THE PICTORIAL WORK IN THE "FLORES HISTORIARUM" OF THE SO-CALLED MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER. (MS. CHETHAM 6712.)

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Towards the end of 1943 the John Rylands Librarian, Dr. Henry Guppy, drew my attention to the fact that the famous MS. 6712 of the Chetham Library, Manchester, the earliest MS. of the "Flores Historiarum", from which directly or indirectly all others have been derived, had, with other treasures of that Library, "escaped" evacuation due to the constant danger of aerial bombardment and was still available to students for investigation. I was, at that time, finishing a paper on the Sarum Illuminator whose development appears decisively influenced by, and closely connected with the work of the schools of St. Albans and Westminster during the first half of the thirteenth century, thus my interest in an important MS., partly written at St. Albans and partly at Westminster, to whose pictured work hitherto only very short reference has been made, grew considerably. I began to collect information, and two subsequent privilege furloughs from my military service, both prior to the invasion of the European Continent by the Allied Forces, enabled me to inspect the valuable MS., and at the beginning of September 1944 I applied to the Feoffees of Chetham’s Hospital and Library in order to have the ten pen-and-ink drawings photographed. My application was very kindly granted and the result of my investigation, however incomplete and preliminary, is, herewith, submitted to readers of the "Bulletin of The John Rylands Library" interested in English mediaeval art, in the hope that further research will clarify what I, at a time when scholarly efforts of this particular kind seemed a

1 This paper has since appeared under the title "The Sarum Illuminator and his School", in The Wiltshire Archæological Magazine, Vol. L, Devizes, 1943-44, pp. 230-262.

hopeless and almost futile attempt, failed to see or to place on record.¹

The illustrations of the MS., numbering ten, not counting four illuminated coats of arms, those of Raymond of Provence, the Marshals, David of Wales and John de Neville, depict all one and the same subject: the coronation of English Kings, vic. that of Arthur, Edward the Confessor, and the later kings from William I down to Edward I. The leaf which contained a picture of the coronation of Henry III is wanting. The remaining tinted outline drawings—they cannot be called illuminations—constitute a series of earliest coronation pictures in high mediaeval British book illustration, thus forming an important iconographical link between the Coronation scene in the Bayeux Tapestry and the Coronation of the Confessor in the Painted Chamber at the Royal Palace of Westminster which may have been the work of Master William the Monk and dates from about 1270–1275.² Nine of our pictures show clearly style and conception of the School of St. Albans, five of them are of an exceptional beauty and dignity revealing a masterhand at least very closely connected with some works directly produced at the scriptorium of St. Albans and especially with those of its head, the scholar, chronicler, diplomat and “pictor peroptimus”, Matthew Paris. To stress the full historic and artistic significance of these drawings, it is necessary to recall briefly some facts about the MS., its development and provenance, which have been elucidated by historical research in the course of the last fifty years.³

¹ My sincerest thanks are due to Dr. Henry Guppy, for the most generous acceptance of this paper in the Bulletin and for many a valuable advice; to the Feoffies of Chetham’s Hospital and Library for the liberally given permission to examine the MS. and to have it temporarily transferred to The John Rylands Library, where the pictures were expertly photographed by Mr. Murgatroyd; to Frank Stevens, O.B.E., J.P., F.S.A., Director of the Salisbury, South Wiltshire and Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, with whom this article was discussed in all its stages; and to my wife Barbara—who shared so much.


In his very helpful and reliable guide through surviving books of mediæval England, Neils R. Ker gives Westminster as provenance of the Manuscript. In the world of mediæval English books, however, the Westminster Chronicle is—sit venia verbo—a "citizen of dual nationality". The earlier portion of the work, down to the year 1265, was certainly written at St. Albans, the chronicle for the period 1241-1249 showing the distinct St. Albans hand. Luard has found full evidence for the derivation of this portion of the work from the Cambridge Manuscript of Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*. Either at the end of 1265, or, at any rate, very shortly afterwards, the Manuscript was transferred to Westminster, whereupon "evidences of great disturbances begin". Up to nearly the end of 1265 the book was written by four distinctly different hands, the St. Albans hand, responsible for the context covering 1241-1249, being the third. All hands employed on this part are very neat and close, and obviously influenced by French, especially Northern French scripts: slender and slightly reinforced ("thickened") cuneiform upper shafts, firm crura with signs of beginning breaking, very few ligatureæ and abbreviations. The rubriks, in blue and red, are partly plain, partly filled or otherwise adorned with tendrils which are sometimes elongated and running parallel to the letter, sometimes spiralled. Similar rubrical tendril ornaments I have found in a mid-thirteenth-century MS. at All Souls College, Oxford, a commentary to the Pentateuch, believed to come from the Cistercian Abbey B.M.V. of Stanley, near Chippenham, Wiltshire. Now, upon the transfer of the MS. to Westminster,
twelve more hands were employed down to its conclusion in 1326, eleven of them being recorded by Dr. Luard, the twelfth, a mid-fourteenth-century hand was, on fol. 260 and 261, discovered by the late Thomas Frederick Tout, who re-examined the last portion of the MS. about thirty years ago and reconsidered its authorship. Hitherto the part comprising the years 1299 (or 1303) till 1326 had been, particularly by Luard and later on by Tait (upon comparing the text of the Chetham MS. with that of B.M., Cotton, Claudius XVI) ascribed to Robert of Reading, a monk of Westminster, who died before or in 1326. Professor Tout has shown that this attribution can no longer be maintained, as no person of that name is to be ascertained indubitably from the Abbey records after the year 1317, and that the whole ascription, dating only from the second half of the thirteenth century and recorded by an incurious and inaccurate writer, is probably due to misunderstanding on the part of the epitomator who continued (and concluded) the narrative at the end, after the description of the murder of Sir Roger Belers in February 1326. Tout has, however, made clear that the chronicle beginning in 1299, or perhaps 1303, and ending in 1326 was the work of one mind and that, with the description of the Battle of Courtrai in 1302, the Siege of Sterling and the robbery of the wardrobe treasury at Westminster Abbey in 1303, the work assumes “a distinctive individuality of its own”. The very short epitomae continuing the work down to the recognition of Edward III as king in January 1327, seems to give evidence that a certain house in the manner more characteristic to the Wilts establishment than to the Warwick house which is more often spelt “Stanlega”, or “Stanleia”. See also Henry Octavius Coxe, Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford, 1842, p. 6. A pencil note from Coxe’s hand reads: “Cistercian Abbey of Stanley in Wiltshire (Dugdale [Monasticon Anglicanum] V, p. 563)”. Whether the MS. was actually written at Stanley or at some other place, I have to leave here undecided. I hope to come back to it shortly elsewhere. It suffices to say that the four superbly ornamented initials on fol. 1a, 74b, 124b, and 156a (O, S, T, Q) are fully developed outline drawings, following up Western French and Visigothic traditions of ornament. For permission to examine this MS. I have to thank the Librarian of All Souls College, Professor Sir Charles Oman, K.B.E., and the Sub-Librarian, Mr. A. C. B. Whitaker.

1 Op cit., II, p. 300.
2 Ibid., pp. 291-292.
3 Ibid., p. 296.
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portion of the original Chetham MS. was destroyed and that the
gap was, however inadequately, supplied by a mid-fourteenth-
century transcriber, at any rate, the continuator who wrote the
part at the end after the record of 'Robert of Reading's' death
in 1326. The actual author of the Chronicle of the first quarter
of the fourteenth century which, by the way, shows a real gap in
the narrative between the beginning of 1306 and the summer of
1307, remains still to be traced. A careful re-examination of the
numerous fourteenth century and later marginal glosses and
annotations which are sometimes rather cryptic, and a new col-
lation with the Cotton MS. could, probably, yield further in-
formation—a task which is not attempted in this paper and is
also rendered more difficult by the fact that the volume presented
to the Chetham Library by Nicholas Higginbottome of Stockport,
in 1657, has since been rebound whereby catchwords and the like
were, oftentimes ruthlessly, cut away and the sheets so closely
pressed together, that it is, in fact, most difficult to determine
where the quires begin and end. Also, it must not be forgotten
that after the transfer of the MS. to Westminster several passages
were erased and entries, relating to Westminster, were written
over the erasure, a renewed search for the original text would,
therefore, necessitate treatment with ultra-violet rays. As to
the palaeographical analysis, it suffices here to say that the first
four hands employed in the Westminster portion still show a neat
and careful script down to 1292. Several new rubricators are
brought in, ornamental fillings are becoming rare. After 1292
the penmanship deteriorates. The scripts appear broader and
more provincial, the process of breaking shafts and crura is
nearly accomplished, fuller use is made of abbreviations. Fur-
thermore, the whole MS. contains 299 leaves, including fly-
leaves and the prefixed Calendar. The ancient numbering of
columns, two to each page, in arabic figures, beginning on fol. 8a,
ends rather abruptly on fol. 259a. From fol. 260a till 297b each
leaf is numbered. It may be added that Dr. Luard has traced
corrections from Matthew Paris' hand. These occur throughout

¹ The position of the pictures in the MS. is, in the following catalogue, indi-
cated by reference to numbered columns. The numerals given in brackets
refer to the pages of the text of the Rolls Series edition by Luard.
the portion written by the St. Albans hand which, as pointed out above, comprises the years 1241-1249. When the MS. left Westminster and through which hands it passed before Nicholas Higginbottome got hold of it, we do not know. In 1461, however, it must have still been at Westminster, as on one of the fly-leaves there appears the name of R. Teddington, who was a monk of Westminster in that year. We have thus, for the second "transfer", a terminus a quo and a terminus ad quem: 1461 and 1657.

Of the pictorial work nine illustrations fall to the portion written at St. Albans, and only one, representing the coronation of Edward I, to the portion written at Westminster. They are inserted in carefully measured spaces, obviously left blank for the definite purpose of being filled with pictures. These pictures are, with one and rather insignificant exception, very elaborate indeed and by far superior to those in the so-called Merton MS. of the "Flores" at Eton College, which, though partly derived from the earlier Chetham MS., represents in some way the archetype of a second class of "Flores" MSS. and is the only other thirteenth-fourteenth century MS. of the Chronicle adorned with illustrations. But whereas the illuminator of the Merton MS. was apparently not sufficiently inventive to bring forth more than a rather monotonous series of pictures, all of them showing a crowned king between two bishops (or archbishops), the St. Albans artists emphasized a momentum to which great importance was attached, particularly at St. Albans—though it was certainly neither 'invented' nor 'discovered' there: motion and scenic effect. The following descriptive catalogue may be found useful.

I. Col. 185.  
	De Coronatione Arthuri. Size: 2 7/6 x 2 3/6 inches. Blue frame, the corners of which run into

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1 They are recorded by Luard as follows: II, 292 (ad annum 1245), II, 317 (1246), II, 330 (1247), II, 331 (1247), and II, 375 (1250).

2 Eton College, MS. 123. Ker, op. cit., pp. 72 and 137. Montague Rhodes James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts at Eton College, Cambridge 1895, p. 23. The MS. was written at the Augustinian Priory B.M.V. at Merton, Surrey.

3 A picture of the Nativity on fol. 7b is not necessarily a work of the hand which executed the coronation pictures.

4 Luard, I, 258 (A.D. 516).
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foliated endings each of which is of a different design. Faint pinkish-brown background. Six figures. In the centre the young king, full face, beardless, with curly hair, seated on an elaborate, cushioned chair, his feet resting on a flat step, in his right hand holding sceptre with three-foiled head, with the fingers of his left hand, at breast height, slightly pulling down the flexible (red) clasp-band holding together the borders of his open pallium which he wears over supertunica (note simple quatrefoiled brooch). He is flanked by two mitred and coped bishops, both bearded, placing the crown on his head with their left hands, their right hands raised blessing. Three clerics in attendance, two on the (king’s) right, the westernmost bearded, one on the left, holding crosier in his right hand, maniple on his left forearm. Heads and feet of all figures intersecting the frame at top and bottom. Soft cast of drapery, concentric dish-folds, no crumpling folds. Borders of the bishops’ copes finely ornamented, similar to that in III. Vestments tinted blue and green, faces (cheeks) pink. The picture, especially the figure of the seated king, bears close resemblance to some illuminations in the Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei, a work of Matthew Paris’, executed at St. Albans Abbey, under his supervision but not by his own hand, and probably made for presentation to Henry III’s Queen, Eleanor of Provence, soon after the time when Henry had made a new and splendid shrine for the relics of Edward the Confessor.¹ Plate I.

II. Col. 433/34.² CORONATIO GLORIOSI REGIS EADWARDI QUI JACET APUD WESTMONASTERIUM. Half-page picture extending over both columns of the written text. Size: $5\frac{3}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Blank frame, top inscription within frame, ut supra. Dark blue background. Seventeen clearly discernible figures. In the centre the youthful king, full face, beardless, crowned, seated on a cushioned throne, his feet resting on a little stool.

¹ University Library, Cambridge, MS. EE. 3.59, fully figured and described by the late Dr. Montague Rhodes James, Roxburghe Club, Oxford 1921; see also Hollaender, op. cit., p. 259. The crown appears in all illustrations as an open and indented crown (circlet with fleur-de-lis), and not as an "arched" crown (circlet with fleur-de-lis, surmounted by "arches" or bands crossing above it, rising to a central knob), as worn by St. Edward the Confessor. Cf. W. R. Lethaby, Westminster Abbey Re-examined, London 1925, p. 293, and fig. 181.

Dress: pallium, widely open, showing upper part of the body clad in supertunica. Right hand in similar bearing to I, with left hand receiving the bird-headed sceptre from the hands of Archbishop Aelfric of York (bearded), who stands, mitred and cope, to the left of the king. To his right Archbishop Eadsige of Canterbury (bearded), mitred and cope, pouring the oil over the king's head out of the ampulla which he holds in both hands. Behind the archbishop seven clerics, partly bareheaded, four of them bearded, the central one holding in his right hand a staff (elongated asperge?). To the left of the bishop investing the king with the sceptre, six (or seven?) peers acclaiming the king, all bearded, presenting their swords, hilts (with circular pommel) upwards. They are clad in long mantles. In drawing this picture the artist has, it appears, strictly followed the text which reads here as follows: “Anno Domini M XLII Eadwardus, annuente clero et populo, Londonii in regem eligitur et ab archiepiscopis Cantuariensi Eadsio et Eboracensi Alfrico cum sibi subjectis episcopis prima die pasche in regem apud Wintoniam consecratur.” The representation of the magnates presenting their sheathed swords hilt upwards, is extraordinarily rare in English high mediaeval art, and depicting a swordbearing attitude with the sword inverted is usually confined to St. Paul, the sword being his special emblem. It appears, towards the end of the thirteenth century, in an inlaid tile showing the figure of St. Paul under a canopy, which comes from Whitmore Park, near Coventry (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 382 ex 1905) and in two French bibles in the Chester Beatty collection (MSS. 52 and 53) and later on, towards the middle of the fourteenth century in the left-hand leaf of a rather unusual ivory diptych of French workmanship (the right-hand leaf of which is missing), showing the Virgin and Child flanked by St. Peter and St. Paul, beneath a triple cusped and crocketed canopy, in the possession of Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A., of Liverpool.¹ A revision of all known, vic. published drawings attributed, with

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good grounds, to Matthew Paris has, however, yielded another
remarkable though rather fragmentary specimen of this represen-
tation. In the second part of the Cambridge MS. of the
Chronica Majora (Corpus Christi College, MS. Lat. 16)\(^1\)
there is, on fol. 96a, a small series of very bold, though sketchy—
and to our purpose very instructive—marginal drawings facing
the description of Henry III’s wedding with Eleanor (Alienora),\(^2\)
and containing the following subjects: At top, a row of three
prelates, half length, in mitres and chasubles. The archbishop,
with pall, on the left, holds up the crown. Below these is a like
group. A bishop on the left (preaching?); a second, in cope,
holds bucket and asperge; three tonsured clerics. Below this,
two hands holding by the ornamented scabbard, hilt upwards, the
sword Curtana. And below this, a single arm holding a plain
staff.\(^3\) This iconographical detail, however small, must not be

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1 Cf. p. 363, note 3.
3 M. R. James, The Drawings of Matthew Paris. Walpole Society, Annual
Volume, XIV, Oxford 1926, p. 13 and Plate XIII, fig. 64. My hearty thanks
for valuable information on this particular point go to Dr. Philip Nelson, M.D.,
M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., of Liverpool. “Curtana”, the short or pointless sword,
signifies mercy. See Lawrence A. Tanner, “The Regalia”, in Crown and Empire,
London 1937, p. 106. Lethaby, Westminster Abbey, etc., p. 294. As regards the
representation of the swordbearers: the magnates (or holders of court offices)
do not, in my belief, contain an allusion to the four kings “quorum ius it
fuerat” to carry their (golden) swords when walking before the King in the
coronation procession, of whom Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us in his Historia
Regum Britanniae (1136) describing fancifully the coronation of Arthur (Ed. by
A. Griscom and R. E. Jones, London 1929, pp. 451-458). The Court officers
or Serjeants, like the Marshal, the Constable, the Chamberlain, and some
lesser ones acquired—and secured—as time went on the right to
carry the King’s sword, but as this was the King’s own and had to be at hand in case
of danger, they were issued with swords out of the royal armoury. On the
other hand, we know that at the coronation of young Henry I more than one
sword was used by bearers that were not Court officers, and at the coronation
of Richard I there were several sword bearers, not indeed four, but certainly
three, one of whom was the King’s own brother and the second of the sword
bearers was a brother of the King of Scotland. All this information, however,
refers only to the procession in which the sword was carried point upwards.
On the rules and principles governing the coronation, which appeared booked
out by the middle of the thirteenth century, cf. Percy Ernst Schramm, A
History of the English Coronation, transl. by L. G. Wickham Legg, Oxford
1937, pp. 59-61, and 66-7. Bird-headed sceptres similar to that in our drawing
are held by the weepers (a king and queen) in the monumental tomb of
disregarded. Besides being most revealing as regards a possible
direct or indirect authorship of Matthew Paris in the illustrations
of the "Flores"—and not only with reference to the attitude
of bearing the inverted sword—it leads to the (in my opinion)
only admissible interpretation: the peers are offering to the
king the use of their swords and thus present them with the hilt
and not the point towards him. The custom of presenting the
swords must, however, have undergone some change, as the
 coronation of Edward the Confessor, as represented in the
Bayeux Tapestry, still shows two magnates presenting the sword
point upwards. There is much in this picture which reminds
me of some of the 76 illuminations in B.M. MS. Add. 35166, an
Apocalypse of St. John the Divine, written in England in the
second half of the thirteenth century but, at any rate, not very
much later than 1270, which Dr. James includes in the St.
Albans group of Apocalypses though a St. Albans origin of that
work is not established with absolute certainty. It does not,
however, as some would be inclined to assume—bear unobjection-
able relation to the famous Apocalypse in Latin and French
in the Bodleian Library (MS. Douce 180), save for some affinity
in the face drawing, particularly where blocky groups of figures
are met (cf. the illuminations on pp. 12, 20, 21 and 23), but even
there we find completely different hairdress and headwear. It
seems most probable that Matthew Paris had at least a hand in
the design of this picture, although the long and slender figures
do not, as will be shown later, point exclusively to his own hand.
But face drawing, cast of folds, bearing and attitude—the figures

Prince John of Eltham (d. 1337), at Westminster Abbey. Cf. Arthur Gardner,
Alabaster Tombs of the Pre-Reformation Period in England, Cambridge 1940,
Plates 12 and 13.

1 Cf. M. R. James, The Apocalypse in Art, The Schweich Lectures of The
British Academy, Oxford 1927, pp. 49, 52, and 54; Reproductions from Illumina-

2 Actually there is no real connection between the Douce Apocalypse and
St. Albans, it is not even certain that the MS. is English at all. Dr. James
suggested (Roxburghe Club, Annual Volume 1922, p. 20) a Canterbury origin,
where French as well as St. Albans influence was strong, and points out that it
may be "a magnificent production by an artist writing at Canterbury, made for
Edward I or his wife Eleanor of Castile, a year or two before his succession to the
throne". Cf. also Lethaby, Paintings at Westminster, pp. 7-8.
being not altogether without affectation—and, last but not least, the scenic composition reveal his mastery of style, inventiveness and technique. Vestments tinted green and red, faces pink. Plate II

III. Col. 465. Coronation of William I. Size: $2\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Double frame, the outer left blank, the inner blue, with simple ornament of flowers at the bottom. Three figures. In the centre the king, full face, bearded, seated on a throne, his left foot resting on a little footstool, his right leg stretched (foot touching ground). His right hand clasping the hilt of the short sword which he holds point upwards, his left hand rests on his left knee. He wears a widely open pallium, hung round his left shoulder, over supertunica gathered by a waist band. To his right Archbishop Aeldred of York, coped and mitred, in his left hand the crosier, with his right hand placing the crown on the king’s head. To his left another coped and mitred bishop, in his left hand holding the missal, his right hand raised blessing. Both bishops bearded. Framework intersected by the figures of the bishops, at top, bottom and at eastern edge. Vestments and shadings tinted faint brown, blue and greyish blue, faces pink. In this illustration only the bold figure of the king seated appears to be from the same hand as the two foregoing pictures, the two bishops displaying different features and draughtsmanship (note cope and mitre of the bishop to the king’s left). A very similar picture by Matthew Paris of a seated king is to be found on page 28 of MS. 26 at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, showing Cassibelaunus, bearded, full face, seated on a chair of which the feet are dragons’ claws and the arms end in dragons’ heads, four of each, an iconographical variation typical of Matthew Paris), his left hand resting on his thigh, in his right a sword, point upwards. Of iconographical interest is the fact that the sword appears to be delivered before the actual coronation and anointing

1 Luard, II, 1 (A.D. 1067).

2 Who the second bishop is cannot be ascertained from the text which reads here: “... ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscop regni suscepit diadema. Timuit enim hoc munus consecrationis a Stigando, Cantuariensis archiepiscopo suscipere, eo quod non legitime occupaverat illius excellentiam dignitatis, licet de iure antiquo ad illam ecclesiam sollemniter spectare conpeleretur ....”.

3 James, Walpole Society edition, p. 4, and Plate I, fig. 3.
of the king. According to both the French and the English coronation order of the thirteenth century, the sword was delivered at the same time as the other royal ornaments. The practice of delivering the sword as a preliminary ceremony before the anointing of the king cannot, therefore, have been invented in France in the fourteenth century, as is generally supposed, but must be considerably older.\(^1\) Plate III, fig. A.

IV. Col. 476.\(^2\) **Coronatio Regis Willielmi Dicti et Existentis Rufi apud Londinias.** Size: \(2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{10}\) inches. Double frame, the outer blue, with delicate tendril pattern, the inner red, plain. Background dark blue, with white dots. Three figures. In the centre the young king, head slightly turned to the right, beardless, seated on (cushioned?) chair, his right hand resting on his right knee, his left holding sceptre (with large floriated head) halfway across the upper part of his body. Dress: widely open pallium over bordered supertunica gathered by girdle. He is flanked by two coped and mitred archbishops, both bearded, both holding crosiers in their left hands, the bishop to his left placing the crown on the king's head. Tinting of vestments and faces as in II. The text enumerates five bishops, it reads: "Affuerunt autem Lanifrancus\(^3\) archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, qui eum consecraverat in regem, et Thomas Eboracensis et Mauritius Londoniensis et Walkelinus Wintoniensis et Galfricus Exicestrensis ...". This picture bears the traces of a new hand, though the St. Albans style remains unmistakably evident. Affinity to the illuminations of B.M. MS. Add. 35166. The patterned frame band resembles in style a St. Albans drawing, obviously a design for a paving tile, which the late W. R. Lethaby discovered, many years ago, in a St. Albans MS. at the British Museum (MS. Royal 2 B VII), showing a foliage with a long, waving pointed leaf with cross bars on the stalks.\(^4\) All three figures intersecting framework at top and bottom. Plate III, fig. B.

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\(^2\) Luard, II, 19 (A.D. 1089).

\(^3\) *My* reading, Luard reads 'Lamfrancus'.

\(^4\) Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey, etc.*, p. 114, and fig. 68.
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V. Col. 486. Coronation of Henry I. Size: $2\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{9}{10}$ inches. Double frame, outer blue, consisting of a patterned band (small white circles with dots in centre, and outside), inner red. Dark blue background with white dots. Three figures. In the centre the king, the bearded head boldly raised and slightly turned right, seated on a cushioned chair, his left leg put across his right knee. Index finger of his right hand (arm above the elbow parallel to upper part of body) pointing downwards, right hand grasping the flexible clasp of his open pallium which he wears, round his shoulders, over supertunica gathered by girdle. He is flanked by two bishops in copes and mitres, the bishop to his right placing the crown on his head (with left hand), his right hand raised. The bishop to his left is seen in the attitude of preaching. Crosier leaning towards the background. Simple and soft cast of folds. Tinting of vestments and faces as before. All figures intersecting framework at top and bottom. Though a new iconographical detail—the crossed legs of the king—is introduced, the hand which has drawn this illustration appears to be the same that is responsible for IV, as can be seen in a number of smaller details, such as the design of vestments (especially mitres), faces, and the posture and unproportioned shape of the hands. Plate IV, fig. A.

VI. Col. 502. Coronation of Stephen. Size: $2\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Plain green frame, red background. Three figures. In the centre the king, full face, bearded, seated on a cushioned chair with sumptuously carved foliated arms, his feet resting on the baseplate of the chair. He is clad in a pallium over bordered supertunica. In his right hand he holds the unsheathed sword, hilt upwards (note circular pommel and pointed blood groove) halfway across the upper part of his body, left hand on left knee. To his left and right two bearded bishops, both mitred and coped, the easternmost (Archbishop William of Corbreuil, of Canterbury) holding crosier in his gloved left hand, with his bare right hand touching the crown which the westernmost bishop places, with his left hand, on the king's head. Tinting of vestments and chair faint green, blue and red. All three figures intersecting the frame

1 Luard, II, 34 (A.D. 1100).
2 Luard, II, 57 (A.D. 1135).
at top and bottom. This picture appears somewhat clumsy, the king's head and crown being out of proportion, the drawing not quite steady, revealing a new, third hand. The general impression, however, is good, the connection with St. Albans, at any rate, obvious, the figure of the king—with regard to bearing and attitude—resembling similar figures in the *Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei* and the Wilton Psalter (Royal College of Physicians, London). Of interest is the architecture of the chair, which shows some feeling for fine ornament, but lacks the peculiar and playful inventiveness of Matthew Paris. Plate IV, fig. B.

VII. Col. 514.\(^1\) **CORONATIO REGIS HENRICI. THEOBALDUS ARCHIEP.** Size: \(2\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{2}{3}\) inches. Plain blue frame, unfinished, reddish background. Three figures. In the centre the king, full face, crowned, bearded, seated on a cushioned chair, his legs boldly crossed, his right hand raised (with all five fingers stretched, as if giving the promise to fulfil the sovereign's duties). Dress: pallium covering left shoulder, over supertunica which is gathered by a girdle. He is flanked by two mitred and coped bishops, both having crosiers, the westernmost holding it in his left hand, the right raised, the easternmost holding crosier in his left hand, the gloved right raised blessing. Which one of the two bishops represents Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury ("unctus est a Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo") is not evident from the picture. Tinting unfinished and rough: cope of the bishops green, the king's pallium and the beards of the bishops greyish-blue. In spite of the sketchy character of this illustration, at least the rough draft and particularly the excellently designed figure of the king, full of alertness and motion, seem to me to be the work of Matthew Paris himself. Also the bishops bear traces of Matthew's very characteristic face drawing, as a comparison with some published drawings by Matthew show. In Corpus Christi College MS. 16, on fol. 107a, we find a drawing representing the Council of London presided over by the papal legate Otho. He sits on the left, alone, mitred and coped, with raised right hand. On the right we see a seated group of six

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1 Hollaender, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 *seqq.*
2 Luard, II, 72 (A.D. 1154).
bishops and five men in caps or bareheaded. Similar clerical figures are to be found in the same volume, on fol. 146b, representing the sea-fight between the Pisane and Genoese, 1241, narrated in the text, in a letter of Emperor Frederick II. The Genoese ship on the right has three rowers, a boatswain with pipe and five mailed knights, also a standard, and the rest of the ship is occupied by churchmen: four mitred bishops and five abbots with crosiers. All these figures of clerics have features very similar to those of our bishops. We shall come across them again and reference will be made to them. Plate V, fig. a.

VIII. Col. 524. Coronation of Richard I. Size: 2 5/8 x 3 1/8 inches. Unfinished green frame, red background. Eight discernible figures. In the centre the king, bearded, head slightly bowed and right inclined, seated on a cushioned chair. In his right hand holding sceptre with large floriated head, the fingers of his left grasping the flexible clasp of his widely open pallium which he wears over the supertunica and which covers only the lower part of his body. His feet rest on the base of the chair. He is flanked by two mitred and coped bishops, both bearded, holding crosiers in their left hands. The easternmost (probably Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury) holding in his right hand the ampulla out of which he pours the oil on the king's head. The westernmost raises his hand in the attitude of admonishing. Behind the bishops three figures, most likely clerics, one of them bearded and bareheaded, the other one beardless with cap, of the third only the crown of the head (with cap) can be seen. Behind the anointing (arch)bishop four figures, only two faces discernible, the easternmost youthful, full face, beardless, with short hair, to his right another beardless face, two crowns of heads in the background. Tinting of vestments blue and green. The figures of the bishops intersecting the frame slightly at the bottom and eastern edge (hand and crosier of the anointing (arch)bishop), but not at the top. A very elaborate drawing, apparently by the hand responsible for I, II and partly III (figure of king seated) and certainly closely connected with Matthew Paris. Plate V, fig. b.

1 James, Walpole Society edition, p. 13, and Plate XIII, fig. 65.
2 Ibid., p. 14, and Plate XIV, fig. 7.
3 Luard, II, p. 102 (A.D. 1189).
IX. Col. 549. Coronatio Regis Johannis. Hubertus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus. Size: \(2\frac{7}{10} \times 3\frac{1}{2}\) inches. Blank frame, the top edge filled with inscription. Background blank. Three figures. In the centre the king, full face, crown of head framed with curly hair, bearded, seated on a cushioned chair, his feet resting on the baseplate of the chair. His right hand, resting on the cushion, holding sceptre with nodus and floriated head, his left (with index finger) grasping the clasp of the pallium which he wears over bordered supertunica. To his right a bearded bishop, mitred, with cope over finely ornamented chasuble, footwear also ornamented, pouring the oil on the king's head out of the ampulla, which he holds with both hands. No crosier. To his left another bishop, cope over chasuble which is elaborately ornamented at the bottom border, placing the crown on the king's head with his gloved left hand (the fleur-de-lis misdrawn, too big and bent outwards, a mistake which is already to be noticed in I), his right hand raised blessing. No crosier. Frame slightly intersected by all three figures at bottom and at left and right edge. Tinting of vestments blue and green. This is perhaps the most expressive drawing, the movement appears natural and without affectation, the faces are sincere and more portraitlike than in any other of the illustrations. A possibly direct authorship of Matthew Paris cannot, in my opinion, be excluded. The advanced mastery of face drawing reminds me in many a way of a small figure drawing, a cutting from a slightly earlier hagiographical work which I found, in spring 1944, in the Ball Collection of illumination cuttings in the Hertfordshire County Museum at St. Albans.\(^2\) This specimen (present size: \(4\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}\) inches) depicting a row of four nimbed saints. St. Cyprian, St. Vite, St. Stephen and St. Cormelius (Cormeilles), in faintly tinted outline drawing is definitely a work of exceptionally high order and dignity and reflects, particularly with regard to face drawing and the fine and minute completion of the vestments, evidently the tradition of the pictorial work of the famous Psalter of Westminster Abbey (B.M., MS. Royal 2 A XXII) which is, 

\(^1\) Ibid., II, p. 121 (A.D. 1199).

\(^2\) I have to thank the Curator, Mr. A. H. V. Poulton, for his kind permission to have it photographed and published.
PLATE I
By permission of the Hertfordshire County Museum, St. Albans.
PLATE VIII

as I attempted to show some little time ago,\(^1\) not as old as it is generally believed to be and may be dated, with all necessary caution, to the very early thirteenth century. Its connection with St. Albans is a fact which can, particularly after the fundamental researches by M. R. James,\(^2\) no longer be doubted seriously and which is sufficiently corroborated by five additional full-page drawings by Matthew Paris, to which recourse will be made in the concluding paragraphs of this paper. The drawing of the St. Albans Museum which most probably adorned, once upon a time, a St. Albans book, is figured on Plate VII. Plate VI, fig. A.

X. Col. 783 8 CORONATIO REGIS AEDWARDI. Size: 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) \(\times\) 2\(\frac{3}{8}\) inches. No frame. Brickred background. Three figures. In the centre the king, full face, bearded, seated, his feet resting on the ground, with both hands holding his pallium at shoulder height. He is flanked by two coped and mitred bishops (the metropolitan bishop at Edward II’s coronation was Archbishop Robert of Canterbury) placing the crown on the king’s head with their left hands, the westernmost holding processional cross in his left, the easternmost holding crosier with his left across his body. Only floor and borders of the cope faintly tinted. A very rough and clumsy drawing, dating from ca. 1300 or even a little later. Hard and angular cast of folds. Note the disproportionately big and expressionless head of the king who sits in a helpless position between the two bishops who seem to approach him in an almost threatening manner. The picture has no connection with the School of St. Albans. Plate VI, fig. B.

The pictured work of the Westminster Chronicle is, as the foregoing ‘Catalogue raisonné’ may have shown, no more a uniform production than its text, though there seems to have been an agreement between authors, vic. compilators and draughtsmen, that no other events should be illustrated but coronations. That exclusively coronations were depicted proves only the paramount importance attached to that event in the life and work of the Kingdom. One thing, however, is certain:

\(^1\) Hollaender, op. cit., pp. 238 and 256.
\(^2\) La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei, ed. cit., pp. 33 seqq.
\(^3\) Luard, III, 44 (A.D. 1274).
All the drawings, except the last one, were executed at St. Albans; they are the work of one and the same school. All of them reflect the same basic scheme of scenic composition, and it is almost certain that Matthew Paris had a hand in the design of most of them—only IV and V showing a very distinct individuality. But even Matthew Paris did not always draw upon his own original and sometimes capricious inventiveness. This is in particular demonstrated by works of his school, such as the illustrations to the Westminster Chronicle, to a greater extent, at any rate, than by the confirmed œuvre of his own hand. There are certain elements of style and conception which occur in earlier and contemporary works of another sphere. The central figure in all of our little drawings, the king seated, roots with regard to the rules governing its drawing, in works of the School of Westminster.

Among the paving tiles in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey we find some very instructive specimens which we can safely submit as proof for our assertion. The motifs include three seated figures: that of a crowned and bearded king, seated on a cushioned chair, in his left hand holding the sceptre with large floriated head, with his right hand playing with a little dog; a queen, in the same position, with her left hand holding a hawk by its feet (Plate VIII); and an abbot, or bishop, seated, with mitre and crosier. The late Professor W. R. Lethaby suggested that these tiles—the figures of the king and queen probably being those of Henry III and Queen Eleanor—were made about 1250, and that their designer, "one of the ablest figure painters of the time", may have been no other than Master William, a monk of Winchester, who was later transferred to Westminster and described as the "King’s beloved painter", who did, between 1240 and 1270, much work not only at Westminster Palace and Windsor Castle, but is also the artist

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1 Here my thanks are due to His Majesty’s Office of Works (Ministry of Works and Buildings) who have very liberally placed photographs of the two tiles at my disposal, and especially to Mr. J. C. Cox who has taken great trouble in providing them.

responsible for the wall-painting representing St. Faith at Westminster Abbey. The Chapter House tiles strongly resemble in character those of a contemporary pavement which formerly existed at Chertsey Abbey (Surrey) and of which fragments have been found. Both pavements were probably designed by the same artist. In any case, I do not think I am far wrong in calling the king-and-queen tiles the iconographical prototypes of the king seated in the coronation pictures of the Westminster Chronicle. It is not merely the strongly frontal attitude, but also the same cast of concentric curved folds, in the case of "King Henry III" it is, in particular, the position of legs and feet which we find again in the seated figures in illuminated MSS., as, for instance, the repeatedly quoted story of the Confessor, as well as Psalter-books of the Sarum group, especially the Amesbury and Wilton Psalter, whose artist has certainly drawn largely on the original pictured work of the Westminster Psalter (I mean that prior to Matthew Paris' additions) and to two early St. Alban books, a glossed Gospel book and an Epistle book at Trinity College, Cambridge (MSS. B. 5. 3, and O. 5. 8). The tall, elegant and slender figures of bishops and peers in II, III, IV and V remind me very much of the figures in the Westminster Retable which, though possibly executed in this country soon after 1250, clearly reflects earlier French tendencies of style, as regards attitude and drapery and, in some places, even small ornamental detail. It is almost certain that this retable was in its place on the high altar by 1269 when the church, rebuilt by Henry III, was consecrated, but it may have been commissioned and executed already about 1250 or not much later. Matthew Paris has most likely seen and admired it and there is no reason to doubt that he kept closest contact with the School of Westminster and the artists commissioned by the king with the execution of several works of figure painting, gilding.

1 Lethaby, op. cit., pp. 3-4, and 13 seqq. According to Lane, op. cit., p. 24, the floor was laid between 1253 and 1259, the figure of the abbot or bishop is perhaps Archbishop Richard of Crokesley.
2 They are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Department of Ceramics. Lane, op. cit., pp. 25 seqq.
3 Hollaender, op. cit., pp. 239 seqq.
4 James, Estoire, etc., Roxburghe Club, 1920, p. 34; Hollaender, op. cit., p. 256.
and ornamenting, which had a deep and lasting effect on him. It was just as well, however, that he remained faithful to both the high artistic tradition of his own establishment and the old tradition of good codical pen-and-ink drawing in England. There are quite a number of works of his own hand which may serve as a proof for the impulse which he received from earlier or contemporary creations. I may refer to the figure of Germanus of Constantinople with which he, in the Chronica Majora, illustrated the discord between the Greek and Roman Churches—the Patriarch, in mitre and cope and girded under-robe, sitting on a chair of the same pattern as that in the above-mentioned Cassibelaunus drawing, with right hand on beard and left on his lap, looking angry. Furthermore, I may draw attention to his Christ in Majesty with the raised chalice, in the Chronicle written by his colleague and confrater at St. Albans, John of Wallingford (d. 1250), which, some years later, may have deeply impressed the Sarum Master when he conceived the ideas for his Maiestas Domini in the Amesbury Psalter. All these his drawings and, last but not least, his fully robed Archbishop and the tinted drawing of a king, which form part of the additional series of pictures to the Westminster Psalter and again occur on a reduced scale, quasi 'en miniature', throughout the Chronica Majora, and thus in the Westminster Chronicle, display, in their full and saturated splendour, an influence of the paintings at Westminster and earlier works of the St. Albans School. His originality and vigour added to all the elements of style and composition which he gratefully and wisely conceived from his artistic predecessors, the new elements: motion, rhythm, mastery of space, a golden

1 See the excellent summary given by Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, Cambridge 1941, p. 531. I may mention that the School of St. Albans has not yet found its historian. William Page, F.S.A., "The St. Albans School of Painting, Mural and Miniature," Archaeologia, LVIII, London 1908, pp. 265 seqq., has remained an unfinished attempt dealing only with the mural side.


3 B.M. MS., Cotton Julius D.VII, fol. 60b. James, op. cit., p. 26, and Plate XXX, fig. 142.

4 Hollaender, op. cit., pp. 243 seqq., and Plate IX.

5 MS. Royal, 2 A XXII, fol. 219a. James, op. cit., p. 25, and Plates XXVIII and XXX, fig. 143.

6 See above, pp. 363 and 369.
and indulgent humour and wit, thus transforming austere dignity and forbidding rigidness into Life and natural scenic effect. And what he conceived and held his own he liberally gave to the disciples of his scriptorium. A surviving evidence of his communicativeness is the pictorial work to the written Chronicle which, though somehow per nefas and fictitiously, merely by the nomenclature of English mediaeval historiography, still bears his name.¹ Like the Story of the Confessor, it was illustrated under his supervision and guidance and, occasionally, with his personal collaboration, between about 1250, when he, with a mind full of fresh and fascinating impressions, returned from his diplomatic mission to Norway, and 1265, when the precious book left its kind home for an unknown reason and new continuators apparently decided that it was not essential to carry on with the pictorial adornment of a book whose most important part had not grown up in their own surroundings.

¹ See the article on "Matthew of Westminster", by W. H. Hunt, in the Dictionary of National Biography.