BIBLES EN IMAGES: VISUAL NARRATIVE AND TRANSLATION IN
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY SPENCER MS 22 AND RELATED MANUSCRIPTS

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This dissertation examines New York Public Library Spencer ms. 22, a fourteenth-century French *Bible en images* (narrative picture Bible), and its relationship with the picture Bible of King Sancho VII of Navarre (Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 108), completed in the year 1197. Previous scholarship on these manuscripts has described Spencer 22 as a *copy* of Sancho's Bible, based on the close similarity of visual narrative content and iconography found in Spencer 22 and its predecessor. The range of aesthetic and linguistic differences between the manuscripts, however, signifies a process more akin to *translation*, a term that better expresses the relationship between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, as well as the specific needs of its patron, Jeanne II of Navarre.

I consider the production of Spencer 22 in three contexts. The first is the patronage of Jeanne II of Navarre prior to and shortly after her coronation as Queen of Navarre in 1329. In preserving the visual narrative content of a known royal manuscript, Spencer 22 is a visual referent to Sancho's Bible that aligns Jeanne II's political interests with her Navarrese ancestor to solidify her legitimate claim to the throne. The second context is the translation of the visual narrative between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, with a focus on Spencer 22's materiality. The stylistic translation of Spencer 22's images into a format more familiar to a fourteenth-century audience, along with the addition of written text in French, is more than a superficial change, it is a sophisticated re-presentation of the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible for audiences familiar

with the interaction of text and image on the manuscript page in both religious and secular works. Finally, and more broadly, the third context is the reception of biblical visual narrative in fourteenth-century France. As a case study, these manuscripts and the terms *visual translation* and *translatio imaginis* (translation of images) can help us to better understand the transfer of text-to-image and image-to-image narrative content and the variations on literacy in fourteenth-century France that supported these conventions for medieval readers.

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PREFACE

During the research and writing of my doctoral thesis, I have received support and guidance from many gifted and enthusiastic colleagues, for which I am extremely grateful. I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Alison Stones, for her unwavering encouragement and insightful mentorship. She taught me how to think like a medievalist and a manuscript scholar, and I will always treasure our professional relationship and our friendship. My dissertation committee has offered astute advice and dedicated much time to the development of my research. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Ann Sutherland Harris, Kellie Robertson, and Anne Weis provided stimulating questions and conversation that helped me to frame my topic for both specialists in the field and a broader audience. I thank them especially for their thoughtful comments during the defense and revision of my dissertation.

My doctoral research in the United States and Europe was funded by various grants and fellowships, including the Samuel H. Kress Foundation Travel Fellowship which enabled a research trip to Amiens to view Sancho's Bible in 2011; the Arts and Sciences Fellowship from the Department of the History of Art and Architecture at the University of Pittsburgh; the Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship which funded my research in Paris during the summer of 2009; the Andrew Mellon Predoctoral Fellowship from the University of Pittsburgh; a Nationality Rooms Fellowship from the University of Pittsburgh for research in Austria during the summer of 2007; and the Dissertation Development Grant and Friends of the Frick Fine Arts

travel fund, both offered through the Department of the History of Art and Architecture at the University of Pittsburgh.

I am grateful to The New York Public Library and especially the staff of the Prints and Photographs Reading Room for accommodating my request to make digital photographs of Spencer 22 in its entirety in August 2009; the images were essential for iconographic comparison with the content of Sancho's Bible and the Augsburg manuscript. My thanks also go to the staff of the Salle des manuscrits at the Richelieu site of the Bibliothèque nationale de France for assistance during my research trips in 2009 and 2011. The courteous men and women at the Bibliothèque municipale in Amiens were a delight to work with; I will not forget standing around Sancho's Bible at closing time and admiring it with the desk staff. The librarians of the Frick Fine Arts Library of the University of Pittsburgh, especially Ray Anne Lockard and Marcia Rostek, have also been a constant helpful resource.

Peggy Brown was the first to look at Spencer 22 with me in the Reading Room of The New York Public Library in May 2009, and her advice and expertise in painting styles and the patronage and lineage of the Capetians has been invaluable. Patricia Stirnemann and Claudia Rabel of the Institut de Recherches d'Histoire des Textes (Paris) made digital images of the Augsburg manuscript available to me for research and study purposes, and offered valuable insight in the preliminary stages of my research. Elizabeth Morrison kindly shared with me her entry on Spencer 22 prior to its publication in the catalog for The J. Paul Getty Museum exhibition *Imagining the Past in France: 1250–1500*. Rita Keane provided images of archival material related to Jeanne II's activities in Navarre, and shared her thoughts on Jeanne II's patronage with me in email conversations. I thank them all for their contributions.

I would also like to thank the following colleagues and friends at the University of

1.0   INTRODUCTION: SPENCER 22'S ORIGINS

Around the year 1328, work began in a Parisian atelier on a *Bible en images*, or picture Bible, commissioned for an undocumented patron.[1] With 843 extant miniatures and at least one image on each folio of the manuscript except for the table of contents, The New York Public Library's Spencer Collection ms. 22 (hereafter "Spencer 22") is a visual biblical narrative in codex format. The large number of miniatures—paired with French biblical text and Latin titles—makes this manuscript worthwhile for a study of medieval iconography, the relationship between image and text, visual narrative, and visual literacy in the Middle Ages. However, there is another aspect of this manuscript that places it at the crux of several major historical questions of patronage and

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[1] In 1328, Jeanne, orphaned daughter of Louis X and Margaret of Burgundy, became queen of Navarre through a treaty with Philip VI, who was not descended from the kings of Navarre and could not invoke Salic law against female succession in that kingdom. She would be crowned one year later, along with her husband Philip of Évreux, in Pamplona. It is my assertion that The New York Public Library's Spencer Collection ms. 22 was produced to commemorate the coronation in Spain. The date of 1328 for this manuscript's production is not confirmed by any medieval document. Previous scholarship, most notably François Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970), dates The New York Public Library's Spencer Collection ms. 22 to the period between 1300 and 1325 in Paris due to its style. More recent studies have placed the manuscript within the work of the Fauvel Master and his atelier. Lucy Freeman Sandler dates the book ca. 1315–25 in her entry for Spencer 22 in J. J. G. Alexander, James Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler, eds. *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 2005) and Elizabeth Morrison narrows the dates to ca. 1316–20 in her catalog entry for Spencer 22 in Anne D. Hedeman and Elizabeth Morrison, eds., *Imagining the Past in France, 1250–1500* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010). Morrison speculates, as does Bucher, that the manuscript may have been a gift for Jeanne II of Navarre, though she is uncertain as to which of Jeanne's relatives may have undertaken that commission on her behalf. I posit a specific occasion for this book commission, Jeanne II's coronation as Queen of Navarre in 1329, placing it later in the Sub-Fauvel Master's work. Alison Stones has previously attributed this Spencer 22 to the Sub-Fauvel Master in "The Stylistic Context of the Roman de Fauvel, with a Note on Fauvain," in Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, eds., *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 529–567; her dates based on style coincide closely with the coronation date of 1329. I address the provenance and facture of this manuscript in greater detail in Section 2.

intended use. Spencer 22 is intimately related in visual narrative content to two earlier picture Bibles produced in Spain.[2] The first was completed by the year 1197 for King Sancho VII of Navarre (Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 108, hereafter "Sancho's Bible"). The second is a contemporary copy of Sancho's Bible from the first years of the thirteenth century with a few additions to the visual narrative, now located in Augsburg (Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg Sammlung Oettingen-Wallerstein Cod.I.2.4º15, hereafter "the Augsburg manuscript"). Sancho's Bible and the Augsburg manuscript, produced only a few years apart, and likely by the same artists, are collectively known as the Pamplona Bibles. It is rare to confirm such a close relationship between manuscripts, even when they share similar content. It is exceptional that in the case of Spencer 22 and Sancho's Bible, the majority of the shared content is visual narrative rather than written text.[3]

Why was a version of Sancho's Bible commissioned over a century later, and what sort of patron desired such a "willfully antimodern" manuscript?[4] The answer, I propose, can be found in the crisis of succession in France in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, culminating in the termination of the Direct Capetian line. On June 5, 1318,[5] Louis X ("le

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[2] Morrison calls Spencer 22 a "direct reworking" of the earlier manuscript, *Imagining the Past in France*, 137. This phrasing is much more useful than the oft-used "copy"; however, in Section 3, I will introduce the prospect of the translation of images between Spencer 22 and Sancho's Bible.

[3] There are other instances of the translation of images between older original manuscripts and later works, most famously the Utrecht Psalter and its "copies." John Lowden also cites a relationship between a *Bible moralisée* from c. 1325–55 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 9561) and the Rohan Hours from c. 1430–35 (BnF, ms. lat. 9471), *The Making of the Bibles moralisées: the Manuscripts* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 3. However, neither of these instances preserves the original visual narrative in its entirety. The Utrecht Psalter examples will be discussed in greater detail in Section 4.

[4] Bucher notes, "The strict demand for an exact copy, which went as far as to prevent the artists from adding new pictures, reflects a willfully antimodern concept which must have involved more than just antiquarian tastes," vol. 1, 69.

[5] To verify dates of events in the life of Jeanne II of Navarre and her relatives, I have used the *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1100–1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, ed. H. Géraud (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1843); see 426ff on the succession crisis of 1316. A French translation of the *Chronique* was completed and edited by M. Guizot in his *Collection des mémoires relatifs a l'histoire de France* (Paris: J.-L.-J. Brière, 1825); see 316ff on the succession crisis beginning in 1316 and 391ff for the death of Charles IV in 1328. I

Hutin," or "the Stubborn"), King of France and Navarre,[6] died in the fourth year of his rule without a male heir, marking the beginning of the end for the Capetians, kings of France since 987. Louis X was succeeded by his brother, Philip V ("le Long"), who died on January 3, 1322 with no son to inherit the throne. A third brother, Charles IV, came to power, only to die within six years of his coronation on February 1, 1328 with no legitimate male heir of his own. A crisis of succession occurred throughout this ten-year period and beyond, with various interests vying for the throne, until a cousin from a different royal branch, Philip of Valois, emerged victorious and was crowned king of France as Philip VI in 1328.

The Direct Capetians had ruled France for over three centuries, and included such illustrious rulers as Saint Louis (ruled 1226–1270 as Louis IX, canonized 1297), and Louis' son and grandson, Philip III ("le Hardi," ruled 1270–1285) and Philip IV ("le Bel," ruled 1285–1314), who strengthened French power and expanded its influence throughout western Europe through strategic marriage alliances. Though the male Capetian line had effectively died out with Charles IV, there remained strong female links to the House of Capet, including a daughter of Louis X named Jeanne. In 1328, at the age of sixteen, Jeanne and her supporters (including her husband, Philip of Évreux)[7] negotiated a treaty with Philip VI through which she would succeed her deceased uncle Charles IV as Jeanne II, Queen of Navarre. In the larger context of the French

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have also used Patrick van Kerrebrouck, *Les Capétiens* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2000), 182–189; Ernest Petit, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. 7 (Dijon: Imprimerie Darantiere, 1901), 42–61, 92–94, and the letters of Eudes IV of Burgundy and Agnes of France from December 1316 and January 1317 in support of Jeanne II, 82–88; and the corresponding genealogical tables for the kings of France and Navarre published in the *Europäische Stammtafeln: Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, Neue Folge*, third series, ed. Detlev Schwennicke, 16 vols. (Marburg, Germany: Verlag von J. A. Stargardt, 1978–1995), especially vol. II, tafel 12.

[6] The 1284 marriage of Jeanne I, Queen of Navarre and Countess of Champagne and Brie, to Philip IV of France added Champagne and Brie to the crown lands of France, and the remaining kings in the Capetian line, beginning with Louis X le Hutin, were also kings of Navarre—a Spanish kingdom located in northeast Spain, and bordering the duchy of Guyenne and Gascogne, which was under disputed English rule from 1154–1453. Pamplona was its capital and largest city.

[7] Because of her age, Jeanne's relatives supported her interests on her behalf, most notably her uncle Eudes IV, Duke of Burgundy and her grandmother Agnes of France, Duchess of Burgundy (and daughter of Louis IX). It is possible that one of these relatives also oversaw Jeanne's commissioning of manuscripts around the year 1327–28.

succession crisis, one could view Jeanne II as a rather minor player, and the kingdom of Navarre, expendable.[8] However, given the unlikelihood of her succession due to her age and gender, among other circumstances,[9] her position as queen regnant of Navarre is a significant medieval moment, recalling something of the former glory of the defunct Direct Capetian dynasty.

I believe that Spencer 22 was commissioned in 1328 by Jeanne II or a close relative in order to strengthen her position as queen of Navarre through a connection to Sancho VII, known as Sancho "el Fuerte", or "the Strong" (ruled between 1194–1234), the brother of her great-great-great-grandmother, Blanca of Navarre.[10] The manuscript, which I suggest commemorated the coronation of Jeanne II and her husband Philip in Pamplona in spring 1329,[11] was likely commissioned after the terms of Jeanne's succession in Navarre were negotiated in 1328, in order to promote, and indeed, celebrate, her Spanish lineage. These two events, the coronation of Jeanne II as queen of Navarre and the production of Spencer 22, have never before been explicitly linked.[12] As with the death of Charles IV for the Capetians, Sancho VII's death in

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[8] Philip VI was likely willing to negotiate the terms of the treaty in order to keep Jeanne II from asserting her rights and the rights of her sons to the French throne. She and her husband Philip of Évreux gave up her claims to the crown of France, as well as to holdings in Champagne and Brie, in exchange for the Navarre title.

[9] Jeanne II's paternity was called into question after her mother, Margaret of Burgundy, was convicted of adultery in 1314, when Jeanne was just two years old. This episode will be discussed in Section 3.

[10] It is not possible to definitively prove that Jeanne II commissioned this manuscript herself. Possible patrons include her supporters Eudes IV, Duke of Burgundy or Agnes of France, Duchess of Burgundy, with whom she lived for four years after the death of Louis X. However, Agnes of France died in 1327, while Jeanne's title was not confirmed until 1328, making her a less likely candidate, unless Spencer 22 was already in production by 1328. Further possible patrons might include someone from the court of Agnes of France, or from the court of Marie de Brabant, the grandmother of her husband, Philip d'Évreux, with whom she lived from 1318 until Marie's death in 1321. See Tracy Chapman Hamilton, *Pleasure, politics, and piety: the artistic patronage of Marie de Brabant* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2004), on Marie de Brabant's extensive patronage. If one of Jeanne II's guardians commissioned the work on her behalf, it would likely have been someone who had a political interest in her affairs in Navarre, and so Eudes remains a strong candidate. If Eudes did commission Spencer 22 for Jeanne II, perhaps one of his advisors was responsible for the selection of French text. I am grateful to Marguerite Keane for her suggestion that Agnes of France may have been a major influence in Jeanne II's artistic patronage.

[11] Beatrice Leroy, *The Jews of Navarre in the Late Middle Ages* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1985), gives the coronation date of March 5, 1329 in Pamplona, which I have not been able to verify in other sources.

[12] François Bucher considered the following events for the production and presentation of Spencer 22, which he believed might have been a gift: 1) the marriage of Louis X le Hutin to Margaret of Burgundy in 1305; 2) the coronation of Louis X as king of Navarre in Pamplona on October 1, 1307; 3) the marriage of Jeanne II of Navarre

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1234 marked the end of a long-standing royal house, the House of Baskonia, which was founded in 824 and ruled Navarre through direct lineage for over four centuries. A succession crisis occurred, and a male relative, Thibaut IV of Champagne, son of Blanca of Navarre and Thibaut III of Champagne, became the first Frenchman to rule Navarre as Thibaut I in 1234. By making a connection to the last Spanish-born ruler of an illustrious family line, Jeanne II was reassuring her Navarrese subjects, and those in the French court who had questioned her legitimacy, of her Spanish identity and heritage.

As Marguerite Keane has discussed elsewhere,[13] Jeanne II also commissioned a book of hours (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 3145) to celebrate her Capetian lineage and maintain her position in the French court by specifically including imagery of Saint Louis, her paternal great-great-grandfather (as well as her maternal great-grandfather—her maternal grandmother, Agnes of France, was the youngest daughter of Saint Louis), possibly to secure a future claim to the throne of France by one of her sons.[14] This book of hours contains a

to Philip d'Évreux on March 27, 1318; 4) the marriage of Charles IV le Bel to Jeanne d'Évreux in 1325; and less likely 5) the marriage of Isabelle of France (Louis X's sister and Jeanne II's aunt) to Edward II of England in 1308, *The Pamplona Bibles*, vol. 1, 70–71. Though he believed Jeanne II was an owner of Sancho's Bible, I think that he has the wrong event in her life for the commission of Spencer 22.

[13] Marguerite Keane, *Remembering Louis IX as a Family Saint: A Study of the Images of Saint Louis Created for Jeanne, Blanche, and Marie of Navarre*, Ph.D. diss, University of California, Santa Barbara (Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, December 2002, Publication No. 3073628), and "Louis IX, Louis X, Louis of Navarre: Family Ties and Political Ideology in the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*," in *Visual Resources*, vol. XX (March 2004): 237–252.

[14] Philip of Valois, his advisors, and a vote taken by clergy and an assembly of barons in 1328 effectively denied female succession to the throne of France. It is unclear whether those involved were deliberately invoking the ancient *Lex Salica*, or Salic Law, whose best-known tenet of agnatic succession excludes females from inheriting a throne. The Salic Law was codified during the rule of Clovis I in the late fifth century for the Salian Franks. A synthesis of Frankish and Roman law and Clovis' new customs, it became outmoded and forgotten through the centuries, until the mid-fourteenth century when it was rediscovered by the monks of Saint-Denis. According to Craig Taylor, "There is no reliable evidence that it was invoked during the complex debates surrounding the succession to the last Capetian kings from 1316 to 1328," in "The Salic Law and The Valois Succession to the French Crown," *French History* 15 (2001): 358–377, 359. In 1316 and 1322, Jeanne II was the main female contender for the throne; in 1328, Isabelle of England (Louis X's sister) asserted the rights of her son, Edward III, to rule France. Taylor states that "the most enduring myth," which was propagated by the Valois in the fifteenth century, claimed that Salic Law was used by Philip of Valois to defeat Edward III's claim. A treatise of 1464 titled *Pour ce que plusieurs* stated that Salic Law had been employed in 1328, but it offers a "fictitious account" of the assembly of barons, who resolved to use *la loy salicque* after the cases of Philip of Valois and Edward III were

patron portrait of Jeanne II in the margin of folio 55v, beneath an image of the Adoration of the Magi. In the image, Jeanne kneels at a *prie-dieu* with a book open in front of her, but her gaze is directed at the Virgin Mary, who wears a crown within her halo, indicating her heavenly queenship. If Jeanne II commissioned Spencer 22 of her own accord, she showed her political acumen in making connections to her Navarrese *and* French heritage, thereby supporting interests in both kingdoms for herself and her children.[15]

Jeanne II's manuscripts are certainly not the first instance of the convergence of political, cultural, and social capital in a medieval luxury object; in fact, Keane, Tracy Chapman Hamilton, Joan Holladay, Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, and Michelle M. Duran have each commented on the particular penchant for female royal patrons of the early fourteenth century to strategically commission manuscripts (as well as sculpture and chapels, in some cases) as commemorative objects or as gifts, or to create a visual identity for themselves, in order to reinforce their often tenuous positions at court.[16] But beyond the political reasons for Spencer 22's commission, the manuscript is an example of an extensive biblical narrative cycle, with implications for our

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presented. There is no modern edition of *Pour ce que plusieurs*; Taylor references BnF fr. 5058 as his base manuscript. For an English translation of the Salic Law, see Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1896), 176–189, especially Title LIX. See also Taylor, "The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the Defense of Women in the Late Middle Ages," *French Historical Studies* 29 (2006): 543–61, and Katherine Fischer Drew, trans., *The Laws of the Salian Franks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

[15] Marriage alliances with Navarre continued to be of key importance to the kings of France; Jeanne II and Philip d'Évreux's daughter, Blanche, went on to marry Philip VI in 1350, one year after Jeanne II's death (Philip VI himself died seven months later on August 22, 1350, leaving Blanche pregnant with their only child, Jeanne of Valois). Jeanne II's direct descendant would, eventually, reunite the kingdoms of Navarre and France in 1589, when King Henry II of Navarre (ruled 1572–1610) became King Henry IV of France (ruled 1589–1610), instituting the Bourbon branch of the Capetian and Valois dynasty.

[16] See Keane and Hamilton references listed above, as well as Joan Holladay, "Fourteenth-century French queens as collectors and readers of books: Jeanne d'Evreux and her contemporaries," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 69–100; and Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, *Portrait of a Medieval Patron: the Inventory and Gift Giving of Clémence of Hungary*, Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University (Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, May 2007, Publication No. 3272036). Especially significant for the present study is an essay by Michelle M. Duran, "The Politics of Art: Imaging Sovereignty in the Anjou Bible," in *The Anjou Bible: A Royal Manuscript Revealed*, eds. Lieve Watteeuw and Jan Van der Stock (Paris, Leuven, Walpole, Mass.; Peeters, 2010), 73–93, on Joanna I, sovereign queen of the Kingdom of Naples from 1343 to her death in 1382, and her usage of art and ideology to fashion a particular ruling identity.

understanding of image-text relationships in medieval manuscripts, and more broadly, medieval visual literacy. Spencer 22's relationship with Sancho's Bible is not just political, social, and cultural, but also pragmatic; the process of production by which the twelfth-century visual narrative was translated into a fourteenth-century format, as well as its usage by a medieval audience, will also be addressed.

This dissertation will explore three major concerns relating to this manuscript. The first issue is that of patronage and an examination of how the manuscript was imbued with political, cultural, and social capital as witness to Jeanne II's legitimacy and heritage. The second concern is that of Spencer 22's production, which I term a *translation* of the visual biblical narrative from the twelfth-century original to a stylistically updated fourteenth-century version. This adds a new category to our understanding of medieval copies and prototypes beyond a binary, either/or, origin/derivation classification. The third concern deals with the reception of such a visual narrative in fourteenth-century France, and how its audience was likely competent in a hybrid type of medieval reading that employed text and image as well as reading aloud in a multisensory framework. I also consider the reception of the Bible as visual narrative. Spencer 22's approach to narrative is both synchronic (in that individual miniatures represent episodic moments) and diachronic (in that the miniatures can be read temporally in sequence).[17] Both of these narrative categories relies on a cultural awareness of "The Bible," whether in part—through familiarity with one or more of the famous incidents of the well-known books, such as Genesis, or via the separate manuscripts that contained portions of biblical text, such as the

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[17] Ferdinand de Saussure distinguished synchronic (static) linguistics from diachronic (evolutionary) linguistics in *Course in General Linguistics* (1916). A synchronic analysis views linguistic phenomena at one point in time; a diachronic analysis regards a phenomenon through a series of historical developments.

Psalter, the Gospels, the Epistles—or as a complete entity.[18] Throughout this examination, the manuscript as material object will remain the central focus, as I explore Spencer 22's intrinsic value, its production, and its use.

This dissertation is also an intervention in medieval visual literacy studies. In late medieval visual culture, images and texts were, in many cases, interdependent. Each exerted influence upon and generated change in the other, and at crucial points in medieval material culture, the intersection of text and image produced what can be thought of as the medieval *imagetext*,[19] an agglomeration of pictures and words that required a hybrid literacy to decipher. These hybrid literacies, encompassing visual, textual, and performative literacy as well as aspects of oral culture, have been addressed in the scholarship of the history of literature and literacy;[20] however, in the history of art, the implications of such complicated hybrid literacies for late medieval visual culture merit further evaluation.[21] Michael Camille pioneered the study

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[18] The idea of knowing the Bible in its entirety is not likely outside of a medieval clerical or university setting. Certainly theologians writing on typology in the Middle Ages understood the Bible as a unit comprised of Old Testament and New Testament. Just as today, the Bible was encountered piecemeal at the Mass, where certain passages were read on specific liturgical days. But medieval Christians also encountered parts of the Bible in the visual tradition, as seen in Section 2 below.

[19] W. J. T. Mitchell "looks at the relation of pictures and discourse and tries to replace the predominantly binary theory of that relation with a dialectical picture, the figure of the 'imagetext.'" in *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 9.

[20] A selection of scholars that have addressed the history of literacy include M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979); Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Ruth Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Culture* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Methuen, 1982); Jocelyn Penny Small, *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

[21] Art historians who have addressed the role of images in medieval literacy include Madeline Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were they Bibles for the Poor?," *Paintings on Glass: Studies in Romanesque and Gothic Monuments*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1997; and Herbert Kessler, *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (London: Pindar, 1994). Other medieval studies on the topic include historian Celia Chazelle, "Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image* 6 (1990): 138–153; as well as historians of literature like Mark Amsler, "Affective Literacy: Gestures of Reading in the Later Middle Ages," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 18 (2001): 83–110 and Evelyn Birge Vitz, *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2005).

of visual literacy in medieval art, particularly in manuscripts.[22] More recently, Jessica Brantley

has applied theories of reading and visual literacy to a devotional manuscript (British Library,

Additional MS 37049), which she frames as a site for meaning-making through words and

images for groups and private readers.[23] The present project is significant from an art historical

perspective because it addresses not only the medieval image-text connection on the manuscript

page, but incorporates the related and overlapping sociocultural constructs of memory, space,

time, and narrative in a comprehensive analysis of how the pictures perform in each. The

isolation of images and texts as unique systems of communication in studies of visual literacy

will no longer suffice. Rather, the broad implications of this study include a greater

understanding of how medieval men, women, and children learned to read images in the

presence of text (verbal or visual), within preexisting conventions of narrative, and to what

extent orality and memory enhanced medieval hybrid literacies.

1.1   SUMMARY OF SECTIONS

Section 2, "The Image of the Bible in Fourteenth-Century France," examines the Bible as a

physical and cultural object in fourteenth-century France, its various forms in text and image,

and its presence in lay medieval daily life. Elite, wealthy fourteenth-century audiences may have

encountered biblical narratives in a private setting (for example, silently reading and viewing a

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[22] Michael Camille's seminal work in the field includes, "Visual Signs of the Sacred Page: Books in the *Bible moralisée*" *Word & Image* 5 (1989): 111–130; "Visualising in the vernacular: a new cycle of early fourteenth-century Bible illustrations," *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 130, no. 1019, Special Issue on English Gothic Art (1988): 97–106; and "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1985): 37–44.
[23] Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

medieval manuscript), as well as in public settings, such as stained glass in a cathedral. In such public settings, the audience for biblical narrative was much larger, and crosses social boundaries. This section defines "the Bible" in various media in the fourteenth-century in France, and also examines the audience and ways of knowing the Bible across social and educational divides.

Section 3, "Spencer 22's Patronage and Cultural Context," deals with the historical events preceding Spencer 22's production. As a material connection to Sancho el Fuerte, the manuscript supported Jeanne II's legitimacy and right to rule the kingdom of Navarre, and may be linked to other known commissioned manuscripts that served the same purpose, specifically Jeanne's book of hours, which contained some unusual Saint Louis imagery. I discuss the complexities of Spencer 22's production, with its driving force of preserving the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible while simultaneously taking on the addition of new vernacular text from multiple sources. I propose a specific event for its commission, the coronation of Jeanne II as Queen of Navarre in 1329, and situate it in the oeuvre of the Sub-Fauvel Master.

Section 4, "*Translatio imaginis*: Spencer 22 and the Pamplona Bibles," broadly looks at the medieval understanding of *copy*, *translation*, *model,* and *prototype* by examining briefly other examples in manuscript studies and architecture, including the Utrecht Psalter and subsequent copies as a medieval precedent. I consider Spencer 22 as a modernized translation of the twelfth-century visual narrative, as evidenced through the use of contemporary clothing and the addition of gesture and movement for a fourteenth-century audience. Finally, I introduce the term *translatio imaginis*, the translation of images, an attempt to clarify text-to-image and image-to-image translation of narrative content and the variations on literacy that supported these conventions for medieval readers. This adds a new category to our understanding of medieval

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copies and prototypes beyond a simplified notion of "origin" or "source" manuscript and later "derivations." Does pictorial language share the same translatable qualities of verbal language? Spencer 22 indicates that it does, translated from an archaic form to a fourteenth-century version.

Section 5, "Spencer 22, Biblical Narrative and Visual Literacy," outlines the function of biblical narrative in medieval visual literacy. Framing the Bible as a textual and visual object, I define its position within medieval visual culture, literacy, and communication. I broadly introduce orality and aurality as modes of literacy, explore audience reception of visual biblical narrative, and characterize the ways in which the medieval Bible, in written or visual text format, worked in close unison with oral-aural communication to reinforce the multisensory nature of medieval reading.

2.0   THE IMAGE OF THE BIBLE IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

As consumers of visual information in the twenty-first century, our brains, bodies, and reading and viewing habits have adjusted to the pace of instantaneous and ubiquitous multimedia communication. In late medieval France, for certain social classes (specifically elite members of the laity and members of the clergy), a similar evolution was taking place in an expanding culture of visual literacy. These groups were exposed to biblical visual narrative in public settings, such as the thirteenth-century stained glass windows of Chartres Cathedral, where narrative content was communicated orally and visually in absence of the written word. The most privileged of the elite laity viewed visual biblical narrative in medieval manuscripts, such as the medieval picture Bible.

When one hears the words "picture book," childhood encounters with simple storybooks likely come to mind. In a literate society, to tell a story with still pictures is to infantilize the reader or simplify the message for a broad audience. For medieval readers and other users of manuscripts,[24] however, a visual narrative could be just as rich and complex as its written counterpart. The eye moves between image and text, as there is often no obvious hierarchy to the page openings.[25] For the reader, a hybrid reading experience unfolds, one that relies upon both

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[24] The distinction between "readers" and "users" is more for a modern audience than a medieval one. By that, I mean that research is a very different type of reading than leisure or devotional reading.

[25] E. H. Gombrich has demonstrated that the eye actually takes in an image by darting over it rather than making a swift, fluid movement over it. See his *Art, Perception, and Reality* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,

textual and pictorial literacy. The narrative conveyed is by no means simple or child-like. In fact, images are used here to convey the essential narrative of medieval Christianity—and thus of utmost importance for every medieval Christian man, woman, and child—the Bible, the Word of God.

2.1   TYPES OF MEDIEVAL BIBLES

Medieval picture Bibles may have served a didactic purpose, but sophisticated readers also used them. The definition of picture Bibles, though seemingly straightforward, deserves further reflection. "Picture Bible" can refer to the content (the stories of the Bible illustrated and communicated to an audience through images) or the object itself (typically an illuminated manuscript).[26] More generally, we can describe biblical visual narratives found in other media as picture Bibles—the biblical windows at Chartres, for example. The term is often used as a catchall phrase covering any Bible with pictures, including *Bibles moralisées*, *Bibles historiales*, the *Biblia pauperum*, and other theological, instructional manuscripts with biblical illustration, such as the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. However, the differences between these four manuscript types and Spencer 22 are quite pronounced.

1972) and *The Image and the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).
[26] An early attempt to define the picture Bible genre is Robert Fawtier's, *La Bible historiée toute figurée de la John Rylands Library. Reproduction intégrale de manuscrit French 5 accompagnée d'une étude* (Paris: Pour les Trustees et Gouverneurs de la John Rylands Library, 1924).

2.1.1   The *Bible moralisée*

The *Bible moralisée*, or "moralizing Bible," is an exercise in typology, linking Old Testament events with those in the New Testament, and adding allegorical and moral conclusions for the reader. The term is found in a manuscript from Paris (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 141, c. 1407–1420), where one finds the following introduction to Genesis: *Cy commence le premier livre de la bible moralisee translatee de latin en francois.*[27] According to John Lowden,[28] the term *Bible moralisée* "owes its general use to A. de Laborde" who used it in the title of his publication of a thirteenth-century, three-volume *Bible moralisée* presently divided between Oxford (Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 270b), Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 11560), and London (British Library, mss. Harley 1526 and 1527), known as the *Oxford-Paris-London* manuscript.[29]

 This type of picture Bible was complex in both page layout and content, and users were able to visually navigate between the image and text, discerning which elements were biblical and which were commentaries. One common page layout of a *Bible moralisée*, standardized in the thirteenth century, contained eight small images, often in round frames, arranged in two columns of four. Using Lowden's terminology,[30] a "biblical image" is first paired with a "biblical text." The biblical components are then paired with a "moralization image" and "moralization text" beneath, and the grouping is repeated beginning with a new biblical image and text. Because the relationship between text and image in the moralizing Bibles is layered and

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[27] John Lowden credits Reiner Haussherr, editor of a two-volume facsimile of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2554 (Graz: Akademische Druk- u. Verlagsansalt, 1973), with this discovery in *Making of the Bibles Moralisées,* 2.
[28] Lowden, 2.
[29] Alexandre de Laborde, *La Bible moralisée illustrée*, 5 vols. (Paris: 1911–1927).
[30] Lowden, 1.

complex, its audience was likely versed in more complicated theological concepts in addition to straightforward biblical narrative. It, like all picture Bibles, does not contain the full text of the Bible. In terms of the sheer number of images and the direct pairing of each brief text with an image, the *Bible moralisée* is closest to the format of Spencer 22.

2.1.2   The *Bible historiale*

The term *Bible historiale* actually refers to a popular compilation text in French produced by Guyart Desmoulins between 1291 and 1295.[31] His primary source material was the first full translation of the Bible in French, which Samuel Berger dubbed the *Bible du XIIIe siècle* (abbreviated BXIII, and discussed below),[32] accompanied by significant portions of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* of the late twelfth century, which Guyart translated.[33] Berger calls the compilation text the *Bible historiale complétée*.[34] The popularity of the *Historia scholastica* can be attributed to its papal approval at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215,

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[31] There is not, to my knowledge, a critical modern edition of the entire *Bible historiale* nor any significant translation or edition of anything but small portions of Guyart Desmoulins' text. See Samuel Berger on Guyart Desmoulins and the *Bible historiale* in *La Bible française au moyen âge. Étude sur les plus anciennes versions de la Bible écrites en prose de langue d'oïl* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1967), 157–186. Berger also acknowledges the popularity of the *Bible historiale* in his classification of 72 related extant manuscripts that contain all or a portion of Guyart's text, 212–220. Mikel Kors includes an edition of the Prologue in Dutch in "Guiart Desmoulins' Bible historiale voorbeeld voor de Historiebijbel van 1361?," *Millenium: Tijdschrift voor Middeleeuwse studies* 18 (2004): 41–53.

[32] On the *Bible du XIIIe siècle*, see Berger, *Bible française,* and Clive Sneddon, "The 'Bible du XIIIe siècle': its Medieval Public in the Light of its Manuscript Tradition," *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia*, Series 1, Studia 7 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), 127–40.

[33] Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (c. 1170), produced for university students as a biblical abridgment and gloss, was a well-known source for biblical material in the Middle Ages. There is no modern critical edition of this text; in 1855, J. P. Migne reprinted the 1699 edition by E. Navarro in the *Patrologia latina* (PL 198: 1049–1722). Only part of the *Historia* has appeared in a modern critical edition by Agneta Sylwan, *Petrus Comestoris Scolastica Historia: Liber Genesis*, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 191 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004). According to Morey, "Because of its comprehensive assembly of apocryphal and legendary elements, and because of its frequent translation and paraphrase, the *Historia* was the single most important medium through which a popular Bible took shape, from the thirteenth into the fifteenth century, in France, England, and elsewhere." James H. Morey, "Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible," *Speculum* 68 (1993): 6–35, 6.

[34] Berger, 187–199.

widespread translations in vernacular languages made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[35] and, as James H. Morey notes, "one may also suspect that readers liked the *Historia* because it is indeed a book of *stories*."[36] Guyart Desmoulins paired the well-known narrative of the *Historia* and the translated French Bible with the goal of threading biblical narrative with the pagan mythology and European history provided by Peter Comestor.[37] Desmoulins described the faithful rendering of his sources without the addition of personal commentary in the *Bible historiale* in his prologue, which Berger reproduces in the original Picard French from Bibliothèque nationale français ms. fr. 160 (first half of the fourteenth century): "Guiars des Molins sui apielés...translaté les livres hystoriaus de la Bible de latin en roumans [en la maniere] que li maistres en traite [par] les Histores les escolastes...Car, seur l'ame de moi, je n'i ai riens ne mis ne ajousté, fors tant seulement pure verité, si com je l'ai el latin de la Bible trouvé, et des Histores les escolastres...Je ai tret dou latin tout mot a mot."[38]

There are inconsistencies in the usage of the term "*Bible historiale*" itself, and the similar term "*Bible historiée*." It appears that throughout centuries of modern scholarship, the two terms have been, at times, interchangeable, poorly defined, or misused. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Thought* (1908) clarifies, somewhat simplistically: "There is a distinction between the French expressions *bibles historiées* and *bibles historiales*. *Histoire* in

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[35] Morey lists the translations of the *Historia* (compiled by Friedrich Stegmüller) into Saxon (c. 1248, "by order of Heinrich Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia"), Dutch (c. 1271, the *Rijmbijbel* of Jacob van Maerlant), Old French (c. 1295, Guyart des Moulins' *Bible historiale*), as well as Portuguese (fourteenth century), and Czech. Morey also notes translations from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century (unnoted by Stegmüller) into Castilian, Catalan, and Old Norse. Morey, 8–9.

[36] Morey, 7. The emphasis is Morey's. On the Bible as vernacular history, see also Jeffrey Hamburger, "Rewriting history: the visual and the vernacular in late medieval history Bibles," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 124: Sonderheft (2005), 260–308.

[37] See Rosemarie McGerr, "Guyart Desmoulins, the Vernacular Master of Histories, and his *Bible historiale*," V*iator* 14 (1983), 211–244.

[38] Berger, *Bible française*, 159–161. Morey also quotes Guyart's translation of Peter Comestor's prologue (also cited in Berger, 178), 22.

Old French means 'picture,' because to people of no education history in the form of pictures was most easily available. Hence *bible historiée* means 'illustrated Bible,' while *bible historiale* denotes 'Story-Bible'."[39] But, as Berger states, the expression *Bible historiale* should be used more specifically: "Nous appellerons...*Bible historiale* la traduction libre de ce livre [the *Historia scholastica*], qui est due à Guyart Desmoulins, et *Bible historiale complétée* l'édition de l'oeuvre de Guyart, augmentée de la traduction textuelle d'une grande partie de la Bible."[40] Although *Bibles historiales* were often illustrated, such as the fourteenth century Papeleu Bible (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5059), the illustrations were reserved for especially important episodes or the beginning of a new book or chapter. The term *Bible historiale* specifically refers to Guyart Desmoulins' text, of which there could be many pages in between images.[41]

2.1.3   The *Biblia pauperum*

The *Biblia pauperum* is perhaps the most problematic category of picture Bibles, arising in the late Middle Ages and closely associated with print culture, though the earliest versions of the Latin text antedate print by at least 100 years.[42] The title *Biblia pauperum*, or "Bible of the poor," is a misnomer, because books of any sort, whether manuscript or print, were not readily available to the poor. The name probably derived from a letter that Pope Gregory I wrote to the

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[39] *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Thought*, 12 vols., ed. Samuel MacAuley Jackson et al. (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1908), vol. 2, 164.

[40] Berger, 157.

[41] See Eléonore Fournié's online *catalogue raisonée* of *Bible historiale* manuscripts, "Les éditions de la *Bible historiale*: Présentation et catalogue raisonée d'éditions de la première moitié du XVIe siècle," 03.2 | 2009 – Sources et documents: La *Bible historiale*, l'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques, Revue électronique du CRH 3.2 (2009), http://acrh.revues.org/index1468.html [accessed 30 May 2011], and also Akiko Komada, *Les Illustrations de la Bible historiale. Les manuscrits réalisés dans le Nord*, doctoral thesis, 4 vol., Université de Paris-IV, 2000.

[42] One of the best-preserved manuscript versions is the fourteenth century *Biblia pauperum* now located in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 1198). See Gerhard Schmidt's *Die Armenbibeln des XIV Jahrhunderts* (Graz: H. Böhlaus Nachf., 1959) and his edition of the Vienna *Biblia pauperum*, *Die Wiener Biblia pauperum: Codex Vindobonensis 1198* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1962).

iconoclast Bishop Serenus of Marseille in the late sixth century regarding the use of images.[43] In this letter, he said, "For a picture is displayed in churches on this account, in order that those who do not know letters may at least read by seeing on the walls what they are unable to read in books...[and] gather knowledge of the story...For what writing offers to those who read it, a picture offers to the ignorant who look at it."[44] The term *Biblia pauperum* is a twentieth-century classification, and does not appear in the late medieval manuscripts or printed books.[45] It is unlikely that a *Biblia pauperum* ever functioned as a "Bible of the illiterate," even though it may have served a didactic function. Images included in biblical manuscripts often required a sophisticated knowledge of narrative and typology, and the images in the *Biblia pauperum* are linked to Latin text; thus, it is unlikely that unlettered laity were ever its main audience.[46]

Like the *Bible moralisée*, the *Biblia pauperum* was arranged typologically, but did not often employ the round miniatures often found in the *Bible moralisée*, although the page layout of the Vienna *Biblia pauperum* does employ two circular frames in a central column, and figures interacting with the layout. It contained Bible stories and pictures and quotations from the prophets, who are often prominently depicted. Images were arranged to pair up Old Testament prophesies with their New Testament realizations, and so do not help us to understand the familiar up-and-down, left-to-right arrangement of visual narrative in a picture Bible like

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[43] Celia Chazelle, "Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image* 6 (1990): 138–153. I cite this reference and the work of Lawrence Duggan, "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?, *Word & Image* 5 (1989): 227–51, extensively below.

[44] This text can be found in its original Latin and English translation in Chazelle, "Pictures, books and the illiterate," 139–140.

[45] According to *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), "The name [*Biblia pauperum*], which is lacking in the earliest manuscripts, seems to mean that the book was a bible rendered in a compressed and popular manner that might supply poor preachers of no great intellectual attainment with material for their sermons and with pictures which could be shown to simple and unlettered folk," 292.

[46] *Unlettered* did not necessarily mean *poor*, but not knowing Latin. Even if images served a didactic function, some verbal explanation was likely needed for someone who was completely ignorant of the Bible.

Spencer 22.[47] The *Biblia pauperum* became even more popular among the educated laity when printed block-books of began to appear in the mid-fifteenth century.

2.1.4   The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and medieval "mirror" literature

A final type of book worth mentioning in the picture Bible genre, because it does similar work to the *Bible moralisée* and the *Biblia pauperum*, is the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. An example of medieval "mirror" literature, this theological treatise also focuses on typology and pairing New and Old Testament events. Two early manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 9584 and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. lat. 593) contain the date 1324,[48] and the images and texts were likely compiled earlier in the fourteenth century for preaching monks and clerics. The prologue to the *Biblia pauperum*, which likely was copied from the original author's manuscript, contains a statement that the unlearned must be taught about the Scriptures from pictures, surely referencing Gregory the Great.[49] Other "mirror" literature, like the *Ci nous dit* and the *Somme le Roy* also incorporated short biblical narratives with instructional and theological material, as a guide to a spiritual life.[50] The biblical narrative found in this type of

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[47] At least, this arrangement of images would be familiar to readers of text in the western Latin tradition.

[48] Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum humanae salvationis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 26. Each manuscript contains the following lines: *Incipit prohemium cuiusdam nove compilationis edite sub anno domini millesimo ccc 24 nomen vero authoris humilitate siletur. Sed titulus sive nomen operis est speculum humane salvationis* ("Here begins the prohemium of a new compilation published in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred twenty-four although the name of the author is unstated out of humility. But the title or name of the work is Speculum humane salvationis," translation by Wilson and Wilson, 26).

[49] An English translation of the prologue is found in M. R. James and Bernard Berenson, *Speculum humanae salvationis, being a reproduction of an Italian manuscript of the fourteenth century* (Oxford: 1926), 7. This volume contains descriptions and reproductions of the two earliest manuscripts now in Paris.

[50] *La Somme le roi*, a book of virtues and vices written by Frère Laurent in 1279 at the behest of Philip III, has recently been edited by Édith Brayer and Anne-Françoise Labie-Leurquin (Paris-Abbeville: Société des anciens textes français – Paillart, 2008). On the *Ci nous dit*, see Christian Heck, "Le livre illustré et la dévotion des laïcs au XIVe siècle: les enluminures du *Ci nous dit* de Chantilly," in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année... - Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 144e année, N. 1 (2000), 173-196.

literature was easily accessible to a lay audience, and the inclusion of images perhaps made it even more so.

2.2   NARRATIVE PICTURE BIBLES

While each of the aforementioned type of books contains biblical content and images, they also include additional theological content. Spencer 22 does not contain commentary, and so should not be categorized along with these Bible books. Likewise, typology does not figure in the presentation of images and text in Spencer 22, while it plays a large role in the arrangement of the *Bible moralisée,* the *Biblia pauperum*, and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, and so it cannot be strictly classified with them. Spencer 22 best fits a more precisely defined category, that of a "narrative picture Bible," distinguishing it from a typological or moralizing Bible.

We can compare Spencer 22 (and Sancho's Bible) to other narrative picture Bibles known by the fourteenth century, most produced in the thirteenth century. Scholarship has variously included many varied types of manuscripts in the picture Bible genre. Bucher, for example, identifies the sixth century Vienna Genesis as "the first preserved, luxurious Picture Book."[51] But it is still certainly an illustrated Bible, a Bible with images that accompany the primary content, written text. "Bibles *with* images" do not constitute "Bibles *in* images," or *Bibles en images*, in which the visual narrative holds primacy over the presence of text. The genre of narrative picture Bibles ranges from the massive and extensively illustrated and

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[51] Bucher, 81. On the Vienna Genesis, see Emily Wellesz, *The Vienna Genesis* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960) and Wilhelm Ritter von Hartel and Franz Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Wien: F. Tempsky, 1895). The Vienna Genesis is interesting for the interaction of image and text on the page surface, as there are no borders enclosing the images.

annotated Old Testament cycle in the Morgan Picture Bible (New York, Morgan Library, M.638)[52] to the compact Art Institute of Chicago's picture Bible (Chicago, AIC 1915.533, formerly called the Huth Bible),[53] both dating to the thirteenth century.

As a study in image-text relationships, the translation of biblical narrative between visual and textual languages, and the function of a medieval royal manuscript for different audiences throughout many centuries, it is difficult to find a better comparison for Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22 than the Morgan Picture Bible. The image cycle was produced in the 1240s (possibly for Saint Louis himself, based upon the emphasis on royal kingship in the images),[54] with text in Latin added in the early fourteenth century, evidence that later medieval owners and/or users of the manuscript required or desired a written textual interaction to accompany the pictorial text.[55] A similar addition of written text occurs in Sancho's Bible shortly after its production. Although it was intended to be free of written text, it appears that its first user, Sancho himself, requested that text be added. The text chosen was the Latin Vulgate; Bucher notes that it is a standard text with few anomalies.[56] During the production of the Augsburg manuscript shortly after Sancho's

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[52] Also known as the Bible of Saint Louis and the Morgan Crusader Bible. See the facsimile *Die Kreuzritter Bibel / The Morgan Crusader Bible / La Bible des Croisades* (Facsimile Verlag Luzern, 1998) and the excellent edition by Sydney Cockerell and John Plummer, *Old Testament Miniatures: A Medieval Picture Book*, (New York: G. Braziller, 1969).

[53] This small picture Bible, incomplete in its current state, could also possibly have been the preceding cycle to a Psalter. See Caroline Hull, "Rylands French 5: The Form and Function of a Medieval Bible Picture Book," in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 77/2, 1995, 3–24.

[54] Much of the scholarship on the Morgan Bible links it to production in Paris via similarities with the Sainte-Chapelle windows, and places both monuments directly under the supervision of Saint Louis himself. See the collection of essays in William Noel and Daniel Weiss, eds., *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible* (London: Third Millenium Publishing, 2002). More recently, Alison Stones argues for a northern France or Flemish origin based on stylistic similarities to other manuscripts and the absence of French royal heraldry in M.638 (whereas Flanders is present) in "Questions of Style and Provenance in the Morgan Picture Bible" in *Between the Picture and the Word: Manuscript Studies from the Index of Christian Art*, ed. C. Hourihane (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 112-121.

[55] Subsequent owners (Shah Abbas in the 17th century and Jewish owners in the 18th century) added inscriptions in Persian and Judeo-Persian, creating a reading experience that was truly multilingual and multisensory, yet post-medieval.

[56] "The bulk of the quotations, excluding the part dealing with the saints, is derived verbatim from the Vulgate," Bucher, 21.

Bible, text was incorporated with the images at the time of production. Spencer 22 was also intended from its inception to have written text alongside the visual narrative. It reproduces faithfully the short Latin titles included in Sancho's Bible; however, because Sancho's Bible adheres so closely to the Vulgate text, it is not clear whether the makers of Spencer 22 took the text directly from Sancho's Bible or if another version of the Vulgate was used.

The Morgan Bible is an extraordinary manuscript in content, quality, and scope of the biblical narrative, and there are similarities between the Morgan Bible and Sancho's Bible. Both manuscripts contained no written text in their earliest version. Like Sancho's Bible (and many other royal manuscripts), the Morgan Bible moved geographically as it was passed to new owners within the Capetian line, from France where it was produced to Italy (possibly with Charles d'Anjou, Louis IX's brother, in the early thirteenth century). The Morgan Bible, along with the so-called Saint Louis Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Latin 10525),[57] the Arsenal Old Testament (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5211),[58] and the *Bibles moralisées* produced in this period, as well as the thirteenth-century Sainte-Chapelle windows, emphasize holy war and biblical kingship in the presentation of sacred history in narrative images.[59] The figures are presented in contemporary dress (as are the figures in Spencer 22), as medieval descendants of biblical kings. The dominance of narrative images makes

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[57] See Marcel Thomas, *Scènes de l'Ancien Testament illustrant le Psautier de Saint Louis: reproduction des 78 enluminures à pleine page du manuscrit latin 10525 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1970); William Chester Jordan, "The Psalter of Saint-Louis (BN MS. Lat. 10525): the program of the seventy-eight full-page miniatures," in *Ideology and Royal Power in Medieval France: Kingship, Crusades, and the Jews*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 705 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); and Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship. History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

[58] See Pierre Nobel, *La Bible d'Acre: Genèse et Exode: édition critique d'après les manuscrits BNF nouv. acq. fr. 1404 et Arsenal 5211* (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2006).

[59] Noel and Weiss, *Book of Kings*, 15.

biblical figures immediately present for medieval viewers as they interact with what they believed to be their own historical past.

Not all narrative picture Bibles were as large and complete as the Morgan Bible. The Art Institute of Chicago's small, but finely decorated and well-used narrative picture Bible (AIC 1915.533, c. 1250)[60] features full-page, single-subject miniatures with short captions.[61] It is related in its format to Rylands MS French 5 (c. 1230), the focus of a 1995 article by Caroline Hull, in which she also examines the "picture Bible" category heading.[62] Both AIC 1915.533 and Rylands MS French 5 are small in size, with full-page narrative images, though much less comprehensive in the scope of their biblical narrative than Sancho's Bible or Spencer 22. Hull's "Bible picture book" distinction (developed out of Robert Fawtier's initial 1923 examination of the Rylands manuscript, which he called a "*Bible historiée toute figurée*")[63] creates a much smaller grouping of true picture Bibles than Bucher.[64] Hull recognizes the seminal feature of narrative picture Bibles: "That the pictorial cycles in Bible picture books appear to have been formulated prior to the addition, and in some cases the actual composition, of the texts has

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[60] My gratitude goes to Emily Vokt Ziemba and Martha Tedeschi who assisted me in viewing this manuscript at the Art Institute of Chicago in January 2009.

[61] The single-subject miniature-per-page format is rare, even among the small number of manuscripts that can be classified as narrative picture Bibles. The Morgan Bible features four single-subject miniatures per page; Sancho's Bible features two, and Spencer 22 regularly exhibits three miniatures per page.

[62] Caroline Hull, "Rylands French 5: The Form and Function of a Medieval Bible Picture Book," in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 77/2, 1995, 3–24

[63] Fawtier, *La Bible historiée toute figurée de la John Rylands Library. Reproduction intégrale de manuscrit French 5 accompagnée d'une étude* (Paris: Pour les Trustees et Gouverneurs de la John Rylands Library, 1924). Cited by Hull, 3.

[64] Her distinction is based on Fawtier's description of two comparative groups for the Rylands manuscript: prefatory cycles for twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Psalters and Bible picture books, "which convey the stories of the Old and New Testaments, and sometimes the lives of popular saints as well, by means of pictures rather than, in the first instance, by text." Hull, 7. A picture Bible of 1265 exists in the context of a Psalter in Frankfurt, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Linel Sammlung, MS L.M.20 (olim Linel Collection). See G. Swarzenski and R. Schilling, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Einzelminiaturen des Mittelalters und der Renaissance in Frankfurter Besitz* (Frankfurt am Main, 1929), 44–48, no. 45, pl. XXI (fols. 28v, 29, 216v, 337), XXII (fol. 74), and S. Soltek and R. Neugebauer, eds., *Die Stiftung der Gebrüder Linel in der Buchkunst- und Graphiksammlung des Museums für Kunsthandwerk* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 34–35, no. 2, color plate (fols. 16v–17).

profound implications for the production of such books."[65] For Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, we know that the pictorial narrative cycle is the primary content, with texts added later. This is counterintuitive to the medieval manuscript production technique by which images were added after a scribe laid in the desired text.[66]

Hull points out difficulties in organizing and executing a narrative picture Bible based on her study of Rylands MS French 5 that are relevant for Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22. The first is whether or not provision is made for the addition of inscriptions. In Sancho's Bible, we know that this was not the case, as text is added wherever space will allow, in many cases encroaching on the picture plane. Its more immediate copy, the Augsburg manuscript, includes the same written text that is found in Sancho's Bible, but this text was added before the images were laid in.[67] By the conceptualization of Spencer 22 in the fourteenth century, it is clear that the overseer of the manuscript's production (in conjunction, presumably, with its patron) knew prior to its production that text would be added to the narrative content.[68]

A second difficulty, depending on the goal of one's study, is connecting the visual text to specific written texts, especially when the only written text in a narrative picture Bible is abbreviated or non-existent. As Hull writes, "The straightforward manner in which the images in most Bibles relate to their texts (i.e. as fairly literal depictions of incidents set out in nearby

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[65] Hull, 12.

[66] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 40ff, as cited by Hull, 12.

[67] Bucher cites evidence for this in a comparison of Augsburg fol. 49r with Sancho's Bible fol. 39v, where you can see broken framing devices which allow for the pre-existing written text. See also Hull, 14. The Augsburg manuscript is not a "slavish" copy: its visual narrative is expanded by the addition of numerous scenes. Hull proposes that the makers of the Augsburg manuscript likely "took advantage of the exemplar at hand when constructing the new 'edition'," 15.

[68] In fact, the project was conceived with the written texts already decided by the time of production, since the text was placed in first before the images. This is a further complication: there can be no mistake that preserving the visual narrative was a prime concern of the artists of Spencer 22, and yet their job was postponed until written texts had been accumulated and assembled from different sources. If ever a prototype or practice-run was needed, it would be for Spencer 22. For more on the prototype discussion, see note 286.

sections of text) renders discussions of textual sources for such images otiose in all but a few cases."[69] She goes on to describe the complexity of securely identifying (written) textual sources the images. When dealing with an illustrated Bible, or Bible *with* images, the assumption that text was written first leads to the conclusion that the images derive their content from the written text.[70] However, for a true narrative picture Bible in which the narrative content is image-based, the question of which written text should be attributed as the "source" is rendered moot by the fact that the visual narrative is itself a *translation* of the written text into *visual language*. It is its own stand-alone "version" and need not be attributed to an extant, authoritative *written* biblical text (I discuss the process of visual narrative translation between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22 in Section 4).

A final example of a narrative picture Bible is the Holkham Bible Picture Book (London, British Library Add. MS 47682).[71] This manuscript, although an abridged narrative concentrating mostly on Genesis and scenes from the Life of Christ, provides another example of a fourteenth-century *Bible en images* where the artist emerges as the "author" of the visual program.[72] A scribe likely contributed the written text as accompaniment to the predetermined images, as was the case with Sancho's Bible and the Morgan Bible. The Holkham Bible

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[69] Hull, 16.

[70] I make a distinction between written text and visual text as the mode for conveying narrative content. Medieval artists were adept at translating narrative content between these modes.

[71] See W. O. Hassell, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book* (Dropmore Press, 1954) and *The Holkham Picture Bible Book: a facsimile*, commentary by Michelle Brown (London: British Library, 2007).

[72] M. Brown, 8. Brown, like Bucher, broadly defines "picture Bibles" to include the following: the Old English paraphrase of the Pentateuch by Anglo-Saxon homilist Aelfric from the second quarter of the eleventh century (London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B.iv); Early Christian illustrated copies of Genesis like the Cotton Genesis (British Library MS Cotton Otho B.vi) and the Vienna Genesis (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31); the Egerton Genesis (British Library, MS Egerton 1894); the Paduan Bible (Rovigo, Bibl. dell'Accademia dei Concordi, MS 212 and British Library Add. MS 15227), the Velislav Bible (Prague, University Library, MS XXIII C. 124); also prefatory cycles in psalters and illustrated Apocalypses like the Valenciennes Apocalypse (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 69), the Morgan Apocalypse (New York, Morgan Library MS. M.524); and the *Omne bonum*, an encyclopedia containing 109 images which constitute a picture Bible (British Library, Royal MSS 6.E.vi-vii). "The Bible in Pictures," in M. Brown, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book*, 13-17.

condenses multiple episodes into single narrative scenes, further expanding the possibilities of a visual biblical narrative program.[73]

While we can conclusively say that Sancho's Bible is a narrative picture Bible, intended to convey biblical narrative primarily through visual means, the situation regarding the production of Spencer 22 is less straightforward. Expanding upon Sancho's Bible's standard page layout of two miniatures per page with brief Latin headings, Spencer 22 contains more complex page layouts of one, two, or three miniatures per page along with the addition of French text. This creates a manuscript which at first glance is very different from Sancho's Bible. The goal in Spencer 22's production, was, as I argue here, the *translation* of the visual narrative found in Sancho's Bible into a fourteenth-century format in order to create a direct link between the manuscripts, and therefore between their owners. In a reversal of traditional manuscript conceptualization and production, the written text "illustrates" the narrative image cycle. This fluidity in the combination of written and visual narrative texts to serve the specific needs of a patron is a hallmark of medieval hybrid literacy and medieval reading. Approaches to narrative used in Sancho's Bible and subsequently in Spencer 22 will be further defined in Section 5.

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[73] On medieval visual narrative strategies, see Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton, 1947); Otto Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, trans. Caroline Dobson Saltzwedel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Sixten Ringbom, "Some pictorial conventions for the recounting of thoughts and experiences in late medieval art," in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*, ed. Flemming Gotthelf Andersen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1980). Visual narrative techniques in classical antiquity are discussed in Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984). Visual narrative will be discussed at length in Section 5 below.

2.3   WHO KNEW THE BIBLE IN THE MIDDLE AGES?

In 1983, David Howlett said of the Christian scriptures, they are "the one book we all know they all knew."[74] *They*, in the context of his remarks, were the medieval writers: the theologians and the authors of literary works. Medieval biblical commentary the purview of an elite group, largely composed of clerics, monks, and priests. For members of religious orders, knowing the Bible was a requirement of their station, and *lectio divina* was a daily feature of life in a Benedictine monastery.[75] What can be said, then, of the other believers, the laity at large, and their relationship with the Bible? In the ninth century, Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* and *De litteris colendis* emphasized correct interpretation of Scripture by clergy *and* laity as a central aspect to achieving salvation.[76] An intermingling of clergy and laity resulting in the transmission of biblical knowledge across the divide was required in order for these salvation concerns to be addressed.

It is probable that by the fourteenth century in France, in this relationship between the clergy and laity, the Bible was casually referred to as well as directly quoted, and thus understood in the abstract as well as through specific verses. A second dual understanding of the Bible by the laity also seems likely: the *idea* of the Bible as one book—which was not often encountered by the laity, as volumes that contained the entire Bible were large and unwieldy and not used during the Mass, only in monastic or university settings or in royal libraries—and the

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[74] His paper, "Biblical Style in Early Insular Texts," concluded with these remarks, as cited by Catherine Brown Tkacz in "The Bible and Medieval Literature: a Bibliographic Essay on Basic and New Sources," *Religion and Literature* 19:1 (Spring 1987): 63–76, 63. Howlett's essay was subsequently published in Paul E. Szarmach, ed., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986).

[75] *Lectio divina*, "divine reading," was a directed spiritual and prayerful practice by which one read Scripture and meditated upon it. It is espoused by Saint Benedict in his Rule and also by Pope Gregory the Great. See Brian Stock, *After Augustine: the meditative reader and the text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 105ff.

[76] See Celia Chazelle and B. v. N. Edwards, eds., *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* (Medieval Church Studies, 2003).

reality of the medieval Bible as many books—multiple types of manuscripts that contained distinct units of the Bible, such as the Gospel Book, the Evangeliary, and the Epistolary, regularly used by clergy during the liturgy, and the Psalter, which contained the Psalms and was more easily accessible to the laity. These fragmented Bible books, each containing a select portion of biblical narrative, and yet, still referencing the whole, were produced in greater numbers than complete Bible volumes. The Bible was also understood by the laity through the selected stories, comprised of popular figures such as Abraham, Jonah, Judith, Esther, David, Solomon, Job, and of course, Christ, Mary, and the Apostles, and their actions. In a similar way, visual narrative is often comprised of individual episodes depicted in single images that might be expanded upon by the viewer as a reference for the entire story (i.e. what comes before and what comes after the depicted episode). Based on the material evidence of the manuscripts, medieval visual narrative, and the division of the Bible into books (i.e. Book of Job, Book of Esther), the laity likely knew that even as they accessed portions of the Bible through different media over time, there was a greater, unified "whole."

The Bible had its place in formal medieval education as well. By the twelfth century, medieval Scholastics, with their focus on bringing reason and faith into concordance, promoted *lectio* and *disputatio* as pedagogical tools, and the Bible was an authoritative text upon which to build an argument.[77] As biblical content was being studied in the specialized environments of medieval schools and universities, elite lay members of society began to commission personal books containing biblical texts and prayers that they might read throughout their day in an

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[77] See Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957) and R. W. Southern, "The Sovereign Textbook of the Schools: the Bible" in *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995): 102–133.

imitation of the monastic office.[78] Private commissions of complete biblical vernacular translations were first restricted to royalty, such as the Old French Bible whose initial readership and audience was the family of Louis IX, and there remained an interest in the Latin text as well.[79] Later, the Psalter, and then Books of Hours, gained popularity among the laity, each containing some biblical narrative content. Illustrated Bibles, picture Bibles, *Bibles moralisées*, and other versions of the Bible were also commissioned by the laity, indicating the power of images to convey biblical narrative and suggesting that the ability to read written text was not the sole means of knowing the Bible. When the Bible was translated into European vernacular languages in the thirteenth century and beyond, it became accessible to audiences that did not read or understand spoken Latin.[80] The Bible was clearly tied to medieval educational endeavors with the understanding that "knowing the Bible" was an important aspect of a pious Christian life.

We might take for granted, then, that the stories of the Bible were familiar throughout all levels of society in fourteenth-century France, across social and cultural boundaries, and regardless of literacy. As others have demonstrated, however, we should be precise in considering the audience for biblical narratives, including visual narratives, as well as defining large groups like "the laity" and terms like "literacy."[81] If we are specific in our parameters,

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[78] One could also point to liturgical manuscripts, such as Missals, which were adapted for personal devotion as referents to the Bible, often containing some form of biblical text.

[79] See Clive Sneddon, "On the Creation of the Old French Bible," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 46 (2002): 25–44.

[80] Interestingly on the issue of the Bible in the vernacular, Clémence of Hungary's two-volume Bible was listed as a *rouman* in her inventory of 1328, because it was in French and not used in her chapel. Clémence of Hungary was Jeanne II of Navarre's stepmother, the second wife of Louis X. Her inventory is reproduced in Mariah Proctor-Tiffany's 2007 dissertation, 155. The inventory was first published by L. Douët d'Arcq, "Inventaire après décès des biens de la reine Clémence de Hongrie, veuve de Louis le Hutin, 1328," *Nouveau recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France*, Paris, 1874, no. 213; see also A. Le Roux de Lincy, "Livres de la reine Clémence, femme de Louis le Hutin, morte en 1328," *Bulletin du bibliophile,* 2e sér. 2, 1837, 561-64; and Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868–1881), vol. I, 11-12.

[81] The bibliographies on each of these topics are extensive; what follows are some highlights in the literature that are particularly relevant to the present topic. On visual narrative, see Duggan, Chazelle, Kemp, Madeline Caviness,

however large they may be, then it is possible to make some assertions about who knew the Bible, and to what extent, in the Middle Ages.

2.3.1   Clergy, Laity, and the Bible: Geographical, Educational, and Social Distinctions

The centralization of the Bible in medieval life is a feature of much recent scholarship. In 1985, a volume of essays published in memory of Beryl Smalley was titled *The Bible in the Medieval World*. The title indicates the broad distribution of biblical knowledge throughout "the medieval world," but the essays speak more to biblical exegesis (written by learned scholars and theologians) and its place in the development of medieval thought and intellectualism, and less to the role of the Bible in daily lay life.[82] This generalization of "the medieval world" stems from the fact that our evidence for life in the Middle Ages comes often through written sources, as well as archaeological or material culture evidence, none of which tell us very much about the common laity, who lived the most ephemeral of medieval lives. The exception to this is the area

"Biblical Stories in Windows: Were they Bibles for the Poor?," *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influences on Literature and Art*, ed. B. Levy (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992): 103–147, and Herbert Kessler, "Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth Century Gaul," *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (Pindar Press, 1994). For general descriptions of the laity in medieval Europe, see Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford University Press, 1997), *Ideas and solidarities of the medieval laity: England and Western Europe* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1995); Pauline Stafford, Janet L. Nelson, and Jane Martindale, eds. *Law, Laity, and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds* (Manchester University Press, 2002); André Vauchez, *The laity in the Middle Ages: religious beliefs and devotional practices* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993); Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton, eds., *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England, c. 1400–1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); and John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2005). On medieval literacy, see Rosamond McKitterick, ed. *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), J. W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1960), and Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages" in *The Culture of Print: The Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989) and *Space Between Words: The origins of silent reading* (Stanford University Press, 1997).
[82] Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood, eds., *The Bible in the medieval world: essays in memory of Beryl Smalley* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985).

of medieval popular devotion, where treatises survive that instruct their readers in proper devotional practices. Many were written specifically for lay women in medieval France and England.[83] These treatises, though addressed to the common laity, were obviously written for a *literate* (in the vernacular, at least) laity. Sometimes they were expressly addressed to one person, as in the case of *Le livre du chevalier de La Tour Landry*, or the devotional treatises in the library of Margaret of York, some of which were written at her request.[84]

One of the places where the laity "at large" would have encountered the Bible (and also where the laity and clergy would have interacted with one another) was during the Mass. When the laity attended Mass, they heard the Bible read aloud, but they also may have seen it as a material object in the hands of the priest, or seen visual representation of biblical narrative in church decoration. Although the laity was a passive recipient of biblical narrative, other aspects of the late medieval Mass, including the *prône* (the "bidding prayers" or intentions said in the vernacular, usually prior to the Offertory), the recitation of the *Paternoster*, the *Pax* (Kiss of Peace), the elevation of the Host, the and the priest's concluding blessing, required the laity to

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[83] For example, *Le livre du chevalier de La Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles* (ed. M. Anatole de Montaiglon, Paris: P. Jannet, 1854) was compiled at the request of Sir Geoffrey de La Tour Landry in the fourteenth century for his daughters (his prologue says he began to compile it in 1371). In it, he writes, "Si leur fiz mettre avant et trair des livres que je avoye, comme la Bible, Gestes des Roys et croniques de France, et de Grèce, et d'Angleterre, et de maintes autres estranges terres; et chascun livre je fis lire, et là où je trouvay bon exemple pour extraire, je le fis prendre pour faire ce livre..." There is no mention of how the girls themselves should use the Bible or read the Bible, except in the excerpts provided by their father. See also Alice A. Hentsch, *De la littérature didactique du Moyen Age s'adressant spécialement aux femmes* (published Ph.D. dissertation, Université Frédéricienne de Halle-Wittenberg, 1903); G. Hasenohr, "La vie quotidienne de la femme vue par l'église: l'enseignement des 'journées chrétiennes' de la fin du Moyen Age," *Frau und spätmittelalterlicher Alltag* (Internationaler Kongress Krems an der Donau 2. bis 5. Oktober 1984), Vienna, 1986, 19-101.

[84] Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy (d. 1503) was a member of the laity, but not a commoner. Nigel Morgan notes, "Of the twenty-four manuscripts which can be connected with Margaret of York, eighteen contain texts of religious instruction or devotion. They provide one of the best examples of a late medieval library intended for the spiritual edification of a member of the nobility," "Texts of Devotion and Religious Instruction Associated with Margaret of York," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and The Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1991), 63–76.

participate in the Mass.[85] These activities may have been more interesting and memorable than listening to the Bible read aloud, especially if it was not read in the vernacular.

Additionally, there was likely lay interaction with books (though never complete Bibles, and most often small devotional manuscripts) in the church in the later Middle Ages. This seems to be the case in a short document written in Latin in an early fifteenth century hand for a devout and literate layman, found among the Throckmorton documents at Coughton Court, Warwickshire. The instructional text tells its reader, "When you hear Mass, do not by any means engage in talk with other people; but while the clerks are singing, look at the books of the church; and on every feast day, look at the Gospel and the exposition of it and at the Epistle."[86] Women also brought their small, lavishly decorated books of hours with them to Mass.[87] The practice was satirized by Eustache Deschamps (1346–1406), a French court poet who felt women used them as fashionable accessories as much as devotional reading: "A book of hours, too, must be mine / where subtle workmanship will shine, / Of gold and azure, rich and smart, / Arranged and painted with great art."[88] Whatever special status they may have conferred to their owners, lay women likely used these small books in some capacity in their private devotions.

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[85] John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution 1200–1700," *Past & Present,* 100:1 (1983), 29–61, see especially 35–38. Bossy describes lay participation in the Mass as the establishment of a "social community," and the emphasis on sacrifice and sacrament as social ritual. He cites *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, a poem of c. 1375 written in English.

[86] W. Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman," *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, eds. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 398–422, 399. Pantin notes the ambiguity of the phrase "look at the books of the church," and concludes that it may mean liturgical books (such as a missal or gradual), chained there for public use, as at Exeter and elsewhere, 404.

[87] See Michael Clanchy, "Images of Ladies with Prayer Books: What do They Signify?" and Alexandra Walsham, "Jewels for Gentlewomen: Religious Books as Artefacts in Late Medieval and Early Modern England," in *The Church and the Book: Papers read at the 2000 Summer Meeting and the 2001 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2004).

[88] Quoted by Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, eds. Leslie Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (University of Toronto Press: 1996), 266–281, 269. Penketh cites Erwin Panofsky's use of this quote in *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), vol. 1, 68. The original material was published in Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. A. Queux de Saint Hilaire and G. Reynaud, 11 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1873–1903).

Throughout the study of the Middle Ages, the division between the clergy (those who had been ordained in the Church) and the laity (basically, everyone else) has been viewed as one of the key underlying structures in medieval society, not only in the way that people were defined, but also in the creation of their identity. The research of Susan Reynolds has brought lay concerns and activity to the forefront of scholarship; however, Elizabeth A. R. Brown points out that Reynolds, while working to give voice to the medieval laity, was still reinforcing the black-and-white division between clergy and laity. Brown notes that Reynolds was,

> ...upholding the cause, not of medieval lay people in general, but rather of those members of society who were neither intellectuals nor academics, neither professional philosophers nor expert lawyers. Admittedly, most if not all of medieval intellectuals, academics, philosophers and lawyers were clerics (although this was untrue in the later periods). However, early and late, a multitude of clergy were as unintellectual, unacademic, unphilosophical and unlawyerly as any lay people.[89]

Perhaps the division between lay and ecclesiastic should not be so sharply defined.[90] Surely biblical narrative was a common interest for clergy and laity because knowledge of it ensured that one was prepared for the hereafter. The Bible as written text is also situated at the edge of the academic divide (which, it appears, was more well-defined in some situations than the clergy-laity division), as one of the first books that those who were learning to read and write letters in an academic or clerical environment would have encountered.[91] It follows that, in order to maintain the bond of a shared interest, that the literate members of the clergy introduced the laity (and other illiterate clergy members) to biblical narrative through visual and oral culture.

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[89] Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Laity, laicisation and Philip the Fair," in *Law, Laity, and Solidarities*, 209.

[90] "Through their vocations, clergy differed – and were distinguished – from laity, but lay and clergy were closely tied by bonds of common interest and family relationships, as well as by their concern for and preoccupation with the spiritual, the divine and the hereafter." Brown, "Laity, laicisation," 216.

[91] The laity may have been more likely to encounter a more manageable version of the Bible, such as a Psalter or book of hours.

In *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 700–1550*, C. M. Kauffmann writes, "Biblical study formed the core of clerical education and for the masses, who were illiterate, the Bible was known through the central part it played in the liturgy of the Church. Quite apart from its absolute spiritual authority, it permeated all aspects of medieval life."[92] He goes on to cite biblical references in literature, drama, history, and art as evidence. The Bible *was* the most important written text in Christianity, the Word of God given to mankind, and therefore the most authoritative text in Christian Europe. However, there are a few generalizations in Kauffmann's statement that are worth pause. Who were "the masses"? If he is defining that category based on Latin literacy, then there were surely members of the nobility and religious orders that were illiterate, and one would hardly classify them socially as a part of "the masses." That "the masses" would come to know the Bible solely through the liturgy is also somewhat suspect. Attendance at Mass was not a daily event for much of the laity, who went only on Sundays, holy days, or for specific rites.[93] Even when they did attend, most were not able to understand the Latin words spoken by their priest, including the reading aloud of biblical narrative, until the sermon, which was regularly delivered in the vernacular in fourteenth century France.[94] The Bible's presence in the liturgy had less of an impact for the laity, I would argue, than the *idea* of the Bible as historical truth, or simply as a collection of stories told to them in the vernacular via sermons or other interactions with clergy.

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[92] C. M. Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 700–1550* (London: Harvey Miller, 2003), ix.
[93] Bossy notes that for the layman in the countryside, the sung Mass "shaped his Sundays and holy-days," 54.
[94] There are many examples of medieval homilies and sermons in European vernacular languages that date to well before the fourteenth century. On sermons in Old English, French, Scandinavian languages, Italian, and Latin, see the essays in Roger Andersson, ed., *Constructing the Medieval Sermon* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). The Catholic Mass continued to be said in Latin well into the twentieth century, with only the sermon (and sometimes the Gospel or Epistle) read in the vernacular language of the congregation. The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) changed this tradition, and the full text of the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, along with other documents of the Second Vatican Council, are available in English and Latin (and a number of other global languages) on the Vatican website. <www.vatican.va/archive/index.htm>. Accessed 17 May 2011.

The second caveat has to do with the term "illiterate." I suggest below in Section 5 the presence of various medieval *literacies*, multisensory in nature and related to vernacular languages, that in certain circumstances and for certain groups, were equally as effective in communicating biblical meaning as true Latin literacy. If we use the word "illiteracy" to indicate the state of being unable to read and write Latin, then Kauffmann is correct in describing the largest portion of medieval society as illiterate. The medieval Latin words used to describe this population include *illiterati* and *idiotae* or *ignorans*.[95] However, with the understanding that "illiterate" did not mean "ignorant" in our modern-era usage of the terms, it would have been entirely possible that a medieval Christian be adequately knowledgeable of biblical content without reading or writing Latin. Michael Clanchy points out that a vernacular interpretation of biblical content does not necessarily mean "unsophisticated."[96] It is also possible that pictures served as a visual vernacular that was accessible to literate and illiterate medieval laypersons alike.[97] It is therefore not necessary to dismiss "the masses" (i.e. those outside of the clergy and nobility) who did not have Latin learning as *unable* to transmit or interpret biblical narrative— they may have been active contributors in cultivating their biblical knowledge, and the biblical

[95] "Today such words, in particular the second group, generally designate people devoid of almost all learning, but in the early Middle Ages they all denoted more narrowly those untrained in how to read or to write," Chazelle, 142. See also Kessler: "In sixth-century Gaul, these terms would have been applied not just to those who could not read, but to people with varying degrees of education: semiliterates and nonliterates, those who knew Latin and those who did not. The terms designated, above all, the majority of people without literary and rhetorical learning, the simple people who had always formed the foundation of the church, among them even Christ's own disciples such as Peter and John, described in the Vulgate as *sine litteris et idiotae* in contrast to the learned elders of the synagogue (Acts 4, 13)." "Pictorial Narrative," 21. Chazelle also notes the use of multiple terms to describe the illiterate or unlettered in Gregory's letters to Serenus, including *illiteratus*, *nesciens litteras*, *ignorans*, and *idiota*, stating, "in the early Middle Ages they all denoted more narrowly those untrained in how to read or to write," 142.

[96] Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record in England, 1066–1307* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 170. See also Brian Murdoch, *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages* (New York: Brewer, 2003), 6–7.

[97] For recent scholarship utilizing the terms "visual vernacular," "pictorial vernacular" and "image vernacular" see note 436 in Section 5 below.

knowledge of others, via other biblical narrative media and an oral tradition which is difficult to track.

Just how far did this general knowledge of the Bible and parts of its narrative spread geographically to the common laity? Again, one must guard against making a sweeping generalization about the nature of religion and religious culture in medieval France across an urban-rural division. As Patrick Geary has noted for the early Middle Ages, peasant religion is difficult to define, and largely located in urban areas.[98] In the later Middle Ages in France, where an urban-rural distinction was equally present, there *is* evidence of rural religious culture, and significantly for this study, it comes in the form of Romanesque narrative wall painting. It is true that many of the most impressive remaining biblical visual narratives are located in the great urban cathedrals or in monastic settings. However, Marcia Kupfer notes in a compelling survey of monumental Romanesque painted cycles in rather humble rural churches in central France that narrative was used to communicate religious and political meaning to their audience, the rural laity.[99] Given that visual biblical narrative was found in both rural and urban locations, the geographical and social distinctions are less problematic for our discussion than the educational division between medieval modes of literacy.

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[98] "The nature of peasant religion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages is extremely difficult to assess...it is generally assumed that Christianity into the sixth century was largely an urban phenomenon." Patrick J. Geary, "Peasant Religion in Medieval Europe," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 12 (2001): 185–209, 188.

[99] Marcia Kupfer, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France: the Politics of Narrative* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

2.4   WHAT WAS "THE BIBLE" IN THE MIDDLE AGES?

There may be no singular definition of "the Bible" in the Middle Ages, as it existed in multiple formats, texts, and media.[100] If we think of "the Bible" as an abstract as well as a concrete object, then it existed in the Middle Ages as 1) an idea or ideal text not bound by physicality (the Bible as narrative, the Bible as mirror, the Bible as the Word of God, the Bible as human history, etc.); 2) a material object (book, stained glass window or stone decoration); and 3) a cultural object (referenced through oral transmission and aural reception, possibly also a symbol of status, piety, or other cultural values). There are likely even other ways to describe the Bible and its relationship with medieval culture. Each of these contexts is relevant to an understanding of Spencer 22, and each manifestation of the medieval Bible likely carried different meaning among the groups of medieval society. For the clergy, especially priests and preachers, the Bible was not only a guide for their own religious development, but also a tool for teaching the laity, and so it is my contention that nearly all medieval Christians encountered "the Bible" in one shape or form. As an ideal text and cultural object, it represented the entirety of Christian tradition and heritage and it was a point of moral and spiritual reference even when one was not in its physical presence.

Clive Sneddon's 1979 essay, "The 'Bible du XIIIe Siècle': Its Medieval Public in the Light of Its Manuscript Tradition," attempts to discover the original public of the BXIII, building on the work of Samuel Berger in the nineteenth century. When Berger wrote on this Bible translation in the 1880s, no complete version of the BXIII, the Vulgate translation by Guyart

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[100] Regarding the compilation of the *Bible du XIIIe siècle* (BXIII), James H. Morey writes, "One is entitled to wonder, in light of this complex textual tradition, what exactly the term "Bible" meant to a reader of the *Historia*, of the BXIII, or of Guyart's combination of the two, be that reader a university master, a university student, or a lay patron." Morey, 22. Cf. note 32 above.

Desmoulins, was known to exist in a single manuscript. Since then, at least such three manuscripts have come to light.[101] Sneddon notes that most extant biblical manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century contain portions of the BXIII text as well as the *Bible historiale*, creating what Berger called the *Bible historiale complétée* (BHC). The earliest of the BHC compilations dates to 1314 (Edinburgh, University Library, MS 19). Sneddon says that it is possible that the BHC was developed so soon after the completion of the *Bible historiale* text that it the *Bible historiale* never had a chance to establish itself independently, as the BXIII had years earlier. After the early fourteenth century, hardly any *Bible historiales* or BXIII manuscripts were produced, and so it is significant that the BXIII seems to be the source text for Spencer 22. Patterns of use in some of the BXIII and BHC manuscripts (notations in the margins and annotations) indicate the manuscripts might have been used for personal devotion.[102] It is highly possible that Spencer 22 was used for personal devotion as well, as patterns of use indicate.

Sneddon's indirect evidence points to the original medieval audience for the BXIII. He suggests a group of translators, working for an unknown patron in Paris with the resources of the University available; and that their intended audience would be "any devout person who could afford to buy a manuscript."[103] By building upon indirect evidence like this, Sneddon suggests that perhaps Dominican tertiaries were behind the commission, implying that they "at least took an interest in devotional reading for their own 'illiterate' faithful."[104] The illiterate faithful here were those who could read the vernacular but not Latin, and the translation of the Bible into any

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[101] Sneddon, "The 'Bible du XIIIe siècle,' 130. The three manuscripts are London, British Library Harley MS 616 (the first volume was known by Berger) and Yates Thompson MS 9; New York, Morgan Library MS M 494; Chantilly, Musée Conde, MSS 4–5.
[102] Sneddon, 136.
[103] Sneddon, 138.
[104] Sneddon, 138.

vernacular raises the question of the Church's official stance on translation. While the Word of God was perfectly acceptable and sanctioned in Latin (and in older languages), the translation of the Bible into Occitan was considered heretical, as was the Wycliffite Bible's in England. The BXIII, however, appears to have been sanctioned by the Church, or at least tolerated.

The reception of the Bible in each of these forms is difficult to assess, as oral transmission was largely responsible for its dissemination. The Bible was, however, made present physically and materially as a written and a visual text, in whole or in part, and for learned members of the medieval laity, as well as the clergy, the Bible was known as a *book*. Manuscript evidence speaks to the popularity of sections of the Bible among the laity in the later Middle Ages, with patron preferences for personal Psalters, *Bibles historiales*, *Bibles moralisées*, and other manifestations. Illustrated medieval manuscripts such as Apocalypses, Books of Hours, Psalters, Old Testament Bibles or Genesis excerpts, and the Gospels contained only parts of the total biblical narrative and yet are grouped with other biblical manuscripts. Stories of the Bible were also present in apocryphal texts, even though Scripture, perhaps, was not. For example, the apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae* was widely disseminated in written text.[105] Based on the popularity of these manuscripts in the Middle Ages, these pieces of the Bible were perhaps more manageable to a lay audience and more easily adaptable to different media than the whole.

The popularity of biblical manuscripts is relative, however, to the small proportion of society that had access to manuscripts, let alone the ability to commission a manuscript of their own. For those that did not own books, perhaps they saw biblical narrative as a book when priests read from the Gospels during the liturgy, but more likely they understood the Bible as a series of stories from an oral or visual text. It is important to keep in mind that as a purely visual

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[105] Murdoch, 5.

narrative isolated from written text, the Bible would likely have required some explanation to accompany it. This is the assessment of Madeline Caviness in her 1992 essay "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?".[106] Otto Pächt came to a similar conclusion in *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (1962), as he attempted to reconcile the relative stasis of pictures with an unfolding narrative as it moves through time. Audiences needed not only to know something of the narrative content for images, but also how to "read" or interpret them across physical space. Thus, the Bible was also made present any time there was a reading or a verbal explanation given with or without a visual narrative. It was likely that lay audiences, regardless of their social status, came to know biblical narratives first via the pastoral care of their clergy.

Narrative images of biblical content in stone, glass, and painting were also available to mixed audiences in exterior spaces, where Christian initiates and non-believers alike might have encountered them. The Christological narrative frieze on the west façade of Chartres Cathedral, for example, features prominent images from the Passion of Christ. Such visual narrative programs in public locations highlight the ability of images to transcend social strata. Though lay Latin literacy was not prevalent, even among many nobles, visual narrative was consumed, enjoyed, and utilized by clergy and laity alike, and perhaps even by non-Christians. The visual techniques employed in order to drive the narrative can be understood even without an awareness of the biblical context;[107] the story functions on a very basic level for all viewers, regardless of their familiarity with the Bible. For those that were aware of the biblical connection, however, a

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[106] Caviness proposes this as a solution to the problem of visual narrative and lay literacy in "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?" She says that through prior exposure to a narrative, one might experience private, personal recognition of visual narrative in a public context.

[107] I address these techniques in Section 5 below; see Caviness, Kemp, Ringbom, Kessler, and Weitzmann, as well as Carl Nordenfalk, *Studies in the History of Book Illumination* (London: Pindar Press, 1992); and Stephen Nichols, *Romanesque Signs: early medieval narrative and iconography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) and others that have addressed the specific pictorial techniques employed by artists of visual narrative programs.

viewing experience might be more meaningful and meditative. There is ample evidence of biblical imagery in monastic environments throughout the Middle Ages, where the audience was primed to contemplate biblical narrative in both written and visual text.[108] Since audiences in public locations might have understood the story (e.g. a man enters a town on a donkey and then goes to a house for a meal with a group of other men) but not the context (Christ's Passion: the triumphant entry in to Jerusalem and the Last Supper), we cannot for certain say that they knew the Bible just through viewing, hence the importance of the interpreter of images. The location of biblical narrative in public, not-exclusively-Christian spaces extends the range of men, women, and children who might have passively gained some awareness of biblical narrative from images, with or without the intent of doing so.

2.5   WAYS OF KNOWING THE BIBLE IN THE MIDDLE AGES: STUDY, READING, AND SEEING

Study of the Bible, seeing the Bible represented in visual narrative, and reading the Bible as written text (or having the Bible read aloud to you) are three levels of interpretation of the same narrative content. One could combine these levels (hearing biblical narrative read aloud while looking at an image), and there is nothing that indicates a hierarchy of written word over visual image. Even though unlettered Christians might have interpreted images when they could not read written text or write their own biblical commentary, images too, could be very sophisticated and provide multiple layers of information (such as diagrams or typological images). Similarly,

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[108] See for example Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 2006).

if a member of the clergy, for example, was literate, he might still enjoy or derive personal satisfaction from interpreting biblical narrative through images. Having addressed the groups that knew the Bible and through what media they may have encountered it, we can further examine the ways by which they came to know biblical narrative, beginning with study.

2.5.1   The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages

Beryl Smalley's 1941 publication *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* is still considered a seminal work in this area.[109] Her focus was predominantly on the written Latin text and biblical exegesis. As she writes in her introduction, "The Bible was the most studied book of the middle ages. Bible study represented the highest branch of learning."[110] She goes on to address the influence of biblical narrative on medieval thought, stating, "Such knowledge was not confined to the specialist: both the language and content of Scripture permeate medieval thought,"[111] and, "A book as central to medieval thought as the Bible was, must necessarily have been read and interpreted rather differently by different generations."[112] These statements indicate that knowledge of the Bible as both *language* (written and/or spoken text) and *content* (biblical narrative free from written text) was widespread in learned circles. Medieval thought here, however, is not the mental wanderings of the rural peasant and his wife. It is the intellectual product of Howlett's *they*: those educated male few who knew the written text of the Bible in Latin (some, like fourteenth-century biblical commentator Nicholas of Lyra, also knew it in Hebrew and Greek).

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[109] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1941, second edition 1964).
[110] Smalley, xi.
[111] Smalley, xi.
[112] Smalley, xiii.

While medieval theologians endeavored to produce biblical exegesis and commentary, others studied the Bible perhaps less intensely. Smalley was one of the first scholars to describe the study of biblical narrative in monastic communities and schools.[113] In the introduction to the second edition of *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1964) she writes, "Teachers in the middle ages regarded the Bible as a school book *par excellence*. The little clerk learned his letters from the Psalter, and the Bible would be used in teaching him the liberal arts."[114] The Bible was a key element in education from the most rudimentary task of learning to write letters to the sophisticated theological interpretation of the written text, and most anyone who had access to education via the monastic and cathedral schools (as well as private education for the nobility) used the Bible's written text on multiple levels as they progressed in their education.

2.5.2 Reading the Bible, or having it read to you

Although one's level of Latin literacy had bearing on how deeply one could interact with written biblical narrative and commentary, even the clergy did not read the Bible in its entirety straight through from Genesis to the Apocalypse. They, like the laity, understood the Bible as a series of narrative tales in addition to a unified tome, and through study learned how to link the pieces into a meaningful narrative for personal or pedagogical use. There was personal study for moral development, as in the monk's piecemeal daily reading, and there was professional study heavily influenced by rhetoric, grammar, and dialectic, as in the theologian's gloss on a particular chapter or passage. In both cases, biblical narrative was consumed in small units, though one was

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[113] See Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, and Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools c. 1100–c. 1280* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985).
[114] Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, xiv.

expected after study to be able to reference and draw upon the whole narrative, including apocryphal writing.

A medieval reference to the power of excerpted biblical material can be found in the life of Saint Augustine of Hippo (d. 430). One of the great philosopher theologians of the early Christian church (two of his best known works are *De doctrina christiana*, based on his experience as a teacher of Ciceronian rhetoric, and *Dei civitate dei*, a theological argument for Christianity in a historical setting), Augustine is equally known for his very personal work, *Confessiones*, in which he describes events in his life. In *Confessiones*, he describes "the gloom of doubt" over his conversion to Christianity melting away through an encounter with the Bible—the famous "*Tolle lege*; *tolle lege*" episode, in which he hears a child's voice say "Pick it up; read it" and opening the Bible to Romans 13:13,[115] he reads and is comforted. Augustine was already a learned man at the time of his conversion, and so it makes sense that his experience revolved around the written text of the Bible. For the laity, the Bible was also encountered in bits and pieces of narrative, just as it was composed and studied.

Hearing the Bible was an integral part of the liturgy, and also likely occurred in more informal ways. During the liturgy, the Bible's written text was read aloud from a book (which contained only a portion of the Bible's text), connecting the physical object, the words on the page, and the words spoken by the priest. Through a medieval culture of orality, biblical narrative was also likely transmitted from clergy to laity in other scenarios, such as sermons. Bible passages could also be read aloud in monastic communities, at meal times for example.

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[115] Romans 13:13: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying, but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh to fulfill the lusts thereof," *The Holy Bible: translated from the Latin Vulgate ; diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other editions in divers languages. The Old Testament first published by the English College at Douay, A.D. 1609, and the New Testament first published by the English College at Rheims, A.D. 1582 ; with annotations, references, and an historical and chronological index* (Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books and Publishers, 1971).

Joyce Coleman demonstrates that reading aloud did not fade away as manuscript culture changed in the later Middle Ages to incorporate more readers,[116] and the Bible (though not necessarily viewed by medieval readers as a work of literature) especially continued to be received aurally by medieval audiences in and outside of the church. As with personal reading experiences, hearing the Bible read aloud also occurred in fragments, with the understanding that the broader narrative could be recalled by particular stories if the audience was well-versed in the Bible.

2.5.3   Seeing the Bible

Knowing the Bible as a written text was not the only means of access to biblical narrative. As Madeline Caviness points out, for most of the twentieth century, many scholars took for granted the notion that public visual narratives (many of them featuring biblical content) in stained glass and sculpture served as an educational tool. She quotes John Dolberl le Couteur's 1926 *English Mediaeval Painted Glass*: "Hence the coloured windows served two distinct purposes, decoration and education. They formed, in fact, together with the almost equally common mural paintings, the picture-books of the Middle Ages, by which the clergy taught their congregations..."[117] Caviness wants further definition of the usage of these so-called "picture-books," because, independently of any pre-acquired knowledge of the Bible, such visual narratives might be open to incorrect interpretation. Present-day scholarship is more cautious, or perhaps just more curious to understand exactly if and how images were used to this effect. I believe that we can cautiously assert the influence of the Bible outside of the learned clergy,

[116] Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[117] Cited in Caviness, "Bibles for the Poor?," 104.

even without direct testimony, just as we can justifiably postulate their ability to interpret visual narrative in other media.

It is easy to imagine a scene in which a cathedral priest references an image from a nave window to illustrate his homily before a group of unlettered urban dwellers and literate clergy alike. In this scenario, visual and oral transmission would combine to convey biblical knowledge. As tantalizing as this scene may be for medieval historians, and as plausible as it may sound to our modern multisensory consciousness, we do not have record of a specific event like this. The visual narratives of medieval art and architecture provide the only "evidence" we have for the dissemination of biblical narrative across cultural and social divisions. Based on the visual programs that survive in architectural settings as well as manuscripts, it is clear that the same biblical episodes enjoyed by royal patrons such as Sancho VII or Jeanne II of Navarre are also found in the windows at Chartres, where they enjoyed a vastly larger audience.

There is a rich commentary tradition throughout the Middle Ages on images and how to use them. The question of the value and function of images for those that could not read was addressed by classical philosophers as well as medieval commentators, perhaps most famously by Pope Gregory the Great. Around the year 600, Gregory sent a series of letters to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles, in response to an act of vandalism against images.[118] Gregory wrote in July, 599, "For a picture is displayed in churches on this account, in order that those who do not know letters may at least read by seeing on the walls what they are unable to read in books," and in a second letter from October, 600, "For what writing offers to those who read it, a picture

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[118] An extensive bibliography on these letters and Gregory's contribution to image theory can be found in Herbert L. Kessler's overview in "Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, 151–172. Of note are the previously cited articles by Chazelle and Duggan. On the types of early pictorial cycles that might have been present in Serenus' churches, see Kessler's "Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul."

offers to the ignorant who look at it, since in it the ignorant see what they ought to follow, in it they read who do not know letters; whence especially for gentiles a picture stands in place of reading."[119] These phrases have often been singled out from the surrounding context of the letters as evidence of the fact that medieval images were "read" by unlettered laity. Occasionally, Gregory is also credited with the phrase "pictures are the Bible of the poor," but this direct association of the Bible with pictures only comes later, and so must be differentiated from the original letters.[120]

Although he was simply reiterating a well-known position dating back to antiquity on the value of images as didactic tools, Gregory's standing as a doctor of the church gave his dictum new authority as early as 731 when he was cited by Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.[121] The letters were used as a defense of images at a time when fears of iconoclasm were looming in the East, and Gregory's words continued to be quoted throughout the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century, for example, William Durandus wrote that "Pictures and ornaments in churches are the lessons and scriptures of the laity" before quoting the Serenus letter.[122] Many medieval (and modern-era) scholars who used Gregory's words as evidence of the function of the image in medieval Christianity seemed to think that *any* illiterate, uneducated person would be able to "read" and understand the stories in glass, stone, and paint (hence the "Bibles of the poor" misnomer). This is surely not what Gregory intended. Rather than leaving

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[119] This text can be found in its original Latin and English translation in Chazelle, "Pictures, books and the illiterate," 139–140.

[120] Chazelle, 138.

[121] Kessler notes the Bede reference on 151 as does Paul Meyvaert, "Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 63–77, and Duggan, 229–30.

[122] Kessler, 152. This statement is from Durandus' thirteenth-century *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, a treatise on symbolism in medieval church architecture and the rituals enacted within.

those who did not read and write to their own devices, an interpreter must be present to guide the unlettered, at least at first.[123]

Celia Chazelle and Lawrence Duggan have made important contributions to the historiography on Gregory's letters to Serenus, especially to the interpretation of his so-called theory of images. While much scholarly interpretation has concluded that Gregory himself conflated seeing with reading, Chazelle and Duggan both point to the fact that Gregory understood that images required interpretation for the uninitiated viewer, and that poverty was not the sole criteria. Gregory also stressed to Serenus that it is not the presence of the image that is wrong or dangerous, but the adoration that one might mistakenly give to it. He writes towards the end of his second letter, "And indicate that what displeased you was not the sight of the story revealed through the witness of a picture, but that adoration which had inappropriately been exhibited to the pictures."[124] It seems clear that Gregory was speaking of narrative images since he uses the word "story" (*historia*). Instead of conflating seeing with reading, as he is often credited with doing, the phrase "the sight of the story" (*visio historiae*) indicates that Gregory kept the two actions separate. A viewer who sees a story in visual narrative should recall the biblical content—and it is the task of Serenus and others to make sure that their flock could operate on that level. This is not the same as reading, or hearing something read aloud, though the two processes compliment one another. Seeing and reading narratives might provide the same content or conclusions for an audience, but the processes are distinct.

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[123] There was always a danger that the uneducated might misinterpret an image with religious content. Misinterpretation could lead to an idolatrous act, the worship of the image itself. This pitfall could be eliminated with the appropriate mediation and oral explanation of images by a knowledgeable source.

[124] Translation by Chazelle, 140. The Latin text reads, *Atque indica quod non tibi ipsa uisio historiae, quae pictura teste pandebatur, displicuerit sed illa adoratio, quae picturis fuerat incompetenter exhibita.*

2.5.4   The medieval popular Bible

The medieval popular Bible is a difficult topic, because it could exist as a spoken, written, or visual text, and we cannot always reconstruct the audience nor verify their use of the Bible at large, especially when it is not linked to a physical object like a manuscript or image in sculpture or stained glass.[125] It is difficult enough to postulate the reception of a visual object, let alone to reconstruct oral retellings of vernacular versions of biblical narrative. The popular Bible consisted of material adapted from the Bible, and not necessarily intended for a learned audience. In the fifteenth century, we have evidence of the connection between popular preaching and the Bible through recorded sermons.[126] However, before that date (and even well into the modern era), the ratio of written evidence of sermons is scant when compared to the actual number of sermons that must have been prepared and delivered, of which we simply have no record. If some sermons were delivered using a visual narrative as an instructional aid, such as sculpture, stained glass, or wall painting, then such an event would exemplify the concept of medieval literacies.

Even if no visual narrative was present, certain episodes of the Bible are heavily laden with written description. Still, we cannot know exactly what the audience visualized or imagined as they read or heard written biblical text.[127] Biblical imagery was also present in medieval literature. By the late fourteenth century, Chaucer's pilgrims on the way to Canterbury knew the

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[125] The term "medieval popular Bible" is used primarily in literary studies but also other fields of medieval studies to describe the corpus of biblical material (texts, manuscripts, images) available to the laity, and to distinguish this material from the theological, exegetical tradition.

[126] See Anne T. Thayer, "The Postilla of Guillermus and late medieval popular preaching," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004), 57–74.

[127] Brian Murdoch points out, "we cannot often know what the audience thought of the text, or how its members understood or more especially visualised individual episodes, even on as simple a level as what the Tower of Babel looked like." Murdoch, 4.

Bible, although to varying degrees. The Parson knew his Bible well, although he was "nat textuel," while the misuse of Scripture seems to be a feature of The Pardoner's Tale and The Friar's Tale.[128] These literary references also contribute to the idea of a popular Bible not bound to a specific written text or physical manuscript. The Bible was also adapted to literary forms, such as Evrat's *Genesis* (1192–c. 1200), a 20,800 line poem in French written for Marie de Champagne, and addressed to *cler et lai* and *grant et menour*, perhaps intended for an audience even broader that of Marie's courtiers.[129] The adaptation of biblical narrative to literature testifies to the enjoyment of biblical narrative in addition to the moral message found within.

2.5.5 Medieval Audiences for Biblical Narratives

A certain amount of responsible assumptions must be made in order to ask the question "who knew the Bible in the Middle Ages?" Just because the literate members of society wrote the commentary and chronicles, and the wealthy patrons commissioned the manuscripts does not mean that the common medieval laity had no eyes, ears, or mouths. Given that the presence of the Bible is so well documented in relatively many areas of medieval life, we can assume that it was present for the laity as well. They must have been involved in the transmission of biblical narrative. Art and architecture linked the lay public to the liturgy, and therefore, to the Bible.

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[128] The Parson's Tale, written in prose as a sermon, makes numerous biblical references throughout, including a reference to Deuteronomy 32:24 when describing hell (line 195); the Book of Isaiah (lines 198–210, line 281); Genesis, including the complete story of Adam and Eve as a prelude to humanity's original sin in his sermon on penitence; and in dealing with the sin of reproach, the Parson cites the Epistles of Paul, including a paraphrase of Colossians 3:18. See related entries in Rosalyn Rossignol, *Critical companion to Chaucer: a literary reference to his life and work* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2006). On the misuses of biblical references by Chaucer's pilgrims (both intentional and unwitting), see Christiania Whitehead, "Geoffrey Chaucer," in Rebecca Lemon, Emma Mason, Jonathan Roberts, and Christopher Rowland, eds., *The Blackwell companion to the Bible in English Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 134–151. See also Graham D. Caie, "Lay Literacy and the Medieval Bible," *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, Vol. 3:1 (2004), 125–144.

[129] Morey, 19.

Many scholars take for granted that the knowledge of the stories of the Bible would have been pervasive in late medieval Europe, but within the parameters outlined above, it is certainly clear that the Bible was not only important throughout the social divisions of society, but present in many different forms. I began with the David Howlett quote, and though he was talking specifically about writers, those who had ingested the biblical written text and either translated it or commented upon it, or incorporated it into a literary work, I believe that his use of the word "all" is telling. The Bible was a universal narrative presence for all branches of medieval society in fourteenth-century France, whether one had read the stories for themselves, heard them from a traveling preacher, or saw them in stained glass. Commenting on the greater need for religious literature for the laity in the thirteenth century and following, Josef Hermann Beckmann wrote of the picture Bible, "Just as through the liturgy and the Mystery Plays, the Bible was being brought home to the ordinary man, so also through the vehicle of these manuscripts was he being made familiar with the Biblical narrative."[130] Beckmann equates verbal transmission of biblical narrative via the liturgy and Mystery Plays (which were not truly widespread until the fifteenth century; he may have been thinking also of miracle plays, which can be found from the twelfth century in France) with visual transmission of the same narrative, implying that through different media, the Bible was consumed by a lay public.

To know the Bible in the Middle Ages was to have it committed to memory in some way, whether through individual reading of the written Latin text, or, more often for the laity, hearing

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[130] Josef Hermann Beckmann, "The Manuscript – Its Provenance and History," introduction to Josef Hermann Beckmann and Ingeborg Schroth, *Picture Bible of the Late Middle Ages* (Konstanz: Jan Thornbecke Verlag: 1960), 1. This volume contains a facsimile of Freiburg, Universitätsbibliothek ms. 334 and New York, Morgan Library ms. 719–720, a picture Bible from the early fifteenth century.

or seeing biblical stories.[131] James H. Morey has written with regard to reading the Bible in the Middle Ages, "Individuals cannot own what they cannot read."[132] In the multisensory environment of medieval literacies, seeing and reading could lead to the same understanding, the same "ownership" of biblical narrative. I see the interpretation of visual narrative as an equally empowering event for the laity as the reading of Scripture. To return to Gregory the Great's dictum, reading and seeing should not be conflated, and pictures are not solely intended for the illiterate to "read"; nevertheless, the action of interpreting biblical narrative, by any sensory means, empowered the laity and clergy alike by bringing them closer to the events of the Bible, which would bring them closer to salvation.

While there are numerous possible reasons behind the commission and production of Spencer 22, once Jeanne II had this manuscript in her possession, there was nothing keeping her from using it as an aid to her own religious development. The description of biblical events in visual language likely provided the viewer of this narrative with a stimulating and engaging experience of the events of the Bible. Images are powerful communicators of narrative for this reason. For example, Michelle Brown speculates that the Holkham Picture Book illustrations were used as a visual aid for popular preachers.[133] The cultural experience of medieval public images by a lay audience is also significant for the discussion of picture Bibles and specifically Spencer 22. How did the experience of using a picture Bible in manuscript form compare to viewing biblical narrative in stained glass or sculptural programs in medieval cathedrals? Here, the practical use of the medieval picture Bible, in all media, is drawn into question.

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[131] Morey's assessment that, "The Bible in the Middle Ages, much like the Bible today, consisted for the laity not of a set of texts within a canon but of those stories which, partly because of their liturgical significance and partly because of their picturesque and memorable qualities, formed a provisional "Bible" in the popular imagination," is, I believe, accurate for the Bible as visual narrative as well. Morey, 6.

[132] Morey, 32.

[133] Michelle Brown, *The Holkham Bible: A Facsimile* (London: The British Library, 2007), 1.

In the study of biblical *visual* narrative, one is reminded that even within the biblical textual tradition, the so-called "art of narrative" or literary qualities of the text are not often studied. In the 1980s, Robert Alter's *The Art of Biblical Narrative* approached the Old Testament, or Hebrew Bible, as first and foremost a literary creation. He read it as narrative prose, discussing plot, character development, and literary *topoi* purposefully chosen by its authors.[134] Gordon Fee and Douglas Stuart, also writing in the 1980s, stated that, "The Bible contains more of the type of literature called 'narrative' than it does of any other literary type."[135] Thirty years later, much of the current scholarship on biblical text still focuses on exegesis or historical aspects.

The Bible as visual narrative was open to a larger audience than the few elite members of medieval society that commissioned books. It could be found in public spaces, such as in the stained glass windows at Chartres Cathedral. The nave at Chartres, the area occupied by the laity, contains two Old Testament narrative windows (the stories of Noah and Joseph) and three windows that reference elements of New Testament narrative (the Passion of Christ, the Infancy of Christ, and the Jesse Tree). Additionally, the nave contains a window featuring the *vita* of John the Evangelist, four saints windows (Mary Magdalen, Lubin, Eustace, and Nicholas), and four combination windows that feature apocryphal and/or typological material (the Good Samaritan/Creation window, the Typological Passion window, the Glorification of the Virgin window, and the Miracles of the Virgin window). The lower choir windows, which may have been less accessible to the lay congregation because of their location, feature mostly the lives of saints and apostles with a few exceptions (the Life of the Virgin window which contains

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[134] Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981).

[135] Gordon Fee and Douglas Stuart, *How to Read the Bible for all its Worth* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1982), 78.

apocryphal as well as New Testament narrative, the Zodiac window, and the Belle Verrière window, another Marian narrative). The abundance of biblical windows in the nave is perhaps evidence that the laity were meant to specifically derive an understanding of the Bible from the windows. They might have used the windows as visual reinforcement of the narrative they would hear during the Liturgy of the Word.[136]

2.6   THE WORD OF GOD IN IMAGES

Finally, I want to consider what might perhaps be the highest calling for any medieval image, that is, to depict the Word of God. The Bible was not tied to specific media or a certain location. We can return to our discussion of the many modes and forms of the Bible—a sacred book, a conceptual moral guideline, typology, narrative, but also, simply, *words*—thoughts formed, letters on a page, sounds created by mouths. Words (and the sounds that make them) are the basic units for the most complex of human spoken languages, and this study considers pictures in as similar manner as building blocks of communication. What is the relationship of an image to words, to *the Word*? Medieval Christians believed that the Bible was "the Word of the Lord," and that Christ himself is "the Word made Flesh."[137] Can this sentiment be transferred to images depicting the Bible and the life of Christ? Can the same sacred connection between believers and the Word be accounted for when words are replaced with pictures? This line of questioning goes beyond the image as an illustration of accompanying text to the core function of pictures—to

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[136] On didactic function of images, see Kessler, "Gregory the Great and Image Theory," 151-167, especially 160.
[137] John 1:1, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," and 1:14: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth."

communicate with their viewer—and also to our rational and emotional interpretation of pictorial narrative. Pictures do communicate with viewers in a different way than words communicate with readers or listeners, but the do the same narrative "work."

An understanding of biblical narrative is useful in navigating Spencer 22 (for the medieval user as well as the contemporary), from its basic division into Old and New Testament to specific books and narrative episodes—Genesis, Jonah and the whale, the Nativity of Christ, the Crucifixion. The medieval user of Spencer 22 (its patron or subsequent owners and users) would have had the ability to navigate between at least three modes of language: written (French and Latin), pictorial (the narrative miniatures), and oral (a general understanding of the Bible based upon sermons or traditional knowledge). The medieval user may also have known literary references to the Bible, such as the references to the biblical figure Job in Guillaume de Machaut's motets 2 and 3, written in the fourteenth century.[138] The complexity of using Spencer 22, and the facility that a potential patron may have had with reading French, Latin, and understanding pictorial narrative (and moving seamlessly back and forth between these),[139] is an indication of the sophistication of medieval readers at the historical moment when manuscript culture and lay literacy was on the rise but before the shift to print.

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[138] Sylvia Huot, "Patience in Adversity: The Courtly Lover and Job in Machaut's motets 2 and 3," *Medium Aevum* 63:2 (1994), 222–238.

[139] This phenomenon in linguistics is known as code-switching, the use of more than one language concurrently in spoken language.

3.0   SPENCER 22'S PATRONAGE AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

François Bucher, the first to publish the connection between Spencer 22 and Sancho's Bible, called the fourteenth-century manuscript "a highly elegant book" in comparison to its twelfth-century antecedent.[140] Placed alongside other Parisian manuscripts of the fourteenth-century, however, Spencer 22 lacks a certain delicacy in its figures and decoration. There are no ivy borders with fragile leaves and vine-like flourishes; there is no marginal frolicking in the *bas-de-page*. Instead, fields of bright color and pattern visually dominate the page, paired with a simple, efficient script and economical pen ornamentation. The color wash is bold and imprecise in its application, and an absence of modelling, especially in comparison with an artist like Pucelle. In this way, it very much retains the primitive nature of illustration found in Sancho's Bible, which is almost brutal in its presence upon the page.

That is not to say that Spencer 22 is *primitive* in any negative sense of the word. Spencer 22 is not a fine manuscript in production or materials, but it is an efficient manuscript, a complex manuscript, and it offers insight into a unique production process developed specifically for this manuscript. Its elegance lies in its handling of the transferal of hundreds of images from the source to the target manuscript, a process of *translation* that retained the visual narrative content

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[140] In his facsimile edition of the Pamplona Bibles, Bucher introduces New York Public Library Spencer Collection, Ms. 22: "In contrast to the two Pamplona manuscripts, the early fourteenth-century French reproduction of King Sancho's Picture Bible is a highly elegant book. Its sophistication along with the complete insight into medieval shop practices it offers inspired the Pre-Raphaelites, William Morris and E.C. Burne-Jones. Every Christmas season it is now viewed by the people of New York visiting the Public Library. No one to date has systematically studied the miniatures or realized the importance of the French text, which will require a separate publication," vol. 1, 63.

while updating it stylistically and appending French biblical text to the extant visual text. In order to better appreciate the sophistication of this process, one must understand the circumstances of its creation, not just the finished product. While it is not entirely possible to divorce Spencer 22 from its predecessor manuscripts, I attempt to focus on the patronage and production of the fourteenth-century manuscript in this section, examining not only the physical manuscript and its content (first the visual narrative and then the French biblical text), but also the cultural and historical circumstances of Spencer 22's creation.

Given the rich visual material and sheer number of images present in Spencer 22, one might expect it to be the topic of many scholarly investigations, especially in the history of medieval art. However, the opposite is true: there is a dearth of information (both medieval and modern) regarding this manuscript. Modern scholarship, save for Bucher's 1970 facsimile of the Pamplona Bibles and a 2005 facsimile of the Augsburg manuscript, attributions of date and style by Mary and Richard Rouse and Alison Stones, and more recent exhibitions at New York Public Library in 1996 and the Getty Museum in 2010, has largely ignored Spencer 22. The remaining bibliography on this manuscript is nowhere near as extensive as many other luxury manuscripts of the Middle Ages. No monograph or even article exclusively devoted to the topic of Spencer 22 has ever been produced.

The earliest modern mentions of the book were in nineteenth century auction catalogues.[141] Later publications were in connection with exhibitions at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1908 and at the Walters Museum of Art in Baltimore in 1949.[142] In 1924, Robert Fawtier

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[141] Chapter Five, n. 54 (Bucher, vol. 1, 125) lists only ten books and catalogues in which Spencer 22 had appeared by 1970. Among the earliest are the auction house publications dating to 1835 (Payne and Foss), 1837 (Payne and Foss), and 1929 (Sotheby's).

[142] The exhibition catalogues are: *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, The Holford Collection* (Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908), no. 134, p. 38 and plate 89, and D. E. Miner, *The Walters Art Gallery, Illuminated Books of the*

described it as a comparison manuscript to a picture Bible in the Rylands Library.[143] While it

was in the Holford Collection (purchased by R. S. Holford in 1837), the book seemed to be well

known to and loved by the Pre-Raphaelite artists and colleagues Edward Burne-Jones and

William Morris, as described by R. H. Benson:

> This was the book that Burne-Jones used to come frequently to see, but he never got through the whole of the pictures. He said that if a new flood came and submerged the earth, this book saved would regenerate Art. This same book was lent to William Morris to help to solace his last summer, 1896, after his return from the fruitless voyage to Spitzbergen.[144]

Since Bucher's bibliography, there have been some notes and catalogue entries on

Spencer 22, including the following: Caroline Hull's 1995 article on form and function in

Rylands Ms. 5;[145] Lucy Freeman Sandler's entry in *The Splendor and the Word* catalogue

published by the New York Public Library in 2005;[146] Alison Stones' 1998 essay on the Fauvel

and Sub-Fauvel Masters;[147] Mary and Richard Rouse's exploration of manuscript makers in

France, 1200–1500;[148] Akiko Komada's unpublished 2000 dissertation, *Les illustrations de la*

Middle Ages and Renaissance (Baltimore, 1949), no. 47, plate 27. Other brief mentions occurred in C. F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (2 vols. London, 1854), 2, 208; R. H. Benson, *The Holford Collection* (Westonbirt, 1924), p. 38, no. 5, pls. X–XII; S. C. Cockerell and M. R. James, *A Book of Old Testament Illustrations: sent by Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski to Shah Abbas the Great, King of Persia, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library at New York* (Cambridge: Roxburghe, 1927; reprinted with facsimile illustrations in color, New York: Braziller, 1970), p. 38; Sotheby and Co., *Catalogue of the Luttrell Psalter and the Bedford Horae: two superb English manuscripts...*(London: Printed by J. Davy & Sons, Ltd., 1929); S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 2 vols. (New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1935–40), 2, 1340, no. 22; and D. Diringer, *The Illuminated Book, Its History and Production* (New York: Faber and Faber, 1958), p. 387.

[143] Fawtier, *La Bible historiée toute figurée de la John Rylands Library. Reproduction intégrale de manuscrit French 5 accompagnée d'une étude* (Paris: Pour les Trustees et Gouverneurs de la John Rylands Library, 1924)

[144] Benson, *The Holford Collection*, cited by Bucher, vol. 1, 71.

[145] Hull, "Rylands French 5: The Form and Function of a Medieval Bible Picture Book," in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 77/2, 1995, 3–24.

[146] Alexander, Marrow, and Sandler, eds. *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 2005), 97–100.

[147] Alison Stones, "The Stylistic Context of the Roman de Fauvel, with a Note on Fauvain," in Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, eds., *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 529–567.

[148] Mary and Richard Rouse, *Manuscripts and their makers: commercial book producers in Paris 1200–1500* (Turnhout: H. Miller, 2000), 211–212.

Bible historiale: les manuscrits réalisés dans le Nord (Paris IV);[149] a German facsimile of the

Augsburg manuscript,[150] and Elizabeth Morrison's entry in the exhibition catalog for the 2010

exhibition *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting 1250–1500*.[151] Spencer

22 and the Pamplona Bibles are also mentioned in Kumiko Maekawa's *Narrative and*

experience: innovations in 13th century picture books,[152] and the iconography of the Plague of

the Philistines as found in the Pamplona Bibles and Spencer 22 is featured in Pamela Berger's

essay, "Mice, Arrows, and Tumors: Medieval Plague Iconography North of the Alps."[153]

The present study hopes to bring the manuscript to light within a methodological context

quite different from that of Bucher, who was primarily interested in establishing the style of the

Pamplona workshop that produced Sancho's Bible and the manuscript now in Augsburg. Bucher

contributed much to the study of Spencer 22 in connecting it to the Pamplona Bibles for the first

time; I build upon that connection by examining the production of Spencer 22 within a culture of

literacy in fourteenth-century France.[154]

Defining the cultural, historical, and even the physical parameters for Spencer 22 has

been a difficult task. There are no surviving documents regarding the commission and production

of the manuscript, and no mention of it in any known royal inventory from the fourteenth century

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[149] Komada, *Les Illustrations de la Bible historiale. Les manuscrits réalisés dans le Nord*, doctoral thesis, 4 vol., Université de Paris-IV, 2000.

[150] *Die Pamplona-Bibel: Die Bilderbibel des Königs Sancho el Fuerte (1153–1234) von Navarra (Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg Sammlung Oettingen-Wallerstein Cod.I.2.4º15)*; Kommentarband zum Faksimile. Gabriele Bartz, Günter Hägele, Luise Karl, Irmhild Schäfer. Zurich: Coron Verlag, 2005. This facsimile, unlike Berger's volumes, is true to size and color throughout, and contains only images from the Augsburg manuscript.

[151] Elizabeth Morrison, "Picture Bible and Saints' Lives," in Anne D. Hedeman and Elizabeth Morrison, eds. *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting 1250–1500* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 137–140.

[152] Kumiko Maekawa, *Narrative and experience: Innovations in Thirteenth Century Picture Books* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999), 205, 226.

[153] Pamela Berger, "Mice, Arrows, and Tumors: Medieval Plague Iconography North of the Alps," in Franco Mormando and Thomas Worcester, eds. *Piety and Plague: from Byzantium to the Baroque* (Truman State University Press, 2007), 23–63.

[154] See Section 4 below for a discussion of the distinction between "literate culture" and "a culture of literacy."

and following. There are no coats of arms indicating who owned it, nor any other physical evidence that this was, indeed, a royal manuscript. The manuscript, like so many medieval books, was rebound in the nineteenth century, and its leaves cut down at some point in its history to their present size of 312 mm x 225 mm; it is difficult to say if any other modifications were made prior to this.[155] Furthermore, there are few other narrative picture Bibles produced in the early fourteenth century to view as context. Stylistically, comparisons can be made to the Fauvel Master, and more specifically, the Sub-Fauvel Master named by Alison Stones, giving us a reasonable range of dates (most of the Sub-Fauvel works are datable to the 1330s)[156]; although less likely, this manuscript could have been a nameless workshop commission in the style of a known artist of other luxury manuscripts.

Unfortunately, after the date of 1197 given in the colophon, Sancho's Bible has an equally uncertain history. We do not know its whereabouts from the death of Sancho VII in 1234 to its reappearance in Amiens in the eighteenth century.[157] We can surmise that Sancho's Bible was in France at the time of Spencer 22's production. Based on style, materials, and other aspects of production, it is very likely that Spencer 22 was made in France in the early fourteenth century and is related to a group of manuscripts painted by an artist known as the Sub-Fauvel Master.[158] Another production scenario, such as French artists traveling to Pamplona to produce

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[155] Bucher believes, based on the initial on fol. 1r and the general page composition, that 10–20 mm may have been trimmed from the top edge. The outer edge was also trimmed, he states, possibly in the fourteenth century, although he does not give his reasons for this assessment. Bucher, vol. 1, 65.

[156] See Stones, "Stylistic Content of the Roman de Fauvel." I will discuss particular aspects of the style of Spencer 22 later in this section.

[157] Bucher, vol. 1, 25. The Bibliothèques communales (now Bibliothèques municipales), including the branch in Amiens, were established in the aftermath of the French Revolution in the late eighteenth-century, as holdings from clerical and private libraries were seized and dispersed. Sancho's Bible has a low number (ms. 108), indicating an early gift or purchase. However, as Bucher notes, the strong provenance records kept during the establishment of the Bibliothèque communale at Amiens unfortunately do not include a record for ms. 108. This is confirmed by the *Catalog général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1931), where ms. 108 is listed as a *Bible historiée*, with no provenance information.

[158] Stones, "Stylistic Context of Fauvel," 557.

Spencer 22, cannot be ruled out given the material evidence.[159] That leaves us with only the visual narrative content as confirmation of the connection between Spencer 22 to Sancho's Bible.[160] It is my assertion that a close examination of both Spencer 22 and Sancho's Bible reveals evidence of the translation process in both manuscripts, confirming their direct physical relationship in the fourteenth century. Although the creation of Spencer 22 was a distinct event, it had repercussions on both the source of the visual narrative and the target manuscript, and the effects of translation on Sancho's Bible will be discussed in greater detail in Section 3.[161]

3.1   THE MANUSCRIPT

In its present condition, Spencer 22 contains 843 miniatures of Old Testament and New Testament scenes, plus lives of saints. This is an extraordinarily large number—the Morgan

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[159] The style of Spencer 22 is that of a French artist, but given that we do not know for certain the whereabouts of Sancho's Bible in the fourteenth century, it is possible that a French artist traveled to another region (likely in Spain, given the origins of Sancho's Bible) to produce Spencer 22 or collaborated with artists from another region in Paris. There is a precedent for this type of interregional collaboration in the Fauvel Master's work. The Fauvel Artist worked alongside two other artists, one of which was from Toulouse, on a Gratian manuscript (Cambrai, Méd. mun. 605) in either Toulouse or Avignon. Rouse and Rouse note the Fauvel Master's hand in three small-scale illustrations (fols. 226r, 229r, and 234v) of high quality. Alison Stones notes that these qualities are characteristic of the Fauvel Master's earliest work, dating to the period around 1315. My thanks to Alison Stones for making me aware of Cambrai 605 as a Fauvel Master collaboration.

[160] One might say that Spencer 22 is firmly but circumstantially connected to Sancho's Bible. Even though the narratives are extremely close (every picture in Spencer 22 has been accounted for in Sancho's Bible and/or the Augsburg manusript, according to Bucher, vol. 1, 69), there is no direct written evidence that the two are related (such as an inscription in Spencer 22 declaring its connection to Sancho). I have considered the possibility of an unknown intermediary manuscript, copied from Sancho's Bible and subsequently used in the production of Spencer 22, especially because Sancho's Bible was copied so early in its existence in the Augsburg manuscript. However, since the Augsburg manuscript was already modified with additional images and clarifying written text, the chance of an exact late twelfth or early thirteenth century copy of Sancho's Bible is less likely. Any intermediary would have retained the entirety of the visual narrative in Sancho's Bible with no additions or deletions, as an image-for-image comparison reveals just how closely Sancho's Bible matches Spencer 22.

[161] The inability to separate the two manuscripts today, after centuries, says much, I believe, about the close connection between the two throughout their mutual existence. The medieval users of Spencer 22 surely knew of this connection; it is not clear when the two began to be considered independently of one another, until Bucher reconnects them in the 1970s.

Picture Bible, for example, contains only about 325 images from the Old Testament.[162] Each surviving folio of Spencer 22, with the exception of the table of contents, contains at least one picture, and most contain two or three. There are sixteen leaves missing from the end of Spencer 22, and two earlier quires with missing leaves. Bucher has reconstructed the subject matter of those leaves based on the table of contents on folio 1 and the cycle of images at the end of Sancho's Bible and the Augsburg manuscript. The missing end leaves included a sequence of saints from Dominic to Eugenia, as well as images of the Second Coming of Christ.[163] The selection of many Spanish saints reflects the origins of Sancho's Bible of 1197, and the lack of additions of other French saints by Jeanne II in the fourteenth-century further reflects her interests in confirming her Spanish lineage.[164]

3.1.1 Spencer 22's Table of Contents

One might say that at least half of the total biblical content in Spencer 22 is visual content, given that most of the folio pages have two columns, with one column devoted to images and the other to written text. There is only one folio side that does not contain an image, and that is the table of

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[162] Pierpont Morgan Library, Manuscript M.638 [facsimile], *Die Kreuzritterbibel = The Morgan Crusader Bible = La Bible des croisades* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag; New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1998–99). Some of the miniatures are not separated by a frame, but may contain two moments of narrative. Digital images of the Morgan Bible can be seen online in The Morgan Online Exhibitions, http://www.themorgan.org/collections/swf/exhibOnline.asp?id=200.

[163] The missing 36 saint images include Dominic, Mary Magdalen, Mary of Egypt, Agatha, Agnes, Cecilia, Valerianus, Christina, Scholastica, Benedict, Eulalia, Lucy, Marina, Catherine, Theodora, Didymus, Justa, Rufina, Praxedis, Nunilo, Alodia, Juliana, Sabina, Fausta, Euphemia, Thecla, Fides, Anastasia, Corona, Eugenia, Leocadia, Emerentiana, Brigid, Margarita, Engratia, and Eugenia (again). Lost Apocalypse imagery includes 17 representations of Tiburtine Sibyls, passages from Matthew 24–25, Job, I Corinthians, and Psalm 9, among others. See Bucher's text sequence table, vol. 1, 190–194.

[164] Devotion of the third-century martyr Eugenia, who is mentioned twice on the list and who also appears in Jacobus de Voragine's *La legenda aurea*, thrived in Rome and Spain, though there was also a cult in northern Burgundy. The female saints Eulalia, Marina, Justa and Rufina, Nunilo and Alodia, Leocadia, and Engratia were all Spanish in origin. On Eugenia's presence in the capitals at Vézelay and other centers of her devotion, see Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2006), 39–44, especially note 37.

contents in French on folio 1r (Figure 1). The table of contents is contemporary with the

manuscript itself, perhaps compiled after the manuscript images had been painted, and so it tells

us something about what this manuscript was intended to be used. There is no surviving table of

contents in Sancho's Bible, although Bucher believes that there may have been one, and that the

table of contents might have been copied from a list in Sancho's Bible (perhaps accounting for

some of the mathematical errors in the list of images). Spencer 22's table of contents reads as a

list in prose form,[165] cataloguing the books of the Bible that follow and the number of "*hystoires*

et ymages figurees," or image-text pairings, found for each.[166] I will use the term *hystoire* as the

medieval author of the table of contents did to describe not only the story or narrative, but the

figural painting as well.

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[165] See Bucher's transcription of the French text of the table of contents, vol. 1, 197–198.

[166] Bucher notes a mistaken addition of a "c" before the Roman numeral "lv" of image-text pairings (described as *hystoires*) for the book of Exodus, rendering the number 155 rather than the true 55 images. Among the reasons for this might be a mistake in dictation, or a desire for over 1,000 images, or "perhaps a forgivable trick related to the payment for the work, which may have been based on the number of illustrations produced." Bucher, vol. 1, 69.

Figure 1. Table of Contents, fol. 1r, New York Public Library, Spencer 22, ca. 1328.

It is worth taking a moment to look at the medieval terms used to describe Spencer 22 by

its own makers. These are the terms by which Spencer 22's first users be given instructions as to

how to use the rich content of this manuscript. The word *hystoire* (*estoire*, *histoire*, *istoire*, and

ystoire in Old and Middle French, among alternate spellings) is especially significant in the

present study of the interrelation of image and text.[167] In modern French, *histoire* (n.f.) can mean

a story, history, or a narrative.[168] According to the Anglo-Norman Dictionary, it could mean (by

the fourteenth century) a story, a history, an account or source, or a text or book.[169] The Anglo-

Norman Dictionary also lists the use of the related adjective *a estoire* (an equivalent to the

English *historiated*) to describe images in stained glass in *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (c.

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[167] See Tina Kane's "Translator's Notes," in her edition of *The Troyes* Mémoire*: The Making of a Medieval Tapestry* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 61–67.

[168] "histoire," *Le Grand Robert de la Langue Français*, 6 vols. (Dictionnaire de Robert, 2001), vol. 3: 1830–1835.

[169] "estoire," *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, Online Version, accessed 30 May 2011. <http://www.anglo-norman.net>

1245), lines 2302–2303: *Entaileez sunt les peres / E a estoires les vereres*.[170] Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire de l'Ancien français* (covering the period from 1080–1350) defines *estoire* as a story or narrative, or a painting or representation.[171] Therefore, by the fourteenth century, it was common usage for the word *hystoire* to describe specifically a narrative *picture*, a visual representation of narrative events.[172] It is likely that in the image-laden context of Spencer 22, it was easier for the writer of the table of contents to describe the image-text narrative pairings as multimedia *hystoires* rather than describe text and image separately.

The writer of the table of contents also used different verbs to describe the process of understanding the visual and written narrative in Spencer 22. In one instructive phrase, he uses the verbs *regarder* ("to look at"), *entendre* ("to understand" in medieval usage, but also, commonly, "to hear"), and *devisier* ("to distinguish"):

> *Et qui voudra bien et diligenment les ymages ou hystoires du livre a tout leurs titles et les exposicions ensuivans regarder si poura lors plainnement et parfaitement du livre tout l'ordenance entendre et devisier...*[173]

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[170] *La estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, ed. K.Y. Wallace, *Anglo-Norman Text Society* 41 (London, 1983). Accessed via the Anglo-Norman On-Line Hub, 30 May 2011. <http://www.anglo-norman.net> Cambridge University Library MS. Ee.3.59 contains an illustrated copy of *La estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* in Anglo-Norman verse. The manuscript is reproduced digitally on the library's website. Accessed 26 September 2011. <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/manuscripts/Ee.3.59/>

[171] "estoire," A.-J. Greimas, *Grand Dictionnaire de l'Ancien français* (Paris: Larousse, 2007). The Larousse *Grand Dictionnaire de moyen français (Renaissance)* (covering the period from 1340–1611) gives these definitions for *histoire*: 1. history, stories from antiquity; 2, exemplar; 3. subject, argument; 4. image, painting, narrative painting; 5. *tailleur d'histoires*, sculpture; 6. inscription; 7. ornament. "histoire," A.-J. Greimas, *Grand Dictionnaire de moyen français* (Paris: Larousse, 1992).

[172] In contrast, the word *ymage* (also *image*, *himage*) in Old and Middle French could describe a painted image, but also a sculpture or idol; additionally, *ymage* could also describe an illusion or reflection. *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, Online Version. Accessed 30 May 2011.

[173] The full quote reads: *Et qui voudra bien et diligenment les ymages ou hystoires du livre a tout leurs titles et les exposicions ensuivans regarder si poura lors plainnement et parfaitement du livre tout l'ordenance entendre et devisier, et est assavoir que en ce livre a mil et xxxiiij hystoires, toutes ymaginees, et entitulees et par escripture exposees*. "And who will want to well and diligently view here the images or stories of the book with all their titles and explanations following would then understand and distinguish plainly and completely from the book all the decree and it is to be noted that in this book 1034 stories, all illustrated, and titled, and by Scripture are explained." Translation by the author; thanks to Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski for her thoughts on the medieval French text.

In this passage, the author distinguishes images (*ymages*) from stories (*hystoires*), but indicates that the terms are interchangeable ("*ymages* ou *hystoires*"). Although this might look like a clear distinction between pictures and written text, the author does not specifically distinguish between the media of images and words. The terms *ymage* and *hystoire* here may indicate the *content* of the narrative instead of its visual presentation. The author of these words is instructing anyone "who would well and diligently view here the images or stories of the book with all their titles and explanations following would then understand and distinguish plainly and completely from the book all the decree." In the text that follows, it seems that *ymage* and *hystoire* are conflated, and the word *hystoire* is used exclusively to describe the number of image-text pairings from each book of the Bible.

The process begins with seeing, and one can interpret the above passage as indicating that images should be viewed first, "*with* titles and explanations *following*." This further substantiates the primacy of the preservation of the visual narrative in Spencer 22 and Sancho's Bible. Viewing a narrative, especially biblical narrative, is futile if one does not understand what they have seen. Thus the reader of Spencer 22 is instructed to understand or distinguish the *hystoires* they have seen. We cannot discount the possible use of *entendre* as "to hear," even though it is less likely. Joyce Coleman has recently described the activity of reading aloud from manuscripts in medieval France. She indicates that in the case of a manuscript owned by a single patron or family, one could hear the stories read aloud and then view the images that went with them at a later time. Then, perhaps, upon the next reading, the images would be more readily available in

the audience's mind.[174] This is one model for the way that Spencer 22's owner might have been used this manuscript.[175]

3.1.2   Number of images

There are sixteen books of the Old Testament represented in the extant miniatures, as well as the Gospels, stories of saints, and one Apocalypse image. Scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not as concerned with an accurate number for the images in Spencer 22 (perhaps since it had not yet been linked to Sancho's Bible[176]), but the exact number of originally intended miniatures likely reflects the number of images in Sancho's Bible. The first *hystoire* listed in the table of contents is from the book of the prophet Isaiah, *qui parle de la puissance de dieu* (Isaiah 41:5). The table of contents then lists 175 *hystoires* from Genesis, 155 from Exodus,[177] one from Leviticus, 29 from the Book of Numbers, 2 from Deuteronomy, 18 from Joshua, 22 from Judges, 6 from Job, 214 from the four books of Kings, 2 from Ezechiel, 31 from Daniel, 5 from Judith, 8 from Jonas, 16 from Tobias, 16 from Isaiah, 16 from Prophets. There follows 30 *hystoires* from Matthew, representing the genealogy of Christ. The New Testament is represented by 101 *hystoires* from the Gospels (in general, the four Gospels seem to

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[174] Joyce Coleman, "Reading the Evidence in Text and Image: How History Was Read in Late Medieval France," in *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010): 53–67, especially pages 56–57. See also Coleman's *Public Reading and the Reading Public*.
[175] On the coexistence of reading aloud and silent reading see also M. B. Parkes, "Reading, Copying, and Interpreting a Text in the Middle Ages," G. Cavello and R. Chartier, eds., *A History of Reading in the West* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 90–102.
[176] Sancho's Bible has also been incorrectly described in many publications; Bucher, in fact, states in his 1970 publication, "Until now, King Sancho's Bible has received only the most summary treatment in literature, and there exists to date no publication in which the manuscript has even been correctly described. The number given for the illustrations varies from 'innumerable' to 'ca. 2000.' These errors have been carried into even the most recent research." Bucher, vol. 1, 26. Bucher lists the total number of miniatures once found in Sancho as 932, with 930 miniatures present in Spencer 22 in its original state (see the table on Bucher, vol. 1, 69). This means that the table of contents was incorrect even in its original state.
[177] The table of contents incorrectly lists "c lv" *hystoires*, rather than the accurate number of 55.

be taken as one, with narratives plucked from each and arranged chronologically, or historically) and the Book of Apostles. These are followed by 3 church offices, 121 *hystoires* of saints,[178] 44 confessors, 40 matrons and virgins, and 14 *hystoires* recounting the Apocalypse.

The sum of these numbers is 1,070; however, the table of contents clearly gives the number 1,034 as the total sum.

> *...et est assavoir que en ce livre a mil et xxxiiij hystoires, toutes ymaginees, et entitulees et par escripture exposees.*

The discrepancy in numbers could have to do with a simple miscount, or a copied mistake from a lost table of contents in Sancho's Bible (the *hystoires* listed for Exodus, for example, are 155—*clv*—when there are only 55). If the artists and/or scribes were being paid per image, then the addition of a "c" to make 155 from 55 might have resulted in a pay increase.

The number of images in the present manuscript is 843 (with three empty frames, which would bring the total to 846), beginning with Isaiah 45:5 and Genesis and concluding on folio 154v with Petronilla, Columba, and an image of a Tiburtine Sibyl, the first scene of the Sibylline prophesies. The table of contents, exaggerated by at least 100 images, indicates that there were perhaps once 970 images (rather than 1,070); however, a physical reconstruction of the manuscript by Bucher (and based on Sancho's Bible) tells us that Spencer 22 once contained 930 images, and Sancho's Bible once contained 932. The error-laden table of contents and the incomplete nature of both Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22 mean that perhaps our best estimations are just that, and will never be exact.

Bucher's description of the extant leaves and gatherings of Spencer 22 is accurate. There are presently twenty-one quire gatherings in various stages of completeness. Nine of these quires are given a sequence number in fourteenth century notation which can still be seen on the final

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[178] The notation in the table of contents is "vi" with a superscript "xx" indicating 6 times 20 for a total of 120.

folio of the gathering (these are quires III–VII, XIII, XVII, XIX, and XXI). Missing leaves occur in gathering XI, XIII, XVIII, XIX (where a loose leaf—originally folio 137—was later rebound as folio 152), XXI, and XXII (which is entirely missing). Bucher determined the content of the missing leaves on their corresponding images in Sancho's Bible. The sixteen missing leaves account for 86 lost scenes: two leaves lost in XI contained 12 images, two leaves lost in XIII contained 5 images,[179] two leaves lost in XVIII contained 9 images, the six leaves lost in XXI contained 46 scenes (mostly female saints), and the missing quire XXII (eight leaves) likely contained 14 scenes.[180] As Bucher notes, the state of preservation is good, except for the last few leaves which are rubbed (Figure 2). The extent of this rubbing damage might indicate a late medieval or Renaissance date for the loss of the last folios.

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[179] I suspect that the missing images in XIII might have been purposely removed. The original images in Sancho's Bible include two large, ungainly statues, which Nebudchanezzar constructed in Daniel 2:32–33 and 3:1. As Bucher notes in his description of the statues, "Interestingly enough, the slender proportions given by Daniel are not adhered to by the artist." If the artist of Spencer 22 copied these statues exactly, they would not have complimented the rather slender figures of Spencer 22. Bucher, vol. 1, 243.

[180] I am not quite sure how to reconcile the discrepancy in the numbers here. If you take Bucher's reconstruction number of images (930) and subtract the missing images (86), you arrive at 844 extant images. Bucher's count for the extant images is 843.

Figure 2. Final extant folio with rubbing damage, Spencer 22 fol. 154v.

3.1.3   Visual biblical narrative in Spencer 22

In discussing visual content in Spencer 22, there are two parallel issues at work: the narrative content of each distinct image (or, *hystoire*), and the arrangement of text and image on the page. Each page layout served as the underlying structure for the visual narrative, and it is clear that Spencer 22's makers developed some interesting techniques to accommodate the specifications of the commission. The page layout itself becomes a vital piece of the narrative structure, and a visual cue for reading. After a discussion of page layout, I will turn to more specific visual narrative content.

From the thirteenth century forward, it is not uncommon to see a two-column *mise en page* in manuscripts, regardless of the content. The two-column layout was used from biblical texts to literary manuscripts. If the manuscript included images, often painted miniatures measuring the width of one column of text would be inserted, surrounded above and below by text, as in this diagram of a sample page from the Amsterdam manuscript of the Lancelot-Grail, c. 1315–25 (Figure 3). The text is read from top to bottom in the left column, then top to bottom in the right column, and when a miniature is inserted, it is often at an appropriate "break" in the narrative, often a chapter or book heading. In medieval manuscripts that contain literary narratives, such as the popular Lancelot-Grail, the miniatures visually *interrupt* the written textual narrative, and introduce the narrative that will appear below. On this sample folio, there are a few decorative or visual markers that interrupt the written text in dark ink: the decorated initial Q, the red-lettered rubrics describing the miniature below, and the images themselves.
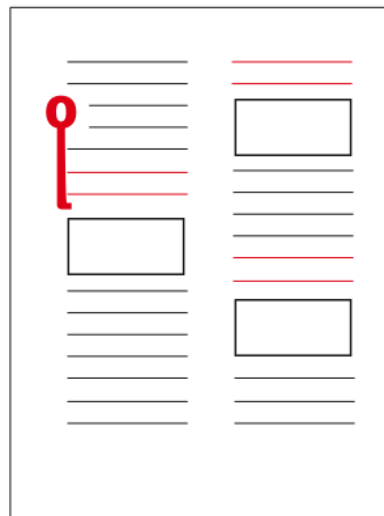
Figure 3. Sample page, after Amsterdam, Biblioteca Philosophica Hermetica MS 1, fol. 118r.

The use of the rubric also tells us something about the process of production of medieval manuscripts. In simplified terms, scribes would write the main text in black ink, the rubric in red,

and the artists would fill in the image described in the rubric. Whether or not the artists read the rubrics themselves in order to create the images or had the rubric text read aloud to them is not entirely clear. There are no French rubrics in Spencer 22.[181] The French texts and Latin titles all correspond directly to the images they are paired with, making rubrication unnecessary and redundant. As was the usual process for manuscript production, the text was written onto each folio of Spencer 22 first, and the images added afterwards (we know this from instances where the miniature covers preexisting written text, or where a miniature has been left blank even though there is written text present in the right column). One might expect, since the transfer of the visual narrative in its entirety from Sancho's Bible was essential, that the miniatures of Spencer 22 would be placed first, then written biblical narrative added later. However, this was not the case, and the order of production for Spencer 22 is another piece of evidence that points to a supervisor of this project: someone who was intimately familiar with the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible, who was able to choose the French text (which I will describe in greater detail below), and able to conceptualize the total manuscript before production even began. This is also perhaps a strong indicator of the assembly line nature of medieval manuscript workshops; to reverse the usual process of scribes writing before artists painting may simply not have been possible.

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[181] The Latin titles begin with a decorated initial and are underlined in red. Although this may have served the purpose of indicating the image that was to be drawn and painted, the fact that they are written in Latin is less conducive to widespread comprehension by the artists. The red underlining serves to distinguish the Latin titles (which are transferred from Sancho's Bible) from the French additions, although it is possible that the artists were running out of minium for red ink, and so resorted to underlining rather than red lettering. My thanks to Alison Stones for pointing this possibility out to me.

3.1.4   Page layouts in Spencer 22

Though a medieval reader might not necessarily have been aware of the underlying structure, page layout in medieval manuscripts reveals a desire for order and proportion, just as is found in medieval architecture.[182] Layout, that is to say, the arrangement of written text, images, other markers or decoration, and blank space in a manner that is both efficient and aesthetically pleasing, was also used to create a sense of rhythm in the reading experience. There are 29 distinct page layouts in Spencer 22. Many of them are variants of one another, and most are creative ways of utilizing the two-column ruled folio page. Appendix B contains diagrams of these layouts, along with the number of folio sides that display each. This type of analysis has never been done for Spencer 22 but because of the highly visual nature of its content, the diagrams illuminate both the production process and the reading experience.

Structure was necessary lest the sheer number of images create chaos for the maker and confusion for the reader. The layout diagrams reveal the imaginative solutions to the problems of transferring the visual content of Sancho's Bible into the fourteenth-century style and format of Spencer 22, and will be useful for the discussion of the translation of visual narrative in Section 4. As discussed above, Spencer 22 begins with the table of contents, the only folio in the entire manuscript that does not contain a single image. Following the table of contents, fols. 1r through 3v contain only one wide column with one image each, accompanied by four or five lines of text above. Folios 5v and 8v feature three scenes, in a move that Bucher calls "experimental,"

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[182] On medieval manuscript layout and the Golden Ratio, see Jan Tschischold, *The Form of the Book: Essays on the Morality of Good Design*, trans. Hajo Hadeler, ed. Robert Bringhurst (Point Roberts, Wash.: Hartley & Marks, 1991): 42–52.

indicating that perhaps a direct folio-to-folio translation of content was originally intended, but quickly abandoned.

For the majority of Spencer 22's pages, each folio side contains two columns, the outer occupied by text and the innermost (closest to the gutter) containing images. The two-column-per-folio side layout was common from the twelfth century on in France.[183] The artists and scribes of Spencer 22 were not slaves to the two-column model and on many instances created unique folio layouts where needed (Figure 4). They appear to be negotiating the hundreds of images of Sancho's Bible (and new accompanying French texts) into slight variations on the standard one- or two-column layouts. Where these variations occur, it seems to be out of necessity and spatial constraints in part, but also, knowingly or not, the artists and scribes of Spencer 22 have created a dynamic experience for the reader by varying page layout throughout the manuscript.

By far, the greatest number of folio sides (218 total) fit the two-column, three-miniature-per-column *mise en page* (Figure 5). Other page layouts are unique, only found in one instance in the manuscript. Folio 4v, for example, is the only page in the manuscript where text is incorporated into the miniature frame, surrounding an image from the story of Creation, the division in the firmament of heaven into day and night (Figure 6). The artist has incorporated the text around the central roundel, enclosed within a border. Unfortunately, the Creation images from Sancho's Bible have been lost, so we do not know what model the artists had. Visually, the

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[183] Via Bucher, Chapter 5, note 2: R. Bernheimer, "The Martyrdom of Isaiah," *Art Bulletin* 34 (1952): 19ff. (on early 13th century bibles, and the standardization of the two-column approach interrupted with chapter heading historiated initials): "The Bibles were smaller in size than had been the custom with books written for monastic use, and frequently were reduced to a pocket format convenient for purposes of study. The script, always in two parallel columns, was interrupted at approximately equal intervals by chapter headings which facilitated the search for a reference. ...Supported by the prestige of the great university, these volumes, large and small, penetrated beyond Paris and France into cathedral libraries, monasteries, and parsonages everywhere. In many centers all over Europe volumes were written repeating the text, layout, and illustrative scheme of what came to be known, because of its ubiquity, as the Vulgate," 19.

image-text pairing is stimulating for the reader, with the lines of text echoing the curve of the sphere in a way that is very different from the boxy miniatures. Bucher did not view the hybrid layouts in Spencer 22 as elegant and thoughtful solutions to a spatial problem, which, at the same time, captivated a reader in a way that the two-column layout likely did not. Rather, he states that "The decision to change from two to three pictures to a page in the New York Bible, but to remain faithful to the original as far as full-page illustrations were concerned (in giving them two squares), provides evidence of overly rapid planning."[184]

Figure 4. Unusual folio layout, Spencer 22, fol. 5v.

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[184] Bucher, vol. 1, 72.

Figure 5. Frequent folio layout. Spencer 22, fol. 51r.

Figure 6. Division of firmament into day and night, Spencer 22, fol. 4v.

Spencer 22 introduces its linear visual narrative in a unique way, and the layout is essential to that presentation. Page layout moves narrative along in instances where the action of the biblical narrative is lagging. Where the images are not as active (such as the genealogy of Christ from Matthew 1:1–17), the repetition of the same figure pairing (father and son), illustrates the action of "begetting" and creates a staccato visual rhythm that mimics the Latin and French texts and moves the reader through this less dynamic portion of the narrative (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Genealogy of Matthew, Spencer 22, fol. 109r.

Figure 8. Judith and Holofernes, Spencer 22, fol. 99r.

Some of the action images, such as the beheading of Holofernes from the book of Judith (Figure 8), do not require further manipulation to keep the reader engaged in the narrative. On folio 99r, a rhythmic sense of movement is achieved through the cross-column image-text pairings, which are very different from a more conventional illustrated two-column layout. We can compare Spencer 22 to a page layout from a contemporary *Bible historiale* likely from the same workshop to illustrate this point (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève ms. 22). Traditionally, one would read the left column from top to bottom and then the right column from top to bottom (for both verso and recto sides), as with a *Bible historiale*, where the miniatures punctuate the written text (Figure 9). In order to engage with both image and text in Spencer 22's linear narrative, however, the reader must seek out the nearby (but not always directly adjacent) written text by visually crossing the space between the image column and the text column. For example, on folio 99r, which features the Judith and Holofernes episode, there are three penflourished initials that mark the division between the three written *hystoires*. The penflourished initials do not line up directly with the images, and it is up to the reader to use the visual cues to match the visual and written narratives. The linear narrative of Spencer 22 is also

very different from the more complicated *mise en page* of a typological manuscript, such as a

Bible moralisée.
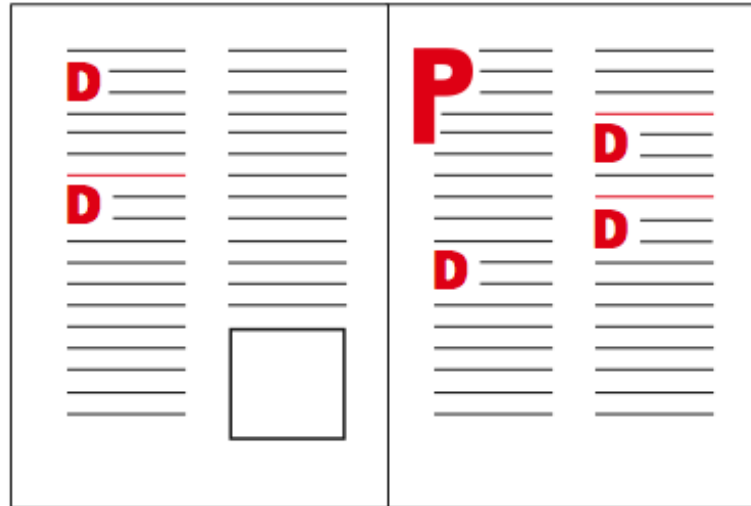
Figure 9. Sample *Bible historiale* page opening, after Sainte-Geneviève ms. 22, fol. 67v–68r.

Figure 10. Page opening, Spencer 22, fols. 31v–32r.

Taking as an example a typical page opening in Spencer 22 (Figure 10), one will find written text in the outer columns framing image columns on either side of the gutter. One might look at the image in the visual column first, and then read the accompanying written text in the opposite column, then return to the image for the next *hystoire*. If, however, one wanted to use just the images to construct the narrative, then the top-to-bottom approach would also work for the image column alone, and the images are centrally located around the gutter, better to ignore the written text if desired and focus solely on the visual narrative. The shift between ways of reading (image-to-text, or image only) is best illustrated by the three-miniature-per-page layout, where columns are either exclusively (or nearly always exclusively; there are exceptions) written text or images. It is perhaps not a coincidence that this is the most frequently utilized layout in the manuscript. Besides being economical with space, the organizational approach utilized by this layout is the most adaptable to multisensory reading.

Twentieth-century scholars of medieval manuscripts have explored the effect of inserting images into medieval manuscript page layouts on the reading experience, beginning with Otto Pächt.[185] Paul Saenger has noted that images and decorated initials created identifiable markers which could give readers pause during continuous silent reading.[186] Stephen Nichols has written on the "arbitrariness" of the choice of illustration in medieval literary manuscripts, but here he also ranks the written text above the pictorial illustration.[187] A visual narrative like the one found in Spencer 22 complicates this observation. Elsewhere, Suzanne Lewis proposes that illustrations can serve as openings in the text, as "visual ruptures on the page that disrupt the very process of

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[185] Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages,* 200ff.

[186] The use of initials, along with separated script, "was an indication that a new form of reading, rapid, silent, reference consultation, had begun to flourish in the central Middle Ages." Images served as markers in much the same way, offering pause in the written narrative, but also as a stop-reading marker that could be found again in the manuscript at a later time. Saenger, *Space Between Words*, 58–63.

[187] Stephen G. Nichols, "The image as textual unconscious: Medieval manuscripts," *L'Esprit Createur Psychoanaysis and the French Text*, 29:1 (1989), 7-23.

reading, interjecting another semiotic system that demands pause, even if only momentary, in scanning a column of words."[188] These scholars have all assumed that *written text* is the primary vehicle of narrative content, and the interrupting images are abrupt disruptions. It is true that one first views the page as a whole, whether or not this action is conscious. Modern readers often do not notice page layout unless there is such a disruption, and it was likely the same for their medieval counterparts who had familiarity with manuscripts: a chapter heading or an illustration for example, is reason to pause, but also a marker of a particular chapter or passage to be returned to at a later time. A good page layout will not disrupt the narrative reading experience, but enhance it in a way that the reader is unaware of, bearing in mind that this only the case for readers who used many manuscripts, each with different layouts and different content. In the case of Spencer 22's visual narrative, the page layout takes on greater importance; its visual nature accommodates the visual narrative it organizes. This also makes it more accessible to readers and users who did not have the same familiarity with the codex as an information platform as clerics or university students.

3.1.5   French biblical texts

It is unclear just how the written text of Spencer 22 was compiled, whether it drew upon one manuscript of the BXIII or multiple manuscripts, and to what extent it employed the *Legenda aurea* and other apocryphal texts. The French written text of Spencer 22 is therefore a worthwhile topic of study in and of itself, and it should be fully transcribed and matched against

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[188] Suzanne Lewis, "Images of opening, penetration and closure in the Roman de la Rose," *Word & Image* 8 (July–September 1992): 215–242, 215.

other versions of the French Bible.[189] Bucher has analyzed select passages in comparison with seven comparable Bible texts, beginning with the mid-thirteenth century BXIII and ending with Jean de Sy's 1355 Bible translation.[190] The remainder of the written text of Spencer 22 deserves similar attention, which, in the constraints of the present study, is not possible. It is useful nevertheless to examine certain instances where the written text and visual text divulge or are otherwise anomalous; here, the inter-manuscript word-image relationships are illuminated.[191]

There is, however, no doubt that the choice of texts in Spencer 22 depended on the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible. The source material, biblical text, appears to have lent itself easily to the various medieval media by which it was widely circulated (including written text and images). Biblical text was transmitted in a number of contexts (such as the Psalter and the liturgy). It is noteworthy that in the production of Spencer 22, visual biblical narrative dictated the inclusion of explanatory text, reversing the long-held (if often challenged) notion of the *primacy* of written texts in a literate society. The seamless pairing of a visual narrative that originated in late-twelfth century Spain with written narrative in fourteenth-century Middle French indicates that the makers of Spencer 22 understood Sancho's Bible to be presented in a *visual language* which could be translated back into a written language. Both the images and

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[189] My focus here is the primacy of the visual narrative over the written narrative, and so the French text is referenced only as needed. The transcription of the full French text and its close comparison to the complete visual narrative represents the continuation of my research on this manuscript beyond the dissertation. See Section 4 for examples of word-image relationships.

[190] For the BXIII text, Bucher used Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, français ms. 899 (mid-thirteenth century). For the Bible of Jean de Sy, he used a mid-fourteenth century version (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, français 15397) are dated to 1355. On the Bible of Jean de Sy, see Berger, 238 ff.; and Pierre Nobel, "La *Bible* de Jean de Sy et la *Bible anglo-normande*," in Carol J. Harvey, editor, with assistance from Margaret Burrell, *'Queil boen professeur, mult enseinné, queil boen collegue': Essays in Honour of Brian Merrilees / Mélanges offerts à Brian Merrilees*, Special issue, *Florilegium* 24 (2007): 81–107. Other manuscripts used in Bucher's comparison include 1) Paris, Arsenal, ms. 5056; 2) Metz, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 262; 3) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, français ms. 1765; 4) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, français ms. 22890; and 5) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, français ms. 22936. See Bucher's note 28 (vol. 1, 121).

[191] Select instances where text and image divulge in content are explored in Section 4, especially as they relate to the translation process.

written texts are, in a sense, narratives in the vernacular. The notion of a medieval pictorial vernacular will be explored further in Section 5; for the moment, it suffices to say that there are three languages present in Spencer 22: Latin, French, and visual, or pictorial language.

Bucher's difficulty in defining the French text of Spencer 22 demonstrates the need for its further study. He writes, "The New York Bible seems to be the only witness to the most ample, lucid, and hitherto unknown French Bible in use in the years around 1300," but he does not speculate further as to what exactly this version of the French Bible was.[192] It seems to me that the introduction of an unknown version of the French Bible is unnecessary; I suggest that the slight changes made to the French text of Spencer 22 that differentiate it from the BXIII and additions from other sources were made directly into the manuscript. In his selective textual comparisons of texts from Exodus and Daniel, Bucher observes apocryphal details added to Spencer 22's text that are not found in the Vulgate (for example, the name of Pharaoh's daughter, Thermut, and the anecdote of Moses' refusal of an Egyptian nurse). These apocryphal exceptions aside, Spencer 22's text reflects the standard version of the French Bible while modernizing it "to an amazing degree," according to Bucher.[193] His comparison of select

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[192] Bucher, vol. 1, 68. He states, "The choice of texts was dictated by King Sancho's Bible, but the task of dramatization through the selection of the French excerpts was immense and handled expertly. ... The texts for the Old and New Testaments post-date the translation by Guyart des Moulins (ca. 1291–94) and predate Jean de Vignay's version of the Gospels (ca. 1326)." It is unclear to me exactly what Bucher is claiming here; it seems that he is indicating some intermediate version of the French Bible which was more "ample and lucid" than the many examples of thirteenth-century Bibles already known and listed by Berger in *La Bible française*, 109–156. I do not know why such a claim would need to be made. BXIII is certainly a source for the text of Spencer 22; if slight changes were made in the text to accommodate the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible, I suggest that they were made directly into Spencer 22, and did not rely Bucher's hypothetical version of the text. See also Clive Sneddon's thesis presented for the degree of D.Phil. at Oxford University, "A Critical Edition of the Four Gospels in the Thirteenth-Century Old French Translation of the Bible" (1978).

[193] Bucher, vol. 1, 67. Bucher calls it a "happy medium" between the thirteenth-century French versions of the Vulgate text and Jean de Sy's "more intellectual and lucid rendition."

sequences in Spencer 22 reveal that it is, however, closer in content to the BXIII than to the later versions.[194]

Bucher notes specifically the way in which French text was selected or omitted in order to compliment the pacing of the visual narrative. For example, the call of the angel and Abraham's acknowledgement, which would have interrupted narrative flow, are omitted in Spencer 22, thus heightening the urgency of the narrative climax.[195] The pictures, at least in more active sections of the narrative, reflect this desire for visual drama that must have first been a goal for the makers of Sancho's Bible before being adopted by Spencer 22's creators. The Gospel narrative is condensed, with representative segments of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John presented in chronological order of the events of the Passion. None of the four Gospels are presented in their entirety; the focus is on maintaining the continuous narrative that is already present in the Old Testament.

3.1.6   Style and the role of the artist

The role of the artist in the production of Spencer 22 is an interesting consideration. The specifications to adhere to the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible may have stifled our artist/s' creativity, or they may have accepted the restrictions as a book-making challenge, testing their ingenuity in other ways. Bucher states that behind all of the "playfulness" of the fourteenth-

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[194] Bucher notes that Spencer 22 does not use Jean de Vignay's popular version of the Gospels of 1326, which indicates to him that a much later date is less likely. Bucher, vol. 1, 75. If, as I believe, the manuscript was commissioned in 1329, it is not out of the realm of possibility that the makers would have used an earlier, but still relevant, version of the Gospels. An older version of the BXIII would certainly fit with the "antiquarian" nature of the image cycle from Sancho's Bible, including the outdated arrangement of the books of the Old Testament, which excludes Ruth although it had been included as a canonical text by the mid-thirteenth century. Bucher states that "the New York Bible stubbornly adheres to the antiquated order and iconography of King Sancho's Bible, which also excluded Ruth," 69.
[195] Bucher, vol. 1, 67.

century artists, there "still lies a serious desire to respect the prototype. This was certainly because of the patron's demand for the same substance in a new dress, but it also seems to have suited the artists' interest in the style of a past that had long been history."[196] This respect for the past gives Spencer 22 its antiquarian feel; it is a precious object because of its direct relationship with a distant historical figure, Sancho himself. As I have stated above, I believe that there was a governing figure, a pivotal player in the commission of Spencer 22 that supervised final decisions about the inclusion of biblical texts, among other things.[197] However, in the workshop, the artists and scribes would have been charged with carrying out the daily production. Spencer 22 has been associated with works by the Fauvel Master but, more specifically, a subgroup of related manuscripts categorized as those of the Sub-Fauvel Master, although these differences may be attributed to two different "artistic personalities" or levels of competence within the same artist or workshop.[198]

Bucher, although he did not identify a named artist, gives a list of a series of manuscripts that he sees as being in "the general stylistic range" of Spencer 22. These are: a northeastern French *Lancelot du Lac* (New York, Morgan Library, M. 805–07); a *Bible historiale* (Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 59); two *Somme le Roi* manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 870 and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 6329); a copy of Gratian's *Decretum* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 3898), and the Papeleu Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque de

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[196] Bucher, vol. 1, 72.

[197] Below, I address the possibility that Jeanne II's uncle, Eudes IV of Burgundy, was responsible for the commission, and that one of his spiritual advisors may have made decisions regarding the inclusion of French texts. See note 9 above.

[198] Stones, "Stylistic Context of the Roman de Fauvel," 534. She also notes, "Whether the same artist—the Fauvel Master who drew and coloured the *Roman de Fauvel* itself and painted the books in the first group of other works— also painted the manuscripts of the second group himself is unclear," 533.

l'Arsenal, ms. 5059).[199] He also specifically localizes Spencer 22 on the basis of stylistic comparisons with the production of the following manuscripts, which he links to the same atelier: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 20–21; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 22; Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gall. 17; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9104–05; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Mss. 9225 and 9229–9230; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 22495.[200] Of the latter group, all have been attributed to the Sub-Fauvel artist.

3.1.6.1 The Fauvel Master and the Sub-Fauvel Master

The Fauvel Master is identified as the artist of the *Roman de Fauvel* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. français 146), a fascinating manuscript that contains a satirical allegory of the last years of Direct Capetian rule in France: the death of Philip IV, and the brief reigns of his sons Louis X (1315–16, father of Jeanne II of Navarre), and Philip V (1317–22). In the allegory, a horse named Fauvel embodies the vices (the name itself is an acrostic representing the vices of *flaterie*, *avarice*, *vilanie*, *varieté*, *envie*, and *lacheté*), rising from stable to throne with the assistance of the goddess Fortuna. He is vainglorious, however, and is seen as a harbinger of Antichrist.[201] BnF fr. 146 contains the longer recension of the *Roman*, along with musical, literary, and pictorial interpolations.[202] This manuscript was produced earlier in the fourteenth century than Spencer 22 (BnF fr. 146 is datable to c. 1315–20). Just as with Spencer 22, the production process was a collaboration between artists and scribes. As Stones states, BnF fr. 146 was "a product of another network of scribes, illuminators, and book-dealers who collaborated in

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[199] Bucher, vol. 1, 73, and note 67. He incorrectly labels BnF ms. lat. 3898 as a *Collectio Decretarum* on 73 and in note 67; the manuscript is actually a copy of Gratian's *Decretum*.
[200] Bucher, vol. 1, 73 and note 68.
[201] See Bent and Wathey's introduction, 1–24.
[202] Bent and Wathey, 2.

various ways in a large group of books that stand apart from those made by Pucelle and his followers."[203] BnF fr. 146 features unusually fine line drawings with color wash, and Stones notes "a lively sense of movement and expression" in the Fauvel Master's work.[204]

Stones places Spencer 22 in the stylistic subgroup belonging to the Sub-Fauvel Master, along with 43 other manuscripts, many produced in or around the 1330s.[205] The Sub-Fauvel works are defined by Stones as qualitatively lacking "the careful drawing and sophisticated modelling of the first group: colour is washed on, ink-drawn line replacing modelling, while the figures, large and imposing like those of *Fauvel* itself, are much less finely drawn and highly repetitious."[206] Although Elizabeth Morrison has recently placed Spencer 22 much earlier in the work of the Fauvel Master (rather than the Sub-Fauvel category) based upon an iconographical similarity between Spencer 22's depiction of Jacob's Ladder on folio 25r (Figure 11) and The Vision of Chaillou de Pesstain on BnF fr. 146, folio 37,[207] I suspect that this isolated instance is not enough to argue for an earlier date for Spencer 22.[208] The innovative techniques that Morrison cites as evidence that the Fauvel Master himself was at work in Spencer 22,[209] including the sense of movement in the figures when compared to the same content on Sancho's Bible, folio 17v, can also be found in manuscripts related to Stones' Sub-Fauvel artist, including

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[203] Stones, "Stylistic Context of the Roman de Fauvel," 529.
[204] Stones, 530.
[205] For a complete list, see Stones, 557–558.
[206] Stones, 532.
[207] A detail of this image is reproduced in *Imagining the Past in France*, 139, fig. 49.
[208] The Fauvel Master's image of the Vision of Chaillou de Pesstain in BnF fr. 160 is obviously recalled Jacob's Ladder imagery, but needs not necessarily be linked with Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, although there are indeed similarities in the wash applied to Sancho's Bible and the *Fauvel* manuscript. The angels in the BnF fr. 160 image show more distinct features and positioning than those in Spencer 22 fol. 25. This puts Spencer 22 in a league with the Sub-Fauvel manuscripts where the repetitious figures are the norm, rather than *Fauvel*, with its more individuated figures. Stones thinks that fr. 160 belongs to a different group, closer to the Papeleu Bible of 1317. I thank Alison Stones for sharing her knowledge of the Fauvel Master's work during our many conversations regarding the dating of Spencer 22.
[209] For example, "the sense that the angels rush up and down the ladder with their wings fluttering, the contrasting deep slumber of Jacob, and the strong diagonal of the ladder cutting across the busy and colorful background all contribute to a sense of dynamism and drama that is almost entirely absent in the original," Morrison, 139.

two *Bibles historiales*, Ste-Geneviève ms. 20–21 and Ste-Geneviève ms. 22, the latter owned by

Hervé de Léon.

Figure 11. Jacob's Ladder, Spencer 22, fol. 25r.

Stones notes that this subgroup is, "much larger and more problematic" than the group of

11 manuscripts which are directly related to the *Roman de Fauvel*.[210] Of those 43 manuscripts, 9

are *Bibles historiales*, indicating that this artist was quite familiar with biblical narrative

images.[211] Of the remaining manuscripts, many, like the *Miroir historial* of Queen Jeanne de

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[210] Stones, "Stylistic Context of the Roman de Fauvel," 532–533.

[211] These are (based on Stones' list compiled in 1998): Edinburgh University Library 19 (with other artists; overpainted in part); London, British Library Royal 19.D.iv–v; London, British Library Yates Thompson 20 (possibly owned by Blanche de Valois, overpainted in part, with the Master of the BnF fr. 1453 *Perceval*); Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 211–212 (with the Rennes *Rose* painter); Paris, BnF fr. 8; Paris, BnF fr. 156; Paris, Ste-Geneviève 20–21; Paris, Ste-Geneviève 22 (owned by Hervé de Léon); Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 59 (with the Master of the BnF fr. 1453 *Perceval*).

Bourgogne (BnF fr. 316) would have also contained some biblical narrative. This fact in itself is not shocking, as *Bibles historiales* and moralizing literature were popular commissions. We should also keep in mind that the visual narrative of Spencer 22 was dictated by Sancho's Bible. This fact renders shared content between Spencer 22 and another fourteenth-century manuscript less significant than the discovery of similar *iconography* in two independent manuscripts. Stylistic similarities are still important in identifying the artist of Spencer 22, but I believe there are closer similarities to other manuscripts in the Sub-Fauvel category, due largely to the lack of precise handling of the figures and application of color.

Bucher concludes his discussion of "The Workshop of the New York Bible" with a rather negative final assessment of what he considers to be little more than a "quaint" work. He writes of the visual narrative that "the remoteness of the action is heightened" by three-quarter profile positions and "melancholy expressions," and that "contemporary iconography was successfully ignored, a feat requiring no mean sophistication."[212] He describes Spencer 22 as "dainty" and "a pleasant study of human relationships before diapered backgrounds" in comparison with the dramatic, monumental figures of Sancho's Bible.[213] However more "refined" Spencer 22 might seem in comparison to its twelfth-century Spanish prototype, there is a boldness of color, and lack of sophisticated handling of figures that further contributes to Spencer 22's intrigue.

3.1.7   Quality of production and materials

Bucher cursorily addressed the production of Spencer 22 in the text volume of his publication on the Pamplona Bibles. He describes its production as an "assembly-line procedure, using at least

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[212] Bucher, vol. 1, 75.
[213] Bucher, vol. 1, 72.

eight technicians excluding the scribes" which he says could have been accommodated by larger scriptoria in France and England by the late thirteenth century, and certainly by the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[214] The assembly-line model is appropriate given the shear number of pages and images—the over 840 extant distinct miniatures were most likely the product of a group of artists and artisans. Bucher's use of the word "technician" also points to the mechanics of production. The assembly-line workers would have had to refer to a supervisor, an architect of the entire project, someone who had conceptualized the manuscript in its entirety and understood the process of translating and stylistically updating the images from Sancho's Bible into Spencer 22.

If Spencer 22 was an exact facsimile of Sancho's Bible, then perhaps the artists and scribes could have managed on their own. But the complexities of translating the visual narrative from two-per-page to three-per-page (with numerous other variations on this standard) with the addition of French text would have likely required a learned supervisor, someone who knew the Bible well, and would be responsible for pairing the images with the appropriate French passages. Perhaps this sounds deceptively simple, but the supervisor of Spencer 22 had work within the constraints of absolute fidelity to the twelfth-century visual narrative in order to produce an object with a secure connection to Sancho, and to Navarre. This mandate was passed directly to Spencer 22's artists and scribes, who made relatively few mistakes considering the complexity of their task.

A situation where a single person, and not necessarily the main artist or scribe, was responsible for overseeing an ambitious manuscript project also surrounds the making of Sancho's Bible. In the colophon of Sancho's Bible, Petrus Ferrandus is named as the "maker"

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[214] Bucher, vol. 1, 65.

and "composer" of the manuscript in the colophon.[215] Bucher notes that earlier scholars assumed that Petrus Ferrandus was the painter of the manuscript, though he was likely a church official (I will return to the role of Petrus Ferrandus in Section 4). We have no such named figure for the selection of the written text of Spencer 22, although it is possible that one of Agnes of France's spiritual advisors, or perhaps Agnes herself, undertook this task on behalf of her granddaughter, Jeanne II of Navarre, over whom she had custody shortly after the death of Louis X.[216]

Bucher speculates that the manuscript might have been the product of a specialized scriptorium, "which established a basic technical approach and then worked with a minimum of guidelines."[217] There can be no doubt that the artists and scribes of Spencer 22 were professionals, and had probably undertaken lavish and possibly royal commissions before. What Bucher sees as a streamlined process with minimum intervention could also be the attention to detail by an overseer or architect of the entire manuscript project. It seems more probable that a crew of this size would need some kind of managing authority figure for questions of page layout or slight variations in visual content, not to mention to oversee the addition of text from numerous sources.

Bucher's description of the building up of each folio from blank page to full color finished product is, so far as I have been able to discern, correct. Text was written first, then

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[215] In email correspondence from 2009, Elizabeth A. R. Brown pointed me to the work of Ted Evergates, Professor of History at McDaniel College, on Petrus Ferrandus. His research indicates that Bucher may have confounded the names of two scribes. The first is *Petrus [filius] Ferrandi*, scribe of the cartulary of the chancery of Navarre in 1236–37 and notary public of Tuleda who was himself the son of a chancery scribe (and later, chancellor) who called himself Ferrandus (see Bucher, 105, note 55). The second is (another) *Petrus Ferrandi*, Master of the Order of Saint James (1170–1184) (see Bucher, 10). Elizabeth A. R. Brown, [no subject], email to Julia Finch, 23 May 2009.

[216] Orphaned at the age of four, Jeanne II lived with Agnes of France, her grandmother, beginning in 1316. She remains at Agnes' court until the age of six in 1318, when she was betrothed to Philip of Évreux and moved to the court of his paternal grandmother, Marie of Brabant. Jeanne II remains at with Marie of Brabant in Mantes until Marie's death in 1321, and likely stayed in Mantes afterwards.

[217] "The streamlined procedure adopted for the creation of the illustrations confirms this," Bucher, vol. 1, 65.

miniatures painted. The artists appeared to keep track of the content of the images using a system of labeling each frame with the alphabet in capital letters and then in miniscule letters. These letters are still visible under the painting of some miniatures. Black frames were drawn in ink, and the figures lightly sketched in. These figures were colored by the colorist, then the borders were painted and decorated. The first draftsman returned to retrace the details of the figures, which were now under the first coat of color. The background was added, and the figures highlighted with egg tempera. The draftsman once again returned to touch up details. Bucher notes evidence of the three stages of this process in instances where three different superimposed images appear, as in the lower miniatures of folios 97r (Figure 12) and 98v (Figure 13).[218] Finally, unburnished gold was added to the rosettes of the border, which in some cases receive additional detail in black ink. The rosettes appear, in various stages of completion, throughout most of the manuscript. The wide range of color used in Spencer 22's palette is quite striking, and Bucher notes the ways in which "violet camels and oxen prance before red backgrounds, green donkeys, horses, and castles appear, and halos are pink, green, yellow, red, gold, and even blue."[219]

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[218] Bucher, vol. 1, 65; see also Chapter 5, note 12. He states that the technique is easily visible when the folio is held up to the light.
[219] Bucher, vol. 1, 65.

Figure 12. Superimposed images, Spencer 22, fol. 97r.

Figure 13. Superimposed images, Spencer 22, fol. 98v.

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Bucher states, "If the manuscript had been subjected to a last revision, it could have ranked among the masterpieces of the early fourteenth century."[220] This statement is a bit puzzling, as it is unclear what Bucher means by "revision." In reference to the missing miniatures and the gold rosettes, then perhaps the word "completion" would serve better than "revision." Though the layout and concept of Spencer 22 is quite sophisticated, the figures are rough, the coloration less-than-delicate in many places; in short, it looks like a rush job rather than a luxury commission. A "revision" process would not be possible in these aspects, however. Therein lies one of this manuscript's major mysteries. If not for the sheer amount of miniatures as evidence of the intense labor in the making of Spencer 22, and if judging based upon the quality of some of the miniatures alone, one might even find the artisans to have been shoddy in their work. However, given the amount of labor and materials and the financial cost that must have backed this project, the manuscript's patron was among the elite of medieval society. Furthermore, it must have been commissioned for someone that desired a direct connection to Sancho's Bible.[221] That leaves a list of very few individuals, which I discuss below.[222]

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[220] Bucher, vol. 1, 66.

[221] I cannot say for certain that labor and materials alone are enough to warrant a royal commission, especially when the quality is not consistent throughout the book and there is no heraldry. There are examples of *de luxe* manuscripts that were not commissioned by royal patrons (such as the Psalter-Hours of "Yolande de Soissons" (New York, Morgan Library, M.729) owned by a very minor political figure) and outstanding manuscripts with unknown patronage (such as the Rothschild Canticles (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ms. 404), whose patron remains unknown though it is one of the most remarkable manuscripts of the Middle Ages). I thank Professor Alison Stones for pointing out these examples.

[222] Cf. Bucher's list of possible patrons, summarized in note 10 above.

3.2   JEANNE II OF NAVARRE: MANUSCRIPT RECIPIENT AND PROBABLE PATRON

What Spencer 22 lacks in grace or beauty, it makes up for in the sheer number of figures, animals, and decoration, leaving little question that this is was an expensive, extravagant commission. It was also a strange commission. As Bucher points out, it would have been "almost archaic" to commission such a "simple" picture Bible in an age when more complex biblical commentary in word and images was available.[223] Spencer 22 is not a *Bible moralisée*, nor a *Bible historiale*, both of which would have been considered "fashionable" commissions in the fourteenth century. There must have been a reason for preserving something of the antiquated charm of the picture Bible, and yet maintaining that simplicity was deceptively difficult for the artists and scribes of Spencer 22. This was a luxury commission, one that was intended to directly connect its owner, Jeanne II to King Sancho VII himself through the re-presentation of his personal Bible.

Although it is not always possible to determine a manuscript's patron, and we do not have a document directly linking Spencer 22 to a date of commission and patron, I believe the circumstantial evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of a royal commission for this manuscript. Specifically, the coronation of Jeanne II as Queen of Navarre in Pamplona on March 5, 1329 provides us with an appropriate event and a suitable recipient of Spencer 22. Jeanne II of Navarre's early childhood was nearly decimated by scandal and political intrigue, extreme even by royal standards. A series of unfortunate and extraordinary events affected her personally and culminated in the death of both her mother and father by the time she was four years old, but on

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[223] Bucher, vol. 1, 68.

a much larger scale these same events set the stage for the end of the Capetian dynasty in France. This crisis of succession had not been fully resolved in 1328, when Jeanne and her husband Philip of Évreux negotiated the terms of Jeanne's succession to the throne of Navarre with Philip VI. It is in this turbulent social, cultural, and political context that Spencer 22 was conceived of and produced.

Born on January 28, 1312, Jeanne II of Navarre was the daughter of Margaret of Burgundy and Louis X of France (making her the great-great-granddaughter of Saint Louis via her father's line, and the great-granddaughter of Saint Louis via her mother's line; see Appendix A). Louis X was the eldest of Philip IV's three sons with Jeanne I of Navarre: Louis, King of Navarre (who reigned France as Louis X), Philip, Count of Poitiers (who reigned as Philip V), and Charles, Count of La Marche (later Charles IV). Louis X was married to Margaret of the duchy of Burgundy in 1305.[224] Jeanne II was the sole child of this union at the time that her mother Margaret was accused of adultery in 1314 in the infamous Tour de Nesle affair, along with Margaret's sisters-in-law Jeanne and Blanche, both of the county of Burgundy.[225]

At the time of the affair, Philip IV was the ruling King of France, and Louis X was King of Navarre, having received the title upon the death of his mother, Jeanne I of Navarre, in 1305.[226] The wives of two of Philip IV's sons, Margaret (wife of eldest son Louis X) and Blanche (wife of youngest son Charles IV) were accused of adulterous relationships with knights

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[224] Margaret was the older sister of Eudes IV, Duke of Burgundy.

[225] Blanche and Jeanne were sisters, the daughters of Otto IV, Count of Burgundy and his wife Mahaut, Countess of Artois. The incident is chronicled in the metrical chronicle of the kingdom of France from 1300–1316, sometimes attributed to Geoffrey of Paris, which is found in the final quarter of Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. fr. 146. *Chronique métrique de Godefroy de Paris*, ed. Jean Alexandre Buchon (Paris: Verdière, 1827).

[226] Navarre became linked to the throne of France through Philip IV's marriage to Jeanne I of Navarre in 1284. It is of interest to our story that the lands and title came to the French throne through a marriage alliance, and that Jeanne I received her title at the death of her father Henry I of Navarre in 1274 when she was less than two years old. Her mother, Blanche of Artois, ruled as regent and sought council and protection in the court of Philip III of France from Navarrese and foreign interests who saw a weakness in the young queen and her guardian.

Philip and Gauthier d'Aunay, with many of the illicit liaisons taking place in the Tour de Nesle.[227] Jeanne II of Burgundy, the wife of his third son Philip V of France, was accused of keeping her knowledge of the affairs a secret. Margaret and Blanche were eventually convicted of their crimes by Philip IV's royal court, the Parlement at Paris (though the affairs were only substantiated by hearsay and the knights admitted their participation under torture). The two women were imprisoned at Château-Gaillard, and by all accounts were treated harshly. Jeanne was acquitted, due in part to the influence and support of her husband Philip (it was said that their marriage was a devoted one, and that Jeanne was merely present at the time of the adultery between her sisters-in-law and their suitors). Margaret remained in prison until her death (allegedly by strangulation) in 1315.[228] It is possible that Louis X ordered her death because of another untimely intervention, the gap in the Avignon papacy after the death of Clement V in 1314 and the succession of John XXII in 1316, which prevented Louis X from having his marriage to Margaret immediately annulled. Had there been no gap in popes, Jeanne II's legitimacy claim would not have been a factor at all, as the annulment would likely have put to rest the claims of any heirs of the union.

During this tumultuous period, Philip IV died in 1314 after collapsing during a hunting party. The throne of France passed to Louis X, father of Jeanne II of Navarre. After Margaret's death, Louis X married Clémence of Hungary. Clémence became pregnant soon after. In 1316, with Clémence due to give birth, Louis X died mysteriously and suddenly, most likely from

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[227] The account is described in Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Kings like Semi-Gods: The Case of Louis X of France," *Majestas* I (1993): 5–37, and "The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X," *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991): 227–71.
[228] The *Europaïsche Stammtafeln* notes that she was strangled (*erdrosselt*) in the Château de Gaillard on August 14, 1315, just five days before Louis X wed Clémence of Hungary on August 19, 1315. Vol. II, Tafel 12: Die Könige von Frankreich 1223–1328 a. d. H. Capet, 1284–1349 Könige von Navarra etc. Elizabeth A. R. Brown instead gives a death date for Margaret in April 1315, prior to Clémence's arrival in France on July 31, 1315, "Kings like Semi-Gods," 18–22.

infection. He had ruled as king of France for less than two years. Although Jeanne II (approximately age four in 1316) was the heiress to the throne of France, her questionable legitimacy after the scandal (though Louis X himself declared her to be his daughter before his death) and her young age combined to give her little chance at the throne. The legitimacy issue was convenient for Philip of Poitiers, Louis X's brother and the middle son of Philip IV, who assumed the role of regent until the birth of Clémence's child. She bore a son, Jean I, on November 15, 1316, but the baby died four days later. At this point again, Jeanne II was the legitimate heiress as the sole living child of Louis X. An assembly of barons, in line with what would come to be known as an invocation of Salic law, declared against female succession. Philip of Poitiers assumed the role of King of France as Philip V in the days following the death of Jean I (known as "the Posthumous").

Philip V, perhaps in order to shift attention from his own usurpation of the throne, negotiated a deal with Jeanne and her guardians. He set aside Jeanne II's rights to succession after the death of the infant Jean I, and although Jeanne II had a few strong supporters (notably her uncle Eudes IV of Burgundy and her grandmother, Agnes of France, with whom Jeanne had lived as a child after her father's death),[229] Philip V gained the powerful support of Charles of Valois and Mahaut of Artois,[230] and soon after a general assembly of clergy, nobles, citizens, and academics in Paris supported his succession, under the general principle that a woman could not

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[229] The letters of Eudes IV and Agnes of France, written on behalf of Jeanne II to Robert de Bethune, Count of Flanders, are reproduced in Petit, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne,* vol. 7, 82–88. These letters, dated December 1316 and January 1317 (thus, shortly after the death of Jean I in November 1316), request the support of Flanders in Jeanne II's claim to the throne of France, but both also write in support of Jeanne's kingdom in Navarre, as well as her rightful lands as Countess of Champagne and Brie. By 1318, Champagne and Brie had been removed from the negotiation, as the involved parties arrived at definitive accord with the marriage between Jeanne II and Philip of Evreux.

[230] Charles of Valois, the fourth son of Philip III, was Philip V's uncle and the father of Philip VI, the first king of the Valois dynasty. Mahaut of Artois, mother of Jeanne of Artois, was thus Philip V of France's mother-in-law.

succeed to the French throne.[231] Meanwhile, a marriage was arranged between Jeanne II and Philip of Évreux, which took place in 1318, even though both children were minors.[232] After her marriage, Jeanne II moved from the court of Agnes of France, where she had lived since August of 1316,[233] to the court of Philip's grandmother, Marie of Brabant.[234]

Effectively cut out of the line of succession to the throne of France, Jeanne II was promised a pension and that Champagne would revert to her if Philip V died without a male heir. He died in 1322 leaving no son. Jeanne II did not receive the lands promised to her, and was again overlooked for the throne of France in favor of Philip V's brother (the last surviving of the three sons of Philip IV) Charles IV, who also received the county of Champagne. In similar circumstances to Louis X, when Charles IV died in 1328, his wife, Jeanne of Évreux, was pregnant. With no male from the House of Capet to intercede, and in the hopes that Jeanne of Évreux would bear a son, a regency was set up under Philip of Valois, a male cousin.[235] The child of Jeanne of Évreux and the dead king Charles IV was a girl, effectively ending the Direct Capetian line of males. Even though Jeanne II would have been the epitome of a Capetian queen,

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[231] Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Capetian France 987–1328* (London and New York: Longman, 1980), 284. This principle returned again to affect Jeanne II directly in 1322 and 1328, and later was declared Salic law, supposedly based upon the rules of the Salian Franks.

[232] The dates here can be a confusing. The marriage was contracted on March 27, 1318, and the ceremony took place on June 18, 1318 (the Feast of the Trinity). Eudes IV, duke of Burgundy, negotiated the treaty with Philip V, according to Petit, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. 7, 93. Patrick van Kerrebrouck verifies March 27, 1318 as the date that Philip and Jeanne received the titles of Count and Countess of Angoulême and Mortain in letters written by Charles IV at the request of Philip of Valois, *Les Capétiens*, 182. The *Europäische Stammtafeln* gives a marriage date of October 9, 1329, which I have not verified elsewhere.

[233] On the 29th of July, 1316, after the funeral of Louis X (which had taken place on the 14th and 15th of that month, Jeanne was taken to Château de Lantenay where her grandmother Agnes of France resided, arriving on August 9. There she was placed in the care of Marie, Countess of Bar (daughter of Agnes, and Jeanne's aunt), Agnes de Fontaines, Marguerite de Loges, Laure de Division, and Alix de Villiers. Petit, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne,* vol. 7, 49–50.

[234] Marie of Brabant (1254–1321) was the second wife of Philip III; their son, Louis, Count of Évreux, was Philip of Évreux's father. The transfer took place in 1318. Petit, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. 7, 58–59. Jeanne II of Navarre spent considerable time at Marie of Brabant's court at Mantes; Hamilton cites *La chronique de Mantes*, 206, which states that Jeanne II was "*elevée au château de Mantes*." Marie of Brabant also commissioned the Chapelle de Navarre at Mantes, and possibly included patron portraits of Jeanne II and Philip of Évreux "as an appropriate accompaniment to herself and Philippe III at the entrance to this chapel." Hamilton, 285.

[235] Philip of Valois was the son of Charles of Valois, Philip III's younger brother.

she was again bypassed for the throne of France and finally assumed rule in kingdom of Navarre

through a negotiation with Philip VI in 1328. At that time, she was sixteen years old.

3.2.1   The Inventory of Clémence of Hungary

It is not clear what relationship, if any, Jeanne II had with her stepmother, Clémence. When

Clémence died in 1328, an inventory of her personal property was taken, and prior to that, she

had bequeathed objects to many family members, including Jeanne II of Navarre and many other

female relatives.[236] Spencer 22 is not described in any of the fourteenth century inventories of

royal women, and Jeanne II did not leave an inventory of her own. However, she may have been

influenced by her stepmother's use of gift-giving and object ownership to establish her royal

presence as an independent widow after the death of Louis X. As a recent dissertation by Mariah

Proctor-Tiffany demonstrates, Clémence of Hungary appeared to surround herself with

sumptuous objects, including manuscripts, in order to strengthen her royal status. Jeanne II was

facing a similar predicament in asserting her legitimate claim to the kingdom of Navarre, and so

perhaps had the manuscript commissioned herself in order to equate the object with her

patrilineal heritage. It is also possible given her interest in commissioning books and objects for

other members of the royal family (but unlikely, given that Clémence died in 1328, Jeanne II

only negotiated her claim to Navarre in 1328, and her coronation took place in 1329) that

Clémence commissioned the manuscript for Jeanne II as a gift on the date that she finally

assumed her rightful title as queen of Navarre. If that is the case, then perhaps Clémence

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[236] Mariah Proctor-Tiffany includes Clémence's testament, originally published in 1874, in her 2007 dissertation. The testament was originally published by Louis Douët d'Arcq. *Nouveau recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France*. Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1874. Douët d'Arcq gives the inventory's location as the Mélanges de Clairambault, vol. XI (the first 95 pages). The Clairambault collection is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

continued to be a guiding and benevolent presence in Jeanne II's life as stepmother to an orphaned child.

There is another connection between Jeanne II and Clémence in terms of their desire to connect to prominent males in their family through books. Clémence owned a book that had belonged to one of her grandfathers, a sequentiary that belonged either to her great-grandfather, Charles I of Anjou, or her grandfather Charles II of Naples.[237] It is unclear whether or not Jeanne II actually possessed Sancho's Bible in her own personal library, or whether she ever took it to Navarre with her or left it in France, where it is assumed the manuscript stayed after the production of Spencer 22. Clémence also commissioned her own burial chapel in Aix-en-Provence to be built after that of her great-grandfather, Charles I. As Proctor-Tiffany notes, "By mimicking and mirroring his chapel she tied herself to her great-grandfather. Her possession of her grandfather's book reaffirms her allegiance to these ancestors and her self-identification with the Angevin dynasty."[238] Jeanne II likely made similar claims about her allegiance to both France and Navarre through possessions that linked her materially to her male ancestors.

There are many other parallels between Jeanne II and her stepmother Clémence, and connections to other women in her family. Within a six-month period, Clémence was first reigning queen, then pregnant widow, and finally childless dowager, placing her in a "liminal zone where she was left to navigate the complex and treacherous terrain of the French royal court."[239] Jeanne II likewise survived liminal years when she was passed between royal family members as a political pawn. It seems that Jeanne II was always surrounded by book-owning female relatives (or the memory of these women). In the courts of Agnes of France and Marie of

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[237] Proctor-Tiffany, 157-158.
[238] Proctor-Tiffany, 158.
[239] Proctor-Tiffany, 15.

Brabant, Jeanne II would have been given numerous educational opportunities and invaluable exposure to the presence of powerful women at court. Other women in Jeanne's immediate family documented their possessions: Jeanne I of Navarre (Jeanne II's grandmother) produced a testament in 1304, Clémence (Jeanne II's stepmother) produced a testament in 1328, Jeanne of Évreux (Jeanne II's sister-in-law) produced a testament in 1372, and Blanche of Navarre (Jeanne II's daughter) produced a testament in 1359.[240] Part of the process of legitimation, then, for these women, was to produce a legal document chronicling the possessions they owned and bequeathed.

Was Jeanne a forgotten child, a bastard in the eyes of the royal family of France? Or was she always recognized privately (if not publicly for political reasons) as the daughter of Louis X and perhaps compensated regularly with gifts in order to take some of the sting away from her difficult childhood? Louis X did eventually acknowledge her as his own child, perhaps in fear of the succession crisis that was to come. As a very young girl at the time of her father's death, it is unlikely that becoming queen regnant of France was her own personal desire. But as the years passed, and her marriage to Philip of Évreux was arranged, it is possible that the young woman, raised and educated in the French court, with many strong female role models who were also collectors and art patrons, became aware of her own ambitions.

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[240] As I mentioned above, a book matching the description of Spencer 22 is not found in any of the listed testaments. Blanche of Navarre, Jeanne II's daughter, would likely have been a good candidate for ownership, but her testament, published by Delisle in 1885, makes no mention of a Bible of any sort, let alone one so extensively illustrated. Blanche's testament can be found at <http://blog.pecia.fr/post/2011/09/15/Les-livres-manuscrits-de-Blanche-de-Navare>. Accessed 27 September 2011.

3.2.2 The Hours of Jeanne of Navarre

There is one other known manuscript owned by Jeanne II of Navarre. The Hours of Jeanne of Navarre (Paris, B.n.F. n.a. lat. 3145) was likely produced in the 1330s or 1340s, and is unusual because it features a heavily illustrated Hours of Saint Louis, visually reinforcing Jeanne II's relationship with her maternal great-grandfather and paternal great-great-grandfather.[241] There are four extant manuscripts with the Hours of Saint Louis, all owned by women: NYPL Spencer Collection ms. 56, the Hours of Jeanne of Évreux (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection 54.1.2), the Hours of Jeanne of Navarre, and the Hours of Marie of Navarre (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Shelfmark: Ms. Lat. I 104/12640).[242] The Savoy Hours, commissioned by Blanche of Burgundy, Countess of Savoy, also contained Hours of Saint Louis. It was partially destroyed by fire in 1904 at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin;[243] a fragment was detached and is presently in the Yale University Beinecke Library, MS 390.

Marguerite A. Keane's 2002 dissertation on the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre describes the practice of inserting imagery of Saint Louis in books commissioned by and for females in the Capetian line, even when the Direct Capetian dynasty effectively ended in 1328 with Philip VI of Valois' ascent to the throne. Everyone made known their relationship to Saint Louis in some way, especially when making a claim to royal holdings or asserting their legitimacy. Saint Louis

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[241] Paula Mae Carns observed that, "Inserting pictorialized Offices of Saint Louis into Books of Hours was one way that family members used the saint's biography to serve their own ends." "The Cult of Saint Louis and Capetian Interests in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," *Peregrinations: Journal of the International Society for the Study of Pilgrimage Art*, vol. 2 no. 1 (2005). Accessed online 30 May 2011.

[242] Marie of Navarre is the daughter of Jeanne II of Navarre, thus the great-great-great-granddaughter of Louis IX. Marianne Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: kingship, sanctity, and crusade in the later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 210–212.

[243] Simonetta Castronovo, *La Biblioteca dei Conti di Savoia e la pittura in area savoiarda: 1285–1343*, U. Allemandi, 2002, 87–89.

imagery served as an "ideological weapon" in that respect.[244] However, Jeanne II is covering both ends, making her connection to the throne of France through the inclusion of the Hours of Saint Louis in a personal book of hours, and commissioning the visual translation of a Bible first owned by the last Spanish ruling monarch of Navarre (and, for that matter, possibly owned by her grandmother, Jeanne I of Navarre, wife of Philip IV).[245] Jeanne II was absolutely enmeshed in the Direct Capetian line from every direction of her family tree, and is the embodiment of its misguided culmination. Keane connects the commission of Jeanne II's book of hours to the birth of a son and heir, Louis, in 1330, possibly as a way to legitimate Louis' potential to inherit the throne of France in the ongoing succession crises.[246] If Jeanne II had already commissioned (or someone had commissioned on her behalf) a manuscript to strengthen her genealogical connections to the Navarrese throne, then the book of hours perhaps served as a companion piece to Spencer 22 in Jeanne's quest to establish her legitimacy, and that of her children. That Jeanne would commission a manuscript celebrating her Spanish lineage, and establishing a material connection to her ancestor during a succession crisis, is perhaps the most convincing argument to date that royal women used manuscript imagery to establish kinship connections.

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[244] Keane, *Remembering Louis IX as a Family Saint,* 2.

[245] Based on the genealogical table of the royal family of Navarre, Bucher, who claimed that Sancho's Bible became "a family heirloom" and "would have remained linked with the inheritance of the throne of Navarre," stated that the manuscript likely went to Thibaut IV of Navarre upon Sancho's death in 1234. Bucher sees Sancho's Bible going to Marguerite de Bourbon, Thibaut IV's wife, and then to their son Thibaut V, who married Isabel of France (daughter of Saint Louis). Thibaut V's successor Henri III may have received the book next. His daughter Jeanne I of Navarre married Philip IV le Bel of France, and their son, Louis X likely received it when he was crowned King of Navarre in 1307. After Louis' death, Sancho's Bible either remained in the royal library or was given to Jeanne II. (A less likely possibility is that Clémence of Hungary, Louis X's second wife, retained the Bible. It is not in the inventory made at her death.) If it remained in the royal library, Bucher says that it may have eventually come to Jeanne d'Evreux, wife of Charles IV, and Jeanne II's sister-in-law. Bucher, vol. 1, 70 and genealogical table on 290–91.

[246] Madeline Caviness corroborates Keane's dates; she dates the manuscript between 1329 and 1336 "on the basis of heraldry" (but is not more specific than that) in Chapter 3, Table 2 of *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries*, 2001. <http://dca.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness/> Accessed 26 September 2011.

3.2.3   Queenship in Spain: precedents for royal patronage

Just as Jeanne II had remarkable female role models in the French court, she was part of a line of equally strong female rulers of Navarre, who had the right to inherit the throne. Therese Martin provides a study of queenship in Spain, outlining the patronage of dynastic propaganda by Urraca of Léon-Castile (r. 1109–26), who, like Jeanne II was the king's daughter and heir to the throne.[247] She was also, through her marriage to Alphonso I of Aragon, queen consort of Navarre until her marriage was annulled in 1115. Urraca, like better-known twelfth-century queens regnant Matilda of England (d. 1167) and Melisende of Jerusalem (d. 1161), occupied a more powerful dynastic role in Léon-Castile than a queen consort. Her rule was turbulent, following the death of her father without a male heir, and like the French succession crisis of the fourteenth century, many interests were vying for power. Martin contests that Urraca used the construction of a royal monastic church at San Isidoro in León (built c. 1095–1124) as her means of solidifying her right to the throne. In the thirteenth-century, Jeanne I, Jeanne II's grandmother, also inherited the throne from her father, though her position as queen consort of France through her marriage to Philip IV took precedence over her presence in Navarre. The so-called Salic Law prohibiting female succession to the throne of France was not applied in Navarre and other Spanish kingdoms.

On a smaller scale than Urraca, Jeanne II is using manuscript commissions to reinforce her relationships with highly popular (one might even say beloved) male rulers of France and Navarre. Her Navarrese subjects would no doubt have noticed her *presence* (and that of her husband, Philip of Évreux) after recent years of absentee sovereigns ruling from France. After

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[247] Therese Martin, "The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain," *Speculum* 80 (October 2005), 1134–1171.

the death of Sancho VII in 1234, his nephew Thibaut IV, Count of Champagne, became Navarre's first French-born king, ruling Navarre as Thibaut I from 1234 to his death in 1253. Thibaut I made a conscious effort to visit the small but strategically located kingdom; along with his sons Thibaut II (r. 1253–1270) and Henry I (r. 1270–1274), he traveled to the Navarrese cities of Pamplona, Estella, and Tudela, and observed Navarrese customs in his government.[248] In 1274, Jeanne I of Navarre inherited the throne at the age of three years. Her mother, Blanche of Artois, ruled as regent for ten years, until her daughter's marriage to Philip IV of France in 1285, which linked the kingdoms of France and Navarre. Jeanne I's rule and Blanche's regency established a strong precedent for female governance in Navarre.

Beginning with Philip IV, the kings of France and Navarre were too involved in political life in France to travel to their holdings in Spain. Philip IV never visited Navarre, his son Louis X (Jeanne II's father) spent only three months there in 1307, and Philip V and Charles IV never visited the tiny kingdom.[249] Navarrese citizens effectively spent only three months in the presence of their ruler from the year 1285 through the year 1328. The small state had all the features of a medieval kingdom, with governors delegated by the kings of France, and the seat of power concentrated in Pamplona. Navarrese and Iberian customs blended with those introduced by their Capetian rulers.[250]

When Charles IV died and Philip of Valois assumed the throne of France, Navarre was not a large concern; in fact, he readily negotiated (with Eudes of Burgundy, who was acting on behalf of his niece Jeanne) its transfer to Jeanne II, who was indeed the legitimate heir. The Navarrese did not sit quietly by during this process; the local counts unanimously proclaimed

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[248] Leroy, 4.
[249] I have given their titles as kings of France. As kings of Navarre, they were known as Philip I, Louis I, Philip II, and Charles I.
[250] Leroy, 5.

Jeanne their legitimate queen, and appointed two interim governors to oversee the transition.[251]

Jeanne and her husband Philip of Évreux reigned Navarre as Queen Jeanne II and King Philip III, known as "the Wise." In fact, Philip the Wise has been dubbed a "true Iberian ruler" by Béatrice Leroy, who notes that he ratified the *Fuero General* (General Charter) of the kingdom in 1330, married one of his daughters to Peter IV of Aragon, and died in 1343 at Jerez during the Crusade of Algeciras.[252] This line of rulers, known as the Capetians of Évreux-Navarre, "restored the tradition of the thirteenth century kings"[253] by making their presence known in Navarre by visiting and, at times, living in their kingdom. Philip III the Wise made the decision to abandon claims to lands in Champagne and Brie (which Jeanne II would have inherited via her grandmother Agnes of France), and to establish permanent residence in Navarre. The coronation ceremony took place at the cathedral in Pamplona on March 5, 1329.

Unfortunately, we cannot confirm the location of Sancho's Bible during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. As Bucher notes, the Bibliothèque municipale at Amiens, which has extensive documentation for most of their manuscripts, especially those coming from monastic libraries, does not have information on the provenance of Sancho's Bible prior to the formation of the communal libraries after 1789. Bucher states that because the list of manuscripts coming from the secularized libraries does not include Sancho's Bible, that "it must have come from a private owner or stemmed from a confiscated estate."[254]

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[251] The men named were Jean Corbaran de Lehet and Jean Martinez de Medrano. Gustave Bascle de Lagrèze, *La Navarre française*, vol. 1, 191.
[252] Leroy, 5.
[253] Leroy, 5.
[254] Bucher, vol 1, 26.

3.2.4   Coronation manuscripts

If Spencer 22 was commissioned in celebration or support of Jeanne II and Philip III's coronation in Pamplona, then we can look to other known medieval coronation manuscripts for context. Often, an image or series of images of the coronation ritual is shown, as in the case of the Coronation Book of Charles V (London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius B.viii). In the case of this well-known later example, the *ordo* of the coronation ritual is preserved, along with images. This manuscript was commissioned in 1365 to commemorate the coronation event that had taken place on May 19, 1364.[255] Jeanne of Évreux, Jeanne II's sister-in-law, is also featured prominently in a coronation book, now located at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champagne. This coronation book was likely produced for the coronation of Charles IV and his third wife in 1326.[256] In Anne D. Hedeman's article on the coronation book at the University of Illinois, she lists only three French coronation books prior to 1400: a manuscript described by Leroquais as a fragment of a pontifical from Châlons-sur-Marne (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1246) which dates c. 1250 and contains fifteen miniatures and historiated initials illustrating the king's coronation ceremony; Charles V's Coronation Book in London (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius, B. VIII) dated 1365 and containing forty miniatures commemorating Charles V's and Jeanne of Bourbon's coronation; and a manuscript in the Vatican (Rome, Vatican Library, Chigi 468) which has one illustration.

Not all manuscripts commissioned to celebrate a coronation or given as gifts during a coronation actually contained the coronation *ordo*, as would be the case with Spencer 22. The

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[255] See also Claire Richter Sherman, "The Queen in King Charles V's Coronation Book: Jeanne de Bourbon and the *Ordo ad reginam benedicendam*," *Viator* 8 (1977).
[256] See Anne D. Hedeman, "The Commemoration of Jeanne d'Evreux's Coronation in the Ordo ad Consecrandum at the University of Illinois", *Essays in Medieval Studies*, vol. 7 (1990).

ninth-century Vivian Bible, for example, was given by Charles the Bald to the Cathedral of Metz where he was crowned as king of Lotharingia in 869.[257] The delicate, tiny Prayer Book of Claude of France (New York, Morgan Library, MS M 1166) was commissioned around the occasion of Claude's coronation in 1517. Jaroslav Folda has also postulated that the Riccardiana Psalter (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 323) was possibly commissioned for Isabel of Brienne, queen of Jerusalem, between 1225 and 1228 on the occasion of her coronation and marriage to the emperor Frederick II, but it cannot be determined.[258]

3.2.5 Spencer 22 and Sancho's Bible

Jeanne II likely understood the ability of images to convey meaning, and the status of a luxury image-laden manuscript to convey the power and prominence of its owner. In the next section, Spencer 22's *raison d'être*, its relationship with Sancho's Bible, will be discussed at length, and through that comparison, Spencer 22's physical parameters will be further defined. Spencer 22

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[257] Lawrence Nees, "Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002). Nees mentions the Vivian Bible in his discussion of the San Paolo Bible. He writes, "Datable to the early 870s, some have argued that Charles the Bald himself commissioned the S. Paolo Bible as a replacement for the Vivian Bible, which he gave to the Cathedral of Metz on the occasion of his coronation there as king of Lotharingia in 869, while others have sought to connect it with an occasion involving Charles's Queen Richildis, prominently shown gesturing to him from his left, and so mentioned in the *titulus* written below," 143.

[258] The manuscript contains a prayer *pro comite* for John of Brienne, likely Isabel's father, who ruled as regent for her when Isabel's mother, Queen Maria of Jerusalem, died in childbirth in 1212. The scribe appears to be French, from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Others have observed Sicilian characteristics (A. Daneu Lattanzi, C. Fleck, V. Pace). See Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre*, vol. 1, 212–217, especially 217: "A work of this character could make sense as a gift to the young Queen Isabel of Brienne on the occasion of her coronation and marriage to the emperor, Frederick II, in 1225, but we cannot say for sure it was done for her. In fact, it could have been done for any of a number of Crusader noblewomen. It is as yet also impossible to say who the patron or patrons of this gift may have been." Like Spencer 22, this manuscript remains a mystery. Folda writes, "The Riccardiana Psalter, like so many aristocratic books, is unique in many ways, and has little in common with other products of the Latin Kingdom between 1225 and 1244. This can plausibly be explained as the result of a very detailed and particular commission for the manuscript in question, and it was made in a scriptorium that was obviously capable of functioning at a very high level, but of whose products there are unfortunately very few extant from those years," 217.

is, in addition to being a narrative picture Bible (with all of the religious implications contained therein), a political, social, and cultural object that was imbued with power through affiliation with Jeanne II's Navarrese ancestors. It is also a study in the translation of visual narrative from one manuscript to another, a process which I call *translatio imaginis*, in the medieval tradition of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii*. The biblical narrative Spencer 22 contains within achieves its ultimate, perhaps even destined, status in images.

4.0 *TRANSLATIO IMAGINIS*: SPENCER 22 AND THE PAMPLONA BIBLES

In medieval manuscript studies, the term *model* is often used to describe a manuscript containing a source written text or image, which is transferred into a *copy* at a later date. There are instances in which these commonly used terms are adequate; however, in other cases, the model-copy paradigm oversimplifies and generalizes the production process. Multiple definitions for these words, and their casual usage contribute to their ineffectiveness. In an art historical context, *model* can mean a scaled-down version of an object created as an aid to completing the final form.[259] The model-as-prototype's sole function is to aid in the production of the final product. In this sense, *model* is insufficient in describing Sancho's Bible, which was a complete, unique object that existed independently of Spencer 22 for over a century. However, *model* is also defined as an object of imitation, an exemplar.[260] This definition better fits the relationship of Sancho's Bible to Spencer 22.

In much the same way, the term *copy* is applicable to Spencer 22, its relationship with Sancho's Bible, and its production, and yet it is lacking in comprehensiveness. Spencer 22 is not a direct copy of Sancho's Bible. Although the same narrative content can be found in both

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[259] "model," n. and adj. 4b. An object or figure made in clay, wax, etc., as an aid to the execution of the final form of a sculpture or other work of art; a maquette. Formerly (also): a sketch or study made for a painting (*obs.*) *Oxford English Dictionary*, Third edition, September 2002; online version June 2011. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/120577>; accessed 06 July 2011. An entry for this word was first included in New English Dictionary, 1907.
[260] "model," 9a. A person, or a work, that is proposed or adopted for imitation; an exemplar. *Oxford English Dictionary*.

manuscripts, and they share common iconography, Spencer 22's updated style and reworked layouts indicate a more complex production process than a direct copy might entail. The noun *copy* is not adequate to describe the product, Spencer 22, in its entirety, but as a verb, *copy* generally describes part of the process by which Spencer 22 was created: 'to make a copy of (a picture, or other work of art); also to reproduce or represent (an object) in a picture or other work of art,"[261] or even more broadly, "to make or form an imitation of (anything); to imitate, reproduce, follow."[262] Copying, in the sense of creating a recognizable imitation, was certainly a part of the production of Spencer 22 from Sancho's Bible; however, it was not the only process at work. The pitfall of considering a manuscript copy as derivative, and lesser in some way than the source manuscript, is avoidable with a reconsideration of terminology.

4.1   DEFINING TERMINOLOGY

Are the above terms simply too expansive to be effectual in the study of medieval art and architecture? I am not the first to question the broad usage of *model* and *copy* in medieval studies. J. J. G. Alexander describes two very different perspectives from which to view medieval art. The first is of a visual culture "very much concerned with models, with copying, and with patterns of expectation"; a devotional icon would be the prime example of an image which might also be viewed as a holy relic, and by its very nature must be copied as exactly as

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[261] "copy," v.1, *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second edition, 1989; online version June 2011. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/41300>; accessed 06 July 2011. Earlier version first published in *New English Dictionary*, 1893.
[262] "copy," *Oxford English Dictionary*.

possible from its source image.[263] The second perspective is that of a visual culture which seems "almost incapable of direct copying," with variations on style and content frequently introduced.[264] When the manuscripts are biblical in content, of course they share Christian subject matter and iconography. Thus, from Alexander's two opposing, yet simultaneous perspectives, Spencer 22 is both copy and variation: the narrative content is transferred with great precision; however, there is not an immediate *visual accuracy*, no page-for-page imitation of Sancho's Bible. [265]

We cannot entirely throw away the term *copy* in medieval manuscript studies, although it must be clearly defined in context, and more classifications like Alexander's are necessary to distinguish the many types of medieval copies and their purposes. For this discussion, however, I prefer a more specific term, one that I see as appropriate for both the process of Spencer 22's production as well as the completed manuscript. The Latin word *translatio* captures the fluidity, creativity, and physicality of the production process for Spencer 22, especially in comparison to the more direct copy of Sancho's Bible produced in the Pamplona atelier, the Augsburg

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[263] J. J. G. Alexander, "Facsimiles, Copies, and Variations: The Relationship to the Model in Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts," in *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions, Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 20 (Washington, DC, 1989): 61–72, 61.

[264] Alexander, 61.

[265] Alexander proposes a tripartite classification for manuscript artists. *Reproduction* implies a "greater intention to accuracy," but also more numerous or even serial production. In reproduction, the product lacks what Walter Benjamin called the original work's *aura*; thus a reproduction is "inferior to the object reproduced, the original." The term *replica* implies "as great or even greater accuracy than a reproduction," as in the serial production of Limoges enamels, or *replicas* made by artists of their own work. Finally, *facsimile* "suggests a copy as accurate as possible, and the more accurate the more praiseworthy." In the Middle Ages, facsimiles were not produced in great quantity, and Alexander uses the term to describe "historicist copies made of earlier works as opposed to replicas produced at the same time or after only a short interval." Alexander acknowledges that any attempt at a medieval facsimile of a written text would necessarily problematic, due to stylistic changes in writing and figural representation. Alexander, 64. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt and trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 217–252, 221ff.

manuscript.[266] It also allows for the critical examination of the materiality of Spencer 22's visual narrative as a *translation* of an earlier visual text.

If we think of Spencer 22 and the Pamplona Bibles as a family of manuscripts, at the base of their family tree sits Sancho's Bible, completed in 1197 in Pamplona. It is the source manuscript for both the Augsburg manuscript (Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg Sammlung Oettingen-Wallerstein Cod.I.2.4º15) and Spencer 22. I use the term *source manuscript* because it indicates a material presence and is more flexible than "origin" in that multiple sources can exist simultaneously.[267] Sancho's Bible (and, it follows, Spencer 22) does not contain unique or original narrative content: its narrative and much of its iconography has roots in other written and visual versions of the Bible (i.e. the Vulgate and other manuscripts and public art programs).

Bucher says that Sancho's Bible and the Augsburg manuscript (which he calls the "Second Pamplona Bible") were produced "almost in unison"[268] and I agree that the briefest of inspection shows that stylistically, formally, and materially, the manuscripts are so closely related as to have likely been worked on by the same artists and scribes.[269] Although the Augsburg manuscript expands the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible by adding scenes, the temporal closeness in production of the two manuscripts and the similarity in style indicate that the goal of the Augsburg manuscript was an improved *replica* of Spencer 22, a copy made by the

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[266] Die Pamplona-Bibel: Die Bilderbibel des Königs Sancho el Fuerte (1153–1234) von Navarra (Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg Sammlung Oettingen-Wallerstein Cod.I.2.4º15). Kommentarband zum Faksimile. Gabriele Bartz, Günter Hägele, Luise Karl, Irmhild Schäfer. Zurich: Coron Verlag, 2005.

[267] The terminology of *source* and *target* derives from theories of linguistic translation in which the source material is translated into the target language.

[268] Bucher, vol. 1, 22.

[269] Bucher, vol. 1, 33. Additionally, the Augsburg manuscript demonstrates other aspects that indicate that the same scribe worked on both manuscripts—90% of the text in Augsburg comes directly from Sancho's Bible (including mistakes in spelling and other inaccuracies) and the similarity of the script. François Bucher proposes that the Augsburg manuscript was intended as a gift for a member of King Sancho's circle, though it is not clear for whom exactly, and he states that it is possible that production of the manuscripts overlapped slightly, putting them both physically in the same atelier at the same time. I have not viewed the Augsburg manuscript in person.

original artist. Augsburg is a direct copy that makes immediate "corrections," or additions to the visual narrative, presumably pointed out by the original users of Sancho's Bible. Explanatory narrative pictures that are not found in Sancho's Bible are added, as well as labels to clarify key figures in the visual narrative. Spencer 22 does not copy these additions, and so one can conclude that the Augsburg manuscript was not the source manuscript during Spencer 22's manufacture. Our focus, therefore, is the relationship between Sancho's Bible and the third and final known offshoot of this family of manuscripts, Spencer 22.

Although scholars have had no doubt since Bucher's 1970 publication that Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22 are intimately related as source manuscript and target manuscript based upon their strikingly similar visual content, there was no colophon in Spencer 22 describing its relationship with Sancho's Bible (perhaps there once was one, either copied directly from Sancho's Bible or amended to explain the commission of Spencer 22 in the fourteenth century).[270] One can argue that such "evidence" is not necessary; after all, the image-for-image translation of visual content is substantial enough as to preclude any opposing claims. However, as I have already briefly stated, the lack of conclusive evidence in a corroborating document opens the door to other scenarios that must be ruled out, including the possibility that Spencer 22 was produced from an intermediate manuscript that is no longer extant or known.[271]

Given the visual connections between the two manuscripts, I believed, as did Bucher, that Sancho's Bible *was* the source for Spencer 22's translation. Furthermore, I thought that there might be some physical remnants of the process of translation on both manuscripts. In a close

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[270] Bucher assumes that there was a colophon in the missing final gathering, vol. 1, 65.

[271] The Augsburg manuscript is not a possibility, given the many divergences in the visual narrative from Sancho's Bible, and the addition of eighty-nine scenes not found in Sancho's Bible. Bucher, 37. Given that the Augsburg manuscript was commissioned possibly before the completion of Sancho's Bible (likely as a gift for someone in Sancho el Fuerte's entourage, Bucher speculates), there is no reason why another manuscript (or even multiple manuscripts) were made using Sancho's Bible as the primary source for their visual narrative. Bucher also suggests that the Augsburg manuscript remained in Spain, where it was purchased in Valladolid in 1809, vol. 1, 40.

examination of Sancho's Bible undertaken in January 2011, I employed a backward reasoning approach to the process of translation, looking at Sancho's Bible for indications of Spencer 22's production. Close examination of each folio page led me to what I believe may be concrete affirmation of the circumstantial evidence, the presence of droplets of violet paint on Sancho's Bible, folio 7v. Violet paint is not found in the palette of the twelfth century artists of Sancho's Bible, who predominantly worked in greens, oranges, yellows, and blues. Violet is, however, used throughout Spencer 22 by its fourteenth-century artists. It is my theory that the violet paint used in the production of Spencer 22 was accidentally dripped onto Sancho's Bible while the two were in a Parisian atelier in the early fourteenth century. This discovery provides an insight into the process by which a completed manuscript was used as source material for a new translation. Before parsing this new evidence, however, it is necessary to further explore the terms copy, reproduction, and their presence in medieval manuscript culture.

4.2   SCRIBES, COPIES, AND MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT CULTURE

Medieval manuscript production was a "culture of the copy,"[272] but not exactly in the way that our twenty-first century minds might expect. True, medieval scribes were excellent copyists—trained to write in gothic script with a great degree of accuracy, uniformity, and consistency, so much so that we can identify a scribe's hand across multiple works.[273] Scribes were skilled in reproducing written text, and checked their work against their source text, as is evidenced by

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[272] For a recent, cultural and philosophical look at copies in history and in the late twentieth century, see Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).
[273] On medieval writing, see Anne-Marie Christin, *A History of Writing: from hieroglyph to multimedia* (Flammarion, 2002; Andrew Robinson, *The Story of Writing*, 2nd edition (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007); and Christopher de Hamel, *Scribes and Illustrators* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

scribal corrections made while the text was being transferred.[274] In most cases, the source text was physically present, and the transfer of content to a new manuscript was a visual and kinesthetic process.[275] In some cases, the texts might have been read aloud to a single or multiple scribes—this certainly would have required a different set of scribal skills than transferring text from a written source, as scribes would have had to aurally absorb the Latin or vernacular text, understand at least a portion of its content in order to preserve grammar, and to spell it correctly, or at least, reasonably. Oral/aural-to-visual transferal skills are evidenced by phonetic spelling in some legal documents.[276]

The stereotypical image of the scribe in the monastic scriptorium of the eleventh or twelfth century seems to exemplify the verb *copy* as we understand it in modern terms: a monk painstakingly writes the source text before him onto new parchment, looking back and forth between the pages to check his accuracy. Accuracy, however, is a relative term, and more often than not, as long as the content was not tampered with or affected by an egregious omission, small mistakes were acceptable and perhaps expected. By the fourteenth century, scribal work was undertaken at a larger scale in private ateliers for lay commissions made by wealthy patrons. Indeed, throughout recorded history, writing was often a menial task: elite members of society employed personal scribes in their service, and authors dictated their works to scribes. For each of these circumstances, however, the process was the same: the transfer of text via human hand.

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[274] According to Elspeth Kennedy, some scribes were "eagle-eyed" at catching inconsistencies, with the goal of producing a text agreeable to their readers. "The Scribe as Editor," *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), 523–531.

[275] Physically, a scribe would have required a high competency in motor skills and the stamina to remain seated at his desk, squinting at the letters and words he formed.

[276] It is not known exactly how the work of transcription was organized in a scriptorium, for example. Texts may have been read aloud and copied by multiple scribes at a time; in other cases monks may have silently red and transcribed texts from one manuscript to another. Medieval notaries, however, were adept at capturing oral testimony in written documents. See Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 39–41 on the *notariate*.

The desired outcome in most cases was that the content remain the same as in the source. In cases where the text had religious value (biblical text, or a commentary treatise) or political value (law or proclamation), accuracy could literally mean the difference between heaven and hell or life and death. Scribal literacy is often questioned—though these men and women could certainly write, were they literate in the languages they were reproducing in written text?[277] Could they read independently, or compose their own unique works? For scribes working at royal courts or in the service of the church, who were already members of elite educational institutions, the answer must be yes, to a degree. Although it is certainly plausible that a menial scribe might simply copy the strokes and points that make up the letters of the alphabet in gothic script without understanding them as individual letters and reading the words that they produced, it seems highly unlikely that they were completely without any textual literacy at all.

Scribes were often named in the colophon of the manuscripts they produced, an inscription which chronicled the making of the book, such as the date of completion, the name of the scribe, and, in some cases, an anecdotal reference to the difficulty of the scribe's work, often thanking God that after many long hours of difficult physical and mental labor, the project was finally completed! The colophon in Sancho's Bible presents us with two key pieces of information: the first is the name Petrus Ferrandus (Sancho VII's chancellor, archdeacon, and the executor and designer of Sancho's Bible, though perhaps not the scribe or artist himself), and the second is the date of completion in 1197.[278] This is significant, as the names of scribal counterparts in manuscript production, and the artists and artisans that created miniatures for

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[277] "In practice, the connection between writers and writing is never so absolutely and clearly definable as is usually thought, with clear boundaries between literates and illiterates or between writing technicians and unlearned writers, and it was still less so in the Middle Ages." Armando Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, ed. and trans. Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 77.
[278] See note 216 above.

illuminated manuscripts, have more often been lost to history. As mentioned above, there is no colophon in Spencer 22, leaving the master designer, scribes, and artist of this book a mystery to be solved through the visual evidence.

The artists that painted miniatures and other decorative elements in manuscripts, like scribes, were translators in their own right. They were trained in the style of their particular cultural moment and able to reproduce figures, clothing and drapery, and faces with skill and detail. In fact, you can often see the same figures appearing multiple times within the same manuscript or within more than one manuscript produced by a particular atelier. As with any period, style and patron preference for certain imagery drove lesser artists to imitate the best painters of their time, resulting in numerous instances of related styles. Artists also often worked in ateliers under a known master (as with the Fauvel Master and associated artists),[279] imitating that artist's particular style, and some to a very high degree. These artists also utilized a preexisting visual language of iconography, and iconographical studies of manuscripts can trace imagery through different media and different regions through the centuries. Medieval sourcebooks or copybooks may have been located in ateliers for artists to reference for iconographical accuracy. Each of these aspects contributes to a visual language shared between the authors, scribes, *libraires* (booksellers), artists, patrons, and audiences.[280] Familiarity with this visual language was an essential aspect of medieval literacy; indeed, visual language is at the core of medieval manuscript production.

Although artists were doubtless adept in the visual language of manuscript production, as with scribes, their ability to read and write is difficult to pinpoint with any accuracy. We know that there are often instructional notations in manuscripts (often found under the painted

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[279] Recall from Section 3 that the Sub-Fauvel master is the probable artist of Spencer 22.
[280] See Hedeman, "Presenting the Past", 69.

miniature itself) that describe which elements are to be drawn into the blank spaces left by the scribes. But whether or not the artists themselves read these instructions is open to debate. Christopher de Hamel notes the difficulty of identifying the process of medieval image copying, as he writes, "The actual designs of medieval miniatures were often copied from other sources. The details of exactly how this happened are elusive."[281] He cites two examples from early medieval book production: the Codex Amiatinus frontispiece to the Old Testament, which shows Ezra writing beside an open book cupboard, as a copy of a sixth-century Italian manuscript with the same scene representing Cassiodorus; and a miniature representing the Purification of the Virgin in the fifteenth-century *Très Riches Heures* as a copy of a fresco painted in 1328 by Taddeo Gaddi illustrating the Presentation of the Virgin Mary as a young child to the Temple. These examples illustrate that medieval artists were experts in appropriation and translation, exchanging one context for another while retaining details of the composition of an earlier work of art. The process by which these medieval copyists in text and image worked is exactly in line with the multisensory aspects of medieval literacy that lay religious audiences were also practicing.

Bucher uses the terms *copy* and *reproduction* interchangeably (and irresponsibly, perhaps) to describe Spencer 22 in relation to Sancho's Bible, as well as the relationship between Sancho's Bible and the Augsburg manuscript. In a review of Bucher's facsimile and commentary on the Pamplona Bibles, O. K. Werckmeister calls Spencer 22, "a straightforward copy of the Amiens manuscript," which, for him, was dismissible in Bucher's project of bringing light upon

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[281] de Hamel, 51.

the pictorial tradition of the Pamplona atelier.[282] Not until the advent of print culture, which could produce identical copies simultaneously, was precise accuracy in reproduction a consideration.[283] There is something to be said for the spontaneity of the manuscript production process: the quirks of handcrafting these books and the fallibility of human intervention between the source text and its target medium produced unique artifacts, and the mistakes and sometimes abrupt changes in production, style, and materials tell us much about the making of medieval books. What we can surmise about Spencer 22's making, based on its known close relationship with Sancho's Bible, indicates that the complexity of the project far surpasses a model-copy relationship.[284] We will see below that there is little that is "straightforward" about the translation process between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22.

4.2.1   Why Copy? Krautheimer's Theory on Medieval Copying

The same ambiguous standards and complicated relationships between models and copies can be found beyond the area of manuscript production. In 1942, Richard Krautheimer's essay, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'," was published in the *Journal of the*

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[282] O. K. Werckmeister, "Review [François Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*]," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (September 1973): 444–448, 445. Bucher's focus was on Sancho's Bible, the Augsburg copy by the same Pamplona atelier, and the iconographical and pictorial sources for both.

[283] Even then, in early print culture, human error in setting type might account for inaccuracies or differences between two volumes of the same work produced at different times. It is not until word processing technology of typewriters and computers became the norm that these mistakes became less frequent.

[284] Elizabeth A. R. Brown has suggested, based on the lesser quality of the materials and miniatures, and the incomplete nature of Spencer 22, that it may have been the Fauvel workshop's prototype, used to entice a buyer or patron as an example of a possible commission. I feel that this is an unlikely scenario, given the close relationship to Sancho's Bible and the unusual nature of Spencer 22 in comparison with other biblical manuscripts of the fourteenth century—it would have been a real risk for an atelier to produce this expensive and complex prototype without a ready commission (and if they had commission in hand, why do a prototype at all?). More likely, Spencer 22 may have been a "trial run" in which the complexities of the translation and addition of French text were worked out before a "good version" was executed—but even this is a remote possibility, considering the time spent on production and the expense of the materials. I thank Elizabeth Brown and Elizabeth Morrison for sharing their thoughts on Spencer 22 with me throughout my research.

Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.[285] This seminal essay is still referenced by medieval scholars who recognize connections between medieval buildings and objects that at first glance may look like they have very little do to with one another. Krautheimer begins by first citing the dearth of medieval sources on the principles of design and physics of construction of medieval monuments. There are, however, a number of medieval primary texts that explicitly describe a relationship between two buildings, notably in instances where later medieval buildings wished to associate themselves with such glorious precedents as Hagia Sophia, Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen, Cologne Cathedral, or even Saint Peter's in Rome.[286] In many instances, the written record reveals an expressed intention to imitate the "highly venerated prototype."[287] The intention to imitate, however, did not always reflect the accuracy of the copy.

For Krautheimer, what appears to be an oxymoronic description of the "inaccurate copy" actually reflects medieval attitudes of acceptance towards inexactness, evidence for which is found in surviving texts. There was also a desire for symbolic similarities, such as the repetition of certain meaningful numbers in Christianity (eight and twelve, for instance), which Krautheimer calls "number consciousness."[288] Certain measurements were also selectively transferred between the original and the copy. Perhaps most striking for the present study is Krautheimer's observation that medieval architects and builders also used a technique by which they broke up the original building into single parts and rearranged those in the copy.[289] Medieval visual representations of buildings also often follow this process by highlighting

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[285] Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 5 (1942), 1–33.

[286] These examples are cited by Krautheimer, and he gives full citations for the medieval source material.

[287] Krautheimer, 3–5. One of the most frequently copied prototypes recorded in medieval Europe is the fourth-century floor plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, built upon the site of Christ's tomb. Krautheimer speaks about a medieval acceptance of "approximate similarity," and "the 'indifference' towards precise imitation of given architectural shapes" in so-called "copies" of the Holy Sepulchre.

[288] Krautheimer, 12.

[289] Krautheimer, 14.

certain selected features as representative of the entire building. Given the "indifference" to verisimilitude in many medieval architectural copies, we can view Spencer 22 in the context of the medieval "culture of the copy," and marvel at its faithfulness to the narrative content of Sancho's Bible along with its thorough stylistic reinterpretation of each image.

In 2004, the journal *Visual Resources* devoted an issue to exploring the nature of "the copy" in medieval art.[290] Co-editor Sarah Blick's introduction on "Exceptions to Krautheimer's Theory of Copying," focuses on objects produced for different functions, and the amount of verisimilitude necessary to label a medieval object a "copy." A copy must, first and foremost, be recognizable! Blick proposes that there existed in the Middle Ages "a different kind of copying, one that required real verisimilitude and the ability of the medieval viewer to recognize instantly the visual source of the copy."[291] This would have been vital in the reception of Spencer 22 as a related manuscript to Sancho's Bible. Hanns Swarzenski's description of "creative copies" in manuscript illumination are also relevant to the definition of Spencer 22 as a cultural object. He divides copies into two categories: one for prestigious artworks in which some precision was expected, and the other, "creative copies" which allowed the artist to "re-interpret their model"[292]—what I am calling *translations*. In the creative copy or translation, the artist was focused on iconographic content and contemporary stylistic tradition more so than creating a visual facsimile. This is the case with Spencer 22, and also the famous Utrecht Psalter.

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[290] *Visual Resources*, Special Issue: Copying in Medieval Art, Vol. XX, Nos. 2–3, March 2004. Guest editors: Sarah Blick, Rita Tekippe and Vibeke Olson.
[291] Blick, 123.
[292] Hanns Swarzenski, "The Role of copies in the formation of the Styles of the Eleventh Cenury," *Romanesque and Gothic Art: Studies in Western Art* (Acts of the Twentieth International Congress on the History of Art, Vol. 1) (Princeton, 1963), 7–18. Cited in Blick, 125.

4.2.2 The Utrecht Psalter and its "copies"

There is a precedent for the visual relationship between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22 in manuscript studies: the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32) and related manuscripts. As with Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, the question must be raised as to why copies of the Utrecht Psalter would be desired.

Carolingian illustrations often comment upon the text they accompany, and so their dependence on text is variable (and the commentary provided was often text-based, from another source).[293] Some of the most complex of the Carolingian illustrated manuscripts that contain these text-image relationships are the Psalters; and arguably the best-known of these is the Utrecht Psalter. The Utrecht Psalter is similar to Sancho's Bible in that its images were copied in later centuries and "updated" to the stylistic concerns of their later patrons; however, it is dissimilar in that it is not an image-driven narrative. In the original ninth-century manuscript, the images very much accompany and border the written text and engage with it in a dialogical way that Spencer 22's pictures do not. In Spencer 22, the pictures and texts do not specifically reference one another, although they share the same content (as though they are the same text in two different languages), and they are formatted to a two-column page layout (for the most part). The Utrecht Psalter's written texts are in Carolingian minuscule script and its monochrome line-drawn pictures move about the page without the aforementioned restrictions.

We know a bit more about the Utrecht Psalter's chronology and physical location during the production of its related works. It was produced at Hautvillers near Rheims in the 820s under the patronage of Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims. It may have been given by Ebbo to his patroness

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[293] Rosamond McKitterick, "Text and Image in the Carolingian World," in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 297–318, 310.

Judith, wife of Louis the Pious. Rosamond McKitterick notes that it was "certainly available" to the artists of the ivory book covers of Charles the Bald's Psalter (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1152), which seem to be modelled on Psalms 50 and 51 as they appear in the Utrecht Psalter.[294] Judith was a learned woman and likely used the Psalter herself; she certainly would have been familiar with the Psalter text, but most likely would also have been able to understand the images as commentary to the text. Although the Utrecht Psalter is primarily illustrative, there are some commentary and prophetic illustrations.[295]

William Noel provides a series of questions about the Utrecht Psalter and its related manuscripts, including the eleventh-century Harley Psalter (British Library, Harley MS 603), and the twelfth-century Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.17.1) and Anglo-Catalan Psalter (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 8846), which we might utilize to better understand the commission of Spencer 22.[296] He writes (as I argue for Spencer 22's relationship to Sancho's Bible), "The word 'copy' does not explain the ways in which they used the exemplar, and it does not account for the reasons why they used it; if artists and scribes did follow Utrecht, we need to know how and why they did this."[297] Noel specifically addresses the Harley Psalter of the eleventh century, probably produced at Christ Church, Canterbury.[298] Although it has been suggested that Harley artists set out to create a facsimile of the Utrecht Psalter, Noel clarifies this notion:

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[294] McKitterick, "Text and Image," 311.
[295] McKitterick, "Text and Image," 312.
[296] "Did the owner of Harley really want a new manuscript for the purposes of comparing it with an old one in order to see how well the artists had copied it? If not, we must ask what it was wanted for, and whether the artists and scribes of the Harley Psalter were employing the Utrecht Psalter for reasons that might have allowed them to adapt their exemplar as well as to follow it closely." William Noel in Noel, van der Horst, Wustefeld, eds, *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, 7
[297] Noel, 7.
[298] The "principle exemplar" for the Harley Psalter was the Utrecht Psalter. We know that the Utrecht Psalter was at Canterbury in the tenth century, and Harley Psalter was produced in 1002–03, possibly for Ælfric of Eynsham, the Anglo-Saxon monk and scholar.

Scribes and artists did make facsimiles in the medieval period. They should not be judged facsimiles by the extent to which they look like the original, for that is always relative. Rather they should be judged by the presence of the intention to duplicate, for the purposes of topographical accuracy or deception, or because admiration of the original (for whatever reason) was unqualified.[299]

He further observes that while there is a level of imitation in Harley, if the artists and scribes had set out for a facsimile, they would not have "deliberately made their manuscript different from it at the same time."[300] These deliberate differences can also be seen in a comparison of Spencer 22's style and layout with its exemplar, Sancho's Bible.

We have already established Jeanne II's goal of creating a link to Sancho VII. By emphasizing Navarrese patrimony and creating a copy of a book that was likely known in French royal circles (though, just how widely is difficult to determine), Jeanne II of Navarre not only linked herself to Sancho VII, but she reinforced her biological connection to her father, Louis X, after her legitimacy was called into question by her mother's alleged adultery.[301] It is possible that Jeanne II herself "judged" or compared the two manuscripts side-by-side after Spencer 22 was completed in order to verify the quality of Spencer 22's translation. She would have likely received it as an acceptable adaptation of Sancho's Bible.

Noel also recognizes the "scholarly interpretation of fidelity" that differs from the medieval makers' intent. Our contemporary culture privileges the original, unique work; medieval culture saw emulation, translation, and reproduction of written and visual texts as not only acceptable, but desirable because they created cultural connections like the one between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22. As was common in the medieval culture of the copy, we no

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[299] Noel, 9.
[300] Noel, 9.
[301] If Sancho's Bible was known widely in the royal court of France, then perhaps a relative and supporter of Jeanne made the commission with the intent to give the book as a gift in the year that she received the title and holdings of Navarre in 1328. Spencer 22 may have been commissioned by Jeanne II's uncle, Charles IV of France, and his wife Jeanne of Évreux, who was also Philip of Évreux's sister and Jeanne II's sister-in-law. Charles IV and Jeanne d'Évreux were also great bibliophiles.

longer know the exempla for most medieval manuscripts. However, with the Harley Psalter and Spencer 22, the source manuscripts are extraordinary luxury manuscripts in their own right. The Harley Psalter artists may have looked to the Utrecht Psalter for different reasons than modern scholars might imagine. For example, did they wish to emulate the sense of space created in the Utrecht Psalter? If so, then we might indicate places where they have failed or not lived up to the standard of the exemplar. However, if they were interested in Utrecht for other reasons, then Harley may have been more successful than we can imagine, and this type of study and understanding of the flexibility of the term "copy" can help us get closer to the true purposes of creating the Harley Psalter and, furthermore, Spencer 22.

The Harley Psalter completes some areas where the Utrecht Psalter seems unfinished, and the Augsburg manuscript and Spencer 22 do the same thing for Sancho's Bible. Noel notes that in later phases of Harley's production, it "deviates dramatically from its exemplar."[302] It appears that the scribe continued to write out the Psalms, leaving a space at the beginning of each for an illustration, rather than the playful intermingling of text and pictures described earlier. The artist, indeed the second artist in the Harley Psalter's production, used simpler compositions to fill in these gaps. What is the success of this interpretation? If the goal were exact reproduction, then one might conclude that it was unsuccessful. But, if the goal were to create a medieval copy that evoked the *memory* of the Utrecht Psalter, then perhaps the opening pages were enough to accomplish that, and the precision of later work could be sacrificed. Similarly, although Spencer 22 is thoroughly updated to a fourteenth-century style, it evokes the memory of Sancho's Bible through the preservation of the complete visual narrative.

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[302] Noel, 7.

4.3   MEDIEVAL *TRANSLATIO*: CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE FOURTEENTH
CENTURY

Spencer 22 has a specific and direct connection to Sancho's Bible as source material; this is indisputable. That stated, we are able to focus on the process of production, by describing the aspects of Spencer 22 that are atypical of the straightforward source material/target manuscript relationship. Because the term *translation* is heavily loaded with modern linguistic meaning, I have chosen the Latin term *translatio* to describe the process of Spencer 22's making, as it was used in the Middle Ages to describe the transfer of knowledge, power, as well as artifacts. I refer to a *translatio imaginis*, a translation of images, which encompasses a cultural, physical, and linguistic definition of *translatio*, and the ways that images were transferred in all three contexts.

The concept of *translatio* appears in a number of different medieval contexts. The Latin term (*translatio*, *-onis*, f.; a transfer or translation) was used to describe two significant cultural and political projects of the high Middle Ages, *translatio studii* and *translatio imperii*. *Translatio studii* (*studium*, *-i*, n.; application to knowledge; study; what one studies) refers to the transfer of culture and knowledge from one civilization to another in succession. *Translatio imperii* (*imperium*, *-i*, n.; political power, authority, sovereignty) is the transfer of political power. Both knowledge and power traversed a linear, historical path across the great civilizations on earth, according to Jerome's interpretation[303] of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel (Daniel 2:1–39, illustrated in Spencer 22 on folio 94v)—Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and finally Rome. Medieval scholars, rulers, and authors, especially in France, although claims were also

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[303] Saint Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, trans. Gleason Archer (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1958), 24–34 (available online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/jerome_daniel_01_intro.htm).

made in England and Germany,[304] believed that they were the inheritors of the final great Classical civilization of Rome in the West. (An East-West split was necessary to incorporate the Byzantine Empire, the eastern extension of Roman civilization, into the schema.) The concept was embodied in the intellectual and political leaders of the twelfth century: bearers of knowledge held sociocultural and religious power, while kings and queens bore political power in their personages. They understood this *translatio* to be their destiny and their right, a cultural and historical metaphorical transferal of power, but also a physical and geographical movement through time and space.

The term *translatio* can be found in other medieval contexts. It described the movement of relics from one location to another (*translatio reliquae*), and the major celebrations in locations that were to receive a relic. Finally, it could be used to refer to the linguistic process of translation between Latin and romance languages. Iconographically, this type of *translatio* was represented by the movement of a text from one location to another in the Presentation miniature of Nicole Oresme's *Éthiques*, his translation of Aristotle ordered by Charles V (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 204, fol. 347r).[305] In this narrative image, divided into four scenes, Charles V (1338–1380) is shown ordering the translation, followed by a servant carrying the book to be translated to Oresme, who is seated in his study in the process of translating. The third image shows Oresme, a messenger of Charles V, and a servant carrying the completed book on their way to the presentation ceremony, the fourth and final scene.

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[304] For France, Chrétien de Troyes and Benoît de Sainte-Maure used *translatio* as a literary trope in works like *Cligès* (1176) and *Le Roman de Troie* (1154–60), discussed in this section. In England, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace in the twelfth century, and later Richard de Bury in the fourteenth century, proposed that their country was the continuation of the Roman Empire, while Bishop Otto of Freising proposed a Germanic succession in the twelfth century.

[305] The image is reproduced in *Imagining the Past in France*, figure 28, 59.

Joyce Coleman has written of this miniature, "Translation here is envisaged, via a bilingual pun, as literally a *trans-latio*, an across-carrying of the book from then to now, from them to us. The work involved is physicalized via the apparent weight of the book on the servant's shoulder and via the space the book must traverse in the course of its transformation."[306] Coleman goes on to say that *translatio* "elides change with continuity."[307] The notion that translation is an attempt at stabilizing the content of a text (whether written or visual) while fundamentally changing it into a different language (whether word- or image-based) is essential to the conception and production of Spencer 22. In fact, we define Spencer 22 by the way it preserves the visual language of Sancho's Bible in a fourteenth-century style and format. The preservation of "then to now" is especially relevant to Spencer 22's production as well, as it was necessary for Jeanne II to be linked to her ancestor Sancho VII. *Translatio* is therefore a linear process—it creates a time continuum, akin to narrative,[308] and so it is relevant to our broader discussion of biblical narrative.

Translatio is found in both literary and historical references. Medieval French writers evoked the Latin term *translatio* in their works, and their texts help us to understand the medieval understanding of translation aside from our modern conceptions of authenticity and primacy of the original. The prologue to Chrétien de Troyes' *Cligès* (c. 1176) perhaps best encompasses all aspects of *translatio*: knowledge and power, figurative and physical movement, and a cultural awareness of *translatio* presented as a literary theme. *Cligès*, "le plus énigmatique

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[306] Joyce Coleman, "Reading the Evidence in Text and Image," Anne D. Hedeman and Elizabeth Morrison, eds., *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting 1250–1500* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2010), 53–67, 58. Coleman's essay notes other examples of *translatio* iconography.
[307] Coleman, "Reading the Evidence," 58.
[308] Jacques le Goff, *La civilisation de l'occident médiéval* (Paris: Arthaud, 1964), especially Part II, Chapter VI on the linearity of time, eternity, and history.

des romans de Chrétien de Troyes,"[309] references not classical Greece, but contemporary Greece—a Christian Byzantine empire. It is the story of two men: Alexander, the son of a Greek emperor who marries King Arthur's niece, producing a son, Cligès. The story can be divided biographically between Arthur's adventures and Cligès'. There are subsequent aspects of the tale that are typical of the romance genre of the twelfth century: when Arthur, who has become the emperor of Greece, dies, the throne is inherited by his brother, Alis, whose wife, Fenice, is the object of Cligès' love. The two would-be lovers devise a plan to be together, which is foiled, and Cligès eventually goes back to Arthur to gain assistance in getting his kingdom from Alis. Alis dies during Cligès' absence, and he and Fenice are free to marry and rule.

From this very basic summary of the main characters and a portion of the plot, one can see how *Cligès* utilizes a cultural understanding of *translatio* as its fundamental theme. There is, of course, the transfer of power from father to son or other relative with the establishment of a familial dynasty. But there is also the physical movement of the key figures from east to west in order to confer with Arthur. Cligès and Alexander make multiple journeys west, sealing their connection to Arthur's court through royal marriage and progeny (Cligès himself). The transfer of power on a physical person was a cultural construct well before the medieval period, and significantly for our purposes it is highlighted in Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22—the royal lineage of Christ through the House of David.

In the introduction to her 2006 edition of *Cligès*, Laurence Harf-Lancner writes of a perpetual "coming and going" between the east and west,[310] an exchange of personages, ideas, and ideals, both geographically and culturally, which must also include images. From the

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[309] Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, ed. Laurence Harf-Lancner (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006), 9.
[310] "Les deux biographies permettent un redoublement du thème structurant du récit, le va et vient perpétuel entre l'est et l'ouest, entre l'orient et l'occident. *Cligès* est en fait la mise en récit du thème de la *translatio imperii et studii*, du transfert d'est en ouest du pouvoir et du savoir, de la chevalerie et de la clergie," Harf-Lancner, 12.

propagandistic pictures of rulers on coins to painted icons of the eastern Church, many images moved, often freely and easily, across an east-west boundary. Even when the physical pictures themselves did not move, descriptions of sites and images found in the east made their way to Europe, as with the sacred buildings of Jerusalem that were found in "copies" in the west.[311]

There is a specific passage in the prologue that is oft-cited as evidence of the influence of *translatio imperii* on Chrétien's work, though it is woven through the fabric of the story itself, as seen above. Harf-Lancner singles out this passage as well, but notes that it also affirms the relationship between *translatio* and "le progrès de l'Histoire," that is to say, human history, beginning in the east and coming to an end in the west, in vernacular literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries:

Ce nos ont nostre livre apris	We have learned from our books
Qu'an Grece ot de chevalerie	That Greece had in chivalry
Le premier los et de clergie.	And knowledge the highest renown.
Puis vint chevalerie a Rome	Then chivalry went to Rome
Et de la clergie la some,	Along with the sum of knowledge,
Qui or est an France venue. (v. 30–35)	Which has now come to France.[312]

Biblical events were recounted in the Middle Ages as history, and the value placed on narrative history is reinforced in literary tropes. Some examples are Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which links the history of the kings of England to King Arthur, also a literary hero in his own right, and the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, begun under the reign of Saint Louis in the thirteenth century as a compilation of the deeds of French kings and their ancestors and presented as a *roman*.[313] That we find fluidity between history and narrative in the

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[311] Hans J. Böker, "The Bishop's Chapel of Hereford Cathedral and the Question of Architectural Copies in the Middle Ages," *Gesta* 37:1 (1998), 44–54.

[312] Verses cited in Harf-Lancner's introduction, 12. My translation.

[313] "Language used in the dedicatory poem (fol. 326v) to the first *Grandes chroniques* reinforces this observation, describing the text as 'le romanz qui des rois est romez' (the roman [romance?] that is written in French about the

literary and chronicle traditions of the twelfth century and beyond points to the pervasiveness of narrative as a cultural construct throughout medieval world in both sacred and secular contexts.[314]

4.3.1 Medieval translators: linguistic contexts, *interpretatio* and *imaginatio*

Perhaps the first definition that comes to mind for the modern term *translation* is linguistic: the act or process of turning from one language into another;[315] or, in other words, the communication of the meaning of a source language text into a target language text.[316] Medieval authors recognized the role of the linguistic translator in the project of *translatio studii*, including Benoît de Sainte-Maure's prologue to *Le Roman de Troie* (twelfth century). The stories of the Trojans were found an ancient book, he writes,

Mais a Athenes le trova	But in Athens it was found
Cornelius quil translata:	By Cornelius who translated it:
De greu le torna en latin	The Greek he turned to Latin
Par son sen e par son engin.	By his knowledge and by his wit.

Later in the prologue, it is the responsibility of Benoît de Sainte-Maure to preserve the story and to complete the *translatio* process into French, but his contribution is categorized as an invention (*contrové*), rather than a direct translation.

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kings)."Anne D. Hedeman, "Gothic Manuscript Illustration: The Case of France," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 435.

[314] See Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity," in *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 7, no. 1, *On Narrative* (Autumn, 1980), 5–27. He describes non-narrative history as annals and chronicles (basically, lists) and subsequently narrative history: history proper. If history is *just* a narrative then it lacks authority, but the combination of factual storytelling was perhaps more compelling for medieval readers who saw the Bible as a religious text but also an historical one.

[315] translation, n. *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second edition, 1989; online version November 2010. <http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/204844>; accessed 30 November 2010.

[316] *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, ed. Tom McArthur (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 1051–54.

The creative aspect of medieval literary translation is described by Douglas Kelly as *rewriting*.[317] A translator absorbs the text and corrects it, following an injunction by Horace, who claims that a translation is better *nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus interpres* / "if you do *not* seek to render word for word as a slavish translator."[318] *Interpretatio* brings ancient texts into a medieval present: "Such rewriting is 'translation' as a literary invention, using pre-existent source material. It is a variety of *translatio studii*."[319] The pictorial translator would perhaps have had an easier time with Horace's command to avoid word-for-word translation than the literary translator; in choosing images, selecting scenes, and creating a visual narrative from an oral and written tradition, the pictorial translator is intrinsically rewriting/interpreting. He is also considering the relationship between his pictures and their audience in a way that literary translators may not have. The pictorial translator must take into account multisensory literacy and memory as he provides only selected scenes. The audience continues the *translatio*/*interpretatio* process, but not just in the way that any audience must construct meaning from a text. The audience for pictorial narrative is actually creating the narrative as he or she views it. This unknown variable confirms that in no way is the illustrator or pictorial translator a "slavish translator" of the original author.

With Spencer 22, there is yet another circumstance to take into account: the text is the Bible. How do we account for multiple authors, and a divine "master designer" of the text, God himself? Is it possible to call the men who translated the Bible "masters of the author" as we would call Nicole Oresme, when commissioned by Charles V of France to translate the works of

[317] Douglas Kelly, "The *fidus interpres*: Aid or Impediment to Medieval Translation and *Translatio*?" in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeanette Beer (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), 48.
[318] Kelly, 47. Translation by Douglas Kelly.
[319] Kelly, 48.

Aristotle, a "master of Aristotle"?[320] The prophets and the Evangelists were human instruments for recording the Word of God. The biblical written text incorporated next to Spencer 22's pictorial narrative is not a spontaneous or novel translation of the Bible from Latin to French. How should we categorize the re-presentation of the Bible in Spencer 22?

If we are true to the medieval concept of *interpretatio*, and acknowledge that all pictorial translators are interpreters of original written texts, then the designer of the original pictorial narrative program (Petrus Ferrandus, as named in the colophon of Sancho's Bible) *was* a "master of the author," an interpreter of the written biblical text.[321] In Sancho's Bible, Bucher notes, "the bulk of the quotations, excluding the part dealing with the saints, is derived verbatim from the Vulgate," which was unusual for Spain "where the influence of other biblical versions persisted throughout the twelfth century."[322] Petrus Ferrandus used great liberty in assembling the short Latin texts found in Sancho's Bible, which often combine several verses "freely pulled together" to fit the limited space around the completed images.[323] As "master designer," he not only chose the Latin quotations found throughout Sancho's Bible (which, as you will recall, were added at a later date than the images), but more importantly, he designed a pictorial program that the patron and makers of Spencer 22 deemed worthy to then translate, image-for-image, in the fourteenth century. The *interpretatio* aspect of pictorial narrative gives authority to the artist or program designer as true interpreter and second author of written text, and lends more authority to pictorial language. Petrus Ferrandus becomes a biblical author, an audacious claim for written text, but a fitting one given the nature of pictorial narrative.

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[320] Claire Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representations in Fourteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 26.
[321] See note 215 above.
[322] Bucher, vol. 1, 21.
[323] Bucher, vol. 1, 21.

It is the collective cultural and historical presence of biblical narrative in the medieval world that allows the Bible to be translated and transmuted into many different languages and formats, including visual narrative. Walter Benjamin describes the same quality of unconditional "translatability" of Holy Writ in his seminal essay "The Task of the Translator." For Benjamin, translatability is a quality of the original text, and their translations have some sense of fidelity to the original—retaining the theoretical or philosophical core meaning. He also hints at the possibility for translations to occur between different media, which is absolutely the case with Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22. Petrus Ferrandus was the epitome of a medieval translator when he orchestrated a replacement text in images for the books of the Old and New Testaments, and he realized, just as Benjamin would many centuries later, that the reception of a narrative could be a multimedia event.

Another part of the accessibility of biblical narrative in particular was the use of vernacular languages. The Bible was not always available in the vernacular, and lay reading of the Bible in the vernacular was forbidden by Canon Law in the thirteenth century.[324] By the Middle Ages, translations into vernacular languages were less common than authoritative Latin texts—Latin was the official language of the Church, which strove to standardize the Bible. But pictorial biblical narrative, which continued throughout the period of strict Latinization of the texts of Christianity, provided a universal vernacular that could be orally described in French, English, or Italian, and was distinct enough in its presentation from the layout and iconography

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[324] Michael Camille cites a letter of Pope Innocent III to the heretics of Metz in 1199 which censured them for having "the Gospels, the Letters of Paul, the Psalter, the Morals of Job and many other books translated into French," *Patrologiae latina*, vol. 214, cols. 695–98. Camille discusses the clerical prohibition on reading Scripture in the vernacular in two articles: "Visualising in the vernacular" and "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy."

of a traditional Vulgate Bible so as not to stir controversy.[325] The pictorial vernacular, referencing a common understanding of biblical narrative, was certainly at work in Sancho's Bible—it dominated it so much, and perhaps was too open to universal interpretation, that later additions of Latin text from the Vulgate was added to keep readers on pace in the narrative. Spencer 22 is a hybrid form that acknowledges the authoritative Latin Vulgate text, the pictorial primacy of Sancho's Bible, and the rise of the vernacular languages of medieval Europe.

4.3.2   Translatio and moving manuscripts: physical, political, and geographical concerns

Translatio is also a physical movement that can be mapped out and applied to any number of medieval objects, including relics and manuscripts.[326] I want to return to the above excerpt of *Cligès* as a means of introducing moving manuscripts. Its first line, *Ce nos ont nostre livre apris*, and the lines immediately preceding it, focus on books as the repositories of this powerful knowledge. Chrétien himself is a translator, taking an ancient text from an ancient book as the source material for his story.

Cest estoire trovons escrite,	This story we find written,
que conter vos vuel et retraire,	which I recount and relate to you,
en un des livres de l'aumaire	in one of the books of the library
mon seignor saint Pere a Biauvez;	of my lord Saint Peter at Beauvais;
de la fu li contes estres	from there was the tale
[don cest romanz fist Crestïens.	of which Chrétien made this romance.
Li livres est molt ancïens]	The book was very old
qui tesmoingne l'estoire a voire;	from which the story was told truthfully;
por ce fet ele mialz a croire.	for this makes it more credible.
Par les livres que nos avons	From these books that we have
les fez des ancïens savans	the deeds of ancient men are known

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[325] Camille, "Visualising the vernacular," 106.
[326] There is an interesting occurance of a copied manuscript-as-relic: the Cathach of St. Columba (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, s.n.), said to be written in his own hand—a copy of a book loaned to him by St. Finnian—is a relic associated with the sixth-century Irish saint (though the manuscript is likely of a later date). Thanks to Karen Webb for pointing me in the direction of Columba's manuscript.

et del siegle qui fu jadis. (v. 18–29)   and of centuries which were in the past.[327]

We learn that the book is revered for its *age*, which adds to the authenticity of the stories found within. Perhaps this is a very basic justification for the production of Spencer 22 from the old, likely revered, Sancho's Bible. The very connection to an "authentic" object—the material manuscript, not just the texts it contained—may have been reason enough for a translation. Chrétien is not only an interpreter of words, but a physical medium, transmitting the tale from source (the book on the shelf of the library at Beauvais) to target (presumably, the book in the hands of the reader at that very moment). A very direct connection is made to the original book, the ancient book, lending authority to Chrétien's text.

Although this may have been one reason behind the production of Spencer 22, the connection is not explicitly made. One can speculate that it is because the authenticity of the material, the Bible, was never in question. But some small statement linking it to Sancho's Bible would have likely given Spencer 22 greater prestige, linking it to a physical object in a historical past. For Jeanne II of Navarre, this link would also have connected her geographically to Navarre, and politically to its rulers. Given that so much was at stake for the manuscript's patron, a brief mention of Sancho's Bible in the table of contents or the colophon would have been appropriate, and without Spencer 22's colophon, we do not have an explicit connection. There is always the possibility that Sancho's Bible was well known in the circles that would have appreciated Spencer 22, the French and Navarrese royal courts, and so it need not have been stated in writing at all. Implicitly, Spencer 22 creates a political and geographical connection to Sancho's Bible as would a marriage between royal families, reconnecting France, the new

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[327] Harf-Lancner, ed., *Cligès* (2006), 63. My translation.

repository of knowledge and power via *translatio studii* and *translatio imperii*, with Navarre, an ancient Spanish kingdom.

4.3.3   Why *translatio imaginis*?

Neal Curtis has written that, "images transfer and translate between media."[328] This follows W. J. T. Mitchell's distinction that images are concretized as pictures in a variety of media. They are specifically adaptable to the process of translation and transference—*translatio imaginis*. With a variety of possible terms to choose from, including *visual translation*, *transposition*, *revision*, and *adaptation*, why coin a new phrase in an old tongue? Simply because each of the above terms is deficient in some way in describing the preservation of the pictorial narrative between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22 as well as its manipulation into a new manuscript full of image-text complexities. Yes, Spencer 22 is an end product of the transposition of images from one source to another, but transposition does not indicate the amount of imagination necessary on the part of the master designer of the texts and images included in Spencer 22 to update the twelfth-century images for a fourteenth-century audience. However, his imagination in regards to page layout does not supercede his desire to keep the visual narrative content as accurate as possible, something that would perhaps not be a priority in a true revision or adaptation of the material.

Visual translation, a concept developed by Claire Sherman, comes closest to meeting our descriptive needs, but is somewhat limited, having been developed in response to a written textual tradition and the literary translation of Aristotle's works from Latin to French in the Middle Ages, as we will see below. *Translatio imaginis*, on the other hand, captures something

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[328] Neal Curtis, ed. *The Pictorial Turn* (London: Routledge, 2010), 4.

more of the cultural context of medieval *translatio* and offers a position for the image in these contexts. *Translatio imaginis* is not bound to manuscript studies; it can also be applied to the translation of pictorial narrative across media, in the vein of Curtis' above statement (for example the use of the Cotton Genesis as basis for San Marco's mosaics in 1220s[329]).

4.3.4   Visual translation in Sherman's *Imaging Aristotle*

In 1995, Claire Sherman published *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representations in Fourteenth-Century France*, in which she investigates the four Aristotle manuscripts of Charles V, which had been translated into the vernacular by Nicole Oresme in the 1370s. She examines the programs of illustration (many of the pictures containing textual excerpts and captions) that were added to the fourteenth-century vernacular version, which are not found in any of the existing Latin versions of the written text. She looks for what she calls "the author" of the illustrated programs by examining the career of their translator, Nicole Oresme, who was chosen by Charles V for this translation project. Further, she considers the text and image relationships in Oresme's translations (for example, that the illustrations served indexical functions that might be linked to Aristotle's own articulation of the role of imagery in cognition and memory[330]).

For obvious reasons, Sherman's work is a model for my own; our respective studies introduce pictures as valid translations of written text. My own questioning is a reversal of Sherman's, asking instead who could have appended the written additions of biblical texts to the

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[329] See Kurt Weitzmann, "The Genesis Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures," in *The Mosaic Decoration of San Marco, Venice*, Otto Demus and Herbert Kessler, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 162–168 and Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).
[330] The function of illustrations as a reader's aid or referencing tool does not originate with Oresme's translations and can be found in Latin university texts as well as Latin manuscripts of Vincent de Beauvais, as noted by Alison Stones in her review of Sherman (*Medium Aevum*, vol. 68, 1999). Sherman notes Frances Yates, Mary Carruthers and others who have worked on the visual aspects of memory and meaning-making.

visual narrative of Spencer 22. Although Spencer 22's master designer did not translate the written text of the Bible from Latin into French, he orchestrated and oversaw the production of a manuscript with more than 840 distinct pictures and matched text to these pictures accordingly—surely an arduous and complex task. Our master designer took on many aspects of the role of translator, mainly as a mediator of information. Sherman also considers the political and cultural scope and meaning of Charles V's translation project, as well as royal patronage. These contexts are also relevant to the present study as we consider the political and cultural reasons by which Spencer 22 is connected to Jeanne II of Navarre.

Perhaps Sherman's greatest contribution to the present study of Spencer 22 and medieval communication at large is the term *visual translation*.[331] In Sherman's analysis of Oresme's work and the physical manuscripts he oversaw, she writes, "By abandoning a simple linear definition of 'translation' for a multifaceted concept, it became possible to map the king's translation project as a complex cultural process."[332] There is Oresme the translator, participating in *translatio studii* at the court of Charles V—a political and cultural venture for sure. But there is also Oresme the architect, the master designer, the "author" of the visual program, operating seamlessly between written and visual media, and exemplifying *translatio* in its many medieval contexts. She also talks about Oresme's possible role as interpreter for the king, perhaps reading aloud, explaining concepts, or using the images with their short texts as a kind of road map for

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[331] In the catalog essay, "Presenting the Past: Visual Translation in Thirteenth- to Fifteenth-Century France," Anne D. Hedeman writes, "Visual translation, the process by which images helped stories set in the past or in a different culture come alive and be current to a medieval reader, can only be properly understood within the framework of the history of the book," and her citation of this passage states, "The term 'visual translation' was coined by Claire Sherman in her seminal study of Nicole Oresme's illustrations for his translation into French of Aristotle, which also offers a rich analysis of Charles V's patronage of vernacular translations. See Sherman 1995." I see Sherman's definition as moving beyond the issue of bringing the past visually into the present as a purely historical approach. Sherman's bigger project is concerned with a multifaceted, indeed, *multisensory*, translation *process*, of which the *product* is visual.

[332] Sherman, 303.

discussion. Oresme as an educated elite used images as didactic and communicative on multiple levels. It is easy to see the master designer of Spencer 22 in a similar role.

Anne D. Hedeman uses Sherman's definition of visual translation as the starting point for her essay "Presenting the Past: Visual Translation in Thirteenth- to Fifteenth-Century France," for the catalog which accompanied The J. Paul Getty Museum's recent exhibition "Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting 1250–1500."[333] In this essay, Hedeman's objective is to not only outline the collaborative process of manuscript production in medieval France and the relationship between manuscript makers and patrons, but also to describe images as agents of translation, which, she states, "enabled the past to come alive for medieval readers."[334] Although it is perhaps a misnomer to describe medieval images as "lively" or even "living" (as we might consider motion pictures in the twentieth century, for example), Hedeman's basic premise that manuscript makers and readers shared a contemporary visual language, which included stylistic aspects like the inclusion of contemporary fashions, is valid, and supports the notion of multisensory medieval literacy at the elite level. It further reinforces the importance of pictures for this educated class, elevating visual imagery from merely a way for illiterate groups to "read" a medieval text to a complex and rich visual language in its own right.

Surely, medieval audiences were more familiar with pictures that included figures wearing clothing in the styles that they could see at court or at Mass or in the streets. Such images may have consciously and visually bridged the gap between a distant past and a living

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[333] Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, eds. *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting 1250–1500* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010).
[334] Hedeman, "Presenting the Past," 69.

present, or they may have just been a stylistic concern.[335] Regardless of the import that a

medieval audience might have given to pictures presenting historical figures in *au courant* dress,

the same process of updating the material through the use of visual rhetoric is vital to the

translatio imaginis between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22. Making style current while

retaining visual narrative content is akin to updating an Old French text into Middle French

(which was happening around the beginning of the fourteenth century in France) or, later,

modern French—many things, including sentence structure, often remain the same, while certain

words or phrases are updated. Likewise, narrative structure remains the same for Sancho's Bible

and corresponding images in Spencer 22 while stylistic details are updated for a contemporary

audience.

As a translation of the pictorial narrative in Sancho's Bible, Spencer 22 is a

"modernization" of the twelfth-century technique and style. Space is portrayed differently in the

two manuscripts, with Spencer 22 having the more sophisticated representation, as might be

expected due to its later date. Examples of this spatial update are the two miniatures representing

the birth of Moses. On folio 39r of Sancho's Bible, there is little desire to portray accurate space;

in the upper miniature, the infant appears to float above his mother's bed, as though he were

thrown from the arms of the woman attending the birth. In the miniature below, Moses' mother

and father place him in a lidded box, which also hovers between them ungrounded and

weightless. Folio 39r of Spencer 22 (Figure 14) better creates the illusion of three-dimensional

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[335] Hedeman writes, "Because dress had a rhetorical function and was part of a medieval artist's stock in trade, the costuming that artists used in manuscripts conveys significant insight into the ideas that illustrations sought to communicate. In order to work effectively, this rhetoric of costume drew on a visual vocabulary that artists, authors, and audiences shared and understood as a mode of communication that was based in reality, without necessarily being a comprehensive reflection of it," 78. She cites Waugh (2000), Blanc (1997), and Scott (2007) on costume in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Recently, there is also Anne van Buren, edited by Roger Wieck, *Illuminating Fashion: dress in the art of medieval France and the Netherlands 1325–1515* (New York: The Morgan Library and Museum and London: D. Giles Limited, 2011).

space and weight by depicting Moses in his mother's arms in the upper miniature, and positioning the figures of the bottom miniature so that their hands support the box. Each of the visual devices used to update the narrative of Sancho's Bible also preserve the *presence* of the visual narrative as the main content on each folio of Spencer 22, even with the addition of the text column. Changing tastes aside, the master designer of Spencer 22 successfully carries out *translatio imaginis*, an image-to-image translation.

Figure 14. Birth of Moses, Spencer 22, fol. 39r.

Finally, I want to discuss a difference between the historical manuscripts that Hedeman refers to and the biblical historical narrative of Spencer 22, and that is the issue of *illustration*. Hedeman uses the term *illustration* frequently, and accurately, to describe historical manuscripts. She writes that, "often *libraires* and artists were charged with illustrating texts anew or with

illustrating a new text."[336] Artists or booksellers, or other designers of a manuscript's layout, would have had to figure out how to incorporate images into written text (the primary concern), and which images would best illuminate or illustrate a particular aspect of the written text. In considering a seemingly innocuous term like *illustration*, it strikes one just how unique the situation of Spencer 22's production truly is. Spencer 22 is not an *illustrated* or *illuminated* Bible. The extensive, expansive pictorial narrative presented in Spencer 22 *is* the original content, as translated from Sancho's Bible—the images *are* the reading, the images *are* the text, not the extra information incorporated into a format that gives precedence to columns of written text. There was an additional working phase prior to the facture of Spencer 22 in which the appropriate French text was selected with which to pair the extant visual narrative. The process by which Spencer 22 was conceived negates the use of a term like *illustration*, which implies that images are after-the-fact clarifiers of text. That term is absolutely appropriate for many medieval manuscripts, but does not work for Spencer 22.

With *translatio imaginis* so defined and contextualized in medieval culture, I turn to the pictorial and physical comparisons of Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22. It is impossible within the scope of this study to choose more than a few sample images to discuss, which does the manuscript an inevitable disservice. Although I do not have the space to write on the many interesting image comparisons found between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, my research included the production of complete comparative tables of Spencer 22 and the related images from Sancho's Bible and the Augsburg manuscript. This is the first time that such a document has been produced for the study of Spencer 22; however, the document is too large to reproduce

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[336] "In these cases, they worked carefully to structure the visual cycle, determining the distribution and density of the images, their scale in relation to each other, and the positioning of differently scaled images within the cycle," Hedeman, 73.

in its entirety here. To conclude, I will now turn to two case studies of narrative *translatio imaginis*, followed with a selection of instances where the artists of Spencer 22 retained unusual iconography or mistakes from Sancho's Bible, and finally, I will present the evidence for Sancho's Bible being physically present at the time of Spencer 22's production.

4.4   CASE STUDY I: THE JOSEPH NARRATIVE IN SANCHO'S BIBLE AND SPENCER 22

I will look at points of departure in the inter-manuscript image-to-image relationship; first, the Joseph narrative in Genesis and then the Moses narrative (up to the destruction of the Ten Commandments) in Exodus. I have chosen these two sections because they employ specific visual techniques related to narration. The pictorial Joseph narrative in Spencer 22 exploits the main visual feature of this tale, the coat of many colors, creating visual continuity. This is but one tool of the pictorial narration that sets pacing and enables the viewer-reader to more easily recognize characters visually in Spencer 22 than in Sancho's Bible.

In Sancho's Bible, folio 22vb depicts the beginning of Joseph's story at Genesis 37:3, "Now Israel loved Joseph above all his sons, because he had him in his old age: and he made him a coat of divers colors (*tunicam polymitam*)."[337] In the miniature, Joseph wears a coat with a crisscrossed pattern in pale orange. In folio 23ra, however, the crisscrossed coat is abandoned and Joseph appears as a man, with a beard, a mere three verses later in Genesis 37:6–7 as he tells his brethren of his dream of binding sheaves in the field. Folio 23rb sees Joseph return to a

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[337] Douay-Rheims translation.

young boy standing before his father Israel. This visual glitch is disruptive, and one must go to the text to determine who is speaking. The Latin text above folio 23ra, taken straight from the Vulgate, begins *dixitque Ioseph undecim fratribus audite sompnium meum quod vidi* / "And Joseph said to his eleven brothers hear my dream which I dreamed," making it clear that Joseph is addressing the group of eleven (erroneously depicted as twelve, if you count the disembodied face peeking out between the figure in a pale orange and the figure in green in the front row). In the following image, folio 23rb, Joseph is depicted once again as a young man, beardless and with curly hair.

Spencer 22 corrects this mistake in the pictorial narrative. Joseph is very clearly draped in a multi-colored coat on folio 28v (Figure 15), one that retains the criss-cross pattern found in Sancho's Bible, but adds a green and orange wash. Folio 28vb does not represent the eleven brothers, showing only nine heads in the crowd. But as a visual marker, the figure of Joseph is clearly repeated, his hands in a gesture of address in each miniature, the green and orange wash distinguishing his unique coat. There is greater continuity in the figures and their dress, befitting of the early fourteenth century.
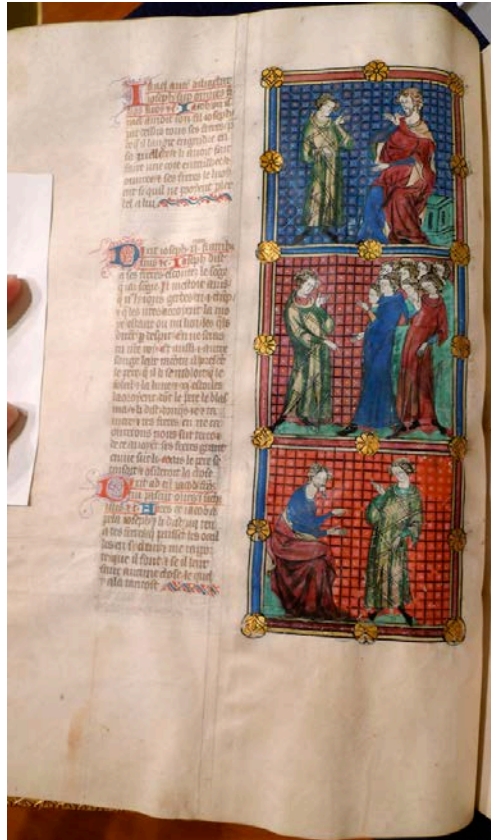
Figure 15. Joseph narrative, Spencer 22, fol. 28v.

As the story continues, with Joseph coming to his brothers in the field as they plot to throw him into the well, Sancho's Bible creates a complex pictorial combination of various aspects of the tale. Though Joseph's dream deals with binding sheaves and his sheaf towering above those of his brothers (Genesis 37:7), by the time that Joseph reaches his brothers in the field, they are actually meant to be feeding their father Israel's flocks (Genesis 37:13). In folio 23va, we see no flock, but are instead reminded of the content of the dream, even though the Latin text reads *ecce sompniator venit venite occidamus eum...* / "Behold the dreamer cometh. Come, let us kill him..." (Genesis 37:19–20). This scene visually unites the content of the dream with the action of the story. Spencer 22 preserves this unity in folio 29ra (Figure 16), although

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the artist has created a three-dimensional, "real" space, a field where the brothers are gathering wheat.

Figure 16. Joseph narrative, Spencer 22, fol. 29r.

As the story continues, Joseph is bound and stripped of his coat; Spencer 22 adds the cistern into which he is first thrown (Figure 17). The Ismaelites arrive on their camels and immediately following, we see Joseph's coat presented to Israel, who acknowledges the false tale that Joseph was killed by an animal (Sancho's Bible folio 24va, Spencer 22 folio 29vb; Figure 18). Spencer 22 adds dripping blood to the distinctive green and orange wash of Joseph's coat to heighten the drama of the episode. With just slight adjustments, including the addition of the cistern and the dripping blood, Spencer 22 expands the pictorial narrative without adding additional miniatures. It is clear from this eight-picture series just how closely Spencer 22

replicates Sancho's Bible, and also how small visual additions can add a new dimension to the narrative, and create three-dimensional spaces.[338]

Figure 17. Joseph is bound and placed in the well, Spencer 22, fol. 29r.

Figure 18. Joseph's coat is presented to Israel, Spencer 22 fol. 29v.

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[338] As an aside, in Sancho's Bible, you can see how the addition of texts was fitted to the framing area surrounding each picture. For example, in Sancho's Bible folio 24va, a stray "eum" hangs down the right-hand border. The translation of the two-picture-per-page format into three-pictures-per-page is also clearly illustrated in this brief sample.

4.5   CASE STUDY II: THE MOSES NARRATIVE IN SANCHO'S BIBLE AND SPENCER 22

The Moses narrative in Exodus up to the destruction of the Ten Commandments and the Golden Calf (Exodus 2:1–32:19) provides us with many of the transitional devices Spencer 22's artists employed to update the pictorial language for the fourteenth-century. We begin, of course, with the birth of Moses. Here is an instance where Spencer 22 retains the two-miniature-per-page format of Sancho's Bible (Spencer 22, folio 39r, Figure 19). Moses' mother and father, both of the house of Levi (here, unnamed, but later revealed to be Amram and Jochabed in Exodus 6:20)[339] are pictured twice. The upper miniature shows the birth bed, with a female servant attending. In Sancho's Bible, the head of the bed faces the left side of the folio, while in Spencer 22, the image is reversed. There is a lack of facial expression in Sancho's Bible that is translated into the expressive figures in Spencer 22: Jochabed's distracted gaze, head in hand, in the direction of the swaddled babe at her side indicates the turmoil she felt at the prospect of hiding her first-born son, and eventually having to abandon her baby to float down the river. There is nothing of this emotional layering in the same image in Sancho's Bible—not to mention the strangely hovering baby Moses, who looks as though he has just been tossed from the hands of his nurse. Could the artists of Spencer 22 have been indicating their awareness of the entire narrative, including the following pictorial episode, where Jochabed and Amram place Moses in a reed basket? It is possible that a fourteenth-century audience, attuned to a romance literary tradition, would have looked for such slight cues in expression and gesture.

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[339] It is interesting to note that in the Augsburg manuscript, Amram and Jochabed are labeled, which does not correspond to the Latin text. This leads one to believe that this correction was made for the ease of the user, who might question the names of Moses' mother and father and not know where to look in later chapters to find that information.

Figure 19. Spencer 22, folio 39r.

Spencer 22, folio 39v (Figure 20) returns to the three-picture-per-page format, with the top-most image of Pharaoh's sister and her attendants (strangely, lacking breasts) bathing in the river and discovering the baby in his basket. The gesture of the two attendants indicates some speech passing between them at this unlikely event. Immediately below, Moses is given to a Hebrew nurse, and finally, we see a man striking another man. Because of the ambiguity of the figures, we cannot determine whether this is a scene witnessed by Moses, the beating of a Hebrew man by an Egyptian, or the retaliation of Moses. The picture serves to illustrate both parts of the written narrative simultaneously.

Figure 20. Moses narrative, Spencer 22 fol. 39v.

Figure 21. Moses and the Burning Bush, Spencer 22 fol. 40r.

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The episode of the burning bush (Exodus 3:1–2) is translated from Sancho's Bible to Spencer 22 by visually condensing two images into one (Spencer 22, folio 40rc, Figure 21).[340] In Sancho's Bible, the burning bush occupies its own space, the top miniature, and its violent red flames and swooping angel actually provide more visual drama than its counterpart in Spencer 22, with barely-visible spotty red flames among the greenery of the bush. This is perhaps a more accurate representation of the French written text that accompanies the image, *en semblance de flambe de feu*, "the appearance of a burning flame," though the bush was not consumed or destroyed (*degastoit*). In order to avoid a solely iconographic image without narrative, Spencer 22 takes the burning bush and combines the following image of Moses with his sheep. It is in this picture that Moses' horns also appear, a convention that is used through the remainder of the Moses narrative in Spencer 22, but is absent in Sancho's Bible. This, as we know, is a misinterpretation on the part of Jerome, who misunderstood an idiomatic expression in Hebrew (found at Exodus 34:29–35) for "to radiate light" as the literal translation of *keren*, "to grow horns"—and this convention was often translated visually into medieval art. This is a wonderful example of medieval text-to-image translation, preserving a mistake in the translation between two written languages. These horns are not found in Sancho's Bible, further indicating that the artists of Spencer 22 felt a freedom to "correct" their model as needed, in the true spirit of medieval *translatio*.[341]

Exodus 4:27–29 describes Moses' meeting with Aaron, as directed by God, and when Moses meets Aaron he kissed him (*osculatus est eum*). Sancho's Bible, folio 41vb, depicts the

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[340] I use Bucher's system of labeling pictures with the number of their folio, designating next whether recto or verso, and finally using the letters a, b, and c (or more if there are more than three pictures per page) to designate the uppermost, middle, and bottom miniature, respectively.

[341] Ruth Mellinkoff says the first example of a horned Moses is eleventh-century England, in the Aelfric Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Joshua (British Museum, Cotton Claudius B. IV). Mellinkoff says the imagery moves from England and France to the south, and she cites an example of Spanish Bible of ca. 1293 (British Museum, Add. 50003). *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

meeting, but Spencer 22, folio 40vb (Figure 22), depicts the embrace (translated in French as *baiser*). In terms of page layout, we see here that the written Latin and French text has overstepped its allotted column, and four lines of text run the width of the two columns. This happens from time to time throughout the manuscript; here, the text does come before the pictures, or at the very least the borders of the three pictures were completed after the text was written, as you can see black ink from the gold border decoration overtop of the brown ink of the text.

Figure 22. Moses meets Aaron, Spencer 22 fol. 40r.

The pace of the visual narrative begins to speed up as we encounter the plagues upon Egypt. Spencer 22, folio 41r (Figure 23) depicts the staff becoming a serpent before Pharaoh, the rivers turned to blood, and the plague of frogs (with striking similarity to the frogs found in Sancho's Bible, folio 42vb). Spencer 22, folio 41v (Figure 24) continues with the plague of gnats, the death of the wild beasts (with upside-down animals not-so-convincingly indicating their death, but following the visual language of Sancho's Bible, folio 43va), and the plague of boils, the outcome of which is not depicted at all, but by placing Moses before the people of Egypt, a narrative component is added, lest the visual narrative just become a pictorial list.

Figure 23. Plagues, Spencer 22 fol. 41r.

Figure 24. Plagues, Spencer 22 fol. 41v.

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In Spencer 22, folio 42ra, we see the plague of hail, abstracted as white dots on a black background (Figure 25). This exactly follows the precedent set in Sancho's Bible. Rather than depict an event (the hail falling on Egypt in chaos), it was enough for the artist of Sancho's Bible to depict a multitude of hailstones. It appears that this strategy might not have been immediately successful, as it was changed in the Augsburg manuscript to an image of Moses with his staff and the hailstones that fall about him were labeled in Latin (*grando*). The artists of Spencer 22, in keeping with their mandate to be faithful to Sancho's Bible, made an aesthetic choice to return to the abstracted version of the hail stones. Spencer 22, folio 42r (Figure 26), continues with the plague of locusts, and the plague of darkness.

Figure 25. Plague of Hail, Spencer 22 fol. 42r.

Spencer 22, folio 42v (Figure 27), takes us through the story of Passover. The episode is given three full-folio images in Sancho's Bible, but is condensed into one folio in Spencer 22. In the uppermost miniature, folio 42va, we have the multitude of the Israelites gathering to sacrifice a lamb as the Lord told them through Moses and Aaron. The cascade of faces from the upper left corner of the image on Sancho's Bible, folio 45r, is replaced with a crowd that exists in a more

true-to-life space in Spencer 22. The Angel of Death sweeping through Egypt and killing the sons in households that did not bear the blood of the lamb over the door is graphically depicted in both manuscripts, with severed heads spurting blood in both. The bottom miniature on Spencer 22, folio 42v, depicts another multitude, this time the Israelites leaving Egypt. One can see again how the artists of Spencer 22 were interested in creating a window effect by placing their crowd in the same abstracted but more naturalistic pictorial space, with a ground-line and patterned background. There is something to be said about the figures of Sancho's Bible, folio 46r, filling nearly every nook of the frame, conveying the chaos of a true "multitude."

Figure 26. Plagues, Spencer 22 fol. 42r.

Figure 27. Passover, Spencer 22 fol. 42v.

Spencer 22, folio 43r (Figure 28), gives us two additional examples of updated stylistic

changes, translations for a fourteenth-century audience. The first is in the upper miniature, with

Pharaoh's army following the Israelites bearing fourteenth-century armor, including chain mail,

and shields. The second example in the lower miniature is Moses bearing the bones of Joseph

away from Egypt (Exodus 13:19, out of sequence in both Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22). The

ossuary that Moses took with him (*ossa Ioseph secum*) looks very much like a late medieval

image of a saint's tomb, such as the one depicted on the south portal of Chartres Cathedral

(Figure 29),[342] especially with the openings at the side through which pilgrims could insert their

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[342] Adolf Katzenellenbogen identifies Nicholas in this image on the south porch, as well as an image the Dowry miracle, which is depicted immediately below: "The good deed of St. Nicholas is equally an act of mercy. In order to spend his wealth for the sake of God, he secretly throws pieces of gold into the house of a noble but impoverished man who, in his despair, wanted to abandon his three daughters to the sins of the world. Above this scene the saint

hands to achieve closeness with the saint. The three-dimensional spaces portrayed on Spencer 22, folio 42v, are abandoned just two sides later in folio 43v (Figure 30) in the artist's attempt to depict a very difficult and monumental image, the parting of the Red Sea. There is a collapse in the translation of space from a twelfth-century to a fourteenth-century mode on folio 43v in Spencer 22. This page, a two-miniature format, returns more accurately to transfer the composition almost exactly from Sancho's Bible, folio 48v. This could be because of the difficulty of depicting the event, or the desire to remain consistent with the effective visual convention of Sancho's Bible.

Figure 28. Spencer 22 fol. 43r.

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performs miracles even after his death. The sick are healed through the oil and water that flow from his tomb," *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1959), 81.

Figure 29. Saint Nicholas' tomb, south porch, right portal, Chartres Cathedral. Image credit: Philip Maye.

Figure 30. Parting the Red Sea, Spencer 22 fol. 42v.

4.6 FOUR CATEGORIES OF IMAGE-TO-IMAGE COMPARISON IN SANCHO'S BIBLE AND SPENCER 22

As we have discussed throughout this study to this point, Spencer 22's visual narrative is indebted to its predecessor, Sancho's Bible. Though the figures are stylistically updated to reflect their new fourteenth-century context, in most instances, the layout of each narrative miniature, as well as the visual content, remains the remarkably same.[343] In examining the instances where Spencer 22 retains iconography that would have been considered atypical for the fourteenth century, or shares a visual "mistake" with Sancho's Bible (i.e. a place where the visual narrative does not match biblical content), we not only further corroborate the political and cultural reasons for the similarities between Spencer 22 and Sancho's Bible, but we bring to light the artistic contributions of Spencer 22's artists in producing an appropriate and desirable fourteenth-century luxury manuscript.

I have observed four comparative categories supporting my theory of *translatio imaginis* between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22. There are two categories of visual "anomalies" in Sancho's Bible that are retained in Spencer 22: unusual iconography (not technically "incorrect" but not commonly found in either the original eleventh-century Spanish context of Sancho's Bible or the fourteenth-century French context of Spencer 22) and divergences between the written and visual text (instances where a visual mistake from Sancho's Bible is retained while the added French text is "corrected" in Spencer 22). These instances, especially the later, indicate the artists' instructions to remain steadfast in their visual translation of Sancho's Bible, even if they were aware of the difference between the visual narrative and the written biblical text of the

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[343] For a better sense of the magnitude of the similarities, see Appendix B.

Vulgate and *Bible historiale complétée*. Similarly, two categories of "updates" made by Spencer 22 artists also shed light on their creative process. The first are stylistic changes that do not affect narrative; the second, a use of more provocative iconography. I will look at examples from each of these categories below.

4.6.1 Unusual iconography: Adam and Eve, Synagoga, and Moses Writing

There are at least three instances where unusual iconography (meaning iconographical choices that are not commonly found in other visual media from the late Middle Ages) is used in Sancho's Bible, and translated into Spencer 22. The first example is from Genesis, specifically, the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden. This example of unusual and notable iconography in Spencer 22 can be found on folio 8r (Figure 31), an image of Adam and Eve cast out of Paradise in what appear to be long robes made of fur. There is no comparative image from Sancho's Bible, as those early folios have been lost, but this is unusual in fourteenth-century French iconography, where Adam and Eve are often shown with leaves covering their nakedness at the moment they are cast out from the Garden, as in Ste-Geneviève 22, the *Bible historiale* from the Sub-Fauvel Master which is datable to ca. 1330. In marked contrast, Spencer 22 depicts Adam and Eve leaving the Garden of Eden in floor-length brown robes, with light white markings indicating fur.

Figure 31. Adam and Eve cast out of Paradise, Spencer 22 fol. 8r.

The account of the Fall of Man begins with Adam and Eve eating from the Tree of Knowledge on folio 6v (Figure 32). At this moment, as the written text in Spencer 22 reads, *et lors furent leurs yeux ouvers*, "and their eyes were opened" to their own nakedness, and they covered themselves with leaves. God asks Adam why he has covered himself on folio 7v (Figure 33), and discovers that they have eaten from the forbidden tree; he learns from Eve that she was tricked by the serpent, and condemns the serpent as "cursed" among all the beasts of the earth. God provides Adam and Eve with garments made of skins (Genesis 3:21–22) and then sends them out of paradise (Genesis 3:23). Spencer 22 carefully preserves the correct order of events as presented in the Vulgate (and subsequently translated into French); this order must also have been found in Sancho's Bible, likely in two full-page miniatures.

Figure 32. Adam and Eve eat from the Tree of Knowledge, Spencer 22 fol. 10v.

Figure 33. Adam and Eve narrative, Spencer 22 fol. 7v.

The accompanying written text for the upper miniature on fol. 8r reads, *Apres ce fist ...*
diex a adam et a sa fame cotes de peaus de bestes et les en vestu... / "And the Lord God made for
Adam and his wife garments of skins, and clothed them." The attention given to this passage,
specifically illustrating the fur garments, gives an indication as to just how descriptive narrative
images could be, and how much content could be conveyed in addition to the action of
expulsion. While we do not have the original image from Sancho's Bible, we do have the same
image from the Augsburg manuscript, in which Adam and Eve are clothed in what appear to be
gender-specific, contemporary clothing, although black hash marks indicate that they are skins.

Both the Augsburg image and the missing image in Sancho's Bible come from a late-
twelfth century Spanish context, but may have been influenced by iconography from further
abroad. The Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2334), a late
sixth or early seventh century manuscript, which may have been Spanish in origin,[344] contains a
depiction of Adam and Eve wearing skins (folio 6), standing beneath a booth. If the Ashburnham
Pentateuch were of Spanish origin, the images may likely have been influenced by Jewish
prototypes. By the twelfth century, there were a number of fresco representations from Italy of
Adam and Eve partially or fully covered by robes or skins, as well as some in manuscripts from
regions throughout Europe.[345] There also exist many representations of Adam and Eve covering

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[344] Dorothy Verkerk disagrees with earlier scholarship that places the Ashburnham Pentateuch in Spain; she argues
for an Italian origin. Other scholars have suggested North Africa or Syria. See Verkerk's *Early Medieval Bible*
Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[345] There are many instances of early medieval depictions of fully or partially clothed Adam and Eve departing the
Garden of Eden. Some examples from elsewhere in Europe include the eleventh-century fresco at Sant'Angelo in
Formis, which depicts Adam and Eve partially covered by white robes with a blue trim and the late-twelfth century
fresco at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina in Rome in which Adam and Eve wear animal skins. In manuscripts, perhaps
the most well-known twelfth-century representation of Adam and Eve in skins is found in the St. Albans Psalter
(second quarter of the twelfth century, Hildesheim, St. Godehard ms. 1, fol. 9v). The Index of Christian Art has been
an invaluable research in seeking out comparative iconography.

their nakedness with their own hands, or covered by loincloths or leaves from eleventh and twelfth century Italy, and throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth century in France, England, and Germany. The artists of Sancho's Bible chose specifically to depict Adam and Eve fully clothed because they were narrating a more complete account than other examples. It is interesting that this is retained in Spencer 22, given that the nude iconography seems to have taken over as the dominant iconography for this narrative in later centuries.[346] Likewise, it is unclear how the fourteenth century audience for Spencer 22 would have received the illustrative depiction of the animal skin clothing when they were perhaps attuned to the other iconographic tradition. Perhaps they simply saw it as one of the quaint, antiquarian features of Spencer 22.

A second example of unusual iconography is the image of Synagoga with a serpent over her eyes on Sancho's Bible, folio 193r and Spencer 22, folio 127r (Figure 34). Images of Synagoga, the personification of the Jewish synagogue as a woman, were not unusual in fourteenth-century France. Sara Lipton describes early representations of Synagoga as "serene" and visually similar to Ecclesia; however, "by the twelfth century, Synagoga had acquired more distinctive and disturbing attributes."[347] She was often depicted wearing a blindfold, and sometimes with a broken crown or staff, symbolizing the medieval perception that the Jews were "blind" to Christ as the Messiah and that the governance of the Jewish synagogue had been replaced with Ecclesia, the Christian church. Images of Ecclesia with crowned head held high and banner flying, triumphant in Christ, were shown as a counterpart to the downtrodden

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[346] Nude depictions can be found in many geographical regions, including an early eleventh-century fresco in the nave of S. Vincenzo in Galliano; thirteenth-century glass at Chartres Cathedral; from a German school of manuscript production, the Wings Psalter (c. 1250–1274, Aachen Stadtbibliothek Wings 2, fol. 1v); from the English school of manuscript production, the Holland Psalter (c. 1270–1280, Cambridge, John's College Library, K. 26, fol. 4v), the Hunter Psalter (c. 1170, Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 229), and the Winchester Psalter (c. 1150–1160, British Library, Cotton Nero C.IV, fol. 2r)

[347] Sara Lipton, "The Temple is My Body: Gender, Carnality, and Synagoga in the Bible Moralisée," in Eva Frojmovic, ed., *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 129–164, 129.

Synagoga, and could be found on urban cathedrals as well as in privately commissioned manuscripts. In the imagery found in Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, Synagoga is seated at the left of the image, head down, with a broken staff to which is attached a green banner. She is blinded, but not by a piece of cloth; here, a serpent wraps around her head and appears to bite her face. This unusual representation makes the action of "blinding" more aggressive than a cloth covering her face.[348] Although the serpent blindfold is atypical iconography, there are three examples that would have been seen by public audiences in major urban French cathedrals: a thirteenth-century Passion typological window at Chartres Cathedral (Figure 35), a thirteenth-century sculpture at on the west façade of Notre-Dame de Paris, and in a thirteenth-century sculpture at the church of Saint-Seurin in Bordeaux, in which the serpent does not cover her eyes as a blindfold, but sits on her head.[349]

Figure 34. Synagoga and Ecclesia, Spencer 22, folio 127r.

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[348] Wolfgang Seiferth says that the serpent is a representation of the devil, and mentions specifically the iconography of Sancho's Bible and the thirteenth-century Passion typological window at Chartres. *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, trans. Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1970), 99.

[349] The statue on the west façade of Notre-Dame de Paris was redone by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc in the mid-nineteenth century. The sculpture at Saint-Seurin is no longer extant, and only known through one of Viollet-le-Duc's sketches, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Bonaventure et Ducessois: 1856).

**Figure 35. Synagoga, Passion Typological Window, Chartres Cathedral, 13th century.
Image credit: Jane Vadnal.**

Two Latin excerpts from a Christmas service, the sequence *Laetabundus*,[350] were added

to the image in Sancho's Bible shortly after it was completed, and were retained in the Augsburg

manuscript and Spencer 22.[351] The first part of the written text found in Sancho's Bible reads,

Ysaias praeeunt, Synagoga meminit, numquam tamen desinit esse caeca / "Isaiah heralded it,

Synagoga remembered it, yet will never cease to be blind," which matches the visual depiction

but makes no specific reference to a serpent. The second part of the Latin inscription reads

Synagoga[m] mutat ecclesia, where *mutat* (*muto, mutare*) can be read as "shifts to" or "changes

to" in the sense that Ecclesia replaces Synagoga.[352]

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[350] This sequence, which begins *Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus*, is found in the Dominican Missal. It is often attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, but it has been found in an eleventh-century manuscript, and so must have been written earlier than the date usually given. See the description of the *Laetabundus* sequence in Dom Prosper Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year* (Saint Austin Press, 2000).

[351] The preceding folio(s) in both Sancho's Bible (192r–192v) and Spencer 22 (126v) contains a hymn related to I Corinthians 15:54–55, Osee 13:14, and the Holy Saturday service (Bucher). This section immediately follows the completion of the New Testament narrative on folios 191v and 126r in Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, respectively.

[352] The Latin excerpt reads, *Ysaias p[rae]eunt synagoga meminit numquam tamen desinit esse c[a]eca. Synagogam mutat ecclesia.* "Praeeunt" (the third person plural present indicative of *praeeo, praeire,* to go before, precede; dictate) is a mistake, and should be in the third person singular, *praeit.* It appears to be a substitution for the more commonly found verb *cecinit* (to sing, chant). J. F. Niermeyer, C. Van De Kieft, J. W. J. Burgers, *Mediae Latinitatis*

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Again, one wonders why this iconography was chosen in Pamplona in the twelfth-century, and how its later fourteenth-century French audience understood it. Twelfth-century Navarre was, by all accounts, an integrated society, and I have not been able to determine whether or not Sancho VII had a particular interest in subduing Jewish interests. We do know, however, that in the year prior to the arrival of Jeanne II of Navarre and her husband Philip III in Pamplona, there was an uprising against the Jews of Navarre, lead by Father Pero de Oillogoyen, under the pretense that the Jewish moneylenders were practicing usury.[353] Father Pero was imprisoned by Jeanne II and Philip III shortly after their coronation and establishment in Navarre's capital in 1329. Of course, this particular image would have had little if anything to do with Jeanne II's handling of the Father Pero uprising; however, if there was conflict at large between Christian and Jewish Navarre, then Jeanne II might have had occasion to consider this image in that context. Synagoga's broken crown and staff also signifies a fissure in rule, a transition from one branch (Jews) to a related but separate branch of the same family tree (Christians), imagery that was surely significant to its royal audiences in the context of these manuscripts.

A final example of unusual iconography present in Sancho's Bible that is retained in Spencer 22 is that of Moses transcribing the Ten Commandments with a quill pen (Exodus 34:28). I have not encountered other images of Moses writing the Ten Commandments, let alone with what appears to be a quill pen.[354] This is likely just another instance of an image required

Lexicon Minus (Leiden: Brill, 2002). The line *Synagoga mutat ecclesia* is similar to *Synagogam mutat ecclesia*, found in the liturgical hymns of Adam of St. Victor (d. 1146), for the feast of St. James the Greater on July 25.

[353] Leroy, 139; de Lagrèze, 192.

[354] In the eastern tradition of medieval art, Moses is shown receiving the Tables of Law, as though they are handed down from God in Heaven. Examples are the Theodore Psalter from 1066 (London, British Library, ms. Add. 19352, fol. 193v), a late fourteenth-century Serbian Psalter (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, slav. 4, fol. 140r). This tradition is also found in the west in the later Middle Ages, including a historiated Bible from France, c. 1390–1400

for the expanded visual narrative of Sancho's Bible, that would not be necessary in other abbreviated representations. The Latin inscription, directly from the Vulgate, reads: *fecit ergo ibi cum Domino quadraginta dies et quadraginta noctes panem non comedit et aquam non bibit et scripsit in tabulis verba foederis decem* / "And he was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights: he neither ate bread nor drank water, and he wrote upon the tables the ten words of the covenant."[355] The written text from which the visual narrative was originally translated describes the physical act of writing; hence, Moses is depicted with pen in hand. This scene is found in Augsburg as well as Spencer 22. The written French text in Spencer 22 is even more specific, as Moses *escript de sa main en les tables les commandements de la loy*. The inclusion of *de sa main*, "by his hand," corroborates the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible. The artists of Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22's translation appear to have depicted Moses as one of the contemporary scribes they worked with, who used quill pens in their daily work.

4.6.2   Divergences between written and visual text

At times in Spencer 22, visual narrative and written text diverge. These divergences are often transferred directly from Sancho's Bible. Bucher notes a few of these mistakes, which he claims indicate that Spencer 22 was made "in haste."[356] An example where the Latin text in Sancho's Bible was misinterpreted by the artists and scribes of Spencer 22 is the depiction of Isidore of Seville in Sancho's Bible, folio 246v, and Spencer 22, folio 153v. The Latin text added to the miniature in Sancho's Bible clearly labels the figure *Isidorus*. The full Latin inscription reads: *Et*

(New York, Morgan Library, M. 526), and the Arsenal Old Testament, produced in the mid-thirteenth century in Acre (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5211, fol. 53v).

[355] All Latin abbreviations found in Sancho's Bible have been expanded; translation provided by <www.latinvulgate.com>, accessed 12 July 2011.

[356] Bucher, vol. 1, 68.

quia rogatum eo fecit quamvis inperfectum relinquerat ego in viginti libris divisi et fuerint libri quadraginta quatuor / "And because he was asked (to accomplish this) he undertook it though he left it unfinished. I divided (his work) into twenty books but there were (to be) forty-four."[357] This text accompanies an image of Isidore, seated at a desk with an open book and bookshelves behind the desk. By the time this image is translated into Spencer 22, however, the figure has been changed to that of Ambrose, Doctor of the Church (Figure 36). Saint Ambrose is seated at a desk writing into one book with three closed books and one open book propped up before him. He appears to be in the process of transcribing, transferring, and possibly translating a written text. The accompanying French text is also altered (and this is the only way we can identify Ambrose, since the image itself contains no further specifics): *Messire St. Ambroise fu glorieus docteur et evesque de mielan.*

Figure 36. Isidore of Seville, Spencer 22 fol. 153v.

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[357] Bucher, vol. 1, 279. Translation by Bucher. He notes the ambiguity of this text, and postulates that it refers to the *Etymologiae* which were incomplete at the time Isidore sent them to Braulio, his friend.

Bucher believes that hastiness was again the culprit behind this error of translation. He proposes a scenario in which "the scribe caught the number (44) of Isidore's books, immediately transposed it mentally, and came up with the fact that Ambrose died while trying to translate Psalm 44. ... The brazen assurance with which the mistake is ignored shows flexibility and a certain amount of knowledge on the part of the scribe. At the same time it demonstrates how an illustration could be redefined on the basis of an erroneous text." The production process is clearly evident here. The scribe of Spencer 22 placed his written text before the images were transposed. He then used the *Legenda aurea* text for his description of Ambrose. The artist's depiction of Ambrose/Isidore in Spencer 22 is vague enough that it could represent either figure; thus, the visual narrative is not "incorrect," it is the French text that has been mistranslated. The fact that there are not an abundance of these types of errors leads us to believe that the visual narrative was regularly adhered to and double-checked for errors before the scribe placed text. This mistake, and the other isolated instances of errors, are minor and do not indicate a hastiness in production.

In another instance of discrepancy between the visual and written text, a mistake in Sancho's Bible's visual narrative is retained, even when the French text added in Spencer 22 is corrected. Images of the Sacrifice of Isaac contain a visual error. In both Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, Abraham is shown carrying a sword on Sancho's Bible fol. 11v and Spencer 22 fol. 19v, while Isaac carries a flame and the wood for the holocaust on his back (Figure 37). According to Genesis 22:6, *tulit quoque ligna holocausti et inposuit super Isaac filium suum ipse vero portabat in manibus ignem et gladium cumque duo pergerent simul* / "And he took the wood for the holocaust, and he laid it upon Isaac his son; and he himself carried in his hands fire

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and a sword."[358] Sancho's Bible includes the first part of the Latin verse, *Tulit quoque ligna holocausti et inposuit super Isaac filium suum ipse vero portabat in manibus ignem et gladium.* Interestingly, the word *manibus* has been worn away, perhaps even purposely erased.[359] Perhaps, once the original users of Sancho's Bible were aware of this mistake, they tried to compromise by literally removing Abraham's "hand" from the written description.

Figure 37. Sacrifice of Isaac, Spencer 22 fol. 19v.

Interestingly, folio 20v of the Augsburg manuscript *corrects* the visual narrative, placing the sword and flame in Abraham's hands. It contains the same Latin text as above, and reinforces the description by labeling the figures *Ysaac defereret ligna* and *Habraham eum gladio et igne*. Spencer 22, however, retains the visual mistake in Sancho's Bible, which is strong evidence for Sancho's Bible to have been the source manuscript for Spencer 22 rather than Augsburg or another intermediate copy. The French text of Spencer 22 is also "corrected": *il* [Abraham] *portoit lespee et le feu*. This is a straightforward error in the visual narrative, one that would

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[358] Douay-Rheims translation.
[359] The complete erasure of the word *manibus* while the word immediately above, *Tulit*, has not suffered the same wear and is quite legible is not characteristic of wear from repeated use. Folio 9v shows a similar effect, where the bottom line of text nearest the corner of the page has been worn away, and it is still legible.

surely have been noticed by its audience. Since Latin text was added to Sancho's Bible only after its visual narrative was completed, there are a few possibilities as to how the error might have occurred in the late twelfth century. One is that the artist of Sancho's Bible was orally instructed as to what to paint, and his instruction (this particular verse from the Vulgate, perhaps) was misread by a third party. Thus the painter, though faithfully depicting what he had heard, had unwittingly made a mistake. A second possibility is that the artist had written instructions, or perhaps had the Vulgate itself to work from, and misread Genesis 22:6. This slight error does not change the outcome of the narrative or gravely misrepresent a theological point; however, a user of Sancho's Bible or Spencer 22 was perhaps troubled, or amused, or annoyed by this very apparent mistake.

Additionally, Bucher points out that some of the French text in Spencer 22 was based "purely on the pictures," especially in the case of the saints. This fact lends support to the primacy of the visual narrative, even at the expense of the accuracy of written text. The complicated image-text relationships that arose from this situation tell us much about the translation process. For example, there is an image of a saint on folio 147v of Spencer 22 whose source image in Sancho's Bible is no longer extant. Bucher notes that the description of this saint with French text is "so general that it makes any attempt at identification of this lost saint futile."[360] This mistake could have been made by a scribe who could not identify or was not familiar with the saint depicted in Sancho's Bible (again, this image is lost, so we cannot be sure), who made up the text based on a description of the image. An anomaly such as this, given the overall consistency of Spencer 22 with Sancho's Bible, gives us pause to consider the

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[360] Bucher, vol. 1, 68. The French text, transcribed by Bucher, reads, *Ce glorieus martyr S...fu du temps lempereur dicletien lequel rempli de trop grant fourcenerie contre li pour ce quil ne vouloit aourer [adorer] ses ydoles et renier la foy ihesucrist commanda a I de ses ser gens que apres moult de tourmens il li copast la teste et puis le feist ieter en I fleuve et ainsi fu fait.*

complicated job of the scribes and artists of Spencer 22, and the process by which they physically translated Sancho's Bible into Spencer 22.

4.6.3   Stylistic changes that do not affect narrative

Instances where the artists chose to make a stylistic change that does not affect narrative indicate their agency in the translation process. These were choices likely made at the moment of production rather than premeditated changes or changes mandated by the project's supervisor. One could argue that every miniature in Spencer 22 belongs in this category, since they are all updated stylistically. However, I have noted a few places where these stylistic changes indicate a different representation of time and space in fourteenth-century painting than that which was the context for the Spanish artists of Sancho's Bible.

There are some generalizations one can make without citing specific instances. Spencer 22's artists had a more accurate notion of space, and attempt to create three-dimensional spaces where possible (even when bound to use the patterned background which flattens any notion of distance). They tend to ground their figures in this imagined space, while many of the figures in Sancho's Bible hover somewhere above the ground. A clear example of this is the image of Pharaoh's daughter and her attendants discovering the infant Moses. In Sancho's Bible, folio 39v, the women are drawn as though they were standing in front of light blue and pink wavy lines. Spencer 22's artists were able to depict the women as they stood in the water (Figure 38), with a "transparent" layer of wavy lines through which one can see the lower halves of the women's bodies. This subtle and expected adjustment creates a sense of naturalism in the figural representations of Spencer 22.

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Figure 38. Moses is discovered by Pharaoh's daughter, Spencer 22 fol. 39v.

The artists of Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22 also had different means of representing groups, crowds, or visual lists, with varying degrees of visual impact. A representative crowd scene (Josue 6:20) in Spencer 22, folio 54v, shows the layering of figures upon green ground with a building to the right (Figure 39). In Sancho's Bible, the crowd envelops the building, with no attempt at perspective. The artists of Spencer 22 also adeptly conceptualized visual lists, such as that of the sons of Jacob, differently in some places than the artists of Sancho's Bible and the Augsburg manuscript. In the earlier picture Bibles, the twelve men representing the twelve tribes of Israel are represented as full figures. Sancho's Bible depicts the men in overlapping rows, while the Augsburg manuscript simply stacks one row of six men on top of the other, with little regard for spatial accuracy. Spencer 22, however, abandons this representation in favor of twelve

roundels, arranged in three rows of four, with only the busts of each son of Jacob visible.[361] Sancho's Bible attempts to show variation in the figures' dress and gesture; there are fewer opportunities to do that in Spencer 22's format, as no hands or robes are visible.

Figure 39. Crowd scene, Spencer 22 fol. 54v.

Rows of roundels arranged in a square frame are also found on folio 10r in Spencer 22, a representation of the generations of Adam (Genesis 5:1), and folio 23r, the generations of Abraham (Genesis 25:15). The corresponding image for folio 10r has been lost in Sancho's Bible; however, the corresponding image for folio 23r is extant (Sancho's Bible, folio 15ra), and it follows the same arrangement of three rows of three round framing devices, each with one of the sons of Abraham represented. We know that this pictorial device was in use in the twelfth

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[361] The use of roundels for the generations of Adam is similar to the genealogy of the kings of France in Bernard Gui's early fourteenth-century tables in the *Flores chronicorum* (such as those in Toulouse, MS. 450, fols. 183v–192v and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 45, fols. 33v–48r) and the Girard d'Auvergne genealogical diagrams in the *Abbrevatio figuralis historiae* (1300–1325) (Morgan Library, M.301). I thank Alison Stones for pointing out these similar images.

century; however, it is better integrated in the visual narrative of Spencer 22, which utilizes stylized patterns in a way that Sancho's Bible does not in its background decoration as well as the gold rosettes that were intended to border each miniature's frame. Pattern and repetition (in addition to the narrative) provide structure and flow for each page layout, which creates a hierarchy for the visual narrative.

A similar stylistic change takes place as Spencer 22's artists change many of the vertical formats found in Sancho's Bible's full-page miniatures to horizontal formats. This is especially notable where tables are depicted, as the image of Joseph and his brothers feasting (Genesis 43:31–32). Certainly, the artists switched to a horizontal format out of necessity to accommodate the layout of Spencer 22, which combined two full-page miniatures from Sancho's Bible into one page. Perhaps unknowingly, however, the artists were producing greater narrative context for the feasting image by placing it with an image from Genesis 44:3–4 in which the brothers depart with their animals the following day. A broader narrative episode is given in one page, creating a different reading experience and narrative pacing for the viewer. Likewise, Moses' brazen serpent and the crowd before him are depicted in a dramatic vertical format in Sancho's Bible, but the image is condensed into a horizontal format in Spencer 22. The formerly isolated image in Sancho's Bible is now the final miniature on the page, the culmination of a two-miniature narrative episode at the beginning of chapter 21 of the Book of Numbers. The center miniature, in which fiery serpents are sent by the Lord to bite and kill the sinners among Moses' people (Numbers 21:6–7), now provides a visual lead-in for the brazen serpent, set up as a sign, which healed the bitten (Numbers 21:9). Admittedly, this is a spatial issue about the accommodation of image and text in page layout, and not likely an individual artist's choice.

However, the expanded narrative on each page that results illustrates the melding of continuity and change in *translatio imaginis*.

4.6.4   Provocative iconography: Bathsheba

A final category of discrepancies in the visual narrative consists of instances where more provocative iconography is used in Spencer 22 than found in Sancho's Bible, or, conversely, instances where violent or provocative imagery in Sancho's Bible is toned down in Spencer 22. The depiction of Bathsheba at her toilet is one instance where Spencer 22 sensationalizes the rather subdued image found in Sancho's Bible. As David looks down upon Bathsheba in Sancho's Bible, she is fully clothed, with one exposed leg hovering above a bowl as her servant helps her to wash. In Spencer 22 (Figure 40), Bathsheba is nude from the waist up, with her servant gesturing suggestively towards her exposed breasts. This is quite a departure from Sancho's Bible, and is not explicitly described in the French text; here, we may have an instance of the artist's creative license at work.

Figure 40. Bathsheba, Sancho's Bible fol. 94r, Spencer 22 fol. 71r.

Perhaps the artist of Spencer 22 knew the Bathsheba images in the Morgan Bible, or, more likely, images of Bathsheba in the Psalter of Saint Louis (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. lat. 10525) and the Psalter of Isabelle (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 300), which also date to the thirteenth century.[362] The Morgan Bible images are sexually overt, and include a scene of David in bed with Bathsheba, which is not depicted in Sancho's Bible or Spencer 22. In the image where David first sees Bathsheba, she is also exposed from the waist up, and a servant brings her water for the wooden tub in which she sits. However, a more relevant pair of Bathsheba images can be found in the Psalter of Saint Louis and the Psalter of Isabelle. In both Psalter images, Bathsheba is depicted in the upper portion of the Beatus initial, the first word of Psalm 1.[363] She is completely nude, seated by a stream. Two attendants help to bathe her, one holding a garment behind her and the other seated next to her, reaching around to wash her. Harvey Stahl notes that this is a departure from other medieval depictions of Bathsheba and David in that there is no sense of admonishment for King David's illicit look.[364] While most earlier representation show Bathsheba in a tub, few place her outdoors by a stream as the Psalters do, and the depiction of her nudity outdoors suggests Eve in Paradise.[365]

The artist of Spencer 22 seems to be negotiating between depictions of a nude Bathsheba and accuracy in translating the visual source material of Sancho's Bible. Bathsheba in Sancho's Bible is fully clothed, with a servant bathing only her feet. She is seated on a chair or throne, just as in Spencer 22, and the chairs are somewhat discordant with their "outdoor" surroundings

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[362] It is more likely that Jeanne II or an artist of Spencer 22 saw one or both of the Psalters, which were produced in Paris. As referenced previously, the Alison Stones argues that the Morgan Bible was made in northern France or Flanders in "Questions of Style and Provenance in the Morgan Picture Bible."

[363] The Psalm begins, *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio* / "Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel" (of the wicked).

[364] Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis* (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 195.

[365] Stahl, 196.

below David's window. There is no sense of a natural or earthly Paradise in Spencer 22 or reference to Eve as seen in the Psalters. However, the Psalter of Isabelle, whose attendant gestures towards her belly, not far from her pubic region, may have influenced the gesture of the attendant in Spencer 22, who grasps Bathsheba's breasts. There is an element of medieval courtly romance at work as the gaze of David strikes the unsuspecting Bathsheba, and a reinterpretation of David's role as permissible in the translation of this biblical narrative for a fourteenth-century audience.

4.7   PAINT DROPLETS AS EVIDENCE OF TRANSLATION

Finally, I point to a piece of evidence that is not part of the iconographical or stylistic analysis of this manuscript. Statements made based on iconography and style, however strong and convincing they may be, are still circumstantial. Without apparent direct written evidence of Spencer 22's relationship with Sancho's Bible, I began to consider other ways by which one could prove that Sancho's Bible was indeed the direct source manuscript for the material in Spencer 22. This was also a way to better understand the physical processes of *translatio imaginis* in practice, aside from theory.

Rather than looking to Spencer 22 as the final repository for the visual narrative, I examined Sancho's Bible for any remaining effects that Spencer 22's making might have had on the source manuscript. We can assume that the two manuscripts very likely spent an extensive amount of time together, most likely in a Paris atelier or, possibly, in Pamplona. They were handled frequently and examined closely by a team of artists and scribes. Perhaps they were even viewed together upon their completion by Jeanne II and others involved in the commission as a

way to evaluate the artists' and scribes' precision, or later, at Jeanne's leisure, simply for amusement or pleasure. Was the source manuscript somehow itself modified during the translation of the visual narrative? A backward reasoning approach led me to a close visual inspection of Sancho's Bible, conducted in the reading room of its current repository, the Bibliothèque municipale in Amiens. I soon discovered some errant spots of violet paint in Sancho's Bible. These splotches and drops stood out because there is no violet paint utilized in the palette of the twelfth-century artists of Sancho's Bible. I wondered if these drops might not be the work of a careless artist of Spencer 22, who dripped a few spots of paint as he worked. Not just one, but two instances of violet paint in Sancho's Bible indicate that this is a strong possibility.

Folio 7v in Sancho's Bible is the first instance where violet paint can be seen. The color is vibrant, though not as much in reproduction. The marking, two violet dots, nearly vertically aligned, appear in the bottom miniature on a figure of God. The marking is somewhat difficult to define: it is not a splatter of paint, but it does not look as though it were deliberately applied. There is no corresponding violet paint on folio 8r, which one would expect if the pages were closed immediately. This points to the pages being open long enough for the paint to dry. The Latin text is from Genesis 15:1, in which God offers to protect Abraham, saying, *His itaque transactis factus est sermo domini ad abraham per visionem dicens. noli timere abraham ego protector tuus [sum]. et merces tua magna nimis* / "When these things were done, the word of the Lord came to Abraham by a vision, saying: Fear not, Abraham, I am your protector and your reward exceeding great."[366]

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[366] Latin transcription from Bucher, vol. 1, 204.

The pages in Spencer 22 (fols. 15v–16r) that would correspond with that biblical verse do not have violet paint, but do have lavender penflourishing. This lavender color used in penflourishing could possibly be the same pigment as the violet drip, just as elsewhere in the manuscript, fields of lavender color may be the same violet pigment applied in a lighter wash. In Spencer 22, folio 17r is the first use of violet paint in the narrative sequence following the violet drops in Sancho's Bible. On folio 17r, an angel has a violet halo—an interesting, and somewhat unusual use of violet. Although there is no obvious correspondence in Spencer 22's narrative at the point of the violet paint drops in Sancho's Bible, there are a number of possibilities as to when the violet paint may have been dripped. We cannot say for certain that Sancho's Bible was not unbound during the making of Spencer 22, and that its quires were not separated (folio 7v–8r is the center page opening of quire III in Sancho's Bible). If both manuscripts were dismantled in the same space during production of Spencer 22, there are many possible ways that one of the artists or scribes may have accidentally left his mark on the twelfth-century pages.

The second instance of errant violet paint, looking more like an accidental mark given its shape, is found in the gutter of folios 95v–96r in quire XIV. In this case, there is violet paint found in the corresponding pages of Spencer 22. There are two miniatures in on folios 72r and 72v with deep violet backgrounds. Without an analysis of the paint in Sancho's Bible which would date its chemical compounds, it is not possible to verify that the violet paint in Sancho's Bible dates in fact to the fourteenth century.[367] However, the methodology of backward

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[367] Recent attempts to analyze pigments in medieval manuscripts utilize a process called Raman microscopy. New York Public Library and the Bibliothèque municipale at Amiens have indicated that such an examination of Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22 is presently cost-prohibitive. Though they lack the equipment to carry out such an investigation at the present moment, it is my hope that in the future a chemical analysis can be completed. On Raman microscopy and medieval pigments, see Robin J. H. Clark, "Raman Microscopy: Application to the Identification of Pigments on Medieval Manuscripts," *Chemical Society Reviews* vol. 24 (1995), 187–196; and Lucia Burgio, Dan A. Ciomartan and Robin J. H. Clark, "Pigment identification on medieval manuscripts, paintings and other artefacts by Raman microscopy: applications to the study of three German manuscripts," *Journal of Molecular*

reasoning is a worthwhile approach to verifying and establishing relationships between manuscripts, and could possibly be used to examine other source manuscripts for evidence of the process of translation. This method also highlights the physical nature of manuscript production and the potential for harm to come to the source manuscript through human error. The commission of Spencer 22 based upon a known royal manuscript that was already well over a century old was not taken lightly by the artists and scribes, who were responsible for the well-being of Sancho's Bible in addition to the completion of Spencer 22. If the violet paint in Sancho's Bible, found only in two locations, was indeed the result of a lapse on the part of Spencer 22's artists, then, given the hundreds of pages and miniatures they were producing, they took nearly perfect care of Sancho's Bible.

4.8   CONCLUDING THOUGHTS ON *TRANSLATIO*

Above are just a few of the literally hundreds of pictorial translations of biblical episodes between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22 that one could discuss in terms of *translatio imaginis*. As I leave these case studies, I want to address a concern of Bucher's, namely that Spencer 22 was made in haste. He cites numerous areas where the manuscript is "unfinished": the most notable example being the cessation of gold in the borders, which happens on folio 79r (Figure 41), though we continue to see the underdrawn black circles through folio 92v (Figure 42), after which they disappear until much later in the manuscript. Folio 137r (Figure 43) shows the

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Structure, vol. 405 (March 1997), 1–11. Especially relevant is the article by Danilo Bersani, Pier Paolo Lottici, Francesca Vignali, and Giuseppa Zanichelli, "A study of medieval illuminated manuscripts by means of portable Raman equipments," *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy*, vol. 37, issue 10 (October 2006), 1012–1018, in which five manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma were analyzed *in situ* using portable equipment, and the resulting differences in pigments indicated later interventions by medieval artists.

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reappearance of the gold rosettes and a renewed precision in the black ink decorative petal motif that covers it. For the remainder of the manuscript, the decoration is complete on some folios, partial on others, and absent on some. These inconsistencies follow the quire gatherings, as described by Bucher. Quires XI and XII contain folios 79r through 92v, and folio 137r begins quire XIX. This is further evidence of the system of production, with various phases of production occurring simultaneously.

Figure 41. First cessation of gold in borders, Spencer 22 fol. 79r.

Figure 42. Underdrawn black circles, Spencer 22 fol. 92v.

Figure 43. Reappearance of gold rosettes, Spencer 22 fol. 137r.

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How can we reconcile the incomplete borders, some haphazard painting, and incomplete miniatures with what must have been a fully thought-out design? We can return to our master designer at this point. There is nothing about the manuscript that indicates that it was not conceived of completely before production began, including the fact that throughout, the additional French text was actually written before the pictures were drawn and painted. However, taking into account the process of manuscript production, we must recall that manuscripts were not completed front-to-back, from the first page to the last. If time ran out before the occasion of the gift (and this is further indication that the manuscript was due to be complete on a *precise date*, rather than just as a gift), the border decoration could easily be sacrificed without compromising the master designer's plan for the pictorial and written narrative. This does not necessarily equate with haste in the conceptualization of this complex translation project.

The transmission of images is not a new idea—we know that models, prototypes, and other source materials were employed throughout the Middle Ages, and most of the visual arts produced very consciously emulated a known visual iconography. The multisensory nature of medieval literacy makes images and pictorial language more active, living, even accessible through oral interpretation. Gregory of Tours wrote in the sixth century of the wife of Bishop Namatius of Clermont in the Auvergne, and her organization the decoration of the church of Saint Stephen that she had built in the mid-fifth century. John Lowden's translation of the key passage reads: "As she wished [the church interior] to be adorned with paintings, she used to hold a book upon her knees, in which she read the story of deeds done of old time, and pointed out to the painters what subjects should be represented on the walls." As translated, many

scholars have taken this to mean that she indicated images in the book that she wanted on the walls, but Lowden, using the alternate translation of the Latin word *indicans* ("to point out" but also "to make known") posits that she many have been reading passages aloud to the painters—an oral/aural to visual translation.[368] The patron served as the master designer of her own visual narrative program, and through a multisensory process, she communicated her desires to her artists, her visual translators.

To describe medieval artists as visual translators is not a difficult leap, as they often found themselves decorating written texts or illustrating concepts rooted in written texts in other media. Their type of translation is true to the fluid movement of medieval *translatio* in its many forms: cultural, literary, physical. Walter Benjamin wrote, "For to some degree all great texts contain their potential translation between the lines; this is true to the highest degree of sacred writings."[369] In the space between the lines of biblical narrative texts, pictorial translators found their narrative voice, and there are few greater examples from the later Middle Ages than Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22.

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[368] John Lowden, "The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams, (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University, 1999), 9-59. Reprinted and cited here in *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean World*, ed. Eva R. Hoffmann (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 117-134, 126.
[369] Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt and trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968) 69–82, 82.

5.0   SPENCER 22, BIBLICAL NARRATIVE, AND VISUAL LITERACY

Section 5 considers the means of access, medieval literacy, for audiences of Spencer 22 and

other pictorial biblical narratives in public and private contexts. I examine narrative images in

popular late-medieval visual culture as points of access through which medieval men, women,

and children entered a community of hybrid literates: those who used images to retrieve

communal and cultural knowledge without the presence of written texts. In this model, the

primacy and authority of texts gives way to a collaborative effort of written and visual medieval

communication.[370]

5.1   BIBLICAL NARRATIVE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CONTEXTS

Though the presence of written texts may have initiated the formation of a late-medieval culture

of literacy, once it spread throughout Europe, non-literates had to find ways to navigate this

culture. It is my contention that pictorial narrative programs such as those found in Spencer 22

played a pivotal role in the acculturation of non-literates, while serving an important

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[370] Other scholars have noted this deficiency in medieval art history. "Although modern art historical investigations of narrative have been largely related to identifying the text(s) that generated the picture(s), thus constituting a subfield of iconography, the critical differentiating edge lies not in asking what is the text, but how images relate the story," Lewis, "Narrative," 88. See also W. J. T. Mitchell, "Showing seeing: a critique of visual culture," *Journal of Visual Culture* 1:2 (August 2002), 165–181.

communicative function for literates as well. It has been speculated that Sancho's Bible was a didactic tool for the king in accessible pictorial narrative.[371] Spencer 22 likely did not serve the same teaching purpose—by the fourteenth century, the culture of literacy had taken a stronger hold in Paris than in Sancho's late-twelfth century Spain, and Spencer 22's patron Jeanne II, born and raised in nobility, would have been exposed to manuscript culture from an early age. Pictorial narrative here was not just a tool for an unlearned or uninformed viewer (though it may have served that function as well), but a sophisticated, multi-layered storytelling vehicle, which was then paired with French biblical written texts.

Other examples of medieval pictorial narrative can be found in the familiar codex format, where written texts and pictorial texts often interact on the page. The reader-viewer controls the experience: for example, the starting point and the pace of turning pages can vary with each viewing. But narrative can also be found in "public" contexts: painted, sculpted, woven, and stained glass narrative programs of churches, cathedrals, and castles provide an opportunity for scholars to link narrative to social factors like politics, religion, gender, and regional history, as well as to the spatial structure of the location. The nature of biblical narrative in architecture is visually fragmented, but represents a "whole": the Bible.[372] Ultimately, the underlying social and cultural understanding of "narrative"—of beginnings, middles, and ends— and of each viewer's unique position in the sweeping chronology of the narrative determines how visual programs were understood by their original viewers, as well as the process by which we view such images today. Biblical narrative did not function in isolation, making audience

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[371] The commission for Sancho's Bible may have been made in 1194 when Sancho VIII el Fuerte was elected to the throne at age 41; it was completed sometime in 1197, as the colophon states. It was not a didactic tool in that it was specifically geared towards learning to read. However, it may have been more enjoyable to access the visual narrative for Sancho VII, who, although tutored by scholars in Toledo, did not have the same "reverence for learning" as his father, Sancho VI ("el Sabio," or "the Wise") did. Bucher, vol. 1, 3.

[372] Recall that the Bible was likely conceptualized as a unified entity but encountered in its many pieces, i.e. Psalters, Evangelaries, etc.

interpretation a key factor. Much as in the model of reception theory originated by Hans-Robert Jauss for literary studies and further developed by Stuart Hall, the biblical narrative present in Spencer 22's images is being recreated in each interaction between image and audience.[373]

Although they may appear as simple illustrations of the written text, the 843 extant images of Spencer 22 (which originally numbered 930 according to Bucher's reconstruction based upon Amiens and Augsburg)[374] do much narrative work on their own, counting on the viewer to fill in the gaps between illustrated episodes to arrive at the complete narrative. The narrative that they provide is fast-paced and visually stimulating, especially in comparison to the more leisurely pace of the vernacular text and the staccato pace of the abrupt Latin titles.[375] They are not entirely dependent upon the text that accompanies them and may be assessed independently of the vernacular text and Latin titles. In a way, this is because the text and the content of the narrative are biblical stories, widely known and not restricted to written form.[376]

Medieval images, biblical or secular, permeated many levels and aspects of medieval life, from public to private, legal to literary, religious to raucous. It is their ubiquity that makes them relevant, especially in the project of coming to a greater understanding of medieval communication. Just as Roland Barthes noted that narrative's universality did not preclude Aristotle from studying and analyzing it, so should the universal presence of narrative images in the Middle Ages be further probed and not taken as simply a given.[377] A discourse of medieval

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[373] See Hans-Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982) and cultural theorist Stuart Hall, "Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse," Birmingham University Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies Stencilled Paper no. 7, 1973.

[374] Bucher, vol. 69. Note that Amiens ms. 108 in its original state had 932 miniatures, indicating that Spencer 22 is extremely accurate.

[375] Lucy Freeman Sandler, entry for Spencer 22 in *Splendor of the Word*, 99.

[376] All written text is not "restrictive" per se; it is just that the Bible especially works well with other media, such as images, oral storytelling, sermons, etc.

[377] Roland Barthes, "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative," *New Literary History*, vol. 6, no. 2, *On Narrative and Narratives* (Winter 1975), 237–272, 237–238.

literacy, in all its forms, was socially produced, communicated, and mediated through images. This is the broad historical and sociological context for the production of Spencer 22 and other picture Bibles. In Spencer 22 as with all medieval manuscripts, what links image and text is their ability to convey meaning in the absence of spoken language. This dissertation demonstrates that any definition of medieval literacy cannot be confined to facility with texts alone, but must essentially include other sensory means of communication, such as images and oral tradition.

5.2   DEFINING *LITERACY* AND *NARRATIVE*: SOME TERMINOLOGY

The terms *literacy* and *narrative* are familiar to us, but I define specific meanings for them in my discussion of Spencer 22 and other medieval pictorial sequences. One goal of this study is a reevaluation of the term *literacy* with regard to late medieval modes of communication. Medieval literacy in its strictest and earliest usage refers to one's ability to read and write Latin, and initial studies of medieval readers focused on the largest historically represented group of Latin readers, the clergy.[378] The limitations of this definition of *literacy* can prevent the exploration of the powerful influence of image and gesture, which are often in the shadows of language-based oral and textual modes of communication, in disseminating a Christian message throughout all levels of medieval European society.[379] In his introduction to *The Implications of*

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[378] J. W. Thompson used Latin literacy as the basis of his groundbreaking look at lay readers, one of the first of the twentieth century, in *The literacy of the laity in the Middle Ages* (first edition, Berkeley, 1939). Since then, modifiers appended to the term literacy (including "visual," "women's," "lay," e.g.) have enabled scholars to explore types of literacy and modes of learning beyond Latin learning, and therefore other medieval classes of people. See also M. B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," D. Daiches and A. Thorlby, eds. *The Mediaeval World: Literature and Western Civilization* (London: Aldus Books, 1973), 555–578; and M. T. Clanchy, "The Question of the Literacy of the Laity," in *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 231ff.

[379] On gesture, see *A Cultural History of Gesture*, ed. J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), Betty J. Bäuml & Franz H. Bäuml, *A Dictionary of Gestures* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press,

Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,

Brian Stock writes,

> The imprecision of the idea of literacy, as well as the uneven state of the documentation, make it preferable in a medieval context to speak of the occasioned uses of texts. Distinguishing between literacy and textuality can also help to isolate what was original in the medieval achievement.[380]

This statement makes clear the difficulty (impossibility?) of concisely defining *literacy* as an idea and a medieval practice. Stock accepts this limitation, and is dealing solely with literacy and *textuality* (the use of written texts).[381] Can visual material records, like Spencer 22 and Sancho's Bible, break free from the limiting view that written culture is the "official" culture of record? I believe that it is possible to explore visual narrative to postulate exactly how medieval visuality contributed to the idea of medieval literacy. This question is a vital methodological issue that has not been comprehensively addressed in an art historical context.[382]

I begin with *literacy*, a term that is fraught with conflict for the art historian, who must negotiate a definition that is so often tied to words and language with its relationship to pictorial text. It is at the critical intersection following the proliferation of texts and books in medieval legal and religious culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when book use burgeoned in lay and vernacular culture in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, that we can first consider

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1975); J.-C. Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1990); and François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Age: Signification et symbolique* (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1982).

[380] Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 7. Stock's work initially prompted me to take on a similar project with images at the forefront of the investigation.

[381] As Stock writes, "In every revolution, there are winners and losers. The emergence of written culture in the Middle Ages is no different. There is only one official version of the story and it is told by the written records themselves: the rest is very largely silence," Stock, 30.

[382] Here, I must again acknowledge the pioneer in the field: Michael Camille's work of the 1980s and 1990s has served as a foundation for my own research and writing, and his work continues to inspire scholars who wish to take up his legacy in the exploration of the role of the image in medieval literacy and non-literacy.

the term *literacy* as a discourse in its own right.[383] Reading, reading accoutrements, and one's relationship to these things played a vital role in self-definition for many medieval Christians, who placed great value in the Word and the stories of the Bible, whether or not they were true readers. In addition to the Bible as a series of stories transmitted orally, it is likely that the Bible was also thought of as a physical object. Many medieval Christians may have also had an appreciation for the material Bible, whether as a book containing a portion of biblical text, or as a pictorial cycle in an architectural setting. Even though most lay people would not have owned the Bible and rarely, if ever, encountered a complete Bible, elite laypersons might have experienced the materiality of a Psalter or other book containing a "piece" of the Bible; many more may have come across representations of biblical narrative in public visual programs.

I propose that the cultural system at work in the late Middle Ages that placed such a high value on the Word of God resulted not only in the spread of Latin literacy in elite circles, but, more broadly, in a *hybrid literacy* that was not exclusively dependent upon written text. This form of hybrid literacy relied heavily on communal memory, visual cues, and narrative.[384] By thinking of literacy as a hybrid state, in which multiple sensory stimulants (including spoken words, written texts, and visual images) can elicit a literate response, this dissertation project hopes to put forth usable terminology towards a negation of the absolute primacy of written texts

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[383] Medieval images of readers, education, and acts of reading enable cultural historians to consider the late medieval period (c. 1200–1500) as a moment when medieval men and women actively sought to present and define themselves as readers within a cultural metaphor of reading, as Laurel Amtower describes it, "reading as a mode of perception that enables new ways of thinking about both humanistic and ecclesiastical situations," *Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 7.

[384] The term *hybrid literacy* has a different context in English and media studies. See C. Stroupe, "Visualizing English: Recognizing the Hybrid Literacy of Visual and Verbal Authorship on the Web," *College English* 62:5 (May 2000): 607–632.

even during the medieval shift to written record, and to explore the visual record of this hybrid state.[385]

This is not to say that medieval texts are not essential historical monuments with a vitality of their own. The written word was, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and up to and including the early twentieth century in the Western world, the purview of the elite and formally educated. We know, however, that "illiterate" does not mean "unknowing" based on many accounts of learned men and women who could read but did not write, or who had written texts read aloud to them (most famously, the question of Charlemagne's facility with the written word is still unanswered, though he championed educational reform). There is little doubt about the power of images to persuade, to confer information, to "speak" to a receptive audience. Medieval commentary tells us that, at times, images were thought to hold real, active, and dangerous power—from Byzantine iconoclasm to the Protestant Reformation, and many instances in between. The Church knew that harnessing the power of images was essential, but it may also have realized the empowerment that image-based communication conferred upon those with lesser degrees of textual literacy. Hybrid literacies are thus a framework within which the non-literate and non-elite may have claimed agency over public images (and possibly those in private contexts, should they have encountered them), allowing these groups to effectively participate in the communications revolution of the High and Late Middle Ages (c. 1200–1500).

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[385] Richard Brilliant has noted the subordination of visual narrative in ancient art: "Studies of narrative in ancient works of art tend to be imprisoned by the word, as if the visual images had been created primarily as illustrations of some familiar story. Thus, subordination of visual narrative to oral or written texts, a form of reverse ekphrasis, has obscured understanding of the analogous processes that inform these interdependent languages of narrative representation, the visual and the verbal." Brilliant, 20.

5.2.1 What is *literacy*?

Literacy is not a medieval word, and this may account for the many gray areas that one encounters in applying it to a medieval context.[386] The Oxford English Dictionary defines literacy as "the quality or state of being literate; knowledge of letters; condition in respect to education; *esp.* the ability to read and write."[387] This definition is intrinsically text-based, using familiarity with "letters" as the basis of literacy. Linguistically, *literacy* is the opposite state of *illiteracy*, and a person can be defined by his or her relationship with the state by the terms *literate* and *illiterate*. All of these words have their roots in the Latin *litteratus* (and its corresponding term, *illitteratus*), which can be found in medieval texts, although there is some debate as to its meaning in context.[388] In the Middle Ages, the term *litteratus* was applied to those with knowledge of Latin, though it is not entirely certain to what degree they were familiar with it, and seems to not have addressed the role of speaking, only writing and reading, Latin.[389] Stock notes that "little light" is shed on the medieval conception of literacy by the medieval usage of *litteratus*: the word "indicated a familiarity, if not always a deep understanding of, Latin

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[386] The Oxford English Dictionary lists its earliest use as 1883, in the New England Journal of Education. "literacy, *n.*" *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 1989. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. 6 January 2009 <http://dictionary.oed.com>.

[387] "literacy," *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Etymologically, it was formed as a counterpart to *illiteracy*, which, beginning in the 17th century, was applied to the condition of being illiterate. *Illiterate* dates to the mid-16th century and describes those with no or very little exposure to Latin texts, "illiterate, *a.*, *n.*" *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 1989. *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, 6 January 2009 <http://dictionary.oed.com>. *Literate* predates these words in English, dating to the early 15th century (1432),"literate, a., n." *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 1989. *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, 6 January 2009 <http://dictionary.oed.com>.

[388] In addition to *illitteratus*, there were a number of medieval Latin nouns for those *sine literis* in the phrasing of St. Peter (Acts 4:13). These words included *idiota* (found in New Testament contexts) and *rusticus* (used to describe peasants, those living outside of major city centers).

[389] Thompson states that the art of medieval writing "lagged behind" the art of medieval reading, and that "illiteracy has continued to be the state of the masses from the early Middle Ages down to the nineteenth, and into the twentieth century," 196.

grammar and syntax."[390] However, there were other coexisting vernacular literacies (and, I would argue, literacy in visual and gestural languages) that are not accounted for in this definition.[391] Stock summarizes, "The literate, in short, was defined as someone who could read and write a language for which in theory at least there was a set of articulated rules, applicable to a written, and, by implication, to a spoken language."[392] I hope that the present study will provide an alternative to definitions of literacy that focus on the "semantic norm linked to the use of texts."[393]

Literacy studies are stifled by the commonly held understanding of literacy's inextricable relationship with the written word.[394] Stock writes from the text-laden twentieth century of the difficulty in outlining the role that literacy played in a culture that considered "word of mouth" as something to be implicitly trusted, rather than meaningless gossip. We consider written text essential to the preservation of our past and the prescription for our future, in that it exists beyond the present moment. The only remnants of the medieval respect for orality exist in our twenty-first century courts of law, where one must be present to give oral testimony (although record of that oral testimony is simultaneously recorded by the stenographer, and often by audio or video recording equipment).[395]

Perhaps it is more useful to consider literacy's relationship with oral language. Charles Briggs summarizes this complication:

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[390] Stock, 6.
[391] Parkes notes that the use of *literatus* to mean "knowledge of Latin" is too limiting in an age of vernacular literature. Thompson does not address the spread of vernacular literature and vernacular literacy.
[392] Stock, 6.
[393] Stock, 6.
[394] Early studies of the history of literacy, for example, only consider the medieval individual's capacity to read and write. Thompson pioneered the study of the laity as a legitimately literate group.
[395] See Madeline Caviness and C. G. Nelson, "Silent Witnesses, Absent Women, and the Law Courts in Medieval Germany," *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, T. Fenster and D. L. Smail, eds. (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2003. See also Stock, 9.

> Literacy is not simply the ability to read, though it is partly that. It is a complex cultural phenomenon with powerful ideological implications, which vary depending on the time, place, and milieu one is looking at...any discussion of literacy must take into account the oral mode of communication which it complemented, substituted for, and often competed with.[396]

In Briggs' definition, individual acts of literacy, writing, and reading, each distinct social events in their own right, are part of a larger literate mentality, which included orality.

5.2.2   What is *narrative*?

In its broadest and simplest meaning, *narrative* is the account of a series of events or moments; a story. The power of images to narrate has long been a topic of art historical inquiry, and in particular, medieval art history. Theorist and semiotician Roland Barthes wrote of the nature of narrative, "...in this infinite variety of forms it is present at all times, in all places, in all societies; indeed narrative starts with the very history of mankind; there is not, there has never been anywhere, any people without narrative; all classes, all human groups, have their stories..."[397] It is not difficult to view medieval Christian Europe as a culture of narrative, and to see narrative as the structural veins of this cultural organism.[398] Medieval Christians likely defined themselves and their worldview in relation to a narrative conceived of by their omnipresent and omnipotent God, with Earth as the setting and stage, and men, women and children of all classes and cultures as characters playing their parts. Storytelling, and oral culture in general, was a way of life in an age when lay textual literacy, that is to say the reading and writing of words, in Latin and in the vernacular languages of medieval Europe, was just beginning to emerge in elite circles of

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[396] Charles F. Briggs, "Literacy, reading, and writing in the medieval West," *Journal of Medieval History* 26:4 (2000), 397–420, 398.

[397] Barthes, 237.

[398] While Barthes and other Structuralist theorists contribute much to my understanding of narrative, I prefer to think of the present study as one of medieval visual communication, of which narrative is just one aspect.

nobility.[399] Narrative was certainly an aid in the social construction of the self as well as the group. By the so-called twelfth-century renaissance, the theological value of viewing history as a narrative was codified, connecting the present "secular history" to "Salvation history," in the tradition of Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Isidore, who were writing narrative sacred and secular history from the sixth century. Whether or not medieval men, women, and children, particularly those who struggled daily for survival, appreciated their purpose in a timeless Christian narrative cannot be determined, but such a sentiment might have been a comfort to them during famine, war, plague, and illness. [400]

It is the ubiquity of narrative pictures that makes them relevant, especially in the project of coming to a greater understanding of medieval communication.[401] If one lived in a cathedral city with stained glass windows to peruse, or a town with a church with narrative wall painting, the language of pictures was present and likely popularly understood. For those further removed from these social and religious centers, exposure to narrative images would have been limited,

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[399] Latin literacy was a hallmark of religious study and clerical training throughout the Middle Ages. Lay literacy, including that of the nobility, was gaining popularity in the later Middle Ages, with roots in Charlemagne's ninth-century educational reform, but flowering in the thirteenth century and following with the commission of greater numbers of manuscripts for lay devotion. Some key works in the long bibliography on medieval literacy include Franz Bäuml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Speculum* 55 (1980), 237–265; J. Goody and I. Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy" in J. Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 27–68; R. McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Methuen, 1988); Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); J. W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1960).

[400] Stephen Nichols writes of that period, "Life could then be seen as part of a larger picture, a divine plan, rather than as simply a formless accident." Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, xi.

[401] I am distinguishing between pictures and images as W. J. T. Mitchell does in *What do pictures want?: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 85: "You can hang a picture but you cannot hang an image. ... The image is the 'intellectual property' that escapes the materiality of the picture when it is copied. The picture is the image plus the support; it is the appearance of the immaterial image in a material medium." Neal Curtis sees this distinction as "crucial": "What is crucial to understanding Mitchell's long engagement with pictures is that they are not images, or that pictures are instead the material support (painting, sculpture, photograph) for the image that appears there, an image that can move between any number of pictures and media," he writes in his introduction to *The Pictorial Turn*.

but storytelling itself would not. Using narrative as a familiar and common medieval experience allows us to come closest to an understanding of medieval audiences for narrative pictures, and furthermore, to their expectations and preconceptions when approaching biblical narrative in particular. The pervasiveness of both pictures and narrative, in public and private as well as sacred and secular spheres, makes narrative a useful mode of analysis for medieval art. Pictorial biblical narrative appealed to large audiences in public places like cathedrals in addition to more intimate contexts, such as manuscripts used in solitude or by small audiences. Both the public and private locations worked in collaboration within the indefinable parameters of oral biblical narrative.[402]

5.2.3   Studies on narrative communication

Scholars have considered the role of narrative in art for many years. Much work has been done on medieval narrative in the literary tradition, including the recent volume edited by Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence and the work of William Anthony Davenport and Cynthia Hahn.[403] Some recent studies also touch on the multisensory nature of narrative, for example J. A. Burrow's *Gestures and looks in medieval narrative.*[404] Within the discipline of art history, the focus is often on public narrative programs in stained glass, mosaic, or wall painting, with prominent names like Madeline Caviness and Wolfgang Kemp writing on

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[402] We know very little about the masses and the peasantry in the structure of medieval society, and can only provide written accounts from elite groups as evidence. Our understanding of medieval culture will be forever limited by that fact. However, as Susan Reynolds has demonstrated, there are methods by which to accumulate facts about the laity at large. I believe that postulating audience reception of public visual narratives is one method by which we can responsibly offer an alternative history to the one written by the clergy and nobility.

[403] Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence, eds. *Performing Medieval Narrative* (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2005); William Anthony Davenport, *Medieval Narrative: an Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[404] J. A. Burrow, *Gestures and looks in medieval narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

the glass programs at Canterbury and Chartres, Bourges, and Sens, respectively. Narrative is also viewed as a structural device paired with cultural context. Marcia Kupfer's study of narrative in Romanesque wall painting, Herbert Kessler's exploration of narrative in sixth-century Gaul, Kirk Ambrose's work on Romanesque sculpture and narrative movement at Vézelay, James D'Emilio's study of the story of Noah in the mosaics at Monreale Cathedral, and Cynthia Hahn's study of pictorial saints' lives are examples of the way that visual storytelling is often complementary to other cultural, social, political, religious, and historical concerns.[405] In manuscript studies, the seminal work of Franz Wickhoff (1895) (who coined the term *continuous narrative*), Kurt Weitzmann (1970) on narrative cycles in manuscript illumination, Otto Pächt (1962) for twelfth-century England, and Kessler (1977) on early Bibles shaped the beginning of the systematic study of pictorial narrative in the manuscripts of the Middle Ages.[406] Narrative studies and narratology,[407] and twentieth-century theories stemming from these areas, seem to be well-suited to medieval art and architecture, as noted by Conrad Rudolph.[408]

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[405] Marcia Kupfer, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France: The Politics of Narrative* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); Herbert Kessler, "Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth Century Gaul," *Studies in pictorial narrative* (London: Pindar Press, 2004); Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2006); James D'Emilio, "Looking Eastward: The Story of Noe at Monreale Cathedral," *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1999), 135–150; Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001).

[406] Franz Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Wien: F. Tempsky, 1895); Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in roll and codex: a study of the origin and method of text illustration* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); Otto Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962); Herbert Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977).

[407] Narratology is a subfield of communication theory which focuses not only on written texts, but the oral *récit* or telling of these texts by a narrator (who may or may not be present, who may or may not be speaking aloud).

[408] "Whether because the medieval field already had a tradition of image theory and exegetical interpretation or because some of the new theories are so strongly based in modern (as opposed to medieval) modes of thought, medieval art has taken up some methodologies more quickly than it has others. These new approaches have resonated, in particular, in the areas of vision, reception, narratology, and gender." Rudolph, Introduction to *A Companion to Medieval Art*, 36. One of the first art historians to consider the reception of narrative images and their interpretation by an audience was E. H. Gombrich in the first half of the twentieth century. Suzanne Lewis writes of Gombrich, "his probing of the spectator's cognitive apparatus...enabled us to link narrative meaning and interpretation within a framework of cognitive psychology and cultural conditioning. Once the viewer entered the

In classical antiquity, storytelling was primarily an oral art, and its effectiveness was reliant upon an engaging orator. In his study of visual narratives in the classical world, Richard Brilliant notes the absence of the storyteller or narrator in visual narratives: "the storyteller does not appear unless the observer fills that role...Thus, visual narratives have to generate a point of view from the outside and somehow make it comprehensible to the viewer."[409] The inclusion of narrative cues in visual narrative images are the great achievement of what Brilliant calls the "artist-narrator," the first of Brilliant's three narrators: first, the artist; second, the protagonist of the story as presented in the image or series of images; and third, the viewer.[410] One of the most interesting distinctions Brilliant makes is that between narrative (stories about events) and description, which can hinder the progress of a story. Visual narratives present their "description" all at once and in its entirety: the scene, the location, the figures in it, and details of dress, for example, have been selected by the artist from reality, and presented to the viewer in a single image.[411] However, the mimetic structure of the narrative, the character's thought processes and feelings, must be supplied by the observer rather than the artist. In terms of pacing, the use of bounded images creates a temporal succession of "before" and "after" the present enframed activity.[412]

The present study of Spencer 22 and the Pamplona Bibles contributes to this historiography of narrative in the vein of Sherman's study of Nicole Oresme's translations of

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equation of narrator, story, and receptor, our theoretical understanding of pictorial narrative could be opened to a wider problematic and range of possibilities." Lewis, "Narrative," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, 87.

[409] Brilliant, 16. Brilliant's analysis of Etruscan and Roman art highlights the artist's manipulation of the observer's behavior, the observer's "performance" as a "sight-reader," and tensions between visual and verbal narratives. His studies of cinerary urns, tabuli, sarcophagi, wall paintings, and friezes (including the famous frieze that winds around and up the Column of Trajan), explore visual narrative in isolated art objects as well as in integrated spaces.

[410] Brilliant, 16–17.

[411] Brilliant, 17.

[412] As Brilliant notes, "complex visual narratives have a dramatic character in an Aristotelian sense, because both the single action and the complex whole are implicated in the visual field open to the beholder," 17.

Aristotle manuscripts, recent work by Hedeman on Laurent de Premierfait's translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* (with content translated from text into images) and Joyce Coleman's recent essay for the *Imagining the Past in France* catalog, by considering narrative from within the realm of medieval literacy. The artists who undertook the Spencer 22 commission, likely working under a master designer of the manuscript, were bound to the pictorial narrative content and to the page; however, they were able to experiment with page layout, creating an unusual presentation even for the fourteenth century. Although they had to conform to the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible, they were given the freedom to manipulate the content of the manuscript, its biblical narrative, to fit the specifications of Spencer 22. Their ability to translate the twelfth-century narrative into a new fourteenth-century medium indicates their level of literacy (or that of the patron, master designer, or another supervisor of production).

Many medieval men, women, and children would have been adept at transferring sensory information into meaningful messages. Tactile experiences like turning pages or touching figural sculpture in a public space, auditory and vocal experiences like reading aloud, and visual experiences in which information is gleaned from texts and images were all aspects of medieval communication. For the elites, the lay nobility and the clergy, especially, these experiences may have been a part of daily life. Considering that these experiences involved the senses of touch, sight, and sound, is it not possible (indeed, necessary) to think of medieval literacy in broader terms of communication and meaning-making? In order to more effectively pursue this line of questioning, and to consider the ways by which medieval images operated as meaning-bearers in a culture of literacy, I have developed the following theoretical and methodological framework.

5.3   THE MULTISENSORY MEDIEVAL COMMUNICATION MATRIX AND

HYBRID LITERACY

Matrix is such a useful word that one can find meanings of it in the disparate fields of biology, linguistics, botany, business, mathematics, computers, and printing. Often, *matrix* indicates an origin, as its root in the Latin word *mater, matris* (mother) would suggest. It can specifically indicate a location, as in the second definition for "matrix" found in the Oxford English Dictionary: "a place or medium in which something is originated, produced, or developed; the environment in which a particular activity or process begins; a point of origin or growth."[413] When the term is combined with a descriptor, such as "communication," the meaning expands to incorporate "the elements which make up a particular system, regarded as an interconnected network."[414]

Essentially, then, the medieval communication matrix is the locus for the origin of meaning, which can be accessed via any of the elements of the network. These elements are manifest in both concrete and abstract forms. Concrete components of the matrix include material culture of the Middle Ages, such as manuscripts, stained glass, sculpture, and other objects as well as the physical environment itself. Abstract components include orality, aurality, memory, and narrative. The ways by which one engages with the medieval communication matrix via the concrete and abstract elements can best be described as multisensory, drawing predominantly upon sight and sound (both the production of speech and the reception of speech),

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[413] *The Oxford English Dictionary* lists a medieval usage of "matrix" meaning womb or uterus of a mammal (c. 1425, Guy de Chauliac, *Grande Chirugie*, f. 18). Etymologically, the word derives from the Latin *matrix*, a female animal kept for breeding, and after the early 3rd century can also be seen as a derivation of *mater*, leading to the meaning "womb, source, origin." "matrix, n." *OED Online*. September, 2008. Oxford University Press. September 22, 2008 <http://dictionary.oed.com>

[414] "matrix," *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

but certainly one could describe the physical environment in terms of touch, taste, and smell, and the medieval mind would have called upon these senses to enhance their experience of meaning-making.[415]

Developing a theoretical framework for images within the constructs of literacy, orality, memory, and narrative (and hybrid combinations of these concepts) has allowed me to reaffirm the position of the medieval image as more than a derivative of text in the discussion of medieval literacy. Written texts and their use have, naturally, been the central focus of medieval literacy studies for many years, especially Walter Ong's orality-literacy paradigm, in which the introduction and proliferation of texts in a culture begins a teleological progression towards individual literacy and silent reading. Ong's paradigm of literacy can be seen as a spectrum with orality at one end and literacy at the other, and as the progression towards textual literacy is made, texts begin to hold authority over spoken word and gesture, and thus over images as well. However, this paradigm excludes the possibility of images functioning in different ways for viewers with different levels of textual literacy, or in various combinations of hybrid literacy; that is to say, for certain images, there are layers of access: a superficial viewing by one not familiar with the narrative indicated (and that familiarity may have been gained through reading texts or hearing a retelling of the narrative) would yield different results than a viewing by a textually literate person. This indicates that the image functioned on multiple levels for users

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[415] Medieval authors wrote of sight, sounds, smells, tastes, and touch when describing their physical world and spiritual experiences (often, significantly, involving reading) including Hugh of St. Victor, William of St. Thierry, and the author(s) of the *Ancrene Riwle* and other guides. Helen Solterer comments on the sensual nature of women readers (and male assertion that sensuality would lead them astray from a pious reading experience) in "Seeing, Hearing, Tasting Woman: Medieval Senses of Reading," *Comparative Literature* 46:2 (Spring 1994), 129–145. Sensory experience (or deprivation of) has been addressed in scholarship on medieval mystics, anchoresses and anchorites, and ascetics. In recent years there seems to be a movement to reevaluate our understanding of a Christian sensory experience, including Susan Ashbrook Harvey's *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2006) and Stephen G. Nichols, ed., *Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritage, Fascination, Frames* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

with varying levels of literacy. A parallel can be found in a recent study of medieval aurality by Joyce Coleman, which demonstrates that the polarity of Ong's theory does not account for public reading (aloud), which coexisted with silent reading well into the late medieval period, not as a remnant of an archaic orality, but as an integral part of late medieval reading activity.[416]

With this project, I challenge still-present notions that a medieval reader must be defined solely in terms of his or her relationship to written text, and establish that images (and their concrete manifestations, *pictures*) were used throughout the late medieval period not as primitive "Bibles of the illiterate," but as essential components of a highly sophisticated hybrid literacy, which I define as a combination of visual images, texts, and orality supported by a communal cultural awareness of memory and narrative. Much as public reading did not disappear among so-called "literate" groups (primarily composed of the nobility and educated religious orders), the image as a didactic tool remained a vital component of the late medieval communication matrix.

Why, then, discuss the image and visual modes of communication under the complicated rubric of *literacy*? And how does literacy differ from *communication*?[417] Where this study differs from those based purely on visual literacy is in its definition of *hybrid literacy*. Hybrid literacy, as I define it, is a fluid mode of communication that combines visual images, written texts, and orality, and is supported by the constructs of memory and narrative. In fact, we cannot think about literacy without an understanding of memory and narrative. The term is especially functional in considering the spaces (physical and mental) where image and text coexist, and can

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[416] See also John Daganais, "That Bothersome Residue: Toward a Theory of the Physical Text," in *Vox Intexta; Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, eds. A. N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 246–259. There are certainly oral principles in written texts, but I propose that there are also visual principles in the organization of written text (which is visual in and of itself).
[417] Marco Mostert, ed., *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); see also Edward Tufte, *Visual Explanations: Images and Quantities, Evidence and Narrative* (New York: Graphics Press, 1997).

be used to illustrate that one type of literacy does not supersede an earlier literacy; rather, the reader-viewer of image and/or text can successfully utilize multiple literacies (narrative and memory support this function). When one has mastered hybrid literacies, he or she has the ability to select the sensory mode (or combined modes) of communication that was most appropriate to a given situation. Proficiency achieved in one mode of communication does not preclude the use of other modes mastered at an earlier age. For example, those who had achieved textual literacy (in Latin or the vernacular) could still be "fluent" in visual modes of communication. This is not to say that visual communication itself was not sophisticated; one has only to think of the Last Judgment tympana of Romanesque cathedrals, the typological windows of Gothic cathedrals, and medieval diagrams.

5.4 SEEING IMAGES, READING IMAGES

Is narrative built into the way we see? In the *Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, H. P. Abbott writes, "This human tendency to insert narrative time into static, immobile scenes seems almost automatic, like a reflex action. We want to know not just what is there, but also what happens."[418] Much of our "reading" of pictorial narrative relies upon filling in gaps in the sequence of information, and so it must have been for medieval audiences as well, who, through exposure to narrative via oral retelling and/or written text (less commonly), would have recognized pictorial narrative in public spaces.[419]

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[418] H. P. Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 7.
[419] Public images held communicative properties similar to those of texts in the absence of or in conjunction with spoken communication, which may have contributed to a broader cultural awareness of the constructs of memory and narrative. Reading was one pathway to becoming a "good" Christian, and the myriad of public images in which

Stephen Nichols notes this multisensory narrative experience, which relies on memory, in *Romanesque Signs*, especially the relationship between features of the Passion story that occur in the Roland, which "alerts the reader/listener to what was already familiar from hagiography, monumental and pictorial representations, and other, perhaps more popular sources."[420] Otto Pächt also noted the participation of the viewer, especially in inserting movement or the passage of time into static picture (as with film), following Erwin Panofsky's "dynamization of space" and "spatialization of time." Wolfgang Kemp also describes the role of the reader-viewer of pictorial narrative, who brings to the narrative image previous encounters with other narrative media.[421] While we cannot recover the entirety of the oral tradition, it is certain through numerous examples in secular and sacred public narrative programs that an awareness of "other narrative media" was essential to interpreting medieval pictorial narrative.

Is literacy built into the way we think? In her 1973 essay, "Literacy vs. non-Literacy: The Great Divide?" Ruth Finnegan describes the basic distinction that we want to place between literate and non-literate societies. Her questions have relevance for medieval studies: "Does non-literacy have consequences for modes of thinking? Do non-literates *ipso facto* think differently from literates? If so, how significant are these differences?"[422] In this anthropological approach,

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saints hold books, both open and closed, testifies to the promotion of this ideal by the Church. It is possible that these public images were used by those who did not have access to books to practice a different sort of literacy that was not text-based, but rather a combination of oral and visual that relied heavily upon a cultural understanding of memory and narrative. Another way to experience the narrativization of the medieval cathedral was simply by entering its space. Art historian Émile Mâle memorably quoted *Notre-Dame de Paris* in his study of religious art of the thirteenth century: "Victor Hugo a dit vrai: la cathédrale est un livre," *L'Art du XIIIe siècle en France. Étude sur l'iconographie du Moyen Âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration* (Paris: Gallimard, 1898), 491.

[420] Douglas Kelly, "Review [Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography*]" *Modern Philology* 83: 2 (November 1985), 179–181, 180.

[421] Suzanne Lewis writes of Kemp's approach, "In the absence of an accompanying text, the viewer plays an active role in constructing a new intertextuality of the image by bringing into play other narrative media, such as sermons or liturgical drama, as argument, exemplum, or typology." Lewis, "Narrative," 96.

[422] Ruth Finnegan, "Literacy vs. non-Literacy: The Great Divide? The significance of 'literature' in non-literate cultures," in *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Non-Western Societies*, ed. Ruth Finnegan and Robin Horton (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 59.

Finnegan also poses the question, "Is oral art 'literature'?"[423] Hybrid literacies allow for the differences in thinking between literates and non-literates, who can interact with the same pictorial narrative on different levels. With fluid parameters, hybrid literacies do not create a boundary and an "other." This inclusive aspect would have appealed to medieval Christians who wanted to identify with "sacred readers": saints, the Evangelists, and even the Virgin Mary.

5.5   BIBLICAL NARRATIVE IN LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY MEDIEVAL ART

The canonical history of biblical narrative in medieval art begins with the earliest known surviving biblical image, found on the reverse side of a bronze coin struck in the city of Apamea in Phrygia (present-day southwest Turkey) around the year 200.[424] The image is of Noah's ark, labeled in Greek letters, perhaps to commemorate the belief that the ark had come to rest on nearby Mount Ararat. Apamea was known to have a significant Jewish population at this time, and while the obverse side of the coin depicts the portrait likeness of the Roman emperor Macrinus (ruled 217–218), the reverse image contains iconography that perhaps came from a decorated Jewish synagogue, or illustrated Bible.[425] The most intriguing feature of this coin, from the perspective of narrative, is that two episodes are condensed into a small space approximately 1.5 inches in diameter. We see Noah and his wife twice. On the right they stand within the ark, which is inscribed NΩE, or "Noah," and the ark is represented upon waves. On the left, Noah and his wife stand on dry land in the act of prayer, and a Greek inscription below

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[423] R. Finnegan, "Litearcy vs. non-Literacy," 63.
[424] Jeffrey Spier, "The Earliest Christian Art: from Personal Salvation to Imperial Power," in *Picturing the Bible: the earliest Christian art*, ed. Jeffrey Spier (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 3.
[425] Catalog no. 1, *Picturing the Bible*, 171.

reads ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ, "of the Apameans."[426] If we consider images to take the place of longer text in this particular object, interestingly, the narrative is read right to left, just as Hebrew text is. The episodes also chronologically straddle the landing of the ark on Mount Ararat, which provides the connection to Apamea.

Although many of the earliest images of biblical narrative from the Jewish tradition do not survive, an impressive cycle exists at the Jewish synagogue at Dura Europos in Syria, circa 240. This narrative cycle of frescoes contains a broad range of episodes or scenes, but does not follow the biblical narrative "in order." These images may also have been didactic, with narrative episodes illustrating themes or rabbinical discussions. For our discussion of later medieval Christian visual narratives, the communal interpretation and reception of these images is significant. The images also let us know that the Jews did not directly associate pictorial imagery with idolatry. The Christian baptistery at Dura Europos also contained images, which are much simpler and perhaps more symbolic than narrative.

The earliest decorated Bible manuscripts date to the fifth and sixth centuries. The few surviving illustrated Bibles, many existing only as fragments, from this early period are well-known to manuscript scholars: the Quedlinburg Itala fragment (fifth century), the Cotton Genesis (fourth or fifth century), the Rabbula Gospels (ca. 586), the Vienna Genesis (first half of sixth century), the Rossano Gospels (sixth century), the Sinope Gospels (sixth century), and the Ashburnham Pentateuch (late sixth or early seventh century), to name the most outstanding examples from this early medieval period that likely eventually had the greatest impact for western Europe.[427] In Herbert Kessler's essay, "The Word Made Flesh in Early Decorated

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[426] *Picturing the Bible*, 171.
[427] On the study of these manuscripts and their impact on the history of art, see John Williams, ed., *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University, 1999).

Bibles," he describes how the transition to the codex provided a new medium for decoration and that these innovations go hand in hand. The technology of the scroll was unequipped to hold pigments that would have flaked off in the process of rolling and unrolling; in contrast, the technology of the codex supported and preserved painted images.[428] One could further argue that a preexisting cultural familiarity with narrative public images on coins and in churches was a third aspect of this pictorial evolution in biblical narrative, without which the development of biblical narrative decoration in manuscripts may have been stifled.

Arguably, the best-known decorated Bible book of the early Christian period is the Rabbula Gospels, produced in Syria in 586. Kessler uses this manuscript as the centerpiece, but discusses two lesser-known manuscripts from the same time period, the Etschmiadsin Gospels of Armenia (c. 600), and the Abba Garima Gospel, also from Syria (sixth century). He sees the three as representative of pictorial narrative in a Christian context, which has its basis in pagan traditions: "precedents existed in pagan art for the rendering of texts step by step in cycles of pictures."[429] These precedents included continuous narrative sculpted friezes and, less frequently, illuminated classical texts (for example, the famous Vatican Vergil manuscript made in Rome around the year 400).[430]

In a manuscript fragment of a narrative cycle that dates to the fourth century known as the Quedlinburg Itala, the story of Saul is presented in the same manner as an ancient epic. Short written instructions can be found underneath the painted miniatures, implying that the painters

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[428] "...the flat, rectangular format of the leaves provided a surface suitable for much fuller artistic elaboration than the small sections in classical books made visible as the scrolls were opened to columns of writing." Kessler, "The Word Made Flesh in Early Decorated Bibles," in *Picturing the Bible*, 141.

[429] Kessler, "Word Made Flesh," 152.

[430] David Wright, *The Vatican Vergil: A Masterpiece of Late Antique Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). He concludes that the manuscript was produced "within two decades of the year 400," 3.

may have been Latin literate.[431] Quedlinburg is one of four early Old Testaments, including the Cotton Genesis (whose images are dense in narrative, like the Quedlinburg Itala, and like the Apamean coin), the Ashburnham Pentateuch, and the Vienna Genesis. In each of the early Genesis narratives, images serve as a prelude to the text that follows, like a visual preview of sorts. While utilizing a fairly standard classical tradition of one scene per image block in some areas, and a continuous/cyclic frieze-like illustration in others, it allows the reader-viewer to visually anticipate what he or she will read in the passages beneath. It also sets a precedent in Christianity for this type of visual prefiguration prior to revelation within the text. In later medieval Bibles, even to an extent in Spencer 22, the relationship between images and text is not a straightforward illustration, and the images are not merely pictorial previews. Rather, the task of driving the narrative falls more squarely on the images, as we have seen in Section 4.

Biblical manuscripts continued to be decorated with narrative images throughout the Middle Ages, and up-to and including the period of the present study, the fourteenth century, by which time the demand for decorated Bibles was resurging among the lay nobility. There are many outstanding examples of Bibles, or portions of biblical narrative, like the Psalter, with narrative decoration in the period following the grouping of sixth-century Bibles discussed above. These include the Utrecht Psalter (ninth century) and related manuscripts the Harley Psalter (c. 1000), the Eadwine Psalter (twelfth century), and the Anglo-Catalan Psalter (twelfth century),[432] and of course Sancho's Bible and the Augsburg manuscript, as well as the Morgan Bible (New York, Morgan Library, M. 638, thirteenth century), the Winchester Bible (Winchester Cathedral, MS. 17, twelfth century), luxury Bibles produced for the aristocracy or

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[431] Kessler, "Word Made Flesh," 154.
[432] The Utrecht Psalter and Harley Psalter constitute an important precedent for the *translatio imaginis* process between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, as discussed in Section 4 above.

wealthy cathedrals (which became fashionable again in the late fourteenth century)[433] and the many extant versions of the *Bible moralisée*, *Bible historiale*, *Biblia pauperum*, and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (which we used above to triangulate the position of Spencer 22 in medieval biblical production).[434] Within this significant medieval context of pictorial biblical narrative, Spencer 22 is a unique and important example because it illuminates relationships between written and pictorial narrative, and written and pictorial languages, in a way that other manuscripts do not.

The present study is an evaluation of biblical narrative within the framework of medieval literacy, and specifically the role the image played in conveying biblical narrative in various medieval contexts. As such, it is not necessary to summarize the entire tradition of biblical studies undertaken by scholars of the written text any further than what has been done in Sections 1 and 2 (although the French text of Spencer 22 deserves its own transcription and study). This is perhaps another indication of one of the primary goals of this study, and that is to shift the focus of the study of the Bible to a study of biblical images and an attempt to describe the pervasiveness of biblical narrative in the lives of the wealthy literate and non-literate through visual means.

5.6   PICTORIAL VERNACULAR

Expanding outward from a material existence to an ideal existence, Spencer 22 is first (and perhaps foremost) a book. Secondly, its content exists in pictorial and textual narrative, and

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[433] de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 227.
[434] Cf. Introduction, "The Image of the Bible in Fourteenth-Century France."

finally, as a cultural phenomenon and a sacred ideal. Biblical narrative is an underlying structure, but it is only useful as a construct if it is accessible to medieval readers and viewers. Thus we must also address pictorial narrative and literacy with regards to the specifics of Spencer 22, and then the question of medieval literacy at large with a focus on images. As John Lowden writes of early medieval illuminated Bibles,

> Biblical narratives, by the fifth century to be sure, can be said to have their origin in the biblical text, but many of these stories – most obviously of the principle events in the life of Christ – were undoubtedly known by vast numbers of people who would have been unable to read them. They would have seen them frequently (but not in books) and heard them repeatedly.[435]

He then asks, "What does this imply?" The same question is relevant for the fourteenth century, by which time it is clear that narrative is presented using pictorial language, and that this visual language was just one of a number of "vernacular" or popular languages that supplemented Latin literacy.

The terms *pictorial vernacular* and *image vernacular*[436] are especially appropriate for biblical narrative. Bible stories in the Middle Ages were known and told in the vernacular languages of Europe (French, English, Italian, etc.). Although earlier translations from Hebrew in late antiquity gave readers biblical texts in Syriac, Coptic, Ge'ez, and Latin (the languages

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[435] Lowden, "The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration," 125.

[436] The term *pictorial vernacular* is used by Patricia L. Reilly in two publications on Renaissance Italy: "Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo* and the Italian Pictorial Vernacular," *The Art Bulletin* Vol. XCII (December 2010), 308–325, and *Raphael and Vasari at the Medici Courts and the Italian Pictorial Vernacular* (in progress). The term *image vernacular* has a specific meaning in the work of Cara Finnegan on the nineteenth century intersection of images and science. The abstract for her 2005 article in *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* states, "This essay studies letters written to McClure's magazine in response to its 1895 publication of a previously unknown photograph of Abraham Lincoln. The letter writers mobilized what I call 'image vernaculars,' enthymematic arguments grounded in their social knowledge about photography, portraiture, and 'scientific' discourses of character such as physiognomy. Armed with these image vernaculars, viewers argued the photograph was evidence of Lincoln's superior moral character, and they used it to elaborate an Anglo-Saxon ideal national type at a time when elites were consumed by fin-de-siècle anxieties about the fate of 'American' identity." "Recognizing Lincoln: Image Vernaculars in Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8: 1 (Spring 2005), 31–57. I do not use the term *pictorial vernacular* or *image vernacular* with these specific contexts in mind, as I describe above. The terminology of both Reilly and Finnegan reflects a *popular* understanding of images and pictures in a social context, which I also think is true for biblical visual narrative in the Middle Ages.

spoken at the time in Syria, Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Roman Empire), in the Middle Ages, translations into vernacular were less common than Latin texts. It was important that the Bible be standardized, and that Latin was the official language of the Church (and of the universities; there is surely an element of elitism, esotericism, and elevation above an unlettered public, here). But the images provide a universal vernacular that can be described in French, English, Italian, etc. Interestingly, these images were also often standardized, to an extent, through the rules of iconography. In this respect, biblical pictorial narratives in public and private contexts are much like Latin written texts in that they were accessible regardless of one's particular vernacular tongue (in various degrees based upon the viewer's level of pictorial literacy, of course).

There is an additional "popular" aspect of public programs in biblical narrative. When you see the Bible, you are seeing stories and narrative, but also, possibly, complex theological concepts. We cannot sell the audience for these images short: to weigh in on the lines of Gregory the Great's dictum, these narrative pictures are not just "Bibles for the poor" or illiterate, but often communicated complex concepts beyond their storytelling capacity and operated on multiple levels based on the literacy of the audience. This must be foremost in our minds throughout the following examples of the Bible as pictorial vernacular.

5.7 LINGUISTIC QUALITIES OF MEDIEVAL NARRATIVE PICTURES: THE MULTILINGUAL MIDDLE AGES

In a 2002 article on Wolfram von Eschenbach's thirteenth-century epic vernacular poem *Willehalm*, Kathryn Starkey highlights the emphasis on foreign language and linguistic

difference to the plot of the narrative.[437] She writes, "...Wolfram recognizes the problems inherent to linguistic differences implicit in the tropes on which he draws. At the same time, however, he presents us with a society in which linguistic difference is surmountable, indeed inconsequential...and presents us with a more tolerant and universal society capable of traversing the boundaries of language."[438] This society was also undoubtedly aware of the language of pictures, though, because of the universality of the image, this visual language may never have seemed as "foreign" to them as the written or spoken language of another culture.

There are three languages present in Spencer 22: Latin titles, French written text, and a pictorial language which presents its content in contemporary style and production, thereby rendering an ancient visual text more easily read by a fourteenth-century viewer. These three languages interact on nearly every page of Spencer 22. The interaction is not seamless. There are distinct *visual* boundaries between the three languages on the page: the Latin titles are underlined in red ink to separate them from the French text that follows, and the pictures are bounded by painted borders, many of which feature gold decoration. The reader can utilize one over the others as a primary mode, or utilize a combination of the three languages in their understanding of the biblical narrative.[439] Certainly, also, there is a "visuality" to written language, especially in medieval manuscripts, where letter forms take on an aesthetic quality of their own. All written text is visual, and written language represents the oral story. Pictorial text is also visual, and represents the oral story as well, though it is more remote from the original text. Pictorial text

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[437] Kathryn Starkey, "Traversing the boundaries of language. Multi-lingualism and Linguistic Difference in Wolfram's Willehalm," *German Quarterly* 75: 1 (2002), 20–34.
[438] Starkey, 22.
[439] The linguistic phenomenon of code-switching is extensively published in the field of sociocultural linguistics, but can also be used in literary studies to describe the use of multiple literary genres in one written work. Chad Nilep provides an overview of the historiography of code-switching studies in, "'Code Switching' in Sociocultural Linguistics," *Colorado Research in Linguistics*, June 2006, Vol. 19.

allows for a permeable, fluid storytelling—each individual interpretation is similar in content, though the particulars may differ. In written language, the particulars are consistent.

Art historians have taken up the issue of *visual language* before, with a focus on the language of abstract forms in the work of such influential early twentieth-century artists as Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky.[440] These studies are often about the absence of narrative—Kandinsky's visual language is often described as non-narrative and free of content or association outside of line, shape, color, and form. When looking for "language" in medieval narrative pictures, we must be clear in our intentions. Are we defining language in terms of grammatical structure and finite alphabets? As a system of signs? Are we using the term more loosely to refer to a mode of communication?[441]

I argue that narrative is not bound to oral and written language systems and that pictures could provide a dynamic communicative experience that most often occurred independently of oral and written texts. This is not to say that the source of biblical narrative is somehow independent of oral and written text—I think that would be impossible to prove, and that is not necessary. Here, I am speaking specifically to the narrative picture as a concrete object. In content and presentation, medieval pictures as physical, visual objects may have communicated independently of an oral or written textual presence. The storytelling qualities that medieval pictures had were universal in a culture where the Christian narrative, specifically the life of Christ, was a defining element.

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[440] See for example Fernande Saint-Martin, *Semiotics of Visual Language* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

[441] One possibility is to apply a Structuralist approach that acknowledges the universal nature of narrative. Narrative is essential to the formation of the medieval *self* (rather, any number of medieval selves) via the construction of identity and worldview. If culturally and socially the self and worldview was bound to Christianity, it seems obvious to explore *the* narrative of Christianity, the Bible. I am not advocating an exclusively Structuralist view of narrative—the cultural and historical situation of its reception is also extremely relevant.

The philosophical interest in the *linguistic turn* of the 1950s and 1960s can be appropriated for a post-structuralist evaluation of medieval images, providing the means for reassessing pictorial narrative. W.J.T. Mitchell's *pictorial turn* returns to images, but has its foundation in the writings of earlier philosophers of language. He summarizes the linguistic turn, as characterized by Richard Rorty, in the following way: "Society is a text. Nature and its scientific representations are 'discourses.' Even the unconscious is structured like a language."[442] Mitchell's pictorial turn, like Charles Peirce's semiotics and Nelson Goodman's "languages of art," is a theory that does not "begin with the assumption that language is paradigmatic for meaning."[443] Mitchell further explains this philosophical mode for evaluating pictures:

> Whatever the pictorial turn is, then, it should be clear that it is not a return to naive mimesis, copy or correspondence theories of representation, or a renewed metaphysics of pictorial 'presence': it is rather a postlinguistic, postsemiotic rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality. It is the realization that *spectatorship* (the look, the gaze, the glance, the practices of observation, surveillance, and visual pleasure) may be as deep a problem as various forms of *reading* (decipherment, decoding, interpretation, etc.) and that visual experience or 'visual literacy' might not be fully explicable on the model of textuality.[444]

In place of textuality, we can consider the role of pictorial narrative in the medieval communication matrix, as outlined earlier in this section.

5.7.1 Linguistic qualities of Spencer 22's pictorial narrative

Can we describe the linguistic qualities of medieval pictures in a useful way? Barthes, inspired by structural linguistics, the Prague School, Russian formalism, and structural anthropology, outlines a theory of narrative: a grammar capable of accounting for every conceivable narrative.

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[442] Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 11.
[443] Mitchell, 12.
[444] Mitchell, 16.

At the narrational level, narrative communication occurs between author, narrator, and "reader." The use of the term "reader" here indicates just how intricately this theory of narrative is entwined with language—specifically *written* words. Written language supplies a constancy and stability to language by making it temporally permanent, though theories on texts and the construction of meaning range from objectivist (or *formalist*: meaning is embedded in text and the reader's job is to extract it) to constructivist (or *dialogical*: meaning is negotiated between reader and text) to subjectivist (or *meaning-making*: meaning is entirely interpreted, recreated by each reader of text).[445] Can these categories be applied to medieval narratives, especially pictorial narrative? One could argue that the answer is yes, in all three situations. A formalist reading of biblical pictorial narrative privileges its authority and immutability as the Word of God (even in pictures). A dialogical interpretation would give the reader-viewer authority, or at least, a sentient presence, in negotiating the events of pictorial narrative and filling in gaps between scenes (here, specifically, I am thinking of memory and how exposure to an oral tradition creates deeper meaning for a reader-viewer—however, an "unlearned" interpretation of narrative events would not necessarily be incorrect). And finally, in the meaning-making approach, one could argue that a sophisticated understanding of medieval iconography provides an enhanced version of events for some reader-viewers, and both allows for and controls the recreation of meaning in each reading-viewing event.

In thinking of a medieval visual language in Spencer 22, the basic building blocks, or the linguistic qualities, of Spencer 22's narrative images can be described in terms of repetition of forms and figures, color, and grammatical schema.[446] Spencer 22's pictures, in some instances,

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[445] For more on the philosophy of meaning-making, see Olav Bryant Smith, *Myths of the Self: Narrative Identity and Postmodern Metaphysics* (New York: Lexington Books, 2004).
[446] I would also include "gesture" here as a pictorial tool, a way to make a static image "speak" to its viewers.

preserve more of the original Latin text than the accompanying French text. Consider the genealogy of Christ (Matthew 1:1–18), beginning on folio 108v in Spencer 22. The Latin text, when translated to English, utilizes "begot" to connote father-son relationships: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham: Abraham begot Isaac. And Isaac begot Jacob. And Jacob begot Judas and his brethren. And Judas begot Phares and Zara of Thamar. And Phares begot Esron. And Esron begot Aram," and so on, until, "And Jacob begot Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ."[447] This text closely preserves the repetitive Latin of Jerome's fourth century Vulgate, "Abraham genuit Isaac/Isaac autem genuit Iacob/Iacob autem genuit Iudam et fratres eius/Iudas auten genuit Phares et Zara de Thamar/Phares autem genuit Esrom/Esrom autem genuit Aram."

In Spencer 22, a visual format is established with a seated elder and a standing male youth, which continues to folio 111r, some folios containing six such miniatures. This format establishes a visual rhythm, much as the written Latin text would have. Interestingly, the beginnings of the Latin Vulgate text are present as titles before the French text: *Liber generationis ihesu christi filii david filii abraham* followed by a Tironian et, and then the concluding verse for this heading, *David autem rex genuit Salomonem ex ea quae fuit Uriae* but this excerpt does not give a sense of that rhythmic repetition. It falls to the pictures to visually preserve the rhythm of Jerome's Latin.

Immediately following the Latin title given above, on folio 108v, the French text reads, *La generation ... ihesu crist ot ij commencemens / lun en foy et circoncision qui commenca de abraham iusques a david li comme il est contenu es hystoires ci deviant / lautre en amour et en election qui commenca a david le fil iesse / le quel ihesu ama et ... a regner par dessus les autres*

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[447] Douay-Rheims translation.

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or avons la racine de iesse le quel engendra david le roy / "The generation of Jesus Christ had two beginnings: one in faith and circumcision which began with Abraham up to David, as it continues in stories here following; the other in love and in election which begins at David the son of Jesse, he which Christ loved and ... to reign passing over the others or having the root of Jesse which engendered King David." There is an integration of narrative detail in the French text that is a marked departure from the Latin text of the Vulgate (not present in Spencer 22 save in the titles) and the pictorial narrative with which it coexists on the page. Beginning with folio 109r, both the Latin titles and French text begin to take on the more familiar repetitive recitation of the ancestors of Christ, which, when paired with the pictures of kings and youths, creates a visual rhythm for the reader-viewer.

Pictures can be structured like verbal language, as illustrated above.[448] However, having postulated this argument for a visual grammar in Spencer 22, I must stress that its narrative does not have to be tied to linguistics, and in fact, in Spencer 22, pictures work as hard as written text to convey narrative because they are supported by a cultural awareness of the Bible through oral storytelling. I do not intend this to be a study of pictorial semiotics, or the relationship between pictures and their connection to verbal signs. The model of languages and translation aptly describes the relationship between Latin, French and pictures on the pages of Spencer 22. But beyond the semiotics of visual language, the pictures in Spencer 22 exist within a medieval multisensory communication matrix, and it is here that their narrative richness is fully exploited.

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[448] See also Umberto Eco, *La struttura assente*, 4th ed. (Milan: T. Bompiani, 1987) and *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).

5.7.2   How was Spencer 22 "read"?

Understanding pictures precedes language—where language is an abstraction, narrative pictures are a concrete representation of events. These events could be representative of reality, or at least, a believed religious reality, lending a historiocity to medieval biblical narrative. It has been noted by Bucher that there is an emphasis on narrative and history in the French text of Spencer 22.[449] The pictures enliven that biblical truth for its viewers. Pictures often needed to be deciphered. They are graphically self-apparent, but can be metaphorically elusive if you do not know their context. An example in Spencer 22 (or in any pictorial biblical narrative, really) might be Noah's ark. Noah's ark, in a Jewish and Christian Old Testament iconographic tradition, shares features with a secular iconography of medieval shipbuilding technology.[450] Just as Latin root words can have more than one meaning, which is clarified by context and by appropriate endings, so does medieval visual language: a boat is just a boat until it is located in the visual context of the biblical narrative of Noah, where it becomes an ark.

As a basic example of how one might interpret Spencer 22's pictorial narrative, we will look at folio 11r, which contains a portion of the Noah story. When the pictorial representation of "boat" is encountered on folio 11r of Spencer 22, we see a man using an axe-like tool to craft the boat in the topmost miniature, and later, a group of people riding in the boat in the bottom miniature. The center miniature shows Noah speaking with God after building the ark. A basic narrative evolves from the top and bottom miniatures: man constructs boat, some time passes, and then he sails in it. This narrative could easily be drawn from medieval maritime life. The

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[449] Bucher, vol. 1, 67: "added touches befit a literary age conditioned by romances."
[450] See Joe C. Flatman, "The iconographic evidence for maritime activities in the Middle Ages," *Current Science* 86:9 (10 May 2004): 1276–1282, and *The Illuminated Ark: Interrogating evidence from manuscript illuminations and archaeological remains for medieval vessels* (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, Ltd, 2007).

middle miniature complicates things a bit for an uninformed reader-viewer: who is the man speaking to, and how does that affect his actions in the following pictorial scene? Any familiarity with Christian iconography leads the reader-viewer to the knowledge that the second man is perhaps God, perhaps Christ, perhaps a saint, based upon the blue halo around his head. A religious, spiritual connotation is given to the pictorial narrative for the informed reader-viewer. Piecing together the narrative cues, visual clues, and iconography contributes to a full understanding of the story of Noah, even without reading the accompanying text. One can press the narrative further, and claim that this piece of Noah's story is enough to recall for the informed reader-viewer the entirety of the narrative: God's anger, his command to Noah to build the ark, the ravaging flood, the sending forth of the raven and dove, and even later, the drunkenness of Noah. All parts of Noah's story are called to mind by three pictures for those initiated in medieval Christian faith.

Noah's story is ideal for multisensory modes of storytelling. Read in solitude, recited aloud, or heard in a sermon, the story of the flood contains enough action and drama to retain a reader's interest and for the story to stick in the reader's memory.[451] But there is much of the Bible that does not contain the same heightened sense of drama, action, and a tidy narrative package of beginning, middle content, followed by a climax or conclusion. The Noah story contains enough changes in scene and characters to create a dramatic pictorial narrative—one that does not have to be accompanied by text, as in the case of the Noah window at Chartres Cathedral, where the Noah window is one of only two surviving Old Testament windows. Oral, pictorial, and textual modes of storytelling engage the senses visually (seeing words and pictures

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[451] On memory and its role in medieval literacy, the key work is Mary Carruthers' *The Book of Memory: a study of memory in medieval culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

on the page or pictures in a large public artistic program), tactilely (in the case of turning manuscript pages), and aurally (hearing words).

5.8   THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE

Even though narrative is certainly present in the Bible, is it literature? In the study of biblical visual narrative, one is reminded that even within the written textual tradition, the so-called "art of narrative" or literary qualities of the Bible's text are not often studied. In the 1980s, Robert Alter's *The Art of Biblical Narrative* approached the Old Testament, or Hebrew Bible, first and foremost as a literary creation. He read it as narrative prose, discussing plot, character development, and literary *topoi* purposefully chosen by its authors. Alter was following in the path of narrative theologians Hans Frei and Karl Barth, but Gerard Laughlin acknowledges that narrative theologians date back to Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Laughlin writes, "It is not possible to read either of the saints without becoming aware of how profoundly their theologies are written between the lines of Scripture and upon the story it tells."[452] Gordon Fee and Douglas Stuart, also writing in the 1980s, stated that, "The Bible contains more of the type of literature called 'narrative' than it does of any other literary type."[453] More recently, Shimon Bar-Efrat's *Narrative Art in the Bible* acknowledges that although more than one-third of the Hebrew Bible consists of narrative, and that they are recognized as "of the highest artistic quality, ranking among the foremost literary treasures of the world," biblical scholarship shuns "the literary study

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[452] Gerard Laughlin, *Telling God's Story: Bible, Church, and Narrative Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), x.
[453] Fee and Stuart, 78.

of biblical narratives," giving them only "marginal concern."[454] Yet, since then much of the current scholarship on biblical text focuses on exegesis or historical aspects of the text, and not on its literary qualities.

I see an approach that acknowledges biblical narrative's "literariness"[455] as a useful one for the study of narrative picture Bibles. Narrative was a helpful structure in making sense of one's life and defining one's identity, and all the more so when it was a Christian narrative—and best when it is the Bible, of course. Biblical storytelling contains a literary element just as a saint's *vita* does—it is an historical or pseudo-historical record of events, told with literary flair that makes it relatable to its audience, and, as such, a useful teaching tool. Its literary qualities are quite adaptable for pictures, too. If we first acknowledge that the Bible is a literary work, and then that literary criticism is concerned with the form of a text as opposed to its content (this basic distinction will suffice for the present study, although because of its simplicity, can be viewed as a problematic one in literary studies), we can distinguish the form of Spencer 22—its pictorial narrative—from its biblical content, and further establish the series of pictures as a *text*.

5.9 "STORIES TO WATCH": WAYS OF MEDIEVAL LITERACY

We know that narrative images adorned public spaces, and that this practice was widespread in Christianity from an early period. It makes sense that biblical narrative would be adapted to manuscripts as they proliferated in the later Middle Ages, and this has not gone unnoticed by scholarship. In February 2011, The Getty Museum in Los Angeles opened an exhibition titled,

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[454] Shimon Bar-Efrat, *Narrative art in the Bible* (Sheffield: Almond, 1989), 9.
[455] See John B. Gabel, Charles B. Wheeler, and Anthony D. York, eds. *The Bible as Literature: an Introduction*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

"Stories to Watch: Narrative in Medieval Manuscripts." A description of the exhibition states that it "displays twenty-one books and leaves with narrative illuminations from different periods and regions, presenting a fascinating variety of pictorial storytelling."[456] Stories could also be "experienced" in performance. Evelyn Birge Vitz's work on narrative and performance provides a useful counterpart to the audience for pictures: the audience for medieval performance. She explores audience reception and what she calls "a number of crucial medieval views and mental structures [that] turn out to be largely unconceptualizable—unthinkable—for modern critical theory,"[457] including the implications of medieval narrative for the contradictory belief "in the existence and omnipotence of God, on the one hand, and of the related conviction that life largely defies human comprehension, on the other."[458] Vitz, like myself, hopes to define underlying structures of medieval thought, presented in image form, rather than a theological reading of the Bible or a dense description of iconography.

Medieval audience reception of narrative images is but one aspect of medieval literacy that has previously been addressed for the Classical world, which set so much of the tone for Christian Europe. Jocelyn Small writes of the Classical world, "the real question for us is not whether artists were literate, but whether they were literate in the same ways that we are."[459] This gets to the heart of the issue of the "ways of literacy" that I think is central to an understanding of the word-image relationship in medieval art for artists, patrons, and viewers. Such "stories to watch" were an integral part of medieval literacy.

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[456] Getty Museum website, future exhibitions list, <http://www.getty.edu/visit/exhibitions/future.html>. Accessed 28 October 2010.

[457] Evelyn Birge Vitz, *Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology. Subjects and Objects of Desire* (New York: New York University Press, 1989), 8.

[458] Vitz, *Medieval Narrative*, 8–9.

[459] Jocelyn Small, *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 172.

5.9.1   Narrative programmers, artists, audiences

In any study of the role of narrative in medieval art, one must begin with the task of reconciling the relationship between written text—both textual content and textual format (that is, the source text, the biblical narrative, as found not only in Bibles, but also in manuscripts containing the Gospels, liturgical manuscripts, and adaptations of the Bible for the laity outside of monastic and clerical contexts) and narrative pictures. In public narrative programs, the source texts (mainly Scripture, though secular tales like the *chansons de geste* and the chronicle tradition were also referenced) were edited to feature certain episodes over others, and, in doing so, set a contextual agenda for viewing. One must acknowledge the storytellers, those who determined visual decoration (Willibald Sauerländer calls them "programmers"), and their attempt to guide the visual experience of the audience, the recipients of the visually transmitted tales. These programmers are not necessarily narrators—they operate externally to the narrative content, manipulating what already exists into new formats. The audience was not entirely passive, but was a variable in each individual encounter with the visual program, something of which the programmers and artists must have been keenly aware. Thus, public biblical narrative is more than a static *document*, as it requires audience participation to fill in the blanks between illustrated episodes.

Iconography, typology, and straightforward narrative were three tools in the visual storyteller's arsenal, used to address a public that was not entirely literate. Here, a subtle distinction must be made between *message* and *narrative*. Messages, like "visual homilies," can be transmitted using isolated images containing iconography or other visual signs, with or without the structure of visual narrative. Certainly, an understanding of iconographic meaning allows a viewer to call upon collective narrative memories; however, this is different from visual

sequential narrative, which utilizes visual storytelling conventions in its narration. Even though they are different visual forms, iconography and sequential narrative can evoke the same effect for an educated viewer. As Meyer Schapiro says of the "word-bound image," "one or two figures and some attribute or accessory object, seen together will evoke for the instructed viewer the whole chain of actions linked in that text with the few pictured elements, unless an incompatible detail arrests the interpretation."[460] With isolated visual messages conveyed through iconography, the viewer must be able to draw upon a cultural understanding of the image (likely acquired through an oral explanation) and then imbue it further with Christian meaning. The explanatory role of orality is required less with the introduction of visual, sequential narrative into public programs.

Spencer 22 likely also had a "programmer"—an overseer with the vision and foresight to conceptualize the *translatio imaginis* and the addition of French text in Spencer 22—a complicated procedure even with Sancho's Bible as a model. More than the individual artist(s) and copyist(s) working on portions of the translation, this programmer was able to foresee the entire project and the complicated transition between two-miniature-to-a-page format and three-miniature-to-a-page format.

5.9.2   Visual narrative techniques

One way in which the visual image is stabilized is through the use of visual narrative techniques that would have been familiar to medieval viewers,[461] such as the repetition of characters in

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[460] Meyer Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the literal and the symbolic in the illustration of a text* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), 9. See also F. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages*. Macmillan, 1970.
[461] See Michael Baxandall's discussion of "the period eye" in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: a primer in the social history of pictorial style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

different episodes within the same visual landscape (unbroken by frames) to indicate the passage of time within a narrative program. Although there is still much to be said about the relationship between manuscript illumination and wall painting, stained glass, and sculpture, there do exist examples of continuous narrative in medieval manuscripts from the early Christian period through late medieval that may have served as models for the public visual programs. The issue of a "development" of narrative is difficult, in that narrative as an established construct (e.g., time, space, and memory) predates any type of development it may have had in terms of the art form.[462]

Herbert Kessler states, "Pictures made permanent what was transitory in the oral reading and, by their presence in the church, authorized an interpretation."[463] But narrative pictures, though permanent images in sense that one can leave and return to them minutes or days or centuries later and visually encounter the same series of events, are not permanent *messages*, which is evident in the manner that scholars continue to seek the meaning of images, the significance of which may have been transparent within the oral community of users and viewers. Narrative images, including biblical narrative images, may have been overlaid with multiple meanings, from the literal to the iconographic, as well as association with secular culture as narrative images in medieval literature drew in some cases on Christian visual tradition. It is often unclear, without an accompanying written text, whether a visual image that is transferred to a different context would retain layers of meaning from its original context.[464]

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[462] Sixten Ringbom quotes Kurt Weitzmann in his theory of the development of narrative: "From a modest beginning in late classical illustration of epic poetry and Septuagint texts book illumination rose to the position of a major art. This development was highly important for the emergence of pictorial narrative and from then on 'the art of storytelling in pictures became inextricably linked with the history of book illumination." Ringbom, "Some pictorial conventions," 75.

[463] Kessler, "Pictorial narrative and church mission in sixth century Gaul," 22.

[464] Alison Stones, "Arthurian Art after Loomis," *Arturus Rex: Acta Conventus Iovaniensis* (Leuven, 1987), 41.

Audiences may have interpreted the same image in different ways based upon their level of understanding of Christian theology.

For many years, art historians have been doing important work that uncovers medieval texts as source material for images, or, of equal importance, they have recovered documents that ekphrastically describe lost programs. However, with the reintroduction of orality and aurality studies into the history of art, we can no longer presume that there is a direct, rigid relationship between text and image. It is far more feasible that a narrative, which perhaps begins in text, is diffused through the aural and oral culture of social, political, and religious hierarchy and then consolidated in the image.

5.9.3 Translating textual narrative into pictures: *translatio imaginis*

Translating the familiar narratives of the Bible into images was as monumental for biblical reception history as Jerome's Latin Vulgate and later medieval translations of the Bible into the vernacular languages of French, Italian, English, and Spanish, among others. Unlike Jerome's translation, or later French translations by Jean le Bon in the second quarter of the thirteenth century and Guyart des Moulins' *Bible historiale* text of the late thirteenth century,[465] the creation of a visual biblical narrative cannot be traced to one historical event, nor is there a single "translator." Rather, there are innumerable translators over many centuries that contributed to the formation of commonly accepted iconographic models. Such major distinctions aside, the Bible as visual narrative can be treated systematically in many ways like textual translation, especially

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[465] Recall that the *Bible historiale* text by Guyart des Moulins was a translation of Peter Comestor's Latin *Historica Scholastica* of the early thirteenth century. The *Historica Scholastica* itself is an adaptation and translation of the books of the Bible, which eliminates purely didactic books, like the Book of Wisdom.

in a consideration of the choices made by translators.[466] Decisions must be made in instances where the new language (in this case, the pictorial or image vernacular mentioned previously) cannot easily accommodate direct word-for-word translation. With a visual biblical narrative, a type of shorthand is created in which each visual episode comes to represent a much longer narrative. There are two aspects to this translation process: the first is a text-to-image translation, resulting in a pictorial narrative. The second aspect, and the one that is unique to Spencer 22, is the image-to-image translation, the *translatio imaginis* that takes place between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22, and the topic of Section 4 above.

Scholars have surveyed and catalogued extant medieval images into an iconographic language system, wherein the meaning of an image can fluidly change based on the context. The process of interpreting iconography and filling in the shorthand likely relied heavily on vernacular oral traditions in which the biblical narrative was transmitted in a communal setting, such as medieval sermons, which took as their topics Old and New Testament subjects, as well as saints' lives and miracles.[467] A medieval viewer of visual biblical narrative could draw upon a previously heard sermon as a tool for engaging with an image. The multisensory nature of deciphering these images, then, is not based purely in iconography or an absolute correlation between text and image; rather, it is indicative of a broader net of literate awareness, the medieval communication matrix.

Certainly, deciphering the visual language of medieval images is one essential element in understanding the role of the image in medieval narrative. In recent years, however, the image as

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[466] The term "visual narrative" is most often associated with the graphic novel or comics tradition. However, I feel "visual narrative" best represents the medieval cultural goal of communicating a story through images in a sensory fashion more than "pictorial narrative."

[467] See Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris: H. Champion, 1976) for more on the content of sermons. Stephen Murray, *A Gothic Sermon: Making Contract with the Mother of God, Saint Mary of Amiens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), especially considers sermons in visual contexts of the cathedral at Amiens.

a mode of communication and its relationship with text has been reevaluated in light of advances in our understanding of medieval literacy. Michael Camille, a pioneer in the redefinition of the medieval image in the later twentieth century, concluded in his seminal 1985 article "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," with the following statement: "If there has been one underlying theme in this study, it is that medieval pictures cannot be separated from what is a total experience of communication involving sight, sound, action and physical expression."[468] With the multisensory medieval communication matrix as a framework, we can continue to explore the communicative impact of images, moving beyond the direct correlations provided by iconography to discuss the intricate relationships between image and text, and images and other images. The viewer of images alone, unlike the reader of a story in text form, must substantiate the episodes and complete the narrative by filling in the gaps of the story that are not illustrated from his or her own memory. Thus, even the term "pictorial" may be too limiting in a consideration of the way that these narratives in images participated in an expanding cultural literacy.

5.10   PUBLIC NARRATIVES AND AUDIENCES

In considering how images were used to introduce narrative to new readers, to prime the memory for the act of textual reading, and to communicate to large audiences, public images found in medieval cathedrals, churches, or castles, are often more enticing than images found in texts. Images in manuscripts were, likely, intended for a literate audience. The relationship between

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[468] Camille, "Seeing and Reading," 43.

texts and images on the page is a fascinating one, especially for narrative, and is a strong focus of the present study, but a brief diversion into public images is worthwhile in establishing the broad net cast by the culture of medieval literacy. Public images held communicative properties similar to those of texts in the absence of or in conjunction with spoken communication. Although public images did provide an opportunity for the medieval laity to draw upon a collective memory of Christian narrative by looking at visual cues,[469] the complex use of visual narrative in medieval stained glass windows provides evidence that there is not a direct translation between text and image, and that "reading" such images requires a combination of sensory information and memory.

Foremost in many of these public visual programs is the essential narrative of Christianity, the Bible, culminating in Christ's salvation, and projecting a vision of a future to come. This text was, for the medieval faithful, an essential part of worship, whether it was read individually or (and more frequently for the greater part of the population) read aloud in the celebration of the Mass, or referenced in sermons. But beyond those occasions in a much broader sense, portions of the story of the Bible were accessible through public works of art (such as the west façade of Notre-Dame de Paris, where biblical personages and events are evoked, or the biblical stained glass narrative windows of Chartres Cathedral), and certainly there was a lively oral culture, which, although for the most part undocumented, is partially evidenced by recorded medieval sermons. The storytelling impetus of Christianity, based as it is upon the life of Christ and a sequence of events before and after, can be seen in other pronunciations of belief, whether visual or textual. The doxology, for example, a short, dogmatic statement in praise of God, stated from the sixth century on, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, as it

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[469] See the above citations on Gregory the Great and "bibles of the illiterate," including Chazelle, Duggan, and Kessler.

was in the *beginning*, is *now*, and shall be *forever*." The glorification of the Trinity, three persons in one God, is echoed by the pronunciation of three specific moments in a narrative: beginning, present, and future (forever). Visually, representations of the three persons of the Trinity could take the guise of the three Ages of Man, or could incorporate the Crucifixion, which is the pivotal point in the narrative. The visual and textual evidence allows us to question exactly how medieval readers and viewers of images participated in narrative's construction in a public context and to decipher its meanings.

Public narrative images and their display, without copious amounts of text (in fact, often the briefest of titles grace the windows), establish a visual culture in which images could *be* the narrative rather than mere illustration. Whether or not these narratives were always interpreted in the "correct" manner is unknown and perhaps does not matter. We often think of the written text of the Bible as being immutable, especially as it is considered by Christians to be an authoritative text, the Word of God, when in reality, as a narrative, it is open to interpretation. Public narrative images, I argue, are similarly open-ended, and their power lies in the evocation of significant biblical episodes, not necessarily the particular visual details.

6.0   CONCLUSION: DEFINING SPENCER 22

Using thematic and theoretical definitions, historical facts, and other biblical manuscripts as secure points of reference, I have situated Spencer 22 against the wider field of biblical manuscript production in the fourteenth century. In doing so, I offer a more secure place for Spencer 22 in medieval political and social history, as well as in the history of medieval literacy. A cultural map has evolved with Spencer 22 at its center, illustrating connections between this mysterious manuscript and other known manuscripts, personages, places, and audiences. With so few truths to go by regarding Spencer 22's production, it is, in a way, easier to define Spencer 22 by eliminating from the discussion what it is *not*.

Spencer 22 is not an illustrated Bible. It is a *Bible en images*, a Bible *in* images rather than *with* images; the preexisting visual narrative in Sancho's Bible determines its narrative plot and pacing. The images are not solely for explanation or adornment, they are the narrative content, even when paired with French biblical text. It is, however, related to other medieval Bibles with images, such as *Bibles moralisées*, *Bibles historiales*, and biblical narrative cycles in Psalters.

Spencer 22 is not a direct copy. It should be classified as a translation, and the process of its production, *translatio imaginis* (translation of images). *Translatio imaginis* encompasses the physical movement of images from source manuscript to target, mediated by an update in style.

Spencer 22 is not simply a religious text in words and images. Although it contains biblical narrative, this manuscript was never intended solely for a religious purpose. It is clear from the manuscript commissions of fourteenth-century royal women that books were markers of status and served as evidence of one's lineage and position at court. The choice to translate Sancho's Bible into Spencer 22 is akin to the function of a relic of a saint in that it establishes a physical and material connection to Jeanne II of Navarre's ancestor, the Spanish king Sancho VII. Spencer 22 was more than a religious commission; manuscript patrons such as Jeanne II and the powerful women who she knew in the French court used manuscript patronage to make a social and political statement.

And finally, Spencer 22 is not a traditional Latin Bible. Michael Camille notes that in a fourteenth-century vernacular Bible with images (Cambridge University Library MS Ee3.52), the visual appearance of French text and unusual iconography "reveals the transformation of Biblical pictorial narrative in the context of Anglo-Norman literacy." The French text and anglicized images not only hint at the hybrid nature of the Anglo-Norman spoken language, but also that the images derive from vernacular words, not Latin.[470] I propose that in Spencer 22, one can speak of the Latin nature of the images, stemming as they ultimately do from the Vulgate via the visual narrative of Sancho's Bible. The combination of the visual text with the vernacular written text in Spencer 22 is highly relevant to the discussion of literacy in the late Middle Ages, as it demonstrates two phases in a shift away from Latin as a hindrance to lay reading of the Bible: first, to images; then, to French written text.

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[470] Camille, "Visualising the vernacular," 97. See also Camille, "The Language of Images 1200–1400," in J. Alexander and P. Binski, eds.: *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantaganet England 1200–1400*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London (1987): 33–40.

6.1   FUTURE WORK ON SPENCER 22

There are many facets of this manuscript that deserve further attention. Future work on Spencer 22 should focus on the transcription of the French vernacular text primarily, and also in further plumbing the 843 miniatures for more unusual iconography. Although Spencer 22 contains recognizable biblical narrative, its addition of French vernacular written texts, specifically selected to fit the visual narrative translated from Sancho's Bible, is unique. Uncovering the sources for the French texts would provide interesting an interesting counterpart to the visual translation process, and might illuminate further connections between Spencer 22 and other known biblical manuscripts produced in France in the first half of the fourteenth century. I hope to reconstruct the library of Jeanne II of Navarre and determine whether or not we can more firmly attribute more manuscripts to her patronage. And finally, I will continue to research the possibility of using Raman microscopy to determine the origins of the violet paint found in both manuscripts.

6.2   VISUAL NARRATIVE IN A MEDIEVAL CULTURE OF LITERACY

The communicative power of images cannot be directly transcribed in terms of oral or written text. The medieval image could be accessed through vision alone, without years of training in various languages, and paired with oral explanation and interpretation it became a reliable transmitter of information and cultural meaning. In a culture of literacy in the later Middle Ages, the power of images went beyond their immediate, iconographic/representational value to their capacity to drive narrative. That is to say, the story-telling capacities of images were exploited in

new ways in a cultural environment where textual literacy was becoming (in certain privileged areas of society, to be certain) more common. Yet the spread of literacy reached beyond the truly literate to affect those in various stages of literacy, and even those with no literacy at all. Although Spencer 22 was a luxury commission for a particular patron, its mere presence in fourteenth-century France indicates the expansion of hybrid, multisensory literacy, and exposes the impact of narrative images within a culture of literacy on literates and non-literates alike.

Spencer 22 serves as a focal point for this cultural study of the phenomenon of narrative and literacy in late medieval France, a concrete object around which to build a framework to better understand the role of both words and images in literate communication. Franz Bäuml has said of pictorial narrative in medieval literacy, "Given the close relationship of the function of the two types of communication, the textual and the pictorial, during this period, an investigation of one may benefit from a look at the other."[471] The shortcoming of his important article, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy," which provided a working definition for an unwieldy medieval phenomenon, is that it essentially viewed the image in service of text. It is clear that he is considering the "essentially textual" nature of pictorial communication, and he credits whatever parallel development may have occurred between pictorial and written narrative to the rapid development of the vernacular language, of which new conventions in pictorial art were a mere byproduct. It is the role of medieval art historians to reclaim the position of the image as a transmitter of cultural meaning in discussions of medieval literacy; Spencer 22 provides the opportunity to reconsider the function of images in the development of a medieval culture of literacy.

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[471] Bäuml, 259.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE FOR JEANNE II OF NAVARRE AND HER HUSBAND

PHILIP OF ÉVREUX

A Genealogical Table
for Jeanne II of Navarre
and Philip of Évreux
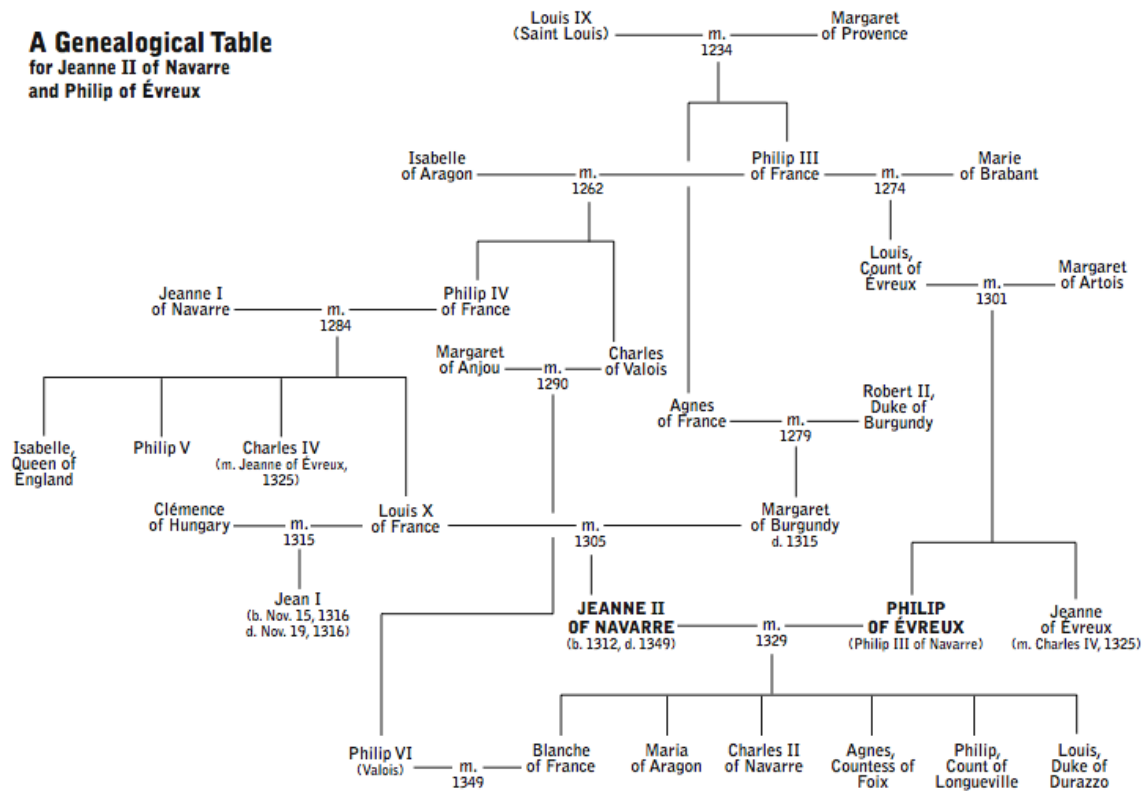
This table traces the lineage of Jeanne II of Navarre and Philip of Évreux to Louis IX. It features only the royal figures relevant to the present study of Spencer 22 and the life of Jeanne II of Navarre. Marriage dates (and birth and death dates where given) are verified by the Europäische Stammtafeln.

APPENDIX B

PAGE LAYOUT DIAGRAMS FOR SPENCER 22

Appendix B consists of 29 diagrams of page layouts found in Spencer 22, which illustrates the complex process of narrative translation which occurred between Sancho's Bible and Spencer 22.

1   **I**
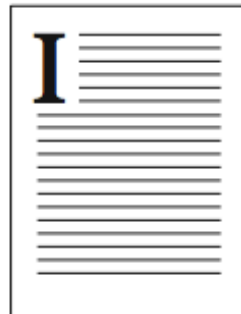
fol. 1r
Table of Contents

2

fols. 1v-3v

3

fols. 4r, 5r

4

fol. 4v (instance of
text surrounding
image)

5

fol. 5v

6

fol. 6r

7
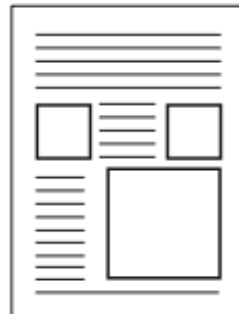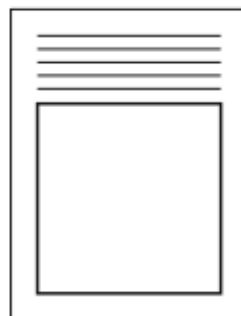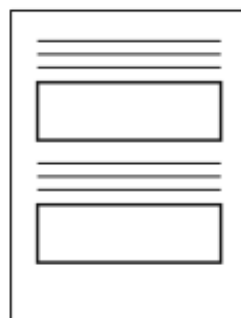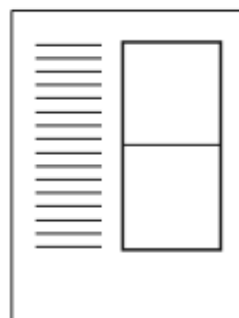
fols. 6v-8v, 11v-13v,
43v-45r, 48v, 63r, 121r
(also appears in a
reversed format)

8
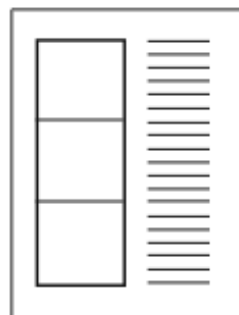
fols. 9r-11r, 14v, 16r,
17r-20r, 23v-24v, 25v-
32r, 36v-37r, 39v-43r,
45v-48r, 49r-62v, 63v-
64r, 65r-65v, 66v-73v,
75r-95r, 97r-108v,
112r-120v, 128r, 128v,
132v, 133v-135v, 137r-
152r (also appears in a
reversed format)
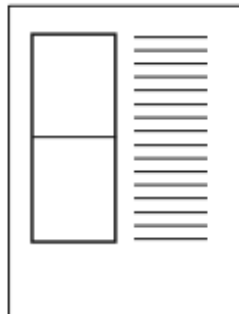
9 fol. 14r
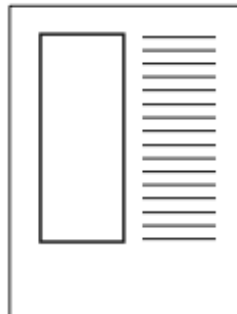
13 fol. 25r
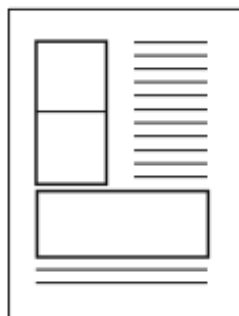
10 fol. 15r

14 fols. 64v (cf. 15v), 66r (reversed)
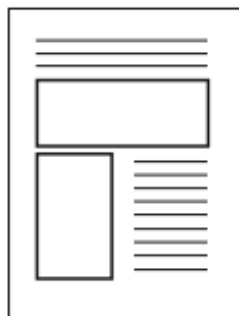
11 fols. 15v, 20v, 21r, 23r (also appears in a reversed format)
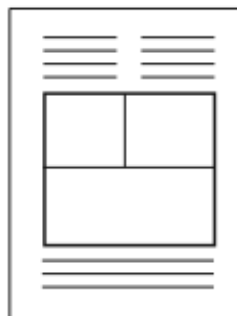
15 fol. 74r
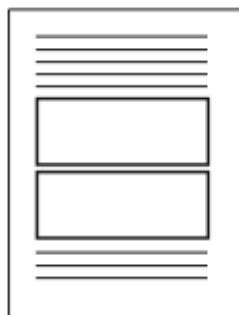
12 fols. 21v-22v, 33r-36r, 37v-39r

16 fol. 74v (cf. 74r)

243
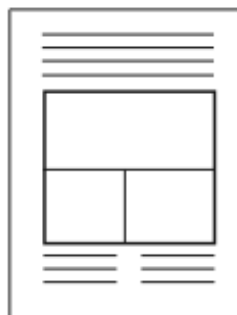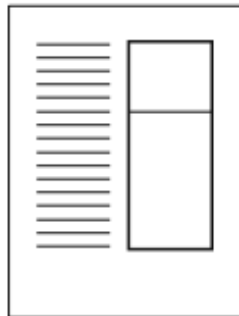
17 fols. 95v, 96v
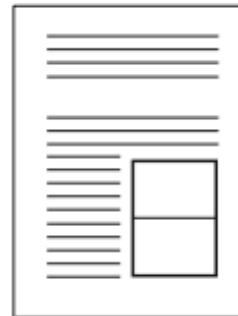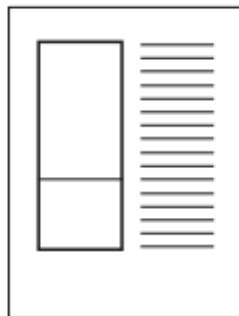
18 fol. 96r
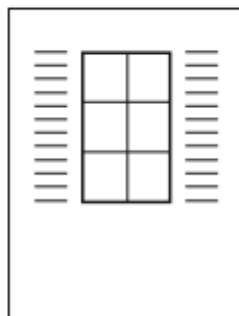
19 fols. 109r-109v, 110v, 111r

20 fol. 110v

21 fol. 111v

22 fols. 124v, 125v
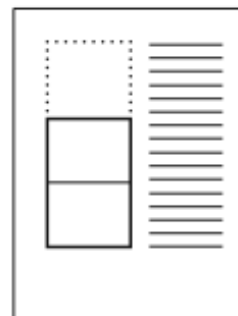
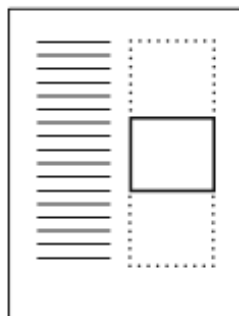**23** fols. 125r, 126r-126v, 127v, 129r (cf. 127v, ruled for miniature but not blocked off)
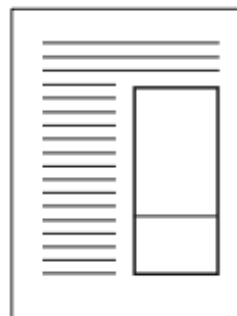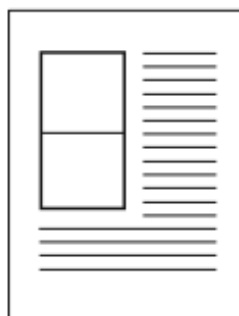
24 fol. 127r

25
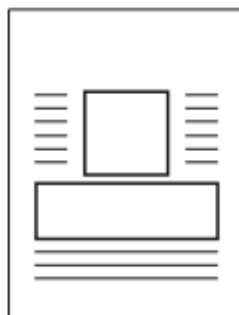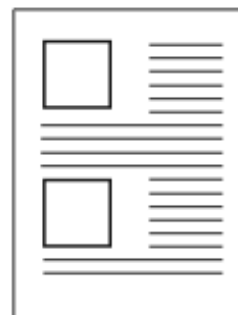
fols. 129v, 130v
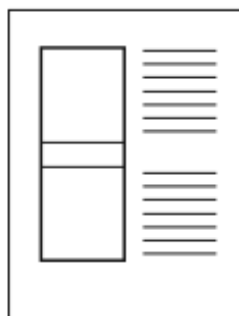(ruled for miniatures
but not blocked off)

29

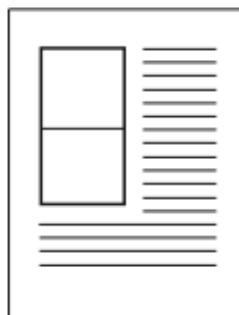fol. 136v (cf. 14r, 96r)

26

fols. 130r, 131v, 133r

27

fols. 131r, 132r
(132r features same
layout but the middle
space at the left is
not blocked off as on
131r)

28

fol. 136r

245

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