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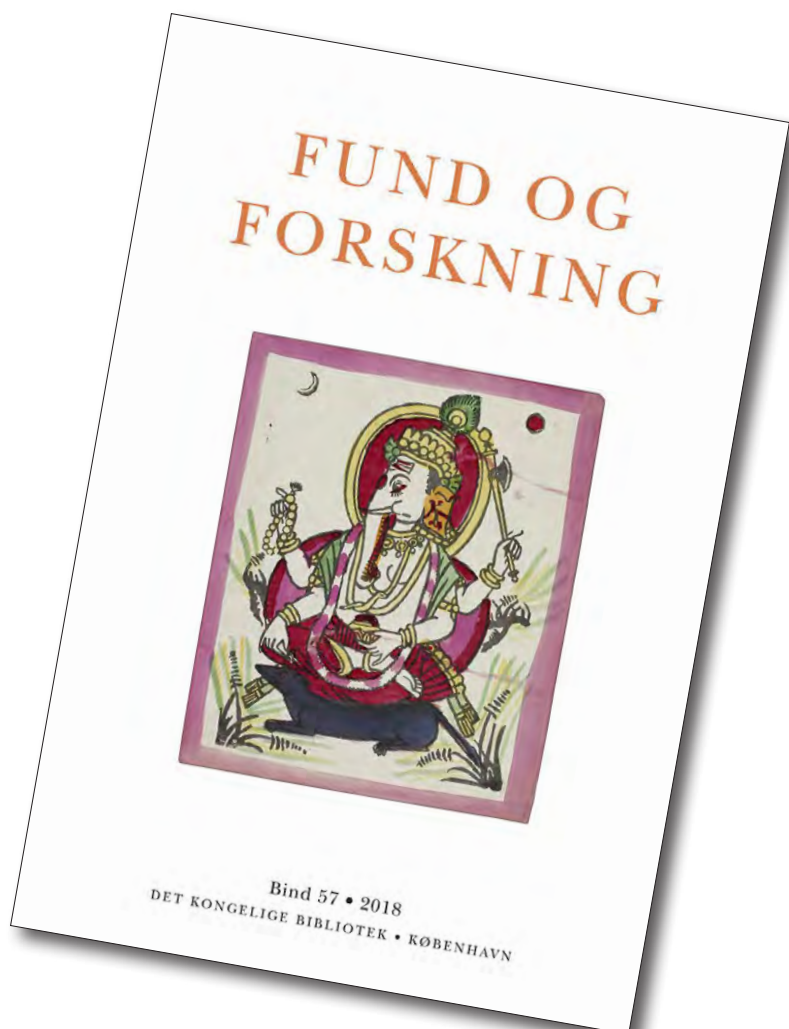
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With summaries

KØBENHAVN 2018
UDGIVET AF DET KONGELIGE BIBLIOTEK

Om billedet på smudsomslaget se s. 249.

Det kronede monogram på kartonomslaget er tegnet af
Erik Ellegaard Frederiksen efter et bind fra Frederik 3.s bibliotek

Om titelvignetten se s. 77.

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Redaktion:

Jakob K. Meile

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Dette papir overholder de i ISO 9706:1998
fastsatte krav til langtidsholdbart papir.

Grafisk tilrettelæggelse: Jakob K. Meile

Tryk og indbinding: Bording ½
Printed in Livonia
Oplag: 200 eks.

ISSN 0069-9896
ISBN 978-87-7023-150-3

THE CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSCULTURAL DISSEMINATION OF NEGATIVE IMAGES OF JEWS

in a French Thirteenth-Century Illuminated
Psalter Made for a Danish Reader¹

BY

MARINA VIDAS

This article is concerned with a splendid *de luxe* Psalter (London, British Library, MS Additional 17868) produced in France after 1253. Although little has been published about this richly illuminated manuscript, scholars have shown an interest in some of its numerous images of figures with Jewish attributes.² In this article, I provide an overview of the relevant literature on the London Psalter, a full description of the textual and pictorial components of the manuscript, including a detailed analysis of the Calendar and Litany, as well as putting forth reasons for identifying the intended reader as Danish. Then a lengthy analysis is undertaken of the mostly negative manner in which Jews are represented in the prefatory miniatures and Psalter section of the manuscript. I argue that the image of the Jew in the prefatory cycle is shaped by pictorial tradition and the then current negative perception of Jewish usury while in the Psalter section the depictions of Jews were constructed in response to adjacent texts and to nearby images. It is suggested that the interplay between these words and images provided

¹ I gratefully acknowledge the research grants from the New Carlsberg Foundation and Stiftelsen Svensk-dansk kulturfond. Sincere thanks are also due to the Danish Jewish Museum for kindly providing office facilities and a stimulating and friendly academic environment during the preparation of this article.

² Bernhard Blumenkranz: *Juden und Judentum in der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 68, discusses the representation of Joseph who in the miniature is endowed with both a nimbus and a Jewish hat and concludes: "Diesmal ist die Tendenz des Künstlers unbestreitbar frei von jeder antijüdischen Polemik und der geringsten ironischen Spitze." Lilian M. C. Randall: *Images in the margins of Gothic manuscripts*, Berkeley 1966, p. 114, catalogued and classified images of hybrid Jews on folios 49v, 86 and 136. The lengthiest so-far published critical examination of the images of Jews in the manuscript was undertaken by Debra Higgs Strickland who analyzed two of the folia with pejorative images. See Debra Higgs Strickland: *Saracens, demons, and Jews: making monsters in Medieval art*, Princeton 2003, pp. 124, 137, 142, and 143.

a mnemonic tool for the reader but also reinforced widely-held stereotypes of Jews, for example of Jewish enmity toward Christ. I also present and discuss French iconography, which included pejorative images of Jews and Judaism, which was assimilated and appropriated in Medieval Danish churches.

STATE OF THE RESEARCH

Most of what has been published about MS Additional 17868 is brief and far from comprehensive. George F. Warner (1903) concisely described the manuscript and observed that it includes French, German, English and Scandinavian saints. He concluded that the Calendar was not decisive as to the locality of execution, and that it was probably derived from a Martyrology.³ Vitzthum (1907) agreed with Warner that the Calendar did not follow the use of a particular diocese but concluded that its style pointed to its having been produced in Reims.⁴ Robert Branner (1977), who described the Psalter as superb, judged that it was made for Scandinavian usage and that it was prepared for a client in North-Eastern France.⁵ In his opinion it was executed in a Parisian workshop which was active by the 1250s and which he called the Bari atelier, after a Gradual copied around the middle of the thirteenth century (Bari, Church of San Nicola, MS 85) from a book of *c.*1200 made for use at the French royal *capella*. He saw similarities between the drapery style of the figures in MS Additional 17868 and in another Bari atelier manuscript, namely a Missal for Paris use (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 830, after 1253). In the way of an example, he drew attention to the analogous manner in which folds in the cloak worn by the Archangel Gabriel on f. 14v are designated by incomplete ink lines as in the Paris Missal. Furthermore, in Branner's view, the prefatory cycle miniatures in MS Additional 17868 contain the same painted ornament as the

³ George F. Warner: *Illuminated manuscripts in the British Museum, miniatures, borders and initials reproduced in gold and colours with descriptive text*, London 1903, n.p.

⁴ Georg Vitzthum: *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältniss zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa*, Leipzig 1907, p. 66. A similar view about the manuscript's place of execution was put forth by John Alexander Herbert: *Illuminated manuscripts*, London 1911, p.197.

⁵ Robert Branner: *Manuscript painting in Paris during the reign of St. Louis*, Berkeley 1977, pp. 105,106, and 229.

Paris Missal but with the difference that in the London manuscript the ground is gold instead of fine diaperwork.⁶

Alison Stones (2013) has catalogued the contents of MS Additional 17868 and published the most comprehensive description of the book. In her opinion, the manuscript of c.1275–1280 clearly owes much stylistically to Paris and the artist who executed the Psalter section was Parisian.⁷ She sees close similarities between the manner in which this Parisian hand executed the major illuminations to the style of an artist who worked on the Besançon *Avicenna* (Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 457). The proliferation of marginal borders supporting figures or terminating in small faces is characteristic of this artist and, in her view, can be matched on a still more developed scale in the *Hours for Marie* (New York, Metropolitan Museum Book of Hours inv. L.1990 38).⁸ The border motifs, in her opinion, recall English or Norman manuscripts, like the *William of Devon Bible* (London, British Library, MS Royal 1 D. i) and the *Huth Bible* (Chicago Art Institute MS 1915–533) and *Lampeter Bible* (Lampeter University Library, MS 1). She also found similarities between the use of gold balls in backgrounds or in spandrels by the Parisian hand of the Psalter section of the London manuscript and those employed by a miniaturist who worked on a Parisian Psalter of c.1260–1275 in St. Petersburg (Academy of Sciences, MS Q 188).

Stones concluded that a second artist, who was heavily influenced by Paris, painted the full-page prefatory miniatures and probably the Calendar illustrations. This miniaturist's figure style, in her view, was close to the *Missal for usage of Saint Nicaise* (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale

⁶ Besides cataloguing some of the marginal images of Jews, Randall has also indexed other motifs in MS Additional 17868. See Randall 1966, pp. 70, 96, 113, 114, 115, 117, and 118. Short descriptions of or references to images in the Additional Psalter have been published by Andreas Bräm: *Buchmalerei des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich, Flandern, Hennegau, Maasland und Lothringen: Literaturbericht 1970–1992, Teil II. Kunstchronik*, 47, 1994, p. 77, Janet Backhouse: *The Illuminated page: Ten centuries of manuscript painting in the British Library*, London 1997, p. 78; Andreas Bräm: *Das Andachtsbuch der Marie de Gavre, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 16251: Buchmalerei in der Diözese Cambrai im letzten Viertel des Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1997, p. 68, Judith H. Oliver: *Singing with angels: Liturgy, music, and art in the gradual of Gisela von Kerssenbrock*, Turnhout 2007, p. 306, nt.33, and Jean Wirth: *Marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques*, Geneva 2008, pp. 95, 181, and 199.

⁷ Alison Stones, *Gothic manuscripts: 1260–1320*, part 1, 2, London 2013, p. 405.

⁸ See Alison Stones, *Gothic manuscripts: 1260–1320*, part 1, 1, London 2013, p. 66.

MS 230). She suggested that the Reims Missal and the London Psalter were made in Reims.⁹

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Physical make-up and contents

The size, script, components, and page design of the Psalter are characteristic of a book made for private lay devotion. It measures 21.3 × 14.4 cm, contains 197 folios, and is easy to lift and hold.¹⁰ The text of the manuscript was clearly written in black ink in *formata* bookhand and has the following standard textual contents: a Calendar, the 150 Psalms of the Old Testament (ff. 32–176v), Canticles (ff. 177–188v), Athanasian Creed (ff. 188v–191), Litany (ff. 191–192) followed by the *Ab, Per* and *Ut* petitions (ff. 192–194), appeals to the Son of God and the Lamb of God (f. 194v), the Ambrosian Hymn (ff. 194v–195v), and Collects (ff. 196–197).

The pictorial features of this abundantly illuminated manuscript are congruent with luxury status. Each of the Calendar pages is decorated with a medallion representing the corresponding sign of the zodiac and another with the labor of the month.¹⁵ Executed by one hand, the scenes are depicted against gold backgrounds. In all likelihood, this artist also painted the subsequent eighteen full-page illuminations in the prefatory cycle, which primarily show Christological scenes: the Annunciation, f. 14v, Visitation, f. 15, Nativity, f. 16v, Adoration of Magi, f. 17, Presentation in the Temple, f. 18v, Flight into Egypt, f. 19, Massacre of the Innocents, f. 20v, Baptism, f. 21, try into Jerusalem, f. 22v, Last Supper, f. 23v, Betrayal, f. 24v, Flagellation, f. 25, Crucifixion, f. 26v, Three Women at the Tomb, f. 27, Ascension, f. 28v, Pentecost, f. 29, as well as the two double-register miniatures of the Last Judgement and the Dead rising f. 30v and the Virgin and Child in Heaven above the Torments of Hell, f. 31.

⁹ Other manuscripts which Stones judged were made in Reims in a Parisianising style are: a Bestiary in Latin (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 100), a Psalter for the use of Reims (Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 75), the *Bible of Johannes de Lavrac* (Sotheby's 22 v. 93 lot 82), and Jean de Joinville, *Credo* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 11907). See Stones 2013, part 1, 1, pp. 66–67.

¹⁰ The folios have been trimmed down slightly from their original size probably during rebinding. Leaves which contained Psalm 67:19–Psalm 68:12 are missing from the manuscript. They would have been placed in between f. 94v and f. 95.

The text of the 150 Psalms, which comes next, is divided into eight parts by large historiated initials on burnished gold grounds, except on ff. 55v and 127 where the backgrounds are painted. The subjects depicted in the historiated initials are: David harping and David battling Goliath, f. 32, at Psalm 1, David pointing to his eyes, f. 55v at Psalm 26, David pointing to his mouth, f. 69v at Psalm 38, the Fool holding a club, the attribute of his profession, f. 82v at Psalm 52, David playing the bells, f. 110v, at Psalm 80, monks chanting f. 127, at Psalm 97, and the Trinity, f. 143, at Psalm 109. The Psalter text is further illuminated with foliate initials at the openings for the minor Psalms while *champide* initials introduce verses. The texts on ff. 177–197, which come after the Psalms, are embellished with two or three-line foliate initials and one-line *champide* initials. Every page which follows f. 32, except f. 197, has numerous line-fillers with vegetal, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs in various colors as well as in gold. These folia are further richly illuminated with grotesques which are supported by, or are prolongations of, partial borders in the left and upper margins or detached bands in the lower margins.

There are no inscriptions, shields or heraldic devices, which would help identify the intended medieval reader. On an added modern flyleaf there are two notes. The first records that the volume was a purchase of H. Bohn on August 18, 1849 while the second states: “when purchased this volume was bound in old red morocco much soiled and wormed.” The removal of the original bindings, which could have provided information as to the book’s provenance, has thus been lost. Therefore, the provenance of the manuscript cannot be securely traced further back than to its acquisition by Bohn.

Style of the Calendar and prefatory cycle illuminations

Thickly applied gold leaf and a broad range of pigments spanning from grey, pink, blue, green, yellow, orange, red, and white, were employed in the decoration of the Calendar pages and prefatory cycle. Although the proportions of the figures placed in the roundels of the Calendar section differ from those of the prefatory cycle, the execution of the draperies and facial features suggest they were painted by the same illuminator.

Characteristic of the style of the hand which executed the prefatory cycle are tall, slender figures with silhouettes and draperies heavily accented in black. Their chalky white flesh contrasts starkly with the dark contour lines. Black lines are also used to represent drapery folds.

Areas of pink or blue clothing are painted in lighter shades of these colors in order to suggest deep folds and to give the impression of three-dimensionality. Some of the figures gesture in an expressive manner and some are endowed with intense gazes. The small, unmodelled faces of the figures have features rendered in black lines and big eyes with large black dots for pupils.

The full-page miniatures all have gold grounds and are framed by rectangular borders in rose and blue. If we compare the border of the miniature showing the Crucifixion on f. 26 with those in an illumination of the same subject in a manuscript which Branner argued was stylistically related, namely the MS latin 830, f. 123v, we will notice that mostly the same motifs were employed. The minor differences include the use of gold leaf in the black outlined squares in the four corners of the frames in MS Additional 17868 rather than painted ornament in MS latin 830. Some of the prefatory illuminations in the London Psalter are embellished with architecture, usually arches supported by capitals some of which are attached to slender framing device, suggesting an enclosed space. These types of architectural elements which reflect contemporary forms, are absent from the Paris Missal. The physiognomy and expression of Christ in the Last Supper on f. 23 in MS Additional 17868 is very similar to that of Christ in Majesty in MS latin 830, f. 124. The close stylistic affinities between the miniatures indicate that they could have been painted by the same hand.

The style of the master who illuminated the prefatory cycle of MS Additional 17868, as Branner and Stones have judged, is also related to that of the *Missal for usage of Saint Nicaise*. The palettes of the two artists are similar as are the compositional schemes and certain iconographic motifs, such as Joseph's bearing of both a Jewish hat and halo in the Nativity miniature f. 16v and 9v, respectively. This motif is also present in MS latin 830, f. 21r.

Style of the illuminations of the 150 Psalms, Litany, and Collects

The miniatures which follow the prefatory cycle, I believe, were painted by two artists. Hand One illuminated ff. 32–41v and ff. 143–163v while Hand Two executed ff. 42–142v. I am led to this conclusion because I note stylistic and compositional differences within this section of the Psalter. The first hand depicted smaller marginal figures than Hand Two and employed a greater number of them. Often they engage in aggressive behavior, gesture at other marginal figures in ridicule or deri-

sion, they shoot or aim arrows at enemies or prey, pursue them, or with weapons in hand confront armed or unarmed adversaries. Amongst the *drôleries* which he painted are imaginary beings drawn from the Classical world, like mermen, sirens, centaurs, and grylli. He also painted people and hybrids playing musical instruments. While the first hand frequently depicted figures standing on the partial borders in the upper margins, the second hand often left these parts of the page free of marginalia. The manner in which the two artists executed borders is also distinctive. The borders executed by the Hand One are longer and narrower than those painted by the second illuminator, and often terminate on one side in spikey cusps. The hybrid figures painted by Hand Two sport a variety of hairdos or head coverings, e.g., pointy hats, some of which are striated or with small knobs, cowls, coifs, crowns, miters, veils, Jewish hats, and turbans, all of which are depicted in a variety of colors. Many of the figures painted by this artist do not partake in an activity or hold an object. When they do they are shown with musical instruments or weapons. A further difference between the two artists is that Hand One included more figurative line-endings per page and painted few women. Both artists employ the same palette of paints: brown, orange, blue, pale and dusty pink, as well as white and grey.

I would argue that the two Parisian artists who illuminated the Psalter section of the manuscript in London also were engaged to execute the decoration accompanying the 150 Psalms in a Psalter in St. Petersburg (Academy of Sciences, MS Q 188).¹¹ The stylistic similarities can clearly be seen if we compare the historiated initials at Psalm 52 depicting the Fool holding a club, on f. 82v in the London Psalter and on f. 53 in the St. Petersburg manuscript. Also significant is that the Parisian artists who worked on these two Psalters employed the same type of borders, for example detached bands at the bottom of the folia, as well as similar figurative subjects to embellish the line-fillers and the margins of the page, such as mermen, grylli, huntsmen, musicians, warriors and figures wearing various types of head-coverings. The St. Petersburg manuscript does not have a Calendar but it does have a Litany which includes Parisian saints.¹²

¹¹ I base this conclusion on images of the St. Petersburg manuscript reproduced in I. P. Mokrecova and Vera L. Romanova: *Francuzskaja kniznaja miniatjura XIIIveka v sovetskich sobranijach: 1200–1270*, Moscow 1983, pp. 232–240. I have not seen any other reproductions of the illuminations in the St. Petersburg Psalter.

¹² Mokrecova and Romanova 1983, p. 232.

Hagiographic entries in the Calendar

The Calendar is written in blue and gold and as was common practice, notes universal and regional feast days.¹³ Many of these are found in the ninth-century Martyrology drawn up by Adon, Archbishop of Vienne, and in the slightly later one compiled by Usuard, a monk at Saint-Germain des-Prés.¹⁴ Not surprisingly, the Calendar of the thirteenth-century personal devotional manuscript in London also includes feasts for saints canonized after the ninth century. Especially telling are the newer feast days: Thomas of Canterbury, canonized in 1173 (gold, December 29), the feast day for King Olaf of Norway (July 29), canonized in 1031 and venerated throughout Scandinavia, the feast day for the Danish king Knud IV (July 10), canonized in 1101, and the translation feast for his nephew Knud Lavard, son of King Erik Ejegod (Erik Evergood) of Denmark and father of King Valdemar I (gold, June 25). All four of the aforementioned saints had cults in thirteenth-century Denmark.¹⁵ The veneration of the last named saint, Knud Lavard, who was martyred near Ringsted on the Danish island of Sjælland, was unusual outside of the kingdom of Denmark in the thirteenth century. Knud Lavard's son Valdemar I played an important role in his canonization and in the building of the new Benedictine abbey church of St. Bendt (Benedict), Ringsted. There Knud Lavard's relics were translated on June 25, 1170, and on the same day Valdemar had his son, the future Knud VI, crowned as co-regent. The Benedictine abbey church in Ringsted came also to serve as the burial place of the Valdemarian dynasty. In

¹³ Lilli Gjerløw: *Kalendarium II. Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, 8, 1963, pp. 94–95.

¹⁴ Jacques Dubois: *Le martyrologe d'Usuard*, Brussels 1965.

¹⁵ For the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury in Denmark see Ellen Jørgensen: *Helgendyrkelse i Danmark: Studier over Kirkekultur og kirkeligt Liv fra det 11te Aarhundredes Midte til Reformationen*, 1909, p. 21. For scenes from Thomas of Canterbury's life and martyrdom in Sønder Nærå church of 1175–1200 see Ulla Haastrup: The legend and martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket painted in the church of Sønder Naerå, Funen shortly after his death in 1170. *Hafnia: Copenhagen papers in the history of art*, 12, 2003, pp. 131–148 and Ulla Haastrup and Robert Egevang (eds.): *Danske Kalkmalerier, Senromansk tid, 1175–1275*, 1987, pp. 60–61. For the veneration of Olaf in Denmark see Jørgensen 1909, p. 5; C. Weeke (ed.): *Libri memoriales capituli Lundensis: Lunde Domkapitels gavebøger: ("Libri datici Lundenses")*, 1973, p. 188 and Alfred Otto: *Liber daticus Roskildensis: Roskilde Gavebog og Domkapitlets Anniversarieliste*, 1933, p. 33. For the veneration of King Knud in Denmark see Tore Nyberg, Hans Bekker-Nielsen and Niels Oxenvad (eds.): *Knuds-bogen 1986: Studier over Knud den Hellige*, 1986.

the Calendar of MS Additional 17868 Knud Lavard's translation feast is written in gold and given prominence.¹⁶ Also of significance is the inclusion of the feast of the translation of the relics of the Frankish monk St. Ansgar (September 9), which, in all likelihood, took place in the eleventh century and which was the first of the feasts connected to this saint to be celebrated in Denmark.¹⁷ Ansgar (d. 865), who was canonized shortly after his death, was especially revered in the Danish dioceses of Lund and Roskilde.¹⁸ St. Benedict of Nursia, founder of the Benedictine order and author of the rule which was followed in Ringsted, is commemorated in the Calendar (general feast, March 21 and gold, translation, July 11) and is invoked in the Litany, f. 192, while his sister Scholastica is honored on the line for February 10.

The most striking feature of the Calendar is the wealth of saints with connections to France: Lucian of Beauvais (January 8), Remigius of Reims (January 13, translation October 1), Hilary of Poitiers (January 13), Albinus of Angers (March 1), the invention of the relics of Denis, Rusticius and Eleutherius (April 22), Mamertus of Vienne (May 11), Germanus of Paris (gold, May 28), Medardus of Noyon (June 8), Martin of Tours (gold, translation, July 4 and general feast, November 11), Germanus of Auxerre (July 31, translation October 1), Arnulf of Metz (August 16), Giles (September 1), Marcellus of Chalon (gold, September 4), Evurtius of Orléans (September 7), Leodegar of Poitiers (October 2),

¹⁶ The general feast for Knud Lavard, who was martyred on January 7, 1131, is not included in the Calendar.

¹⁷ For the dating of the translation of St. Ansgar's relics see Sven Helander: *Ansgarkulten i Norden*, Stockholm 1989, pp. 17–18, and for the mid-twelfth-century martyrological Calendar for the use of the Danish diocese of Lund (*Liber daticus vetustior*) which includes St. Ansgar's translation but not his feast day see Tue Gad: *Martyrologier i Det kongelige Bibliotek og martyrologiet fra Nysted*. *Fund og Forskning*, 13, 1966, p. 14.

¹⁸ Helander 1989, pp. 78–79. Included in the Calendar of MS Additional 17868 are the following feasts which, although found in Adon's and Usuard's martyrologies, were of significance in Roskilde: St. Brigid of Kildare (February 1), Pope Lucius (gold, March 4), Boniface of Mainz (gold, June 5), Magnus the Martyr (August 19), and holy Virgins (October 21). However, the translation feasts to Roskilde Cathedral for Lucius's head relic (August 25) and for the relics of the holy virgins martyred with St. Ursula of Cologne (July 14) are absent as are other local feasts celebrated in this diocese. For the veneration at Roskilde Cathedral of Brigid of Kildare, Pope Lucius, Boniface of Mainz, Magnus the Martyr and the holy Virgins see Otto 1933, pp. 33–34. For St. Lucius's veneration in Roskilde see also Henry Petersen: *En Relikvie af Roskilde Domkirkes Skytshelgen, den hellige Pave Lucius*, 1875, pp. 2–4 and for the veneration of St. Magnus on August 19 see also Franz Blatt (ed.): *Danmarks riges breve*, 2.række, 3, 1281–1290, 1939, pp. 237–238.

Apollinaris of Vienne (gold, October 5), Denis of Paris and companions (gold, October 9), Quentin of Amiens (gold, October 31), Marcellus of Paris (gold, November 3), Leonard of Noblac, hermit and disciple of St. Remigius (gold, November 6), Brice of Tours (November 13), Saturnin of Toulouse (November 29), Eligius of Noyon (December 1), Paul of Narbonne (December 12), Maximin, Abbott of Micy (December 15), and Gatianus of Tours (December 18).

As we can see, the Calendar does not clearly follow the use of any particular French diocese. There are saints with a universal significance, like the Latin father, Hilary of Poitiers (January 13), and those with importance for the realm of France, like Martin of Tours (gold, translation, July 4 and general feast, November 11), Quentin of Amiens who was a martyr of Gaul (gold, October 31) and Paul of Narbonne, one of the “apostles to the Gauls” (December 12). The other French saints, who are noted in the Calendar, were venerated in various geographic regions of the realm, but the most numerous are those with cults in the Northern part of France and especially Paris.¹⁹

There are also smaller number of English and German saints named in the Calendar. The saints with a connection to England are: Cuthbert of Lindisfarne (gold, March 20), Alphage of Canterbury (April 19), Augustine of Canterbury (gold, May 26), Botulf of Thorney (June 17), Alban of Verulam (gold, June 22) and Thomas of Canterbury (December 29).²⁰ The cult of St. Botulf was widespread in Scandinavia and in particular in Denmark while St. Alban and St. Thomas were included in the liturgy of all the Danish dioceses.²¹

The saints with connections to Germany are: Gall, [*epi.*] (February 20), Maximus of Trier (May 29), Boniface, Apostle of Germany (June 5), Paulinus of Trier (August 31) Ansgar of Bremen, “Apostle of the North” (translation, September 9), two Ewalds, martyrs (October 3), Severin

¹⁹ For the Parisian feast of the invention of the relics see Paul Perdrizet: *Le Calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen âge d'après le bréviaire et les livres d'heures*, Paris 1933, p. 122.

²⁰ All of the English saints named in the Calendar of MS Additional 17868 are included in the *Liber daticus lundensis vetustior*, except for Alphage and Thomas. See Weeke 1973, pp. 65, 134, 156, and 159. St. Thomas was added to the entry for December 29 by an early thirteenth-century hand.

²¹ For the cult of St. Botulf in Denmark see Jørgensen 1909, p. 17; Ellen Jørgensen: Fremmed Indflydelse under den danske Kirkes tidligste Udvikling. *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter*, 7, Historisk og filosofisk Afd., I.2, 1908, pp. 189, 197, 201, etc. and Tore Nyberg: Saints and place-names around Kattegat. *Twenty-Eight papers presented to Hans Bekker-Nielsen on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*, 1993, 185–186. For the cult of St. Alban in Denmark see Jørgensen 1909 pp. 17–18.

of Cologne (gold, October 23), and Cunibert [Gumbertus] of Cologne (gold, November 12).²² A number of these saints were missionaries, most importantly Ansgar, Gall, Boniface as well as Ewald and Ewald and were also culted outside of Germany. All of the above named German saints are present in the twelfth-century martyrology for the cathedral in Lund, the ecclesiastical capital of Denmark.²³

An overall analysis the Calendrical entries shows that the Calendar includes universally observed feasts as well as feasts for martyrs and bishops of the early church, including those with a connection to North Africa, Jerusalem and in the geographic vicinity.²⁴ Additionally, it can be concluded that the Calendar contains feasts for saints who were important for their missionary work on the continent, for example St. Columbanus, as well as saints whose missionary activities were more regional and can be connected to Germany, France, and Denmark. Two Benedictine seventh-century missionaries who served as bishops in the geographic region of Flanders, Remaclus of Stavelot (September 3) and the martyr Lambert of Maastricht (gold, September 17) are also named.²⁵ A sizeable group of the English and French saints, who are

²² The date of February 20 for the feast of St. Gall appears in both in the martyrologies of Adon and Usuard. In Adon's, the saint is described as abbot and disciple of Columbanus while in Usuard's, he is called priest and confessor in Germany. For a Parisian fifteenth-century manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10548) in which St. Gall, bishop and confessor, is celebrated on February 20 see V. Leroquais: *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2, Paris 1927, p. 1, no. 168.

²³ Weeke 1973, pp. 265, 136, 142, 219, 228, 253, 269 and 288. However, Gall is not entered on the line for February 20 but rather is celebrated, according to the usage of the abbey of St. Gall, on October 16. The original early thirteenth-century Calendar of the *Sunesen Psalter* includes the feasts for Maximus of Trier (May 29) and Boniface of Mainz (June 5).

²⁴ The feasts for martyrs and bishops of the early church with a connection to North Africa, Jerusalem and in the geographic vicinity are for: Polycarp of Smyrna (January 26), Matthias of Jerusalem (January 30), Athanasius of Alexandria (May 2), Serapion of Algiers (November 14), and Cassian of Tangier (December 3). All of these feast days are found in the *Liber daticus lundensis vetustior*, with the exception of the one for Serapion of Algiers (November 14), while in the original Calendar of the *Sunesen Psalter* only Polycarp of Smyrna (January 26) figures.

²⁵ Both saints are found in Adon's martyrology and in the *Liber daticus lundensis vetustior*. For the former see *Martyrologium Adonis, Archiepiscopi Viennensis, ab Heriberto Roswejdo jam pridem ad Mss. Exemplaria recensitum, nunc ope Codicum Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ recognitum et adnotationibus illustratum per Dominicum Georgium. Acc. Martyrologia et Kalendaria aliquot ex Vaticana et aliis Bibliothecis eruta*, Rome, 1745, p. 447 and p. 481 while for the latter see Weeke 1973, pp. 222 and 238, respectively. See also Gjerløw 1963, p. 95.

listed in the Calendar, established Benedictine monasteries and some of them, like the founder of their order, Benedict of Nursia, are honored with two feasts. The confessors St. Augustine and St. Nicholas are also honored with two entries, their general feast days (August 28 and December 6, respectively) as well as an additional one which commemorates the conversion of the former (April 26) and ordination of the latter saint (July 18). However, the translation feasts for these two confessors, October 11 and May 9, respectively, were not included.

Most significantly, the Calendar includes feasts for three canonized Scandinavian princes who were venerated in Denmark and of particular note is the commemoration of the translation of Knud Lavard. It also lists a number of English and German saints who were culted in Denmark. Although, the most numerous saints in the Calendar are French, this choice of feasts would not be unsuitable for a Danish patron. During the twelfth century the Danish church underwent a new orientation towards France which can be seen in a number of areas. As Bengt Strömberg, Ellen Jørgensen, and Gustaf Lindberg have shown Danish liturgy in this period was very influenced by French models.²⁶ This impact is evident in manuscripts from the period. For example, the *Liber Daticus Lundensis vetustior* which was made for the cathedral of Lund, contains a martyrology based on one drawn up by Adon of Vienne with additions from Metz and Cologne.²⁷

The network of ecclesiastical connections between Denmark and France continued into the thirteenth-century, and especially under clerics from the powerful Hvide clan, namely Absalon, Archbishop of Lund (c.1128–1201) as well as under his cousins once removed, Peder, Bishop of Roskilde (1161–1214) and Anders, Archbishop of Lund (c.1162–1228). In all likelihood, Jakob Sunesen, a brother of the last two mentioned clerics, owned a personal devotional illuminated manuscript (the *Sunesen Psalter*, London, British Library, MS Egerton 2652), which was executed in the early thirteenth-century in Paris. As in the Calendar of MS Additional 17868, a great many feasts for French saints are noted in the Egerton manuscript's extant original folios which cover the first eight

²⁶ Bengt Strömberg: *Den pontifikala liturgin i Lund och Roskilde under medeltiden: en liturghistorisk studie jämte edition av pontificale lundense enligt handskriften C 441 i Uppsala universitetsbibliotek och pontificale roscildense enligt medeltidshandskrift nr 43 i Lunds universitetsbibliotek*, 1955, pp. 32–54, Jørgensen 1908, p. 66, and Gustaf Lindberg: *Ett pontificale i Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Till ärkebiskop Söderbloms sextioårsdag*, Stockholm 1926, pp. 293–313.

²⁷ Weeke 1973 *Libri*, pp. vi-vii.

months of the year, ff.1–4v.²⁸ However, there is clearer evidence of Danish provenance in the Egerton manuscript in the form of feasts, which were celebrated in the diocese of Roskilde, as well as added obituaries for members of the Hvide clan and their associates.²⁹ The *Sunesen Psalter* and MS Additional 17868 list about the same number of French saints in the period from January 1 until August 31, but with a slightly different regional emphasis.³⁰

The *Sunesen Psalter* is not the only thirteenth-century work which testifies to artistic connections between Denmark and France in this period.³¹ Surviving examples in sculpture include a monumental polychromed wood Crucifixion group (Copenhagen, National Museum) which was made for the interior of Roskilde cathedral, a rood in the Cistercian abbey church of Sorø and two exceptional ivories, namely the Herlufsholm Crucifix and the National Museum's Adoration group.³² These sculptures resemble Northern French models and were

²⁸ See Marina Vidas: Devotion, remembrance, and identity: The hagiographic entries and obituaries in a Parisian thirteenth-century illuminated Psalter made for Jakob Sunesen (London, British Library, MS Egerton 2652), *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 54, 2015, p. 185.

²⁹ The Egerton manuscript, in all likelihood, has a *terminus post quem* of 1224 due to the absence of the feast for St. Vilhelm of Æbelholt (June 16) instituted in that year. See Vidas 2015, p. 187 where I argue that close members of the intended reader's influential and wealthy family, the Hvide, were important for the success of Vilhelm's canonization and it is, therefore, unlikely that the Calendar would not have included his feast if it was produced after 1224.

³⁰ The general feasts in the Egerton manuscript for French saints written by the original scribe are: Hilary of Poitiers (January 13), Maurus of Glanfeuil (January 15), Aldegonde of Maubeuge (January 30), Vedast of Arras (February 6), Peregrinus of Auxerre (April 18), Desiderius of Vienne (May 23), Germanus of Paris (May 28), Medardus of Noyon (June 8), Germanus of Auxerre (July 31) and Arnulf of Metz (August 16) as well as the translation feast of Martin of Tours (July 4).

³¹ For evidence of the presence of French manuscripts in Denmark during the Middle Ages see Ellen Jørgensen: Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger, *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 8, 1912 – 1913, pp.1–67, Jørgensen 1908, pp. 61, 94; Jørgensen 1909, p.66; Niels Haastrup: Bøger i Danmark på Anders Sunesøns tid. Sten Ebbesen (ed.): *Anders Sunesen. Stormand, teolog, administrator, digter*, 1985, pp. 99–114 and Sten Ebbesen and Laurentius Boethius Mortensen (eds.): *Andree Sunonis filii Hexaemeron: post M. Cl. Gertz*, 1, 1985, pp. 20–21.

³² For the possible employment during the twelfth century of a French master builder at Roskilde see P. Hélot: La Cathédrale de Roskilde et l'influence de l'architecture française en Danemark vers 1150–1220. *Bulletin monumental*, 1964, pp. 233–60 and Søren Kaspersen: Kunst og bevidsthedsformer på Anders Sunesens tid. *Anders Sunesen: Stormand, Teolog, Administrator, Digter*, 1985, pp. 43–44.

carved in Denmark either by French sculptors or by Danish craftsmen who had been trained in France.³³ French painters too may have come to work in Denmark and/or trained Danish artists. The walls of the church in Höör in Skåne of c.1200 are adorned with paintings which stylistically and iconographically are linked to French works. In the diocese of Roskilde there are examples of wall paintings and stained glass which show French influence. For example, paintings in the churches of Gundsømagle (1275) and Karise as well as glass windows in Roskilde cathedral employ French iconographic motifs.³⁴ Amongst the pigments which were employed at Gundsømagle is azurite which came from southern Europe.³⁵

Litany

The Litany petitions eleven martyrs, twelve confessors and eight virgins and is followed by *Ab*, *Per* and *Ut* appeals. The following martyrs are invoked on f. 192: Stephan, Clement, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Vincent, Denis and companions, Maurice and companions, Sebastian, and on f. 192v Thomas and Peter. The confessors are: Sylvester, Hilary, Martin, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Nicholas, Dominic, Francis, Jerome, Benedict, Anthony while the named virgins are: Mary Magdalene, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, and Katherine. The Litany, like the Calendar, includes Great church and Latin fathers, the founder of the Benedictine order as well as saints culted in France. St. Denis, who is seventh in the list of martyrs, was believed

³³ For a discussion of the sculptures as well as the artists' possible connections to France see Ebbe Nyborg: The Holy rood crucifixion group of Roskilde Cathedral and the Scandinavian Early Gothic. *Hafnia: Copenhagen papers in the history of art* 12, 2003, pp.160–195; Ebbe Nyborg: Det gamle Sorø-krucifiks: et forsøg på at indkredse cisterciensiske traditioner for udformningen af monumentale krucifikser. *Konsthistorisk tidsskrift* 59, 1990, pp. 88–113; Ebbe Nyborg: Anders Sunesens helligtrekongersgruppe og en baltisk madonnatype. *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 2008, pp. 187–202 and Ebbe Nyborg: The beginnings of Gothic ivory sculpture: recent discoveries in a group of Danish ivories. *The Sculpture Journal*, 23, 2014, pp. 31–39. The French features of the Sorø rood in terms of iconography and style become clear if we compare it with the depiction of the crucified Christ in MS Additional 17868, f. 26v.

³⁴ For the image of Christ/Abraham sitting with the souls of the blessed in his lap and flanked by angels in this church, which owes much to French precedents see Ulla Hastrup (ed.): *Danske kalkmalerier, Tidlig gotik 1275–1375*, 1989, p. 73.

³⁵ Hastrup 1989, p. 24.

to have been the first bishop of Paris and was therefore particularly venerated in the French capital and environs. The following entry in the Litany invokes the third-century Roman martyr St. Maurice and his twenty-three companions whose commemoration was significant in the Paris basin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and expanded during the reign of Louis IX of France.³⁶ In comparison, the Litany of the *Sunesen Psalter* invokes a greater number of French and English saints.³⁷ The Additional manuscript includes only one English saint amongst the confessors and martyrs, namely the widely venerated Thomas of Canterbury, and unlike the Egerton Psalter, mendicant saints, i.e., Peter, Francis and Dominic and possibly Anthony of Padua.³⁸ None of the Scandinavian or German saints found in the Calendrical entries of the Egerton and Additional manuscripts are invoked in the Litanies. However, discrepancies between the lists of saints in Litanies and Calendars of French thirteenth-century Psalters are not uncommon and cannot be taken as evidence that the intended reader was not Danish.³⁹ Furthermore, the presence of mendicant saints in the Litany in the Additional manuscript would not be inappropriate for a Danish reader. By the 1260s the Dominicans and Franciscans were established in Denmark and received patronage from wealthy members of society,

³⁶ Anne E. Lester: Confessor king, martyr saint: Praying to Saint Maurice at Senlis. Katherine L. Jensen, G. Geltner, and Anne E. Lester (eds.): *Center and periphery: Studies on power in the Medieval world in honor of William Chester Jordan*, Leiden 2013, p. 205 and for the relics of the saint which were brought from the Abbey of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and placed in a royal chapel built by King Louis in Senlis and which honored the saint and his companions see p. 196.

³⁷ The Litany of the *Sunesen Psalter* invokes the following martyrs: Stephan, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Cornelius, Cyprian, Fabian, Sebastian, Cosimus, Damian, Laurence, Vincent, Oswald, Dionysius; confessors: Augustine, Martin, Sylvester, Leo, Gregory, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Nicholas, Germanus, Audoen, Cuthbert, Benedict, Leonard, Dunstan, Botulf, Jerome, Wifrid, Egidius and virgins: Mary Magdalene, Mary of Egypt, Katherine, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha, Agnes, Lucy, Cecilia, Scolastica, Faith, Hope, Charity, Helena, Margaret, Etheldreda, Sexburga, Withburga, Barabara, and Tecla.

³⁸ Because St. Anthony follows Sts. Francis, Dominic and Benedict and is listed last in the sequence of confessors, it is possible that the saint who is invoked can be identified as the Franciscan friar Anthony of Padua, canonized in 1232.

³⁹ For discrepancies between Calendars and Litanies see R. Haussherr: Ein Pariser martyrologischer Kalender aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Edith Ennen and Günter Wiegelmann (eds.): *Festschrift Matthias Zender. Studien zu Volkskultur, Sprache und Landesgeschichte*, 2, Bonn 1972, p. 1101.

including the Hvide family.⁴⁰ Because St. Peter is invoked amongst the martyrs in the Litany, f. 192v, the manuscript has a *terminus post quem* of 1253 when this Dominican friar was canonized.

Collects

Seven collects, ff. 196–197, follow the Litany. They are: *Deus qui proprium est misereri semper*, *Deus qui nos a seculi uanitate conuersos ad supernae, Omnipotens sempiternae Deus qui facis mirabilia magna solus*, *Pretende domine famulis et famulabus tuis omnibus benefactoribus nostris*, *Deus a quo sancta desideria recta consilia et iusta sunt opera, da seruis tuis illam*, *A domo tua quaesumus domine spiritales nequitiae repellantur et aeriarum discedat malignitas tempestatum*, and *Adesto domine supplicacionibus nostris et uiam famulorum tuorum in salutis eterne prosperitate dispone*.⁴¹ In private devotional manuscripts, the number and selection of these short prayers vary. Two of the collects included in the Additional manuscript, *Deus cui proprium proprium est misereri semper* and *Omnipotens sempiternae*, are relatively common in thirteenth-century Psalters.⁴² The latter is in the masculine form (*famulos tuos*) and possibly, but not necessarily, is an indication that the intended reader was a man.⁴³

⁴⁰ For Archbishop Anders Sunesen's donation in 1222 for the foundation of the realm's first Dominican Priory in Lund by see Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen: *Venerunt fratres predicatorum*. Notes on datings of the first Dominican convent foundations in Scandinavia. *Collegium Medieuale* 24, 2011, pp. 5–22. For the patronage of his niece, Ingerd, Countess of Regenstien (c.1200–1258) see K. Erslev: *Testamenter fra Danmarks Middelalder indtil 1450*, 1901, pp. 6–8.

⁴¹ All are included in Eugenio Moeller, Joanne Maria Clément and Bertrand Coppieters't Wallant (eds.): *Corpus orationum*, 14 vols. Turnhout 1992–2003, nos. 1143, 1835, 3938c [*illum abbatem* omitted], 4587a, 1088a, 5a, and 151, respectively.

⁴² For other examples of thirteenth-century private devotional French Psalters which have these collects see Marina Vidas: *The Christina Psalter: A study of the images and texts in a French early thirteenth-century illuminated manuscript*, 2006, p. 25. The *Murthly Hours* (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 21000, 1280s) includes five collects found in the Additional manuscript, amongst them, *A domo tua quaesumus domine*, which was appropriate for travelers. The *Sunesen Psalter*, which has nine collects, lists three of those present in MS Additional 17868, while amongst the eight collects found in the *Hours of Marie*, four are also present in the Additional 17868: *Deus a quo sancta desideria recta consilia*, *Omnipotens sempiternae*, *Deus qui facis mirabilia magna solus*, and *Pretende domine famulis et famulabus tuis omnibus benefactoribus nostris*.

⁴³ Even in manuscripts made for women, this collect may be written in the generic masculine form and not customized for its female user, as for example, in the *Blanche Psalter*, f. 189, the *Murthly Hours*, f.146v and the *Hours of Marie*, f. 92.



Figure 1. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Nativity, f. 16v. (Photo: The British Library, London).

Images of Jews in the prefatory cycle

One of the prefatory illuminations, in which a Jew is portrayed in the cauldron of hell, has been singled out for analysis by Debra Higgs Strickland in her book *Saracens, demons, and Jews: making monsters in Medieval art*.⁴⁴ In her view, the image places special emphasis on members of the Jewish faith amongst the damned. In order to cast further light on this painting, I first compare it to other prefatory miniatures in MS Additional 17868 which depict Jews and secondly, I more broadly set it in the context of French twelfth- and thirteenth-century Last Judgement imagery on portals and in manuscripts.

In the prefatory cycle of MS Additional 17868 there are three men who are represented wearing a pointed type of hat, which was used by artists of this period as an attribute of Jewishness.⁴⁵ The first figure in a Jewish hat is the Virgin's husband, Joseph, who wears this distinguishing type of head covering in all of the scenes in which he is depicted and in which he is shown in the company of the Virgin and the Christ Child. In two of the miniatures, Joseph is also nimbed.

In the Nativity (Luke 2:7), f. 16v (fig. 1), Joseph sits in a chair in between two colonettes and curtains at the foot of the bed in which the nimbed and veiled Mary lies, her head demurely inclined and avoiding Joseph's and the viewer's gaze. Joseph who is bearded, nimbed and wears an orange Jewish hat looks in the direction of Mary's nimbed Child who lies swaddled in a crib atop of a tall masonry structure in the company of an ox and ass (Isaiah 1:3, Pseudo-Matthew, XIV). It is likely that Joseph's head-covering and facial hair would have expressed his Jewish ancestry, which was described in Matthew's genealogy (Matthew 1: 16–25).⁴⁶ Furthermore, by representing Joseph as the benign husband of Mary and earthly father of the Son of God, the miniature follows the role assigned to him in Matthew's Gospel (Matthew 1: 16–25).

⁴⁴ Higgs Strickland 2003, pp. 124–126.

⁴⁵ For the pointed hat as the standard attribute for identifying Jews in the visual arts see Sara Lipton: *Images of intolerance: The representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée*, Berkeley 1999, p. 16 and Ruth Mellinkoff: *Outcasts: Signs of otherness in Northern European art of the late Middle Ages*, 1, Berkeley 1993, p. 59.

⁴⁶ As was common in the visual arts of the period, figures, who were to be understood as Jewish, were often bearded. For a discussion of possible meanings of beards for a medieval audience see Higgs Strickland 2003, pp. 78, 102, etc.



Figure 2. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Presentation of the Child in the Temple, f. 18v.
(Photo: The British Library, London).

The illumination on folio 18v (fig. 2), shows the Child in the temple, where He is dedicated to God in accordance with Mosaic Law as well as the presentation of His mother for ritual cleaning (Luke 2:22–34, Leviticus 12:4, 6–8). The bearded Joseph, wearing a light pink Jewish hat and holding an offering of two doves (Luke 2:24), is an ancillary figure to the central ones of the Virgin, Christ and Simeon. As was common in works of art of this period, Joseph is shown in the company of an attendant female figure with a candle, an allusion to Simeon calling Christ “a light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel” (Luke 2:32), and to the custom of celebrating the feast with a procession of candles. Simeon, who extends his covered hands over the altar to receive the Christ Child, is nimbed, but unlike Joseph, does not wear a Jewish head covering.⁴⁷

On the facing page, f. 19, the nimbed Joseph wearing an orange Jewish hat, and carrying a stick with a draped cloth over his shoulder, leads a donkey bearing the Virgin and Child (Matthew 2: 14–15, fig. 3). The animal’s exaggerated long neck creates a significant distance between Joseph and the Mother and Child. A semi-nude horned pagan idol, standing on a column and holding a lance and buckler, looks in the direction of the holy travelers. In French miniatures of the Flight into Egypt in which pagan idols are included, they are often represented falling. These idols are emblematic of the fulfillment of the Prophecy of Isaias (Isaias 19:1: “Behold the Lord will ascend upon a swift cloud, and will enter into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst thereof”) and show the power of the true God over the false one. The fact that the demon-like idol in MS Additional 17868 is not shown falling or toppled from its pedestal (but rather is upright and casting a threatening gaze), heightens the sense of danger in the image. According to the Gospel account, Joseph had been told by a divine messenger to flee to Egypt because of the threat Herod posed to the Child’s life (Matthew 2:13). The benign attitude of Joseph may remind the audience of his submission to the authority of God.

The second figure wearing a Jewish hat appears in a miniature showing the Entry into Jerusalem, f. 22v (fig. 4). He is amongst the crowd gathered at the city’s gate who witness Christ’s arrival. Just behind the

⁴⁷ For a depiction in which Simeon is shown wearing a Jewish hat during the Presentation of the Child in the Temple see a French Psalter-Hours (Philadelphia, Free Library, Widener MS 9, c.1270–1280), f. 3v.



Figure 3. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Flight into Egypt, f. 19r. (Photo: The British Library, London).

Lord and on foot, are five nimbed apostles. As was commonplace in the pictorial arts Christ's disciples, although Jews, were not represented bearing any attributes which would connect them to the Jewish faith. The youth who spreads a garment on the ground upon which the ass treads (Matthew 21: 8) and the two youths in a tree (Matthew 21: 8) illustrate episodes from the Gospel account of the event. The figures looking in the direction of Christ and his disciples on the right side of the miniature represent "the great multitudes" (Matthew 21: 8–9). The bearded man who wears the Jewish hat and stands out from the crowd may symbolize the acceptance of Jesus by some Jews. As in the image of the Flight into Egypt the figures placed in close physical proximity to the Lord are those who had a close relationship to him.

The four images discussed so far show Jewish men who have accepted Jesus as their savior. Joseph in the narrative scenes is depicted fulfilling the public role of husband and father – he is present at the Child's birth and, in fulfilment of the requirements of Mosaic Law, accompanies Jesus to the temple, bringing with him an offering. He leads his family away from danger and carries provisions for the journey. But the hats which mark the man standing in the gate of Jerusalem and Joseph in the Infancy scenes as Jews may also be read as signs of their difference and marginalization from Jesus and the apostles and the Virgin and Child, respectively. The space that separates Joseph from Christ and Mary in these miniatures is lain with symbolism. Firstly, the physical distance between Joseph and his wife, alludes to the Virgin's purity and to Christ's divine nature. Secondly, it accentuates through contrast the closeness of Mary and her Child, symbolic of Christ having received his bodily substance from his mother and of their deep emotional relationship. Thus in terms of Christ's humanity Mary is central in relevance while Joseph is excluded from importance. The combination of Joseph's head being covered by a pointed Jewish hat and surrounded by a nimbus is not unique to this manuscript.⁴⁸ Ruth Mellinkoff has suggested that in the images which she studied and in which figures were depicted in this manner, the nimbus was probably meant to mitigate the unpleasant implications of the Jewish hat and might have implied that not all Jews were the same.⁴⁹

The fifth image of a man wearing a Jewish hat is found in the last miniature of the prefatory cycle, depicting the Virgin and Child above

⁴⁸ See also the *Murthly Hours*, f. 82.

⁴⁹ Mellinkoff 1993, p. 65.



Figure 4. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Entry into Jerusalem, f.22v (Photo: The British Library, London).

the Torments of Hell, f. 31 (fig. 6). In order to more fully shed light on the possible meanings of this illumination I begin with an analysis of its pendant miniature, the Last Judgement and the Resurrection of the Dead on f. 30v (fig. 5). In the center of the upper half of the illumination and in between angels emerging from clouds and holding instruments of the Passion, is Christ who is nimbed, enthroned, crowned with thorns (depicted as a green band), and exposing his wounds. He is flanked by the kneeling figures of the intercessors – the crowned Virgin Mary who holds the cross on the left and St. John with hands clasped in prayer on the right. In the lower half of the miniature trumpeting angels wake the naked dead who rise from coffins. Although the miniature is badly rubbed, it can be made out that amongst the risen is a man wearing a coif, the close fitting cap worn by laborers. The Judgement and the Resurrection of the Dead were not unusual subjects in prefatory cycles of French Psalters made for personal use. Thirteenth-century French Psalters which portray these two scenes on the same folio include the *Ingeborg Psalter* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1695, c.1200), f. 33, the *Lewis Psalter* (Philadelphia, Free Library, Ms. E. 185, c.1220–1230), f. 22v, and the *Christina Psalter* (Copenhagen, Royal Library, GKS 1606 4°, after 1224), f. 21. If we compare the miniatures in these examples with the illumination in MS Additional 17868 we note that the compositions are similar. In the center of the upper halves of the miniatures the seated Christ is shown displaying his wounds accompanied by angels holding instruments of the Passion while beneath the Lord, trumpeting angels are depicted with the risen dead. In the *Lewis Psalter* and in the *Christina Psalter*, as in the Additional manuscript, praying intercessors flank Christ and the dead are provided with attributes of their profession and class.

The Last Judgment was not only represented in personal manuscripts but was more widely and monumentally depicted on portals of Gothic Cathedrals in French cities. The tympanum of the left portal of the North transept of Reims, c.1225–1230, has broad similarities with the composition of the prefatory miniature on f. 30v in the Additional manuscript. In both representations, Christ as Judge dominates the scenes: He reveals His wounds on his uplifted palms and on the left half of His uncovered torso while the intercessory figures of the Virgin and John kneel before Him attended by angels holding the instruments of the Passion. In both works, a fairly similar scene of the dead rising from their sarcophagi unwinds below Christ, the intercessors, and angels, albeit the monumental North transept tympanum of Reims is much



Figure 5. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Last Judgement and the Resurrection of the Dead, f. 30v. (Photo: The British Library, London).

more detailed than the manuscript page.⁵⁰ The affinities between the portal sculpture and the later illumination, however, are too general in the context of Last Judgment imagery to reflect dependence. Rather it can be concluded that the visualization of the scene in the Additional manuscript is, for the most part, based on the by then established pictorial tradition.

The scene on the following folio (fig. 6), f. 31, in the Additional manuscript, by contrast does not follow the usual models which were used in other manuscripts at the time. Here Mary, is presented like the Judge, enthroned, crowned and flanked by angels in the upper part of the miniature. Both she and the Child, who sits on her knee, hold a ball. Below the Court of Heaven are the tormented souls in Hell, represented as a gaping mouth containing a large cauldron guarded by three devils. One throws a man into the vessel, another holds a grapple, while a third devil with bellows blows the flames into which damned souls have been plunged. In the center of the first row of souls stewing in the cauldron and directly below the Virgin and Child is a man wearing a Jew's hat and a money bag around his neck. He is flanked on the left by a tonsured cleric and on the right by a man wearing a coif as well a bishop.

Marian scenes, when depicted after the Last Judgement in twelfth and thirteenth-century French devotional books, usually are devoted to the Coronation of the Virgin and/or events connected to her death.⁵¹ However, the pairing of the Last Judgement with the enthroned Virgin and Child was unusual in manuscripts of this period. The closest iconographic parallels for the coupling of these representations are found in monumental portal sculpture, for example on the façade of Notre Dame, Paris, where the central tympanum, is devoted to the Last Judgement, while the one on its right is dominated by the Mother and Child. However, the subjects of the scenes below the Virgin and Child with angels at Paris are related to the Incarnation and Infancy.

⁵⁰ There are some differences in the visualization of this subject at Reims: Mary is not crowned and she does not hold on to the cross, the angels do not hover above the intercessors but flank them, and the distribution of the instruments of the Passion is different.

⁵¹ In her study of Marian miracles Anna Russakoff concludes that in the thirteenth century they are rarely included in French prefatory miniatures. See Anna Russakoff: *Imaging the Miraculous: Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541. Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 2006, pp 61–62. For an exception, see the *Ingeborg Psalter* in which the prefatory miniatures of the Virgin's Coronation and Death, f. 34 are followed by four scenes from the legend of Theophilus, ff. 35v–36.



Figure 6. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Virgin and Child in Heaven above the Torments of the Damned in Hell, f. 31r. (Photo: The British Library, London).

Another usual and striking feature of the pictorial program of MS Additional 17868 is that the salvation of the just, which is conventionally paired with the damnation of impenitent sinners, is not included in the prefatory cycle. The juxtaposition of the fate of the blessed and the damned can be seen for example on the Last Judgement portals of the cathedrals in Chartres, Amiens, and Bourges, as well as in the prefatory cycle of the *Sunesen Psalter*, f. 14. Moreover, there are no parallels in sculpture of the image of the torments of the damned displayed below the enthroned Virgin and Child. Rather representations of sinners boiling in hell's cauldron were placed on Last Judgement portals. While in Reims and Bourges they were shown on the tympana, in Paris and Amiens imagery of this type was shown in a more ancillary position, namely on the voussours over the doorway. Furthermore, rarely in representations for the exterior and interior of ecclesiastic structures are the bodies of damned souls marked with Jewish attributes as is the sinner in the Additional manuscript.⁵²

The money bag, like the one which hangs from the neck of the Jew in MS Additional 17868, was one of the most frequently depicted attributes of sins committed by the damned in the visual arts. It symbolized avarice, simony and moneylending. For example, sinners with money bags advancing with other damned souls towards the jaws of hell, are shown on portals at Chartres and at Rheims, while sinners with money bags stewing in the cauldron of hell can be found in church interiors, for example on a choir screen and in a stained glass window made for Saint-Étienne, Bourges. Similar figures were also represented in manuscripts. In the lower rondel miniature in the *Blanche Psalter* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 1186), f. 171v, for example, a nude bearded man with a money bag around his neck is shown in hell alongside a cauldron while in the *Lewis Psalter*, f. 24v, centrally placed amongst the damned

⁵² An exception might be found on the fragment of the tympanum of the abbey church of Saint-Yved de Braine where in the center of the cauldron is a grimacing nude muscular male figure wearing a Phrygian cap and a money bag around his neck. This figure has been described as a personification of avarice or a soul damned to eternal punishment for avaricious behavior, but because he wears a Phrygian cap he might have been intended to be understood as Jewish. For the Phrygian hat as an attribute of Jewishness, see Higgs Strickland 2003, pp. 105 and 136. A more obviously Jewish sinner in hell is found in Chartres on the west rose window representing the Last Judgement. He is the central and largest of the three figures in the mouth of hell and is shown wearing a Jewish hat and a moneybag.

in the gapping mouth of hell, is a nude mitered man with a money bag suspended from his neck.

The closest parallels for the negative depiction of a usurious Jew as portrayed in the Additional manuscript are found in the commentary illustrations of the four richly illuminated thirteenth-century moralized bibles produced for Blanche of Castile and the French court. The intended meanings of the numerous representations of Jews with money bags and Jews advancing towards or in hell in the bibles can be gleaned from the texts which accompany and interpret the images for the reader.⁵³ These Jewish figures may illustrate specific sins mentioned in the text, like avarice and usury, but also sinfulness, deceitfulness and wickedness in general. For example, in the single volume moralized bible in Latin (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1179, made before 1224), f. 51, the “great usurer,” in the commentary to Leviticus 21:20, is represented as a bearded Jewish man, wearing a slightly pointed hat and a money bag around his neck while a general reference to sinners in the commentary to Genesis 3:9–12 on f. 4 is illuminated with an image of four figures, one of whom is a bearded Jew with a money bag.⁵⁴ The commentary text “the wicked shall seek Christ’s blessing at the Last Judgment” in the first volume of the later three-volume Oxford-Paris-London Moralized Bible (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270b), f. 17v, is illustrated with an image of Christ pointing to a money bag held by a figure in the company of four Jews.

Images of Jews condemned to hell in the moralized bibles are found, for example, in MS Bodley 270b. On f. 116r, in illustration of the commentary text to Judges 15:14,15: “thus at His resurrection Christ breaks His chains and confounds His enemies” chained Jews, amongst them a man holding a money bag, are shown pulled by a devil towards hell while in the same manuscript on f. 99v, the commentary to Joshua 7:25 “those who offend Christ are burned in hell” is illuminated with a depiction of a group of Jews entering the mouth of hell. In these examples the damned Jews are defined by their relationship to Christ; in the first they are depicted as His enemies, presumably also because of their usurious practices and in the second example, in which they are

⁵³ Moralized bibles have on most of their folia eight illuminated medallions placed in four horizontal rows, accompanied by abridged passages from the Vulgate in the first and third rows and by interpretations of the Biblical excerpts in the second and fourth ones.

⁵⁴ See Lipton 1999, pp. 33 and 39, respectively.

not shown bearing any objects connected with a specific sin, they are characterized as offending Him.

If we now turn our attention back to the last images in the prefatory cycle of MS Additional 17868 some general conclusions can be made about the manner in which Christ, the Virgin and sinners, especially the Jew, are depicted. Christ's sacrifice is underlined in the two images on folios 30v and 31r. The displaying of the Lord's semi-naked bleeding body with the instruments of the Passion in the Last Judgement miniature and the mournful air of the Mother and Child on the following folio are visual reminders of Christ's suffering and humanity. Also of importance is the visualization of Christ's authority and the consequences of impenitence. Although Mary fervently implores the Lord for mercy while He sits in judgement of the dead, in the following scene, she and the Child, whom she tenderly embraces and on whom she focuses her attention, seem unconcerned with the anguish of the sinners from different societal segments who have received their just punishment. These images are the last in the sequence of prefatory miniatures, many of which focus on the redeeming body of Christ born of and nurtured by the Virgin Mary. They are images upon which the reader could meditate about the mysteries of the Incarnation and Redemption and furthermore might have encouraged the devotee to pray actively for mercy and forgiveness in order to attain salvation.

That a man with a Jewish hat and a money bag is represented in the center of the lower half of the illumination on f. 31 and directly below Mary and the Christ Child probably visualizes the degree of the offensiveness of his sin. Not only has he practiced usury but, as a recalcitrant Jew, has also rejected Christ as his savior and the church, which Mary traditionally personified.⁵⁵ Perhaps an allusion is also made by his position directly beneath the solemn Mother and Child to ideas about Jews advanced in passages of the New Testament and in thirteenth-century commentaries, such as those in the moralized Bibles, that members of the Jewish faith were indifferent to the Lord's suffering and sacrifice. More generally, the dominating image of the Virgin and Child above the Jew confined to hell might be read as connoting the triumph of Christianity over Judaism. Some ideas related to these might, as we shall suggest, be expressed in the marginal figures which accompany the texts of the Psalms in this manuscript.

⁵⁵ For the pessimistic tone in medieval commentaries on the Jews' chances for salvation see Lipton 1999, pp. 115–116.



Figure 7. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Psalm 1, f. 32r. (Photo: The British Library, London).

Representations of Jews in the margins of the 150 Psalms

We now turn attention to illuminations in the Psalter section of MS Additional 17868 which depict human figures or hybrids who are to be understood as Jews – they are bearded and wear the same type of peaked hat worn by Joseph, the witness at the gate of Jerusalem and the usurer in hell. The images of Jews, but also of all other marginalia, had as we shall see a number of functions. One of the functions was a mnemonic one — the human, animal and hybrid figures expressed words, phrases or ideas in visual form and helped the audience remember verses which the illuminations accompany. They could also aid the reader of the manuscript, which in the medieval period would have been unpaginated, to find particular Psalms or verses in the Psalter text. Marginal figures, including Jewish ones, also could give visual form to certain shades of meaning and lead the reader to interpret passages of text in a specific manner. They could also serve as general commentaries on the experience of engaging with the contents of the manuscript. For example, Jews and other figures who chase one another in the borders of the page could be understood as visual metaphors of the book owner's search for the text.⁵⁶ Their presence also enriched the experience of reading. For example, the many music-making hybrid figures in the Psalter suggest the emanation of sound.

The first folio in the Psalter section (fig. 7) is illuminated with a large historiated initial at the opening of Psalm 1, f. 32. It shows the crowned and bearded David of Israel playing the harp in the upper part of the initial “B” and David fighting Goliath in the lower section. Since this Old Testament king was believed to be the author of the 150 Psalms he was often portrayed in miniatures, like this one, which introduce the major divisions of the text. David playing an instrument was commonly chosen as a subject for the initials because scenes of this type reference the king's musical gifts described in the Old Testament, for example, in the First Book of Kings (1 Samuel: 16: 23).

Figures in the hieratically less important areas of the pages of thirteenth-century Psalters, like line-fillers and margins, may be shown as engaging in similar activities as those in the initials introducing the Psalms. For example, in MS Additional 17868 the confrontation between David and Goliath in the historiated initial “B”, is accompanied in the

⁵⁶ Kathryn Ann Smith: *Art, Identity and devotion in fourteenth-century England: Three women and their Books of Hours*, London 2003, p. 169.

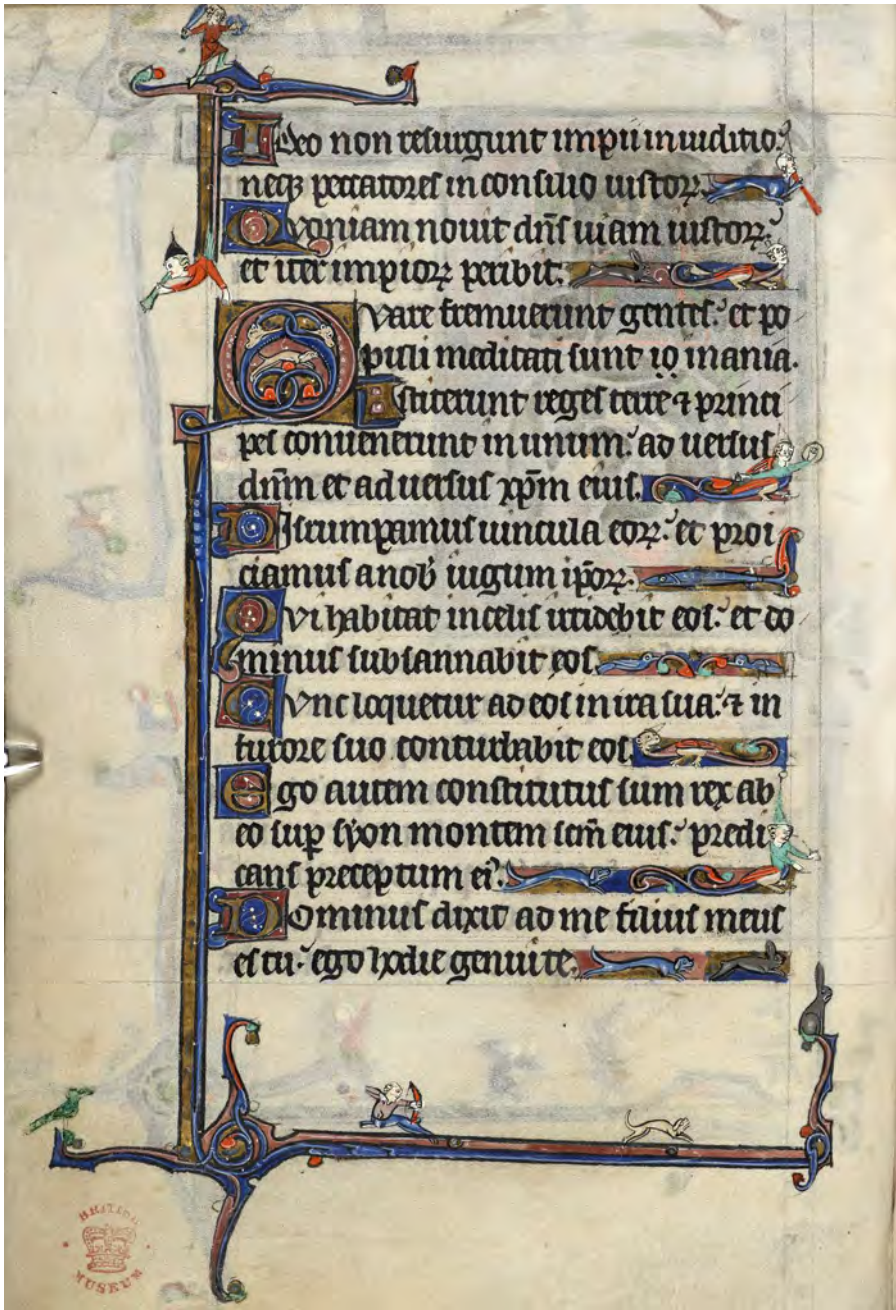


Figure 8. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Psalms 1–2, f. 32v. (Photo: The British Library, London).

right hand margin of the page, by a contest between two hybrid men holding clubs and bucklers. David's harp playing in the major initial is complimented with similar scenes in the margins of the page, namely by a music-making Jew, bearded and wearing a blue pointed hat, and by an ape playing a rebec.⁵⁷ The fact that a Jewish musician was depicted on this folio may have lead the viewer to recall events described in the Old Testament in which musicians figure with King David (1 Chronicles 15: 16–24, 1 Chronicles 23: 4, etc.)

On this folio of the Psalter a figure other than the Jew appears to have been selected to more fully embody qualities that are negative and opposite to those associated with King David, namely the musical ape. The animal who has turned its back to the King of Israel and to the text, which David was believed to have authored, could have been understood as both foolish and evil, attributes with which it was traditionally equated in Bestiaries.⁵⁸ Since it was also often associated with the Devil, it was thus symbolically an enemy of God.⁵⁹ Other negative qualities associated with the ape – ugliness, dirtiness, and foulness – made it an ideal motif to ward off evil and it is likely that in the manuscript it served an apotropaic function.⁶⁰

On the following folio, f. 32v (fig. 8), more music-making figures are depicted, including one blowing into a trumpet and wearing a pointed blue Jewish hat. Here the music-making Jewish figure appears next to the closing verses of Psalm 1: “Ideo non resurgent impii in iudicio, neque peccatores in concilio justorum, [6] quoniam novit Dominus viam justorum; et iter impiorum peribit” (Therefore the wicked shall not rise again in judgement: nor sinners in the council of the just. [6] For the Lord knoweth the way of the just: and the way of the wicked shall perish). The Jewish musician may perhaps illustrate more than one word. The trumpet he blows and the one played by the hybrid line-ending filling the space below the word “iudicio” (judgement)

⁵⁷ The gap filler for the thirteenth line of text shows a hybrid man holding a flute and wearing a tall pointed orange hat. He was possibly intended to be understood as Jewish.

⁵⁸ For the ape's association with foolishness see Joyce E. Salisbury: *The beast within: Animals in the Middle Ages*, London 1994, pp. 122–123.

⁵⁹ For the ape's association with the Devil see, for example, Richard Barber (trans.): *Bestiary: Being an English version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S Bodley 764*, Woodbridge 1993, p. 49 and Willene B. Clark: *A Medieval book of beasts: The second-family Bestiary: Commentary, art, text, and translation*, Woodbridge 2006, p.42 and 133.

⁶⁰ Ruth Mellinkoff: *Averting demons: The protective power of Medieval visual motifs and themes*, Los Angeles 2004, pp. 83–85.

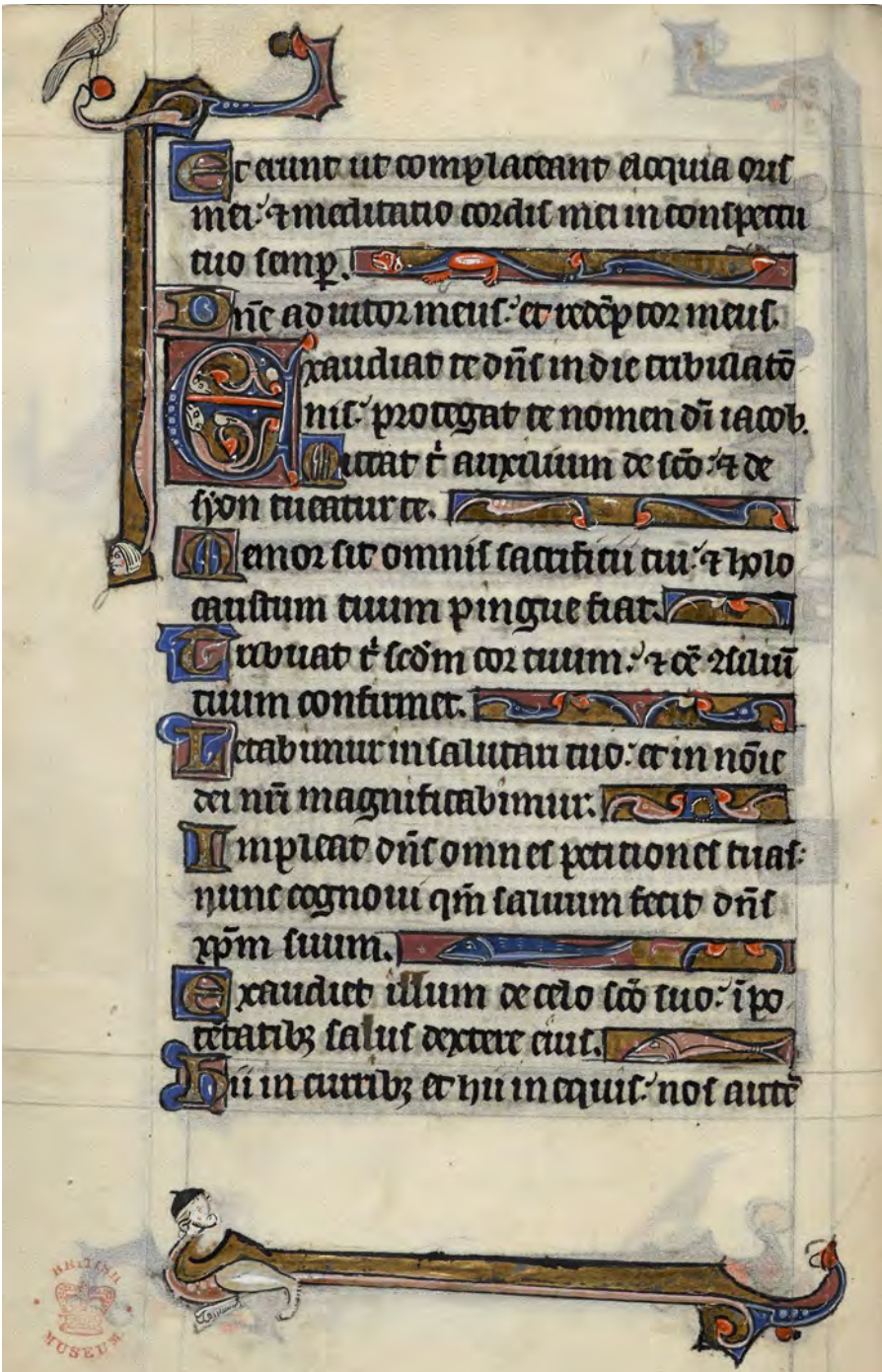


Figure 9. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Psalms 18–19, f. 49v. (Photo: The British Library, London).

and after “justorum” (just) in the second line of text may allude to the instruments used by angels to wake the dead and might be a mnemonic image. The Jew may also illustrate the word “impiorum” (wicked) which is placed in his vicinity. If so the image of the Jew might be connected to the ideas in the prefatory images of the Last Judgement (fig. 5) and the Torments of Hell (fig. 6).

In the left margin of f. 40, is a hatted hybrid, with the upper body of a man and with the lower body of a winged lion. In his hands, which are positioned behind his head, he holds an object which he appears to be ready to cast at another grotesque.⁶¹ The aggressive figure with his raised arms and Jewish hat is painted in response to the adjacent text of Psalm 9:36 which includes the word “brachium” (arm): “Contere brachium peccatoris et maligni; quaeretur peccatum illius, et non inuenietur” (Break thou the arm of the sinner and of the malignant: his sin shall be sought, and shall not be found). The fact that he wears a Jewish hat may have been intended to help the reader remember the words “sinner” and “malignant.”

In the lower part of folio 49v (fig. 9), is a hybrid with a human male head wearing a black Jewish hat. He gazes across the page in the direction of a hybrid turbaned male on f. 50. The turban was an attribute which was used in the visual arts of the period to characterize a figure as a Saracen.⁶² The gaze of the hybrid Jew directed towards the Saracen was most likely intended to be confrontational and because his adversary is unaware of his presence, it probably is perilous. Throughout the manuscript, there are figures who meet eyeball to eyeball, or as on this page, gaze at the back of another figure’s head. The gaze, in the Middle Ages, could encompass a range of meanings. The evil intentions of maleficent beings could be made visible to others through their gaze. But it was also held, as is evident from the writings of Tertullian, Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas, that real dangers could be unleashed by the malefic powers of the eye.⁶³ The confrontational gaze is just

⁶¹ He is aiming either at the hybrid figure armed with a bow in the line-filler or at the hybrid cleric in the lower margin on the opposite folio.

⁶² For the identification of this turbaned figure as a Saracen see Higgs Strickland 2003, p.137. For the turban as a head-covering of exotic foreigners see Mellinkoff 1993, 61. In the left margin of folio 49v, a smaller male head wears a white head-covering which may have been intended to represent a turban.

⁶³ Michael Camille: *Obscenity under erasure: Censorship in Medieval illuminated manuscripts*. Jan M. Ziolkowski (ed.): *Obscenity: Social control and artistic creation in the European Middle Ages*, Leiden 1998, p. 142.

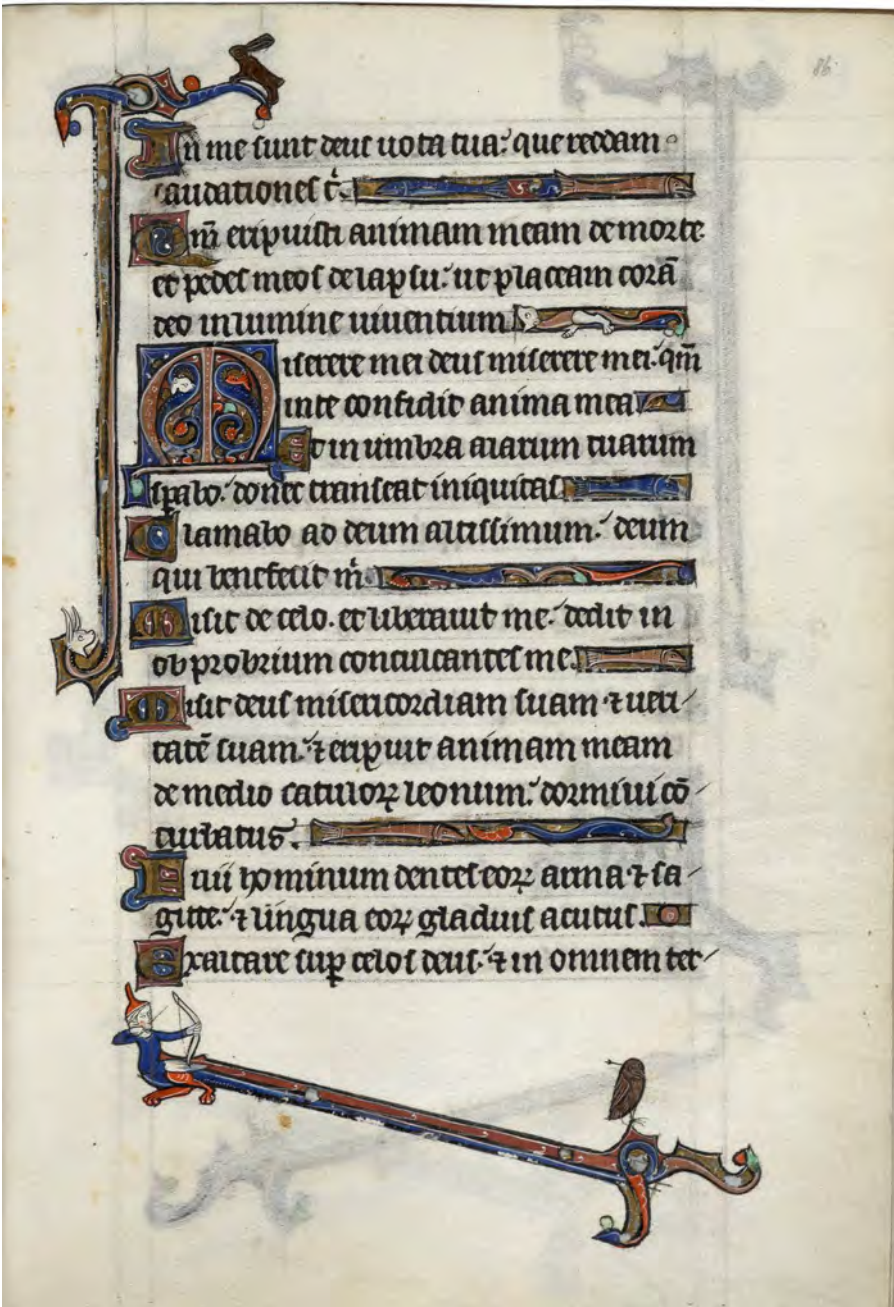


Figure 10. MS Additional 17868. Psalter. Psalms 55–56, f. 86r. (Photo: The British Library, London).

another form of hostility and aggression expressed in this Psalter, which contains numerous figures engaged in combat, pursuit, and taunting. One of the most explicit forms of visualizing the evil eye and drawing attention to the gaze in MS Additional 17868 is through the image of the gryllus, a monstrous torso-less creature whose eyes are found in a head located between two legs.

On f. 86 (fig. 10), a hybrid winged man wearing an orange tall funnel shaped Jewish hat and holding a bow intensely gazes at his victim, an owl which he has shot with an arrow. The end of the arrow sticks out the bird's head. The owl was associated with a number of negative meanings. In the Old Testament (Leviticus 11:16; Deuteronomy 14:15) it is described as "unclean" while in medieval Bestiaries, its preference for darkness and its inability to see well by day, was allegorized as the Jews' rejection of Christ and their blindness to His divinity.⁶⁴ The idea of arming the Jew with a bow and arrow may have been triggered by the text of Psalm 56:5 in which the word "arrows" appear: "Filii hominum dentes eorum arma et sagittae, et lingua eorum gladius acutus" (The sons of men, whose teeth are weapons and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword).

At the left end of the detached band at the bottom of f. 100v, is a hybrid winged man with a short beard and tall funnel shaped Jewish hat. Directly above him is verse 27 of Psalm 72: "Quia ecce qui elongant se a te peribunt; perdidisti omnes qui fornicantur abs te" (For behold they that go far from thee shall perish: thou hast destroyed all them that are disloyal to thee). It is possible that the Jew was intended to illustrate the words "they that go far from thee" and "disloyal to thee."

The partial border on the left hand side of folio 102, terminates in a bearded male head wearing a white Jewish hat next to the initial "N" of verse 23 of Psalm 73 and before the line of text containing the word "inimicorum (enemies): "Ne obliviscaris voces inimicorum tuorum: superbia eorum qui te oderunt ascendit semper" (Forget not the voices of thy enemies: the pride of them that hate thee ascendeth continually). This perhaps is not a coincidence since on f.108, the partial border next to the initial "E" is embellished with a bearded male head wearing a black Jew's hat similarly near the word "inimicos" (enemies) and very

⁶⁴ On the owl as a sign of the Jews, see Debra Hassig: *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, image, ideology*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 97–98; and Mariko Miyazaki: *Misericord owls and Medieval anti-Semitism*. Debra Hassig (ed.): *The mark of the beast: The Medieval Bestiary in art, life, and literature*, New York 1999, pp. 27–34.

close to the word “repulit” (rejected) in two verses from Psalm 77: 66: “Et percussit inimicos suos in posteriora, opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis. [67] Et repulit tabernaculum Joseph, et tribum Ephraim non elegit” (And he smote his enemies on the hinder parts: he put them to an everlasting reproach. [67] And he rejected the tabernacle of Joseph: and chose not the tribe of Ephraim). A further reason to believe that figure wearing a Jewish hat is associated with the words “enemies” and “rejected” is that in the moralized bibles some written references to the enemies of Christ or those who rejected Him are visualized as Jews.⁶⁵

The termination of the detached band at the bottom of f. 136v depicts a hybrid male figure wearing a blue Jew’s hat gazing in the direction of a bird which has its back turned to him. The hand of his right outstretched arm is raised and his index finger points upwards. The five lines of text above him contain the verses from Psalms 105:18 -20: “Et exarsit ignis in synagoga eorum, flamma combussit peccatores. [19] Et fecerunt vitulum in Horeb, et adoraverunt sculptile. [20] Et mutaverunt gloriam suam in similitudinem” ([18] And a fire was kindled in their congregation: the flame burned the wicked. [19] They made also a calf in Horeb: and they adored the graven thing. [20] And they changed their glory into the likeness). Although the hybrid man is not bearded, he is perhaps nevertheless intended to be understood as Jewish since he wears the same type of hat as Joseph in the prefatory cycle. His image might have aided in the remembering of the verses of this Psalm which refer to the Israelites and the worship of the golden calf and reinforce the conflation of Jew and idolatry. The hybrid man’s gesturing hand also directs the viewer’s gaze away from himself and back to the text above. While his attention is focused on the bird before him, he seems oblivious to the danger of the pointed spear held by the hybrid man to his right on the facing page.

It is very likely that the imagery in the London Psalter would have reinforced anti-Jewish attitudes and numerous negative statements about members of this faith which were articulated in the New Testament and with which a Danish reader would be familiar. Representations of Jews mocking the Lord or tormenting Him were visualized in works made for Danish patrons, such as manuscripts and wall

⁶⁵ See, for example, f. 3 in Vienna 1179, and f. 116 in the Oxford volume of the OPL Bible where Christ’s enemies (*inimicos suos*) are visualized as Jews.

painting.⁶⁶ In the prefatory cycle of the earlier discussed *Sunesen Psalter*, f. 11v, a man wearing a Jewish hat is shown assaulting Christ tied to a column. Similar negative depictions to those found in the Passion cycle in the *Sunesen Psalter* can be seen in monumental painting, for example in the Danish church at Strøby of c.1275 where bearded men wearing pointed hats and with stereotyped features of Jews are depicted tormenting Christ.⁶⁷ Imagery of the type we have analyzed in MS Additional 17868 dealing with the blindness of the Jews and the triumph of Christianity over Judaism also existed in Denmark. In an earlier wall painting of c.1200 on the chancel arch of the church at Spenstrup, for example, the personification of *Synagoga* is shown attacking the lamb of God with a lance.⁶⁸ The blindfold which she wears and which was a common attribute of *Synagoga*, alludes to the Jews refusal to see and acknowledge Christ's divinity. The painting contrasts the bowed *Synagoga* who loses her crown with the erect and crowned *Ecclesia*, standing on a coiled serpent, unwaveringly gazing upwards and collecting the lamb's blood in a chalice which she firmly grips.⁶⁹ The postures, attitudes, and articles of dress of the two female personifications denote the triumph and superiority of Christianity over Judaism.⁷⁰

The conflation of Jews and idolatry might also be found in the decoration of the interior of a church in Bjäresjö. The paintings were discovered in the mid-nineteenth century but, unfortunately, during restoration parts of the original compositions were lost.⁷¹ This has led to doubts being cast on the whether the much restored scene of the Golden Calf worshipped by Israelites, some of whom wear conical hats, found

⁶⁶ For the portrayal of Jews in Danish wall-paintings see Ulla Haastrup: *Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalder kunst, Danish Jewish art*, 1999, pp. 111–167 and Ulla Haastrup: *Representations of Jews in Medieval Danish art – Can images be used as source material on their own?* Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (eds.): *History and images*, 2003, pp. 341–356.

⁶⁷ Haastrup and Egevang 1987, pp. 30, 184–185.

⁶⁸ Haastrup and Egevang 1987, p. 111.

⁶⁹ For this iconography in a French manuscript see the early thirteenth-century Parisian Pontifical (Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS 399), f. 108.

⁷⁰ For a discussion of an early representation of *Synagoga* piercing the body of the lamb while *Ecclesia* collects the blood in a chalice on the Cloisters Cross (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, c.1150–1160) see Elizabeth C. Parker and Charles T. Little: *The Cloisters cross: Its art and meaning*, 1994, p. 114.

⁷¹ Søren Kaspersen: *Ecclesia triumphans: om den romanske udsmykning i Bjäresjö kirke, Bild och betydelse*, 1976, p. 117–122. For a description of the medieval wall paintings, see Haastrup and Egevang 1987, pp. 120–125.

next to one of the Law of God given to Moses, was the original subject of the medieval mural. It is, however, not impossible that it was since there are thirteenth-century French precedents for this juxtaposition. For example, in the *Blanche Psalter*, f. 14, the upper of the two superimposed medallions shows Moses who accepts the law of God while in the lower one Aaron, kneels in worship in front of the Golden Calf, attended by a group of Israelites. In the latter miniature, three of the Israelites who wear the pointed Jewish hat are immorally engaged in idolatry. In Bjäresjö, as in the French Psalter, the two juxtaposed scenes of Moses receiving the Commandments and the Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf could have served as model and antimodel of faith.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of stylistic evidence, it can be concluded that the manuscript was produced in Northern France, possibly in Reims but more likely in Paris. Parisian miniaturists, who also worked on a manuscript in St. Petersburg, illuminated the folios with texts in MS Additional 17868. The prefatory miniatures too are stylistically connected to illuminated Parisian manuscripts, in particular to MS latin 830. As Branner and Stones have noted, there are stylistic affinities between the prefatory cycle master and an artist, who worked on MS 230, a Missal for usage of Saint Nicaise, Reims. Stones has attributed to this artist, whom she described as painting in a Parisianising style, a handful of manuscripts, some of which were produced for patrons with connections to Reims. However, it is not impossible that this artist, who had connections in Reims, worked in Paris and that MS Additional 17868 was made in the French capital. While the inclusion of St. Peter martyr in the Litany provides a *terminus post quem* of 1253, a date in the 1260s or 1270s for MS Additional 17868 can be loosely ascertained by stylistic evidence.

An in-depth examination of the Calendar has shown that the manuscript does not follow the usage of a particular diocese. Outside of the commemoration of universal feasts, the greatest number of saints noted in the Calendrical entries are French. The most numerous are those with cults in the Northern part of France and especially Paris. While in earlier publications scholars have proposed that MS Additional 17868 was made for a French reader, I have argued that the saints named in the Calendar suggest that the intended reader was Danish. As evidence for this conclusion, I note that during the twelfth century, the Danish church underwent a new orientation towards France and the inclusion

of French feasts would not have been unsuitable for a Danish patron. More significantly, hagiographic evidence for identifying the intended book owner as Danish are the Calendrical entries for three canonized Scandinavian princes who were venerated in Denmark and in particular the commemoration of the translation of St. Knud Lavard. I have also pointed out that feasts for German and English saints found in the Calendar counted amongst those celebrated in Denmark. The fact that the Litany does not invoke any Scandinavian or German saints cannot be taken as evidence that the intended reader was not Danish since differences in emphasis in Litanies and Calendars of French thirteenth-century Psalters are not uncommon.

Furthermore, it would not have been extraordinary for a Danish patron to purchase a manuscript executed in a French workshop. MS Additional 17868 was produced in a period in which there were artistic relations between France and Denmark. Not only were French-made works brought to Denmark but French artists also came north to work. I have also indicated that French iconography, which included pejorative images of Jews and Judaism, was assimilated and appropriated in Medieval Danish churches.

An overview of the pictorial elements in MS Additional 17868 was provided in the article and some general observations were made. The program of the Christological prefatory illuminations is mainly concerned with the mysteries of the Incarnation and of Redemption and demonstrates a preoccupation for intercession and hope for salvation after death. The final two images in the prefatory cycle, as we have seen, associate and differentiate Mary with Christ. The Lord is represented as Judge with the intercessory Virgin, who bore and nurtured his redeeming body, while on the opposite page Christ is shown in the arms of his regal Mother, Queen of Heaven, triumphantly above the damned in hell.

I have also analyzed some of the numerous images of male figures with Jewish attributes in MS Additional 17868 and have proposed how the intended viewer might have understood them. I have suggested that in the prefatory cycle Joseph and the Jewish man at the gate of Jerusalem represent Jews who accept Christ as their savior, while the Jew damned to Hell depicts the recalcitrant Jew who is also a usurer. Also, I have argued that the Jewish hat, which marks the bodies of the Virgin's husband Joseph and the Jewish man at the Jerusalem gate, does not reinforce the Christian Jewish binary. I do not agree with Bernhard Blumenkranz assessment the artist's depiction of Joseph "is undeniably

free of any anti-Jewish polemics and the slightest bit of irony.”⁷² Instead, I have suggested that the Jewish hats worn by Joseph and the man at the gate could be read as signs of their difference and marginalization from the Virgin and Child and Jesus and the apostles, respectively.

Additionally, I have explored the roles some of the Jewish figures depicted in the Psalter section might have had. Many of them appear to have been painted in response to the text which they accompany and illustrate words like “enemy” “wicked” “sinner” “rejected” and ideas like blindness, which were traditionally associated with Jews. Thus, the interplay between words and images in the manuscript reinforced negative stereotypes of Jews while also providing a mnemonic tool. The depictions of Jews who resist the authority of Christ and of the Church could be read as antimodels for the viewer to contemplate and could have served to construct a Christian identity.

I have also suggested that although most of the Jewish figures were portrayed pejoratively they are not the only figures in the manuscript to be depicted negatively. While the usurious Jew is shown in a central position in hell, he is not alone. Rather he is condemned to eternal damnation alongside Christian sinners, including clerics. In the margins of the text of MS Additional 17868 there are men and hybrids with Jewish attributes but also Christian and Saracen figures as well as the Devil, animals and monsters. Many of them are engaged in some form of hostility or aggression, like combat, pursuit, taunting and malefic gazing. Further study of the marginalia found in this manuscript is clearly warranted in order to better understand word-image relations as well as the nature of the visual interaction of marginalia with one another.

If, as I have argued, the Psalter was made in Paris or Reims for a Dane it is likely that the significance of the images of Jews to the people who made them was not exactly the same for the person who used them, if for no other reason that there were no Jews living in Denmark in the period in which the manuscript was executed. The French manuscript makers created images of Jews, which were based on pictorial tradition and reflected New Testament depictions, which could be hostile, pejorative or unsympathetic. Some of these images, especially of the usurious Jew in hell, were shaped by thirteenth-century events and debates which took place in France, such as legislation against usury, as well as efforts to convert Jews and to eradicate heresy. Without knowing who the intended reader of the manuscript was, it is hard to speculate on

⁷² Blumenkranz 1965, p. 68

how he/she would have understood them. It is nevertheless possible to conclude that the images would have shaped the reader's experience of the text and perception of members of the Jewish faith, centuries before the establishment of Jewish communities in this part of Europe.

SUMMARY

MARINA VIDAS: *The Construction and Transcultural Dissemination of Negative Images of Jews in a French Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Psalter Made for a Danish Reader*

The article is concerned with a thirteenth-century *de luxe* Psalter (London, British Library, MS Additional 17868) produced in France after 1253. It provides an overview of the relevant literature on the London Psalter, a full description of the textual and pictorial components of the manuscript, including a detailed analysis of the Calendar and Litany, as well as reasons for identifying the intended reader as Danish (rather than French, as has been presumed in earlier scholarly literature). A lengthy and detailed analysis is undertaken of the mostly negative manner in which Jews are represented in the Prefatory Cycle miniatures and Psalter section of the manuscript. It is argued that the image of the Jew in the Prefatory Cycle is shaped by pictorial tradition and the then-current negative perception of Jewish usury while in the Psalter section the depictions of Jews were constructed in response to adjacent texts and to nearby images. It is suggested that the interplay between words and images provided a mnemonic tool for the reader but also reinforced widely-held stereotypes of Jews, for example about Jewish enmity toward Christ. Also presented and discussed is French iconography, including pejorative images of Jews and Judaism, which was assimilated and appropriated in Medieval Danish churches. It is concluded that the images would have shaped the reader's experience of the text and perception of members of the Jewish faith, centuries before the establishment of Jewish communities in this part of Europe.

OM FORFATTERNE

JESPER BRANDT ANDERSEN, f. 1965, cand.med. 1992. Praktiserende speciallæge i pædiatri i Vordingborg og speciallægekonsulent i astma og allergisygdomme ved lungemedicinsk afdeling på Næstved Sygehus. Forfatter til artikler i danske og udenlandske tidsskrifter og årbøger om pædiatriske, allergologiske, kulturhistoriske og medicinhistoriske emner samt bøgerne *Martin Hammerich. Kunst og dannelse i Guldalderen*, 2011, *Børnelægens store bog om barnets sygdomme*, 2016 og *Thomas Bartholin. Lægen og anatomen. Fra enhjørninger til lymfekar*, 2017.

TRINE BROX, f. 1972, er uddannet i tibetologi (Københavns Universitet, ph.d.) og samfundsvidenskab (Universitetet i Tromsø, cand.mag.) og arbejder nu som lektor med speciale i moderne tibetanske studier ved Institut for Tværkulturelle og Regionale Studier, Københavns Universitet. Driver her *Center for Contemporary Buddhist Studies* og leder det internationale forskningsprojekt *Buddhism, Business and Believers*. Desuden en af initiativtagerne til forskningsfællesskabet *Object Lessons from Tibet & the Himalayas*. Har forfattet en række artikler omhandlende Tibet og det tibetanske eksilsamfund, og har udgivet monografien *Tibetan Democracy: Governance, Leadership and Conflict in Exile* (2016); sammen med Ildikó Bellér-Hann endvidere redigeret bogen *On the Fringes of the Harmonious Society: Tibetans and Uyghurs in Socialist China* (2014).

HARALD ILSØE, f. 1933, cand.mag. 1960 (historie og latin). Fhv. seniorforsker ved Det Kgl. Bibliotek. Har bl.a. skrevet *Udlændinges rejser i Danmark indtil år 1700*, 1963, *555 danske selvbiografier og erindringer*, 1987, *Bogtrykkerne i København ca. 1600-1810*, 1992, *På papir, pergament og palmeblade... Skatte i Det Kgl. Bibliotek*, 1993, *Det Kgl. Bibliotek i støbeskeen*, 1-2, 1999, *Biblioteker til salg. Om danske bogauktioner og kataloger 1661-1811*, 2007, *De gamle bogomslag*, 2013.

TINNE HOFF KJELDSSEN, f. 1961, ph.d., cand.scient. (matematik). Professor ved Københavns Universitet, Institut for Matematiske Fag. Forsker i matematikkens historie og didaktik i nyere tid. Har publiceret en lang række forskningsartikler inden for matematikkens historie og filosofi,

brug af matematikkens historie i matematikundervisning samt matematiske modeller i historisk, filosofisk og didaktisk perspektiv. Har tillige publiceret og redigeret bøger inden for disse områder (inkl. populærvidenskabelige fremstillinger som *Hvad er matematik*, Akademisk Forlag, 2005). Sidder i forskellige tidsskriftsredaktioner, bl.a. *Revue d'histoire des mathématiques*. Nyeste forskningspublikation: 'A multiple perspective approach to history of mathematics: mathematical programming and Rashevsky's early development of mathematical biology in the 20th century', i Gert Schubring (ed.): *Interfaces between mathematical practices and mathematical education*, New York, Springer 2019.

CHRISTIAN KAABER, f. 1960, mag.art. (1988) i litteraturhistorie fra Aarhus Universitet, antikvar, boghistoriker. Souschef i Vangsgaards Antikvariat. Formand for Komitéen for Årets Bedste Bogarbejde. Medlem af hovedbestyrelsen for Forening for Boghaandværk, næstformand for Den Danske Antikvarboghandlerforening. Medlem af bestyrelsen for Dansk Bibliofil Klub og af bestyrelsen for Grosserer Vilhelm Albertsen og Hustrus Fond. Redaktør af *Bogvennen* og *Nyt for Bogvenner*. Har skrevet artikler og redigeret udgivelser om boghistoriske emner samt forestået vurderinger af bogsamlinger og sjældne bøger, herunder flere gamle herregårdsbiblioteker.

LORÁND-LEVENTE PÁLFI, f. 1981, leksikograf, oversætter og forfatter. Har inden for især emneområderne fagleksikografi og leksikografihistorie på dansk, tysk, engelsk og ungarsk skrevet eller været medforfatter til mere end 130 publicerede bidrag i såvel videnskabelige som populærvidenskabelige tidsskrifter – bl.a. *International Journal of Lexicography*, *Lexicographica: Internationales Jahrbuch für Lexikographie*, *LexicoNordica* og *Lexikos* – samt i enkelte bøger, f.eks. Ulrike Haß (Hrsg.): *Große Lexika und Wörterbücher Europas*, Berlin, De Gruyter 2012. Hovedværk: *Leksikon over ordbøger og leksika* (2. udg., Frydenlund 2011). Seneste oversættelse: *Universet i seks dimensioner: magi, mystik og alkymi i videnskabeligt perspektiv* (Rosenkilde & Bahnhof 2015). Seneste skønlitterære værk: *Hels drøm* (Svælg 2017). Seneste faglitterære udgivelse: *Er dit modersmål okay? Sprogpolitik i Danmark – og ude i verden* (Bostrup 2017).

BENT LERBÆK PEDERSEN, f. 1949, mag.art. (kinesisk kultur). Fhv. forskningsbibliotekar på Det Kgl. Bibliotek. Har skrevet artikler om asiatisk bogkunst og kinesisk kultur, bl.a. "Revolutionens morgenrøde. Kinesiske plakater i Det Kgl. Bibliotek", *Fund og Forskning* 51, 2012. Sammen med

Vivi Kjær forfatter til bogen: *Riget i midten. En introduktion til kinesisk kultur*, 2008.

CLAUS RØLLUM-LARSEN, f. 1953, mag.art. og ph.d. (musikvidenskab) fra Københavns Universitet, siden 1997 forskningsbibliotekar og seniorforsker ved Det Kgl. Bibliotek. Har udgivet *Kong Frederik IX og musikken. Musikhistoriske studier i det danske kongehus* (1990), *Impulser i Københavns koncertrepertoire 1900-1935. Studier i præsentationen af ny, især udenlandsk instrumentalmusik* (2002), samt *Knudåge Riisager. Komponist og skribent* (2015).

MARINA VIDAS, PhD, is Senior Research Fellow at the National Gallery of Denmark and Adjunct Associate Professor in the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies at the University of Copenhagen. She has extensively lectured and published on Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and art.

KARIN WOLGAST, f. 1961, cand.mag. i tysk og filosofi, Odense Universitet 1988, ph.d. i tysk og teatervidenskab, Københavns Universitet 1992; forsknings- og undervisningsstillinger ved universiteterne i Aalborg, København, Odense og Aarhus. Alexander von Humboldt-stipendium til Johann Wolfgang von Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, 1995; bestyrelsesmedlem af Den danske Humboldt-klub siden 2003, formand 2006-2013. Fellow på Forskerkollegiet, Københavns Universitet, 2006-2007. Medstifter af Influx, Tysk-skandinavisk kulturudveksling omkring 1900, Aarhus Universitet 2010-2012. Forskningsområder: tysk litteratur, teater og filosofi i oplysningstiden, *fin de siècle* og efterkrigstiden. Udvalgte publikationer: *Spil og intrige i Lessings drama*, Odense 1988; *Die Commedia dell'arte im Wiener Drama um 1900*, Frankfurt am Main 1993; *Sinnverlust und Sinnfindung am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg 2011; 'Reinhardt, Ibsen und Munch in Berlin', i *Divinatio*, 34, 2011, s. 7-63.

