

# 'Accende lumen sensibus': illustrations of the Sherborne Missal interpreting Pentecost<sup>1</sup>

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For Karl-August Wirth

## I

On 20 March 1703, the jurist, bibliophile and antiquarian Nicolas Joseph Foucault wrote to his friend, the collector François-Roger de Gaignières:

J'ay fait un voyage à Lisieux, le plus heureux que je feray de ma vie, M. l'évesque m'ayant donné un missel qui est la pièce la plus curieuse que vous ayés veue. . . . Il est plus gros et plus grand que les livres de chant du plus grand volume qui soient dans les églises. Les armes et les portraits au naturel des roys, fondateurs, évesques et abés y sont peintes en belle miniature; l'establissement des ordres et le temps de la naissance des anciennes hérésies en Angleterre y sont marqués, et il y a une infinité de choses curieuses et de traits d'histoire que l'on trouve dans ce livre, qui d'ailleurs est enrichi de vignettes de testes naturelles d'hommes, d'oiseaux, de bastiments et de mille autres choses. Le nom du moyne qui les a faict est escrit dans le livre en plusieurs endroits; mais la datte du temps auquel il a esté escrit n'y est point. . . . J'espère vous le faire voir un jour; mais comptés qu'il n'y a rien de plus beau dans le cabinet du roy.<sup>2</sup>

It is not known how or when the so described manuscript had arrived in Lisieux. Ownership of the manuscript was transferred several times during the eighteenth century before its eventual return to England. The Duke of Northumberland acquired the manuscript in 1800 for his collection at Alnwick Castle; for several years the manuscript has been conserved as a loan in the British Library in London (Ms. Loan 82).

The Sherborne Missal ranks as one of the key examples of English book illumination of the Late Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> In its present location in the showcase of the British Library, the manuscript has been justly described as 'one of the finest examples of book painting of any time or place, and a major masterpiece of English art'. To my knowledge, the single previous public showing of the Sherborne Missal was in 1896, when it was included in an exhibition of the Society of Antiquaries in London.<sup>4</sup> At that time Edward Maunde Thompson provided a short description of the manuscript<sup>5</sup> and John Wickham Legg discussed the exceptional features of the text.<sup>6</sup> Twenty-six selected pages as well as several details from the 347-page codex were published as a partial (black and white) facsimile in 1920.<sup>7</sup> Apart from these few facsimiled

1 – I would like to thank Janet M. Backhouse of the British Library for her hospitality and help; for valuable advice, I thank Nancy Norwood (Berkeley); Wolfgang Augustyn, Friedrich Kobler and Karl-August Wirth (Munich).

2 – Cited in: *The Sherborne Missal, Reproductions of full pages and details of ornament from the Missal executed between the year 1396 and 1407 for Sherborne Abbey Church and now presented in the Library of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle with an introduction by John Alexander Herbert* (Oxford: Publications of the Roxburghe Club, No. 81, 1920), p. 9.

3 – See for example: John Alexander Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: The Connoisseur's Library, 1911), pp. 233–234; exhibition catalogue 'Exhibition of British primitive paintings from the twelfth to the early sixteenth century', London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1923 (Oxford, 1924), p. 63; Eric George Millar, *La miniature anglaise aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris and Brussels, 1928), Vol. 2, pp. 39–41; Frederick Harrison, *Treasures of Illumination, English Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century. ca. 1250 to 1400* (London, New York, 1937), pp. 29–30; John Harvey, *Gothic England: A survey of national culture. 1300–1550* (London, 1947), pp. 63 and 67; Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain. The middle ages* (Melbourne, London, Baltimore: The Pelican History of Art, No. 5, 1954), pp. 178–180; Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan; *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting. 1200–1500* (New York, 1981), pp. 25 and 94–99; *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain*, ed. Boris Forel, Vol. 2, *Medieval Britain* (Cambridge, 2nd edn 1992),



pp. 24–25 (with fig. of the Canon picture). Unfortunately the volume on late medieval manuscripts of the series: *A Survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles* (general editor: J. J. G. Alexander), by Kathleen L. Scott is still in press.

4 – ‘Exhibition of English medieval paintings and illuminated manuscripts prior to the reign of Henry VIII’, 4–20 June 1896.

5 – ‘Notes on the illuminated Mss. in the Exhibition of English medieval paintings’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, 16 (1895–1897), pp. 213–232, see pp. 226–230.

6 – ‘Liturgical Notes on the Sherborne Missal’, *Transactions of the St. Paul’s Ecclesiological Society*, 4 (1896), pp. 1–31. After my article was finished, the Sherborne Missal was shown in the exhibition ‘Making and Meaning. The Wilton Diptych’ (The National Gallery, London, 15 September–12 December 1993; cat. no. 8, pl. 29).

7 – *The Sherborne Missal*, op. cit.

8 – Thomas S. Tolley, ‘*John Siferwas. The study of an English Dominican illuminator*’, PhD thesis (Norwich, University of East Anglia, 1984). I was unfortunately unable to obtain access to this as yet unpublished thesis.

9 – Exceptions: i: 6; xiii: 7; xxix: 6; xl: 9; xlv: 5; two leaves were attached to the last leaf of quire no. xxiv; only the latter, in which the full-page miniature of the Crucifixion of Christ introduces the Canon of the Mass, is used.

10 – The two blank pages (191 and 199), which follow on pp. 380 and 394, are not paginated.

11 – For a detailed description of the manuscript see K. L. Scott, op. cit.

12 – For the history of the abbey see: William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum. A history of the abbeys and other monasteries, hospitals, frieries, and cathedral and collegiate churches with their dependencies in England and Wales . . .*, new edn by John Caley, Henry Ellis and Bulkeley Bandinel (London, 1846), Vol. 1, pp. 331–341; Joseph Fowler, *Mediaeval Sherborne* (Dorchester, 1951); *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Dorset*, Vol. 1 (London, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, No. 10.1, 1952), pp. 199–221; *The Buildings of England*, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner and Judy Nairn, Vol. 44 (London, 1972), pp. 368–391; J. H. P. Gipp, ‘The fire of 1437 and the rebuilding of Sherborne

pages and an introduction by John Alexander Herbert, however, the contents of the manuscript remained unknown. And, although an (unpublished) PhD thesis of 1984 focused on the illuminator of the Sherborne Missal, there has to date been no analysis of the subjects of these rich illuminations.<sup>8</sup>

The vellum manuscript comprises 44 quires, most of which are quaternions; its brown leather binding is probably a French work of the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The present format of the leaves, exceptionally large at c. 533 mm × 380 mm, was originally even larger: as the manuscript was rebound, losses occurred on many pages when the leaves were cut. During the eighteenth century, the manuscript was provided with a pagination that will be used here (pp. 1–690).<sup>10</sup> The text is in double columns of 29 to 32 lines, with the exception of the *Ordo Missae*, which contains only 21 lines per page.<sup>11</sup>

The manuscript contains those texts typical to a missal: a Calendar (pp. 1–12), Temporale (pp. 13–358), *Ordo Missae* (pp. 359–393; Canon *Missae*: pp. 381–388), *Sanctorale* (pp. 395–612), *Commune sanctorum* (pp. 613–661), *Missae votivae* (pp. 663–689) and, at the end, Mass prayers for the Celebrant (p. 690).

The Sherborne Missal was named after its original destination and probable place of production: the Benedictine abbey of St Mary in Sherborne.<sup>12</sup> Localization to Sherborne is indicated not only by the entries in the Calendar, but by the many portraits which can be identified by arms and inscriptions. The abbot of Sherborne is represented some dozen times, often with the arms of his abbey: gules, a cross argent, in the dexter half a crozier in pale or. The Bishop of Salisbury is also represented a few times with his personal arms: shield argent and azure, in chief a barrulet sable. Both the bishop (‘*Gloria et honor deo*’) and the abbot (‘*Laus sit trinitati*’) seem to have possessed personal mottoes, which occasionally appear in the manuscript (see for example pp. 36 and 260).

It has been suggested that the bishop and the abbot were joint donors of the manuscript.<sup>13</sup> A connection between the two certainly existed, since the bishopric was transferred from Sherborne to Salisbury in 1076 and Sherborne continued to exist as an abbey.

The arms of the bishop can be identified as those of the Metford family.<sup>14</sup> Accordingly, the bishop represented here must be Richard Metford, who was bishop of Salisbury from 1395 to 1407.<sup>15</sup> Metford’s contemporary as Abbot of Sherborne was Robert Bruyning, who held office from 1385 to 1415. These facts allow us to narrow the date for execution of the manuscript to between 1395 and 1407. A further consideration, however, suggests an even more precise date: the arms of Henry of Monmouth (later King Henry V) appear on p. 81 of the manuscript, together with the inscription of his title at the time, ‘*Princeps Wallie*’ (Prince of Wales). Henry held this title from 1400 onwards. The given form of the arms, ‘*France ancien*’ was replaced by ‘*France moderne*’ around the year 1400 under Henry IV.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, the Sherborne Missal must have been executed during or shortly after 1400.



## II

The names of both the writer and the presumed illuminator are mentioned in the manuscript several times. Both men are portrayed in the manuscript as well: the writer as a Benedictine monk, the illuminator, however, as a Dominican (figure 1). The writer, John Whas, refers to himself four times (pp. 215, 358, 377, 661), introducing himself as 'scriptor'.<sup>17</sup> The Dominican monk John Siferwas is frequently portrayed throughout the manuscript, and may be proposed as illuminator because of certain forms of representation. In the Sherborne Missal, he often appears equal in rank to the writer (figure 1). In the dedication picture of the fragmentary Lovel-Lectinary, which is the only secure attribution to his hand, we see 'Frater Johannes Siferwas' presenting the codex to its donor (London, Brit. Libr., Ms. Harley 7026, fol. 4r).<sup>18</sup> A verbal reference to John Siferwas as illuminator is not known.

Siferwas introduces himself to the reader of the Sherborne Missal on p. 81 – next to the arms of the Prince of Wales – (figure 2): with his name, 'Johannes Sifer Was', and his arms: shield azure, within a bordure engrailed ermine two bars gemel or, a chief of the last.

During the Middle Ages, the Siferwas family resided primarily in Berkshire and Dorset, and belonged to the class of landed gentry.<sup>19</sup> We know of two historical documents that might refer to the presumed illustrator<sup>20</sup>: in 1380, the Dominican friar 'John Cyfrewas, Guildford' was ordained acolyte by the Bishop of Winchester (William of Wykeham); then, in 1427, the Dominican friar 'Johannes Sifirwas' is mentioned in the will of a resident of Somerset.<sup>21</sup>

It should be noted here that Siferwas used two different forms of self portrayal. On the dedication page of the Lovel-Lectinary he presents himself with a very specific physiognomy. On those pages of the Sherborne Missal where he appears with the bishop, the abbot and the writer, the representation is strongly abstracted, as are those of the other figures. He is portrayed as a Dominican monk who can only be identified by the inscription of his name (figure 1). In these instances, it is obvious that emphasis is given to the office and rank of the donors and executors rather than to the individual. In those cases, however, where Siferwas portrays himself outside the circle of persons responsible for the missal, he can again easily be recognized by his specific physiognomy (figure 3); his personal motto is: 'Soli deo honor et gloria'.

It has been suggested, owing to the varying quality of the illuminations in the Sherborne Missal, that Siferwas worked with assistants.<sup>22</sup>

## III

The Sherborne Missal contains exceptionally rich illuminations. Many of the events of salvation celebrated throughout the ecclesiastical year are illustrated in the Temporale, for the most part in illuminated initials. Most of the feasts of Saints in the Sanctorale are introduced by an image of the relevant Saint. Gospel texts are emphasized by representations or symbols of the evangelists.

Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 138 (1984), pp. 101–124.

13 – See for example: T. S. Tolley, 'Some historical interests at Sherborne ca. 1400', in: *England in the Fourteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*; ed. W. M. Ormrod (Bury St Edmunds, 1986), pp. 255–266, here p. 259.

14 – Cf. John and John Bernard Burke, *Encyclopaedia of heraldry or general armory of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 3rd edn 1844): 'Medford', 'Metford', 'Midford', 'Mitford'.

15 – Prior to this he was Bishop of Chichester from 1390 to 1395; see *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. F. M. Powicke et al. (London: Royal Historical Society, Guides and Handbooks, No. 2, 1939), pp. 141 and 167.

16 – See Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry. An encyclopaedia of armory* (London, 1904; reprint 1986), fig. 888; Charles Hasler, *The Royal Arms, its Graphic and Decorative Development* (London; 1980), pp. 8–9.

17 – See *The Sherborne Missal*, op. cit. pp. 14–15.

18 – Executed c. 1408/1414 for either John, fifth Lord Lovel of Tichmarsh or his son as a donation for the Cathedral of Salisbury. Other works attributed to Siferwas: Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. B. 3.7 (Stephen Langton, Pentateuch glosses, manuscript from Glastonbury; see M. Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal, An English Manuscript of the late XIV Century in the British Museum* [London, s.a.], p. 97, n.1); Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. R. 15. 21 (Johannes de Foxton, Liber cosmographiae, dated 1408; see J. B. Friedman, op. cit.).

19 – See, for example: John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, Vols 1–4 (Westminster, 3rd edn 1861–1873); the arms of Johannes Siferwas on p. 81 show only slight differences from others of the family which have come down to us (cf. J. and J. B. Burke, op. cit.: 'Cyfer, or Syfer', 'Cyfferwest', 'Siferwast'); Erwin Panofsky suggested that the name Siferwas was of German origin and equates to 'tropfendes Faß' ('siefer-vas'; *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its origin and character* [Cambridge/Massachusetts, 1953]; vol. 1, p. 404 n.4); in reality the word 'sifre' (syfre) existed in the English language by the twelfth century, in the sense of 'moderate' (see *Middle English Dictionary*, Part S.7 [Ann Arbor, 1988], p. 835). Panofsky also pointed out that there might be iconographical



Figure 1. Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland), London, British Library, MS Loan 82, p. 276 (detail). Photo: *The Sherborne Missal* (Oxford, 1920; Publications of the Roxburghe Club, 81), pl. XIX.



connections to the art of Westphalia (op. cit.).

20 – See *The Sherborne Missal*, op. cit., p. 16; R. Marks and N. Morgan, op. cit., p. 25.

21 – Referenced in: *The Sherborne Missal*, op. cit., p. 16 n. 11–12.

22 – Cf. for example: *ibid*, p. 18.

23 – See *The Sherborne Missal*, op. cit., pp. 21–22; the arms of the Prince of Wales and of John Siferwas are parts of this series of arms as well.

There are other types of illustrations which are at the very least atypical for their inclusion in a missal. A series of coats of arms, for example, is regularly distributed throughout the Temporale (p. 80 onwards).<sup>23</sup> Even more unusual are the subjects of some of the marginal illustrations, which are included in larger programmes of images that encompass more than one page. The margins here were obviously used to add a kind of ‘footnote’ to the Calendar and liturgical texts: the images were intended to provide, for the user and viewer of the manuscript, a meaning that transcended the liturgical texts. These marginal





Figure 2. Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland), London, British Library, MS Loan 82, p. 81 (detail). Photo: *The Sherborne Missal* (Oxford, 1920; Publications of the Roxburghe Club, 81), pl. XXVIII d.

illustrations may be seen as a sort of compendium of then-common didactic imagery. What, then, is the importance of this marginal programme?

The twelve Calendar pages (pp. 1–12) contain images for the Apostles Creed and accompanying prophecies: on each page, a half-length portrait of an apostle, with the sentence of the Creed attributed to him, is juxtaposed with images of the related prophet and prophecy predicting that sentence of the Creed.<sup>24</sup>

Some of the images which are enclosed in the Mass texts of the Temporale, and which illustrate events of the New Testament, are compared to those in the margins which illustrate Old Testament scenes (p. 36, Christmas Day, High Mass; p. 51, Epiphany; p. 216, Easter

24 – The Calendar was published by J. W. Legg in: op. cit., pp. 11–22; the text of the Credo and of the prophecies is presented in: *The Sherborne Missal*, op. cit., p. 19; see also Curt F. Bühler, 'The Apostles and the Creed', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), pp. 335–339.



Figure 3. Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland), London, British Library, MS Loan 82, p. 225 (detail). Photo: *The Sherborne Missal* (Oxford, 1920; Publications of the Roxburghe Club, 81), pl. XXVIIIc.



25 – The earliest reference to this programme is given in a manuscript, which was written after the year 1200 (Worcester, Cathedral Library, Ms. F. 81, fol. 234r). It contains Tituli, which possibly belonged to the decoration of the Chapter House in Worcester completed c. 1125. The Tituli correspond to those of the Sherborne Missal only in the sense that some changes can be recognized in the relationship of Old Testament scenes to those of the New Testament; see Montague Rhodes James, ‘On two series of paintings formerly at Worcester Priory’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 10, N. S. 4 (1898–1903), pp. 99–110; Neil Stratford, ‘Three English romanesque enamelled ciboria’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), pp. 204–216; Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts [II], 1250–1285* (London: A survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles, General Editor J. J. G. Alexander, Vol. 4.2, 1988), pp. 119–122, No. 137, figs. 178–179; Avril Henry, *The Eton Roundels, Eton College, Ms 177* (*‘Figurae bibliorum’*). A colour facsimile with transcription, translation and commentary (Aldershot, 1990), pp. 63–67, figs. 4c, e, f, 6d, 8d, 9b, c, e, 10b, d, e, 11d. Pictures in the Sherborne Missal, which are connected to this typological programme, are on pp. 16, 27, 48, 56, 242, 251, 253, 266, 413 (op. cit., p. 67).

26 – The text is presented in: *The Sherborne Missal*, op. cit., pp. 23–25. See also T. S. Tolley, *Some Historical Interests*, op. cit.

27 – John Siferwas and the mythological illustrations in the “Liber

Sunday; p. 249, Ascension of Christ). The same is true for the Canon picture, with the crucifixion of Christ (p. 380), as well as p. 524 of the Sanctorale, which portrays the Coronation of the Virgin. Most of the images that represent scenes from the Old Testament are accompanied by Latin verses. This text/image programme is based on a tradition known since the twelfth century.<sup>25</sup>

Other texts of the Temporale, those of the Whit-week, are supplemented by illustrations of the Apocalypse and by pictures that demonstrate catechetical subjects (pp. 260–270). These will be discussed in more detail below.

A series of images in the lower margins of the Ordo Missae (pp. 363–377; 381–393) present chronical information. Set within medallions are half-length portraits of various historical figures, each of whom holds before him a scroll with passages from the chronical text.<sup>26</sup> The text revolves around the early history and expansion of Christian faith, the foundations of orders, the death and canonization of English Saints, and finally – with special emphasis on donors and donations – the history of Sherborne. John Block Friedman has pointed out that this chronicle text is almost identical to that written on the history *tabula* of York (c. 1377–1381; York, Minster Library, velum on wood).<sup>27</sup> Obviously, in the Sherborne Missal, the text regarding the local history of York has been replaced by that of Sherborne.

A quite different subject is distributed throughout the margins of the Ordo Missae – a subject that one least expects to find in a missal. Native species of birds, depicted with astonishing naturalism, are accompanied by inscriptions of their English names.<sup>28</sup>

Only in the final two instances is the relationship between the text and marginal image programme indecipherable.

#### IV

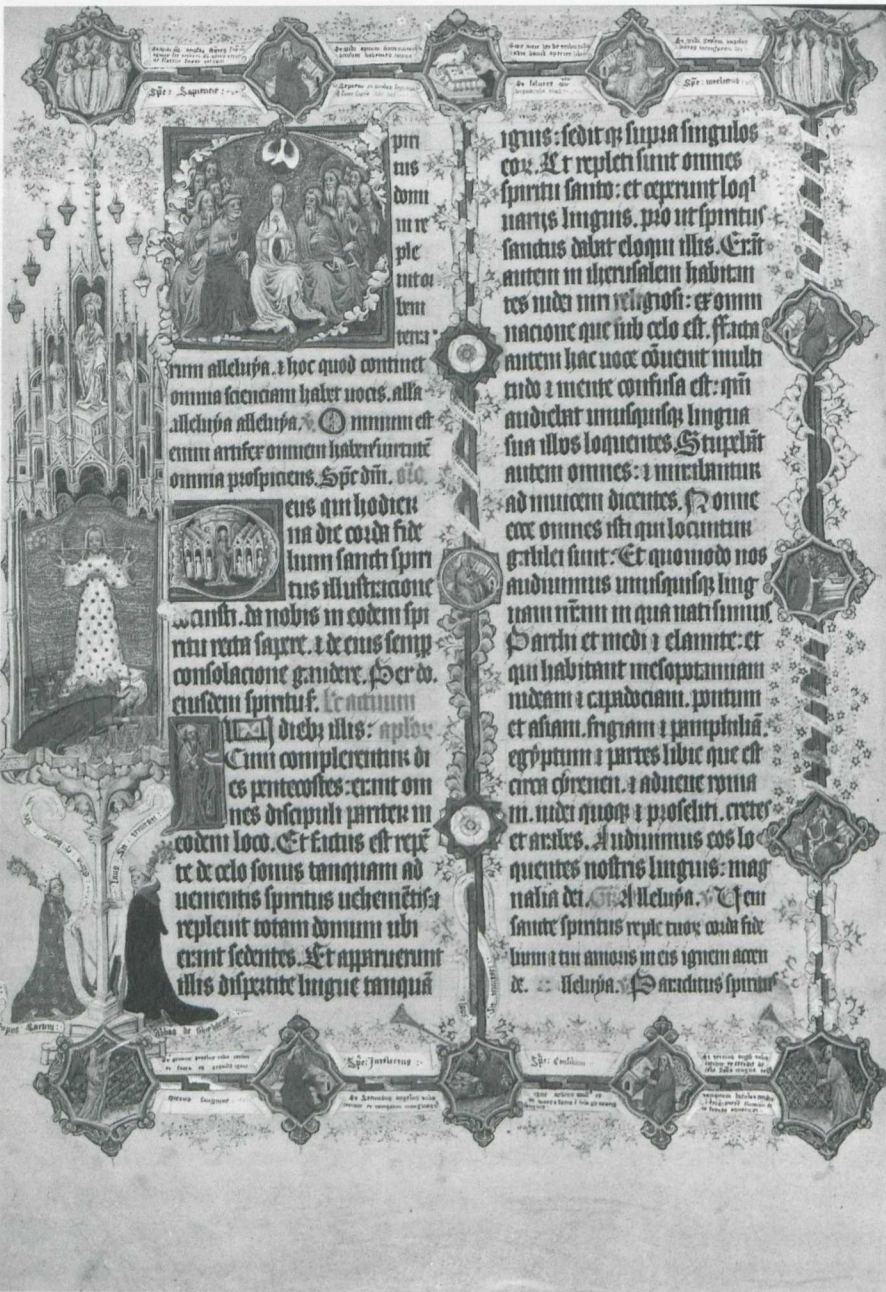
The text/image programme discussed in detail below is included in the illustrations for the Mass texts for the Whit-week (from Whit Sunday to Whit Friday). On pages 260–270 Apocalypse illustrations, represen-



tations of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and images of other biblical or theological concepts are combined in an unusual way.

**Page 260 (Whit Sunday): the descent of the Holy Ghost**

This programme begins with the illustrations of the Mass texts for Whit Sunday (figure 4). The initial letter ‘S(piritus domini . . .)’ of the *introitus* contains the image for Pentecost: the Virgin is at the centre, surrounded by the disciples; the dove, symbolizing the Holy Ghost, hovers above. Inscribed on the dove’s halo are the words ‘Accende lumen sensibus. Infunde amorem cordibus’, which are the first two lines of the fourth verse of the Pentecost hymn ‘Veni Creator Spiritus’.<sup>29</sup>



cosmographiae” of John de Foxton’, *Speculum*, 58 (1983), pp. 391–418.  
 28 – Some authors have drawn attention to the anonymous English sketchbook in Cambridge as a work of similar interest in naturalistic depiction (Magdalene College, Pepsian Library, Ms. 1916, second half of the fourteenth century); see: *The Sherborne Missal*, op. cit., frontispiece and pp. 22–23; M. Rickert, op. cit., pp. 179 and 192 n. 58 and pl. 165 (p. 385 of the *Sherborne Missal*); see also Francis Wormald, ‘The Wilton diptych’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17 (1954), pp. 194–195, figs 29a–d; Robert W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963), pp. 112–119, 142–151.  
 29 – *Breviarium ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, Fasciculus I (I. *Kalendarium*, II. *Temporalis*), ed. Franciscus Procter, Christophorus Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1882), cols mviii–mix.

Figure 4. Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland), London, British Library, MS Loan 82, p. 260. Photo: British Library.



30 – For Apocalypse illustration in the Middle Ages see: Léopold Delisle and Paul Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en français au XIIIe siècle* (Bibl. Nat. Fr. 403), Vols 1–2 (Paris, 1900–1901); M. R. James, *The Apocalypse in Art* (London: The Schweich Lectures in biblical archaeology [1927] 1931); Gertrud Bing, 'The Apocalypse block-books and their Ms. models', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), pp. 143–158; George Henderson, 'Studies in English manuscript illumination, part II, The English Apocalypse', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), pp. 104–137, 31 (1968), pp. 103–147; Anton von Ew and Joachim M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, Vol. 1 (Cologne, 1979), pp. 183–198; Peter Klein, 'Les cycles de l'Apocalypse du haut moyen âge (IXe–XIIIe s.)' in: *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Actes du colloque de la Fondation Hardt*, 29.2.–3.3.1979 (Geneva: Études et documents publiée par la Section d'histoire de la Faculté de lettres de l'Université de Genève, No. 11, 1979), pp. 135–186; Peter Klein, *Endzeitwartung und Ritterideologie. Die englischen Bilderapokalypsen der Frühgotik und MS Douce 180* (Graz, 1983); N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, op. cit. (cf. pp. 201–214); Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Suzanne Lewis, 'Census and bibliography of medieval manuscripts containing Apocalypse illustrations (ca. 800–1500)', *Traditio*, 40 (1984), pp. 337–379, 41 (1985), pp. 367–409, 42 (1986), pp. 443–472; N. Morgan, *The Lambeth Apocalypse. Manuscript 209 in Lambeth Palace Library: A critical study* (London, 1990), pp. 528–529; Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, Vols 5.1–5.2 (Gütersloh, 1990–1991); Suzanne Lewis, 'The English Gothic illuminated Apocalypse, lectio divina, and the art of memory', *Word & Image*, 7 (1991), pp. 1–32; Elke Purbus, 'Die Vorläufer der Blockbücher der Apokalypse', in: Exhibition catalogue 'Blockbücher des Mittelalters' (Mainz, 1991), pp. 99–118; *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emmerson and Bernard M. C. Ginn (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992).

31 – Biblical quotations in English taken from the revised King James version.

32 – In the representation of the same subject on p. 264, the seven churches are identified by scrolls with inscriptions. A similar representation can also be found on p. 68 of the Sherborne Missal.

The initial vision of the Revelation of St John (Apc 1, 9–20) is represented in the left margin. Part of the text (Apc 1, 13–14) can be read on the red wall-hanging, which is decorated with golden ornaments and letters:<sup>30</sup>

Et vidi in medio vii candelaborum aureorum similem Filio hominis vestitum podere et precinctum ad mamillas zona aurea. Caput autem eius et capilli erant candidi tanquam lana.

[And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head and his hairs were white like wool . . .]<sup>31</sup>

The Son, Christ, depicted with white hair, his head in a gloriole, stands in front of this wall. He is dressed in a white garment which is girded under the chest; the word 'filius' is inscribed in gold on his blue collar. Two swords extend from his mouth; seven stars are on his right side. We see seven candlesticks on the floor; St John lies at the feet of the Son. The seven lamps depicted here do not occur until book 4, 5 of the text of the Apocalypse. Here, however, they are equated with the Seven Ghosts of God which are mentioned at the beginning of the text (1, 4).

In the text of the Apocalypse, the seven candlesticks represent the seven churches of Asia (Apc 1, 20). Illustrated in the initial letter next to the picture of the son 'D(eus qui hodierna . . .)' the seven angels of the parishes are shown standing at the entrance to seven ecclesiastical buildings. Of note here is the relative size of the angel in the centre, from the parish of Ephesus: he is represented as larger than the others, an emphasis that perhaps relates to his status as the first addressee of the seven (Apc 2, 1).<sup>32</sup>

Further illustrations of the Apocalypse are regularly distributed throughout the margins of this page; found in the ornamental frame, they are positioned in both the medallion-like fields in the corners and in the centre of the sides of that frame. Every scene is accompanied by a scroll with the related text of the Apocalypse. The Lamb of the Apocalypse, on the book with the seven seals, is located in the upper centre. On the open pages one can read 'Ecce agnus dei. Ecce'. The accompanying text on the scroll is:

Et vidi agnum stantem tanquam occisum habentes cornua septem et oculos septem qui sunt septem spiritus dei.

[cf. Apc 5, 6: . . . stood a lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God . . .]

The Lion stands in front of the altar, one paw resting on the book:

Ecce vicit leo de tribu iuda radix david aperire librum et solvere septem signacula eius.

[cf. Apc 5, 5: . . . behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.]

The seven angels who play the tuba are distributed in four medallions: three of them one by one on the lower frame:



Et primus angelus tuba cecinit et facta est grando [et] ignis mixtus sanguine.

[cf. Apc 8, 7: The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood . . .]

Et secundus angelus tuba cecinit et tamquam mons magnus igne ardens missus est in mare et facta est tertia pars maris sanguis (Apc 8, 8).

[And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood.]

Et tercius angelus tuba cecinit et cecidit de celo stella magna ardens tanquam facula et cecidit in tertiā partem fluminum et in fontes aquarum (Apc 8, 10).

[And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the foundations of waters.]

The four remaining angels are represented on one single medallion at the top right:

Et vidi septem angelos stantes in conspectu dei.

[cf. Apc 8, 2: And I saw the seven angels which stood before God . . .]

These four angels, which correspond to the four winds held by four angels on the left, are represented by four heads, each held by one angel:

Et vidi quatuor angelos stantes super quatuor angulos terre tenentes quatuor ventos terre ne flarent super terram.

[cf. Apc 7, 1: . . . I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth . . .]

In the centre right frame is that angel who, according to Apc 8, 3–5, approaches the altar, makes a sacrificial offering in a golden censer, fills it with fire from the altar and casts into the earth.

The scene here, shown in miniature, is repeated in a more detailed manner some pages below in the initial of the *introitus* of the Mass text for Whit Wednesday (p. 266). The image is accompanied by a commentary text in the scrolls. We find there, as well as the standard text from the Apocalypse, an interpretation of this scene:

Per ignem spiritus sanctus designatur. Angelus namque, id est Christus, turribulum, id est corda discipulorum, de igne altaris, id est spiritus sanctus, implevit.

This interpretive text is the key for understanding the Apocalypse illustrations in the Sherborne Missal. It is a literal quotation from the Apocalypse commentary of Berengaudus, which in the Middle Ages was often attributed to the Church Father Ambrosius.<sup>33</sup> Illustrated Apocalypse texts with the Berengaudus commentary were known in England as early as c. 1100, although most surviving manuscripts are from the thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup> This commentary text was widely disseminated, especially by the illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts of

33 – *Expositio super septem visiones libri Apocalypsis*, Migne, P. L. 17, cols 765–970, here col. 849.

34 – Michael A. Michael has shown that the conjunction of illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts with the commentary of Berengaudus is not a development of the thirteenth century, as previously believed, but was already in existence c. 1100 ('An illustrated "Apocalypse" Ms. at Longleat House', *The Burlington Magazine*, 126 [1984], pp. 340–343); of the nineteen illuminated English Apocalypse texts and illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts of the thirteenth century listed by N. Morgan (*Early Gothic Manuscripts*, op. cit., p. 214) twelve of the sixteen which contain commentaries use that of Berengaudus (some in French translation).



35 – See, for example, New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., M. 524 (c. 1255–60; N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, op. cit., pp. 92–94, cat. no. 122); Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Ms. Auct. D. 4. 17 (op. cit., pp. 113–114, cat. no. 131; Facsimile: *The Apocalypse of S. John the divine, represented by figures reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library* [London: Publications of the Roxburghe Club, No. 10, 1876]).

36 – New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., M. 524, fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (G. Schiller, op. cit., Vol. 5.2, fig. 243).

37 – New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., M. 524, fol. 1<sup>v</sup> (G. Schiller, op. cit., Vol. 5.2, fig. 106); cf. Migne, P. L. 17, col. 796.

the thirteenth century; which comprise a series of Apocalypse images accompanied by short inscriptions that contain excerpts of the Berengaudus text.<sup>35</sup>

The relationship between the texts of Pentecost and the painted Apocalypse scenes can be understood only through this commentary text: the basis for both the text and the images is the *effusio* of the Holy Ghost. The angel making a sacrificial offering represents Christ, who sends the Holy Ghost into the hearts of his disciples – an interpretation which we read in abbreviated form in the illustrated Apocalypses: ‘Turribulum corda apostolorum significat’ (figure 5).<sup>36</sup>

The seven burning lamps were equated with the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (Is 11, 2) even before Berengaudus. In illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts, the text reads as follows:

Per septem lampades ante tronum ardentes septem dona sancti spiritus intelliguntur, idem spiritus domini: spiritus sapientie et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientie et pietatis et spiritus timoris domini. (figure 6)<sup>37</sup>

In the Sherborne Missal, the seven gifts are represented by seven bearded men who are sitting before an open book:

Spiritus sapientie [spirit of wisdom]  
 Spiritus intellectus [spirit of understanding]  
 Spiritus consilii [spirit of counsel]  
 Spiritus fortitudinis [spirit of might]  
 Spiritus scientie [!; spirit of knowledge]

The scribe obviously made a mistake here: despite the last two gifts,

Spiritus pietatis [spirit of piety],  
 Spiritus timoris domini [spirit of fear of the Lord],

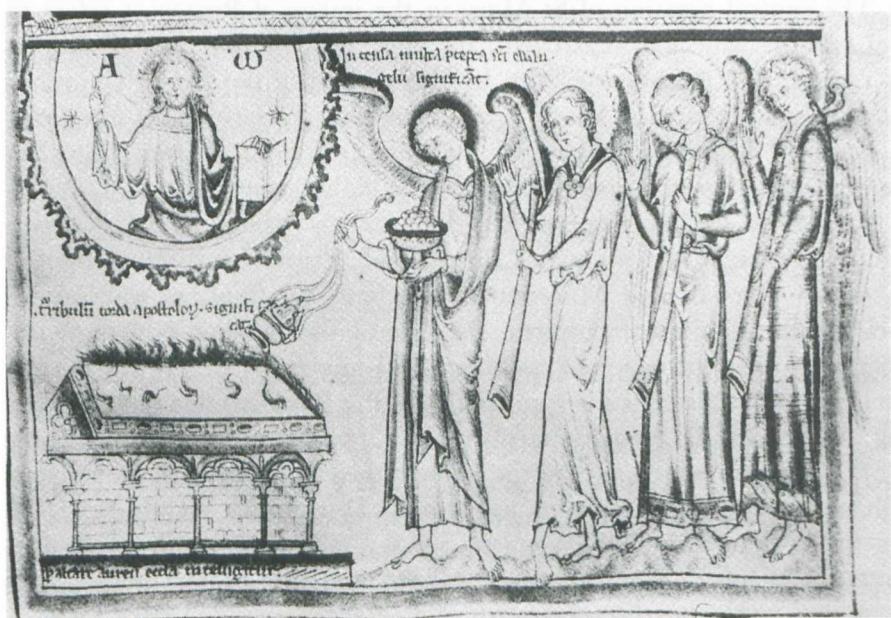


Figure 5. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 524, fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (detail). Photo: Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, tom. 5.2 (Gütersloh, 1991), fig. 243.



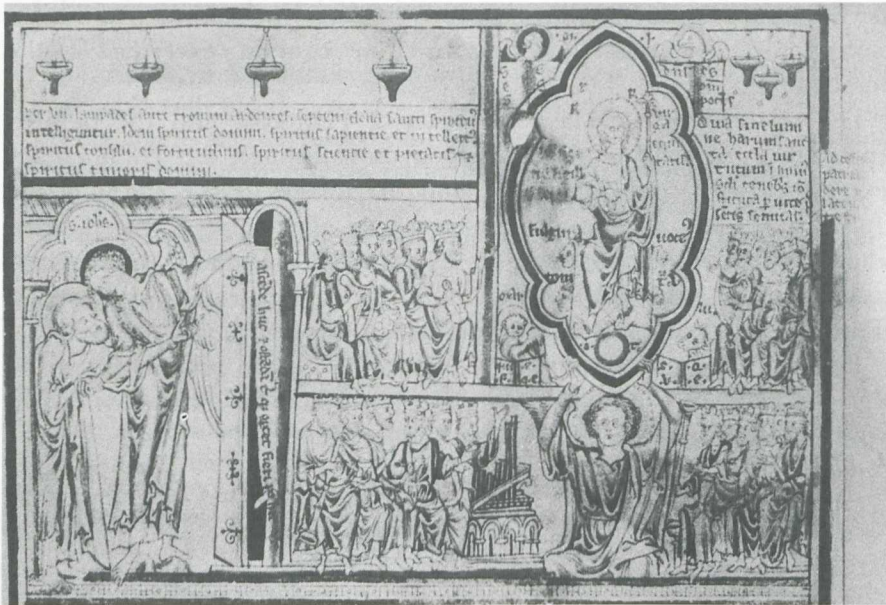


Figure 6. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 524, fol. 1<sup>v</sup> (detail).  
Photo: Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, tom. 5.2 (Gütersloh, 1991), fig. 106.

‘Spiritus Intellectus’ and ‘Spiritus Consilium’ (!) were repeated.<sup>38</sup> These representations alternate with those from the Revelation of St John; they are distinguished by the ornamental frame of their medallions.

Conversely, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, which refer to the seven eyes and horns of the lamb in the medallion at upper centre, may be interpreted as the seven ghosts of God in the Apocalypse.

Each of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost is exemplified by the men who sit before their open books. These images refer to the fulfilment of the prophetic role of the lion in the text of the Apocalypse: the lion breaks the seals, then opens the book. To those upon whom the Spirit of the Holy Ghost is bestowed, and who are prepared to receive these gifts, will be granted an understanding the mysteries of faith.<sup>39</sup>

The central position of St Mary in the image of Pentecost refers to yet another aspect of that event: the genesis of the Church. This idea is represented in concrete form by the picture of the Seven Churches of Asia, which, like the Virgin, are a symbol of Ecclesia. This interpretation was frequently presented in illustrated Apocalypses: ‘Per has septem ecclesias una ecclesia designatur catholica’ (figure 7).<sup>40</sup>

According to Berengaudus the four angels which hold the seven winds represent the status of the Roman Empire (preceded by the Assyrian, Persian and Macedonian) as both the final, as well as the heir, of the four great empires. Because of the heinous crimes of the Romans – violent conquest, robbery and murder – peace was denied to mankind. This peace is symbolized in the Berengaudus manuscripts by the four winds: ‘per quatuor ventos . . . pax . . . designatur’ (figure 8).<sup>41</sup> The four winds are at the same time a metaphor for the Holy Ghost: ‘pneuma’ and ‘spiritus’ is ‘breath’. During the Middle Ages, for example, the verse of the Song of Songs ‘Awake, O north wind; and come thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out’ was related to the event of Pentecost (Cant 4, 16).<sup>42</sup>

38 – It should be mentioned that the representations of ‘Spiritus pietatis’ and ‘Spiritus timoris’ below (pp. 268 and 270) are rather different from those of the other gifts of the Holy Ghost.

39 – The commentary of Berengaudus says that ‘doctores Ecclesiae’ in particular receive this revelation; cf. Migne, P. L. 17, col. 810.

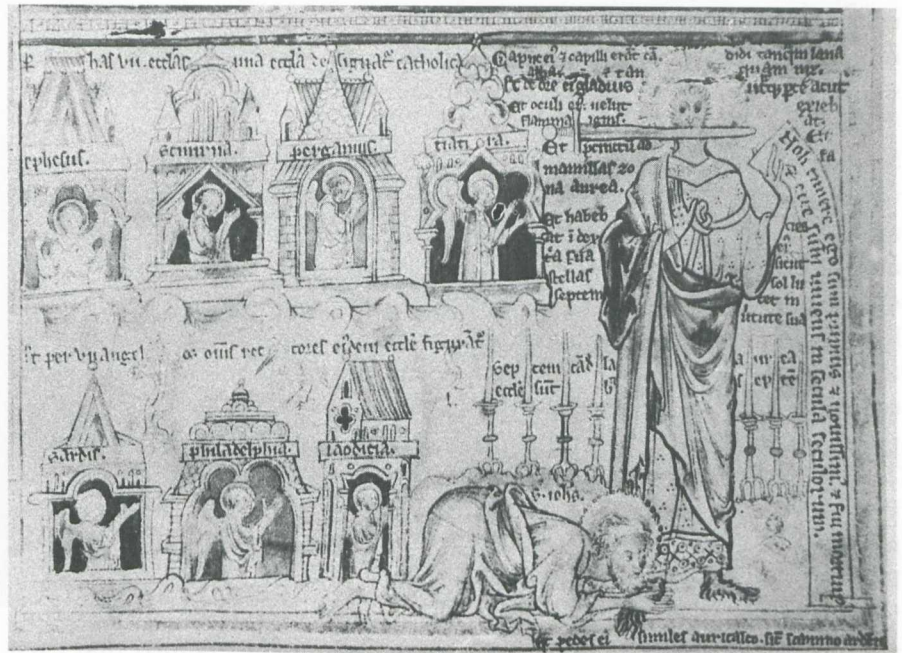
40 – New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., M. 524, fol. 3<sup>r</sup> (G. Schiller, op. cit., Vol. 5.2, fig. 44); cf. Migne, P. L. 17, col. 771.

41 – New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., Ms. 524, fol. 5<sup>v</sup> (G. Schiller, op. cit., Vol. 5.2, fig. 203); cf. Migne, P. L. 17, col. 842.

42 – See, for example, Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, cap. LXXIII, ed. Johann Georg Theodor Graesse (Breslau, 1890; reprint: Osnabrück, 1969), p. 330.



Figure 7. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 524, fol. 3<sup>r</sup> (detail).  
 Photo: Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, tom. 5.2 (Gütersloh, 1991), fig. 44.



The seven soundings of the tuba, which are played by the seven angels, set off particular events in the Revelation of St John. Only the first three of these are mentioned in the scrolls in the Sherborne Missal (Apc 8, 7.8, 8.10).

The seven angels, according to Berengaudus, act as agents of the Holy Ghost throughout the different ages of the history of salvation; he combines, in this concept of sacred history, different types of periodisation. The events which follow each sounding of the tuba are interpreted as having been effected by the Holy Ghost. In this concept the first angel represents preachers at the time 'ante legem'; the sounding of his tuba is followed by fire and blood, wherein the fire symbolizes the Holy Ghost and the blood the promised Christ.<sup>43</sup> The second angel represents Moses and other teachers of the law at the time 'sub lege'; the burning mountain which falls into the sea after the sounding of the tuba is interpreted as the law inspired by the Ghost, while the third part of the sea which has been transformed into blood represents the forgiveness of the sins of those who acted according to the law.<sup>44</sup> The third angel belongs to the time of the prophets; the fire of the star which falls down from the sky symbolizes the inspiration of the prophets by the Holy Ghost (and so on).<sup>45</sup>

### The relationship between the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost and the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer

Ten pages which contain the Mass texts for the workdays of Whitweek follow the interpretation of Pentecost (p. 260). Every other page – always the one which contains the *introitus* of the day concerned – is illuminated. The series of illustrations from the Apocalypse is continued in the initial letters of the *introitus* texts; the marginal illustrations contain representations of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, of the petitions

43 – Cf. Migne, P. L. 17, col. 851.

44 – Cf. op. cit., cols 851–852.

45 – Cf. op. cit., cols 852–853.



of the Lord's Prayer and of other biblical or theological concepts. The relationship between these originates in expositions of the Lord's Prayer, in which the Paternoster is divided into seven petitions which are then set in relation to one or more other septenars.

These relationships are based on St Augustine's commentary on the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>46</sup> His point of departure for these observations was the eight beatifications of Christ. The sequence in which these appear in the text of the gospel of St Matthew (5, 3-9) was considered an ascent ('ascensus'). The eighth beatification was thought of as an exception: it refers to the perfection of beatitude in eternity, whereas the first seven were considered degrees only as far as they were attainable in this life. According to St Augustine, this seven-stepped path shows a correspondence to that of the prophet Isaiah, in which he connected the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost with the root of Jesse (Is 11, 1-3). The given sequence of the gifts here, however, seems to be a descent ('descensus') as opposed to the ascent of the beatifications. St Augustine for that reason reversed the sequence of the seven gifts; by doing so he achieved an ascent of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost from the 'spiritus timoris domini' to the 'spiritus sapientiae', which was thus parallel to the ascent of the beatifications. Augustine claimed that each degree of the gifts corresponds to one degree of the beatifications. When he later discussed the Lord's Prayer within this same text, Augustine also divided it into seven petitions, and combined these with the two septenars previously mentioned. He thus presented a path to perfection: every petition of the Paternoster prepares man to receive one of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, through which he can then reach one particular *beatitudo*.

| <i>Petitiones:</i>  | <i>Dona spiritus sancti:</i> | <i>Beatitudines:</i>        |
|---------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sanctificetur etc.  | Spiritus timoris domini      | Beati pauperes etc.         |
| Adveniat etc.       | Spiritus pietatis            | Beati mites etc.            |
| Fiat etc.           | Spiritus scientiae           | Beati qui lugent etc.       |
| Panem etc.          | Spiritus fortitudinis        | Beati qui esuriunt etc.     |
| Et dimitte etc.     | Spiritus consilii            | Beati qui misericordes etc. |
| Et ne nos etc.      | Spiritus intellectus         | Beati mundo corde etc.      |
| Sed libera nos etc. | Spiritus sapientiae          | Beati pacifici etc.         |

The idea that the Holy Ghost was attainable by Christianity through prayer was, during the Middle Ages, often justified by reference to the Baptism of Christ according to the Gospel of St Luke (3, 21-22):

Now when all the people were baptized, it came to pass that Jesus also being baptized and praying, the heaven was opened, and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him . . .<sup>47</sup>

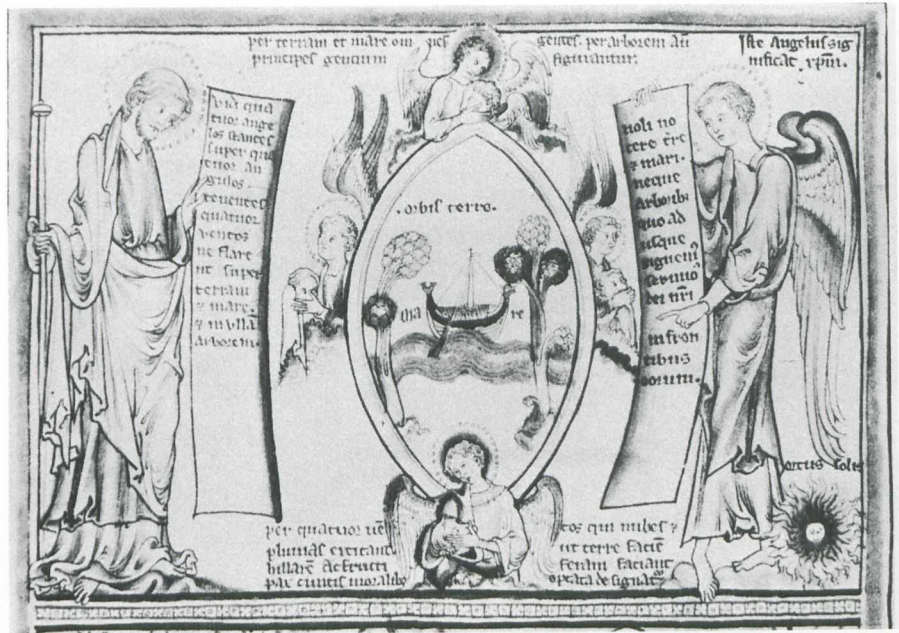
In the Sherborne Missal, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer and certain parts of the beatifications of the Sermon on the Mount are also combined. At the same time, however, and as was common from the twelfth century, the beatifi-

46 - Aurelius Augustinus, *De sermone domini in monte*, lib. II, 4, 15-11, 39, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher, in: *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina, Vol. 35 (Turnhout, 1967), pp. 104-130.

47 - See, for example, Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, cap. LXXIII, ed. J. G. T. Graesse, op. cit., p. 337.



Figure 8. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 524, fol. 5<sup>v</sup> (detail).  
 Photo: Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, tom. 5.2 (Gütersloh, 1991), fig. 203.



cations are divided into two septenars: the *virtutes* and the promised *beatitudines*.<sup>48</sup>

48 – Cf. Hugo of St Victor, *De quinque septenis*, ed. Roger Baron (Paris, 1969; Sources chrétiennes, Vol. 155), pp. 100–119.

*Virtutes:*

- Paupertas spiritus
- Mansuetudo
- Compunctio
- Esuries iustitiae
- Misericordia
- Mundicia cordis
- Pax

*Beatitudines:*

- Regnum caelorum
- Possessio terrae
- Consolatio
- Saturitas
- Misericordiae consecutio
- Visio dei
- Filiatio dei

In the Sherborne Missal, however, we find consistently only the portrayal of the combination of the gifts of the Holy Ghost and the petitions of the Paternoster.

On most pages, two gifts of the Holy Ghost are joined with one petition of the Paternoster: one in the upper half of the page and one in the lower half. The larger medallions at the corners of the ornamental frame contain, as a rule, illustrations of these related concepts of the septenar: the gift is represented on the left side, the petition is in the centre, and the *virtutes* and *beatitudines* usually appear on the right side of the page. The smaller medallions alternate with these larger ones, and differ in the actual form of their frames. They illustrate secondary statements as, for example, explanations of the relevant petition of the Lord's Prayer. If the appropriate *virtus* or *beatitudo* is missing, it is replaced by such an explanation.

In order to understand this text/image programme, it is necessary to determine the sources on which it is based. Such combinations of these septenars are much too common to indicate one particular source. Some of the supplementary statements, however, do help in that they indicate one particular text: the exposition of the Lord's Prayer of



Lothar of Segni, later Pope Innocentius III (d. 1216), which was included in his famous treatise on the mass, and part of which was later incorporated into Durandus' 'Rationale divinarum officiorum'.<sup>49</sup> In this text, the seven petitions of the Paternoster were understood to be pleas for healing from the effects of each of the seven vices.<sup>50</sup> Innocentius also graded the petitions of the Lord's Prayer and combined them with aspects of the other septenars; unlike Augustine, however, he interpreted them from the lowest 'Deliver us from evil' to the highest 'Hallowed be thy name': This resulted in the following combination:

| <i>Vitia:</i> | <i>Petitiones:</i> | <i>Dona spiritus sancti:</i> | <i>Virtutes:</i>   | <i>Beatitudines:</i>     |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Inanis gloria | Sed libera etc.    | Sp. timoris domini           | Paupertas spiritus | Regnum caelorum          |
| Ira           | Et ne nos etc.     | Sp. pietatis                 | Mansuetudo         | Possessio terrae         |
| Invidia       | Et dimitte etc.    | Sp. scientiae                | Luctus             | Consolatio               |
| Accidia       | Panem nostrum etc. | Sp. fortitudinis             | Esuries iustitiae  | Saturitas                |
| Avaritia      | Fiat voluntas etc. | Sp. consilii                 | Misericordia       | Misericordiae consecutio |
| Gula          | Adveniat etc.      | Sp. intellectus              | Mundicia cordis    | Visio dei                |
| Luxuria       | Sanctificetur      | Sp. sapientiae               | Pax                | Filiatio dei             |

It seems unlikely for several reasons that the text/image programme in the Sherborne Missal was based directly on the text of Innocentius III. Against this notion, for example, is the fact that the sequence of the programme in the Sherborne Missal is the reverse of that contained in the expositions of Innocentius.

One possible source for this specific programme are certain images which presuppose the text of Innocentius III. These images – which we know existed by *c.* 1200, shortly after Innocentius' treatise on the Mass was written – show a way of salvation or healing in the form of a wheel (*rota*). The *rota* of the Free Library in Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, Ms. 66:16a, may be used here as an example (figure 9).<sup>51</sup> Divided into seven primary sectors, it also includes one additional narrower segment which contains a kind of survey of the contents of the *rota*. The seven vices are presented, one in each sector, in medallions on the outer circle. The seven Petitions of the Paternoster, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, seven *virtutes* and, finally, seven *beatitudines* from

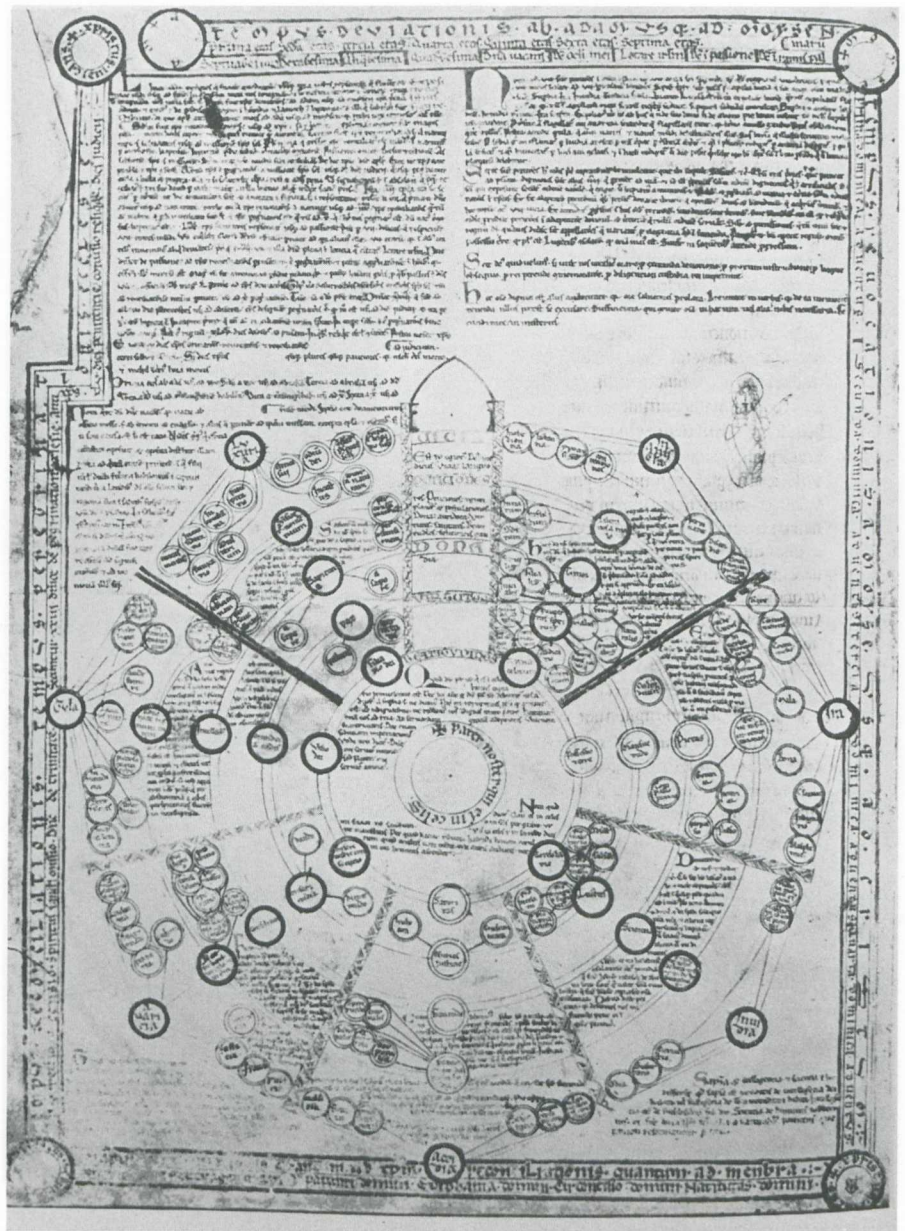
49 – Innocentius III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, lib. V, cap. XVI–XXXVIII, Migne, P. L. 217, cols 897–906; cf. Gulielmus Durandus, *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, lib. IV, cap. XLVII–XLVIII (edition used: Lyon, 1592), pp. 257–366.

50 – Cf. Hugo of St Victor, *De quinque septenis*, ed. R. Baron, op. cit., pp. 100–119.

51 – See Meta Harrsen, 'Mediaeval and renaissance miniatures in the John Frederick Lewis Collection in Philadelphia', *Scriptorium*, 14 (1960), p. 78, pl. 12.



Figure 9. Philadelphia, Free Library, Rare Book Department, MS 66: 16a. Photo: Meta Harsen, Mediaeval and renaissance miniatures in the John Frederick Lewis Collection in Philadelphia, in: *Scriptorium*, 14 (1960), p. 78, pl. 12.



the Sermon on the Mount, are distributed throughout the inner circles. Many of these concepts are connected by lines to smaller medallions which contain supplementary explanations found in the text of Innocentius III. These supplementary explanations correspond to those of the Sherborne Missal.

A *rota* such as this was originally intended to be read clockwise; in this case, the explanatory text also begins with the last petition of the Lord's Prayer. Shortly after the origin of these *rotae*, however, diverse systems were developed, in which the accompanying explanatory texts to the individual petitions were written below (figure 10) rather than within (figure 9) the interior space of the *rota*. These explanatory texts, then, were actually incorporated into the biblical sequence of the



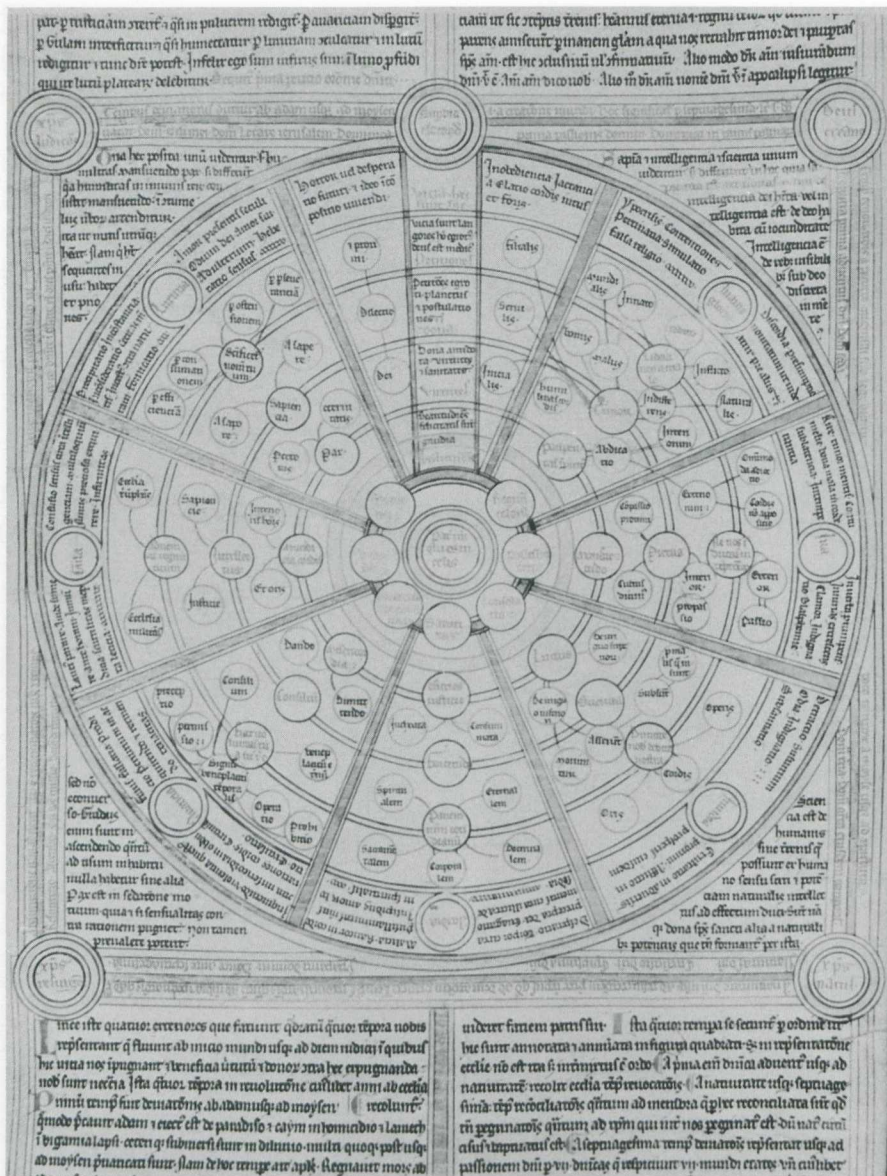


Figure 10. London, British Library, MS Royal 14 B IX (detail). Photo: British Library.

petitions, despite the fact that this caused contradictions within the text. In England, obviously, it was only this tradition which was effective. As an example of this type, one of the *rotae* in the British Library in London, Ms. Royal 14 B IX, should be mentioned here (figure 10).<sup>52</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that the combination of septenars as found in the Sherborne Missal is based on such a *rota*; more proof for this assumption may be found below. The contents of the *rota* certainly would have been somewhat reduced: the septenar of the vices is missing, and there are fewer supplementary explanations in the Sherborne Missal than we usually find in the *rotae*.

### Page 262 (Whit Monday): the spirit of wisdom

The texts of the mass for Whit Monday begin in the right text column (figure 11). The initial 'C(ibavit . . .)' of the *introitus* contains a more

52 – See *British Museum. Catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* by Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, Vol. 2 (London, 1921), p. 127; Michael Evans, 'The geometry of the mind', *aaq. Architectural Association Quarterly*, 12/4 (1980), pp. 32–33 and 48, fig. 2; Hans-Eberhard Hilpert, 'Geistliche Bildung und Laienbildung: Zur Überlieferung des "Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi" (Compendium veteris testamenti) des Petrus von Poitiers in England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), figs 2–3; N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, op. cit., pp. 180–181, No. 177.



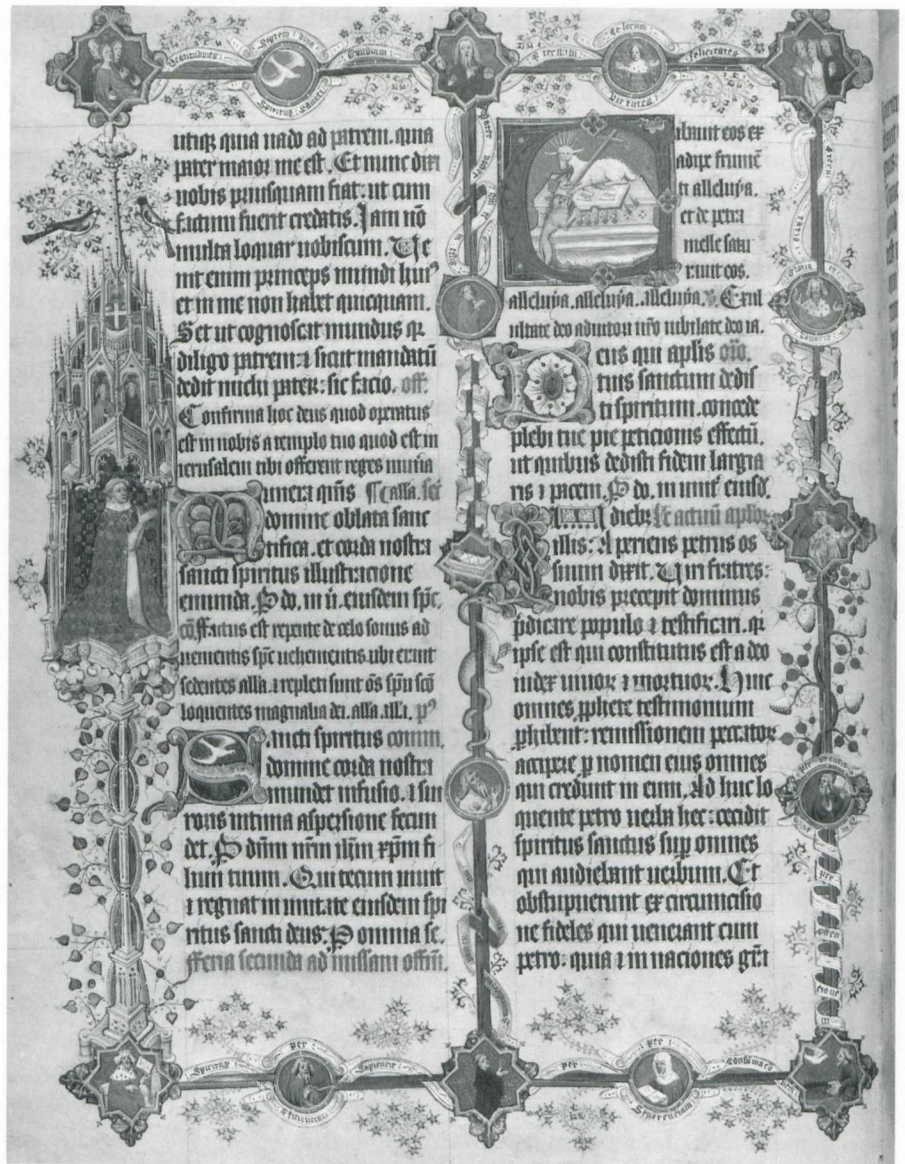


Figure 11. Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland), London, British Library, MS Loan 82, p. 262. Photo: British Library.

detailed representation of the Apocalyptical lamb and the lion than is found in the marginal illustrations of the texts for Whit Sunday (p. 260). ‘Ecce agnus dei. (Ecce)’ can be read both in pages of the opened book and on the scroll. The lamb holds a cross; blood is flowing from his wound into a cup. In the commentary of Berengaudus, the lamb stands for the incarnated Christ. The attributes shown here indicate the sacrificial aspect of his life.

The central field of the upper ornamental frame is accompanied by a scroll with the words ‘Gaudium eternam’ (!). God the Father is portrayed in the form of an older bearded man; he holds a globe in his left hand, while his right hand is raised in blessing. Beside him is a man in prayer. The other fields of the upper frame correspond to the small segment of the *rota*, and present a survey of the following programme. ‘Septem dona spiritus saunti’ (!), in the field to the left of



God the Father, is illustrated by the dove of the Holy Ghost; 'Virtutes' is exemplified in the field to the right by a gold-feathered angel, whose ermine coat signifies him as representative of one of the heavenly Choirs, as a Throne. The images of both the dove and the angel are repeated on this page of the missal: the former in the initial 'S(ancti spiritus . . . )', the latter in the middle of the right side of the ornamental frame. Three persons, each with a different gesture and dressed in either blue, red or green, are shown in each of the two fields at the outside corners: these six persons represent the 'Beatitudines'.<sup>53</sup> It is curious here that *virtutes* and *beatitudines* are characterized as belonging to the next world – a characterization that is contrary to the stand view in expositions of the Lord's Prayer. The former is represented by the supplement 'celorum' and the depiction of an angel, and the latter by the explanation 'Felicitatis eternitatis'. With respect to the *rota*, here the 'heading' *Petitiones* is missing. The form of address of the Paternoster instead reads: 'Pater noster qui es in celis' [Our father which art in heaven]. A monk, portrayed within a medallion between the text columns, directs this prayer to God the Father directly above.

It is no accident that the motto of the abbot, who is portrayed on the left side of this, as on so many pages of the missal, is absent here: his prayer, in this case, is not directed toward the Trinity ('Laus sit trinitati'), but toward God the Father. The Bishop of Salisbury is represented by his motto on the right side of the page: 'Gloria et honor' is directed toward God the Father as well, and is represented again in the accompanying medallion.

The medallions which are located between the text columns and which do not contain inscriptions will be discussed below.

The exposition of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, represented by a combination of the single gifts, the petitions of the Paternoster, and other concepts, begins at the lower edge of the ornamental frame. 'Spiritus sapientie' is exemplified in the left field, again by a man seated in front of an open book, his hand raised in a gesture of speech. His royal attributes of a crown and an ermine coat emphasize the special position of this highest of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; at the same time, they show who is especially in need of this gift.

A monk, portrayed in the central field, directs toward God the Father that petition which opens man to receive the gift of wisdom: 'Sauntificetur nomen tuum' [!; Hallowed by thy name]. Different ways of sanctifying the name of God, according to the exposition of Innocentius III, are exemplified in four other fields (although here the form of the medallions plays no role). 'Per efficienciam' is represented by a man with a closed book; 'per perseveranciam' by a woman wearing a veil and reading a book; 'per consumacionem' by a man with hands opened to receive the dove of the Holy Ghost, who hovers in front of his eyes; and 'per ostencionem' by a man who points at the text of a book. The first two ways of sanctification – again in accordance with the exposition of Innocentius III – are intended for children of god 'in via', while the others are intended for those 'in patria'.<sup>54</sup>

It remains undetermined whether the angel without an inscription on the right side (mentioned above) represents the accompanying *virtus*

53 – The unusual number of six seems to be a consequence of a reduction in favour of symmetry.

54 – Migne, P. L. 217, cols 904–905.



'Pax' or the *beatitudo* 'Filiatio dei'. As the heading 'Virtutes' is also illustrated by an angel, the former seems more convincing.

**Page 264 (Whit Tuesday): the spirit of understanding and of counsel**

The Mass texts for Whit Tuesday begin in the right text column (figure 12). The initial 'A(ccipite . . .)' of the *introitus* contains another representation of the seven churches, the interpretation of which has already been discussed. Scrolls located above the initial present the names of each parish:



Figure 12. Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland), London, British Library, MS Loan 82, p. 264. Photo: British Library.



Ecclesia Tiatire  
 Ecclesia Pergami  
 Ecclesia Smyrne  
 Ecclesia Ephesi  
 Ecclesia Laodicie  
 Ecclesia [Philadelphie]<sup>55</sup>  
 Ecclesia Sardis (cf. *Apc* 1, 10).

55 – The inscription ‘Philadelphie’ must have originally been found in this now empty place.

The angel in the middle, who belongs to the parish of Ephesos, is here also bigger than the others.

The second gift of the Holy Ghost and the second petition of the Lord’s Prayer are combined in the ornamental frame at the top of the page. ‘*Spiritus intellectus*’ is exemplified in the left medallion, again by a bearded man, here shown in a red coat, who is sitting at a lectern before an open book. The dove beside him indicates that the man is inspired by the Holy Ghost. A king prays for the Kingdom of God in the central medallion: ‘*Adveniat regnum tuum*’ [Thy kingdom come]. He is wearing a crown, an ermine coat, and an open book lies on his knees. In this representation, the invoked ‘*regnum*’ is, at the same time, compared to a (worldly) kingdom. The resemblance to the picture of ‘*Spiritus sapiencie*’ (p. 262) allows us to see here a wise regent in the king. Unlike other cases, the petition of the Paternoster here is explained in a scroll: ‘*regnum tuum hoc est regnum celorum*’.

‘*Visio dei*’ is assigned as *beatitudo* in the medallion on the right side, and is represented by a woman in prayer before an open book. The ‘*visio*’, or the face of Christ, which is here similar to a *vera icon*, can be seen in front of her.

Two smaller fields contain images showing qualities that follow ‘*Spiritus intellectus*’. On the right side, ‘*Mundicia carnis*’, obviously a modification of the commonly known *virtus* ‘*Mundicia cordis*’ [pureness in heart], is exemplified by a woman with veil and book. On the left side – freely added as a counterpart – is ‘*Puritas mentis*’ [pureness of the mind], which is illustrated by a man making an arguing gesture.

The picture of the seven churches indicates another interpretation of ‘*regnum*’, and, as above (on p. 260), it is a symbol for Ecclesia. According to Innocentius III, it is Ecclesia that is invoked with the second petition of the Lord’s Prayer: ‘*Regnum Dei dicitur militans Ecclesia, quia regitur, et triumphans Ecclesia, quia regitur*’.<sup>56</sup>

56 – Migne, P. L. 217, col. 904.

The third section of the exposition is distributed over a large part of the page. A monk represents ‘*Spiritus consilii*’ in the medallion on the lower left side. He is also accompanied by the dove of the Holy Ghost, and sits before an open book. In the central medallion another monk, in a gesture of prayer and accompanied by the motto of the abbot of Sherborne (‘*Laus sit trinitati*’), speaks the third petition of the Paternoster: ‘*Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra*’ [Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven].

The *beatitudo* is again presented in the medallion on the right side: ‘*Misericordie consecutio*’ was certainly erroneously changed into ‘*Misericordie consuetudo*’. As an example of mercy we see a man who gives alms to a beggar. The accompanying *virtus* ‘*Misericordia*’ has not been illustrated.



57 – 'Prohibitio' is missing.

According to Innocentius III, the will of God – invoked in the third petition of the Lord's Prayer – can be recognized in the eternal pleasure of God in the next world and in the signs of pleasure in this world. Both kinds of pleasure are represented here, and in the same way: by a man with his arms extended; 'Signum bene placitum [corporale]' is in a medallion between the text columns, 'Bene placitum eternum' is found in the middle of the right side. Only four of the five signs of pleasure named by Innocentius III, and in the *rota*, are presented here; 'Permissio' was certainly erroneously changed into 'Provisio' – this sign at upper centre by a man who extends his hands while looking backwards. A man making a gesture of command stands for 'Preceptio' (top right), while another man, his left hand extended, represents 'Operacio' (lower middle). 'Consilium' is portrayed by a woman who whispers her advice to another (lower right).<sup>57</sup>

Two representations of the sacrament of penance, which are found in the two smaller fields of the lower frame, are unusual in this context. 'Confescio', on the left side, is represented by a man kneeling before a monk, who lays his hand on him; on the right side is 'Satisfaccio', wherein the right hand of God flogs a naked man who is kneeling on all fours. It remains unclear whether this representation is an allusion to the event of dediance against the 'voluntas dei'.

### Page 266 (Whit Wednesday): the spirit of might and of knowledge

The sacrifice of the angel at the altar can be seen, in the right text column, in the initial of the *introitus* of the Mass of Whit Wednesday, 'D(eus . . .)' (figure 13; discussed above). The accompanying text begins at the right side of the page:

Et venit angelus et stetit ante altare habens turibulum aureum in manu sua. Et data sunt ei incensa multa. (Apc 8, 3)

[And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense . . .]

This text is continued between the text columns:

Et ascendit fumus aromatum in conspectu domini.

[cf. Apc 8, 4: And the smoke of the incense . . . ascended up before God . . .]

The ghost of might, 'Spiritus fortitudinis', is represented at the top left of the page. The image is portrayed here with the help of a biblical exemplum: David snatches a lamb away from a bear (I Sm 17, 34–37). The fourth petition of the Paternoster, which prepares man for receiving the ghost of might, can be read around the upper centre medallion: 'Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie' [Give us this day our daily bread]. It is illustrated by a scene of communion: the right hand of God gives the sacramental bread, or the Body of Christ, to a kneeling man. The surrounding medallions characterize the 'bread' in three different ways (here the different forms of the medallions do not play any role): on the left, as 'sacramentalis'; on the right, as





Figure 13. Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland), London, British Library, MS Loan 82, p. 266. Photo: British Library.

'eternalis'; and in the right corner, as 'spiritualis'. The two other characterizations of the *rota*, 'corporalis' and 'doctrinalis', are not presented in medallions here. The sacramental nature of the bread is illustrated by the elevation of the host. The eternal or heavenly bread is, similar to 'Celorum virtutes' on p. 262, illustrated by an angel (here in red coat) from the choir of the Thrones. The spiritual bread, which, according to Innocentius III stands for the instruction of faith, is presented by a bishop with a blessing right hand and the model of a church in his left hand. The *virtus* which correponds to the petition of bread and the



ghost of strength 'esuries iustitiae' [hunger after righteousness], and the *beatitudo* 'Saturitas' [repletion] are missing.

The Sacrifice of the Mass, which is represented in a smaller medallion below the illustrated initial between the text columns, belongs to the next section of the exposition, as the inscription 'pro patria celesti' affirms. It seems to refer as well to the Apocalypse scene with the sacrifice of the angel: concurrently, then, the sacrifice of the angel may be compared to that of the Mass. As noted before, the text that accompanies the initial picture contains the interpretation of the scene depicted by Berengaudus: Christ fills the heart of the disciples with the Holy Ghost. This interpretation should be transposed onto the Sacrifice of the Mass: as the transmission of the Holy Ghost happened once at Pentecost, it thus occurs again every time in the celebration of the Eucharist.

The fifth petition of the Paternoster is followed by 'Spiritus sciencie'. This is presented at the left side of the lower frame, once again showing a man who is sitting at a lectern before an open book. The scholar's Master's gown identifies him as representative of the gift of science.

The subject of the fifth petition is not shown in a picture. The central medallion of the lower frame shows only a monk who speaks the sentence: 'Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris' [And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors].

The surrounding medallions give further explanations of this petition. Three fruits of forgiveness are represented here: 'Dileccio dei', 'Dileccio proximi' and 'Compascio'. Compassion is represented at the lower right side by a praying man, who has a vision of the face of God. Love of God and of neighbour are also illustrated by the help of gestures: love of God by a man with his arms extended, and love of neighbour by a man who takes his neighbour by the arm. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the images or the inscriptions of 'Dileccio dei' and 'Compascio' were reversed erroneously, as the gesture of extended hands was a common sign for compassion in the Middle Ages. These three concepts are not part of the exposition of Innocentius III, although two of them originated there: Innocentius distinguished trespasses against God and against neighbour.<sup>58</sup> These concepts are missing originally in the *rota* as well. It is only in an English *rota* of the thirteenth century that 'Dilectio dei' and 'Dilectio proximi' are added, albeit in a different context (figure 10).<sup>59</sup> This is one more indication that the *rota* could have been the source for the programme contained in the Sherborne Missal.

The accompanying beatification is: 'Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted': *Virtus* and *beatitudo* are both represented on the right side. The *virtus* 'Luctus', or mourning, is shown in the upper half of the page by a man with his head lowered, and his crossed hands hanging down. The inscription, for the most part rubbed off, can be read with some certainty as 'Luctus'. In the middle of the frame, the *beatitudo* 'Consolacio', or consolation, is presented by a woman with veil who is holding a babe-in-arms.<sup>60</sup>

In the *rota* according to Innocentius III, the mourning is interpreted as a double spring of water, which comprises an upper and a lower

58 – Migne, P. L. 217, cols 901–902.

59 – It is the unpublished ms. Add. 60628 of the British Library in London. Ms. Royal 14 B IX of the same library has: 'Dilige deum' and 'Dilige proximum'.

60 – The inscription 'Consolacio' on the dress of the woman – probably the Virgin – was repeated on a bustle, because it was incorrectly inscribed beforehand on the chest ('Conlaco').



part. This motive is taken from the story of Achsah, daughter of Caleb, who received an upper and a lower spring of water for her land (Joshua 15, 19). The lower spring flows for one's own sins as well as for those of others; the upper one flows for the living in this life and the longing for heavenly life.

The reduced version in the Sherborne Missal demonstrates only for what purpose the springs of mourning are flowing, without showing the springs themselves. The upper one flows 'pro patria celesti', and is represented by the Mass scene between the text columns mentioned previously. 'Pro patria', in the lower part of the right side, is portrayed by a soldier with halberd and shield. The kind of 'patria' intended here is not completely clear, as the *rota* normally uses 'pro incolatu' rather than 'pro patria'. The lower spring flows 'pro malis que sunt', for the evil of this life. The picture, which shows two monks, one pointing to an open book, the other in a gesture of speech, is perhaps a representation of intercessional prayer.

### Page 268 (Whit Thursday): the spirit of piety

In the right text column, the initial of the *introitus* of the Mass for Whit Thursday, 'S(piritus . . .)', presents the fifth of the tuba-playing angels of the Apocalypse (figure 14):

Quintus angelus tuba cecinit et vidi stellam de celo cecidisse in terram et data est illi clavis putei abissi. (Apc 9, 1)

[And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.]

With a key in his right hand, the angel stands in front of a fountain, out of which flames spark. Beside him there is a flying eagle, which cries 'woe' three times over the inhabitants of the earth:

Et audivi vocem unius aquile volantis per medium celum voce magna dicentis ve ve ve habitantibus in terra.

[cf. Apc 8, 13: . . . and heard an eagle flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth . . .]

These cries, according to Berengaudus, are related to the consequences of the final three soundings of the tuba. The eagle stands for Christ and his apostles. His cries of 'woe' are aimed at the heretics, the pagans and the antichrist. The angel represents the defenders of the Church against heresies. The star that falls from heaven after the sounding of the tuba stands for leaders of sects; the key, for man's freedom of will; the abyss, for the hearts of the heretics; and the fountain for their mouths.<sup>61</sup> Other representations of the same scene show mixed creatures at the fountain as well, in order to demonstrate this interpretation clearly.<sup>62</sup>

The depiction of exposition of the sixth gift of the Holy Ghost follows a different method in comparison with those demonstrated above, in that it is distributed vertically between the text columns.

In the upper medallion 'Spiritus pietatis' (here in golden letters) is exemplified by a man kneeling in prayer. The accompanying petition

61 – Migne, P. L. 17, col. 854.

62 – Cf. for example: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 87 in scriin. 4 (Germany, first quarter of the fourteenth century), fol. 27r (G. Schiller, op. cit., Vol. 5.2, fig. 277).



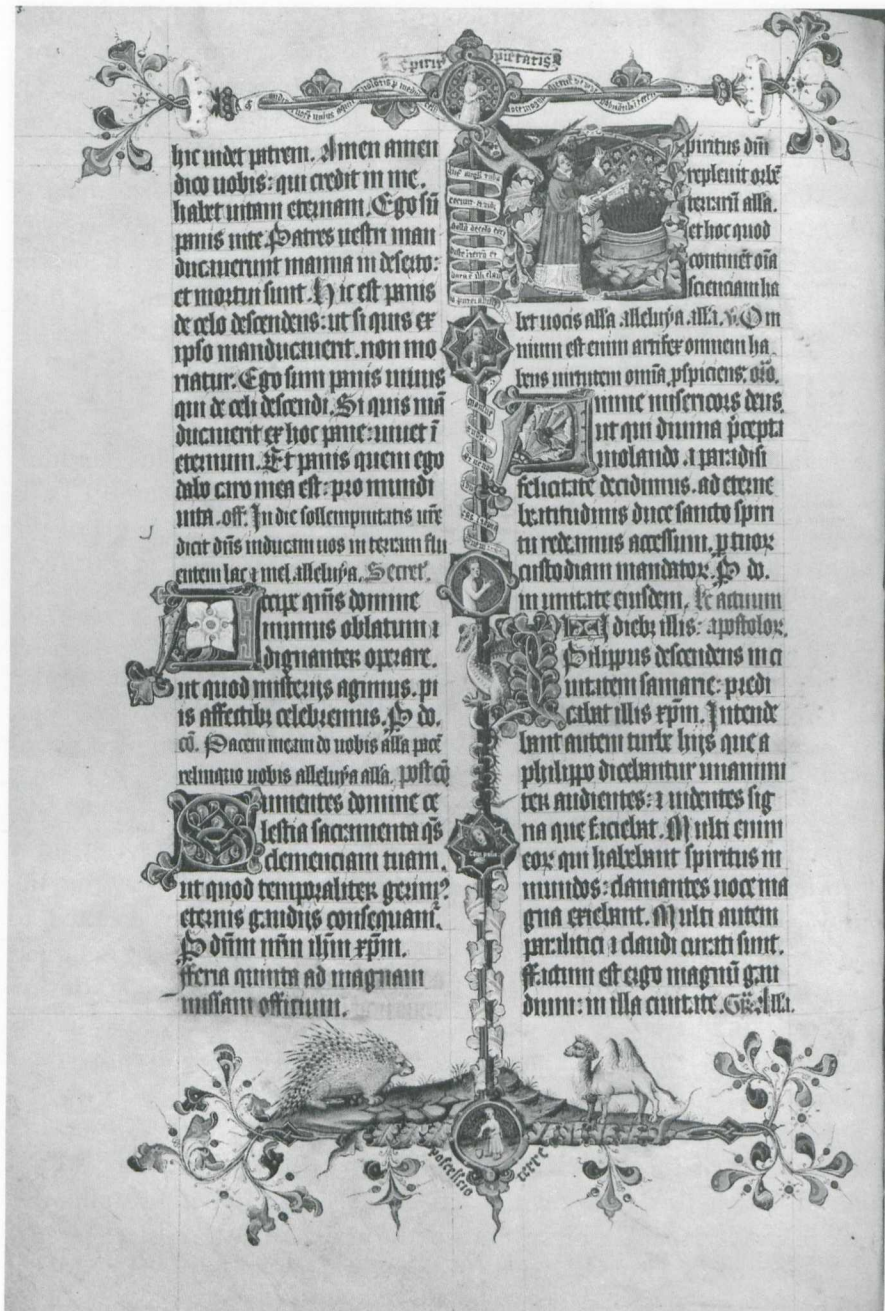


Figure 14. Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland), London, British Library, MS Loan 82, p. 268. Photo: British Library.

of the Paternoster is spoken by a man in the centre medallion: 'Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem' [And lead us not into temptation]. The *virtus* 'Mansuetudo', or meekness, is demonstrated in the field below the illustrated initial by a man who points to a vessel which he holds in his left hand. In the medallion below, the *beatitudo* 'Poscessio terre', inheritance of the earth (also in gold letters), is demonstrated by a fieldworker; above him, on a clod of earth, are two exotic inhabitants of the earth: a porcupine and a camel.



Two effects of 'Pietas' – supplementary to the text of Innocentius III – are named in the *rota*: 'cultus divinus' and 'compassio proximi'. In the Sherborne Missal, however, only 'Compascio' is shown. This concept is exemplified by a man who holds his right hand before his chest and bends his head.

By combining this section of the exposition with the fifth angel of the Apocalypse, the temptation of the fifth petition of the Paternoster is cemented with the help of the well-known interpretation of the Apocalyptic motives: 'temptatio' here primarily means temptation by heretics, pagans and the antichrist.

### Page 270 (Whit Friday): the spirit of fear of the Lord

The *introitus* of the Mass for Whit Friday begins in the left column. The initial 'R(epleatur . . .)', beside which a monk with a scroll ('Laus sit trinitati') is standing, contains a picture with the sixth angel of the Apocalypse. He is releasing the four angels who are tied to the river Euphrat (figure 15):

Et soluti sunt quatuor angeli qui parati erant in horam et diem et mensem et annum ut occiderent terciam partem hominum. (Apc 9, 15).  
 {And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men.]

These four angels were, according to the inscription, prepared – to the hour, day, month and year – kill the third part of mankind. Berengaudus interpreted the sixth angel as representative of the martyrs, and the four angels as their pursuers. The referenced dates were related to different periods of the history of salvation. The third part of mankind represents the chosen ones of God, who were pursued and killed during the course of history.<sup>63</sup> As opposed to other representations of the scene, here the four angels are not characterized as negative by their physiognomy.<sup>64</sup>

This section of the exposition, which is concerned with the seventh and final gift of the Holy Ghost, is also distributed vertically on the page, although this time on the left side. In the upper medallion, a monk in prayer speaks the seventh petition of the Paternoster: 'Set (!) libera nos a malo' [But deliver us from evil]. The gift of the Holy Ghost invoked by this petition is that of the fear of God. In the middle of the left side, 'Spiritus timoris domini' is exemplified by a woman with a veil, who holds her hands crossed before her chest – a gesture which is known, from both images of the Annunciation and of the Virgin under the cross, as a sign of devotion and humility. The multiple distinctions of 'fear' in the *rota* are reduced here to a single specific one: 'Timor bonus', which is represented by an angel, arms extended, above the gift of the Holy Ghost.

The accompanying *virtus* and *beatitudo* are illustrated by those two representations of the sacrament of penance, which are also added to the third section of the exposition (p. 264). The image of 'Satisfactio' (in the lower part) has the inscription of the *virtus* 'Paupertas spiritus', or poorness of spirit; the picture of 'Confessio' in the field above has

63 – Migne, P. L. 17, cols 860–861.

64 – Cf. for example: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 10474 (London, c. 1265/1270), fol. 15v (P. Klein, *Endzeiterwartung*, op. cit., fig. 60; G. Schiller, op. cit., Vol. 5.2, fig. 311).







## V

This discussion of the illustrations for Whit-week in the Sherborne Missal has demonstrated the ways in which the liturgical text was supplemented by images and inscriptions, and how these addenda functioned to provide a more precise theological understanding of that text. This clarification occurred through a regular, though not schematic, system of order.

In the Sherborne Missal, this combination of images and texts appears in the Calendar, in the order of the ecclesiastical year, and in the Temporale under the 'bracket' of the liturgical feasts.

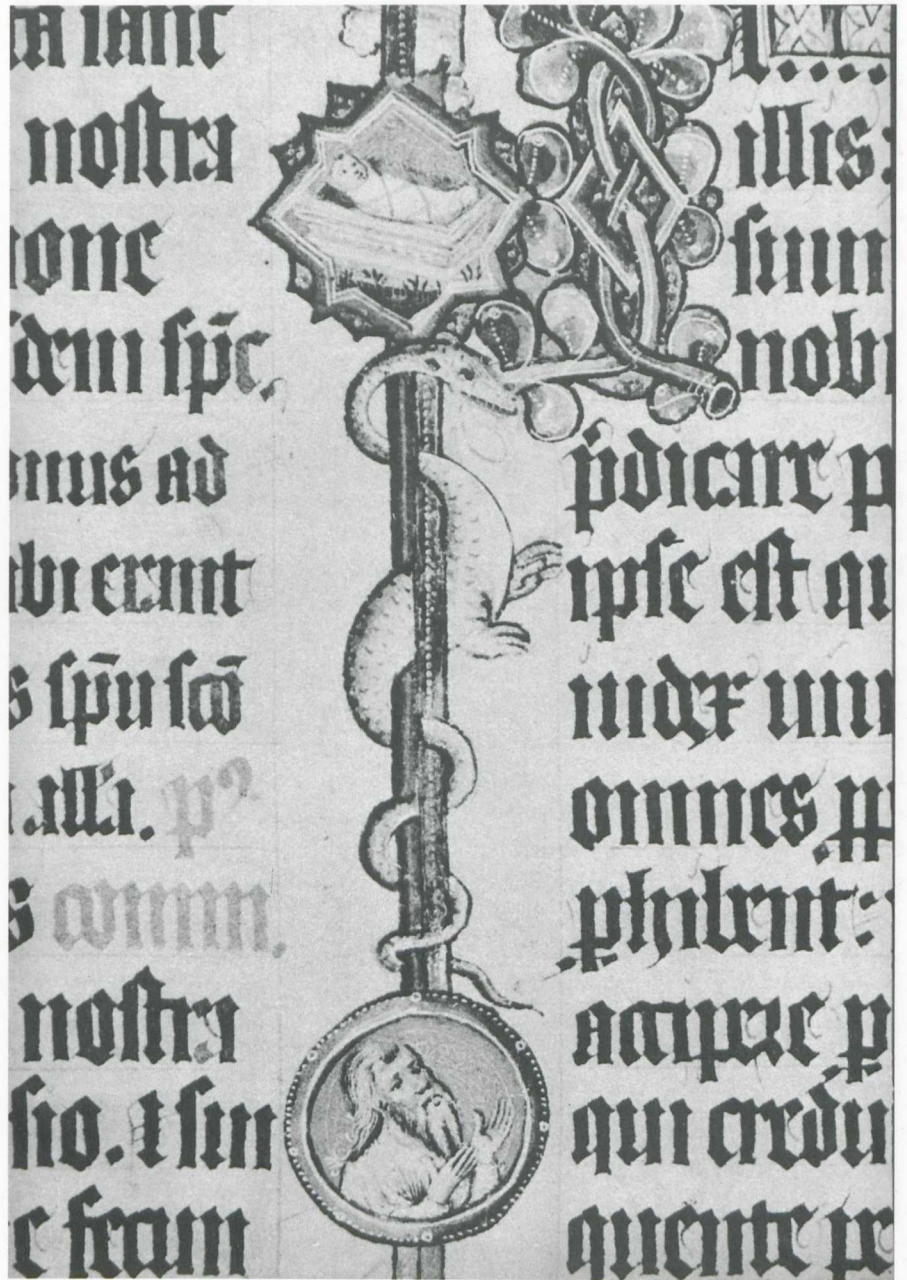
The illustrations of the texts for Whit-week build a complicated and, in its theological statement, obviously well thought out and organized programme. Thus the basic premise of the Pentecost picture – the transmission of the Holy Ghost – is continued on the following illuminated pages. The illustrated Apocalypse scenes had already been interpreted by Berengaudus as effects of the Holy Ghost. As mentioned above, these scenes, as well as the interpretations of them, are obviously based on illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts. The gifts of the Holy Ghost were furthermore explained in a more precise manner, especially with regard to the question of how one can open oneself to receive the gifts poured out on Pentecost. A special kind of *rota* – one which presents an exposition of the Lord's Prayer of Innocentius III – was named as the source of this exposition. The originator of this text/image programme seems to have followed such a *rota*, as seen in the combination of septenars and supplementary explanations. Not the least, this programme – as in the *rota* – argued an interpretation of history as the history of salvation, especially in the inscriptions and images of its frame.

This method of interpreting history is apparent not only in the standard interpretation of the Apocalypse scenes, as demonstrated above. It also appears, for example, in the presentations of two illustrated medallions (without inscriptions) on the page with the Mass texts for Whit Monday (figures 11 and 16). Below, there is a bearded man with his hands raised; a babe-in-arms on an altarlike pedestal is above him. A coiled serpent is between the two images. Both images are related to representations of Adam and the birth of Jesus in the frame of the *rota*, where the beginning of every age of salvation is marked by a biblical person or event. This organized division of historical periods is explained by single textual elements which can be used for interpretation here. The *rota* of Ms. VIII C 3, fol. 6r of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples (figure 17),<sup>65</sup> a work of the early thirteenth century, is useful for comparison here. In the second medallion at top left, one can see Adam, who represents the first fall of man, and which here stands for the beginning of the 'Tempus deviationis'. Adam points with both of his hands to the 'alter Adam' in the neighbouring medallion, i.e. to Christ, who has returned at the last Judgement. The same gesture is used by the bearded man in the Sherborne Missal to point to the newborn Jesus above him. The serpent refers to the first fall of man and the beginning of the 'Tempus deviationis'. According to the frame of the *rota*, the newborn child (medallion at lower right) represents the

65 – See exhibition catalogue 'Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura' (Palazzo di Venezia – Roma) a cura di Giovanni Muzzioli, con introduzione di M. Salmi (Florence, 2nd edn 1954), No. 144, p. 280; Mario Rotili, *Miniatura francese a Napoli* (Naples: Miniatura e arti minori. Collana di saggi e studi, No. 2, 1968), No. 1, p. 41; Albinia De La Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library Oxford* by James P. R. Lyell (Oxford, 1971), pp. 255–256; Robert Branner, 'Manuscript Painting in Paris around 1200', in: *The year 1200. A Symposium. The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Cloister Studies in Medieval Art, No. 1, 1975), pp. 173–186; *idem*, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis. A study of styles* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: California studies in the history of art, 1977); pp. 25 and 201, figs. 16 and 18–19.



Figure 16. Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland), London, British Library, MS Loan 82, p. 262 (detail). Photo: *The Sherborne Missal* (Oxford, 1920; Publications of the Roxburghe Club, 81), pl. XVII.



beginning of reconciliation with God ('Tempus reconciliationis'). Adam, here represented as an old man, is removed by the newborn 'alter Adam' in the sense of typological comparison.

It remains to be seen whether the text/image programme which supplements the Mass texts for Whit-week was conceived especially for the Sherborne Missal, or whether it was copied from a model. No model has been found to date. The lack of clarity, as well as mistakes both in the inscriptions and in the combination of images and texts, suggest the existence of a model. But it cannot be ruled out that the originator of this programme used corrupted sources, or that some mistakes occurred during the execution of his concept.



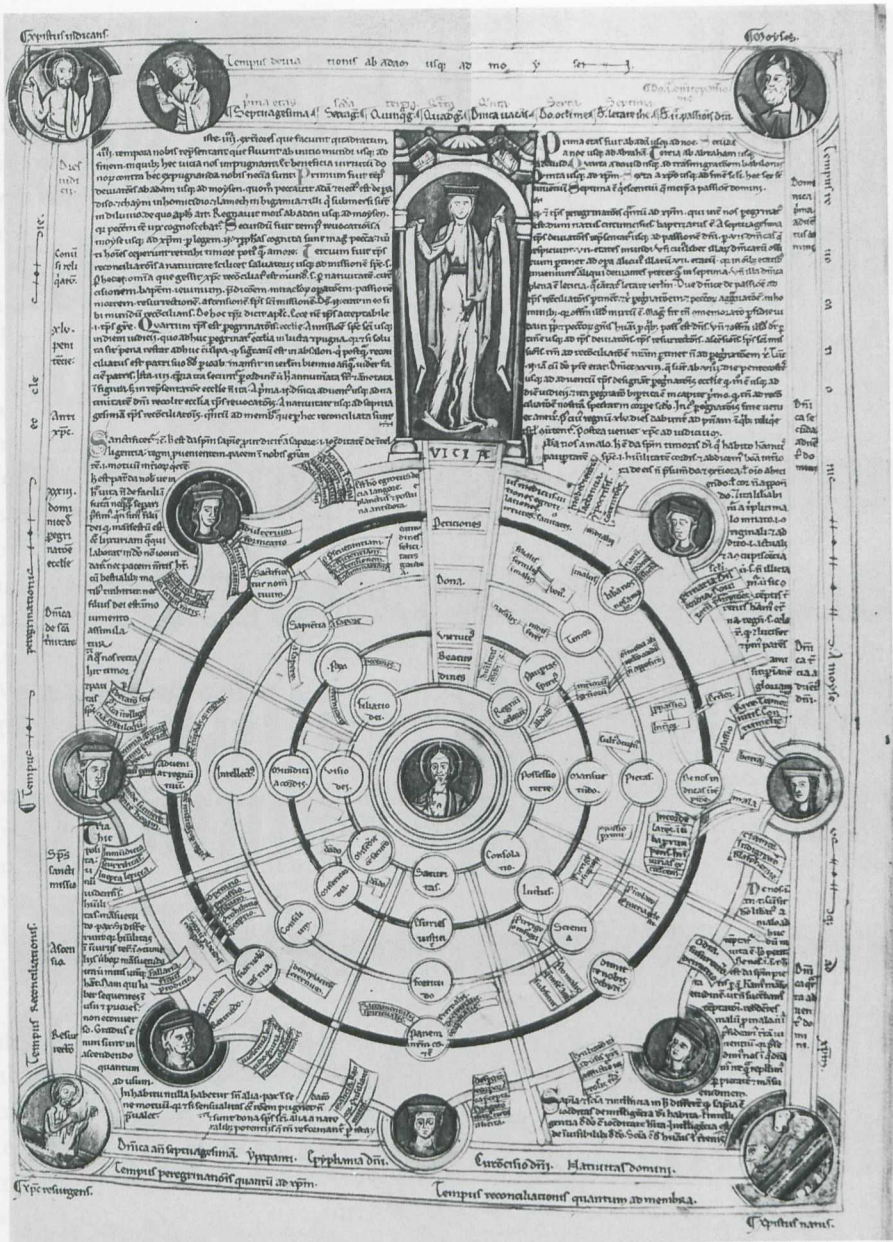


Figure 17. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VIII C3, fol. 6r. Photo: Biblioteca Nazionale.

## VI

It remains to be answered, for just what purpose a liturgical manuscript was illustrated with subjects such as these. In particular, the subjects of the marginal text/image programmes were presented in other places in a way in which they were available for a larger public in order to recommend the place to, as well as instruct, visitors. The 'forerunner' of the typological programme of the Sherborne Missal, for example, was depicted in the Chapter House of Worcester – probably in the form of stained glass or, perhaps, wall paintings.<sup>66</sup> A text strongly allied to the chronological informations of the Sherborne Missal was displayed in the Cathedral of York so that visitors could inform themselves about

66 – Cf. pp. 5–6.



67 - Cf. pp. 15-17.

68 - See Ulrich Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunser-Erklärungen des Mittelalters* (Baden-Baden: Saecula spiritalia, 28, publication scheduled for 1994).

69 - London, Public Record Office, Chancery Miscellanea, bundle XLVI, No. 454, ed. Karl Young, 'The records of the York play of the Pater Noster', *Speculum*, 7 (1932), pp. 540-546.

70 - Cited edition: Venice 1586, Pars I, C. cap. XIII ('Cor'), 8 (fol. 150r): 'pulchritudo enim ecclesiae non solum consistit in situatione, vel picturis, de quibus praedictum est, sed etiam in copia verorum librorum, qui ad cultum Dei pertinent, in signum cuius, qui ostendit conventum, vel ecclesiam ad loci commendationem libros etiam quandoque ostendit'.

71 - Here, the orientation of the choir to the east is intended: see op. cit., section 4 (fol. 149v).

both the history of Christianity as well as the history of the abbey.<sup>67</sup> Most of the biblical and theological concepts of the text/image programme discussed above were widespread in the form of single-page manuscripts or rolls.<sup>68</sup> Some of these subjects were probably presented on a *tabula* in the Cathedral of York, too. In any case, it is well known that there was a *tabula*, which elucidated the utilization of the Lord's Prayer ('de toto processu utilitatis Orationis dominicae').<sup>69</sup> This utilization probably occurred through the combination of septenars, as in the *rotae* and the Sherborne Missal.

There is unfortunately little information about the actual use of liturgical manuscripts like the Sherborne Missal, other than in their liturgical context. Occasionally, however, there are single indications which suggest that it was common to show liturgical manuscripts to visitors as they were guided through the church. Joannes de Bromyard for example, a brother monk of John Siferwas, wrote in his 'Summa praedicatorum'<sup>70</sup> of the mid-fourteenth century that the beauty of a church not only consists of its 'situatio'<sup>71</sup> and its pictures, but also of the books that belong to the 'cultus Dei'. A man who presents the convent or the church for its recommendation of place, says Bromyard, also shows the books. It seems reasonable to assume that in the case of presenting the Sherborne Missal to visitors, with the help of the illustrations, a part of the history of the abbey or a subject from the theological or catechetical tradition of the order was demonstrated as well. In any case, the recommendation of the place was granted primarily by the blaze of colour of the Sherborne Missal. For if there is one thing to which the illuminator contributed, it was to set fire to the senses.