

600 Burges's notes continued, 'The roof has been white, shaded with blue; dormer gable black. 2nd house, mould of arch, green; soffit and inside of house, black; cavetto, green; and inside of embrasures red': *ibid.*

601 Napier 1916, 6, lines 77-8.

elbow, his right hand could not have reached his face in the Classical gesture of grief that we see in the Psalter. At Salisbury the gesture as restored signifies speech and is appropriate to the tragic words of recognition he spoke on seeing Joseph's bloody coat. Unremitting in his sorrowing, he continued, 'I will go down to my son into hell, mourning' (Genesis 37:35). The scene thus adhered more closely to the biblical narrative than to the poem that describes the father's deep sorrow but gives him no speech.⁶⁰²

The free-standing legs of the first brother (left) and of the one holding the coat (right) required replacements. For both figures the vestiges of the original feet governed their elegant stances as restored, toes turned out in the manner of dancers. The stance of the first brother, similar to but less active than that of the first chapman in the previous scene, accommodated the figure nicely to the rising arch of the arcade. The well-preserved, crumpled folds of Joseph's coat provide the only unspoiled example of drapery in this spandrel.

Except for touches of mastic rebuilding the edges of the crenellations, the building on the right is very good indeed, with the patina of age surviving throughout. The building on the left, however, underwent a ubiquitous surface sanding, as well as minor mastic repairs to the crenellations. On the left edge of the spandrel a wide band of mortar filled the gap between this and the preceding spandrel. A similar repair restored the upper right corner of the stone.

In summary, the drawing by Carter gives credence to the gestures of both Jacob and his wife, for which no authenticating vestiges have survived. The spandrel suffered heavier losses than most of the others in the Joseph cycle, but the restoration has preserved the original iconography. Little remains of value for stylistic comparisons in this spandrel that served primarily to advance the

602 Ibid., lines 169-76:

'Nou [now] he sit in halle, Iacob [th]e elde man,
 (And) his sonnes ten from felde come(th) hom,
 (And) Ioseppes curtel hi [they] bringe(th) al blodi,
 (Th)o [when] Iacob hit [it] gan [did] biholde iwis [in truth] he was sori [sorrowful].
 (Th)o he sau(th) his kurtel ispreind al wi(th) blod,
 Nas neuere [Never was] for his child fader so sorimod [sad of heart].
 Adoun he fel iswowe [to the ground in a swoon] (and) tar [tore] his hor [hoary] loc.

narrative.

Joseph Pledging Fealty to Pharaoh. Spandrel VI, Southeast Bay

(Plate XL)

Burges did not interpret the scene, he merely described it: 'Pharaoh seated, gives a stick into Joseph's hand; Joseph clasps the King's right hand with his own. Behind him is the seneschal, who has the same hood as in [scene] No. 4, but thrown back.'⁶⁰³ With two exceptions, subsequent literature has incorrectly described the Salisbury scene as Joseph brought to Potiphar, which accords with the biblical narrative (Genesis 37:36).⁶⁰⁴ In a footnote Burges linked the scene with Queen Mary's Psalter by citing the caption for the same scene in the manuscript (Fig. 133): 'Icij est Joseph presente au Roy de Egypte par soun seneschal q[ui] li achara.' The two scenes share the hand clasp, but in the Psalter Pharaoh is holding his scepter upright, and a third figure walking into the scene from the left appears to be proffering a stick or rod.

Burges misread the spandrel scene as the giving of the stick or rod of authority to Joseph, a ceremony that symbolizes the transference of authority. The spandrel, in fact, represents Joseph pledging his fealty to Pharaoh who has extended his rod of authority or scepter for Joseph to touch. By touching it, Joseph is signifying his loyalty. As in the Bible (Genesis 41:40-41), Pharaoh will not delegate his authority until he appoints Joseph to govern over Egypt (Pl. XLVII).⁶⁰⁵

The biblical precedent for the touching of the rod comes not from the narrative of Joseph but from the book of Esther 4:11; 5:1-2, when Esther entered King Assuerus's (Ahasuerus's) presence without permission. Any unauthorized entrance into the royal presence was punishable by death. But instead of pronouncing the death sentence, the king graciously received her. To signify his pardon of her treasonous breach of conduct, he held out his golden scepter for her to touch (Esther 5:2). By

⁶⁰³ Burges 1859, 154.

⁶⁰⁴ See *ibid.*, Anonymous 1889, 53; and Spring 1987, 154. For the other exception, see Whittingham 1974, fig. 20.

⁶⁰⁵ In the biblical ceremony, Pharaoh gives Joseph a ring, a silken robe, and a golden chain, as well as a chariot as evidence of the delegated authority.

Carolingian times the touching of the rod had become a feudal custom whereby a vassal pledged his fealty to his overlord.⁶⁰⁶ In the thirteenth-century Morgan Bible MS. 638, when David returns with Goliath's head, we see David touching Saul's rod, an embellishment not dictated by the text (Fig. 134).⁶⁰⁷ In the spandrel Joseph and Pharaoh have clasped right hands, thereby adding the fides manualis to Joseph's touching of the rod. Although no vestiges of original carving validate the hand clasp, Burges's description fully authenticates it.

In the both the biblical account and Jacob and Iosep, Joseph first becomes part of Potiphar's household, but in the poem Potiphar robes Joseph in costly clothes and gives him to Pharaoh.⁶⁰⁸ Yet the Salisbury spandrel departs from both texts in that Potiphar does not feature at all. The chapman presents Joseph directly to Pharaoh. The chapman's garments and Burges's color notes securely identify the figure.⁶⁰⁹ There can be no doubt that the seated person originally represented Pharaoh. Burges mentioned the circlet or crown on Pharaoh's head, and the surviving segment of Pharaoh's head behind the inset includes a small portion of the crown. The elaborate, two-towered castle behind him and the well-articulated throne created a regal setting worthy of the Pharaoh and in keeping with the poem's description of a royal city:

'Burg, (th)at riche was (and) strong:

Castles heie [high] (and) proute, stretes wide (and) long.'⁶¹⁰

In contrast to the preceding scene, Burges found the condition of this spandrel quite good. He noted, 'Pharaoh's arm and all heads broken: otherwise perfect.'⁶¹¹ Yet the repairs proved much more

606 According to Walter Cahn, oral communication, the feudal ceremony can be documented as early as the Carolingian period.

607 Plummer 1969, no. 175, facsimile fol. 28v.

608 'Nou Putifar ssrude(th) [clothed] Iosep mid derewor(th)e [costly] ssroud [clothes],
(And) (g)iue(th) [giveth] him Pharaon (th)e king, mid him he is proud.'
Napier 1916, 7, lines 187-8.

609 'Merchant, green tunic and hood, and black hose. Joseph's tunic, yellow; Pharaoh's blue; drapery of seat, white; seat, green; circlet of Pharaoh's head, yellow, with pattern in red; the castle as usual; cavetto, green; walls, shaded green below, yellow above, and white in the middle': Burges 1859, 154.

610 Napier 1916, 5, lines 145-46.

611 Ibid.

extensive than the notes would suggest. Besides the modern heads, all three backed by remnants of the original, the chapman has an inset repairing his right elbow, and mastic rebuilt Joseph's right hand. The inset for Pharaoh's broken right arm included his hand and all but the lower end of the rod held by Joseph. Their clasped hands are also insets, not surprising in view of Carter's sketch that shows them damaged (Pl. LXII). The only serious re-cutting, deep enough to be deforming, occurred on Pharaoh's lap and right thigh.

The same scene in the eighth and final surviving Old Testament miniature of the Murthly Hours shows the merchant or chapman presenting Joseph to a seated figure and Joseph touching the rod of authority (Fig. 130). The composition of the scene so closely parallels the Salisbury spandrel that we may once again safely assume a common model informed them both. Yet they differ in that the seated figure in the miniature lacks a crown and, instead of the handclasp, he is making a gesture, possibly one of speech. Despite the rod of authority, the peaked headdress suggests that the Murthly hours adhered to both the biblical narrative and the poem in which Potiphar bought Joseph from the chapman (Genesis 39:1). Instead of a crown, the seated figure wears a pileus cornutus of the type worn by the seneschal in Queen Mary's Psalter (Fig. 133). In the spandrel only, the chapman is making the gesture of speech with his right hand, forefinger extended, the others curled. But in both versions he wears a mantle with a hood.

In summary, except for the heads and minor repairs to the arms, the figures of the Joseph and the chapman survived in nearly perfect condition and provide valid examples of dress and drapery style. Of particular note, the flap of the chapman's hood buttons realistically at his throat, and a sleeveless surcoat completes his dress. The restoration preserved the original iconography that departed from both the poem and the biblical text and introduced the symbolic touching of the rod. Pharaoh's castle, an outstanding architectural element, sets the scene splendidly within the royal precinct.

Pharaoh's Wife Seducing Joseph. Spandrel VII, Southeast Bay

(Plate XLI)

Burges wrote, 'Temptation of Joseph: Pharaoh's wife holds the counterpane of the bed; Joseph turns his back on her, she catches hold of his mantle.' By way of verifying that it was the queen, not Potiphar's wife, seducing Joseph, Burges quoted the caption of the same scene in Queen Mary's Psalter (Fig. 135): 'Ici la Rayne requert Joseph estre soun ami.'⁶¹² In confirmation, the archaeological examination revealed vestiges of the original crown with pinkish-buff mastic rebuilding the floriated tips.

According to Burges, the spandrel was 'a good deal mutilated; the breast of the lady, both heads, and one of Joseph's arms gone.'⁶¹³ Carter's drawing indicates the queen's mutilated upper torso and her right arm broken off at about the elbow (Pl. LXII). Consequently, one of the ten insets restoring the spandrel replaced that arm and hand from above the elbow, plus portions of Joseph's mantle that she has seized. Two more insets repaired her damaged torso. The first encompassed most of her bodice, and the other completed her hips. All skirt drapery from there down appears pristine, except for negligible re-cutting on her right thigh. The fluid drapery in the lower half of the figure deserves special notice for the attenuated fall of V-shaped folds and the spill of crumpled folds that spreads over her instep and flows across the ground. Cleverly done, the nineteenth-century face and

612 Burges 1859, 154. There are other examples of Joseph's being tempted by Pharaoh's wife besides Queen Mary's Psalter and the Salisbury spandrel. See Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 500, fol. 15, reproduced in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 1, 1938, fig. 16. Examples where the temptress wears a crown but is not identified by inscription include *Histoire universelle*, Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 20125, fol. 63b, illustrated in Buchthal 1957, pl. 150d; a stained glass window in the outer ambulatory of Bourges cathedral, reproduced in Cahier and Martin 1841-44, pl. X; and an ambulatory window in Rouen cathedral illustrated in Ritter 1926, pl. XIV: Adelaide Bennett to author, 24 April 1978. Bennett noted that it was also true that the temptress sometimes wears a crown even though labeled as Potiphar's wife: see for example a Psalter, ex Dyson Perrins Collection, Malvern, MS. 32 fol. 16, now in Ludwig Collection, Aachen, illustrated in Warner 1920, 2, pl. 39a. In the scene of Joseph's seduction in the Morgan Bible, MS 638, fol. 5, the crown originally given Potiphar's wife apparently has been erased: Plummer 1969, no. 35.

613 Ibid. Burges's color notes added: 'Joseph, blue tunic, green mantle, and black hose. The lady has perhaps a white tunic. The counterpane appears to have been originally green, and then re-painted with blue and white.'

most of her hair appear built out from the damaged original with mastic made of ground Chilmark stone. The line joining the inset repairing the hair next to her neck is hidden by gypsum along the upper and left edges, but is visible where it crosses into her left shoulder. A crack in her neck has opened up above the gypsum patch that spreads over the collar.

Four insets in the figure of Joseph replaced his head and neck, his left hand and arm to the elbow, his left leg and foot, plus a small section of the hem of his tunic above that leg and the ground around his toes. Another inset reconstituted most of the cascade of the mantel's drapery below the queen's hand. Re-cutting has blurred the contours of the drapery below Joseph's left hip and under his left arm. Otherwise the patina of age prevails over his garment so that portions of the figure provide another example of the thirteenth-century drapery arrangement.

Except for two insets at the head of the bed, the marvelously rumpled bed drapery with its boldly conceived fold-backs and angular creases appears mostly unrestored, marred only by a horizontal crack, as diagrammed, and minor sanding in a few places. Some re-cutting occurred on the front surface of the counterpane held in the queen's left hand.

In its composition the scene compares quite well with the same one in Queen Mary's Psalter (Fig. 135). In both, the queen tries to lure Joseph to a couch on the right. At Salisbury the torsion of Joseph's figure and awkward placement of his feet evoke his consternation over the compromising predicament in which he has found himself. As the queen was pulling him towards her by his mantle, she had also turned invitingly towards the rumpled couch. The mantle in the Salisbury scene follows the poem and biblical narrative closely, whereas in Queen Mary's Psalter the mantle does not feature at all.⁶¹⁴

A reminder of the evil that Eve introduced into paradise prefaces the vivid seduction scene in Jacob and Iosep, in which the queen promises Joseph all the power and riches of Egypt if he will love her secretly in her bower:⁶¹⁵

614 In the biblical narrative Potiphar's wife catches hold of Joseph's skirt. As he flees he leaves the garment in her hand (Genesis 39:12).

615 Napier 1916, 7, lines 195-223.

'Iosep', quod (th)e quene, 'nou (th)ou art welcome,
 Nou [now that] in mine boure [bower] ich thee haue inome
 Ich (th)e[e] wole tellen one tidinge,
 Ich wole (the)e make richest man after oure Kinge....
 (And) of one (th)inge iwis [assuredly] (tho)u mizt [mayest] be
 bli(th)e [glad],
 (Th)er nis no man me so lef [dear] (th)at euere [ever] is aliue [alive].
 [If] (th)ou canst in boure louie [love] me derne [secretly],
 (The)e prute [best of all things] of Egipte ssal (th)ee nou(gh)t be werne [withheld]....
 Mid (th)at ilke worde heo [she] gan [did] him cluppe [embrace] (and) kisse.
 'Iosep, ich am (th)in[e],' heo [she] seide,'mid iwise [assuredly].'
 Iosep of (th)ese wordes nas [is] he no (th)ing glad.
 He nolde [meant to] in none wise [no way] don [do] ase (th)e quene him bad [bade].
 (Th)eiz [although] Iosep were in boure [bower] stille bisteke [shut up],
 He nolde [meant to] in none wise his thro(th)e [faith] tobreke.
 Mid his white fingres hire armes he vnfeld,
 (And) wende from (th)e quene, ac [but] his mantel heo [she] athuld [kept hold of].⁶¹⁶

Despite the severe damage inflicted on this scene, the counterpane with its deeply articulated, crumpled drapery and the lower half of the figure of the queen provide notable examples of the thirteenth-century work. Although Joseph's head is modern, we can safely estimate a one-to-six ratio for the original figure. Unfortunately the deep re-cutting over his left hip and thigh detracts disproportionately from the overall effect of the otherwise well-preserved figure.

616 Ibid., lines 204-7; 212-15; 8, lines 216-23.

Pharaoh's Wife Denouncing Joseph. Spandrel VIII, Southeast Bay

(Plate XLII)

The poem Iacob and Iosep continues:

Heo [she] braid [tore off] hire wimpel (and) loude feng [took] to reme [scream],
 (Th)er[e] come serians [servants] wel fele [many] for to nime eme [look after],
 Wat here [their] leuedi [lady] mi[gh]te be, (th)at [to] [t]hem was so lef [dear].
 'A! Loke(th) nou,' heo [she] seide, ('th)is Ebrewisse (th)ef [Hebrew scoundrel],
 Of me he wende [thought] stille [in secret] to habben his gome [pleasure],
 Nas neuere quene in (th)is lond ido [done] so mucche ssome [shame]
 (Th)e king cam from (th)e wode mid blowinde beme [trumpet],
 (Th)e quene fel to his fet (and) loude feng [took] to reme [screaming]
 (And) tolde (th)e king of (th)is mucchele [great] ssome [shame]⁶¹⁷

In the Salisbury scene the queen has ripped off her crown, rather than a wimple, and is bending her knees as if to fall at the feet of the king to denounce Joseph. Burges described the scene as, 'Joseph accused: a seated figure of Pharaoh, with one leg over the other; the Queen with her knees bent, and Joseph turning away with outstretched arms.'⁶¹⁸ The notes continue, 'All the heads and nearly all the arms destroyed.'

The spandrel has been more heavily repaired than Burges's observations imply, but Carter's sketch indicates badly mutilated figures (Pl. LXII). The damage required twelve insets. The crownless figure of the queen has a single inset encompassing her head and right side down to her waist, plus her right arm and hand. A second inset replaced her left hand and arm to the elbow with heavy mastic spreading over the original upper arm. A third inset beginning just below her right hip and extending to mid-calf repaired that portion of her leg and attendant drapery. The original long, unspoiled fall of drapery beginning at her shoulder fuses with the vertical fold of her dress before it

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., lines 224-32.

⁶¹⁸ Burges 1859, 154.

spreads out over the ground. Her original, bent left knee and the survival of the lower portions of her legs and feet verify her pose. Carter's sketch validates her bent arms and raised hands, as restored, but the drawing shows her headless figure leaning backwards in a more abandoned pose as she condemns Joseph. The sketch also shows Pharaoh leaning away from the queen. In both cases, the restoration seems to account for the differences. Carter also pictures Pharaoh's right leg crossed over his left, and his right arm broken off at the elbow. The three insets restoring his figure replaced his head and neck, his entire right arm and hand and his left arm from above the elbow nearly to his wrist. Mastic made of ground Chilmark stone rebuilt the left upper arm and shoulder, as well as his right toes.

Pharaoh's pose, one leg crossed over the other knee, is usually identified either with a bad ruler or one making a judgment in anger or with partiality.⁶¹⁹ Here Pharaoh's pose stands for an unjust judgment showing partiality. In Iacob and Iosep, after the queen told Pharaoh of her great shame at the hands of Joseph, '(Th)e king him lette nime [had him seized] (and) faste binde.'⁶²⁰

Repairs to the figure standing on the left that Burges called Joseph consist of five insets replacing the head, the right arm from wrist to elbow, and his left arm from shoulder to elbow. Another supplied the lower portion of the arm, his hand, the entire knobbed staff he holds, and all of his left side including the leg and foot but not the toes. Mastic rebuilds the cap of his right knee and fills out much of the surface of his bodice. The nineteenth-century stick or staff probably is an error. Not only is there no trace of one in Carter's drawing, Burges described him as having both arms outstretched, an observation also confirmed by Carter's sketch.

Burges probably erred in his identification of the figure. Having turned away from Pharaoh and his queen, the figure seems to be gesturing 'off stage' with his raised right hand. Throughout the Salisbury cycle, a raised hand had no single meaning.⁶²¹ Here the gesture seems to refer to events in

619 For a discussion of the pose, see Brieger 1957, 148-50. Exceptions to this meaning exist in manuscripts related to Matthew Paris and the St Albans's school.

620 Napier 1916, 8, line 234.

621 In the Creation cycle the gesture signified the act of creation; in other scenes it denoted speech; elsewhere there was the added implication of command.

the queen's bower as if to corroborate her accusation, something Joseph would never have done. Neither the poem nor the biblical narrative placed him in this scene or had him speak in his own defense. Significantly, a similar pose and gesture occur later in the cycle where the butler is telling Pharaoh about Joseph's talent for interpreting dreams (Pl. XLVI). While speaking, the butler swivels away from Pharaoh who is seated in the center, and gestures towards the prison depicted in the next spandrel. The evidence suggests that the so-called Joseph in the accusation scene in fact represents one of the servants in the poem who rushed to the queen's bower when she screamed, and here, with a gesture 'off stage', he is corroborating her story. Also, his garments differ from Joseph's in the previous spandrel. Here the tunic skirt is short and split to reveal the lower edge of pantaloons or bloomers, garments never worn by Joseph. In the next spandrel, we find the prison guard wearing a similar tunic also with a split skirt. It may also be significant that Joseph's tunic in the preceding bower scene was blue, whereas here the figure in question was wearing green.⁶²² Yet evidence based on polychromy must be mustered with caution, since inconsistencies exist even within a bay. In fact, color notes in the next spandrel confuse rather than clarify the matter. There the dress of the guard was white, and Joseph wore a tunic of green.⁶²³ At best the color system for individuals in the Joseph cycle shows consistency only within each bay.

We find further corroboration for the new identification in the accusation scene in Queen Mary's Psalter. One of the guards appearing at the queen's side in the seduction scene (Fig. 135) then accompanies her into the king's presence. Given the evidence, the identification of the so-called 'Joseph figure' as a servant or guard who is confirming the queen's accusation seems credible.

This scene has no significance beyond advancing the narrative. Despite the extensive repairs, some excellent passages of thirteenth-century drapery are worthy of note. Below Pharaoh's left arm the drapery above and below the waist band provides a fine example of the artist's style as it continues down his left side and spills over the seat of the throne. The same holds true for the fall of

622 Burges 1859, 154: 'A blue garment and yellow cloak [Pharaoh]. Queen white tunic, with reddish brown lozenge-shaped diaper; cloak, green, with similar diaper. Joseph, a green tunic.'

623 Ibid., 155.

drapery down the queen's back and the folds that spread out over the ground behind her.

Joseph Cast into Prison with the Butler and Baker. Spandrel I, South Bay

(Plate XLIII)

In the first spandrel of the south bay, the narrative continues with the scene of Joseph cast into prison by the king's guard. In the biblical story, Potiphar, Joseph's master, not Pharaoh, had him imprisoned in the gaol where the king's prisoners were kept (Genesis 39:20). We see the king's chief butler and chief baker who had offended their lord (Genesis 40:1-3) already incarcerated. We find them also already in prison in the same scene in Queen Mary's Psalter (Fig. 136).⁶²⁴ Both representations departed from both the biblical text and Iacob and Iosep in that the other prisoners joined Joseph in prison later.⁶²⁵

Burges wrote, 'Joseph is put into prison. He has fetters on his legs; inside the prison are the butler and baker....All heads are broken besides other damage.'⁶²⁶ In his color notes Burges added that Joseph's hands were clasped. As for color, he reported: 'Prison as usual. I suspect the bead below has been gilt; the keeper has, I think, had a white tunic with black lines around the neck; Joseph a green tunic....The interior of the prison is red: no colour remains on other figures.'

As the diagram shows (Pl. XLIIIb), the heads of all three prisoners are nineteenth-century replacements. Three more insets restored the upper half of the guard's face, his right leg from knee to foot, but not including the toes, his left side and leg from waist to ankle, and the spiked head of his mace. As restored, the weapon resembles the one carried by the guard in the corresponding scene in Queen Mary's Psalter (Fig. 136), but no evidence has survived in the spandrel to authenticate the restoration. A single inset supplied Joseph's entire right side from his waist to and including his foot. Extensive repairs in mastic complete the restorations to both figures.

Two insets, one re-facing the lower half of the left corner post of the prison and the other

624 In the Oxford Bible moralisée, Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS. 270, fol. 25v, the butler and baker were also imprisoned before the guard committed Joseph.

625 Napier 1916, 8-9, lines 346-50.

626 Burges 1859, 155.

supplying the entire upper right corner, restored the building. Ubiquitous sanding has removed the patina of age over the prison walls and crenellations, and mastic fills in many losses along the entire lower and the left upper crenellations. A vertical crack runs through the middle of the exterior staircase and passes down through the ground line below. An interesting architectural detail, the staircase may have been inspired by the exterior stairs known to have existed in canon Elias of Dereham's thirteenth-century house in the close and perhaps by another one in the Bishop Richard Poore's palace.⁶²⁷

As for style, the mensurable figure proportions of the guard accord with those of the second artist: a head-to-body ratio of one to approximately five and a half. The well-preserved drapery folds of the guard's tunic above his waist radiate from a single point to form boxy, sharply defined folds, also typical of the artist's style, as is the swelling of the skirt over the thighs. The prison with its crenellated exterior staircase reflects the artist's care in establishing the locus of each scene with interesting architectural details.

The spandrel has no special significance beyond advancing the narrative that continues in the next spandrel, where the butler's and baker's dreams have come to pass according to Joseph's interpretation.

Fulfillment of the Baker's and Butler's Dreams. Spandrel II, South Bay
(Plate XLIV)

This spandrel contains two scenes depicting the fulfillment of the butler's and baker's dreams according to Joseph's interpretation (Genesis 40:5-22). The butler had dreamed of a vine with three branches that budded, blossomed and brought forth grapes. He pressed them into Pharaoh's cup and gave the cup to the king. Joseph interpreted the branches as three days, after which Pharaoh would reinstate the butler who would serve Pharaoh as before. Joseph then asked the butler not to forget him and also to request his release. The baker dreamed of three baskets on his head. Birds ate out of

627 Wordsworth (Lord Bishop of Salisbury) 1891, 169.

the uppermost one that contained baked meats. Jacob interpreted the three baskets as three days, after which Pharaoh would take his head and hang him on a cross where birds would tear his flesh. The poem of Jacob and Iosep adheres to the biblical narrative with only minor variations.⁶²⁸

Burges gave a full account of the spandrel scene. From left to right he noted, 'This is two groups:--1st, the baker is hung; his hands are tied behind him; round his waist is a pair of drawers turned down at top over girdle; from the latter hangs his purse; beside him is his peel upright [the tool for removing bread, etc. from an oven] with a loaf of bread on it; there was a bandage over his eyes. 2nd, the butler on his knees presents Pharaoh with the cup.' The note continues, 'Heads and arms of these subjects all more or less destroyed and mutilated, otherwise very perfect.' The color notes indicate that the butler wore green, the Pharaoh's garments were 'gold, possibly yellow,' and the drapery over the throne green. But Burges found no traces of color in the figures of the baker and his executioner.⁶²⁹

As diagrammed (Pl. XLIVb), six insets restored the scene. The insets replaced most of the baker's face, the executioner's head still backed by remnants of the original one, and the head and neck of the butler. The inset repairing Pharaoh's head, face and crown was attached to a generous remnant of the original carving that included the back and most of the right side of the head and crown, plus all hair below the crown on his left side as well as his beard and mustache. A single inset replaced the butler's right arm and hand, the covered cup, and Pharaoh's left hand and arm to above the bend of the elbow. The final inset refaced the butler's left hand. Together they hold the cup with both hands, but only Pharaoh's right hand and arm are original.

Throughout, the restorer took care to follow indications provided by remnants of the thirteenth-century carving. All four figures have patches of mastic filling in surface abrasions with the most extensive ones on Pharaoh's left leg, the executioner's left shoulder, and the drapery over his left hip and thigh. Mastic also fills in losses below the joining of the butler's shoulder and head

628 Napier 1916, lines 254-71. In an embellishment or deviation of the poem from the Bible, Joseph predicted that the birds would pluck out the baker's eyes when he was hanged. See above, Chapter 7, on The Ark Afloat for the significance of that imagery.

629 Burges 1859, 155.

inset, and above the joint for his new arm. Re-cutting is negligible, except directly below Pharaoh's left armpit.

Although not in as good condition as Burges's notes suggest, the four figures, especially that of the butler, are notable for their information about the second artist's drapery and figure style. The boneless, rubbery arms of the executioner as he pulls the rope, the visual impression that his two knees bend at different levels, and the absence of a sense of the physical exertion needed to hoist the victim on the gallows all suggest the artist's lack of concern with anatomical realism. The notable anatomical accuracy of the baker's torso therefore appears in striking contrast. The verisimilitude of his dangling legs, toes pointing out, is equally convincing as is his head cocked to one side as the noose, pulled from the other direction, tightens around his neck. In the arrangement of his drawers the fabric rolls over at his waist to secure material drawn up between his legs like a diaper. The artist thus painstakingly depicted the type of under-drawers worn by workers in the thirteenth century.

The figure of the butler provides us with another outstanding example of the carver's mannerisms. Whether the butler is actually kneeling or still supported on his bent left leg is uncertain. But given the pose, should he continue to lower himself to a kneeling position he would invade the space between the Pharaoh's legs. The artist persists in such ambiguities. The generous drapery of the butler's skirt with its bulging, twisting, broadly conceived folds breaks twice behind his bent right leg, and the sweeping loops of hemline seems to merge in confusion with those of the drapery of Pharaoh's skirt. The swag-like folds over the Pharaoh's hip and the fall of drapery from the back of his throne also merge ambiguously. Such mannerisms never occurred in the draperies and figures carved by the first artist.

Pharaoh's Dream. Spandrel III, South Bay

(Plate XLV)

Pharaoh dreamed that 'he stood by the river, out of which came up seven kine, very beautiful and fat....Other seven also came up out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed...And they devoured them, whose bodies were very beautiful and well conditioned....He slept again, and dreamed another

dream: Seven ears of corn came up upon one stalk full and fair: Then seven other ears sprung up thin and blasted. And devoured all the beauty of the former' (Genesis 41:1-7). The poem stays close to the biblical narrative.

The scene depicting the dream survived in nearly proof condition with no insets or re-cutting to mar the thirteenth-century sculpture. Burges described the spandrel as 'Pharaoh in the middle asleep; on one side (dexter) [sinister] the seven good and seven bad ears of corn; on the sinister side [dexter], the lean kine eating the fat.'⁶³⁰ The color notes continued, 'Counterpane of Pharaoh, red, lined with green, the tunic probably yellow; the spaces between cattle, black or red.'

Burges called the spandrel, 'Quite perfect,' and so it was until one of the repairs along the left edge of the next spandrel damaged the right upper corner of this spandrel thereby eliminating the head and nose of the seventh fat kine on the far right. The restorer also saw fit to make other small surface repairs with mastic filling in minor abrasions on the background plane, on the counterpane draped over the end of the bed, and also on the noses of all but one of the lean kine, as well as on the tail of the fat beast in the right foreground. Nevertheless, the spandrel remains one of the best preserved in the Old Testament cycle.

Pharaoh's thirteenth-century head provides another example of the second artist's facial style first seen in Jacob's mustached and bearded face in the scene where Joseph tells his dreams (Pl. XXXVI). Only the crown and Phrygian cap differentiate them. Their similar coiffures, short hair curling outwards and curled bangs high on the forehead, were fashionable in the thirteenth century after the introduction of curling irons.

The configuration of the bed resembles that of Isaac in the scene where Esau tries to claim his blessing (Pl. XXVIII). The draperies of the counterpanes are similar, but unlike Isaac's, the drapery of Pharaoh's coverlet as it falls over the edge of his bed evolves logically from the series of broadly spaced, nearly concentric folds over the king's left leg.

In 1814, Britton and Dodsworth both published pre-restoration engravings of this extremely

630 Ibid.

well-preserved spandrel (Figs 64b and 68). The former has the more accurate rendition of the figure, its proportions, pose and drapery.

Pharaoh Consulting the Magi. Spandrel IV, South Bay

(Plate XLVI)

Burges described the scene as 'Two figures seated on a bench talking to one another, a third standing lifts up his hands--probably Pharaoh consulting with a magician, and the butler confessing his ingratitude [to Joseph].'⁶³¹ Burges read the badly damaged scene correctly. The spandrel illustrates the aftermath of the dream: 'And when morning was come, being struck with fear, he [Pharaoh] sent to all the interpreters of Egypt, and to all the wise men: and they being called for, he told them his dream, and there was not any one that could interpret it. Then at length the chief butler said: I confess my sin.' Whereupon remembering his broken promise to plead for Joseph's release, he told Pharaoh how Joseph had correctly interpreted his and the baker's dreams in prison. For three days later, what Joseph had foretold 'proved to be so....I was restored to my office; and he was hanged upon a gibbet' (Genesis 41:8-13).

In the spandrel, one man only, the magus on Pharaoh's right, represents all the interpreters and wise men in Egypt. In the poem the king summoned all the 'urles,' 'barons,' 'burgeis' and knights, but none of them could 'reden' [read] the dream in any way.⁶³²

Contrary to Burges, Pharaoh and the magus are not seated on a bench together. As was more seemly, they had separate ones. The ends of the two benches abut in the center, but that of the magus has been severely re-cut and diminished. The extensive restorations to the spandrel included thirteen insets, two of which repaired the background plane along the upper and left edges of the spandrel. The restored figure of the magus received four insets. One replaced his head and neck; another supplied most of the front and right side of his body from collar line to hip-bone. The third inset providing his right arm and hand was set into the nineteenth-century repair of the torso. The fourth

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Napier 1916, 10, lines 291-93.

restored his left hand. The restoration severely distorted the upper half of his figure and apparently modified his pose. Carter's drawing (Pl. LXII, scene divided between the fifth and sixth tier) indicates the magus's original right arm did not bend at the elbow, and suggests that his hand once rested on his knee. The original drapery above his waist still billows out to the left of the inset, which suggests that the entire upper half of his body was originally much thicker through, which Carter's sketch showing a fuller upper torso confirms. The figure now appears emaciated across and directly below the shoulders. In addition, the new right arm seems disproportionately small compared with the surviving left arm.

The figure of Pharaoh fared better. Joined at the collar line, his nineteenth-century head and features, like those of the magus, are stylistically incongruous. The rear fleuron of the crown survived from the thirteenth century and informed the tilt of the head toward the butler to whom he is listening. Both of Pharaoh's nineteenth-century arms follow indications provided by extant original carving, but re-cutting reduced the size of his left hand resting on his chest. Re-cutting on the Pharaoh's chest and along the drapery falling from his right knee proved minor. Otherwise, except for small patches of mastic repairing superficial surface damage, his figure and drapery are very good examples of the second artist's style.

In contrast, the four insets and overall re-cutting and sanding of the butler's figure completely destroyed its stylistic value. Yet his contorted pose remains valid. His free-standing nineteenth-century head includes most of his neck. The remnants of his original left fingers and half of his left upper arm validate the inset supplying the forearm. In telling Pharaoh of Joseph's skill at interpreting dreams, the butler is gesturing 'off stage' with his left hand toward the prison in the next spandrel. His gesture replicates the one made by the queen's servant who was pointing to her bower as she denounced Joseph to the king (Pl. XLII). Nothing contradicts or validates the gesture of the butler's restored right hand that originally may have been making the gesture of speech. The final inset replaced his left leg from mid-thigh to, but not including, the toes. Though reworked with mastic, they survived to validate the foot placed in the fourth ballet position. All in all, the figure is much diminished by re-cutting along the right side from hip to hem.

The validated and most interesting aspects of the spandrel include the torsion of the butler's upper body, his 'off-stage' gesture, and the ballet position of the feet. Leaning slightly toward the butler, Pharaoh shows how carefully he is attending his servant's words. The blousing of Pharaoh's tunic and the drapery of his overskirt pulled across his hips and pinned on his knee under his right knuckles are also noteworthy. And here again the second artist has created an ambiguous, mannerist arrangement in which only with difficulty can one distinguish among the draperies of the over and under skirts and those over the seat of the throne. Although re-cutting and sanding have blurred the sharpness of the folds in the lower half of the figure of the magus, otherwise the arrangement remains unmodified.

Joseph Released from Prison and Receiving the Rod of Authority. Spandrel V, South Bay
(Plate XLVII)

As Burges noted, the fifth spandrel of the south bay contains two events: '1st, Joseph is delivered from prison; he has the fetters still; the cupbearer lifts up his left hand. 2nd, Joseph kneels before Pharaoh, who presents him with a rod or sceptre.'⁶³³ The ceremony transferring authority to Joseph on the right side of the spandrel corresponds to the spirit but not to the letter of the biblical text. In Genesis 41:40-43, Pharaoh conferred a ring, a silken robe, and his second chariot on Joseph as symbols of his new status. In the spandrel the rod or scepter signifies his new dignity as it does in Queen Mary's Psalter (Fig. 137). Unfortunately the only folio missing from Jacob and Iosep would have included the verses describing the transference of authority.⁶³⁴ Although the miniature in the Psalter exactly reverses the Salisbury spandrel, the two representations appear intimately related iconographically and both presumably reflect the poem or an illustrated version thereof. In the spandrel scene, Pharaoh has released his hold on the rod which was not the case in the earlier ceremony of homage when Joseph was introduced to Pharaoh (Pl. XL). That telling detail

⁶³³ Burges 1859, 155. The literature has not accepted Burges's interpretation and instead proposes Joseph being presented to Pharaoh or interpreting his dream. See Anonymous 1889, 53; Whittingham 1974, fig. 22; and Spring 1987, 154.

⁶³⁴ Napier 1916, 11.

differentiated the transference of authority from pledge of fealty.

Carter's sketch (Pl. LXII) shows all hands missing. He pictured Pharaoh's entire right arm minus the hand and the left one as broken just below the bend of the elbow. Nevertheless, carved in relief, Pharaoh's entire right arm including the hand, fingers extended and palm facing out, has survived. Carter's drawing also suggests that Joseph's right arm was destroyed below the elbow and gave no indication at all of the left hand. Yet the hand survived intact and is clasping the lower end of the rod that is also original.

The lower of two insets restoring Pharaoh's left hand and arm nearly to the elbow also included Joseph's wrist and his right hand clasping Pharaoh's. The same inset completed the rod beginning above Joseph's original left hand. Burges never mentioned their clasped hands, and no vestiges have survived to authenticate it. The absence of the hand clasp in the similar scene in Queen Mary's Psalter makes the gesture suspect. Perhaps the restorer copied the clasped hands in the scene where Joseph pledged his fealty. Otherwise, the restoration of the spandrel has perpetuated the original iconography of the scene.

Burges's interpretation of the spandrel needs one correction. His report on color suggests that, as in the Psalter illumination (Fig. 138), the guard, not the butler, released Joseph from prison. In the manuscript, chain mail positively identifies the guard. In preceding spandrel scenes, Burges reported that the 'cupbearer' was wearing green (Pl. XLVI), whereas the figure releasing Joseph had a white tunic, the same color worn by the guard who threw Joseph into prison (Pl. XLIII). The other parallels between the two prison scenes add credence to the revised identification of the figure.

Although Carter's drawing depicts the heads of all four figures (Pl. LXII), Burges noted that all were mutilated, 'but that of Pharaoh the most perfect.' All four now have nineteenth-century insets, but only the head of the guard is entirely new. The others are backed by varying amounts of the original carving. In spite of the thirteen insets restoring the scene, as well as much re-cutting of Pharaoh's body above the waist and heavy mastic overlaying Joseph's right upper arm, much unspoiled carving survives of interest. Except for two sanded areas in the guard's tunic skirt, his figure is a prime example of the second artist's style. The angular, sharply defined folds radiating

above and below the waistline repeat the drapery designs seen earlier in the reunion of Jacob and Esau (Pl. XXXIV). The kneeling figure of Joseph, save only his new head and arms and light recutting above his right knee, provides equally good examples of the artist's stylizations. From the waist down, Pharaoh's figure is also well preserved. Over all, in this spandrel, the clarity, sharpness and angularity of the folds in their garments proved outstanding. Although the head-to-body proportions depend on the nineteenth-century head of the guard, as restored, the ratio of one to almost six accords with this artist's elongated figures.

Finally, much of the surface of the prison wall has been sanded, and eroded edges of the crenellations repaired. But on the far left, the exterior staircase seen in the earlier prison scene (Pl. XLVII) distinguishes the building. Unfortunately, similar gratuitous sanding as the restorer's finishing touch became more general in the following scene.

Joseph Ruling Egypt and Ordering Chaff Thrown into the Nile. Spandrel VI, South Bay (Plate XLVIII)

Burges observed that the apocryphal imagery in this spandrel corresponded with the scene in Queen Mary's Psalter where Jacob, after finding chaff in the river flowing past his castle (Fig. 138), knows there will be relief from the famine. In a footnote Burges explained: 'Joseph communicates the intelligence that there is corn in Egypt by throwing straw upon the river, which is thus conveyed to the father [Jacob], "com il est en soun chastel."⁶³⁵ In the Psalter, Jacob's castle looms behind him as he bends over the river to retrieve the chaff. Although the two cycles represent the communication of this information quite differently, the imagery in the Psalter enabled Burges to interpret the Salisbury scene correctly. 'Joseph seated,' he wrote, 'with sceptre in hand, presiding over the threshing of the corn; one man is threshing the corn, and the other throws straw into the Nile.'⁶³⁶

635 Burges 1859, 156 n. 1. Burges's identification of the subject matter has had no following. The spandrel has been described as 'Joseph ruling in Egypt': Anonymous 1889, 53; and Spring 1987, 154 or 'Joseph supervises the threshing of the corn': Whittingham 1974, fig. 22.

636 Burges 1859, 156. The brief color notes indicate 'The Nile, green; the labourer has a green tunic; and the thresher, white, Joseph's very doubtful; lash of flail, red or gold.'

Unfortunately the folio that contained the text pertaining to this scene is the one missing from the Jacob And Iosep manuscript. Yet the correspondence of the poem with the Salisbury spandrel and the Psalter becomes evident as the narrative resumes. The verses then tell how the brothers 'ofte' brought 'hom' this 'smal chaf' which Jacob knew came from the land to the east.⁶³⁷ Presumably the missing verses told how Joseph, wanting to save his family from the famine, threw chaff into the Nile as shown in the spandrel.

As for the condition of the scene, Burges noted, 'Heads mutilated; right hand of Joseph, and object at head of Nile destroyed--otherwise, pretty perfect.'⁶³⁸ The restorations proved more extensive than Burges's evaluation suggests, but the fairly general light sanding appears to be the restorer's unfortunate finishing touch. Insets replaced all three heads at the collar line. Two more insets supplied Joseph with a new right hand and arm and the toe of his left shoe. The next three gave the laborer at the headwaters new shoulders, arms and the bundle of chaff he has ready to throw in the river. Those three insets as well as the inset supplying Joseph's right arm were set into the background plane with their lines of joining hugging the contours of the figures. The final inset restored the object at the head of the Nile presumably correctly interpreted as a bundle of chaff.

In the figure of Joseph, a large area of mastic rebuilt the drapery over his left knee and foreleg. Another mastic patch resurfaced the outside of his left forearm. Mastic also filled out losses along the top surface of his scepter and on the ridge of the fold of his bodice near his left arm. Below his waist, re-cutting over the left side of his figure proved nearly ubiquitous. His bench, now unusually short and narrow, has been cut away along the back so that his rump now overhangs the seat.

The figure of the thrasher fared better. In addition to his new head, mastic coated his forearms and the flail and touched up the surfaces of the sheaf of wheat directly in front of him. Sanding has blurred the folds of his skirt, but his elegant pose and his boneless rubbery arms typify the figure style of the second artist.

637 Napier 1916, 11, line 330.

638 Burges 1859, 156.

The overall sanding of the ground swells, except for the upper surface of undulations between Joseph and the thresher, probably was gratuitous. Sanding has also blurred some of the waves of the Nile. Burges's statement on the condition of the scene suggests that much of the sanding probably erased quite minor surface abrasions. Re-cutting is evident on the background plane behind the laborer and thresher and in front of Joseph. The upper and left edges of the spandrel stone needed fairly extensive repairs with mastic.

Despite the head and arm insets and mastic pointing up the folds above the waist-band, the figure of the worker at the head of the Nile provides a valid example of the second artist's drapery style. And despite the sanding, the drapery of the thresher's garment retains the schema of the original arrangement.

The Brothers Obtaining Grain in Egypt; the Oath To Return with Benjamin. Spandrel VII,
South Bay
(Plate XLIX)

This scene contains two events. On the left, four brothers, having been sent by Jacob to Egypt to buy corn, stand behind an ass already loaded with a sack of corn (Genesis 42:1-3). In the center, either two more brothers, or possibly Joseph's servants are filling another sack with corn. On the right, one brother is kneeling before Joseph as he promises to return with Benjamin, which was Joseph's condition for giving them corn (Genesis 42:13-20).

Burges described the spandrel, 'Here are two groups:--1st, the brothers bring an ass with a sack on its back; one is holding open another sack, into which corn is being poured. 2nd, one is on his knees before the seated figure of Joseph.'⁶³⁹ Commenting on the condition of the spandrel, Burges wrote, 'All heads except one are gone, otherwise it is tolerably perfect; Joseph's hand destroyed; and kneeling figure's arms.'

639 Ibid. Burges's color notes go on to say the ass was yellow, 'the second opposite the sack, green tunic, as also the one holding the sack; the hosen are black; the kneeling brother has a green tunic.' As for Joseph's garment, Burges found it impossible to say.

In 1814, the spandrel was in good enough condition to be among the three scenes in the Joseph cycle copied by Nash, engraved by Cooke, and published by Dodsworth (Fig. 139).⁶⁴⁰ The engraving agrees with Burges's assessment of condition. All heads, but one, that of the fourth brother from the left, are nineteenth-century replacements joined just above, or in one instance below, the collar lines. A total of thirteen insets restore the spandrel, and all followed the dictates of the original carving.

A comparison of the engraving with what survives of the thirteenth-century figures indicates that the engraving errs in showing the brother's right hand on Joseph's right thigh. In fact his original left hand still rests there, with only a bit of mastic rebuilding the forefinger. As in the earlier scene of Jacob covenanting seven years of service to Laban (Pl. XXXI), the gesture was a euphemism used in the Bible for the ancient custom of swearing an oath by placing a hand on the other man's genitals. Burges neither noticed nor understood the significance of the gesture, nor did he mention any handclasp. Indeed, the engraving suggests a completely self-contained gesture for Joseph's right hand. Yet because his entire arm to the wrist angles forward from the elbow, the restoration of the brother's restored right arm and hand joining Joseph's in a handclasp seems probable, though impossible to authenticate.

The poses and gestures are the visual correlative of the metrical poem wherein the brothers faithfully promise that they will come back with their youngest brother: 'alle hi pli ten trou(th)e to bringe Benjamin [They all pledge troth to bring Benjamin].'⁶⁴¹ Here one brother represents them all. In the biblical narrative they do not make the promise. Instead Joseph ordered Simeon bound and kept as hostage against the brother's failure to return with their youngest brother (Genesis 42:25). Joseph enthroned and holding the rod of authority also conforms to the poem. When the brothers entered the castle, they saw 'Iosep sitten in halle, such hit were [for] a king.'⁶⁴²

The hand of the restorer seems fairly heavy for a spandrel judged 'tolerably perfect' before

⁶⁴⁰ Dodsworth 1814, pl. betw. 224-25.

⁶⁴¹ Napier 1916, 15 line 446.

⁶⁴² Ibid., 13, line 371.

the restoration. Yet for purposes of stylistic comparisons, the entire figure of the kneeling brother from below the inset replacing his arm has survived in proof condition. In addition to a new head and right hand, the figure of Joseph received two more insets, one rebuilding the right side of his chest, the upper end of his scepter, his right shoulder and upper arm. The other supplied his right wrist, hand and the lower end of his scepter. A stump that connected his original head to the surface plane lies behind that inset. Only the lightest re-cutting has affected his figure from the waist down where the patina of age is much in evidence.

The figure at the right of the sack has an inset filling out his left forearm. Mastic patched his hand and a portion of his left thigh. Despite light re-cutting on his skirt, the surfaces retain their patina, and the drapery around his waist is especially fine. His head and that of the figure opposite have stumps connecting them with the surface plane.

All five figures to the left of the sack were carved in lower relief than the others. Sanding has further deprived their less well-articulated drapery of interest. One inset restored the left hind hoof of the ass and two more supplied his right fore leg. Carved in very low relief, the lone surviving thirteenth-century head in the group, that of the fourth brother from the left, is somewhat eroded and contributes nothing to our understanding of the second artist's facial style.

Sporadic sanding also removed the patina of age from the ground swells on far left and in the center. A cut made across the spandrel above the springing of the arches implemented the removal of the spandrel stone for repairs.

Benjamin Presented to Joseph; the Cup Placed in Benjamin's Sack. Spandrel VIII, South Bay (Plate L)

The last spandrel in this bay contains two incidents. According to Burges, it depicted 'two groups--1st, the presentation of Benjamin to Joseph; 2nd, the cup is put into his sack....Three of heads gone: otherwise pretty perfect.'⁶⁴³ Both incidents occurred on the brothers' second trip to Egypt

⁶⁴³ Burges 1859, 156. Burges's color notes suggest a less than vivid scene: 'Inside of Joseph's robe green; Benjamin's tunic green; figure putting cup into sack, green; cup gold.'

in accordance with the biblical narrative (Genesis 43:15; 44:1-2). The poem Iacob and Iosep names Ruben as the brother who presented Benjamin to Joseph: 'Ruben [to] him [to Joseph] biteche [entrusts] his bro(th)er Benjamin.' Contriving to keep the brothers longer, Joseph ordered his steward to put a silver cup in Benjamin's sack. When the brothers departed, Joseph sent the steward after them to search their sacks. After finding the cup in Benjamin's sack, he accused them of theft, thus forcing them to return (Genesis 44:4-12).

Insets replace the three missing heads: those of Joseph, of the brother on the right presenting Benjamin, and of the steward putting the cup in Benjamin's sack. The other four heads are original with mastic rebuilding the noses of the three on the left and the left eyebrow of the face on the upper right. The features were summarily carved on oval doughlike faces. The coiffures provided the only distinguishing elements, with the most unusual that of the center head on the left. Coarse locks of hair fan out above a low brow in a fashion similar to, perhaps inspired by, the coiffure of the label head of spandrel seven, southwest bay (Fig. 8e). The figures were carved in low relief with none of the legs carved in the round. The seated Joseph has the most interesting, nearly perfect drapery with typical deeply crumpled folds between his knees and below his right hip. The latter ends in a widely spaced fold that creates a sweeping hemline. His drapery proves especially valuable for purposes of comparisons. The three other figures in the foreground underwent extensive re-cutting and scattered repairs with mastic. Despite the water stains from leaks that make the drapery patterns of Benjamin's garments difficult to read, the broad, angled, and deeply crumpled folds of the drapery typify the style of the second artist, as do Benjamin's and the steward's boneless arms and wrists. As we have come to expect, the head-to-body proportions of the upright figure of Ruben (as restored) approximate the one to five and a half ratio preferred by the second artist.

The Discovery of the Cup in Benjamin's Sack. Spandrel I, Southwest Bay
(Plate LI)

The first spandrel of the southwest bay continues the narrative with the steward who, having grasped Benjamin firmly by wrist, removes the cup from the boy's sack. One of the three brothers

behind Benjamin carries another sack on his shoulder. Removed from the scene, Joseph is seated on the far right. He holds his rod of authority with his left hand. With elbow bent, he has raised his right hand. The palm faces out in a gesture possibly meaning 'Behold.'

Burges wrote, 'The cup found in Benjamin's sack; Joseph is seated....Heads of Joseph and servant gone; otherwise quite perfect.'⁶⁴⁴ Burges's color notes describe a vivid scene: '1st figure (dexter) [sinister] green tunic, with red diaper. 2nd, red or gold tunic (Benjamin's.) 3rd, (a servant,) white tunic; Joseph has blue tunic with red inside; a green splay to seat.'

Thanks to the restorer's restraint, the restorations to this spandrel proved minimal, and no sanding has blurred the forms. The only two insets replaced the heads of Joseph and the steward. Small patches of mastic restored the tips of the noses of three of the four thirteenth-century heads, as well as Benjamin's upper lip, and four fingers of his right hand. A heavier application of mastic fills in surface losses in the figures of Benjamin and the steward. Mastic repairs to the figure of Joseph prove heaviest below the head inset.

This well-preserved scene continues in the style of the second master. We find rubbery boneless arms, skirt drapery swelling over the hips and thighs, and exaggerated blousing of tunics above the waist. The particularly well articulated, crumpled drapery behind the rump of the seated Joseph gives his figure special interest, as do the widely spaced box folds with a bold loop between them at the hemline. Different coiffeurs distinguish the brothers' four surviving heads, with the most articulated facial features and coiffure those of the uppermost brother. Unlike the others, he has a mustache and beard and tight pin curls framing his face. Here for the first time this artist has provided a facial expression, a troubled one suitable to the event taking place.

Joseph Reveals his Identity to His Brothers; Joseph Embraces Benjamin. Spandrel II, Southwest Bay (Plate LII)

This spandrel was so drastically restored that no unretouched thirteenth-century carving or

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

background surfaces have survived. Re-cutting and sanding prevail. Burges described the scene as, 'Two groups--1st, four brethren on their knees before Joseph, who is seated as usual; 2nd, Joseph is falling on Benjamin's neck. N.B. He has more the look of strangling him....All the heads and a great many of the arms destroyed.'⁶⁴⁵ Again Burges's color notes give a vivid picture of the original scene: '1st brother (dexter) green tunic, 2nd and third doubtful; Joseph, blue tunic; a gold staff, and green seat, with gold cavetto. 2nd group, Benjamin, gold or red dress, and black hosen, Joseph doubtful.'

Burges's color notes describing three brothers do not accord with his description of 'four brothers' kneeling before Joseph. In fact, there are three only, and no evidence exists in the spandrel for a fourth. The three kneeling brothers probably represent the same three who accompanied Benjamin in the previous scene. Nor is Joseph's right hand near Benjamin's throat as if strangling him. In fact, Benjamin's two hands are folded on his chest, and Joseph's original right arm restored with mastic reaches behind Benjamin in an embrace. Although the hand of the restorer is ubiquitous in this spandrel, he did not alter the iconography. The prayerful gesture of the brother kneeling on the far right and the triple hand-clasp of Joseph and the two brothers directly in front of him, one kneeling, one standing, perpetuate the original arrangement.

On the left, presumably Juda had been beseeching Joseph to keep him as his servant in place of Benjamin for he knew that their father would die if Benjamin did not return with the others' (Genesis 44:20-34). When Joseph finally made himself known to them, they were rendered speechless, 'being struck with very great fear' (Genesis 45:3). The gesture of Joseph's hand clasping those of the other two may represent the reassurance he then gave them that it was God's will, not the brother's actions, that had sent him before them to Egypt. In fact, it had worked for their preservation that they might have food to survive the famine (Genesis 45:4-8). Possibly the clasped hands affirm their kinship, as does the gesture of the brother on the left whose right hand rests on the bent arm of the brother standing next to him. The same familial gesture occurred earlier at the

645 Ibid. In the same scene in Morgan MS. 638 (Plummer 1969, fol. 6v) and in the English Psalter dated 1220-30 (Cambridge, Trinity College B II.4 f. 7v), illustrated in Morgan 1982, 98-9, cat. 51, fig. 173, Joseph holds Benjamin more nearly in a strangle hold.

meeting of Jacob and Esau (Pl. XXXIV), and will appear again in the final scene of the Joseph cycle depicting the reunion of Jacob and Joseph (Pl. LV). It seems probable that the hand gestures linking all four brothers had that significance.

The scene on the right side of the spandrel follows Genesis 45:14: 'And falling on the neck of his brother Benjamin, he [Joseph] embraced him and wept.' In the poem 'He kisse Benjamin anon [forthwith], and then kissed them 'eueruchon [everyone]'.⁶⁴⁶

The restorations involving fourteen insets, ubiquitous sanding and re-cutting, as well as heavy applications of mastic have deprived the spandrel of any value for stylistic comparisons. Yet we can see glimmers of the second artist's style in the off-balance figures of Joseph and Benjamin, in the rubbery boneless arms, the exaggerated blousing above the waist of the brother's tunic on the far left (the least reworked figure), the sweeping hemlines, and the sharply angled folds of the seated Joseph's skirt. Yet all the drapery patterns are now blurred and some quite diminished by re-cutting and sanding.

Jacob and Family on Route to Egypt. Spandrel III, Southwest Bay

(Plate LIII)

Burges described the scene as 'Jacob and his family, including his wife, going into Egypt on foot; Judah sent on before.'⁶⁴⁷ In a footnote he added that the same scene in Queen Mary's Psalter also included a lady, and its caption read 'Icij est Jacob e sa femme amenee en Egypte a Joseph lur fitz [fils].' Burges's identification of the lead figure as Juda (Judah) accords with the biblical text: 'and he [Jacob] sent Juda before him to Joseph, to tell him [of their arrival in Egypt]: and that he should meet him in Gessen' (Genesis 46:28). Burges's color notes indicated that the lady wore a wimple, and he also noted 'marks of leaves on the ground beyond; as in other panels.'⁶⁴⁸ Yet this is

⁶⁴⁶ Napier 1916, 16, lines 490-91.

⁶⁴⁷ Burges 1859, 156.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 149, no. 6 and note. The color notes for this spandrel were skimpy: '1st figure, green tunic, 2nd, green cap; tunic, doubtful; black hose...I think she [the lady] has had a green cloak. 4th, green cap; tunic doubtful; 5th, Jacob, doubtful; Judah has a green tunic.' Ibid., 156.

his first mention of a scattering of leaves since his notes on the Creation cycle.⁶⁴⁹

Burges pronounced this 'a very good group;' and continued, 'only 4th figure's head is perfect; one of Jacob's hands and one of the lady's mutilated.'⁶⁵⁰ The surviving head provides us with another excellent example of the second master's stylized faces that he cut out from ovoid shapes. Small mastic repairs to the tip of the nose and the first curling lock of hair do not diminish this nearly perfect example.

Only the heads of Jacob and Juda are complete restorations joined at the collar line. Jacob's head seems disproportionately large when compared with the others, perhaps an error on the part of the restorer because, unlike the rest of his family, the head-to-body ratio is a little short of the expected one to five and a half. The other repairs to heads and faces were inserts of Caen stone into surviving portions of their original heads. The pick at the end of the wife's staff is an interesting original detail not found on staffs carried by males. All the insets were determined by the original sculpture to which they were attached. Very minor re-cutting on the draperies has not destroyed the value of these figures as examples of the second artist's style. The condition of this spandrel today and its value for purposes of stylistic comparisons owe much to the restraint and care that the restorer took. He could not have been the same sculptor responsible for over-restoring the preceding spandrel.

The family traveling on foot deviates from the biblical narrative in which Jacob, the wives and children of the sons, and all his possessions went down into Egypt in wagons which Pharaoh had sent to transport them (Genesis 46:5-7). Like the imagery in so many other spandrels, the Salisbury scene perpetuates an insular pictorial tradition traceable back to the Anglo-Saxon manuscript, Aelfric's *Hexateuch*.⁶⁵¹

649 See *ibid.*, 149, and above, *The Injunction*, Spandrel VI.

650 *Ibid.*

651 Dodwell and Clemoes 1974, fol. 66v.

The Fulfillment of Joseph's Dreams. Spandrel VII, Southwest Bay

(Plate LIV)

The whole family, Jacob, his eleven sons, and his wife, are kneeling before Joseph, their hands clasped as if in prayer. Joseph, seated on the left, holds his scepter in his left hand and has raised his right. The two pre-restoration engravings published in 1814 show the head of the seated figure damaged beyond recognition (Fig. 140a, b). Burges identified the scene as the family kneeling before Pharaoh.⁶⁵² In a footnote he added, 'This subject has been restored as the brethren imploring Joseph not to take vengeance on them after Jacob's death; but in that case,' Burges reasoned, 'there would be only eleven male figures, not twelve.' With nothing surviving of the seated figure's original head, we must look at other details that refute Burges's identification.

Neither Burges's proposal, nor his interpretation of the spandrel as restored accords with internal evidence in the spandrel. His interpretation depended in part on the number of kneeling figures. Yet the hypothesis that the scene represented the entire family before Pharaoh does not take into account the biblical text in which Joseph selects five of his brothers to present to Pharaoh (Genesis 47:2). Pharaoh then asked them their occupation to which they replied that they and their fathers before them were shepherds. Whereupon the king decreed that they should dwell in the land of Gessen. That presentation scene in other manuscripts with iconographical affinities with the Salisbury cycle invariably gives Joseph sufficient prominence to distinguish him from his brothers (Fig. 141), a prominence not accorded any one in the spandrel group.⁶⁵³ Joseph next presented his father to Pharaoh (Genesis 47:7). Both pre-restoration engravings of the Salisbury scene confirm that a bearded figure wearing a Phrygian cap preceded the others. Unquestionably this would be Jacob with his wife directly behind him. Her presence convincingly disallows Burges's interpretation, as does the telling comparison of Pharaoh's thrones (Pls. XL, XLIV and XLVII) with the undraped

⁶⁵² Burges 1859, 157.

⁶⁵³ See for other examples, Morgan MS. 638 in Plummer 1969, fol. 6v; *Bible moralisée*, Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS. Bodley 270b, fol. 32 in Laborde; and Trinity College B.II.4, fol. 7v in Morgan 1982, fig. 173. In the first two, the biblical text informs the images. Five brothers only stand in the background while Joseph presents Jacob to Pharaoh.

backless bench in this scene. Here we see the type consistently occupied by Joseph in preceding spandrels. Without question, the scene represented Jacob, his wife and eleven sons bowing down before Joseph.

The scene fails to depict the reunion of Jacob and Joseph as described in the biblical text after Juda had been sent ahead: 'And when he [Juda] was come thither, Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet his father, in the same place: and seeing him, he fell upon his neck, and embracing him wept' (Genesis 46:29-9).

Instead, the imagery of the scene refers to Joseph's dreams depicted in the first spandrel of the cycle (Pl. XXXV). Joseph, here in his usual seat, is witnessing not only the fulfillment of those dreams but also the answer to a prayer he made in the poem Jacob and Iosep. After he had identified himself to his brothers and heard that his parents still lived, he gave thanks to the Lord that the eleven stars had come to him and added that were his mother and father there, he would assuredly gain the sun and moon as well:

Louerd, seide Iosep, ich hit [for it] (th)onke (the)e,
 Nou (th)e eleue sterren icomen be(eth) to me
 Mi fader (and) mi moder haddich iwonne [gained],
 (Th)enne hadde ich iwis [assuredly] (th)e mone
 (and) (th)e sunne.'⁶⁵⁴

According to this new reading of the spandrel, the twelve men and one woman kneeling at Joseph's feet correspond to the sun, moon and eleven stars, which in the dream had symbolized Joseph's father, mother and eleven brothers bowing before him. Lacking any known pictorial precedents and parallels, the scene appears unique. Despite the manuscript tradition in which the reunion of Jacob and Joseph follows Jacob's journey, the internal evidence in the spandrel supports the proposed interpretation.

Thirteen insets restore the figures. A comparison of the two pre-restoration engravings of the

654 Napier 1916, 16 lines 475-78.

spandrel (Fig. 140a, b) with the diagram of the restorations (Pl. LIVb) indicates that the restorer confined the insets to the areas shown as damaged in the engravings. Four of the heads in the back row are original, two with minor mastic surface repairs. All but three of the modern heads have vestiges of the original carving backing them: the brother's on the far left, the brother's above and in front of Jacob's wife, and Joseph's. The inset replacing Joseph's head included his left shoulder. Mastic touched up minor surface losses in all the figures, with most extensive mastic repair restoring the knees of Joseph. The drapery around his waist is especially fine. All the figures give evidence of some re-cutting and of ubiquitous light sanding that blurred the contours of the drapery. Yet the basic drapery patterns remain undiminished except in the figure of the second kneeling brother from the left where re-cutting flattened the forms.

The Reunion of Jacob and Joseph. Spandrel IV, Southwest Bay

(Plate LV)

This badly damaged spandrel puzzled Burges. Equally unsure of the original content, the restorers inadvertently made changes that compounded the uncertainties. Burges wrote, 'This subject is very doubtful. It probably represents Joseph embracing his family, and assuring them of his protection after Jacob's death. The 1st figure has clasped hands; 2nd, a lady, ditto; 3rd appears to embrace the centre figure, who puts one arm around the waist of No.3, and extends his left arm to a mutilated figure much smaller than the rest....All the heads and arms destroyed or mutilated. Stone generally in bad shape, from the damp.'⁶⁵⁵

Burges's interpretation does not accord with the biblical text (Genesis 50:18-21), wherein the brothers came to Joseph, worshipped him and prostrated themselves on the ground before receiving his assurances. Instead, the imagery suggests the traditional reunion of Jacob and Joseph at Gessen, a scene more in accordance with the biblical text quoted above (Genesis 46:29). First, Burges erred in stating that the figure being embraced had his right arm around the waist of No. 3. Actually his

⁶⁵⁵ Burges 1859, 157. His notes on color mention only 'traces of blue on tunic of central figure.'

original right hand still rests on the inside of the embracer's thirteenth-century right arm, near the bend of the elbow. Carter's sketch shows the latter arm still intact (Pl. LXII, far right, lowest tier). As in the meeting of Jacob and Esau (Pl. XXXIV), the gesture symbolizes kinship. Queen Mary's Psalter provides an interesting parallel in the miniature showing the reunion of Jacob and Joseph (Fig. 142). There Joseph, rushing from the doorway of his castle, begins his embrace by placing his right hand in the bend of Jacob's elbow. Jacob's wife and one of the sons stand behind him. In the Salisbury scenes the gesture has invariably been associated with an emotion-laden family reunion.

Burges's interpretation of the spandrel as Joseph reassuring the brothers of his protection is also emphatically contradicted by the figure identified here as Jacob. Mistakenly his head was restored with rows of tight pin curls and a youthful though bearded face appropriate to one of the brothers. Yet Jacob's calf length tunic replicated the garment he was wearing in the scene of the family on route to Egypt (Pl. LIII), even though in all other scenes he wears a longer garment.

Although no claim can be made for the Salisbury spandrel and the Hebrew Pentateuch in the Salmon Library in Jerusalem having a common model, the frontispiece of the Pentateuch contains a similar reunion scene (Fig. 143), even to the upturned brim of Joseph's hat, a detail shared throughout in parallel scenes with Queen Mary's Psalter. Reading from right to left, the second roundel in the third row from the bottom of the page shows Jacob and Joseph embracing, with Jacob's wife and one of the brothers standing on the left.

In the Salisbury scene, the small figure on the right presumably represented Benjamin, but his presence at the reunion lacks biblical and pictorial precedent. He was not included in the Pentateuch roundel or in Queen Mary's Psalter. According to Burges, Joseph had extended his left arm to the small figure. Yet the restoration of Joseph's left arm on his hip follows the indications of remnants of the original one still visible behind and on the right of the inset. Benjamin's right arm survived intact, but no vestiges remain to authenticate his left hand resting in the crook of Joseph's left arm. Only the evidence in Carter's sketch (Pl. LXII) suggests that the restoration is correct. There Benjamin is reaching towards Joseph's arm. That gesture of kinship seems particularly apt since those two brothers enjoyed a special relationship as Jacob's favorites, his only two sons by his

beloved wife Rachel.

Burges failed to mention a sixth figure represented only by the head of a man carved in profile located behind and between the second and third figures from the left. Like the surviving thirteenth-century heads of the brothers in the preceding two scenes, he is wearing a cap. Such caps seem equally appropriate for the modern heads of Jacob and the other brother. Carter's sketch leaves no doubt that the heads and upper body of the wife and the brother behind her were seriously damaged. Yet authenticating vestiges of the original figures back the large insets that encompassed their heads, bent arms and clasped hands.

Benjamin on the far right underwent the most restoration. The deep and overall re-cutting seriously diminished the figure and nearly erased all articulation of the drapery. Even so, evidence of damage still remains down his back. His entire right leg and foot were reformed out of the stone of the background plane. Though ubiquitous re-cutting and sanding has destroyed the value of every figure for purposes of stylistic comparisons, the figure proportions calculated on the basis of the nineteenth-century heads perpetuated the head-to-body ratios of one to five and a half and six associated with the style of the second master.

Throughout the Joseph cycle the sculptor evinced a constant concern with the language of gesture. He apparently sought pictorial equivalents for verbal utterances. The gestures, both symbolic and dramatic, together with lively, agitated poses convey the meaning of the scenes as effectively as good pantomime. In their tableaux-like character, the spandrel scenes suggest the influence of liturgical drama.

The quality of the restorations varied from spandrel to spandrel. The restorers preserved most, but not all of the original gestures and poses. Although Burges did not always deduce their meaning, his pre-restoration description of each spandrel remains indispensable. Yet several interpretations proposed here are at variance with his. He knew the importance of the Joseph cycle in Queen Mary's Psalter and used it to guide the restorer. Although he suspected that a text lay behind the idiosyncrasies shared by the Salisbury scenes and the Psalter, he had not discovered the metrical

paraphrase of the biblical story, Iacob and Iosep, on which they both depended. Nor did he pay attention to the language of gesture.

The three miniatures from a Joseph cycle in the Murthly Hours that closely paralleled the congruent scenes at Salisbury support the hypothesis that an illustrated version of Iacob and Iosep lay behind the Salisbury scenes, Queen Mary's Psalter and the Hours. But as in the preceding cycles at Salisbury, no single known model informed the iconography of the scenes. The cycle has reaffirmed Salisbury's affinities with the insular tradition of biblical illustration in manuscripts, a link that Burges quite understood.

Scenes from the Life of Moses

(Plates LVI to LX; Plan B)

The concluding scenes of the Old Testament cycle depict five miraculous events from Exodus: Moses and the Burning Bush, the Parting of the Red Sea Waters followed by the Drowning of Pharaoh's Troops, Moses Striking the Rock and Bringing Forth Water, and the Giving of the Law. The continuation of the Salisbury cycle beyond Genesis with those five scenes carried a clear message. In the development of Christian thought, the events revealed Moses as a type for Christ, and like him, Moses was the instrument of his people's salvation.

As noted earlier, in the context of the chapter house program the final scene where Moses receives the Tablets of the Law established the sixty Old Testament scenes as the objective correlative for the Old Law which pre-figured the New. The New Law is embodied by the figure of Christ, the Giver of the New Law, seated in Majesty in the quatrefoil above the inner entrance to the chapter house. He first fulfilled and then supplanted the Old Law. The overall meaning of the sculptures affirms one purpose of the chapter house as a building where the New Law was administered and upheld.

The condition of the five spandrels varies considerably. The second and third scenes of the cycle, the Parting of the Red Sea and the Drowning of Pharaoh's troops, have survived in remarkably good condition, whereas the other three which contained figures of the Deity suffered such severe damage that little remains of the thirteenth-century carving. Further, whatever did survive in those three now appears thoroughly re-cut and sanded.

In all five spandrels, the head of Moses was restored with horns, yet no traces of the original heads remain today to authenticate the attribute. Carter's drawings show barely discernable vestiges of Moses' head in all but the scene depicting the Burning Bush (Fig. 9a). Possibly the restorer was guided by indications of horns still visible in 1855 on one or another of the mutilated heads. Yet

lacking any archaeological evidence today, we must evaluate the accuracy of the restorations by examining the occurrence of horns in English biblical illustration, as well as their appropriateness to the Salisbury events where they are depicted. Those considerations will help to determine whether the restorations preserved the thirteenth-century iconography.

The first known representations of a hornèd Moses occurs in Aelfric's *Hexateuch* in ca. 1050 (Fig. 144).⁶⁵⁶ There the strikingly large horns are attached to a cap instead of growing from Moses' head. Moses with horns stems from St Jerome's translation of the Bible from Hebrew into Latin. Known as the Vulgate and dated sometime between 382 and 404 A.D, his version gained general acceptance by the eighth or ninth century. In the pertinent passage describing Moses' appearance after God had given him the second set of tablets, Jerome rendered the Hebrew word qeren, which can mean either 'horns' or 'rays of light,' as cornuta: 'And when Moses came down from the mount Sinai, he held two tablets of the testimony, and he knew not that his face was horned from the conversation of the Lord' (Exodus 34:29).

As far as is known, six and a half centuries elapsed before Moses was actually represented in art with horns. Lacking any evidence for earlier examples, scholars have ascribed the hornèd Moses in the *Hexateuch* to the inventiveness of the Anglo-Saxon artist who throughout that work took pains to illustrate the text as fully as possible. He worked at Canterbury at a time and in a milieu noted for iconographical innovations. In the *Hexateuch*, the first illustration of Moses with horns adhered to the biblical text. Not until Moses descended from Mount Sinai for the second time was he depicted with horns.⁶⁵⁷ Another scene on the same page shows him still hornless when receiving the Tablets from the Lord's hands (Fig. 144). As we have frequently found, unusual iconographical elements in the spandrel scenes have been traced to Canterbury and in particular back to the Anglo-Saxon *Hexateuch*. Many of them had a long afterlife in English art and also exerted a notable influence

656 Mellinkoff 1970, 13. For an excellent study of the history, significance and occurrence of Moses with horns in medieval art, see *ibid.*, passim.

657 According to Mellinkoff, in the *Hexateuch*, where Moses is represented with horns in scenes that preceded his second descent from Mount Sinai, the horns appear to have been added by another hand at a much later date *ibid.*, 17.

across the Channel.

Aware of the inexplicable absence of the image in English art for about a century after the Hexateuch, Mellinkoff pointed to its next appearances in the Bury Bible in ca. 1135 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 2, fol. 94r), and almost simultaneously in the Shaftesbury Psalter (London, Brit. Lib. MS. Lansdowne 383, fol. 15).⁶⁵⁸ Also dated to the second quarter of the century, the Shaftesbury Psalter depicts hornèd Moses in the Tree of Jesse. The motif then began to spread, and in ca. 1150, the Great Lambeth Bible pictures Moses with horns receiving the Law in the decorated initial to Leviticus as well as in the Tree of Jesse (Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3, fols. 52, 198).⁶⁵⁹ Produced closer to Salisbury geographically, the Winchester Psalter (Brit. Lib., Cotton Nero C. IV, fol. 4), dated between 1150 and 1160, and made for Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, depicts Moses already with horns as he receives the Tablets (Fig. 145). A detail in the same frame correctly shows him hornless as he kneels before the Burning Bush.⁶⁶⁰ Yet by 1150 the horns had become an identifying attribute in contexts divorced from and preceding Moses' second descent from Sinai.

Mellinkoff also discussed the incidence of the hornèd Moses on the continent, beginning with the Gebhardt Bible from Admont in ca. 1130 (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Ser. nov. 2701-2, fols. 68, 69).⁶⁶¹ Although the means of transmission of that first continental image remains obscure, its appearance in the late twelfth-century French Manerius Bible (Paris, Bib. Sainte-Geneviève MSS 8-10, fol. 69v), can be attributed to the artist Manerius from Canterbury, so identified by a colophon.⁶⁶²

During the thirteenth century the imagery proliferated in England and France in scenes that took place before Moses came down from the mountain with the second set of tablets. Especially notable are two pages depicting Moses and the Burning Bush, Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, Moses Bringing Water from the Rock, and Moses and the Brazen Serpent in the Munich Psalter (Fig.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 61-75, figs. 47-48.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., 63, figs. 51, 52.

⁶⁶⁰ Mellinkoff 1970, 63-64, fig. 53; and Wormald 1973, 15, fig. 4.

⁶⁶¹ For an illustration, see *ibid.*, fig. 49, 50.

⁶⁶² Ibid., 65, fig. 55; and Cahn 1982, 221-24, 297 cat. 99.

146; Bayerische Staat Bibliothek Cod. Lat. 835, fols. 18, 20). That English manuscript of ca. 1200-1210,⁶⁶³ like several others with the hornèd Moses, is tentatively attributed to Oxford.⁶⁶⁴ The proliferation of the imagery in the thirteenth century and its continuing occurrence from the mid-twelfth century forward in scenes preceding Moses' descent give us grounds for accepting the attribute in all five Salisbury spandrels. In effect, even without validation by Carter and Burges, or by vestiges of original carving, the general acceptance in the thirteenth century of horns as Moses' identifying attribute make the correctness of the restorations probable.

Moses and the Burning Bush. Spandrel VI, Southwest Bay

(Plate LVI)

According to the biblical account, Moses drove the flock of his father-in-law Jethro into the desert, 'and came to the mountain of God, Horeb. And the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire in the midst of a bush: and he saw that the bush was on fire and was not burnt' (Exodus 3:1-2). The Lord called to him and said, 'Come not nigh hither, put off the shoes from thy feet: for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground' (Exodus 3:5). And the Lord then spoke to Moses and commanded him to lead the Israelites out of captivity with the promise that he, the Lord, would be with him.

The event has multiple typological meanings, the first being a reference to the Incarnation. The bush that burned but was not consumed by the fire became the Old Testament prefiguration of Mary who conceived of the Holy Ghost while her virginity remained intact. The flames that did not

663 For illustrations, see Mellinkoff 1970, figs. 59, 60.

664 Ibid., 65-66, figs. 59, 60; and Morgan 1982, 1, 68-72, cat. no. 23, fig. 80. For other thirteenth-century examples, see i.a. Peterborough Cathedral Library, MS. 10, f. 13 (ca. 1230-40), Moses Parting the Red Sea: *ibid.*, 112-13, cat. no. 66, fig. 214; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. 106, fols. 5, 12 (ca. 1230-40), Moses and the Plague of Frogs, Moses Drawing Water from the Rocks: *ibid.*, 117, cat. no. 71, figs. 232, 233; New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. Glazier MS. 42, fol. 21 (ca. 1265), Oxford (?), Moses and the Burning Bush: *ibid.* 1988, 2, 127-29, cat. no. 143, fig. 212; and London, British Lib. MS. Harley 3487, fol. 103, (1265-70), Oxford (?), Moses and the Brazen Serpent: *ibid.*, 130-31, cat. no. 145, fig. 225.

destroy the bush were equated with the fire of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁶⁵ Thus the appearance of God in the Burning Bush commanding Moses to lead his people out of captivity into the Promised Land prefigured God sending his son to redeem mankind. Then too, as noted above, Moses as the salvation of his people became an Old Testament type for Christ.⁶⁶⁶ The divine revelation to Moses in the Burning Bush also associated Moses with the Transfiguration, the moment of the revelation of Christ's divinity.⁶⁶⁷ In addition, God's injunction that Moses remove his shoes (Exodus 3:5) became a metaphor for a laying aside of sin in order to make one's self sufficiently holy to enter the divine presence.⁶⁶⁸ Yet in the context of the Moses cycle, Moses as a prefiguration of Christ who showed the way to Salvation stands foremost among the various typologies.

Burges described the spandrel as 'Moses...kneeling with bare feet. A figure of God. No apparent colour. Upper part of Moses destroyed--and the whole of the figure of God.'⁶⁶⁹ Carter's sketch showing Moses kneeling on a hummock (Fig. 9a) accords with Burges's description and also adds information about the thirteenth-century drapery arrangement. Moses originally had a peplum or overskirt that re-cutting totally eliminated. Carter clearly articulated its folds over Moses' left thigh. The archaeological examination provided another detail. God's original right hand pointing to the Promised Land still survives. A nineteenth-century inset supplies the bust of God as well as everything above the thirteenth-century hand including the index finger. The second inset restored the entire figure of Moses above the hips. A heavy application of mastic overlays the line of joining. Never mentioned by Burges or drawn by Carter, a thirteenth-century tree survives on the left. It was so thoroughly re-cut and sanded that the foliate terminals now look like gnarled lumps. Throughout the spandrel all the patina of age was eliminated by re-cutting and overall sanding.

In summary, God calling Moses out of the bush that burned but was not destroyed prefigured

⁶⁶⁵ See Schiller 1971, 1, 16, 54.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 71.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 145-46, 147, 148. The receiving of the ten commandments was another divine revelation that caused Moses to be associated in art with the Transfiguration: *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 2, 42.

⁶⁶⁹ Burges 1959, 157.

the Incarnation, the Transfiguration or revelation of Christ's divinity, and also, most specifically, the Virgin birth, Mary's virginity remaining intact and her womb unharmed by the flames of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁷⁰ Paramount among the typologies for this scene in the context of the cycle is the Lord commanding Moses to lead his people to the Promised Land as a prefiguration of Christ redeeming humankind.⁶⁷¹

Moses Parting the Red Sea Waters. Spandrel VII, Southwest Bay

(Plate LVII)

Burges called the scene the 'Passage of the Red Sea.'⁶⁷² As Pharaoh and his army approached, the Lord said to Moses, 'But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch forth thy hand over the sea and divide it: that the children of Israel may go through the midst of the sea on dry ground' (Exodus 14:16).

The passage of the Israelites through those waters became a prototype for Baptism. As an Old Testament exemplar of Salvation by water, the passage signified the beginning of a new life, as does Baptism.⁶⁷³ St. Paul associated the Red Sea crossing with Baptism in the first epistle to the Corinthians where he wrote, 'Our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea. And all were baptized in the cloud and in the sea' (Corinthians 1:1-2). Salvation by water and the sacrament of Baptism remind us that this centrally organized eight-sided chapter house was associated with the same concepts of absolution and regeneration connoted by Baptism.⁶⁷⁴ The Red Sea was identified with Baptism which removed the sin of the baptized. The Red Sea passage also prefigured complete immersion in the waters of the baptismal font.⁶⁷⁵ By parting the Red Sea for the passage of the Israelites, Moses, like Christ, showed his people the way to Salvation.

Despite the loss and replacement of all four heads, the spandrel provides an outstanding

⁶⁷⁰ Schiller 1971, 1, 17, 20.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 71.

⁶⁷² Burges 1859, 157.

⁶⁷³ See Schiller 1971, 1, 129; 2, 130.

⁶⁷⁴ See Chapter 1.

⁶⁷⁵ Schiller 1971, 1, 129.

example of the work of the second artist. Burges described the scene as a 'good spirited group: heads destroyed or mutilated.'⁶⁷⁶ Carter's sketch suggests that Moses' head was the most heavily damaged (Fig. 9a). Surprisingly the sketch contains no evidence of the figure standing between Moses and the second Israelite from the left, clearly an oversight, though Burges mentioned the fourth figure. The thirteenth-century artist had squeezed it into the space behind Moses. Though we see some of the skirt of the tunic, the artist had no space for the legs and feet. Reaching across that figure, Moses is grasping the right wrist of the man on the far left as if to pull him into the path made by the parted waters.

Mastic rather than re-cutting effected most of the repairs in the spandrel. Although a much-mutilated area above the waist of the figure on the left still remains unrestored, mastic filled in damages affecting his right shoulder. Applications of mastic also occurred on the right side of Moses' chest, his right shoulder and along the drapery of his skirt over his right leg. Negligible re-cutting occurred on the feet and ankles of all three figures, and small mastic repairs have touched up the toes and legs of the two Israelites. An inset supplied Moses with a new left hand and wrist as well as the upper half of the rod with which he is parting the waters. What appears to be glue spills from the left side of the rod and drips down to the pathway in the water.

To remove the spandrel for restoration, a cut was made across the water below Moses' right foot. Directly above the cut, the waves on the right appear slightly damaged. Two cracks and a deep vertical scratch mar the background plane on the right above the waters. Otherwise the spandrel is in excellent condition.

Despite minor repairs, the drapery of the garments of the three complete figures with their sharply angled mannerist folds epitomize the style of the second artist, as does the elegant third ballet position of the second figure from the left. The artist's now familiar one to five and a half head-to-body proportions obtain for the two full-length Israelites as restored, but not for the figure of Moses. His nineteenth-century head, disproportionately large compared with the others, has reduced

⁶⁷⁶ Burges 1859, 157. Burges found no traces of color, nor did he mention the tree on the far left. Although unrestored, its foliate forms are not well articulated.

the ratio to one to five. For that anomaly the restorer seems at fault. Nevertheless, the scene deserves a place on the roster of well-preserved spandrels.

The Drowning of Pharaoh's Troops in the Red Sea. Spandrel VIII, Southwest Bay
(Plate LVIII)

Burges described the final scene in the southwest bay as 'Destruction of Pharaoh and his hosts: armed figures--with shields and banners in a carriage.' In a footnote he added, 'One of the knights has a kite-shaped shield.'⁶⁷⁷ The scene vividly depicted the events of Exodus 14:26-8 after the Lord had spoken to Moses again: 'Stretch forth thy hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots and horsemen....And the waters returned, and covered the chariots and the horsemen of all the army of Pharaoh [Pharaoh], who had come into the sea after them.'

In the Salisbury scene, five of the soldiers are already in the water. The three behind the cart carry two shields and two banners. The two soldiers in the water below the wagon are drowning under the weight of their thirteenth-century armor. The one on the right is already doing the dead man's float. A team of horses pulls the wagon loaded with three more soldiers carrying another banner. The foremost soldier in the wagon holds his shield before him. The water has risen up to the wagon traces. The artist carved the nearer horse's breast collar, belly band, or girth in great detail, but those of the other horse no longer exist.

Burges observed that the spandrel not only had no color traces, but had been stained green with damp. He wrote, 'Heads of men and horses mutilated: otherwise perfect.'⁶⁷⁸ Carter's sketch (Fig. 9a) delineates all but the drowning figure in the lower right who is doing the dead man's float. He and six of the other soldiers received new heads, but the restorer modeled their faces and the edges of the helmets surrounding them with mastic consisting of ground Chilmark stone in a binder. The

⁶⁷⁷ Burges 1859, 157 and n. 2. No evidence of a crown has survived that would distinguish Pharaoh from the rest of his troops.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid.

casque of the eighth soldier who is floundering in the water near the cart's wheel was re-cut, rather than replaced. The final inset supplied the head and most of the neck of the nearer horse.

Minor repairs with mastic rebuilt the upper corner of the shield on the left, a small section of the wagon wheel and a portion of a wheel spoke on the left, as well as the lower end of the harness supporting the wagon's trace. Many nicks and abrasions remain on the waves, but the only re-cut area in the water surrounds the drowning figure on the right.

Rendered in exquisite detail, the nearer horse's harness has survived in almost perfect condition. Apparently preoccupied with accuracy, the artist even defined the cotter pin holding the wagon wheel in place. This lively scene of Pharaoh's army in medieval armor evokes the image of a thirteenth-century army rumbling to battle with soldiers fording a river on foot and in a wagon. We find equal attention to detail in the same scene in the Morgan Bible MS. 638 (Fig. 147) where the thirteenth-century armor is also carefully delineated. As with the other Salisbury Old Testament scenes, contemporary dress and settings would have given them an immediacy for thirteenth-century viewers.

Moses Striking the Rock and Bringing Forth Water. Spandrel I, West Bay (left)

(Plate LXIX)

Burges described this and the next scene as entirely destroyed, but he could still discern that Moses was wearing a yellow tunic.⁶⁷⁹ Carter's sketch (Fig. 9a) shows vestiges of Moses' figure on the left, most of the rock formation in the center, and the tree on the right. Thus the drawing fully validates the arrangement, if not the details, as restored. Unfortunately the restorer eliminated all evidence of the thirteenth-century figure of Moses which he replaced with eight insets. The first supplied his horned head and neck. The second and third comprised most of his body. Those two sections were joined just below the waist. Both were set into the background plane with the lines of joining close to the silhouette of the figure. The fourth inset supplied Moses' chest and right arm to

⁶⁷⁹ Burges 1859, 157.

the middle of his forearm. Also set into the background plane, an inset completing that arm included his hand and rod. The sixth inset restored his left hand. The final two insets supplying his feet encompassed some of the surrounding ground and portions of the hem of his garment.

The rock formation, ground swells and tree on the far right consist of re-cut and sanded thirteenth-century carving with the exception of an inset completing the rocky promontory above Moses' rod. Chisel marks are visible over the re-cut surfaces of the ground and rocks. Mastic spreads out to the right of the line joining the promontory as well as over the areas below the joint attaching Moses' nineteenth-century rod. More mastic infill occurs above the right upper arm and on the background plane in front of the upper half of his figure.

The tree on the far right appears less heavily sanded than the rock formation. The oak leaves carved in relief on the terminals of the branches remain clearly articulated. Beyond the tree a large rectangular inset completed the entire right end of the spandrel stone, but mastic sufficed to fill in losses along the left edge.

This second water miracle, like the parting of the Red Sea waters, prefigured Baptism and Salvation by water. Encamped in Raphidim, the people of Israel were murmuring against Moses for lack of water. Certain that they, their children and beasts were about to die of thirst, they doubted that the Lord was still with them. Fearing insurrection, Moses turned to God for help. He instructed Moses to go to the rock of Horeb and strike it with his rod to bring forth water (Exodus 17:1-7). St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians said, 'Our fathers....all drank the same spiritual drink...they drank of the spiritual rock...and the rock was Christ' (1 Corinthians 10:1-4). The rock of Horeb was forthwith equated with Christ and also linked with the manna from heaven, or 'bread of life' in the desert, and thus with the Eucharist.⁶⁸⁰ Besides the typology of the Eucharist and Baptism, the water that Moses struck from the rock also prefigured paradise, since Salvation and rebirth in the Christian faith through Baptism brought eternal life.⁶⁸¹

Carter's sketch (Fig. 9a) suggests that Moses was striking a cleft in the rock directly below

⁶⁸⁰ Schiller 1972, 2, 30.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid. 1971, 1, 130, 133, 152, 169, 181.

the restored promontory. An unanswerable question arises as to whether water originally flowed from a cleft. Because of overall re-cutting the archaeological evidence could not provide an answer. Nor does Carter's sketch give any suggestion of flowing water. Thus we have the possibility but no supporting evidence beyond the biblical text.

Giving of the Law. Spandrel II, Western Bay (left of portal)

(Plate LX)

Of that last scene in the cycle Burges wrote, 'God gives the Law to Moses. First figure green.'⁶⁸² He had already noted that the scene was entirely destroyed. Carter's sketch (Fig. 9a) defines the figure of God on the left holding the tablets and Moses kneeling on the right. Yet today remnants of thirteenth-century carving in the spandrel are pitifully few. They consist of a wedge of God's nimbus directly behind his new head and a small fragment of the back of his head on the left to which the nineteenth-century replacement was joined. The cloud formation in front of his head consists of re-cut thirteenth-century carving, as does his left arm.

On the right, the silhouette of Moses' original figure backs the three insets replacing his body and legs. Projecting an eighth of an inch, the thirteenth-century remnant informed his half-kneeling pose as restored. In front of his knees, the outermost fold of his tunic has also survived. Insets supplying Moses' arms and head complete his nineteenth-century figure.

In the figure of God, a single inset supplied his upper torso, his right arm to the middle of the forearm and all the cloud formation below and behind him, plus most of his nimbus. Another inset completed his right arm and hand and included his left hand and the tablets they are holding. Following the determining vestiges, both figures as restored accord well with their outlines in Carter's sketch (Fig. 9a).

Two insets restore the ground: one directly below the figure of God, the other below and to the right of that inset. A considerable amount of mastic has filled in losses in the surface plane and in the ground swells between the two figures. And finally, a vertical strip of Chilmark stone filled in

⁶⁸² Burges 1859, 157.

the gap between this and the preceding spandrel.

All five scenes of the Moses cycle contain manifestations of divine intervention. Appointed by God to show his people the way to Salvation, Moses became a type for Christ. The Giving of the Ten Commandments was the summa or final statement of the Salisbury narrative scenes.

The Old Testament scenes that preceded had provided a conspectus of the period before the Law (ante legum). They included other Old Testament types for Christ and made unmistakable references to Salvation and Christ's Sacrifice for the Redemption of mankind. Certain scenes also contained exegetical imagery that alluded to the Incarnation, and to the sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist. The final scene, Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law, prefigured the New Covenant instituted by Christ,⁶⁸³ and in apposition, Christ seated in Majesty in the portal represented the fulfillment of Mosaic Law which he then supplanted.

In effect, taken as a whole, the Old Testament cycle signified the Old Law juxtaposed with Christ in Majesty, the Giver of the New Law, concepts germane to the uses of the chapter house--a building where the New Law was upheld and Salvation sought, as in Baptism, through the renunciation of sin and also through prayers for the dead.

⁶⁸³ Schiller 1971, 1, 50.

Stylistic and Intellectual Sources for the Old Testament Cycle

The preceding archaeological examination of the Old Testament cycle in the Salisbury chapter house revealed slightly over one third of the spandrels in better condition than the literature had led us to expect. Although only a small fraction of the heads are original, thirty-one in all, a fair sample of the original drapery has survived untouched by the restoration. Besides the severely mutilated scenes in the west and northwest bays, only a few scenes proved too heavily reworked to contribute anything to an analysis of the thirteenth-century style. After first establishing the characteristics of that style through analysis of well-preserved portions of the sculpture throughout the chapter house, this concluding chapter will analyse the elements that differentiate the two hands responsible for the carving and seek the sources or influences that informed their style. And finally, because the sixty narrative scenes depicting Old Testament events have no parallel program in thirteenth-century English sculpture, the problem of prototypes and other possible influences, in short, the intellectual climate that spawned the program, will receive attention.

As the diagrams indicate (Pls. I b-LX b), the destructive impulses of the iconoclasts abated to a degree after they had nearly destroyed the scenes of Creation and seriously damaged much of the Adam and Eve cycle. Remnants of unspoiled carving in the three Cain and Abel scenes provided the first indications of the original figure and drapery style (Pls. XIII-XV). Vestiges confirm that the thirteenth-century figures had unnaturally large heads. Presumably by using the head-to-body ratios of one to four and a half or five the sculptor tried to compensate for distortions created by the viewers' perspective from ground level. But the ratio overcompensated, making the heads appear somewhat oversized. There and throughout the cycle the flow of narrative and the liveliness of the figures strike the viewer, impressions augmented by the sophistication with which the sculptors accommodated poses and action to the shape of the spandrel. The rise of the arches from the central

point became an asset allowing the figures to step down towards the point of springing, which functions as center stage, or exit by climbing the curving ground line along the adjacent arch, often as if leaving to participate in the next scene. Like seasoned actors, they assume poses and gestures reflecting their moods and characters. For example, in the Sentencing of Cain (Pl. XV), every aspect of his figure suggests his uneasiness and urgent wish to leave the scene. Facing and leaning towards the right, he looks back over his shoulder at the Deity in a stance that epitomizes conflict between the impulse to flee and the authority that prevents him. In fact, since forward motion becomes impossible with feet in the fourth ballet position, the step he has taken towards the right inhibits all further movement in that direction.

Ballet positions, elegant though mannered, recur throughout the cycle, a device that infuses the figures with grace and style. See for example the poses of Adam and Eve in Plate VIII, authenticated by vestiges of the original feet, and those in Plates XXI, XL and LV. Also, the sculptors consistently manipulated the drapery to enhance those poses. Smoothed to reveal the advancing leg, the drapery of Cain in the Sentencing scene responds to the slight bend of his right knee and the outward turn of his leg. Here as elsewhere the form and pose become more explicit by means of vertical folds that frame the leg, and by inverted V-shaped creases that splay downward from a point along the waist and straddle or bridge the thigh. (For other well-preserved examples see Noah, Pl. XVIII; Lot's daughters, Fig. 148; and Jacob and Esau, Pl. XXXIV.) The drapery defining Cain's waistline also proved typical. Although unbelted, his tunic is gathered as if by a drawstring at the waist. This blouses the tunic and forms several prominent well-spaced folds directly above. The ridges of the folds break quickly into obtuse angles from which flattened ridges rise and taper to nothing or merge into the fullness of the upper sleeve. Characteristically the articulation of the drapery over the chest and across the back of the shoulders is negligible. But occasionally throughout the first half of the cycle, as here, a series of either catenary or V-shaped folds enlivens the front of the bodice. On the underside of the projecting folds creating the bloused effect the sculptor made deep thumb print depressions or grooves, a particularly telling convention that emphasizes the fullness of the blousing. (Other well-preserved examples include Noah's drapery,

Pl. XVIII; the seated angels, Pl. XXII; Lot's daughters, Fig. 148; and the figure of Rebecca, Pl. XXIX.) The arrangement of Cain's drapery directly below the waistline proved equally typical. The broad flat areas between the widely spaced vertical folds of his surcoat are enlivened by a series of shorter, inverted V-shaped creases functioning as the ones described above. Their linear patterns form diagonals that reflect the anatomy and movement in the lower half of the body. (See also, Pls. XXV, XXIX, XXXIX-XL, XLVI, XLVII, XLIX, LIII and LVII.)

As the cycle progresses around the building the linear patterns of the drapery become more pronounced. Beginning in the last spandrel of the eastern bay, the creases of the folds above and below the waist seem to radiate from a single point like rays of a star sapphire. (For good examples see the figures of Jacob and Esau, Pl. XXIV; the brother kneeling before Joseph, Pl. XLIX and Fig. 149a; and Moses parting the Red Sea waters, Pl. LVII.)

Other significant changes accompanied the transition to sharper more linear and angular drapery patterns. The one to four and a half or five ratio of head to body typical of the figures in the first half of the Old Testament cycle ceased to obtain. In the reunion of Jacob and Esau the ratio has become one to six, and thereafter it fluctuates between one to five and half and one to seven. A decrease in the size of the heads rather than an overall increase in heights governed the change. Also, in the same scene, the hemline of tunics worn by standing male figures rises from the ankle to a level just below the calf. The full-length tunic for the male does not reappear in the remaining scenes, except in the completely nineteenth-century figure of Moses striking the rock (Pl. LIX). Another change involved the drapery in the lower half of the figures. Generally the folds become deeply crumpled and more broadly spaced, and the closely repeated clusters such as those in the skirt of Cain's tunic (Pl. XV) become a rarity.

A concomitant decrease in convolutions along the hemline accompanied the broader handling of the drapery, and from the scene of Jacob's reunion with Esau forward, the sculptor ceased to undercut the hems. Compare the hemlines in Pl. XIX with those in Pls. XXXIV and XXXVII. Thereafter the undersurface behind the hemline remained a solid block of stone, leveled and flush with the hem from which the legs of the figures emerge. In the Joseph cycle for the first

time we find some of the original legs carved in the round, another change from the earlier scenes where the sculptor never carved them as freestanding elements. Instead he created the illusion by undercutting deeply behind the hems and between the legs which were carved as projections from the surface plane (Pl. XIX). Even though there are now numerous freestanding elements in the first half of the cycle, they are all nineteenth-century insets that replaced the original arms and legs.

At about the halfway mark around the chapter house the composition of the scenes underwent some changes. Trees used characteristically as space fillers framing and separating the earlier scenes become a rarity. Indeed, with the exception of two trees in the Moses cycle (Pls. LVI and LIX), they disappear entirely. At the same time the figures become more crowded than before, as two or three events often take place in one spandrel (Pls. XXXVII-XXXVIII, XLIV, XLVII, XLIX-L and LII). This crowding contrasts with the earlier scenes where the sculptor consistently limited the number of persons represented, and when more than one event was needed to forward the narrative, he conflated them into a single scene. The ark afloat provides the most ingenious example with Noah embarking in the stern as the rain begins and forty days later emerging at the bow to receive the dove (Pl. XVII). In the Labors of Adam and Eve, the spindle originally painted onto the background next to the nursing Eve referred to her spinning, a second labor which elsewhere was sometimes depicted as a separate scene.⁶⁸⁴

The roster of telling differences that distinguish the second half of the scenes from the first include the appearance of a number of mannerisms. In the later scenes frequently the drapery balloons over the thighs. (For this effect see Jacob and Esau, Pl. XXXIV; Jacob and the foremost brother, Pl. XXXVI; Joseph, Pl. XL; the prison guard, Pl. XLIII; the butler, Pls. XLIV and XLVII.) In general, arms seem more rubbery and less part of a skeletal system (e.g. Pl. XXXIV). Then too, the ground often falls away behind the figures that have placed their weight on their heels, and one sometimes feels uncertain exactly how the weight of a figure is distributed. (For this, see Pls XXXVII-XLIV, and Fig. 149b.) Twisting and turning, the poses become even livelier and more

⁶⁸⁴ For evidence of the missing spindle, see Burges 1859, 149.

varied than earlier, but at times form was sacrificed for attitude so that a figure appears somewhat distorted. (See the executioner, Pl. XLIV; the butler, Pl. XLVI; and Joseph on the right of Pl. LII.)

All in all, about midpoint in the cycle significant changes occurred that involve proportions, composition and carving techniques, as well as ways of rendering the drapery conventions. Considered as a whole, the changes lead inescapably to the conclusion that in the thirteenth century two artists were at work in the chapter house, one responsible for the first half of the Old Testament cycle, the other for the second part. At the midpoint in the scene containing Jacob's dream and Jacob wrestling with the angel (Pl. XXXII), although the extensive restorations replacing the better part of every figure in the spandrel make for some uncertainty, the inclusion of two events as well as the more elongated proportions of the figures as restored suggest that the second artist began his carving with this scene. The following scene also contains the two events that followed the dream and the night of wrestling. In that spandrel also, the restored figure of the angel has the head-to-body ratio of one to six. Assuming that the restoration preserved the figure proportions, as seems likely, we can attribute the last three scenes in the eastern bay to the second artist. Yet the stylistic conventions that the two artists shared are sufficiently numerous to indicate that they also shared a common background. Concomitantly, the different ways in which they handled the same conventions make it difficult to explain the changes as the work of a single artist undergoing a stylistic transformation in response to new models or new influences.

Comparisons of the thirteenth-century heads in the early scenes with those in the second half of the cycle support that conclusion. The heads presumed to be by the first artist include that of Noah receiving the dove (Fig. 108a), Ham leering at his father's nakedness (Fig. 108b), Sara smirking in the doorway (Pl. XXII) and the unhappy faces of Lot's two daughters as they leave their fallen city and abandon their mother to her curious fate (Fig. 148). When compared with the faces of the brothers listening to Joseph telling his dream (Fig. 150a), with the sleeping Pharaoh (Pl. XLV), with the seven heads distributed between two corner spandrels (Pls. L and LI), and with the brother walking between Jacob and his wife on the trip to Egypt (Fig. 150b), the facial style of the first artist proves more expressive with attempts to mirror action and moods. By contrast, the second artist

depended more on hair styles than features to differentiate the heads. Among the brothers listening to Joseph's dream, no emotion is visible as they hear the recital that provoked them to dispose of him. Although a light sanding has eliminated some of the sharpness of their features, we cannot blame the restoration for the uniformity and blandness of their expressions. The second artist tended towards the most summary indication of features. Technically he carved the faces by cutting back an ovoid form. As a result, the noses (although mostly broken) continued the same curve indicated by the plane of the forehead, and in essence, the ovoid form governs all his heads and faces.

Although the features are more varied, the faces of the first artist have certain traits in common (Figs. 108a, b and 151). The forehead is low; the eyes, generally almond-shaped, are set fairly high and close to the brow. The upper and lower lids have about equal prominence, but a single incised line characteristically indicates a fold in the upper lid. The lower lid curves smoothly across the lower part of the eyeball. The cheeks are broad and full, the jaw, when shaven, softly rounded so that the faces almost seem to recede into the short thick necks. The upper and lower lips tend to be equally fleshy with a stronger definition of the lower lip line than of the upper, but a firm line differentiates one from the other.

The first artist used the mouth as the main vehicle for expression, and the few surviving heads suggest how much drama has been drained from the scenes by the uniform, expressionless faces inserted in the nineteenth century. Besides the faces listed above, more than half of the original head of Isaac on route to the Sacrifice (Pl. XXV) still lies behind the restoration. His mouth forms an unhappy pout, a surprising detail that describes him as a reluctant victim and provides another example of the importance to the narrative and iconography of the destroyed thirteenth-century faces.

A few more Morellian features in the work of the two artists deserve attention as much to show their common traits as to assist in the search for influences that shaped their style. The particular way in which the artists used the crumpled V-shaped fold to enliven the drapery of the skirts seems revealing. Such a fold logically evolves in the lower half of a figure as the fabric of the garment responds to movement affecting the folds falling vertically from the waist. The figure of

Jacob at the well provides a perfect example of the drapery convention (Pl. XXX). His acutely bent back leg has caused the fold behind it to crumple. Both sculptors, however, frequently imposed the V-shaped fold on the flank or rump of a figure even when the implied movement was not sufficient to warrant the convention. (See especially Noah, Pl. XVIII; and the figure of Lot, Pl. XXIV.) With more logic the same convention consistently defines the folds between the knees of seated figures and often the side drapery looping between the leg and the bench seat. (For the latter, see especially Pls. XLII, XLVII and XLIX-LI.) A less organic form occurs regularly in the drapery of bedding and also in the overhang of a tablecloth (Pl. XXII and Fig. 151; Pls. XXVII, XXVIII, XLI and XLV). In these last examples a single V-shaped fold enlivens the broad expanses between a series of flaring boxed pleats. As might be expected, the arrangement lost some of its plasticity and became more linear in the hands of the second artist.

The two artists' treatment of the hemlines in the ladies' garments also had much in common. Throughout the scenes and also in the figures of the Virtues and Vices of the foyer, the garments flow with few interruptions from waist to foot where the heavy fabric breaks in crumpled, rolled folds before it spreads out across the ground in broadly conceived fold backs and curving lines of considerable elegance. Characteristically, one of the folds breaks across the instep of the forward foot, and the slender pointed toe of the shoe peeps out from beneath the hem (Pls. XXIV, XXIX, XXXI, XLI, XLII and LIII). The aura of feminine grace and the regal stature imparted by the arrangement is considerably enhanced when the head-to-body ratio is one to six, and the waist line set high by way of elongating the vertical lines of the skirt. Although nineteenth-century critics lavished praise on the figures of the Virtues and Vices and withheld it from the Old Testament scenes, those Virtues with one to five proportions used by the first artist and others with bodices overlaid with catenary folds (Fig. 152a, b) suffer in comparison with some of the female figures in the spandrels. See for example Rachel (Pl. XXXI) and the lower unrestored half of Pharaoh's wife in the seduction scene (Pl. XLI). Yet with the drapery conventions and proportions of the Virtues closely paralleling those used in the Old Testament figures, the nineteenth-century attribution of the sculptures in the foyer to another quite superior hand seems untenable. It would also be misleading

to fail to mention the uneven quality of both the vestibule and spandrel figures.

Stylistic Influences

With stylistic characteristics and variants of the carvers responsible for the Old Testament scenes well in mind, the search for stylistic analogies in thirteenth-century English figure sculpture failed to uncover any telling influences and comparisons. Instead, one discovers a filiation of styles first expressed in the sculptures of the Wells west screen (ca. 1230-1250),⁶⁸⁵ next traceable to Westminster in the 1250s and to the Judgment Porch at Lincoln (ca. 1280). Sometimes achieved with softly flowing lines, more often with vigorous, closely repeated and somewhat stiff folds, the multi-fold arrangements at Wells with emphasis on verticality became more plastic and varied at Westminster and Lincoln. An increasing complexity in the interplay of V-shaped and concentric curving folds counterbalances the verticals. (Compare Figs. 41, 47a, 48 and 49 with Figs. 153 and 154a-c.) Despite the architectural indebtedness of the Salisbury chapter house to Westminster, the style of the Old Testament reliefs owes nothing to the sculptures in the abbey,⁶⁸⁶ and with a single anomalous exception, nothing to the annunciate figures in the entrance of the Westminster chapter house.⁶⁸⁷

Standing at the mid-point in the transmission of the Early English Gothic style from the Wells west screen to the Lincoln Judgment Porch, the Angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin on the inner face of the Westminster chapter house doorway display the Wellsian drapery conventions

685 Alexander and Binski (eds.) 1987, 100; and another recent discussion of the sculptures, Tudor-Craig in Colchester (ed.) 1982, 102-31.

686 The influence of the censing angels in the north and south transepts of Westminster abbey emerges in the drapery arrangements of the angels on the Salisbury choir screen (1265), a dating dependent on the will of Robert de Careville probated in 1264. He bequeathed ten marks ad depingendam fabricam circa crucem elevatam [for painting the structure in the vicinity of the high cross]. Some of the original polychromy has survived. See Jones and Macray 1891, repr. 1965, 334-35, who incorrectly dated the will to 1267. Shortt 1970, 6, pointed out that the great crucifix hung above the screen closing off the choir at the west end. The screen was dismantled by Wyatt during the late eighteenth century, but a section has been preserved in the Morning Chapel.

687 On the two figures, see now Alexander and Binski (eds.) 1987, 319-20, Cat. nos. 287-88.

reorganized in the riotous interplay of sweeping curves, concentric V-shaped folds and closely pleated cascades. (See the angel's over-mantle, Fig. 153.) In the scene of the Drunkenness of Noah, the first artist at Salisbury seems aware of that mannerist arrangement, tucked at the waist and pulled across the body to form a fantasy of V-shaped folds punctuated by spills of vertical folds. The figure of the middle brother has a similar arrangement unique to the first artist's work in which he created drapery that overwhelms the small figure (Pl. XIX). Also, by failing to catch or tuck in the mantle at the waist, he omitted the logic behind the center set of V-shaped folds. Yet the brother's drapery indicates the artist's interest in and awareness of the English Court Style. His awkward experiment suggests that the conventions distinguishing the angel's drapery were part of an unfamiliar vocabulary that the Salisbury carver did not have under full control.

When the Wellsian style, by then incorporated into the Court Style, reappeared on the Judgment Porch at Lincoln, it contained new refinements. Framed by a foliate rinceau undercut so that it looks like filigree, the figures of the Virtues in the outer archivolt wear garments so finely pleated that the drapery designs imply fabrics of tissue weight (Fig. 154c). Then too, for the first time, beneath the bodices one sees the definition of maidenly breasts. The same vigorous and sure hands that had carved the annunciate figures in the Westminster chapter house seem responsible for the monumental figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga that flank the Judgment portal (Figs. 154a, b). Eschewing mannerist complexities in the over drapery of Synagoga, the artist achieved his effects through the interplay of light and shadow in the fine, closely repeated vertical pleats that form a series of larger folds with deep creases and prominent ridges. The vital figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga provide a fitting climax for the vigorous long-lived Wellsian style.

But on the interior at Lincoln in the slightly earlier Angel Choir (1260-1280), a different style was introduced in the broader, crumpled draperies of the angels filling the spandrels of the triforium (Fig. 42a, b). The literature now acknowledges that cross-channel influences precipitated the change, but Prior and Gardner had posited that the style had derived from wood-imagers' techniques. They traced it to the carving of the Peterborough school. Recognizing that the angels do not form a stylistically homogeneous group, the authors proposed six groupings that reflect both the chronology

of construction and an attendant refinement in the style.⁶⁸⁸ Decades later Gardner continued to posit the style with its 'voluptuous and softer treatment of folds' as local in origin. Although acknowledging such programs as the angel choir in the upper chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, he continued to emphasize the Englishness of the Lincoln program.⁶⁸⁹

More recently Lawrence Stone pointed out that the folds of cloth below the waists had been 'treated in the French manner with smooth surfaces and baggy crumpled folds.'⁶⁹⁰ Stone remarked on the Remois influences in the most accomplished group dated by consensus in the 1270s and located in the western bays of the retrochoir (Fig. 42b). Elsewhere English overtones predominate, and only in those final few (categorized by Prior and Gardner as Group F), does one sense that the sculptor had full control of the newly imported ideas and conventions.

Indisputably the French influence, especially the developments at Reims, had informed the drapery style. The Remois ideas including the conceit of the smiling angel had crossed the Channel and placed a new vocabulary at the disposal of the sculptors at Lincoln. Stone's question about the 'delayed impact of baggie draperies and broad figures'⁶⁹¹ on English sculpture probably has an answer in the extraordinary size and resulting dominance of the atelier assembled to fill the niches at Wells. Following the dissolution of the workshop in ca. 1250, Henry III seemed to favor the most fluent and talented carvers from that milieu. By making their style the Court style he gave it the same currency and impetus that his endorsement had given to the French Rayonnant style in architecture.

Although in the figures in the Lincoln Angel Choir one sees many of the drapery conventions familiar as elements of the Salisbury chapter house style, they were not rendered in the same way by

688 Prior and Gardner 1912, 265-76.

689 Gardner 1960, 1, 2.

690 Stone 1955, 130-31. The author also noted that the 'design, the characteristic broad head and filleted hair, and the belted drapery' were derived from Westminster. But he also associated some of the drapery with wood carving (i.e., the strongly chiseled vertical folds descending from the knee), and said that such an arrangement was constantly found in 'English-inspired wooden statues of the period in Norway,' but very occasionally in French sculpture.

691 Ibid.

the Lincoln sculptors. Neither the ponderous figures nor the often unwieldy and truly 'baggy' drapery forms (Fig. 42a) prove to be acceptable prototypes for the Salisbury sculptures. Yet what the Salisbury and Lincoln artists shared was a 'French connection.'

We cannot reconstruct the way the French influences reached Salisbury, nor ascertain whether the artists responsible for the Old Testament scenes had worked abroad. Perhaps they had known Parisian monuments first hand (e.g. Figs. 163a, 164, 165 and 167), as well as the west portals and interior screen at Reims, and also the south transept portal at Amiens dedicated to St. Honoré (Fig. 169). Nor can we point to a particular monument and say, 'Here is the model to which the Salisbury sculptors looked.' Instead one can cite stylistic parallels, details that compare well, shared attitudes and telling ways of handling drapery conventions.

The Parisian style, or styles evoked by the Apostles of the Sainte-Chapelle in place by 1248 (Fig. 167), as well as the sculptures of the north and south transept portals of Notre Dame (Figs. 164 and 165), quite obviously underwent changes wherever it migrated. As the style proliferated, the ideas and forms filtered through the creative imagination of each artist, and in the restatement, Parisian elements became fused with the artist's indigenous preferences and ingrained habits of expression. By whatever route, filiation, or carrier the Parisian style reached Salisbury, the demonstrable stylistic influences from abroad will, in the final analysis, place the Salisbury spandrel carvings within the orbit of the influences from Paris.

In their discussion of the Salisbury spandrel scenes, Prior and Gardner saw 'distinct advances' over Westminster. Citing Lot and his daughters as an example (Pl. XXIV), they remarked upon the 'plastic expressions' and the 'balance of composition.' The authors then compared the original heads of Noah (Fig. 108a) and Pharaoh (Pl. XLV) with the nineteenth-century head of Lot (Fig. 148) to illustrate the greater 'cleverness' of the thirteenth-century hand. In conclusion they described the style as a 'distinct step outside the manner of the early Gothic drapery' [*i.e.*, the Wellsian tradition].⁶⁹² Later, without seeking the sources or possible influences for either group, they equated the chapter

692 Prior and Gardner 1912, 255-58.

house style with the 'thin overlapping folds' of the figures surviving on the west screen at Salisbury (Figs. 44a, b and 155a) and characterized the new drapery forms as 'naturally rendered.'⁶⁹³ In linking the styles of the two Salisbury sculptural ensembles they acknowledged the priority of the Old Testament scenes for which, in an earlier discussion, they had proposed a date of ca. 1270. The two figures from the west screen used as illustrations they dated to ca. 1290 and ca. 1300 respectively.⁶⁹⁴ These they compared with the Queen Eleanor statue on the Eleanor Cross at Hardingstone (Fig. 155b), a memorial with the documented date of 1292, two years after her death.⁶⁹⁵ The latter comparison seems more apt than that linking the style of the spandrel carvings with the figures on the west facade. Stone went further and attributed the statues on the facade to William of Ireland whose workshop was in London.⁶⁹⁶

In his brief analysis of the Old Testament scenes, Stone commented on the 'extreme simplicity of statement which forms a strong contrast to the untidiness of the Westminster arcades.' Differentiating between the two styles in the Salisbury spandrel carvings, in one he saw the naturally proportioned heads and thin draperies of the Wells quatrefoils (Figs. 41, 49 and 156a), and in the other a reversion to the 'livelier style of the Worcester reliefs with tiny heads and animated gestures' (Fig. 156b).⁶⁹⁷ To illustrate the 'strong sense of the dramatic composition' at Salisbury, he cited the destruction of Sodom (Pl. XXIII). Finally, in summing up the styles, he linked the Salisbury scenes not to contemporary sculpture, but to manuscript illumination, wall painting and tiles, in particular to the style of the Chertsey tiles in the chapter house at Westminster.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹³ Ibid., 345.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., figs. 276-79; 388, 390. The figure the authors dated to 1300 is the one that fell and now lies in pieces in the reserve of the Salisbury Museum. In 1902, according to the authors, this was the best preserved of all the surviving statues. Yet in their illustration, although the mitred head is intact, the surfaces of the statue appear badly decayed. Carter's sketch omitted the mitre, but the figure appears congruent with the statue he numbered 3 (Fig. 44a), which stood in the second tier to the right of the buttress of the north tower.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., 344-5. See also Alexander and Binski (eds.) 1987, 361-63, Cat. nos. 369, 371-72.

⁶⁹⁶ Stone 1955, 144. See also his excellent discussion of the other statues and also the tomb effigy of Queen Eleanor in Westminster: *ibid.*, 142-45.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., 131-32

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid. Comparisons of three-dimensional sculpture to two-dimensional works is a dubious practice. Also,

Stone's grape-shot technique in discussing the chapter house sculpture and his failure to cite specific examples among the many Worcester reliefs sends the reader to look there at the early Gothic and pre-Gothic carving by various hands: for example the 'livelier style' of ca.1210 in the southeast transept; also that of ca.1220 in the south aisle and eastern chapel (Fig. 156b); and other spandrels in the northeast transept, part of the same series in the Wellsian style, of ca.1224.⁶⁹⁹ As for the comparison with the Wells quatrefoils, was Stone referring to the biblical scenes, those of the Old or the New Testament (Fig. 156a), or did he mean the Angel choir framed by quatrefoils (Fig. 41)? Whichever, any Wellsian stylistic link remains elusive, since the closest comparison with Wells seems to lie in the drapery across the front of Cain's bodice which is a nineteenth-century insertion (Pl. XIIIb).

The lack of viable English parallels and prototypes for the chapter house reliefs necessitated a search across the Channel. The evidence suggested that the spandrel scenes had their stylistic sources in the Parisian style of ca. 1270. The seminal moment for that style seems to have been in the 1240s. One might argue that the diverse elements in Parisian sculpture of the late 1240s did not coalesce into a simplified and truly exportable form until the 1270s, and that the requisite mutations which occurred owe much to the interpenetration of styles associated with the major workshops of Reims, Amiens, and Paris.⁷⁰⁰

Although the question of dates for free-standing figures and ivories is now undergoing major

Stone mentions 'fluttering' draperies at Salisbury, but the few examples suggest the flaring of garments in response to movement (Pls. XIV and XXI). Elsewhere in the spandrels, breezes appear to have plastered the drapery against or between the legs, a clever device to minimize the need for undercutting. (See i.a. Pls. XXXVII and LIII.)

699 Ibid., figs. 55 and 272. Stone was aware of the ruthless re-cutting of many of the Worcester spandrel carvings: *ibid.*, 2. For his stylistic analysis of the earliest scenes in the series that begin in the southeast transept and continue eastward, see *ibid.*, 105 and fig. 77A.

700 Any analysis of the flow of stylistic influences among these three major artistic centers lies outside the scope of this discussion. On the Paris style in the mid-thirteenth century, see i.a., Salet 1974, 170-72; Grodecki 1947, 66-70; Gnudi 1969, 18-36; Joubert 1973a, 34-41; *idem* 1973b, 17-27; Sauerländer 1972, 56-61, 467-68; Erlande-Brandenburg 1973, 31-41; and Williamson 1995, 141-73; also below, n. 702 citing the significant literature on the Apostles carved for the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris.

revisions,⁷⁰¹ the latter consists of a large group of figurines and plaques loosely dated in the second half of the thirteenth century and first quarter of the fourteenth. Ivories, presumably a major factor in the dissemination of the Paris style after 1250 and on into the following century, could have played a role in the formation of the Salisbury style. A few of them provide telling comparisons with the Salisbury reliefs, and these, we will find, are all works of the highest quality.

Writing of the sudden rapprochement between the ivory and stone sculptures after 1250, Louis Grodecki pointed out that the ivories were not simply copies of monumental works. He suggested that between 1250 and 1275, new developments shaping miniature painting, small scale sculptures, ivory, metal work and also painted glass were as important to stylistic changes in monumental sculpture as were the extraordinarily precocious statues of Apostles carved for the Sainte-Chapelle. From that moment, he wrote, 'l'art gothique est entraîné vers un stade nouveau, précieux et élégant dans les silhouettes et les gestes, expressif avec insistance que l'on ne voit pas dans l'art des grandes cathédrales du XIII^e siècle' [From that moment Gothic art was swept along towards a new stage, precious and elegant in the silhouettes and gestures, emphatically expressive with an insistence not seen in the art of the great cathedrals of the thirteenth century.]⁷⁰² As at Salisbury, the gestures and poses owed much to what Grodecki called 'des combinaisons recherchées de la ligne et de la précocité de la technique. La transition entre le "classicisme" gothique et ce stade nouveau,' he continued, 'est si brusque et si déconcertante, que l'on hésite toujours à dater de 1250 environ...les statues des apôtres de la Sainte-Chapelle: elles "paraissent" plus récentes de cinquante ans' [refined (exquisite) combinations of line and precociousness in technique. The transition from Gothic 'classicism' to this new stage is so brusque and disconcerting that one still hesitates to date the statues of the Apostles of the Sainte-Chapelle around 1250: they "appear" fifty years more recent.] Yet as he knew, the documentation insists on the early date, and he also noted, 'L'ivoirerie est immédiatement associée à

701 For literature particularly concerned with dating, see Suckale, 1971; and Gaborit-Chopin 1972, 213-24.

702 Grodecki 1947, 68-69. For valuable discussions of the Apostles of the Sainte-Chapelle, their program, their several styles and immense influence, see Grodecki 1975, 38-44; Sauerländer 1972, 18, 59, 471-72; Branner 1971, 5-18; Gnudi 1969, 18-36; Joubert 1973a, 31-41; Salet 1951, 137-56; idem 1954, 357-63; idem 1974, 170-72; and Williamson 1995, 147-49.

ce stade nouveau de l'art gothique. Il est même possible que la petite sculpture ait contribué à précipiter ainsi l'évolution vers maniérisme. Ne voyons nous pas s'installer, dans l'art monumental, une tendance à amenuiser la forme, à la raffiner par des procédés qui sont plus propres à la ...petite sculpture qu'à la grande?' he asked. [The art of ivory carving was immediately associated with this new stage in Gothic art. It is even possible that small scale sculpture had contributed to hastening this evolution towards mannerism. In monumental art do we not see a tendency to thinning of form, to refining it by methods that are more appropriate to the small scale than to the large?]⁷⁰³ And Grodecki then took to task earlier authors like E. Molliner and Raymond Koechlin who, denying the ivory carvers any talent for invention, saw their sculpture as imitations of monumental works.⁷⁰⁴

Footnoting Grodecki's conviction about the importance of Parisian ivories in disseminating the style in the second half of the century,⁷⁰⁵ we find them providing the closest comparisons with the aesthetic ideas expressed in the Old Testament spandrel carvings.⁷⁰⁶ Two notable examples, the so-called 'Rothschild prophet' (Fig. 157) and the 'Salting' leaf (Fig. 158), both works of exceptional quality, provide significant examples of the Paris style after 1250 which the Salisbury artists restated in more provincial terms in the spandrel reliefs.

Now in the Louvre and dated variously between 1250 and 1280,⁷⁰⁷ the kneeling figure long known as the 'Rothschild prophet' exemplifies the first 'classical' moment of the new style in ivory. This figurine has been convincingly identified by Danielle Gaborit-Chopin as Nicodemus and associated with an outstanding group of ivories in the Louvre depicting the Deposition.⁷⁰⁸ The

703 Grodecki 1947, 68-70.

704 Ibid., 70, also 147-51, for his excellent annotated bibliography of the earlier literature.

705 Ibid., 69, 73.

706 More recently Williamson 1995, 150, 168, 239, and idem 1997, 39-45, reasserted the concept of ivories as plausible vehicles transmitting not only the new style but also iconographical ideas.

707 See Verlet 1947, 8-10; Grodecki 1947, 84 (1260); Natanson 1951, 15, 32 (1260-70); Gaborit-Chopin 1978, 205 (third quarter of the thirteenth century); Williamson 1995, 140, 209 (1250-1260); and most recently, Barnet (ed.) 1997, 138, cat. no. 15 (1260-1280).

708 Although others had seen stylistic similarities, Gaborit-Chopin 1978, 205, was the first to suggest that the prophet might actually have belonged with the Deposition group. She discovered by means of ultra-violet rays and radiography that both hands and the phylactery were modern repairs, thereby conclusively refuting the identity of the figurine as a prophet. Pointing to the anomalous fragment surviving on his

drapery conventions found at Salisbury, particularly those that define the waist, the sleeves and hemlines, occur in the kneeling prophet. But in every instance their expression appears more restrained, the figure more composed, and each element has been kept in perfect harmony with the naturally proportioned figure. In fact, the ivory carver developed his ideas so fluently that one ceases to think in terms of drapery conventions. Without any exaggerations, the figure has its psychological interest concentrated in the face. The volumes of the figure are made explicit through the supple lines of the folds and the subtle modulation of the planes between them. Unlike the Salisbury style, the drapery never intrudes on the eye, stresses one part of the figure more than another, or explodes into linear designs. (Compare Fig. 157 with Figs. 148 and 149.) The moderately convoluted hemline spreading across the ground next to Nicodemus's left leg accurately mirrors his long, presumably full-length tunic. The realistic handling of that spill of fabric contrasts with the Salisbury arrangements composed of yards of superfluous material that would impede the wearer at every step (Pls. XXIV, XXIX, and XLI). Enlivening the drapery of the short tunics, the crumpled V-shaped fold applied to the hip or rump that became a Morellian feature in the Salisbury figures (Pls. XXXVII and XLVIII), develops logically in the ivory from vertical folds behind and over his bent leg. In front, the drapery of his skirt breaks naturally on the ground into crumpled folds paralleling the more lavish arrangements along the women's hemlines at Salisbury.

Dated between 1270 and 1290, the equally outstanding 'Salting' leaf in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 158)⁷⁰⁹ displays incipient mannerist modifications that followed the 'classical' moment exemplified by the Rothschild figurine. Once they appeared, those exaggerations continued and became more pronounced. For example, in the so-called 'Soissons diptych' (ca. 1280-1300) mannerist elements include facial grimaces, overly pliable joints and anatomical distortions, as well as figures strikingly inconsistent in scale (some very attenuated), exaggerated musculature of the

right knee, she suggested that the remnant could represent the end of the tool that removed the nails from Christ's feet. She used the fragment to demonstrate the probable placement of the figure in the Deposition group; eadem 1988, 40-42. See also Williamson 1995, 150, whose excellent illustration of the group properly included the figure of Ecclesia, as proposed by Gaborit-Chopin 1988, 336-39.

709 Acq. no. A546-1910; H. 12 3/4" (32.5 cm); W. 5" (13 cm).

legs and disproportionate feet (Fig. 159).⁷¹⁰

A comparison of the Rothschild figurine with the 'Salting' leaf demonstrates the changes in the new Parisian style from the 'classical' to the beginning of a more mannered phase. The classical calm has given way to agile active figures, somewhat stylized but elegant in their poses. In the 'Salting' leaf, the torsion and contrapposto stances, the interaction of gesture and gaze, a new exaggeration of the bloused drapery at the waistline and the somewhat rubbery aspect of the sleeved arms, as well as the increasingly linear character of the drapery folds (especially in the second and third tiers) suggest an intermediate phase of the style between the Rothschild ivory and the Salisbury reliefs, perhaps closer to the latter. The head-to-body proportions in the 'Salting' leaf vary between one to five and one to six, and the figures have not yet become excessively attenuated. Of necessity the drapery conventions in the ivory have been reduced to a minimum in response to the diminutive scale of the figures. The patterns of the folds become especially linear in the third register, notably in the figure of Ecclesia (far right) and the kneeling figure (center, left). In the latter, the drapery convention of the V-shaped fold on the haunch is reduced to a vestigial memory, hardly more than an abbreviated shadow. At Salisbury some of the mannerisms have advanced further than those on the ivory. No longer merely eased into contrapposto stances, a few of the Salisbury figures have begun to twist and turn beyond anatomical limits, and their feet frequently assumed the now familiar classical ballet positions.

On the whole, one finds affinities between the 'Salting' leaf and the Salisbury scenes stronger in the work of the second artist than the first. For example, the summary definition of the drapery in the figure of the foremost brother listening to Joseph telling his dreams (Pl. XXXVI and Fig. 150a) has parallels in the central figure of the second register. Also, the folds of the mantle of Jacob's wife

710 The 'Soissons diptych' (Victoria and Albert Museum, acq. no. 211.1865; H. 12 3/4" (32.5 cm); W. 4 1/2" (11.5 cm)) exemplifies the progression. Williamson 1995, 168, 170, dated that ivory between 1280 and 1300, a welcome revision to the date formerly assigned to it by the museum in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The revised date is also more in line with the proposal of 'vers 1300': Grodecki 1947, XXVIII. Natanson 1951, 16-18, discussed the 'Soissons group' assembled by Koechlin, from which the diptych took the name that is, in fact, a misnomer.

on route to Egypt (Pl. LIII) closely resemble those of the female figures in the third register of the ivory. The 'Salting' leaf, firmly attributed to a Parisian atelier,⁷¹¹ in general seems less mannered than the most stylized aspects of the Salisbury carvings. Grodecki proposed a date for the 'Salting' leaf at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁷¹² This seems much too late not only for the figure style but also for the architecture. The elegant, steeply pitched gables above the uppermost tier of the ivory closely resemble those of the 1260s at Notre-Dame in Paris, in particular, the smaller lateral crocketed gables pierced by a floriated oculus in the four chapels that were built to the east of the north transept by 1271 (Fig. 160). This resemblance suggests a date in the 1270s for the ivory, one consistent with the figure and drapery style. Ivories showing markedly mannerist tendencies usually have been assigned dates after 1270. Indisputably mannerisms had already affected the sculptures at Salisbury, especially those of the second artist. We can find comparisons with ivories still dated in the fourteenth century. Yet it is the origins and development of the style in France and French sculpture dated to the second half of the thirteenth-century that concern us here.

It proved instructive to take into account a French provincial work that had also looked to the Paris high style for its inspiration. For this purpose the choir screen of the remote church of Le Bourget-du-Lac in the Haut Savoie offers interesting parallels with Salisbury (Fig. 161). In its conception, the screen recreated on a monumental scale the type of narrative frieze found on ivories containing cycles of the life of Christ, but satisfactory stylistic comparisons with ivories are wanting. An isolated phenomenon in an area undistinguished for sculptural programs, the screen appears to be contemporary with the renovation of the choir between ca. 1250 and 1260.⁷¹³ As Francis Salet observed, the original disposition of the six large rectangular blocks containing the frieze remains unclear, and some of the scenes are now missing. In a brief discussion of style, he dismissed earlier comparisons of the Deposition scene with one by Benedetto Antelami in the cathedral at Parma. Observing that the comparison was valid only for the composition, he correctly concluded that styles

711 Grodecki 1947, 91; and P. Williamson to author, 21 January 1997.

712 Grodecki 1947, XXVIII.

713 Salet 1965, 151-52, 157-58. The thirteenth-century date does not apply to the Annunciation group that was not carved until the fifteenth century. Until then the area it now occupies must have been unadorned.

had nothing in common. Besides the impossibility of connecting the two works stylistically, he also noted the sixty-year interval separating them. He looked instead to 'Le portail de Bleds' at Semur-en-Auxois in Burgundy for stylistic analogies (Fig. 162). There he noted the same massive forms and provincial flavor but saw less 'de nobless at de dignité' in the figures on the Burgundian tympanum. He speculated that the monks of Cluny had sent a Burgundian sculptor to carve the choir closure for their priory at Le Bourget.⁷¹⁴

A more telling comparison links the choir screen to Paris, in particular to the figures on the 'Porte Rouge' (ca. 1260) of Notre-Dame in Paris (Fig. 163a).⁷¹⁵ There, instead of the thick-set peasant types on the Semur tympanum whose lively drapery arrangements have little in common with Le Bourget,⁷¹⁶ one finds figures, slow of movement, imbued with the same sense of dignity that ennobles them on the choir screen. In the Notre-Dame portal the draperies of the archivolt figures appear stiffer and less voluminous than those of the four figures depicting the Coronation of the Virgin on the tympanum. The latter are swathed in garments forming deep, weighty folds (Fig. 163a). Equally imposing in their volumes, but somewhat sparse in the patterns of drapery enveloping them, the figures on the choir screen as they gaze off into space stand immobile on stiff ankles and broad feet much like those on the tympanum of the 'Porte Rouge'. In the provincial expression of the portal style, where the figures are only slightly more stolid and introspective than those in the archivolt, the monumental calm and lack of mannerisms accord well with a date of ca. 1260, one following closely upon the completion of the 'Porte Rouge'.

714 Ibid., 158. Salet concluded that the same Burgundian sculptor was responsible for the alabaster figure of the Virgin now in the nave of the church, a figure which like the dismantled jubé still retains much of its thirteenth-century polychromy.

715 For the bibliography of the 'Porte Rouge', and a few remarks on style, see Sauerländer 1972, 490; and Kimpel, 1971, *passim*.

716 See Sauerländer 1972, 503-504 and 291, where the author commented on the Semur style and cited Remois influences.

In drapery and execution the choir screen and the Semur portal have little in common. The Semur figures have livelier drapery arrangements than those on the choir screen; the modeling of the ridges of the folds is sharper, the patterns more complicated, and the edges of the mantles more fully articulated by undercutting.

Not surprisingly, the closest comparisons for the archivolt figures on the 'Porte Rouge' are found in the nearby slightly earlier north transept portal of the cathedral (Fig. 164). Although the figures are proportionally comparable, the drapery arrangements in the Porte Rouge are less varied and the poses less active than those in the north transept tympanum (ca. 1250).⁷¹⁷

A Parisian rather than a Burgundian source for the figure style on the choir screen finds additional support in the foliate ornament. Doubtless more than a coincidence, the rinceaux of vine leaves along the moldings of the upper and lower borders of the choir screen emulate, though less elegantly, the vine leaves on the outermost order of archivolts on the 'Porte Rouge' (Fig. 163b). In design, articulation and volume, the vine leaves on the choir screen (Fig. 161b, c) also bear close comparison with those on the lintels supporting the arcade in the eastern bay of the chapter house. Here they branch from the same stems that also terminate in stiff-leaf volutes on the capitals (Fig. 20a). The Salisbury artist who carved the naturalistic fruit and vines also carved the realistic leaves and fruit on Noah's trellis (Pl. XVIII). Yet he too would have been responsible for the lollipop shaped trees punctuating the spandrel scenes that have some stylistic affinities with those on the choir screen (Fig. 161b).

To carry the comparisons further, in some of the sculptures of the north transept tympanum (Fig. 164), the strong articulation of drapery conventions actually clarifies ideas more summarily expressed in some of the Salisbury chapter house figures.⁷¹⁸ See, for example, how the patterns created by the folds in the tunic of the kneeling figure of Theophilus (2nd register, left) as well as the sharply angled folds on the flank of the mother standing on the right in the Massacre of the Innocents (lowest register) make the drapery designs in the lower half of the figure of Jacob leaving for Padanaram seem more understandable (Pl. XXIX), as well as the seemingly irrational folds in the skirt of the figure on the left in the Parting of the Red Sea Waters (Pl. LVII).

⁷¹⁷ Sauerländer 1972, 472-3; Williamson 1995, 151, gave a dating range of 1245-1250, which reflected the article by Kimpel 1991, 125.

⁷¹⁸ For the north transept portal and its two masters with assistants who were responsible for the sculptures, see *ibid.* 1991, 124-39. Kimpel also attributed the 'school boy' reliefs on the buttresses of the south transept portal to the master responsible for the two upper zones of the tympanum: *ibid.*, 130.

Influences radiated in all directions from the Ile-de-France, and the Salisbury artists proved as receptive to new ideas as their French counterparts. Although the figure styles at Salisbury and Le Bourget reveal very different artistic personalities, they drew on the same vocabulary of drapery conventions. On the choir screen, the familiar V-shaped crumpled fold applied to hip and haunch defines the skirt of the lad who starts climbing the tree in the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 161a). The arrangement of folds in the mantles of Christ and Mary Magdalene and those of the Magi in the Adoration are close in conception with mantle draperies of the chapter house figures. (See for example, the figure of God instructing Noah, Pl. XVI; and Jacob's wife, Pl. LIV.) The thirteenth-century head of Noah (Fig. 108a) and the face of Joseph in the Adoration scene (Fig. 161c) provide an even more compelling comparison. The slow rhythms and ponderous figures of the choir screen seem much closer to the conservative Paris style of the 'Porte Rouge' tympanum, whereas the lively narrative techniques of the Salisbury sculptors who used the play of draperies to enhance the movement of agile little figures better evoke the relief scenes in quatrefoils on the buttresses flanking the south transept portal at Notre-Dame (ca. 1258-1265), attributed by Kimpel to the hand responsible for the two upper zones of the tympanum of the north transept portal (Fig. 165).⁷¹⁹

The tracery of the windows in the four chapels added by 1271 to the east of the north transept portal provides another interesting comparison with the chapter house. The design is identical to the tracery in the Salisbury windows, except that hexafoils rather than octafoils are inscribed in the oculi (Figs. 10 and 160).

If the same two Salisbury artists were also responsible for the heads that acted as label stops, we can point to another telling comparison, in this instance one showing the influence of a classicized head carved for a figure on the Reims interior west screen dated to ca. 1260 or 1270 (Fig. 166a).⁷²⁰ Less fluently expressed, perhaps carved from memory refreshed by a sketch, the Salisbury

⁷¹⁹ Kimpel 1991, 129-30. See also Williamson 1995, 153, fig. 227.

⁷²⁰ On the Reims sculptures, see Sauerländer 1972, 479-80, pls. 229-35; and Williamson 1995, 159-60, who pointed out that the style once again derived from Paris. For another interesting Remois comparison, see the flat and very broadly expressed drapery of the musician from the 'house of the Musicians', rue de Tambour, Reims (third quarter of the thirteenth century) illustrated in the catalogue, L'Europe gothique.

head (Fig. 8c, second from the left, southeast bay) represents a somewhat provincial version of the head from the screen now in the nearby archiepiscopal palace. Burges made his drawing of the Salisbury head (Fig. 166b) from a cast now lost, one of several he made of sculptures in the chapter house before the restoration.⁷²¹

Other French sculptures deserve attention. Those displaying parallels in the treatment of figure and drapery or suggesting a possible source for ideas expressed in the Salisbury sculptures include figures carved for the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris. Several Apostle figures attributed to the conservative master and in place by 1248 (Fig. 167) compare quite well with the upper torso of Isaac (Pl. XXVIII) and with the Deity in the Sentencing of Cain (Pl. XV).⁷²² The well-known, highly refined and courtly figure of Childebert from the refectory of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (1239-1244) also offers comparisons with Salisbury, especially in the drapery at the waistline and the elegant stance (Fig. 168).⁷²³ Then too, the tendency of the first Salisbury artist to taper the drapery of the tunic skirt very gradually by narrowing it from knee to hem has a valid counterpart in French sculpture. Not entirely attributable to re-cutting by the restorer, this phenomenon is best exemplified by the figures of the Deity in the sentencing of Cain (Pl. XV) and in the next spandrel where he is giving instructions to Noah (Pl. XVI). This conceit may well have resulted from the artist's wish to compensate for the optical perspective of the viewer who sees the size of an object diminish as it recedes from him. In fact, because the height of the spandrels is not far enough removed from eye level to require this adjustment, those figures appear somewhat top-heavy. We find the same conceit in the two middle figures of the lintel zone in the tympanum of the south transept portal at Amiens dedicated to St. Honoré (Fig. 169). Compare also the especially mannered pose of the figure on the left side of the lintel with the stance and gestures of Cain (Pl. XV) and with the angel on the left

XIIe-XIVe siècles, (Douzième exposition du Conseil de l'Europe), Paris 1968, 50, no. 81.

721 See above, Chapter 4, n. 8; Burges 1859, 112, reported that casts had been made of some of the chapter house sculptures by a Mr. Cottingham and given to the Architectural Museum, now the Victoria and Albert Museum. No record of them has survived.

722 Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age.

723 ML 93 (15001), Paris, Musée du Louvre.

visiting Abraham (Pl. XXI). Although it would be impossible to prove, it is tempting to suggest that the Salisbury artists knew those works first hand. Certainly the spirit of the French figures suffuses their style.

Conclusion

The study of the Salisbury chapter house and its sculptures from archaeological and iconographical and well as stylistic points of view leads to a series of conclusions. The unity in the architectural style that distinguishes the cloister and chapter house also characterizes the iconographical program proposed here for the chapter house, a program encompassing the figure sculpture, the figural glass and the heraldic devices in the grisaille. As a whole they restated in an abbreviated form and much reduced scale the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem, a program influenced by the sculptural ensemble on the west screen of Wells cathedral. The iconographical concepts embodied in the apocalyptic Second Coming and Church Triumphant made reference to the Bride of Christ or Maria/Ecclesia, in whose name evil would be vanquished and the New Law established which would obtain through Eternity. Appropriate to the church of Salisbury, dedicated to the Virgin, that program also seems especially suited to the chapter house, a building where the New Law was administered and upheld, and where the Martyrologium with obits for the day was read aloud each morning after prime.

Through the centuries following the Reformation, the building and its sculptural program suffered as much from neglect as from iconoclastic ravages. The archival records, together with visual evidence provided by early nineteenth-century prints and drawings and descriptions by travelers who visited Salisbury, document down to the smallest detail the sorry condition of the building and its ornament at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Those drawings proved equally useful as supplements and sometimes as correctives to Burges's published record of all extant spandrel sculptures and polychromy before the complete restoration of the building and its ornament began in 1855.

The archaeological examination that was undertaken to determine exactly how the restoration

had affected each scene of the Old Testament cycle also revealed a number of iconographical changes that the literature had never suspected. The most notable of them affected the scenes of the sixth and seventh days of Creation and the Injunction. Another amusing error transformed a hump-backed Syrian cow into a camel in the scene of Jacob with Rachel at the well. In other spandrels some of the restorations seem questionable, but the surviving evidence was inconclusive. A few spandrels such as the Labors of Adam and Eve and the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel now lack iconographical details and background scenery originally supplied by the polychromy. Those losses of course not only affected the composition of the scene and visual continuity between spandrels, but in some cases also modified the iconographical meaning.

Despite the many carved insets of Caen stone, myriad minor repairs made with mastic and mortar as well as much re-cutting and sanding, about one third of the spandrels survived in relatively good condition. Although Prior and Gardner cited the well-preserved scenes of Noah's ark afloat, the Departure of Lot and his family, Pharaoh's Dream and Jacob's journey into Egypt,⁷²⁴ they gave no laurels to the almost perfectly preserved spandrels containing the Fall of Sodom and the scene of Joseph's Dreams. Other spandrels that still contain much unspoiled carving include the two scenes of Abraham with the three Angels; Abraham and Isaac on route to the sacrifice; Esau deprived of Isaac's blessing; Jacob leaving for Padanaram; Jacob and Rachel at the Well; and the Reunion of Jacob and Esau. More unspoiled carving survives in the scenes of Joseph telling his dreams; the baker hanging and the butler reinstated; Joseph released from prison; the discovery of the cup in Benjamin's sack; and finally Moses parting the Red Sea waters and the drowning of Pharaoh's troops.

Especially in those scenes, but also in others more heavily restored, enough unspoiled examples of figure and drapery have survived to permit a definition of the Salisbury style. The stylistic analysis differentiated between the work of two artists and suggested that those same hands were also responsible for the Virtues and Vices in the foyer, and probably for the head stops and

⁷²⁴ Prior and Gardner 1912, 256-58.

certainly some if not all of the ornament as well. Because comparisons of the Salisbury reliefs with English sculpture of the thirteenth century resulted in negative findings, the search for stylistic influences and parallels moved across the Channel. Comparisons with Parisian ivories of the second half of the thirteenth century proved especially rewarding. Other telling parallels emerged in the sculptures at Notre-Dame, Paris, and at Reims and Amiens, and also in the quite provincial expression of the Paris style on the choir screen at Le-Bourget-du-Lac. The Salisbury style emerges as one of the two earliest insular expressions in stone reflecting French influences.

New iconographical interpretations of the spandrel scenes include a more accurate reading of the Temptation than Burges provided. In the Jacob cycle a new reading elucidates the scene depicting Rachel, Jacob and Laban. Rather than the traditional interpretation of Rachel introducing Jacob to Laban, Jacob's hand on Laban's thigh suggested that he was covenanting for Rachel's hand in return for pledging seven years of service. The following scene that violated the biblical sequence of events is interpreted anew as a conflation of Jacob's two supernatural experiences, the night of wrestling with the Angel and Jacob's dream of the ladder. Precedents exist for that conflation in English art for which a much earlier Greek Psalter possibly provided the ultimate archetype.⁷²⁵ At Salisbury the conflation of those two non-consecutive events had a conflated sequel in the next spandrel. There, according to the new reading, the scene represents the event immediately following each encounter: the Angel's touch that withered Jacob's thigh and Jacob raising the altar or titulus to mark the place of his dream as holy. The revised interpretations of spandrel six in the southeast bay (Pl. XI) as Joseph pledging fealty to the Pharaoh, of spandrel six in the south bay (Pl. XLVIII) as Joseph ruling Egypt and ordering chaff to be thrown into the Nile, of spandrel four in the southwest bay (Pl. LIV) as the fulfillment of Joseph's dream, and spandrel five in the same bay (Pl. LV) as the reunion of Joseph and Jacob correct earlier interpretations. To these we should add the arguable identification of the woman in the doorway listening to Joseph telling his dreams as Bilhah, the

725 See the Homilies of St Gregory Nazianzenus (d. 389), Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. Grec. 510, fol. 174v:

Buchthal 1938, XXXVII or Omont 1929, XXXVII. See also the twelfth-century Psalter from Winchester (Fig. 125) for an example more proximate in place and date.

servant who, according to Jewish legends, cared for him as a mother after Rachel's death.⁷²⁶

Indisputably the Old Testament scenes at Salisbury have a distinctly English flavor that gives them their narrative verve and special iconographical interest. Besides the legendary material in the Joseph cycle derived from the Middle English metrical paraphrase of the biblical narrative Iacob and Iosep, the scenes perpetuate many other iconographical idiosyncrasies found in English biblical illustrations. Many variants are traceable to Anglo-Saxon pictorial recensions, especially Aelfric's *Hexateuch*, and some to Near Eastern legends and patristic biblical exegesis. Others are also found in the Eastern *Octateuch* manuscripts. Variants include the murdered Abel, half-buried, crying out from the ground for vengeance; the fire turning upon Cain to consume him in the scene of the Sacrifice; and Abel offering sheaves of wheat as his sacrifice instead of the first born of the flock. Although a few continental examples exist for each element cited, the parallels found in English art indicate the persistence of those variants in the English pictorial tradition.

The importance of gesture and stance in the spandrel scenes and the artists' stunning aptitude for advancing the narrative, all characteristic of Anglo-Saxon manuscript illumination, are elements as distinctly English as many of the iconographical features. Otto Pächt, when commenting on the resurgence of pictorial narrative in English twelfth-century art, suggested that the artists drew on Anglo-Saxon exemplars that in turn were based on pre-iconoclastic Eastern models. He also noted the synthesis of age-old with brand new iconographical elements. These he attributed in part to the influence of liturgical drama.⁷²⁷ The same phenomena obtain at Salisbury, for in depicting biblical themes enriched with legendary material the Salisbury artists showed continuing concern for the language of gesture. Apparently they sought, or the model they used had found, pictorial equivalents for verbal utterances, all evocative of the art of mime. Sweeping gestures refer to 'off-stage' events. Others include symbolic hand holding, oath taking by placing a hand on another's thigh, and gestures of despair, acclamation and speech. Rituals such as the act of fealty are represented by the touching of the rod, and an ancient gesture found first in the art of Old Kingdom of Egypt is used to denote

⁷²⁶ See also Blum 1969, 18-34. Concerning Bilhah, see Levine 1972, 241-42.

⁷²⁷ Pächt 1962, 13.

kinship (a hand placed on the inside of a relative's arm near the bend of the elbow).⁷²⁸ These and other poses and gestures actively advanced the narrative. The rubrics of the liturgical drama of Adam proposed many such gestures, all to be made broadly.⁷²⁹ Other critics have mentioned in passing a few elements in the Salisbury scenes that may reflect the influence of liturgical drama.⁷³⁰

Like the 'Picture Bibles' or Bibles toutes figurées, and the pictorial narrative scenes from the Old Testament prefacing illustrated Psalters, the chapter house narrative cycle mirrors the return by thirteenth-century scholars to the study of the Old Testament and the historical events of the scriptures. Aristotelian ideas reshaped by Thomistic interpretations suggested to the thirteenth-century savants, both lay and monastic, that God had expressed himself in the historical happenings recorded by men in the sacred history. The meaning of those events at the time of their recording was known only to God, their author.⁷³¹ The Old Testament cycle on the west screen at Wells, although juxtaposed with a series of New Testament scenes, also reflected that trend toward narrative presentation inasmuch as there is no scene-by-scene correspondence of type and anti-type. Once again, Wells offers the closest iconographical English parallel in stone sculpture for the Salisbury scenes. Only two other English Old Testament cycles in sculpture survive that pre-date the fifteenth century, both from the twelfth century, both typological in character. The earlier, on the west facade at Lincoln (ca. 1145-1155), emphasizes the Fall and Redemption. The other, on the

728 See i.a., the statue of Menkure and his queen from Giza, Dyn. IV, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: Poulsen 1968, 60; and Edwards 1947, 19. The same gesture expressed the pharaohs' kinship to gods as well as to family.

729 See i.a., Palustre 1877, 18, 28, 32, 34, 54. The rubrics include bowing the head to denote sadness and shame. After the fall, Adam is directed to divest himself of his sumptuous clothing, cover himself with clothing of leaves stitched together, and at the same time maximum simulans dolorem, incipiens lamentationem suam. An unpublished essay, M. Farley 1936, 'Development of gesture in English illuminated manuscript X-XIII centuries,' New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib., noted the frequent occurrence of a gesture, but seldom discussed its meaning. She observed the use of gesture to tie together a narrative separated by frames. See also, for a useful and evocative discussion of gestural situations, Brilliant 1963, passim.

730 See Anderson 1963, 144, 212.

731 Smalley 1964, 300-301. Chapter 6 on the 'Postills and Postillators' contains an excellent analysis of the changes in biblical scholarship and various influences upon it in the thirteenth century.

voussoirs of the Malmesbury portal, is dated to ca. 1170.⁷³²

The spandrel scenes in the transept of Westminster abbey and in the transepts, choir and aisles at Worcester have programs that seem disorderly compared with Salisbury's. They offer prototypes only in the formal sense of filling spandrel spaces with genre scenes and legendary or biblical incidents, not as a model for a chronological sequence of Old Testament events. Also typological, the biblical scenes depicted in the lost frescoes in the Worcester chapter house elucidated the concordance of the Testaments, one New Testament scene with three Old Testament antitypes.⁷³³ The Genesis scenes in the Sigena chapter house, also part of a typological scheme, focused on the theme of Sin and Salvation.⁷³⁴

The Salisbury cycle has its most compelling formal parallel in the Old Testament cycle in the spandrels of the blind arcade at plinth-level that stretches across the west facade of Bourges cathedral.⁷³⁵ Yet the Bourges Genesis scenes descend from an entirely different pictorial recension, and as at Wells, they were juxtaposed to a New Testament narrative sequence. The cycle at Bourges

732 For the Lincoln scenes, see Zarnecki 1988, 33-34, 43-69. For the badly weathered scenes on the Malmesbury portal, see Galbraith 1965, 39-56. The study identified each scene and traced much of the iconography back to the Anglo-Saxon pictorial tradition. A strict typological relationship between the scenes does not exist, but typological intent seems certain in their juxtaposition.

733 On the Worcester wall paintings, see Gardner 1976, 207-15.

734 On the Sigena chapter house scenes and their Winchester artist, see Oakeshott 1972.

735 The Old Testament scenes begin on the buttress to the left of the central portal with a single scene conflating the works of the first five days of Creation. The narrative progresses with the creation of Adam and Eve, the story of Cain and Abel, and concludes with an expanded but now disordered Noah cycle also containing some scenes attributable to the sixteenth-century restoration. The final scene, no longer in the terminal position, depicts God's covenant with Noah. Not one of the cycles within the Old Testament narrative offers more than an occasional iconographical parallel to the equivalent cycle at Salisbury.

In her archaeological study of the portal sculpture, Bayard 1976, 371-72, summarized the problem of restorations to the spandrel scenes and defined their role in the program of the west facade. She argued that originally the Genesis scenes were to be read in a quasi-typological relationship to the sculptures in the jambs and tympanum above. See also Boinet 1912, 82-100; 109-24. Prior to Bayard's monograph, Boinet's was the standard work. For *l'état de question*, see the review of Bayard's publication, Gardner 1978, 163-64, which raises the question of the place of the Bourges sculptures in French thirteenth-century art.

Stretching to the north, the New Testament cycle depicting the life of the Virgin and the life of Christ, is primarily attributable to the sixteenth-century artists who restored the north portals after the collapse of the north tower.

reflected developments in France where Old Testament scenes carved in relief proliferated in the sculptural programs on cathedral portals during the second half of the thirteenth century. The Genesis cycle on the plinth of the upper porch of the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, must have given impetus to those expressions. Contrary to the accepted belief, the iconographical program of the Sainte-Chapelle cycle has survived intact. The scenes framed by quatrefoils were not, as believed, replaced during the nineteenth-century restoration even though they were severely cut back and sanded at that time.⁷³⁶ As in the Genesis scenes of the north porch of Chartres in the voussours of the central portal, the Sainte-Chapelle Creation cycle drew upon a much expanded pictorial recension that contained Late Antique personifications of Day and Night. The Sainte-Chapelle cycle strongly influenced the Genesis scenes on the north transept portal of Rouen cathedral and also the reliefs at Lyon of a later date, which belong in the same pictorial filiation.⁷³⁷ All reflect the renewed interest

736 Evidence contained in two attachements now in the drawings collection of the Archives des Monuments historiques, Paris, confirmed my preliminary examination of the scene: Drawings Collection, A. Surada, Attachements de Maçonnerie, Exercice 1851. The color coded drawings verified by M. Textier, entrepreneur, show exactly what masonry and which portions of the sculptural program were to remain as well as each block of masonry and segments of the sculptures that would be entirely replaced. The findings of the examination agreed perfectly with the drawings showing that not one of the Old Testament scenes was replaced. The depth of their re-cutting varied considerably, but reliefs with the greatest salience have retained traces of the original patina. Yet the patina survived best in crevices where the recent unfortunate cleaning did not penetrate. The varying degrees of relief indicate how severe the nineteenth-century re-cutting was in some areas and how minimal in others. The examination left no doubt that a very interesting iconographical program has survived from the thirteenth-century which deserves more study.

The attachements refute Grodecki's evaluation of the scenes (Grodecki 1975, 20). He maintained that the sculptures of the portal had been entirely destroyed during the Revolution and replaced by Geoffroy-Dechaume under the direction of Lassus. Grodecki nevertheless commended the restoration for the correctness of the style which he saw as so good that it could fool the viewer. He faulted the choice of scenes and their arrangement, and suggested that the restoration had been inspired by extant programs on portals of cathedrals.

737 See Lefrançois-Pillon, 1931, 186, 240, for the traditional dating after 1280 of the reliefs on the north transept portal at Rouen, the 'Portail des Libraires', and the slightly later date for the scenes on the plinth and embrasures of the south transept portal, the 'Portail de la Calende'. See now Williamson 1995, 167-70, who suggested 1280-90 for the 'Portail des Libraires' and 1290-1306 for the 'Portail de la Calende', which took into account stylistic differences. In his monograph, Krohm 1971, 40-153, put the date of the north transept reliefs in the beginning of the fourteenth century. That date seems quite late in view of the striking dependence of the cycle on the Genesis scenes on the upper porch of the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris.

of theologians in Old Testament events, and all contain material popularized in Petrus Comestor's Historia scolastica, a work with influence upon the imagery in thirteenth-century sculptural programs, glass and manuscripts still inadequately appreciated.⁷³⁸

In yet another way the Salisbury Old Testament scenes mirror the thought of their time. Although emphasis belongs on the narrative character of the cycle as the visual correlative of the Old Law, the affinities noted between some spandrel scenes and their counterparts in the Bible Moralisée call attention to the sensus spiritualis of individual events. A good number of scenes incorporate images that are the equivalent of a commentary upon the event. For example, the liturgical vestments worn by the angels throughout the cycle make specific reference to the Eucharist,⁷³⁹ as they do also in the scene of Abraham entertaining the three Angels. That signification in the latter scene follows the ancient tradition found in the sixth-century mosaic of San Vitale, where the symbolism of the Eucharist is quite specific (Fig. 115a). At Salisbury the imagery in such scenes as the Murder of Abel and the Sacrifice of Isaac equated Abel and Isaac with Christ. All such concepts were well understood by the Salisbury canons when they viewed those Old Testament scenes. They knew that the Salvation of believers by water was inherent in the representation of Noah's Ark and Moses scenes; they might have inferred references to the Resurrection in the sequence of events surrounding Joseph in the well and knew that a parallel to Christ's Passion was implicit in Joseph's betrayal and sale by his brothers. The baptismal meaning attached to the Red Sea Crossing and the type for Christ understood in the image of Moses striking the rock to provide water for the thirsty Israelites (1 Corinthians 10:1-4) were also familiar analogies in the minds of the thirteenth-century savant. They knew that the flame that turned to consume Cain identified him as a type for the Jew and the heretic, just as his sheaves contaminated with weeds or cockles were, in their view, an

In his monograph on Lyon, Bégule n.d., 158, placed the Rouen Genesis scenes at the very end of the thirteenth century and dated the relief carvings at Lyon on the north portal of the west facade to 1310.

⁷³⁸ I am indebted to Linda Popounicholau for pointing out the importance of Petrus Comestor's influence on the iconography of the Adam and Eve cycle on the north transept portal at Rouen, and therefore on its prototype on the north porch of the Sainte-Chapelle.

⁷³⁹ For the iconography of the vested angel, see McNamee 1972, 263-78, and the discussion of the Expulsion scene above in Chapter 5.

unacceptable sacrifice and analogous to false tithing.⁷⁴⁰ Those allegories reflected their belief that the events of the Old Testament prefigured those of the New which in turn fulfilled the messianic prophecies.

Any pictorial narrative based on the sequence of events in Genesis retold the story supposedly recorded by Moses. Indeed, in the Genesis cycle carved on the voussoirs of the north porch at Chartres, Moses is included as a witness in the scenes of Creation. According to John (5:46-7), Christ had said when admonishing the Jews, 'For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me.' Yet the sensus spiritualis of individual images and scenes that rested on well-established interpretations in no way detracts from the function of the narrative cycle as the embodiment of the Old Law.

The exegetical association of Joseph as a type for bishops and their pastoral function has received consideration. This typology had its roots in the treatise on Joseph by St Ambrose, a fourth century bishop of Milan, in which he transformed the story of Joseph into an allegory of the bishop as a statesman and politician.⁷⁴¹ At Salisbury, twenty-one spandrels, more than one-fifth the total number, were allotted to the Joseph cycle. That has raised the question of whether the cycle made a symbolic statement about the bishop's power and authority. Yet the dean presided in the chapter house, and the bishop held his seat in capitulo only by virtue of the prebend attached to the office. The lengthy cycle may have reflected a contest of authority between the bishop and the dean and chapter, or the emphasis placed on the Joseph story could have referred to the bishop's episcopal prerogatives and largesse. Indeed, his right of visitation had caused friction in the thirteenth century and in the future would periodically provoke a crisis within the see.⁷⁴² Yet the possibility that the Joseph cycle represented a deliberate statement by the bishop in an era when bishops were also

740 Braude 1968, 15-28, for a discussion of those two iconographical concepts, their textual sources and other English examples of the fire turning on Cain with Abel sacrificing uncontaminated sheaves instead of the firstling of the flock. See also above, Chapter 6, the scene of the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel.

741 On this, see Schapiro 1952, 27-38.

742 In the mid-thirteenth century, tensions had reached such a point that Bishop Giles de Bridport abrogated the right of visitation. As late as the seventeenth century, the fight between Dean Pierce and his bishop reached the London courts where the bishop's prerogatives were upheld.

patrons and prime movers in cathedral building campaigns seems remote in a building where the dean customarily presided. We should, perhaps, bear in mind that textual scholars have attributed the colorful mid-thirteenth-century metrical paraphrase of the story of Joseph, Iacob and Iosep, to southwest England. The ballad must have enjoyed popularity in the Salisbury area, and regional interest alone could account for the elaborate and extended Joseph cycle enriched by legendary themes and events from the poem.

The scant attention that the Salisbury Old Testament cycle has received from historians of art belies its importance as the most complete and extensive pre-fourteenth-century cycle in English sculpture still extant. As well as reflecting thirteenth-century trends in biblical pictorial cycles and perpetuating English iconographical and literary traditions, the spandrel carvings provide a notable example of changes that heralded the break with Wellsian style. The introduction of drapery conventions that originated in France also links Salisbury with an international trend. The stylistic developments in England in the 1290s exemplified by monuments such as the Eleanor Crosses and the west facade of Salisbury cathedral affirm the importance of the chapter house sculptures in translating French ideas into the English idiom. The positive identification of much unspoiled thirteenth-century carving in the spandrel scenes should help to restore these sculptures to their rightful place in the mainstream of English art.

Appendix A

Various Stones Used in the Salisbury Chapter House¹

1 Chilmark stone, Vale of Wardour, Wiltshire

Chilmark limestone belongs to the Portland series of Jurassic age in the Hampshire Basin, a series that derives its name from the limestone of the Isle of Portland, Dorset. The vale of Wardour lies on the northernmost fringe of the Hampshire Basin, a geological region encompassing Dorset, the greater part of Wiltshire, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. Chilmark limestone, considered indistinguishable from that of the neighboring quarries at Tisbury,² differs in its lithology from the Portland Beds of the Isle of Portland. The Chilmark stone consists of comminuted shell fragments and subgranular quartz grains in a turbid matrix of granular calcite. Dark green flecks of glauconite visible to the naked eye give the stone its distinctive characteristic coloring. Although cream colored when first dug, with weathering the stone acquires a greenish cast attributable to the glauconite.

According to the literature, the Chilmark building stone had long since been exhausted and the quarries abandoned in 1937.³ That has proved erroneous, and Roy Spring, clerk of works at Salisbury, obtained a large supply to use for repairs to the fabric. For the same purpose the workshop had stocks of and was using in the 1970s limestone from Portland (Dorset), Tisbury (Wiltshire), and Bath (Wiltshire), as well as from the French quarries of Richemont

¹ Much indebted to Francis G. Dimes of the Institute of Geological Sciences, London, I acknowledge with gratitude his critical reading of this Appendix. His assistance provided a much needed corrective to misconceptions ingrained in the literature about Chilmark and Caen limestones. I am equally indebted to him for access to the study collection of limestones at the Geology Museum in South Kensington.

² The masons at Salisbury, however, complained that the available Tisbury stone is easily recognized because, unlike Chilmark stone, it is heavily veined with chert. They therefore consider the stone inferior to that which is still in stock from Chilmark.

³ Clifton-Taylor 1976, 10. For a full list of active quarries, see Natural Stone Directory, Ealing Publications, London, 1974.

(Charente-Maritime) and Lepine (Vienne). Those French limestones are unusually fine-grained and soft so that there is some question as to their suitability and durability in exposed areas where they were then being used (i.e., in the tower and spire to replace carved elements and for the tracery of the north arcade of the cloister).

* * * * *

Portland Series in the Vale of Wardour:

Succession of Beds from the Top Down⁴

(Although the succession of beds in the Vale of Wardour is given below, one should understand that the naming of the stone at the quarries was inconsistent, and the labeling cannot be systemized by inspection after the stones have left the quarry since the naked eye cannot perceive distinctions that permit sure attributions to particular beds or layers within a bed.)

Lower Building Stone--Chalky Series

Teffont (Chilmark) Quarry

White Bed: (Rag stone) Gritty limestone ranging in thickness from 1 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft.

(Used for hearthstones)

Rubbly marl, 6 in. layer.

Shelly limestones, 3 ft. 6 in. layer.

Trough Bed (Main building stone) Pale shelly, oolitic and sandy limestone, 1 ft. 3 in. in thickness. Said to weather the best of the Chilmark stones. (Used i.a. in Chichester cathedral, Romsey abbey and in the restoration of the Westminster chapter house in 1867.)⁵

⁴ The information about the succession of beds and varieties of stone within a bed as well as their characteristics was compiled from the geological exhibitions and specimens at the Geology Museum, London; Howe 1910; Clifton-Taylor 1976, 56, 65-73; and Arkell 1947. For a summary of the various types of limestone and their properties and appearance compiled for practical use, see Ashurst and Dimes, 1977.

⁵ Clifton-Taylor 1976, 23.

Rubbly marl, 6 in. layer passing into roach.

Green Bed: (Also main building stone) Variable in texture, often shelly. Hard buff or pale greenish-grey, mainly oolite that merges into bed below and ranges in thickness from 2 ft. 6 in. to 9 ft. 9 in. (Used for ashlar, carving and moldings.)

Pinney Bed: (Main building stone) Brown glauconite and sandy limestone in three or four 12 ft. layers. More crystalline than other beds; harder at bottom.

2 Caen stone, Department of Calvados, Normandy

The Caen stone is yellowish in color and formed of rounded and ovoid pellets of cloudy calcite set in a matrix of clear calcite crystals with remains of small multi-chambered forminifera.

Rain and moisture cause all limestone to whiten. The dead whiteness that Caen stone can attain even in a sheltered or interior location has created considerable confusion. For example, among the numerous attempts in the past to identify the material used for the Neville screen in Durham cathedral, the Caen stone has been mistaken for chalk from Beer quarry, Seaton (Devon), as well as for plaster of Paris⁶

In the Caen stone restorations to the sculptures in the Salisbury chapter house the whitening process has accelerated in the three decades. In 1967 most of the Caen stone repairs still retained the yellow tones which contrasted with the grayish Chilmark stone. Now nineteenth-century insets that have not been stained by leaking water look more like plaster of Paris than limestone. The reactivation of the nineteenth-century heating system presumably acted as a catalyst in the color change. The semi-annual alternation between heated and dry air and the normally moist atmosphere in a building of stone has had an effect on the Caen stone.

⁶ Dunham and Dunham 1957, 49, have established that the stone came from Caen.

3 Purbeck Marble, 'Isle' of Purbeck, Dorset

The Purbeck beds lie above the Portland stone series. Formed in fresh water, the Purbeck 'marble' series consists of impure limestone crowded with shells of the freshwater snail, Viviparus (formerly called Paludina), in a bluish or grey matrix. Iron oxides are responsible for the warm colors (green, red, brown, and fawn). Polishing darkens the grey and intensifies the hints of other colors.

The Upper Purbeck Beds formed towards the close of Purbeck times yielded the marble veins usually about one foot in thickness and never more than four. These occurred in two beds ca. 11 ft. apart. Around Swanage the lower band was red and the upper greenish gray. Aware that the red marble was the more durable of the two, the medieval masons at Salisbury used it for exterior locations.

Until 1967 seven Purbeck quarries were still working on a small scale in the area south of Corfe castle and west of Swanage. In medieval times the marble was loaded at Swanage and floated around the coast and up the Avon to Salisbury. Today, west of Swanage, the bulldozing of the capstone layer above the marble is destroying many old pits from which the marble was extracted. But there, in what is now pastureland, the entrances to a few old shafts survive, reached past grazing animals and through beds of nettle. Equipment lies abandoned in three-sided stone shelters, and at the head of one shaft rusted iron tracks lead from the entrance to ancient stones set up for a winch. Originally worked by animals, the winches drew the blocks of stone up from the pits to the surface, and enormous masonry blocks laid in steps between the head of the shaft and the winch (some still in situ) had central grooves or notches that guided the lines.

According to a lost fourteenth-century Martyrologium copied by Leland,⁷ Alicia Bruer, who held the manor of the parish in which the Purbeck quarries are located, gave all the marble needed for the cathedral for a twelve year period.

⁷ Smith (ed.) 1907, 266: Alicia Bruer contulit huic Eccl. totum, marmor ad novum fabricam per 12 annos.

Below the marble lies a Middle Bed forming the Purbeck building stone series which consists of shell fragments and grains of quartz set in a matrix of calcite. The bands of shale lying over the Upper Building Stones of this series contain layers of fibrous carbonate of lime (calcite) known as 'Beef'.⁸

⁸ On Purbeck marble and stone, see Clifton-Taylor 1976, 71, 177-78, 179; Leach 1975, 6-8; Strahan 1932; Dru 1947/48, 74-98; and Arkell 1947, 123-47.

Appendix B

Nottingham University Tree-Ring Dating Laboratory

Dendro Sample Record and Summary

Initial Report 31 August 1995

Site Information:

Address	Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury
Area	Wiltshire
Grid Reference	SU143294
Commissioned by	Pamela Blum

Sample Information:

Number of Samples	09
Sample type(s)	Cores
Sampling date(s)	31 July 1995

Analysis	R. Howard
----------	-----------

Sample No	Sample Location	Total Rings	SAP Rings	FMR Date	LHR Date	LMR Date
SAL-C34	Principal rafter bay 3/4	100	01	1135	1233	1234
SAL-C35	Principal rafter bay 5/6	88	23C	-----	-----	-----
SAL-C36	Outer brace to centre post 5/6	76	01	1157	1231	1232
SAL-C37	Outer brace to centre post 6/7	85	HS	1145	1229	1229
SAL-C38	Centre post	92	00	1129	-----	1220
SAL-C39	Inner brace to centre post 2/3	56	00	-----	-----	-----
SAL-C40	Intermediate rafter No. 2 bay 7	123	02	1119	1239	1241
SAL-C41	Wall plate bay 1 left of door	47	HS	-----	-----	-----
SAL-42	Intermediate rafter No. 2 bay 1	74	01	1162	1234	1235

[Terms and abbreviations: C = Core; HS = heart/sapwood boundary; FMR = first measured ring; LHR = last heartwood ring; LMR = last measured ring* = 5 measured heartwood rings, rounded up or down; > = 5 measured sapwood rings, rounded up or down.]

Tree-Ring Analysis of Timbers from the Chapter House Roof of

Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire

August 1995

Summary

A total of nine samples were obtained from the roof of the Chapter House. Six of these were dated giving an estimated felling date in the range 1250 to 1285 with the likely felling date estimated as being ca. 1265.

Tree-ring dating Laboratory
Department of Archaeology
Nottingham University, NG7 2RD

Dr R R Laxton
Dr C D Litton
R. Howard (Laboratory)
R Howard (mobile)

Chapter House Roof, Salisbury

[Report] Summary

A total of nine samples were obtained from the roof of the Chapter House. Each sample was polished and the annual growth ring-widths measured, these being compared with each other by the Litton/Zainodin grouping procedure (see Laxton, Litton, and Zainodin, 1988 and Laxton and Litton 1988, Ch. 1)⁹ At the t-value level of $t=4.5$ four samples cross-matched with each other at the offsets shown in the bar diagram.... The ring-widths from these four were averaged at the offsets shown to form SALCSQ07, a sequence of 123 rings....¹⁰

Sequence SALCSQ07 was compared with a series of National Reference Chronologies and a large number of Local Chronologies for oak. This indicated a consistent match for this sequence with several of these when the date of the first ring is 1119 and the date of the last measured ring is 1241. Evidence for this dating is given in the t-value table.... Here the highest t-values of

⁹ Laxton, R.R., Litton, C.D. and Zainodin, H.J., 'An objective method for forming a master ring-width sequence,' Proceedings of the first European conference on wood and archaeology, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988, 26-35; and Laxton, R. R. and Litton, C.D., An East Midlands master tree-ring chronology and its use in dating vernacular buildings, Department of Classical and archaeological studies, Nottingham, Monograph ser. 2, 1988.

¹⁰ Ibid., Section 1.6 and fig. 1.9.

matches with the National Chronologies, and relevant Local Chronologies are indicated. Full references to the Chronologies used in the analysis of these timbers are given at the end of the report.

Sequence SALCSQ07 was compared with the remaining ungrouped samples. This indicated a match with a further two samples, SAL-C34 & C37, as shown in the t-value/offset matrix.... To check this cross-matching, these two samples were compared separately with the full range of Reference Chronologies. This gave satisfactory matches when the date of the first ring of each sample is 1135 and 1145, respectively. This dating thus confirms their cross-matching with sequence SALCSQ07. The relative positions of the four samples in sequence SALCSQ07 plus samples SAL-C34 & 37 are shown in the bar diagram....

The cross-matching and dating of the sequence and samples is satisfactory. Furthermore, at these offsets the relative positions of the heartwood/sapwood boundaries are consistent with a group of timbers having the same felling date.

Because of this, the six samples were combined at these suggested offsets to form SALCSQ08, a final sequence of 123 rings. This was compared with the Reference Chronologies matching when the date of its first ring is 1119 and the date of the last ring is 1241. Evidence for this dating is given in the t-values table....¹¹

Sequence SALCSQ08 was compared with the remaining ungrouped samples but there was no further cross-matching. The remaining ungrouped samples were compared separately with the full range of separately with the full range of Reference Chronologies, but again there was no cross-matching.

The average last heartwood ring date on sequence SALCSQ08 is 1235. This gives an estimated felling date in the range of 1250 to 1285 with the likely felling date estimated as being ca. 1265.

¹¹ Reference Chronologies used: ANG-C1. 904-1257 = Angel Choir roof. Lincoln cathedral. VA 16, 1985.

Appendix C

Documents Pertaining to the Restoration of 1855

I The Chapter House Contract

Indenture between George Peter White and the Dean (Henry Parr Hamilton) and the Chapter has been excerpted from the Chapter Lease Book, 1855-1859. Dated 12 May 1855, the agreement was in consideration of £2832 to be paid on completion of the execution of all works in accordance with general specifications, marked A, and four drawings, numbered 1-4. The specifications, drawings and a schedule of prices were to be signed by the contractor and deposited with Henry Clutton. According to the terms of the agreement White became responsible for completing the restorations as detailed in the drawings and specifications and for:

all other works and matters and things although not expressed in the said specification, or shewn in the said drawings as shall in the judgement of the Architect be requisite and proper for the complete and perfect execution of the works or so expressed and shown or otherwise incidental thereto and also will at the like Costs, Charges and Expenses find and provide all the Materials to be respectively the best of their kind which shall be required for the said Works and convey the same to the places where the same shall be required to be used. And also will on or before the twentieth day of December one thousand eight hundred and fifty five completely finish the said Works, Matters and Things in a good and workmanlike manner and in strict accordance with the said Specifications and Drawings or in any cases in which the said Specification and Drawings shall be in any respect not fully explanatory, in strict accordance with the explanations or directions of the Architect. And also will in every case in which the said Specification and drawings shall be in any respect not fully explanatory obtain from the Architect his explanations or directions before doing the part of the work as for which there shall be any such want of full explanation. And also...provide and employ all such Workmen, Laborers and others and all such Tools and Implements Sheds Scaffolding and other things...as may be proper and sufficient for carrying on and completing the said works. And also will execute and complete...in strict conformity with the general and particular instructions of the Architect...including explanatory Drawings as may hereafter...be provided by him.

The contractor was responsible for superintendence or a 'proper and sufficient foreman.'

The chapter house and entrance doorway were to be completed by 20 December 1855 and all 'Tools, Implements, Sheds, Scaffolding, Materials and Rubbish cleared, except for such Scaffolding to be left according to Specifications--clean and safe for use.' White was to repair any damage to the floor of the cloisters or to any part of the church caused by the workmen in the course of work or conveyance, deposit or erection of the scaffolding.

He agreed to suspend immediately any work or portion of it, if so directed by the architect; to take any precautions requested by the architect or clerk of works to shore up or prevent injury to the chapter house doorway or any part of it, even if directions were given verbally by them to White, his executors, foreman or to anyone else. Written directions were to follow as soon as possible.

The architect and clerk of works were to have veto over any materials. If written orders to remove such were not executed in three days, removal would be at White's expense. The architect could also substitute the correct materials at White's expense.

On written order of the architect any foreman, laborer or workman could be dismissed for inefficiency or misconduct.

During or within four months of completion of the work, upon written request of the architect anything judged unsound, improperly executed or not according to specifications was to be removed and replaced by White without charge.

The architect was allowed to employ a clerk of works as superintendent, and all directions within that appointee's range of duties were to be followed. If questioned, the matter would be referred to the architect. Nor would mistakes on the part of the clerk of works exonerate the contractor for bad work or materials. Both the architect and the clerk of works were to have free access to the building.

The architect with the consent of the dean and chapter could put an end to the contract if White proved in any way remiss. Under that situation everything would become the property of the dean and chapter, and the architect would decide what was justly due White in further pay or return of equipment.

White was to be paid in installments and any residue of his fee within three months of completion.

The architect would inspect monthly, and following the schedule of prices he would determine the proper charges for any extra work. If anything was omitted, or in case of early termination of work, using the schedule of prices the architect was to determine how much to deduct. No extra or deducted work would affect the validity of the contract.

If the work was not finished by 20 December 1855 and the architect certified in writing that the delay was avoidable, there would be a deduction for every week of delay.

In conclusion, any differences between the dean and chapter and the contractor would be decided by the architect and his written certification would be conclusive and binding.

II Summary of the Final Accounting for the Restoration of the Chapter House, 1854-1865

Total subscriptions, including special gifts for stained

glass and polychromy	£8065	16	8
----------------------	-------	----	---

Total cost	8082	6	4
------------	------	---	---

Breakdown of receipts

Subscriptions	£ 5377	4	5
---------------	--------	---	---

Interest	118	0	5
----------	-----	---	---

Gift from her Majesty the Queen	<u>100</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
---------------------------------	------------	----------	----------

£5595	4	10
-------	---	----

Dean and chapter	278	15	9
------------------	-----	----	---

For eight windows, from various

persons	1774	11	9
---------	------	----	---

Vestibule window	26	4	0
------------------	----	---	---

Stalls of polychromy	91	9	10
----------------------	----	---	----

Two bays of Polychromy	160	10	0
Collection after Sermon in			
Cathedral	52	13	1
Box in chapter house	<u>160</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>

£2490 12 7

Breakdown of payments

Minton tiles	£ 575	0	0
John Birnie Philip	263	0	0
White General Contractor	3391	3	10
Ward and Hughes, stained glass	1687	3	10
Clutton, architect	504	14	0
Hardman, gates	131	12	5
Hudson, polychromy	1032	0	0
Peckman, warming apparatus	234	0	0
Small bills	158	19	0
Advertising	90	11	0
Stationery	6	15	10

Balance on hand	£	3	10	4
-----------------	---	---	----	---

Donors. Windows

Mrs. Dennison (mother of the bishop)	East
Memorial to Mary Isabel Hamilton (daughter of Bishop Hamilton)	Southeast
C. Wingfield Digby, estate. Memorial to the Earl of Digby	South
Ladies of the Diocese	Southwest
Prebendaries of the cathedral	West

Thomas Mason

Northwest

Mrs. Wickins, Memorial to her

Parents

Northeast

Donors. Polychromy

Octavius Hudson, Edward Hamilton, Esq., Prebendaries, Mrs. Denison, widow of the late bishop, A. Denison.

Mrs. Denison also gave sculpture of Christ In Majesty

Restoration Committee

Secretaries:

Earl Nelson

Archdeacon, Honorary Prebendary, Reverend Francis Sear

Treasurer:

Thomas Webb Gilbert, Esq.

Short Titles and Abbreviations

A.B. Art Bulletin

A.J. Archaeological Journal

Brit. Lib. London, British Library

Brit. Mus. London, British Museum

Bull. mon. Bulletin Monumental

C.A. Cahiers archéologiques de France

J.B.A.A. Journal of the British Archaeological Association

J.S.A.H. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians

J.W.C.I. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes

Bod. Lib. Oxford, Bodleian Library

M.L.A. Modern Language Association of America

P.L. Migne, J. P. (ed.) Patrologia latina cursus completus

R.C.H.M.E. Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

R.I.B.A. Royal Institute of British Architects

W.A.M. Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine

U.M.I. University Microfilms International

V.C.H. Victoria History of the Counties of England

Bibliography of Works Cited

Archival Sources

Cambridge

Cambridge University Library.

Robert Willis Collection. MSS Add. 5022, 5024, 5036, and 5054

Devizes, Wiltshire

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Museum

Buckler, J. C. 'Drawings Collections for Wiltshire' 9. 'Salisbury Cathedral and Chapter House'

Glasgow, Scotland

University of Glasgow Art Library

Philip, J. B. Boxes containing drawing and sketch books, photographs, and address books

University of Glasgow Library

'Birnie Philip Collection.' 'Papers of John Birnie Philip'

London

British Library. Manuscript Collection

Buckler, John, Drawings. Add. MSS 36392; 36399; 36402; 36407; 36408; 36411; 36980

Carter, John, Drawings. Add. MS 29939, 29943

Lansdowne MS 38132

Winston, Charles. Coloured Drawings on Painted Glass, 3, 4

Courtauld Institute of Art. Conway Library

Mc Hardy, George. 'Henry Clutton and His Early Ecclesiastical Work.' unpub'd

M.A. Report, University of London. 1969

Henry Clutton Collection. Property of Owen Clutton. In custody of Clutton Surveyors, 5 Great College Street, SW1

Royal Institute of British Architects

Drawing Collections

Bannister Fletcher Library

Burges, William. Drawing Books nos. 40092, 2; 43649, 26, 30; 62695, 64

Strong Room

Cockerell, Francis Price. Drawings

Collings, J. K. 'Gothic Ornament' 1

_____. 'Original Sketches and Drawings for Details of Gothic Architecture

2. 1853

Crace, John Dibble. Drawings and Sketches 1836-1867

Study Room

Handley-Read, Charles. 'Essays on Burges, Introduction' 1 (Reserved for

Long Catalogue). Unpub'd MS

_____. 'Introduction to Short Catalogue'

_____. 'Roughs for Short Catalogue'

Pyne, Charles Claude. 'Volumes of sketches, notes and cuttings....' 2

Sketch Book Shelves P

Salvin, Anthony. 'Salisbury Sketches'

Scott, George Gilbert. 'Plan for the Restoration of Salisbury Cathedral

Choir'

Stevens, A. 'Drawings'

Welsh, Stephen. 'Henry Clutton, 1819-1893. A Biographical Note and a

List of Principal Works.' May 1973

Willis, Robert. 'Sketches.' Portfolio 3

Society of Antiquaries

Topographical Prints and Drawings

Coleraine Collection of British Topography.' Vol. 3

Roland Paul Collection. 'Brown Portfolio'

Scharf, George. Country Views, Antiquities (Album). Vol. 8

Scharf, George, Jr. 1865. A Catalogue of the Pictures Belonging to the
Society of Antiquaries. London

Schnebbelie, Jacob. 'Scrapbook.' MS. 263

Sollander Collection. 'Country Views, Antiquities.' Vol. 8

Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington

Prints and Drawings

Burges, William. 'Albums'

New Haven, Connecticut

Yale University

Beinecke Library MS. 214

Oxford

Oxford University. Bodleian Library

Gough Collection of Prints and Drawings, vol. 33

'Gough Maps.' 41K, 44, 45

'MS. Gough. Wilts. 3'

Stukeley's Topographical Papers. MS. Aubrey 21

Wren, Christopher. 'Survey of Salisbury Cathedral.' Transcript

Paris

Archives des Monuments Historiques

Sureda, A. 'Attachements de Maçonnerie.' Exercise, 1851-1853

Salisbury, Wiltshire

Salisbury Cathedral Archives. See Trowbridge, Wiltshire. Diocesan Records Office

Salisbury Museum

Wiltshire Prints

Edwards Bequest (Album)

Trowbridge, Wiltshire

Salisbury Diocesan Records. Salisbury Cathedral Archives

Papers of the Bishops of Salisbury

Barrington, S. Papers of Bishop Shute Barrington (1781-1791)

Liber Evidentiarius B (begun in the fourteenth century)

Drake, R. Liber B Index (seventeenth-century)

Liber Niger (begun in fifteenth century) Documents pertaining to City of
Salisbury and bishop's properties and prerogatives

Mortival, R. Statua Roger[i] de Mortivall, Sar. epi. A.D. 1319

Osmund. Vetus Registrum Ecclesie Sarum

Sherlock, T. Papers of Bishop Thomas Sherlock (1734-1748)

Ward, S. Private Papers of Bishop Seth Ward (1667-1689)

Papers of Dean and Chapter

Chapter Act Books

Chapter Minute Books

Chapter Lease Books

Liber Evidentiarius C

Pierce, Dean T. 1675-1691. Miscellanea

Register Rubrum (Deeds, Charters, Papal Bulls, etc. (begun in the fourteenth
century)

Fabric Accounts

Annual Accounts of the Clerks of Works (beginning in 1473, broken runs)

Fisher, F. The Papers of Frederick Fisher, Clerk of Works

Scott, G. G. George Gilbert Scott Collection. 31 Bundles

Winterthur, Delaware

Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum

Osmund, W. Downs MS no. 64x119

Published Primary Sources and Secondary Works Cited

- Aberth, J. 1989, 'The Sculpted Heads and Figures Inside the Chapter House of York Minster.'
J.B.A.A. 142, 37-45 and pls. III-X
- Adam de Eynsham. Dimock, J. F. (ed.) 1864. Magna vita Sancti Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis.
Rolls Series 149. London
- Alexander, J. and Binski, P. (eds.) 1987. Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England
1200-1400. London
- Allen, D. C. 1963. The Legend of Noah; Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science, and Letters.
Urbana, Illinois
- An Amateur 1856. 'The Chapter House of Salisbury Cathedral.' The Builder 14. 5 April, 196
- An Architect 1803. 'The Pursuits of Architectural Innovation. No. LXIII' Gentleman's Magazine
73. July, 642-4. Ibid. 74, Aug. 735-7. Ibid. 75, Nov. 1020-3.
- Anderson, M. D. (Mrs. T. Cox). 1959. 'The Twelfth-Century Design Sources of the Worcester
Cathedral Misericords.' Archaeologia 97, 165-78.
- _____. 1963. Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches. Cambridge
- André J.-M. 1977. The Restorer's Handbook of Sculpture. New York
- Anonymous 1790. 'Letter from Bath to "Mr. Urban"'. Gentleman's Magazine 60, 692
- _____. 1793. Review of Dodsworth, 1792. Gentleman's Magazine 63, 444-45
- _____. 1852. Athenaeum 25/2, 1038.
- _____. 1855. Athenaeum 28/2, 1247.
- _____. 1854. 'Memorial to the Late Lord Bishop.' Salisbury and Winchester Journal. 25 March
- _____. 1856a. 'Church Restorations. Chapter-House, Salisbury.' Ecclesiologist 17. 375-76.
- _____. 1856b. 'The Lille Cathedral Competition.' Ecclesiologist 17. June, 91-105, 161-69, 211,
288-94
- _____. 1856c. 'Reopening of the Chapter House.' Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 2 August
- _____. 1856d. 'Salisbury Chapter-house.' The Builder 14. 5 July, 374

- _____ 1856e. 'Salisbury' The Builder 14. 9 August, 436
- _____ 1856f. 'Antiquarian researches.' Gentleman's Magazine 1, new ser., 36
- _____ 1856g. 'Restoration and Reopening of the Chapter-House at Salisbury' The Guardian, 6 August
- _____ 1856h. 'Ely.' The Builder 14, 20 December
- _____ 1856i. 'Church Restorations.' Ecclesiologist 17, 375-76
- _____ 1858a. 'The Restoration of the Chapter House.' Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 17 July
- _____ 1858b. 'Antiquarian Researches. British Archaeological Association.' Gentleman's Magazine 5. New ser., 251-76.
- _____ 1861b. 'Lichfield Cathedral'. Building News 7, 889
- _____ 1867. 'The Eleventh General Meeting of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society...1865.' W.A.M. 10, 1-13
- _____ 1889. Brown's Stranger's handbook and the Illustrated Guide to Salisbury Being a Full Historical and Descriptive Account of the Building and Monuments. Salisbury, London
- _____ 1961a. 'The Muniment Room and Its Pavement.' Friends of Salisbury Cathedral. Annual Report 31. Salisbury, 21-4
- _____ 1967. The Times. 25, 27, 28 Jan. London
- Apocalypsis Mosis. Charles, R. H. (ed.) and Wells, L. S. A. (trans.) 1913. In The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English. Oxford, 138-54
- Arkell, W.J. 1947. The Geology of the Country Around Waymouth, Swanage, Corfe & Lulworth. London
- Armfield, H. T., and Scott, G. G. 1876. 'Paper on the Ancient Roof Paintings in Salisbury Cathedral and Their Relations to the Principal Altar.' Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London 6, 2nd ser. 477-79
- Ashurst, J. and Dimes, F.G. 1977. Stone for Building. London
- B.J. 1848. The Salisbury Guide. An account Historical and Descriptive of Objects of Interest in Salisbury and Its Neighborhood. Salisbury

- Baker, S. 1937. 'The Quest for Salisbury Glass.' Salisbury Times, 16 July
- Bandmann, G., Kirschbaum, E., and Braunfels, W. 1968-1976. Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie. 8 vols. Rome, Freiburg, Basel, Wien
- Barasch, M. 1976. Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art. New York
- _____. 1987. Giotto and the Language of Gesture. Cambridge. Eng., New York
- Barb, A. A. 1972. 'Cain's Murder-Weapon and Samson's Jawbone of an Ass.' J.W.C.I. 35. 386-89
- Barnet, P. (ed.) 1997. Images in Ivory. Precious Objects of the Gothic Age. Princeton
- Batut, G. de la. 1933. 'Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés à la Bibliothèque Mazarine de Paris.' Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures. 16e année 1932. Text and Plates
- Bayard, T. 1975. 'Thirteenth-Century Modifications in the West Portals of Bourges Cathedral.' J.S.A.H. 34/2, 215-25
- _____. 1976. Bourges Cathedral: The West Portals. New York
- Beck, B. 1965/66 (1968). 'Recherches sur les salles capitulaires en Normandie et notamment dans les diocèses d'Avranches, Bayeux, et Coutances.' Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 58, 7-118
- Beck, T. A. 1844. Annales Furnesienses: History and Antiquities of the Abbey of Furness. London
- Bégule, L. n.d. La Cathédrale de Lyon. Petites monographie des grands édifices de la France. Paris
- Behling, L. 1959. 'Ecclesia als Arbor Bona: zum Sinngehalt einiger Pflanzendarstellungen des 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhunderts.' Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft 13, 139-54
- Benson, R. and Hatcher, H. See Hatcher, H and Benson, R.
- Bergman, R.P. 1980. The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra From Medieval Amalfi. Cambridge, MA
- Bilson J. 1893/95. 'On the Discovery in Some Remains of the Chapter-House at Beverley Minster' A.J. 54, 262-66
- Binski, P. 1995. Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets. Kingship and the Representation of

- Power. New Haven, London
- Bliss, W. H. (ed.) 1893. Kraus repr. 1971. Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. London.
- Blum P. Z. 1968. 'A Study of the Thirteenth-Century Sculptures in the Spandrels of the Blind Arcade of the Salisbury Chapter House.' M.A. thesis. Yale University
- _____ 1969. 'The Middle English Romance, "Jacob and Iosep," and the Joseph Cycle of the Salisbury Chapter House.' Gesta 8, 18-34
- _____ 1976. 'The Cryptic Creation Cycle in MS. Junius xi.' Gesta 15, 211-26
- _____ 1979. The Salisbury Chapter-House and It's Old Testament Cycle: An Archeological and Iconographical study. PH.D. Yale University (1978). U. M. I. 8121401
- _____ 1986a. 'The Lateral Portals of the West Facade of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis: Archaeological and Iconographical Considerations.' In Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis. Gerson, P.(ed.). New York, 199-228
- _____ 1986b. 'Liturgical Influences on the Design of the West Front at Wells and Salisbury.' Gesta 25, 145-50
- _____ 1991. 'The Sequence of the Building Campaigns at Salisbury.' A.B. 73, 6-38
- _____ 1996. 'The Sculptures of the Salisbury Chapter House.' Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral. B.A.A. Conference Transactions 17. L. Keen and T. Cocke (eds.). Leeds, 68-78
- _____ 1998. 'Thirteenth-Century Glass of the Salisbury Chapter House.' Gesta 37/2, 143-50
- Boblitz, H. 1972. 'Die Allegorese der Arche Noahs in der frühen Bibelasulegung.' Frümittelalterliche Studien 6. 159-70
- Boeckler, A. 1931. Die Bronzetür von Verona 3. In Die Frümittelalterlichen Bronzetüren. Hamann, R. (ed.). 4 vols. Berlin, 1926-53
- Boinet, A. 1912. 'Les Sculptures de la cathédrale de Bourges.' Revue de l'art chrétien. Suppl. 1. Paris, Lille
- Bond, F. 1972. Gothic Architecture in England. An Analysis of the Origin and Development of

- English Church Architecture From the Norman Conquest to the Dissolution of the Monasteries. London, 1905. Repr. Freeport, N. Y.
- Bonner, C. 1941a. 'Desired Haven.' Harvard Theological Review 34. 49-67
- _____. 1941b. 'The Ship of the Soul on a Group of Grave-Stelae from Terenuthis.' Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 85. 84-91
- Bony, J. 1979. The English Decorated Style. Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250-1350. Ithaca, N. Y.
- Boucher, F. 1970. 'Le Costume au temps de Saint Louis.' Le siècle de Saint Louis. Paris. 197-98
- Bovini, G. 1969. Ravenna. An Art City. Ravenna
- Branner, R. 1971. 'The Grande châsse of the Sainte-Chapelle.' Gazette des Beaux-Arts 77, 6e. ser., 5-18
- _____. 1977. Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis. A Study of Styles. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London
- _____. 1957. 'Three Problems From the Villard de Honnecourt Manuscript.' A.B. 39, 61-66
- Braude, P. 1968. "'Cokkle in oure Clene Corn:" Some Implications of Cain's Sacrifice.' Gesta 7. 15-28
- Braun, H. 1972. Cathedral Architecture. London
- Braunfels, W. 1972. Monasteries of Western Europe. The Architecture of the Orders. Laing, A. (trans.) London, Princeton
- Brieger, P. 1957. English Art 1216-1307. Oxford
- Briggs, R. A. 1986. 'The Art of William Burges, A.R.A.: An Appreciation.' Architectural Journal. 23. 3rd ser. R.I.B.A. 131-59
- Brilliant, R. 1963. 'Gesture and Rank in Roman Art.' Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences 4.
- Britton, J. 1814 The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, Illustrated With a Series of Engravings of Views, Elevations, Plans, and Details of that Edifice.... London

- _____ 1835. Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture in England 5. In idem. The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain Represented and Illustrated in a Series of Views, Elevations, Plans, Sections, and Details.... 5 vols. London
- _____ 1836. The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, Illustrated With a Series of Engravings of Views, Elevations, Plans, and Details.... 5. In idem. Cathedral Antiquities. 13 vols. London. 1816-36
- _____ 1847 Historical and Descriptive Essays Accompanying a Series of Engraved Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy. London
- Brooke, C. 1974. The Monastic World 1000-1300. New York
- Bryan, M. 1964. Bryan's Dictionary of Engravers and Painters. 5 vols. New rev. and enl. Ed. G.C. Williamson, London, 1903-05. Repr., Port Washington, N. Y.
- Buchthal, H. 1938. The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter; A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting. Studies of the Warburg Institute 2. London
- _____ 1957. Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Oxford
- Bumpus, T. F. 1905-6. The Cathedrals of England and Wales. 3 vols. New York
- Burges, W. 1859. 'The Iconography of the Chapter-House, Salisbury.' Ecclesiologist 20. 109-14, 147-62.
- C.W. (Wordsworth) 1916. 'The Minstrels' Song of "Jacob and Iosep" and the Sculpture in the Salisbury Chapter House'. In 'Recent Wiltshire Books, Pamphlets, Articles, etc.' W.A.M. 39, 425-26.
- Cabrol, F. and Leclercq, H. 1907-1932. Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. 10 vols. Paris
- Cahier and Martin, les Pères 1841. Monographie de la cathédral de Bourges. 2 vols. Paris
- Cahn, W. 1982. Romanesque Bible Illumination. Ithaca, N.Y.
- Carpenter, D. 1972. 'Westminster Abbey: Some Characteristics of Its Sculpture 1245-1259. The Workshop of the Censing Angels of the South Transept.' J.B.A.A. 35, 3rd ser., 1-14 and pls. I-VII

- Carter, J. 1795-1807 [1814]. The Ancient Architecture of England.... 2 vols. in 1. London
- Cassan, S. H. 1824. Lives and Memoirs of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury From the Year 705 to 1824. Salisbury
- Cave, C.J.P. 1935. 'The Roof Bosses of Lincoln Cathedral.' Archaeologia 85
- _____ and Tanner, L. E. 1935. 'A Thirteenth-Century Choir of Angels in the North Transept of Westminster Abbey and the Adjacent Figures of Two Kings.' Archaeologia 84. 63-7
- Caviness, M. 1977. The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral Circa 1175-1220, Princeton
- Cawley, A. C. (ed.) 1958. The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle. Manchester
- Charles, R. H. (ed.) 1913. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English. 2 vols. Oxford
- Cheney, C. R. 1967. Hubert Walter. London
- Chettle, H. F. and Kirby, J. L. 1956. 'Abbey of Stanley.' V.C.H. A History of Wiltshire 3. Ed. R.B.Pugh and E. Crittall, E. London, 269-75
- Clapham, A. W. 1946. 'Thornton.' No. 4. In A. W. Clapham, A.H. Thompson, and E. A.R. Rabula, 'Lincolnshire Priories, Abbeys, and Parish Churches.' A.J. 103, 172-74
- Clark, W. 1978. 'Art and Historiography in Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts From North France.' Gesta 17/1. 37-48
- Clifton-Taylor, A. 1967. The Cathedrals of England. London
- _____ 1976. The Pattern of English Building. London
- Clutton, H. 1853. Remarks With Illustrations on the Domestic Architecture of France in the Middle Ages. London
- _____ 1855. 'On Chapter-Houses, Their Form and Uses.' Ecclesiologist 16. 85-97
- _____ 1856a 'On the Sainte Chapelle at Paris.' Ecclesiologist 17. 247-53
- _____ 1856b Illustrations of Mediaeval Architecture in France, From the Accession of Charles VI to the Death of Louis XII.... London
- Cocke, T. 1993. 'Historical Summary.' In Salisbury Cathedral: Perspectives on the Architectural

- History. R. C. H. M. London. 3-33
- Cochrane, G. L. 1971. Salisbury Cathedral. The West Front With a Description of the Statues. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral pamphlet. Salisbury
- Cockerell, C. R. 1851. Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral, With an Appendix on the Other Medieval Churches in England. Oxford, London
- Cockerell, S. C. 1930. The Work of W. de Brailes. Roxburghe Club.
- Cockerell, S. C., M. R. James, et al. 1927. A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the Middle of the Thirteenth Century, Sent By Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski to Shah Abbas the Great, King of Persia, Now in the Pierpont Morgan Library at New York. (Roxburghe Club). Facsimile. Cambridge
- Cohen, G. 1943. 'The Influence of the Mysteries on Art in the Middle Ages.' G.B.A. 24, 6e period. 333-42
- Colchester, L.S. 1976. The West Front of Wells Cathedral. The Friends of Wells Cathedral Pamphlet, 5th rev. ed. Wells
- _____ (ed.) 1982. Wells Cathedral. A History. Nr Shepton Mallet
- Colchester, L. S. and J. H. Harvey. 1974. 'Wells Cathedral.' A.J. 131. 200-14
- Coldstream, N. 1972. 'The York Chapter House.' J. B. A. A. 35. 3rd ser. 15-23 and pls VIII-XI
- Colombier, P. 1968. 'Sur la transmission des schémas de composition au moyen-âge.' G.B.A. 72/2. 6th ser. 255-58
- Colvin, H. M. (ed.) 1963. The History of the King's Works 1, The Middle Ages. London
- Conseil de l'Europe. 1968. L'Europe gothique XIIe-XIV siècles. 12th exposition. Paris
- Cox, Mrs. T. See Anderson, M. D.
- Crawford, S. J. (ed.) 1921. Exameron Anglice or the Old English Hexameron. Hamburg
- Crook, J. M. 1981. William Burges and the High Victorian Dream. Chicago, Ill.
- Crosby, S. McK. and P.Z. Blum. 1973. 'Le Portail central de la façade occidentale de Saint-Denis.' Bull. mon. 131/3, 109-66
- Dale, A. 1956. James Wyatt. Oxford

Dale, M. K. 1963. 'The City of New Salisbury.' In A History of Wiltshire. V. C. H. 6. Ed. E. Crittall. London. 69-93

Daly, S. R. 1957. 'Peter Comester: Master of Histories.' Speculum 32. 62-73

Daniélou, J. 1947. 'Déluge, baptême, jugement.' Dieu vivant; perspectives religieuses et philosophiques 8. 95-112

_____. [1960]. From shadows to Reality; Study in Biblical Typology of the Fathers. Hibberd, W. (trans.). London

_____. 1964. Primitive Christian Symbols. Trans. D. Attwater. Baltimore Md.

Daurs, F.N., and Douie, D. (eds.), 1968-1969. The Register of John Pecham Archbishop of Canterbury 1279-1292. 2 vols. Torquay

Dayman, E.A. and W.H.R. Jones, (eds.). 1893. Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Sarum. Bath

Defoe, D. 1744. A Tour Through the Island of Great Britain. Rev'd. Ed. G.D.H. Cole and D.C. Browning. London

Demus, O. 1949 [1950]. The Mosaics of Norman Sicily. London

_____. 1970. Romanesque Mural Painting. Trans. M Whittall. New York, London

_____. 1976. Byzantine Mosaic Decoration; Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium. Ed. H.L. Kessler. New Rochelle, N.Y.

_____. 1984. The Mosaics of San Marco, Venice. 2 vols. Chicago

_____. 1986. The Medieval Mosaics of San Marco, Venice. A Color Archive. Chicago

_____. 1988. Mosaics of Norman Sicily. London, 1949. Repr. New York

Denholm-Young, N. 1965. History and Heraldry 1254 to 1310. A Study of the Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms. Oxford

Department of the Environment 1972. Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings, Old Sarum, Wiltshire. Pamphlet. Reprint. Edinburgh

Dictionary of National Biography Founded in 1882 by George Smith, Edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee. From the Earliest Times to 1900. 22 vols. Oxford. Repr. 1949-50

- Dimes, F.G. 1975. 'A Handbook. Stone. Geology. Technical Study.' Architects Journal 166, 887-97
- Dionysios of Fourni 1974. Painter's Manual. Trans P. Hetherington. London
- Dodsworth, W. 1792. A Guide to the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. With a Particular Account of the Late Great Improvements Made Therein, Under the Direction of James Wyatt, Esq.... 2nd ed. Salisbury
- _____. 1814 An Historical Account of the Episcopal See, and Cathedral Church of Sarum, or Salisbury.... Salisbury
- Dodwell, C. R. 1954. The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200. Cambridge, Eng.
- _____. and Clemoes, P. (eds.) 1974. The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch, British Museum, Cotton Claudius B. IV. E. E. MSS in Facsimile 18. Copenhagen
- Dölger, F. J. 1925. Sol Salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung in Gebet und Liturgie. Münster in Westf.
- Dorling, E. E. 1902. 'Notes on Some Armorial Glass in Salisbury Cathedral.' The Ancestor. A Review of County and Family History, Heraldry, and Antiquities 4. 102-26.
- Draper, P. 1981. 'The Sequence and Dating of the Decorated Work at Wells.' In British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1978. Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury. Leeds. 18-29
- Dru, G. 1947/48. 'The Use of Purbeck Marble in Medieval Times.' Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Proceedings 69/70, 74-98
- Dunham, M. and K.C. Dunham,. 1957. 'The Stone of the Neville Screen.' Durham University Journal n.s., 18, 47-49
- Dunlop, I. 1980. 'Prisoners of Conscience Commemorated. New Stained Glass for Salisbury' Country Life. 12-13
- Eames, E. S. 1959. 'A Collection of Medieval Tiles at Corsham Court.' W.A.M. 57, 220-22
- _____. 1972. 'Further Notes on a Thirteenth-Century Tiled Pavement from the King's Chapel, Clarendon Palace.' J.B.A.A. 35. 3rd ser., 71-76

- _____. 1985. English Medieval Tiles. London
- Edwards, I. E. S. 1947. The Pyramids of Egypt. Harmondsworth, Baltimore, MD
- Edwards, K. 1956a. 'The Religious Houses of Wiltshire, 1, The Cathedral of Salisbury. An Ecclesiastical History.' V. C. H. A history of Wiltshire 3. Ed. R.B. Pugh and E. Crittall. London, Oxford, 156-210. Repr. Trowbridge, 1986
- _____. 1956b. 'Hospital of St Nicholas, Salisbury.' V. C. H. A History of Wiltshire 3. Ed. R.B. Pugh and E. Crittall. London. 343-56
- _____. 1967. The English Secular Cathedral in the Middle Ages. A Constitutional Study with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century. 2nd rev. ed. Manchester, Eng., New York
- Ehlers, J. 1972. 'Arca significat Ecclesiam. Ein theologisches Weltmodell aus der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts.' Frühmittelalterliche Studien 6. 171-87
- Emerson, O. F. 1906. Legends of Cain, Especially in Old and Middle English. M.L.A. 21. New ser. 14. Ed. C.H. Grandgent. 831-929
- Enlart, C. 1916 Manuel d'archéologie française depuis les temps mérovingiens jusqu'à la renaissance 3. Paris
- Fane, Rev. 1857. 'The Rev. Prebendary Fane's Address,' W.A.M. 3. 253-60
- Fawtier, R. 1924. La Bible historiée tout figurée de la John Rylands Library. Paris
- Fletcher, J.M.J. 1930. 'The Stained Glass in Salisbury Cathedral.' W.A.M. 45. 235-53
- _____. 1938. 'The Chapter-House.' Annual Report. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral. 14-19
- Forrester, H. 1972. Medieval Gothic Mouldings. Pamphlet. London, Chichester
- Forsyth, W. 1979. 'A Gothic Doorway From Moutiers-Saint-Jean.' Metropolitan Museum Journal 13, 33-74
- Frere, W. H. (ed.) 1898. The Use of Sarum 1. The Sarum Customs as Set Forth in the Consuetudinary and Customary. Cambridge, Eng.
- Frew, J. M. 1982. 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of the Gothic as England's National Style.' A.B. 64/2, 315-19
- Friends of Salisbury Cathedral. Annual Report. Salisbury 1933-64. (For 1965-, see Spire.)

- Frisch, T. G. 1960. 'The Twelve Choir Statues of the Cathedral at Reims: Their Stylistic and Chronological Relation to the Sculpture of the North Transept and of the West Facade.' A.B. 42. 1-24
- Gaborit-Chopin, D. 1972. 'La Vierge à l'enfant d'ivoire de la Sainte-Chapelle.' Bull. mon. 130/3, 213-24
- _____. 1978. Ivoires du Moyen-Age. Fribourg (Switzerland)
- _____. 1988. 'Nicodème travesti. La Descente de Croix d'ivoire du Louvre.' Revue de l'art 81, 31-44
- Galbraith, K. J. 1965. 'The Iconography of the Biblical Scenes at Malmesbury Abbey.' J.B.A.A. 28, 39-56 and pls. XVII-XXIV
- Garber, J. 1918. Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters-und-Pauls-Basiliken in Rom. Berlin, Wien
- Gardner, A. 1973. A Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture. London, 1935. Revised ed. London, 1955. Repr. New York
- _____. 1960. The Lincoln Angels. 1st ser., 2nd ed., no. 6. Lincoln Minster Pamphlets. Lincoln
- Gardner, S. 1927. English Gothic Foliage Sculpture. Cambridge, Eng.
- Gardner, W. S. 1980. The Role of Central Planning in English Romanesque Chapter House Design. Ph.D dissertation. Princeton University, 1976. Printed, U.M.I., 76-23, 854.
- _____. 1978. 'Review: Bayard, T. Bourges Cathedral: The West Portals.' A.B. 60, 163-64
- Garnier, F. 1982. Le Language de l'image au Moyen Age. Signification et symbolique. Paris
- Gatch, M. Mc. 1975. 'Noah's Raven in Genesis and the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch.' Gesta 14/2, 3-15
- Gee, E. A. 1974. York Minster. The Chapter House and Vestibule. R.C.H.M.E. London
- Gibbs, M. and Lang, J. 1934. Bishops and Reform 1215-1272 With Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215. Oxford, London
- Gilpin, W. 1808. Observations on the Western Parts of England. London, 1798. 2nd ed.
- Ginzberg, L.J. 1909-1938. The Legends of the Jews. 7 vols. Philadelphia

- Givens, J. 1987. The Garden Outside the Walls: Botanical Naturalism in English Gothic Sculpture. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California, Berkeley, 1985
- Glenn, V. 1986. 'The Sculpture of the Angel Choir at Lincoln.' British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1982. Medieval Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral. Leeds. 102-108
- Gnudi, C. 1969. 'Le Jubé de Bourges et l'apogée du "classicism" dans la sculpture de l'Ile-de-France au milieu du XIIIe siècle'. Revue de l'art 3, 18-36.
- Godwin, F. 1601. A Catalogue of the Bishops of England, Since the First Planting of Christian Religion in Their Island. London
- Godwin, G. 1861. 'On the Restoration of Buildings. Architectural Exhibition.' The Builder 19. 8 June, 388-90
- Gollancz, I. 1927. The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry. Junius xi in the Bodleian Library. Oxford
- Gombrich, E. H. 1965. 'Ritualized Gesture and Expression in Art.' Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. 211. Ser. B., Biological Sciences, no. 772. 391-401
- _____. 1972. 'Action and Expression in Western Art.' In Non-Verbal Communication. Hinde, R. A. (ed). Cambridge, 373-93
- Goodenough, E. R. 1958. Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period 8. Pagan Symbols in Judaism. New York
- Götz, W. 1968. Zentralbau und Zentralbau-tendenz in der gotischen Architektur. Berlin
- Grabar, A. 1968. Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins. Trans. Grabar. Bollingen Series 35. A. W. Mellon Lecture Series 10. Princeton
- Graves, R. and Patai, R. 1966. Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis. New York
- Green, R.B. 1955. 'The Adam and Eve Cycle in the Hortus Deliciarum.' In Late Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr. Ed. K. Weitzmann. Princeton. 340-47
- _____. 1968. 'Virtues and Vices in the Chapter House Vestibule in Salisbury.' J.W.C.I. 31, 148-58

- _____, Evans, M., Bischoff, C., and Curschmann, M (eds.) 1979. Herrad of Hohenbourg. Hortus Deliciarum. 2 vols. Studies of the Warburg Institute 36. London, Leyden
- Greenway, D.E. 1985. 'The False Institutio of St Osmund.' In Tradition and Change: Essays in Honor of Marjorie Chibnall. Ed. D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayres. Cambridge, Eng. 77-101
- _____. 1991. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300 4, Salisbury. London
- _____. 1996. '1091, St Osmund and the Constitution of the Cathedral.' Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral. BAA Conference Transactions 17. Ed. L. Keen and T. Cocke. 1-9
- Grivot, D. and Zarnecki, G. 1961. Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun. New York
- Grodecki, L. 1947. Ivoires français. Paris
- _____. 1975. La Sainte-Chapelle. 2nd ed. Paris
- Guest, G.B. 1995. Bible Moralisée. Codex Vindobonensis 2554 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. London
- Gutmann, J. 1977. 'Noah's Raven in Early Christian and Byzantine Art.' Cahiers archéologiques 26, 63-71
- _____. (ed.) c. 1977. The Image and the Word: Confrontations in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Scholars' Press for the American Academy of Religion. Missoula, Mont.
- Halahan, Mrs. 1924. 'On the Association of Flint Chippings with Fragments of Old Glass Found in Mediaeval Glasshouses at Chiddingfold in Surrey.' Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters 1, 11-15
- Handley-Read, C. 1963. 'William Burges.' In Victorian Architecture. Ed. P. Ferriday. London. 187-220
- Hargrave, F. 1776. State Trials 1. London
- Harnett, E. 1971. 'Cain in the Medieval Towneley Play.' Annuaire Mediaevale 12, 21-9
- Harvey, J. H. 1982. 'The Building of Wells Cathedral, I: 1175-1307.' In Wells Cathedral: A History. Ed. L. S. Colchester. Somerset, Eng. 52-75

- _____. 1987. English Mediaeval Architects. A Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550. Revised ed., Gloucester, 1984. Reprint
- Hassall, W. O. (ed.). 1954. The Holkham Bible Picture Book. Facsimile. London
- Hatcher, H. 1843. See Hoare, R. C.
- _____. and Benson, R. 1843. Old and New Sarum or Salisbury. In Hoare, R. C. The Modern History of Wiltshire 4. London
- Haussherr, R. 1972. 'Sensus litteralis und Sensus spiritualis in der Bible moralisée.' Frümittelalter Studien 6. 356-80
- Haworth, K. W. 1973. The Use of Sarum. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral Pamphlet. Salisbury
- Hayward, J., Cahn, W., et al. 1982. Radiance and Reflection: Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- Hearn, M. F. 1971. 'The Rectangular Mediaeval Architecture.' J.S.A.H. 30/3. 187-208
- Henderson, G. 1963. 'Note. Cain's Jaw-Bone.' J.W.C.I. 26. 108-14
- _____. 1963. 'The Sources of the Genesis Cycle at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartrempe [sic].' J.B.A.A. 26, 3rd ser., 1-26
- _____. 1967. 'Studies in English Manuscript Illumination.' J.W.C.I. 30. 71-137
- Herrad of Hohenburg. See Green, R.B., et al (eds.)
- Hesseling, D. C. 1909. Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne: manuscrit de l'école évangélique de Smyrne. Leyden
- Heuser, W. 1905. 'Das frühmittelenglische Josephlied.' In Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik 17. Ed. M. Trautmann. Bonn. 83-121
- Hill, F. 1962. 'The Borough of Old Salisbury.' V.C.H. A History of Wiltshire 6, 51-67
- Hillaby, J. 1989. "'The House of Houses:' the Cistercians of Dore and the Origins of the Polygonal Chapter House.' Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club 46. 209-45
- Hoare, R. C. 1822-43. The Modern History of Wiltshire. 6 vols. London
- Hoffield, J. 1968. 'Adam's Two Wives.' Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. June.

- Hoffman, K. 1970/1975. The Year 1200 1. The Exhibition. 2. A Background Survey. 3. A Symposium. Ed. F. Deuchler. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York
- Hollaender, A. 1943. 'The Sarum Illuminator and His School.' W.A.M. 50. Dec. 230-62
- Hope, W. St J. 1917. 'The Sarum Consuetudinary and Its Relation to the Cathedral Church of Old Sarum.' Archaeologia 68, 2nd ser. 111-26
- Horlbeck, F. R. 1960. 'The Vault Paintings of Salisbury Cathedral.' A.J. 117, 116-30
- Houston, M. G. 1939. Medieval Costume in England & France. London
- Howe, J.A. 1910. The Geology of Building Stones. London
- Howlett, R. (ed). 1896. Gesta Stephani regis Anglorum et ducis Normannorum. In Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I 3. Rolls Series 47. London, [3]-136
- Hugo de Saint-Victor 1962. De Arca Noe Morali. In Hugh of Saint Victor: Selected Spiritual Writings. Trans. A. Squire. London, New York, Evanston
- Iranaeus 1952. Demonstratio Apostolicae Praedicationis. Trans. J.P. Smith. Ancient Christian Writers 16. Maryland
- J.B. 1848. The Salisbury Guide. An Account Historical and Descriptive of the Objects of Interest in Salisbury and Its Neighborhood. 1848
- J. L. 1854. Salisbury and Winchester Journal 15 March
- Jacobus Voragine 1969. Trans. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger. The Golden Legend. New York, Toronto, London
- James, M. R. 1922-1923. 'An English Bible-Picture Book of the Fourteenth Century (Holkham, MS. 666).' The Walpole Society 11, 1-27 and pls
- ____ (ed. and trans). 1963. The Apocryphal New Testament Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses with Other Narratives and Fragments Newly Translated. Corrected ed. Oxford
- Jansen, V. 1982. 'Dying Mouldings, Vertical Springer Blocks, and Hollow Chamfers in Thirteenth-Century Architecture.' J.B.A.A. 135, 35-54 and pls

- _____. 1985. 'Lambeth Palace, the Temple Choir, and Southern English Architecture of c. 1215-1240.' In Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium. England in the Thirteenth-Century. Ed. W. M. Ormrod. Grantham, 95-99
- _____. 1979. 'Superposed Wall Passages and the Triforium Elevation of St. Werburg's, Chester.' J.S.A.H. 38/3, 223-43
- The Jewish Encyclopedia. A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish people.... 1901-06. 12 vols. New York, London
- Jones, W. H. R. 1879. Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis, or a Calendar of the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Members of the Cathedral Body at Salisbury, From the Earliest Times to the Present. Salisbury, London
- _____. 1880. Salisbury. London
- _____. (ed.) 1883-1884. Vetus Registrum Sarisberiensis Alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi. 2 vols. Rolls ser. 78. Repr. 1965
- _____. and Macray, W. D. (eds.) 1965. Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Selected from the Capitular and Diocesan Registers. Rolls Series. London. 1891. Reprint 1965
- Joubert, F. 1973a. 'La Sculpture à Paris au milieu du XIII^e siècle.' Archéologia 3, 34-41
- _____. 1973b. 'Les Retables du milieu du XIII^e siècle à l'abbatiale de Saint-Denis.' Bulletin monumental 131, 17-27
- Katzenellenbogen, A. 1964a. Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art. New York
- _____. 1964b. The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral. Christ. Mary. Ecclesia. New York
- Kemble, J. M. 1843. The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis. London
- Ker, N. R. 1949. 'Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue,' W.A.M. 53. 152-83
- Kessler, H. 1977. The Illustrated Bibles from Tours. Princeton
- Kidson, P. 1993. 'The Historical Circumstances and the Principles of the Design.' In Salisbury

- Cathedral: Perspectives on the Architectural History. R. C. H. M. London. 36-94
- Kimpel, D. 1971. Die Querhausportale von Notre-Dame zu Paris und ihre Skulpturen. Bonn
- _____. 1991. 'A Parisian Virtue.' In The Brummer Collection of Medieval Art. The Duke University Museum of Art. Ed. C. Bruzelius with J. Meredith. Durham, NC and London
- _____. and Suckale, R. 1973 'Die Skulpturen Werkstatt der Vierge Dorée am Honoratusportal der Kathedrale von Amiens.' Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 32/4, 217-65
- King, R. J. 1861. Handbook to the Cathedrals of England. Southern Division. Part 1 Winchester. Salisbury. Exeter. Wells. London
- Kirschbaum, E., and W. Braunfels, J. Kollwitz., W. Mrazek, A.A. Schmid, and H. Schnell.
- 1968-1976. Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie. 8 vols. Rome, Freiburg, Basel, Wien
- Kitzinger, E. 1960. The Mosaics of Monreale. Palermo
- Klukas, A.W. 1981. 'The Liber Ruber and the Rebuilding of the East End at Wells.' In B.A.A. Transactions for the Year 1978. Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury. 1981, 30-35
- Kohler, Ch. 1893-96 [98]. Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. 2 vols. Paris
- Krautheimer, R. 1969. 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture,"' Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art. New York. 115-50
- Krohm, H 1971. 'Die Skulptur der Querhausfassaden an der Kathedrale von Rouen.' Aachener Kunstblätter 40, 40-153
- Laborde, A. de. 1911-27. La Bible moralisée illustrée, conservée à Oxford, Paris, et Londres. 5 vols. Paris
- Ladner, G. [1961]. 'Gestures of Prayer in Papal Iconography of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries.' In Didascalie: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda, Prefect of the Vatican Library. Ed. S. Prete, S. New York. 247-75
- Lafond, J. 1946. 'The Stained Glass Decoration of Lincoln Cathedral in the Thirteenth Century.' Archaeological Journal 103. 119-56

- Lauer, P. 1927. Les Enluminures romanes des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris
- Leach, R. 1975. An Investigation into the Use of Purbeck Marble in Medieval England.
Hartlepool
- Ledwich, E. 1770. Antiquitates Sarisburienses: or the History and Antiquities of Old and New
Sarum.... London
- Lefrançois-Pillion, L. 1931. Les Sculptures français du XIIIe siècle. 2nd ed., Paris
- Lethaby, W. R. 1972. Westminster Abbey Re-Examined. London, 1925. Reissued, New York
_____. 1924. 'Early Thirteenth-Century Glass at Salisbury Cathedral.' Journal of the British
Society of Glass Painters 1/4, 17-18
- Levine, M. D. 1972. 'Some Jewish Sources for the Vienna Genesis,' A.B. 54/3, 241-44
- Lewis, S. 1995. Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century
Illuminated Apocalypse. Cambridge, New York
- Little, A. G. 1935. 'Grey Friars of Salisbury,' W.A.M. 47, 36-54
- Lowden, J. 1992. The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration. University
Park, PA
- Lundberg, P. I. 1942. La Typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne église. Acta Seminarii
Neotestamentici: Uppsala 10. Uppsala, Leipzig
- Marks, R. 1993. Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages. London
- Martin, H. M. R. 1909. Les Joyaux de l'Arsenal, I, Psautier de Saint Louis et de Blanche de
Castile. Paris
- Maydeston, C. 1901-2. [Caxton's] Ordinale Sarum sive Directorium Sacerdotum. 2 vols. Ed. C.
Wordsworth. London
- McAleer, J. P. 1988. 'Particularly English? Screen Façades of the Type of Salisbury and Wells
Cathedrals.' J.B.A.A. 141. 124-58
- McCarthy, M.R. 1976. 'The Medieval Kilns on Nash Hill, Lacock, Wiltshire.' W.A.M. 69,
97-160
- McDowell, R.W. 1980. Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury 1.

R.C.H.M.E. London

McNamee, M. B. 1972. The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting.' A.B. 54/3, 263-78

Mellinkoff, R. 1970. The Horned Moses in Medieval Thought and Art. Berkeley, 1970

Meyrick, S.R. 1836. Specimens of Ancient Furniture Drawn from Existing Authorities by Henry Shaw.... London

Michel, P.-H. 1958. 'L'Iconographie de Caïn et Abel.' C.A. 1. 194-249

Milner, J. 1811. A Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals, as Exemplified in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. 2nd ed. Winchester

Morgan, B. G. 1961. Canonic Design in English Mediaeval Architecture: The Origins and Nature of Systematic Architectural Design in England 1215-1515. Liverpool

Morgan, N. 1982. Early Gothic Manuscripts [I] 1190-1250. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 4. Ed. J.J.G. Alexander. Oxford

_____. 1988. Early Gothic Manuscripts [III] 1250-1285. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 5. Ed. J.J.G. Alexander. London

Morris, R. K. 1974. 'The Remodelling of the Hereford Aisles.' J.B.A.A. 38. 3rd ser. 21-39

_____. 1978. 'The Development of Later Gothic Mouldings in England c. 1250-1400--Part I.' Architectural History 21, 18-57

_____. 1979. 'The Development of Later Gothic Mouldings in England c. 1250-1400--Part II.' Architectural History 22, 1-48

Mortival, R. 1959-1972. The Registers of Roger Mortival, Bishop of Salisbury, 1315-1330. 4 vols. Ed. K. Edwards, K. Oxford

Muir, L. R. 1973. Liturgy and Drama in the Anglo-Norman Adam. Medium Aevum Monographs. New ser. 3. Oxford

Müller, D.H. and J. R. von Schlosser. 1898. Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine Spanische-Jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters. Wien

Napier, A.S. (ed.), 1916. Iacob and Iosep. A Middle English Poem of the Thirteenth Century.

Oxford

Natanson, J. 1951. Gothic Ivories of the 13th and 14th Centuries. London

Neuss, W. 1922. Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Bonn,
Leipzig

New York Public Library. 1934. Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts Held at the New York
Public Library November 1933 to April 1934. New York

Nightingale, J. E. 1881. 'Letter to the Editor.' W.A.M. 29. 227

Nordström, F. 1955. 'Lincoln Chapter House.' A.B. 37, 262-66

Norton, E. C. 1983. 'Medieval Tile Pavements of Winchester Cathedral.' In British
Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1980. Medieval Art
and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral. Leeds. 79-93

Oakeshott, W.F. 1967. The Mosaics of Rome, from the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries. The
New York Graphic Society Ltd. Greenwich, CT

_____. 1972, Sigena; Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists. London,
New York

Omont, H.A. 1906. Psautier illustré (XIIIe siècle). Reproduction des 107 miniatures du
manuscrit latin 8846 de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris

_____. 1910. Psautier de Saint Louis. Paris

_____. 1929. Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du Ve
au XIVE siècle. Paris

_____. A.W. Sijthoff. and S.C. DeVries. 1902 Miniatures du psautier de S. Louis. Manuscrit lat.
76A de la bibliothèque de l'Université de Leyde. Leyden

L'Orange, H. P. 1963. Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World.
Oslo

Osmund, Vetus Registrum. See Jones, W. H. R.(ed.). 1, 1883

Pächt, O. 1962. The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England. Oxford

Palustre, L. 1877. Adam: Mystère du XIIe siècle. Texte critique accompagné d'une introduction.

Paris.

Pankhurst, C. K. 1976. 'A Dragon from Nash Hill, Lacock.' In McCarthy, M. R. 'The Medieval Kilns on Nash Hill, Lacock, Wiltshire.' W.A.M. 69. 154-60

Parrot, A. 1955. The Flood and Noah's Ark. Trans. E. Hudson. London

Pelikan, J. 1971-1978. The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine. 3 vols. Chicago

Peter Chrysologus 1953. Saint Peter Chrysologus Selected Sermons and Saint Valerian Homilies. The Fathers of the Church. Ed. and trans. G.E. Ganss. New York

Petrus Blesensis 1855. Epistolae. P.L. 207, cols. 1-560

Petrus Comestor 1855. Historia scholastica. P.L. 198, cols. 1054-1194

Pevsner, N. 1945. The Leaves of Southwell. London

_____ 1964 The Englishness of English Art. Peregrine Books. Norwich

_____ 1974. Buildings of England. Yorkshire and the East Riding. Harmondsworth

_____ 1963, 1975. Buildings of England. Wiltshire. 2nd. rev. ed. Ed. B. Cherry. Harmondsworth

_____ 1978. Buildings of England. London 1. The Cities of London and Westminster. 3rd ed. Repr. Ed. B. Cherry. Harmondsworth

_____ and J. Harris. 1978. Buildings of England. Lincolnshire. Repr. Harmondsworth

Pickering, F. P. (ed.). 1971. The Anglo-Norman Text of the Holkham Bible Picture Book. Anglo-Norman Text Society, 23. Oxford

Pierpont Morgan Library. 1934. Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts Held at The New York Public Library November 1933 to April 1934. New York

Plummer, J. (ed.) 1969. Old Testament Miniatures: A Medieval Picture Book with 283 Paintings from the Creation to the Story of David. New York

Poole, R. L. (ed.). 1901. 'The Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.' In Historical Monuments Commission. Reports on Manuscripts in Various Collections 1. London, 338-88

_____ (ed.) 1907. 'The Records of the Bishops of Salisbury.' In Historical Monuments

- Commission. Reports on Manuscripts in Various Collections 4. Dublin. 1-12
- Pope, W. 1824. 'The Life of the Right Rev. Father in God, Seth, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, and Chancellor of the Most Noble Order of the Garter: With a Brief Account of Bishop Wilkins, Mr. Lawrence Rooke, Dr. Isaac Barrow, Dr. Tuberville, and Others.' In Cassan, S. H. (ed.). Lives and Memoirs of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury from the Year 705 to 1824. Salisbury, 31-163
- Poulsen, V. 1968. Egyptian Art. Greenwich, CT
- Powicke, M. 1962. The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307. 2nd ed. Oxford
- Pressouyre, L. 1973 'St. Bernard to St. Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographical Programs in the Cloister.' Gesta 12. 71-92
- Price, F. A. 1753. A Series of Particular and Useful Observations Made with Great Care, upon that Admirable Structure, the Cathedral-Church of Salisbury. London
- Prior, E. S. 1905. The Cathedral Builders in England. London
- Prior, E. S. and A. Gardner. 1912. An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England with 885 Photographs. Cambridge
- Procter, F. and E.S. Dewick (eds.) 1893. The Martiloge in Englysshe after the Use of the Chirch of Salisbury.... London
- Pugh, R. B. 1956. 'The Abbey, Later Priory of Amesbury.' V C.H. A History of Wiltshire 3. Ed. R.B. Pugh, and E. Crittall. London. 242-58
- Pugin, A. C. 1831-38. Examples of Gothic Architecture Selected from Various Antient Edifices in England.... 3 vols. London
- Pullan, R. P. 1881/1882. 'The Works of the Late Wm. Burges.' Transactions of the R.I.B.A. 32. 183-200
- Quirk, R. 1947. 'Our XIII. Century Glass.' Annual Report. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral. Salisbury. 5-6
- R.C.H.M.E. 1924. An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London 1, Westminster Abbey. London

- R. G. [Gough, R.] 1789. 'Letter.' Gentleman's Magazine 59. Oct. 373-75
- Raggio, O. 1958. 'The Myth of Prometheus.' J.W.C.I. 21. 44-62
- Rahner, H. [1963]. Greek Myths and Christian Mystery. Trans. B. Battershaw. New York, Evanston
- Randall, R. H., Jr. 1969. Medieval Ivories in The Walters Art Gallery. Baltimore, MD.
- Ransome, M. E. 1962. 'City of New Salisbury. Economic History Before 1612.' V.C.H. A History of Wiltshire 6. Ed. E. Crittall. London. 124-29
- Raw, B. 1976. 'The Probable Derivation of Most of the Illustrations in Junius 11 From an Illustrated Old Saxon Genesis.' In Anglo-Saxon England 5. Ed. P. Clemoes. 133-48
- Reeve, M. 2008. Thirteenth-Century Wall Painting of Salisbury Cathedral: Art, Liturgy, and Reform. Woodbridge, Rochester, NY
- Reeves, J., G. Simpson and P. Spencer. 1992. 'Iron Reinforcement of the Tower and Spire of Salisbury Cathedral.' A.J. 149, 380-400
- Rickert, M. 1965. Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages. 2nd ed. Harmondsworth, Baltimore, MD
- Ritter, G. 1926. Les Vitraux de la cathédral de Rouen. Cognac
- Roberts, M. 1985. 'The Relic of the Holy Blood and the Iconography of the Thirteenth-Century North Transept Portal of Westminster Abbey.' In England in the Thirteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium. Ed. W.M. Ormrod. Grantham. 129-42
- _____. 1983. 'The Tomb of Giles de Bridport in Salisbury Cathedral.' A.B. 65, 559-86
- Robertson, D.H. 1969. Sarum Close. A Picture of Domestic Life in a Cathedral Close for 700 Years and the History of the Choristers for 900 Years. 2nd ed. Bath
- Rock, D. 1905. The Church of Our Fathers as seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury, 4 vols. Rev. ed. Ed. G.W. Hart and W.H. Frere. London
- Rodwell, W.J. 1980. 'The Cloisters of Wells Reconsidered.' Friends of Wells Cathedral Report. Wells
- Röhrig, F. 1955. Der Verduner Altar. Vienna, Munich

- Roscoe, T. 1836 [1853?]. Wanderings and Excursions in North Wales. London, Birmingham
- Salet, F. 1948. La Madeleine de Vézelay. Melun
- _____. 1951. 'Les Statues d'apôtres de la Sainte-Chapelle.' Bull. Mon. 109, 135-56
- _____. 1954. 'Nouvelle note sur les statues d'apôtres de la Sainte-Chapelle.' Bull. Mon. 112, 357-63
- _____. 1965. 'L'Eglise du Bourget-du-Lac.' Congrès archéologique de France 123rd session. Savoie. 150-60
- _____. 1973. 'Sculpture gothique.' Bull. Mon. 131, 170-72
- Salzman, L. 1963. Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History. Oxford, 1952. 2nd ed.
- Sarisburiensis. 1855. 'The Chapter-House at Salisbury.' The Builder 13. 3 Feb. 53
- Sanoner, G. 1921. 'L'Iconographie de la Bible d'après les artistes de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age.' Bull. Mon. 80, 212-38
- Sauerländer, W. 1972. Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270. Trans. J. Sondheimer. New York, London
- _____. 1973. 'La Sculpture à Paris au milieu du XIIIe siècle.' Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de France 97, 1970
- Saxl, F. 1952. English Sculptures of the Twelfth Century. Ed. H. Swarzenski. Boston
- Scarfe, N. 1973. 'The Bury St. Edmunds Cross. The Work of Master Hugo?' Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, 23/1. 75-85
- Schapiro, M. 1932. 'Cain's Jaw-Bone That Did the First Murder.' A.B. 24, 205-12
- Schiller, G. 1971-72. Iconography of Christian Art. 2 vols. Trans. J. Seligman, J. London
- _____. 1971, 1980. Iconographie der Christlichen Kunst 3, 4. Gütersloh
- Scott, G. G. 1863. Gleanings From Westminster Abbey. 2nd ed. Oxford, London
- _____. 1879. Personal and Professional Recollections. London
- Shaw, H. 1858. Specimens of Tile Pavements Drawn From Existing Authorities. London
- Shelby, L. R. 1961. 'Medieval Masons' Tools I: The Level and the Plumb.' Technology and

Culture 2/2. 127-30

_____. 1965. 'Medieval Mason's Tools II: Compass and Square.' Technology and Culture 6/2. 236-48

_____. 1976. 'Monastic Patrons and Their Architects: A Case Study of the Contract for the Monks' Dormitory at Durham.' Gesta 15. 91-96

Sheppard, F. H. W. (ed.) 1975. Survey of London 38. The Museums Area of South Kensington and Westminster. London

Sherman, R. E. 1981. 'Observations on the Genesis Iconography of the Ripoll Bible.' Rutgers Art Review 2, 1-12

Sherwin, O. 1945. 'Art's Spring-Birth: the Ballad of Iacob and Ioseph.' Studies in Philology 47, 1-18

Shortt, H. 1958. '13th-Century Heraldry from the Chapter House.' Annual Report 28. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral. Salisbury. 16-21

_____. 1970. Divisions in Salisbury Cathedral. A Word About Screens of Salisbury Cathedral. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral Pamphlet. Salisbury

_____. 1973. Salisbury Cathedral and Indications of the Sarum Use. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral Pamphlet. Salisbury

Simpson, G. W. 1996a. "Master-Builders: Fresh Research on Cathedrals and Other Medieval Buildings by the Historic Buildings Research Unit," From River Trent to Raqqa. Ed. R. J. A. Wilson. 87-92

_____. 1996b. 'Tree-Ring Dates," Vernacular Architecture 27, 78-81.

Smalley, B. 1964. The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. Notre Dame, IN

Smith, L.T. (ed.). 1907. The Itinerary of John Leland In or About the Years 1535-1543. London
Spire, 1965. Annual Report. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral. Salisbury

Spring, R. O. 1973. The Stained Glass of Salisbury Cathedral. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral Pamphlet. Salisbury

_____. 1974, 1976, 1978. 'The Clerk of the Work's Report.' Spire. Annual Report. Friends of

Salisbury Cathedral. Salisbury

- _____. 1987. Salisbury Cathedral. New Bell Series of Cathedral Guides. London
- Squillbeck, J. 1965. 'Le Sacrifice d'Abraham dans l'art Mosan.' Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire 37. 4th ser. 79-95
- Stahl, H. 1974. The Iconographic Sources of the Old Testament Miniatures, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 638. Ph.D. diss. New York University. U.M.I. 74-18,199
- Stalley, R. A. 1971. 'A Twelfth-Century Patron of Architecture. A Study of the Buildings Erected by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury 1102-1139.' J.B.A.A. 34, 62-83 and pls. XV-XIX
- Stephenson, C. 1971. Mediaeval Feudalism. Ithaca, N.Y., London
- Stevens, F. 1936. 'The Inlaid Paving Tiles of Wiltshire.' W.A.M. 47. 358-78
- Stewart, P. (ed.) 1973. Guide to the Record of Offices Part 4. Diocese of Salisbury. Guide to the Records of the Bishops, the Archdeacons of Salisbury and Wiltshire, and Other Archidiaconal and Peculiar Jurisdictions, and to the Records of the Bishop of Bristol's Registry for Dorset. Wiltshire County Council. Trowbridge and Salisbury
- Stone, L. 1955. Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages. Harmondsworth and Baltimore, MD
- Storer, J.S. 1819. History and Antiquities of Cathedral Churches of Great Britain. 4. London
- Strahan, A. 1932. A Geological Model of the Isle of Purbeck. 2nd ed. London
- Stratford, N. 1978. 'Notes on the Norman Chapterhouse at Worcester.' In B.A.A. Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral. Conference Transactions for the Year 1975. London. 51-70
- Stubbs (ed.). See William of Malmesbury
- Styles, D. 1956. 'The Priory of Ivychurch.' V. C. H.: A History of Wiltshire 3. Ed. R. B. Pugh and E. Crittall. 289-95
- Suckale, R. 1971. Studien zu Stilbildung und Stilwandel der Madonnenstatuen der Ile-de-France zwischen 1230 und 1300. Munich
- _____. 1973. See Kimpel, D.
- Swarzenski, H. 1938. 'Unknown Bible Pictures by W. de Brailes and Some Notes on Early

- English Bible Illustration.' Journal of The Walters Art Gallery, 1. 55-69
- _____. 1967. Monuments of Romanesque Art. The Art of Church Treasures In North-Western Europe. 2nd ed. Chicago
- Tanner, L. 1948. Unknown Westminster Abbey. Harmondsworth
- Tatton-Brown, T. 1991. 'Building the Spire of Salisbury Cathedral.' Antiquity 65, no. 246, 74-96
- _____. 1995. 'The Cloisters of Salisbury Cathedral.' Spire. Annual Report of the Friends of Salisbury Cathedral 65, 6-10
- _____. 1996. The Archaeology of the Spire of Salisbury Cathedral. In Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral. BAA Conference Transactions 17. Ed. L. Keen and T. Cocke. Leeds, 56-67
- _____. and Bowen, J.A. 1991. 'The Archbishop's Palace at Canterbury.' J.B.A.A. 144, 1-60
- _____. and Kemp, B. 2008. 'The Date of the Cloister of Salisbury Cathedral.' J.B.A.A. 161, 94-103
- Thérel, M.-L. 1984. Le Triomphe de la Vierge-Eglise. A l'Origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis; sources historiques, littéraires et iconographiques. Paris
- Thompson, H.Y. 1907-18. Illustrations of One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of H.Y. Thompson. 7 vols. London, 1907-18
- Toesca, P. and Forlatti, F. 1958. The Mosaics of St. Marks in Venice. London
- Torrington 1935. 'Ride into the West 1782.' The Torrington Diaries Containing the Tours Through England and Wales and the Honorable John Byng. 1. Ed. C.B. Andrews. New York, 69-111
- Tredgold, T. 1853. Elementary Principles of Carpentry..... London
- Tsuji, S. 1970. 'Nouvelles observations sur les miniatures fragmentaires de la Genèse de Cotton: Cycles de Lot, d'Abraham et de Jacob.' Cahiers archéologiques 20, 26-46
- Tudor-Craig, P. 1976. One Half of our Noblest Art. The Sculpture of Wells West Front. Pamphlet. Friends of Wells Cathedral. Wells
- _____. 1982. 'Wells Sculpture.' Wells Cathedral: A History. Ed. L.S. Colchester. Over Wallop.

- Uspenskii, F. 1907. L'Octateuque de la bibliothèque de Sérail à Constantinople. Sofia
- Van Woerden, I. S. 1961. 'The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham.' Vigilae Christianae 15/3, 214-55
- Verdier, P. 1980. Le Couronnement de la Vierge. Les Origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique. Paris, Montreal
- _____. 1976. 'Suger a-t-il été en France le créateur du thème iconographique du couronnement de la Vierge?' Gesta 15. 227-36
- Verlet, P. 1947 'Le Prophète d'ivoire Robert de Rothschild.' Bulletin de Musées de France. 8-10
- Victoria History of the Counties of England. A History of Wiltshire. 13 vols. London, 1957-80
- Vieillard-Troïekouff, Mme. 1969/71. 'L'Inscription du chapiteau de la Genèse de Sainte-Geneviève de Paris, d'après Le Gentil de la Galaisière.' Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France. 240-44
- Viollet-le-Duc, E. 1858-1875. Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français de l'époque carolingienne à la renaissance. 6 vols. Paris
- Vitry, P. n.d. French Sculpture During the Reign of Saint Louis. New York
- Voragine, Jacobus de. 1969. The Golden Legend. Ed. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, H. New York.
- Waagen, G. 1854. Treasures of Art in Great Britain 3. London
- Wander, S. H. 1976 'The Chapter House of York Minster.' J.S.A.H. 35. 3rd ser., 23
- _____. 1977. 'The Restoration of the Westminster Chapter House.' Revue d'art canadienne 4/2, 78-90
- _____. 1978. 'The York Chapter House.' Gesta 17/2. 41-9
- Warner, G. 1912. Queen Mary's Psalter: Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the 14th Century, Reproduced from Royal MS. 2 B. VII in the British Museum. Facsimile. London
- _____. 1920. Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins. 2 vols. Oxford

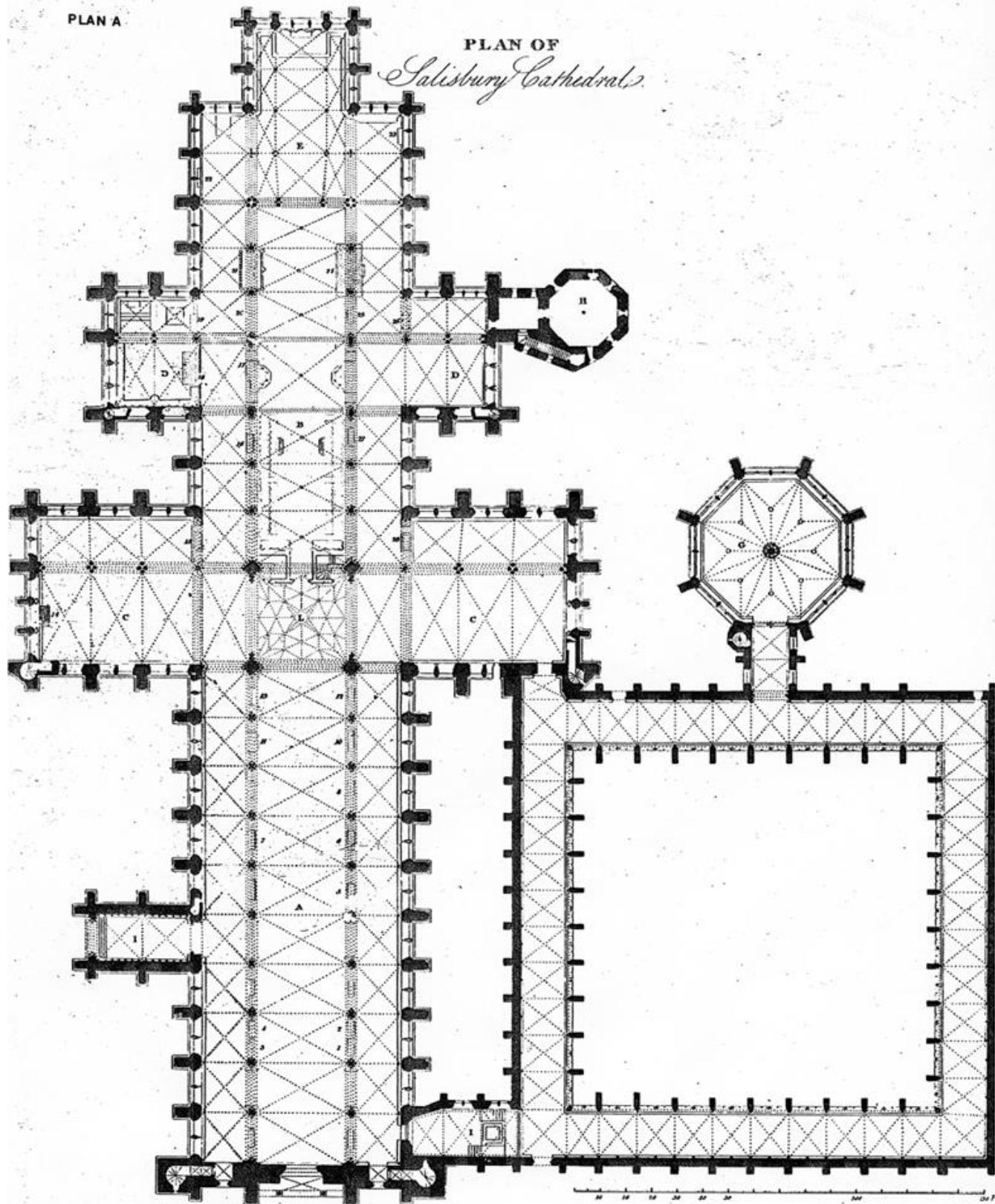
- Waylen, J. 1857. 'Who Destroyed the Images of the West End of Salisbury Cathedral.' W.A.M. 3. 119-24
- Webb, G. 1965. Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages. 2nd ed. Harmondsworth, Baltimore, MD
- Weitzmann K. 1947. Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration. Studies in Manuscript Illumination 2. Princeton
- _____. 1948. The Joshua Roll, a Work of the Macedonian Renaissance. Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 3. Princeton
- _____. 1955. 'Observations on the Cotton Genesis Bible.' Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr. Princeton. 112-31
- _____. 1971. Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination. Ed. H. L. Kessler, H. Chicago, London
- _____. (ed.) 1979a. Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art. Third to Seventh Century. Catalogue of the Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art....November 19, 1977 through January 12, 1978. Princeton, New York
- _____. 1979b. The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela Parisinus Graecus 923. Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 8. Princeton
- _____. 1984. 'The Genesis Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures.' In Demus, O., The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice 2. Chicago, 105-42
- Weitzmann, K. and Kessler, H. L. 1986. The Cotton Genesis. British Library Codex Cotton Otho B. VI. Princeton
- Wells, L.S.A. (ed. and trans.) 1913. 'The Books of Adam and Eve.' In The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English 2. Ed. C.R. Charles. Oxford, 123-54
- Westlake, N. J. H. 1881-1894. A History of Design in Painted Glass. 4 vols. London
- White, G. 1896. The Cathedral Church of Salisbury. A Description of Its Fabric and a Brief History of the See of Sarum. Bell ser. London
- Whiteman, A. 1956. 'Church of England 1542-1837.' In V.C.H. A History of Wiltshire 3. Ed.

- R.B. Pugh and E. Critall. London. 28-56
- Whittingham, S. 1970. A Thirteenth-Century Portrait Gallery at Salisbury Cathedral. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral Pamphlet. Salisbury
- _____. 1974. Repr. 1979. Salisbury Chapter House. Friends of Salisbury Cathedral Pamphlet. Salisbury
- Wickham, W. A. 1912 (1913). 'Some Notes on Chapter-Houses.' Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 64. New ser. 28. 143-248
- William de Wanda. Historia translationis veteris ecclesiae beatae Mariae Sarum ad novam. See Jones, W.H.R. (ed.), 1884. 2, 1-36
- _____. Nove Basilica. See Jones, W.H.R. (ed.). 1884. 2, 37-123
- William of Malmesbury. Hamilton, N. E. S. A. (ed.). 1870. De gestis pontificum Anglorum. Rolls series 100. London, Oxford, Cambridge
- _____. Stubbs, W. (ed.) 1887-1889. De gestis regum Anglorum. 2 vols. Rolls series 53. London
- _____. Stubbs, W. (ed.) 1889. Historiae novellae. In De gestis regum Anglorum 2. Rolls series 53. London, 159-348
- Williams, I. 1972. Early English Watercolours and Some Cognate Drawings by Artists Born Not Later Than 1785. Repr. of 1952 ed. Bath
- Williamson, P. 1995. Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300. New Haven, London
- _____. 1997. 'Symbiosis Across Scale: Gothic Ivories and Sculpture in Stone and Wood in the Thirteenth Century.' In Images in Ivory. Precious Objects of the Gothic age. Ed. P. Barnet. Princeton, 39-45
- Willis, R. 1973. 'The Crypt and Chapter House of Worcester Cathedral.' Architectural History of Some English Cathedrals. A Collection in Two Parts of Papers Delivered During the Years 1842-1863, 2. Ed. R. B. Chichley, Bucks.
- Winston, C. 1851. 'The Painted Glass of Salisbury.' In Memoirs Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Wiltshire and the City of Salisbury. London, 135-59

- Wistinc, H. 1895. Het rechtsboek van den dom van Utrecht door mr. Hugo Wistinc (c. 1345-9).
Ed. S. Muller, S. 's-Gravenhage
- Wolff, C. 1948. The Psychology of Gesture. London
- Wolffhardt, E. 1954. 'Beiträge zur Planzensymbolik.' Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft 8. 177-96
- Worcester, E. 1901. The Book of Genesis in Light of Modern Knowledge. New York
- Wordsworth, C. 1898. 'On the Sites of the Mediaeval Altars of Salisbury Cathedral Church.'
Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club 19, 1-24
- _____. 1916. 'The Minstrels' Song of "Jacob and Joseph" and the Sculpture in Salisbury Chapter House.' Salisbury Diocesan Gazette 29. Oct. and Nov., 145, 157-9. W.A.M. 39, 425-26
- _____. 1913. 'Wiltshire Pardons or Indulgences.' W.A.M. 38, 15-33
- _____. (ed.) 1901. Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. Cambridge, Eng.
- Wordsworth, J. (Lord Bishop of Salisbury) 1891. 'The Bishop's Palace at Salisbury.' W.A.M. 25, 165-81
- Wormald, F. 1973. The Winchester Psalter With 134 Illustrations. London, New York
- Wynn Reeves, P. (now Tudor-Craig). 1973. English Stiff Leaf Sculpture. Ph.D. dissertation. University of London
- Zarnecki, G. 1988. Romanesque Lincoln. The Sculpture of the Cathedral. Lincoln
- Zinn, G. 1977. 'Hugh of St. Victor and the Ark of Noah: A New Look.' Church History 40/3, 261-72

PLAN A

PLAN OF
Salisbury Cathedral.



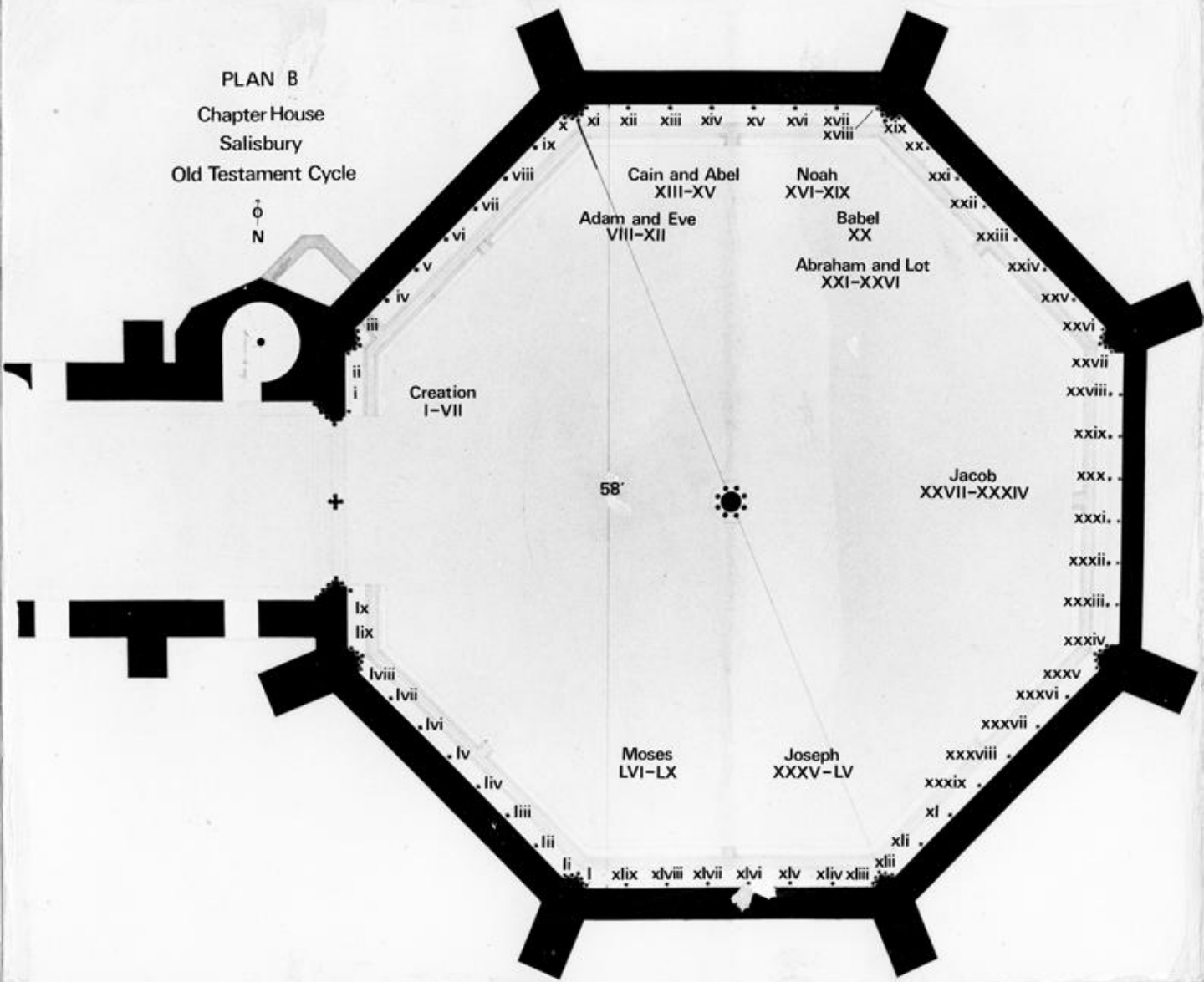
Drawn by F. Nash.

Published 1814 by W. Dodsworth, Clerk, Salisbury; Messrs. Brodie & Donding, Salisbury; W. Murray, Albemarle Street, & Messrs. Adell & Davies, Strand, London.

Engraved by S. Porter.

Plan A

PLAN B
Chapter House
Salisbury
Old Testament Cycle



Plan B

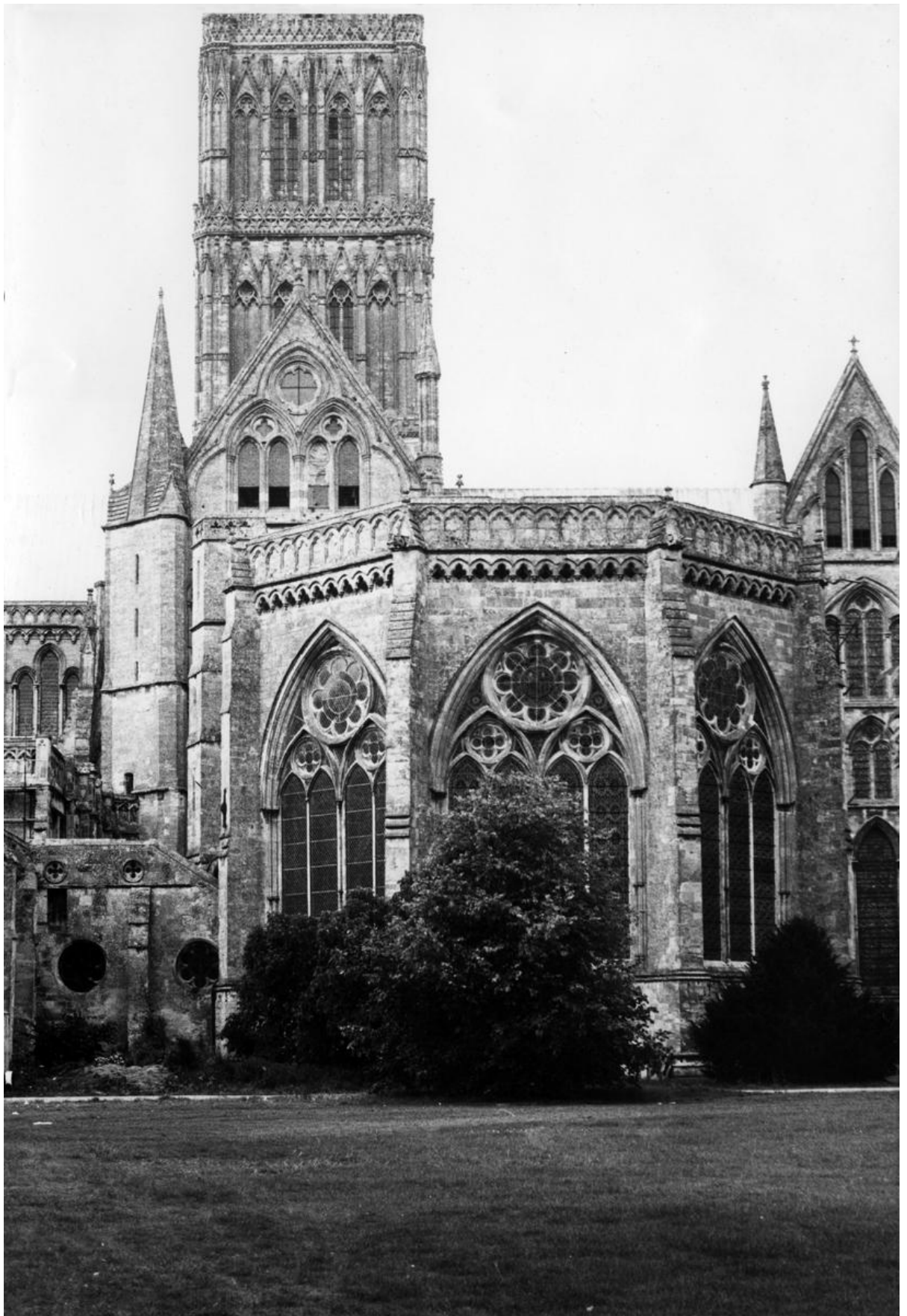


Figure 1

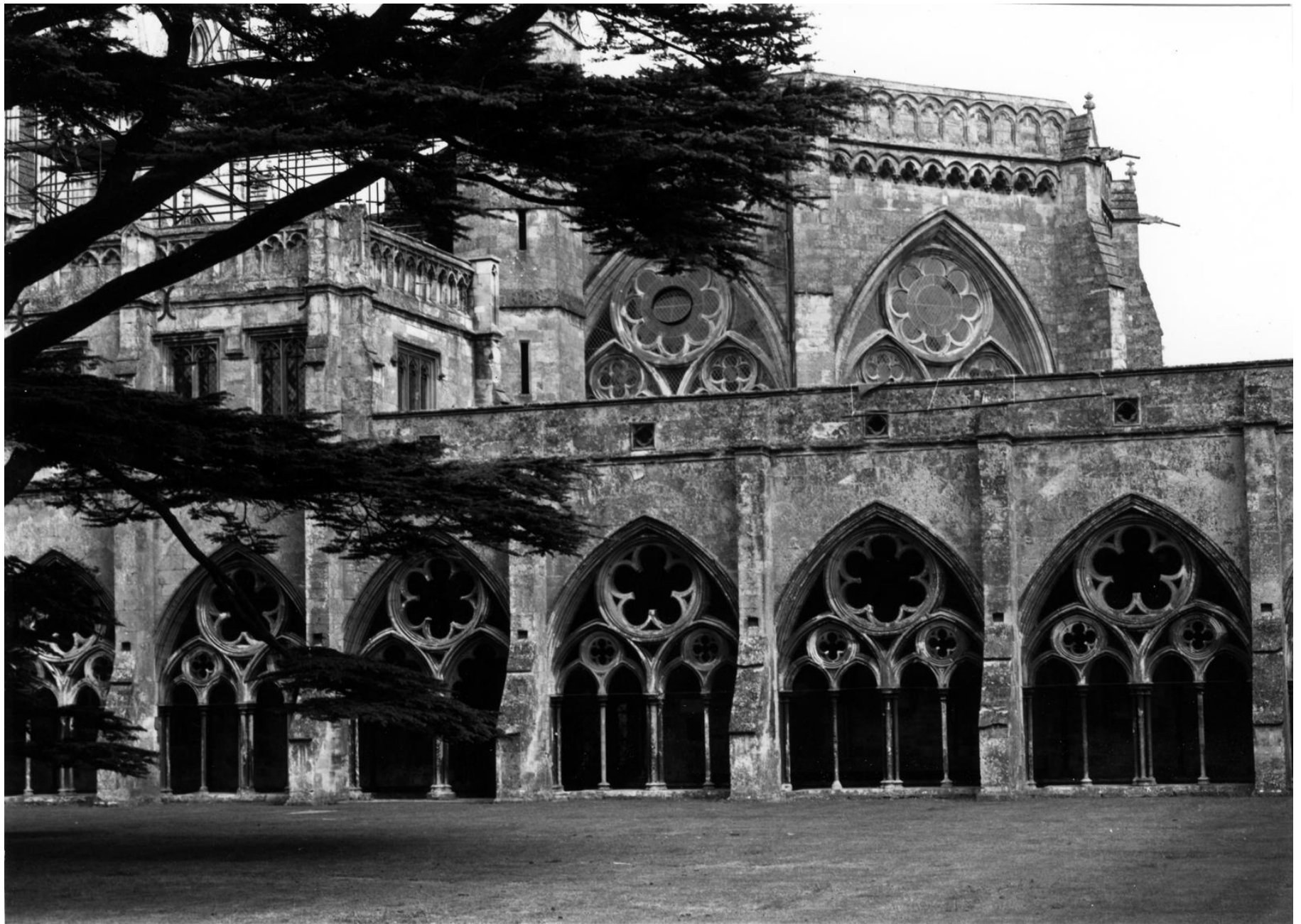


Figure 2

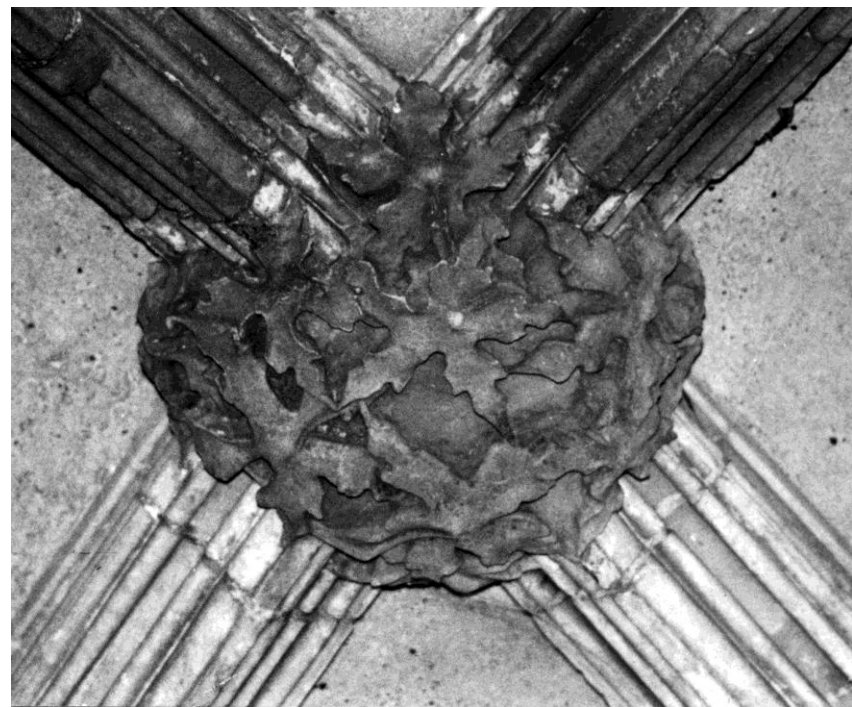
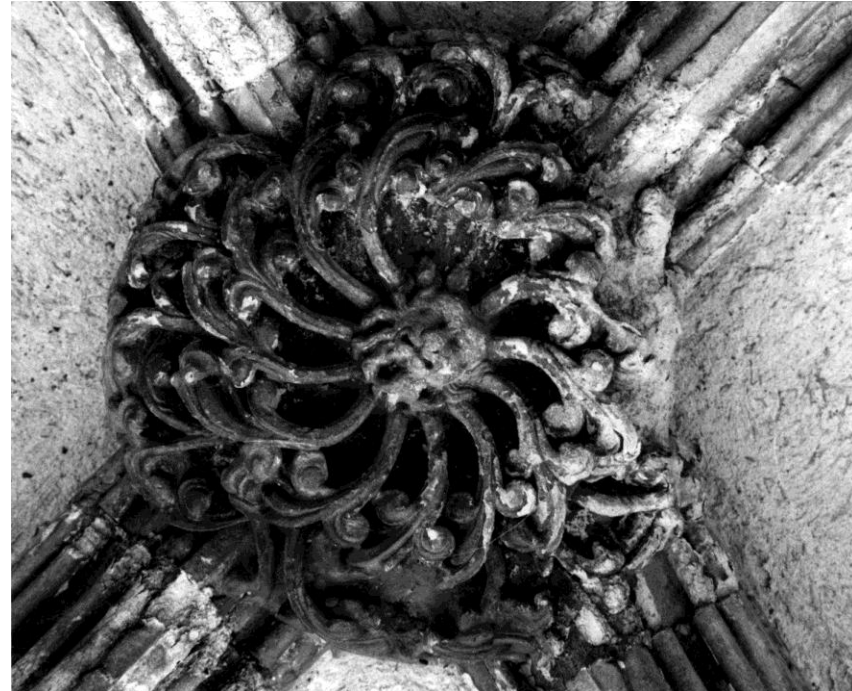
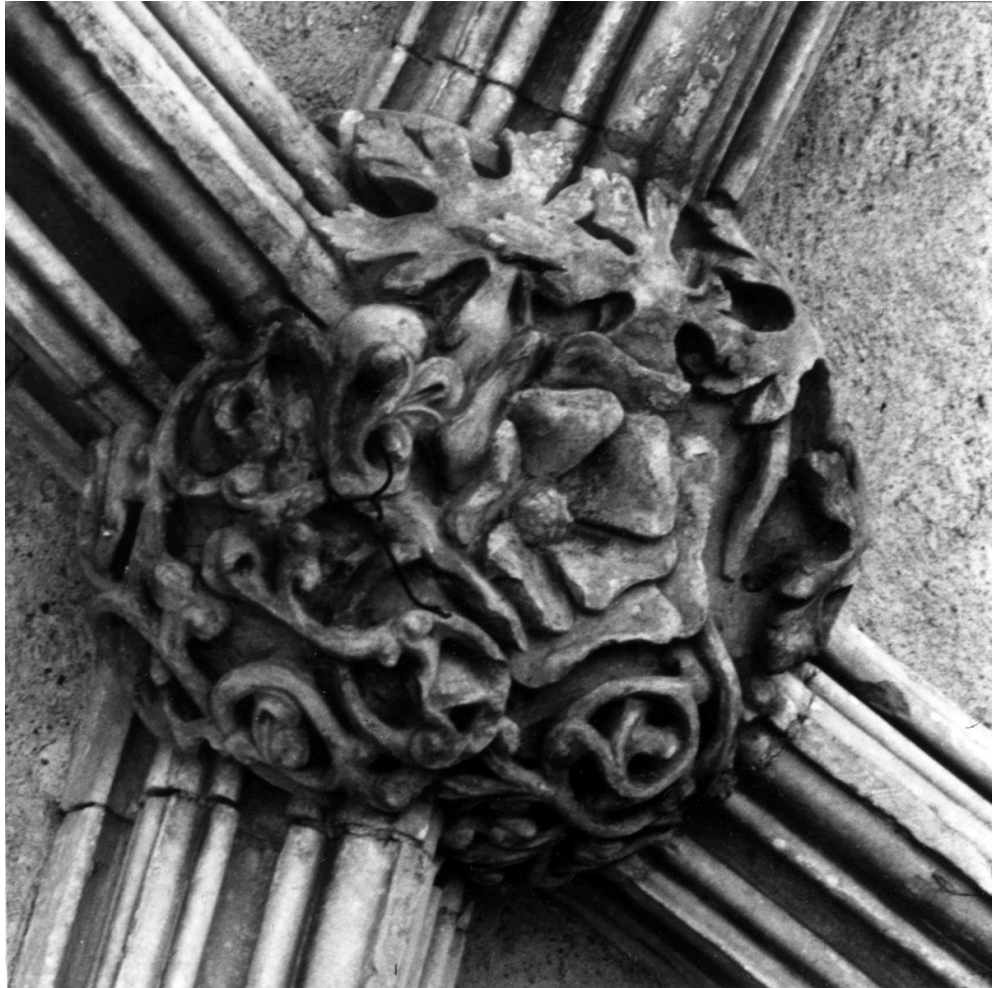


Figure 3 a (above), b (top right)

c (bottom right)



Figure 4

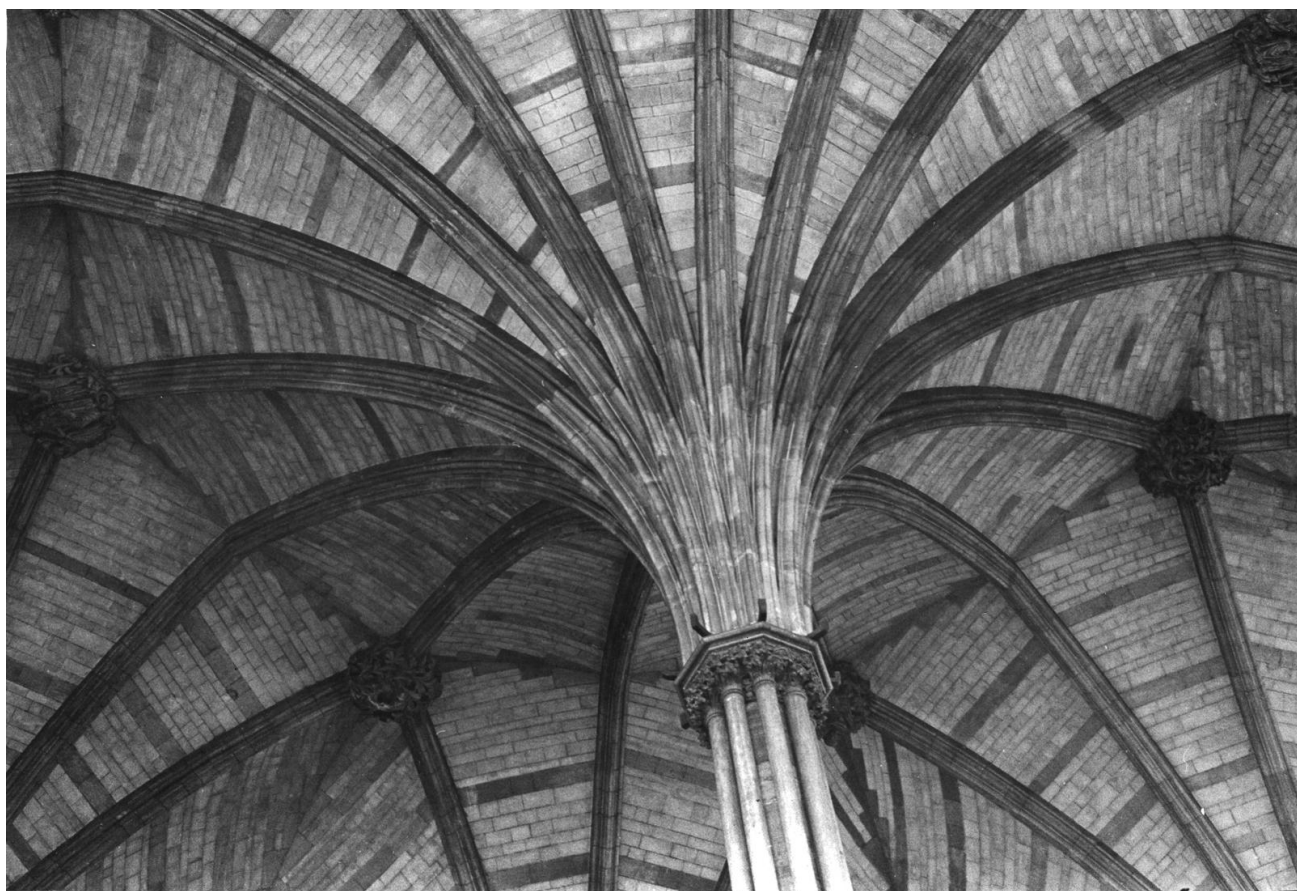


Figure 5 a, b

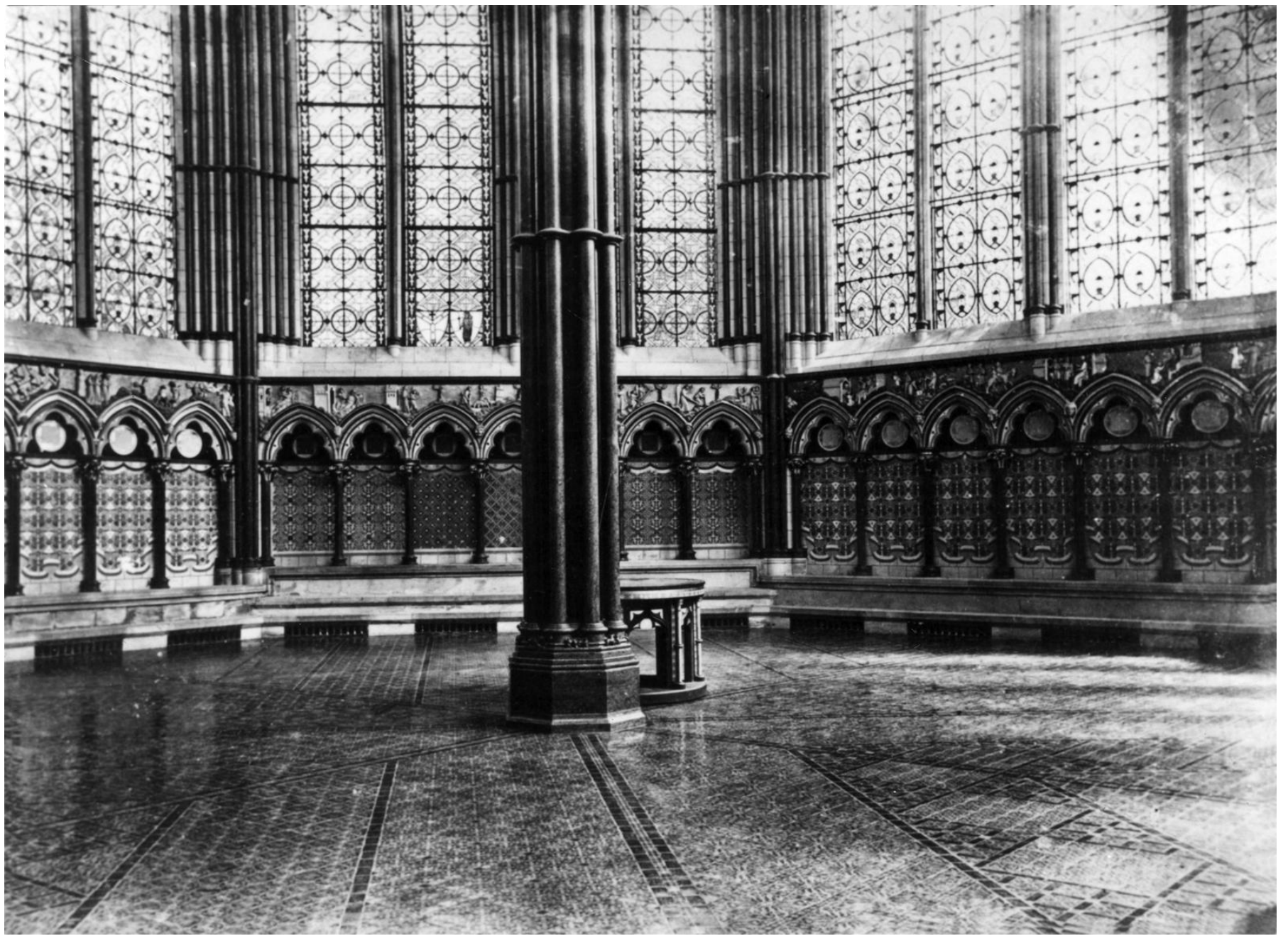


Figure 6



Figure 7 a, b (top row); c, d (bottom)



Figure 8 a, b (top row); c, d (middle); e, f (bottom)

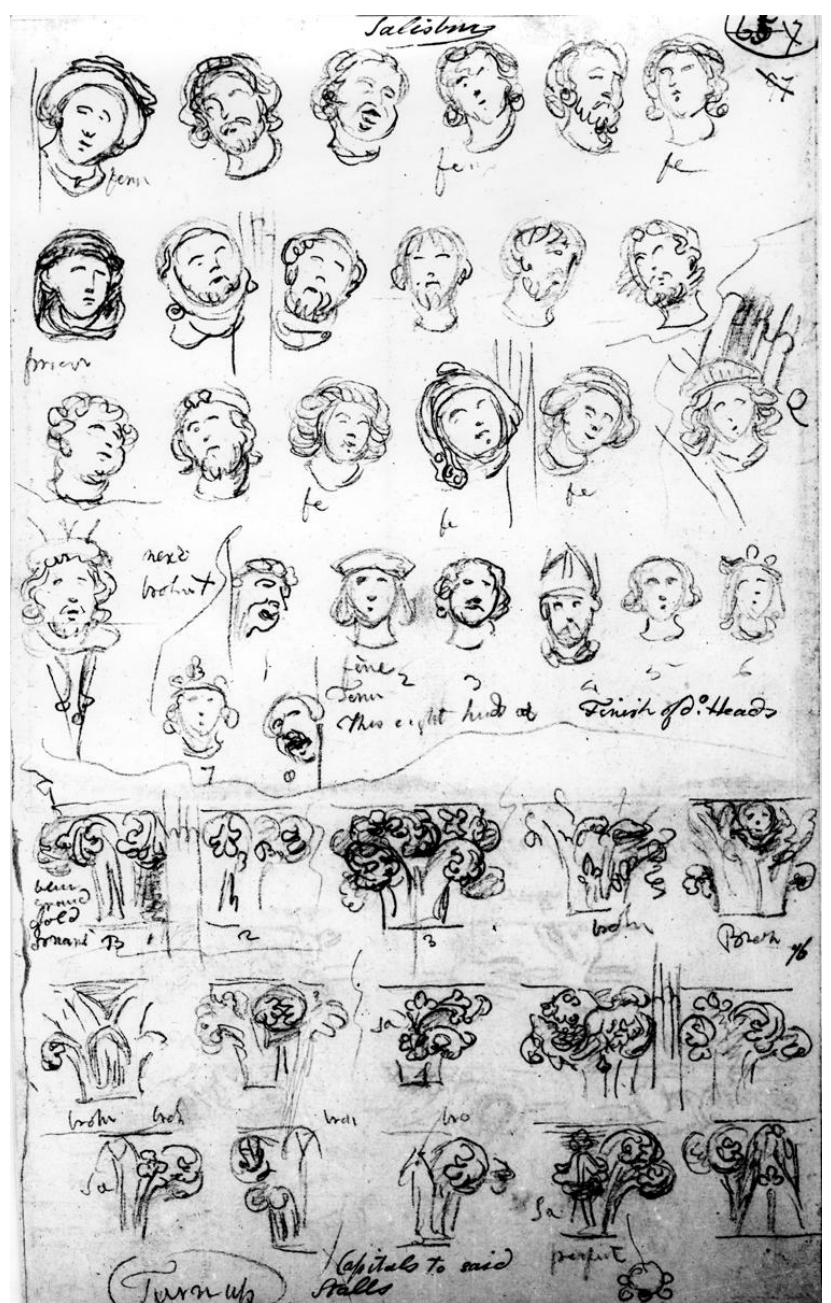


Figure 9 a, b



Figure 10

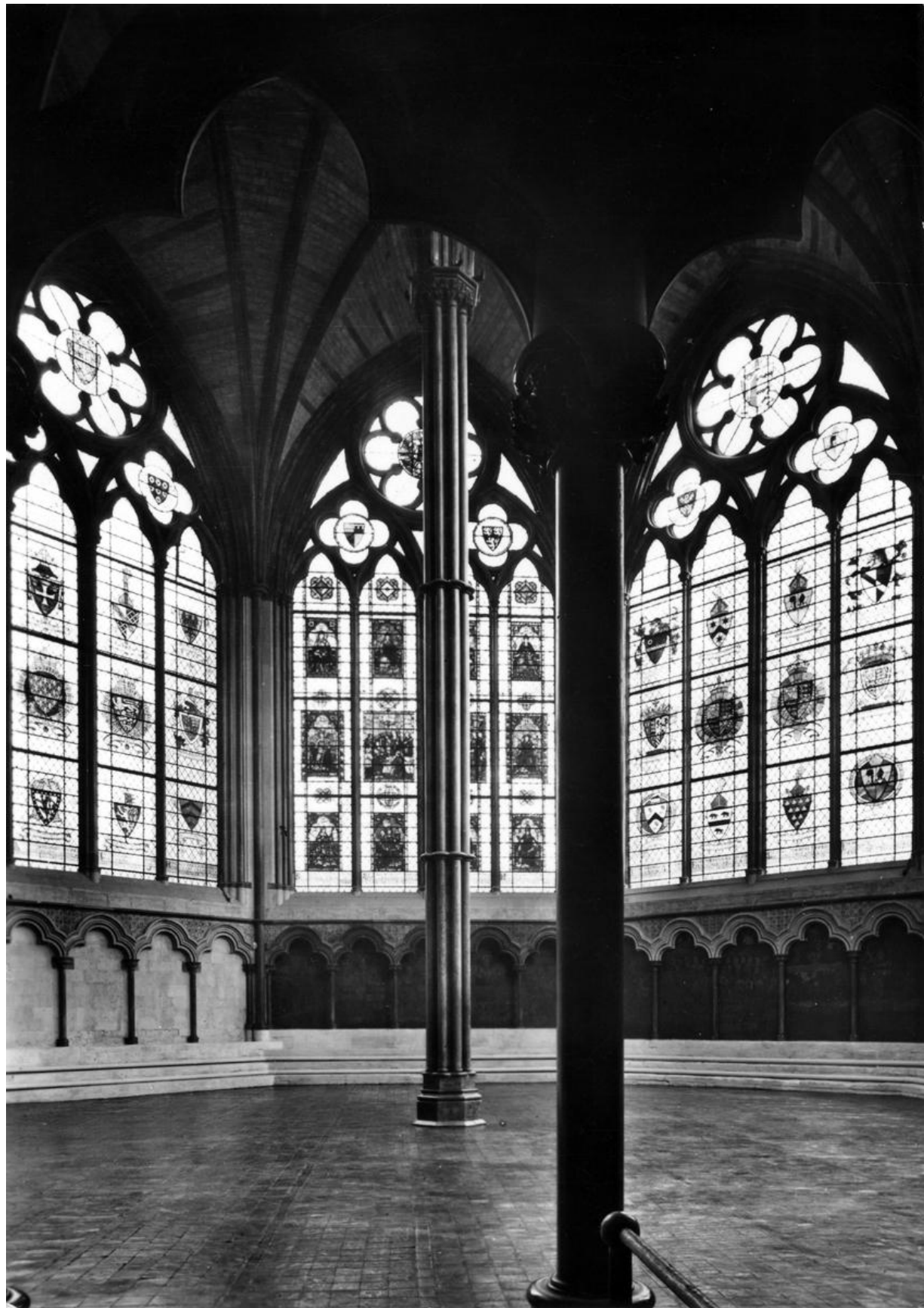


Figure 11

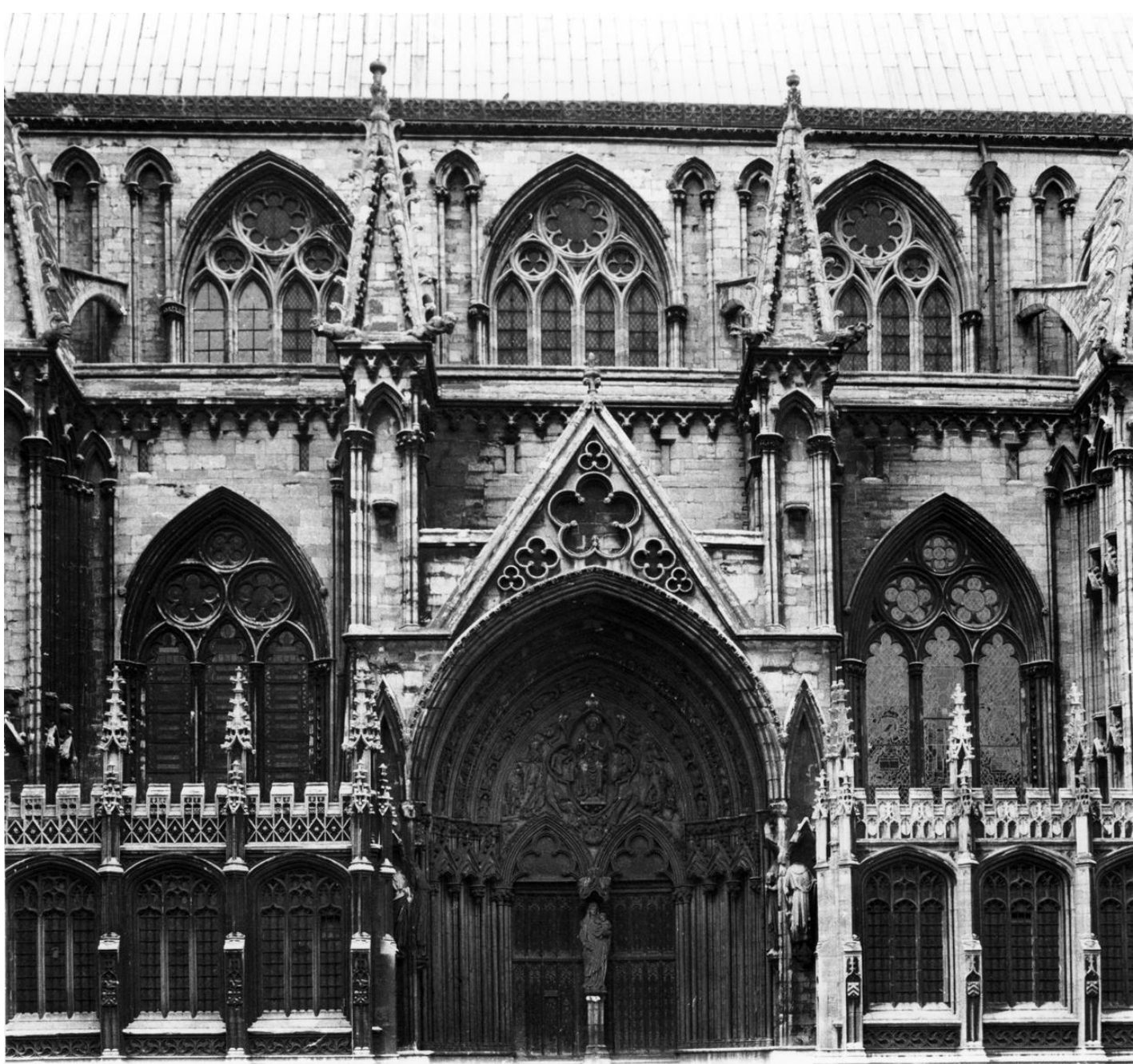


Figure 12

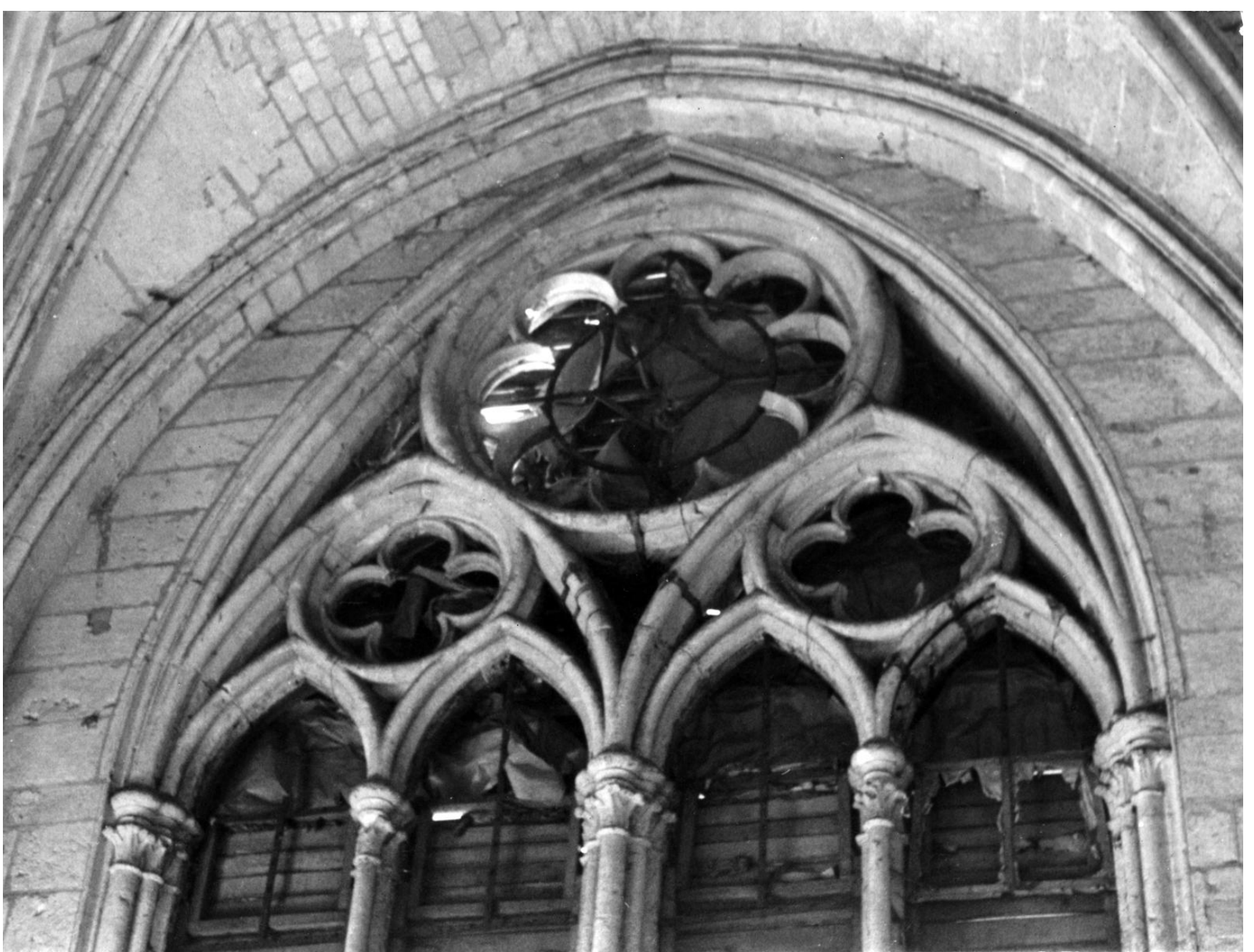


Figure 13

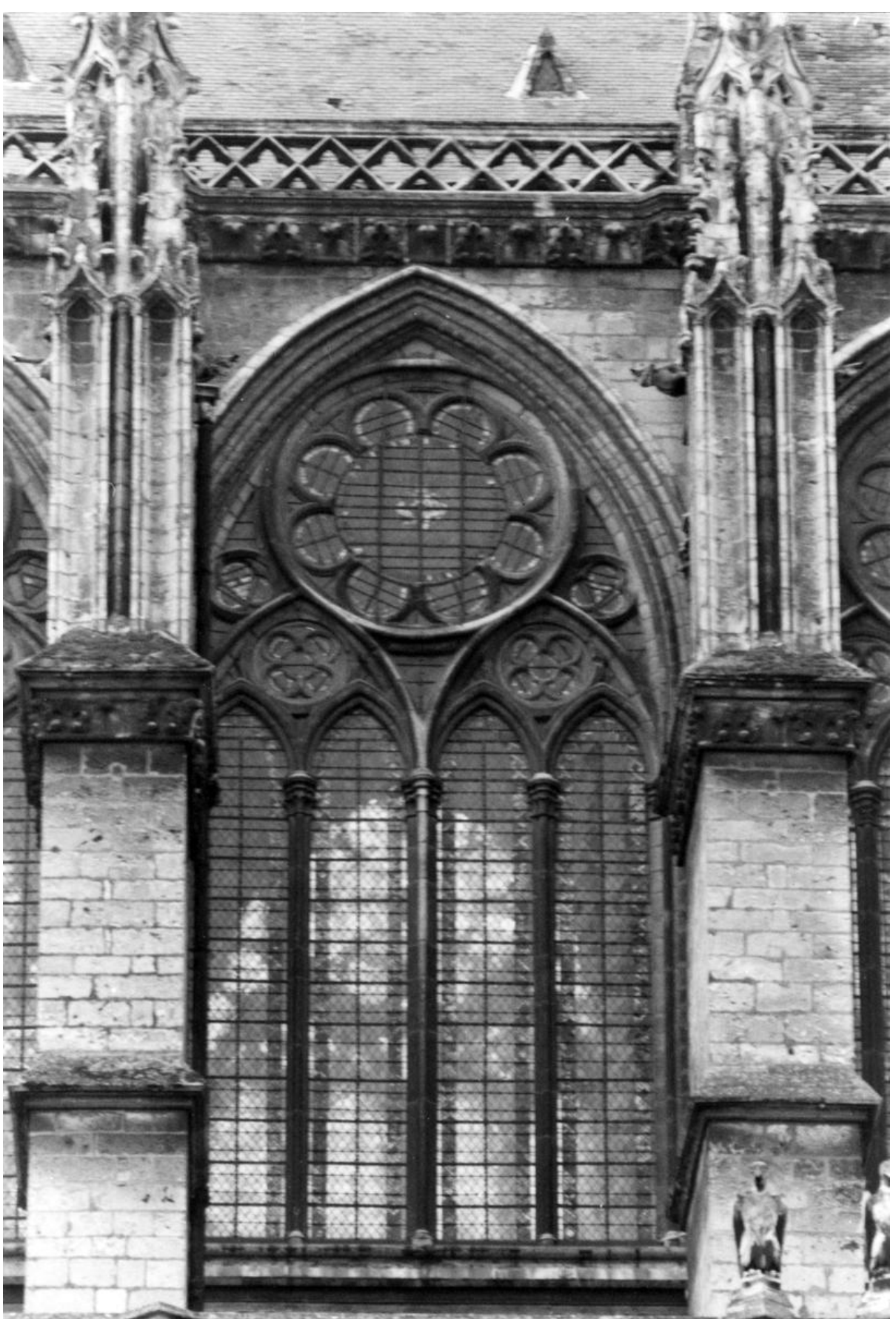


Figure 14



Figure 15

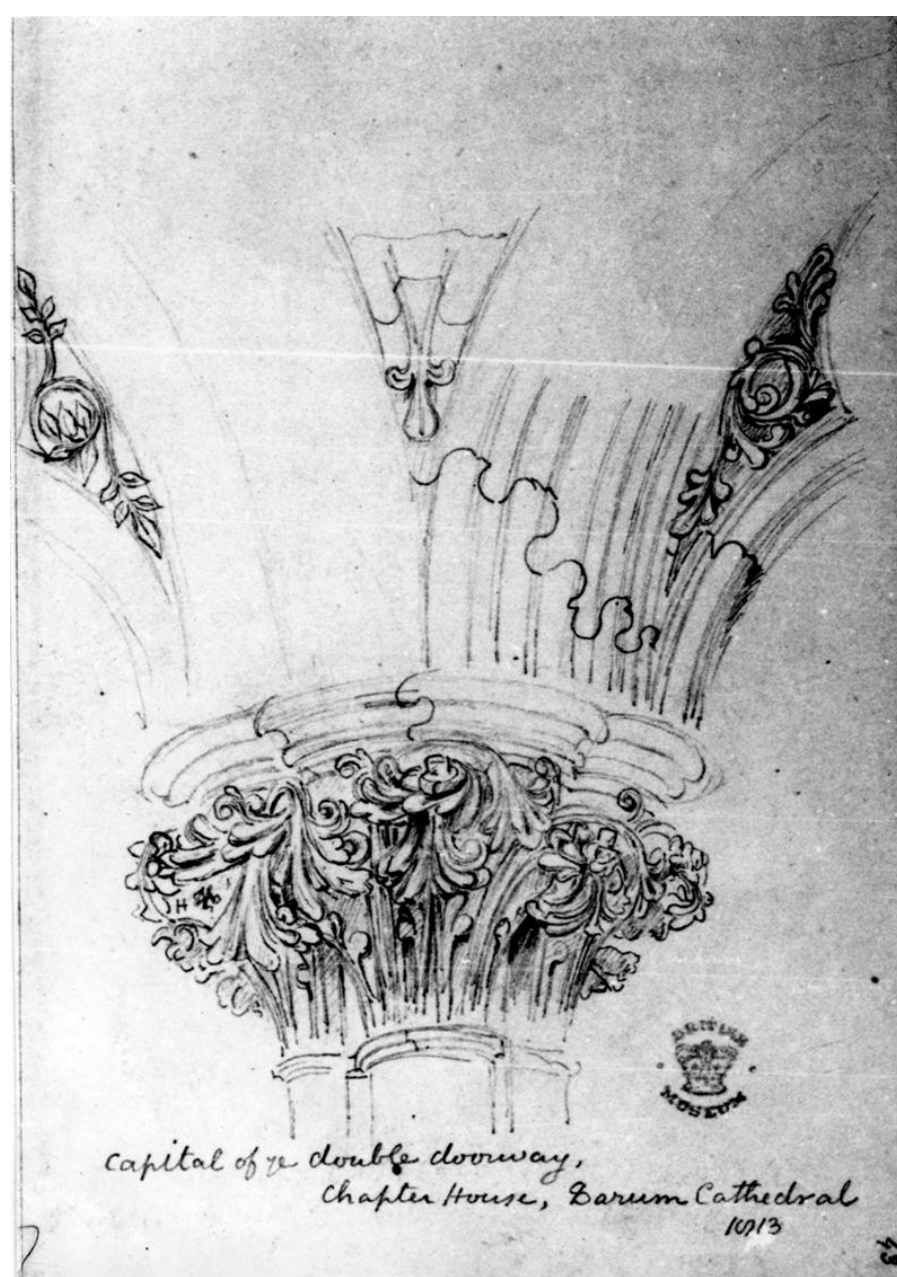
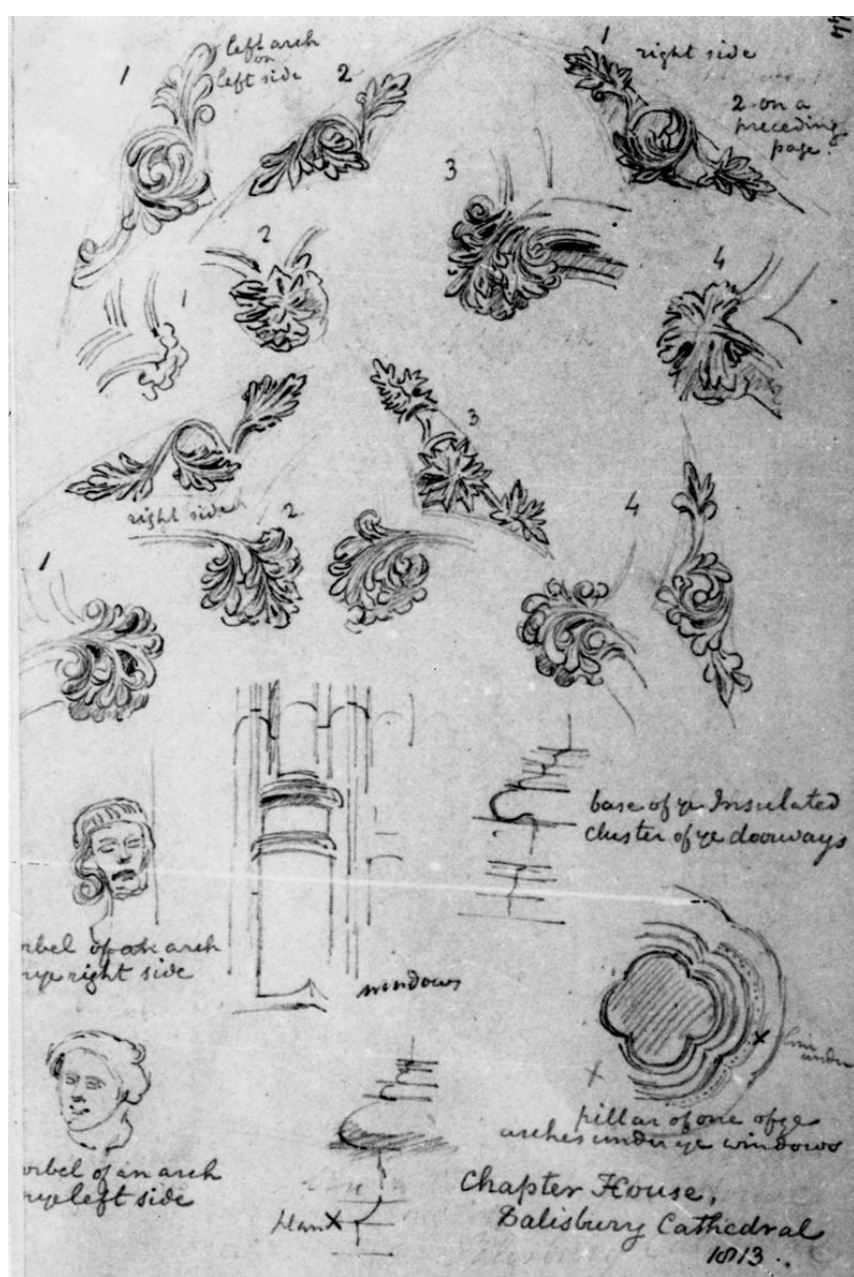
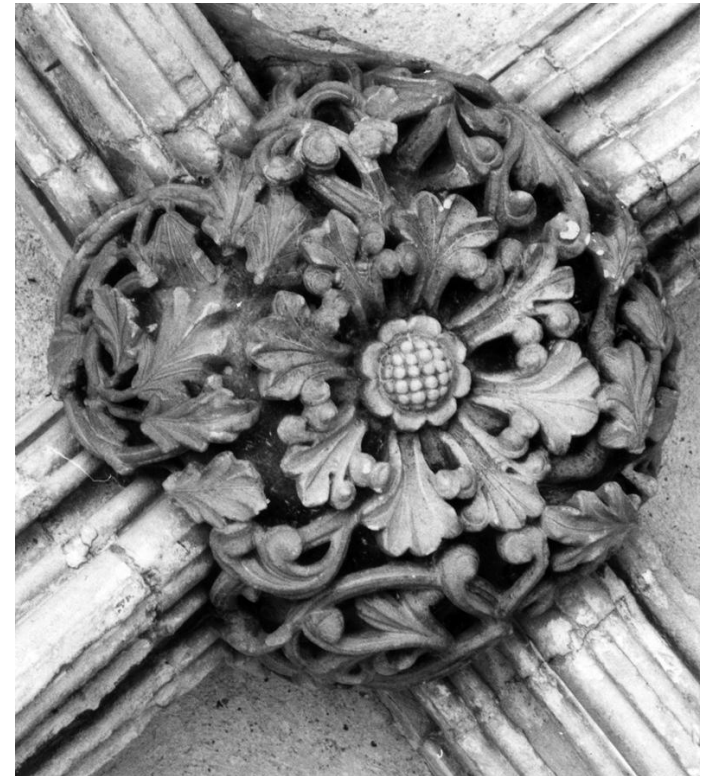
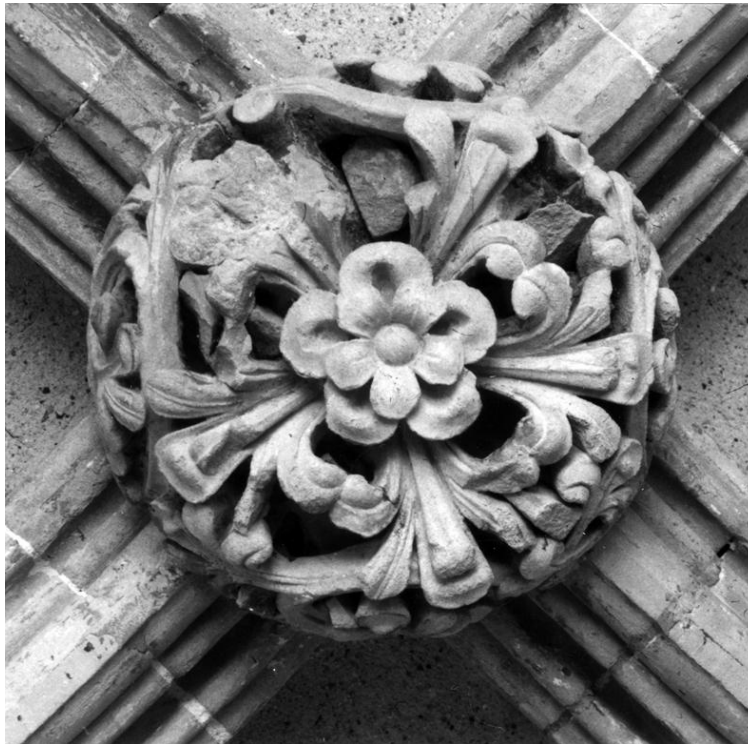


Figure 16 a, b



Figure 17 (top)

Figure 18 a, b
(right)



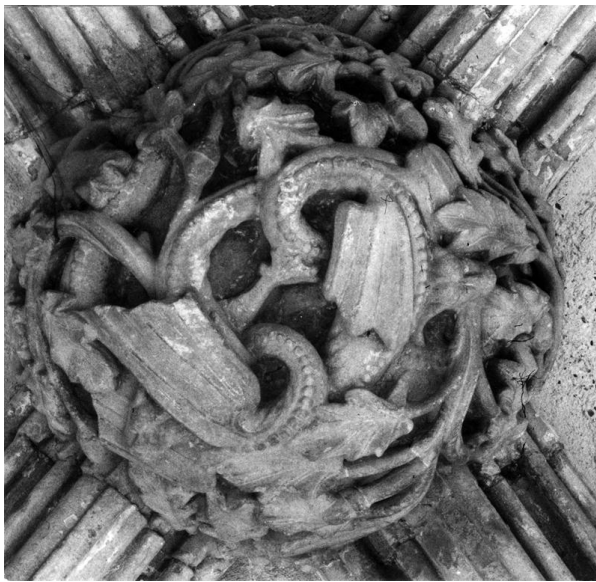


Figure 19 a, b (top row); c, d (middle); e, f (bottom)



Figure 20 a, b (top row); c, d (bottom)

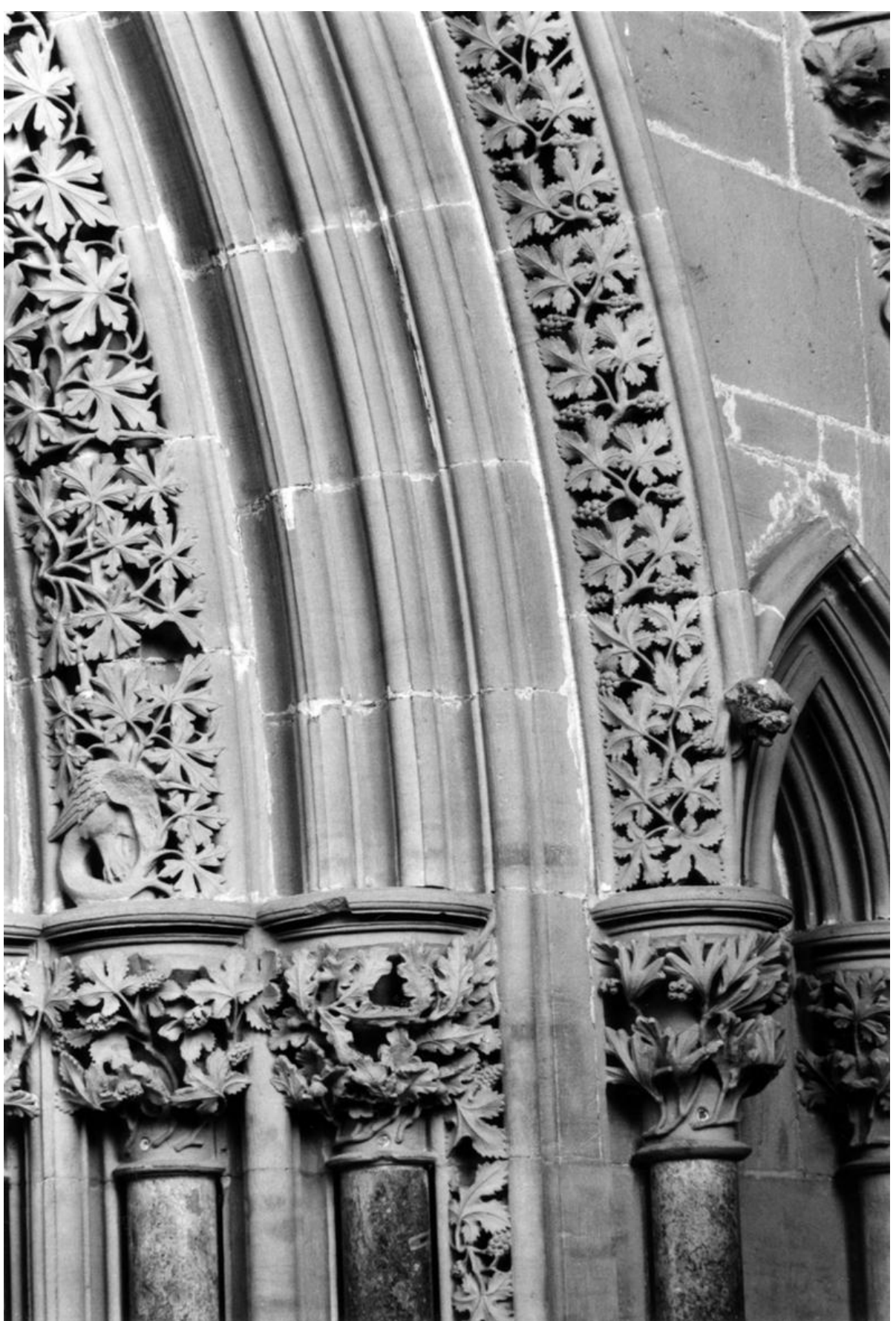


Figure 21



Figure 22 a, b

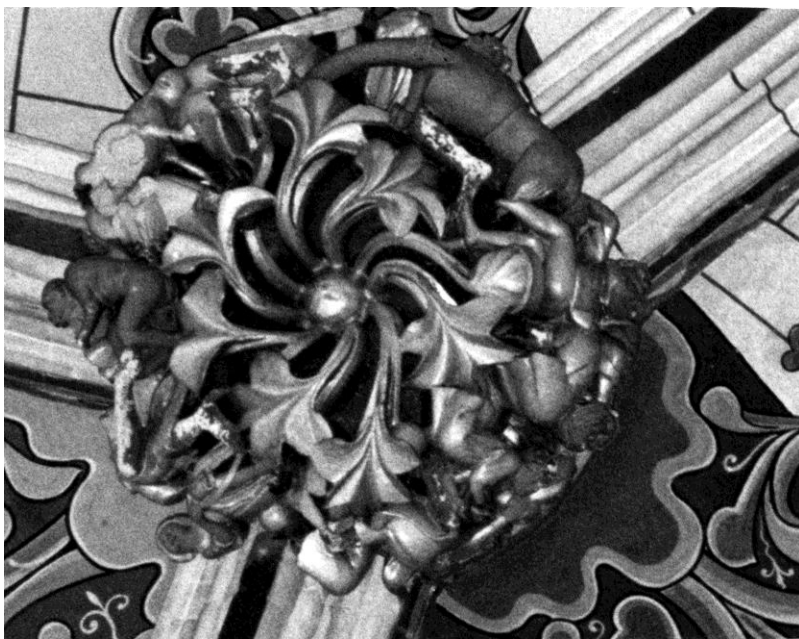


Figure 23 a, b (top row); c, d (bottom)

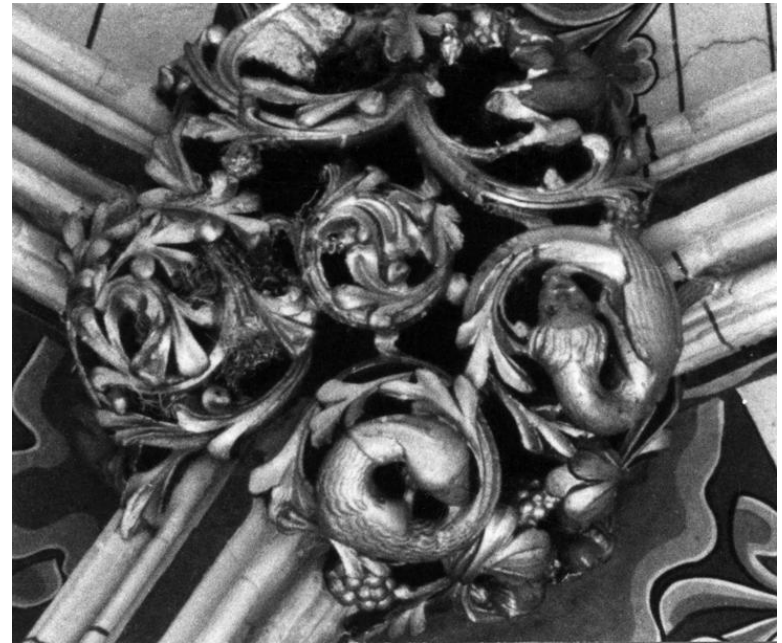


Figure 23 e, f (top row); g, h (bottom)



Figure 24 a (above)

b (right)





Figure 25 (above) ; Figure 26 (below)

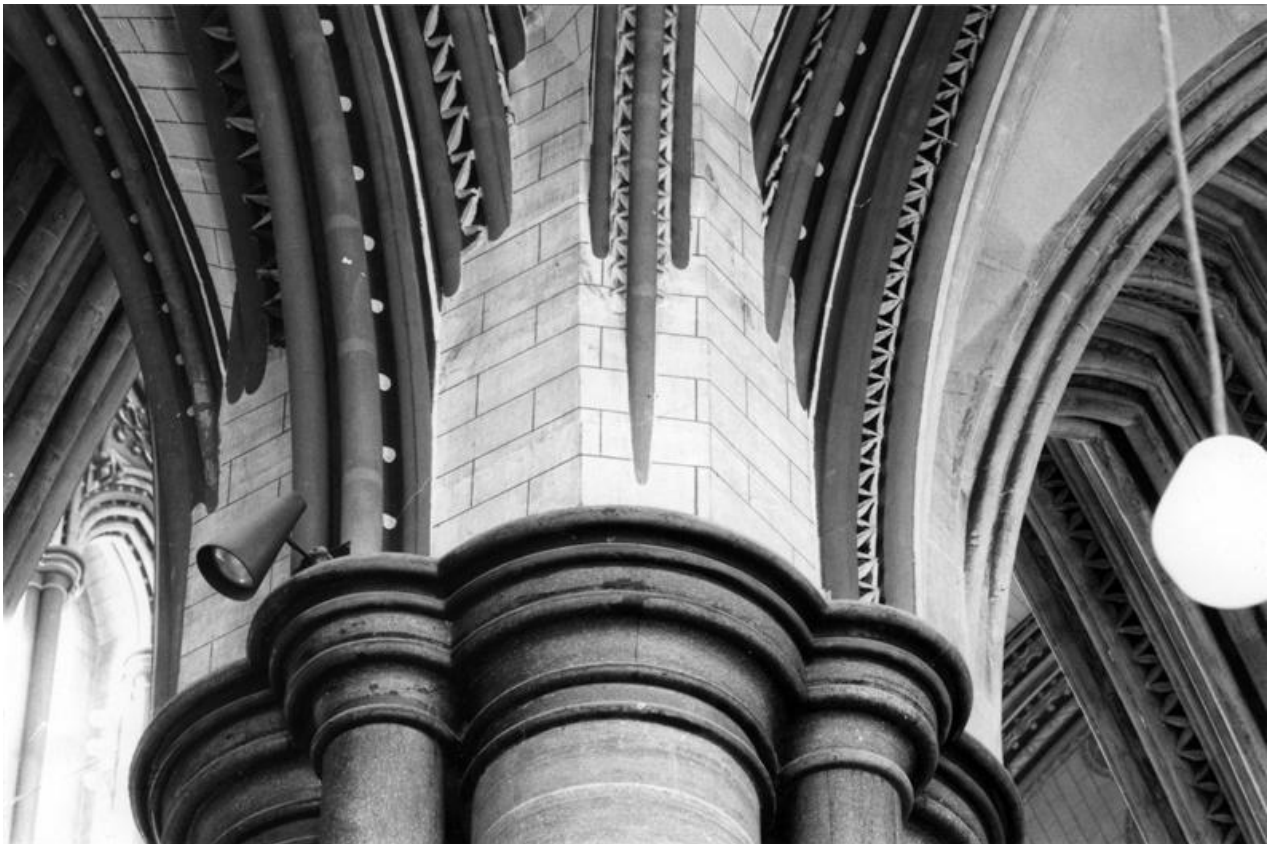




Figure 27

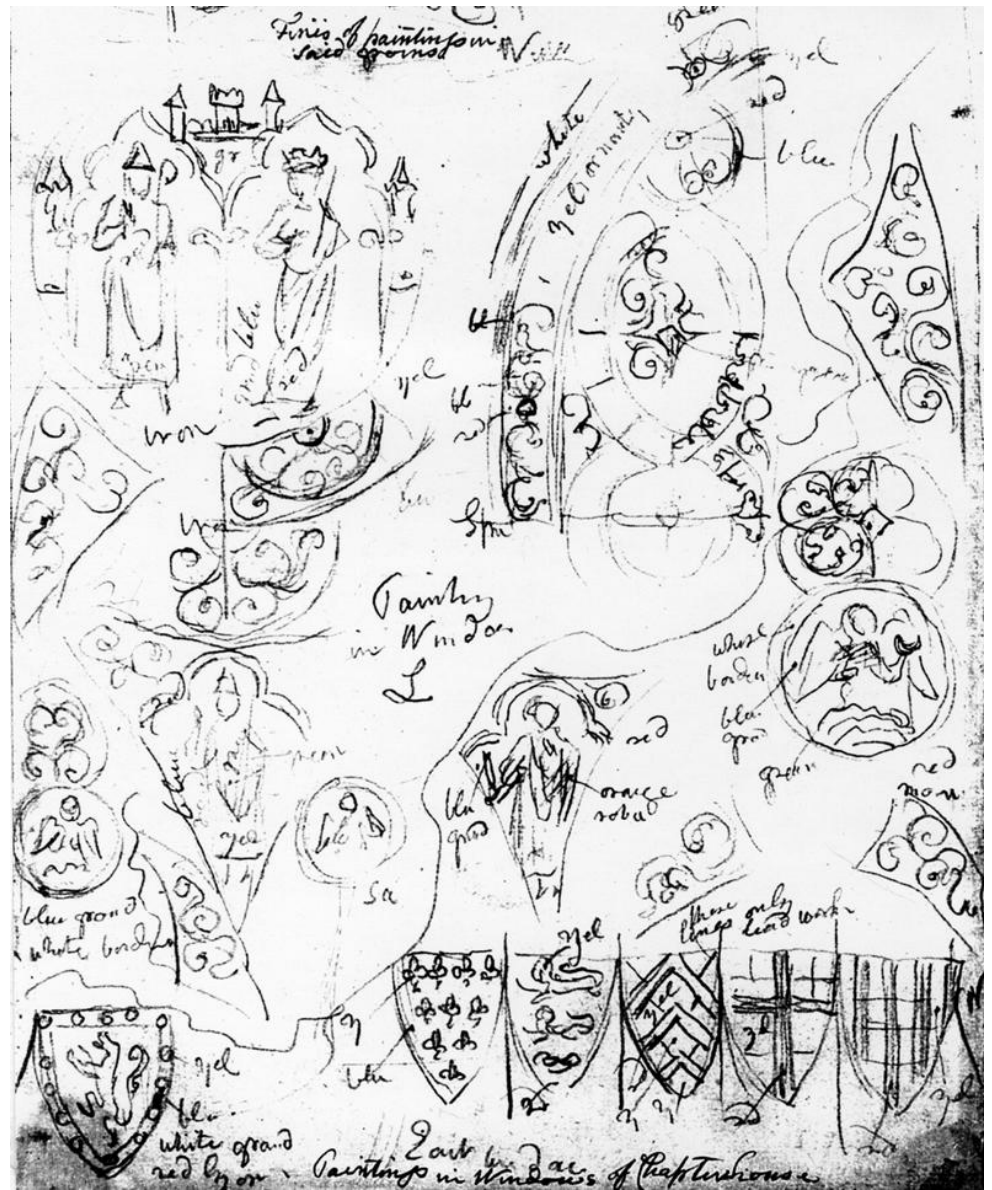
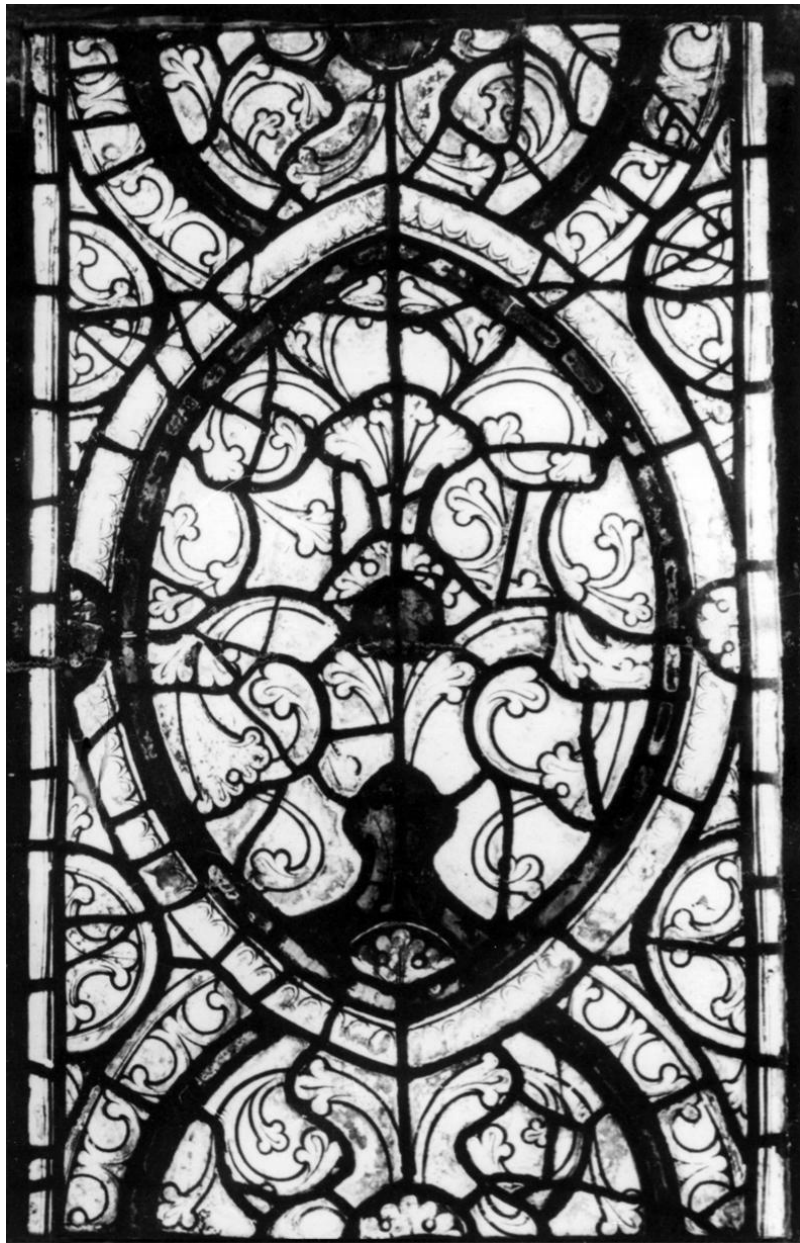


Figure 28 a, b

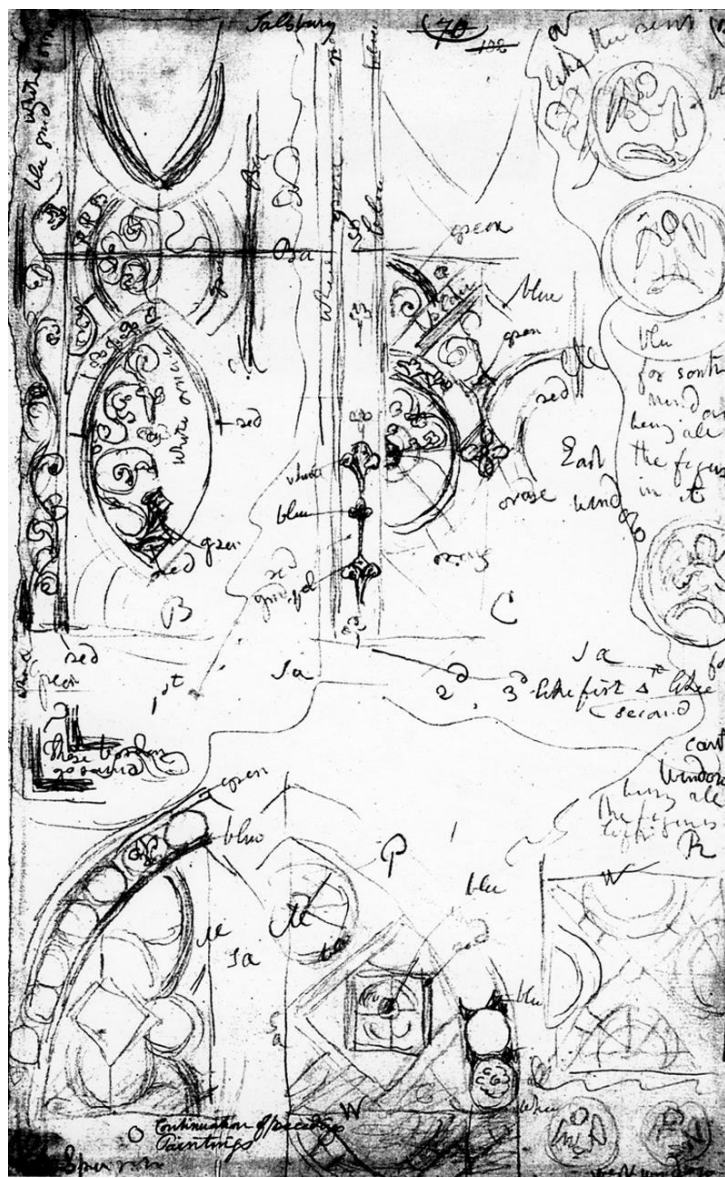


Figure 28 c (left)

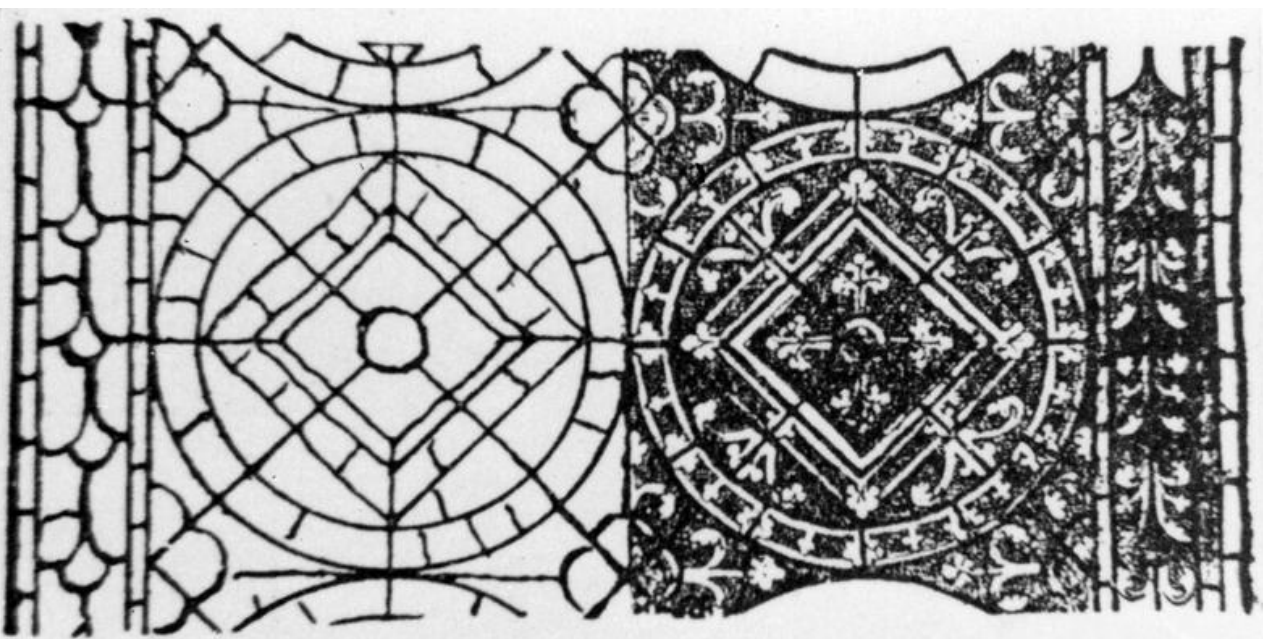


Figure 29 (below)



Figure 30 a (top); b, c (bottom)



Figure 31 a (above), b (top right)

c (bottom right)





Figure 32

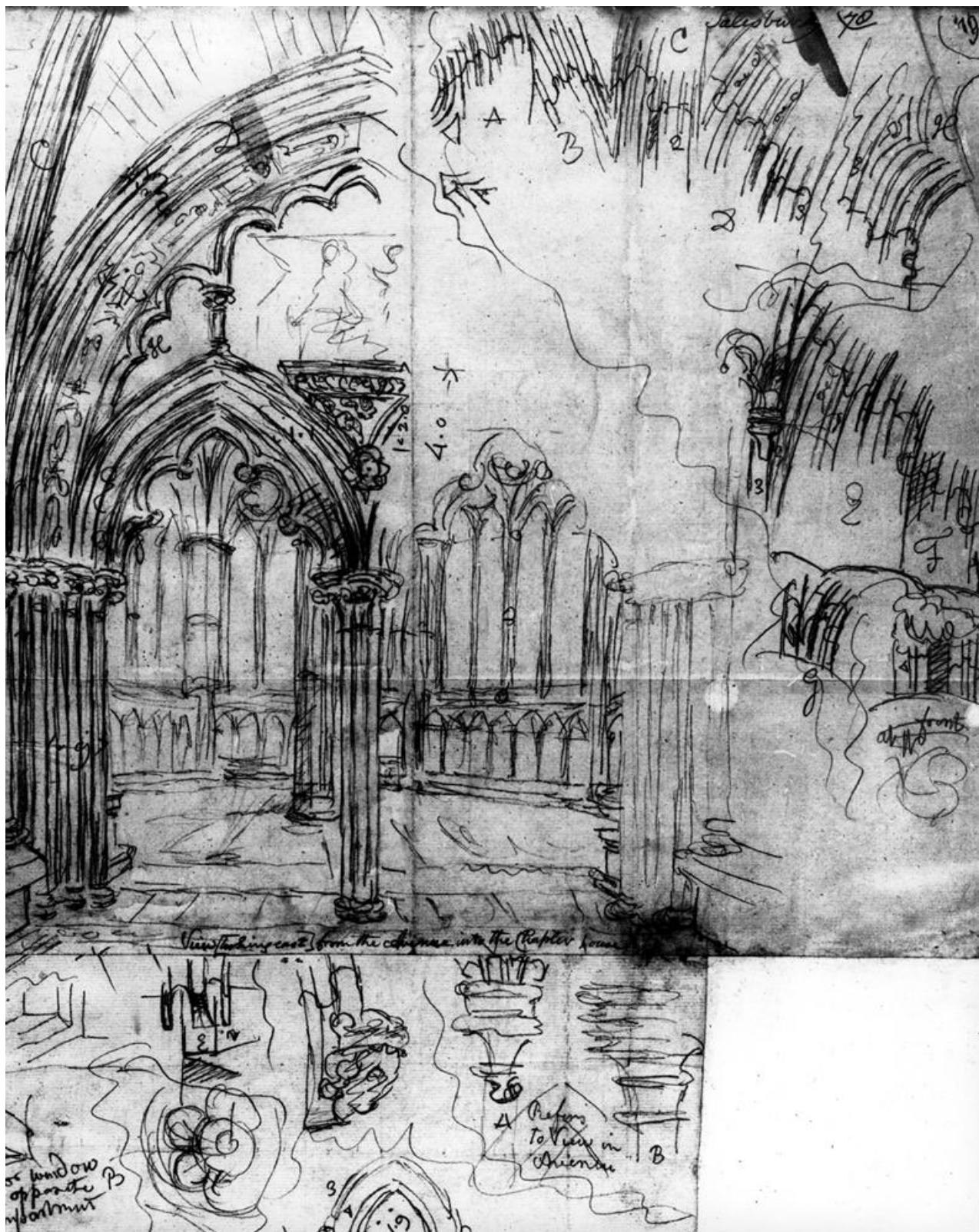


Figure 33

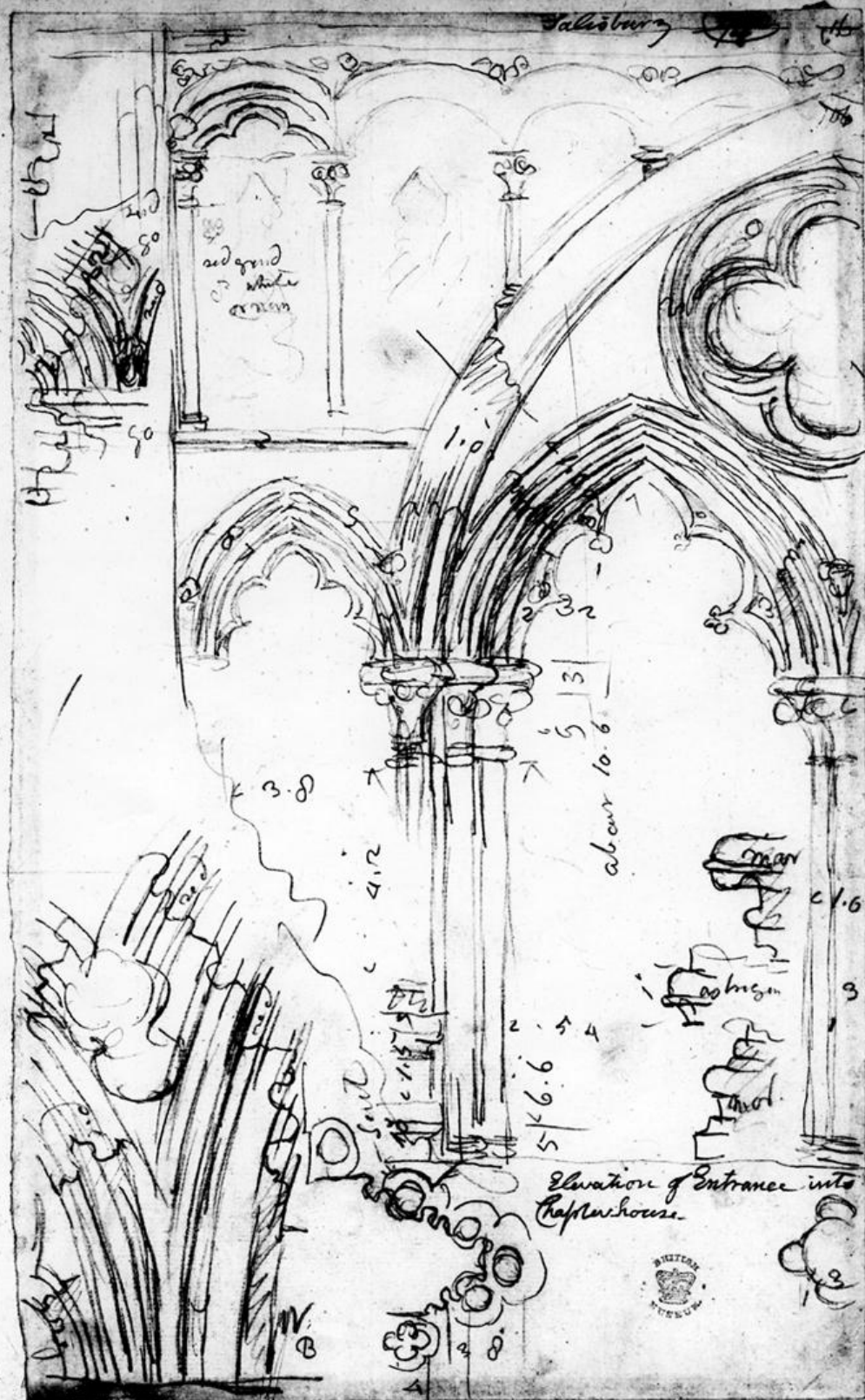


Figure 34



Figure 35 a, b (top row); c, d (bottom row)



Figure 36



Figure 37 a, b



Figure 38



Figure 39 a, b

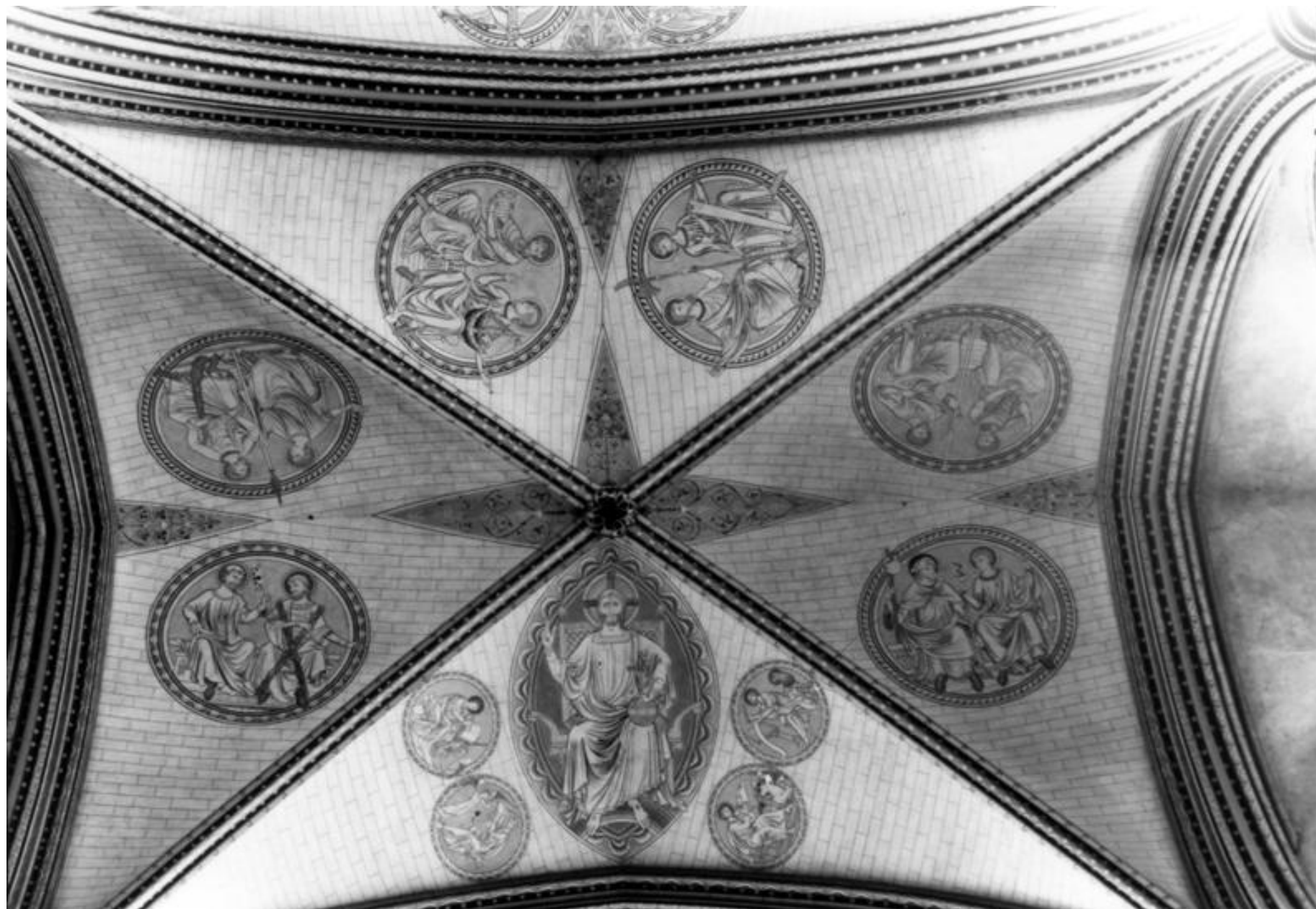


Figure 40

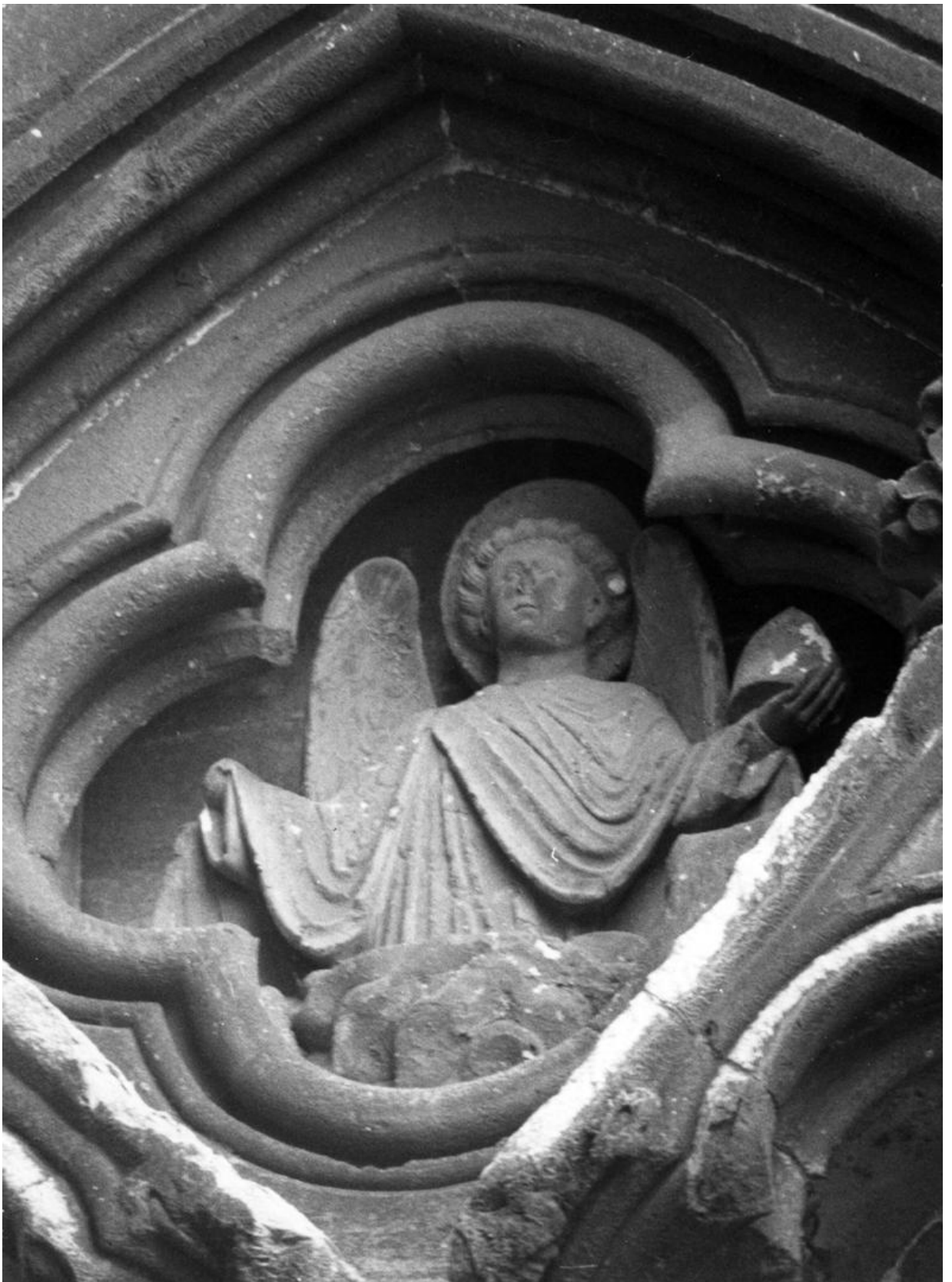


Figure 41

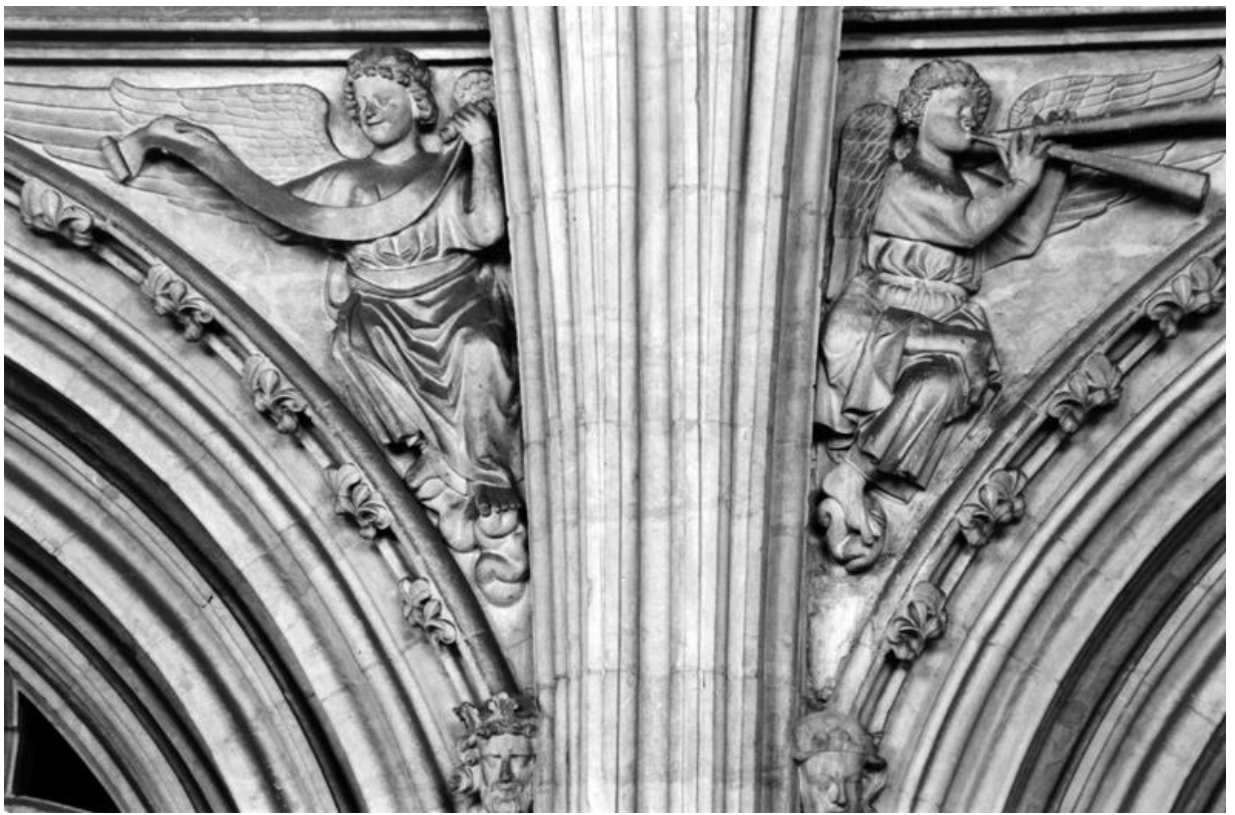


Figure 42 a, b



Figure 43

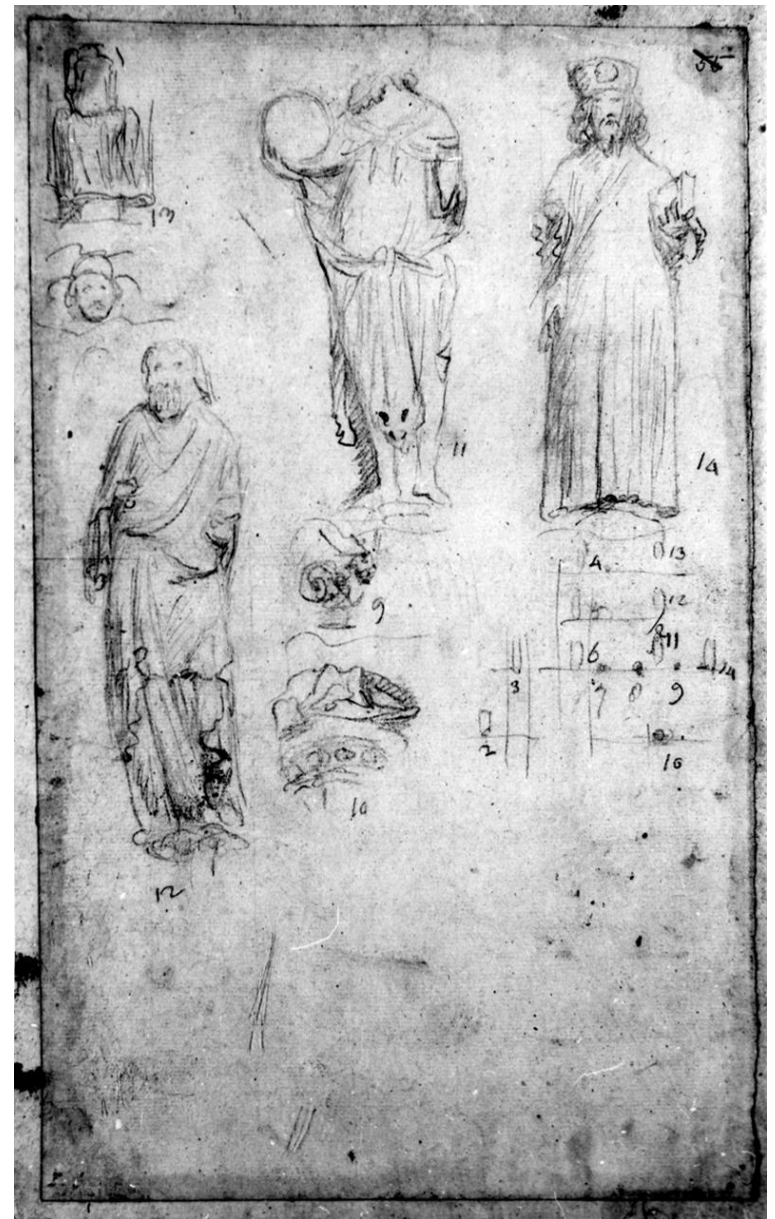
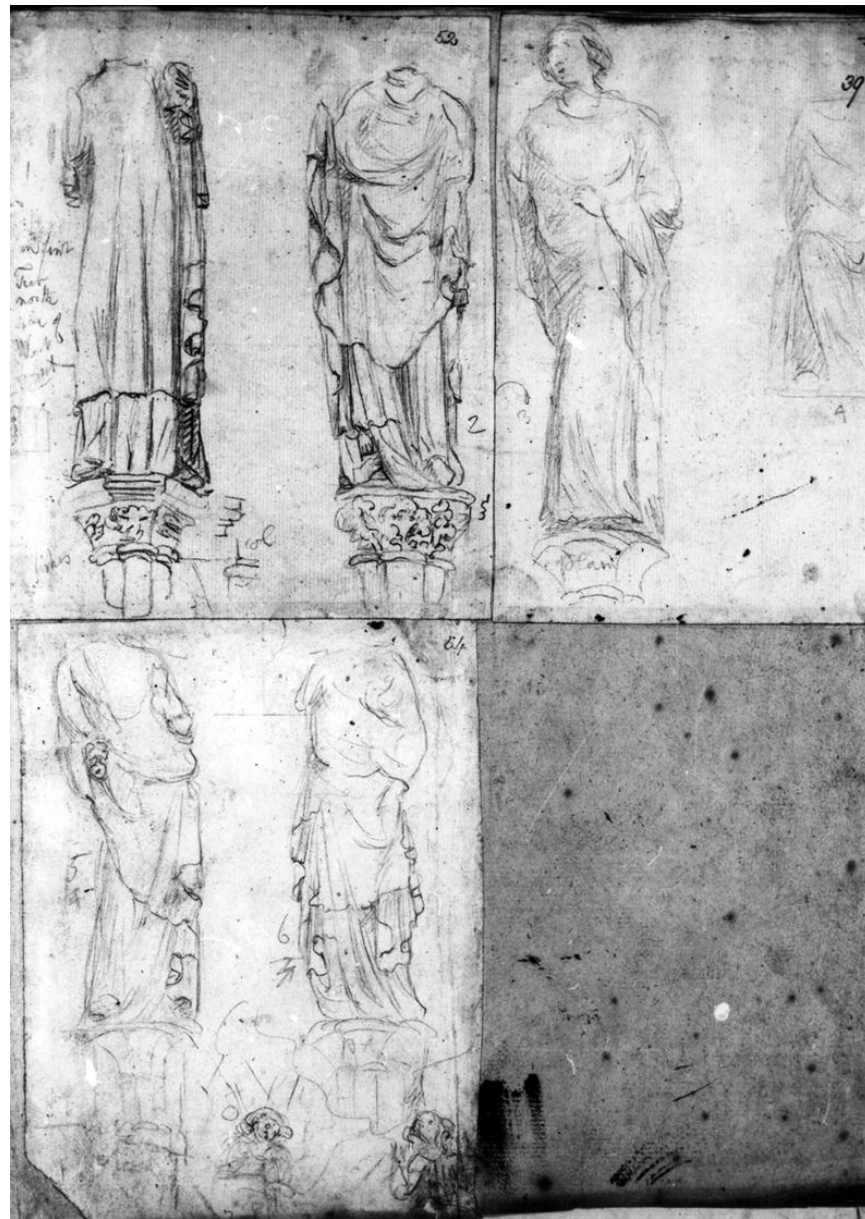


Figure 44 a, b

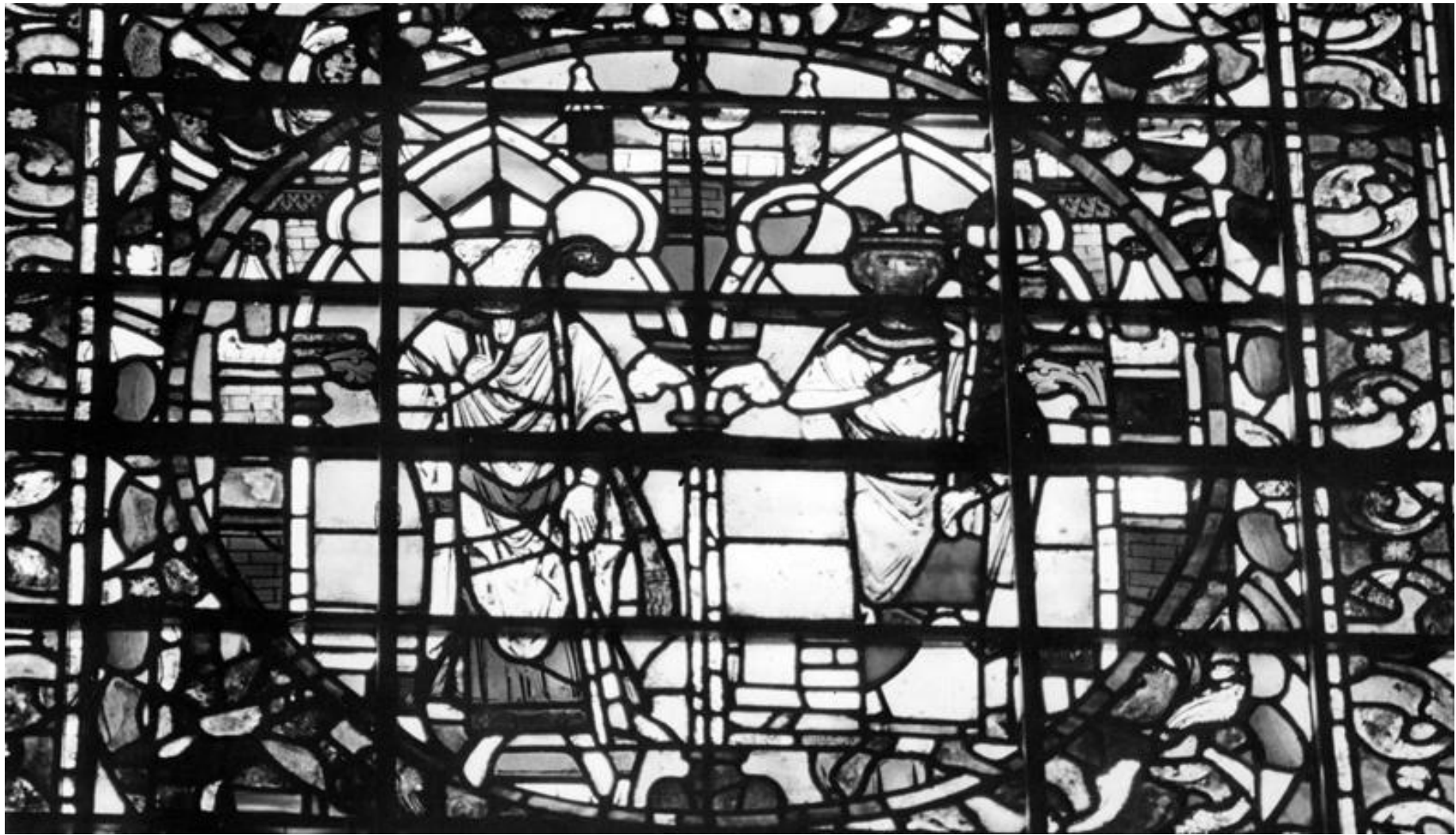


Figure 45



Figure 46



Figure 47 a (top), b (right)





Figure 48



Figure 49

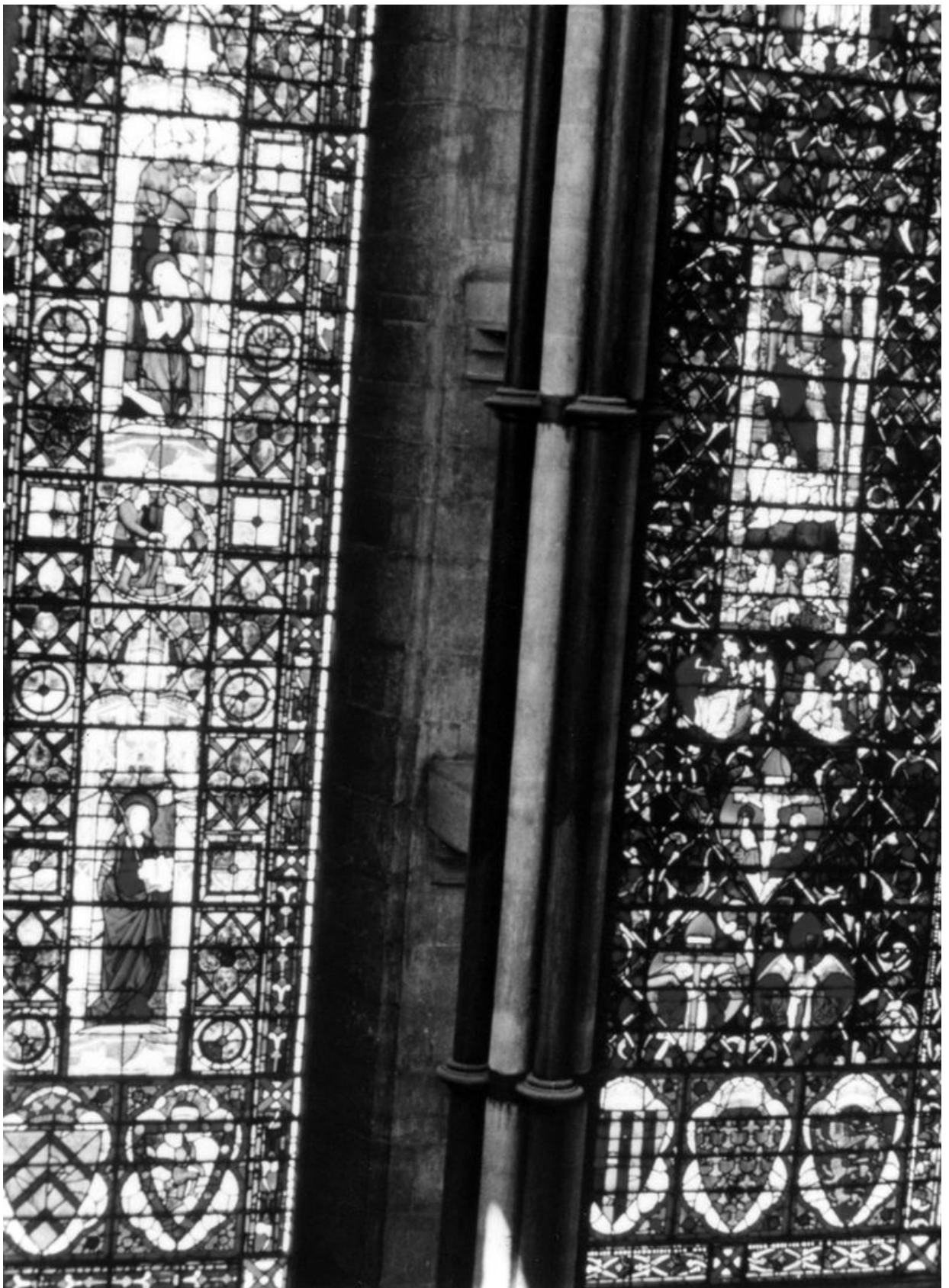


Figure 50

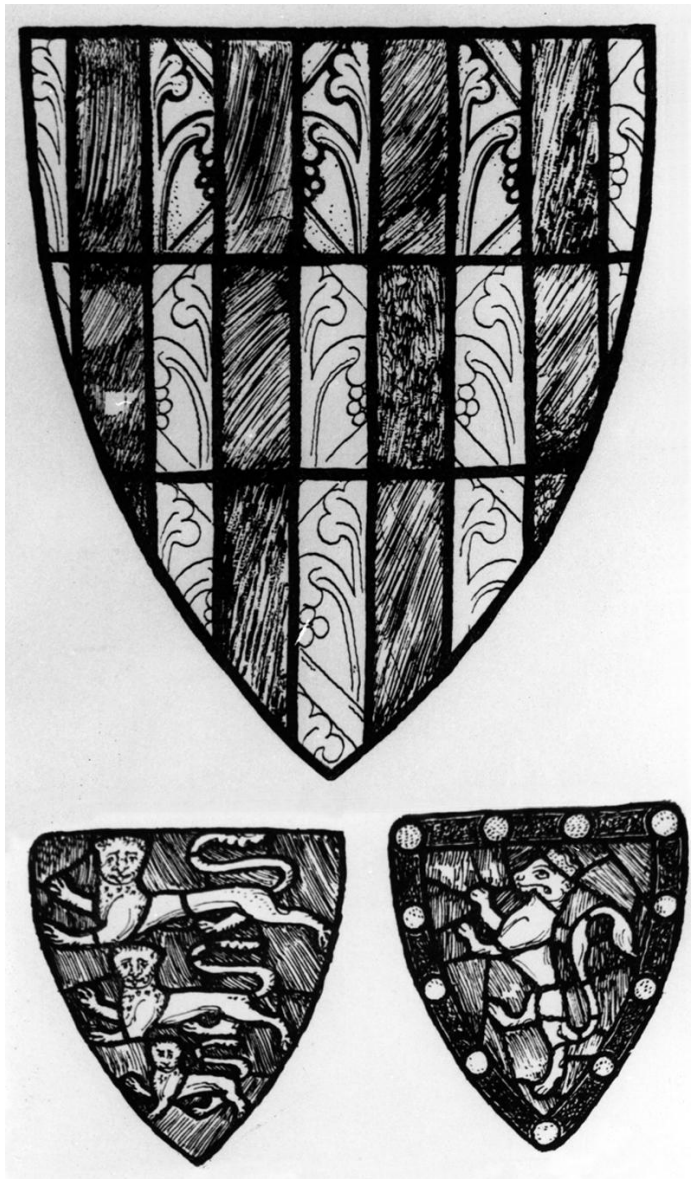
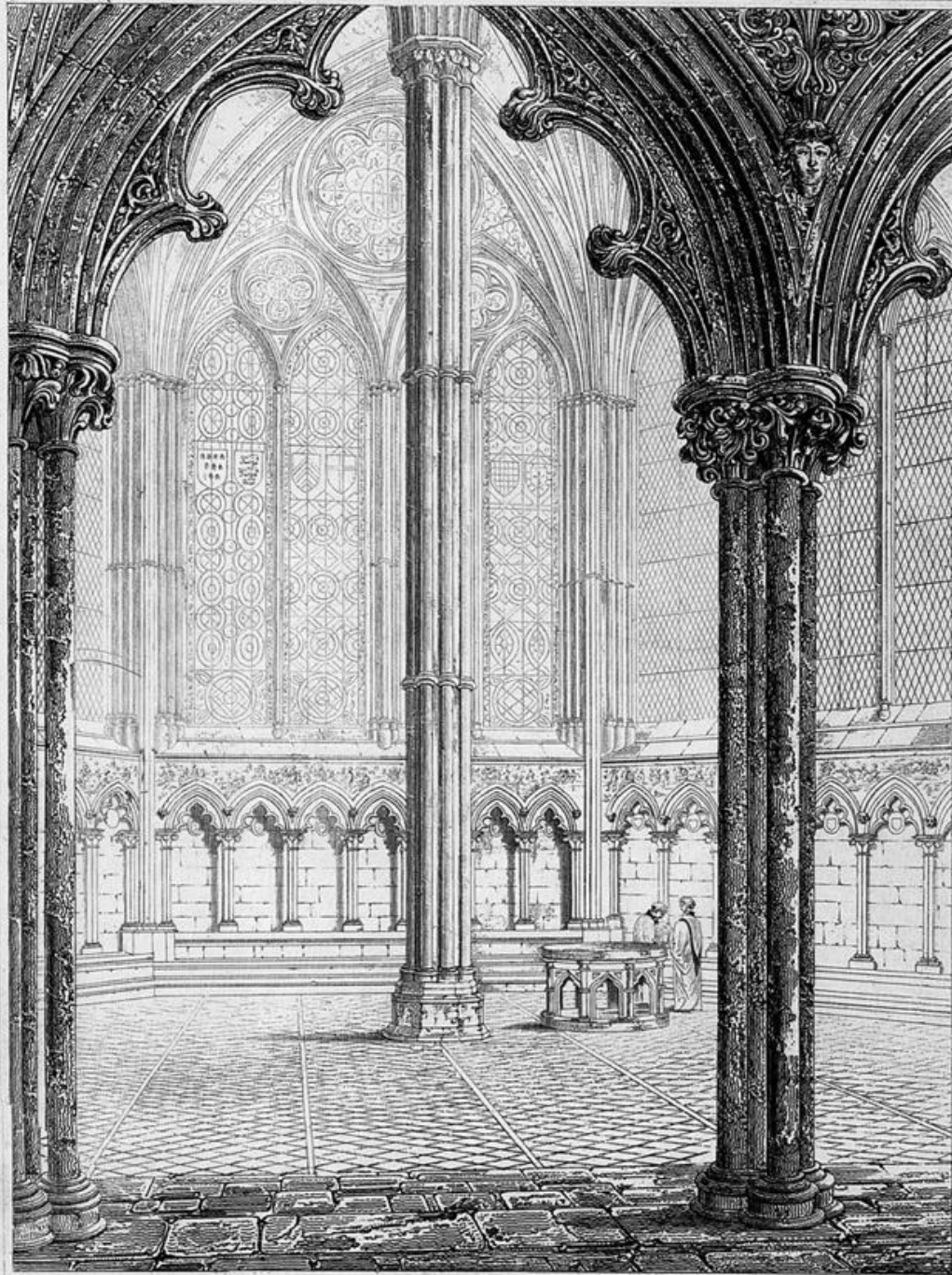


Figure 51 a (left), b (above)



Drawn by H. Cattermole.

Etched by J. Le Keux.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

VIEW LOOKING INTO THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

JO THOMAS GRIMSTONE ESTCOURT, ESQ. M.P. FOR DEVILS.

This Plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR.

London, Printed March 1830, by Longman & Co. Stationers, &c.

Figure 52



Figure 53 a, b (top row); c, d (bottom)



Figure 53 e, f (top)

g (left)

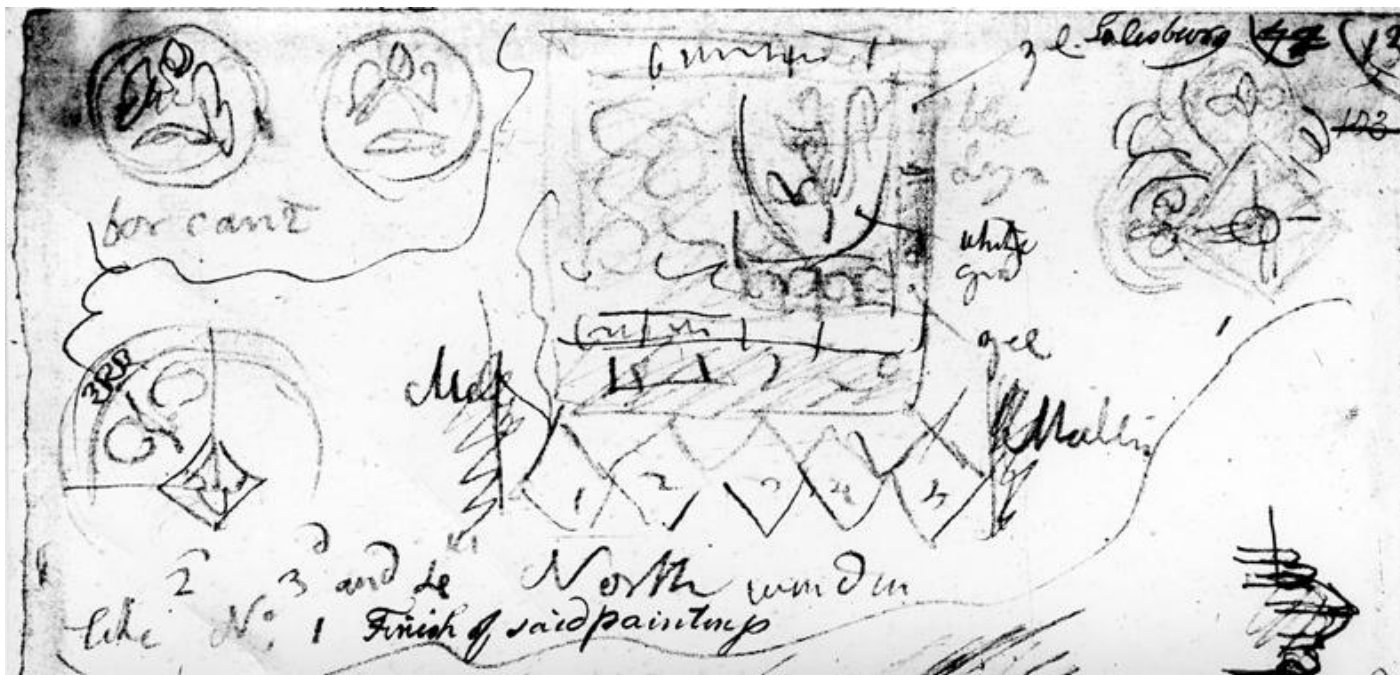
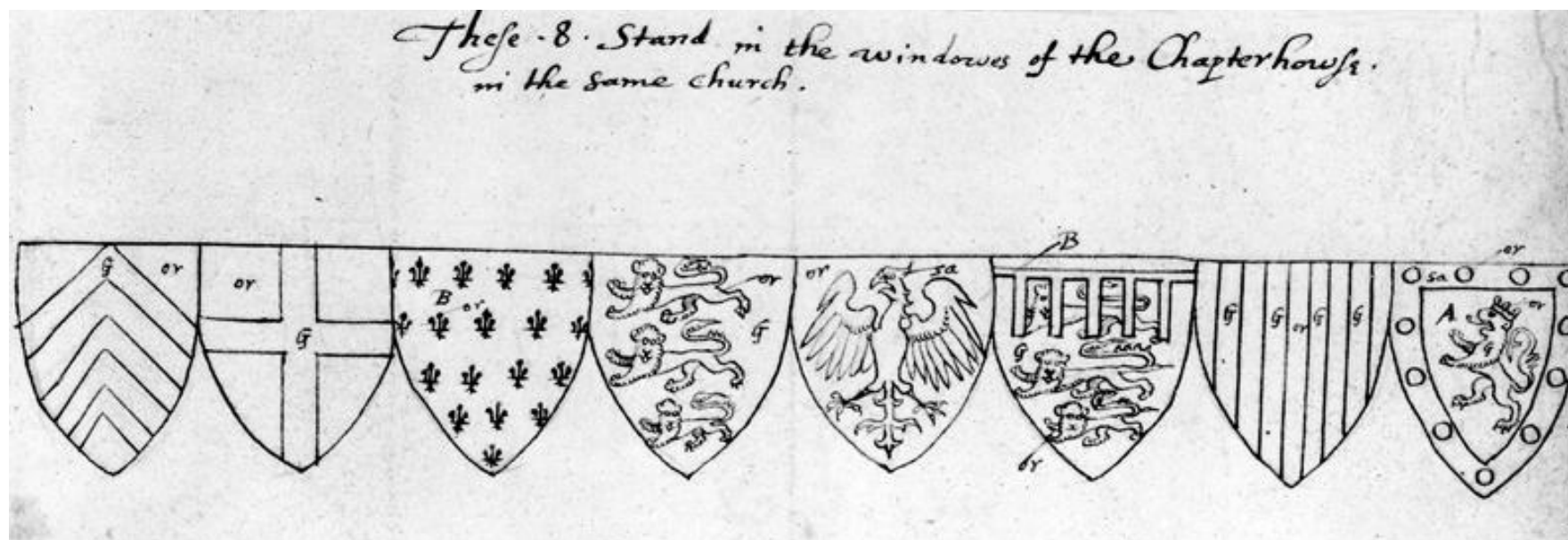


Figure 54 (above); Figure 55 (below)



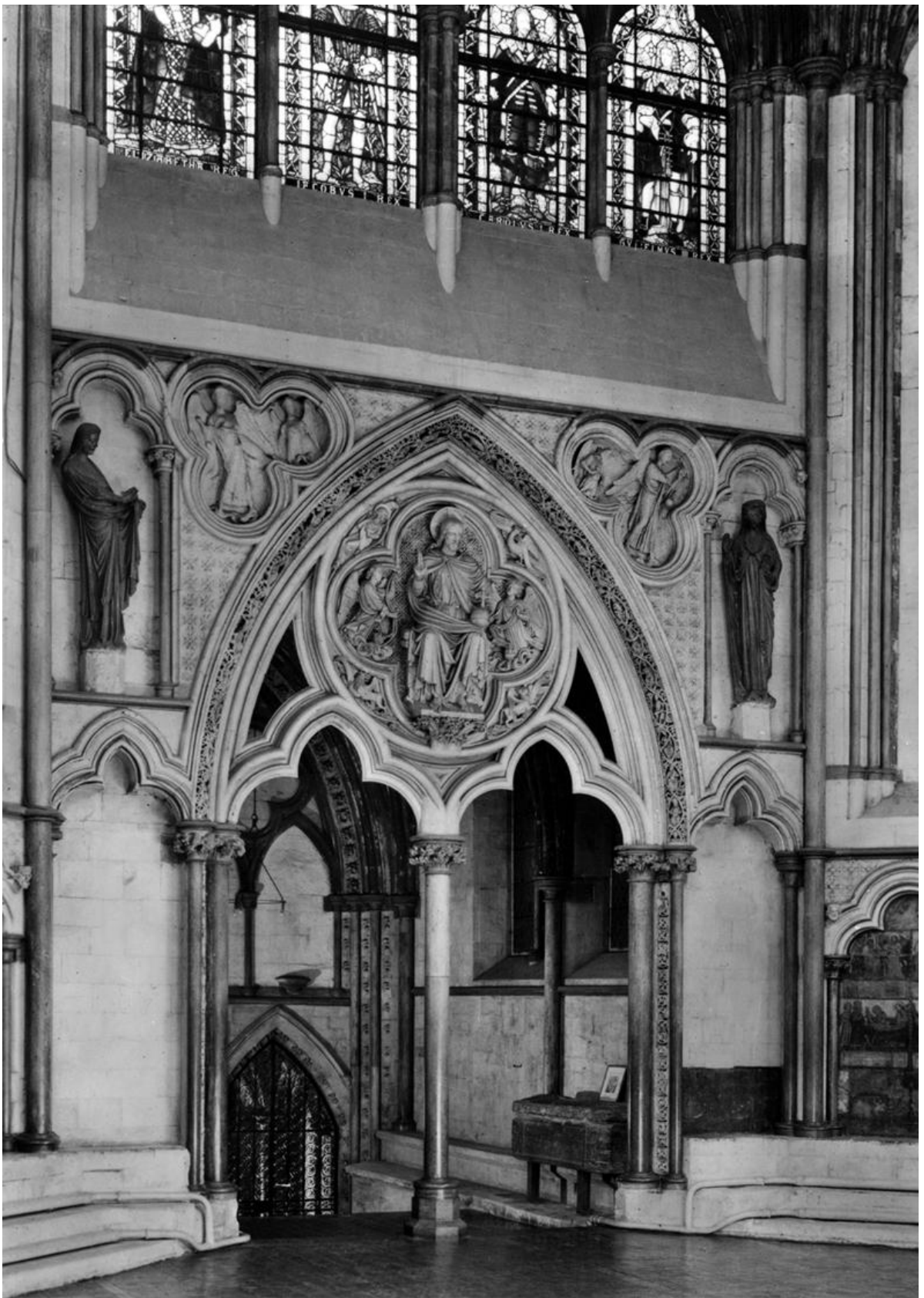


Figure 56

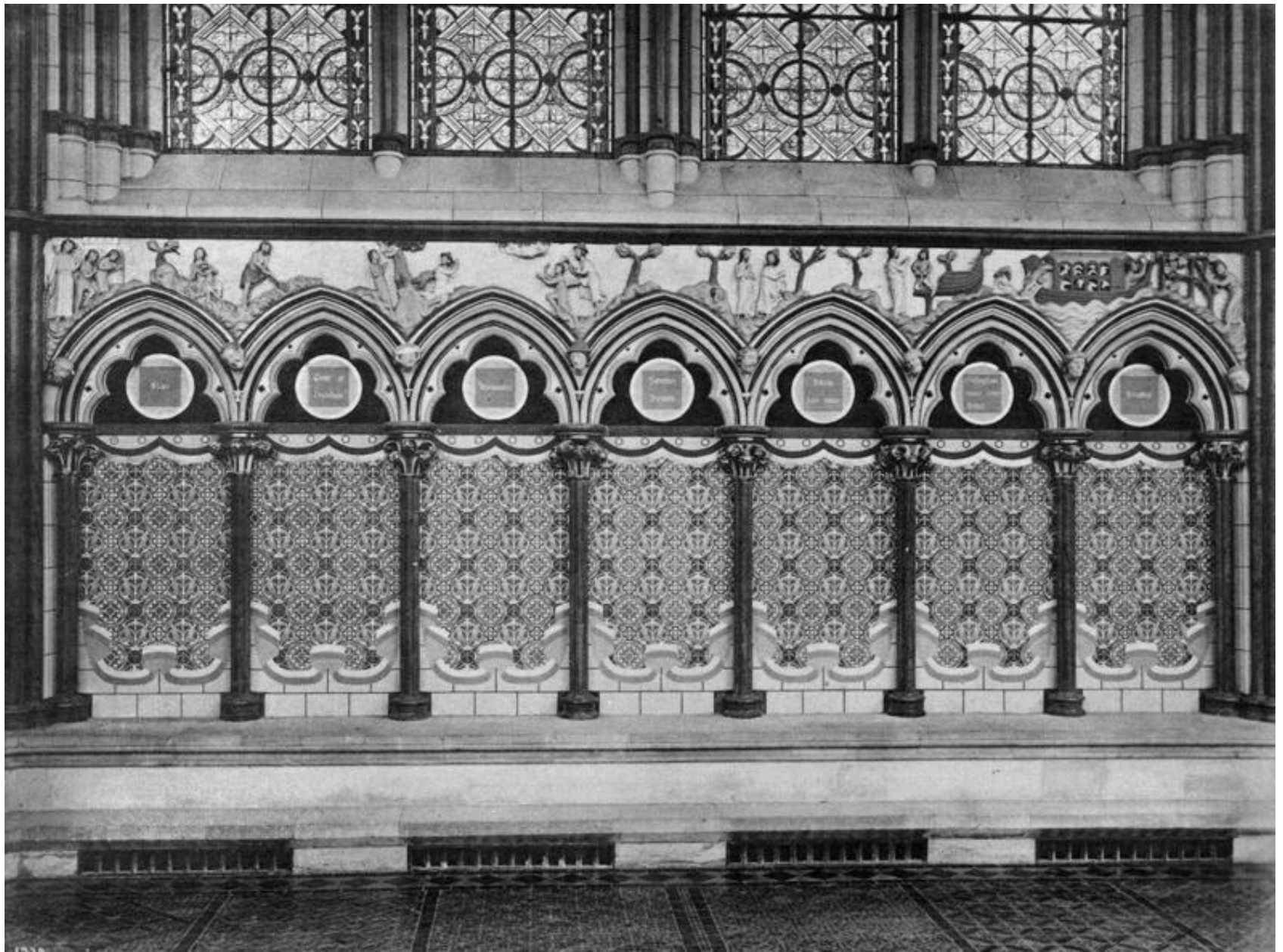


Figure 57



Figure 58



Figure 59

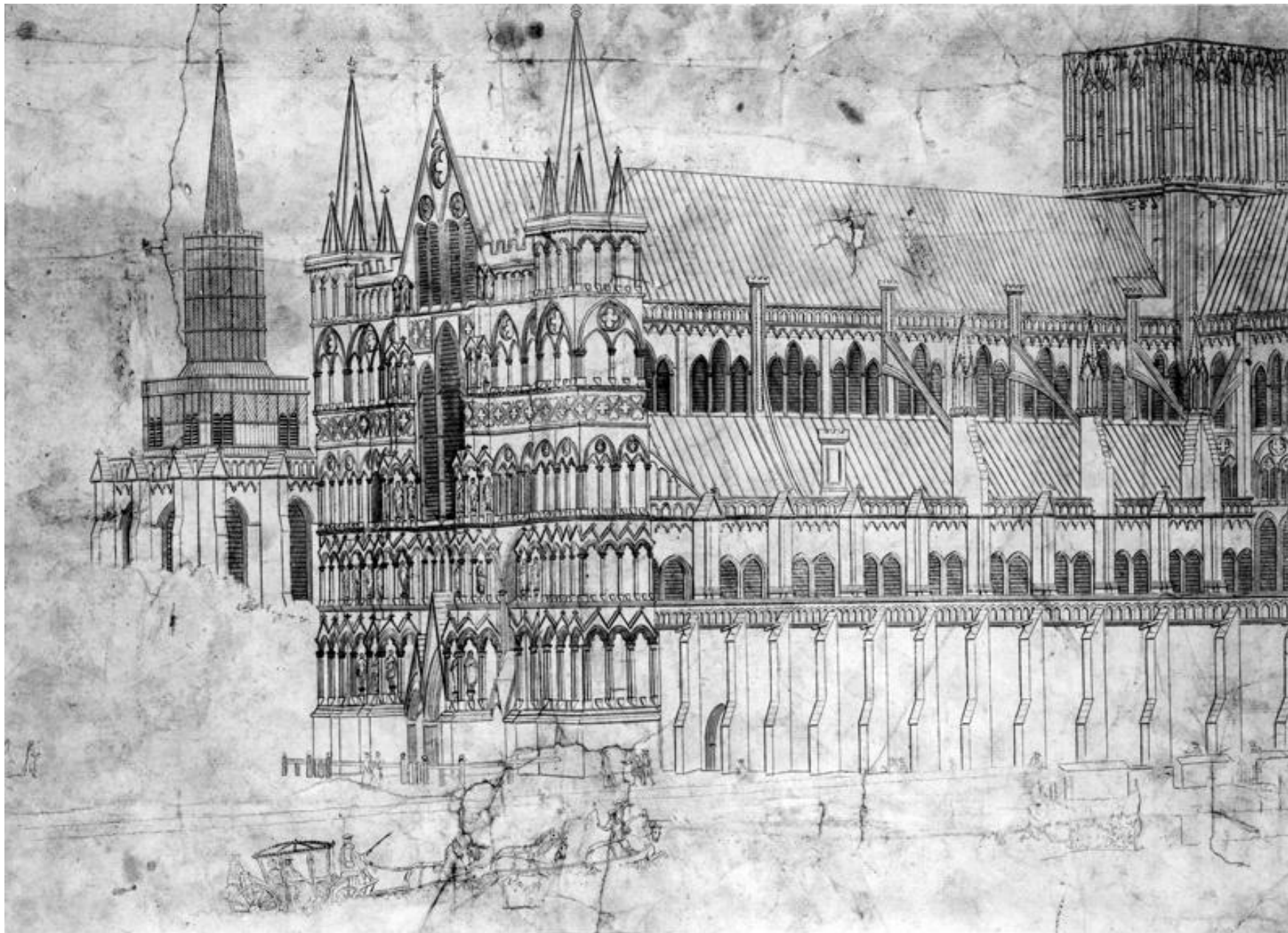


Figure 60



Figure 61 a (above), b (top right)

c (bottom right)



Figure 62 a, b

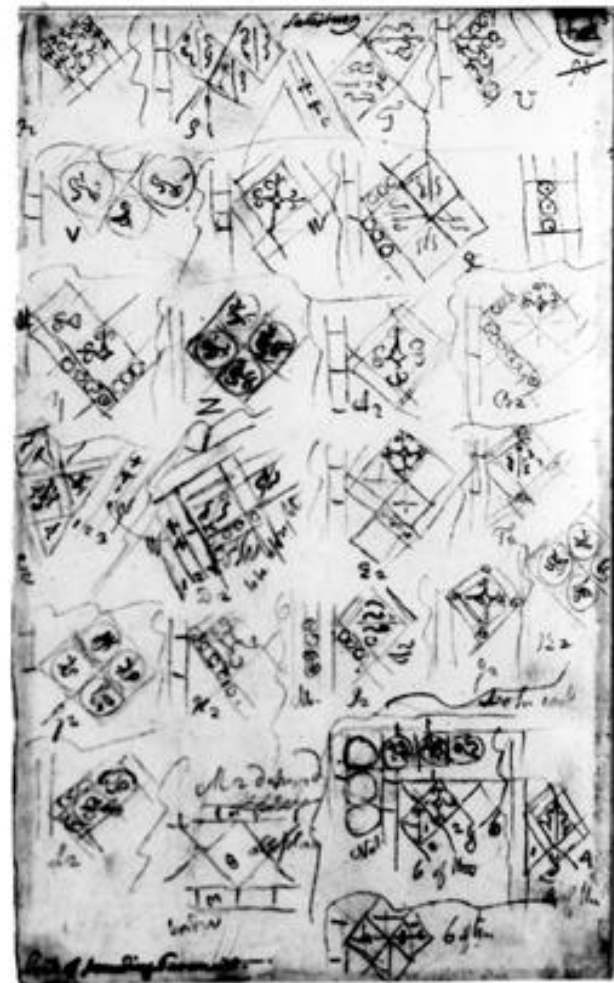
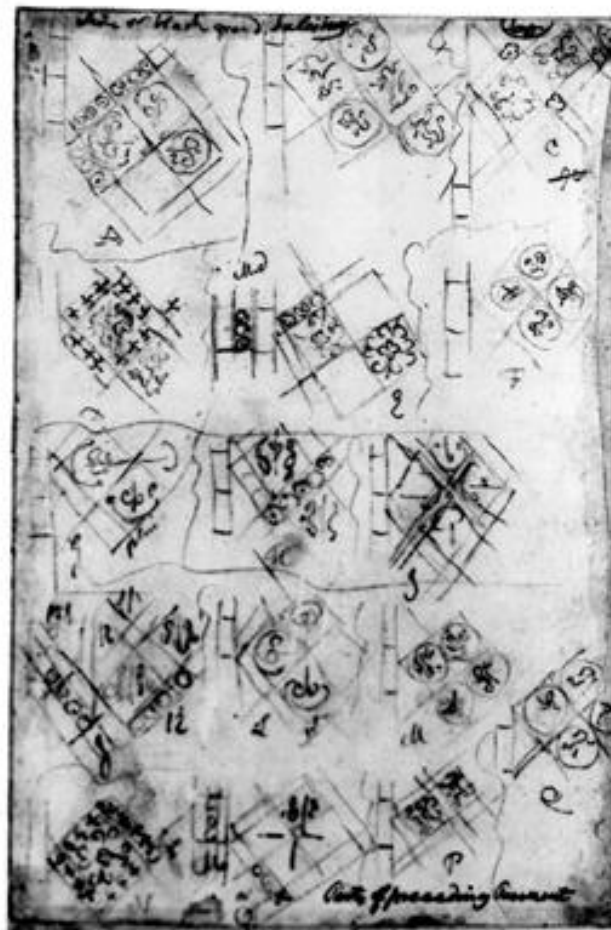
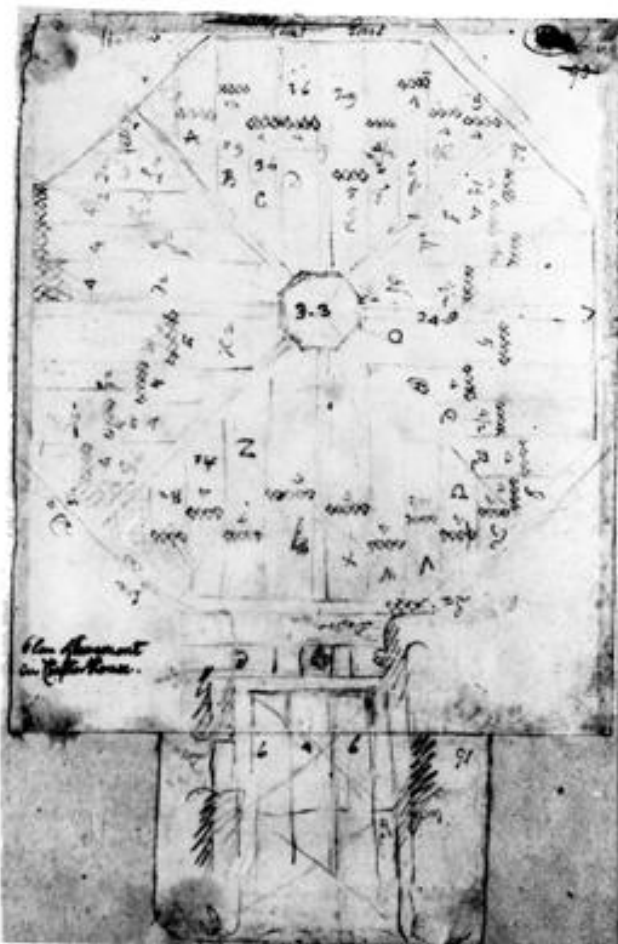


Figure 63



Figure 64 a, b

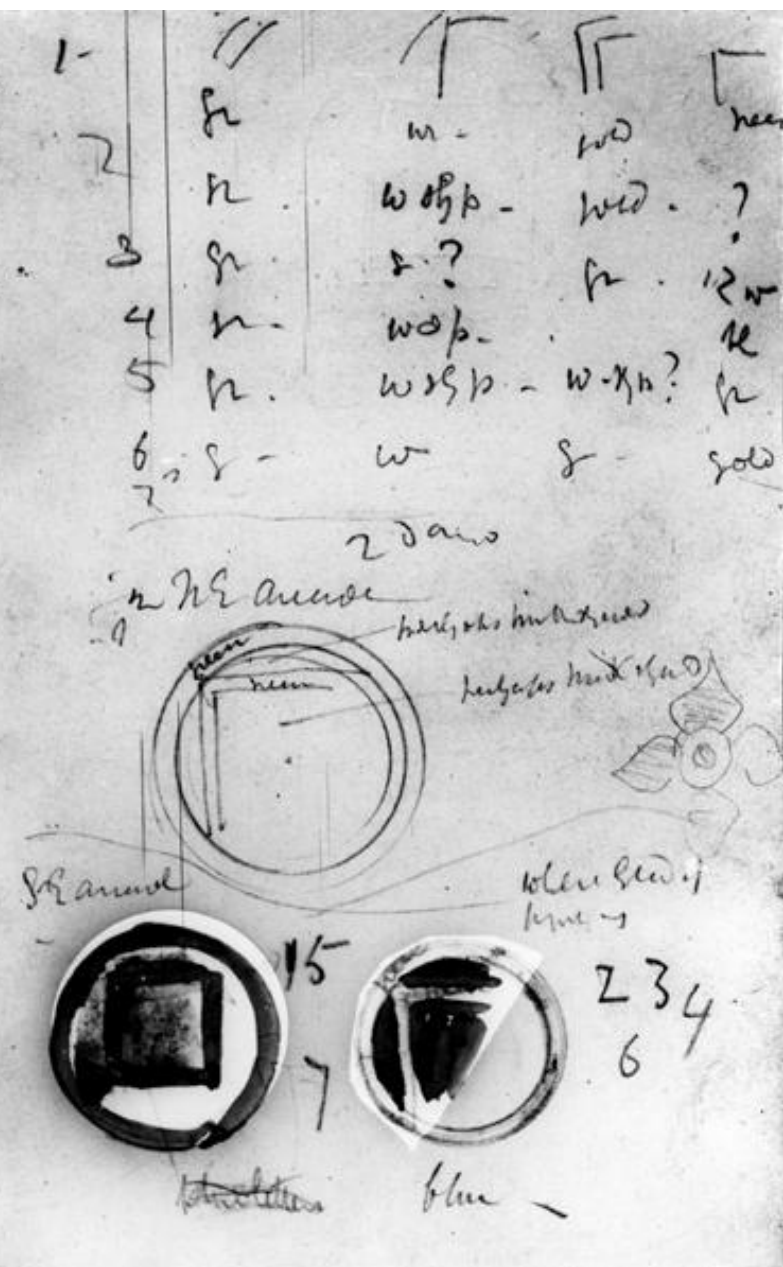
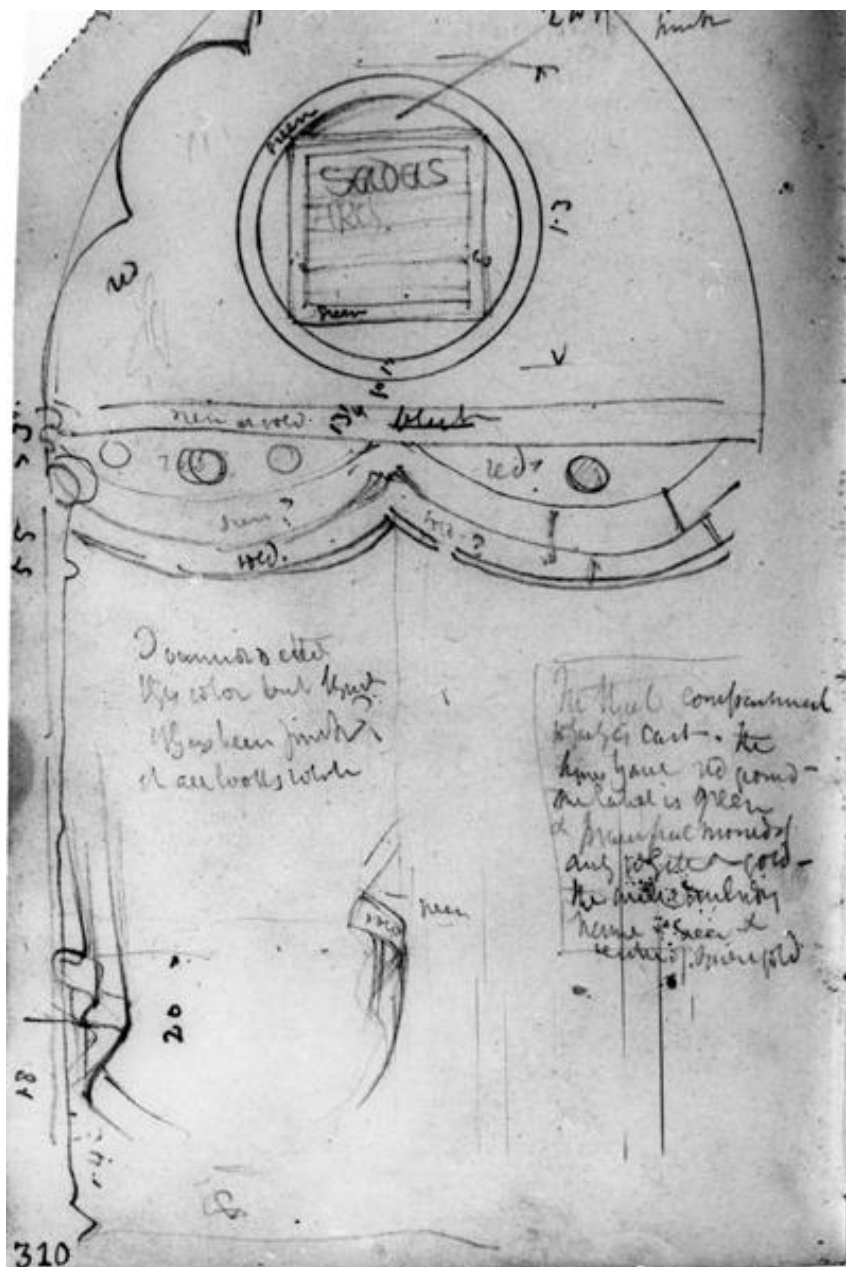


Figure 65



Figure 66 a, b

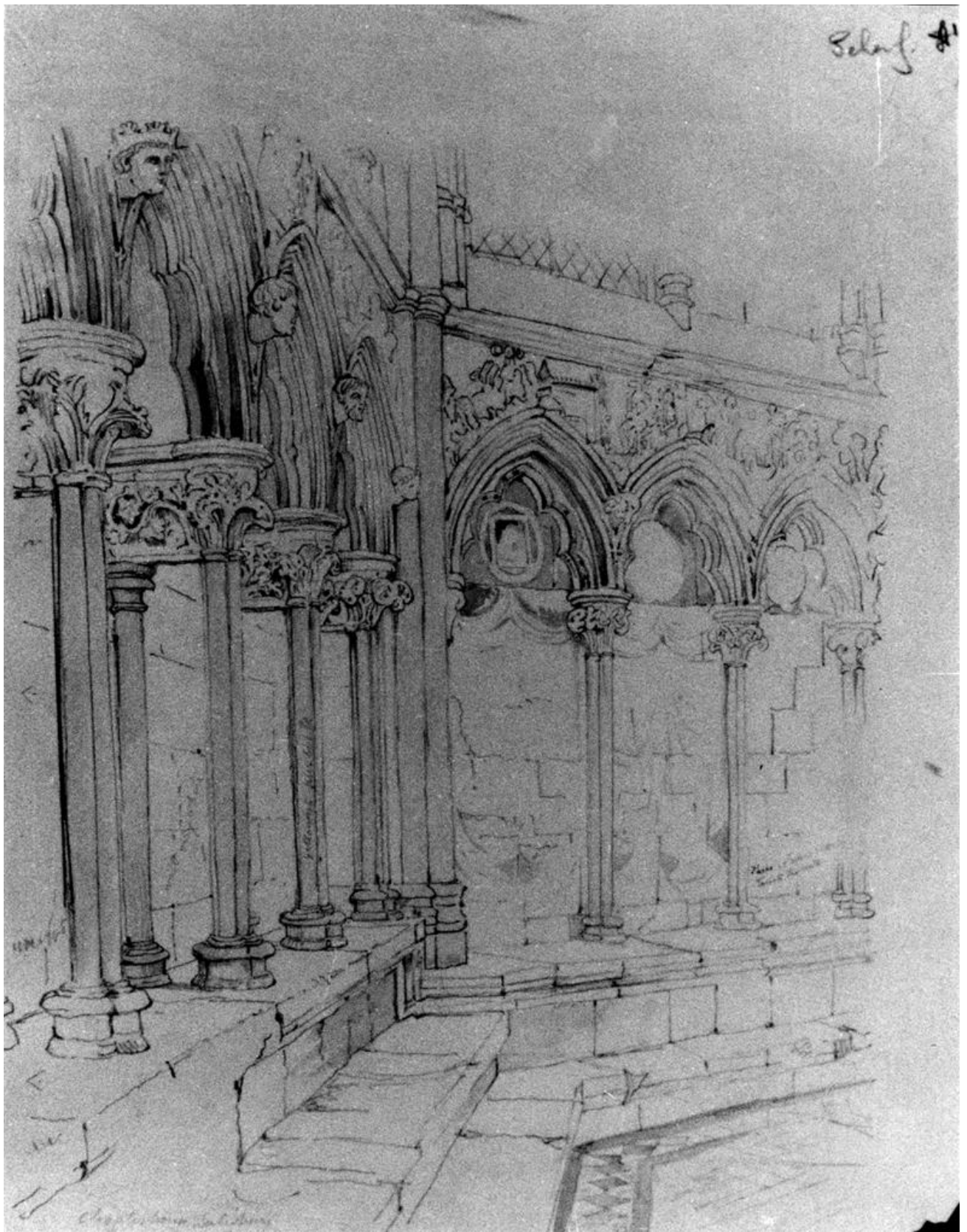


Figure 67



Figure 68

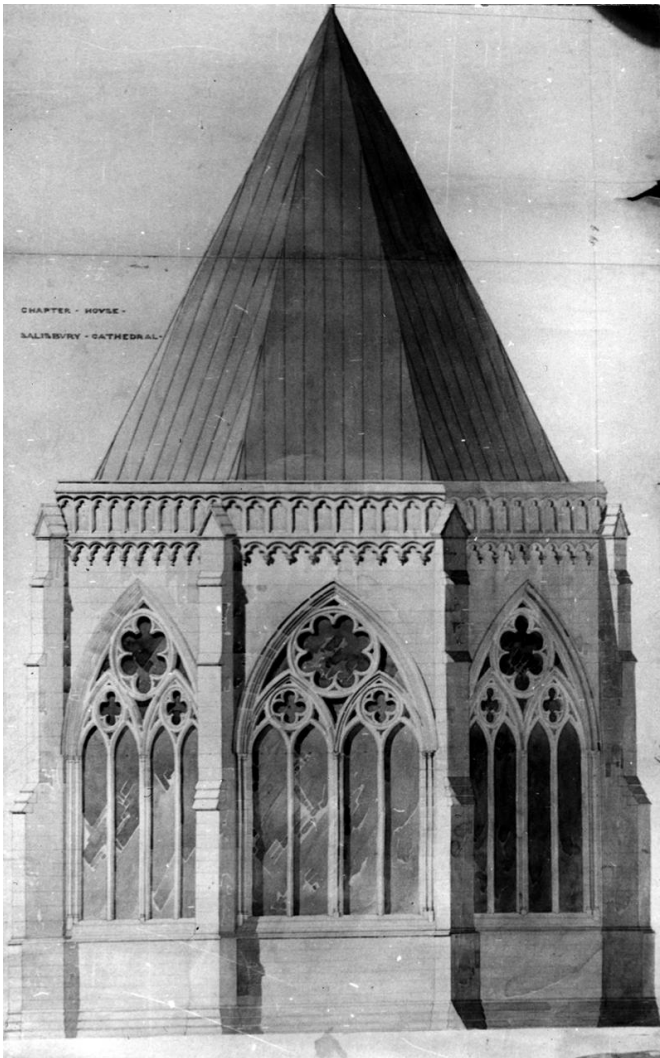
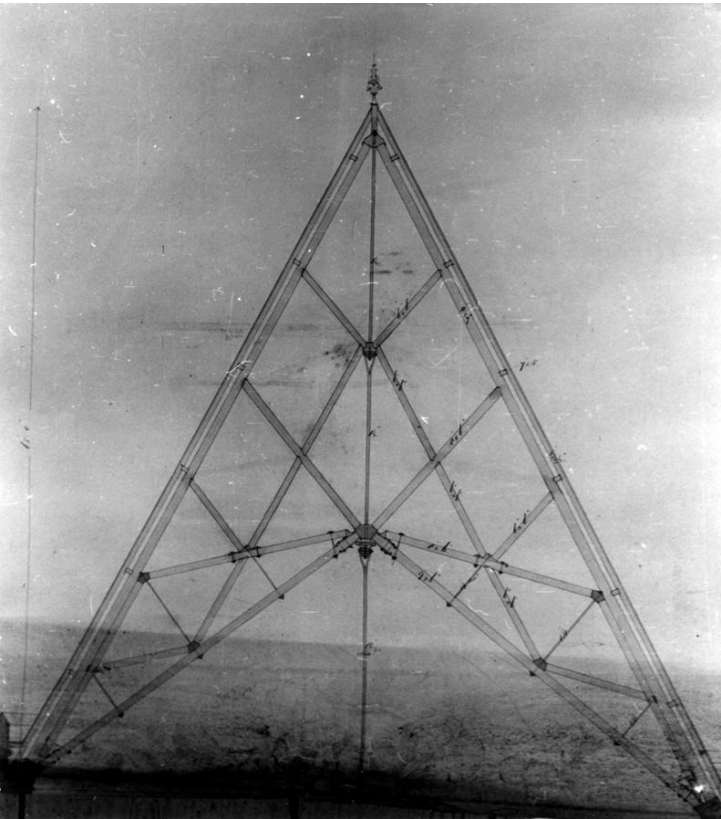
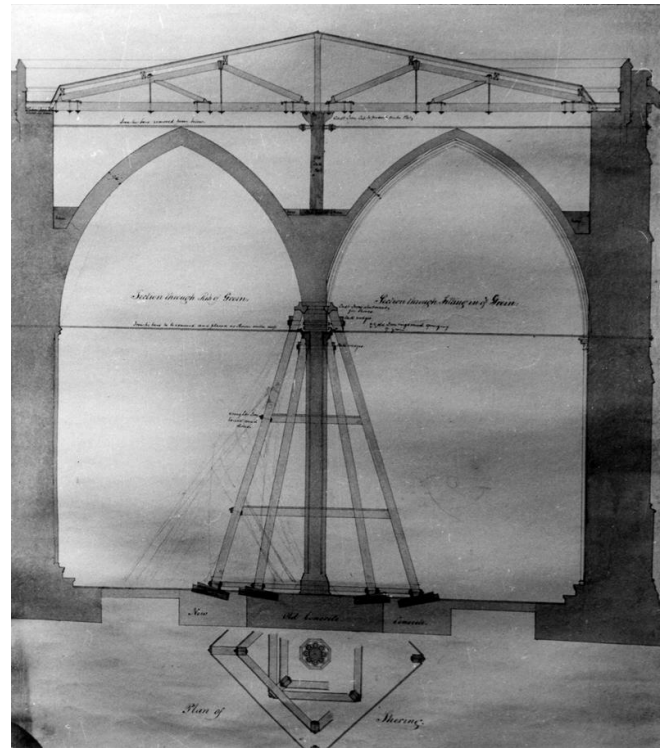
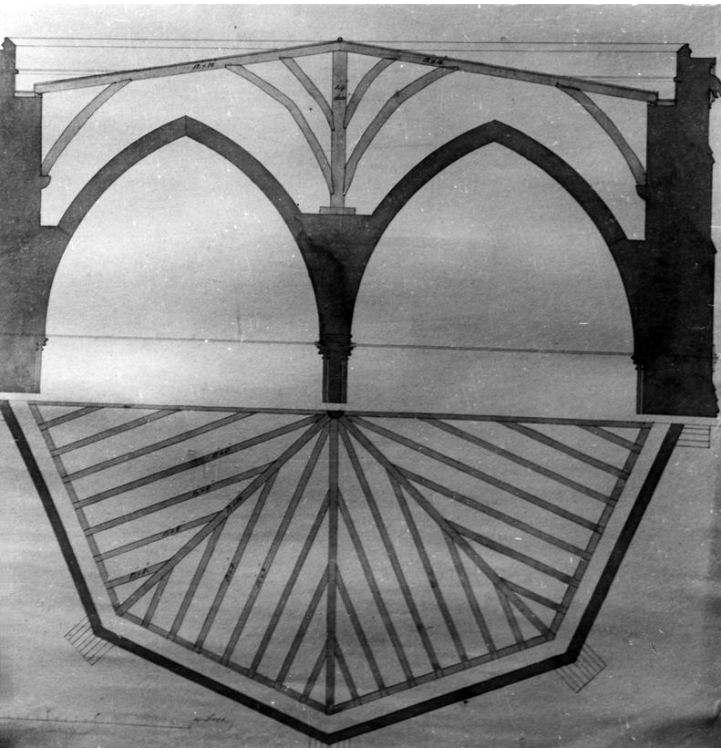


Figure 69 a, b (top); c, d (bottom)



Figure 70



Figure 71 a, b

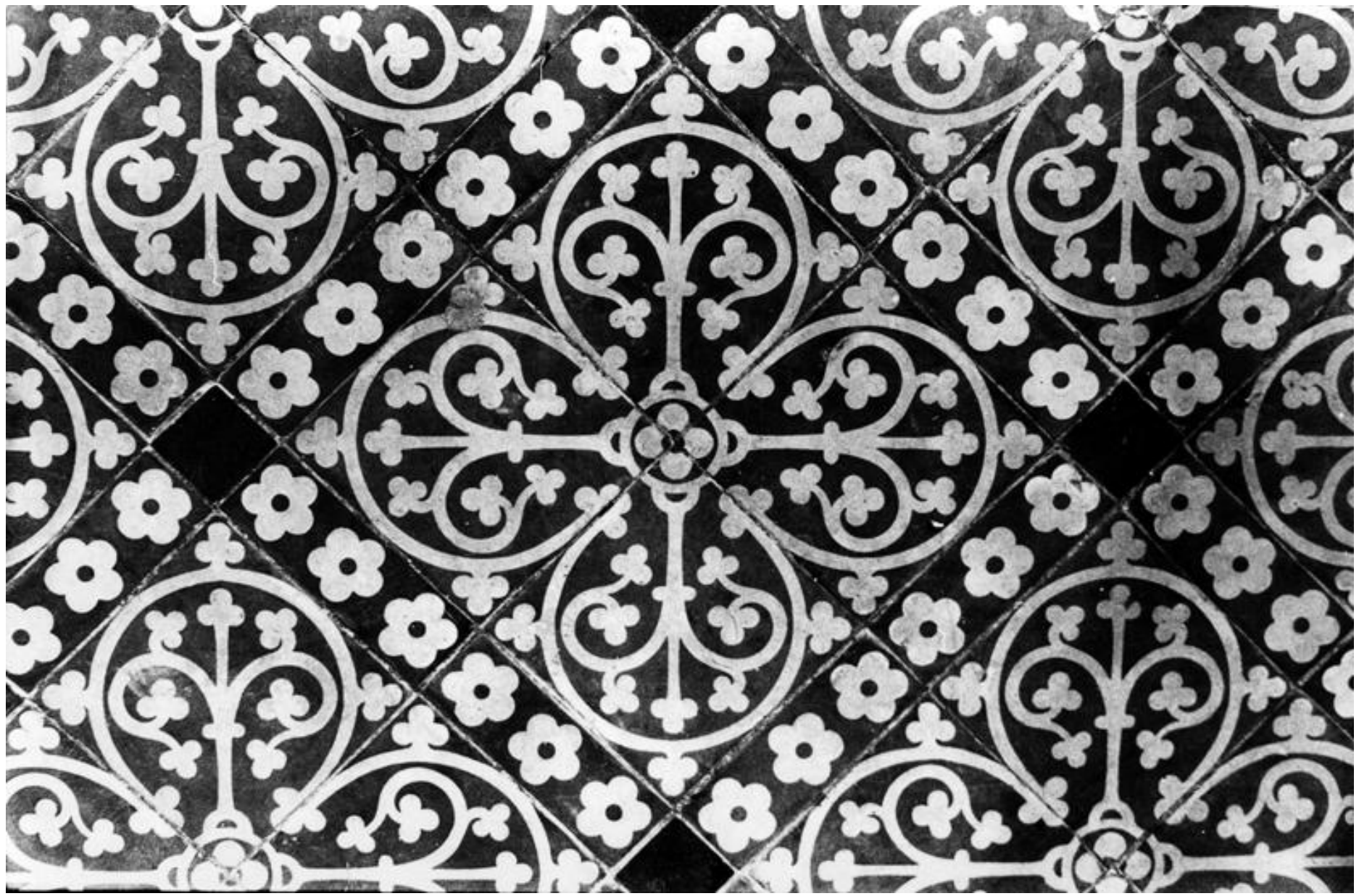


Figure 72

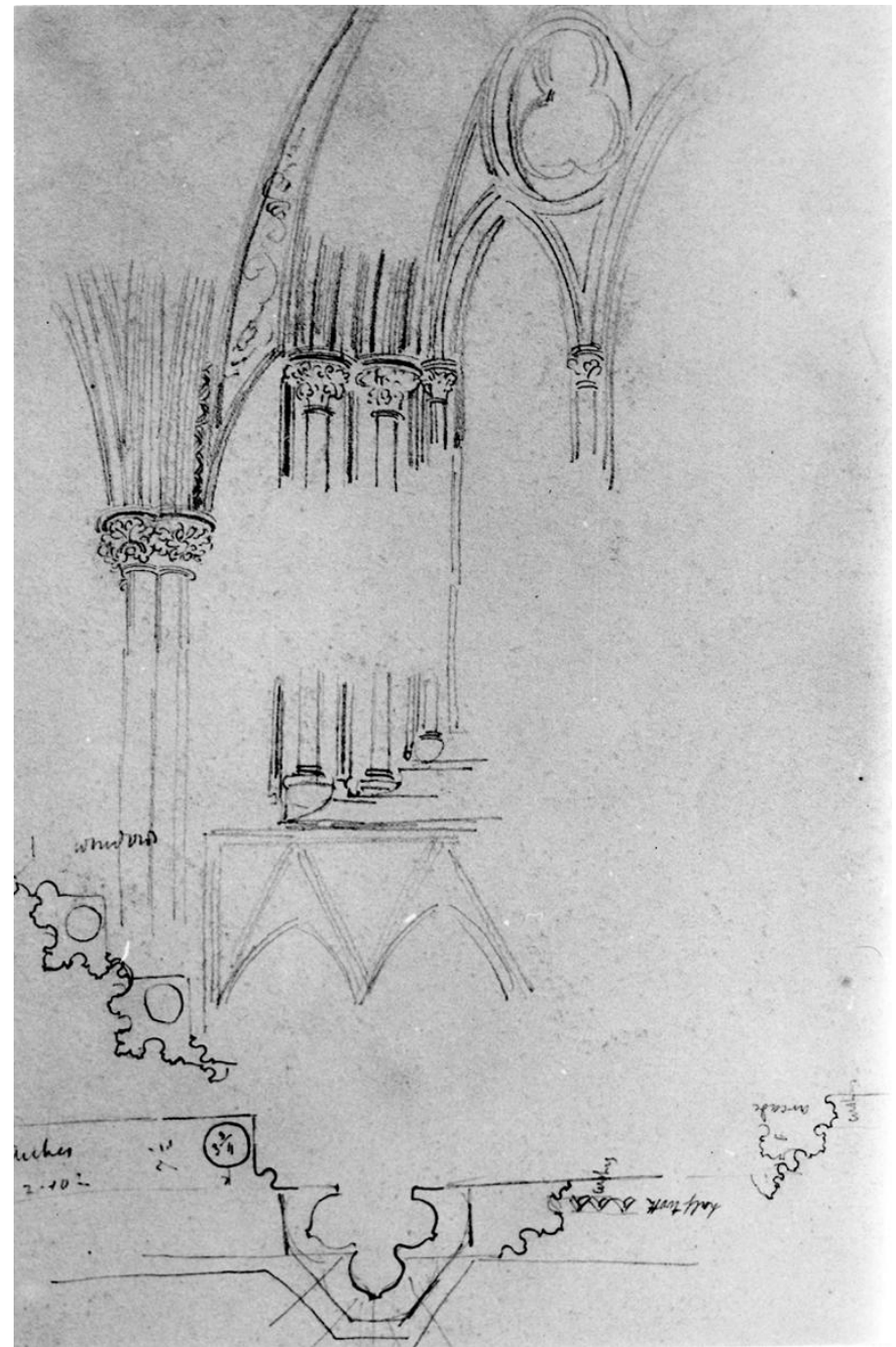
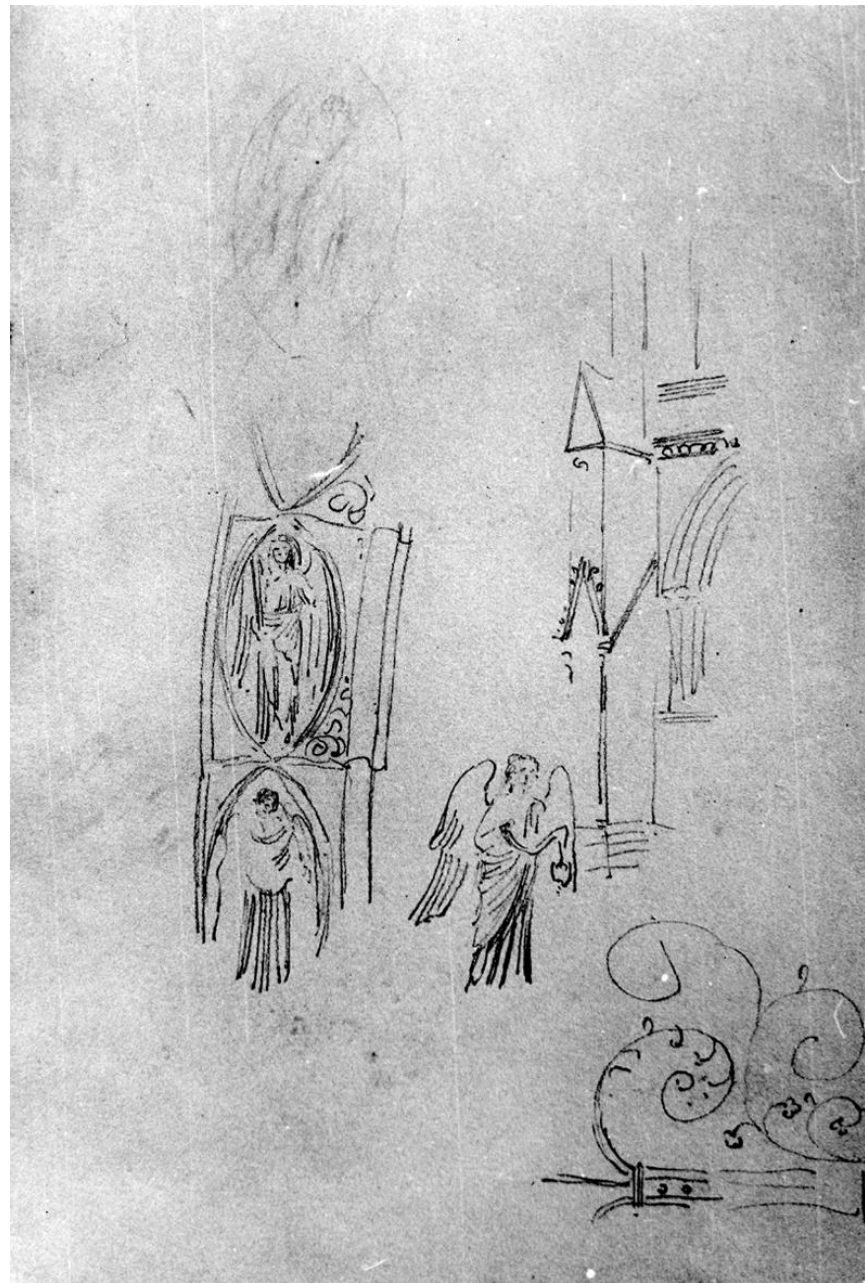
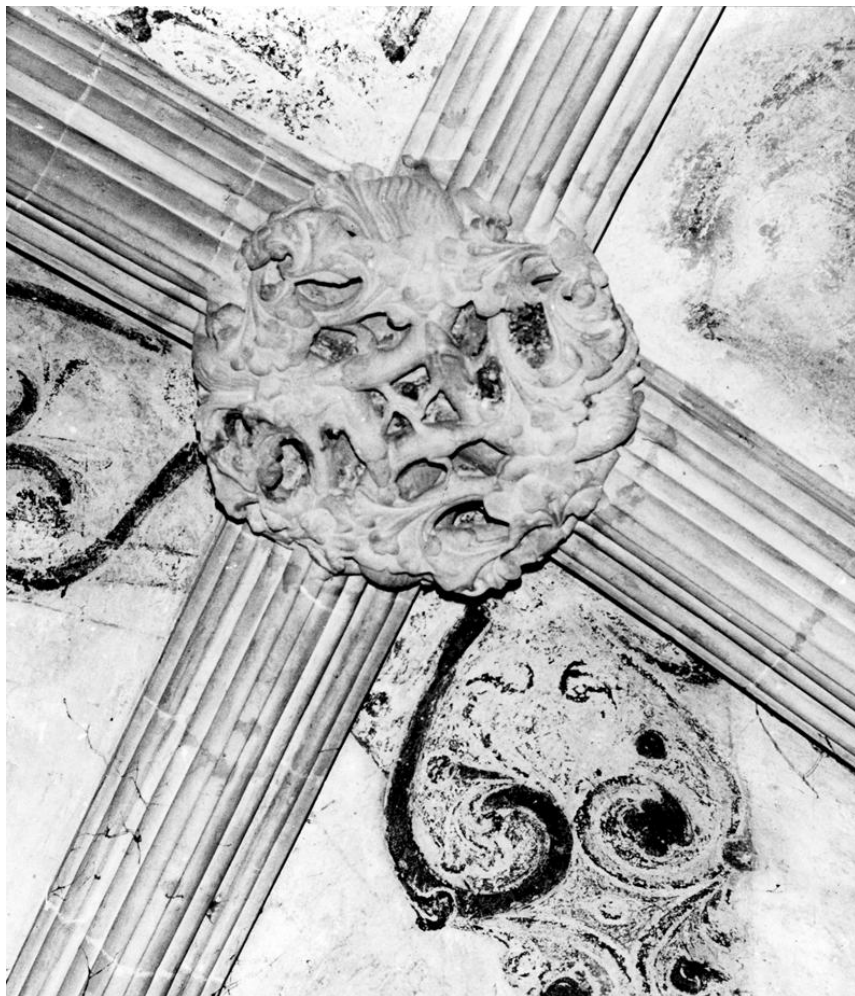


Figure 73 a, b



Figure 74 a (top)

b (right)



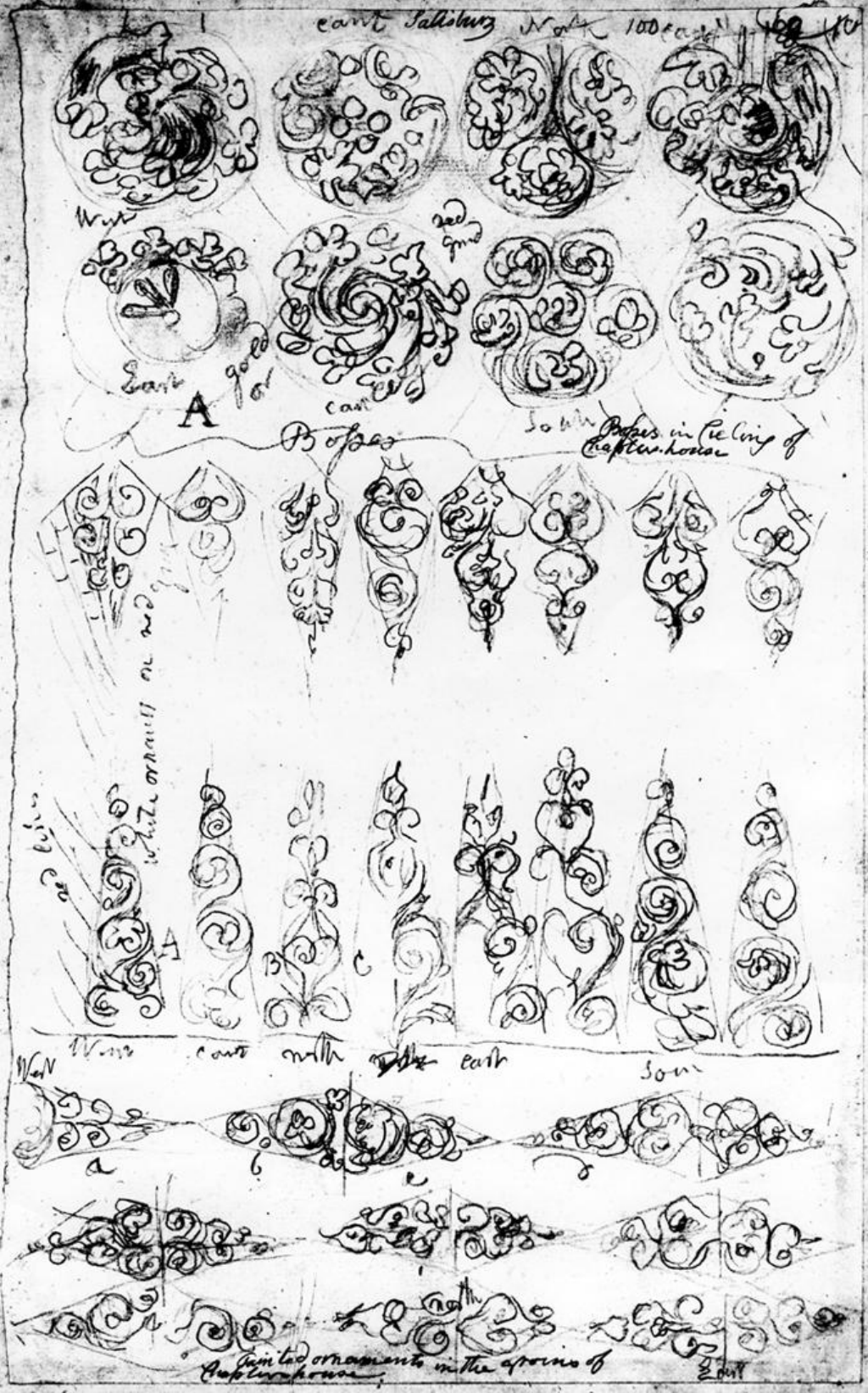


Figure 75



Figure 76



Figure 77



Figure 78 a, b



Figure 78 c, d, e

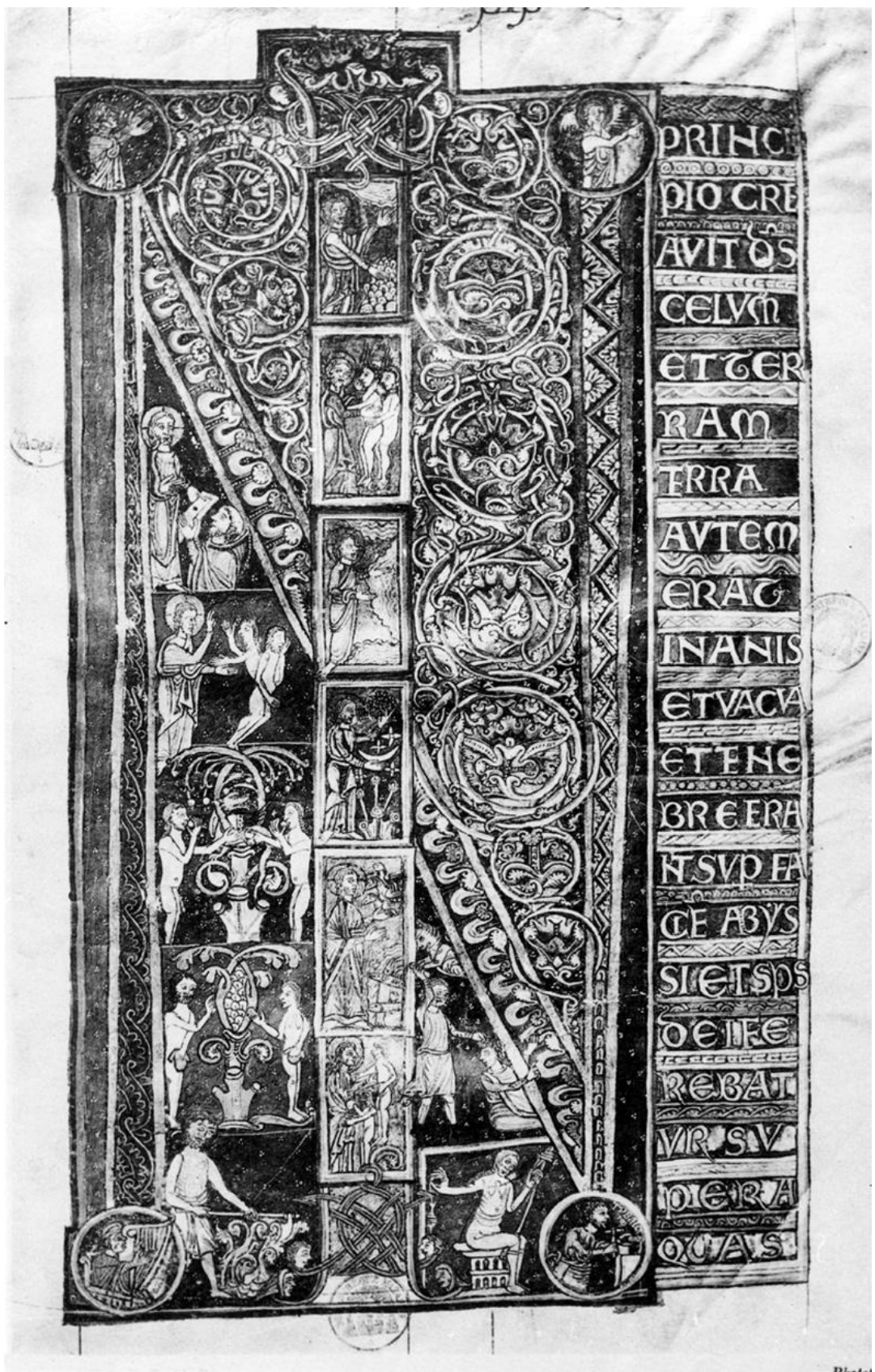


Figure 79



Figure 80



Figure 81 a, b



Figure 82



Figure 83

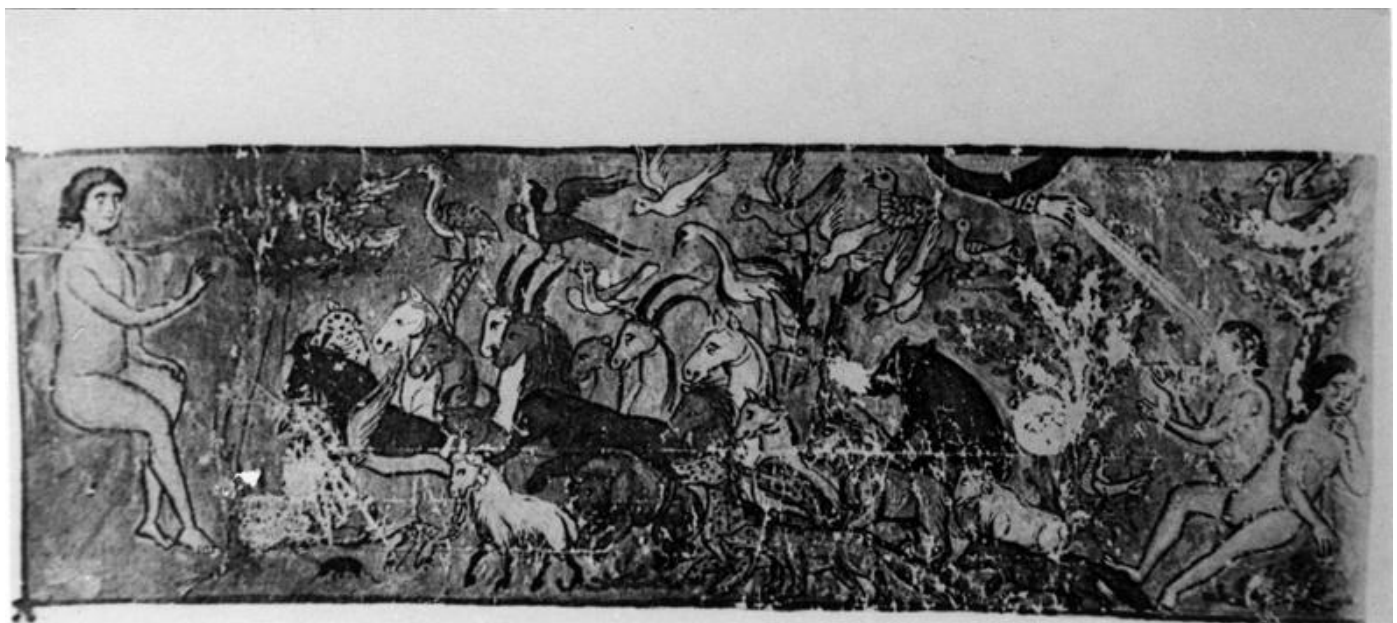


Figure 84 a, b



Figure 85

fōrðan fōr læt fēmān fæder 7 mōdoſi. 7 geðeohte hīne
 to hys wifes. 7 hibeoð būta on ānūm flæſce. Hwæt ſon ða
 būta adam 7 hys wifes na code. 7 him ðær ne ſcāmode.



E ac swylce seo næddre wæs gearwe ðonne ealle ða oðre
 nytenu. ðe god gearorhte ofer eorðan 7 seo næddre cwæð
 to ðam wifes. Hwæt son beað god eow ðæt ge ne æton of ælcum
 treowre binnan uanaditum. hæt wif andwyrde. Of ðæra

Figure 86



Figure 87

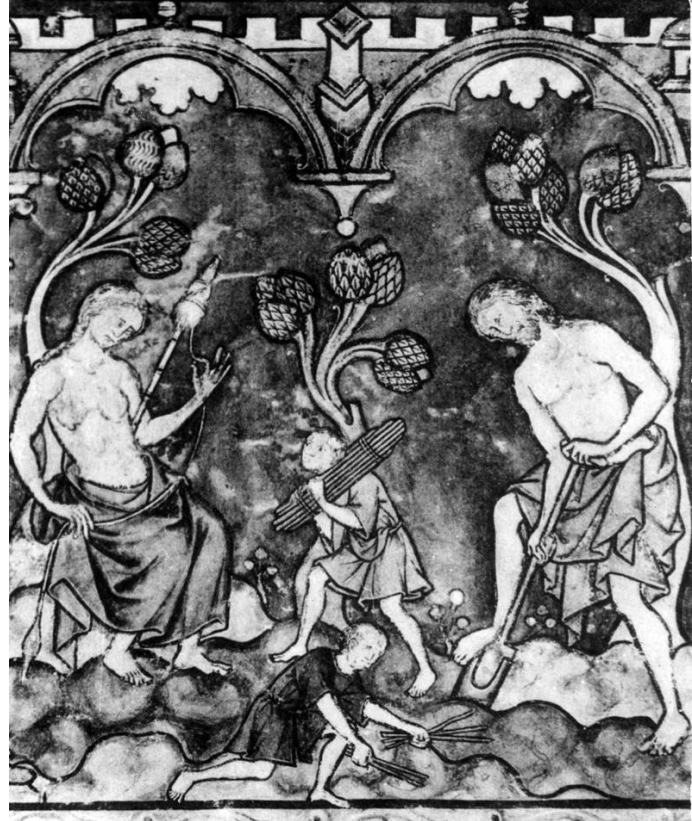
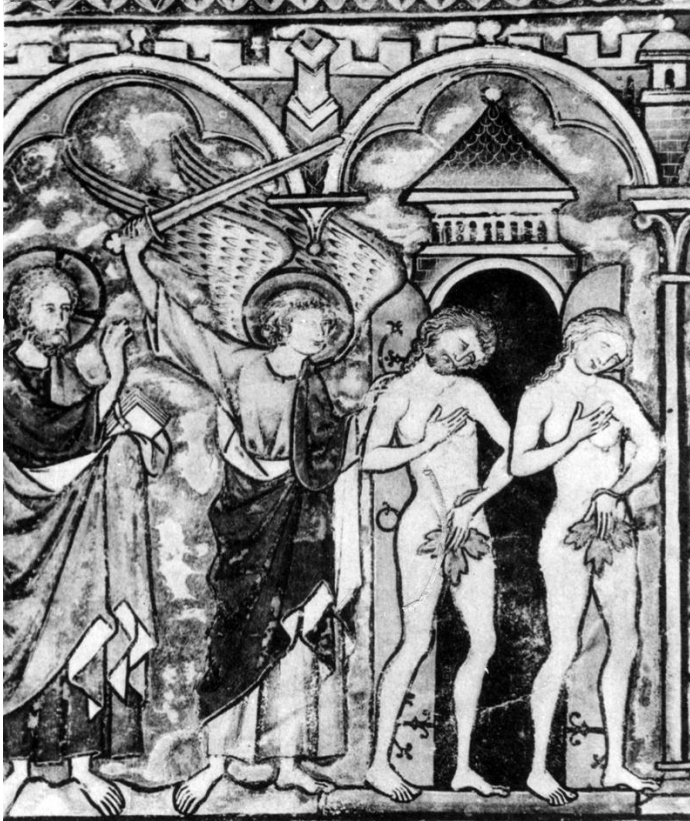
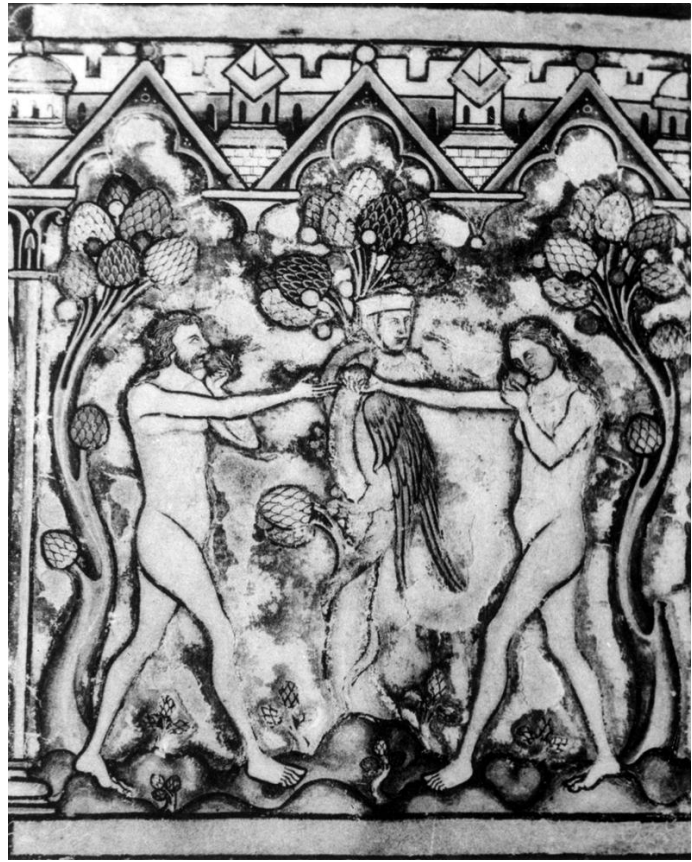


Figure 88 a, b (top row); c, d (bottom)

Sed et ser-
pens e-
rat callidior
cunctis animan-
tibus terre. qui dixit
ad mulierem.
In quacumque die
comeditis deli-
gno scie boni
et mali: eritis
sicut dei. Tunc
que multi de fru-

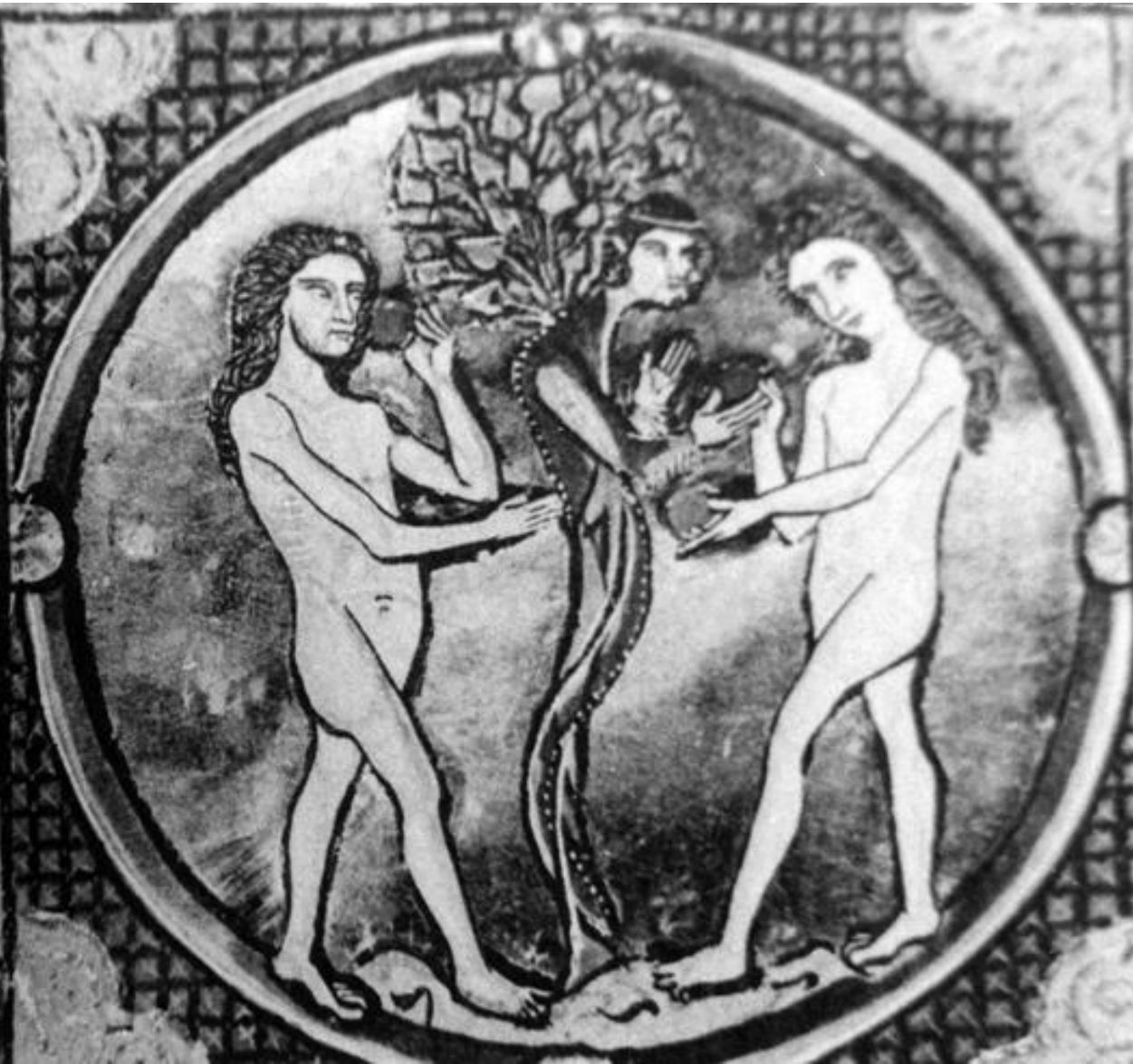


Figure 89

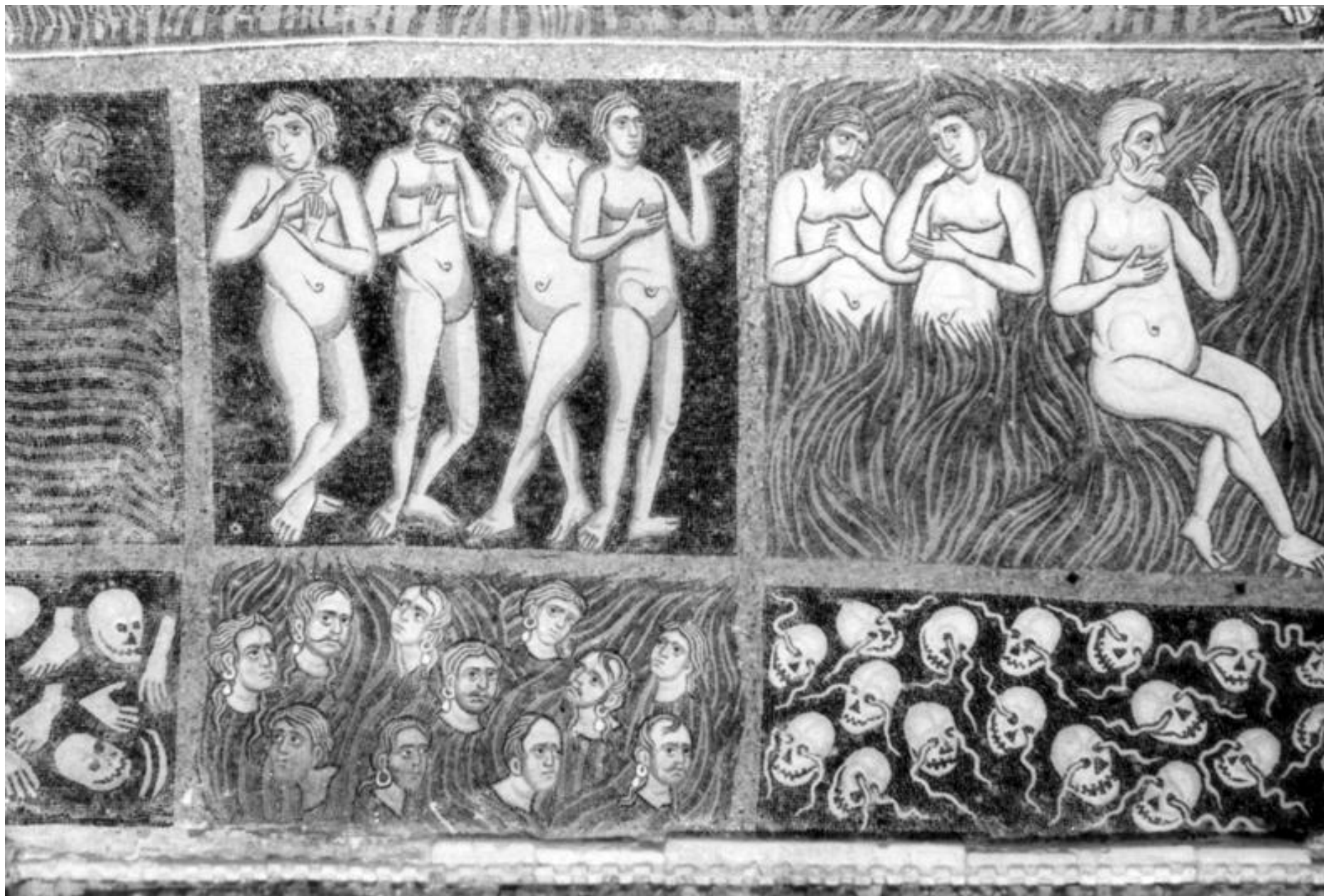


Figure 90

ƿyrrc. ƿaƿe ƿeop aƿam namcan mƿ ƿiƿe. eac oac iƿiƿe
ƿonðande heoſſ ealra libbendra mōðoſi.



ƿodƿorhte eac adame. 7 hi ƿiƿe ƿellene neaƿ 7 ƿeƿe
hi. 7 ƿeƿe neaƿ am can. ƿfel. 7 ƿod. 7 ƿa ƿa aƿe ƿiƿi d

Figure 91



Figure 93



Figure 94

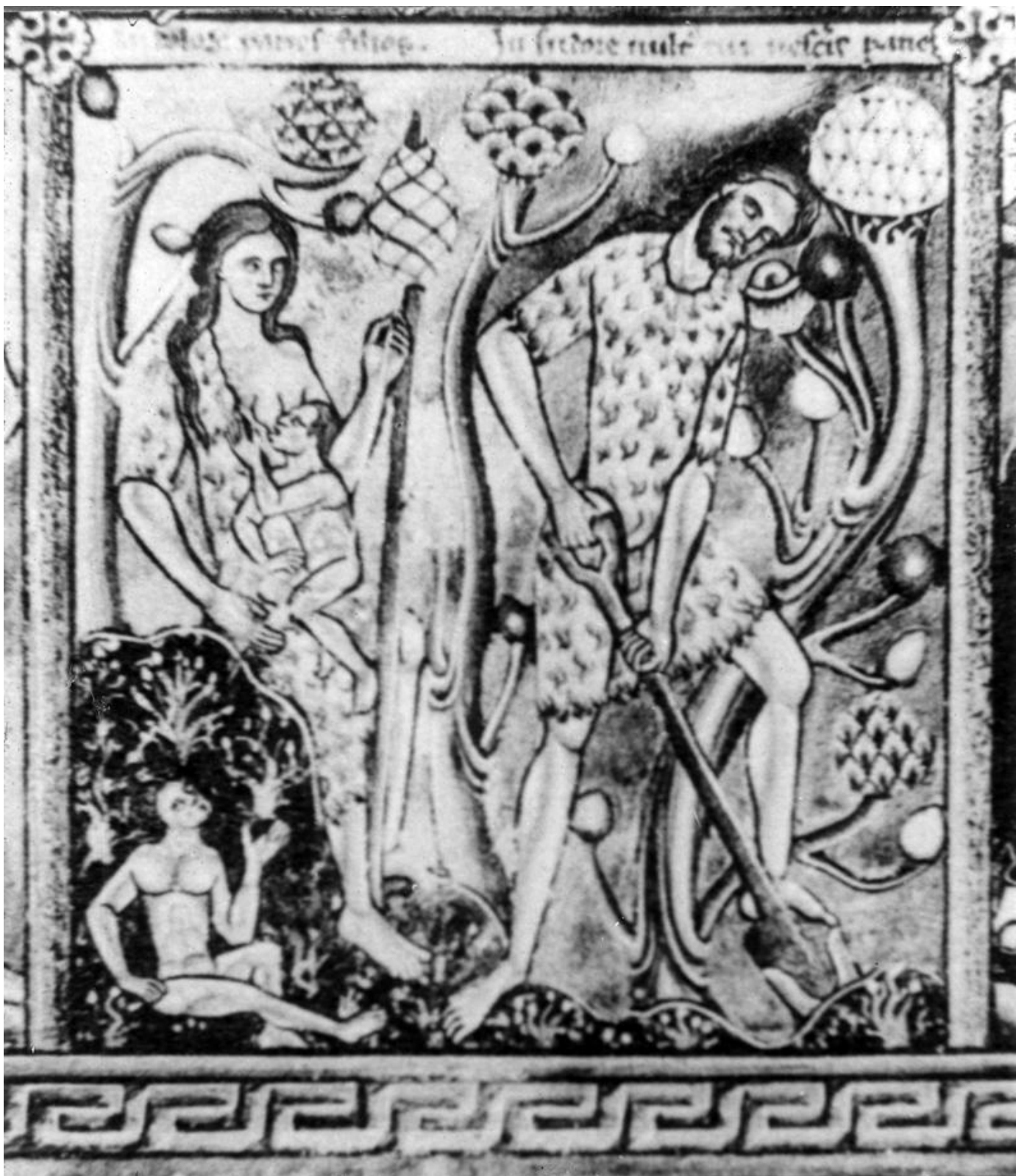


Figure 95



Figure 96



Figure 97



Figure 98



Figure 99

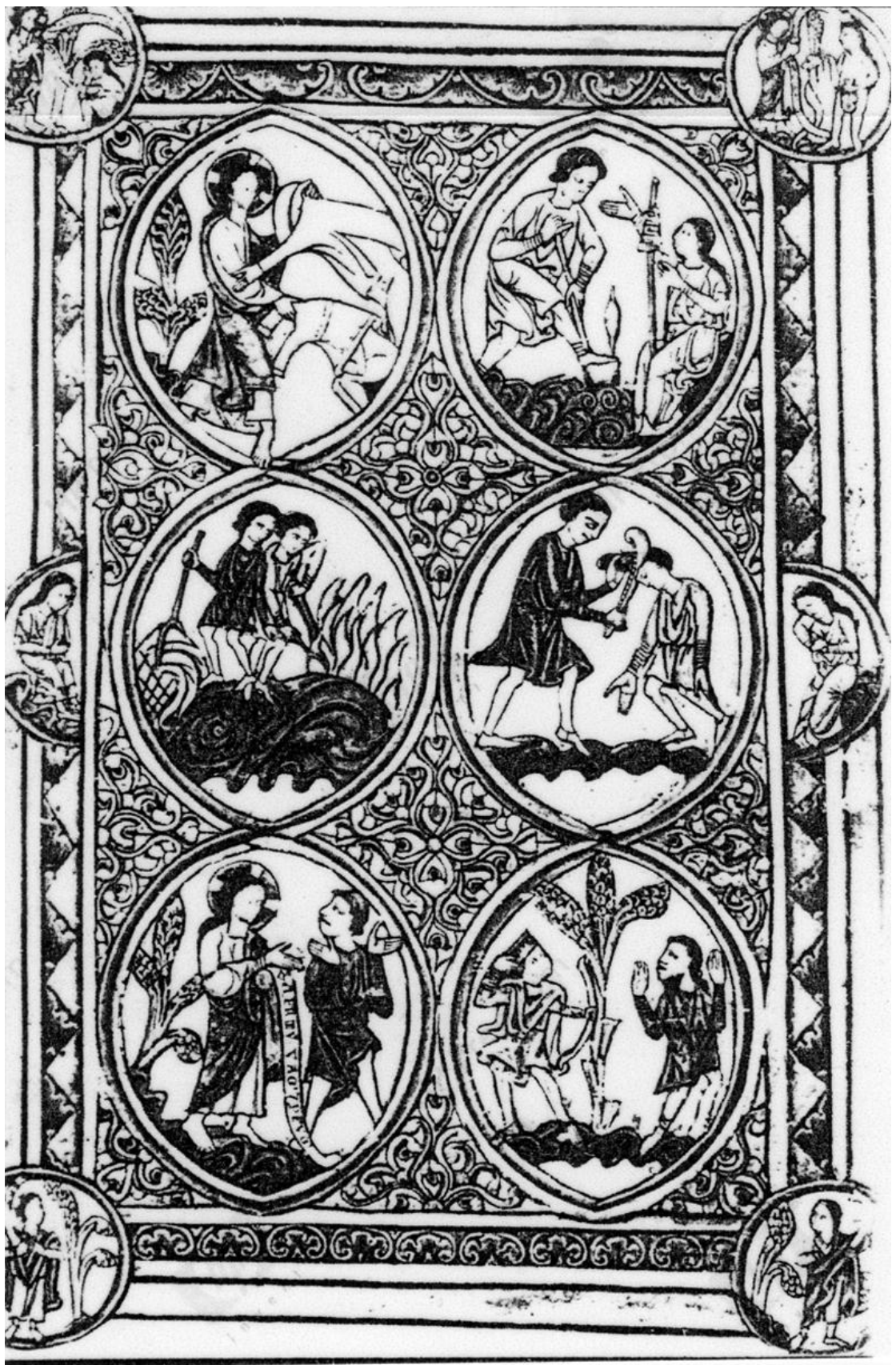


Figure 100



Figure 101

adam pas' aliud pūmā. 72. v. cān of pīlōi

*...per p'm. adam. 7
eug. hinc be y'ppe. hinc
p'uqia.*



De Se Aðe is ƿeƿæden. si ðeine of tærian. be sƿiðe hebbon þe adam. 7 eue. ƿiƿen.
 Ða ƿæð drihten to caine. hƿær is abel ðin broðor. Ða and
 ƿƿarode he. 7 ƿæð in nāt. ƿegst du ƿceolde ic minne
 broðor healdon. Ða ƿæð drihten to caine. hƿæt dydest du.
 him broðor blod. sliað. si ðeine. 7 eue. ƿiƿen.

Figure 102

lætcar ſcāul. pām on pſthum pīde læcgan. hƿonne
 me gemitte man ſcylðigne. ſeme ſƿon oððe nſah.
 ſeððe gſmonige. bnoðon cƿālmſ. ic hiſ blod aſluc.
 on ſon on ſonðan. þu to dæge þiſſum. adlāſt me
 ſnam dugiðe. ƿaorſt ſrom. ſande minum. me
 to aldon banan. pſonðes pnaðna ſum. ic apynges
 ſcāul. pſoðth of geſyðe. þinne hƿonſan.



Figure 103



Figure 104



Figure 105

hafa mætt. stano hlupstun. innan iutan. fonda
 lime. sepaetnod þis flode. þær nof. þy relætun.
 þissyndus cynn. Symle bið þy hændra þerit hntoh
 patth. ppantæ. ræ rætamar. ppidon bætad.

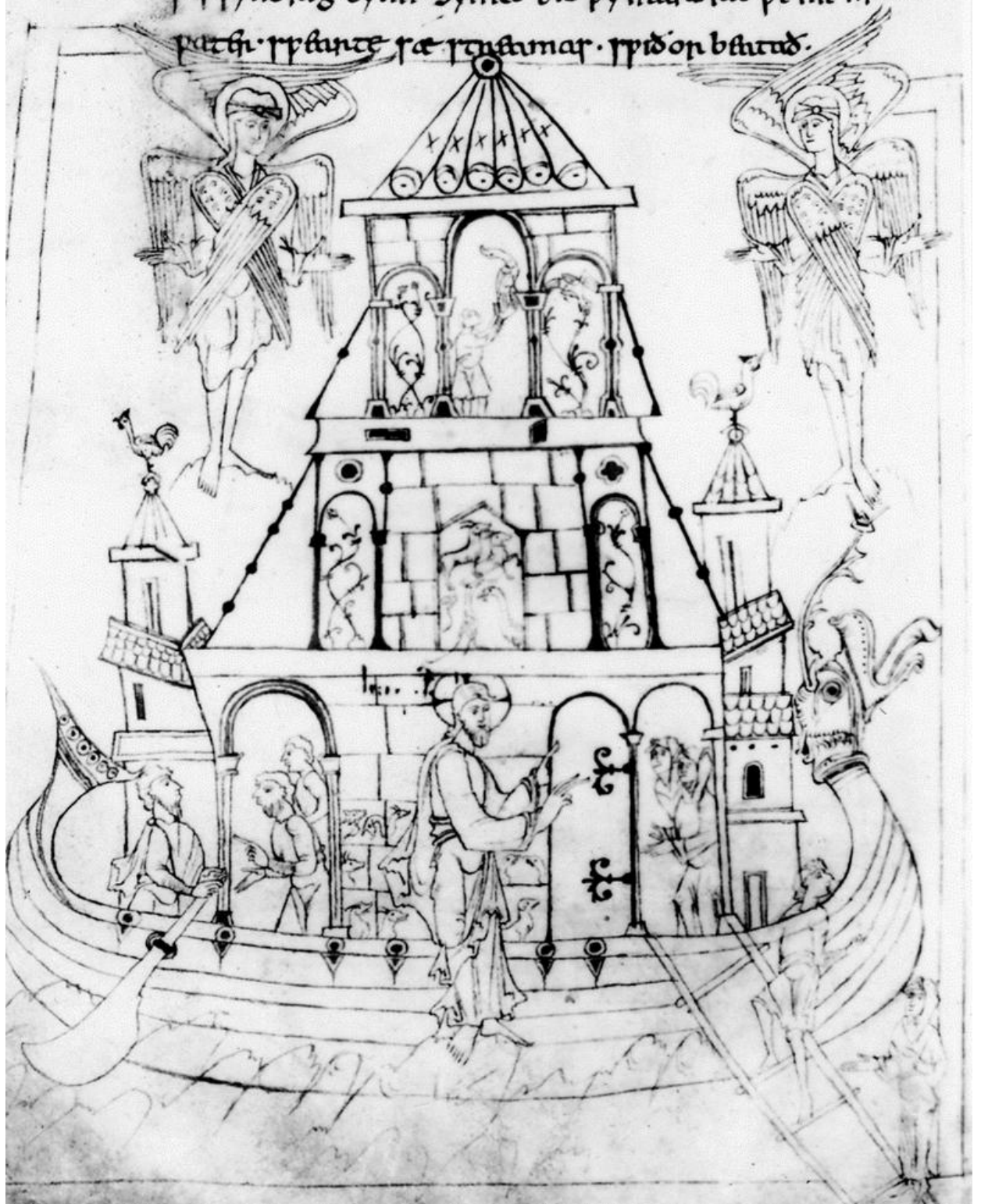


Figure 107



Figure 108 a (top)

b (right)





Figure 109



Figure 110



Figure 111

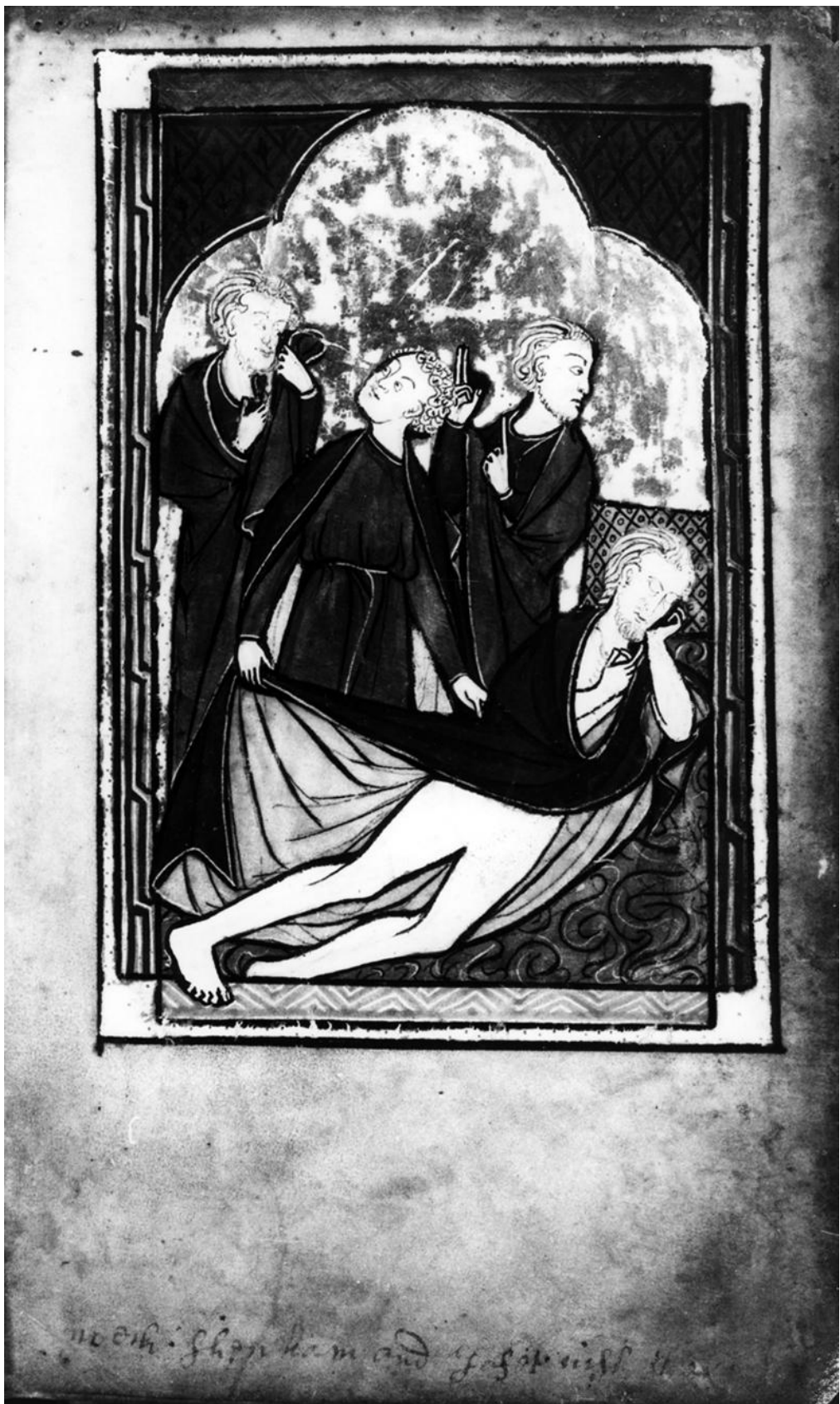


Figure 112



Figure 113

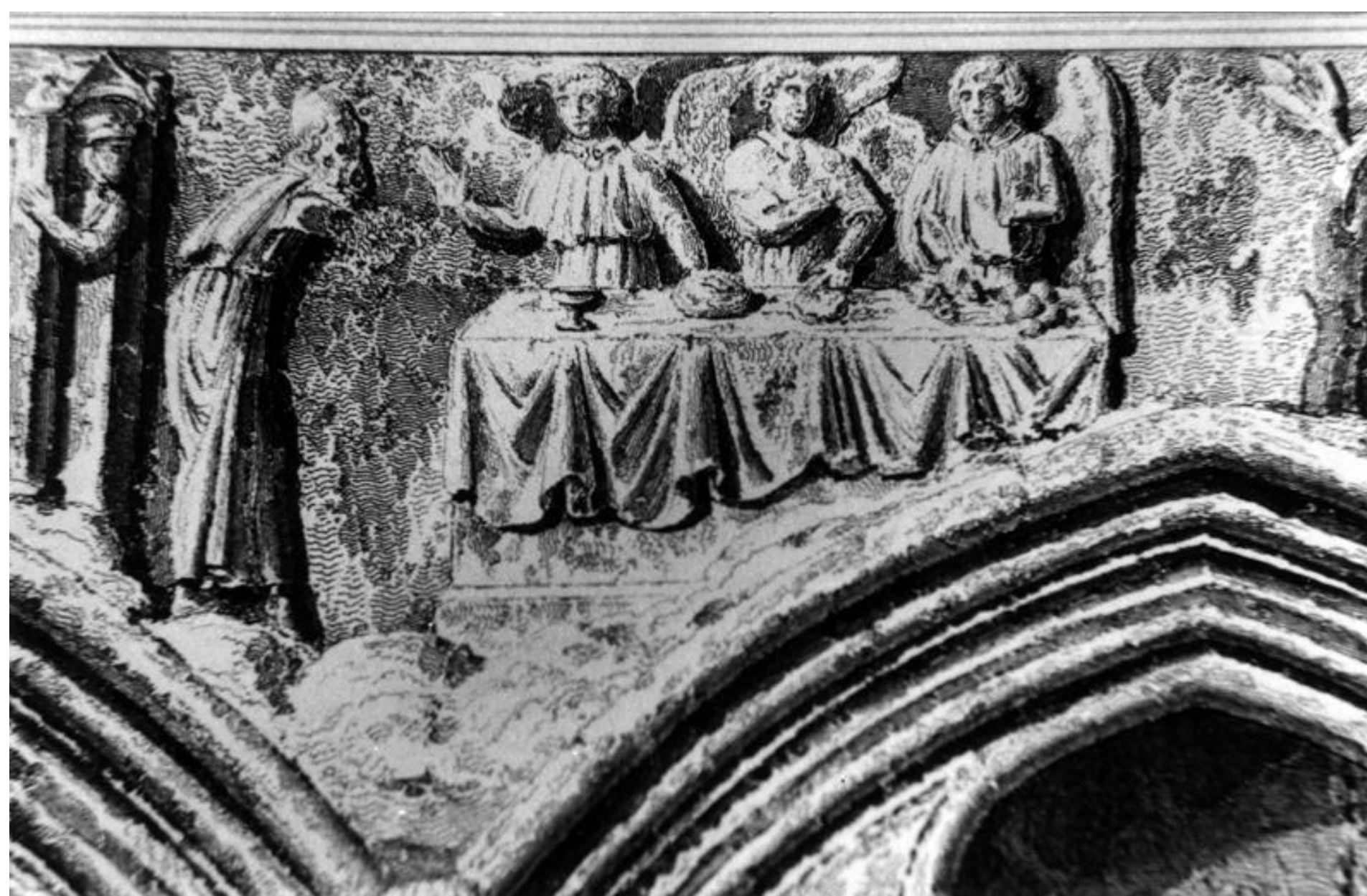


Figure 114

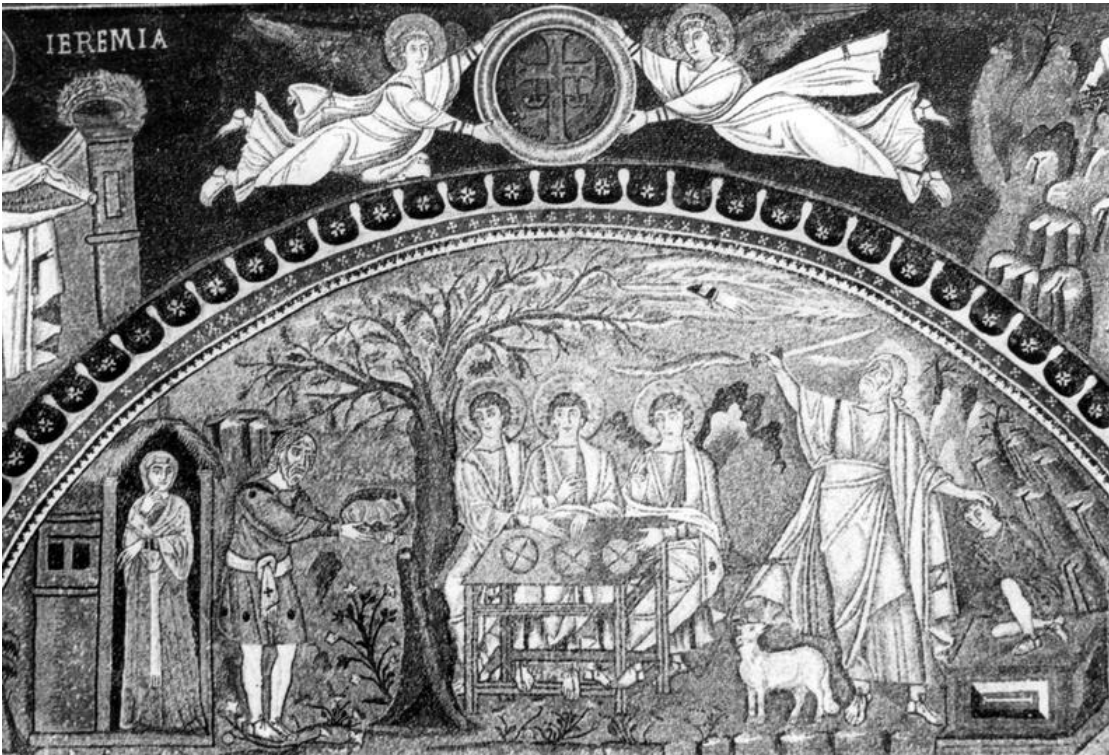
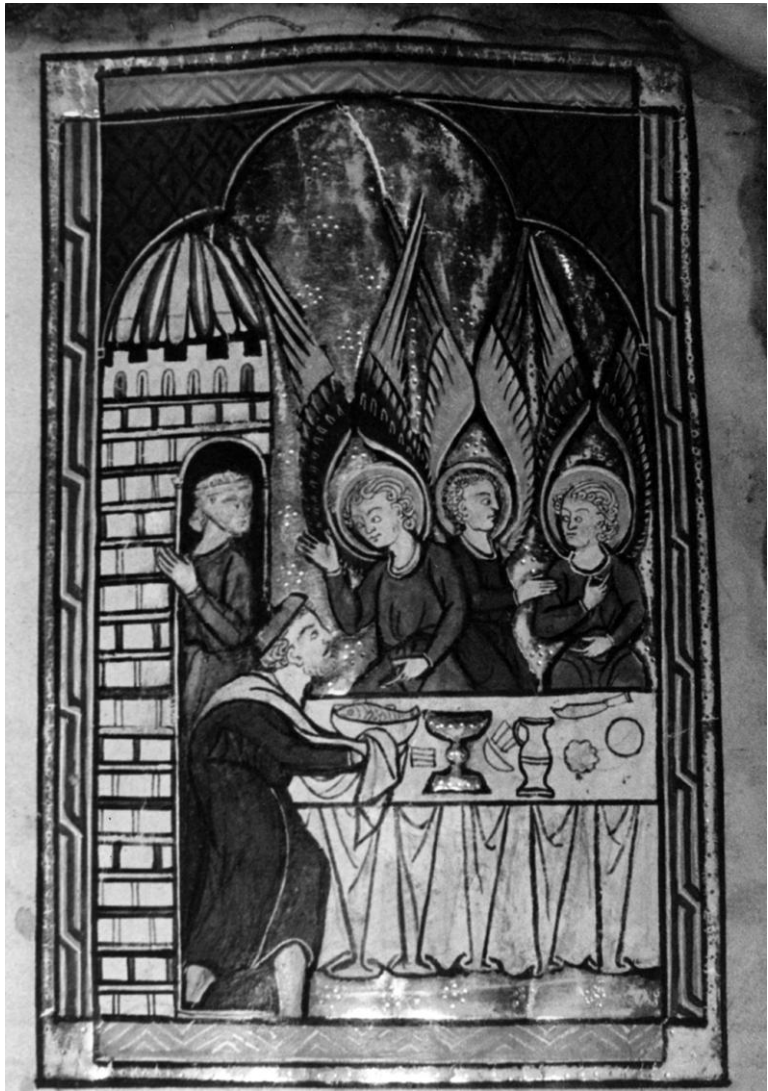


Figure 115 a, b



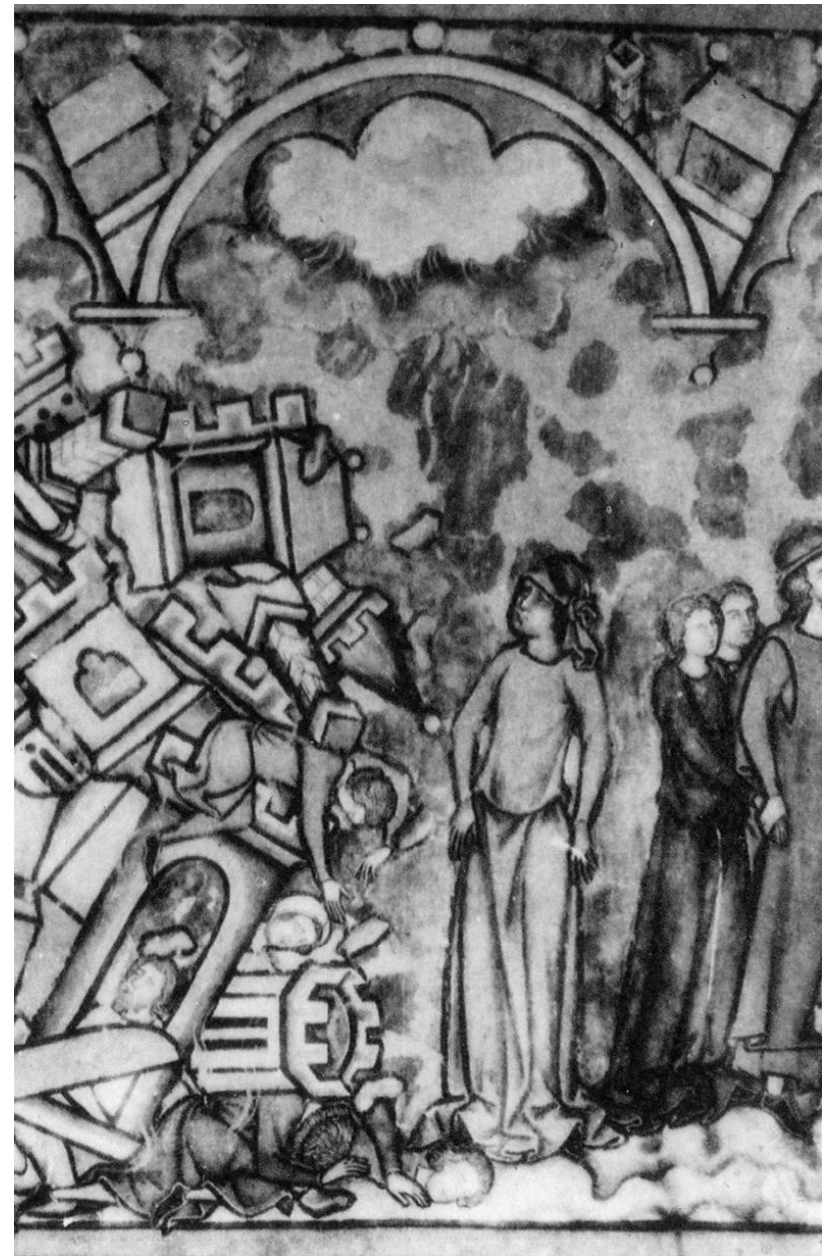
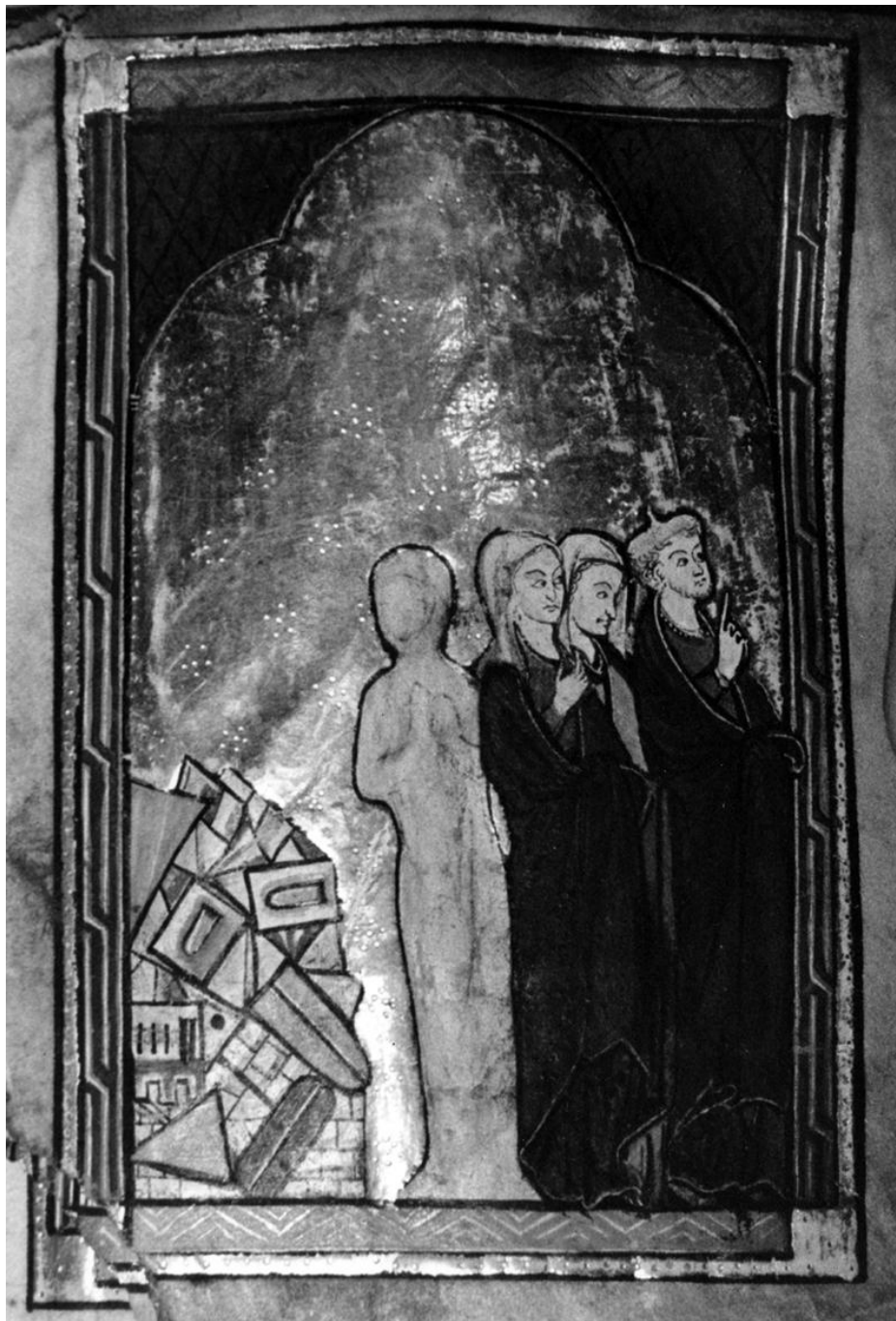


Figure 116 a, b

þinnu sæde beoð ealle ðeoda geblittrode. forþande þū gehyrstu
moðer mine hære ður:



Figure 117

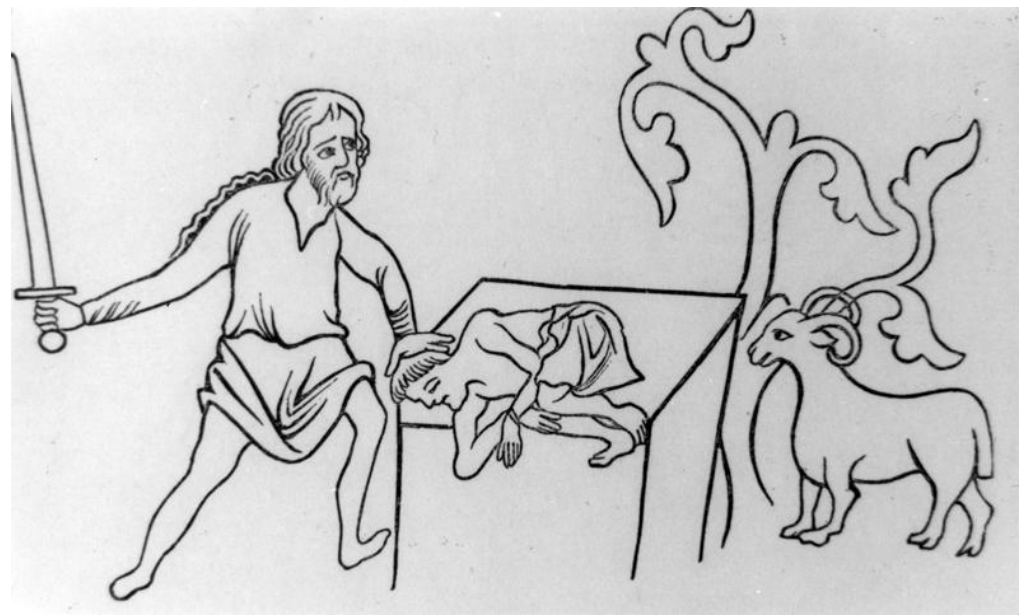


Figure 119 a, b (top row); c, d (bottom)



Comment ysaac donne la benediction a iacob: e la quite donner a Esau.



Ceste viunt Esau e aporte a son pere. ceo q̄ il a desir: mes n'ost eſte de terre.

Figure 120

A black and white reproduction of a medieval manuscript illumination depicting the Resurrection. On the left, a man with a halo (likely an angel) is shown placing a stone into a large, round, white tomb. In the center, another man with a halo stands with his hands raised in a gesture of surprise or proclamation. To the right, a third man with a halo stands with his hands raised, looking towards the tomb. In the foreground, a group of sheep is gathered. The background shows a landscape with trees and a building.

ἐκείνοι. ἀλλὰ ἐν ῥήματι τοῦ σκότους το
ποῖ, ἀλλὰ ἐν ῥήματι τοῦ φωτός ποιοῖ. καὶ
ἐν ῥήματι τοῦ φωτός πρὸς τὸν πατέρα
ἐν ῥήματι τοῦ φωτός πρὸς τὸν πατέρα

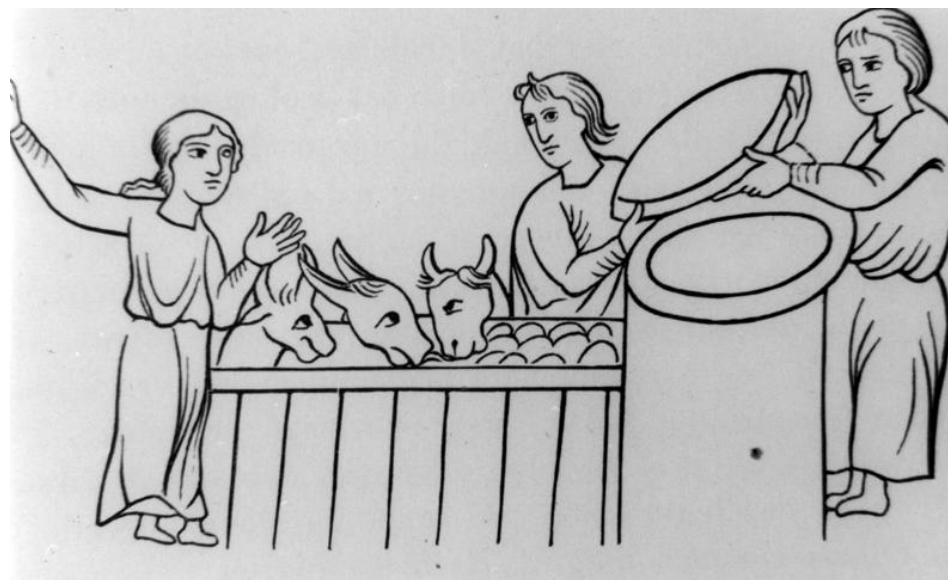


Figure 121 a, b



Figure 122 a, b

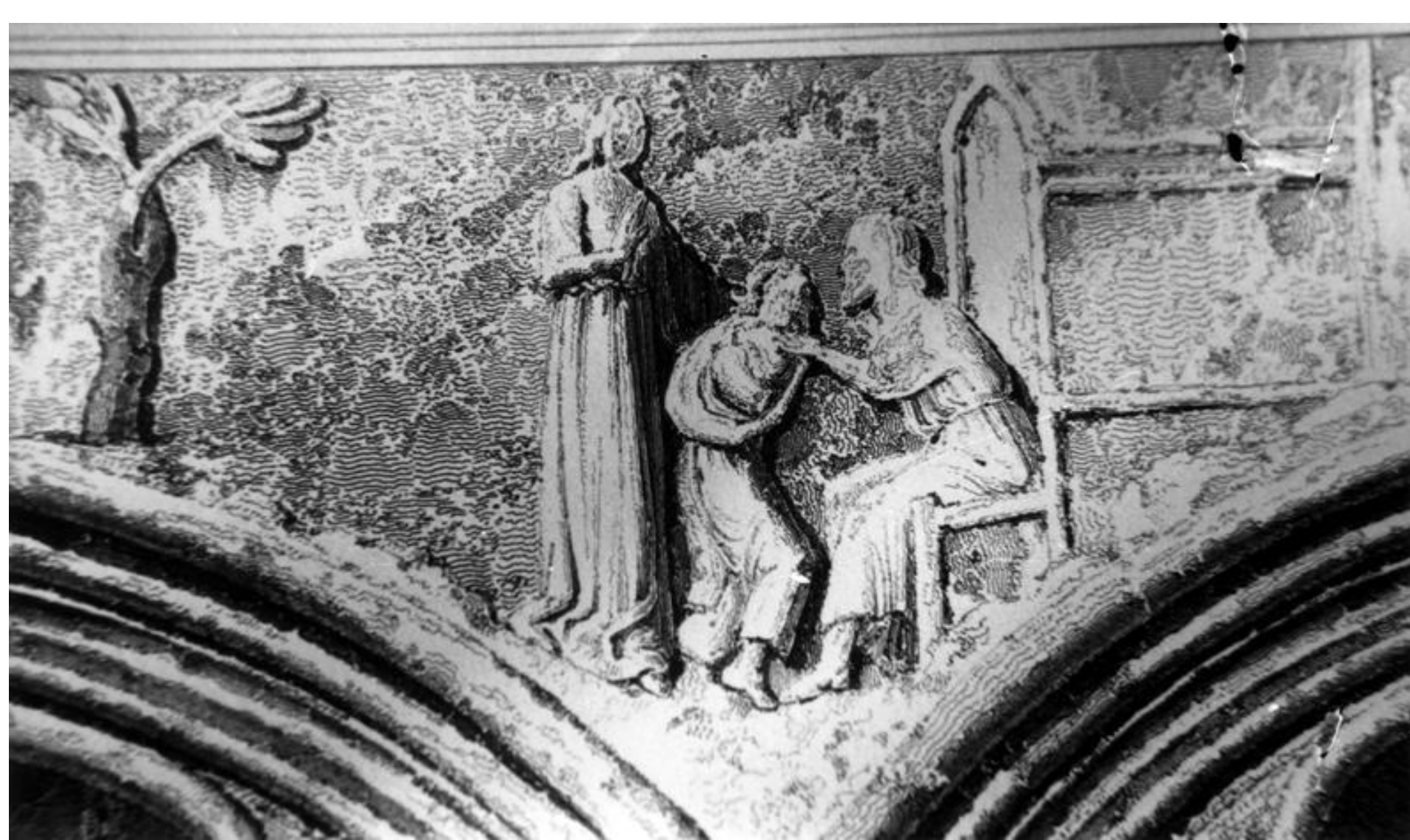


Figure 123

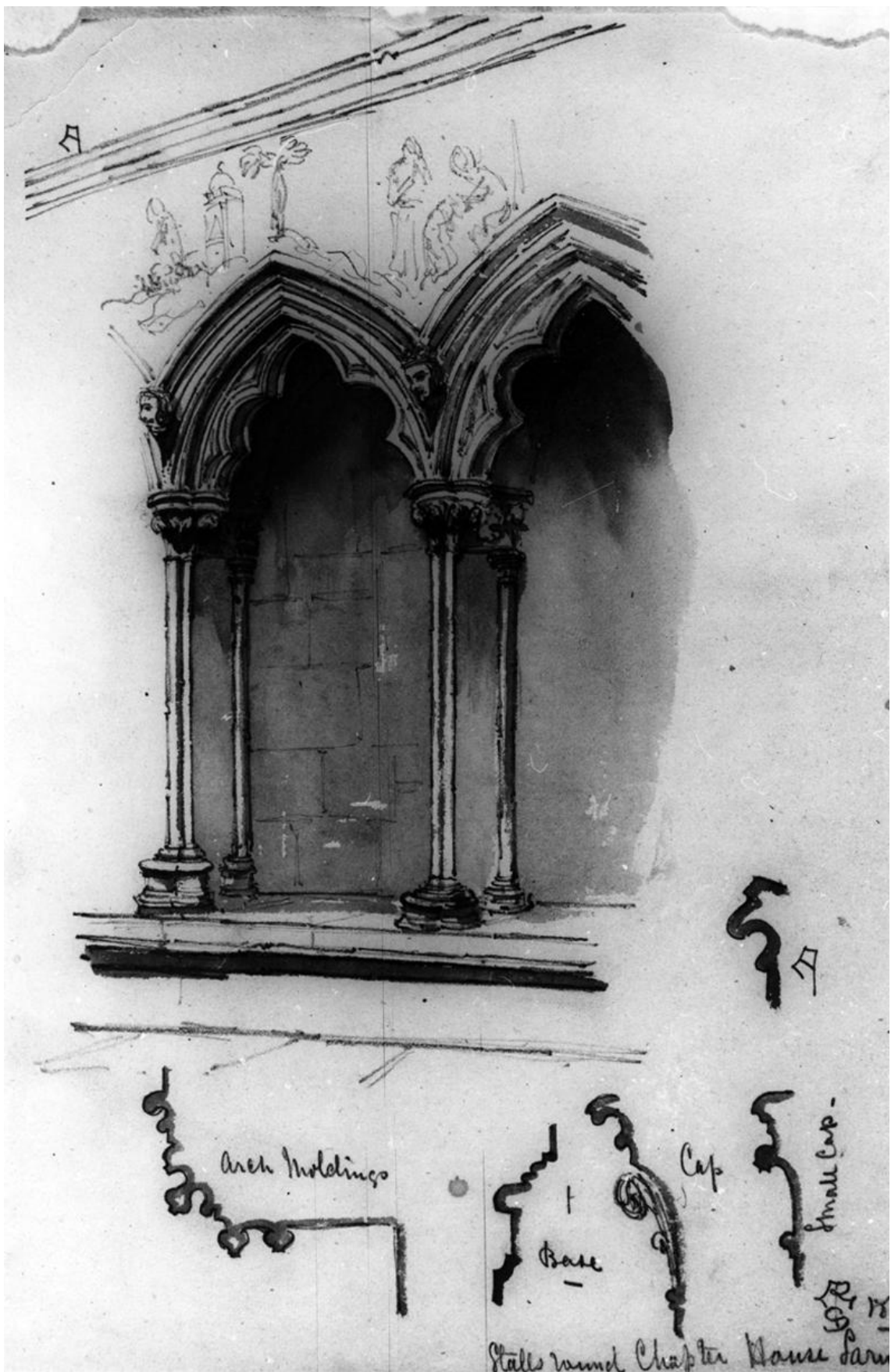


Figure 124



Figure 125



Figure 126



Figure 127

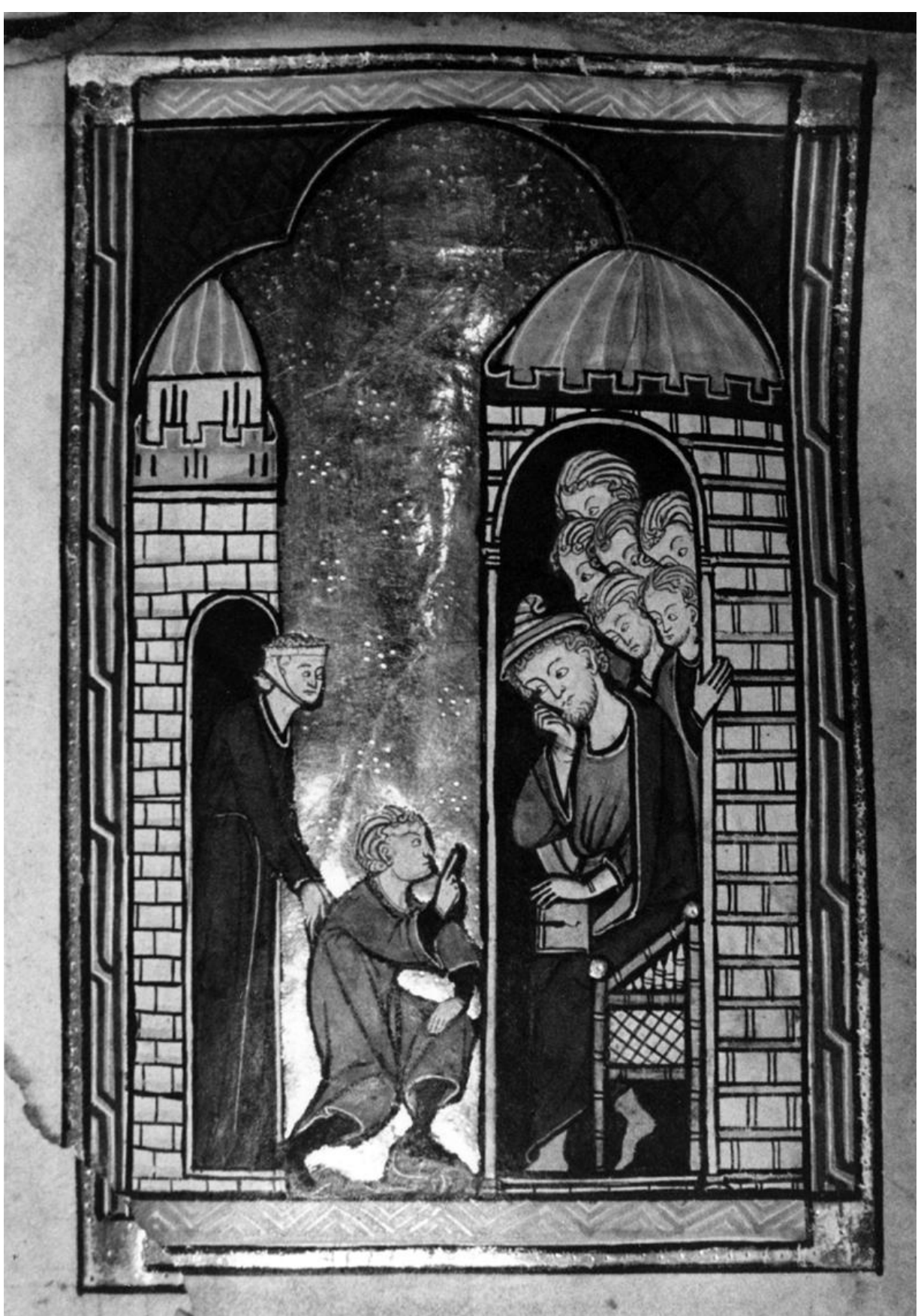


Figure 128

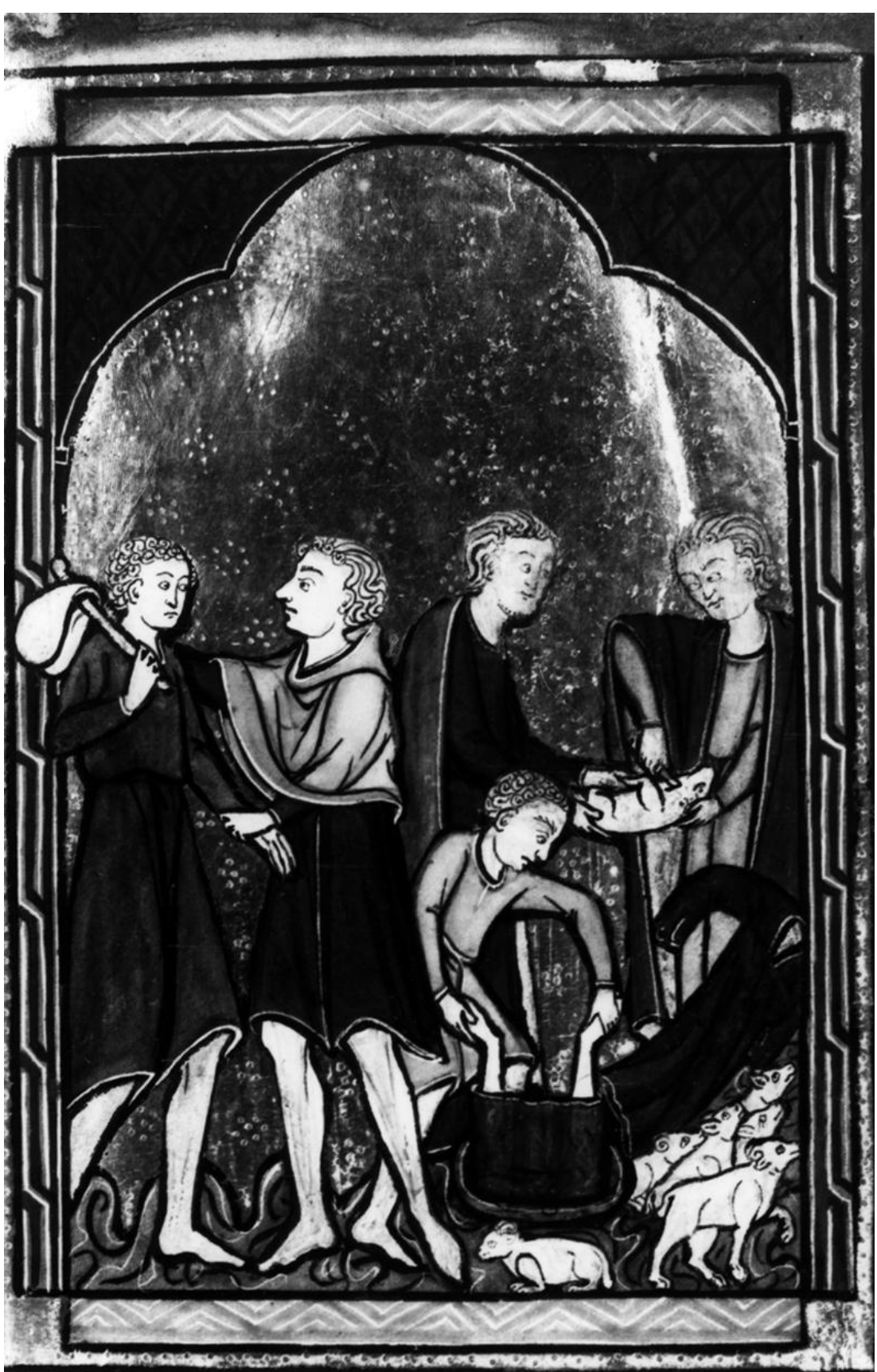


Figure 129



Figure 130



Figure 131



Figure 132



Figure 133



Figure 134

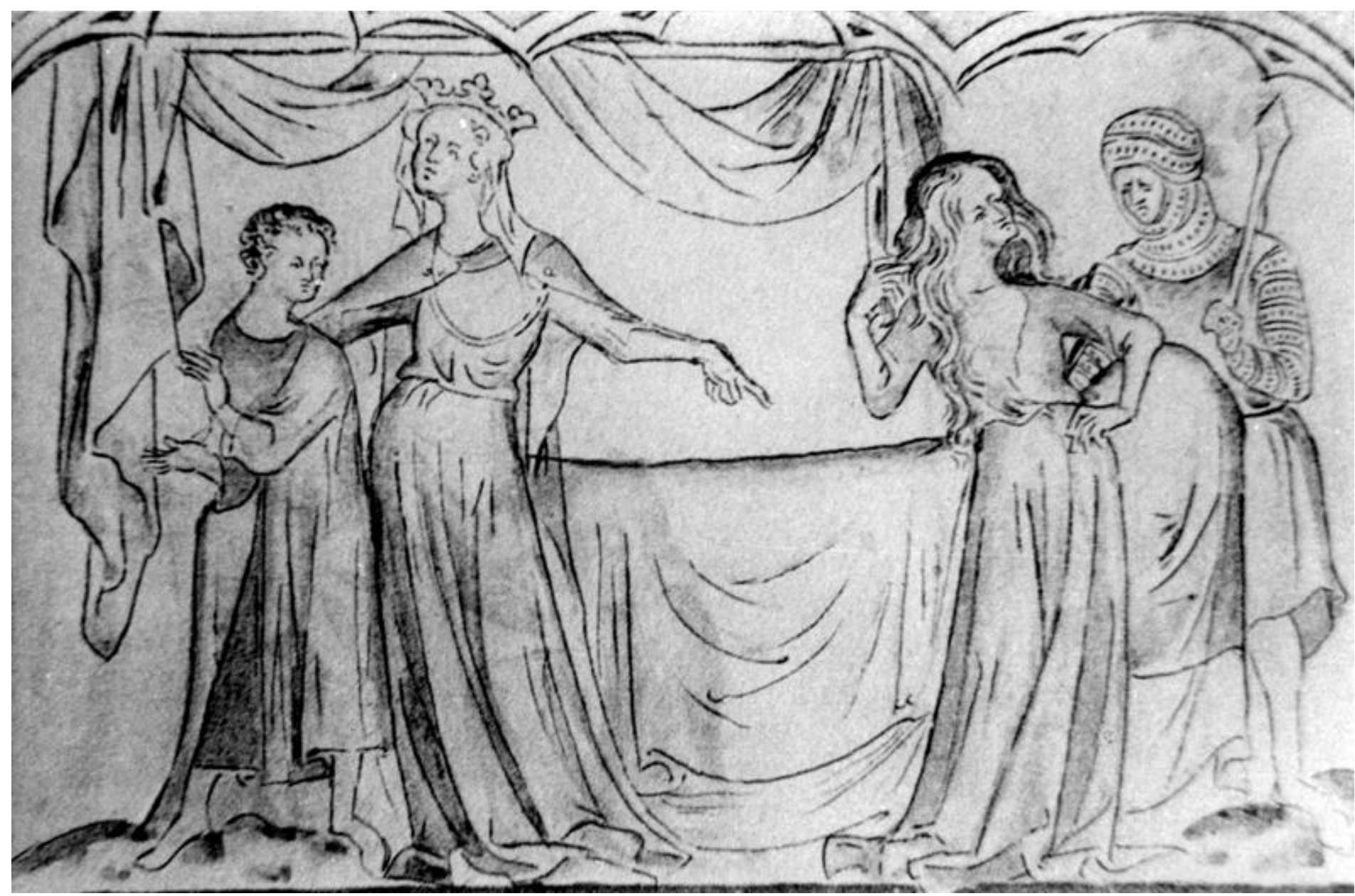


Figure 135

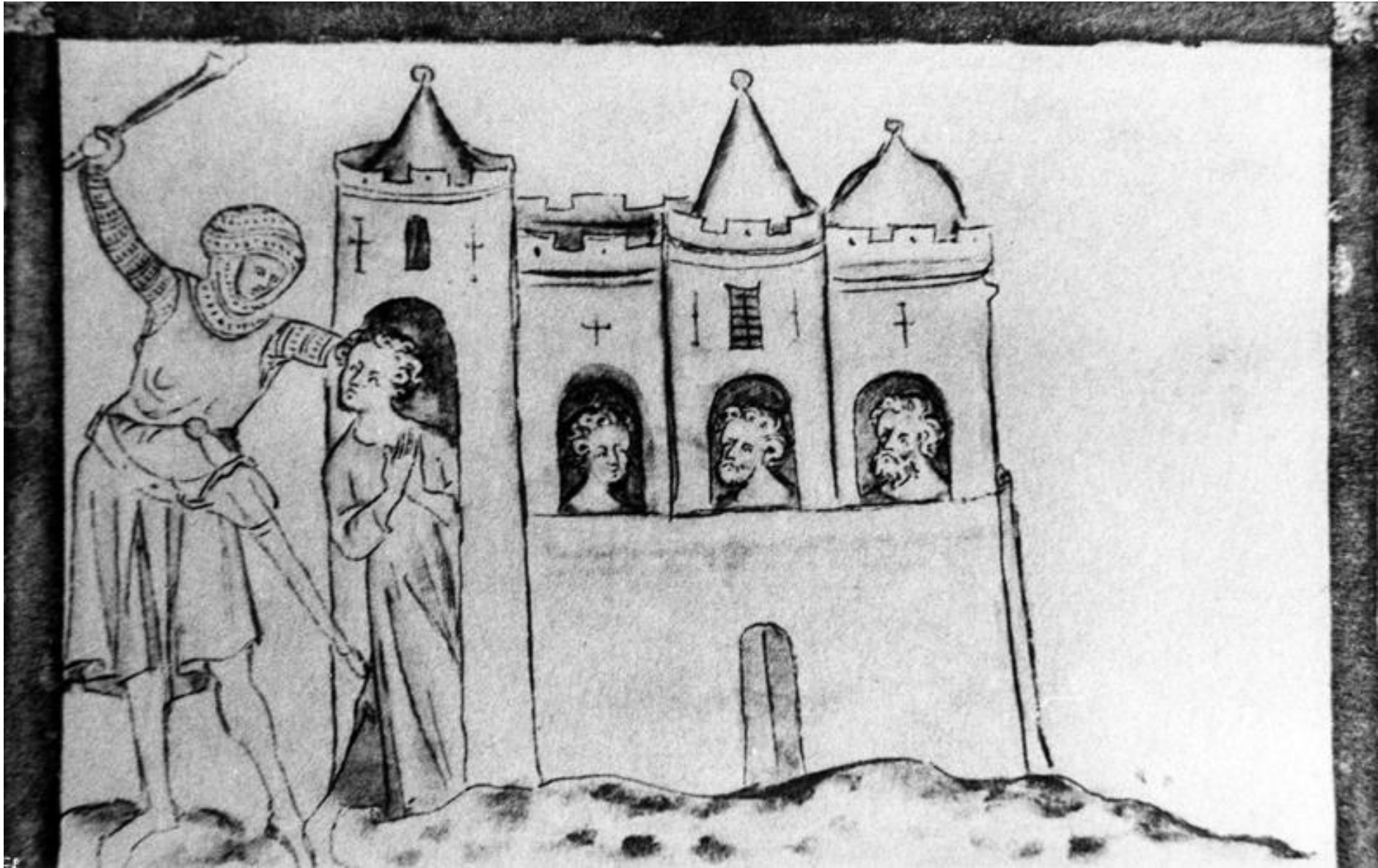


Figure 136



Figure 137

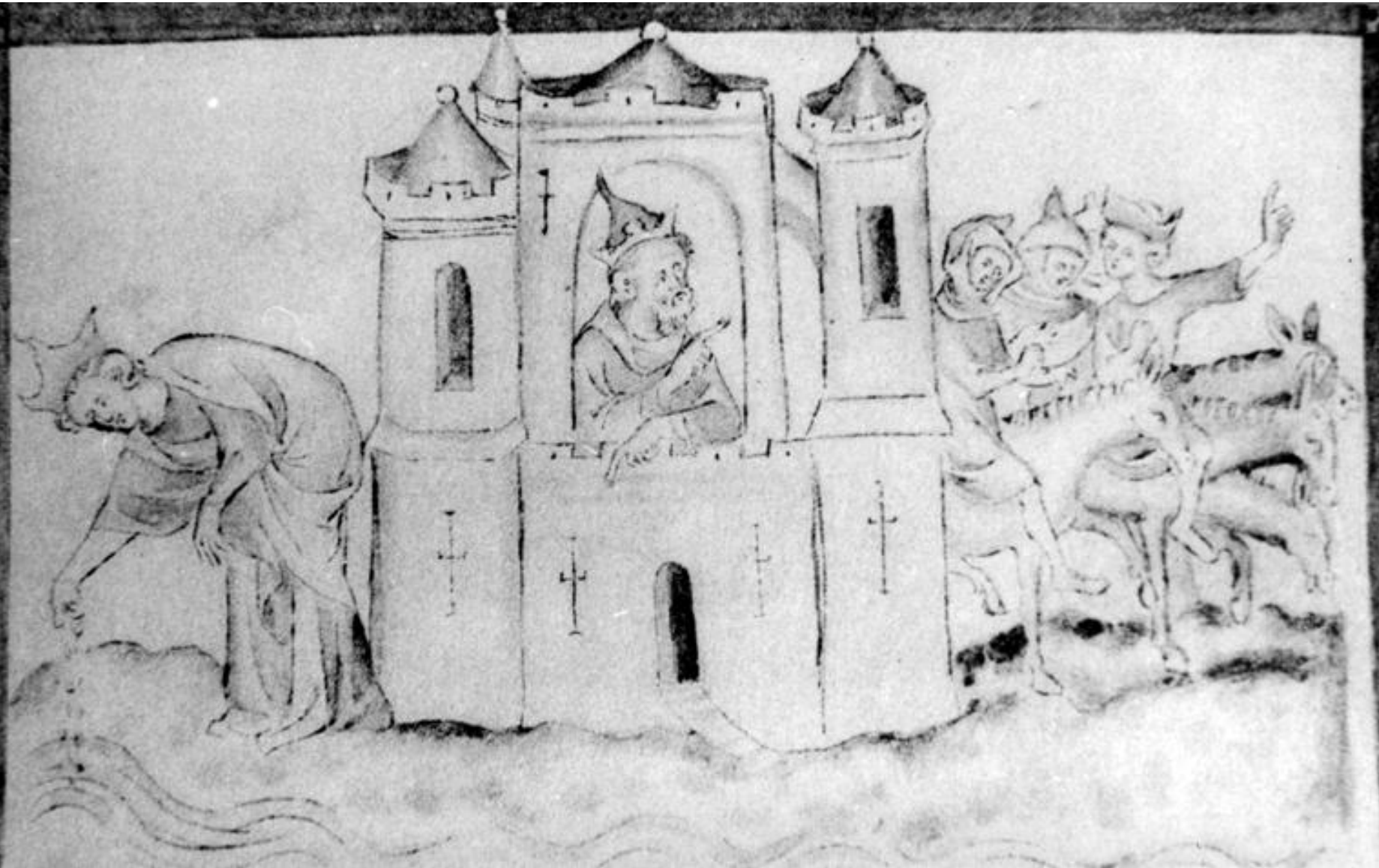


Figure 138

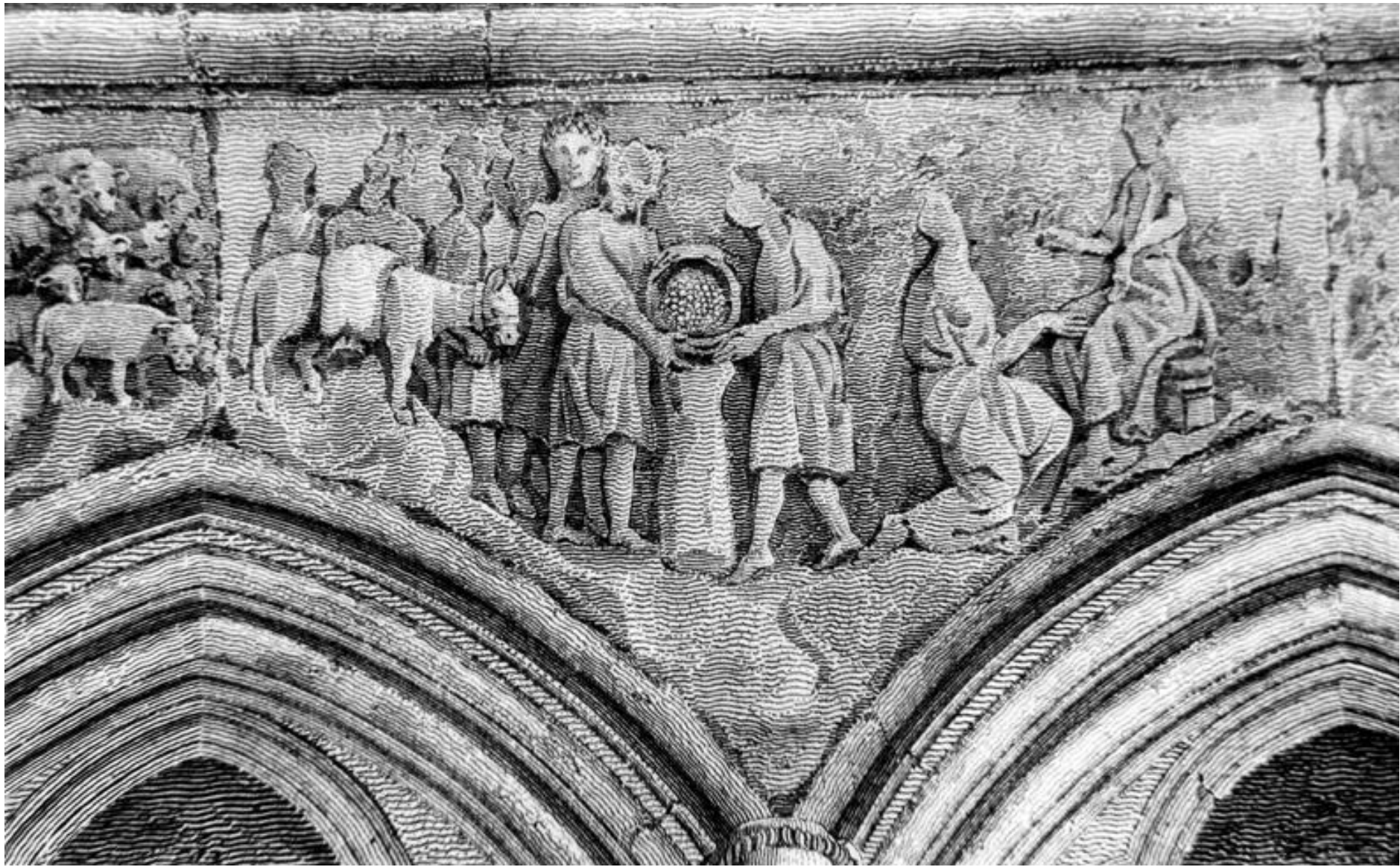


Figure 139



Figure 140 a, b



Figure 141 a (top)

b (right)





Figure 142 a (top)

b (right)



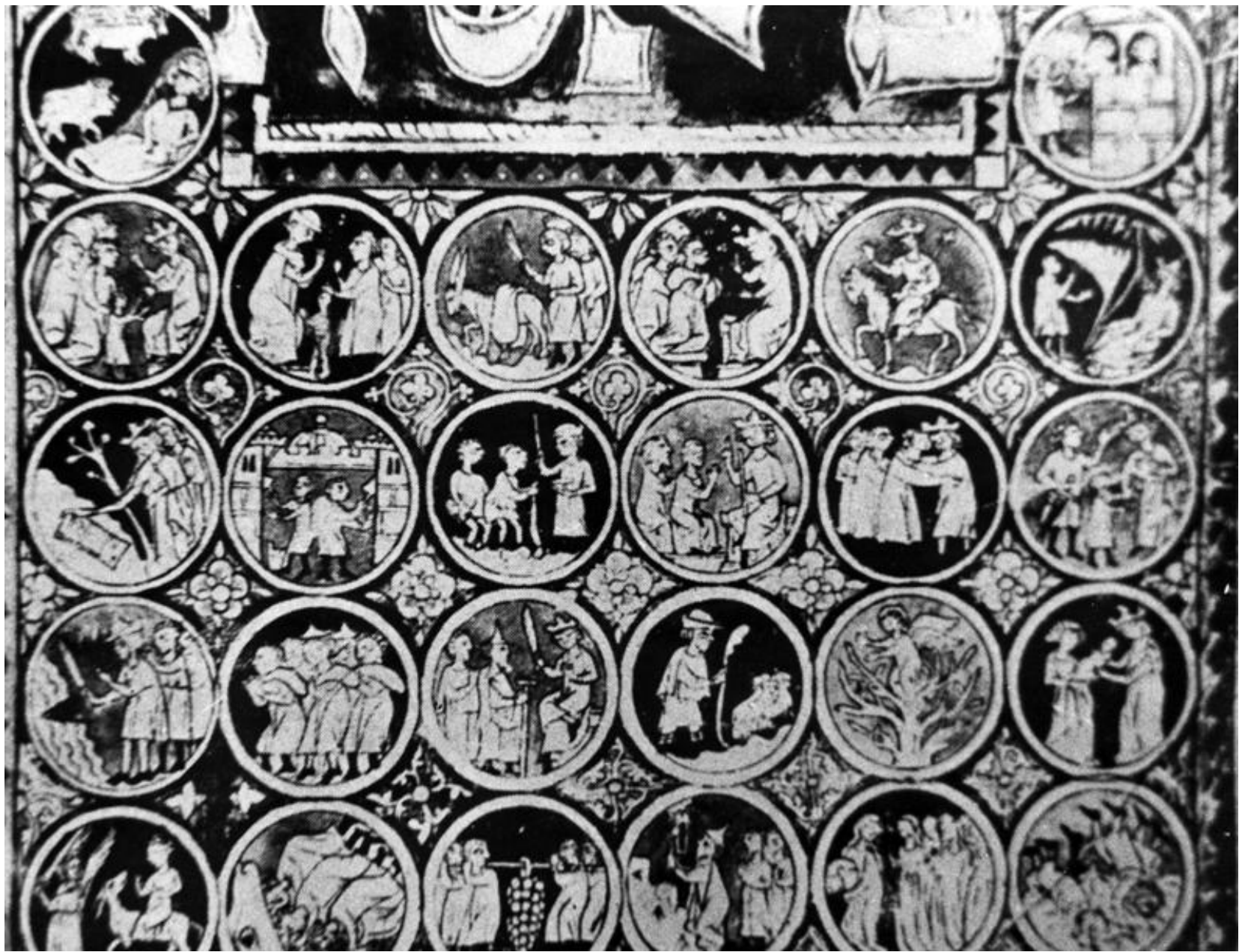


Figure 143

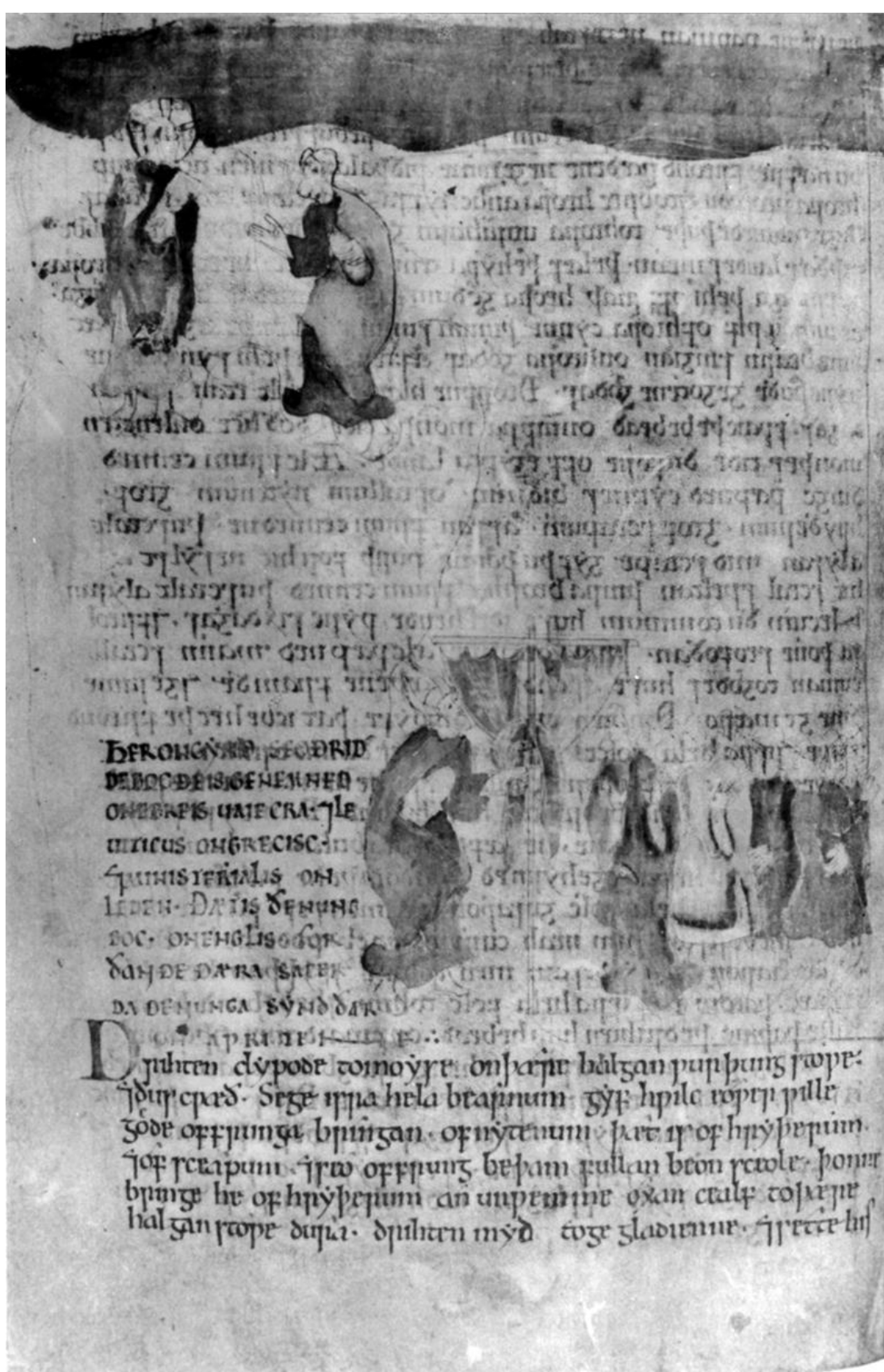


Figure 144



Figure 145

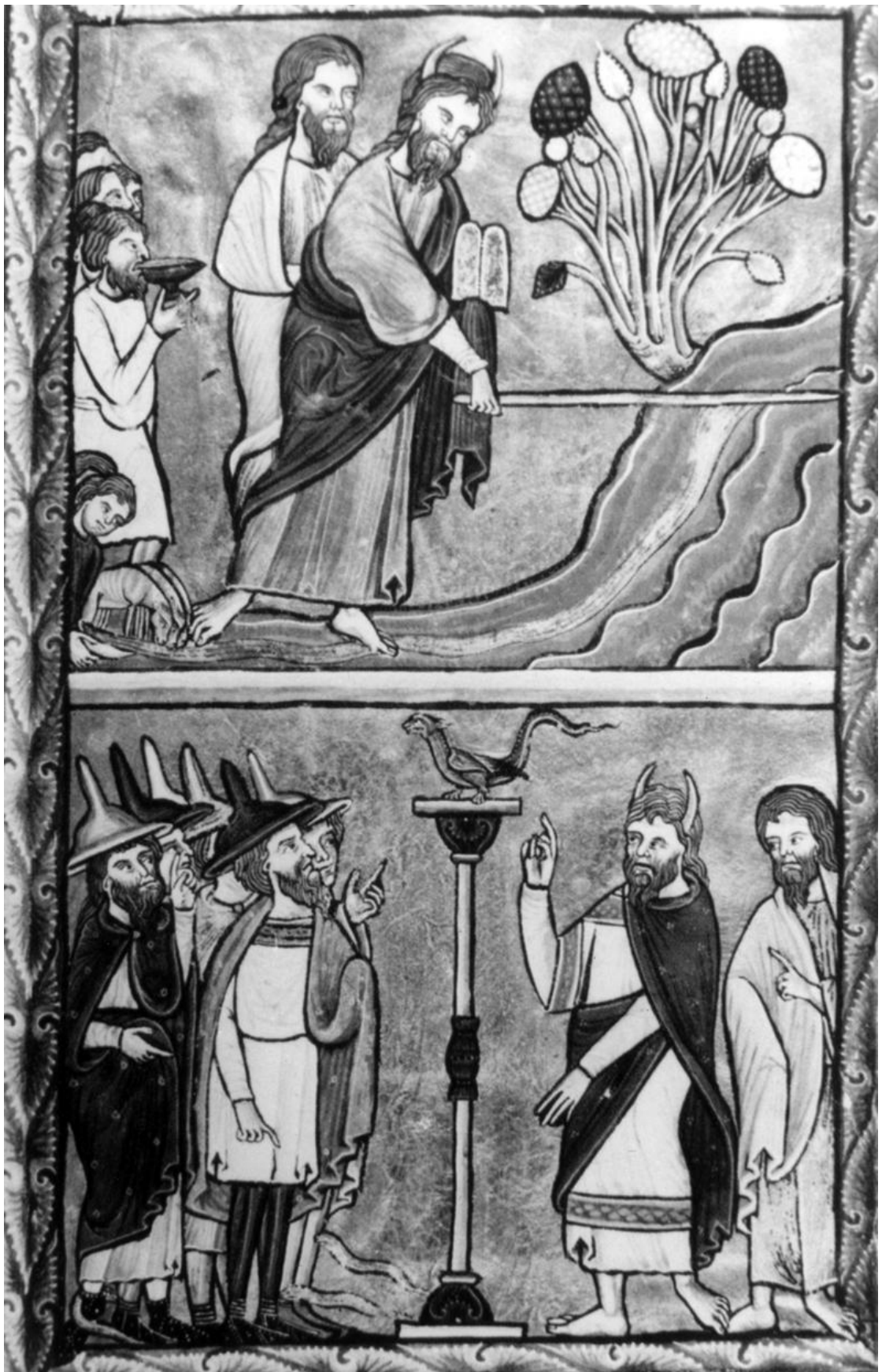


Figure 146

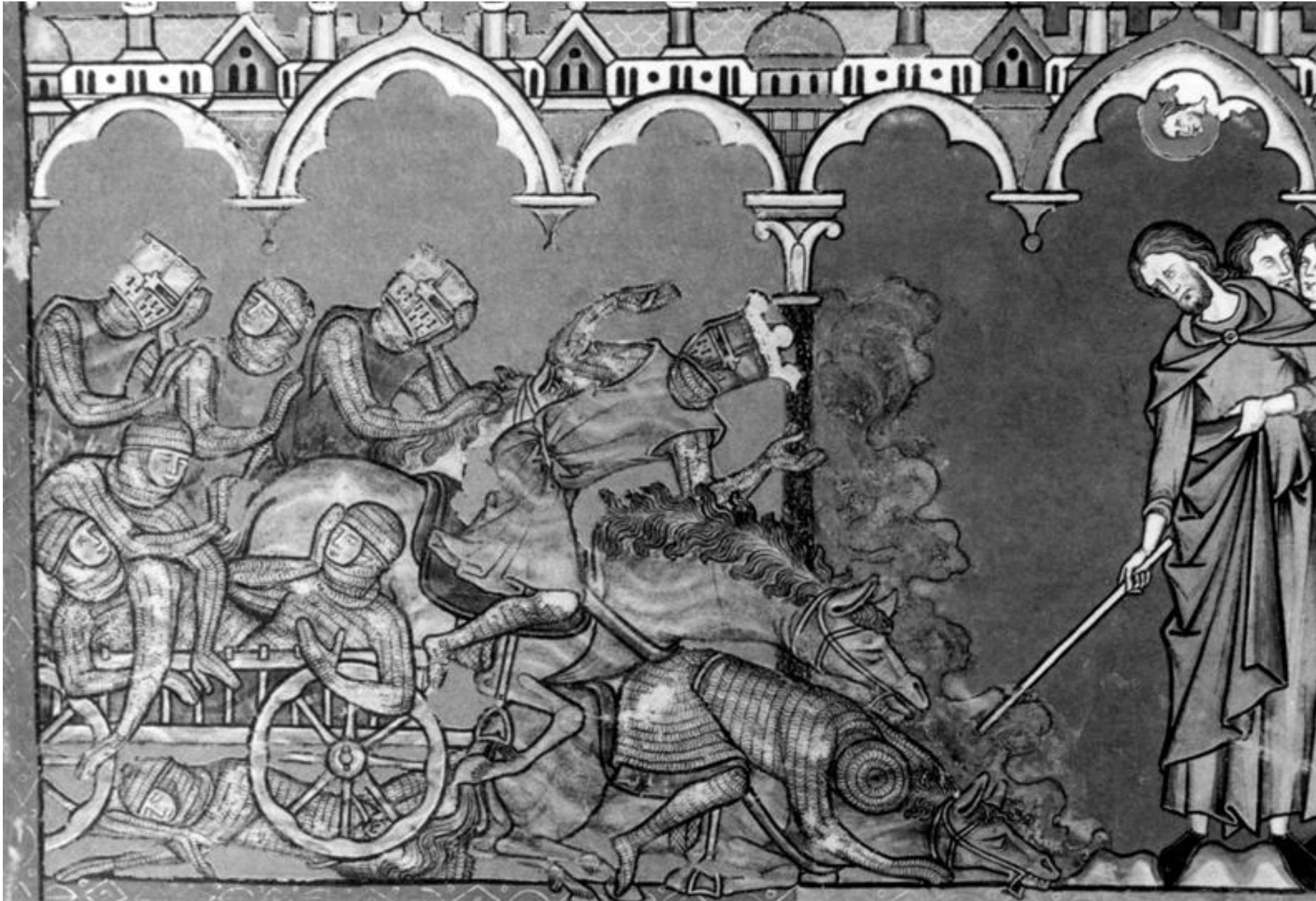


Figure 147



Figure 148



Figure 149 a, b



Figure 150 a (top)

b (right)





Figure 151



Figure 152 a, b



Figure 153



Figure 154 a, b, c



Figure 155 a, b



Figure 156 a, b





Figure 157

Figure 158



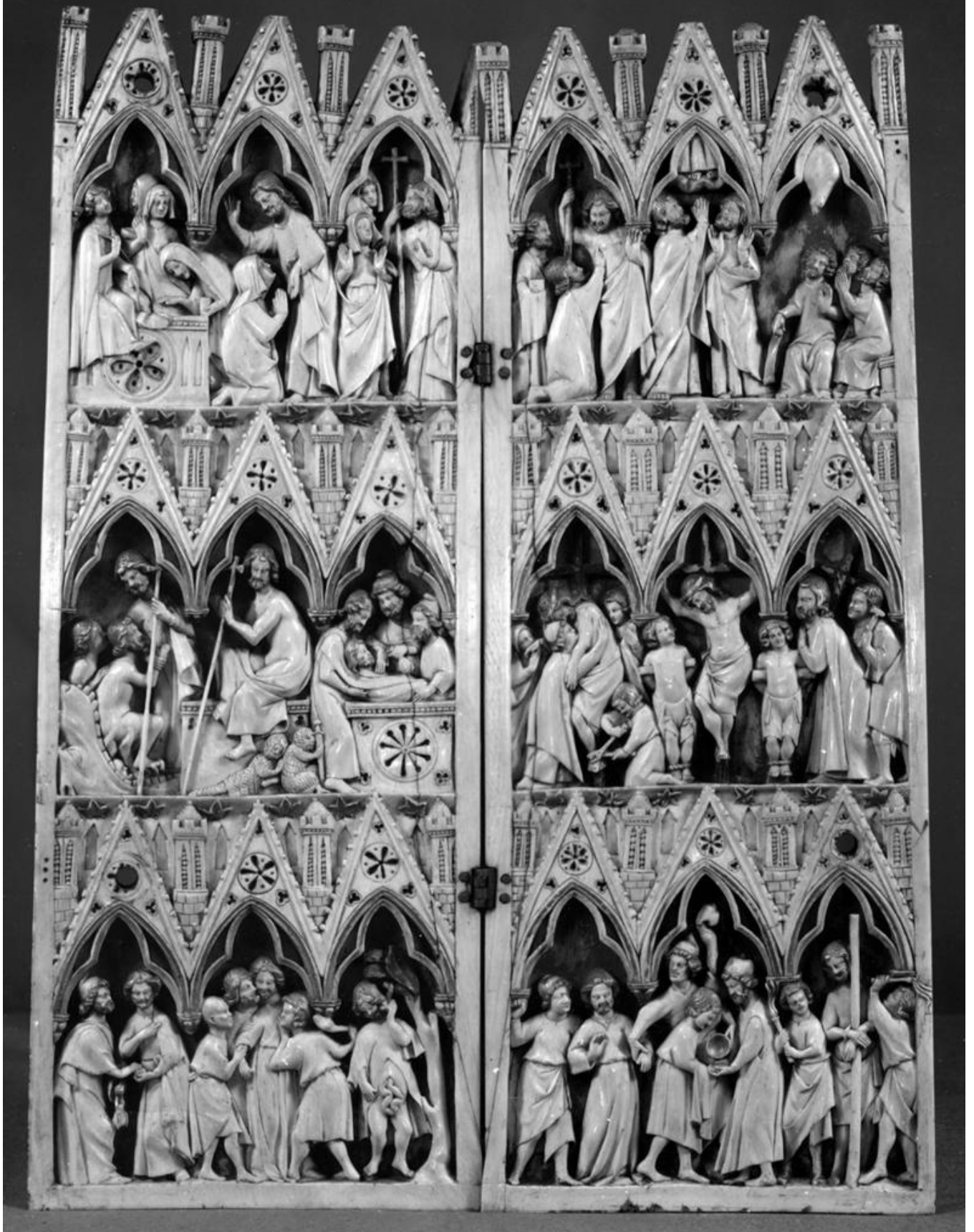


Figure 159



Figure 160



Figure 161 a, b (top); c, d (bottom)

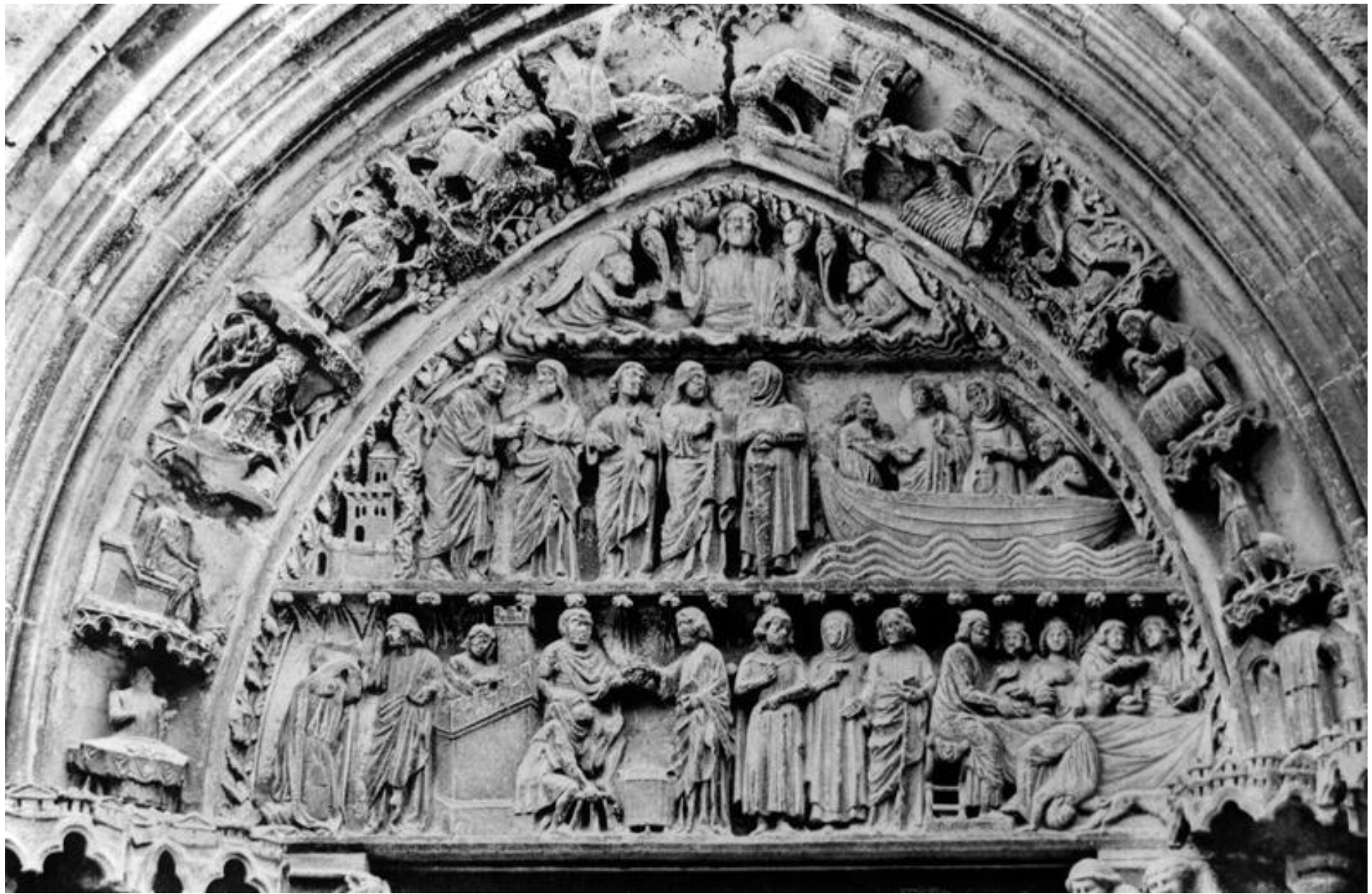


Figure 162

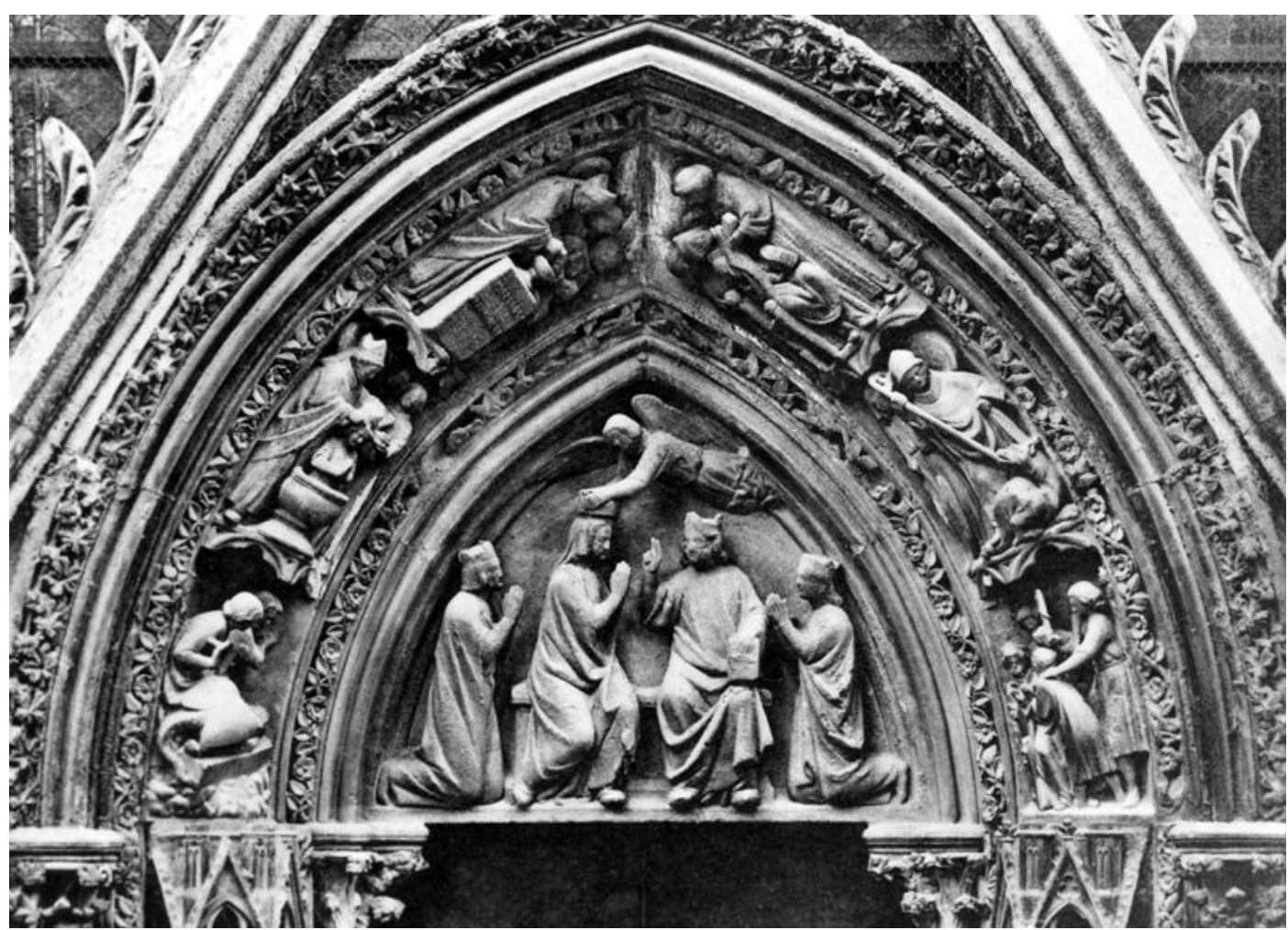
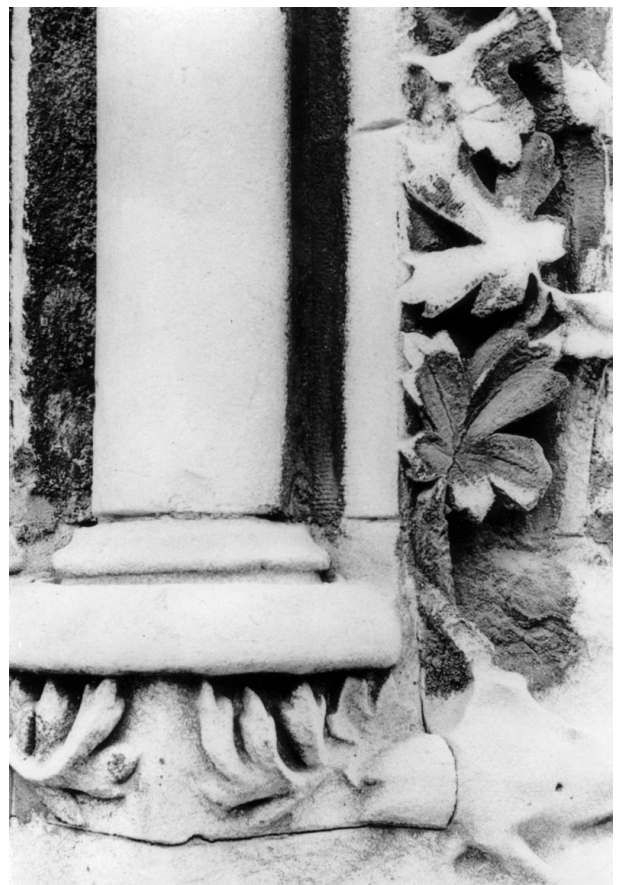


Figure 163 a, b



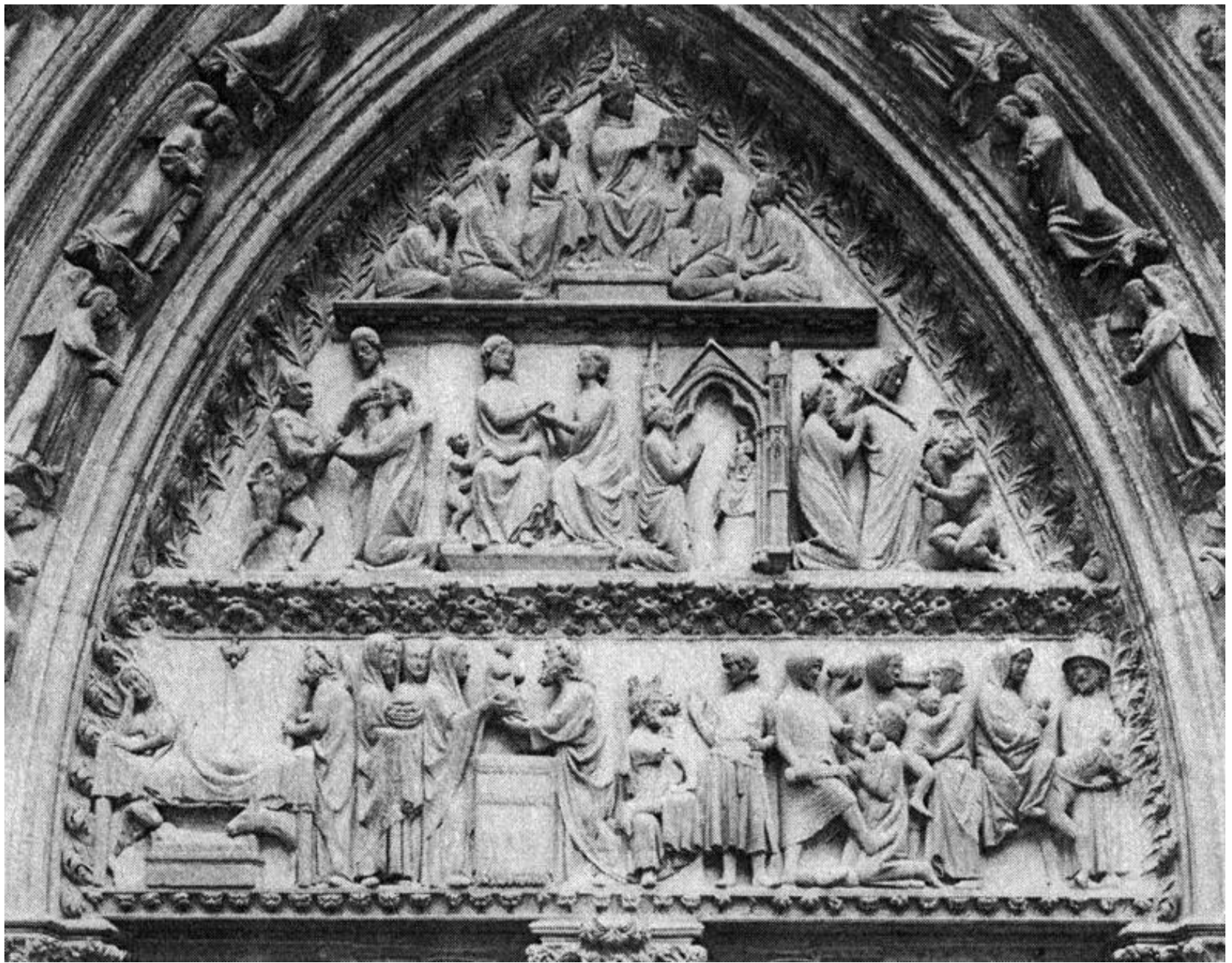


Figure 164



Figure 165 a, b

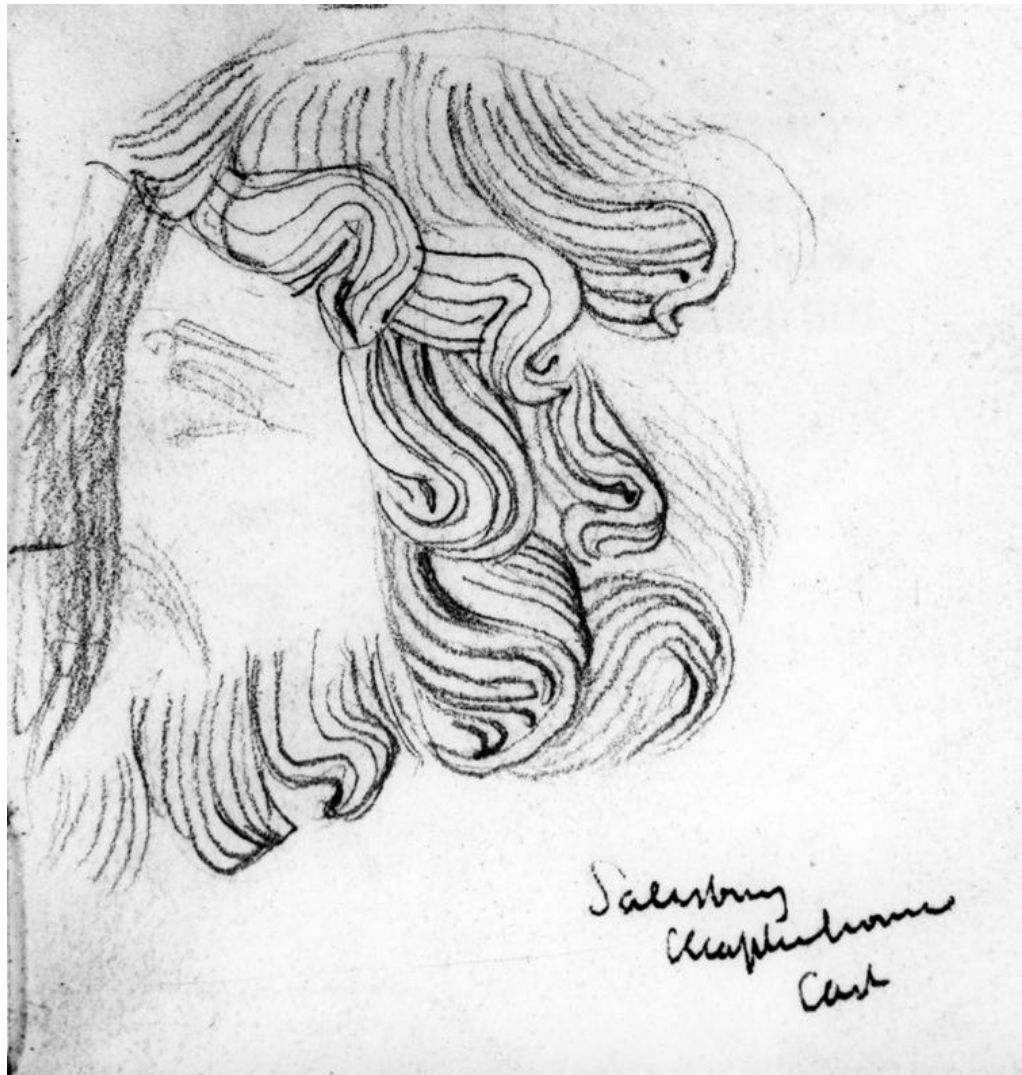


Figure 166 a, b



Figure 167

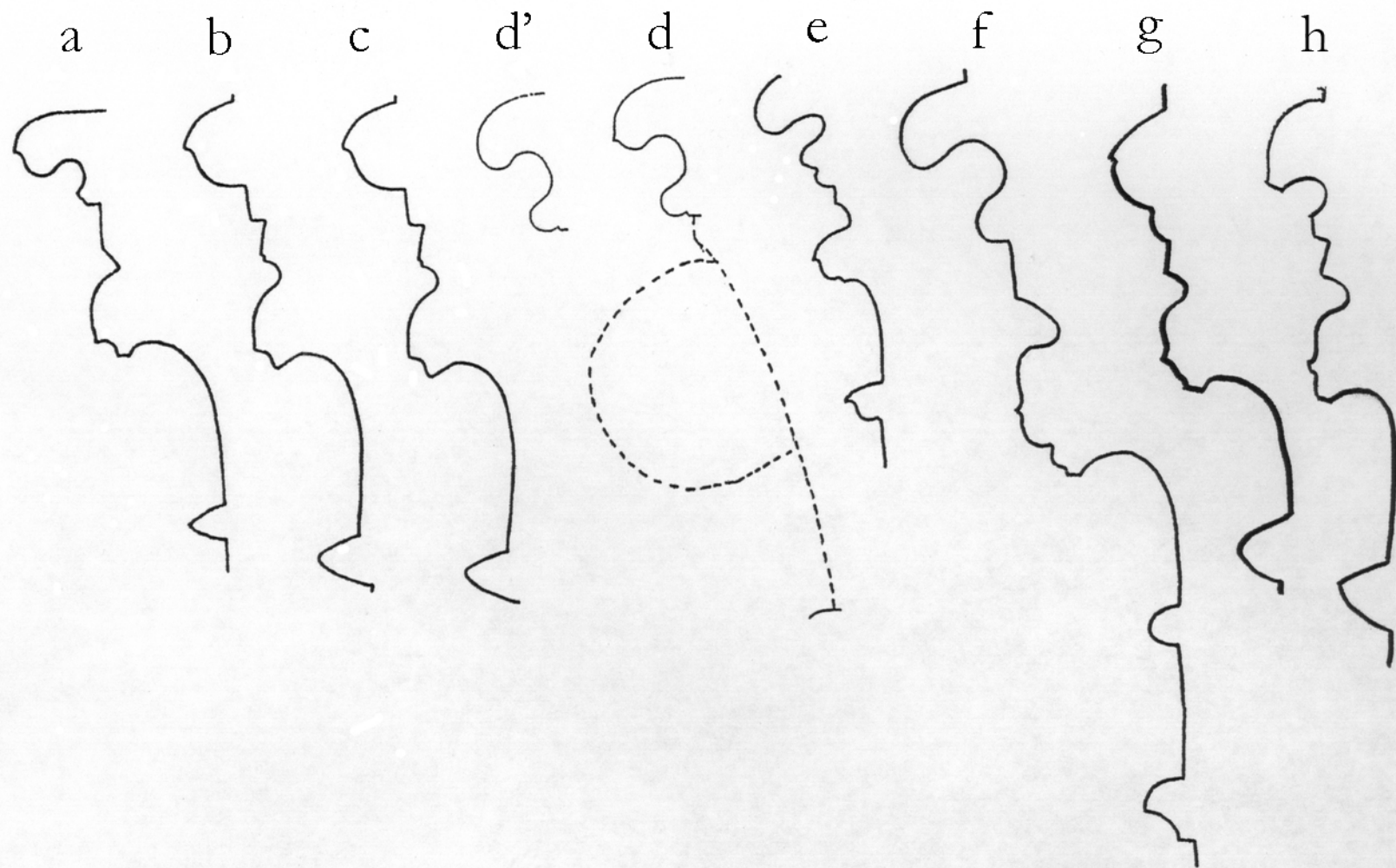
Figure 168





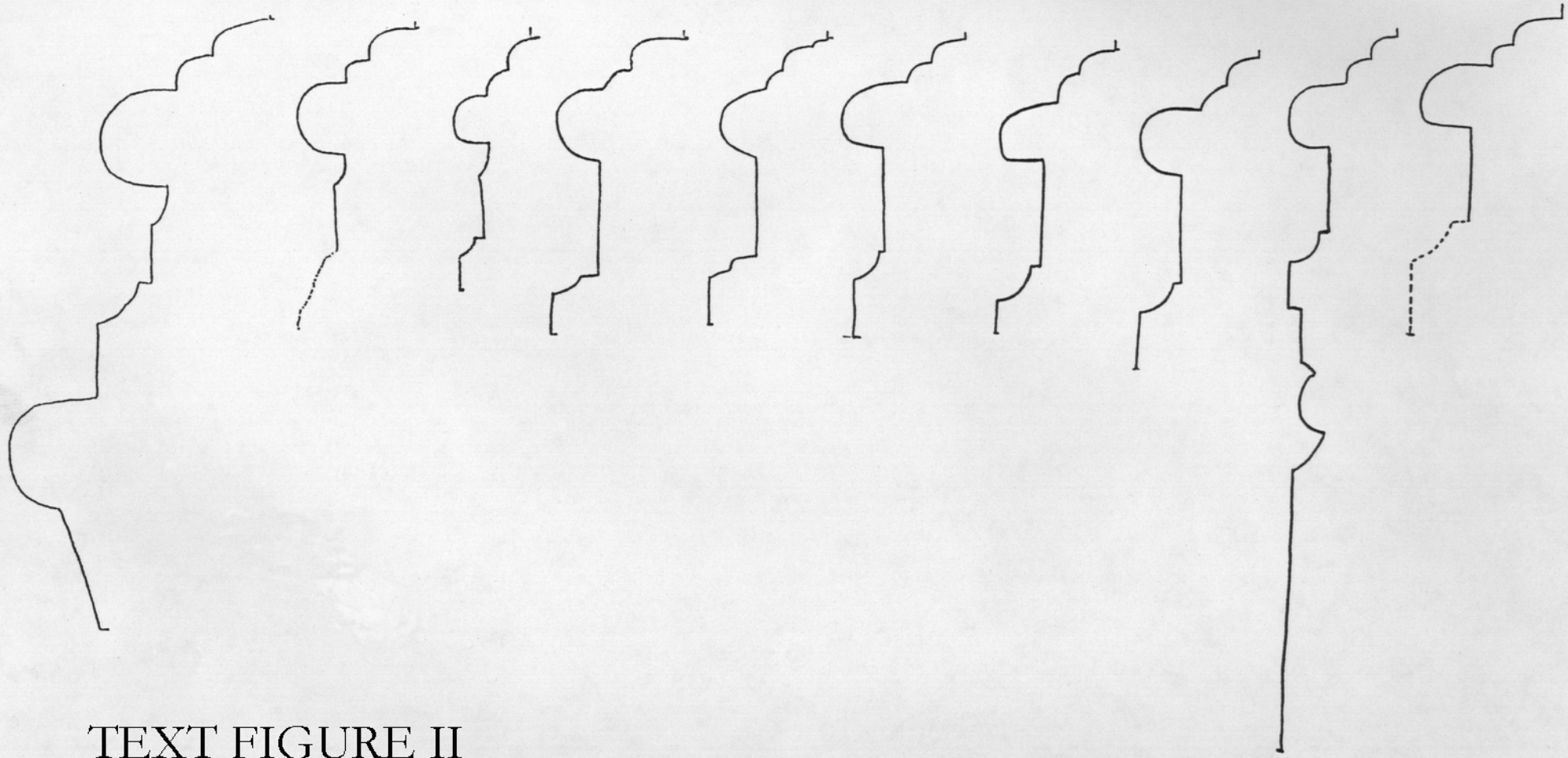
Figure 169 a, b



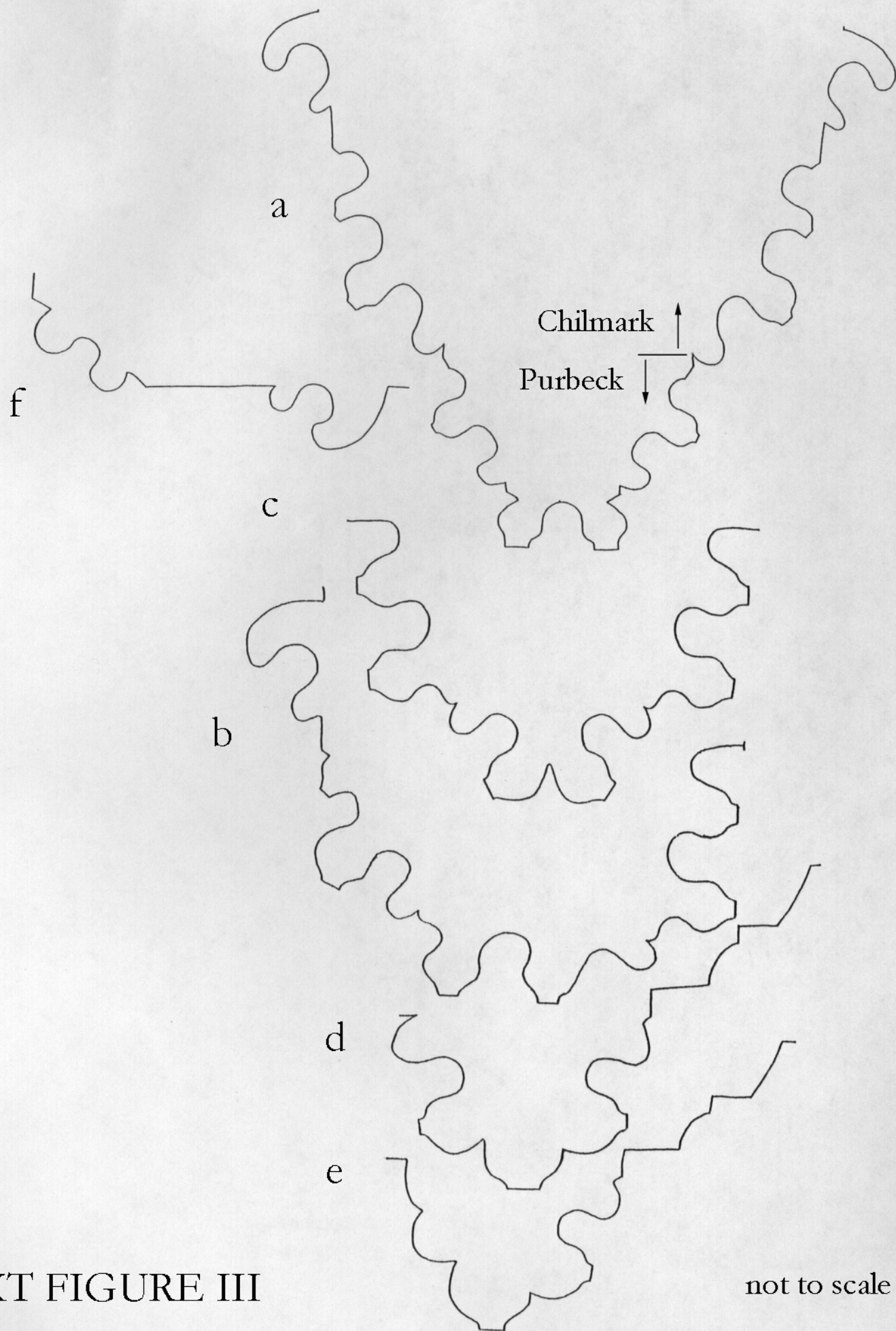


TEXT FIGURE I

a b c d e f g h j k



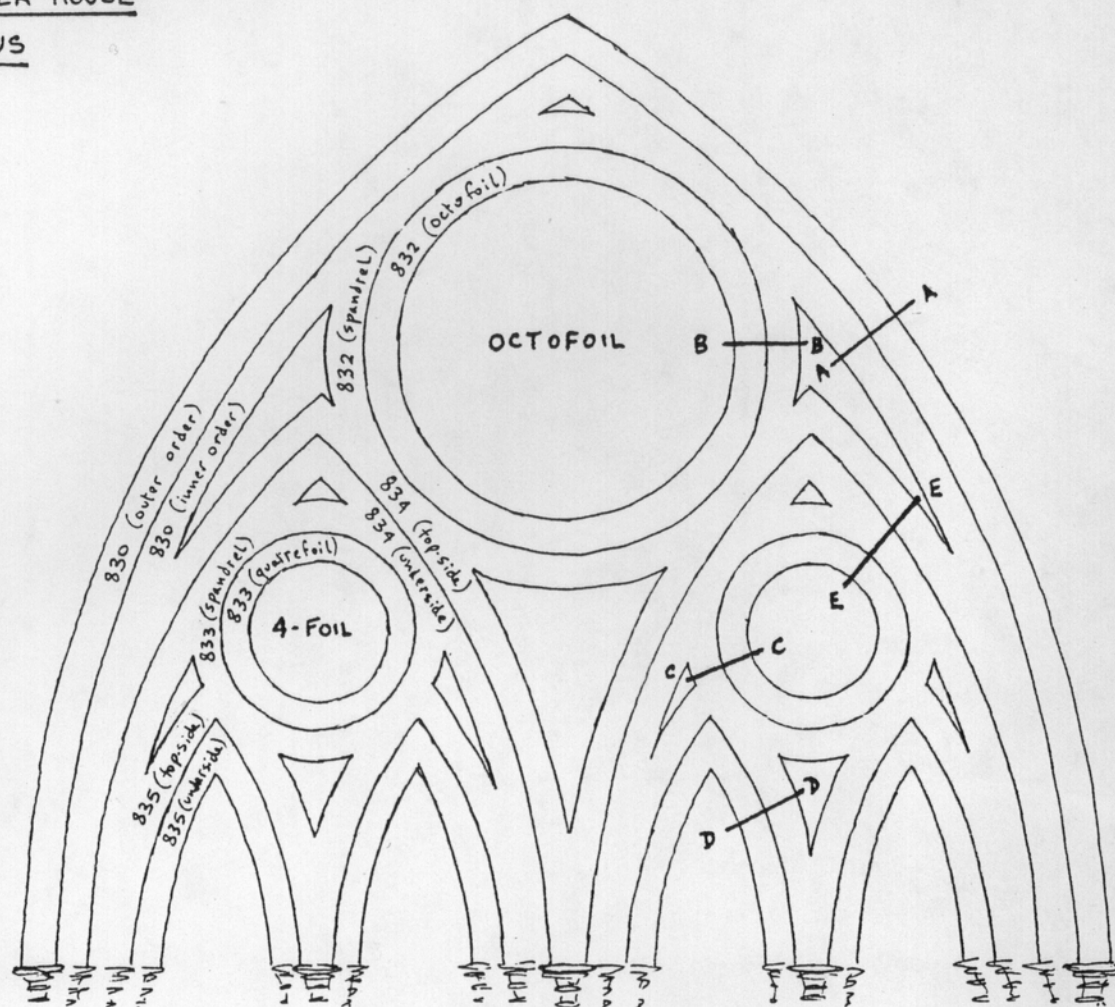
TEXT FIGURE II



TEXT FIGURE III

not to scale

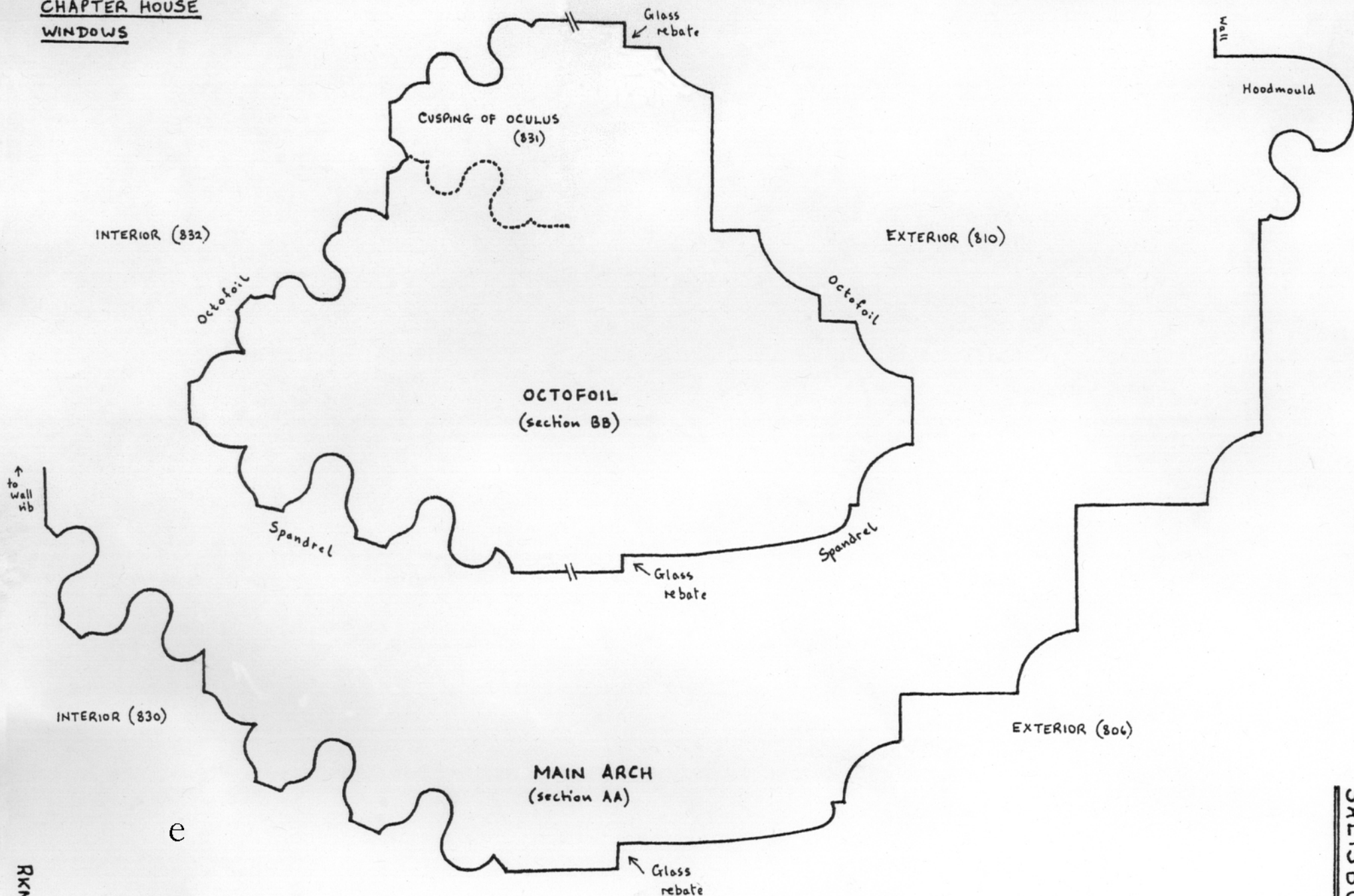
CHAPTER HOUSE
WINDOWS



KEY TO MOULDING DRAWINGS
(INTERIOR ELEVATION)

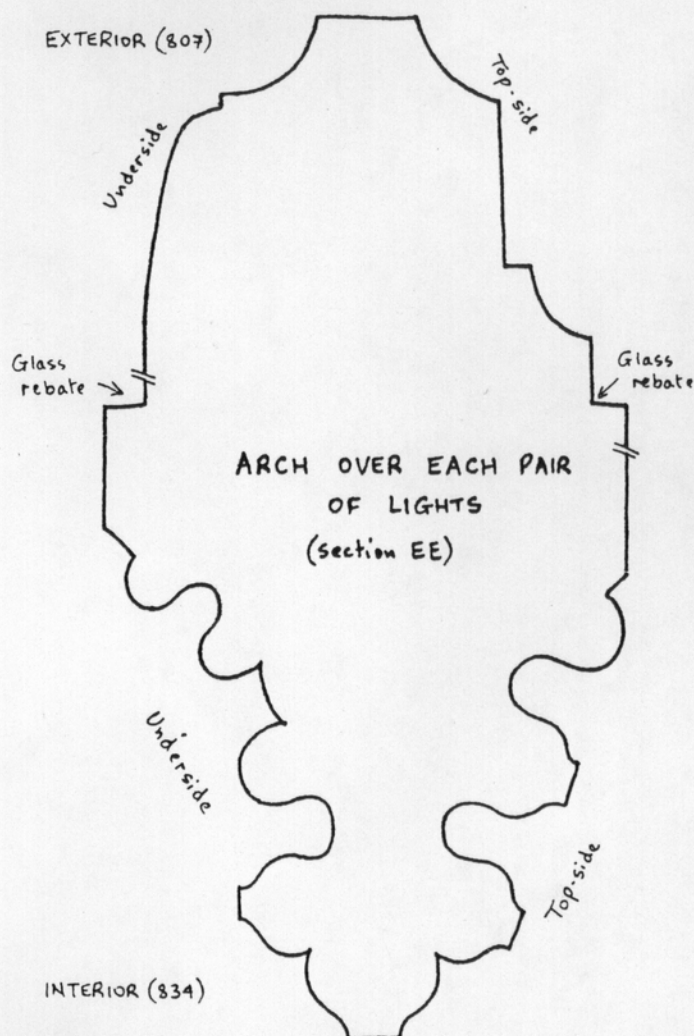
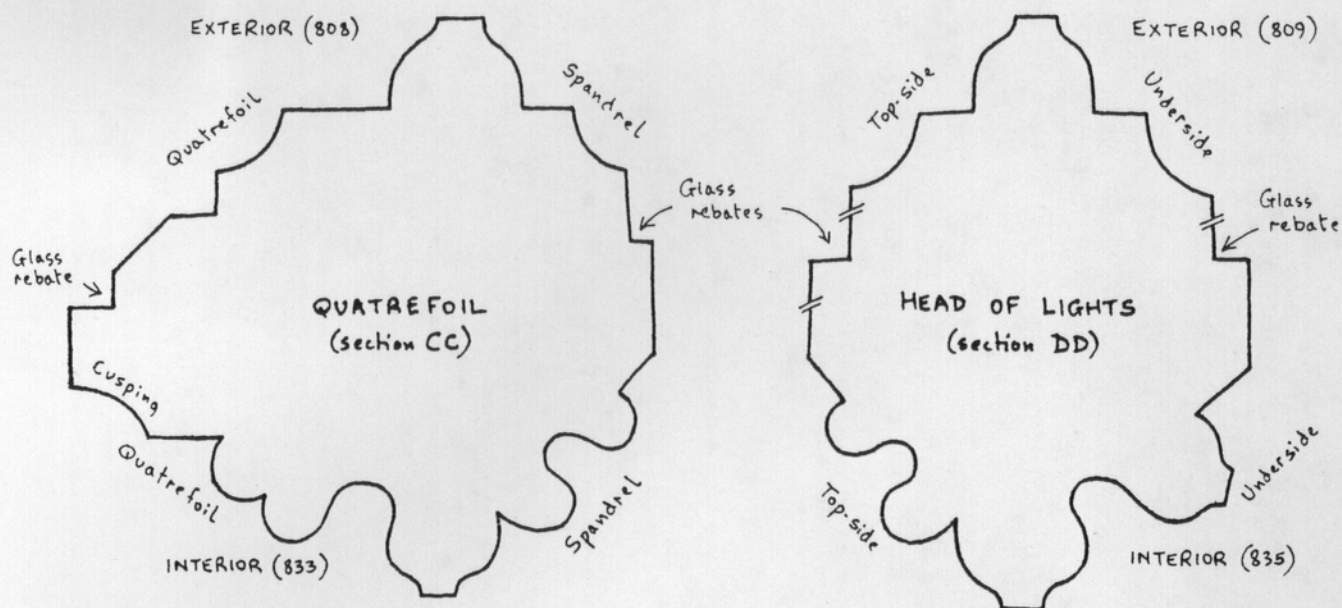
NOT TO SCALE

CHAPTER HOUSE
WINDOWS

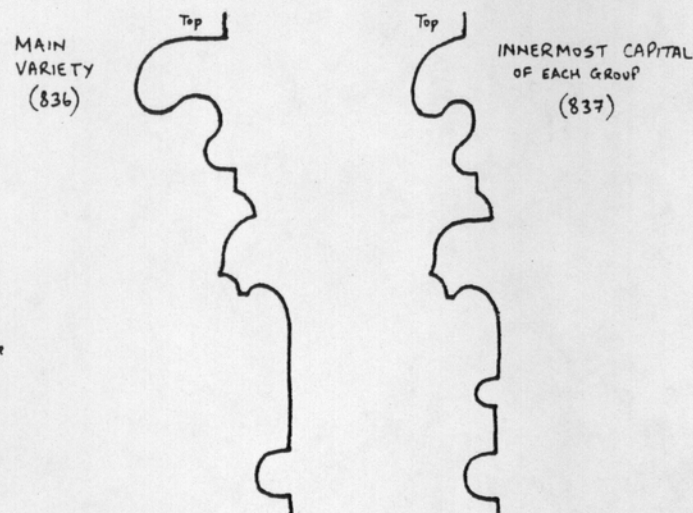


TEXT FIGURE V

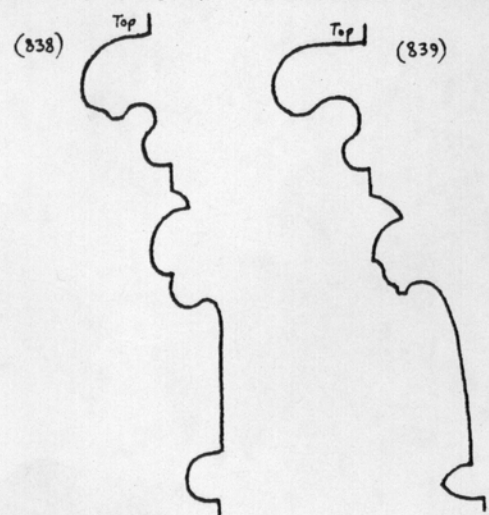
1/4 - SIZE



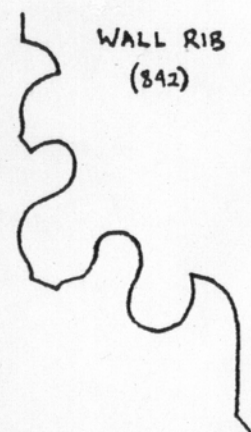
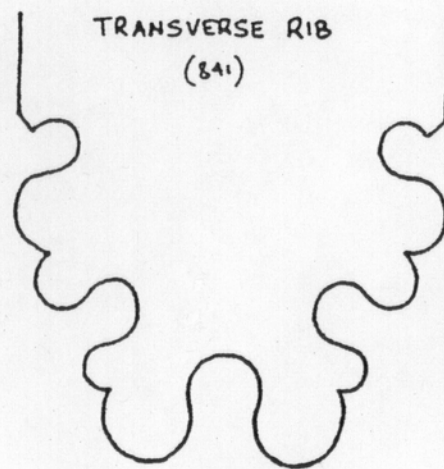
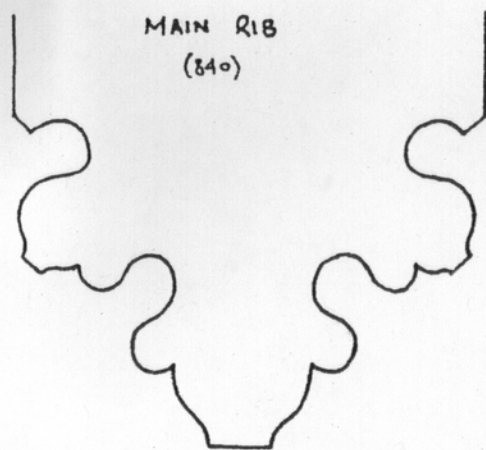
CAPITALS AT SPRINGING OF VAULT / WINDOWS



VARIANTS IN THE SPRINGER BETWEEN E. & N.E. BAYS (ONLY)



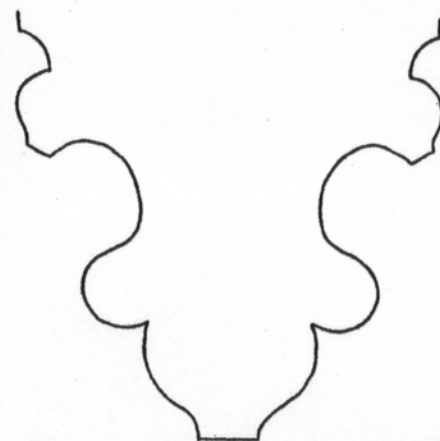
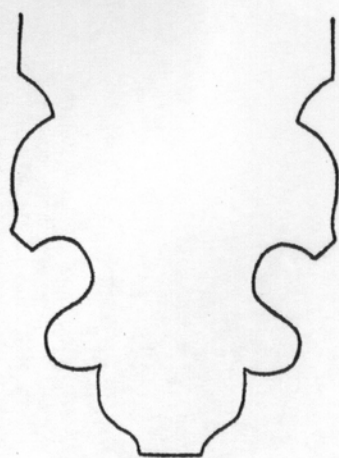
TEXT FIGURE VI



TEXT FIGURE VII

$\frac{1}{4}$ - SIZE

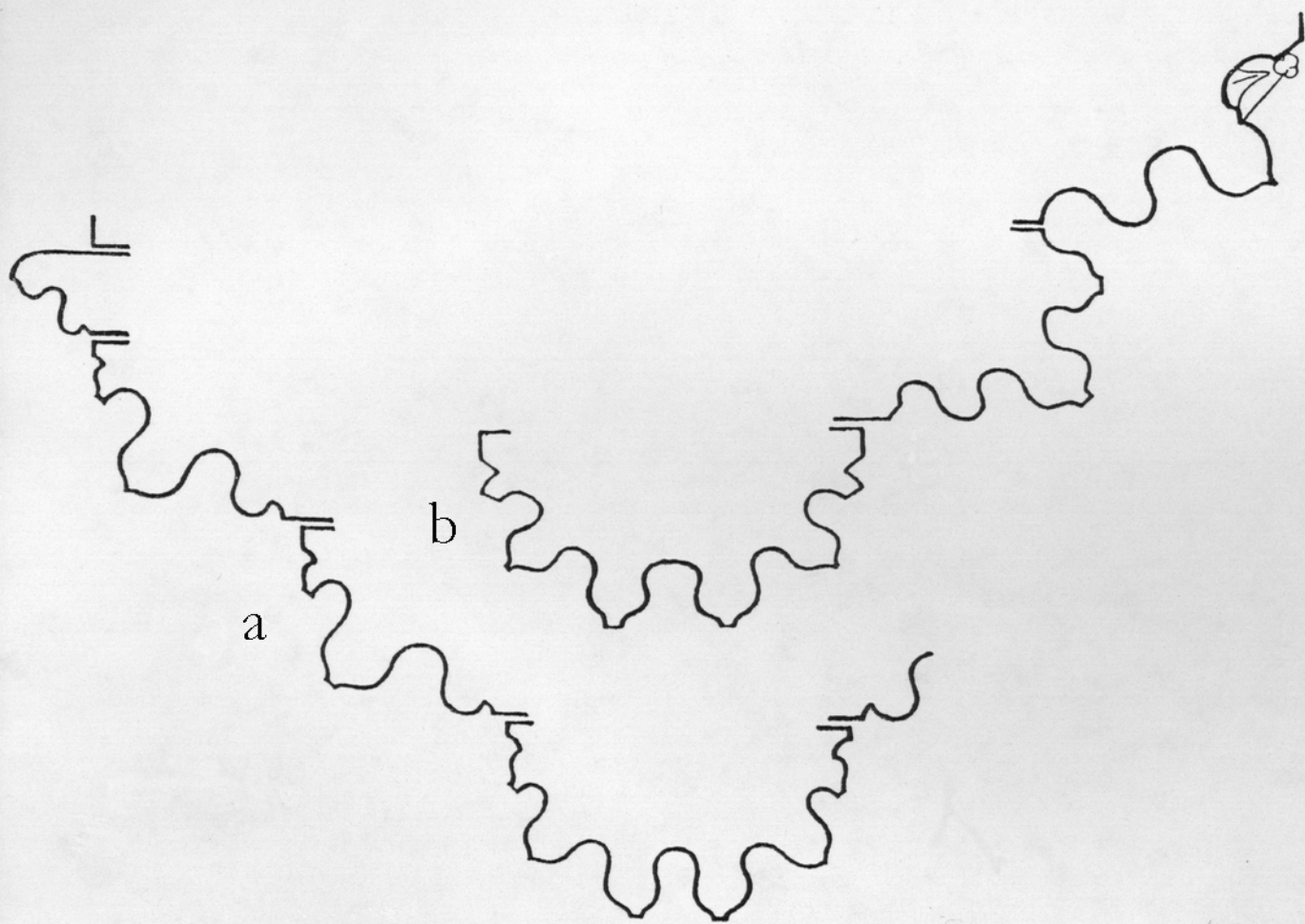
RKM '79



a

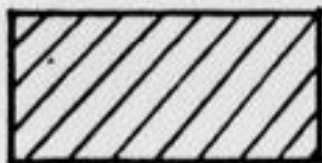
b

TEXT FIGURE VIII



TEXT FIGURE IX

KEY TO DIAGRAM.



Insets of Caen stone.



Mortar or mastic repairs cement fill.



Recutting. and sanding.



Cracks or fractures.

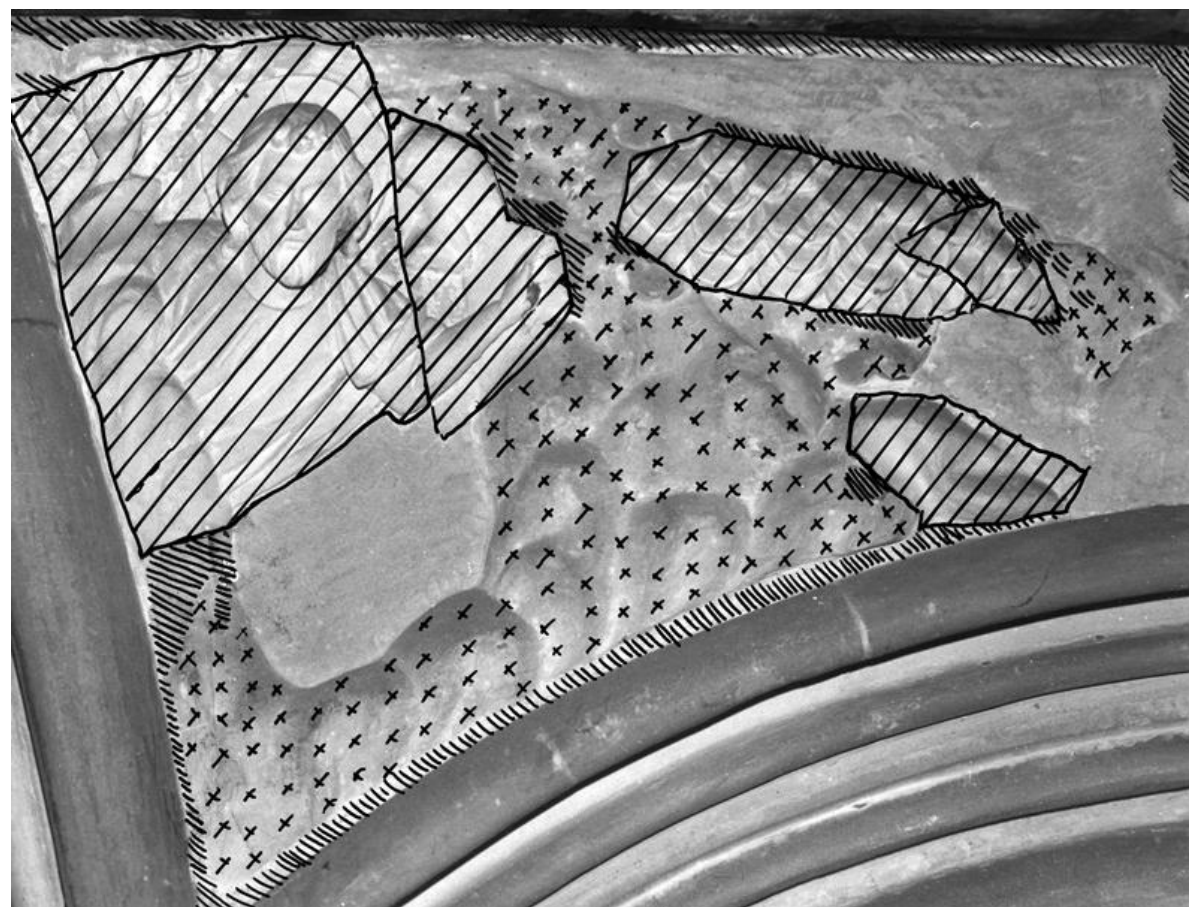


Plate I



Plate II

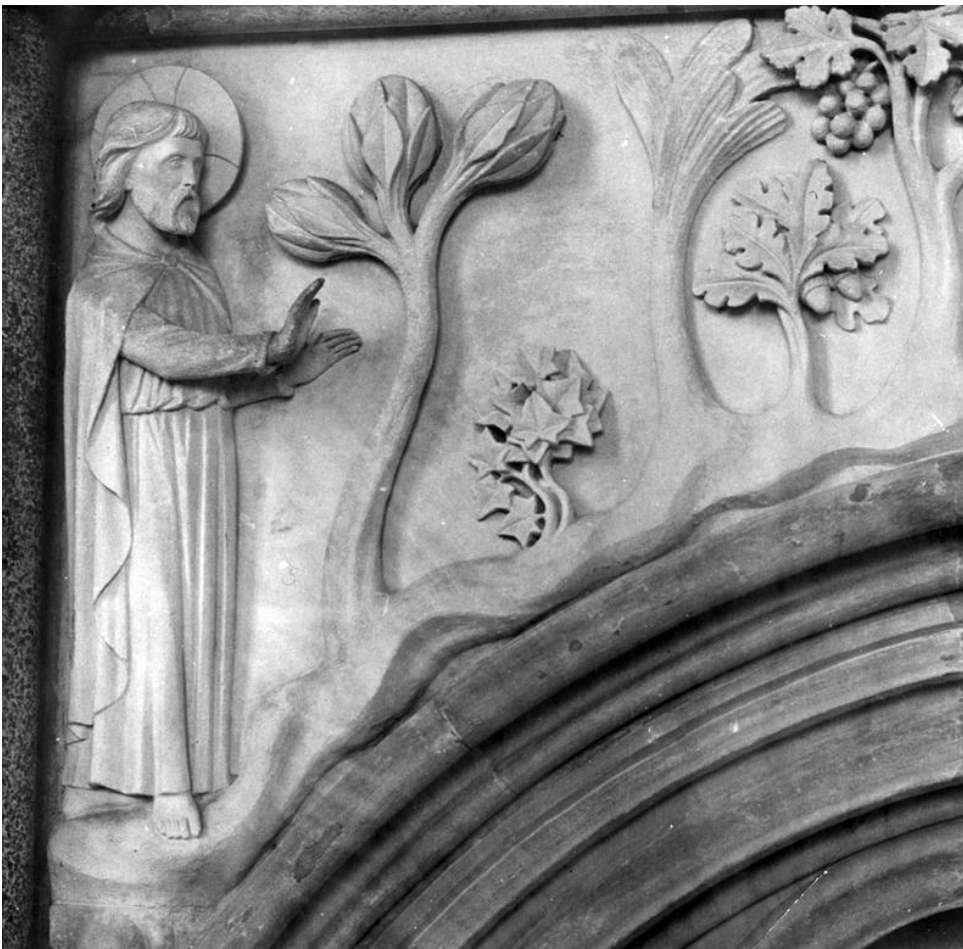


Plate III

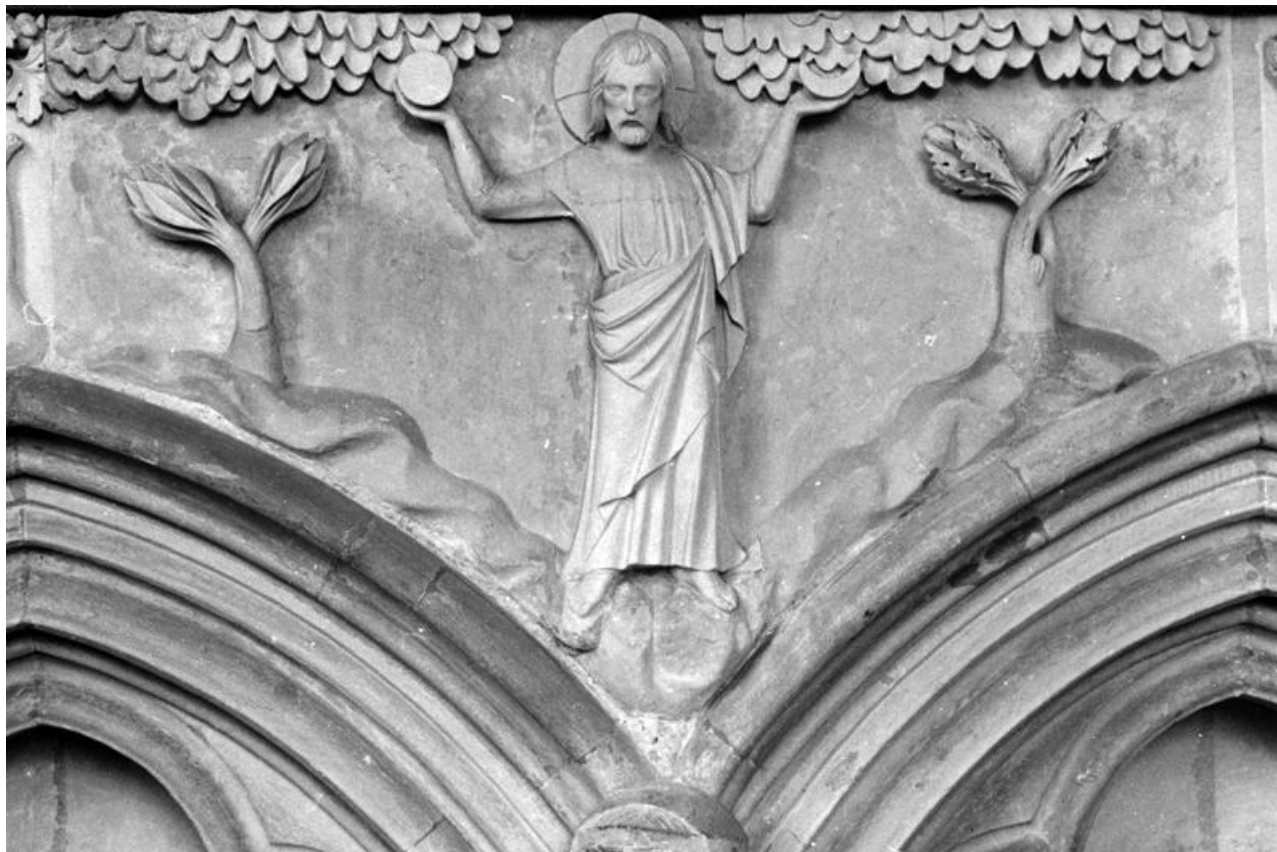


Plate IV

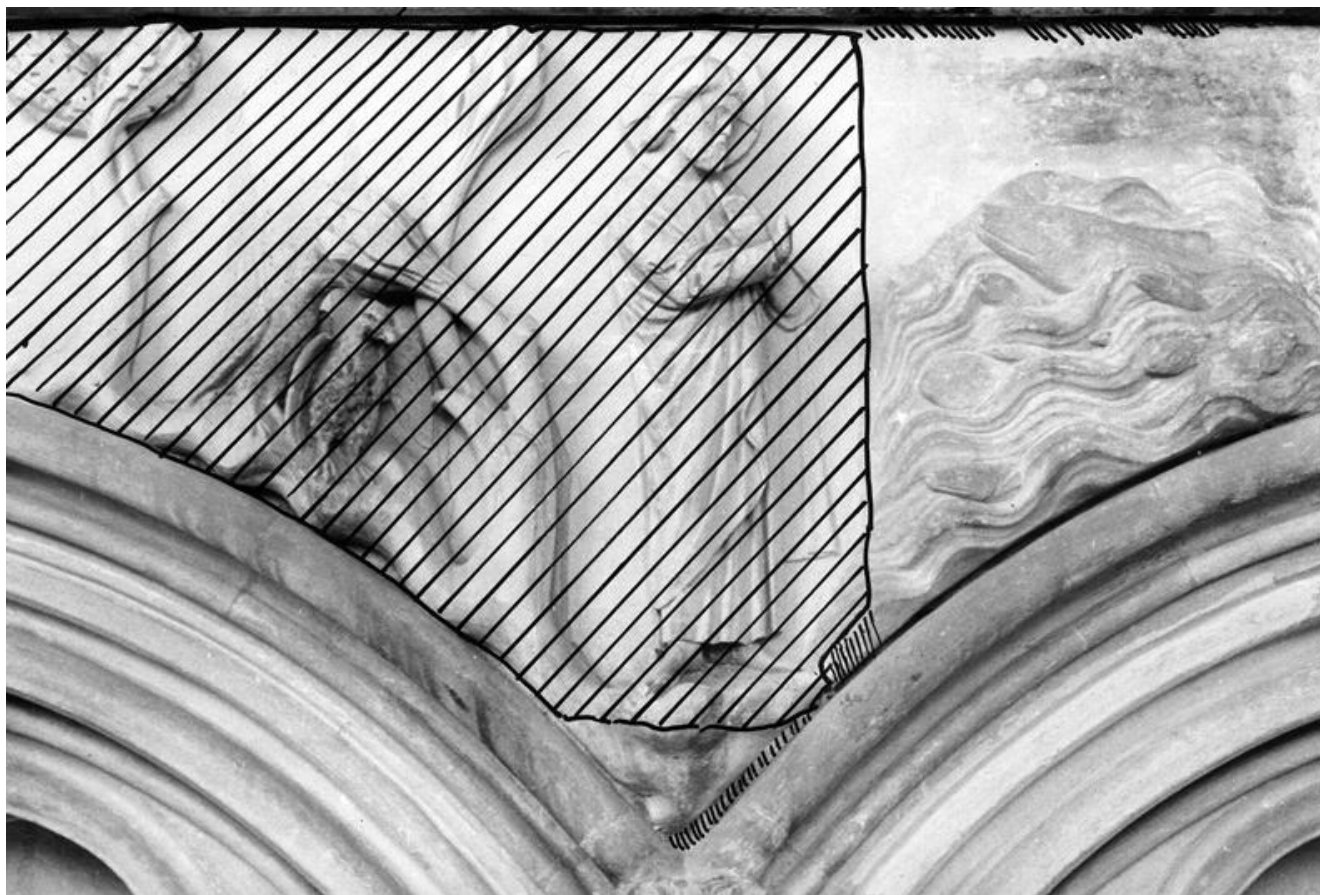


Plate V

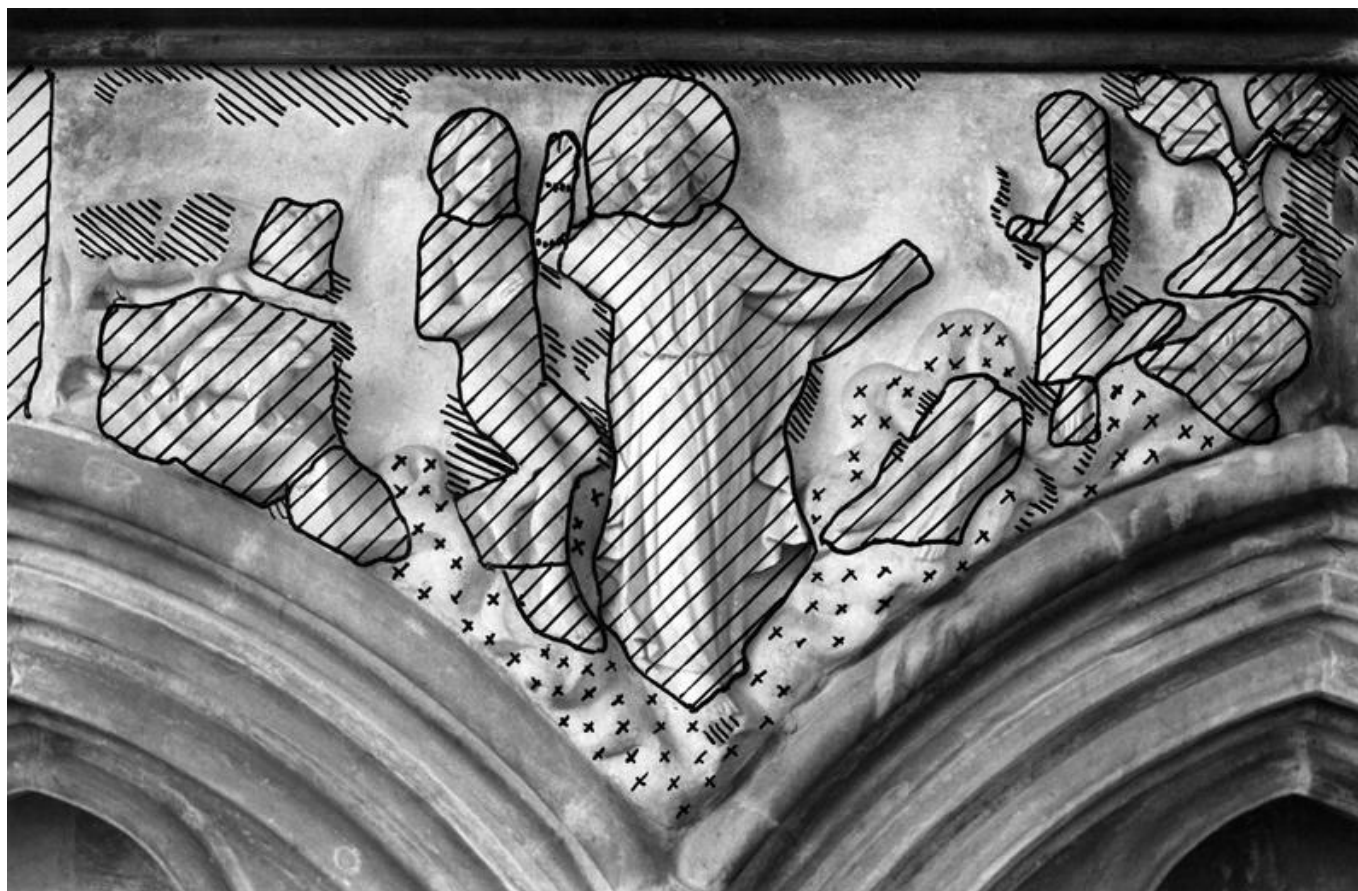


Plate VI



Plate VII

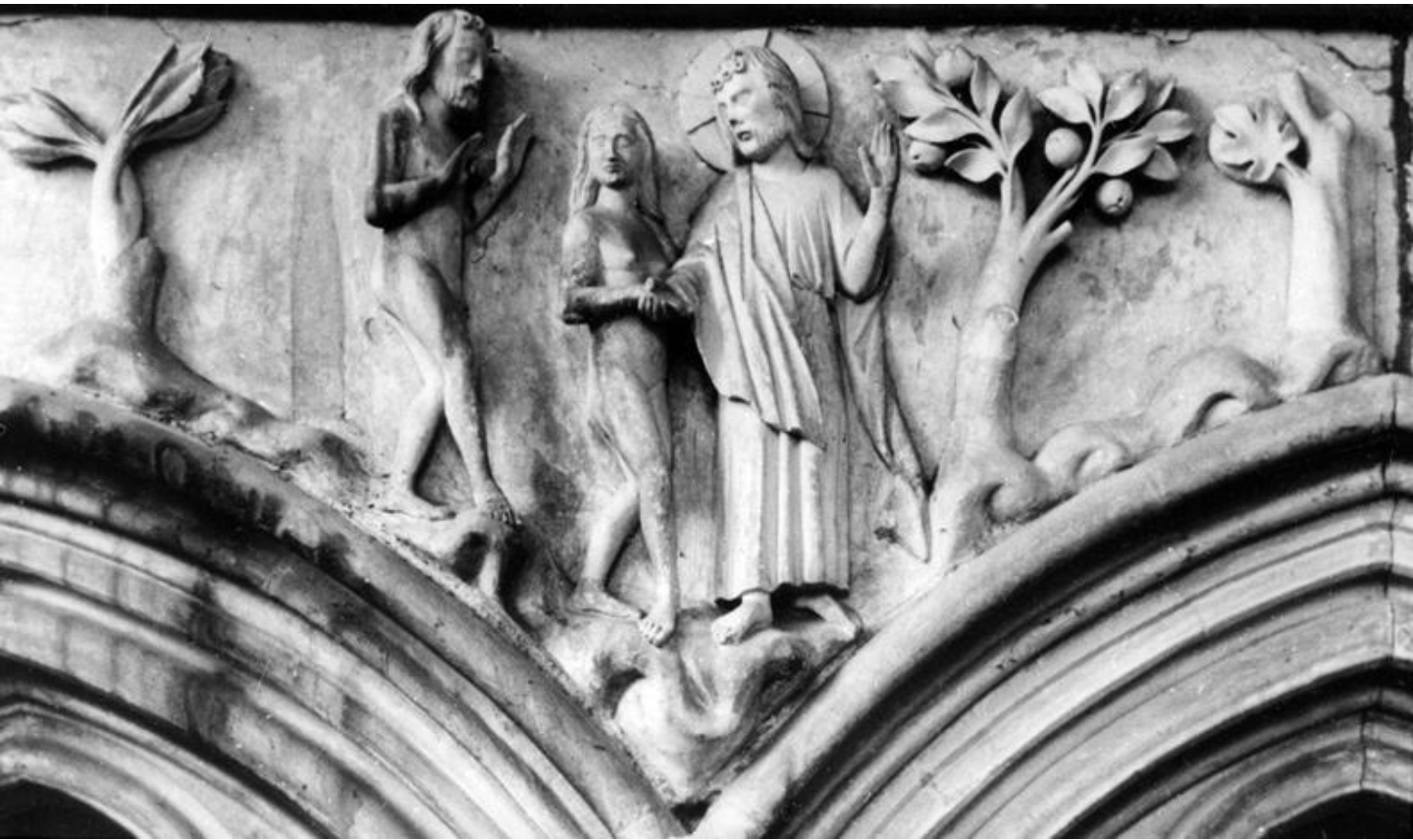


Plate VIII



Plate IX



Plate X



Plate XI



Plate XII

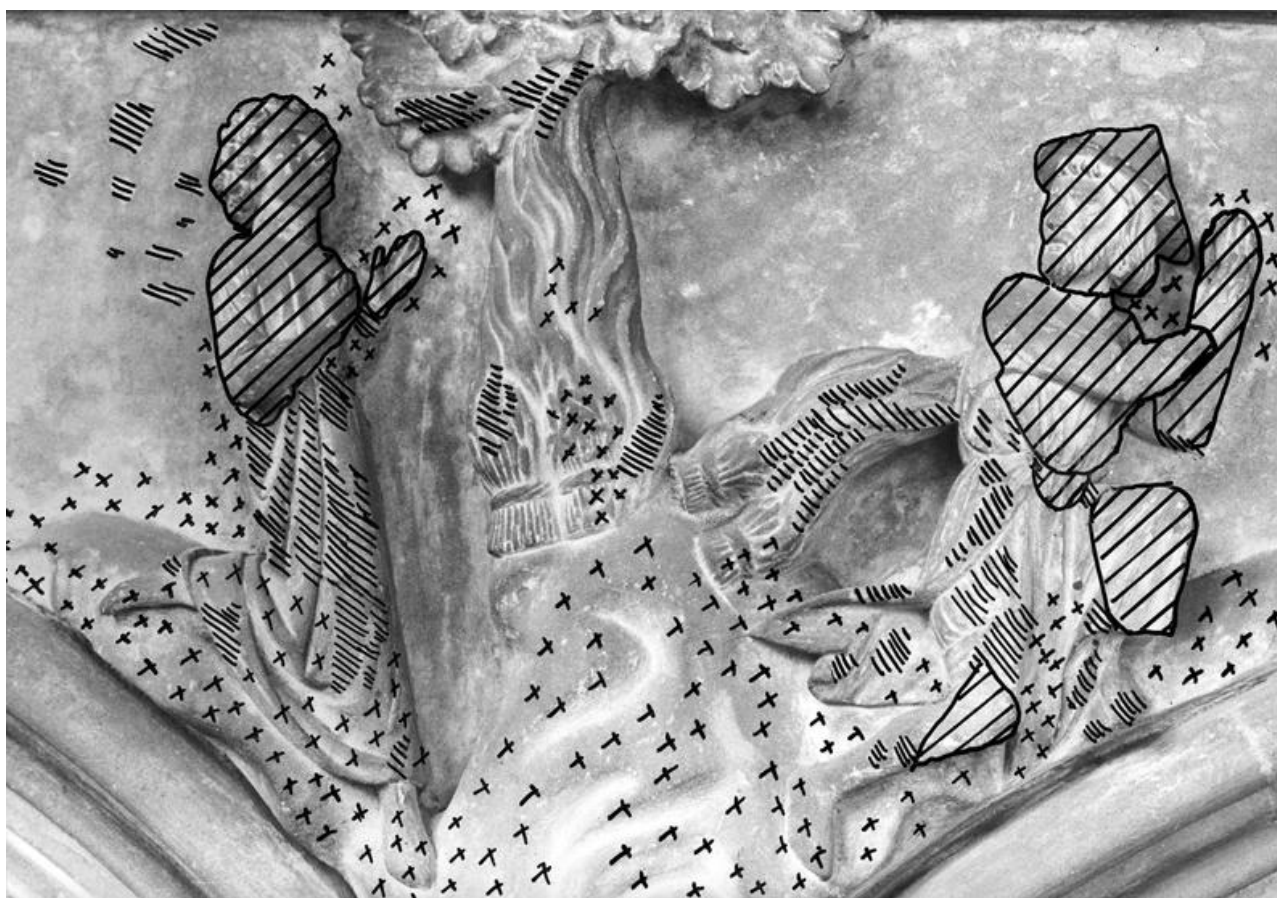


Plate XIII

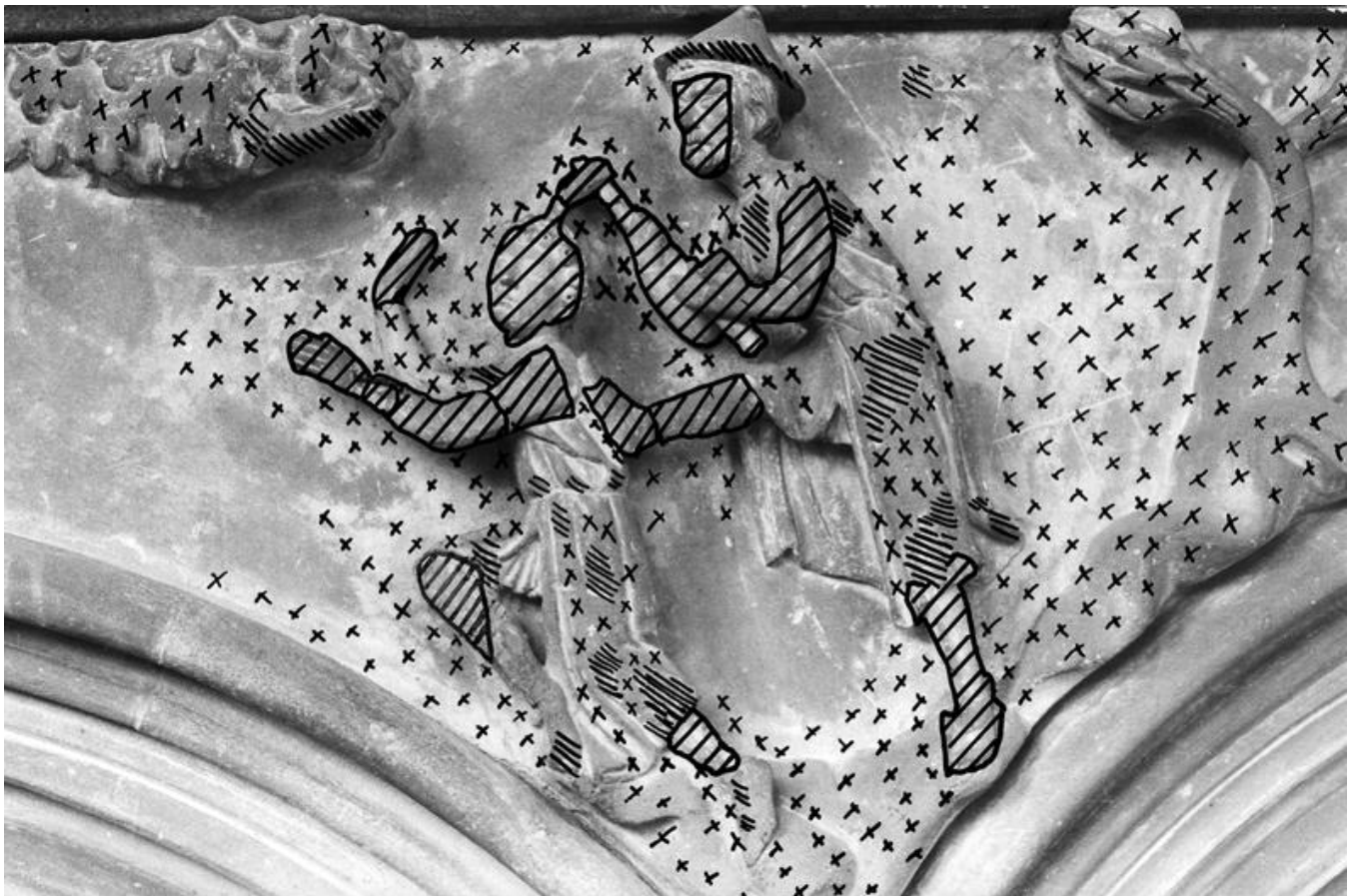


Plate XIV



Plate XV

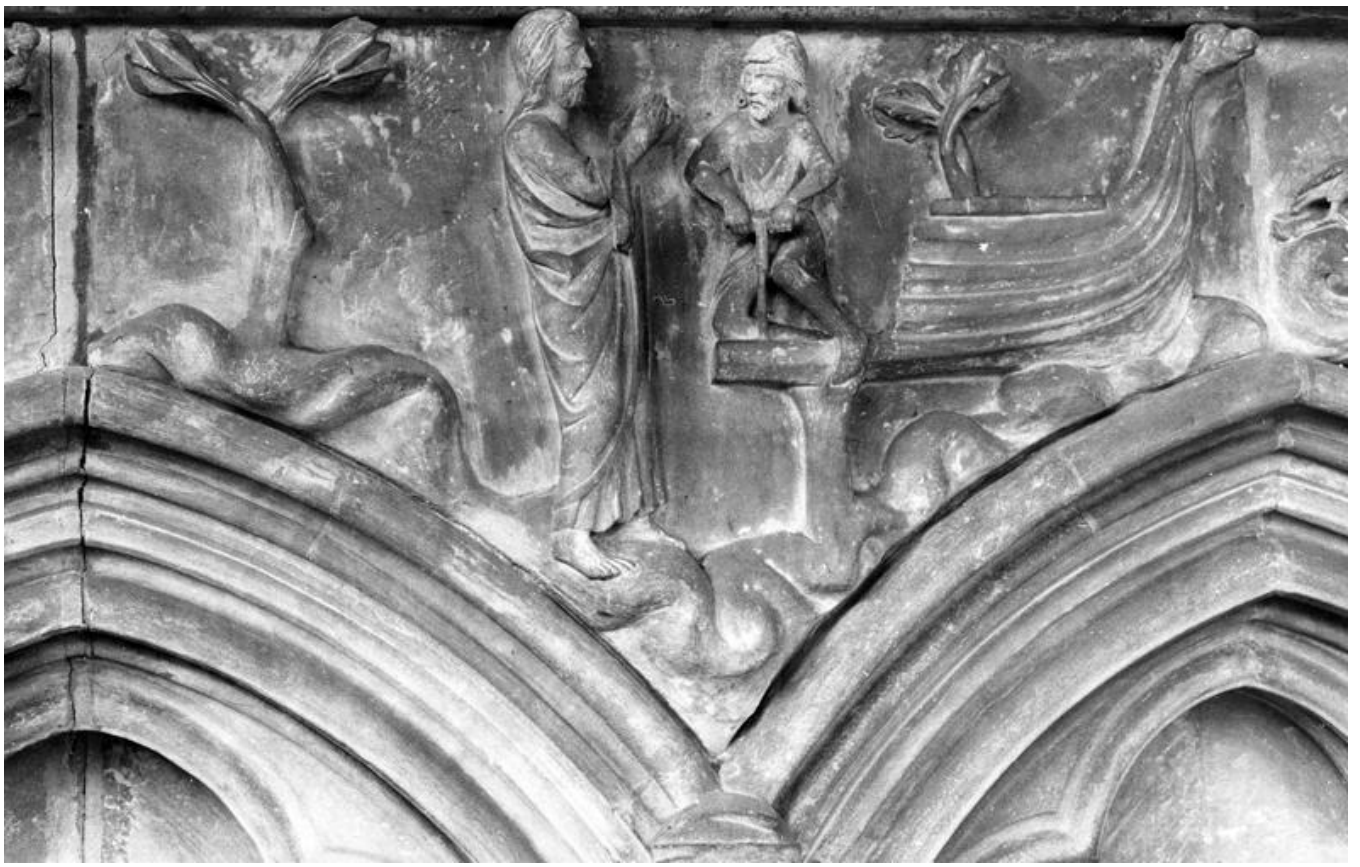


Plate XVI



Plate XVII

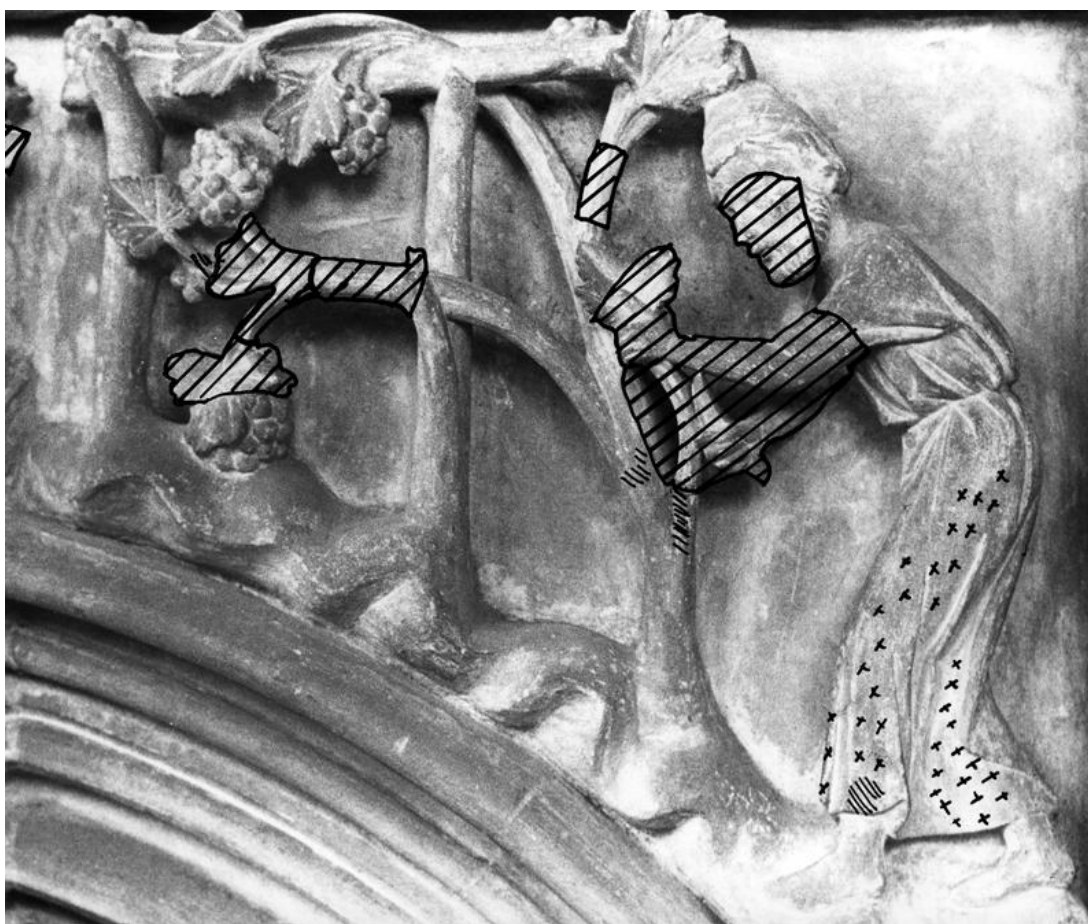


Plate XVIII



Plate XIX



Plate XX

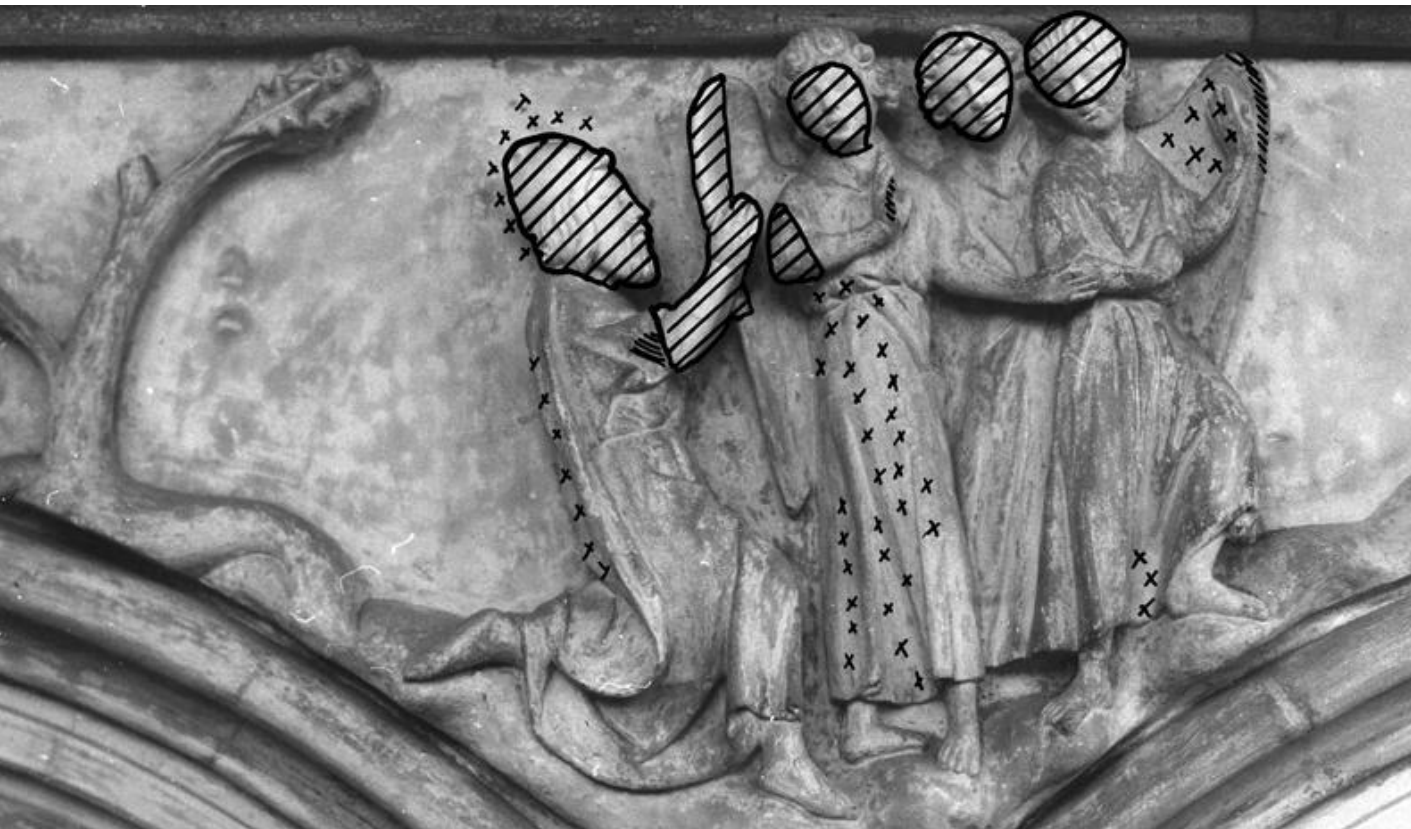


Plate XXI

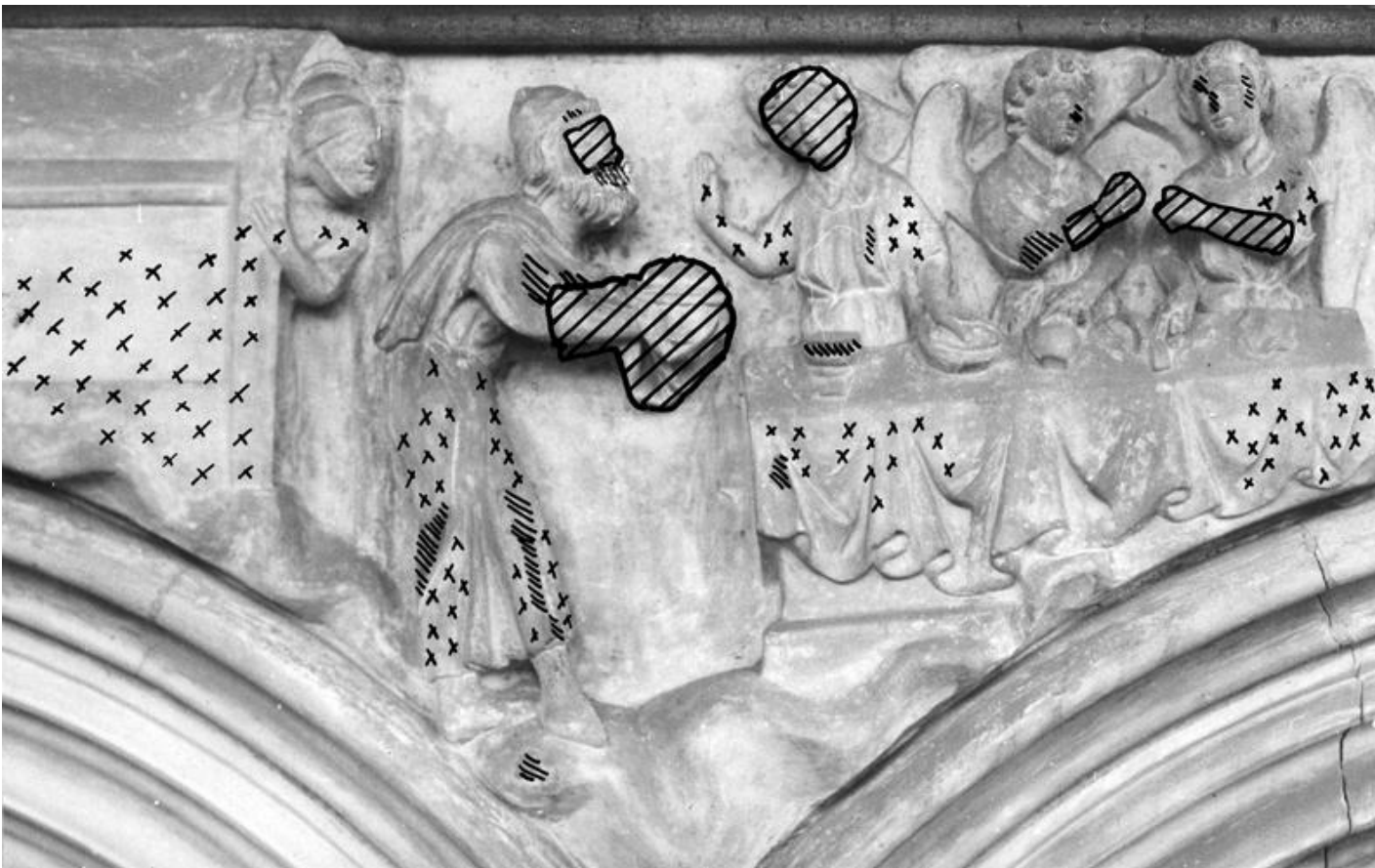


Plate XXII



Plate XXIII



Plate XXIV



Plate XXV



Plate XXVI





Plate XXVII



Plate XXVIII

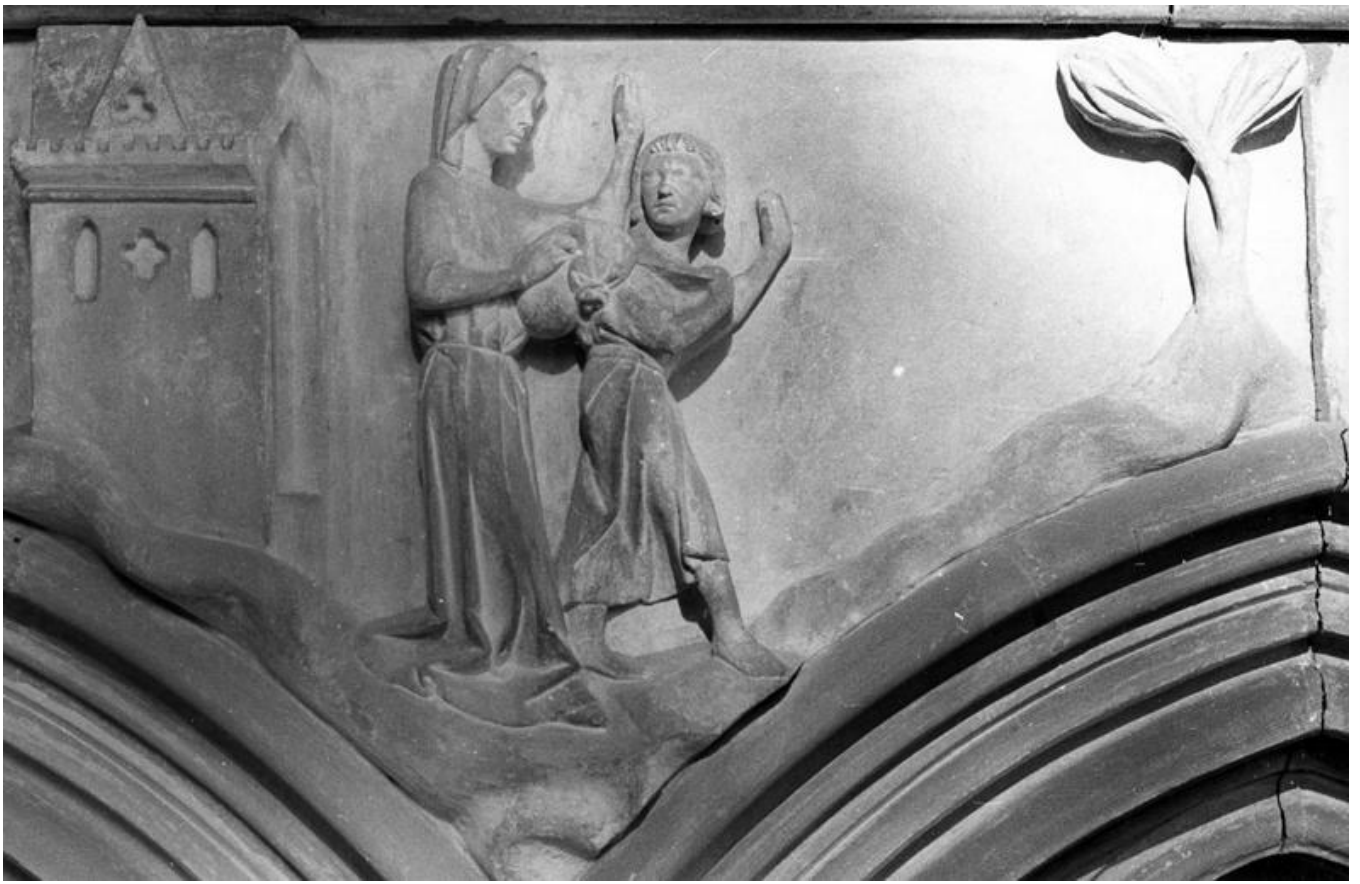


Plate XXIX



Plate XXX



Plate XXXI



Plate XXXII



Plate XXXIII



Plate XXXIV



Plate XXXV



Plate XXXVI



Plate XXXVII

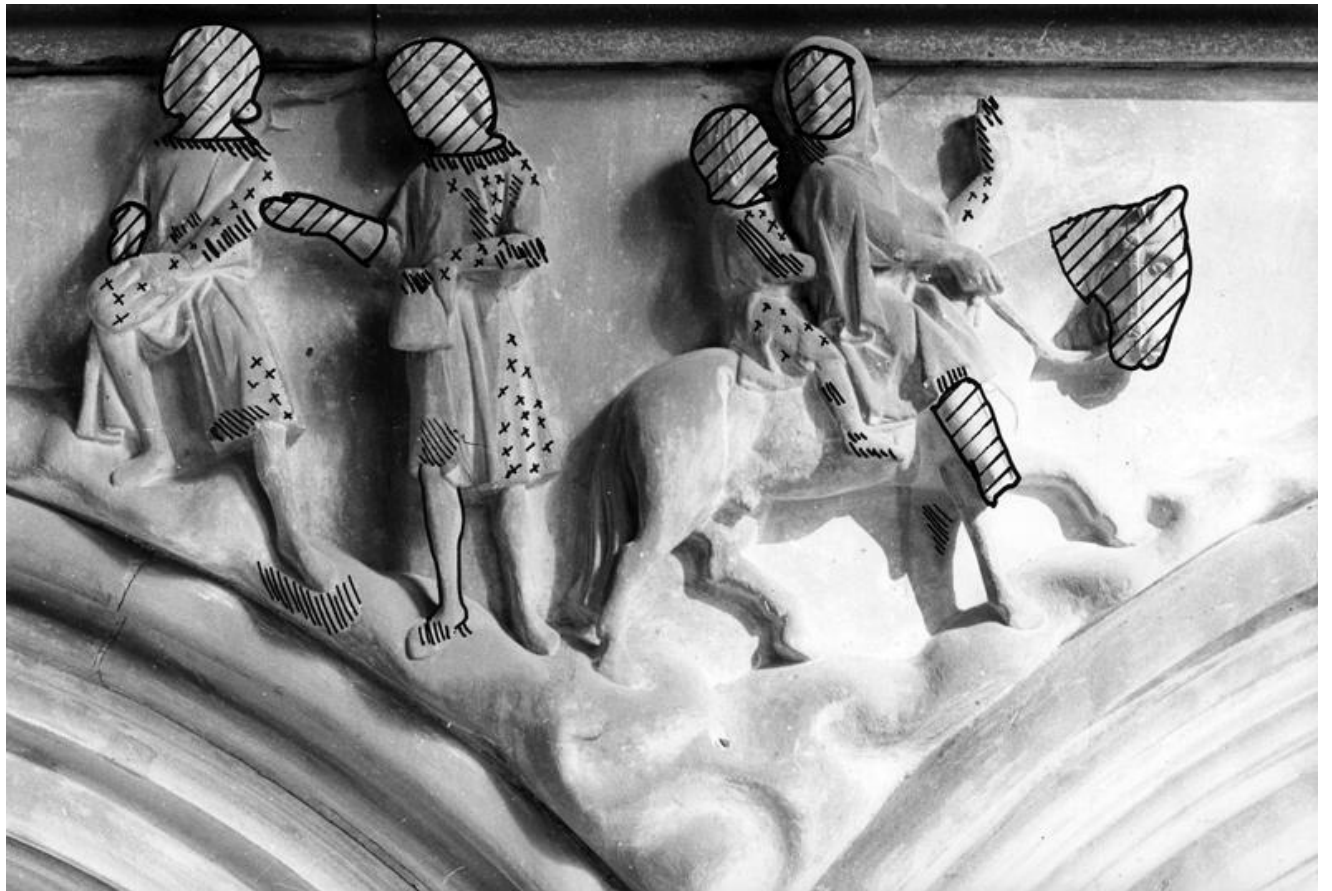


Plate XXXVIII



Plate XXXIX



Plate XL



Plate XLI



Plate XLII



Plate XLIII



Plate XLIV



Plate XLV



Plate XLVI



Plate XLVII



Plate XLVIII



Plate XLIX

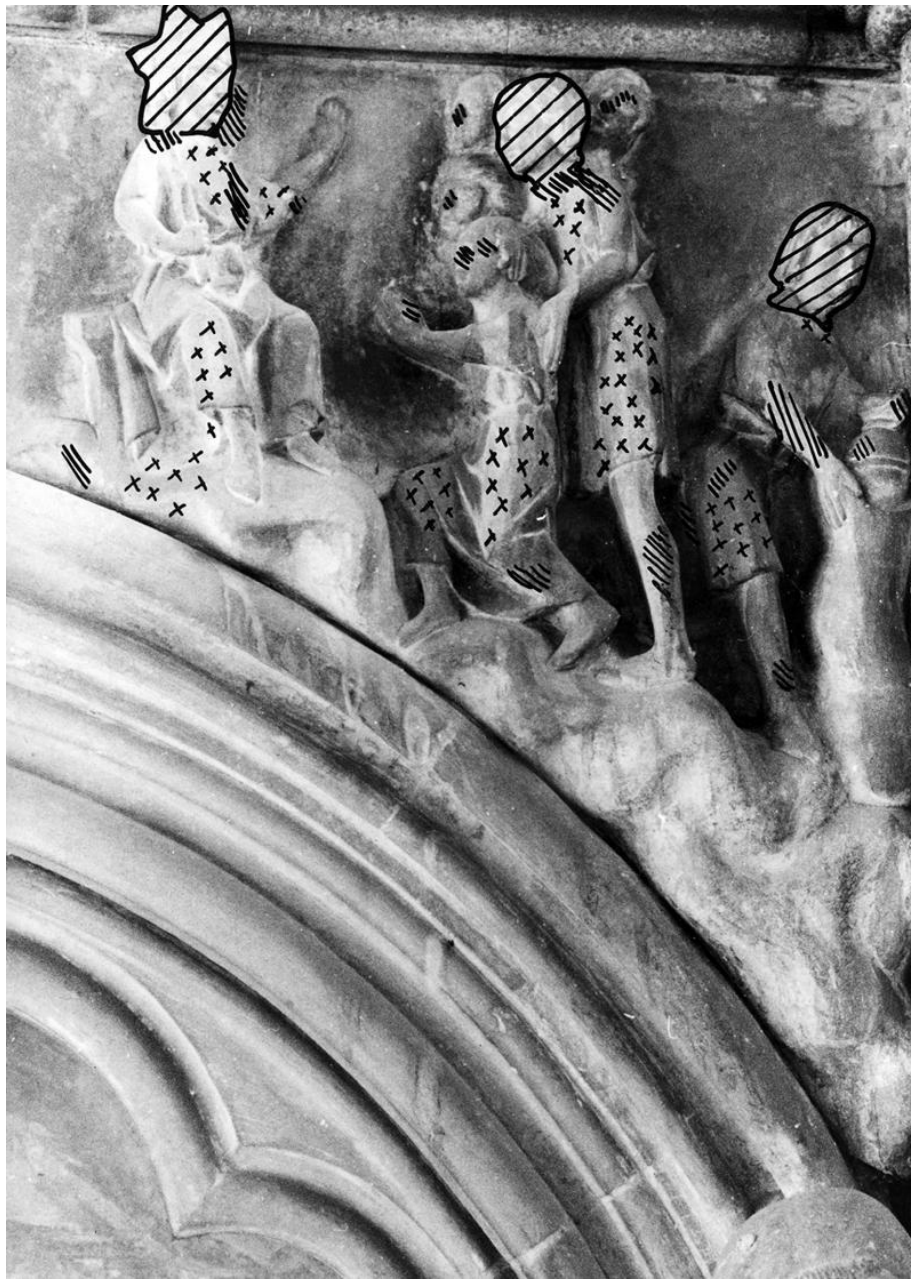


Plate L



Plate LI



Plate LII



Plate LIII



Plate LIV

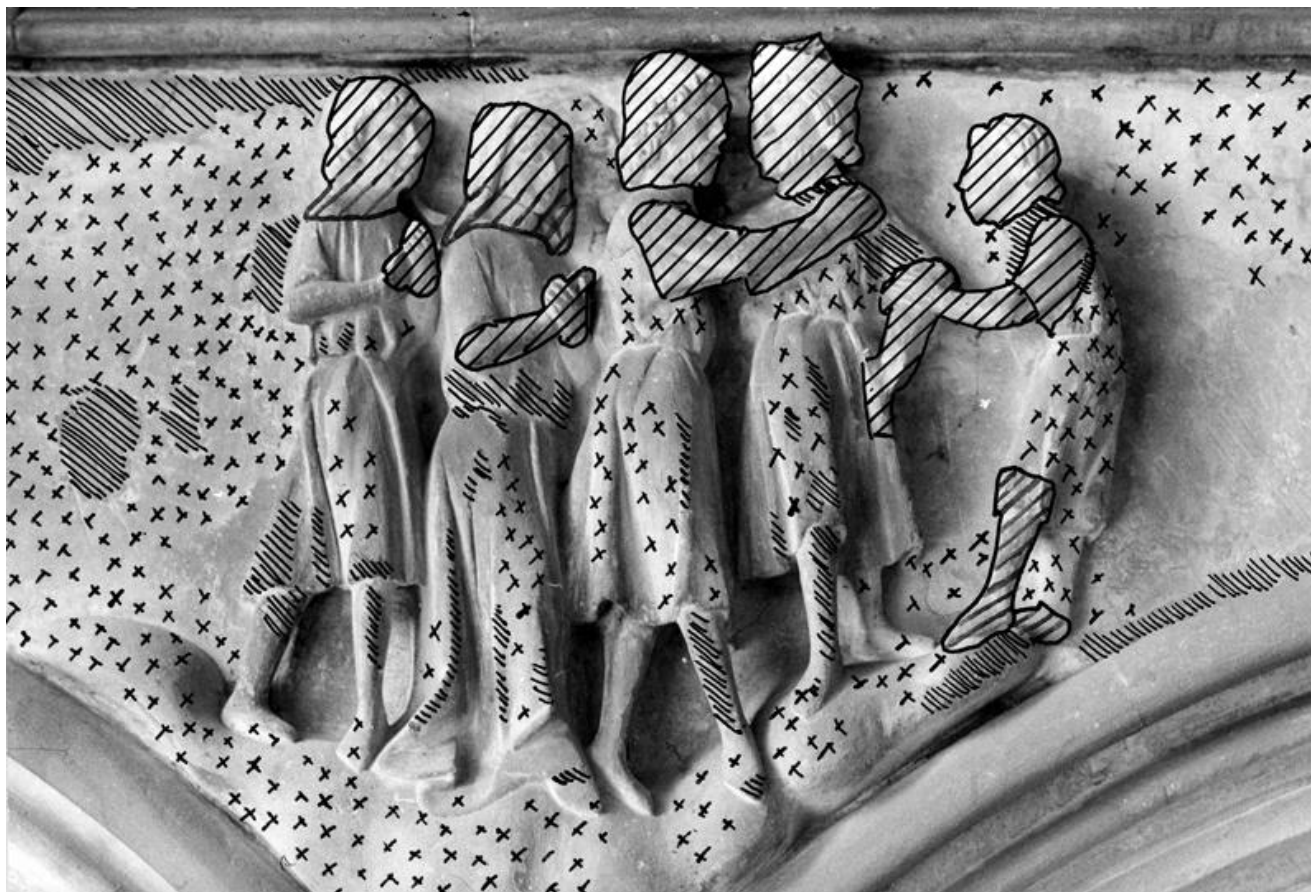


Plate LV

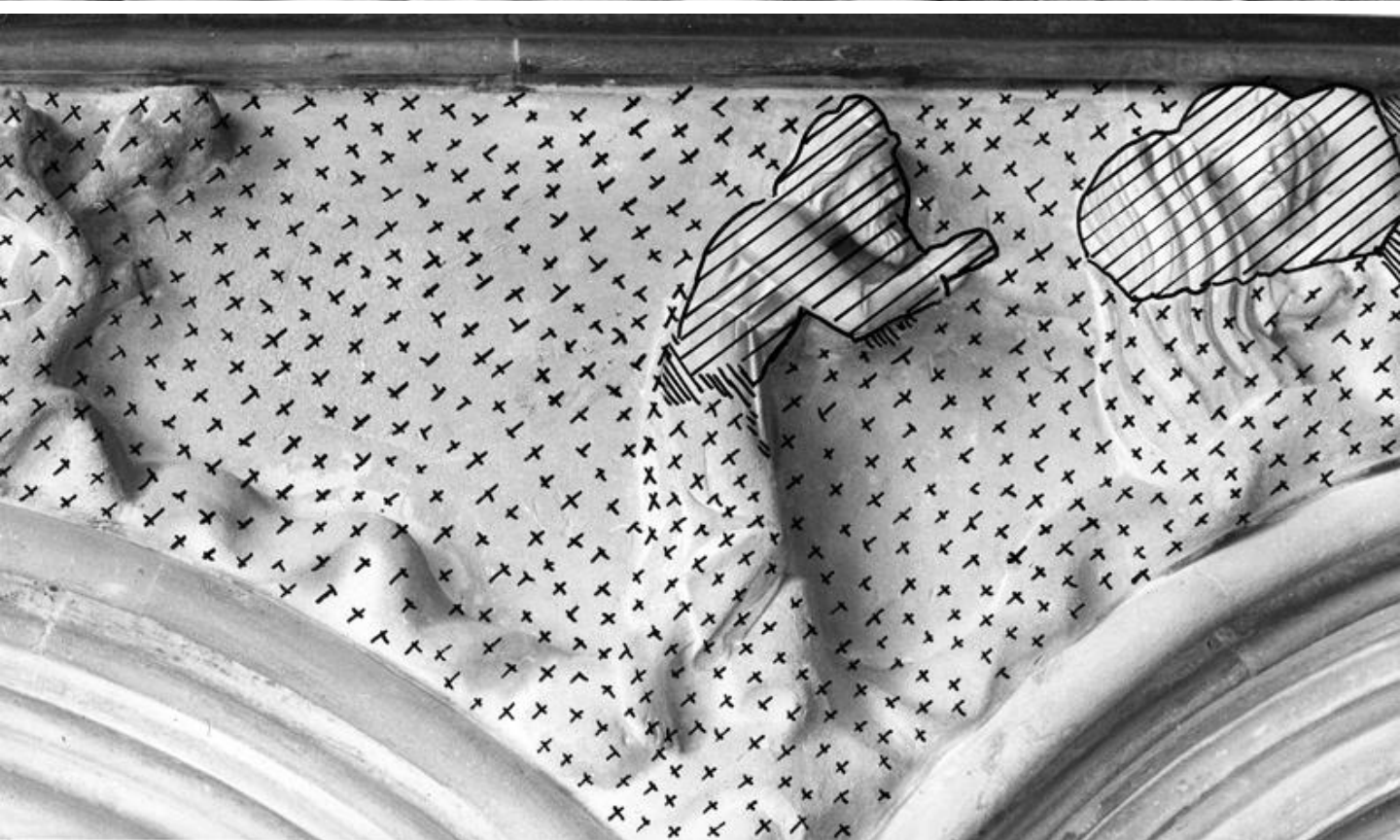


Plate LVI



Plate LVII

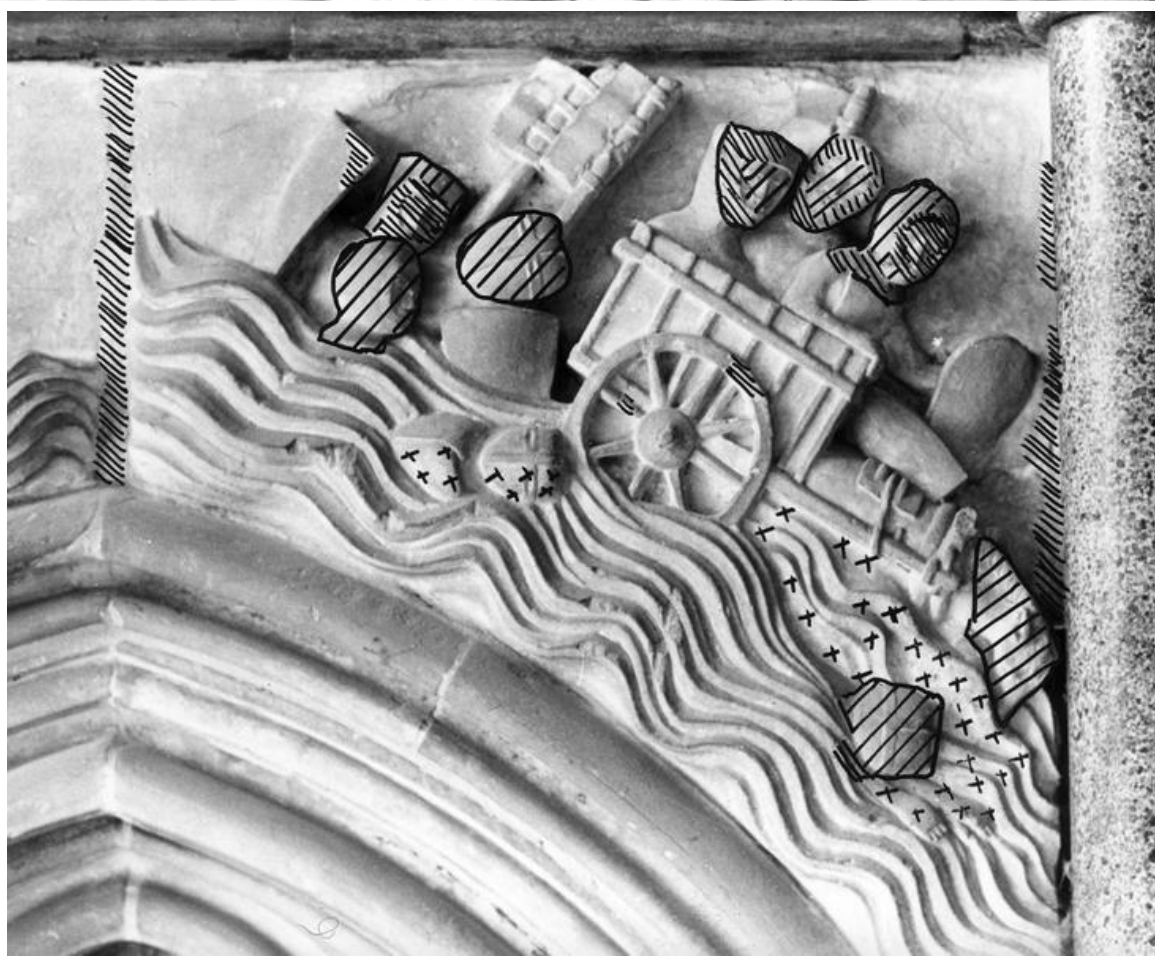


Plate LVIII



Plate LIX



Plate LX

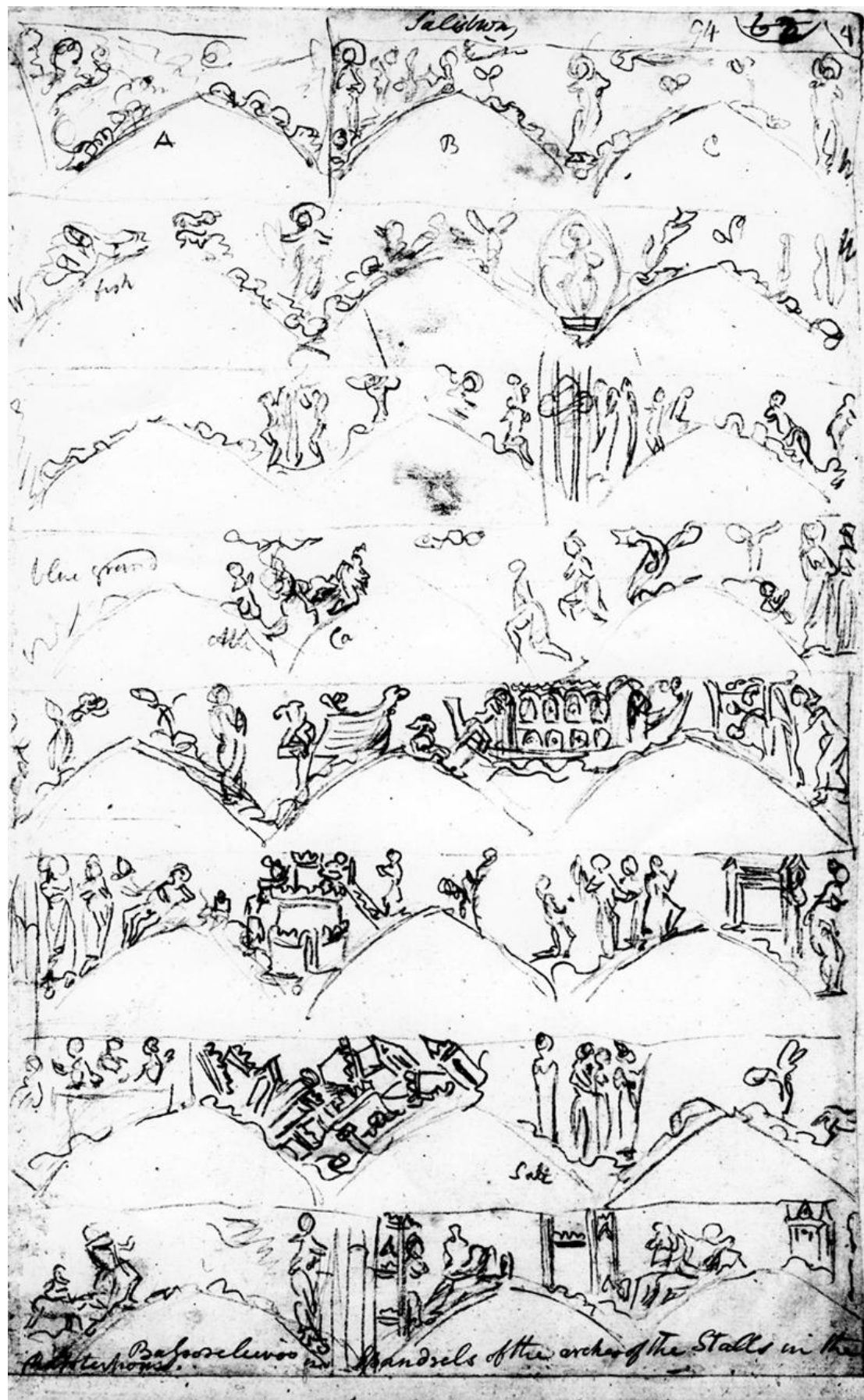


Plate LXI

