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Out of the Wilderness: A Fourteenth-Century English Drawing of John the Baptist*

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Abstract

London, British Library, MS Royal 10 B XIV contains a large drawing of St. John the Baptist that is both exceptional for its quality and iconographically unique. Not previously noticed by art historians, it constitutes an important addition to English art of the early to mid-fourteenth century. This paper explores the physical nature of the drawing, its bibliographical context (in a book of natural philosophy), the nature and meaning of its imagery, and its artistic context and associations, within the broader framework of its ownership and use by Benedictine monks of Saint Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. The drawing is considered a symptom of a wider interest in the acquisition of manuscript illumination at the abbey during the first half of the fourteenth century. It can be dated to about 1335–40 and is thought to have been executed in southeast England or East Anglia, where the works of art to which it is closest in stylistic and iconographic terms were produced. The iconography includes a number of motifs rare or unparalleled in images of John the Baptist, including a figure of Salome beneath the saint's feet and, most remarkably, a monumental Gothic arch composed of living oak trees, which frames the saint. The detail and semantic richness of this imagery make it practically certain that the drawing was made as a focus of devotion, probably for the manuscript's first recorded owner, the Oxford scholar-monk John of Lingfield.

The importance of Saint Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury as a center of book patronage between the late thirteenth and mid-fourteenth century has recently been emphasized by Bruce Barker-Benfield in a detailed edition and study of the monastery's surviving medieval library catalogues. Abbot Thomas Findon (r. 1283–1310) instituted a strategy of book acquisition that reflected the abbey's reputation as England's "first monastic mother," and this appears to have been sustained by his immediate successors.¹ The place of illumination in this patronage, as in English monastic book patronage more generally, awaits detailed analysis, but surviving manuscripts show both the importance of high-quality decoration to the abbey's monks and their ability to procure it from a range of sources. For example, a *Somme le roi*, now British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra A V, and three volumes of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, now in Cambridge, all containing significant contemporary illumination, were probably acquired by Findon himself.² A manuscript containing hymns and can-

ticles (Cambridge, St. John's College, MS K 21), begun about 1280–90, was lavishly painted by at least three different artists, including one whose style can be linked to East Anglia.³ The historiated initials of the Psalter made for Richard of Canterbury about 1310–20 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.G 53) are by the Master of the Queen Mary Psalter or a close associate.⁴ And the drawings in a large copy of Peter the Lombard's *Sententiae*, now Cambridge, Christ's College, MS 1, show familiarity with the work of the Madonna Master of the De Lisle Psalter and may even have been executed by that artist. These drawings, which are found on flyleaves and in margins, were probably done at the abbey, because the volume in question is a library rather than a university book, and, further, at least one of them responds to textual content.⁵

An outstanding addition to this material is found in London, British Library, MS Royal 10 B XIV, a mid-fourteenth-century copy of the secular theologian John of Dumbleton's *Summa logicae et philosophiae naturalis*. It is a full-page drawing of John the Baptist in an arch composed of living oak trees, remarkable for its quality and links with leading contemporary illumination from southeast England and East Anglia (Fig. 1). Because of its unusual context and also perhaps George Warner's attribution of it to the fifteenth century, the drawing has not previously been published.⁶ The description and analysis offered here are intended to establish its artistic significance in relation to its provenance and the likely circumstances of its use. Underlying this approach is the conviction, increasingly evident in studies of illuminated manuscripts, that questions of quality, iconography, and style cannot be adequately addressed independently of historical context.⁷

Physical Description, Purpose, and Date

The drawing occupies the whole of fol. 3v, the flesh side of a parchment sheet that is finer and paler than that used throughout the manuscript. Despite numerous worm holes, the slight cropping of the upper and lower edges, and the disappearance during rebinding of a small amount of detail into the gutter (the volume's current white vellum binding is modern), it is in remarkably good condition. The overall dimensions of the image are 27.5 by 17.5 cm, the figure of the saint standing, 21 by 7.2 cm: a large work, both for its period and in relation to the

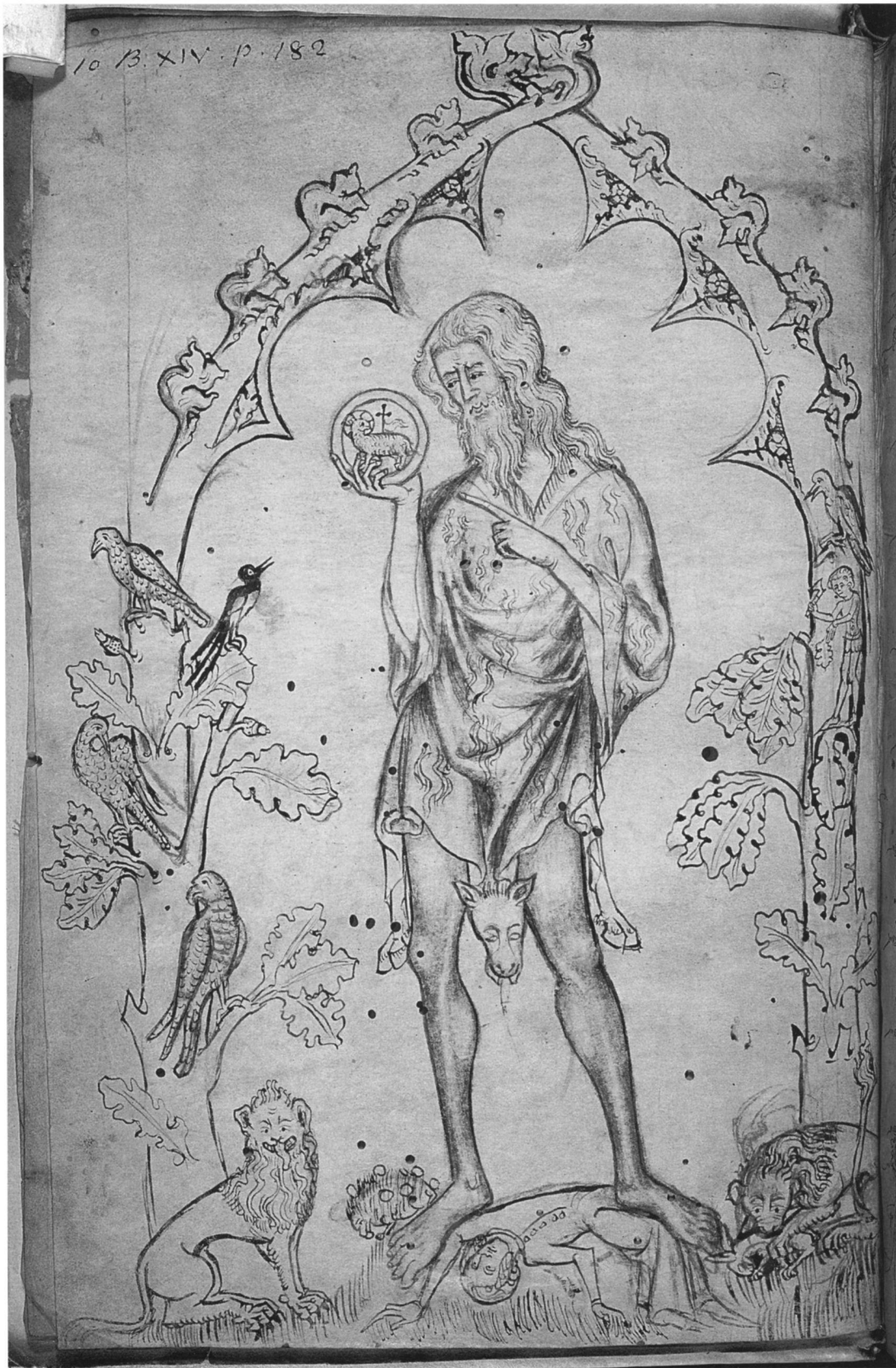


FIGURE 1. London, British Library, MS Royal 10 B XIV, fol. 3v, John the Baptist in an oak tree arch (photo: The British Library Board: reproduced by permission).

size of the manuscript. Monumental, untinted drawings of professional standard are exceptional in English books before the late fourteenth century, and the indication this example gives of the aesthetic and functional sufficiency of a monochromatic image during a period when colored compositions were considered superior to uncolored ones is thus of some interest. The figure of the Baptist was first outlined in silverpoint and then worked up in brown ink. Its strong, thick, mostly simple contours contrast with the finer, softening pen strokes applied to the hair, face, and drapery. Parts of the garment and the legs have been further softened by painterly modeling, apparently in glair. The accompanying motifs were also sketched in silverpoint before being drawn over in ink but lack the more delicate treatment given to the figure. This creates a contrast, surely intended by the artist, between the sinuous but restrained power of the saint and the bustling energy of his surroundings. In the lower right corner there is an earlier, bust-length drawing, also in silverpoint, which is now largely obscured by the later composition. It is difficult to date this closely, but its existence suggests that the leaf had been used as a trial sheet of some sort before its incorporation into the manuscript.

Fol. 3 of Royal 10 B XIV is a singleton, and thus the date and provenance of the drawing do not depend on those of the manuscript. The text of John of Dumbleton's *Summa* is here in its final nine-part form, completed sometime during the 1340s and certainly before the author's likely death in the plague of 1348–49.⁸ Although James A. Weisheipl, who has carried out the only searching study of the work, does not seem to have considered this particular copy of the *Summa* an early one, the style of the handwriting and flourishing suggest a midcentury date for the manuscript.⁹ This is supported by the earliest, now partially erased, ownership inscription, on fol. 1v: "Summa Magistri Johannis Dumbleton fratris [Iohannis de Lyngfeld de librario Sancti Augustini Cantuarie]." John of Lingfield is recorded as a lecturer on canon law at Oxford about 1365, by which time he had presumably completed his university studies. The relationship of this book to these studies is unclear, because natural philosophy, to which Dumbleton's *Summa* belongs, was an arts- rather than law-faculty discipline. But Lingfield's ownership of the book in any case reflects the fact that the fourteenth-century scholars sent by Saint Augustine's to Oxford were quick to absorb current intellectual fashions.¹⁰ Royal 10 B XIV contains the names of two later monk-scholars from Saint Augustine's, John of Preston and Simon of Maidstone, and may thus have been used and kept at Oxford, and possibly made there.¹¹

A terminus a quo of about 1350 for the manuscript seems at least ten years too late for the drawing. Despite this, it is reasonable to think that the leaf containing it was bound in when the book was made.¹² The fact that St. John appears at the beginning of a text written and owned by men of the same name is unlikely to be coincidental. It seems possible that John of Lingfield had the drawing added as a mark of possession as well as devotion to his spiritual patron, though whether he brought it

with him from Canterbury or purchased it in Oxford cannot be known.¹³ It is worth noting that the same desire for pious personalization is apparent in the Tiptoft Missal (1311–32, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.107), where the prominent miniatures of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist at the Canon of the Mass (fol. 142) can be related to the patronage of John of Clavering (d. 1332), and the Ramsey Psalter (ca. 1300–1310, Abbey of Saint Paul in Laventhal, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. XXV/2, 19), made for John of Sawtry (d. 1316), where the same saints appear at the Coronation of the Virgin (fol. 17).¹⁴ An association of saint and author is impressed on users of the manuscript by the collocation of the Baptist's face and the rubric heading of the prologue on the opposite page ("Incipit prologus summe magistri Johannis Dumbylton"). There may have been a desire to suggest that St. John's authority and eloquence were embodied to an extent in his academic namesakes. Whether or not this was the case, the position and appearance of the drawing also smack of a typically monastic humiliatory urge to acknowledge the superiority of divine over human intellect, a spiritual theme that became increasingly manifest in deprecation of scholarship.¹⁵ Standing at the head of the manuscript, the austere saint, without formal education but replete with the divine genius, would have reminded the knowledge-hungry Benedictine reader that the wisdom of man is foolishness with God (1 Corinthians 3:9), and that it is vain and myopic to prioritize scholastic over biblical insight.

While their dates are not precisely fixed, there is general agreement that the works closest to the drawing in iconography and style were made between about 1310 and about 1340. That the drawing belongs to the end of this period, about 1335–40, is supported by both its general stylistic appearance and two specific details of iconography. The first of these is the costume of the diminutive ax-man who lops a bunch of leaves from the trunk to the right of the Baptist. This consists of a short, dagged jupon buttoned at the front and belted low on the waist, combined with hose and pointy-toed shoes. In English manuscripts, such a combination of garments appears only from the period about 1335–40 onward. An early example, with an irregularly dagged skirt, is the dress of the centurion in a Crucifixion miniature in the Neville of Hornby Hours (ca. 1335–40, London, British Library, MS Egerton 2781, fol. 49), while a better comparison for this feature is seen in the same figure on fol. 14 of the Fitzwarin Psalter (mostly illuminated in the 1340s, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 765).¹⁶ The second point is the camel's head of the Baptist's garment. It is generally thought that the earliest surviving instance of this motif in English art occurs in stained glass of about 1350 at the parish church of Saint Denys Walmgate in York.¹⁷ In fact, there is a sculptural example at Tewkesbury Abbey in Gloucestershire that probably comes from one of the vacant niches on the tomb of Hugh II Despenser (d. 1326) and on that basis has been assigned to the late 1330s or 1340s (Fig. 2).¹⁸ However, the camel's head is absent from the pre-1350 art with which the drawing is otherwise comparable.

Although most of the motifs contained in the drawing are common, some are rare or unique in English art. John stands within an arch whose shafts are composed of oak trunks that sprout leaves and acorns. Above, the trunks bend to form a septifoil canopy, the foils composed of burgeoning oak leaves growing against one another. There are large, sculptural crockets on the extrados and a fleshy finial at the apex, where the arcs are tensely knit to form a bower. Beneath John's feet, where it would have been usual to represent a stony or grassy mound, lies an inverted female figure in a long tunic with hair arranged in cornettes. Lions are shown on either side of the saint, one devouring a rabbit, the other, with the prominent lolling tongue familiar from contemporary heraldry, facing the viewer. A hedgehog with grapes stuck on its spines is represented just above the saint's right foot. On the left-hand trunk are four birds, while the right-hand trunk has a single bird and the small ax-man mentioned above. Clearly, the artist was interested in stimulating viewer meditation on the career and qualities of the Baptist through the inclusion of appropriate motifs, underlining the initial impression of a devotional function for the image. Most fourteenth-century English representations of this saint contain one or two of the elements shown here, but few if any are as complex in their symbolism. As well as recalling a popular hagiography, the drawing evokes the nonnarrative images of the Baptist on a larger scale, in sculpture, stained glass, and wall painting. The arch around the saint suggests not only the abstractions of dignity and holiness but also the plastic monumentality of a tabernacle.

Of the two sorts of later medieval image of John the Baptist defined by Dorothy Gillerman, the ascetic and the pastoral-sacerdotal, English fourteenth-century illuminators and their patrons favored the latter.¹⁹ With such rare exceptions as the swarthy, woodwoselike figure in the Macclesfield Psalter (ca. 1335, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 1-2005, fol. 133), the Baptist is shown fair of face and haloed, cloaked in a mantle that is often covered with wavy lines to suggest the camel's-hair garment referred to in the Bible. In early to midcentury art he is almost always represented in an open, contrapposto pose, clutching a patenlike disk containing the sacrificial lamb of God, toward which he turns in obedience to his role as Precursor.²⁰ This disk is usually held in the left hand, while the free hand points to it in a visual projection of the words "ecce Agnus Dei" (John 1:29). Occasionally, as in the Ramsey and Macclesfield Psalters, the disk is reverently protected from direct contact with the skin, but it is more commonly displayed in an undraped hand, suggesting the intimacy of the Baptist's relationship with Christ. (Thus, for example, Innocent III stated that "in the sacred marriage contracted between Christ and the Church, John was the ceremonial attendant."²¹) It would be possible to cite many examples of this image in English illumination of the early to mid-fourteenth century, in such manuscripts as the Gorleston Psalter (fol. 48), Queen Mary Psalter (fol.



FIGURE 2. *Tewkesbury Abbey (Gloucestershire), sculpture of John the Baptist, probably from the tomb of Hugh II Despenser (photo: author).*

213v), Psalter of Hugh of Stukeley (fol. 18), Butler Hours (fol. 13), Barlow Psalter (fol. 14v), the Trinity College Bible in Dublin (fol. 297v), the Sarum Hours now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 231 (fol. 2), and the previously mentioned Tiptoft Missal and Ramsey Psalter. The figure in the drawing discussed here departs from these conventions in several respects. The Agnus Dei, gestures, stance, and presence of hair on the garment are normal, but the garment itself, a tunic turned back in flaps at the throat, is otherwise almost revealingly short and is made more striking by the addition of the scaled-down hooves and imbecilic camel's head. Similarly unusual is the inclusion of Salome, an agent of his martyrdom, beneath the Baptist's feet. This imagery seems to be a unique survival in English medieval art. That the figure represents Salome is easily established. As noted, the hair and costume are feminine, and the acrobatic, tumbling pose is that found in English wall paintings

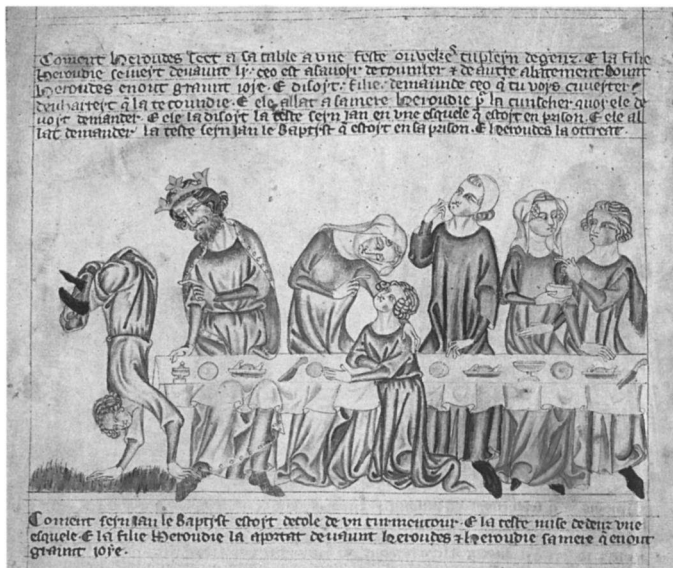


FIGURE 3. London, British Library, Additional MS 47682 (Holkham Bible Picture Book), fol. 21v, detail of figure of Salome (photo: The British Library Board; reproduced by permission).

and sculpture representing Salome's dance before Herod and Herodias.²² A figure of Salome standing on her hands in the Holkham Bible Picture Book, made about 1330 (London, British Library, Additional MS 47682, fol. 21v), provides a close comparison (Fig. 3), and similar figures are found in other luxury manuscripts of the fourteenth century, ranging in date from the Queen Mary Psalter (ca. 1315, London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 264v) to the Carmelite Missal (ca. 1398, London, British Library, Additional MSS 29704–5, fol. 136v).

There is a deliberate and striking allusion to chastity and lust in the configuration of saint, Salome, and camel's head. For a university-based monk with readier access to secular temptations than existed in the cloister, this would have refreshed awareness of, and identification with, a fundamental vow of profession. It can also be understood as a straightforward and deferential advertisement of one of the unworldly saint's more obvious virtues. In images where the Baptist is clothed in a camel's skin, the head of the beast usually lolls close to or on the ground. That it is here drawn up high between the naked thighs, projecting itself perpendicularly downward, with mocking tongue extended toward the vanquished, spread-eagled female figure, negates sexuality by invoking it. The lascivious Salome, called by Ludolph of Saxony (d. 1378) "a lewd and abandoned girl" [impudica filia et dissolventa], here elicits only the gargoylelike mockery of a beast where she might have expected to stimulate virile arousal.²³ John, the "virginitatis speculum" of the Golden Legend, and the "hostis luxuriae" of English monastic imagination, tramples this exemplification of lust as effectively as Christ tramples the adder and basilisk.²⁴ The idea is restated at the lower right by the lion that kills a rabbit, the latter a conventional symbol of sexual promiscuity.

In this case, the lion can be interpreted as a symbol of the Baptist himself, whose "voice . . . crying in the desert" at the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel (Mark 1:3 and John 1:23, in fulfillment of Isaiah 40:3) led to Rabanus Maurus' influential association of lion and Evangelist.²⁵ The grape-studded hedgehog is also appropriate in this context. Bestiary lore about the hedgehog explains that it feeds its young with grapes stolen from vineyards. It was consequently likened to the devil, who steals the fruits man should store up in heaven.²⁶ Yet the impaled, weeping grapes immediately stimulate a devotional awareness of Christ's Passion. From either angle, the animal could have been understood by a monk of Saint Augustine's in relation to the opposition of virtue and vice with reference to the late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century bestiary belonging to his abbey (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 88, fols. 68–154), where it is pictured and described on fol. 96.²⁷

Taken together, the animals and trees represented here allude to the Baptist's eremitical life in the wilderness, an aspect of the saint's character that was of considerable importance to later medieval monks. It was during the fourteenth century that the English branch of the Benedictine order began in earnest to defend the prerogatives of monasticism by, among other things, asserting protomonastic status for John himself, a claim also made by other orders such as the Augustinian friars and the Carthusians.²⁸ The lion at the saint's right foot and the birds on the trunks (on the left a falcon, pelican, magpie, and eagle in ascending order) can also be identified with specific virtues and vices with reference to the bestiary and related texts. The magpie in particular, as a symbol of vanity and empty chatter (thus evoking the Pharisees and Sadducees of Matthew 3:7), is contrasted by apposition and gesture to the eloquence and sobriety of the Baptist.²⁹ Like the prostrate Salome, it thus functions to edify by contrast.³⁰

Among these motifs, the ax man on the right-hand shaft, who lops off and casts down oak leaves, is perhaps the most symbolically multivalent. At one level he appears to be converting the leafy trunks into clean, straight piers, taming the disorder of nature in the process. At another, he carries Johannine connotations registered more directly in other images of the saint, both Western and Byzantine. Axes leaning against trees had long been included in the iconography of John to evoke the stormy rhetoric with which he heralded the new order: "For now the axe is laid to the root of the trees. Every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be cut down and cast into the fire" (Matthew 3:10; Luke 3:9).³¹ One of the interior facade sculptures of Reims Cathedral, carved about 1250–60, is more explicit in showing the Baptist standing behind a barren tree with an ax actually embedded in its base.³² The diminutive figure in the drawing seems to be the closest that later medieval English manuscript art comes to illustrating this prophetic metaphor.³³ In its secular dress and the fact that it cuts not a barren but a flourishing tree, the Royal 10 B XIV figure also alludes to the Baptist's decapitation and, more generally, the waning of his authority through the waxing of Christ's (John 3:30).



FIGURE 4. London, British Library, MS Additional 42130 (Luttrell Psalter), fol. 40v, detail of John the Baptist juxtaposed with oak foliage (photo: The British Library Board: reproduced by permission).

Other than the central figure, the most striking aspect of the drawing's iconography is the arboreal arch, which, again, seems to be unique in English art. The growing arch per se is not unparalleled in the period: the master of the Gorleston Psalter (ca. 1310–20, London, British Library, MS Additional 49622) was particularly interested in it, and there are other examples in stained glass (for example, the Apostle windows at Stanford in Northamptonshire of ca. 1330–50) and even in the stonework of the Jesse Tree window at Dorchester in Oxfordshire (ca. 1330–40).³⁴ It is also found in *opus anglicanum* of the period. Without exception, however, these examples are schematic and nonnaturalistic, symbolizing the organic nature of religion without reference to historical topography or individual saintly character. In the drawing, the oak trunks and oak leaves refer to both the wilderness that John roamed and the saint's vigor and strength.³⁵ It is also possible that the artist intended to suggest the form of the primitive hut in which the Baptist might have dwelled. If so, then the imaginative and devotional potential of the arch was significantly enhanced for monastic viewers, whose own lives were to a large extent architecturally defined.³⁶ The bower can in any event be aligned with the idea of organic, and specifically lignescent, growth as a metaphor for spiritual development and fruition recently explained by Paul Binski with reference to thirteenth-century art and architecture.³⁷ Jesus himself established an implicit contrast between the Baptist and the weakest of plants, "a reed [*harundinem*] shaken with the wind. . . . Amongst those that are born of men, there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist" (Luke 7:24, 28). The

oak expresses this contrast and this greatness in a manner that educated, particularly clerical, viewers could have appreciated. A broader contemporary association with flourishing trees is found in the use of Psalm 92:13 as the text of the offertory of the Mass of the feast of St. John's Nativity in the Sarum Missal and various monastic uses: "The just shall flourish like the palm tree: he shall grow up like the cedar of Libanus."³⁸ The same text is specified as the antiphon of the Mass of the feasts of both St. John's Nativity and Decollation in the surviving missal from Saint Augustine's Abbey.³⁹ Oak also has a connection with Christ, who, in the spirit of Isaiahan prophecy, was the Baptist's *raison d'être*, and with the Tree of Life. Accordingly, oak leaves filled the punched-gold background of the Douai Psalter Crucifixion (ca. 1335–40, formerly Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 171, fol. 13) and surround the breast-picking pelican at the summit of both the cross and the Tree of Life in the De Lisle Psalter (ca. 1310, London, British Library, MS Arundel 83 pt. II, fols. 125v, 132).⁴⁰ The Luttrell Psalter (ca. 1340, London, British Library, MS Additional 42130) also has a Pelican of Piety at the crest of an oak tree, on fol. 178.

Iconographic and Stylistic Context

The best iconographic, compositional, and stylistic parallels for the drawing are found in art presumed to have been made in the London area and East Anglia, and the interconnections that exist between many of the important illuminated books produced in those places are also evident here. While



FIGURE 5. London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII (Queen Mary Psalter), fol. 213v, detail of John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness (photo: The British Library Board: reproduced by permission).

the concept of a naturalistic arboreal arch is unique, instances of artists relating the Baptist to oak trees and oak foliage are not. The Luttrell Psalter contains another striking example on fol. 40v, where the oak grows downward to meet the standing saint from a point on the illuminated border-bar alongside the text “nos vero surreximus et erecti sumus” (we, however, are risen, and are set upright: Psalms 19:9) (Fig. 4). Here again, the references are to Christ’s Crucifixion and Resurrection and tie in with the Eucharistic connotations of the Agnus Dei alluded to above.⁴¹ As noted, the Salome of the Holkham Bible Picture Book, a manuscript probably made in London, is formally close to that of the drawing, and a further parallel between the drawing and this manuscript exists in the fullness and breadth of the oak leaves. Small figures of ax men chopping at marginal foliage are found in the Gorleston Psalter (fols. 93, 102, 139v), where they relate to adjacent psalm texts, and the Beatus page of the Saint Omer Psalter (ca. 1330–35, London, British Library, Additional MS 39810, fol. 7).⁴² More generally, lions, magpies, eagles, pelicans, and falcons like those of the drawing occur in a number of artistically important East Anglian and southeastern English books of the period. The menagerie, if not its composition, is a conventional one, as is the impression of busyness that it gives. The imagery of the Saint Omer Beatus page and the now-fragmentary fol. 48 of the Douai Psalter, with its large collection of animals at Psalm 37, is rooted in the same aesthetic and intellectual interests, as are the Creation miniatures in the Queen Mary Psalter (fol. 2), the Holkham Bible Picture Book (fol. 2v), and an illustrated copy of Peter of

Langtoft’s chronicle, now London, British Library, MS Royal 20 A II (fol. 1), which display the same vitality and concern for *varietas* with the addition of a dominant central figure. A few of the drawing’s motifs are particularly closely paralleled elsewhere. The resemblance of pose and position between the lion in the lower left-hand corner of the drawing and the same beast in the scene of John preaching on fol. 213v of the Queen Mary Psalter is obvious and suggests (unless the Queen Mary master invented it) the existence of a model accessible to both artists (Fig. 5). The marginal bestiary of the same Psalter also includes an illustration of a hedgehog with grapes on its spines, which resembles that in the drawing (fol. 97v). And the Ormesby Psalter (ca. 1310–20, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366) has a magpie close in pose and appearance to that of the drawing in the lower margin of fol. 58.

Close visual relationships also exist with art in other media. At a fundamental level, the phenomenon of a high-quality, subtly animated figure of the Baptist in an architectural framework is repeated in a wall painting on the north side of the chancel arch at Weston Longville church in Norfolk, a work datable to the 1340s or 1350s.⁴³ Here, differences of style and iconography are less important for the comparison than the quality, grace, and architectonic setting the figures share; no other monumental image of St. John is as close to the drawing in its visual and emotional ambience. Further, while the drawing may contain the unique instance of John standing on Salome, the same saint is represented trampling a recumbent figure of King Herod on an *opus anglicanum* cope of the early fourteenth century in the treasury of Toledo Cathedral.⁴⁴ The idea of triumph over a nemesis is the same and evidently had some degree of currency in English art at this time, as it is also found in the figure sculpture above the prior’s door in the cloister of Norwich Cathedral, built between 1297 and 1314. In this instance John stands on the shoulders of a damaged and overpainted figure that is not now identifiable as either Herod or Salome but, as suggested by the fact that other sculptures in the same ensemble stand on specific antitypes, is likely to be more than a simple weight bearer (Fig. 6).⁴⁵ (Later, in the fifteenth century, the secular college of Stoke-by-Clare in Suffolk obtained a gilded silver statue of St. John trampling on a unicorn, the nemesis in this case apparently the vice of lust symbolized by the downtrodden beast.⁴⁶) Birds and heraldic lions similar to those in the drawing are also seen in *opus anglicanum* of the period.⁴⁷ Lions and lion masks with lolling tongues in particular are common in fourteenth-century embroidery and monumental brasses as well as illumination, thought to have been made in and around London.

The point of these comparisons is to demonstrate the aesthetic and conceptual as well as formal and iconographic implantation of the drawing in a recognized artistic environment during the first half of the fourteenth century. Further stylistic parallels with painting from this milieu can also be drawn. The main figure cannot be aligned precisely with any recognized oeuvre, and, given the differences in technique



FIGURE 6. *Norwich Cathedral (Norfolk), sculpture of John the Baptist above the prior's door in the cloister (photo: author).*

(significantly, of course, the lack of coloration and consequent limitation of tonal range), comparisons with painted miniatures are not straightforward. As already suggested, the softness with which the main figure is treated relates it to painting of the 1330s rather than the more linear style of the preceding decades. The head of the Baptist in particular can be usefully compared with heads (especially those of the Baptist and St. Paul) on the Thornham Parva Retable, painted about 1330–40 and probably East Anglian, noting specifically the correspondences between the undulating eyebrows, creased foreheads, and rigid, firmly drawn noses (Figs. 7–9).⁴⁸ The sinuous nature of the head hair (though not its unparted aspect) and the length and striation of the beard also resemble work in the Herdringen

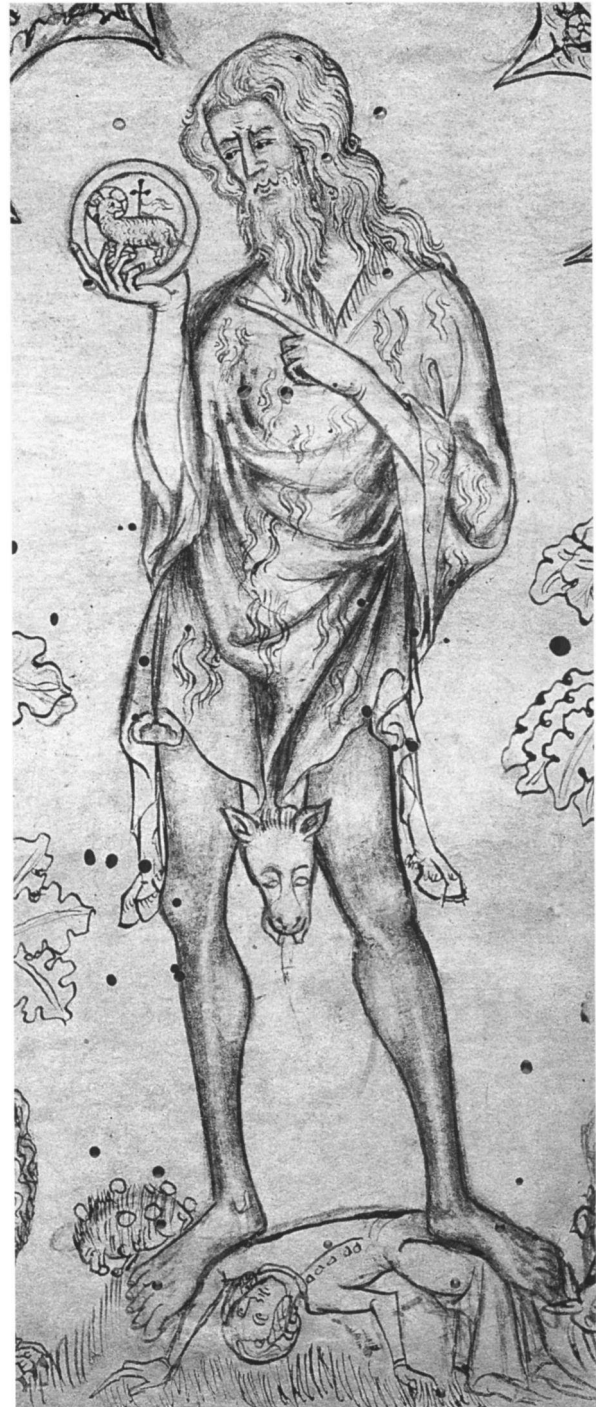


FIGURE 7. *Detail of Fig. 1, showing the figure of the Baptist.*

Psalter (ca. 1330–40, Herdringen, Fürstenbergerische Bibliothek, MS 8), East Anglian in provenance but possibly made in London.⁴⁹ However, further comparisons with these works and others in the Tiptoft Missal group to which the Herdringen manuscript belongs are less satisfactory. The Thornham Parva saints in particular are dissimilar in their smaller head-to-body ratios and strikingly mannered poses.

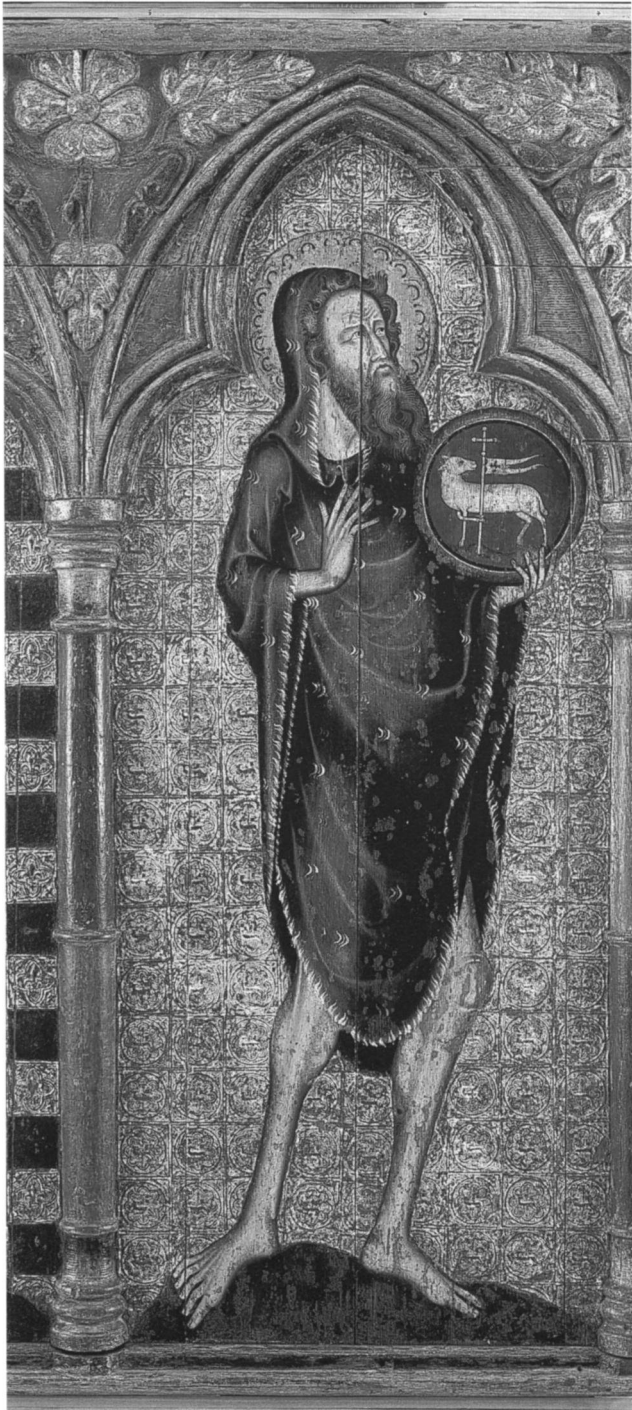


FIGURE 8. *Thornham Parva (Suffolk), figure of John the Baptist, from the Thornham Parva Retable (photo: Hamilton Kerr Institute, the University of Cambridge: reproduced by permission).*

For the figure of the Baptist at least, the closest available comparison is probably with the standing figures of the added Crucifixion scene in the Gorleston Psalter (fol. 7), often dated about 1325 but placed as late as 1340 by Caroline Hull in her largely convincing analysis of the Douai Psalter's gen-

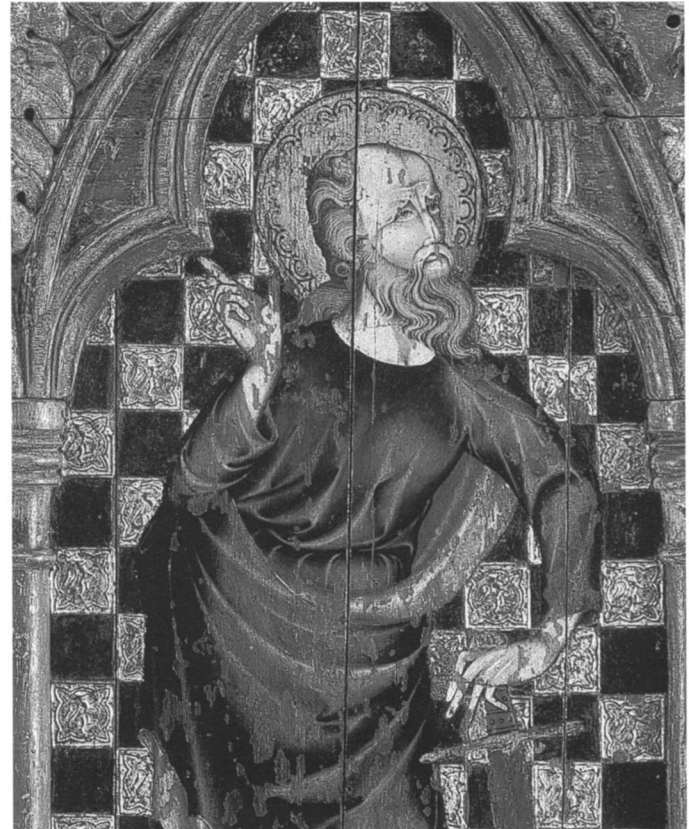


FIGURE 9. *Head of St. Paul, from the Thornham Parva Retable (photo: Hamilton Kerr Institute, the University of Cambridge: reproduced by permission).*

esis (Figs. 7, 10).⁵⁰ Such facial features as the straight, rather abrupt noses (especially that of John the Evangelist), furrowed brows, M-shaped mouths, and narrow eyes with heavy lids are all similar. The structure and articulation of the Virgin and Evangelist figures also resemble those of the Baptist in three ways: their elongated torsos and relatively but not unnaturally small heads, the heads similarly inclined; the graceful sway of their hips and subtle suggestion of latent energy (notably different from the high waists and affected contrapposto of the prefatory saints in the Macclesfield Psalter, and their close relations on the Thornham Parva Retable); and the handling of their draperies, particularly those of John the Evangelist, with its softly modeled horizontal folds and flowing hemlines (Fig. 11). That the Gorleston figures appear more elegant is substantially owing to their illumination and state of dress. The looser, rangy quality of the Baptist in the drawing is mainly a product of its size, the bareness of its slightly bowed legs, and the look and position of the pendulous camel's head and hooves. None of this is to ignore obvious differences, for example in the graphic technique (visible through the garments of the Virgin and Magdalene in particular), smaller size of the hands, and frizzy, strand-by-strand treatment of the hair found generally in the so-called Italianate East Anglian style in which the Gorleston Crucifixion is painted.⁵¹ There is no suggestion that the

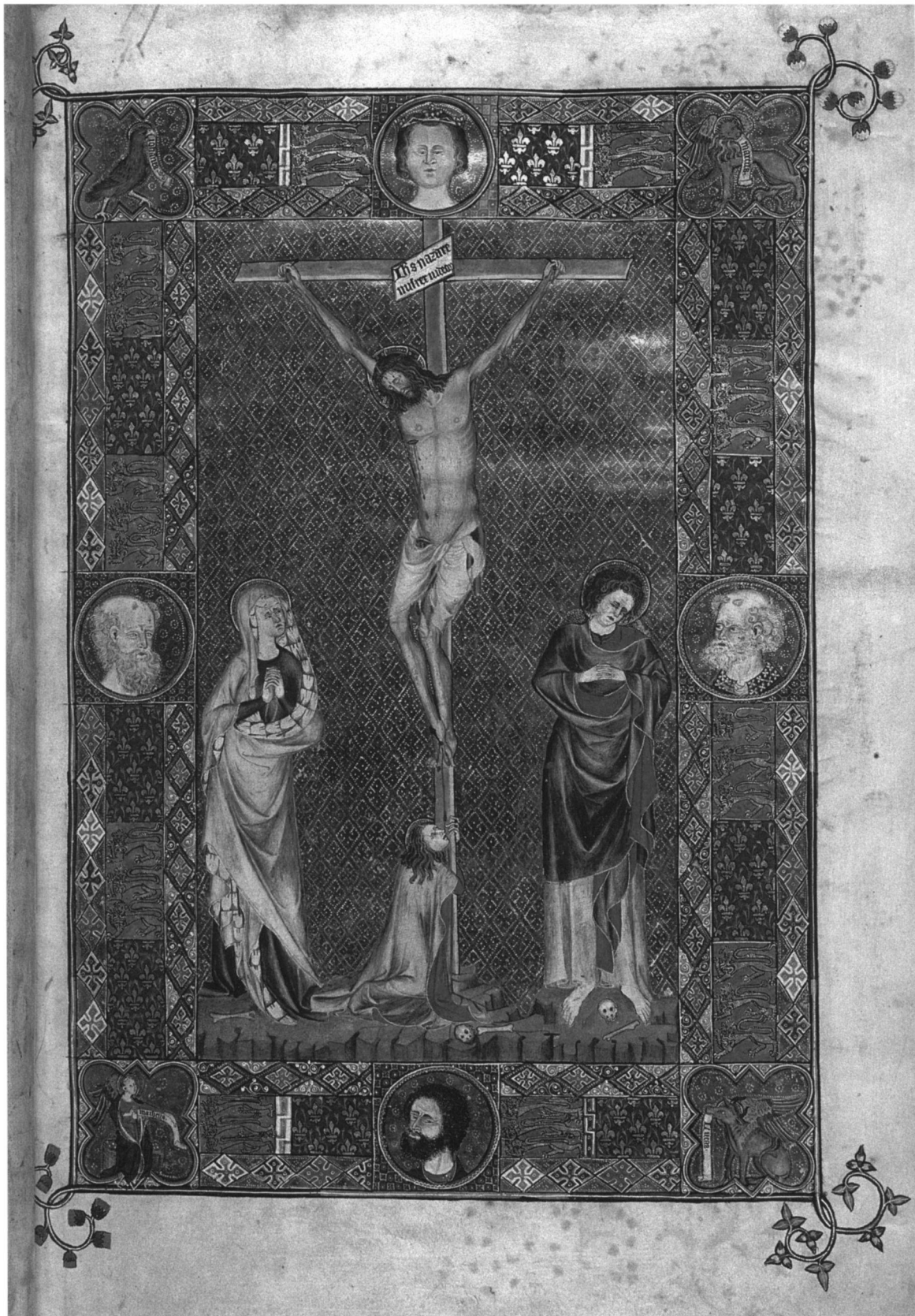


FIGURE 10. London, British Library, MS Additional 49622 (Gorleston Psalter), fol. 7, Crucifixion (photo: The British Library Board: reproduced by permission).



FIGURE 11. *Gorleston Psalter, Crucifixion, figure of John the Evangelist* (photo: The British Library Board: reproduced by permission).

artists were identical but, rather, that their aesthetic outlook, sources, and judgment were closely shared.

In terms of quality, it is entirely reasonable to place the figure of the Baptist, and the drawing as a whole, in such elevated company. Except for the pupils of the saint's eyes, which

are not so much drawn as stabbed in with a broad-nibbed pen, so that they overflow the lids, the draftsmanship is admirably controlled and economical. The modeling of the legs and garment is finely balanced and stylish, giving an impression of volume that does not impair the figure's suppleness or elegance. In view of the monumentality of the image and the relation of the facial features, it is difficult to avoid a comparison with the hooded Baptist of the Thornham Parva Retable, whose improbably high calf muscles, stunted, weakly represented right arm, awkward neck-to-torso relationship, and general stiffness seem thoroughly inferior, despite the comparatively high quality of the work as a whole. The face of the Baptist in the drawing is not agitated or anguished, but the figure is given emotional impact through its interaction with the lamb, which turns to look at it, the magpie, which it admonishes, and Salome, whom it subjugates and neutralizes. Such a nexus of psychological engagement is unusual in a nonnarrative figure and is likely to have increased its aesthetic and devotional effectiveness by simultaneously enlivening and unifying the composition.

Conclusion

The quality and size of the drawing in Royal 10 B XIV make it an important addition to the surviving art of its period. As well as its intrinsic value, the style and iconography of the drawing enhance current understanding of an artistic context that has received much scholarly attention but still presents significant problems of interpretation, particularly where the dating and production-provenance of illuminated manuscripts are concerned. Its manuscript context and the details and presentation of its imagery also contribute to knowledge about devotional approaches to John the Baptist, a subject that, with the exception of studies of disembodied heads and faces of the saint, has not generated as much scholarly enthusiasm as its historical potential merits.⁵² As suggested here, the drawing is of special interest for its testimony to the religious and aesthetic interests of its monastic patrons and users, outstandingly but not solely in light of its position at the head of a scholastic text used in a university setting. That the monks of Saint Augustine's Abbey had a historically rooted interest in and respect for all aspects of the medieval book and a thorough understanding of the utility of these aspects is well attested by survivals.⁵³ The drawing published here is further evidence of their attitudes and enthusiasms during an unusually active period of book acquisition by one of medieval England's most bibliophilic institutions.

NOTES

- * I am very grateful to Lucy Freeman Sandler for detailed comments on a draft of this paper and for general encouragement. This gratitude extends to Paul Binski for typically stimulating comment and discussion and to Michael Michael for the benefit of his expertise on English fourteenth-century manuscripts. I wish also to acknowledge Kathleen Scott for her encouragement of my broader work on medieval drawings, and David Park for access to the Wall Paintings Archive of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London.
1. *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 13, ed. B. Barker-Benfield (London, 2008). On Findon's patronage strategies specifically, see lxxx–lxxxii, 1863–68. All previous scholarship on manuscripts from this monastery must now be read in light of Barker-Benfield's meticulous research.
 2. *Ibid.*, 936–37, 1422–33. The *Speculum* volumes are Cambridge, St. John's College, MS B 21, and Corpus Christi College, MSS 13, 14.
 3. P. Binski and S. Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (London, 2005), 184–85; L. F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 5, 2 vols. (London, 1986), 1: ills.18–20, 2:18–19; and Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey, 1741*.
 4. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 1: ills. 142–43, 2:66–67; and Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey, 1741–42*. See also L. Dennison, "An Illuminator of the Queen Mary Psalter Group: The Ancient 6 Master," *Antiquaries Journal*, 66 (1986), 295–96.
 5. A possible addition to this list is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1525, fols. 141v–81v, an early-fourteenth-century hymnal added to an earlier Psalter and decorated with 140 exquisitely illuminated initials (four of them excised). For a summary of the provenance arguments and related literature, see Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey, 1740*. On Christ's College, MS 1, see M. A. Michael, "Some Early Fourteenth-Century Drawings at Christ's College, Cambridge," *BM*, 124 (1982), 230–32; and *idem*, "Planning for Style: A Preliminary Reading of the De Lisle Psalter Virgin and Child," in *Tributes to Lucy Freeman Sandler: Studies in Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. K. A. Smith and C. H. Krinsky (London, 2007), 179–85. Michael's association of the Christ's College drawings with the Madonna Master is strengthened by other work in the manuscript, including an incomplete Crucifixion sketch on fol. 116v, whose outline is very similar to those of the figures of Christ crucified on fols. 125v and 132 of the De Lisle Psalter. It has not previously been noted that this sketch appears next to a passage in Book 4 of the Lombard's text discussing the Passion of Christ (for which see Migne, *PL* 192, 787), a fact that suggests that the artist was a monk. For further discussion of illumination in Canterbury during the first half of the fourteenth century, see M. A. Michael, "Oxford, Cambridge, London: Towards a Theory for 'Grouping' Gothic Manuscripts," *BM*, 130 (1988), 113–14.
 6. G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921), 1:323. W. de Gray Birch and H. Jenner, *Early Drawings and Illuminations . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1879), 185, indicated the drawing's interest with an asterisk but did not comment on it. See also Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey, 1322–23*.
 7. See the recent comments in L. F. Sandler, "Illuminated in the British Isles: French Influence and/or the Englishness of English Art, 1285–1345," *Gesta*, 45 (2006), 186.
 8. The *Summa* survives in at least twenty-one manuscripts, but none has the tenth part listed in the text's index.
 9. See the list of manuscripts collated in J. A. Weisheipl, "Early Fourteenth Century Physics of the Merton 'School' with Special Reference to Dumbleton and Heytesbury" (Dissertation, Oxford University, 1957), 400.
 10. On this matter, see W. A. Pantin, "The Letters of John Mason: A Fourteenth-Century Formulary from St Augustine's, Canterbury," in *Historical Essays Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), 192–219, esp. 209.
 11. Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey, 1323*; and A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, to A. D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957–59), 2:1193, 3:1518–19.
 12. The modern inscription "10 B. XIV. p. 182" in the upper left corner is simply a cross-reference to the entry on the manuscript in David Casey, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library* (London, 1734).
 13. It seems unlikely to have been made in Oxford, unless by an artist trained farther east. It bears no resemblance to what Michael, "Oxford, Cambridge, London," 109–12, identifies as Oxford-produced illumination of the period.
 14. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 1: ill. 199 (Tiptoft), 2:47–48 (Ramsey), 84–86 (Tiptoft); *eadem*, "The Historical Miniatures of the Fourteenth-Century Ramsey Psalter," *BM*, 111 (1969), 605–11; and R. Marks and N. Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200–1500* (New York, 1981), 72–73, pl. 17 (Ramsey). I owe this parallel to Lucy Freeman Sandler.
 15. See, for example, *The Imitation of Christ*, ed. B. J. H. Biggs (Oxford, 1997), 117–18; and N. Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum*, 70/4 (1995), 853.
 16. For the date of the Neville of Hornby Hours, see particularly K. A. Smith, "The Neville of Hornby Hours and the Design of Literate Devotion," *AB*, 81 (1999), 72; and *eadem*, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours* (London, 2003), 35–36. For that of the Fitzwarin Psalter (a manuscript illuminated in two campaigns; the miniature on fol. 14 belongs to the first and major of these), see N. Rogers, "The Original Owner of the Fitzwarin Psalter," *Antiquaries Journal*, 69 (1989), 257–60; and L. Dennison, "'The Fitzwarin Psalter and Its Allies': A Reappraisal," in *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1986), 42–66 and fig. 5. Cf. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 1:33; and F. Avril and P. D. Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire VIII–XXe siècle* (Paris, 1987), 161–63.
 17. *Salisbury Cathedral: The West Front*, ed. T. Ayers (Chichester, 2000), 67, 204.
 18. P. G. Lindley, "The Later Medieval Monuments and Chantry Chapels," in *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art and Architecture*, ed. R. K. Morris and R. Shoemith (Little Logaston, 2003), 163–65.
 19. D. Gillerman, *Enguerrand de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis: Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (University Park, PA, 1994), 185–86.
 20. A. W. Carr, "The Face Relics of John the Baptist in Byzantium and the West," *Gesta*, 46 (2007), 159–77, discusses the Eucharistic symbolism of other aspects of Johannine iconography.
 21. Migne, *PL* 217, 942: "In Sacramenti conjugio, quod inter Christum et Ecclesiam est contractum, Johannes extitit paronymphus." For earlier references to John as "paronymphus sponsi," see *ibid.*, 65, 922 (anonymous, perhaps Fulgentius Ruspensis, and if so an early-sixth-century usage); 191, 1181 (Petrus Lombardus); and 196, 1490 (Adamus de Sancto Victore). Innocent III was fond of the reference; see *ibid.*, 217, 510, 532, 943. It is also present in at least one English monastic chronicle: *Monasticum Anglicanum*, ed. W. Dugdale et al., 6 vols. (London, 1817–30), 6:130.
 22. See fourteenth-century examples at Chalfont Saint Giles (Buckinghamshire), Elsing (Norfolk, now destroyed), Idsworth (Hampshire), and Kingston Lisle (Buckinghamshire), and, in general, E. W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955), 87, 89. See also F. Cheetham, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003), 49 and fig. 56. The motif is older and more universal than this, of course; see, for example, the late-twelfth-century Alsatian illumination

- in R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, CA, 1993), 2: fig. 1.4.
23. This widely recognized aspect of Salome's reputation is discussed with reference to Ludolph's *Vita Christi* by D. Knipping, *Die Chorschranke der Kathedrale von Amiens: Funktion und Krise eines mittelalterlichen Ausstattungstypus* (Berlin, 2001), 49. Ludolph also stated that "licentious passions are signified by the dancer" [per saltatricem {significatur} dissolutio libidinosa].
 24. Dugdale et al., *Legenda Aurea*, ed. G. P. Maggioni, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Sismel, 1998), 2:875; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6:130. The Baptist's chapel in Saint John Lateran was altogether forbidden to women: *A XVth Century Guide-Book to the Principal Churches of Rome*, ed. C. E. Woodruff (London, 1933), 24, 27.
 25. Migne, *PL* 110, 508.
 26. A. Payne, *Medieval Beasts* (London, 1990), 59.
 27. Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey*, 898–99 (provenance and date of Douce 88, fols. 68–154).
 28. W. A. Pantin, "Some Medieval English Treatises on the Origins of Monasticism," in *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (Oxford, 1950), 190–91. The origins of this idea lie in the first millennium; see, for example, C. Stewart, "Benedikt in der schriftlichen Darstellung Die 'Dialoge' Gregors des Großen und ihre historische Wirkung," in *Benediktinische Kunst: Kultur und Geschichte eines europäischen Erbes*, ed. R. Cassanelli and E. L.-T. García (Regensburg, 2007), 18.
 29. In narrative cycles the Pharisees were sometimes shown in person interrogating the Baptist: P. A. Newton, *The County of Oxford: A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Great Britain, 1 (Oxford, 1979), 4 (Ewelme, Oxfordshire); and M. Hérold, "La production normande du Maître de la Vie de saint Jean-Baptiste: Nouvelles recherches sur l'usage des documents graphiques dans l'atelier du peintre-verrier à la fin du Moyen Âge," in *Pierre, lumière, couleur: Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge en l'honneur d'Anne Prache*, ed. F. Joubert and D. Sandron (Paris, 1999), 472 (French examples).
 30. The longevity of the magpie's negative association with the Baptist is indicated by its inclusion in Geertgen tot Sint-Jans' *John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (ca. 1485, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin); see Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, *Vroege Hollanders* (Rotterdam, 2008), ed. F. Lammertse and J. Giltaij, cat. 4, pp. 86–88.
 31. Carr, "Face Relics of John the Baptist," 161–63; G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 2 vols. (London, 1971–72), 1:135 n. 21 and figs. 362, 364, 365; and London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Byzantium, 330–1453* (London, 2008), ed. R. Cormack and M. Vassilaki, cat. 233, pp. 266, 439.
 32. W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140–1270* (New York, 1972), pl. 230; and P. Kurmann, *La façade de la cathédrale de Reims*, 2 vols. (Lausanne, 1987), 1:208–10, 2: pl. 462.
 33. Although the ax appears as a symbol of righteous and natural anger elsewhere, as in a marginal drawing of an ax man with the caption "ira est naturalis" in a copy of Robert Grosseteste's translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, now Oxford, All Souls College, MS 84, fol. 160; see A. G. Watson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), 177. The ax also appears on an ivory panel of about 1330–40 associated with Bishop Grandisson of Exeter; see London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400* (London, 1987), ed. J. J. G. Alexander and P. Binski, cat. 595, p. 466.
 34. Gorleston Psalter, fols. 89v, 159, 166v, 170v, 175, 198v, 199, 204v, 206v, 207v; R. Marks, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Northamptonshire*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Great Britain, summary catalogue, 4 (Oxford, 1998), 179–80 and pls. 18, 19; and W. Rodwell, *Dorchester Abbey Oxfordshire: The Archaeology and Architecture of a Cathedral, Monastery and Parish Church* (Oxford, 2009), 84–91 (Dorchester).
 35. The strength of oak (*quercus* or, occasionally, *robores*) was variously emphasized by medieval writers; see, for example, Migne, *PL* 25, 1009 (Hieronymus Stridonensis); 28, 1033 (idem); 79, 283 (Gregorius Magnus); 108, 594 (Rabanus Maurus); 176, 1065 (possibly Hugo Folietanus); 177, 158, 1080 (anonymous); 206, 386 (Thomas Cisterciensis); 209, 122 (Martinus Legionensis); and 210, 583 (Alanus de Insulis).
 36. John's abode was otherwise imagined as a cave, as reflected in the hymn sung at matins on the feast of his Nativity, "Antra deserti" (The Caves of the Desert).
 37. P. Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300* (London, 2004), 81–101.
 38. *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson (Burntisland, 1861–83), col. 782: "Justus ut palma florebit, sicut cedrus quae in Libano est multiplicabitur." *The Customary of the Cathedral Church of Norwich*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 82, ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst (London, 1948), 137.
 39. *The Missal of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. M. Rule (Cambridge, 1896), 93, 107.
 40. The Douai Psalter Crucifixion, now destroyed, is illustrated in S. C. Cockerell, *The Gorleston Psalter* (London, 1907), pl. XVI; and P. Lasko and N. J. Morgan, *Medieval Art in East Anglia, 1300–1520* (Norwich, 1973), 23–24.
 41. Cf. M. P. Brown, *The Luttrell Psalter: Commentary [on the Facsimile Edition]* (London, 2006), 105, where a simpler (and, to the current author's mind, unconvincing) relation between Baptist and text is suggested. Away from this region, see the figure of the saint surrounded by oak foliage in stained glass of ca. 1330–35 at Wells Cathedral; T. Ayers, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Wells Cathedral*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Great Britain, 4, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2004), 1:249–50, 2: color pl. 17.
 42. On fol. 93 of the Gorleston Psalter the action refers to the casting down of the proud described in Psalm 72. The ax man on fol. 102 cuts an oak. The adjacent text is Psalm 77, mentioning Moses striking the rock in the wilderness (verses 15, 20) and also the text "when he slew them, then they sought him." It could relate to both. That on fol. 139v occurs alongside Psalm 104, which also invokes the episode of Moses striking the rock (verse 41).
 43. See R. Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge, 2008), 165, fig. 180; and Tristram, *English Wall Painting*, 75–77 and pls. 22–24.
 44. A. G. I. Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery* (Oxford, 1938), 156–58 and pl. CIX. The only widely known example of this iconography is found in Giovanni del Biondo's *Altarpiece of St. John the Baptist* (ca. 1360–70, Contini Bonacossi Collection, Florence); see R. Offner and K. Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, sec. 4, vol. 5, Part 1 (New York, 1967), 112–14 and pl. XXV, figs. 1–12.
 45. On the sculpture, see E. Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (Oxford, 1993), 174–75.
 46. W. H. St. John Hope, "Inventories of the College of Stoke-by-Clare Taken in 1534 and 1547–8," *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 17 (1919), 24, 50. Unicorns also accompany St. John in other, late images made in England. See, for example, miniatures in Luton, Art Museum, Dunstable Guild Register (e.g., fols. 5v, 6); and K. L. Scott, *Tradition and Innovation in Later Medieval English Manuscripts* (London, 2007), 134–35. In this case they are not trampled, and their symbolism may relate to virginity.
 47. See, for example, Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery*, pls. CIX, CXIV; and *Opus Anglicanum: English Medieval Embroidery*, ed. D. King (London, 1963), 38 and pl. 18.
 48. See *The Thornham Parva Retable: Technique, Conservation and Context of an English Medieval Painting*, ed. A. Massing (London, 2003), 13–14; and S. Panayotova, *The Macclesfield Psalter* (London, 2008), 55.

49. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 1: ills. 214–15, 2:89.
50. C. Hull, “The Douai Psalter and Related Manuscripts” (Dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, CT, 1994), 192–93, 196. Panayotova, *The Macclesfield Psalter*, 21, says “probably 1330s.” Cf. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 1:56.
51. On this division of East Anglian illumination, first articulated by Otto Pächt, see most recently Panayotova, *The Macclesfield Psalter*, 17–20.
52. On head and face relics, see Carr, “Face Relics of John the Baptist” and the literature cited at 174 n. 13, 177 nn. 77, 87. The subject is absent from C. M. Kauffmann’s important study, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700–1550* (London, 2003).
53. In addition to the discussion in Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine’s Abbey*, see T. A. Heslop and J. Mitchell, “The Arts and Learning,” in *St. Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. R. Gem (London, 1997), 67–89.