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ICONOGRAPHY AND NARRATIVE
IN THE 'ST ALBANS' APOCALYPTES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Linda M. Fisher, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1984

Reading Committee:
Dr. Franklin M. Ludden
Dr. Anne Morganstern
Dr. Christian Zacher

Approved by:

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of History of Art
I wish to thank especially Professor Franklin M. Ludden for constant and invaluable help with this study, and Professors Anne Morganstern and Christian Zacher for many astute observations. I also wish to thank Ms. Janet Backhouse, Mr. Nigel Morgan, Mr. Peter Lasko, and Mr. George Zarnecki who generously shared their ideas with me. Special thanks go to Professor Dr. Peter Ludwig who kindly allowed me to examine the Apocalypse in his collection, and to the British Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York for permission to examine manuscripts in their collections. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the Graduate School of The Ohio State University for a grant in support of my travel and research.
VITA

September 24, 1953  B. Born -- Kent, Ohio

1975  B.A., Kent State University, Kent, Ohio

1975-1976  University Fellow, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1978  M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1976-1983  Teaching Associate, Department of History of Art, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Western Medieval Art. Professor Franklin M. Ludden

Minor Fields: Italian Renaissance Art. Professor Anthony Melnikas

Modern Art. Professor Matthew Herban, III
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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this study is a group of five illuminated manuscripts of the Apocalypse created in the mid-thirteenth century in England and attributed traditionally to the Benedictine abbey of St Albans. These manuscripts are today divided among collections in Paris (Bibliotheque Nationale Fr. 403), New York (Pierpont Morgan Library M 524), Oxford (Bodleian Library MS Auct D.4.17), California (The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig III 1), and London (British Library Add MS 35166).

These five manuscripts form a traditional group within the larger family of nearly one-hundred extensively illustrated Apocalypse texts produced in England and northern France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. I have chosen these particular five works for study because they comprise a traditional group, because they are of outstanding artistic quality, and because the imagery in their four cycles of illuminations represents four distinct and important stages in the evolution of the Gothic Apocalypse cycles. I will study the formation and the interrelationships of these four Apocalypse visual narratives in an effort to determine their sources, the nature and meaning of their narrative technique, and their role in the evolution of the illustrated Apocalypse in the thirteenth century.

The manuscripts that are the subject of my study have, for over fifty years, been referred to by scholars as the "St Albans group." All five volumes have at some time been attributed to the Benedictine
monastery of St Albans and to the circle, if not to the actual hand, of the famous St Albans chronicler and artist, Matthew Paris (d. 1259). This attribution, now believed false, has undoubtedly encouraged the frequent discussion of these works in studies of English Illumination and of the Gothic Apocalypse. Three of the manuscripts, Paris 403, the Ludwig Apocalypse, and Bodleian D.4.17, have been published in complete facsimile. Even so, the notoriety these works have received is undoubtedly deserved, not necessarily for any association with Matthew Paris, but because artistically they rank among the finest English Illuminations of the early to mid-thirteenth century. They exhibit a subtle and original balance of pen drawing and volumetric tinting that is as distinctively English as is the Decorated Style in Insular architecture. Indeed, the Paris 403 Apocalypse must be considered among the masterpieces of the period.

The attribution of these five manuscripts to St Albans goes back to 1876 when Henry Coxe suggested a St Albans provenance for Bodleian D.4.17 based on its resemblance to some of the drawings of Matthew Paris. The great Cambridge bibliophile, M.R. James, writing in the Introduction to the 1927 facsimile of the Ludwig Apocalypse, attributed all five Apocalypses to St Albans because their rectangular half-page illustrations and tinted pen drawings closely resembled the illustrated lives of saints Alban (Dublin, Trinity College, MS E.I. 40) and Thomas of Canterbury (Private Collection) by Matthew Paris (fig. 9).

In their surveys of English manuscript illumination Eric Millar, O.E. Saunders, Margaret Rickert and Peter Brleger also saw the influence of Matthew Paris in the use of tinted pen drawings, and
consequently attributed some or all of the books to St Albans with the result that these five Apocalypses came to be referred to by them as a "St Albans group." The soundness of this conclusion was soon challenged by D.H. Turner who in writing of the relationship between Matthew Paris' Illustrated saints lives and Paris 403 warned that "we should...beware of making too much of purely technical similarities." Nevertheless, Turner upheld a St Albans origin for Paris 403.7

George Henderson was the first to point out the strong stylistic resemblance between Paris 403 and the Missal of Henry of Chichester (Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 24) attributed to the so-called "Sarum Master" at Salisbury (figs. 5, 6, 13).8 Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan have recently placed the Paris 403 Apocalypse solidly among the works of the "Sarum Master" or his circle. They also propose Westminster as the home of Morgan 524 and the stylistically similar life of Edward the Confessor (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 3. 59) based on the resemblance between these two books and the Painted Chamber of Westminster dated to the 1260's (figs. 11, 119).9

The attribution of our five Apocalypse manuscripts to St Albans is now generally disputed. Besides the localization of Paris 403 and Morgan 524 to Salisbury and Westminster respectively, the St Albans provenance of the other three Apocalypses has also at times been questioned, although no more specific origins have been put forward for them. While the technique of pen drawing and colored wash may indicate some connection between Matthew Paris and the Apocalypse artists, the nature of this association was probably not that of master to pupil.10 The pen and wash technique was frequently and widely employed by
English artists both before and after the conquest and cannot therefore be restricted solely to Matthew Paris or a "School of St Albans." Further, close comparison of Matthew Paris' securely attributed drawings, such as those in his chronicles, with the illustrations in the five Apocalypse manuscripts reveals such considerable structural and coloristic differences, that Paris himself could not have been involved with the Apocalypse illuminations. Thus, there is no evidence to support the attribution of all or any one of the 'St Albans' Apocalypses to Matthew's house.

But if the 'St Albans' Apocalypses can no longer be considered the illustrious creations of a known artist or even of his circle, they are nonetheless of great interest in their own right as late medieval representations of the Apocalypse and as superior examples of the art of thirteenth-century visual narrative. They are also of particular importance from an iconographic standpoint for, as R. Freyhan and G. Henderson have indicated, their four cycles of pictures can be associated with four major stages in the continuous evolution of the Gothic Illustrated Apocalypses (fig. 2, 3, 4)\textsuperscript{11}. My study of these manuscripts will focus on these two aspects of their importance. For convenience, and for want of a better title, I will continue to refer to these five manuscripts collectively as the 'St Albans' Apocalypses.

My study is divided into an Introduction and two chapters. The introductory section presents background on the illumination of the Apocalypse in thirteenth-century England, a brief historical and critical review of the classification and study of the Illuminated Apocalypse, and a codicological analysis of each of the five 'St
Albans' manuscripts. 12

The first chapter investigates the Iconographic sources and narrative form of the 'St Albans' Apocalypse. The formation and evolution of Apocalypse art in the Early Christian and Early Medieval periods has attracted considerable scholarly attention during the last fifty years. 13 However, much less study has been given to the later medieval works, many of which are, like the 'St Albans' Apocalypses, elaborate and artistically outstanding conceptions. Still unanswered is the question of how much the many later medieval Illustrations of the Apocalypse, such as those in the 'St Albans' books, owe to the Iconography and typology of earlier Apocalypse Images. One of the aims of my study is, therefore, to treat the 'St Albans' Apocalypses as products of a continuous historical process that can in many instances be traced with little interruption to single Images of the Apocalypse and to pictures in Apocalypse narrative cycles produced centuries earlier. In this way, I will try to identify as precisely as possible the rich heritage of subjects and motifs from which those who designed the cycles of pictures in the 'St Albans' Apocalypses must have drawn.

To do this, I have selected seven prominent visions from the Apocalypse, subjects that are among those most often represented in the history of Apocalypse art. I describe each of these visions as it is depicted in Paris 403. This manuscript contains one of the earliest of the English Gothic Apocalypse cycles, and one which, I believe, was especially instrumental in the creation of many later cycles of Apocalypse Imagery. I will then try to trace the Iconographic sources of the Paris 403 scenes to earlier Apocalypse art. In this way, Paris
403 and those Apocalypse manuscripts derived from it will be shown to belong to a continuous, evolving pictorial tradition.

This tradition is, at the same time, reshaped by the thirteenth-century artists into a distinctively Gothic form of dramatic pictorial narrative. The images in the Apocalypse manuscripts tell a single, continuous, unified story carefully devised in orderly stages so that the viewer, like John, is drawn irresistibly into the events surrounding the eschaton. I will devote special attention in Chapter One to the technique as well as the meaning of this new temporal and dramatic Gothic narrative form as it is applied to the subject of the Apocalypse.

The second chapter focuses specifically on the evolution and interrelationship of the five 'St Albans' Apocalypses. The English and French Gothic Apocalypse manuscripts are most obviously related by their Imagery. The problem posed by these complex Iconographic links has been studied by Freyhan and Henderson in Independent Investigations undertaken within the last thirty years. They agree that three of the five St Albans books, Morgan 524, Bodleian D.4.17, and Paris 403, play a prominent part in the early evolutionary stages of all the Gothic Apocalypses. I agree with their assessment of the importance of the Paris, Morgan, and Bodleian Apocalypses, but I will modify somewhat their views on the precise nature of the relationship among these three works. Moreover, I will show that the Ludwig and British Library 35166 Apocalypses, the remaining two members of the 'St Albans' group, represent important later stages of development of the Gothic cycles, stages to which still other major groups of Apocalypses may for the
first time be related.

The Apocalypse is one of the most frequently illustrated books of the Bible. The visions given to John, exiled by the Emperor Domitian to the island of Patmos about 93 A.D. "on account of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" (Apoc. 1:9), are a message of comfort and hope to Christians suffering persecution. John's visions reveal God's Immutable plan for the end of time when his people will face their greatest test and see their final triumph. Subjects and symbols from the Apocalypse belong to nearly every century and include some of the most awesome and dramatic themes in Christian art: the Lord Enthroned surrounded by the Four Beasts and the Twenty-four Elders, the Lamb, the Book with Seven Seals, the Four Horsemen, the Woman Clothed with the Sun, the Heavenly Jerusalem, and the River of Life.

Before the thirteenth century, the Apocalypse was a largely unillustrated addition to John's gospel in the medieval Bible. In Carolingian France and early medieval Spain, however, the Apocalypse was sometimes circulated as a separate volume with a long and elaborate series of illustrations. But the existence of these books does not prepare us for the tremendous outpouring of single, fully-illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts during the thirteenth century in England. The sudden popularity of this mysterious book cannot be attributed to any one cause. Some credit must be given to the rise of a large literate upper class, fond of the entertaining literature of courtly romance, for whom the Apocalypse was one more adventure story filled with excitement, mystery, and fantasy.

Interest in verse narratives recounting the exploits of secular
heroes or the edifying lives of the saints was paralleled by a desire to visualize these stories as pictorial narratives. In one sense the Gothic Apocalypse cycles continue and refine an English tradition of visual narrative with roots deep in Anglo-Saxon painting. Extensive pre-conquest narrative cycles like those in the eleventh century Aelfric Pentateuch (British Library MS Cotton, Claudius B IV) and the Caedmon Genesis (Bodleian Library MS Junius II) were likely inspired by late antique Old Testament picture narratives. Following a hiatus in the wake of the Norman Conquest, lavish pictorial narratives began to reappear in England about 1120. Among the more accomplished cycles were those illustrating the often vivid and dramatic action in the lives of saints. By the late thirteenth century, the Apocalypse, itself a dramatic narrative, began to rival the hagiographic cycles in popularity.

The colorful and exciting story of John's visions and a strong native narrative tradition were not the only factors contributing to the rise of the Illuminated Apocalypse in England. There is persuasive evidence that interest in the Apocalypse was spurred by rumors of the imminent end of the world, rumors spread most notably by followers of the Calabrian prophet, Joachim of Flore (c. 1135-1202).

The most notorious apocalyptic writer of the Middle Ages, Joachim devoted himself to long study and meditation, the latter punctuated by periodic flashes of mystic revelation. By these efforts he developed and sustained the extraordinary exegetical and prophetic gift he called "spiritual intelligence." Inspired by the seven-sealed book of Apocalypse 5:1, Joachim's spiritual understanding led him to see
his history as two great parallel streams. The first, symbolized by the seven closed seals, corresponds to seven eras of history in the Old Testament ending with the birth of Christ. Alternately, the seven open seals represent seven ages of history under the New Dispensation flowing toward the consummation of history in the Second Advent.21

As he meditated upon these mystic concords, Joachim discovered other numerical patterns in history; yet the most potent and constant pattern in his apocalyptic writings is that of the three status or ages of history typified by the three persons of the Trinity. Joachim called his first status the Age of the Father, a period corresponding to the generations of the Old Testament beginning with Adam. The second status, the Age of the Son, corresponds to the New Testament beginning with Christ's incarnation. This era, Joachim believed, was drawing to a close in his own day. The third status, the Age of the Holy Spirit, was about to begin. This would be a time of universal blessedness and love that would last until the Second Advent and the Final Judgment. Joachim called this coming time the Sabbath Age and those alive during it viri spirituales, spiritual men who would live the monastic ideal of brotherhood and peace. Each new status was to be preceded by tribulations and antichrists, and each was to be forty-two generations long. Calculating on the basis of a generation of thirty years, Joachim found his own generation living very near the end of the second status on the very threshold of the opening of the Sabbath Age.22

After his death, Joachim's disciples continued to await the calamities and upheavals that would immediately precede the Sabbath
Age. In this regard, they predicted especially dire events for the year 1260, a date that was soon firmly linked to Joachist expectations.

Joachim made a profound impression on many of his contemporaries and had a lasting effect on apocalyptic thought long after the Middle Ages. His famous prophecies may have played a significant part in inspiring interest in the Apocalypse in thirteenth-century England. Indeed, Joachim's association with England was, on one important occasion, personal and direct. At Messina in the winter of 1190/1 Joachim was summoned to an interview with Richard the Lionheart who was en route to the Third Crusade. The meeting is recorded by Roger Howden who reports that the king knew of Joachim "per communem famam." Asked probably for a prophecy concerning the outcome of Richard's campaign, Joachim expounded the meaning of Apocalypse 17 and the Woman seated on the beast with seven heads. Five of the heads have fallen, and these Joachim interpreted as five persecutors of the Church—Herod, Nero, Constantius, Arrianus, Mahomet, and Melsemutus. The "one that is" is Saladin whom Richard would defeat. And the "one not yet come" is Antichrist already born in Rome.

Joachim's prophecies lingered on in England long after the prophet's death. In a letter to the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grossteste (d. 1253), in which he encloses some Joachist texts from abroad, the English Franciscan Adam Marsh asks his friend's opinion of Joachim's belief that the Day of Judgment is rapidly approaching. Roger Wendover writes of Joachim and so does Matthew Paris. No direct link can be drawn between the Illustrated Apocalypse cycles and the Joachist movement. Yet at the time of the diffusion of the
Illuminated Apocalypse cycles a general atmosphere of expectation fueled by Joachim's prophecies of Impending crisis and Antichrist undoubtedly affected England and all of Europe, an atmosphere epitomized by the many extant copies of the following popular anonymous contemporary verse:

Prophetia Ioachim
Cum fuerunt anni completi milia ducenti
Et decies seni post partum virginiis alme,
Tunc Antichristus nascetur demon plenus.27

The five 'St Albans' Apocalypses are only a small number of the nearly one-hundred extant illuminated manuscripts of the Apocalypse from the thirteenth century and later listed in M. R. James' 1931 Inventory.28 And they are a smaller portion still of the total number of Apocalypse manuscripts created throughout the Middle Ages in all parts of Europe.

The earliest studies of the medieval illuminated Apocalypses were essentially attempts to create some manageable order from the large number of extant works by classifying them according to historical or geographical origin. Three groups readily presented themselves: an Early Christian, Carolingian, and Ottonian group centered around the ninth-century Trier Apocalypse (Trier, Stadtbibl. MS 31), the eleventh-century Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg, Stadtbibl. MS 140) and related manuscripts; a Spanish group consisting of some twenty Beatus manuscripts; and an Anglo-Norman or English group.29

The 'St Albans' Apocalypses hold a prominent place in studies of the third or English group. They are, for example, named by Leopold Delisle and James as among the best examples of particular families or
groups within their systems of classification. This fact has, like their association with Matthew Paris, conferred on the 'St Albans' Apocalypses a certain amount of notoriety. But this notoriety has been at the cost of labeling some of the manuscripts with the names of families or groups that are no longer considered useful for understanding the history and nature of the Gothic Apocalypse.

The system of classification that Deissle devised for the Gothic Apocalypses over eighty years ago is still cited in the literature on the 'St Albans' group. In his introduction to *L'Apocalypse en français au Xlle siècle* written to accompany the facsimile of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Fr. 403 issued by the Société des Anciens Texts Français, Deissle identifies two sub-groups or families within the English Gothic Apocalypses. The First Family is composed of four manuscripts, three of which are subjects of this study: Paris 403, Bodleian D.4.17, Morgan 524, and Rylands Library MS 19.30 These manuscripts usually contain full-page illuminations; and their cycles of pictures include scenes from the life of Antichrist, and, preceding and following the Apocalypse illustrations, scenes from the life of John the Evangelist.

Deissle's second sub-group or Second Family is made up of manuscripts without the very subjects that distinguish the First Family. In these manuscripts framed illuminations share each page with an extensive text and commentary.31 Deissle drew up an initial list of twelve Second Family manuscripts including the Trinity College Apocalypse (Cambridge, Trinity College R.16.2) and, from the 'St Albans' group, British Library Add MS 35166.32 (The Ludwig
Apocalypse, which was not known to Dellsle, also satisfies the criteria of his Second Family).

M.R. James modified Dellsle's system for classifying the Gothic Apocalypses by placing more emphasis upon the relative proportion of illumination to text. James' classification system, published in his *The Apocalypse In Art* in 1931, describes three broad categories of illuminated Apocalypse manuscripts. The first group, called "picture books," is comprised of the manuscripts in Dellsle's First and Second Families. In the second category of "illustrated books" are manuscripts whose texts take precedence over the accompanying illustrations which may be of any size and be placed anywhere on the page. James' third category is the "interpretive group" consisting of manuscripts with illustrations to the Apocalypse itself plus supplementary pictures elucidating the historical or spiritual meaning of the text.

The work of Dellsle and James serves only to divide and classify the large body of thirteenth and fourteenth century Apocalypses according to format or by specific iconographic traits. The problem with this method of study is that by concentrating on groups or families of manuscripts whose members are most alike, Dellsle and James lose sight of those features shared by members of more than one group that would seem to indicate the presence of connecting threads of imagery running from group to group. Such threads characterize the history of the Gothic Apocalypse as a growing, thriving tradition dominated by a dynamic evolutionary process.

Recent studies of the Gothic Apocalypses have moved away from
simple classification according to like features of format or style
toward systems of organization that emphasize the evolutionary process
at work in these cycles. Most notably, the studies by R. Freyhan and
George Henderson, which I will discuss at the beginning of Chapter Two,
preserve D'Ellis's First and Second Families but reinterpret them in
terms of a first and second generation of Apocalypse cycles. Within
these successive generations, Henderson especially has traced the
continuous transference of the Iconography of the Apocalypse through
several distinct stages, stages that also illustrate a continuous
concurrent evolution of drawing and painting styles in the manuscripts.
It is primarily because of the efforts of Freyhan and Henderson that
the organization and classification of the Gothic Apocalypse cycles
has, in recent years, been revised and redirected along lines that
increase our understanding of the origin and evolution of these books.
My brief study also subscribes to this method of organizing the
manuscripts according to their place in a dynamic evolutionary process
through which it is possible to trace the continual transference and
transformation of Apocalypse Iconography in the thirteenth century.
Before proceeding with my investigation, however, it should prove
helpful to introduce the subjects of this study--the five 'St Albans'
Apocalypses--with a brief description of their illustrations,
Inscriptions, texts, and commentaries. Additional codicological data
is contained in Appendix A.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fr. 403

The great beauty of this manuscript had won the acclaim of
bibliophiles even before it was published in facsimile in 1900 and made the basis of Deissle and Meyer's study of the thirteenth-century Illustrated Apocalypse. Paris 403 contains eighty-one pen and wash illuminations on forty-five vellum folios 325 X 235mm. One folio has been removed. A single framed illustration for the Apocalypse is placed in the upper half of each page on folios 3v to 43r. Beneath each illustration are double columns of text of thirty-five to forty lines written in black ink. The Apocalypse cycle in Paris 403 is nearly identical to those in Morgan 524 and Bodley D.4.17 and differs from them most notably by omitting all inscriptions contained within their pictures whether on scrolls, placards, or backgrounds. Paris 403 contains fourteen scenes from the life of John the Evangelist, eight at the beginning on folios 1r-3r, and six at the end on folios 43v-44v (figs. 5, 6). All are without accompanying text or inscriptions; and, except for the two half-page illustrations at the top of folios 2v and 3r, all are arranged two per page, one directly above the other.

The drawing and coloring of the large, framed scenes is consistent throughout Paris 403. Figures and objects are drawn with brown ink then colored either with an all-over wash through which the penned details of figure and costume remain visible, or with colors concentrated in the troughs of folds and creating a strong sense of three-dimensions. Backgrounds are left uncolored; frames are washed with green and ocher in the Apocalypse scenes, and with either green or blue in the scenes of John's life. Faces, sensitively drawn with the pen, are uncolored except for some pale brown or gray used to model contours around jaws, eyes, and noses, and a touch of orange or pink on
cheeks and lips. Halos are touched with pale ocher and edged with a ring of small circles of the kind that M.R. James associated with St Albans. The colorist uses predominately blue, green, ocher, brown, orange and red-orange which he handles with an eye toward an all-over pattern and balance of colors. Burnished gold is used sparingly and primarily on such prominent details as the seven-sealed book and the seven vials and candlesticks.

The text of Paris 403 is a Norman translation of the Vulgate text of the Apocalypse with a commentary, and the earliest preserved edition of this text. Later prose and verse versions are preserved in numerous manuscripts of the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries including the Moralized Bibles. The Norman text and commentary seem to have been translated from a lost Latin original dated by various scholars to the second half of the twelfth or first half of the thirteenth century. This commentary was likely written on the continent rather than in England.

The arrangement of the double-column text in Paris 403 follows a pattern whereby text and gloss either alternate or face each other in opposite columns. In the lower half of the page, the lengthy gloss is often written across both columns. Delisle notes that the text and gloss of Paris 403 often fails to keep pace with the illustrations. It is clear that the text with its long commentary created organizational problems for the designer of Paris 403, problems that seem to suggest that these pictures had not been joined to this text before.

Paris 403 is the earliest of the five 'St Albans' Apocalypses. It
can be dated between 1240 and 1250 based on its stylistic resemblance to manuscripts by the so-called "Sarum Master" at Salisbury that can be fairly securely dated. Among the masterpieces of this workshop are the Amesbury Psalter (Oxford, All Souls College, MS 6) (fig. 12), and the Missal of Henry of Chichester (Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS lat. 24) (fig. 13). In these works figural proportions are tall, thin, and elegant. With pen and paint the artist models the full length and depth of the many sweeping, tubular folds that trace intricate and exuberant patterns over surfaces.

Recently Paris 403 has been added to the list of Salisbury works. The style of its drawing, described by Turner as "soft and fluid," is so like that of the Salisbury manuscripts that there is every reason to believe Paris 403 is the work of the "Sarum Master" himself. The poses and facial types in the Paris Apocalypse are strikingly similar to those in the Salisbury group--compare, for example, the head of John in the cauldron in Paris 403 with the head of Christ in the Resurrection miniature from the Chichester Missal (figs. 6, 13). Finally, the superior artistic quality of the Paris Apocalypse measures up to the obviously high standards of the "Sarum Master's" circle. Only the use of the tinted outline technique noticeably differentiates Paris 403 from the fully painted Salisbury manuscripts, a point that attests to the widespread use of the pen and wash method beyond the scriptorium at St Albans.

Stylistically, Paris 403 must be quite close in date to the Trinity College Apocalypse, a manuscript that, like Paris 403, plays an important part in the formation of the cycles of illustrations in the
four other 'St Albans' Apocalypses. The fully painted Trinity Apocalypse cannot be localized at Salisbury nor attributed with certainty to any other English artistic center. Yet the Trinity miniatures are closer in style to Paris 403 and to the "Sarum Master's" manuscripts of the 1240's than to any other English works; and according to D.H. Turner the Paris and Trinity Apocalypses must be at most only fifteen years apart. For a comparative analysis of Paris 403 and the Trinity Apocalypse see Appendix A.

Paris 403 is described as a French or English work of the thirteenth century in modern inventories of the Bibliotheque Nationale. Deissle believed the Apocalypse was made in England and was still there in the fourteenth century when an inscription referring to Charlemagne was added to the first folio. Sometime during the fourteenth century the manuscript crossed the channel and entered the Library of Charles V. The Paris Apocalypse matches the description of manuscript number 2700 in the 1373 Inventory of the Louvre. A note made in the margin of this entry seven years later records the loan of the manuscript to Louis d'Anjou, brother of Charles V, "pour faire son beau tappis." The Duke of Anjou's accounts record payments between 1377 and 1379 to Nicolas Bataille, a Parisian tapestry maker, and to Jean de Bruges (or de Bandol), painter to the king, for the execution of a tapestry on the subject of the Apocalypse. This tapestry is presumably the famous Angers Tapestry (Angers, Musee des Tapisseries) commissioned for the chateau of the Duke and embellished with his arms and those of his wife, Marie of Brittany.
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 524

Pierpont Morgan MS 524 is a sister manuscript to Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. D.4.17 which has an identical format and cycle of Apocalypse illustrations. The Morgan Apocalypse contains a series of eighty-three framed illustrations placed one directly above the other on the recto and verso of each folio. The cycle lacks the scenes of John's life found at the beginning and end of Bodleian D.4.17 with the exception of two subjects at the very end of the manuscript showing John's Return to Ephesus and his Raising of Drusiana (fol. 21v). The presence of this fragmentary life of John indicates that a complete life as found in Bodleian D.4.17 once also belonged to the Morgan Apocalypse. On folio 7 are four subjects from the life of Antichrist. On the basis of these subjects and the two scenes of John's life, Delisle places Morgan 524 in his First Family.

The text of Morgan 524 is in Latin written in red and blue script and contained entirely within the illuminations either on scrolls or placards held by the figures or on the blank vellum backgrounds. Short identifying titles appear on or near objects or persons (Eufrates fluvius, Templum Del, etc.).

The text consists of short excerpts from the Apocalypse with corresponding explanatory excerpts from the commentary by Berengaudus. Nothing is known about the life and work of Berengaudus. The gloss on the Apocalypse is the only work attributed to him, and the date of its composition is unknown. Berengaudus' commentary combines two types of exegesis on the Apocalypse: the allegorical form in which the Apocalypse is taken to symbolize the
struggle of the Christian soul against adversity and persecution, and the historical form according to which the linear structure of John's visions is seen to correspond to the successive ages and events of the world's history.55

The drawing, coloring, and script are consistent throughout Morgan 524. The illuminations and frames are drawn with pen and light brown ink. The frames are washed with green. All of the illustrations have plain vellum backgrounds (fig. 100). The drawing, coloring and compositions are all very similar to Paris 403 even to the design of the various dragons and beasts. Garments are tinted in the troughs of folds, the colors lightening gradually in the direction of the raised surfaces so that a strong plastic effect results. The outer edges of garments are often retraced with the pen to strengthen them. Interior drawn folds, while not retouched, are visible beneath the tinted wash. Faces are usually uncolored except for a touch of pink on lips, cheeks and forehead. Beards and hair are colored blue or tan. Colors are applied in various strengths with a predominance of red, red-orange, pink, blue, brown and ocher. Small, colored geometric patterns are sometimes overpainted on garments as a finishing touch. Like the Paris 403 artist, the Morgan painter pays careful attention to the overall chromatic balance in each scene. As in Paris 403, halos are lightly washed with color and edged with a ring of small penned circles. Angels sport multicolored wings but with fewer than the rainbow number of shades in Paris. There is no use of gold or silver.

Morgan 524 has always been recognized as a thirteenth-century work.56 Delisle and Meyer date it early in the century. Contemporary
scholars recognize strong similarities among Morgan 524, Paris 403, and the opening pages of the Life of Edward the Confessor in Cambridge (figs. 11, 42, 118). All three manuscripts employ the tinted outline technique and long, tubular Muldenfaltinstil folds of the first half of the century. But the draperies in Morgan 524 are not so bunched and crumpled as those in Paris 403 leading Turner and Henderson to conclude that the Morgan Apocalypse must be a little later in date than Paris 403. At the same time, Henderson maintains that Morgan 524 is iconographically earlier than Paris 403, a position I will try to refute by showing that the drawings in Morgan derive from those in the Paris cycle.

If, as argued previously, Paris 403 and Trinity cannot on stylistic grounds be dated later than 1250, then Henderson's date of c. 1250 seems reasonable for Morgan 524. The opening pages of Edward would then date to about the same time.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auctarium D.4.17

The cycle of illustrations in Bodleian D.4.17 is identical to that in Morgan 524. The manuscript contains twenty-six vellum folios measuring 11 x 8 inches. On the recto and verso of each folio are two framed illuminations placed one directly above the other in the manner of Morgan 524. There are ninety-two illuminations in all, of which seventy-eight depict the Apocalypse. The remaining fourteen, eight at the beginning of the manuscript and six at the end, form a complete series of scenes of the life of John the Evangelist. Two of these, John Returns to Ephesus and the Raising of Drusiana (fol. 22v), are,
like the Apocalypse scenes, identical to the corresponding miniatures in the fragmentary life of John in Morgan 524. Thus the Morgan life of John can presumably be reconstructed by reference to the Bodleian Apocalypse. On the basis of the scenes of John's life and the four subjects from the life of Antichrist on folio 7, also identical to those in Morgan, Delisle places Bodleian D.4.17 in his First Family.60

The text of Bodleian D.4.17, like that of Morgan 524, is in Latin and consists of short excerpts from the Apocalypse with corresponding explanatory passages taken from the commentary by Berengaudus.61 It is written in red and blue in a small hand and entirely confined to the blank vellum backgrounds of the illuminations or to scrolls and placards held by the figures. As in the Morgan Apocalypse, short labels or titles identify specific objects or persons.

The framed illuminations in Bodleian D.4.17 are drawn in with pen and light brown ink and washed with colors of various strengths including blue, brown, red, red-orange, and a green which has stained through the vellum. Backgrounds are uncolored. The technique of drawing and coloring corresponds to that in Paris 403 and Morgan 524 with color concentrated in the depths of folds and lightenings toward raised surfaces so that the plain vellum serves as highlight. But in Bodleian D.4.17 the contrast between valleys and ridges is much more pronounced than in Morgan. Drawn details are visible through the tinted wash, and the outer contours of garments are often strengthened by retracing them with pen and ink.

Stylistically, Bodleian D.4.17, like Morgan 524 is later than
Paris 403 having none of the latter's soft, fluent, tubular drapery (fig. 87). The Bodleian artist follows the simpler, more restrained style of the Morgan miniatures, but his figures are flatter and narrower despite the tinted outline technique; and his faces, which are not so varied or expressive as those in Morgan, are aptly described by Turner as "verging on ugliness."62 The Bodleian artist is abandoning the style of the Paris and Morgan Apocalypses in favor of fewer fold lines and larger, more angular planes. He thus begins to approach the style adopted in, for example, Lambeth Palace 209, an Apocalypse produced probably in the decade of the 1250's (fig. 123).63 On the evidence of its style and its dependence upon the Morgan Apocalypse, I would date Bodleian D.4.17 also to the decade of the 1250's. Turner states that Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 are products of the same atelier which he places at St Albans.64 However, owing to the association between Morgan 524 and the Court School, Westminster is perhaps a more likely location.

Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig III 1

This Apocalypse manuscript, in the collection of C.W. Dyson Perrins since 1906, was purchased in 1959 by Dr. Peter Ludwig. It was sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1983.65 The manuscript contains forty-one vellum folios measuring 320 X 225 mm. Eighty-two framed illuminations are placed one at the top of each recto and verso above a double-column text. The text is composed of excerpts from the Apocalypse written in black alternating with longer explanatory selections from the Berengaudus commentary in a slightly smaller red
hand. The scriptural text is very clear, however, in many places the commentary is blurred, probably from moisture, and on several folios is unreadable. The manuscript is incomplete and ends at folio 82v with the Beast from the Sea and the False Prophet cast into the Lake of Fire (Apoc. 19:21). There would seem to be at least ten illuminated folios missing at the end. Damage to the bottom of folio eighty-two has been repaired.

The illuminations in the Ludwig Apocalypse are drawn with pen and brown ink and tinted with thin washes in rather dull shades of red-orange, blue, green, ocher, and gray. Backgrounds are plain vellum except for the theophanies on folios 3v and 4v-5v where the backgrounds are painted with solid color. Modeling is accomplished through a concentration of color in the drapery folds that diminishes to a thin wash in the raised surfaces. Opaque white is used extensively to emphasize highlights and to trim garments. Touches of red frequently appear on cheeks and lips, however, many surfaces are not colored at all. In many places black ink is used to strengthen garment folds, hair, and facial features. Burnished gold is used on every page, although sparingly, for halos, crowns, saddle backs, harps, and cups.

The Ludwig manuscript, and other Apocalypses following immediately upon Paris 403 and Trinity, cannot be too precisely dated as they seem to follow on another in close iconographic and stylistic sequence. Henderson has identified close parallels in expression and artistic technique between the Ludwig Apocalypse and the late pages of the Life of Edward described previously as a product of the Court School at Westminster. Carefully comparing the two manuscripts, Henderson offers
convincing evidence for a common vocabulary of slender, vertical profiles, lively, varied poses, including figures viewed completely from behind, and expressive gestures and attitudes capable of conveying a wide range of emotional states. Henderson thus localizes both the Edward manuscript and Ludwig in the same Westminster workshop and assigns to both works a date of about 1250. Henderson offers 1245–50 as a final span of dates for Ludwig arguing that while the Ludwig artist is almost certainly in touch with the Edward master, he is not inclined to accept all of his novelties, in particular the modern realistic foliage introduced by the Edward artist into the later portions of his manuscript. I find a date between 1250 and 1260 equally acceptable for the Ludwig Apocalypse on the grounds that it begins to anticipate the figure type characteristic of English painting of about 1270 as represented by the Oscott Psalter (British Library Add. MS 50000) (figs. 14, 120).

London, British Library Additional MS 35166

This Apocalypse manuscript in the British Library contains seventy-six illuminations on thirty-eight vellum folios measuring 11 1/4 X 8 3/4 inches. One framed illumination appears on the upper half of the recto and verso of each folio. The manuscript contains fifty-six illustrations for the Apocalypse and a complete cycle of twenty scenes for the life of John, four at the beginning of the volume and sixteen at the end. Beneath each illumination are double text columns of nineteen lines. The text consists of the Apocalypse written in black accompanied by excerpts from Berengaudus in red ink. A number
of leaves, probably sixteen, are missing between folios 16v (Apoc. 10:1-7) and 17r (Apoc. 16:8-9). Delisle places British Library 35166 in his Second Family because of its half-page illustrations and because it omits the life of Antichrist.

The drawing and coloring are consistent throughout British Library 35166. However, following the lacuna, the text of the Apocalypse appears to change to a smaller more cramped hand. The illuminations and their frames are drawn with pen and light brown ink and tinted with wash. Frames are colored usually with beige or green. All of the illuminations have plain vellum backgrounds except for the visions of heaven on folios 4v to 6r where the backgrounds are fully painted. The tinted outline technique is used extensively with colors concentrated in the recesses of folds and with plain vellum highlights. Wings are multicolored and lips are touched with red. The artist employs approximately five colors in each scene balancing their frequency and distribution for an overall decorative effect. The colors, which tend to be somewhat dull, include brown, blue, gray, ocher, green, red-orange, and a red that matches the ink used for the commentary. Gold and silver paint is used extensively on halos, crowns, swords, saddles, details of costumes and architectural ornaments. The silver has turned dark.

British Library 35166 and the Ludwig Apocalypse are frequently associated in both style and iconography and have even been called "sister" manuscripts, although they are clearly not "sisters" in the sense of the Morgan-Bodleian twins. The British Library Apocalypses shares with Ludwig many similar subjects and compositions including the
rare appearance of the Woman Drunk with the Blood of the Saints (Apoc. 17:6). Iconographically, the British Library Apocalypse represents a stage in the evolution of the English Gothic Apocalypse that is largely dependent upon the Imagery in the Ludwig cycle.

The British Library Apocalypse belongs to the same mature phase of English Gothic Illumination as Ludwig. The coloring is becoming stronger and flatter with the result that the artist of the British Library Apocalypse lapses into solid coloring in some draperies (figs. 95, 117). His figures, like those in Ludwig, are tall and narrow. His draperies exhibit deep vertical recesses and a minimum of soft, looping folds and fluttering hems. Heads taper from a broad, straight forehead to a pinched protruding chin and generally present youthful, charming, delicate features. In both the British Library and Ludwig Apocalypses, figures and objects are smaller in proportion to the size of the framed scene than in either Paris 403 or Morgan-Bodleian thus creating considerably more open space within the compositions. The style of the British Library Apocalypse is, however, near enough to Ludwig that the two manuscripts cannot be widely separated in date. I therefore propose a date between 1260 and 1270 for British Library 35166 on the basis of its iconographic dependence upon the Ludwig cycle, a work that I think should not be considered later than 1260.71

Its close association with the Ludwig Apocalypse suggests that British Library 35166 is also a product of a court workshop perhaps at Westminster.
NOTES


6Millar, I, 60, 124-5, Saunders, I, 84-8, Rickert, pp. 121-2, Brüger, pp. 164-7. Brüger does not propose a St Albans origin for either the Ludwig Apocalypse or British Library 35166.

7D.H. Turner, "The Evesham Psalter," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 27 (1964), 32-3, 37-9. Some years before, R. Freyhan, "Joachism and the English Apocalypse," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 10 (1957), 225, 237-8, 241 had proposed a St Albans origin for Morgan 524 on the basis of its stylistic similarity to the Cambridge Life of Edward the Confessor (University Library MS Ee. 3. 59) which he believed was also produced at St Albans. Freyhan also thought that the "St Albans tradition" was represented in Morgan 524 by the rectangular picture format in which the largest figures, whether standing or seated, are equal to the height of the frame.


10Vaughan, p. 226 proposes that the Apocalypse artists were Paris' masters rather than his pupils. Rickert, p. 122, taking the opposite view, writes that Matthew was the head of the St Albans scriptorium.


14An excellent introduction to the history of Apocalypse exegesis is Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1979) and bibliography.

15For early Christian art inspired by the Apocalypse see especially F. van der Meer, Majestas Domini.

16 Walter Cahn, Romanesque Bible Illustration (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1982).


18 For the Aelfric Pentateuch and Caedmon Genesis see, Elizbieta Temple, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066 (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), nos. 86, 58.


The literature on Joachim of Flora is extensive. Some excellent introductory studies are those by Morton W. Bloomfield, "Joachim of Flora, a Critical Survey of his Canon, Teachings, Sources, Bibliography and Influence," Traditio, 13 (1957), 249-311, Marjorie Reeves, Joachim of Flora and the Prophetic Future (London, 1976), and McGinn, pp. 126ff. The only printed editions of Joachim's works were issued in Venice in the sixteenth century: Liber Concordiae novi ac veteris Testamenti (1519) and the Expositio in Apocalypse (1527).

20 Liber Concordiae, fol. 5r ff.; Expositio in Apocalypse, fol. 6r ff.

21 Expositio in Apocalypse, fol. 5r ff.


26 M. Bloomfield and M. Reeves, pp. 787-9. This particular version of the poem is on the flyleaf of a thirteenth-century English Bible, Cambridge, St John's College MS 239.

27 James, Apocalypse in Art, pp. 2-25.

These groups remain a convenient method for organizing the study of Apocalypse illustrations. See, for example, Kirschbaum, cols. 127-32, and F. van der Meer, *Apocalypse*, pp. 40-4.

30 These manuscripts are numbered 1 through 4 in Delisle's catalogue (Delisle and Meyer, pp. LX-LXXVIII). Morgan 524 was, at the time Delisle saw it, in the collection of the Vicomte de Bourdon, and Rylands Library MS 19 was in the collection of Comte de Crawford. In the course of his study Delisle added two more manuscripts to the First Family: Brit. Mus. add. 19896, a fifteenth-century German volume (cat. no. 17), and Cambridge, Trinity College 217 from the thirteenth century (cat. no. 18).

31 Delisle and Meyer, pp. VIII-IX.

32 These twelve manuscripts are numbers 5 through 16 in his catalogue (Delisle and Meyer, pp. II-IV, LXXVIII-CVI). Delisle acknowledges that four of the twelve manuscripts he lists do contain a partial series of John scenes contrary to the Second Family definition. Lambeth 209, also in Delisle's Second Family, likewise has pictures from John's life as well as Antichrist scenes copied from a First Family model and inserted into the text columns beneath the half-page illustrations on fols. 23v ff.

33 James, *Apocalypse in Art*, pp. 44ff. To the six First Family manuscripts listed by Delisle, James adds two fourteenth-century Flemish books, a fifteenth-century Netherlandish block book and Lambeth Palace MS 209 (nos. 67, 69, and 83 in the catalogue prefixed to James' study). James adds to Delisle's list of subjects peculiar to the First Family: the beast who kills the witnesses, the lion who distributes the vials in chapter fifteen, and a large hell-mouth following the final defeat of the beast and the dragon. James adds forty manuscripts to Delisle's Second Family. James attempts to sort out this large number by grouping together those manuscripts such as British Library 35166 and the Ludwig Apocalypse that have scenes of John's life at the beginning and end.

34 James, *Apocalypse in Art*, pp. 63ff. Included in this category are nine copies of the French metrical Apocalypse and twelve copies of the French prose Apocalypse.

35 James, *Apocalypse in Art*, pp. 65ff. A variety of popular interpretations of the Apocalypse evolved their own pictured accompaniment such as those for the Moralized Bibles and for the thirteenth-century commentary by Alexander the Minorite.

36 The most recent classification of the Gothic cycles, that by Kathryn Henkel, suffers from the same oversight that limits the usefulness of Delisle's and James' work. Dividing the manuscripts into two sociological classes, Henkel defines a "popular" group, identical with Delisle's First Family, in which the picture-book format and
simple tinted outline drawings are evidence of the proletarian taste and purse. Henkel's "courtly" group, corresponding to Delisle's Second Family, consists of those books with a full text, evidence that this group appealed to the literate upper class laity and clergy.


38 Leopold Delisle and Paul Meyer, L'Apocalypse in francais au Xille siecle (Bibli. nat. Fr. 403), Societe des anciens textes francs (Paris, 1900-1901).

39 J.C. Fox, "The Earliest French Apocalypse and Commentary," Modern Language Review, 7 (1912), 446. S. Berger, pp. 86-7 identifies some eighty manuscripts with the same commentary as Paris 403. Meyer disputed this large number and cited twenty-four manuscripts which he knew to contain the Paris 403 text and commentary (Delisle and Meyer, pp. CCLVIII-CCXIX). James, Apocalypse in Art, p. 45 found the Paris 403 text and gloss in eighteen illustrated manuscripts and in an unspecified number of other manuscripts without pictures. Of the illustrated manuscripts with the Paris 403 text and commentary, the most notable is the Douce Apocalypse (Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 180). The commentary is the standard text for the fourteenth-century French Prose Apocalypses. Editions of the Paris 403 text and commentary were published by Delisle and Meyer, pp. 1-131, and by Ellis Fridner, "An English Fourteenth Century Apocalypse Version with a Prose Commentary," Lund Studies In English, 29 (1961), 6-206.

40 Delisle and Meyer, p. CCY, found a Latin text of the commentary in an abridged form in a manuscript of the Osuna collection now in the National Library in Madrid, but Meyer determined that this manuscript was not the immediate source of the Norman translation in Paris 403 (Delisle and Meyer, pp. CCXIV-CXXVII).

Gunter Breder, Die Lateinische Vorlage des Altfranzösischen Apokalypsenkommentars des 13. Jahrhunderts (Paris, B.N. Fr. 403), Forschungen zur Romanischen Philologie, 9 (Munster, 1960) maintains that the Paris 403 gloss corresponds most closely to the abbreviated text of the Moralized Bible in Vienna (MS 1197). Breder proposes a common Latin commentary for both works although no copies of this commentary had come to light by the time of his study.

Samuel Berger, La bible francais au moyen age (1884; rpt. Geneva, Slatkine, 1967), p. 88 believes the original French translation of the Latin commentary must date to the second half of the twelfth century while Paris 403 was created shortly after 1200. Delisle also dates the original commentary to the twelfth century while Meyer places it in the first half of the next century not long before the execution of Paris 403 itself (Delisle and Meyer, pp. I-II, CCVI).

41 Meyer reaches this conclusion based on an analysis of the morphology of Paris 403 which conforms to continental French rather than to Anglo-Norman usage (Delisle and Meyer, pp. CCVII-CCX).

42 Delisle and Meyer, pp. LX-LXI.


45 Marks and Morgan, p. 58.

46 The Trinity College Apocalypse contains ninety-one full-color framed miniatures on thirty-one folios measuring 17 X 12 inches. The illustrations are placed at irregular intervals on the pages and alternate with a double-column text of 56 to 58 lines. The text in French consists of the Apocalypse with a condensed version of the commentary by Berengaudus. There are eight scenes of John's life at the beginning of the manuscript and an incomplete series of twenty-one scenes at the end. The manuscript is of English origin and was given to Trinity College by Mrs. Anne Sadleir in 1649. The manuscript has been published in facsimile three times: M.R. James, The Trinity College Apocalypse, Roxburgh Club (London, 1909), P. Brieger, The Trinity College Apocalypse, 2 vols. (London: Eugrammia Press, 1967), and Y. Otaka and H. Fukul, Apocalypse Anglo-Normande (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.16.2), Centre de Recherches Anglo-Normandes (Osaka, 1977).


48 Paulin Paris, Les manuscrits francais de la bibliotheque du Rol (Paris, 1840), III, 371. However, Didot, pp. 43-4 thought Paris 403 was based upon a ninth-century Byzantine manuscript.

49 Delsile and Meyer, p. LXV.


53 Delsile and Meyer, p. III.

54 Migne, PL, XVII, cols. 765-970. An excellent summary of what is known about Berengaudus is the article by E. Levesque, "Berengaud", Dictionnaire de la Bible (Paris, 1924), I, pt. 2, 1610-11.


A transcription of the full text is found in Coxe, pp. v-xxvi, and in Delisle and Meyer, pp. XII-LIX. A leaf is missing after the gloss on Apoc. 16:10. Following the missing leaf, the text continues at Apoc. 18:1, but from this point on the Berengaudus gloss is suspended and there is only the scriptural text written on the backgrounds.


69 James, Apocalypse In Art, p. 4.

70 British Library Add. MS 35166, fol. 20v; Ludwig III 1, fol. 36v.

CHAPTER ONE
THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES AND NARRATIVE FORM
OF THE 'ST ALBANS' APOCALYPTES

Introduction

About the year 680 abbot Benedict Biscop returned from the continent to his native Northumbria with a large quantity of books and holy relics with which he intended to decorate his church of St Peter's at Wearmouth. One of Benedict's pupils, the Venerable Bede, later wrote that among the items his teacher brought to England was a group of pictures illustrating the the Apocalypse which the abbot intended to put on an interior wall of his church for the instruction of the faithful:

. . . he brought home sacred pictures to adorn the church of the blessed apostle Peter built by him, namely. . . similitudes of the visions in the Revelation of the blessed John for the ornament of the north wall in like manner, in order that all men which entered the church, even if they might not read, should either look (whatsoever way they turned) upon the gracious contenance of Christ and his saints, though it were but in a picture; or might call to mind a more lively sense of the blessing of the Lord's incarnation, or having, as it were before their eyes, the peril of the last judgment might remember more closely to examine themselves. . .

Although these pictures have long ago vanished, they remain of interest to historians of medieval art because they are the first Apocalypse subjects known in English medieval art, and because they are the earliest recorded Apocalypse illustrations conceived and presented as a series. Bede's report also raises another point of special importance for my study, namely, that Benedict did not himself design illustrations for John's visions or commission an artist to do so, but
relied upon pictures brought from a foreign source, pictures which he may even have gone specifically to find.

I intend in this chapter to investigate the sources of some of the most celebrated works of Apocalypse art created in England during the Middle Ages, the Illuminated Gothic Apocalypses. I will attempt to show that the creators of these extensively illustrated manuscripts drew upon an established pictorial and Iconographic tradition of Apocalypse cycles extending back at least to the Carolingian period. I will also show how the Gothic artists applied this tradition in their creation of a uniquely Gothic concept of visual narrative.

No previous study has attempted to trace in detail or to define the nature of the relationship between the English Gothic Apocalypses and earlier Apocalypse cycles. This is because studies of Apocalypse art in the late Middle Ages have concentrated primarily on the description and classification of the extant works. Even so, a number of scholars have at least assumed that the English works somehow evolved from identifiable antecedents.

Leopold Delisle believed that Paris 403 and the fifty-six other English Apocalypses he catalogued from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were descended from a common type established in England or northern France in the twelfth century. Male agreed that the pictures in Paris 403 were most likely "reproductions of much earlier originals" perhaps from the Carolingian period.

M.R. James suggested prototypes for the Gothic Apocalypse manuscripts even older than the Carolingian centuries. He wrote in 1927 that the ninth-century Trier Apocalypse and its sister manuscript,
Cambrai 386, probably reflected an early Roman cycle "which must by paths yet untraced have led on to the Apocalypses of the thirteenth century." A few years later James added that someone must have been responsible for creating the prototype of the English Gothic cycles, and that this exceptional artist undoubtedly "breathed new life" into the material of an earlier tradition.

Peter Brieger, writing in the Introduction to the 1967 Eugrammila Press facsimile of the Trinity College Apocalypse, noted parallels between this Gothic cycle and earlier Apocalypse art in Spain and in northern Europe. Among the northern manuscript cycles Brieger cited as having illustrations that may have provided sources for Trinity, are the Trier Apocalypse and Bodley MS 352, an outstanding Illuminated Apocalypse in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Brieger maintained that the Trinity artists must have depended upon some comparable lost series of Apocalypse illustrations from either northern France, England, or Germany. In addition, Brieger discovered close parallels between the Trinity cycle and the Incomplete series of Apocalypse subjects in the Liber Floridus, Lambert of St Omer's twelfth-century theological encyclopedia. Freyhan, who also noted these correspondences, felt certain that the illuminations in Morgan 524 were based directly on Lambert's drawings.

My purpose is to investigate the iconographic origins of the Gothic Apocalypse in earlier Apocalypse art and to study the nature of the Gothic visual narrative. To do this, I will trace the evolution of some selected visions from the Apocalypse through a series of artistic monuments from the Carolingian period to the thirteenth century. The
monuments that I refer to are for the most part illustrated manuscripts of the Apocalypse in which the illustrations are presented in the form of a visual narrative. A visual narrative may be defined as a unified story presented in an ordered sequence of pictures in which the passage of time is indicated by visualization of successive phases of the story. A visual narrative may be accompanied by a written text as is usually the case with the Apocalypse. The text elucidates or interprets the events played out before our eyes.

Monumental Images based on the Apocalypse constitute a second major branch of Apocalypse art. On the interiors and exteriors of churches, on secular and liturgical objects, on sarcophagi and in illuminated manuscripts are individual, formalized images of Christ as the Lamb (Apoc. 4-8, 14, 19, 21), as Alpha and Omega (Apoc. 1, 21, 22), and as the One enthroned in heaven surrounded by angels and elders (Apoc. 4, 5). Victory and salvation are traditionally symbolized by the Lamb on Mt Sion (Apoc. 14), the adoration of the Lamb by the twenty-four elders (Apoc. 5), and the Heavenly Jerusalem (Apoc. 21, 22). The Woman clothed with the sun (Apoc. 12), and Christ among the candlesticks (Apoc. 1) are symbols of the universal Church. The four Apocalyptic beasts signify the four Evangelists (Apoc. 4), and the defeat of the dragon by Michael (Apoc. 12), God's triumph over evil.

The expressive purpose of these monumental images is fundamentally different from that of narrative. While a visual narrative is motivated by a desire to enact the events of the text story in a form that is sequential and essentially memetic, a monumental image is designed as an immediate and forcefully intelligible message. Such
Iconic images make effective use of axial symmetry, frontality, formalized gestures and hierarchic scale to subordinate time and space to the requirements of a solemn symbol.

However, the separation of Apocalypse art into either narrative or monumental images is a distinction more readily made in theory than in practice. We should expect to find, and do, various combinations of the two modes in many works. Kessler notes an example of such a combination of influences in the construction of the Apocalypse frontispiece in the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bib. Nat. lat. 1, fol. 415v) (fig. 23). Integrated into a symmetrical and highly formal allegory of the unity of the Old and New Testaments are two small, lively pen drawings showing John Colsoled by the Elder (Apoc. 5) and the Great Angel Giving John the Book and the Measuring Rod (Apoc. 10). In discussing the sources from which the Carolingian illuminator drew, Kessler argues that the "emphatically narrative qualities" of these supplementary scenes suggest they have been lifted directly from a narrative cycle. Another example of this type of combination is found in the Hortus Deliciarum where, in a full-page illumination, the Woman Clothed with the Sun stands rigidly frontal and unaffected by the narrative images that accompany her but are ultimately subordinate to her iconic presence (fig. 62).

Individual monumentalized images may also be combined with a narrative series. When introduced at more or less regular intervals in a visual narrative they have the power to regulate its pace, or, more importantly, to bring it virtually to a halt at certain key scenes by rendering these as static, symmetric patterns. The device is used with
great effectiveness in the Trier and Bamberg Apocalypse cycles, in the Beatus manuscripts, and, as we shall see, in the Gothic Apocalypses.

Finally, the interrelationship of narrative and monumental images may take the form of narrative scenes essentially enlarged for placement in a monumental setting. Some scholars have suggested that the panels set up by Benedict Biscop in his church at Wearmouth may have depicted narrative scenes from the Apocalypse. The seven early eleventh-century frescoes in the baptistry in Novara, Italy, the twelfth-century frescoes in the porch at Saint-Savin, and the fourteenth-century century Angers Tapestry may all be placed in this category.

We do not know when the entire text of the Apocalypse was first embellished with miniatures or how those original illustrations may have looked. The long series of seventy-four illuminations in the ninth-century Trier Apocalypse may reflect something of the appearance of a lost, late antique prototype which may itself have been among the first to join the text of the Apocalypse with a cycle of pictures. Whether or not the Trier Apocalypse derived from such a model, it nonetheless appears to have functioned as a prototype itself. A cursory glance at two later illuminated Apocalypse manuscripts from the Carolingian centuries, Cambrai MS 386 and Valenciennes MS 99, reveals so many points of contact between their pictures and those in Trier that it seems certain the Trier Apocalypse, or a similar cycle, must have served as a model for the creation of these and probably other works.

Dependence upon models and the copying and recopying of
established cycles such as those for the Apocalypse is an artistic practice that Weitzmann has studied and about which he writes, "once the scenes were created, later generations of illustrators copied, whenever it was possible, from the established pictorial archetype, and comparatively seldom was a new cycle of miniatures invented for a text which existed already with pictures."9

But while reliance upon models is a common practice in the history of art, so too is the alteration of sources by copyists in response to changes in taste and interpretation. Yet such changes can be made without obliterating the source of one's inspiration. For example, in copying a series of Apocalypse illustrations, an artist might exchange one subject or motif for another; or relatively minor figures and objects might be added or deleted or even moved from one picture to another. One section of the cycle might be lengthened by adding illustrations while another section might be shortened by dropping certain subjects from the cycle. Yet, despiite such changes, the fundamental shape and appearance of the model remains intact.

The pre-Gothic Apocalypse cycles in which we may search for the iconographic sources of the English Gothic cycles evolved gradually and not strictly uniformly. In the extant works new subjects and motifs frequently appear in some manuscript cycles during the same period or in the same place where in other cycles older forms persist. The complicated development and interrelationship of these early Apocalypse cycles has been studied by Peter Klein and plotted by him on a stemma similar to that drawn up by Neuss for the Beatus Apocalypse manuscripts (fig. 1).10 The manuscripts Klein has studied include many of the
Fig. 1. Stemma of illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts before the thirteenth century according to P. Klein ("Les cycles de l'Apocalypse," p. 160).
same works that I will cite as sources for the illustrations in the 'St Albans' Apocalypses.

Mention above of the Beatus Apocalypses raises the question of the nature of the relationship between this important group of manuscripts and the English and French Gothic cycles. The popular and influential commentary on the Apocalypse composed by the Austurlan monk Beatus of Liebana about 776 was an original compilation of the works of earlier exegetes, particularly those like the African scholar Tyconius, who tended to take a moralizing view of apocalyptic symbols. The many copies of Beatus' commentary were accompanied by illustrations in a distinctive style of simple, abstract figures, two-dimensional shapes, and brilliant, non-naturalistic colors. The Beatus manuscripts appear to have little in common with Carolingian and later illustrated Apocalypses created beyond the Pyrenees. In addition to their unique stylistic qualities, the Beatus manuscripts are steeped in a native Spanish vocabulary of iconographic and compositional idioms. These features include single, large illuminations spread across two facing pages such as that for the Woman Clothed with the Sun in the Morgan Beatus (Pierpont Morgan Lib. M 644, fols. 152v-1534), dynamic circular compositions like that for the Adoration of the Lamb in the Beatus from San Millan in Madrid (Acad. de al Hist., Cod. Aemill. 33, fol. 92r), and illustrations for supplementary texts including Jerome's Commentary on Daniel and Gregory of Elvira's Commentary on Noah's Ark in the Morgan Beatus. Nevertheless, recent scholarship also recognizes certain similarities between the Beatus manuscripts and some Carolingian Apocalypse cycles
particularly in the selection of subjects for illustration and in some
details of iconography. Snyder notes, for example, that the
illuminations for Apocalypse 6 in both the Beatus of Valladolid
(Biblioteca Santa Cruz) and the Trier Apocalypse show the first
horseman crowned by an angel and an anthropomorphic *infernum* following
behind the fourth rider. And in the Beatus of San Sever (Paris, Bibli.
Nat. Lat. 8878) as in Trier the winds restrained by the four angels in
Apocalypse 7 appear as winged heads in the hands of the angels.13

These similarities and many others strongly suggest a common Early
Christian prototype lying behind both the Spanish and the earliest
northern European Apocalypse cycles. Yet beyond this conclusion is the
complicated matter of later direct contacts between the Beatus
Apocalypses and those farther north. During the tenth century Spanish
illuminators adopted the Interlace style of Frankish decorative
initials as well as aspects of Carolingian iconography.14 Conversely,
imagery originating in the Beatus manuscripts appears at times to have
migrated northward. Perhaps the most prominent example of the latter
is the miniature of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Trinity College
Apocalypse (fol. 25v) where the holy city is not shown in elevation as
is customary in the Gothic cycles but laid out four-square as if seen
from above in the manner of the corresponding miniatures in the Morgan
Beatus (fol. 222v) and the Beatus in Gerona (Cathedral MS 7, fol.
203v).

Yet in spite of occasional exchanges of single motifs between the
Beatus cycles and the Gothic Apocalypses, the majority of scholarly
opinion holds firmly to the view that the Beatus manuscripts as a group
belong to a Spanish tradition of apocalyptic imagery developing largely in isolation from the rest of Europe. The existence of a common Early Christian source for both the Spanish and northern branches of Apocalypses art is certainly very likely. But, at the same time, close comparative analysis of the picture cycles in the fully-developed products of both traditions must lead to the conclusion that neither group can have contributed in any significant way to shaping the other.

My findings indicate, rather, that those who designed the thirteenth-century Apocalypse manuscripts relied primarily upon the northern tradition of Apocalypse imagery in narrative cycles, and that the immediate sources upon which they drew were probably created no earlier than the twelfth century. Thus in illustrating the Apocalypse, the Gothic artist did not revive a dead or even a dormant theme. On the contrary, he extended and expanded a long-standing artistic tradition, and, at the same time, he, as James writes, "breathed new life into it." To understand the meaning of James' remark, we must ask to what expressive end the Gothic artist applied his sources. What new purpose and significance did he give to the Apocalypse visual narrative?

The Apocalypse, by its very nature, is different from other types of narrative. Although a visionary experience, John's account possesses a discernable organization of events leading from a beginning to a middle and an end or climax, and is therefore a narrative in the strictest sense. But the Apocalypse lacks the clear sense of incremental time and of logically related actions and motivations found in a recounting of historical events such as those in the Old
Testament, the Gospels, or the lives of saints. Spiritual in content, the figures and events represented in the Apocalypse defy univocal meanings. Its narrative form is at times strictly sequential as, for example, in the opening of the seven seals, the blowing of the seven trumpets, and the pouring out of the seven vails. But at other times strict narrative sequence and the logical, causal relationship of events is less obvious. The narrative is interrupted by regressions and recapitulations. Sudden, unexplained reversals occur in the action, and the identities and activities of certain beasts, angels, and others become confused.

Because the Apocalypse lacks strict narrative unity and coherence, it permits, even encourages, a variety of exegetical approaches. In her study of the literary and visual interpretations of the Apocalypse during the Middle Ages, Barbara Nolan asserts that the prevailing theological outlook of a particular period determined whether the loose associations in the Apocalypse narrative were stressed or mitigated.16

Nolan sees a radical transformation in the literary and artistic form of the Apocalypse between the early and late Middle Ages. In a critique of early medieval commentaries on the Apocalypse by, among others, Bede and Beatus, Nolan finds that these exegetes treat John's visions as abstract allegories or universal moral symbols. This symbolic explication of the Apocalypse according to Nolan likewise dominates the form of the early medieval Apocalypse picture cycles, which, while not necessarily accompanied by a contemporary commentary, nevertheless respond to the prevailing zeitgeist.
To illustrate her point, Nolan analyzes the illuminations in the Carolingian Trier Apocalypse and Cambrai 386 and those in the Apocalypse cycles in Valenciennes 99 and Paris 1132. She finds that the designers of these works suppress any narrative tendencies that may have been present in their Early Christian models emphasizing instead certain "key images"—Christ, the Lamb, the One Enthroned, John—and their associated abstract and symbolic meanings. Like Bede and Alcuin, the Carolingian artists treat these images as discrete symbols which when repeated throughout the entire series of pictures "sternly subordinate the narrative process of John’s vision, so vividly described in the text, to the 'intellectual', universal content."^17

By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, according to Nolan, Christians had begun to perceive a systematic relationship between specific events in history and God’s movement of his Church toward the eschaton. Man found himself in the midst of a divinely ordained, unalterable course of events whose fulfillment would come at some future time. In contemporary commentaries on the Apocalypse, including that by the little known Berengaudus, John’s visions are taken as symbols for real historical periods and events. In the linear, forward movement of these visions were represented a succession of actual historical occurrences leading from the past to the present and ultimately to the establishment of God’s kingdom on earth. Among the more famous practitioners of this style of exegesis was the twelfth-century Calabrian prophet Joachim of Flore (d. 1201). He found mirrored in the Apocalypse all of sacred history from the Creation to the eschaton, and saw his own generation on the very threshold of the
The Gothic Illustrated Apocalypse, like its predecessors in the early Middle Ages, corresponds to the contemporary commentaries. Shaped by the knowledge that time is the instrument of God's will, the Gothic Apocalypse takes the form of a strictly sequential visual narrative. The steady progression of its illustrations is a metaphor for the orderly stages by which the world, through John's symbolic visions, moves ever nearer to its end. Differing markedly from the symbolic, discrete imagery of the earlier Apocalypse cycles, the effect of this new linear form upon the viewer is dramatic as "step by step, and page by page, he can follow the course of the revelation with John, understanding through the gloss what the images signify for his own life and times as well as the final times of human history."

In Nolan's view, a general theological conversion from spiritual and omnitemporal concerns to increasingly temporal concerns motivates the change evident between early and late medieval discourses on the Apocalypse. In visual narrative, the corresponding change is from a series of discrete, predominately symbolic images presented in a series, to a more fully developed linear narrative. This important transformation reflects the growing awareness in the latter Middle Ages of time as an objective, measurable quantity. The early Middle Ages had no comprehensive view of time as containing a meaningfully related succession of events. Time, insofar as it was considered in the early Middle Ages, was an inconsequential part of a world whose essential quality was its transitoriness, and in which the truth of temporal things was discernible only in the light of the divine order existing
outside of time. By the thirteenth century the evidence of chronicle
and literature shows that the idea of time had changed. Time was a
continuum on which past, present, and future events could be plotted.
This continuum provided a future which could be anticipated and planned
and which depended upon the present. The future was a certain goal
approached by means of a succession of related events. Richard
Glasser's description of the late medieval attitude toward time can
also be read as a description of the new aesthetic attitude toward the
Apocalypse visual narrative: "time had become something perceptible, a
visual order whose beauty was appreciated. . .the clock became a symbol
of a well ordered course of events. . .Humanity increasingly fell in
with an objective temporal order to which all were subject."

The picture cycles in the 'St Albans' manuscripts represent a
major revision of the structure of the Illustrated Apocalypse. They
place the highest priority on constant linear progress, unity and
causality consistent with the late medieval attitude toward time. It
is the linear, temporal form of John's visions that engages the Gothic
designer just as the late medieval exegete expounds the succession of
historical eras symbolized by the text of the Apocalypse. The
Illustrator concentrates on creating a sense of the Insistent movement
of enchain events unfolding in time. The actors who play out these
events--John, the angels, beasts, and others--reappear from scene to
scene creating a temporal continuity by observing the rules of the
unity of time and place.

At the same time, John as seer assumes a more prominent role in
the narrative by moving into a constant, direct relationship with his visions. As intermediary between our human realm and the divine, he watches and reacts to his visions with such human emotion that the viewer is moved to empathize with John's response. Through John's constant presence, the omnitemporal plan of the Apocalypse is enacted as a drama in human terms, still as real and immediate for the thirteenth century as it was for John on Patmos. It is toward this presentation of the Apocalypse in human terms including the human experience of time, that the naturalism of Gothic style must also be said to contribute. But perhaps the most dramatic expression of the "humanizing" of the Apocalypse is that feature found in so many of the Gothic cycles including four of the five 'St Albans' books. This is the subordination of the Apocalypse to the life and ministry of John. The divine revelation given to the Evangelist is but one episode in his biography and as such it is preceded and followed by an often extensive illustrated account of John's earthly life (figs. 5, 6).

In my study of the Iconographic sources and narrative technique of the 'St Albans' Apocalypses, I propose to concentrate primarily on Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fr. 403. I believe Paris 403 holds an important pivotal position in the history of Apocalypse art. I have shown in the preceding chapter that on stylistic grounds, Paris 403 is one of only two English Apocalypses, Trinity being the other, that can be securely dated to before 1250. I contend that both of these Apocalypse cycles are more closely tied to and dependent upon the earlier tradition of Apocalypse art than are any of the other Gothic cycles including the other four 'St Albans' Apocalypses. My assumption
will, I believe, be borne out by careful analysis and comparison of the illuminations in Paris 403—the cycle that I shall be primarily concerned with—with those of its predecessors and apparent sources.

To investigate the sources of the Apocalypse imagery in Paris 403, I have selected seven visions from among those illustrated in the manuscript cycle. These seven episodes represent some, thought not all, of what are usually considered climactic moments or major turning points in the course of John's visions. Because of this distinction, these visions are represented quite frequently in the history of Apocalypse art and are rarely omitted from the pre-Gothic cycles. It will therefore be possible to trace the iconographic evolution of these visions through the greatest number of antecedent images.

I will discuss each vision separately. A description of the vision as it appears in Paris 403 will be followed by an analysis of the evolution of this subject through the early manuscript cycles and in selected large-scale works based on manuscript models. I will call attention not merely to the subject content of these works but also to such things as composition and manner of presentation including the presence or absence of particular figures, activities, and attributes. With the aid of this evidence, I will attempt to follow the general shape of the evolution of each vision from the Carolingian period to Paris 403. In this way we will be able to see each of these visions in Paris 403 as the product of a continuous tradition and to understand how the designer of Paris 403 extended and enriched this tradition in the form of a distinctively Gothic visual narrative.

The seven visions I have chosen are: the Vision of the Lord and
the Lamb, the Four Horsemen, the Opening of the Fifth Seal, the Great Angel, the Woman Clothed with the Sun, the Rider Faithful and True, and the Heavenly Jerusalem.

The Vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb

The revelation given to John on the island of Patmos opens with a series of great theophanies. In Apocalypse 4 and 5 John sees visions of the Lord and of the Lamb. He tells first of seeing a door open in heaven and of hearing a voice telling him to "come up here". He sees the One sitting on the throne, a rainbow like an emerald surrounding the throne; twenty-four elders, lightenings, thunderings and voices, and seven lamps of fire before the throne. John sees also a "sea of glass like unto crystal" before the throne, and four winged beasts full of eyes who speak continuously, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come."

In chapter five, the Vision of the Lamb, John sees the sealed book in the hand of "him that sat on the throne". He then sees a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book and to loose the seals thereof? And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon. And I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon (Apoc. 5:2-4).

John is soon comforted by one of the twenty-four elders who says to him, "Weep not: behold the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof." John then sees the Lamb with seven horns and seven eyes take the sealed book from the right hand of the Lord seated on the throne. This done, the four beasts and the twenty-four elders with harps and
golden vials fall down before the Lord and the Lamb and worship them. They are joined in praise by the angels and by every creature in heaven, on earth, and under the earth.

In Paris 403 the illustration of the Vision of Heaven appears on folio 6v (fig. 17). John stands at the left with an angel who points through an open doorway and holds in his hand a scroll that reads, "come up here, and I will show you things which must be hereafter." John sees beyond the door the throne set in heaven and the One who sits on the throne holding the book sealed with seven seals. He is seated on an emerald colored rainbow. "Voices" and "thunders" proceed out of the throne and surrounding it are the twenty-four crowned elders and the four beasts. At the upper left hang the seven lamps, and to the right of the lamps the sea of glass flows down vertically before the throne.

The illustration on folio 7r of Paris 403 depicts the events of Apocalypse 5, the Vision of the Lamb (fig. 18). Uppermost in this miniature is the Lord seated within a circular mandorla and holding an open book. At the left, just below him and shown half-length is the angel described in the text whose scroll asks, "Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?" At the far left John sits weeping because no man was found worthy to open the book; but one of the elders consoles him and tells him not to weep for the "Lion of the Tribe of Juda," that is the Lamb, shall open the book. Directly below the enthroned Lord is the Lamb in a clypeus surrounded by the four beasts and the twenty-four elders with harps. Within the Lord's mandorla the head of the Lamb is shown a second time as he takes the
sealed book from the One on the throne. Above, on either side of the Lord and the Lamb, angels add their praises to that of the elders and the four beasts.

The lengthy commentary which accompanies these subjects in Paris 403 emphasizes the allegorical meaning behind the outward appearances and actions John sees. Thus the door open in heaven symbolizes the good prelate who understands holy scripture and knows that the Old Testament instructs him to fight against sin. By the book is meant the Saviour who buys man again; and the Lamb who takes the book on the right hand of the Lord means God's son.

The visions of the Lord and the Lamb in Apocalypse 4 and 5 have inspired a great many symbolic, monumental images in Early Christian and medieval art. The panoramas based on these texts and symbolizing the ultimate victory of Christ and his Church appear on large-scale works, portable objects, minor arts, and manuscripts. Such works properly belong more to the ancient tradition of isolated, symbolic images than to the history of cyclic Apocalypse art; and usually depict the Lord or the Lamb in majesty and adored by angels, the four beasts, and the twenty-four elders. These subjects are also a constant part of Apocalypse narrative cycles in manuscripts, but when presented in this context the visions often incorporate supplementary incidents not part of the monumental images. Thus the manuscript cycles may include the door opened in heaven, the angel who asks, "Who is worthy to open the book?" or John weeping and consoled by the elder.

In the Carolingian Trier Apocalypse the visions of the Lord and the Lamb are shown in five full-page illuminations. Of these five
pictures, the first two refer to the Vision of Heaven. The first (fol. 14v) depicts the Lord enthroned upon a double mandorla with, at the left, John beside the open door in heaven, and, at the right, the angel who beckons John to "come up here" (fig. 19). The twenty-four elders with halos and scrolls are seated below on long benches. The next illustration (fol. 15v), also to chapter four, shows the Lord enthroned surrounded by the four beasts and below them the seven lamps. At the bottom of the panel wavy lines indicate the sea of glass (fig. 20).

The Vision of the Lamb in chapter five receives three illustrations in the Trier Apocalypse. The first of these (fol. 16v) shows the Lord enthroned beside the book with seven seals (fig. 21). John stands at the left and at the far right is the angel who asks, "Who is worthy to open the book?" Below, the twenty-four elders in two groups raise laural wreaths in praise.

In the next scene (fol. 17v) John weeps and is consoled by the elder (fig. 22). The Lamb in a clypeus surrounded by the four winged beasts appears above them.

A contemporary image of John Consoled by the Elder is found on the frontispiece for the Apocalypse in the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bib. Nat., Cod. lat. 1, fol. 449r), one of the great Carolingian Bibles from Tours. Here the subject is rendered in a small sketch near the middle of the page (fig. 23). Nearby is another small drawing of the Great Angel of Apocalypse 10 standing on land and sea. Herbert Kessler, who has studied the sources and symbolism of this page and of the related Apocalypse frontispieces in the other Tourian Bibles, finds that a number of the visual components seem to be drawn from narrative cycles.
of the Apocalypse. Thus the Tours artists may have looked to sources such as the Trier and Valenciennes cycles for models from which to fashion the Lamb, the sealed book, and the four beasts. These individual elements were then recombined in a new, non-narrative context. Kessler points out that the "emphatically narrative" character of the two small drawings on the Vivian Bible frontispiece is evidence that they too are clearly drawn from an Illustrated Apocalypse cycle. Kessler's assessment seems correct and can be verified by the fact that the subject of John Consolated by the Elder repeatedly appears in Apocalypse cycles during the Carolingian period, and continues to appear in post-Carolingian cycles up to and including our miniatures in Paris 403.

The third and last Trier Illustration for Apocalypse 5 (fol. 18v) is a great theophany with the Lord holding the sealed book and standing in a clipeus surrounded by the four beasts. Below them is a large group of standing angels, and beneath these the twenty-four elders with harps and vials stand in two groups.

The two Illustrations for Apocalypse 4 and 5 in Paris 403 contain exactly the same subjects found in the series of five Trier illuminations even though the five Trier scenes are reduced to only two in the Gothic cycle. Although an admittedly long period of time separates the Trier Apocalypse from Paris 403—some four hundred years—I believe a virtually continuous Iconographic tradition can be established between elements of these two cycles. Evidence for this continuous tradition comes from extant Illustrated Apocalypse cycles dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. And in these, as we
shall see, the phenomenon of conflation or condensation of the visions of the Lord and the Lamb, so striking in the Paris 403 compositions, is already developing.

A twelfth-century German Apocalypse at Oxford (Bodleian Library MS Bodley 352) containing Halmo of Auxerre's ninth-century commentary may be a direct precursor of Paris 403. At the same time, scholars have long recognized the close relationship between Bodley 352 and the earlier Trier Apocalypse with which it may form a link to the Carolingian period.31

In Illustrating Apocalypse 4 and 5, Bodley 352, like Paris 403, reduces the five Trier subjects to two, one illustration for each chapter. The first of these compositions occupies the lower half of folio 5v (fig. 24). John stands at the left and is beckoned by the angel, here indicated only by the words "come up here." John looks through the open door at the vision of the throne set in heaven and the One who sits on the throne. The Lord, seated within an almond-shaped mandorla, holds the sealed book and a disk. He is surrounded by the four beasts and the twenty-four crowned elders. The seven lamps are suspended beneath him. The sea of glass flows down from above the Lord's mandorla to left and right. The composition is nearly identical to that in Paris 403 except that the Paris manuscript includes the "voices" and "thunderings" from the throne, the rainbow on which the Lord is seated, the instruments played by the elders, and the angel who raises the Lord's mandorla above his head. The seven lamps hanging beneath the throne in Bodley 352 appear in the upper left corner of Paris 403.32 An interesting parallel between the two manuscripts is
the sea of glass which in Bodley 352 flows down from above the enthroned Lord and which in Paris 403 appears as a wavy vertical strip in a corresponding position to the left of the Lord's throne. This strip and the rainbow on which the Lord is seated both disappear from the Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 versions of the subject.

The next illustration in Bodley 352 shows the Vision of the Lamb in Apocalypse 5 (fig. 25). All of the subjects spread over three separate scenes in the Trier Apocalypse are here condensed in a single image that in many respects anticipates Paris 403. In the center is the Lord enthroned. At the far left is the angel who asks, "Who is worthy to open the book?" At the right the elder consoles the weeping John. Here also are the Lion of Juda, the four beasts, and the Lamb who takes the book from the Lord's right hand. Farther down the page are the angels and near them the twenty-four elders shown twice: first surrounding the image of the Lord and a second time within the lowest register. Beneath this second group of elders is a narrow band of fish representing the creatures under the earth who worship the Lord.

While the iconography of the Vision of the Lamb in Paris 403 is virtually identical to that in the Bodley 352 Apocalypse the composition of the Paris miniature is significantly different. The Paris 403 vision is more compressed than that in Oxford. In the former the Lamb, standing in a cibora directly beneath the Lord, is a prominent part of the composition; and by placing the two images on a single vertical axis, the Paris 403 artist clearly relates them symbolically. In Bodley 352 the action of the Lamb taking the book from the Lord's right hand is emphasized and not the symbolic
relationship of the two beings.

The symbolic juxtaposition of the Lord and the Lamb found in Paris 403 has precedents in some eleventh and twelfth-century drawings based on Apocalypse 4 and 5. A twelfth-century drawing at Auxerre Cathedral reverses the composition in Paris 403, but the meaning is clearly the same (fig. 26). The Vision of the Lamb holding the sealed book and inscribed in a clypeus is placed directly above the corresponding image of the Lord enthroned amidst the four beasts and the twenty-four elders.33

In the eleventh-century Roda Bible (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 6), a single miniature illustrates Apocalypse 4 and 5 (fig. 27). Compositionally, this compact drawing closely resembles the second of the Paris 403 pictures. In the center of the Roda drawing sits the enthroned Lord surrounded by the four beasts and holding the seven-sealed book. On either side sit the crowned elders of chapter four. The seven lamps are suspended from beneath the Lord's mandorla. The Vision of the Lamb in chapter five occupies the lower half of the drawing, where the Lamb with the book stands within a clypeus directly beneath the Vision of the Lord as in Paris 403. The four beasts encircle the Lamb; and on either side of the Lamb are the angels and the elders with their harps and vials. In the upper left corner, where he also appears in Paris 403, the half-length angel asks, "Who is worthy to open the book?" John weeping and consoled by the elder is directly below this angel, again corresponding to Paris 403 where John and the elder also appear at the left near the angel. As noted above, John Consoled by the Elder seems to be an almost constant part of the
Iconography of chapter five in the Apocalypse narrative cycles. On the contrary, the subject is not included in formal, monumental images based on Apocalypse 5. In the twelfth-century Berlin Beatus (Berlin, Staatsbibl., MS theol. lat. fol. 561), Apocalypse 4 and 5 are again combined in a single illustration. And in a composition similar to those in Paris 403 and the Roda Bible, a kneeling elder near the right margin turns aside to console a troubled John standing nearby with his hand on his cheek (fig. 28).

The angel, who like Atlas holds up the Lord's mandorla in the Vision of Heaven in Paris 403, is found in no previous illustration for this text. On the tympanum at Adast in the Pyrenees, a similar winged figure supports a Chi Rho monogram in the midst of several other Apocalyptic motifs. This image of an angel holding aloft a medallion accompanies Apocalypse theophanies in many vault paintings and mosaics such as those at San Vitale, Ravenna and S. Isadore, Leon.

In the preceding discussion I have tried to show that the illustrations for the vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb (Apocalypse 4 and 5) in Paris 403 may ultimately be descended from an early Apocalypse cycle perhaps like that in Trier 31. The illustrations for these visions in the Trier Apocalypse correspond closely to those designed for Paris 403. In the Carolingian cycles generally the iconography of these visions most frequently includes the four beasts and the Lamb with the sealed book. The Lion of the Tribe of Juda may also be represented, but this literal figure of the Lamb disappears after the twelfth century and is not found in the Gothic Apocalypses. However, the angel who asks "Who is worthy to open the
book?" and John weeping and consoled by the elder are subjects frequently associated with the Vision of the Lamb in the narrative cycles.

The condensation of the five Trier Illustrations into the two in Paris 403 is prefigured in Bodley 352 whose two illuminations parallel those in Paris 403 in both content and composition. In Paris 403, the Vision of the Lamb is a highly symmetrical and compressed composition which stresses the identification of the Lamb with the Lord enthroned. The eleventh-century Roda Bible provides a compositional model which may be similar to that on which the Paris 403 Image is based.

The Opening of the First Four Seals and the Appearance of The Four Horsemen

Chapter six of the Apocalypse begins with the Lamb opening the first four of the seven seals on the book given to him by the Lord seated on the throne.36 With the breaking of each of the four seals in succession, there appears one of four beasts of Apocalypse 5 who announces a horse and rider. As the Lamb opens the first seal, thunder is heard and the first of the four beasts tells John to "come and see":

And I saw and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer (Apoc. 6:2).

The opening of each of the first four seals is treated as a separate scene in all of the 'St Albans' Apocalypses. In Paris 403, the Lamb, haloed and within a circle raised above the top frame of the picture, opens the first seal of the book (fig. 29). John stands at the left of the panel as an angel, the first of the four beasts, descends from a cloud to speak to him and to point toward the right at
the rider on a white horse. The horseman rides from left to right across the panel but turns back in his saddle toward John and the angel to receive the crown from a hand extending out of the clouds. In his left hand the rider holds a bow and arrow.

The commentary in Paris 403 conforms to the common medieval interpretation of the first rider as Jesus Christ and the white horse he rides as the Church. The second rider represents the devil, the third the heretics, and the fourth the hypocrites.37

In visualizing the text, the Paris 403 artist depicts every agent and action that John describes. Such completeness is equaled by only the Carolingian Apocalypse cycles. The Trier Apocalypse illustrates chapter six with a framed, full-page illumination on folio 17v (fig. 30). In the upper half of this scene stands the Lamb in a clipeus holding the closed, sealed book. He is surrounded by the four beasts of chapter five—the angel, eagle, lion, and ox—who return in chapter six to announce the appearance of each horseman. In the lower half of the picture the four horsemen are placed together, arranged from upper left to lower right in the order of their appearance in the text. The nimbed first rider at the left carries his bow in his hand while before him, in the center of the scene, an angel extends to him a crown in the shape of a laurel wreath.

James Snyder proposes that the designer of the Trier Illustration probably compiled this full-page picture from a series of smaller individual drawings of the four riders inserted into the text columns of his model.38 This would explain the awkward disposition of the horsemen from upper left to lower right, a composition that would
naturally result from a right-handed artist’s transposing the riders one at a time from the model. It is conceivable that a model with column pictures might include for each rider the Lamb unsealing the book and one of the four beasts, and for the first rider, the angel bestowing the laurel crown. Snyder proposes that the Trier designer conflated four individual drawings of riders into one by bringing the four riders together beneath a single image of the Lamb with the sealed book and surrounded by the four beasts.39 Thus Trier may preserve the basic elements of an older picture of the Opening of the First Seal, a picture which, like Paris 403, shows every element of John’s vision: the beast (angel), the Lamb with the book, and the crowning of the rider.

Like the Trier manuscript, the frontispiece to the Apocalypse in the ninth-century Vivian Bible shows the first horseman accompanied by the beast and the Lamb with the sealed book (fig. 23). As already noted, this frontispiece is composed of several narrative elements drawn probably from an early cycle of Apocalypse illustrations and recombined in a new symbolic context.40 In the upper half of the illustration the book with seven seals lies on a draped throne surrounded by the four beasts half-length with open books. The Lamb stands beside the sealed book and has already loosed the first of its seals. On top of the book is the first rider wearing a Phrygian hat and holding a bow and arrow in his right hand.

The illustrations for the first horseman in the Valenciennes Apocalypse (Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. MS 99) and its sister manuscript in Paris (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. nouv. acq. 1132) resemble the
compositions in Trier, the Vivian Bible and Paris 403 in that they also emphasize the pairing of the first rider with the Lamb opening the sealed book (fig. 31). In the Valenciennes-Paris cycle the first and second riders appear together in one rectangular panel. At the left the first draws his bow. He is not given the crown and no beast announces him, but beneath the rider in a separate register, the Lamb releases the first seal of the book.

The complete visual description of the Opening of the First Seal in Paris 403 and the Carolingian Apocalypses also distinguishes the same subject in Bodley 352. The four riders of Apocalypse 6 are shown on folio 6v, a full-page illumination divided horizontally into four registers (fig. 32). Each rider is shown in the company of one of the four beasts and the Lamb holding the sealed book. The first horseman rides to the right, his bow drawn against the second horseman. Above the first rider a hand holds out a crown. This medieval symbol of divine reward here replaces the standing angel extending the laurel wreath in Trier.

The association of the Lamb with the book, the beast, and the giving of the crown with the first rider in Bodley 352 corresponds to both the Trier and Paris 403 versions of the subject. Moreover, by grouping all four riders on a single page each accompanied by the Lamb with the book and by one of the four beasts, Bodley 352 reveals that it, like Trier, likely is compiled from four originally separate pictures. Four such discrete illustrations appear in the twelfth-century Liber Floridus. Four contiguous framed panels grouped at the top of folio 11, each panel devoted to one of the four horsemen,
represent the type of arrangement which may have served as a source for
Paris 403. Here, however, the Iconography of the first rider is
reduced to only the bow and arrow he carries and the outstretched
divine hand that places a crown on his head (fig. 33).

A similar image of the first rider, perhaps related to that in the
Liber Floridus, is found among the remains of a twelfth-century apse
fresco at Moabec abbey church. The painting shows a lively mounted
figure with short cape and drawn bow. A crown, barely visible above
the rider's head, securely identifies him as the first horseman of the
Apocalypse.44

As the Lamb opens the second seal, John hears the second beast
tell him to "come and see." A rider on a red horse then appears:


and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the
earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given
unto him a great sword (Apoc. 6:2).

The opening of the second seal in Paris 403 is the subject of the
framed panel at the top of folio 8r (fig. 34). As with the opening of
the first seal, the Paris artist reproduces every aspect of the vision
John describes. The Lamb shown opening the second seal of the book is
again inscribed in a clipeus above the picture frame. At the left side
of the panel, the second beast, a lion, directs John's gaze toward the
right where the second horseman is riding away from them. He turns in
his saddle to receive in his right hand a sword given by a divine hand
from above.

The full-page illustration in the Trier Apocalypse shows the
second horseman just below and to the left of the first. He carries
the sword upraised in his right hand (fig. 30). As previously
mentioned, the Lamb in a cîpeus holding the sealed book and surrounded by the four beasts may reflect an older model in which the Lamb, book and appropriate beast were each repeated in separate illustrations of the four riders. Thus the source for the second horseman in the Trier Apocalypse may have resembled the same subject in Oxford 352 where the Lamb with the book and the beast appear together above the second horseman (fig. 32). The illustrations in both Trier and Oxford 352 contain the same full complement of characters as in Paris 403.

Less explicit illustrations of the second horseman are found in the Valenciennes-Paris cycle and in the Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS bibl. 140) where only the Lamb with the book accompanies the second rider. In the Liber Floridus, the Lamb, book and beast are omitted, but as in Paris 403, the second horseman is handed his sword by a divine hand (figs. 31, 33).

As the Lamb opens the third seal, John hears the third beast tell him to "come and see." A rider appears mounted on a black horse and in his hand he holds a pair of balances:

And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine (Apoc. 6:6).

The opening of the third seal is at the top of folio 8v in Paris 403 (fig. 35). The Lamb shown opening the third seal on the book is inscribed in a cîpeus above the upper frame. At the left inside the panel the third beast, an ox, directs John to look to the right at a rider on a black horse moving to the right. The rider holds the scales over the head of his mount with his right hand while in his left he holds the reins and a long stick.
In the Trier Apocalypse, the rider with the balances rides toward the right at the bottom center of the panel (fig. 30). Above him are the single presentations of John, the beast, and the Lamb with the sealed book that accompany all four horsemen on the page. Bodley 352, reflecting perhaps the model of the Trier page, surrounds the third rider with separate images of the Lamb, book, and beast in the manner of Paris 403 (fig. 32).

In the Valenciennes-Paris cycle the third and fourth horseman, like the first two, are together in one long rectangular panel (fig. 36). In the left half of the panel the third rider holds the balances out over his horse's head. In a separate register across the bottom of the panel the Lamb is shown opening the third seal of the book. In the Bamberg Apocalypse also, the third rider with the balances is accompanied by the Lamb, although the Lamb unexplainably grasps a crown instead of the book. The Liber Floridus and the Roda Bible again reduce the supplementary elements of the vision recorded in the other cycles. Both these manuscripts illustrate only the horseman holding out the scales (figs. 33, 37).

The fourth seal is opened next and John hears the fourth beast tell him to "come and see":

And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And Power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth (Apoc. 6:8).

Paris 403 places the opening of the fourth seal on folio 9r (fig. 38). The Lamb opening the sealed book is again inscribed in a clipeus above the upper frame of the panel. Within the panel, the relationship of
John to his vision is reversed from that of the previous three horsemen. John stands at the right where he is addressed by the fourth beast, an eagle. The eagle directs John's gaze to the left where the fourth horseman springs toward them out of an open hell-mouth. Drawn in profile, the jaws of hell are lined with sharp teeth and with the agonized faces of the damned, among them clerics, a king, and a well dressed woman. In his right hand the horseman carries a flaming bowl.

As with the three prior horsemen, the Paris 403 illustration of the fourth horseman is distinguished by its completeness, supplying as it does all of the elements described by the text: the Lamb opening the sealed book, the beast and John, and the rider followed by hell. All of these details, including the figure of hell, are also included in the Trier illumination where the fourth rider in the lower right corner of the page joins the three earlier horsemen beneath the Image of the Lamb surrounded by the four beasts (fig. 30). Bodley 32 shows no trailing hell-mouth, but rather the beast and the Lamb with the book accompany a hellish rider seated on a monstrous horse with a flaming tongue. This ferocious rider with pointed ears and long spiked tongue sits backward on his mount, wielding a lance with one hand and grasping with the other his horse's tail which terminates in another menacing head (fig. 32).

The Valenciennes-Paris cycle and the related Bamberg Apocalypse all depict the fourth rider without any accessories or attributes and accompanied only by the Lamb and book (fig. 36). The horseman followed by a symbol of hell is found again in the eleventh and twelfth
centuries. In the Roda Bible the fourth rider is followed by a squatting demon (fig. 37), and in the twelfth-century Berlin Beatus the fourth rider shown trampling his victims is trailed by a naked demon wearing a tiara and wielding a lance and a pitchfork. The Liber Floridus is the only version to portray the fourth horseman as a winged demon with a sword (fig. 33). Behind him is a hell-mouth in profile from which arises a man-like monster. This monster who points to his mouth and is identified by an inscription as 

In conclusion, the foregoing discussion of the opening of the first four seals and the appearance of the four horsemen in Paris 403 and earlier Apocalypse cycles reveals that in terms of iconography and design Paris 403 strongly resembles the earlier cycles. The resemblance is especially notable between Paris 403 and the Carolingian Trier Apocalypse. In Paris 403 each of the four horsemen is presented in a separate panel and each is accompanied by John, the Lamb opening the sealed book, and one of the four beasts who tells John to "come and see". This combination of John, the beast, the Lamb and the horseman is also encountered in the Trier Apocalypse, where, however, the four horsemen are all together beneath a single image of the Lamb and the sealed book surrounded by the four beasts. Moreover, since it is likely that the Trier composition was compiled from a late antique model in which the four riders were presented in separate illustrations, it is conceivable that in such an arrangement each rider appeared in association with one of the four beasts and the Lamb
opening the sealed book as in Paris 403. Such a format survives partially in the Valenciennes-Paris cycle in which for each rider the Lamb unsealing the book is repeated. A closer parallel is found in Bodley 352, based on a Carolingian prototype, where one of the four beasts and the Lamb with the book accompany each rider.

Specific motifs in the iconography of the four horsemen in Paris 403, including the sword bestowed upon the second rider and the symbol of famine accompanying the fourth horseman, can also be securely traced to extant Apocalypse cycles produced between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. The designer of Paris 403 must undoubtedly have based his cycle on an earlier examplar with these features.

The Opening of the Fifth Seal and the Vision of the Souls Beneath the Altar

In Apocalypse 6:9-11 the Lamb opens the fifth seal of the book and John sees beneath the altar the souls of those slain for the word of God.52 The martyrs cry out to the Lord for vengeance, and white robes are given to every one of them. But they are told that they must wait for a little while until all those who are to die for the word of God have perished.

In Paris 403 the illustration for the Opening of the Fifth Seal is found at the top of fol. 9v (fig. 39). The commentary below the illustration explains that the altar is the flesh of Jesus Christ and that John's seeing the souls under the altar means that holy men see Christ's glorified body. That the souls cry out for vengeance signifies their great desire for judgment and resurrection; but that they must
wait a little while signifies the comfort granted to those who wait for heaven.

The Fifth Seal in the Paris 403 Apocalypse is a very full composition centered around the images of the altar and the Lamb. The Lamb shown releasing the fifth seal of the book is in the upper half of a circular medallion which is not, however, like the pictures of the four horsemen, fully above the center of the upper bar of the frame, but rather bisected by this portion of the frame. The lower half of this medallion within the space of the panel is drawn as a semicircular firmament containing three stars. This firmament is directly above a large draped altar raised on three arches in the center of the panel. Beneath the center arch is a half-length angel with open arms. Lower down, beneath the altar, four naked souls face right, their hands clasped in supplication. At the right, three souls varying in size have emerged from beneath the altar. Two angels place white robes over them while the face of a third angel emerges from the firmament above the altar to address them. In the left portion of the panel, John stands holding a staff and a small book. Behind him, from the upper left corner of the panel, a hand lowers a long scroll which, like all those in Paris 403, is empty.

The Opening of the Fifth Seal in the Trier Apocalypse is found on folio 20v (fig. 40). Like the preceding scene of the four horsemen, the vision of the souls beneath the altar is surmounted by an Image of the Lamb holding the sealed book inscribed in a clipeus and surrounded by the four beasts. Here, however, the Lamb's clipeus also contains three stars like those seen with the Lamb in Paris 403. These three
stars are not mentioned in the scriptural text nor do they figure in the Paris 403 commentary. Below the Lamb and the beasts, in the center of the Trier composition, stands the draped altar. From it two groups of four naked souls proceed to left and right where on either side two large angels hold rolls of cloth.

The Fifth Seal is not illustrated in the Valenciennes-Paris Apocalypse cycle. However, the Bamberg Apocalypse contains an illustration for the Fifth Seal which may be related to that in Trier. In the center of the miniature on folio 16v stands a draped altar crossed with narrow white cloth bands (fig. 41). Above the altar stands the Lamb cross-nimbed and without the book. Beneath the altar are the souls already clothed and divided into two groups who face each other and gesticulate as if in animated conversation.

Bodley 352 and the Berlin Beatus may also preserve some elements of the Trier composition. The small illustration for the Fifth Seal in Bodley 352 shares the center panel on folio 6v with the fourth horseman (fig. 32). The draped altar stands in the upper center of the scene but the Lamb has disappeared. A large group of naked martyrs stand beneath the altar where they receive narrow cloth bands from an angel at either side. Like the Trier and Bodley 352 versions, that in the Berlin Beatus (fol. 48v) emphasizes the clothing of the souls. The draped altar here is small and positioned in the center of a building whose two wings each house a hanging lamp. Below this building is a triple arcade raised on columns within which are many nude souls. They reach up to receive their robes from divine hands visible just beneath each arch.
In the Roda Bible the Fifth Seal is shown in a small drawing on folio 106 at the bottom of the third column immediately following the corresponding text (fig. 37). In this abbreviated version the altar is a simple rectangular box beneath which are the naked martyrs, some of whom are prostrate with eyes closed while others clutch robes and look up at a divine hand extended toward them in the manner of the Berlin Beatus.54

The Opening of the Fifth Seal in Paris 403, like the Opening of the first four seals, exhibits strong links to Carolingian precursors. The Trier Apocalypse and Paris 403 both depict above the draped altar the Lamb with the sealed book accompanied by three stars, the latter not called for by the text. The Lamb is found again in the Bamberg Apocalypse but disappears from all subsequent versions before Paris 403. The Fifth Seal in Bodley 352, the Roda Bible, and the Berlin Beatus all stress the draping of the martyrs, an emphasis maintained in Paris 403 also.

The Great Angel and John Told to Measure the Temple

Apocalypse 10 opens with John's vision of the Great Angel from heaven.55 John describes the angel as

clothed with a cloud: and a rainbow was on his head, and his face was as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire. And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth (Apoc. 10:1-2).

The angel cries with a loud voice and after that seven thunders are heard. John is about to write the thunders' utterances when he hears a voice tell him to "write them not." The Great Angel then raises his hand and declares "that time shall be no longer" but that "the mystery
of God shall be finished." A voice from heaven tells John to take the book which the angel holds in his hand and to eat it. After doing so, John tells us it was sweet as honey in his mouth but in his belly it was bitter. Then the Great Angel tells John that he must prophesy before many peoples, nations, tongues, and kings.

At the beginning of the next chapter (Apoc. 11), the Great Angel gives John a rod and tells him to "arise and measure the temple of God, and the altar and them that adore therein."

In Paris 403 the events concerning the Great Angel are illustrated in two framed panels on folios 16r-16v (figs. 42, 43). In the first scene John is seated at the left behind a writing stand as an angel appears above him and warns him not to write. Before them in the center of the panel sits the Great Angel surrounded by clouds. A rainbow crosses his brow, he places one foot on the land, the other on the sea, and holds an open book. At the far right, within another cloud, are the seven human-headed "thunders" arranged in a circle. Beneath them, in the lower right corner of the composition, is a tree that, because it is not required by the text or commentary and because its square shape corresponds precisely to its setting, seems to have been intended only as a space-filler.

The second scene in Paris 403 shows the Great Angel presenting his book to John and John commanded to measure the temple. The Great Angel is again seated in the center of the composition. He raises his right hand and with his left gives the open book to John at the left who takes the book in his mouth. An angel descends from above John, touches his shoulder and directs him to take the book. In the right
section of the same panel is John Told to Measure the temple. A hand extends from the cloud surrounding the Great Angel and gives a rod to John standing at the right. He stands before a temple within which are three kneeling worshippers.

The commentary in Paris 403 explains that the Great Angel is God's Son. The seven thunders represent the preachers since the Apostles, and the command that John should not write what the thunders spoke means that at the coming of Antichrist the preaching of the Gospel shall cease. The book that the Great Angel gives to John is Holy Scripture. That the book was sweet in John's mouth but bitter in his belly signifies that God's word is pleasant to hear, to read, and to preach, but it is difficult to live. The rod given to John is Holy Scripture, and the measuring of the temple means that preacher and prelate ought to apply themselves to good works.

The Trier Apocalypse illustrates the same three events from the text of the Great Angel as Paris 403. The first drawing on folio 31r shows John seated behind a writing stand his stylus poised above an open roll (fig. 44). Before him stands the Great Angel on land and sea, his right hand raised and an open book in his left. John looks up at a divine hand that warns him not to write. In the second Trier scene on folio 32r the Great Angel gives John the book while above them a divine hand blesses (fig. 45). Present also are the seven angels who sound their trumpets one by one between Apocalypse 8:7 and the end of Apocalypse 11. The final illustration on folio 33r shows the Great Angel handing John the rod with which to measure the temple (fig. 46). In the lower section of this scene are seven men holding crowns or
disks who may be either those described in chapter eleven verse one who worship in the temple or the Gentiles mentioned in verse two who shall tread the holy city under foot.

The illustrations for the Great Angel in the other Carolingian Apocalypse cycles concentrate on the same events but present them in a more abbreviated form. In the first of two drawings in Valenciennes-Paris, John stands beside the Great Angel who holds the open book in his hand. In the second scene the angel gives the book to John who receives it in both hands. A related pair of illustrations in the Bamberg Apocalypse show John first standing before the Great Angel who holds out the open book in his hand and in the next scene John receiving the book from the angel (figs. 47, 48). This second picture also alludes to the Measuring of the Temple as John stands next to a small building and already holds the rod in his right hand. The second of the Bamberg Illustrations is perhaps related to a drawing of the Great Angel on the frontispiece to the Apocalypse in the Vivian Bible (fig. 23).

This small drawing which as already noted is paired with another of John Consoled by the Elder, shows the Great Angel standing on the land and sea personified as two heads. As in the Bamberg Illustration, John already holds the rod. The angel extends the book to John who takes it in his hand and directs it toward his mouth, making this the earliest illustration in which John eats the book.

The Romanesque Apocalypse cycles represent the same three events from the Vision of the Great Angel shown in Paris 403 and Trier: John Told Not to Write, John Given the Book, and John Given the Measuring
In Bodley 352 the three scenes of the Great Angel are arranged counterclockwise on folio 8r beginning with John Told Not to Write (fig. 49). Here, as in Trier, a divine hand stops John's recording what the seven "thunders" have uttered. More importantly, though, the Bodley 352 scene marks the first appearance of the seven "thunders" found also in the corresponding illustration in Paris 403 (fig. 42). In both cycles, moreover, the "thunders" are drawn as seven human heads with those in Bodley 352 aided by what appear to be horns or trumpets. The next panel at the left in Bodley 352 shows the Great Angel standing on land and sea. He raises both arms grasping in one hand the book which John reaches up to take from him. The third illustration, placed directly below the first, again parallels the Trier and Paris 403 cycles in showing a separate scene of John given the rod with which to measure the temple.

The Liber Floridus, too, follows the Trier and Bodley 352 versions of the Great Angel quite closely. In the first of three scenes on folio 13v, John, holding a pen and scroll, looks back over his shoulder at an angel who tells him not to write (fig. 50). In front of John is a row of seven "thundering" heads. These heads, here without trumpets, and the angel who interrupts John link this illustration to the first scene in Paris 403 (fig. 42). The Great Angel straddling land and sea dominates the upper center area of the Liber Floridus scene. He raises his right hand and with his left extends the book to John shown a second time. Above John a small head corresponding to the divine hand in Trier and to the angel in Paris 403 appears from the firmament and commands him to take the book. John takes the book in his mouth in a
gesture that closely resembles both the small drawing on the frontispiece of the Vivian Bible and the second of the Paris 403 illustrations. The third portion of the Liber Floridus drawing, like Trier and Bodleian 352, shows John standing next to a temple as an angel files down to hand him a measuring rod.

In conclusion, the dependence of Paris 403 on a continuous tradition of Apocalypse illustration is suggested by the fact that the same three subjects from the Vision of the Great Angel appear in the Paris manuscript, Trier, Bodleian 352 and the Liber Floridus. John Give the Book is illustrated in all of the extant manuscript cycles and therefore seems to be the subject most commonly associated with his vision. John taking the book in his mouth is shown as early as the Carolingian Vivian Bible. This distinctive act is repeated in the Liber Floridus, and it is this cycle which most closely resembles Paris 403 in the representation of both John taking and eating the book and John Told Not to Write. The third part of the vision, John Told to Measure the Temple, is a separate illustration in all of the extant cycles except Valenciennes-Paris and Bamberg. The angel who gives John the rod is not clearly identified in the text with the Great Angel, although he is so depicted in Trier. In Bodleian 352 and the Liber Floridus he is a different angel. In Paris 403 John Told to Measure the Temple is combined in the same panel with John Given the Book. Although only the hand of this second angel is shown emerging from the clouds around the Great Angel to hand John the rod, we may still assume the dependence of this Paris 403 illustration on one similar to Bodleian 352 or to the Liber Floridus.
The Woman Clothed with the Sun

At the beginning of Apocalypse 12 John sees the Woman Clothed with the Sun with a crown of twelve stars on her head and the moon under her feet. The Woman, who is with child, is threatened by a great red dragon with seven crowned heads and ten horns. With his tail the dragon draws down a third of the stars of heaven to cast them on the earth while he stands ready to devour the Woman's child as soon as it is born. The Woman gives birth to a male child who is "to rule all nations with a rod of iron," then immediately delivers her child into the safety of heaven and away from the dragon. The Woman flees into the wilderness. There follows a battle in heaven between Michael, aided by his angels, and the dragon. The dragon is defeated and cast out and all heaven rejoices. The dragon then threatens the Woman again, but she is given two great wings with which to fly to safety in the wilderness. The dragon pursues her by vomiting a flood of water but the earth swallows up the flood. The chapter ends with the dragon making war against the Woman's seed.

Early medieval commentators saw the Woman Clothed with the Sun as a symbol of the Virgin, but the Paris 403 commentary reflects the later medieval interpretation of her as a symbol of the church. According to the Paris commentary, the dragon is the devil red with slaughter. The tail which draws down the third part of the stars is wealth which causes many to perish. That the dragon wishes to devour the Woman's child means that the devil is always ready to devour through sin the children of Holy Church born through baptism. The male child is Jesus Christ born of the Holy Church who ascends to God the Father. The two
wings given to the Woman symbolize the two testaments by whose teachings the Church set itself far from Satan. That the earth swallows the flood means that the covetous swallow up the wealth so that the good men of the Church remain in poverty. That the dragon was angry with the Woman and went to make war with her seed means that when the devil falls to corrupt the noble, he tempts lesser men the harder and thereby strengthens their faith.

In Paris 403 the events surrounding the Woman and the Dragon are spread over six folios. The first at the top of folio 19v depicts the Woman Threatened by the Dragon (fig. 51). In the center of the panel the Woman reclines surrounded by a large sunburst. One of her feet is propped on a crescent moon and a large circle of twelve stars surrounds her head. Before her at the left the winged red dragon with seven ferocious heads, one of which is in its tail, menaces her. The curling tail of the dragon circumscribes sixteen stars. As she gazes at the dragon, the Woman hands her naked newborn child to an angel behind her whose head and shoulders are within the sunburst. A second drawing of the same angel appears immediately behind the first. He now emerges from the sunburst and hands the child up to two divine hands that appear from the upper right corner of the panel. In the lower right corner is a space-filling mound of earth with two trees and a rabbit in a hole.

The next scene in Paris 403 (fol. 20r) shows the Defeat of the Dragon by Michael and his angels (fig. 52). In this centered, symmetrical composition, the large figure of Michael dominates the center of the panel. He wields a long spear which he drives through
the jaws and into the neck of one of the dragon's seven heads. The
dragon is sprawled beneath him across the bottom of the scene. On
either side a smaller angel battles another part of the monster—that
on the right attacks the five remaining upper heads while the angel on
the left dispatches the head in the dragon's looping tail.

A second centered composition follows on folio 20v (fig. 53).
This is a second scene of the defeat of the dragon by the angels of
heaven but now coupled with the rejoicing in heaven. Three armed
angels of equal size are disposed evenly across the panel. They do
battle not only with the seven-headed dragon but with several smaller
single-headed versions of the same monster. At the top of the panel
above the center angel, a frontal bust-length image of the Lord
blesses. On either side are six angels shown half-length, some holding
placards, who either worship the Lord or gesture in animated
conversation with each other.

The fourth illustration in the series (fol. 21r) shows the Woman
Given Wings and Flying into the Wilderness (fig. 54). This composition
is divided equally into left and right halves. In the left half an
angel emerges from clouds in the upper left corner to attach wings to
the shoulders of the Woman standing below him. In the right half of
the panel the Woman, carrying a small book, flies above an area of
rolling earth and trees populated by wild animals including a bear, a
lion, and a small dragon.

The Dragon Vomiting the Flood is shown at the top of folio 21v
(fig. 55). The Woman at the right is shown still in flight above a
wilderness teeming with small creatures. She looks back toward the
left at the rearing dragon whose foremost head spews a stream of water which is swallowed up by the earth.

The sixth and final illustration in the series (fol. 22r) shows the Battle Between the Dragon and the Woman's Seed (fig. 56). In the left half of the panel the seven-headed dragon stands on a small island in the midst of a turbulent sea. The dragon faces a group of eight armed men at the right presumably standing on dry ground. These men have halos and employ a variety of weapons against the dragon's heads among them stones, spears, swords, a bow and arrow, and a club.

The Carolingian Trier Apocalypse contains only half as many illustrations for Apocalypse 12 as Paris 403. The first of three scenes (fol. 37r) shows the Woman standing on the moon and sun with her hands raised in an orant gesture. She looks toward the left at the colling dragon (fig. 57). Below, John stands with four armed men whose identity is uncertain. They may be the angels of heaven who will battle the dragon. The next illustration in Trier (fol. 38r) shows the angels of heaven overcoming the dragon and his angels who fall headlong to earth as John watches (fig. 58). The final illustration for chapter 12 (fol. 39r) depicts the dragon vomiting the flood which is swallowed up by a colossal bust personifying the earth. In the upper right the winged Woman flies away while in the lower right corner John watches.

The Woman standing in the presence of the dragon seems to be the earliest and most persistent motif associated with Apocalypse 12. Besides Trier, it is also found in the Valenciennes-Paris cycle where the Woman stands on a crescent moon her hands outstretched and the serpent-shaped dragon below her (fig. 59).
cycle omits the defeat of the dragon by the angels of heaven, but does include among its illustrations the winged Woman pursued by the dragon vomiting the flood. The flood is not, however, consumed by the earth.62

Apocalypse 12 in the Bamberg Apocalypse is illustrated in three scenes which closely parallel those in Trier.63 The first of these shows the Woman standing frontally and threatened by the dragon (fig. 60). Two additions to this scene distinguish it from Trier and Valenciennes-Paris. In the upper right corner appears the temple of God mentioned in the last verse of chapter eleven; but more significant is the nude male child, seen here for the first time, who stands before the Woman and grasps her by the hand. The second Bamberg miniature represents the defeat of the dragon by the angels of heaven arranged symmetrically as a monumental symbol of triumph. In the third scene the dragon vomits a flood toward the winged Woman flying above him. The water is stopped by a line of hills lying between the dragon and the Woman (fig. 61).

The introduction of the child into the post-Carolingian iconography of chapter twelve as evidenced in the Bamberg Apocalypse is confirmed by other Romanesque Apocalypse cycles.64 The tenth-century frescoes of the Apocalypse in the Baptistery at Novare in Italy have close stylistic ties to Ottonian illumination.65 The eighth and last of these panels depicts the Woman threatened by the dragon. The Woman stands with her hands raised in an orant gesture while the dragon before her threatens to devour her child. The child meanwhile floats heavenward in a rectangular box. A large illustration of the Woman
Clothed with the Sun appeared on folio 261v of the Hortus Deliciarum, a compendium of Christian knowledge compiled by the abbess Herrad of Hohenburg in the last quarter of the twelfth century for the instruction of her nuns. In this painting the Woman stands frontally on a crescent moon and raises her hands in an orant gesture (fig. 62). She wears the wings given to her in verse fourteen. Flanking her are the dragon and the beast from the sea who appears in chapter thirteen. The dragon vomits a flood which disappears between two small hills. At the upper left, above the Woman's head, an angel descends from heaven to take in his arms the Woman's naked male child. While the fresco at Novare and the miniature in the Hortus Deliciarum are single images not belonging to a longer Apocalypse picture cycle, the standing, frontal pose of the Woman in each, familiar from Carolingian manuscripts, and the accompanying subjects of the child elevated to heaven and the dragon vomiting the flood strongly suggest that these illustrations were drawn from and reflect the Iconography of the Woman and the dragon in contemporary manuscript cycles.

The birth of the child and the flight of the Woman pursued by the dragon emerge as mainstays of the Iconography of chapter twelve throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were depicted on the facade of the church of Fleury along with the defeat of the dragon by Michael and his angels. The Woman and the dragon is one of the five remaining subjects from the Apocalypse painted in the porch of the abbey church of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe in the twelfth century. These frescoes, like those at Novare, are clearly based on a series of
manuscript illuminations. At Saint-Savin, as in Paris 403, the woman is seated with her child on her knees (fig. 63). The Woman wears wings as in the Hortus Deliciarum miniature. Her child reaches up to an angel who descends to the left of the Woman. A white ribbon between him and the Woman indicates the flood. John sits at the far left and contemplates the scene with a gesture of alarm.

The Apocalypse cycle in the Liber Floridus devotes three illustrations to the events surrounding the Woman Clothed with the Sun, illustrations which reflect the state of the iconography of this subject by the twelfth century. In the first scene (fol. 14v), the Woman is seated with her feet on the crescent and holding her child as in the contemporary fresco at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe (fig. 64). The seven-headed dragon with a long coiling tail faces her menacingly. John stands at the upper left directly across from a segment of a circle containing heaven. A hand descends from heaven to draw up the Woman's naked child. This is the first time before Paris 403 that the child is seen twice, first being held by the Woman and then being lifted up to heaven. The three illustrations in the Liber Floridus repeat the same sequence of three subjects originally found in Trier. The second illustration (fol. 15r) is a large drawing of Michael and his angels defeating the dragon (fig. 65). The third of the Liber Floridus scenes (fol. 15v) is particularly close to Trier (fig. 66). The dragon vomits the flood which is consumed by a human head personifying the earth. Above, the woman flies away to the wilderness, but here for the first time before Paris 403 her wings are shown being attached in flight by a cross-nimbed figure who emerges upsidedown from
a nearby cloud.

The Woman Clothed with the Sun holding her small naked child was apparently used as a model for a portion of the frontispiece to a twelfth-century English manuscript of Augustine's *City of God* (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS laud Misc. 469, fol. 7v). The frontispiece includes a drawing of the Virgin holding in her lap a small naked soul just released from the body of the prostrate man lying below her (fig. 67). Two angels fly down to take the soul from her while in the foreground a monstrous demon lurches toward them in an attempt to snatch the soul from its heavenly protectors. It is certain that this image of salvation was based on a drawing of the Apocalyptic Woman. As in the other twelfth-century depictions, the Woman is seated with the naked child in her lap. Her feet rest upon two empty circles which are perhaps remnants of the sun and moon previously seen beneath the feet of the Woman in the Trier Apocalypse. The assistance of one or, as in the *City of God* miniature, two angels who lift the child to heaven is a common feature of the Iconography of the Woman beginning in the twelfth century and is found also in the Saint-Savin painting. An angel acts in the same capacity in the twelfth-century Berlin Beatus where on folio 70r the dragon threatens the Woman whose child is lifted by an angel to the hand of God.

The four scenes of the Woman Clothed with the Sun in Bodley 352 were inspired primarily by Carolingian cycles (figs. 68, 69). Three of the four scenes in the series closely follow the three illustrations in Trier: The Appearance of the Woman (fol. 8v), Michael and his Angels Defeating the Dragon (fol. 9r), and the Dragon Vomiting the Flood. The
flood is swallowed by a nude female figure personifying the earth while
the Woman flies away to safety (fol. 94). A fourth scene, however, has
been added under the influence of the post-Carolingian cycles (fol. 8v). Between the appearance of the Woman and the defeat of the dragon
is a picture of the Woman, seated, lifting her child unassisted to
heaven and away from the threatening dragon.74

The foregoing survey of the precursors of the six scenes in Paris
403 of the Woman Clothed with the Sun indicates that some aspects of
the Paris Iconography originated in Carolingian cycles, some in
post-Carolingian cycles, and some perhaps with the Paris Apocalypse
Itself. The first Illustration in Paris 403 showing the Woman
reclining and offering her child up to heaven derives from the earliest
visualizations of this subject in the post-Carolingian Apocalypse
cycles like those reflected in the Liber Floridus and the frescoes of
Saint-Savin. The duplication of both the angel and the child in the
Paris 403 miniature is intended to show two clearly successive
actions—the reception of the child and his safe delivery to heaven.
This composition may be based on similar repetitions of the angel and
the child in a cycle contemporary with the Liber Floridus or with the
City of God miniatures.

In Paris 403 the subject of the Woman Flying Into the Wilderness
is presented twice. It first appears on folio 21r in the right half of
a panel which also contains, at the left, an angel attaching the
Woman's wings. Although the Woman wearing wings was shown in the
Hortus Deliciarum miniature, the Saint-Savin fresco and in Bodley 352,
the actual attachment of the wings is found only in the Liber Floridus
where the wings are placed on the Woman's back as she, pursued by the
dragon, flies into the wilderness. Further, while the Liber Floridus
shows the attachment of the wings simultaneously with the flight of the
Woman, in Paris 403 these events are separated into two sequential
actions moving from left to right across the panel. The Woman in
flight in Paris 403 appears in the right half of this panel and again
on the next folio (21v) where she flies before the dragon who spews the
flood. The strong resemblance between the latter illustration and the
same subject in the Carolingian Apocalypses, the Liber Floridus and
Bodley 352 indicates that the Paris scene is descended from a long and
virtually unchanged tradition.

Michael and his Angels Defeating the Dragon on folio 20r of Paris
403 is a nearly constant part of the iconography of chapter twelve
extending back to the Trier cycle and the Bamberg Apocalypse. The
subject is so common in monumental images of the triumph of good over
evil in medieval art of all periods and in all media that the specific
iconographic provenance of the Paris 403 miniature cannot be securely
traced. Whenever it appears within the Apocalypse narrative cycles,
including Paris 403, Michael's defeat of the dragon is nearly always a
hieratic, symmetrical image, a result undoubtedly of the powerful
conceptual influence of the monumental works.

Two of the six illuminations for chapter twelve in Paris 403
cannot be located in any of the earlier cycles and therefore seem to be
new subjects devised by the Gothic designer. These two new
illustrations depict first a second scene of the Defeat of the Dragon
combined with the Rejoicing in Heaven on folio 20v, and on folio 22r
The Battle Between the Dragon and the Woman's Seed.75

The Rider and the Winepress

Apocalypse 19 opens with rejoicing in heaven over the destruction of the Great Whore of Babylon whose vile deeds are recorded in the two preceding chapters.76 In verses six through eight John hears many voices in heaven announcing the advent of the Marriage Feast of the Lamb. In verse nine John is told to write, "Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb." John then falls down to worship the one who has spoken to him, but immediately he is rebuked and told to worship God.

Then, in verse eleven, John sees the heavens open and there appears a white horse ridden by one Called Faithful and True. The Rider wears many crowns; he is clothed in a garment dipped in blood, and his name is The Word of God. Mounted on white horses and clothed in white linen, the armies of heaven follow him. In verse fifteen and sixteen John relates the Rider's purpose:

And out of his mouth proceedeth a sharp two edged sword; that with it he may strike the nations. And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness of the wrath of God the Almighty. And he hath on his garment, and on his thigh written: KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS (Apoc. 19: 15-16).

John next sees an angel standing in the sun. This angel summons birds to devour the flesh of the kings of the earth and their armies who, led by the beast of Apocalypse 13, are about to make war against the Rider and his heavenly army. In the final two verses of chapter nineteen, the beast and the false prophet are taken and cast into the
lake of fire and brimstone, and their defeated army is made prey for the carrion fowl.

According to the typological commentary in Paris 403, the Supper of the Lamb is the joy of Paradise and the spouse of the Lamb is the Holy Church. Like the majority of medieval commentaries, Paris 403 interpret the Rider as Christ whose pure flesh is the white horse. The Rider's blood-stained vestments signify the sacrifice of the martyrs. In the mediecal reforming spirit of the Paris 403 commentary, the sword that issues from the Rider's mouth means that whoever does not accept the preaching of the right belief will be damned in body and in soul. Thus the angel standing in the sun signifies the good preachers, and by the birds he summons is meant the holy who set their hearts on heaven. The beast who is defeated symbolizes Antichrist.

The events of Apocalypse 19 receive seven separate illuminations in Paris 403 beginning with the rejoicing in heaven over the fall of the Great Whore of Babylon and the Marriage Feast of the Lamb, and ending with the beast and his host cast into the abyss of fire and brimstone. The following discussion of the antecedents of these illustrations will not attempt to treat all seven scenes but only the last four: John Told to Worship God, the Rider and the Winepress, and the Summoning of the birds.

The panel at the top of folio 36r in Paris 403 contains two subjects arranged in sequence from left to right (fig. 70). The subject on the left refers to verse nine and that on the right to verse ten. At the left, John is seated at a writing stand, a book lies open before him. He looks up at an angel who stands in front of him
pointing to the book and telling John to write. In the right half of the panel John half kneels before the angel who rebukes the Evangelist by taking John's chin in his hand and directing his gaze to an image of the Lord in majesty.

The Rider and the Winepress on folio 36v of Paris 403 is presented as a vision encircled by clouds (fig. 71). John is seated on a small hill in the lower left corner of the panel. He gazes up, his hand under his chin. Before him in the center of a ring of clouds that crosses the panel from the upper left to the lower right corner, he sees the Rider Faithful and True riding to the left toward him. The Rider's cloak has been dipped in blood. A sword issues straight from his mouth point first. In his outstretched right hand he holds a small rod which is the rod of iron by which he shall rule the nations according to verse fifteen. The head of the Rider is encircled by a scalloped halo. Behind him, at the right side of the panel, is a large crowd of unarmed horsemen. In front of the Rider, within the cloud also, is a winepress with flaming contents. In the center of the winepress stands the Lord with a cross-nimbus holding an upraised sword in his right hand while with his left he steadies himself against a bar that crosses the top of the vat.

The next illumination at the top of folio 37r shows the Summoning of the Birds in Apocalypse 19: 17-18 (fig. 72). John is again seated at the left side of the panel. Before him are the naked corpses of the "kings", "captains", and "mighty men" who make war with the Rider and his army. The right half of the panel is filled by an angel standing in front of a large sunburst similar to that which surrounds the Woman
Clothed with the Sun. This angel looks up and to the right while pointing down toward the bodies near John. He summons an assortment of carrion birds some of which dive through his sunburst to descend upon their human prey.

The Trier Apocalypse devotes two illuminations to the events of Apocalypse nineteen that fall between John Told to Write and the Summoning of the Birds. In the upper portion of folio 62r the Rider moves to the right (fig. 73). He wears a cross-nimbus but carries no attributes. Below him, an angel commands John to write. In the next illustration (fol. 63r) several subjects are combined. In the upper portion of this scene, the Rider appears again now followed by unarmed angels on horseback. Below them at the right stands the angel in the sun accompanied by birds which do not, however, descend upon their prey. In the lower section of this scene, two groups of combatants, mounted and on foot, face each other. The Rider appears in each of the Trier scenes while John is shown only once when he is commanded to write. Trier does not illustrate either John Told to Worship God or the Vision of the Winepress both of which are included in the Paris 403 cycle.

Like the Trier Apocalypse, the Valenciennes-Paris cycle contains an illustration of John Told to Write, but here it is Christ and not an angel who issues the command. It should be noted that the scriptural text is ambiguous on this point, John recording only that "he" commanded him to write. The only other illumination for chapter nineteen in Valenciennes-Paris is a single, large picture of the Rider, unaccompanied, and armed with helmut, lance and shield (fig. 74).
John Told to Write is not illustrated in either the Bamberg Apocalypse or Bodley 352. But these manuscripts depict for the first time before Paris 403 John Told to Worship God. In each manuscript this new subject is found in the "foreground" below and in front of the theopany that opens Apocalypse 19, namely the adoration of the Lord by the four beasts and the twenty-four elders (figs. 75, 76). A similar composition is found in a tenth-century Beatus manuscript (Valladolid, Biblioteca Santa Cruz, fol.170), indicating that all three representations may derive from an early model that was not, however, incorporated into Trier.

Nevertheless, the presentation of the Rider and his companions and the angel summoning the birds in the Bamberg Apocalypse and Bodley 352 strongly resemble the second of the Trier scenes. On folio 48v of the Bamberg manuscript a large, square illustration is divided in half horizontally (fig. 77). Above, the crowned Rider with a sword across his mouth moves toward the right. As in Trier, he is followed by two horsemen while in the register below large birds descend upon their prey. John stands by watching and behind him at the far left an angel blows a trumpet. This angel is not called for by the text of chapter nineteen and is perhaps a misunderstanding of the Angel Standing in the Sun in the Bamberg artist's model. On folio 11v of Bodley 352, in the center register, the rider with the sword projecting from his mouth rides to the right followed by three mounted and unarmed angels (fig. 76). In the register directly below, the Angel Standing in the Sun summons large predatory birds who peck at an assortment of dismembered bodies.
As in Paris 403, the "armies of heaven" in the Trier, Bamberg, and Bodley 352 Apocalypses are unarmed. The Rider and his army is the subject of an impressive twelfth-century fresco in the crypt of the Cathedral of Auxerre. The Rider is surrounded by four angels mounted and unarmed. The pose of the Rider and the movement of his mount bear a strong resemblance to the manuscript images, particularly those in the Gothic cycles. In his right hand the Rider holds a simple, thin rod, the rod of Iron in verse fifteen, which is identical to that carried by the Rider in Paris 403.

The twelfth-century Berlin Beatus contains three illustrations for Apocalypse 19 on folios 88v-90r. The first of these, John Told to Worship God, takes the Bamberg and Bodley 352 cycles a step further by separating itself entirely from the theophany at the beginning of chapter nineteen. With the Berlin Beatus, then, John Told to Worship God has become an autonomous subject as it is also in Paris 403. The next drawing in the Berlin Beatus shows the Rider at the head of a group of four unarmed horsemen in a scene that resembles Bamberg. The third drawing refers to Apocalypse 19: 20-21 and shows the defeat of the army of the beast.

The common denominator for all representations of Apocalypse 19 in the illustrated Apocalypse cycles is the image of the Rider Faithful and True. On the other hand the Winepress of God's Wrath is not illustrated in any of the manuscript cycles before Paris 403. The subjects that surround the Rider in Paris 403, John Told to Write and the Summoning of the Birds, both appear as early as the Trier Apocalypse. The Bamberg and Bodley 352 Apocalypses introduce the subjects
of the birds preying upon their victims and John Told to Worship God, the latter as a supplement to the theophany that opens the chapter. With the Berlin Beatus John Told to Worship God has separated itself from the theophany and stands, as in Paris 403, as a separate subject.

The Heavenly Jerusalem

At the beginning of Apocalypse 21 John witnesses the final triumph of Christ and his elect, and sees the holy city, the New Jerusalem, come down from God out of heaven. John then sees and hears the Lord seated upon a throne in heaven. The Lord commands John to "Write, for these words are true and faithful," and promises to give the fountain of the water of life to those who seek him.

In verse nine, John is approached by one of the seven angels with the seven vials of plagues in chapter fifteen. The angel carries John to a mountain from which he shows him the Holy Jerusalem descending from heaven. The angel has a gold rod with which to measure the city. The city is set with precious stones and is laid out four-square with twelve gates, three on each side. In the last six verses of Apocalypse 21, John describes the city as having no need of a temple, for the Lord and the Lamb are its temple, nor is there sun or moon in the city for the glory of God and of the Lamb is its light. In verse twenty-four John proclaims that the nations shall walk in the light of the city and the "kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it."

Paris 403 devotes two illuminations to the appearance of the Heavenly Jerusalem in Apocalypse 21. The first of these on folio 41r shows the descent of the city in the right half of the panel (fig. 78).
The Lord appears from a cloud grasping the city, shown in elevation, by its rooftops and gently lowers it. Thus the city is literally "coming down from heaven." A long, blank scroll falls from the Lord's right hand. At the left side of the panel, John is seated on a hill before a writing stand. An angel descends from a cloud and, pointing to an empty scroll on the writing stand, tells John to write the words which are "true and faithful."

On the next folio (41v) John is shown the Heavenly Jerusalem (fig. 79). At the left the angel stands holding John in his arms. The angel points to the right directing John's gaze to where the heavenly city has landed. In the hand with which he points the angel holds a small vial, a reminder that he is one of the seven angels with the seven plagues.

The commentary in Paris 403 explains that the Holy Jerusalem signifies Holy Church, and the city's descent from heaven means that all one's goods come from God above. In accordance with the medieval belief that the square symbolizes stability and divine immutability, the square plan of the city means steadfast belief, hope, and charity. The twelve precious stones in the city's foundations represent the virtues of the faithful. That the kings and the nations shall enter into the light of the city means that toward the end of the world men shall believe more and more and they shall forsake worldly glory for the hope of eternal glory. Because the commentary on the Heavenly Jerusalem is so long, it is carried over onto several unillustrated folios added after the last illustrated page in the manuscript.

The Image of the Heavenly Jerusalem has a long history in
Christian art. The Lord sits enthroned before its walls in the early fifth-century apse mosaic in S. Pudenziana, Rome. The transfigured Christ is enthroned within its walls on the triumphal arch of the ninth-century church of Saint Praxede. In the fifth-century church of Santa Maria Maggiore, the heavenly cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem with lambs symbolizing the believers before their portals, are placed at either side of the bottom of the great triumphal arch. The pairing of the two cities stands for Christ's two incarnations, his first coming at Bethlehem and his second coming foretold by John in the Apocalypse. The symbolism of the two cities is repeated in the apse of Saint Praxede and in the churches of Saint Mark and Saint Cecilia also in Rome.

The ninth-century Carolingian Gospels of Saint Medard of Soissons (Paris, Bib. Nat., lat. 8850), fol. 1v contains a monumental image of the Heavenly Jerusalem as part of a grand composition based on the Apocalypse. Beneath the Adoration of the Lamb from Apocalypse 4, the holy city is glimpsed through four columns hung with a red curtain. The walls of the city project and recede illusionistically suggesting that the miniature is derived ultimately from an antique painted prototype.

The Carolingian Apocalypse cycles present the events of Apocalypse 21 not as a single static image but as separate episodes in a narrative sequence. In the Trier Apocalypse the events surrounding the Heavenly Jerusalem are depicted in four separate illustrations. The first scene appears on folio 68r. Beneath a firmament containing the Lord enthroned and seven angels, John sits writing as he is commanded to do
In verse five. The city is before him. At the right, six men, the abominable sinners described in verse eight, stand next to the lake of fire which is their punishment. The second picture in the series, on folio 69r, illustrates verses nine and ten. At the left, John stands with an angel on top of a mountain. The angel points to the right at a large city surrounded by many towers (fig. 80).

The third illustration in Trier (fol. 70r) shows John again standing with the angel before the city (fig. 81). As described in verse fifteen, the angel holds a measuring rod with which to measure the city. The fourth and final illustration for Apocalypse 21 appears on folio 71r (fig. 82). The heavenly city is in the center of the panel. Within its walls are the Lamb which is the light of the city and the Tree of Life described in the next chapter. On one side of the city John stands while on the opposite side are the kings of the earth described in Apocalypse 21:24 who bring their glory and honor to the city.

The Valenciennes-Paris Apocalypse cycle reduces the events of Apocalypse 21 to just two illustrations. In the first of these the angel shows the heavenly city to John (fig. 83). The city itself is a unique, symbolic image consisting of a large circle of twelve concentric rings of various colors. At each of the four cardinal points is a group of three simple doorways suggesting the form of a cross inscribed within a circle. In the center of the circle is the Lamb who is the temple and the light of the city. This unusual image is not repeated in any other illustrations of the Heavenly Jerusalem. There is little doubt that the circle is a symbol of perfection and of
the cosmos. The circular form also links the celestial Jerusalem to the terrestrial plans of the Anastasis and the church of the Ascension in Jerusalem.87

The next scene in the Valenciennes-Paris cycle shows the Angel Measuring the Temple. In a composition that corresponds to the third scene in Trier, John stands before the angel who holds a long rod in his right hand.

The prominent, circular image of the city is the basis for the single, full-page illustration for Apocalypse 21 in the Bamberg Apocalypse. On folio 55v, the Heavenly Jerusalem is drawn as a large circle with three gates at each of its cardinal points (fig. 84). The Lamb stands within the city as he does in the last of the Trier scenes. Farther down, the angel stands atop a mountain and, grasping John by the arm, points up to the city. The angel already holds the measuring rod with which he will measure the city. In the Bamberg miniature three of the subjects from the Trier version, the Lamb within the city, the city shown to John, and the angel with the measuring rod are skillfully combined in one composition.

The Heavenly Jerusalem is the largest of three illustrations for Apocalypse 21 in Bodley 352. The city is the subject of a full-page illumination on folio 13r. The walls and towers of the city expand to the margins of the page, and in the center of the city is again the Lamb. The illuminator has elaborated on the scriptural text by placing within the city walls and alongside the Lamb the four Apocalyptic beasts and groups of apostles, prophets, virgins, martyrs and confessors. At the top of folio 13v are the last two illustrations for
the chapter placed together in one register (fig. 85). At the left the angel with the measuring rod speaks to John in a composition that resembles Trier and Valenciennes-Paris. At the right John is shown seated at a writing stand while before him at the right the Lord in a mandoria commands him to write.

In the narrative cycles the most frequently illustrated episode for Apocalypse 21 is the angel showing John the New Jerusalem descended from heaven. This subject is preserved even in those cycles in which the events of the chapter are reduced to one or two miniatures such as Valenciennes-Paris and the Bamberg Apocalypse. The Paris 403 and Trier versions are remarkably similar in that both show John and the angel standing on a hill and gazing toward the heavenly city at the right.

The second most common illustration for Apocalypse 21 is John Told to Write the words that are "true and faithful". Before Paris 403, this subject is found in Trier and in the related Bodley 352 cycle. In the Paris Apocalypse the subject is joined to the very literal depiction of the Heavenly Jerusalem lowered from heaven by the Lord. The last two scenes in Trier, the angel with the measuring rod and the kings entering the city, are not illustrated in Paris 403. The subject of the kings may not have survived beyond the Trier Apocalypse, while the angel with the measuring rod, found also in Valenciennes-Paris and Bodley 352, apparently disappears from the iconographic tradition during the twelfth century.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter I have proposed some iconographic and
compositional sources for seven visions selected from the Paris 403 Apocalypse. These seven visions were chosen from among those most often included in picture cycles of the Apocalypse in illuminated manuscripts. The evidence indicates that a longstanding and continuous tradition of Apocalypse illustration stands behind these seven visions and others in Paris 403. This conclusion will consider two points beginning with how the Paris 403 Apocalypse extended and reshaped the illustrated Apocalypse tradition it drew upon, followed by an analysis of the nature and meaning of the new Gothic visual narrative in Paris 403.

While the picture cycle in Paris 403 is basically the same as that in Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17, it differs from them primarily by the inclusion of Iconographic details, which, as I have shown, link Paris 403 to the earlier Apocalypse cycles. It is this fact that I believe places the Paris 403 cycle in a preeminent position among the five 'St Albans' Apocalypses and indeed among all of the English Gothic Apocalypses.

While the resemblances between Paris 403 and the early medieval Apocalypse cycles, particularly Trler, are very apparent, there is no evidence to support Nolan's Imaginative thesis that the designer of Paris 403 found one or more of these Carolingian cycles and adopted it as the basis of his own version. On the contrary, the Iconography of the Paris 403 cycle parallels most closely the extant twelfth-century Apocalypse cycles. Thus the immediate source of the Paris illuminations may well have been a twelfth-century Apocalypse cycle that incorporated many of the latest features of an Iconography that
had been evolving continuously over several preceding centuries. This vital link with the past places Paris 403 in the important pivotal position of intermediary between the early cycles and the large number of Gothic Apocalypse manuscripts. In the next portion of my study I will outline the path that leads from Paris 403 to several of the important later members of this large group, namely the other four 'St Albans' Apocalypses.

The continuity that can be demonstrated between early medieval Apocalypse cycles and Paris 403 makes it possible to view all Apocalypse cycles in medieval illuminated manuscripts, except for the largely separate Beatus group, as elements of a continuous tradition. The formation of this tradition probably began with a cycle much like that in the Carolingian Trier Apocalypse, which may, like Trier, have been based on an early Christian prototype. This cycle and others created around it were passed on to artists in later centuries who, in creating their own cycles, added some subjects to the series, dropped others, and frequently rearranged elements in the compositions they used as models. It is not the purpose of this study to determine how these earlier manuscripts are related to each other, but rather to show that as a whole they contain the seeds of the illustrations in Paris 403.

Still, while my study has surveyed only a small number of illustrations in the pre-Gothic Apocalypse manuscripts, some strong affiliations have appeared. For example, many of Trier's illustrations seem to survive in Bodley 352; and while the Bamberg Apocalypse is also related to Trier, it is even more closely associated to Valenciennes 99
and Paris 1132. Although others have noted such correspondences, within the context of this study they serve to emphasize the continuous transmission of Apocalypse picture cycles.

Not all of the pre-Gothic Apocalypse images can be clearly related to each other, nor are all precursors of Paris 403. Single symbolic images of, for example, the draped throne, the Lion of Juda, and the Woman Clothed with the Sun contribute very little to the strongly narrative character of the Paris picture cycle. Certain images appearing among the earlier Apocalypse cycles seem to have had a very brief life and not to have survived beyond the one or two manuscripts in which they are found. Among these are the single isolated triumphant rider and the schematic diagram of the Heavenly Jerusalem in Valenciennes-Paris, as well as the monstrous fourth horseman in Bodley 352 (figs. 74, 83, 32).

In some instances, however, Iconographic motifs seem to have passed virtually unchanged from the earliest Apocalypse manuscripts to Paris 403. While it may not be possible to account for every step in the transmission of these images to the early thirteenth century, striking similarities between some of the pictures in the early cycles and those in Paris 403 argue strongly for the existence of a persistent visual tradition that provided the means for the transfer of these images. In Paris 403 the opening of each of the first five seals is attended by John and the Lamb with the sealed book, and each of the four horsemen is accompanied by one of the four beasts. The same complement of figures and beasts attends the opening of the seals in the Trier Apocalypse and in Bodley 352 (figs. 30, 32). The three stars
which in Paris 403 shine above the draped altar at the opening of the fifth seal and which are not named in the scriptural text, seem also to be direct descendants of the three stars which appear in Trier's version of the subject (figs. 39, 40).

Instances like those above in which images have passed virtually unchanged to Paris 403 are fairly rare. More often the designer of this seminal cycle inherited compositions that had undergone considerable alteration and to which he introduced changes of his own for reasons which will be examined below. An example of a subject which had undergone extensive redesign before being incorporated into Paris 403 is the Woman and the Dragon in chapter twelve. The earliest medieval versions of this subject such as those in the Trier and Bamberg Apocalypses, show the Woman with the characteristics attributes of the crown of twelve stars and the crescent moon standing frontally near the dragon (figs. 57, 60). A decidedly more narrative image had evolved by the time of the creation of Paris 403 (fig. 51). Now the Woman is shown reclining having just given birth to the child. The dragon threatens her from the left half of the panel; and the Woman hands the child to an angel who lifts it up to heaven. I have tried to show that in the cycles created before the thirteenth century supplemental incidents such as the Woman Given Wings were gradually added to the Iconography of the Woman and the Dragon. These new subjects were frequently blended with the established iconography as, for example, in the Liber Floridus where the Woman's wings are attached simultaneously as she is shown in the traditional act of fleeing before the vomiting dragon (fig. 66). By the time of Paris 403 the Woman
Given Wings has become a separate subject (fig. 54). Similarly, the
scene of John Told to Worship God just prior to the appearance of the
Rider Faithful and True is first found in the Bamberg Apocalypse and in
Bodley 352 as an adjunct to the theophany at the beginning of chapter
nineteen (figs. 75, 76). By the time of the creation of Paris 403,
John Told to Worship God has separated itself completely from this
theophany and stands as an autonomous subject in the narrative cycle
(fig. 70).

But while some scenes in Paris 403 can be traced to the logical
expansion of imagery in the prototype cycles, other scenes appear to
arise from the contraction of a series of actions previously
illustrated separately. For example, the events surrounding the Great
Angel were usually given three separate scenes in the pre-Gothic
cycles, John told not to write, John given the book and John given the
rod to measure the temple. In Paris 403 the last two episodes are
combined so that in one panel on either side of a single image of the
Great Angel, John is first given the book to eat and then given the
rod.

The pictorial narrative in Paris 403 is achieved by arranging in a
series a variety of kinds of compositions. No single compositional
formula dominates, but several different kinds of compositions
alternate to create a variegated rhythm which carries the narrative
forward. In one type of composition, John, the visionary, stands at
the left side of the panel while his vision appears before him at the
right. Occasionally the positions of John and his vision are reversed.
In either case John occupies approximately one third of the space and
his vision two-thirds. This arrangement is used for the visions of the four horsemen; and a variation of the type occurs in the scenes of the angels blowing their trumpets or emptying their censers on the ground (figs. 29, 34). In these scenes the angel stands in the left third of the panel and his action causes what is then depicted at the right. For example, after the fifth angel sounds his trumpet the abyss opens and the locusts emerge moving toward the right. The causal relationship between the sounding of the trumpet and the opening of the abyss is clearly stated in the text of the Apocalypse; and in visualizing the text the Paris 403 artist places the cause, the trumpeting angel, at the left, and the result, the emerging locusts, at the right. Thus these events are arranged in order from left to right, and their spatial relationship is readily interpreted as a causal one.

A half dozen strictly centered compositions are spaced at approximately regular intervals throughout the picture cycle. In these images the rapid forward motion of the visual narrative is temporarily showed. The majority of such scenes are used to give emphasis to some of the more significant events in the narrative, and for this purpose they employ a balanced, symmetrical design. Among these subjects are the Vision of the Great Angel, the Ark of the Temple, the Defeat of the Dragon, the Harvest, and the single large Mouth of Hell (figs. 42, 52). Their centralized designs suggest their derivation from monumental works for the same single subjects appear in striking symmetry on many carved tympana and cloister capitals and in numerous examples of stained glass and metalwork.

Some compositions are divided equally into left and right halves
that show either two parts of a single event or two consecutive actions. An example of the first type is the scene on folio 21v of the Woman Fleeing from the Dragon (fig. 55). In the left half of the panel the dragon vomits the flood. At the same moment the Woman, shown in the right half, flies away into the wilderness. An example of a bisected scene consisting of two consecutive actions is the Sounding of the Second and Third Trumpets on folio 13r. The second trumpeting angel occupies the left half of the panel. He is surrounded by the catastrophies he brings about—the burning mountain and the third part of the sea turned to blood. The right half of the panel depicts the next action in the sequence namely the third angel blowing his trumpet and the star Wormwood falling into the waters.

Paris 403 contains one example of an unusual composition in which two consecutive actions are divided in half lengthwise. This is the illustration on folio 29v showing John's vision of the Seven Angels with Vials and the Harpers described in the first and second verses of Apocalypse 15. John, who is seated at the left of the panel, sees before and above him the seven angels with vials standing in a row on a line of clouds, as described in verse one. Directly below the angels a long row of harpers stands on the sea of glass described in verse two.

Finally, compositions in Paris 403 are divided evenly into three parts and read as successive actions moving rapidly from left to right, the direction of the persistent forward movement of the narrative. An example is the Fall of Antichrist on folio 18r. In the left third of the panel the distressed followers of Antichrist watch his demise through an open window. In the center third Antichrist is toppled form
his throne and destroyed. In the right third of the panel the final event in the sequence is shown as the two witnesses, resurrected, mount up to heaven.

The visual narrative in Paris 403 is impelled forward by an irregular, syncopated rhythm created by the irregular arrangement of the several types of compositions described above. The result is an insistent, rapid, yet evenly paced visual narrative. The maintenance of such a narrative appears to be the reason the designer of Paris 403 frequently departed from his models by conflating some scenes, separating others from nearby related subjects, or adding new scenes not previously illustrated in the Apocalypse cycles. The Vision of the Great Angel on folios 16r-16v, for example, seems to be based on images similar to those in Bodley 352 and the Liber Floridus where in three separate actions John is first told to write, then given the book and told to eat it, and finally given the rod to measure the temple (figs. 42, 43). But deciding that these three discrete actions slowed the pace of his narrative at this point, it would have been reasonable for the designer of Paris 403 to combine the last two actions in one carefully composed panel on folio 16v so that the Great Angel, standing in the middle of the scene, first hands John the book at the left and then at the right commands John to measure the temple.

Unity and coherence are fundamental to the Gothic visual narrative and depend upon clear relationships among the actors and actions depicted. Such relationships give the visual narrative a strong mimetic quality which distinguishes it from its predecessors. In Paris 403 temporal and casual relationships are translated into easily
comprehended spatial relationships in which, as previously noted, the sequence of action moves logically from left to right. Thus the trumpeting angels always precede the catastrophes they herald. This same left to right ordering heightens the mimetic effect of even the simplest visions where no casual relationship is described. Visions of this type, which include the Four Horseman, show John most often standing at the left with his vision appearing before him. Thus John's existence logically precedes that of his vision which follows at the right.

The desire for clear relationships between portions of the visual narrative and for the unity of the narrative as a whole led the Gothic Illuminator to separate subjects that might have been combined in his model in what he perceived as a confused way and to add scenes where he perceived gaps in the narrative. Thus the Gothic designer decided to separate the illustration of John Told to Worship God from the theophany at the opening of chapter nineteen which had obscured it in the Bamberg Apocalypse and Bodley 352. The Gothic Illuminator may also have noted omissions among the subjects contained in his narrative models, omissions that threatened to disrupt the evenness and comprehensibility of his own narrative. He therefore added several new subjects of his own design filling out and lengthening the picture cycle. Among the new subjects are the Battle Between the Dragon and the Woman's Seed, the Marriage Feast of the Lamb, and the Winepress of God's Wrath.

The unique structure of the Gothic Apocalypse cycle is demonstrated by comparison with the equally long picture cycle in the
Carololingian Trier Apocalypse. I have shown that this cycle contributed substantially to the pictorial tradition from which the Gothic artist drew many of his compositions. Based most likely on a sixth-century model, the Trier Apocalypse has ties to the late antique style of pictorial narrative that are at least as strong as those linking it to the early Middle Ages. With illustrations for more than 150 separate incidents, the Trier Apocalypse resembles extended late antique cycles of pictures like that in the Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Natlbibl, cod. theol. gr. 31). According to Welzmann, the many illustrations in late antique manuscripts were spaced evenly throughout the text. Every event is accompanied by an illustration even if the action depicted describes little or no change from the condition immediately preceding as for example, the genealogical tables of the Cotton Genesis (London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Ortho B. VI) where the same birth scene is repeated for every entry.

The sixth-century model of the Trier Apocalypse must also have contained a full complement of illustrations. It may have been the Carolingian artist who separated these illustrations from the text and created full-page pictures by placing one small picture above another. However, traces of the late antique narrative method remain. For example, the five illuminations for the Visions of the Lord and the Lamb in Trier probably reflect five very similar scenes inserted at regular intervals in the text of the model. Like the artist who illustrated the genealogical tables in the Cotton Genesis, the Trier artist repeats some elements, such as the enthroned Lord and the four beasts, through several consecutive stages of the visions
always centering these repeated elements at the top of the scene. This has the effect of stifling the linear advance of the narrative by constantly recapitulating these static motifs. The Trier artist conceives of the phases of the visions as sequential but he does not attempt to create a visual continuity between them. In contrast, it is the strong sense of temporal continuity and casuality connecting events that distinguishes Paris 403 from the pre-Gothic visual narratives. In Trier the continuous forward movement of the story is indicated only by a succession of largely segregated illustrations. Each framed scene is a closed environment in which one or two events from the text are presented with little or no indication of their belonging to a temporal continuum. The visual narrative in the Trier Apocalypse consists of seventy-four individual pictures arranged in a series with many compositions either centered or symmetrical or employing framing devices of buildings, foliage, or figures to seal off the scene at the left and right.

The visual narrative in Paris 403 is also a series of framed illustrations, but the visual effect is quite different from Trier. Within each picture in the series the action is kept moving across the panel from left to right and this movement also clearly defines the relationship of an action to its result. The mixture of compositional types—centered, bisected, one-third to two-thirds, etc.—keeps the action moving at a steady, rapid pace that effectively breaks down the artificial barriers imposed by the frames. Figures move behind the frames as if to imply that the space between panels is continuous and the panels themselves are only windows on small portions of the larger
action.

The Gothic Apocalypse cycle is thus integrated spatially and temporally in form and in meaning. In contrast, the earlier cycles like Trier are made up of an aggregate of distinct parts. Even though the early cycles depict the successive order of events, there remains the tendency to treat individual scenes as distinct from each other rather than as interrelated. It is the full integration of the events of the pictorial narrative that distinguishes the Gothic narrative from its predecessors.
NOTES


2Diesle and Meyer, pp. 1-11.


4James, Dyson Perrins, p. 23. Earlier, however, James had said that the thirteenth-century Apocalypse retains little or nothing of an ancient tradition which he believed was originally contained in a fourth or fifth century picture roll, and which was best reflected in the Trier Apocalypse (James, Trinity College Apocalypse, p. 11).

5James, Apocalypse in Art, p. 29.

6Brüger, Trinity College Apocalypse, pp. 7-11.


10Klein, Trierer Apokalypse, pp. 104-12.

11Beatus' commentary is preserved in more than twenty illuminated copies from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. The text consists of twelve books of commentaries on sixty-four excerpts or


13Snyder, pp. 159-60.


16Nolan, pp. 54ff.

17Nolan, p. 59.

18Nolan, pp. 64ff.

19Nolan, pp. 64ff.

20Nolan, p. 70.


22Glasser, pp. 70-132, especially pp. 111-9.

23Glasser, pp. 71-2.

25Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 31 contains seventy-four full-page illuminations drawn with pen and ink and lightly washed with colors. The manuscript is dated to the first quarter of the ninth century. The text of the Apocalypse is written in single columns of nineteen lines. It is generally agreed that the manuscript is directly based on an Italian Illustrated Apocalypse of the sixth century. A facsimile of the manuscript is by P. Klein and R. Laufner, Trierer Apokalypse. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex 31 der Stadtbibliothek Trier, Codices Selecti 48, 2 vols. (Graz, 1972-75).


27The three Apocalypse frontispieces also include an enthroned elder surrounded by the four evangelist symbols three of which lift a veil from his head. The meaning of this image has been shown by Kohler and subsequently by Kessler to be an allegory of the Old Testament fulfilled by the New. The Lamb who opens the sealed book is Christ revealing the Old Testament and the evangelist symbols lifting the veil from the elder's face are the Gospels unveiling Moses (Kessler, p. 75).

28Kessler, pp. 79-82.

29Kessler, p. 79 notes that the subject of John Consoled by the Elder is not found in the Beatus Apocalypse cycles. He states incorrectly though that the subject is also omitted from the Gothic Apocalypses.

30Cambral, Bibliothèque municipale MS 386, a close copy of the Trier Apocalypse, duplicates the Trier Illustrations scene for scene except that the first and last scenes for the Vision of the Lamb are lost. The Cambral Apocalypse is dated to the tenth century. It contains forty-six full-page illuminations copied from Trier 31. Approximately twenty-folios of text and pictures are missing. The illustrations, like those in Trier, are drawn with pen and ink and washed with colors. The Apocalypse is thought to come from a northern French scriptorium, perhaps that at Saint-Amand. A description of the manuscript is given by H. Omont, Bull. de la Soc. Fr. Reprod. MSS a Peintures (Paris, 1922), pp. 84-95.

31Klein, Trierer Apokalypse, p. 111, n. 373. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 352 contains twenty full-page illuminations painted in opaque colors. Excerpts from the Apocalypse text and Haimo's commentary are written in narrow borders running around and through the Illustrations. See O. Pacht and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated

A source for some of these differences may be found in the illustration for Apocalypse 4 and 5 in the twelfth-century Liber Floridus (fol. 10r). This very condensed rendering of the two visions depicts the "voices" and "thunderings" from the throne and the seven lamps suspended above the Lord as in Paris 403. Thus Paris 403 may be based on a twelfth-century Apocalypse cycle in which the iconographies of both Bodley 352 and the Liber Floridus were represented. Similarities between the Liber Floridus and Bodley 352 have been noted by Klein, Trierer Apokalypse, pp. 104ff and by Swarzenski, Liber Floridus Colloquim, p. 22.


Berlin, Staatsbibl., MS theol. lat. fol. 561 contains fifty-four small, uncolored pen and ink drawings. The text is the commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus. The illustrations, while displaying some features of the Beatus manuscripts, are nevertheless more closely allied with the northern Illustrated Apocalypses. The Berlin Beatus is most closely related to the Roda Bible according to Klein, "Der Apokalypse-Zyklus der Roda-Bibel und seine Stellung in der Ikonographischen Tradition." Archivio Espanol de Arqueologia, 45-47 (1972-74), 273-75. A description of the Berlin Beatus is given by Neuss, pp. 247-67.

This figure, based on the ancient atlas type, can be traced directly to antique sources such as the famous late fourth-century silver plate from Parabiago near Milan on which a half-length nude male figure rises form the ground bearing over his head an oval ring containing Alon, a personification of time. Unwilled, in early medieval art, the atlas figure is a personification of earth, as in a gospel book presented to Otto III where the emperor in a mandorla is borne up by a similar figure.

Aurenhammer, I, 184; Reau, II, 2, 694-97; Vezin, pp. 128-33.

Reau, II, 2, 696.

Snyder, pp. 160-1 points out that the Roda Bible offers an excellent example of the kind of model from which the Trier Illustration could have been compiled. On folio 106r of the Roda Bible are individual pictures of the four horsemen. Each small, unframed drawing is inserted into the text column after the appropriate lines.

Snyder, pp. 150, 160-1.

Kessler, pp. 77ff.
Valenciennes 99, fol. 12v; Paris 1132, fol. 8r. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale MS 99 is dated to the early ninth century. This Apocalypse contains thirty-six full-page framed illustrations and two half-page scenes accompanied by the text of the Apocalypse. The miniatures are drawn with pen and ink and washed with various colors. A portion of the frame surrounding the first miniature is filled with interlace of a type common in Northumbrian manuscripts. Valenciennes 99 and Paris 1132 appear to be based on a common model. The Valenciennes Apocalypse has been in the abbey of Saint-Amand since the twelfth century. A description of the manuscript is given by Omont, pp. 16ff., 62-4, 73-84.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. nouv. acq. 1132 is dated to the ninth century. The manuscript contains forty illustrations and the text of the Apocalypse. The illuminations are virtually identical to those in Valenciennes 99 except that they are composed on a vertical format. The illuminations are drawn with pen and ink and washed with colors. This Apocalypse is bound with ten fables of Aesop compiled by Avianus about 400 A.D. A description of the manuscript is given by Omont, pp. 65ff, and by A. Goldschmidt, *An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1947).

In Bodley 352 the beast that accompanies the first rider is the lion, that with the second rider is the ox, that with the third rider is the angel, and that with the fourth rider is the eagle. This follows the order of the beasts given in Apoc. 4:7. In Paris 403 and the Trier Apocalypse, however, the order of the beasts is: angel, lion, ox, and eagle.

A. G. and W. O. Hassall, *Treasures from the Bodleian Library* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1976), p. 59 incorrectly identify the divine hand extending the crown as "an arm, indicating the scene before us, with a small building alongside."


Valenciennes 99, fol. 12v; Paris 1132, fol. 8r. Bamberg 140, fol. 14v. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS bibl. 140 contains fifty framed illuminations, many of which are full-page, and a complete text of the Apocalypse. The illuminations are painted in strong, opaque colors and many have burnished gold backgrounds. This Apocalypse is a product of the Reichenau school in the first quarter of the eleventh century. There is a facsimile of the manuscript by A. Fauser, *Die Bamberger Apokalypse* (Wiesbaden, 1956).

Valenciennes 99, fol. 13r; Paris 1132, fol. 8v.

Bamberg 140, fol. 15r.

The gaping hell-mouth is traditionally considered an English motif with origins in Anglo-Saxon art.
Freyhan, pp. 223-4, n. 4 proposes that the bowl of fire in Paris 403, Morgan 524, and Bodleian D.4.17 is derived from Berengaudus' commentary on the fourth horseman. Berengaudus quotes Deuteronomy 32:22 "For a fire is kindled by my anger, and it burns to the depths of Sheol." Freyhan believes that the Morgan-Bodleian artist invented the bowl of fire as a pictorial equivalent for this text and also added below the fourth rider this explanation: "per ignem quem sessor manu gestat furor Domini designatur."

Brüger, Trinity College Apocalypse, p. 23 argues that the empty bowl carried by the fourth rider in Trinity symbolizes famine. This seems convincing in the light of the Liber Floridus drawing in which the fourth horseman is followed by a personification of famine. Thus it would seem that sometime between the creation of the Trinity and Morgan-Bodleian cycles the meaning of the bowl changed from famine to God's wrath. The flaming bowl in Paris 403 may represent one of the first appearances of the latter meaning, but unfortunately there is no inscription and nothing in the commentary to confirm this.

Valenciennes 99, fol. 13r; Paris 1132, fol. 8v; Bamberg 140, fol. 15v.

Paris, Bib. Nat. lat. 6, fol. 106r; Berlin, Staatsbibl., MS theol. lat. 561, fol. 47r.

Aurenhammer, I, 184; Reau, II, 2, 698-9; Vezin, pp. 128-30; Kirschbaum, I, 145.

The Trier Illustration of the Fifth Seal also includes the sun and moon rendered as antique busts in rayed disks. These celestial bodies seem to belong to the cataclysms following the opening of the Sixth Seal.

Eighteen scenes from the Apocalypse, now lost, once decorated the facade of the abbey church of Fleury or Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. The works were installed under Abbot Gauzlin (d. 1030) and all were accompanied by verses subsequently recorded by Andrew of Fleury in his Life of the abbot written toward 1041. The verses were published by Julius von Schlosser, Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte (1896), pp. Vienna 184-6. Andrew records two verses from the facade in reference to an image there of the Vision of the Souls Beneath the Altar:

Dictus stellifer Johannes gmtla regis
Mirans conspicit hos Christi pro nomine cesos.
(Von Schlosser, p. 185).

Aurenhammer, I, 185; Reau, II, 2, 704-6; Vezin, 137-8.

Valenciennes 99, fols. 20r-21r; Paris 1132, fols. 14r-154.

Bamberg 140, fols. 24v-26v.

Andrew of Fleury records four verses in reference to the images of the Great Angel and John Measuring the Temple on the facade
of the abbey church:

Summus ab aeterna delapsus nuntius aiua,
Tempora testatur divino examine claudi!

Corpore virgo sacer carus dominoque Johannes
Mentis in extasii metitur illima templi.
(Von Schlosser, pp. 184-5).

Aurenhammer, I, 186; Reau, II, 2, 708-11; VezIN, pp. 140-8;

By the late Middle Ages the Apocalyptic Woman was primarily a
symbol of the Immaculate Conception. This identification was
officially sanctioned in the late fifteenth the century.

Valenciennes 99, fol. 23r; Paris 1132, fol. 17r.

Valenciennes 99, fol. 24r; Paris 1132, fol. 17r.

The small, naked child is introduced into the Iconography of the
Beatus cycles in the tenth century. In Valladolid, Biblioteca Santa
Cruz (fols. 130v-131r) and in the Morgan Beatus M 644 (fols. 152v-153r)
the child is shown in a separate compartment before the throne of God.

Wettstein, La Fresque Romane: Italie, France, Espagne:

R. Green, M. Evans, C. Bischoff, and M. Curschmann, Hortus
Deliciarum, 2 vols., Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 36 (Leiden:
E.J. Brill, 1979). The Hortus Deliciarum was destroyed by fire in
1870.

A miniature in the Liber Matutinalis (Munchen, Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17401, fol. 41r) is related stylistically and
iconographically to the Hortus Deliciarum Illumination. The Munich
miniature, which is dated in the first quarter of the thirteenth
century, depicts the Woman with wings menaced by the dragon who vominits
a flood. The Woman steps to the right about to flee while looking back
at the dragon. On her arm she holds the child who looks up and to the
right as if in the direction of heaven (Green, et. al., I, fig. 324).

Cames, Allegories et Symboles dans l'Hortus Deliciarum
(Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), pp. 42-3 lists six illustrations in the
Hortus Deliciarum that are based on the Apocalypse: Antichrist, the
Woman Clothed with the Sun; the Last Judgment, God Wiping Away the
Tears of the Redeemed, the Whore of Babylon, and the Fall of the Whore
of Babylon.

Andrew of Fleury records the following five lines in reference
to the image of the Woman Clothed with the Sun on the facade of the
abbot church:

Hulus caeli colam subductus partus ad aulum,
Sic tremebunda fugit tant i terrore draconis,
Tercia lucendi quo caeli portio desit.
Cum quo caelestes pugnantes quippe cohortes,
lipsm tartarum tradunt sine margine paenlis.
(Von Schlosser, p. 185).

70 Yoshikawa, p. 10 notes that more than half of the Apocalypse scenes have disappeared.


72 Another illustration at the left on the same folio shows Christ posed like Michael and defending the City of God from the devil. The illustration seems to have been based on a drawing of Michael and his angels defeating the dragon.

73 The presence of an angel who assists in lifting up the Woman's child to heaven is found in an eleventh-century painting of the Woman threatened by the dragon in the nave of the abbey church of San Pietro al Monte at Civate.

74 Other twelfth-century representations of the Woman Clothed with the Sun include frescoes of the Woman and Dragon and the Defeat of the Dragon at San Anastasio a Castel Sant'Elia near Nepi, and the Woman and Dragon with perhaps the Dragon Vomiting the Flood at San Severo de Bardolino.

75 Other thirteenth-century representations of the Woman Clothed with the Sun include four marginal illustrations in a Vatican Library manuscript (Vat. lat. 39, fol. 163r) showing the Woman standing before the dragon, reclining and lifting her child to two divine hands, fleeing with wings attached. The final drawing is of an angel battling the dragon.

The Woman Clothed with the Sun occurs among the Apocalypse subjects sculpted inside the west facade of Reims cathedral. Here in two adjacent niches, the Woman holding her swaddled child hurries away but turns back to look at the dragon. Kurmann, pp. 261-262 writes that the Reims sculptor based the design for the dragon on the Liber Floridus version. He maintains that the Woman and child are based on a group of English Gothic Apocalypses that includes the Trinity College Apocalypse, Bodleian D.4.17, Lambeth Palace MS 29, and the Ludwig Apocalypse.

76 Aurenhämmcr, i, 186-9; Reau, II, 2, 718-20; Kirschbaun, III, 267-8. Representations of the events of Apocalypse 19 including the Rider Faithful and True are not common outside of manuscript cycles.

77 Freyhan, pp. 211-12, n. 2 suggests that among the precursors for the scenes of the Summoning of the Birds in the English Gothic
Apocalypses are illustrations of the fowls of heaven in Psalm 8. In some English psalters, for example the late eleventh-century copy of the Utrecht Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat. 8846), these birds are quite large and bear some resemblance to those in the Apocalypse scenes. Freyhan suggests that the birds large size results from the attempt to differentiate them by species.

78 Valenciennes 99, fol. 34r; Paris 1132, fol. 28r.

79 Valenciennes 99, fol. 35r; Paris 1132, fol. 29r. Goldschmidt, pp. 24-9 has shown that the Image of the Rider in Paris 1132 incorporates imperial attributes in the crown, costume, and lance taken directly from equestrian portraits such as those of the emperor Justinian. Goldschmidt makes this comparison to support his argument that the Paris 1132 Apocalypse is based on visual sources of the sixth century.

80 Bamberg 140, fol. 47v; Bodley 352, fol. 11v.

81 Anthony, p. 137, n. 4, flgs. 280, 281.

82 Andrew of Fleury records the Summoning of the Birds among the Apocalypse subjects on the Fleury facade. The following three verses accompanied the Image:

Caetibus aligeris divina voce vocatis,
Odibiles Christi, caelesti cuspide fusi,
Sve privata quidem vivendi corpora prebent.
(Von Schlosser, pp. 185-6).

83 Aurenhammer, I, 190; Reau, II, 2, 721-3; Kirschbaum, I, 143.


86 Valenciennes 99, fol. 38r-39r; Paris 1132, fol. 33r-34r.


88 Weitzmann, p. 30.

89 Snyder, pp. 149-53.
CHAPTER TWO
THE ICONOGRAPHIC RELATIONSHIP
OF THE 'ST ALBANS’ APOCALYPTES

Introduction
In the preceding chapter I have attempted to show that the artist
of the Paris 403 Apocalypse in designing his illustrations drew upon
visual sources in Apocalypse narrative cycles developed earlier in the
Middle Ages, and that these artistic sources belong to a continuously
evolving Iconographic tradition. Paris 403 and the other illustrated
Apocalypse cycles in English and French Gothic manuscripts are clearly
distinguished from earlier cyclic representations of the Apocalypse by
the form of the Gothic pictorial narrative which emphasizes the
insistently linear flow of events and a heightened sense of causality
and unity in storytelling.

In this chapter I will investigate the historical sequence and
Iconographic interrelationship of Paris 403 and the four Apocalypse
manuscripts traditionally grouped with it by James, Millar, Rickert and
others as mentioned earlier. They maintain that these five cycles
exhibit many common features of Iconography and style. The tinted
outline technique used in all of these manuscripts is the primary
reason for their having been attributed to a circle or school headed by
Matthew Paris who is known to have adopted the same manner in the
Illustrated chronicles and saints' lives he created for St Albans. As
discussed previously, this attribution cannot be sustained when the 'St
Albans' Apocalypses are compared with the genuine works of Matthew
Paris. Nor may the tinted outline technique be restricted to the scriptorium at St Albans. A more likely source for the graceful style of Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 and perhaps also for the slightly later Ludwig and British Library 35166 Apocalypses is now thought to be the court school at Westminster in the 1250's. Paris 403, on the other hand, corresponds stylistically to the elegant products of the Salisbury scriptorium in the decade between 1240 and 1250.

The cycle of Apocalypse Illustrations in Paris 403 is the central factor joining this chapter with the previous one. I will try to show that this cycle holds a very important pivotal position in the evolution of the early Gothic Illustrated Apocalypses. The Paris Apocalypse represents, I contend, better than any other extant cycle, that period of transmission and transformation in Apocalypse art that links the Romanesque and earlier cycles with new Gothic narrative form.

It is my belief that Paris 403 is not only the earliest of the 'St Albans' Apocalypses but may be among the earliest and most influential of all the Gothic Apocalypse cycles. Moreover, each of the remaining members of the 'St Albans' group that succeed Paris 403 during approximately the next two decades of the thirteenth century represents a major stage in the evolution of the Gothic Apocalypse, a stage around which other related manuscripts can also be grouped.

I proposed in Chapter One that Paris 403 should be placed early in the evolution of the thirteenth-century Apocalypse cycles because of its marked stylistic resemblance to the Trinity College Apocalypse now generally agreed to date between about 1240 and 1250. I have argued further for the early date of Paris 403 in Chapter Two on the grounds
that it, more than any other extant thirteenth-century Apocalypse, preserves most faithfully and in greatest number iconographic elements of the pre-Gothic Apocalypse cycles on which I believe it is based. I will attempt to uphold in this chapter the claim that the Paris Apocalypse is early in the chronology of the Gothic cycles on the additional evidence that Paris 403, or more likely a prototype it closely copies, directly influenced the cycles of illuminations in Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 and less directly, though no less importantly, the somewhat later cycles in the Ludwig and British Library 35166 Apocalypses.¹

Much work remains to be done before secure relationships can be worked out among all of the approximately one-hundred extant illustrated Apocalypse cycles created between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.² By focusing on the relationships among a relatively small number of manuscripts—those previously associated with St Albans—I hope to contribute toward a resolution of this much larger problem.

The many Gothic Apocalypse manuscripts are undeniably related by conspicuous similarities in format and imagery as well as in details of figures and compositions. Yet in any attempt to sort out the nature of these associations, one is immediately struck by their complexity. Painstaking comparison of individual scenes and, whenever possible, whole cycles has proved to be the most satisfactory method of clarifying manuscript relationships; and in making such comparisons, we find we must consider a variety of features under the general heading of iconography. These include such things as the inclusion or
exclusion of Individual subjects in a particular cycle; details of the
ccontent and composition of Individual illustrations Including the
presence, absence, or alteration of specific figures or activities
portrayed; and even the rendering of such small points as gestures,
poses, costumes, settings, and accessories.

I have already stated my belief that Paris 403 represents an
important formative stage in the evolution of the Gothic Apocalypse
cycles that acts as a major influence on the Iconographic programs in
later manuscripts Including those in the 'St Albans' group. My
position differs from that of both R. Freyhan and George Henderson,
authors of recent Important studies of the Iconographic interrela-
tionships of the Gothic Apocalypse cycles. The manuscripts in the
traditional 'St Albans' group figure prominently in their work. It
will perhaps prove helpful at this point to discuss these studies
before proceeding.

Freyhan separates the English Gothic Apocalypses into an archetype
and two derivative groups which gradually evolve from it (fig. 2). 3
Freyhan calls Morgan 524 the archetype of all the English cycles
because he believes it is partly modeled on the Apocalypse in the
twelfth-century Liber Floridus, and because the Morgan Apocalypse
contains "picture for picture, the germ of the subsequent development"
of the manuscript cycles. 4 The Morgan Apocalypse, it should be
recalled, contains full-page illuminations on the blank backgrounds of
which are short passages of text and gloss.

The two derivative groups Freyhan defines represent two separate
stages, or, more precisely, two separate solutions to the problem of
Archetype:
Morgan 524
1255-60

Group I: ---
Lambeth 209
and related manuscripts.
1255-60

Trinity College
Apocalypse
(some influence from Beatus cycles)
1255-60

Group II:
Ludwig Apocalypse,
Brit. Lib. 35166
and related manuscripts.
after 1260

Paris 403
(contemporary with Group II but with some influence from Group I)
after 1260

Fig. 2. Diagram of Manuscript Relationships According to Freyhan
adjusting the cycle of pictures in the Morgan archetype to a new design featuring a full text written below and separate from the illustrations. Each of these groups derives independently from the archetype, that is, Group II does not evolve from Group I. And, Freyhan emphasizes, the derivative groups differ from the archetype in ways that are not merely technical in terms of the simple separation of picture and text, but fundamental. This fundamental distinction involves alterations devised by the two derivative groups in an attempt to adjust their illustrations (derived from the archetype) to a full text. These adjustments, Freyhan explains, require that some scenes be "split into two, some merged, and finally some new ones invented for passages which had been left unillustrated in the archetype." He also notes the occurrence of numerous compositional changes in the derivative cycles "to deal with the empty spaces left by the withdrawal of the script from the picture area."

Freyhan uses the illustration of the Fall of Babylon in Apocalypse 18 to demonstrate the evolution of a motif from the archetype to the two derivative groups. In the archetype (Morgan 524), the Fall of Babylon is a single scene showing John, the toppled city, and an angel bearing a placard telling how God's people were called from the doomed city and how the kings, merchants, and sailors lamented over its destruction.

The manuscripts in Group I (for example, Lambeth Palace MS 209) copy the Fall of Babylon in the archetype. The Trinity College Apocalypse, Freyhan maintains, takes elements from Group I and transmits them to Group II. Thus, the left portion of the Trinity
scene follows the archetype in showing John and the angel with the placard standing near the ruined city. In the right half of the Trinity scene, however, the narrative has been expanded by the addition of two new subjects: the Departure of God's People from the City, and the Lament of the Kings, Merchants, and Sailors.9

Freyhan traces the Fall of Babylon to the manuscripts in his Group II represented by the Ludwig Apocalypse and British Library 35166. Here the right half of the Trinity scene showing the Departure of God's People and the Lament of the Kings, Merchants, and Sailors has been expanded to become the subject of a second, separate illustration. In later Group II cycles like Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 180, the Fall of Babylon is expanded further until it extends across four separate scenes.10

Freyhan's work on the English Apocalypses should not, I think, be considered a diagram of relationships among particular manuscripts. What Freyhan offers is primarily a theory of evolution. He refers to the Fall of Babylon to illustrate his belief that, in general, the narrative images in the English cycles steadily increase in number and complexity after 1260 as the artists attempt to adjust the pictures in the archetype to a full text. Some of Freyhan's theory seems sound even if it is rather too generally stated and insufficiently illustrated. Freyhan correctly points out the tendency for many of the later cycles—those in his Group II—to expand a section of the narrative by multiplying the constituent parts of a particular subject.11 He also recognizes (and subsequent studies have upheld) the position of the Trinity cycle approximately midway between two
major Iconographic stems represented by Morgan 524 on the one hand and on the other the slightly later cycles in Group II represented by the Ludwig and British Library 35166 Apocalypses.

Yet other aspects of Freyhan's theory seem to me to present difficulties. First is the problem of the placement of Morgan 524 at the beginning of the evolution. That the Morgan Apocalypse should be the single archetype of all the English cycles seems for Freyhan to rest solely on its resemblance to the apocalyptic series in the Liber Floridus. Why the Morgan Apocalypse alone should possess a unique relationship with the Liber Floridus Freyhan does not explain. Is it because in both Morgan 524 and the Liber Floridus excerpts of text are written on the blank backgrounds of the pictures? This may be what Freyhan has in mind since the theory of his manuscript relationships is based on the premise that the evolution of the English Apocalypse proceeds from an archetype in which text excerpts appear within the illustrations to a full separation of text and pictures. The adjustments necessitated by this process are then divided by Freyhan into two distinct phases or groups.

This last point touches upon what I consider the most unsupportable of Freyhan's conclusions. This is his assertion that the Apocalypses evolved from what may be termed "picture books" like Morgan 524 to pictures accompanied by a full text. There is no evidence that I can find to support this premise, nor does Freyhan offer any. Perhaps Freyhan was influenced by Dellisle's placement of Morgan 524 within his so-called "First Family," a title that seems to imply some type of early standing in a chronology. Yet, Freyhan plainly
denounces Delisle's families as "not only incorrect but an obstacle to the understanding of the evolution of the cycle."\textsuperscript{13}

What is even more curious is Freyhan's dismissal of Paris 403. Having designated Morgan 524 with its full-page illustrations the archetype, Freyhan is at a loss as to where to put the Paris Apocalypse in his evolution. While its cycle of pictures is obviously closely related to that in the archetype, Paris also contains a separate, full text. Freyhan therefore designates Paris 403 an independent copy of the archetype made not earlier than the 1260's. In this awkward position, Paris 403 is contemporary with Group II, although it does not strictly belong to that stage; nor does it belong to Group I even though, Freyhan maintains, its designer is aware of iconographic changes introduced in that stage.\textsuperscript{14}

George Henderson's lengthy study of the English Apocalypses was published in the \textit{Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes} in 1968, thirteen years after Freyhan's article had appeared in the same journal. Henderson disagrees with Freyhan's contention that Paris 403 is a later copy of Morgan 524. He maintains instead that Morgan 524, Bodleian D.4.17, and Paris 403 are all derived from a common archetype, an archetype that is most faithfully reflected in the Morgan Apocalypse.\textsuperscript{15} In Henderson's view, the Morgan and Bodleian Apocalypses represent the earliest version of the English Gothic Apocalypse or what he calls the "first family tradition," even though the greater elegance and refinement in the style of the Morgan Apocalypse indicates that it is "a little more advanced" than Paris 403 (fig. 3).\textsuperscript{16} Henderson assigns the Morgan manuscript a \textit{terminus ante
Fig. 3. Diagram of Manuscript Relationships According to Henderson
Henderson devotes the first part of his study to an analysis of the relationship between the Morgan-Bodleian cycle and Paris 403. He states that the designer of Paris 403, working possibly from Morgan 524, but more likely independently from its model, introduces minor modifications into the original cycle of pictures reflected in Morgan. Many of these changes are designed to "pad out" those portions of the archetype material considered inadequately brief to illustrate the full text and commentary written in the Paris Apocalypse. For example, the archetype represented by Morgan 524 includes two scenes illustrating the vision of the Great Angel. The Angel himself does not appear in the first of these scenes in which John is warned not to write (fig. 118). He does, however, appear in the second scene in which John is handed the book and the measuring rod (fig. 119). The designer of Paris 403, judging the Morgan compositions too condensed to illustrate adequately the full text of Apocalypse 10-11:1, represents the Great Angel twice, showing him first with John forbidden to write, and a second time giving John first the book and then the measuring rod (figs. 42, 43). Thus, according to Henderson, the designer of Paris 403 deliberately alters his model in order to make more explicit the correspondence between his text and his visual narrative. This makes Paris 403 in Henderson's words, "a dependent secondary manuscript, not a true representative of its class." Paris 403 is a cycle of little consequence for the evolution of the later English Apocalypses according to both Freyhan and Henderson. The Trinity College Apocalypse, however, is described by Henderson as a
force equal influence to the archetype represented by Morgan 524.20
After comparing several scenes in Trinity with the same subjects in Morgan-Bodleian and Paris 403, Henderson concludes that the Trinity cycle is Iconographically Independent. Trinity, he states, cannot be descended from the archetype of Morgan 524, neither can Paris 403 be in any way linked to it.21

The Iconographic distinction between the Trinity Apocalypse and the Morgan-Bodleian and Paris Apocalypses leads Henderson to conclude that these four manuscripts represent two separate, even rival recensions. These separate traditions are not to be confused with Delisle and Meyer's two families separated primarily by the presence or absence of a double-column text. Rather, for Henderson, Trinity and Morgan 524 represent "two parent stems," equal in influence, "which in the next generation of Apocalypse manuscripts grow together."22

Henderson maintains that the Apocalypse manuscripts which immediately follow Trinity and Morgan 524 in date derive from both prototype cycles. Many of these so-called "second generation" manuscripts, including the Ludwig Apocalypse and the related British Library 35166, blend the two prototype cycles. An example of such blending is found in the Ludwig scene of the Four Angels Bound in the River Euphrates in Apocalypse 9:13-15.23

The Trinity version of this subject shows an angel standing at the left blowing a trumpet while a voice from heaven commands him to release the four angels chained in Euphrates. At the right side of the scene the same trumpeting angel, shown a second time, stoops to loose the four angels bound in the river. In the Morgan Apocalypse version,
the angel at left blows his trumpet and the four angels stand already unbound at the right; no voice speaks from heaven, nor is the actual unbinding depicted. In Henderson's view, the Ludwig version conflates the two prototype cycles by showing the voice from heaven speaking to the trumpeting angel as in Trinity while omitting the actual unbinding of the four angels as in the Morgan scene.24

Lambeth Palace 209, the closely related Lisbon Apocalypse (Lisbon, Gulbenkian Coll., MS L.A. 139), and the fourteenth-century Angers Tapestry are among the members of another second generation group of Apocalypses in which the two prototype cycles, Morgan 524 and Trinity, are combined. In some instances, Henderson explains, this mingling of cycles is as thorough as it is in Ludwig. The designer of Lambeth 209, however, more often adopts entire compositions or portions of them from either Morgan 524 or, more frequently, from Trinity.25

The studies by Freyhan and Henderson can be briefly summarized as follows. Freyhan maintains that Morgan 524 is the archetype of all the English Gothic Apocalypses which, with the exception of Bodleian D.4.17, try to adjust the pictures in the archetype to a half-page text. In Henderson's view, two archetypes, Morgan 524 and the Trinity College Apocalypse, issuing from separate sources, combine their influence to varying degrees in the Apocalypse cycles that come after them in what Henderson calls the "second generation." Paris 403 is described in both studies as a cycle of little consequence for the development of the Illustrated Apocalypse. Both Freyhan and Henderson are aware of the many similarities between Paris 403 and Morgan 524, but both scholars are also convinced that, in addition to Trinity, the
key work for the study of the English Apocalypse, the archetype, is either identical with Morgan 524 or is most faithfully copied in that manuscript.

I propose a different chronological order and set of relationships for the five 'St Albans' Apocalypses. My scheme is in some respects a refinement rather than a thorough revision of the groundwork laid by Freyhan's and Henderson's studies. Their belief that Morgan 524, Bodleian D.4.17, Paris 403, and Trinity provide sources for the Ludwig and British Library 35166 Apocalypses among others is sound. But I believe these important early cycles are related to each other somewhat differently.

On the basis of my study of the Morgan-Bodleian and Paris 403 cycles, I believe that the archetype of these three manuscripts is most faithfully reflected in Paris 403, and that in fact the Paris and Trinity Apocalypses are the most important prototypes for the evolution of the English cycles (fig. 4). In studying the sources of the Paris Apocalypse in the preceding chapter, I have established some close ties between this particular cycle and the iconography of the pre-Gothic tradition of Apocalypse art. While this evidence by itself suggests either Paris 403 or its lost model should be identified with the archetype of the thirteenth-century cycles, other features of the Paris Apocalypse also appear, I believe, to support this conclusion. I will try to show, for example, that the discrepancies between the Paris 403 illuminations and those in Morgan-Bodleian represent changes made by the Morgan artist (and subsequently by his Bodleian copyist) who, in basing his compositions on the archetype reflected in Paris, frequently
Fig. 4. Diagram of Relationships Among the 'St Albans' Apocalypse.

- Archetype
- Trinity College Apocalypse before 1250
- Paris 403: faithful copy of the archetype, 1240-50
- Morgan 524 c. 1250
- Bodleian D.4.17 c. 1250-60
- Lambeth 209-Metz Salis 38 c. 1250-60
- Ludwig c. 1250-60
- British Library 35166 c. 1260-70
found it necessary to alter or simplify his model usually in order to provide more space for the text within the Morgan pictures.

Thus, my interpretation of the relationship between Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian reverses Henderson's view that the Paris artist simply "pads out" the Morgan Illustrations he copies. And my position is diametrically opposed to Freyhan's opinion that Paris 403 is a maverick work not conforming to the evolutionary pattern.

The cycles of Illustrations in the Ludwig and British Library 35166 Apocalypses are, of the 'St Albans' group, the farthest removed iconographically from Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian. The many iconographic similarities between the Ludwig and British Library Apocalypses have often been noted, and these similarities, Freyhan and Henderson agree, are evidence of the influence of earlier Apocalypse cycles on the Ludwig and British Library volumes.

Henderson analyzes in detail the formation of the Ludwig and British Library cycles from the combined influence of the Iconographic stems in Morgan-Bodleian and Trinity. I would propose, however, that Paris 403 replace Morgan-Bodleian as the dominant cycle opposite Trinity on Henderson's stemma. Further, I believe Henderson overlooks the part played by the Lambeth 209-Metz Sails 38 group of Apocalypses in the creation of Ludwig and British Library 35166.26 I will show that the manuscripts in this Lambeth-Metz group act as an important intermediate step in the evolution of the Apocalypses in the 'St Albans' group.27

The organization of this chapter corresponds to that of Chapter Two. The seven visions there discussed for the purpose of determining
the pictorial sources of Paris 403, will here be adopted again to
investigate the paths of relationship among the 'St Albans' Apocalypses
and their associates. I have selected these seven climactic visions
because the reader is by now familiar with their artistic
representation and because all seven are contained in virtually all of
the manuscript cycles here under study. In the one or two cases in
which, through damage, pertinent illustrations are missing, I will try
to reconstruct the contents and compositions of the lost scenes.
Finally, by taking up again the seven subjects discussed in the
preceding chapter, I hope to create a continuity that makes it possible
to follow the changing shape of these visions in images from the early
Middle Ages through the mid thirteenth-century. The seven visions are:
the Vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb, the Opening of the
First Four Seals and the Appearance of the Four Horsemen, the Opening
of the Fifth Seal and the Vision of the Souls Beneath the Altar, the
Great Angel, the Woman Clothed with the Sun, the Rider and the
Winepress, and the Heavenly Jerusalem.

**The Vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb**

Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 each contain two framed
illuminations for the Vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb in
Apocalypse 4 and 5. These two subjects are arranged one directly above
the other on folio iv of Morgan 524 and folio 3v of the Bodleian
manuscript (figs. 86, 87). Their miniatures are nearly identical with
those of the same subjects in Paris 403 (figs. 17, 18). They differ
only in such small details as the placement of the seven lamps which in
Paris 403 are all hung in the upper left corner, while in Morgan-Bodleian they are suspended from the upper left and right corners.

As outlined in the Introduction to this chapter, Henderson considers Paris 403 a "dependent secondary manuscript" descended from Morgan 524, the archetype of all the English cycles. However, careful comparison of the Paris 403 and Morgan Illustrations reveals a number of small omissions in Morgan such as a copyist working form the Paris manuscript or its model might make. For example, the Morgan and Bodleian Apocalypses delete the rainbow on which the Lord is seated in Paris 403 as well as the Sea of Glass which flows down at the left of the Lord's mandorla. Also missing from the Morgan and Bodleian versions are the seven seals on the book the Lord holds, the towers above the doorway in heaven, details of the elders' thrones and instruments, and one wing of the angel who holds up the Lord's mandorla. These details, together with evidence from other miniatures in Paris 403 and Morgan 524 to be presented in the course of this chapter, indicate that Morgan 524 and its sister manuscript Bodleian D.4.17 derive from the Paris cycle. This position has previously been taken only by Peter Brieger in his volume on English thirteenth-century art, and by D.H. Turner in his study of the Evesham Psalter (British Library Add. MS 44874). Neither of these scholars, however, cites any specific evidence for his belief.

Besides the evidence of its miniatures, the length and arrangement of the Inscriptions in Morgan 524 also suggests its dependence upon the Paris 403 cycle. In Henderson's opinion, Delsie and Meyer were
correct in assuming that the text written below the illustrations in Paris 403 eliminated the need for inscriptions in the scrolls and placards within the pictures such as those in Morgan 524. Henderson then goes on to say that the French scholars, however, failed to draw from this the obvious conclusion: Paris 403 is, like Bodleian D.4.17, derived from Morgan 524.30

But careful examination of the inscriptions in Morgan 524 reveals that they are in my estimation III suited to the illustrations they accompany. Clearly, the inscriptions in Morgan-Bodleian are too long for the space available in the backgrounds of the miniatures. In the Vision of Heaven, the inscriptions continue beyond the right frame and into the margin (figs. 86, 87). In the Vision of the Lamb directly below, the space above the weeping John and the elder is bisected by a vertical bar in order to accommodate two inscriptions. The corresponding panel in Paris 403, while empty, contains no dividing bar suggesting therefore that one inscription, not two, was meant for this space (fig. 18). Later on in the Morgan Apocalypse this abundant text increases noticeably, far outstripping in size the corresponding scrolls and placards in Paris 403.31 The long inscriptions in Morgan may indicate that its designer worked from a model like Paris 403 without inscriptions. Ignorant of the inscriptions meant to accompany his pictures, the Morgan artist was compelled to supply his own if rather lengthy text. While the evidence for this argument is admittedly circumstantial, it nevertheless seems reasonable to question Henderson's assumption that the mere presence of inscriptions in Morgan 524 entitles it to claim the status of an archetype.
There is no argument, however, about the fact that Bodleian D.4.17 is a copy, and likely a direct copy, of Morgan 524. This is verified by comparing the illustrations for Apocalypse 4 and 5 in Bodleian D.4.17 with the corresponding miniatures in Morgan 524 (figs. 86, 87).

In the course of making his copy, the artist of the Bodleian Apocalypse consistently omits small details in his Morgan model. For example, in the Vision of Heaven at the top of folio 3v, the artist of the Bodleian Apocalypse neglects to copy the top of the right wing of the angel who, standing in the compartment at the left, directs John's gaze toward heaven. He also leaves out one of the elders (there are 23), and the wings of the angel who holds up the Lord's mandorla. Below, in the scene of the Vision of the Lamb, the Bodleian artist omits the narrow windows behind the trefoil arch at the left beneath which John and the elder converse.

Characteristic of many of the later Gothic Apocalypses is the increased number of separate scenes illustrating the Vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb. In contrast to only two miniatures in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian, the Ludwig and closely related British Library 35166 Apocalypses each contain five separate illustrations for these visions. This multiplication of scenes enhances the temporal realism of the visual narrative by depicting separately each dramatic moment in the progress of the visions. We are shown, or rather we view with John, first the appearance of the Lord in heaven, then the adoration of the Lord by the heavenly host, followed by separate pictures of the appearance of the Lamb, and the Lamb taking the book from the One sitting on the throne.
But while the Ludwig and British Library artists augment narrative realism by expanding the number of scenes, they also do not forfeit the spiritual and nontemporal qualities inherent in these great theophanies. These visions of heaven remain, like those in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian, strictly and purposefully composed as axial, compartmentalized schemes in which geometric regularity is a metaphor for the harmony and perfection of heaven (figs. 88, 94, 96). Their vividly colored backgrounds of alternating red and blue also distinguish them from other more fully narrative scenes in the Ludwig and British Library Apocalypses. Thus, this portion of each cycle presents an effective visualization of the dual nature of John's visions—a harmonious integration of the static and timeless grandeur of heaven with the steady progress of John's narrative.

The illustrations for Apocalypse 4 and 5 in the Ludwig and British Library Apocalypses demonstrate how difficult becomes the task of tracing the genealogy of the later Gothic cycles.

The first of the Ludwig miniatures on folio 3v shows the Vision of Heaven (fig. 88). John stands at the left, outside his framed vision. He looks through a small opening in the frame at the Lord seated in a mandorla in the center of the panel. The Lord is seated on a throne from which emerge "thundering" heads. He holds a staff and the open book with seven seals. Behind the throne are the emerald colored Sea of Glass and the seven hanging lamps. The Lord's mandorla is set within a rectangle; and the combination of these two shapes yields four spandrels within which are the four beasts "full of eyes." To the left and right of the mandorla are four square compartments each containing
him to look up through the doorway in heaven. According to Freyhan, this picture cannot be considered a source for either the Lambeth 209 or Ludwig compositions where John, even though outside the frame, gazes intently through the frame at the proceedings within.\textsuperscript{33}

Had Freyhan turned one more page of the Trinity Apocalypse (folio 4v) he would have found the prototype of the Ludwig and Lambeth 209 compositions showing John standing outside his vision (fig. 91). In this second miniature for the Vision of Heaven showing Apocalypse 4:9-5:1, John stands in a tall, narrow compartment at the left completely separated from his vision without even a small window through the frame. As Henderson has noted, this illustration in Trinity is closely related to those in Ludwig and Lambeth 209.\textsuperscript{34} In all three illustrations John stands outside the frame, the Lord is seated on a "thundering" throne within a mandorla centered in the composition. In the spandrels between the mandorla and its rectangular frame are the four winged beasts, and the twenty-four elders praise the Lord from their four compartments surrounding the central image.

Henderson revises Freyhan's conclusions by correctly assessing the influence of Trinity on the Ludwig Apocalypse. Henderson also describes the distinctive manner in which the Ludwig artist combines the Apocalypse cycles in the two principle traditions—Trinity and Paris 403, Morgan Bodleian—drawing compositions sometimes from one cycle sometimes from the other, and at times combining elements of both cycles within a single picture.\textsuperscript{35} Henderson's analysis of the sources of the Ludwig Illustrations Is readily substantiated. However, I propose to add to Henderson's findings by determining precisely the
route by which the Ludwig Apocalypse is descended from Trinity and Paris 403, the latter cycle being the source, in my view, of Morgan 524. I intend to show that between Trinity and Paris 403 and the later Ludwig and British Library 35166 Apocalypses is an important intermediate stage represented by the closely related cycles in Metz Salis 38 and Lambeth Palace 209 (fig. 4).

Like the Ludwig and British Library Apocalypses, the group surrounding the Metz 38 and Lambeth 209 manuscripts has strong ties to both Trinity and Paris 403. This is noted by Henderson who describes in Lambeth 209 the mingling of these two principal cycles. But Henderson does not try to locate the Lambeth-Metz group within a comprehensive scheme incorporating all of the major cycles he discusses. My study of the miniatures in all of the manuscripts here under study indicates that not only are the Trinity and Paris 403 cycles combined in Lambeth-Metz, but that the latter group, or another group closely related to it, is the means by which the iconography of Trinity and Paris 403 is transmitted to the later cycles, limited in this study to the Ludwig and British Library Apocalypses.

Turning again to the Vision of Heaven in the Ludwig Apocalypse and in the British Library 35166, we can trace the descent of these images from the two principal cycles in Trinity and Paris 403. The geometric form of the Ludwig composition in which the Lord's mandorla is centered between four compartments of elders while John stands outside at the left is derived ultimately from Trinity as Henderson has suggested (figs. 88, 91). A similar configuration is found in Lambeth 209. The rainbow on which the Lord is seated originates in Paris 403 but
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comes to the Ludwig miniature also by way of the group surrounding Lambeth 209. Several innovations introduced into the Lambeth Apocalypse have also made their way into the Ludwig miniature. These are the small window that John gazes through, the seven lamps hanging behind the Lord, and the Sea of Glass that undulates just above the arched rainbow.

The next two illustrations and their accompanying texts in the Ludwig Apocalypse and in British Library 35166 reverse, probably by accident, the order of the corresponding scenes in Trinity, their principal source. In Trinity, the first Vision of Heaven (Apoc. 4:1-7) is followed by a second scene of the Vision of Heaven (Apoc. 4:9-11) (figs. 90, 91). Next in Trinity is a separate illustration at the top of folio 5r containing, on the left, the angel who asks John, "Who is Worthy to Open the Book?" and, on the right, the Elder Consoling John (Apoc. 5:2-5) (fig. 92). In Ludwig and British Library 35166, the first scene of the Vision of Heaven (Apoc. 4:107) is followed by a separate illustration containing, like Trinity, the angel who asks John, "Who is Worthy to Open the Book?" and the Elder Consoling John (Apoc. 5:2-5) (figs. 93, 95). There follows on the next folio a second Vision of Heaven (Apoc. 4:9-11) (fig. 94). These last two subjects in Ludwig and British Library 35166 reverse the scriptural order as well as the order of illustrations in Trinity. This peculiarity is also characteristic of the Lambeth-Metz group and its occurrence in the Ludwig and British Library Apocalypses may well stem from that source.

In Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian, the angel who asks John, "Who is
Worthy to Open the Book? and John Consoled by the Elder are part of the larger drawing of the Vision of the Lamb (figs. 18, 86, 87). The separation of the first named subjects from the Vision of the Lamb is a feature of the Trinity cycle and can be traced from it to the Ludwig and British Library Apocalypses (figs. 92, 98, 93, 96). In the latter manuscript, which follows the Iconography of Ludwig closely, the elder who consoles John points to the right side of the panel where a second figure, perhaps another elder, can be seen beneath a slender arched arcade (fig. 95). The presence of this figure cannot be explained by either the text or commentary. He may therefore be taken as evidence of the influence on British Library 35166 of either another unidentified cycle, or simply of the gradual confusion and decay of the Ludwig Iconography in those manuscripts based on it.

The second scene of the Vision of Heaven in Ludwig, out of order on folio 4v, shows John outside the frame at the left bending over to peer through a small opening at the Vision of the Lord in a mandorla seated on a rainbow and holding the open book with seven seals (fig. 94). As in the first illustration for the Vision of Heaven in the same manuscript, the Lord's mandorla is centered within four compartments, a composition that, as already noted, originates in Trinity and continues in the Lambeth-Metz group. The angels in the two uppermost compartments of the Ludwig miniature are also found in Lambeth-Metz although not in Trinity. The throne on which the Lord sits in Trinity is replaced in Ludwig by a thin rainbow. This motif seems to have come from Paris 403 by way of Lambeth-Metz. The corresponding miniature on folio 5v of British Library 35166 is virtually identical to the Ludwig
picture except that John is absent.

The last two illustrations for chapter five in the Ludwig Apocalypse show the Appearance of the Lamb (Apoc. 5:6) and the Lamb Taking the Book from the Lord on the throne (Apoc. 5:7-14). In the appearance of the Lamb on folio 5r, John kneels at the left outside the vision and looks through the frame at the Lamb with cross staff and banner standing on a draped altar within a mandorla (fig. 96). As in the Vision of Heaven, the mandorla is between four compartments in which sit the twenty-four elders with instruments and vials. In the spandrels between the mandorla and the elders, are the four winged beasts. British Library 35166 contains an identical composition for the appearance of the Lamb (folio 6r) in which John, however, is not present.

The Lamb Taking the book on folio 5v of Ludwig is arranged much like the preceding scene (fig. 97). John stands at the left looking through a window in the frame. In a mandorla centered in the panel sits the Lord on a simple arc. He extends the open book with seven seals to the Lamb who stands on its hind legs to receive it. The four beasts surround the mandorla. Four square compartments flank the central image. The upper left and right corner compartments contain angels adoring the Lord and the Lamb, and beneath these, the elders cast down their vials and harps in praise. British Library 35166 contains a virtually identical picture on folio 6v. It differs from the Ludwig miniature by the addition of drapery over the arc and the Lamb who stands on all four legs to take the sealed book.

The separation of the Appearance of the Lamb and the Lamb Taking
the Book into two discrete scenes in Ludwig and British Library 35166
is not found in either Trinity or Paris 403. In both of these early
cycles, the two events are combined in one illustration as they are
also in the twelfth-century Oxford Apocalypse. In Trinity, John
watches from a narrow compartment at the left, the source perhaps of
his placement in Ludwig beyond the left frame (fig. 98).\(^41\) The
Appearance of the Lamb in Ludwig and British Library 35166 seems to
have its origins in both the Paris 403 and Trinity illustrations. The
Lamb with cross staff and banner standing within a clipeus surrounded
by the four beasts and the twenty-four elders is found in the lower
half of the Paris Apocalypse scene (fig. 18). The rigid compart-
mentalization of each part of the vision including the centered
mandoria inscribed in a rectangle in whose corners are the four beasts
is a feature of the Trinity version (fig. 98). A source for the Ludwig
scene, however, may be the Lambeth-Metz group in which the Appearance
of the Lamb and the Lamb Taking the Book are rendered again as two
separate scenes.\(^42\) The Appearance of the Lamb in Metz 38 is
particularly close to the Ludwig miniature sharing with the latter the
draped pedestal on which the Lamb stands, and the figure of John
peering through the window in the left frame.

The Lamb Taking the Book in Ludwig and British Library 35166 has
fewer direct sources (fig. 97). In fact, the Ludwig artist seems to
have reshaped this subject for his manuscript. In both Paris 403 and
Trinity, the Lamb standing upright takes the book from the right hand
of the Lord in the company of angels and elders as described in the
scriptural text. John watching from outside the frame at the left in
Ludwig may be directly descended, like the same motif in the previous scene, from the figure of the Evangelist at the far left of the Trinity miniature. The Ludwig artist, however, seems to have designed his version of the Lamb Taking the Book to correspond to the composition of the Appearance of the Lamb on the recto of the same leaf (fig. 96). The Ludwig miniature is the source of the same subject in British Library 35166. The Lambeth-Metz group in this case seems to have exerted little influence on the design of the Ludwig scene. The Lambeth-Metz group attempts to unify the vision of the Lamb Taking the Book by eliminating the strict rectangular compartments that separate the elders from the central group of the Lord and the Lamb (fig. 99). Among the few features that the Ludwig miniature owes to Lambeth-Metz are John looking in on his vision from outside the frame, and the slightly turned seated pose of the Lord who gives the book to the Lamb (figs. 97, 99).

In conclusion, the lengthy series of illuminations for the Vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb in the 'St Albans' Apocalypses offer substantial evidence for the chronological relationship and artistic origins of these five manuscripts. When compared point by point with Paris 403, small omissions appear among the drawings in the Morgan Apocalypse, omissions that are insignificant except as evidence that Morgan 524 is a derivative work likely based on the archetype reflected in Paris 403. Moreover, the awkward length of the inscriptions in Morgan suggests that its artist worked from a model that, like Paris 403, lacked Inscriptions. This conclusion contradicts that of Henderson and before him Freyhan, both of whom consider Morgan
the archetype of all the English Gothic Apocalypses.

Henderson correctly assesses the influence of the Vision of Heaven in the Trinity Apocalypse on that in the Ludwig Apocalypse, as well as the general dependence of Ludwig on both Trinity and Paris 403. But Henderson falls to perceive the role of the Lambeth-Metz group as an intermediate stage in the development from the Trinity and Paris Apocalypse cycles to the Ludwig and British Library 35166 manuscripts.

It is in the stylistically earlier Lambeth-Metz group that the iconography of the two principal cycles is first combined before being transmitted to Ludwig and its dependents. Irregularities in, for example, the order of scenes in the Vision of Heaven can be traced from the Ludwig Apocalypse to the Lambeth-Metz group, as can the separation of the Appearance of the Lamb from the Lamb Taking the Book. The manuscripts surrounding Lambeth-Metz seem to be the source of some compositional changes in the Ludwig and British Library Apocalypses. For example, in the first scene of the Vision of Heaven in Trinity and Paris 403, the seven lamps hang above the Lord; but beginning in the Lambeth-Metz illustrations and continuing in the Ludwig and British Library cycles, the seven lamps hang behind the Lord.

The Opening of the First Four Seals and the Appearance of the Four Horsemen

Like Paris 403, the other four 'St Albans' Apocalypses devote a separate illustration to each of the four horsemen. In Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 these illuminations are arranged one above the other on the recto and verso of one folio (figs. 100-103). The Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian horsemen are so similar in details of costumes,
poses, even the trappings and gaits of the horses that there can be no
doubt the cycles of pictures are intimately related (figs. 29, 34, 35, 38). However, the Morgan-Bodleian scenes omit the Lamb with the sealed
book in a clipeus above the upper frame of each of the four Paris
Apocalypse Illustrations. Missing also from the Morgan-Bodleian
version is the divine hand that in Paris 403 gives the first rider his
crown and the second his sword (figs. 29, 34, 100-101). These
particular items, the Lamb with the book and the divine hand bestowing
the crown and sword, were shown in the previous chapter to be among the
earliest attributes associated with the four horsemen in the Apocalypse
cycles, attributes that help to establish the seniority of the Paris
403 Apocalypse among the English Apocalypses by linking it with the
earliest illustrated cycles. Their disappearance from the Morgan-
Bodleian cycle suggests a deterioration of the Iconography such as one
might expect to occur between a prototype cycle (Paris 403) and its
dependents.

The Lamb with the sealed book who accompanies each of the horsemen
and the divine hand that bestows the crown upon the first and the sword
upon the second are omitted from nearly all of the later English
cycles. They are also omitted from the Trinity Apocalypse which may,
however, be as early in date as Paris 403 (figs. 107-109). Further,
the four horsemen in Trinity seem to be the primary source for the
corresponding scenes in the Ludwig Apocalypse. Like Trinity, the
Ludwig scenes contain neither the Lamb with the sealed book nor the
divinely bestowed crown and sword. The first rider in Ludwig, like
that in Trinity, is already crowned and carries his bow drawn and ready
to shoot (figs. 104, 107). In Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian the rider's weapon is not drawn but merely carried in his left hand (fig. 100). The third horseman in Ludwig and in Trinity carries only the balances held over the neck of his mount, and not, as in Paris 403 and its followers, a staff also (figs. 102, 105, 108).

The fourth horseman in the Ludwig Apocalypse is followed by an inverted hell-mouth viewed from the front and brimming over with the damned of every rank including a king and clerics (fig. 106). Above them stands a winged demon clutching one end of a flesh-hook. The horseman, who fills most of the panel, moves toward the right holding a bowl of fire before him in his left hand. With his right hand extended behind him he grasps the other end of the demon's flesh-hook creating a link between himself and the hell-mouth that follows him. John stands outside the frame at the right, while the beast who tells him to "come and see" speaks to him through a window in the frame.

The fourth horseman in the Trinity Apocalypse is also followed by an inverted hell-mouth shown from the front (fig. 109). Its jaws, like that in Ludwig, overflow with the damned who in Trinity, however, assume human rather than demonic shape. One of these demons rises above the others brandishing a flesh-hook like that in Ludwig. The Trinity horseman, unlike Ludwig, bears an empty bowl of fire. Here also John stands inside the panel at the far left rather than outside the right frame.

The influence of the Trinity horsemen on those in Ludwig is evidenced by the transmission of particular iconographic elements without basis in the scriptural text or commentary, namely, the drawn
bow, the crown, and the flesh-hook. But the iconography of the Ludwig scenes cannot be accounted for by the Trinity cycle alone. The bowl of flame and the placement of John and the eagle at the right side of the fourth horseman are not found in Trinity. Both features are found in Paris 403, evidence according to Henderson of the thorough mingling of the two principal cycles in Ludwig. But the unusual arrangement of John beyond the frame at the right and the eagle who speaks to him through an opening in the frame does not come to the Ludwig composition directly from Paris 403 but by way of the Lambeth-Metz group. In this group, John is shown outside the right frame again communicating with the eagle inside through a window in the frame (fig. 110). The rider carries a flaming bowl which the Ludwig artist adopts over the empty bowl in Trinity (fig. 109). Moreover, only in the Ludwig and Lambeth-Metz versions is the fourth rider hooded. While the flesh-hook wielded by the Ludwig horseman seems to originate in Trinity, the winged monster trampling the damned who grasps the other end is drawn from the Lambeth-Metz version where the flaming mouth of hell with its tormented souls is surmounted by a similar winged demon.

The four horsemen in British Library 35166 reflect primarily the iconography of the Ludwig Apocalypse with some changes. The first rider, like his counterpart in Ludwig, is already crowned, and his leaping white mount is likewise identical to that in the Ludwig version (figs. 111, 104). But as if to complete the action in Ludwig where the rider draws and aims his bow, the rider in the British Library Apocalypse has just released his arrow shown flying away from him. The second rider in the British Library Apocalypse carries his
sword upright in front of him while twisting around awkwardly to look at John and the beast. This pose is not reproduced in any other Apocalypse known to this writer. The third rider in British Library 35166 holds the balances out behind him in the manner of the third rider in the Lambeth-Metz group. In Ludwig and Trinity the rider carries the balances in front of him. This admittedly minor alteration could very well represent, like the flying arrow of the first rider and the twisted pose of the second, an individual artistic preference rather than any direct influence from the Lambeth-Metz group.

The fourth horseman in British Library 35166 again follows that in Ludwig but with some changes. Like the Ludwig horseman, this rider moves toward the right holding the bowl of fire before him (figs. 112, 106). Behind him is an Inverted hell-mouth seen from the front containing human faces. A horned demon holding a harmlessly small version of the flesh-hook in Ludwig rises above the damned. The rider does not grasp the other end of this instrument as he does in Ludwig, but instead holds a thin stick propped against his shoulder.50 John and the beast who tells him to "come and see" are at the left behind the hell-mouth and separated from it by a low hill.

In summary, the illustrations for the four horsemen in Morgan 524 and Bodley D.4.17 are closely related to those in Paris 403, duplicating the latter in virtually every detail. However, the priority of the Paris Apocalypse is demonstrated by the fact that it alone retains the traditional elements of the Lamb with the sealed book repeated for each of the four horsemen, and, in conjunction with the first and second riders, the divine hand bestowing the crown and the
sword respectively.

The four horsemen in the Ludwig Apocalypse are based on those in both the Trinity and Paris 403, Morgan-Bodleian cycles. Henderson, who correctly describes the Ludwig artist's method of working as a "conscious process of comparison and conflations of the two distinct recensions," nevertheless did not recognize that in those instances where the Ludwig artist draws upon the Iconography of Paris 403, Morgan-Bodleian, he does so by means of the Lambeth-Metz group. While John and the fourth beast are placed to the right of the fourth rider in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian, only in Lambeth-Metz and Ludwig does John stand outside the right frame and speak to the eagle through a window. Ludwig also follows the Lambeth-Metz version of the fourth rider by showing the horseman hooded and a winged demon above the human damned in the mouth of hell. From the Trinity cycle the Ludwig artist borrows the first rider's crown and drawn bow as well as the demon with the flesh-hook who follows the fourth rider.

The illustrations for the four horsemen affirm the close relationship between British Library 35166 and the Ludwig cycles. In the British Library Apocalypse the demon with the flesh-hook, the crowned first rider and the pose of his mount are all similar to Ludwig. Where the British Library Apocalypse deviates from the Iconography of Ludwig it introduces Innovations such as the unusual twisted pose of the second rider and the arrow released by the first horseman and shown in mid air, a motif perhaps suggested by the bow already drawn and aimed in the Ludwig and Trinity versions.
The Opening of the Fifth Seal and the Vision of the Souls Beneath the Altar

The single illumination for the Vision of the Souls Beneath the Altar in Paris 403 is reproduced in Morgan 524 and in Bodleian D.4.17 where, however, it is out of its proper order (figs. 39, 113, 114). All three illuminations are very similar showing John standing at the left and behind him a hand holding out a long vertical scroll. A draped altar stands in the center of the composition with beneath it four naked souls. At the right three souls emerge from the altar to be clothed in white robes by two angels.

The marked similarities between the Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian miniatures signifies their close relationship. The dependence of the Morgan-Bodleian images on the archetype reflected in Paris 403 is indicated by several significant omissions in the former. In the Paris Apocalypse, the Lamb shown opening the fifth seal of the book appears in the top half of a circle bisected by the upper frame of the panel. The lower half of this circle arcs directly above the draped altar forming a firmament edged with clouds and containing three stars. From the right side of this firmament appears the face of an angel bearing a scroll. In Morgan-Bodleian, the upper half of the circle has been omitted entirely and with it the Lamb and the book (figs. 113, 114). The lower half of the circle forming the firmament with three stars remains, but the angel with the scroll who emerges from the heavens has disappeared. Bodleian D.4.17 is carefully copied from the Morgan 524 miniature. the only noticeable difference between the two drawings is the unfinished right foot of the largest soul in the Bodleian manuscript.
The Ludwig version of the Opening of the fifth seal is found on folio 8r (fig. 115). The fundamental elements of the Ludwig composition resemble both Paris 403 and Trinity's version of the subject (figs. 39, 116).\(^{53}\) John stands at the left; the draped altar, the souls beneath it, and the firmament above it occupy the center of the panel. At the right, souls emerge from the altar and two angels clothe them with white robes. One angel stands and lowers a robe over the head and shoulders of a nude soul. The other descends from the clouds to drape a thin band over the shoulders of another martyr. A chalice stands on the altar, and above this appears the semicircular firmament with three stars as in Morgan-Bodleian (figs. 113, 114). From the firmament emerges an angel with a blank placard resembling that in Paris 403.

The Opening of the Fifth Seal in the Ludwig Apocalypse ultimately owes less to the influence of Trinity than to that of Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian. The Trinity illustration does not include the chalice on the altar, the semicircular firmament with its three stars, the angel who speaks from it, or the angel who files down to place a thin ribbon over one of the nude martyrs.\(^{54}\) But neither does any one of the Paris 403, Morgan-Bodleian illustrations contain all of these elements. The closest parallel to the Ludwig miniature is again found in the Lambeth-Metz group, and it is to this group that the Ludwig artist must have turned for a model.\(^{55}\) The Lambeth 209 illustration for the Opening of the Fifth Seal omits, like Ludwig, the scroll displayed at the extreme left and visible in the Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian miniatures. The Lambeth 209 illustration also
corresponds to Ludwlg by depicting the chalice on the altar, a feature not found in either Trinity or Paris 403, Morgan-Bodleian. The Lambeth Apocalypse version also depicts the semicircular firmament with three stars like that in Ludwlg. The small angel with a scroll who files out of the firmament in Paris 403 and Ludwlg is not present in either the Metz 38 or Lambeth 209 illustrations of the Opening of the Fifth Seal. This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility that another member of the Lambeth-Metz group contained this small angel and that this still unidentified Apocalypse served as a source for the Ludwlg manuscript. Finally, in representing the clothing of the souls, Ludwlg follows Lambeth-Metz in showing one of the vesting angels standing and the other flying, and in depicting one of the martyrs as already completely dressed. In Paris 403 and Trinity, both angels stand, and in neither of these versions is a martyr shown fully robed.56

British Library 35166 contains an abbreviated version of the Opening of the Fifth Seal similar to the Ludwlg illustration (fig. 117). Here again John stands at the left. Before him on the draped altar stands a chalice like that in Ludwlg, beneath the altar the naked souls of the martyrs are visible. The British Library artist has omitted the semicircular firmament with three stars above the altar. He preserves, however, the two angels in Ludwlg, one standing the other flying, who clothe the souls as they emerge from the altar. The angel who files down head first to lower a robe over one of the souls seems in the British Library illustration to have merged with the third angel in the Ludwlg miniature who appears from the firmament holding an empty scroll. In the British Library Apocalypse the flying angel descends
from directly above the altar where the firmament, had it been included, would also have appeared. The robe that he lowers toward a soul is stiff and narrow and bears a distinct resemblance to the empty scroll carried by the angel from the firmament in the Ludwig illustration.

The Opening of the Fifth Seal offers a trenchant example of the evolution of a single illustration through four consecutive Apocalypse cycles. The earliest version of the subject, that in Paris 403, contains iconographic features that in the later cycles are altered or omitted. Only Paris 403 shows the Lamb opening the book in the upper half of a circle whose lower portion represents the firmament above the altar. In all of the subsequent depictions, with the exception of British Library 35166, this motif survives as the semicircular firmament only. The vertical scroll at the extreme left of the Paris Apocalypse Illustration is carried over into the closely related Morgan-Bodleian cycle but not beyond this. The Ludwig miniature includes the small angel who emerges from the firmament in Paris 403. This motif, like the newly-added chalice on the altar, seems to have been transmitted to Ludwig via a member of the group that includes Lambeth 209 and Metz 38. In the later British Library version, the angel from the firmament has become merged with another who flies down to clothe the nude souls.

The Great Angel and John Told to Measure the Temple

Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 each contain two framed illuminations for the events surrounding the appearance of the Great
Angel at the beginning of Apocalypse 10:57 The Bodleian Apocalypse illustrations reproduce exactly those in Morgan 524, and both compositions are closely modeled on the two corresponding scenes in Paris 403 (figs. 42, 43).

In the first of the Morgan-Bodleian subjects, John is shown with pen and scrapper in hand seated before a desk on which an open codex lies (fig. 118). In front of him a circle of seven human-headed "thunders" erupts in a cloud. According to his own account in Apocalypse 10:4, John is about to write what the "thunders" have uttered when he is interrupted by a heavenly voice that warns him not to write. In the illustration an angel standing behind the Evangelist touches him gently on the shoulder, and John turns his face attentively toward the heavenly messenger.

While the Morgan-Bodleian miniatures depicts precisely the same moment as that in the corresponding Paris Apocalypse scene, there are significant differences between the two versions. Only in the Paris Apocalypse does the Great Angel appear before John in the center of the composition. He is enveloped in clouds. A book stands open on his lap, the rainbow arcs across his brow, and he places one foot on the land and the other on the sea in accordance with John's description (Apoc. 10:1-2). Besides omitting the Great Angel, the Morgan-Bodleian version also eliminates the square-shaped plant in the lower right corner of the Paris scene directly below the seven "thunders." In place of the foliage, the Morgan-Bodleian designer has inserted two inscriptions, one referring to the absent Great Angel, the other to the meaning of the seven "thunders."58
The Great Angel appears again in the next illustration for chapter ten in the Paris Apocalypse (fig. 43). But it is in the corresponding picture in Morgan-Bodleian, also the second for chapter ten, that the Great Angel makes his only appearance in this cycle (fig. 119). That the Great Angel appears before John in the first of the Paris illustrations may reflect the influence of the older visual tradition on which the Paris Apocalypse is based. Several of the early Apocalypse cycles, among them the Trier Apocalypse and the Liber Floridus, show John seated at his desk with the Great Angel standing before him. The disappearance of the Great Angel from the first of the Morgan-Bodleian scenes suggests the derivation of this cycle from Paris 403 since it would seem less likely that the Paris 403 artist, while copying the Morgan-Bodleian picture, decided to add the Great Angel standing before John. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the Morgan-Bodleian designer found the repetition of the Great Angel in the two Paris Apocalypse scenes an impediment to the rapid flow of his visual narrative. He therefore decided to omit the angel from the first scene and to replace him with a simple inscription referring to his appearance at this point in the scriptural account.

The second illustration for chapter ten in Paris 403 shows John kneeling at the left of the Great Angel and being directed by another angel, the voice from heaven in verse eight, to take the book from the hand of the Great Angel (fig. 43). John takes the book and places it to his mouth to eat it as the Great Angel has instructed him to do. As discussed in the preceding chapter, John shown taking the book and placing it to his mouth in the Paris miniature has precursors in the
Liber Floridus and in the small drawing on the frontispiece of the Vivian Bible which is probably borrowed from an Apocalypse cycle. The inclusion of this subject with the scenes of the Great Angel ties the Paris Apocalypse to the earlier cycles thereby indicating its position as one of the earliest of the Gothic Apocalypses.

At the right side of the Paris illustration a hand emerges from the clouds surrounding the Great Angel to give John, shown a second time, the rod with which to measure the temple. The temple at the far right is represented by a simple structure on two thin columns sheltering a hanging lamp, draped altar, and several kneeling worshippers.

The second illustration for the Great Angel in the Morgan-Bodleian cycle, like the first, tends to condense its model in the Paris cycle (fig. 119). In the Morgan-Bodleian version John is not shown at the left receiving the book from the Great Angel and placing it in his mouth. Instead a hand from the upper left corner extends a long scroll inscribed with the abridged text of Apocalypse 10: 5-7 in which the Great Angel proclaims that time shall cease and that the mystery of God shall be finished when the seventh angel sounds. In John does appear on the right side of the Great Angel, however; and, in a pose very much like that in Paris 403, he is given the measuring rod by a hand that emerges from the clouds surrounding the angel. John stands before a tall, narrow building with an open door, but no hanging lamp, altar, or worshippers identify this edifice as the temple. At the same time that John receives the measuring rod, the Great Angel also hands him the book, the action which in the Paris version occupies the left
side of the scene. By consolidating the two actions, however, the Morgan-Bodleian artist has John with one awkward gesture of his right hand take both the book given by the Great Angel and the rod offered by the hand from the clouds.

The series of illuminations for the Great Angel in the Ludwig Apocalypse differs considerably from that in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian. The Ludwig compositions appear to be derived largely from those in the Trinity Apocalypse (fig. 121). Like Trinity, the Ludwig manuscript contains three separate illustrations for the Great Angel in chapter ten rather than two as in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian. In the first of the Ludwig scenes, the Great Angel enveloped in clouds stands in the center of the composition (fig. 120). The rainbow that arcs over his head is right side up as it is also in Trinity and not inverted as it appears in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian. John stands to the left of the angel watching. He appears again at the right side of the panel, seated on the ground before a writing stand facing away from the Great Angel. Above John, wedged in the right corner of the panel, the seven heads "thunder" from a cloud. A small angel appears behind John from the clouds surrounding the Great Angel. He carries a scroll with his warning to John not to write. As John turns around, the angel grasps the Evangelist's hand taking the stylus from him.

The Ludwig composition corresponds closely to the depiction of the same events in Trinity (fig. 121). Here again the Great Angel appears between John shown first standing at the left gazing toward the angel, and then shown a second time at the right seated on the ground writing
but without the writing stand in Ludwig. The seven "thunders" sound above him, and he is about to record their utterances when a voice from the firmament forbids it. In Trinity, this voice is simply a face protruding from the clouds. The Ludwig artist has rendered it more dramatically as an angel who seizes John's pen.

In the next Ludwig scene, the Great Angel again stands in the middle of the composition (fig. 122). John appears at the left listening to an angel who descends from the upper left corner presumably instructing John to take the book from the Great Angel. To the right of the Great Angel John kneels and receives the book. At the far right John is shown a third time standing and eating the book. The correspondence between this scene and the Trinity Apocalypse is again very close. Trinity's treatment of these events is divided between two panels. In the right half of the panel in which the Great Angel first appears in Trinity, the angel is shown a second time handing his book to John who is told by a voice from above them to take it. In the panel below this John is first shown seated and eating the book, then he is shown again holding his stomach made bitter by the book while the Great Angel tells him that he must prophesy before many peoples. The sequence of events in the two Ludwig scenes follows exactly that in Trinity. The Ludwig artist imitates his Trinity model by repeating the figure of John at every point in the narrative, thus he appears five times in the two scenes Ludwig and Trinity but only three times in the Paris 403 scenes and twice in Morgan-Bodleian. Furthermore, the separate depiction of John eating the book included in both Ludwig and Trinity but not shown in any of the other manuscripts is an important
piece of evidence linking the two cycles.

The Lambeth-Metz group in this case seems not to have contributed its influence to the Ludwig compositions. Rather, the designer of the Lambeth-Metz cycles appears to have been intent upon condensing all of the events of chapter ten into one illustration centered, as in Paris 403, around the Image of the Great Angel. The center section of the first Trinity panel may be the origin of the left side of the Lambeth 209 scene where John is shown seated on the ground and interrupted in his writing by an angel who flies down behind him (fig. 123). The manner in which John tilts his head to listen and in so doing looks straight out at the viewer recalls the treatment of the same moment in Morgan-Bodleian. In the right half of the Lambeth composition the Great Angel gives his book to John. The scene of the Great Angel in Lambeth 209 is a striking example of Henderson's description of that manuscript as compositionally and iconographically combining the two principal cycles. John Told to Measure the Temple is the subject of the third Ludwig illustration in this series (fig. 124). In Paris 403 this subject is combined in the same illustration with John given the book by the Great Angel. In Morgan-Bodleian it is combined in the same action with John given the book. The separation of John Told to Measure the Temple from the preceding actions and its consignment to an individual panel seems to be due to the influence of the Trinity cycle. The arrangement of the single illumination on folio 11r of Trinity is virtually identical to that in Ludwig (fig. 125). In both, John is seated on a low hill at the left. Before him stands a large angel who gives him a measuring rod and points to a temple at the right
side of the panel. In Trinity the temple is large and contains a draped altar and two kneeling worshippers, both of which are mentioned in Apocalypse 11:1. The Ludwig version shows a small temple on top of a hill with a chalice in addition to the altar and worshippers. Trinity's influence seems to dominate this subject in the Lambeth-Metz group where also John Told to Measure the Temple is assigned a separate panel. The Lambeth-Metz compositions are much the same as those in Trinity and Ludwig, except that the temples have been redesigned to include not only the altar and worshippers but a chalice and hanging lamps also.

British Library 35166 contains a single unfinished drawing for the Great Angel on folio 16v (fig. 126). The only incomplete miniature in the manuscript, it falls just before the gap of sixteen leaves in the middle of the volume. This simple composition shows John seated on a low hill at the left; he holds a staff and a closed book and has not been writing. At the right, the Great Angel, surrounded by clouds, stands on land and sea. He raises his right hand and holds an open book in his left. Above his head is an inverted rainbow like that in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian. The rest of the Image is tentatively sketched. It consists of an angel who flies toward John while pointing back at the Great Angel, and seven "thundering" heads arranged vertically near the left side of the Great Angel.

The fragmentary state of the British Library miniature permits no more than a tentative reconstruction of the scenes of the Great Angel in this Apocalypse. The text below the single extant scene contains the first seven verses of chapter ten which record the appearance of
the Great Angel, the "thunders," and John Told Not to Write. The same
text accompanies the first of the Ludwig pictures in which all three of
these events are illustrated. The British Library artist seems to have
intended to visualize the same three events but in a more condensed,
less fully narrative fashion. In the Ludwig scene the action moves
steadily from left to right across the panel. John is first shown at
the left gazing at the Great Angel, and then again at the right where
we see him interrupted in his writing. The British Library version
combines in one moment John seeing the Great Angel, the sound of the
thunders and the warning not to record their utterances. Thus while it
illustrates basically the same events as the Ludwig scene, the British
Library composition has been radically modified. At the same time, it
is not possible to tell whether the British Library scene is based
directly on that in Ludwig, or on another manuscript, or is a
completely original creation.

As noted above, the remaining illustrations for the Great Angel
are missing from British Library 35166, part of the lacuna of sixteen
leaves in this portion of the book. Assuming the Illustration of
Apocalypse 10 was completed, I believe, on the evidence of the Ludwig
manuscript, that the next folio contained the text of verses eight
through eleven and that the corresponding miniature on this page showed
John taking the book from the Great Angel and perhaps also eating it.
We may presume that in this scene the British Library artist continued
to economize so that John appeared no more than twice. The third and
final scene on the next folio was most likely devoted to John measuring
the temple. Like Ludwig, the text on this page was probably Apocalypse
11:1-2. The illumination no doubt corresponded to that in Ludwig showing John at the left, the angel in the center handing him the rod and pointing to the temple at the right.

In conclusion, the two illustrations for the Great Angel in Paris 403 represent the models for the shortened Morgan-Bodleian versions of the same scenes. The major difference between the two cycles is the inclusion of the Great Angel in the first Paris Apocalypse scene and of John eating the book in the second. Both of these iconographic features occur also in the early medieval cycles thus suggesting the dependence of Paris 403 on an early source. The Morgan-Bodleian cycle omits the first appearance of the Great Angel and, in the interest of narrative economy but at the expense of ready comprehension, combines the previously separate scenes of John given the book and then given the measuring rod.

The Illustrations of the Great Angel in the Ludwlg Apocalypse are modeled on the Trinity cycle. In this case, the Lambeth-Metz group plays no significant part in developing or transferring the iconography of Apocalypse 10 to the later cycles in Ludwlg or British Library 35166. The latter contains a single unfinished miniature of John and the Great Angel that follows the outlines of the Ludwlg iconography while simplifying it. The British Library Apocalypse may have originally contained two more illustrations for chapter ten likewise based on the iconography of Ludwlg.

The Woman Clothed with the Sun

Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 each contain seven illustrations
for Apocalypse 12, one more than Paris 403. Six of the illustrations in the Morgan-Bodleian cycle are identical with those in the Paris Apocalypse, and are arranged in the same order. The irregularity is in the form of a separate scene in Morgan-Bodleian for the Proclamation of the Reign of God in verse 10 (fig. 127). This subject falls between the two scenes of the angels of heaven defeating the dragon, and in Paris 403 is combined with the second scene of the defeat of the dragon (fig. 53).

The dependence of the Morgan Apocalypse upon the archetype copied by Paris 403 is demonstrated by a detailed comparison of their illustrations for the Woman Clothed with the Sun. In the scene of the Dragon Vomiting the Flood, the small animals that populate the landscape in Paris 403 are not reproduced completely in Morgan 524. Specifically, the goat-like creature with a coiled tail in the center foreground of the Paris version has not been copied into the Morgan or Bodleian pictures (figs. 55, 130). The last illustration for chapter twelve, the Battle Between the Dragon and the Woman's Seed, is nearly identical line for line in Paris 403 and Morgan 524 (figs. 56, 131). But in copying his model the Morgan artist has made a telling error. In the Paris version one of the figures who assaults the dragon is armed with a bow and arrow while another is armed with a spear. The Morgan artist has, however, inadvertently omitted the arrow in the drawn bow, while the Bowman whose hand should be drawn back to grasp the arrow mistakenly holds instead the shaft of the spear wielded by the figure behind him. Moreover, in this composition is more evidence that the Morgan Apocalypse artist continues to face the problem of Insufficient
room for his text, a difficulty discussed above in reference to the Vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb. Comparison with the Paris 403 Illumination reveals that the Morgan artist has made a place for his text by removing the weapons from the raised hands of two of the combatants and replacing them with the ends of two placards only one of which he used. Similarly, in the second scene of the defeat of the Dragon, the Morgan designer has bent back the wing of the left-hand angel to allow room for the text of Apocalypse 12:9 inscribed on the blank background of this miniature (figs. 53, 128).

The loss of detail between Paris 403 and Morgan 524 is likewise evident between the latter and its dependent, Bodleian D.4.17. In the Morgan illustration of the woman flying into the wilderness and pursued by the dragon, there is a tree at the far right with a nest of birds in its topmost branches. In the Bodleian Apocalypse version of this scene the nest has vanished. Nearly all of the discrepancies between the Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 drawings take their form of something present in Morgan that is absent from the Bodleian Apocalypse. For example, Freyhan points out that in Morgan the illustration of the seed of the woman fighting the dragon shows one of the figures hurling stones from a pile held in the skirt of his tunic. The Bodleian artist has carefully copied this figure down to the gathered up and tightly held skirt, but he has made this gesture useless by accidentally omitting the pile of stones.

The Ludwig Apocalypse, like Morgan-Bodleian, devotes seven illustrations to chapter twelve. These scenes do not, however
correspond precisely to the series in Morgan-Bodleian, rather they appear to be a mixture of compositions derived from several sources.

The first of the Ludwig scenes is unique in the 'St Albans' group. It depicts the Woman Clothed with the Sun, her head surrounded by seven stars, seated with her feet upon the crescent moon (fig. 132). She occupies the center of the panel; John stands at the left, and a tree with a bird perched in its branches is seen at the right. In all of the other Gothic cycles, the first illustration for Apocalypse 12 corresponds to the following Ludwig scene, that is, the Woman Threatened by the Dragon. The single image of the Woman in Ludwig is accompanied by the text of Apocalypse 12: 1-2 where she is first described. In an effort to visualize the contents of these two verses, the Ludwig artist places the Woman's hands over her abdomen suggesting that she "pained to be delivered" as described in verse two. For a model, the Ludwig artist may have turned to monumental images, or even to early medieval Apocalypse cycles where the single image of the Woman Clothed with the Sun is represented. As noted in the preceding chapter, the subject is found in Carolingian cycles including the Trier Apocalypse, in some of the Beatus miniatures, in the Hortus Deliciarum, and in Bodleian 352. However, with the exception of Bodley 352, the Woman is most often shown standing in the early cycles rather than seated, and with her arms outstretched or in an orant position.

The next scene in the Ludwig series, the Woman Threatened by the Dragon, closely parallels the same subject in the two principal cycles, Paris 403 and Trinity (figs. 133, 134, 51). Again the Woman reclines in the center of the composition. The dragon who threatens her is at
the left, his tail trailing across the lower portion of the picture nearly to the right frame. The Woman hands her child to an angel at the upper right who appears near a heavenly mandorla. Two unique additions to the Ludwig miniature are John shown watching from outside the frame at the right, and a second, partial drawing of the woman cut off by the right frame as she flees the dragon. The Woman reclining surrounded by the sun, her feet on the crescent moon, and face to face with the menacing dragon is the standard form for this scene adopted by nearly all of the Gothic cycles beginning with Trinity and Paris 403. In a number of these compositions, including Paris 403 Morgan-Bodleian and Trinity, the Woman hands her child to an angel who is then shown a second time (or Is it another angel?) lifting the child to heaven. But the Ludwig miniature shows the rescuing angel only once as he takes the child from the Woman's arms. The Woman turns her head toward the angel and away from the dragon. From these features it appears that a more immediate source for the Ludwig artist was a member of the group surrounding Lambeth-Metz. Comparison with the same scene in Cambrai 482, another member of the Lambeth-Metz group, reveals that here also the dragon's tail extends beneath the Woman and she turns her head in the direction of a single rescuing angel(fig. 135).73

The source for the Woman shown fleeing behind the right frame after giving up her child may come from either the Trinity Apocalypse or the Lambeth-Metz group. In the Trinity Apocalypse a second illustration directly beneath that of the Woman Threatened by the Dragon depicts the Woman seated safely in the wilderness while a puzzled dragon, his seven heads turned in all directions, searches for
her (fig. 134). British Library Add MS 17333, a member of the Lambeth-Metz group, also supplements its illustration of the Woman Threatened by the Dragon with a drawing of the woman Seated in the Wilderness. In this instance the wilderness is in the right margin. Drawing probably on a very similar composition from the Lambeth-Metz group, the Ludwig artist skillfully combines the Woman Fleeing into the Wilderness with the preceding subject of the Woman Threatened by the Dragon (fig. 133). She is shown in rapid flight half obscured by the frame as she moves out of the panel toward the right, the direction of the wilderness in the British Library 17333 miniature. And this is not the only example of such inventive conflation. A similar case was noted in the second illustration of the Great Angel where the Ludwig artist combines in one scene John given the book and then eating it, the latter reserved for a separate, subsequent scene in both Trinity and British Library 17335.

The next scene in the Ludwig Apocalypse is the Defeat of the Dragon by Michael and his angels described in Apocalypse 12:7-10 (fig. 136). This subject appears in all of the Gothic Apocalypse cycles just as it is found in nearly every one of the pre-Gothic cycles. The Ludwig example is similar to other thirteenth-century versions from manuscript cycles. All are designed symmetrically with Michael in the center of the composition armed with lance and shield and accompanied by armed angels on either side who battle diminutive dragons. The Defeat of the Dragon by Michael is represented in medieval monumental images of nearly every period, place, and media, and is a common symbol of God's triumph over evil. The possible influence of such monumental images on
the Gothic cycles as well as the wide variation in poses and details in the English manuscript versions, owing perhaps to the dramatic potential in the combat subject, make it impossible to identify any close parallels to the Ludwlg scene.

Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian are unique in having two illustrations for the Defeat of the Dragon by Michael and his angels. In the first off these a large figure of Michael with wings fully spread stands on the dragon and thrusts his lance into one of the seven heads of the monster (fig. 137). Two smaller angels, one on either side, aid in the attack. The second scene shows three angels of approximately the same size battling several small dragons (fig. 128). Between these two scenes in Morgan-Bodleian is a separate framed panel of the Proclamation of the Reign of God (fig. 127). This subject in Paris 403 is confined to the upper half of the second scene of the angels and dragons, while in Morgan-Bodleian it is expanded to occupy a separate panel (fig. 53). The doubling of the scenes of combat is restricted to the Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian cycles. The Trinity Apocalypse contains a single combat scene with a large figure of Michael assisted by three angels battling smaller dragons. Whether under the influence of the sole Trinity scene, or by means of the conscious abridgement of the Paris 403, Morgan-Bodleian cycles, all of the subsequent Gothic cycles with which I am familiar have, like Ludwig, a single combat scene with from three to five armed angels, one of them, owing to his larger size, being Michael.

The following scene in the Ludwlg Apocalypse Is unusual (fig. 138). The scriptural text on this folio is taken from Apocalypse 12:
12 proclaims, "Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the seal for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." John stands inside the frame at the left. Above, in the center of the panel, an angel, half-length, emerges from a cloud and speaks to him. From the right side of the cloud another angel descends holding a scroll inscribed "Woe to the Inhabitants of the earth." He points to the lower right corner of the panel where a leering devil sits cross-legged on the ground holding a sword and a pitchfork. This subject is not illustrated in any earlier manuscript cycle or isolated image known to this writer, and thus it appears to be an Invention of the thirteenth-century Apocalypse. The only other example known to me is found in a fourteenth-century Apocalypse in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 688, fol. 21r).\[77\]

Ludwig devotes a separate illustration to the Woman Given Wings (fig. 139). In Paris 403, Morgan 524, and Bodleian D.4.17 this subject is combined in the same composition with the Woman Flying into the Wilderness (fig. 129). The Woman in the Ludwig miniature is given wings by an angel who descends from heaven. At the same time she looks over her shoulder to the left to see the dragon rising from the earth and advancing toward her. John stands outside the left frame watching through a small arched window. The Woman Given Wings who looks back at the dragon may be taken from Trinity, but in the Trinity version, unlike Ludwig, the dragon vomits the flood and the Woman is shown a second time flying into the wilderness (fig. 140).\[78\] It is again the Lambeth-Metz group that most closely parallels the Ludwig scene. In the Metz 38 illustration, for example, John stands at the far left, the
dragon is before him facing the Woman who looks back over her shoulder as she is given the wings by an angel from above. 79

The next illustration in Ludwig also corresponds to the next scene in the Lambeth-Metz cycle. 80 This is the Dragon Vomiting the Flood while the Woman flees before him into the wilderness (figs. 140, 142). The same scene appears in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian and all three versions are very similar: the dragon occupies the left half of the composition; he spews a jet of water that falls into a hole in the ground (fig. 130). The Woman, carrying a small open book in her hands, flies away to the right. The derivation of the Lambeth-Metz examples from Paris 403, Morgan-Bodleian is suggested by the presence of a number of animals and birds in the wilderness. The Ludwig artist omits these details but speeds the Woman's flight by drawing only her legs and feet, her upper body being already obscured by the trees and the frame.

The final scene in the Ludwig series shows the Battle Between the Dragon and the Woman's Seed (fig. 143). This miniature differs markedly from the corresponding scenes in the other Apocalypses discussed here, and there are no close comparisons. The number of the seed has been reduced from the usual seven or eight to just three, and they are larger in relationship to the dragon which they surround. The flood vomited by the dragon is still visible on the ground, and this too is a peculiarity of the Ludwig scene.

All of the Illustrations for Apocalypse 12 are missing from the British Library 35166. We may, however, attempt to supply the missing scenes based on the fairly consistent series of subjects that emerges
In the cycles falling between Paris 403 and Ludwig, and the close relationship between British Library 35166 and the Ludwig Apocalypse. While the specific form of its compositions cannot be securely reconstructed, we may assume that British Library 35166 probably illustrated the following subjects: the Woman Threatened by the Dragon (the Woman shown reclining and handing her child to an angel); the Defeat of the Dragon by Michael and his Angels; the Woman Given Wings; the Dragon Vomiting the Flood as the Woman flees; and the Battle Between the Dragon and the Woman's Seed.

In conclusion, the Morgan-Bodleian illustrations for the Woman Clothed with the Sun increase by one the number of illuminations for chapter 12 in Paris 403. The additional subject is a separate scene of the Proclamation of the Reign of God Inserted between the two scenes of Michael and his angels battling the dragon. Between Paris 403 and Morgan 524 are small alterations and omissions in the drawings that confirm the derivation of the Morgan Apocalypse from the Paris cycle.

The illustrations in the Ludwig Apocalypse combine elements from Paris 403 and Trinity. But an intermediate stage intrudes between Ludwig and its earliest sources. The Woman who turns to offer her threatened child to a single rescuing angel can be compared with identical compositions in the Lambeth-Metz group of Apocalypses. The same can be said of the Ludwig scene of the Woman Given Wings where the placement of John at the left, at his right, the dragon, and beyond, the Woman given her wings, all correspond more closely to the Lambeth-Metz versions than to either Trinity or Paris 403. But the Ludwig artist is no slavish imitator. He seeks in his models
Inspiration for his own creative imagination. His fleeing Woman vanishes from sight behind the trees; her seed are large, animated warriors who surround the dragon, and it is the Ludwig artist who creates the scene of the leering devil eager to afflict the inhabitants of the earth.

The Rider and the Winepress

The discussion of the sources and narrative technique of the Rider and the Winepress in Paris 403 focused only on the illustrations for the events immediately preceding and following the appearance of the Rider Faithful and True. These four subjects—John Told to Write, John Told to Worship God, the Rider and the Winepress, and the Summoning of the Birds—are copied with little change into Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17. For example, the Morgan-Bodleian cycle divides a single panel between John Told to Write and John Told to Worship God (figs. 70, 144). The only significant difference between Paris 403 and its immediate descendants is the presence in the latter of an inscribed placard held aloft in the left hand of the angel who points to John's book and tells him to write. This placard is indicative of the Morgan-Bodleian artists' continuing search for text space not supplied by his Paris Apocalypse model.

The pressing need for text space grows even more acute in the next Morgan-Bodleian illustration. In the Paris 403 version of the Rider and the Winepress, John sits in the lower left corner, his chin on his hand, contemplating the vision before him encircled by a rim of clouds (fig. 71). The Morgan-Bodleian designer, however, faced with the need
to create additional space for an ever-lengthening text. In this the latter half of the manuscript, draws John standing at the left and holding a long inscribed placard which fills all of the upper portion of the panel (fig. 145). To make room for this large placard, the Morgan-Bodleian artist straightens out the curved rim of clouds in Paris 403 so that they now lie along the lower margin of the composition. This alteration diminishes the effect created in the original Paris composition of a clear demarkation between John and his vision, between the present and the future. All of the other elements of the Paris 403 scene, the winepress with its flaming contents trodden by the Lord, the Rider seen in profile with the sword extending point-first from his mouth, and the troop of armed riders entering at the far right, are precisely copied into the Morgan-Bodleian pictures.

The visualization of the winepress of the wrath of God trodden by the Lord is a new motif in the thirteenth-century Illustrated Apocalypse. It is not found in any of the earlier manuscript cycles. A drawing of the Mystic Winepress is included among several other Apocalypse subjects in the twelfth-century Hortus Deliciarum. But this complex, full-page allegory which features a large mechanical press and several auxiliary scenes of Enoch and Elias, cannot be compared with the much smaller, simpler versions in the Gothic Apocalypses.

The next scene in Morgan-Bodleian, as in Paris 403, shows the Summoning of the Birds (figs. 72, 146). John is seated at the left side of the panel, his pose and the arrangement of his garments correspond to the Paris Apocalypse. In his upraised left hand John
holds a placard, blank in Paris, but inscribed in Morgan-Bodleian with the words of Apocalypse 19:17, "And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven." At the right stands the angel in a sunburst who is somewhat smaller than that in Paris 403. With one hand he commands the birds to descend upon their dead and naked prey. With the other, he holds a large placard, also empty in Paris 403, on which is written his command to the birds beginning with the words, "Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God" (Apoc. 19:17-18). The birds swoop around and through the sunburst to attack their prey.

The Ludwig Apocalypse, like Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian, illustrates the same three subjects for this portion of chapter nineteen. The design of the Ludwig scenes follows the Paris 403 cycle rather more closely than Trinity. In particular, Ludwig, like Paris, combines in one panel John Told to Write on the left and on the right John Told to Worship God (figs. 70, 147). Trinity, on the other hand, shows only John Told to Worship God.

In the next Ludwig illustration the two principal cycles are combined with greater reliance upon Trinity. John, standing at the left, sees before him the Rider Faithful and True and his followers surrounded by a ring of clouds (fig. 148). The Lord trampling the winepress appears in the lower right foreground. The Ludwig composition follows the Trinity version of the same subject where also John stands at the left, the Rider is before him in a ring of clouds, and the Lord treading the winepress occupies the lower right corner (fig. 149). But unlike Trinity where the Rider is seen from the
front, he appears in Ludwig in profile as in Paris 403, although facing in the opposite direction from the Paris Rider (fig. 71). Like the Paris 403 version, the sword extends point-first from the Ludwig Rider’s mouth. The conflation of the two principal cycles in the Ludwig scene is evidenced in the motif of the Lord trampling the winepress. The influence of Trinity is found in not only the placement of the vat in the right foreground but also in the distinctive pose of the Lord treading the grapes who cocks his head to the left and raises his right elbow. This awkward pose is explained by reference to the Trinity version where it is used to convey a sense of vigorous trampling. In the Ludwig miniature, the Lord holds a sword against his shoulder, and on his garment are the words “Rex regum et dominus dominantium” given in verse sixteen. While these two features are missing from Trinity, they occur together in the Lambeth-Metz versions of this scene suggesting a link between the Ludwig miniature and that group.87

The third Ludwig illustration shows the Summoning of the Birds (fig. 150). This composition also seems closest to Trinity.88 John stands at the left side of the panel. In the center a flock of menacing birds descends upon a pile of men and horses. Three kings lie in the foreground. Two of the birds, an owl and a species with a long shaggy neck, are also present in the Trinity version. In the upper right portion of this scene stands the angel in the sun. The birds descend between the angel and John rather than around the angel as in Paris 403 and Trinity. In both Ludwig and Trinity, the angel is smaller than his counterpart in Paris 403 or Morgan-Bodleian.
The Rider and the Winepress in British Library 35166 is closely related to Ludwig but with indications of an independent association with Paris 403.89. The first of the British Library panels again shows, at the left, John Told to Write, and at the right, John Told to Worship God (fig. 151). The angel who raises up John in the latter scene is identical to his counterpart in Ludwig; and the heaven he points up to, a semicircle of clouds with a bust of the Lord holding an open book, is also the same as that in the Ludwig version (fig. 147). John does not lie prostrate at the angel's feet but kneels as he does in Paris 403, Morgan-Bodleian; and the angel who raises John up does not grasp him by the arm but touches him under the chin, again as in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian (fig. 144).

In the next British Library Illustration, the Rider and the Winepress, John has been moved from his customary place at the left of this scene to outside the right frame (fig. 152). He looks through a small opening in the frame to see the Rider coming toward him. The Rider is followed by armed horsemen as he is in Ludwig. The entire vision is surrounded by a ring of clouds similar to Ludwig and the horsemen rider in the same direction they do in Ludwig. By placing John in the right margin, the British Library artist puts him in a position to see the horsemen coming toward him, whereas in the Ludwig version, John watches the horsemen ride away from him. The horsemen ride toward John also in the Paris 403 Apocalypse (fig. 71). If the direction the horsemen ride in British Library 35166 suggests a link to the Paris 403 cycle, so too does the drawing of the Lord treading the winepress in the left foreground of the same British Library miniature.
Here the Lord stands frontally in the vat. He does not trample the grapes vigorously as in Ludwig and Trinity, rather his upright pose recalls Paris 403 as does the sword held point-upward in his right hand.

The third illumination in British Library 35166, the Birds Summoned, duplicates that in Ludwig. John stands at the left. The birds fall on their prey in the center of the scene, and, at the right, the summoning angel stands in the sun.

In conclusion, the thirteenth-century Apocalypse cycles introduce the Lord treading the winepress into the iconography of the events surrounding the vision of the Rider Faithful and True. The Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian illustrations for the Rider and the Winepress are virtually identical, with the exception that the designer of the latter cycle has slightly altered the Paris compositions in order to allow additional space for a text written within the illuminations. The Ludwig and British Library Apocalypses both place together in one panel John Told to Write and John Told to Worship God, a feature that seems to have originated in Paris 403. Nevertheless, the Ludwig Illustrations are most strongly indebted to Trinity, and the influence of this cycle is found in, for example, the ring of clouds surrounding the Rider and the pose of the Lord treading the winepress. The sword that the Lord carries in the Ludwig drawing of the winepress and the words written on his garment may indicate the intervention of the Iconography of Lambeth-Metz in the creation of this scene. The British Library Illustrations are closely related to Ludwig, yet they include small details found not in Ludwig or Trinity but only in the Paris 403.
and Lambeth-Metz cycles. Such evidence suggests that while British Library 35166 closely parallels Ludwig, its miniatures may not be immediately derived from that manuscript but rather from a common ancestor, a cycle that retains vestiges of the pervasive iconography of Paris 403.

The Heavenly Jerusalem

Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 reproduce the two illustrations for Apocalypse 21 in Paris 403. Several minor alterations, however, differentiate the copies from the model. The first illustration in all three manuscripts shows the Descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem. In Morgan-Bodleian, as in Paris 403, the city is shown lowered by the Lord in the right half of the composition (figs. 78, 153). But while in the Paris Apocalypse the Lord grasps the heavenly city firmly by the rooftops, in Morgan-Bodleian he does not, but merely places his open hands near the roof thus lessening the dramatic visualization described in the scriptural narrative of the city "coming down from heaven." The long scroll that falls from the hand of the Lord in the Paris version has also been omitted from Morgan-Bodleian. The left half of the Morgan-Bodleian scene is even more radically altered. Here John is standing not seated as in Paris 403; and the writing table and the angel who commands him to write have been eliminated. Holding his pen at eye level, John writes the text of Apocalypse 21:2-6 on the uncolored background of the miniature. The removal of the Lord's scroll, the table, and the angel seems to have been intended to provide more room for the lengthy text.
In the next Illustration in Morgan-Bodleian John Is Shown the Heavenly Jerusalem. The composition is based on Paris 403 but with changes again intended to provide more space for the text (fig. 154). John and the angel stand together at the left on level ground. The angel takes the front of John's cloak in his right hand. In his left hand the angel holds a vial indicating, as stated in the scriptural text, that he is one of the seven angels who had the vials. With his vial, the angel points to the Heavenly Jerusalem.

In the Paris Apocalypse version the angel stands on a hill holding John in his arms as he points with the vial toward the city (fig. 79). The city in the Paris scene fills the entire right half of the panel and stands on a high base. But in Morgan-Bodleian only the two upper tiers of portals are visible in the city. The area below this, indeed well over half the composition and part of the angel, is taken up by a large rectangular panel of text in alternating red and blue lines. It is not clear why the Morgan-Bodleian designer did away with the charming image of John borne on the arm of the angel, their faces pressed closely together. Perhaps the artist wished to be visually consistent with the drawing directly above where John stands at the left while the Heavenly Jerusalem descends at the right (fig. 153). Yet there would seem to be little doubt that the Morgan-Bodleian cycle sharply curtails the size of the Heavenly Jerusalem the angel points out to John to make room for the text panel.

This alteration is interpreted differently however by Henderson who considers Morgan 524 the model of Paris 403. He maintains that the Paris artist, having moved the text from the illustration to the double
columns below, was left with a large empty space which he filled by enlarging the heavenly city. Henderson's conclusion is contrary to my belief that because of a chronic shortage of text space, the designer of the Morgan-Bodleian cycle repeatedly simplifies or omits aspects of the Paris Imagery. But Henderson's position is also incompatible with the traditional illustration of the heavenly Jerusalem. In the pre-Gothic Apocalypse cycles, as in Paris 403, this symbol of the eternal triumph of God's elect is consistently the largest and most elaborate image in the final series of scenes. Where it is rendered from above, as in the Bamberg Apocalypse and Bodley 352, it fills all of the available space; and in the Beatus and Trinity cycles it is depicted in an arresting, multicolored, diagramatic scheme. Even in the Trier Apocalypse where the city is shown in elevation, it is large and surrounded by tall towers (fig. 80). The Paris Apocalypse follows in this tradition by showing John and the angel gazing at a city that fills the entire right half of the composition. It is characteristic of the Morgan-Bodleian artists' lack of feeling for the dramatic and the significant that he cuts away half of the painted city in order to make room for a written description of the same subject.

The Illustrations for the Heavenly Jerusalem are missing from the Ludwig Apocalypse. The last miniature in this fragmentary manuscript is the Defeat of the Dragon in Apocalypse 19. On the evidence of those cycles most closely related to Ludwig, particularly Trinity, Paris 403 and British Library 35166, the missing Ludwig scenes must have depicted the Descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem followed by John Shown the
Heavenly Jerusalem.

The first of two illuminations for Apocalypse 21 in British Library 35166 is again the Descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem (fig. 155).94 In this scene, as in Paris 403, John is seated at the left on a hill holding a pen and an open book. The city, drawn in elevation, descends in the center of the composition. It is lowered by the Lord who emerges from a mandorla in which he appears a second time seated on a rainbow. The presence of this divine symbol recalls the Trinity version of the same subject in which the Lord in a mandorla speaks to John seated below him and holding an open book (fig. 156).95 Even without the link that would be provided by the missing Ludwig miniature, a relationship between British Library 35166 and Trinity seems certain. The missing Ludwig composition probably also depicted the Lord within a mandorla, the heavenly city descending and John seated with his book but without the writing table in Paris 403. The Lambeth-Metz group may be the means by which the British Library Apocalypse received the images of John seated on a hill at the left and the Lord leaning out of his mandorla.96

John Shown the Heavenly Jerusalem In British Library 35166 most closely resembles the Morgan-Bodleian version of the subject (figs. 157, 154).97 The angel grasps the front of John's cloak rather than lifting him in his arms as in Paris 403. The Intermediary between Morgan-Bodleian and British Library 35166 may again be the Metz-Lambeth group whose members share with the British Library Apocalypse the inclusion of several small animals, prominent among them an owl, in the foreground of the heavenly city.98 The loss from the Ludwig
Apocalypse of John Shown the Heavenly Jerusalem is especially unfortunate because this miniature would have revealed whether Ludwig, which is largely dependent upon the Iconography of Trinity, imitates one of the most distinctive miniatures in the Trinity cycle, the heavenly city laid out in projection (fig. 158). The British Library Apocalypse does not follow Trinity in this regard but adopts instead the Paris 403 version of the city shown in elevation. This piece of evidence suggests that the Ludwig Illustration, too, portrayed the city in elevation, thus making the Trinity city unique.

In conclusion, the two illustrations for Apocalypse 21 in Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 radically simplify their model in the Paris cycle. The primary concern of the Morgan-Bodleian designer seems to be the creation of adequate space for his text at the expense of narrative action. Thus, he omits the angel in the first scene who commands John to write and replaces this narrative episode with the non-narrative picture of John writing a portion of the scriptural text on the background of the scene. He likewise covers more than half of the next scene of John Shown the Heavenly Jerusalem with a large inscribed panel.

Although the illustrations for the Heavenly Jerusalem are missing from the Ludwig Apocalypse, evidence contained in related cycles indicates that the first Ludwig scene probably showed the Descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem with John seated beneath the Lord in a mandorla as in Trinity, and the celestial city descending nearby. The second Ludwig scene was probably John Shown the Heavenly Jerusalem. The angel and John would have stood together at the left, the angel pointing to
the city drawn in elevation at the right.

The British Library Apocalypse probably reflects a conflation of Paris 403 and Trinity elements in the missing Ludwig scenes. Like Trinity, the Lord in a mandorla appears in the British Library scene of the Descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The Iconography of the Paris cycle, however, seems to hold sway in these later depictions of John Shown the Heavenly Jerusalem, for in British Library 35166, and quite possibly also in Ludwig, the city is shown in elevation not in projection as it is in Trinity.

Conclusion

This chapter and the preceding one are united by a continuous argument. The illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries cannot be separated from the larger tradition of Apocalypse art before the Gothic period. As we have seen, those who designed the Gothic cycles must have been familiar with the pre-Gothic tradition of Apocalypse art, particularly that tradition preserved in illuminated manuscripts. It is indeed reasonable to assume that the evolution of the Gothic Apocalypse cycles is inextricably tied, particularly in its initial stages, with the history and development of earlier Apocalypse Imagery. The uniqueness of individual works like the 'St Albans' Apocalypses can be appreciated only by taking into consideration their position within the larger tradition of Apocalypse art. The attempts by Dellsle and James to classify the English Apocalypse manuscripts according to the static concepts of text, picture-text arrangement, painting technique or regional style has not
furthered our understanding of the dynamic process of their evolution. That understanding has begun to come with detailed studies, like those by Freyhan and Henderson, of the contents of the illuminations themselves and the iconographic relationships among manuscript cycles.

The great number of closely related English Apocalypse manuscripts from the thirteenth century makes the task of determining their precise relationships more difficult. As Henderson has observed, careful analysis of both iconography and style is required. The iconographical relatedness of virtually every one of the Gothic Apocalypses is readily apparent. Even the earliest and latest share distinct similarities in imagery, similarities that supersede whatever differences of style, format, or text divides them. Thus iconography is the most reliable primary determinant of filiations among the Gothic Apocalypses. The considerable variation in figure type, drawing and coloring among manuscripts whose cycles of pictures are nonetheless related suggests that their designers required concrete iconographic models more than stylistic exemplars. Yet any investigation of relationships among the various Gothic Apocalypse manuscripts cannot ignore whatever evidence for dating or provenance stylistic analysis may also yield.

On the basis of its iconographic dependence upon pre-Gothic Apocalypse cycles, and also taking into account its early Gothic style, Paris 403 emerges very near the beginning of the evolution of the English Apocalypses. Moreover, if the Paris Apocalypse represents one major iconographic stem, the Trinity College Apocalypse, which may be just as early, represents another. Although not the aim of my study, an investigation into the relationship between Paris 403 and Trinity is
needed. While Henderson and James are convinced that the Trinity cycle has no close associates and represents an iconographic tradition completely separate from that of Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian, even a rapid survey of both principal cycles reveals distinct correspondences. For example, both the Paris and Trinity manuscripts begin and end with a series of scenes of the life of John the Evangelist without text and in the context of which the Illustrated Apocalypse itself is conceived as a mid-life crisis. In Paris and Trinity more often than in any other thirteenth-century cycle, John appears within his framed vision; and this is perhaps because the events of the Apocalypse are presented within the framework of his life. In both manuscripts the angels in Euphrates are armed and demonic. And while in all subsequent Apocalypses the text and commentary alternate and never exceed the page, in Paris 403 and Trinity the scriptural text fills the left column and the commentary the right with longer passages of commentary written across both text columns at the bottom of the page.

But lest we make too much of these correspondences, every leaf of the Trinity manuscript reminds us that its relationship to the other English Apocalypses is ambivalent; and for every similarity between Trinity and Paris noted above, an equally distinct dissimilarity can be cited. By comparison, the relationship of Paris 403 to Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 is much less complicated. Henderson maintains that Morgan 524, which he calls the archetype of all the English Gothic Apocalypses, is a faithful copy of a lost cycle from which Paris 403 is separately copied. But the Paris Apocalypse is, according to
Henderson, a deviant offshoot. The designer of Paris 403 modifies his model with the intent to fill in areas left vacant when the text was removed from within the illuminations where it is in Morgan 524 to double columns below the pictures. In the course of arriving at this conclusion, Henderson makes the somewhat convoluted argument that while Morgan 524 is iconographically more true to the lost prototype than is Paris 403, Morgan is nevertheless stylistically later than Paris and corresponds to the opening pages of the Cambridge Life of Edward dated about 1250.

I cannot support Henderson's view that Morgan 524 is iconographically earlier than Paris 403. On the basis of my study of the Imagery in the Paris Apocalypse, I have found that it parallels at many points the iconography of the pre-Gothic Apocalypse cycles. No other thirteenth-century cycle, not even Trinity, can claim this distinction. Yet with the exception of Trinity, all can be viewed as evolving out of the Paris Imagery. This suggests that not only can the Paris 403 cycle be placed at the beginning of the evolution of the Gothic cycles early in the thirteenth century, but that it is the prototype posited by Henderson, that is to say, it is the prototype of the Paris-Morgan-Bodleian Iconographic stem. This conclusion removes the need for Henderson's cumbersome argument that Morgan 524 is stylistically later but iconographically earlier than Paris 403, since the Paris Apocalypse may claim precedence on both counts.

Furthermore, from my analysis of the compositions in Paris 403 and Morgan 524, I am convinced that the Morgan artist alters his Paris model and not the reverse. These alterations are most often made to
permit more room for the addition of a text that was quite possibly missing from the model. Such adjustments in Morgan are apparent especially in the latter half of the manuscript in compositions such as that for the Heavenly Jerusalem Shown to John where the text panel is so large that half of the heavenly city is obscured (fig. 154). The Morgan artist also contracts the Paris cycle by simplifying its compositions. The Great Angel gives John the measuring rod and book simultaneously, actions that in Paris 403 and Trinity are shown separately; and the Morgan artist omits John Eating the Book which is also included in both Paris and Trinity. The reason for these simplifications is not readily apparent but may stem from the artist's desire to enhance the flow of his pictorial narrative by avoiding repetitions of, in this case, the Great Angel. Or they may simply have been a means of hastening the completion of the work. If the latter, it then becomes difficult to explain why the same artist adds a scene of the Proclamation of the Reign of God immediately following the Defeat of the Dragon by Michael and his Angels. Perhaps the Morgan artist decided that the importance of this subject, which in Paris 403 is combined with the second Defeat of the Dragon, warranted a separate illustration. Perhaps the answer lies in a motive as practical as the need to create a full-page illumination from the half-page model in Paris 403.

This last possibility recalls the most obvious difference between Paris 403 and the sister manuscripts Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17, a difference which may also offer evidence of their relationship. Brieger describes the Morgan and Bodleian volumes as having "more the
character of mere picture-books with sentences from the Latin text and
the Berengaudus gloss written upon the scrolls or into the empty
spaces. Such picture-books with shortened text and commentary
would seem logically to develop from rather than to be the source of a
cycle of pictures with a full text such as that in Paris 403.
Moreover, as noted above, the Paris and Trinity Apocalypses are alike
in format, that is, in them, rectangular framed miniatures alternate
with long text passages while the scenes from John's life are arranged
as full-page miniatures without text framing John's visions at the
beginning and end of the manuscript. If, as I have proposed, Paris and
Trinity come early in the chronology of the Gothic Apocalypse, they may
perhaps also represent the earliest format for the thirteenth-century
Apocalypse. It would seem to follow, then, that Morgan 524 and
Bodleian D.4.17 are later variations on this format. Their texts
having been eliminated in favor of a picture-book approach, the
full-page scenes of John's life used in Paris and Trinity were simply
adopted as the standard form for all the illustrations in the Morgan
and Bodleian books.

Finally, the dependence of the Morgan Apocalypse on Paris 403 is
demonstrated by infrequent yet significant small omissions that the
Morgan artist makes in copying his model. In the Vision of Heaven, for
example, the Morgan miniaturist neglects to copy the rainbow on which
the Lord is seated in a mandorla as well as the wings of the angel who
lifts up the mandorla. Similar kinds of omissions, Henderson notes,
occur between Morgan 524 and Bodleian D.4.17 leaving no question that
their relationship is that of model to copy.
In the course of determining the relationships among the five 'St Albans' Apocalypses, the importance of the group of manuscripts surrounding Lambeth Palace 209 and Metz Sails 38 emerges. Not all the members of this large group have been identified, and the relationships among its various members, which seem to be the products of a number of different workshops and localities, remain to be sorted out. In her review of the 1967 Trinity facsimile, Jesse Poesch observes that the Lambeth-Metz group represents one of two cycles "that were most influential as 'models'" for the later development of the English Gothic Apocalypses. The other cycle Poesch refers to is that in Morgan-Bodleian; and while the influence of this second cycle, she maintains, is well known, that of the Lambeth-Metz group "is perhaps not known or all too often overlooked." Yet Poesch does not elaborate upon this last point or outline how the Lambeth-Metz cycles contribute to the later development of the Apocalypses Iconography.

Henderson, who discusses the Lambeth 209 Apocalypse at length, does not label it a major influence on the Iconography of the English cycles, but he analyzes and characterizes its Imagery and concludes, as I have, that it conflates the Paris 403 and Trinity cycles. Henderson points out that the Lambeth artist exhibits little creative application of the Trinity Imagery, but instead copies portions of Trinity in a way that is "abrupt and mechanical" and that reduces considerably the long series of pictures in the model. The seated figure of John, prevented by an angel from writing what the "thunders" uttered at the arrival of the Great Angel, cocks his head attentively and looks straight out at the viewer in both Lambeth 209 and Trinity. In the earthquake scene on
folio 7r of Lambeth 209, two large hump-shaped pieces of earth float away in the sky in a manner identical to the corresponding illustration in Trinity; and in the Lambeth scene of the Rider and the Winepress a single demon tramples the press reduced from the two in the Trinity version. But in the Lambeth earthquake scene, John is drawn exiting rapidly toward the left, his legs crossed in an odd dance-like pose as he looks back at the victims who try to hide themselves from the catastrophe. The details of this composition, including John’s pose, reproduce those of the corresponding scene in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian, and the same is true of the Lambeth version of the Battle Between the Dragon and the Woman’s Seed.104

Henderson finds that in its conflation of the two principal cycles, Lambeth 209 resembles the Ludwig Apocalypse. The Ludwig manuscript is, however, the more successful compromise, the two prototype cycles being "absorbed intelligently into a new cycle with a pictorial unity of its own."105 There are, in fact, instances, Henderson notes, when the Ludwig and Lambeth cycles resemble each other more than either principal cycle. The scene of the Angels in Euphrates, for example, is handled in precisely the same way in Ludwig and Lambeth with both deviating from the principal cycles by omitting the actual unbinding of the four angels.106 But having pointed out this and other intriguing parallels, Henderson declines to speculate about any direct influence between the two manuscripts.107 He writes only that both cycles follow upon the creation of the two principal ones and then cautions that the Ludwig and Lambeth 209 Apocalypses are too similar for us to be certain of their chronological order.
We cannot say, simply because [the Lambeth artist] is less independent of his models than Dyson Perrins [Ludwig], that his work dates to an earlier period than Dyson Perrins. It is in a real sense more primitive in the evolution of the English Apocalypse as a whole, but we have to take into account conservatism of temperament in the artist, and the pressures of his immediate environment, even perhaps the patron's specific desires. . .We cannot too rigidly date the time span in which the work of compiling second-generation type Apocalypses was done.108

I do not believe, however, that Henderson's cautious note should cause us to reject out of hand the possibility advanced here that the Lambeth-Metz group should perhaps be dated slightly ahead of Ludwig, and that the iconography of the Lambeth-Metz group either contributed directly to that of Ludwig or is closely tied to another manuscript or group that played this part (fig. 4). It should be added that Henderson dates the Lambeth Apocalypse on stylistic grounds to about 1240, at least five years earlier than his proposed date for the Ludwig Apocalypse.109 The Lambeth-Metz generation receives the iconography of Paris 403 and Trinity and, as Henderson describes, conflates it to form a new recension. From this second generation of Apocalypses, iconographic features are passed on to the slightly later cycles represented in this study by Ludwig and British Library 35166. The Ludwig Apocalypse seems also to have strong independent ties to Trinity for it adopts some of the imagery and order of scenes from that prototype that are not to be found in the Lambeth-Metz group. Thus the unique "pictorial unity" of the Ludwig Apocalypse is in its blending of the pronounced influence of Trinity with conspicuous elements from Paris 403 transmitted by way of the generation of Lambeth-Metz. Among the elements contributed by Lambeth-Metz or a related group are the separate depiction of the Appearance of the Lamb and the Lamb Taking
the Book, the hooded Fourth Horseman, the chalice that stands on the altar at the opening of the fifth seal, and the single angel who rescues the Woman's child. As for the possibility that these features originated with Ludwig rather than with Lambeth-Metz, we have only to ask whether the compiler of the Lambeth-Metz cycle, in working from Ludwig, would have consistently disregarded those aspects of his model, such as the duplication of the Great Angel or John shown eating the book, that belong to only the Trinity and Ludwig cycles.

British Library 35166 is slightly later and closely related to Ludwig. The British Library Apocalypse can be characterized as a weaker derivative of Ludwig exhibiting deterioration, simplification, and confusion of the Iconography of Ludwig. The diminished size of the demon with the flesh-hook who follows the Fourth Horseman forfeits much of the impact made by this image in Ludwig. Moreover, the meaningless stick that the Fourth Rider props against his shoulder and the unexplainable extra elder accompanying the angel who asks "Who Is Worthy to Open the Book?" strongly suggest that the British Library Apocalypse may be more than once removed from Ludwig and may, in fact, derive from an unidentified ancestor of both.
NOTES

1James, Dyson Perrins, p. 32; Millar, pp. 60, 124-5; Rickert, pp. 120-2.

2James, Apocalypse in Art, pp. 1-20.

3Freyhan, pp. 217ff.

4Freyhan, p. 218.


6Freyhan, pp. 218.


8Freyhan, pp. 218-9. The manuscripts in Freyhan's Group I are those given by Millar as related to Lambeth 209 (Millar, Bull. de la Societe francaise de repro. des manuscrits a paint., Paris, 1924, p. 40). Freyhan adds to this list also the Apocalypse formerly in the collection of Dr. Rey and the Angers Tapestry.


11Freyhan, pp. 225-6 views this expansion of the pictorial narrative as reflecting the "transformation of the Apocalypse into an illustrated storybook for the rich layman."

12It should be recalled that although Delisle divides the Gothic Apocalypse manuscripts into a First and Second family, these designations do not refer to any kind of chronological or evolutionary sequence.
13 Freyhan, p. 218.

14 Freyhan, pp. 236-7.


20 Henderson, "English Apocalypse: I," pp. 131ff. Henderson is not alone in assigning Trinity a major role in the evolution of the English Gothic Apocalypses. In his Introduction to the 1967 Eugrammata Press facsimile of the Trinity College Apocalypse, Peter Briege describes the manuscript as a "key monument" that introduces a "new phase" in the illustration of the Apocalypse. Briege goes on to say that the other English Apocalypses, including Paris 403, are later in date and to some extent dependent upon the Trinity cycle. See Briege, 


For Metz, Bibl. de la Ville. MS Salis 38 see: Dellisle and Meyer, pp. LXXX-LXXXI; James, Apocalypse In art, no. 6. A complete set of photographs of this manuscript is in the British Library (Facs. 57). The volume contains sixty-six half-page illustrations. James says it is a French work based on an English model; however, Millar believes it could very well be English in origin. A description of the Apocalypse can be found in Millar, Bull. de la Societe francaise de reprod. des manuscrits a peint. (Paris, 1924), pp. 43-66 where it is closely compared with Lambeth 209.
Miller (p. 40) groups four related Apocalypse manuscripts with Lambeth 209 and Metz 38. These are Cambrai, Bibl. de la Ville 482, Lisbon, Gulbenkian Coll., MS L.A. 139, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Canonici 62, and British Library Add. MS 17333.


29 Deissle and Meyer, p. LXIV.


31 Freyhan, p. 230 attributes the larger blocks of text inserted into the illustrations in the second half of Morgan 524 to the fragmentary cycle of Apocalypse Illustrations in the Liber Floridus which could serve the Morgan artist as a model only as far as chapter twelve.

32 Freyhan, p. 219.

33 Freyhan, pp. 232-3.


37 Lambeth 209, fol. 2r. The corresponding illumination is missing from Metz 38.

38 Henderson, "English Apocalypse: II," pp. 111-12 notes that the organ held by one of the elders in Ludwig I is also derived from Paris 403.

39 Ludwig III I, fols. 3v-4v; British Library Add MS 35166, fols. 4v-5v.

40 Lambeth 209, fols. 2v-3r. The scene of the angel who asks John, "Who is Worthy to Open the Book?" is missing from Metz 38. The second Vision of Heaven is found on folio 3r of the Metz manuscript.
prominent exception is Douce 180, pp. 13-16 where the lamb with the sealed book appears in a cloud near each of the four horsemen. A divine hand bestows the crown and the sword on the first and second riders respectively. The compositions are very similar to Paris 403.

Henderson, "English Apocalypse: II," p. 112 suggests that while the demon can be traced to Trinity, the souls of the damned are based on Paris 403 where, as also in Ludwig, the hind legs of the horse are concealed.

The stick propped against the rider's shoulder, his soft cap and the gait of his mount are all very similar to the third horseman in Paris 403 and Morgan-Bodleian. The Ludwig Illustration may represent the not uncommon occurrence of a copyist basing his drawing on a composition other than the corresponding scene in his model.

Henderson, "English Apocalypse: II," p. 112 affirms the presence of the firmament and the angel that appears from it in Paris 403 and Ludwig, and the absence of these features in Trinity. He also notes that Paris 403 and Ludwig are alike in showing the draped altar tilted toward the viewer while in Trinity it appears at eye-level.

Henderson, "English Apocalypse: II," p. 112 maintains that Ludwig follows Paris 403 in showing one of the angels holding a robe by both arms and lowering it over the head of one of the souls. This group is also reproduced in Metz 38.

The first Inscription is taken from Apocalypse 10:3: "post
vocem angell locuta sunt vii tonitrua voces suas (And when he [the Great Angel] had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices). The second inscription records Berengaudus' interpretation of the thunders: "per vii tonitrua vii virtutes intelliguntur" (By the seven thunders are meant the seven virtues).

(And the angel...lifted up his hand to heaven, and he swore by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created [all things] that time shall be no longer, but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound the trumpet, the mystery of God shall be finished).

60Ludwig I I I 1, fol s. 15r-16r.

61Trinity College R.16.2 fol s. 10v-11r. Henderson, "English Apocalypse: I," pp. 133-4 affirms in his analysis of the illustrations for the Great Angel that the images in Trinity cannot be considered a modification of those in Morgan 524, and that the Iconography of Trinity is "consistently different" from that of Paris 403.


63Lambeth 209, fol. 12r; Metz 38, fol. 16r.

64British Library Add.MS 17333 is related Iconographically to the Lambeth-Metz group but includes a separate illustration of John eating the book (fol. 15v).


66Lambeth 209, fol. 12v: Metz 38, fol. 16v.

67The subjects are: the Woman Threatened by the Dragon (Morgan 524, fol. 8v; Bodleian D.4.17, fol. 8v); the Defeat of the Dragon by Michael and his Angels (8v, 8v); Proclamation of the Reign of God (9r, 9r); Second Scene of the Defeat of the Dragon (9r, 9r); the Woman Given Wings and Flying Into the Wilderness (9v, 9v); the Dragon Vomiting the Flood (9v, 9v); the Battle Between the Dragon and the Woman's Seed (10r, 10r).

68Freyhan, p. 235 notes an exception in those instances where the Bodleian Apocalypse artist adds a small hill under the feet of a standing figure.

69Freyhan, p. 235, pl. 54a-c.

70Ludwig I I I 1, fol s. 19v-22r.

71A similar separate illustration is found in Douce 180, p. 42.
The excerpt from Berengaudus' commentary end after folio 17r in Bodleian D.4.17 and after folio 16v in Morgan 524. Beyond this point there is only the scriptural text written on the uncolored background.

Images of the Mystic Winepress dating before the thirteenth century are few. Besides the Hortus Deliciarum, the subject is listed among those on a lost twelfth-century reliquary cross (G. Cames, pp. 105ff). It was represented along with the Leviathan, Christ as High Priest, and the Woman Clothed with the Sun among the lost twelfth-century frescoes at Saint-Emmeram in Regensburg. The Mystic Winepress is found in a thirteenth-century missal at Hildesheim (Hildesheim, Bibl. Beverina, Missal MS 682b) where the pose of the trampling figure is much like that in Trinity.
The Heavenly Jerusalem in Trinity may be compared with two examples in Beatus manuscripts, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 644, fol. 22v, and Paris, Bibl. nat. Nouv. acq. lat. 2290, fol. 161v. Disagreement exists over the relationship between the Trinity and Beatus cycles. James Trinity College Apocalypse, p. 22, n. 1 expresses doubt that the New Jerusalem in Trinity is derived from a Beatus miniature. Brieger, Trinity College Apocalypse, pp. 9-11, however, maintains that the Heavenly Jerusalem in Trinity is modeled after the Beatus type. The heavenly city in projection is also found in two fourteenth-century English Apocalypses, Oxford, New College 65 and British Library Add.MS 18633.


Brieger, English Art, p. 166, n. 2.


Henderson, "Apocalypse In Paris", p. 23, n. 14 disputes Poesch's assessment of the role of Lambeth 209 in the later development of the Apocalypses. He maintains that while the Lambeth Apocalypse is an important model, it "should not be raised to the status of a
prototype. It is clearly an offspring of Trinity and Morgan, different from, but representing a parallel development to Dyson Perrins [Ludwig]."

APPENDIX A

ADDITIONAL CODICOLICAL ANALYSIS
OF THE 'ST ALBANS' APOCALYPSES
The subject from John's life at the beginning of the manuscript are: John Speaks to the Converted Idolators (1r), the Baptism of Drusiana (1r), John Before the Proconsul of Ephesus (1v), John Taken to Rome (1v), John Before Domitian (2r), John In the Cauldron (2r), John Banished to Patmos (3r), John Sailing to Patmos (3r). The subjects at the end of the manuscript are: John Returns to Ephesus (43r), the Raising of Drusiana (43v), the Story of Atticus and Euginlus (43v), John Denounces Those who Despise the World for the Sake of Men's Praise (44r), John Changes Pebbles to Gold (44r), John Destroys the Temple of Diana (44r), John Drinks Poison and is Unharmed (44v), John Standing Before an Alter and Lying In His Tomb (44v).

The text on several folios is cut off at the lower edge indicating that the manuscript has been cut down slightly from its original size. Between folios 17 and 18 a leaf appears to have been cut out leaving only a portion of its left margin. Dellsle determined that the missing subjects were two scenes from the life and miracles of Antichrist (Dellsle and Meyer, pp. LXVIIff.). That the pagination of Mme Boens made in 1860 is now interrupted indicates that the folio was removed sometime after that date (Dellsle and Meyer, p. LXVII). We do not know whether the missing Antichrist scenes were accompanied by a text.

On folio 1r are two Inscriptions In fourteenth or fifteenth-century hands. At the top of the page, above the first miniature, are the words, "Apocalipsis in pictura facta Karolo Magno". According to Paulin Paris, the author of this ambiguous statement either believed that the illustrations in the manuscript were copied from a text belonging to Charlemagne, or that Charlemagne himself executed the illustrations. Paris acknowledges the improbability of the second alternative (P. Paris, Ill, 371-2). In the lower margin of the same folio, these Instructions appear: "Fiat opus abstractum Costeey et Hugo de VI super Apocaplypsin et inscrivete circa et sub picturas sequentes et tunc erit complacens et si necesse fuerit fiat rasura in gallicano." (Make an abstract of the work of Costedey and Hugo de Viltonio on the Apocalypse and write it around and beneath the following pictures; and then this being satisfactory, and if necessary erase in the French). The Inscription seems to be a request addressed to some unknown party to abridge the writings on the Apocalypse of two commentators, Henri de Costessey (d. 1336) and Hughes de Virley (c. 1340), and to copy this new text around and below the pictures erasing, if necessary, the existing text. These directions were never carried out and the manuscript retains its original commentary.

Folio 2v is distinguished by two large historiated Initials In the text below a framed half-page illustration of the Emperor Domitian sending John into exile (fig. 5). The larger of these Initials, at the left, is an A standing at the beginning of the title of the manuscript, [A]Apocalypsis Cristi Jesu. The words of this title are twice the height of the text script and set off by bright coloring. The word Apocalypsis is written in ocher on a blue background, while Cristi Jesu
is colored gray-blue on a deep pink ground. Within the large initial Δ, John is shown seated, facing right, his pen raised to trace the letter p of *Apocalypse*. An angel standing behind John raises his finger and points giving the Evangelist instruction. John wears an orange mantle over a blue robe; the angel wears a pink mantle over a green robe. They are flanked by two beasts, a slate-blue lion standing on its hind legs and a long-necked orange dragon who creates the curved top of the initial Δ by grasping the head of the lion in its jaws. The wings of the dragon are blue, pink, and green, and its long tail trails down into the lower margin where it terminates in a cluster of leafy foliage from which a human face protrudes. The background of the initial is burnished gold. A smaller historiated initial Jesus stands near the right margin. It begins the first line of text from *Apocalypse* 1:9: "Je Johan votre frere et parcez en tribulation." (l, John, your brother and partner in tribulation). John stands squeezed within this initial wearing an orange mantle over a green robe. Beneath his feet the initial lengthens into a tapering vine that uncoils into the lower margin. The initial is outlined in green. Both historiated initials appear to have been drawn and colored by the same hands responsible for all of the illustrations in the manuscript. Spaced throughout the text are burnished gold initials two lines high embellished with pale blue and red pen flourishes.

The commentary is compiled from a number of early glosses on the *Apocalypse*, in particular that of Haymo, Bishop of Halberstadt (d. 853) (Delisle and Meyer, pp. CCXIX-CCXXI; Migne, PL, CXVII, col. 937). The frequent mention of prelates and clerics, preachers and heretics in the commentary is, however, unprecedented and led Paul Meyer to conclude that the gloss reflects strongly the sentiments of Franciscans and Dominicans dedicated to combating heresy, reforming the clergy, and purifying the faith (Delisle and Meyer, pp. CCXVII-CCXIX). The admonitive spirit of the mendicant orders is suggested by the more than sixty references to "preachers" and "preaching", and the numerous references to "judgment", "damnation" and "hell" (J.C. Fox, Introd., An Anglo-Norman Rhymed *Apocalypse* with Commentary, ed. O. Rhys, ANTS, 6, Oxford, 1946, pp. vi-vii.). In a typical passage the author interprets the image of the beast made by its followers in *Apocalypse* 13: 14 as a symbol of the false prelates who are led by love of earthly things. The sackcloth worn by the two witnesses of *Apocalypse* 11: 3 symbolizes the need for preacher and prelate to offer their penance as an example to others. Such frequent and unmistakable references to immorality in the Church and its correction support Meyer's conclusion that the Paris 403 commentary was composed by a member of one of the minor orders, a conclusion that also provides evidence for dating the composition of the gloss in the first half of the thirteenth century.

With the exception of Paris 403, all other editions of the text and commentary include a prologue beginning "Saint Paul l'apostre dit," and ending with a brief summary of the first eight verses of the first chapter of the *Apocalypse*. The prologue is based on a Latin work by Gilbert de la Poree, bishop of Poitiers (d. 1154). The presence of this prologue in all other editions of the text suggests that it may
once have been included in Paris 403 also. However, two pieces of evidence argue against this possibility. First, although the text of Paris 403 begins on folio 2v with Apocalypse 1:9, the first verse following the prologue, the large historiated initial before the word *Apocalypsis Cristi Jesu* on this page, suggests that this likely was intended to be the first text page in the manuscript. Second, the fourteenth-century Giffard Apocalypse (Bodleian Library Fr. e. 22) with the same text as Paris 403 but in verse, contains a prologue that describes the poem as divided into seven visions, and indeed seven large initials divide its poem in this way. Paris 403, however, contains neither the prologue nor the seven-part division of the text, a fact that suggests the prologue (and hence the seven text divisions) was already missing when the manuscript was made and has not been lost subsequently.

The majority of the illustrations in Paris 403 appear on the same page with their appropriate accompanying text and commentary. However, in some instances the text and gloss are so long that both have had to be continued on a subsequent folio where a shorter passage of text and gloss has left some unused space. Because in such cases the folio on which the text and gloss conclude may not be the next one in sequence, symbols drawn in red and accompanied by notations, signify where the reader must turn to find the end of the passage. This inconvenient arrangement requires that the reader page back and forth in order to follow the proper flow of the narrative. But in other instances the demand for more space was anticipated. Following the illustration of John abandoned on the island of Patmos (fol. 3v), several unillustrated folios have been added to hold the long gloss for the Letters to the Seven Churches (Apoc. 2-3, fols. 4r-5v). Such obvious forethought makes one wonder why supplemental pages were not added after the scene of the Heavenly Jerusalem (fol. 41v) to accommodate the equally long commentary on this subject. Instead, symbols direct the reader to where this gloss concludes on several folios of text added after the last illustrated page in the manuscript. From here the reader must return to the illustrated pages to find the final chapter of the text and its gloss.

Jean de Bruges, designer of the Angers Tapestry, apparently turned for inspiration not only to Paris 403 but to several other thirteenth and fourteenth-century Apocalypse manuscripts (Dellisle and Meyer, pp. CLXXVI-CXCI). Imbuing his subjects with all the grace and courtly elegance of the later fourteenth century, yet never trivializing them, Jean presented the Duke with what is perhaps the last great work of Apocalypse art before Dürer's woodcuts. When completed, the Angers Tapestry displayed some ninety-eight separate scenes of which about seventy now remain. The tapestry rivals contemporary Apocalypse manuscripts not only in number of subjects but also in format, for it is conceived as a visual narrative in two long tiers of scenes arranged in sequential order from left to right and impelled by the rhythmic alternation of red and blue backgrounds.

Shortly after the death of Charles VI in 1422, Paris 403 was sold
to the Duke of Bedford and taken back to England. Before the end of
the fifteenth century it had again crossed the channel to enter the
library of the Flemish bibliophile, Louis de Bruges who painted his
arms at the bottom of the first folio. With the acquisition of this
library by Louis XIII, the manuscript re-entered the royal collection
and the royal arms painted over those of de Bruges (Delisle and Meyer,
p. LXVI). The volume was rebound in the reign of Louis XIV and now
bears his arms.

Paris 403: Its Date and Stylistic Relationship to the Trinity College
Apocalypse

The close stylistic relationship between Paris 403 and the Trinity
College Apocalypse has frequently been noted by scholars, and according
to D.H. Turner the two manuscripts cannot be separated by more than
fifteen years. Further, Turner has noted similarities between Paris
403 and the style of the Evesham Psalter (London, Brit. Lib. Add. MS
44874), which can be dated on liturgical evidence after 1246 (fig. 16).
Turner places both of these manuscripts in the decade 1250-60. He
calls Trinity an "earlier version" of the Paris 403 and Evesham Psalter
style which in contrast to their "softer and more fluid" manner "has a
certain awkwardness, a certain lack of balance and a hardness which
suggest it is newer and less mature" (Turner, "Evesham Psalter," pp.
32-7).

The exact chronological relationship between Paris 403 and Trinity
is a matter of debate, yet scholars have consistently placed the two
works in close temporal proximity. James, Turner, and Brieger all date
Trinity not later than 1250 (James, Trinity College Apocalypse, p. 24,
Turner, "Evesham Psalter," p. 37, Brieger, Trinity College Apocalypse,
p. 14). Henderson suggests a fairly wide range of dates between 1235
mentioned, Turner considers Paris 403 slightly later than Trinity which
by comparison exhibits a certain stylistic "awkwardness", and so places
the Paris Apocalypse in the decade 1250-60. James, on the other hand,
considers Paris 403 as old and probably older than Trinity (James,
Trinity College Apocalypse, pp. 25-6). Henderson disagrees with Turner
on the grounds that Paris 403 ought not to be separated by such a
distance from the general style of English painting in the first half
of the thirteenth century and particularly from the period around 1240.
113-4, n. 19). Marks and Morgan have assigned it a slightly more
advanced date of 1245-55 (Marks and Morgan, p. 56).

I agree with Henderson, Marks and Morgan that Paris 403 belongs to
a stylistic period in English painting whose best works were created
just prior to the year 1250; and I consider the Trinity College
Apocalypse a product of this period also.

Careful research in a number of recent studies of English and
continental painting of the first half of the thirteenth century has
yielded a reliable picture of the sequence of major monuments and styles in this period. The transition to a Gothic style in English illumination begins to appear in works created in the years between about 1180 and 1220. A new naturalism, under the influence of late Byzantine art, radiates from centers such as Winchester and Durham. In works like the Westminster Psalter (British Library Royal MS 2. A. xxii), the Munich Psalter (Statt. Bib., MS Clm 835), and the last copy of the Utrecht Psalter (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS lat. 8846) figures are and more naturally posed and proportioned than in twelfth-century work, draperies are weightier and wrap the forms in long thick folds (fig. 7,) (N. Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190-1285, London: Harvey Miller, 1983, pp. 25-7).

By the 1220's and 1230's a true Early Gothic style emerges in English painting. In works like the Psalter of Robert de Lindesey (London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 59) the figures are more fully three-dimensional and clearly separated from the background (fig. 8). Draper are characterized by long, tubular, looping folds that flow over and around shoulders and forearms. This distinctive and elegant style appears on the other side of the channel in some early thirteenth-century manuscripts from northeastern France and Germany, the most notable among them being the Ingeborg Psalter (Chantilly, Musee Conde MS 1695) of about 1200 (Morgan, pp. 27-8).

This Early Gothic style is distinguished by the use of prominent "trough" or "hairpin" folds probably derived from twelfth-century metalwork, and frequently termed Muldenfaltenstil. Matthew Paris' mature drawings from the 1230's and 1240's including his Life of St Albans and full-page painting of the Virgin and Child enthroned (British Library, Royal MS 14. C. VII, fol. 6) are derived from the trough-fold manner but do not represent the style at its best (figs. 9, 10). More accomplished examples are the illuminations on the first six folios of the Cambridge Life of St. Edward the Confessor (University Library, MS Ee. 3. 59), a manuscript associated with the Court School at Westminster and probably based on Matthew Paris' lost Life of Edward (fig. 11) (M. R. James, La Estoire de Saint Edward le Rei, London, 1920).

The English Muldenfaltenstil climaxes in a recently recognized group of five manuscripts produced at Salisbury about 1240-50 by the so-called "Salern Master" and his circle. Paris 403 seems to be associated with this group while also bearing a strong resemblance to the Early Gothic Trinity College Apocalypse whose provenance is, however, unknown. Paris 403 and Trinity are most notably alike in draftsmanship. Both exhibit tall, slender figures in easy, elegant poses. Heads are round and wide with high brows that taper to small chins. Faces are endowed with small, delicately drawn mouths, broad noses, arched eyebrows, and wide open pear-shaped eyes dotted with black pupils (figs. 42, 121). Figures in both manuscripts are wrapped in an abundance of soft drapery that follows the movement of the figure and often falls in a congestion of fluttering folds at the feet. Oval areas of flattened cloth cling to the elbow, thigh, or calf, and narrow
tubular folds divided by distinct "hairpin" depressions create weaving patterns over surfaces. Garments like those worn by John and the Great Angel in Paris 403 (fig. 42), and by the Woman in the Wilderness in Trinity (fig. 134) fall in long, looping patterns from shoulder to foot. Drapery that falls over the back of the leg is gathered in a series of thick, branching folds creating an irregular profile, while cloth draped over a raised leg runs off in countless small folds like tiny rivulets.

Romanesque conventions survive in both Paris 403 and Trinity in, for example, the fluttering and blown up drapery hems held aloft as if suspended by strings (figs. 78, 107). Other items such as beasts, horses, landscape, architecture, furniture, ships, and weapons are also very similar in both manuscripts.

Paris 403 and Trinity are close enough in style, and especially in drawing, to have, conceivably, at least, one artist in common. Despite differences in coloring and plan—the Trinity illuminations are interwoven with the text in contrast to the consistent placement of an illustration at the top of each page in Paris—both books are among the outstanding works of the mature style of English Early Gothic painting in the period between 1240 and 1250. They are, furthermore, the only English Gothic Apocalypses that can thus be securely dated before 1250.

With the early date of Paris 403 and Trinity thus confirmed on stylistic grounds, we may well ask how their cycles of illustrations, which are of primary importance for the later evolution of the Gothic Apocalypse manuscripts, are related to each other. Unfortunately, this question is not so readily answered as that of the stylistic relationship between these manuscripts. As we shall see, there are distinct similarities and differences between their cycles of pictures, but without a lengthy point by point analysis, which is beyond the scope of this study, it is not possible to say whether one cycle is derived from the other or whether both Paris and Trinity derive from a common model. There is no known immediate source for either manuscript. For the moment, at least, they will be treated as two separate iconographic stems.

New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M. 524

Morgan 524 is bound in two volumes. The first volume contains twenty-one illuminated leaves measuring 10 3/4 x 7 3/4 inches; volume two contains fifty-six folios of a commentary written in two columns of forty-one lines. The commentary was composed about 1400 by a northern French author writing for a lay audience. It was expressly intended to accompany the illustrations now in the first volume as it makes frequent reference to them.

All extant copies of the commentary by Berengaudus date from the twelfth century. The first printed version was published in 1548 by Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, who attributed it to Ambrose.
Turnstall's edition, however, omitted the anagram at the beginning of the epilogue that reveals the true author's name. The riddle, solved by Archbishop Ussher, instructs the reader to combine the first letter of each of the seven visions into which the commentary is divided (BRNGUDS) with four vowels whose Greek numerical value equals eighty-one (EEAO) (James, *Trinity College Apocalypse*, p. 22). The name discovered, Berengaudus, seems also to be that of the author of the twelfth-century commentary in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Lat. 2467). But Berengaudus has also been identified with a ninth-century monk of Saint Germain d'Auxerre and an eleventh-century deacon of Angers (Dom Cellier, *Histoire générale des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, XIII, 703, McGinn, pp. 40, 229 n. 118, 297 n. 10).

The allegorical explication of the Apocalypse adopted by Berengaudus has its origins in the Patristic and early medieval Apocalypse commentators. Augustine, Bede, Beatus and Alcuin of York among others believed that the Apocalypse contains nothing of historical prophecy but is a discourse in symbolic form on the omni-temporal moral challenge that Christians face in a world filled with evil. Berengaudus too follows this principle; thus, in his elucidation of the text on the Great Angel in Apocalypse 10, he explains that the mighty angel means our Lord Jesus Christ, the rainbow symbolizes his mercy, the head his divinity, and the pillar of fire the Holy Church. John, who eats the book the angel gives him and is made ill, represents all the apostles. His mouth signifies the hearts of the apostles, and by his belly, where all the filth of the body dwells, Berengaudus tells us we must understand the remembrance of sins, or our flesh which will die.

The originality of Berengaudus' commentary lies in its blend of the allegorical explanation of John's vision with the historical, teleological interpretation of the Apocalypse popular during the late Middle Ages. The latter approach, expounded in the commentaries of Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173), Alexander of Bremen (d. 1271), and Joachim of Floris (d. 1202) sees the imagery of the Apocalypse as symbolizing successive stages or epochs in the history of the Church, and the steady unfolding of its predestined plan leading to the establishment of the heavenly kingdom at the end of time. For Berengaudus, too, the Apocalypse mirrors the linear flow of history, and in the symbolic number seven so often repeated in its pages, he discovered seven world ages in various progressions. He found, for example, that the entire text of the Apocalypse could be divided into seven parts corresponding to the gradual spread of the Gospel in the centuries since the patristic age. Five ages of the church are already past, while the final two, corresponding to the resurrection and the judgment, are yet to come. Other symbolic sevens, for instance, the seven stars of Apocalypse 1:15 and the dragon's seven heads in chapter twelve, repeat in similar patterns the progress of history from before the flood to the coming of Antichrist (Migne, *PL*, XVII, cols. 850-1).

Why the *Expositio In Apocalypse* of Berengaudus was so popular with those who commissioned the Illuminated English Apocalypse
manuscripts is not known. Undoubtedly its frequent occurrence is due partly to its being constantly recopied as the accompaniment of this and related picture cycles. James' list of ninety-two illuminated manuscripts of the Apocalypse includes seventeen with the Berengaudus commentary (James, Apocalypse In Art, pp. 1-20).

Although closely related stylistically to Paris 403 and the opening pages of the Cambridge Life of Edward, Morgan 524 is somewhat more restrained. Fluttering hems have calmed, contours are simplified and fall in unbroken, vertical lines, and faces are of a more mature idealized Gothic type. D.H. Turner describes Morgan as a "later, flatter version of the style of Paris 403" (Turner, "Evesham Psalter," pp. 37-9). Of Edward he writes that it is "In all likelihood" later than both the Paris Apocalypse and Morgan 524 (Turner, "Evesham Psalter," pp. 37-9). Henderson agrees that the Morgan Apocalypse is "stylistically a little more advanced" than Paris 403. He points to Morgan's "suavity" an "preciousness" and calls it "less gauche than Paris" (Henderson, "English Apocalypse: 1," pp. 112-4, 117).

The elegant Life of Edward is associated with the Court School at Westminster where Henry III was rebuilding the Confessor's church (Breiger, English Art, pp. 153-4, Rickert, p. 124). The illuminations in Edward, and, by association, those in Morgan 524, have been likened to the paintings in the Painted Chamber at Westminster palace executed in the 1260's and early 1270's (Breiger, English Art, pp. 153-4, Marks and Morgan, pp. 13-14). The fine draftsmanship and elegant demeanor of the Morgan figures suits a Westminster origin, and I find no reason to reject this attribution for the present. Nothing is known about the whereabouts of the manuscript before the end of the nineteenth century when it belonged to the collection of Vicomte Blin de Bourdon. When acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1908, the Apocalypse was in a single brown leather binding of the nineteenth century. It was divided into two volumes and rebound by Duprez Lahey in 1922.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auctarium D.4.17

Folios 15 and 16 in Bodleian D.4.17 are bound out of place and should come after folio 4. A leaf is missing after folio 17. Delisle easily determined the contents of the missing leaf by referring to Morgan 524 and the First Family Apocalypse now in the Rylands Library (MS lat. 19). The Four missing illustrations are the Sixth Angel Pours out his Vial on Euphrates, and the Seventh Angel Pours out his Vial on the Air, both on the recto; and, on the verso, John Shown the Great Whore Seated on the Mount, and John Shown the Great Whore Seated on the Beast (Delisle and Meyer, pp. LXXII-LXXIII).

Except for a few anomalies in spelling and the more frequent use of abbreviations in the Bodleian Apocalypse, there is no substantial difference between its text and that in Morgan 524 (Delisle and Meyer, p. VII). The fourteen scenes from the life of the John in the Bodleian Apocalypse are accompanied by short descriptions.
Coloring is applied to nearly all figures and objects even if only in the form of a very pale ochre wash on areas of flesh. In the coloring of faces, there is some attempt to create contours around eye sockets and cheekbones; cheeks are sometimes touched very lightly with pink. Hair and beards are arbitrarily tinted with brown, blue or green. As in Paris 403 and Morgan 524, halos are washed with a variety of hues and edged with an outer ring of small drawn circles, and wings are often multicolored. Using a fine brush, the colorist often adds decorative designs or heraldic devices to garments, pennants, trumpets, and shields. Frames vary in color from one folio to the next. No gold or silver is used. The drawing and coloring are consistent throughout the manuscript, and I find no evidence to support Coxe's belief that a change of hands occurs at folio 13 (Coxe, pp. lv, xvii).

Bodleian D.4.17 is a faithful copy of Morgan 524 although not by the Morgan artist. The two Apocalypses are virtually identical line for line and differ only in such minor points as the occasional addition to Bodleian of a patch of ground on which a figure stands (Freyhan, p. 235). That Bodleian D.4.17 is copied from Morgan 524 is proved by the small simplifications and omissions made by the Bodleian artist. For example, on folio 10r of Morgan in the scene of the Dragon Battling the Woman's Seed (Apoc. 12: 17), one of the combatants hurls stones at the dragon from a pile gathered up in the skirt of his tunic. But he Bodleian artist, who faithfully reproduces this scene on his folio 10r, inadvertently neglects to copy the pile of missiles in the stonethrower's tunic. And in copying the horse-like locusts emerging from the abyss of Apocalypse 9, the Bodleian artist departs from his Morgan model by merging the horizontal lines in the harnesses of the two foremost locusts and extending the vertical line in the harness of the first until it merges with the profile line of the beast's chest (Freyhan, pp. 235-6). The Apocalypse first appears in the Bodleian Library catalog of 1613. Its whereabouts before this date and the means by which it entered the library are unknown, although Coxe suggests that it may have belonged to Sir Thomas Bodley. The manuscript is in a brown leather binding of the late sixteenth century.

Malibu. The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig III I

With the exception of the lost folios at the end, M.R. James found the text of the Ludwig Apocalypse largely complete. The first four chapters and the seventeenth chapter of the scriptural text are, however, considerably condensed (James, Dyson Perrins, p. 48). Strict order is not followed in the first four chapters of the text. For example, between Apocalypse 1: 11-12 where mention is first made of the Letters to the Seven Churches, the scribe has inserted an abbreviated version of the text of the Letters found in chapters two and three. In the early folios phrases from the Apocalypse text are frequently rewritten in black ink within the red gloss and then defined or explained. The scriptural text and gloss may consume all of the space available on a page but is never continued onto another folio as this would disrupt the strictly uniform scheme of one picture with corresponding text per page.
The text of the Apocalypse with its illuminations begins on folio 2r. On the recto and verso of the preceding folio is the text of an imperfect Life of John beginning with the letter to the proconsul at Ephesus denouncing John to the Emperor Domitian and opening with the words, "Pillosimo Cesari et semper augusto Domiciano." According to James, this life is an interpolation of that by Pseudo-Melito; and in all extant versions, except that in the Trinity College Apocalypse, the first paragraph of the life is missing (James, Dyson Perrins, pp. 47-50). This Life recounts the summoning of John to Rome, his deliverance unharmed from a cauldron of boiling oil, his exile to Patmos and vision of the Apocalypse, his return to Ephesus and the composition of his gospel whose opening words end the passage. One illumination on the recto of this leaf and another on the verso illustrate the text. In the first John is shown twice: before Domitian's throne and then in the cauldron of oil. In the second scene four men in a boat place John on the Island of Patmos. James maintains that some of the illustrations missing from the end of the manuscript probably showed the last events of John's life (James, Dyson Perrins, p. 56).

On folio 2r the text of the Apocalypse opens with a large historiated initial Δ. Within this initial John stands speaking to an attentive audience one member of which, however, looks away and frowns. A green dragon lies along the top of this initial. The left side of the letter extends down the left margin and across the bottom of the left text column. This extension ends in a vegetal loop encircling a second drawing of John shown sitting and writing. On the verso of folio two is a large Initial H corresponding to the Δ on the recto. This initial also extends into the left margin, and inside it blue and brown twining foliage terminates in two facing heads: a woman wearing a wimple, and a man with a cap of curly hair.

Smaller historiated initials are found on all subsequent folios at the beginning of the first section of the Apocalypse text. Many of these contain lively human and animal subjects such as huntsmen, wrestlers, musicians, griffins, dragons, and an elephant. Still smaller non-historiated initials are placed at the beginning of the first section of commentary on each folio. All of the initials in the manuscript are painted with various combinations of red, green, blue, pink, and tan with decorative details overpainted in thin, white lines. Burnished gold, much of it flaked off, is often used for the backgrounds of the larger initials.

The Ludwig Apocalypse is the only one of the 'St Albans' group in which the figure of John appears in every scene. On this point, the Ludwig Apocalypse resembles a number of other Apocalypse cycles from the thirteenth century and later including the Angers Tapestry in which John is inserted physically between his visions and the spectator. He may be found within the framed composition participating in his vision by communicating directly with angels, elders, and beasts, or he may stand outside the frame on a small piece of ground in the left or right margin and gaze at his vision through an opening in the frame. In the
Ludwig Apocalypse John reacts to what he sees with a variety of expressions including horror, surprise, curiosity, and adoration all communicated through pose and facial expression, and his reactions serve to prompt the appropriate responses from the viewer.

The Ludwig Apocalypse continues and develops tendencies that begin to appear in English painting after about 1250 and have been noted above in the style of Bodleian D.4.17. Profiles of figures are taller and narrower even than those in the Bodleian Apocalypse. Drapery lines are vertical and straight particularly in the tunic beneath the mantle. Vestiges of the soft, rich textures that so distinguish Paris 403 and Morgan 524 are still somewhat in evidence particularly in the thick cloaks, but the folds in Ludwig break in the middle into angular profiles and they are more deeply shaded creating, by means of the extreme contrast between shadow and highlight, a flatter effect overall. The forehead of John is broader and tapers to a narrow, protruding chin, his nose is longer, his mouth wider. In general, the Ludwig figures anticipate the tall, angular figure type found in the Oscott Psalter (British Library Add MS 50000) and other English painted works of about 1270 (Turner, Early Gothic Illuminated Manuscripts in England, London: The British Library, 1979, p. 24).

The Ludwig Apocalypse does not contain any internal evidence of provenance before this century. Charles William Dyson Perrins purchased the manuscript from Charles Fairfax Murray in 1906, and while in the Perrins collection the illuminations were published in facsimile with an introduction by M.R. James. The volume passed from the Perrins collection to the New York book dealer H.P. Kraus in 1959 and was subsequently sold to Dr. Peter Ludwig in 1975. The entire Ludwig collection of illuminated manuscripts was sold to the Getty Museum in 1983. The manuscript is in a red moroccan binding by Katharine Adams with gilt center and corner ornaments.

London, British Library Additional MS 35166

The subjects from John's life at the beginning of the manuscript are: John Before Domitian (1r), John in the Cauldron (1v), John Banished to Patmos (2r), John Arriving at Patmos (2v). The subjects at the end of the manuscript are: The Raising of Drusiana and Eugenius (31v), the Raising of Sacteus (32r), John Is Condemned (32v), John Drinks Poison (33r), John Gives his Robe to Aristodemus who Revives the Dead Criminals (33v), six scenes from the story of the Robber Youth (34r-36r), Christ and the Apostles Appear to John to Announce his Death (37r), John Addresses the People (37v), John Standing Before an Alter and Lying In his Tomb (38r), the People Discover John's Tomb Filled with Manna (38v).

The text of the British Library Apocalypse begins below the first scene of John's life. As in the Ludwig Apocalypse, the text opens with the letter from the authorities in Ephesus to the Emperor Domitian beginning with the words "Plissimo Cesare." The letter is followed by
a life of John with accompanying illustrations which breaks off after his exile to Patmos on folio 2r where the text of the Apocalypse begins. The illustrated text of John's life is taken up again at the end of the manuscript on folio 31r with his return from exile.

A large colored initial £ stands before the opening words "Pissimo Cesare" on the first folio. The text is arranged in two columns beneath each corresponding illustration. The text of the Apocalypse is written in black throughout and is introduced on each page by a painted gold initial on a colored field decorated with white pen flourishes. Smaller initials introduce each section of the Berengaudus gloss.

The text of the Apocalypse is divided into seven visions in accordance with the partitions outlined in the gloss. James points out that this arrangement of the text in seven visions distinguishes British Library 35166 from the Ludwig Apocalypse (James, Dyson Perrins, p. 53). The scriptural text begins in the left column of folio 3r with the title, "Incipit textus visionis prime apocalypsis beati Iohannis apostoli." Text and commentary do not exceed the space allotted them beneath each framed picture; however, the length of the commentary often requires the scribe to begin it in the left column immediately beneath the scriptural text.

British Library 35166 differs from Paris 403 and the Ludwig Apocalypse by omitting the entire text of the Letters to the Seven Churches. The text in the British Library manuscript proceeds from Apocalypse 1:16 and the Vision of Christ and the Candlesticks to the Vision of Heaven at the beginning of Apocalypse 4.

The artist of the British Library Apocalypse often uses pen and ink to retrace garment folds where they are bunched up at the waist or hem. In some places the garments are completely washed with color and the folds overpainted with a darker shade of the same hue. This second technique is also frequently applied to areas of land and water. Facial features are very lightly sketched with the pen and pupils are dotted with black. The faces of villains such as those who torment John, are often blue or green. Hair is more arbitrarily colored than in the manuscripts previously described and may be brown, red, or gray.

British Library 35166 contains no internal evidence of date or place of origin. It has always been dated to the thirteenth century. The first folio is inscribed "Liber Domus Kalendraum" suggesting that the volume once belonged to a guild of calendars. The manuscript later belonged to the family of Biols in Suffolk, and in 1895 to the Rev. T.D. Turner of Beccles. It was acquired by the British Museum in 1898. The manuscript is in a leather binding with vellum covers of about 1600.


La Estoire de Saint Aedward Le Re, Roxburghe Club, 1920.

The Trinity College Apocalypse. Roxburghe Club, 1909.


"Date et scriptorium der la Bible de Roda--Etat des recherches." Les cahiers de Saint-michel de Cuxa, 3 (1972), 91-102.


----------. *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIlth Century*. Paris and Brussels: G. van Oest, 1926.


Fig. 5. Paris 403, fol. 2v. John Exiled by Domitian.

Fig. 6. Paris 403, fol. 2r. John in the Cauldron.
Fig. 7. Westminster Psalter, fol. 14r. Christ in Majesty.

Fig. 8. Psalter of Robert de Lindesey, fol. 36r. Christ in Majesty.
Fig. 9. Life of Alban, fol. 45r. Martyrdom of Amphibalus.

Fig. 10. British Library, Royal MS 14.C.VII, fol. 6r. Virgin and Child.
Fig. 11. Life of Edward, fol. 4r.

Fig. 12. Amesbury Psalter, fol. 4r. Virgin and Child.
Fig. 13. Missal of Henry of Chichester, fol. 152v. The Resurrection.

Fig. 14. Oscott Psalter, fol. 10v. John the Evangelist.
Fig. 15. Life of Edward, fol. 8r.

Fig. 16. Evesham Psalter, fol. 6r.
The Crucifixion.
Fig. 17. Paris 403, fol. 6v. The Vision of Heaven.

Fig. 18. Paris 403, fol. 7v. The Vision of the Lamb.
Fig. 19. Trier 31, fol. 14v. The Vision of Heaven.

Fig. 20. Trier 31, fol. 15v. The Vision of Heaven.
Fig. 21. Trier 31, fol. 16v. Who is Worthy to Open the Book?

Fig. 22. Trier 31, fol. 17v. The Elder Consoling John.
Fig. 23. Vivian Bible, fol. 449r. 
Apocalypse Frontispiece.

Fig. 24. Bodley 352, fol. 5v. The Vision of Heaven.
Fig. 25. Bodley 352, fol. 6v. The Vision of the Lamb.
Fig. 26. Auxerre Cathedral Drawing, Christ in Majesty with the Twenty-four Elders and the Lamb.

Fig. 27. Roda Bible, fol. 105v. Christ in Majesty with the Twenty-four Elders and the Lamb.
Fig. 28. Berlin Beatus, fol. 38r. The Lamb with the Four Beasts and the Twenty-four Elders.
Fig. 29. Paris 403, fol. 7v. The First Horseman.

Fig. 30. Trier 31, fol. 17v. The Four Horsemen.
Fig. 31. Valenciennes 99, fol. 12v. The First and Second Horsemen.

Fig. 32. Bodley 352, fol. 6v. The Four Horsemen. The Souls Beneath the Altar.
Fig. 33. Liber Floridus, fol. 11r. The Four Horsemen.

Fig. 34. Paris 403, fol. 8r. The Second Horseman.
Fig. 35. Paris 403, fol. 8v. The Third Horseman.

Fig. 36. Paris 1132, fol. 8v. The Third and Fourth Horsemen.
Fig. 37. Roda Bible, fol. 106r. The Four Horsemen.
Fig. 38. Paris 403, fol. 9r. The Fourth Horseman.

Fig. 39. Paris 403, fol. 9v. The Souls Beneath the Altar.
Fig. 40. Trier 31, fol. 20v. The Souls Beneath the Altar.

Fig. 41. Bamberg 140, fol. 16v. The Souls Beneath the Altar.
Fig. 42. Paris 403, fol. 16r. The Great Angel Appears to John.

Fig. 43. Paris 403, fol. 16v. John Given the Book and Told to Measure the Temple.
Fig. 44. Trier 31, fol. 31r. The Great Angel Appears to John.

Fig. 45. Trier 31, fol. 32r. John Given the Book.
Fig. 46. Trier 31, fol. 32v. John Told to Measure the Temple.

Fig. 47. Bamberg 140, fol. 25v. The Great Angel Appears to John.
t dabo te obust exhib. mans affecta
bunt dieb, mille ducemis sexaginta
amn te facens. Hic sunt dieae ob Tours
et candelabra ins爱护 hu dni stantes.
Et susque est voluerunt notere ignis exaecele
ortus posse, et duorum munificos corum.

Fig. 48. Bamberg 140, fol. 26v. John Given the Book and Told to Measure the Temple.

Fig. 49. Bodley 352, fol. 8r. John Told Not to Write. The Great Angel. John Told to Measure the Temple.
Fig. 50. Liber Floridus, fol. 13v. John Told Not to Write. John Given the Book. John Told to Measure the Temple.
Fig. 51. Paris 403, fol. 19v. The Woman Threatened by the Dragon.

Fig. 52. Paris 403, fol. 20r. The Defeat of the Dragon by Michael and his Angels.
Fig. 53. Paris 403, fol. 20v. Proclamation of the Reign of God. The Defeat of the Dragon.

Fig. 54. Paris 403, fol. 21r. The Woman Given Wings and Flying into the Wilderness.
Fig. 55. Paris 403, fol. 21v. The Dragon Vomiting the Flood.

Fig. 56. Paris 403, fol. 22r. Battle Between the Dragon and the Woman's Seed.
Fig. 57. Trier 31, fol. 37r. The Woman Threatened by the Dragon.

Fig. 58. Trier 31, fol. 38r. The Defeat of the Dragon.
Fig. 59. Valenciennes 99, fol. 23r. The Woman Threatened by the Dragon.
Fig. 60. Bamberg 140, fol. 29r. The Woman Threatened by the Dragon.

Fig. 61. Bamberg 140, fol. 31v. The Dragon Vomiting the Flood.
Fig. 62. Hortus Deliciarum, fol. 261v. The Woman Clothed with the Sun.
Fig. 63. Porch of the abbey church of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe. The Woman Threatened by the Dragon.

Fig. 64. Liber Floridus, fol. 14v. The Woman Threatened by the Dragon.
Fig. 65. Liber Floridus, fol. 15r. The Defeat of the Dragon by Michael and his Angels.

Fig. 66. Liber Floridus, fol. 15v. The Dragon Vomiting the Flood.
Fig. 67. Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 469, fol. 7v. Frontispiece to the City of God.

Fig. 68. Bodley 352, fol. 8v. The Woman Clothed with the Sun. The Woman Threatened by the Dragon.
Fig. 69. Bodley 352, fol. 9r. The Defeat of the Dragon by Michael and his Angels.

Fig. 70. Paris 403, fol. 36r. John Told to Write and John Told to Worship God.
Fig. 71. Paris 403, fol. 36v. The Rider and the Winepress.

Fig. 72. Paris 403, fol. 37r. The Summoning of the Birds.
Fig. 73. Trier 31, fol. 62r. The Rider Faithful and True. John Told to Write.

Fig. 74. Paris 1132, fol. 29r. The Rider Faithful and True.
Fig. 75. Bamberg 140, fol. 47v. Christ in Majesty. John Told to Worship God.

Fig. 76. Bodley 352, fol. 11v. Christ in Majesty. John Told to Worship God. The Rider Faithful and True.
Fig. 77. Bamberg 140, fol. 48v. The Rider Faithful and True.

Fig. 78. Paris 403, fol. 41r. The Descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem.
Fig. 79. Paris 403, fol. 41v. John Shown the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Fig. 80. Trier 31, fol. 69r. John Shown the Heavenly Jerusalem.
Fig. 81. Trier 31, fol. 70r. John Told to Measure the City.

Fig. 82. Trier 31, fol. 71r. The Heavenly Jerusalem with the Lamb and the Tree of Life.
Fig. 83. Paris 1132, fol. 33r. JohnShown the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Fig. 84. Bamberg 140. fol. 55v. John Shown the Heavenly Jerusalem.
Fig. 85. Bodley 352, fol. 13v. John Told to Measure the City and John Told to Write.
Fig. 86. Morgan 524, fol. 1v. The Vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb.
Fig. 87. Bodleian D.4.17, fol. 3v. The Vision of Heaven and the Vision of the Lamb.
Fig. 88. Ludwig III 1, fol. 3v. The Vision of Heaven.

Fig. 89. Lambeth 209, fol. 2r. The Vision of Heaven.
Fig. 90. Trinity R.16.2, fol. 4r. The Vision of Heaven.

Fig. 91. Trinity R.16.2, fol. 4v. The Vision of Heaven.
Fig. 92. Trinity R.16.2, fol. 5r. Who is Worthy to Open the Book? The Elder Consoling John.

Fig. 93. Ludwig III 1, fol. 4r. Who is Worthy to Open the Book? The Elder Consoling John.
Fig. 94. Ludwig III 1, fol. 4v. The Vision of Heaven.

Fig. 95. British Library 35166, fol. 5r. Who is Worthy to Open the Book? The Elder Consoling John.
Fig. 96. Ludwig III 1, fol. 5r. The Appearance of the Lamb.

Fig. 97. Ludwig III 1, fol. 5v. The Lamb Taking the Book.
Fig. 98. Trinity R.16.2, fol. 5r. The Appearance of the Lamb and the Lamb Taking the Book.

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