

JUNE 1964

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TERRA

A. T. R. E. M. I. T. E.  
O. I. T. T. S.

IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI  
AMEN  
SICUT ERAT SITUS ET ALI QUIDAM  
ERANT QUI ERANT IN TANTO  
SICUT ERAT SITUS ET ALI QUIDAM  
ERANT QUI ERANT IN TANTO  
SICUT ERAT SITUS ET ALI QUIDAM  
ERANT QUI ERANT IN TANTO

# The Bury St. Edmunds Cross

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**PREFATORY NOTE** *The Museum has recently purchased an object of the greatest rarity and interest, out of income from the fund established by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for the further enrichment of The Cloisters. This twelfth century walrus-ivory cross exemplifies the monumental style of English Romanesque carving at its best, and although its scenes and other decorative elements are minuscule, they typify the most sumptuous and skillful rendition of religious subjects in one of the most accomplished periods of art history.*

*The cross was first called to our attention in 1956. By 1959 it had become the subject of the most intense interest and study. At that time Thomas Hoving and Carmen Gómez-Moreno examined it in a bank vault in Zurich, where the collector Ante Topic-Mimara was storing some of his extensive collection. For more than three years all aspects of its style, technique, material, iconography, and inscriptions (even down to the smallest details of abbreviation) underwent careful scrutiny and testing by members of the Museum staff and other experts; Margaret B. Freeman and I were able to study it in 1962 and used ultraviolet light to assure ourselves of its antiquity. It was eventually purchased from the collector early in 1963. Then, during the following summer, as the result of Mr. Hoving's brilliant research, the origin of the piece was traced not only to a specific English monastery but also to the man to whose order it was probably created. Finally, the excitement of this acquisition was further enhanced by the discovery of one of the missing plaques, a discovery we owe to the perspicacity of Kurt Weitzmann of Princeton University and the Institute for Advanced Studies, who found a photograph of it in the files of the late Adolf Goldschmidt. A notation on the photograph indicated that the plaque had been in a German private collection in the thirties, and an old friend of the Museum, who knew the prewar German collections best, turned up within six months with the object in his hands.*

*A colleague in another museum said of the cross, while negotiations were still in progress, "The institution to acquire that object can consider itself the most fortunate in the world," and we do indeed consider ourselves fortunate in having been able to purchase this treasure of medieval art. Like many of the masterpieces in the Museum, it has come to us as the result of good luck and the availability of funds, and also through the dedicated and persevering interest of many people over a period of years.*

JAMES J. RORIMER, *Director*

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### FRONTISPIECE:

*Medallion on the front of the Bury St. Edmunds cross. The Raising of the Brazen Serpent. Slightly under twice life size*

### ON THE COVER:

*The High Priest disputes with Pontius Pilate the wording of the placard on the cross. Detail, about three times life size, of the Bury St. Edmunds cross*



IF ONE WERE to choose a single work of art of comparable scale in all the collections of the world that would most perfectly typify the art, the history, and the theology of the late Romanesque period in England, one could do little better than to select the Cloisters cross. It is the spirit and essence of its times.

The cross is carved in walrus ivory; its golden surfaces transformed into a mirror of the Passion of Christ, as richly illustrated as the sculptured façade of a Romanesque cathedral. It is just under two feet high and barely fourteen inches across. But upon this small object in brilliant carvings are eight scenes from the Old and New Testaments, three symbols of the Evangelists, the allegory of the Lamb of God, and twenty-one prophets. In all there are one hundred and eight figures and more than sixty inscriptions in Greek and Latin.

This monument is so complex that a single article cannot do it justice. This will be, as it were, but an expanded exhibition label, concentrating upon three of its most interesting features: a description of the scenes, the purport of the intriguing, at times acerbic, inscriptions, and the connection of the cross with a famous abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Bury St. Edmunds who was swept up in a harsh crusade against the Jewish people that made itself manifest in England during the last decades of the twelfth century.

The cross is completely carved on both sides. It is fashioned from seven pieces of walrus tusk that are ingeniously fitted together by tongues of ivory that slip into sheathes and are secured by pegs. The slender shafts, elegantly proportioned, have square blocks on the ends and a medallion at the crossing. The over-all impression is one of simplicity and strength, given energy and movement by the delicate figures arranged in smooth and rhythmic sequence. Owing to the marked curvature of the relatively short walrus tusk (a material used extensively in the North, harder than elephant ivory and characterized by configurations that look like beef fat), it was impossible to have any one piece of the cross absolutely straight. But the sculptor carved the individual pieces and assembled them in such a way that, over all, the cross would give the visual impression of being vertical and horizontal even if single pieces possessed perceptible curves. By this means the cross has an organic rhythm in which no part is blighted by mechanical rectitude.

1. *Bury St. Edmunds cross, front view. Second half of the XII century. Walrus ivory. 22 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The Cloisters Collection, 63.12 and 63.127*

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IN TERRA



IN TERRA HOR. SV. VITA. GEN. IT. SV. RENT. SEP. VITO.  
L. V. T. S. N. A. O. E. K. V. I. O. P. I. G. I. S. E. V.





2. *The Deposition and The Lamentation. Right plaque*

On the front there is an Old Testament scene in the medallion, and episodes from the Passion are carved on the terminals. The shafts are carved to look like two trunks of a tree whose branches have been cut off but not trimmed back. This tree represents the *lignum vitae*, the growing, living wood of the Palm, the Tree of Life, which, according to Christian legend, formed the original cross.

The figure of Christ that originally hung from the *lignum vitae* is missing. We do not know for sure what material the figure was made from, but owing to the presence of antique ivory pegs in the places where it would have been joined, and to the absence of metal stain, it seems likely that the figure was also of ivory. The size of the Christ can be gauged accurately from the five holes or pegs for attaching the figure, from head to toe some

eight and a half inches. The palm branches are decorated with a series of dotted circles that vanish at the point where the hem of the loincloth around Christ would have fallen. From there the legs bent outward so that the circles would have been visible from the side.

At the center, like a halo behind the head of the now missing Christ, is the medallion (Frontispiece). The great crowd of deeply undercut figures, distributed over the surface in a lacy network, is carved with breathtaking skill. The subject, appropriately enough, is an Old Testament prefiguration of the Crucifixion: the Raising of the Brazen Serpent in the Desert by Moses. Hanging over a forked stick in the upper part appears the snake, sinuous and energetic. Peeking around it, craning their heads to see more clearly, is a group of Israelites, some of whom wear the conical hat that in twelfth century art identified the Jews. As is told in the Book of Numbers, they were first struck down by the venom of the snake sent by God, then were healed after Moses had raised up a brazen serpent. The five figures holding long scrolls are prophets or witnesses, who proclaim events of the Passion.

The plaque on the right has two episodes (Figure 2). Above is the Deposition. In it are the troop of soldiers and the excited throng of onlookers, including Nicodemus pulling out the nail from Christ's hand with a pair of pincers. Christ's other hand is held tenderly by the Virgin. He is mourned by John the Evangelist. Joseph of Arimathea, commonly shown removing the body from the cross, is absent, perhaps because of the restricted space. Overhead, on either side of the cross with its placard, are personifications of the sun and moon, the sun on John's side and the moon over the Virgin. These too lament the death of Christ.

Below, so close to the figure of Christ that it seems to become one with the sorrow of the Deposition, is the Lamentation. The body of Christ lies stiff on a slab, wrapped tightly in a criss-crossing shroud. There are three figures nearby, one, male, wearing the conical hat,

is probably Joseph of Arimathea; the two women who cover their faces in grief with delicate hands are the Virgin and one of the Holy Women. Their tiny eyes are carved so that they slant down sharply, subtly and unmistakably emphasizing their sorrow. This detail appears in other English monuments, notably the St. Swithun's Psalter of 1170. Apart, on the right, an attendant pours the anointing oil into a rocky basin. Opposite him, forming the other half of the parentheses around the dead Christ, sits the sorrowing figure of the prophet Zechariah, whose scroll reads: "They shall weep for him as for an only-begotten son" (:PLANGENT EUM [PLANC-TU] QUASI. UNIGENITU[M], Zechariah 12:10). The four skulls just underneath the scroll indicate Golgotha.

The square plaque on the left side of the cross also has two distinct episodes (Figure 3). On the far left behind the angel seated on the sarcophagus is the Resurrection. Christ's head is thrown back, and He looks up at the hand of God, which emerges from the shell or sunburst on the placard (*titulus*) of the cross above the medallion. In Christ's hands are apparent the nail wounds; in one hand He holds a double-crossed staff and banner, and the other is raised toward God's. Three Holy Women, one indicated by a head alone, approach the magnificent angel. Two carry ointment jars, and the first holds by a ring the three chains of a censer, which seem to jiggle with movement. The angel inclines his head and speaks the words of the Gospel of Mark, "Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth which was crucified" (QUERITIS. NAZ IH[SU]M: REN-UM. CRUCIFI[XUM], Mark 16:6). Under the tomb five soldiers are sleeping. With their long, pointed shields they look like mysterious somnolent crickets.

The high priest and Pilate stand atop the placard (Figure 4). The priest's head is thrown back, his sharp finger jabs accusingly and impolitely at Pilate, and he orders, "Write not, King of the Jews, but that he said, I am King of the Jews" (NOLI: SC[R]IBE-RE: REX. IUDAEORUM. S[ED]. Q[U]IA: DIX[IT]: REX. SU[M]: IUD[AEORUM], John 19:21). Pilate

pulls back in disdain and points haughtily at the placard beneath his feet saying: "What I wrote, I wrote" (.Q[U]O[D]: SCRIPSI: SCRIPSI:, John 19:22).

Above, all motion seems to surge anagogically toward the fulminating clouds of heaven. This is the Ascension. Nothing is broken off the top of the terminal plaque. Christ is shown as He disappears into the clouds of paradise. The two small angels on each side of the truncated figure speak the words from the Acts of the Apostles: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing into heaven? This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven; shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven" (VIRI: GALILEI: Q[U]ID: STA[T]IS ASPICIENTES: IN C[O]ELU[M]. . . . SIC: VEN[IET]: Q[UAE]MADO-DU[M]: VIDIST[IS]. [EUM EUNTEM IN CAELUM], Acts of the Apostles, 1:11). Four heads looking up from the little hill indicating the Mount of Olives, and the Virgin and Apostles

3. *The Holy Women at the Tomb and The Resurrection. Left plaque*





4. *The Ascension (top plaque) and The High Priest and Pilate*



standing on each side watch the ascent. On the narrow sides and top of the Ascension plaque three Greek words, *ANTROPOS* (Man), *CHRISTOS*, *PANTOCRATOS* (Almighty), proclaim that Christ is both Man and God (Figure 5).

If the pinnacle of the cross is heaven, the base must be earth and the underworld as well. According to medieval thought, the hill of Calvary was the center of the earth and of the entire cosmos. There in the beginning of time, the first man, Adam – whose name in Hebrew is composed of letters indicating the four cardinal points – was buried. In Christian legend the cross was raised up on Calvary with its base jammed in the cleft of rock that marked Adam’s tomb.

At the moment when Christ died, the sky darkened, the veil of the temple was rent, and the earth trembled violently. Under the great force of the tremors, the cleft of rock on Calvary was forced wide open and from its depths Adam and Eve issued forth. It is this moment that is depicted on the base of the cross (Figure 6). Adam is an ancient figure, heavily bearded, who embraces the cross with one hand and holds a scroll upon which only the letter A survives. His head is thrown back; fervently he gazes up the living wood toward Christ. Behind Adam is Eve, the most poignant of the figures that populate the glistening surfaces. She is old, flabby. Her useless breasts hang like sacks over her emaciated rib cage, and she seems to paw awkwardly at the side of the cross as if she were attempting to climb up the clipped branches.

When the cross was purchased, the entire bottom piece below Adam and Eve was mis-





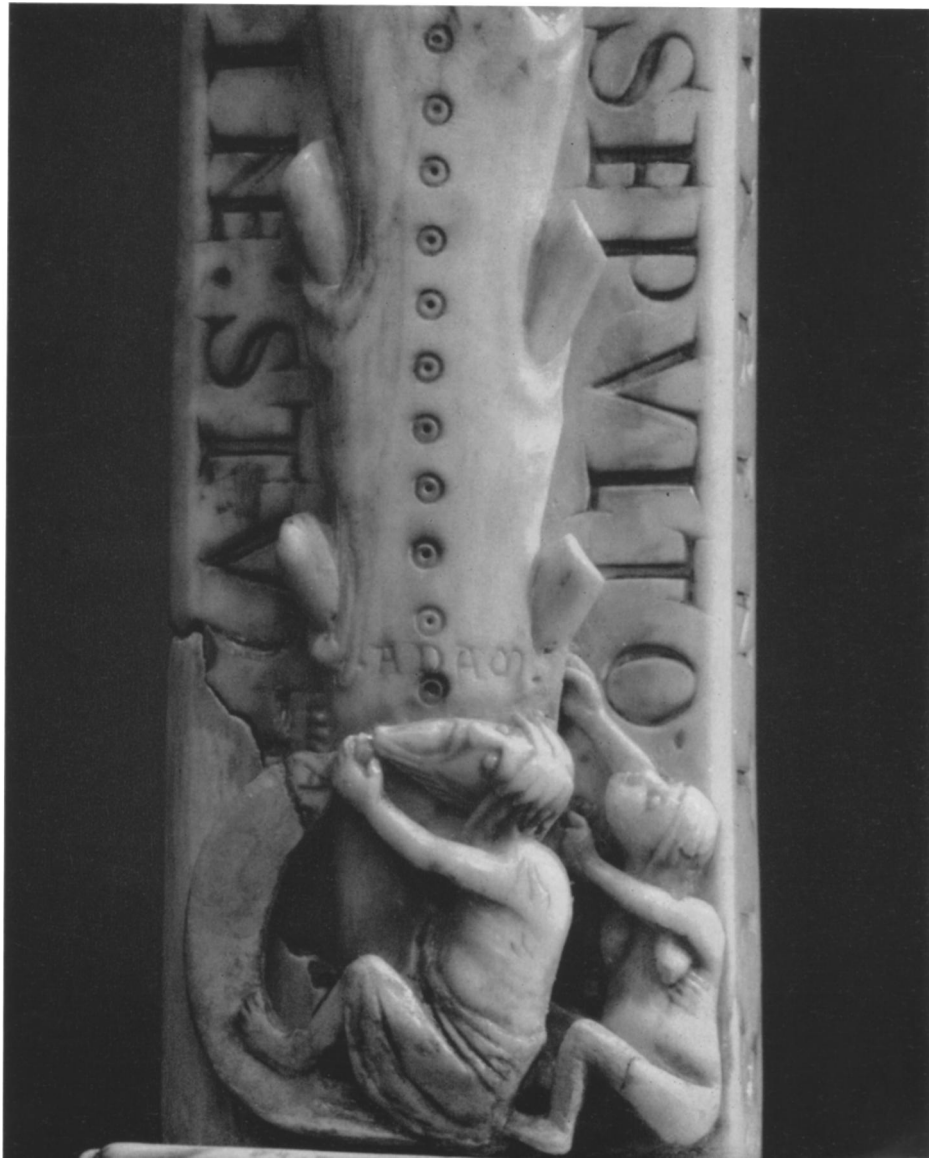
5. Greek inscriptions on the three sides of the top plaque

ing, but, owing to a great bit of luck, we were able to find it and acquire it (Figure 7). Kurt Weitzmann of Princeton University, one of the leading authorities on ivory carvings in the world, had been involved in the examination of the cross from the moment the Museum had expressed an interest in it. Three weeks after it had been purchased, when going through a file of photographs in Princeton, Weitzmann found the picture of a small square plaque representing Christ before Pilate and at once identified it as the missing piece of the cross.

Fortunately, the late Adolph Goldschmidt, who had collected the photograph for eventual insertion in the Supplement of the Medieval Ivory Corpus, had written on the back that he had seen the ivory in a private collection in Berlin in 1932. In his opinion the plaque was possibly English of the twelfth century. With these meager facts it took six months to discover the whereabouts of the piece and acquire it. It is now once more an integral part of the monument for which it was made.

In it Christ is being shoved forward violently by one of the Jews (identified by the high, conical hat) and led somewhat gently by a soldier toward Pilate, enthroned and surrounded by soldiers, priests, and scribes. In the upper left-hand corner there are two detached heads, one in a conical hat, the other in a helmet, staring directly up into the air. They have nothing to do with the rest of the proceedings. A scroll hovering near these heads is inscribed, "Prophecy and testimony of Zechariah" (PROPHETAS. T[ESTIMONIUM]. ZA[CHARIAS].), which probably refers to verse

6. Adam and Eve, at the base of the cross. The scroll and parts of each figure are restorations

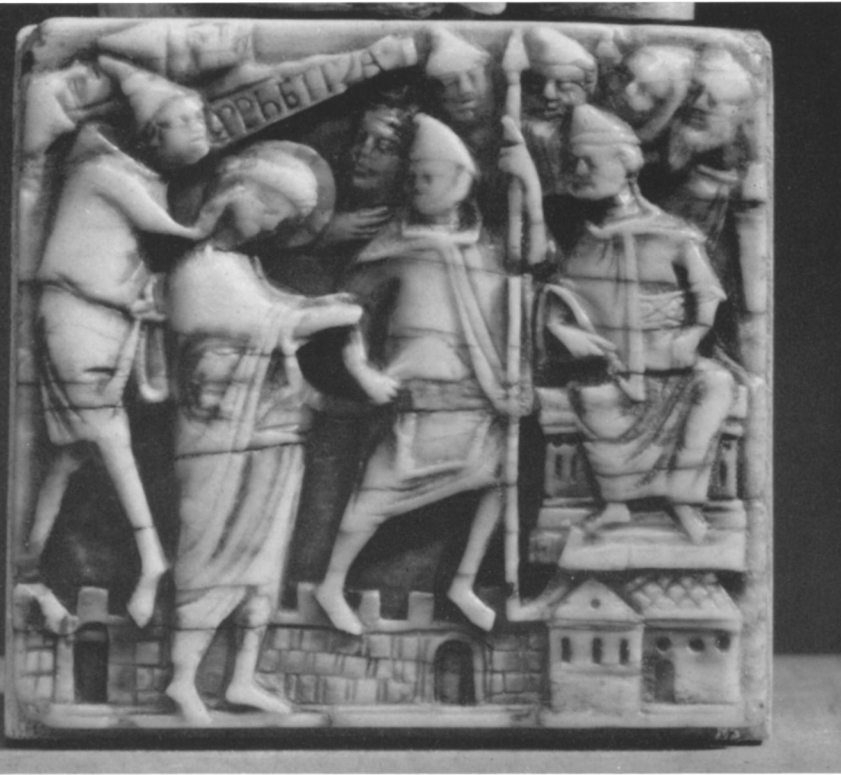


10 of Chapter 12: “They shall look upon him whom they have pierced.” And it would be to the Christ originally suspended on the cross that they direct their gaze.

The once missing plaque differs from the others in that it is very thin. Yet it does not appear to have been cut down from a larger block, at least in recent years; the surface is convincingly ancient, and it has been hand-sawn. Why then is the ivory thin? The logical reason seems to be that the very bottom of the cross was made, in part, of metal, upon which plaques were fastened by means of pegs, two holes for which are still evident in the newly acquired ivory. The metal core was apparently needed where the cross would be plunged into a stand. Traces of green stain on the inside of the antique holes on the hollow portion of the lower shaft, and on the newly discovered plaque, show that the metal was probably copper or bronze. The hunt is still continuing for a square plaque representing an angel, the symbol of Matthew, which would have been on the other side. There may also have been two narrower pieces for the sides of the base (today a reconstruction in wood), and these may have been inscribed – perhaps with the donor’s name.

Each side of the cross has its own artistic character. The front side is strong, rather severe, despite the elegant attenuation of the shafts (Figure 1). The figures seem to burst out to the terminals as if impelled by centrifugal force. The back of the cross has a fluid, almost rippling movement (Figure 8). It is simple on the terminals, complicated on the shafts. The figures of prophets who predict Christ’s coming form a rhythmic chain by their contiguous scrolls. Each has a different physiognomy. In order to enliven what might have been mere repetition, the position of each head is altered subtly. It is almost as if the very bodies, spirits, and words of the prophets who predicted the event were the substance of the grim instrument upon which Christ was executed for the redemption of man.

The six prophets on the crossbar are attentive to themselves alone. On the left side, Haggai talks to Balaam, and Nahum, near the Lion, seems to have been listening and then



7. *Christ Led before Pilate. Bottom plaque*

OPPOSITE:

8. *The Bury St. Edmunds cross, back view*







abruptly twisted around and stabbed out a flat hand to make a point in an argument (Figure 10). The daggerlike beards are sharp as barbs in a heated conversation. In several places on the cross the essence of dispute is treated pictorially, and it seems likely that one model for the cross was an illustrated manuscript of a Disputation.

Malachi, Amos, and Job occupy the right side (Figure 9). The first two, Malachi and Amos, are in animated discussion. The third, Job, is bare-chested, perhaps because of his affliction. He sits isolated, gazing heavenward as if caught in a trance.

The Evangelist symbols (Figures 9, 10, and 11) are beautifully carved in extremely high relief, the Eagle of John strong and energetic, the Bull of Luke lithe and elegant. The Lion of Mark, however, is somewhat weak despite his fierce mask.

The pictorial conclusion of the cross is the medallion on the back (Figure 12). The symbolic Lamb of God of the Apocalypse floats in the center and twists his head back in triumph toward the angel. The Lamb is ringed by five figures inside the medallion. On the left stands Synagogue, her head bowed, her eyes closed in blindness. She holds a lance, whose point lightly and ineffectually grazes the left side of the Lamb's breast. This is probably an allegory of the piercing of Christ. It seems to imply that despite the fact that the Savior was pierced and died, He nevertheless triumphed by resurrection. The end of the lance may appear to be broken into three sections, but the top two lines are actually folds in Synagogue's sleeve. Just underneath the Lamb appears the prophet Jeremiah.

The Lamb looks back at an archangel – one of the most delicate figures in the whole large company. Opposite the angel stands a weeping figure. The word IOH[ANN]ES above his head identifies him as John the Evangelist, who grieves here over the Lamb of God with the same bitter sorrow that he shows grieving over Christ in the Deposition.

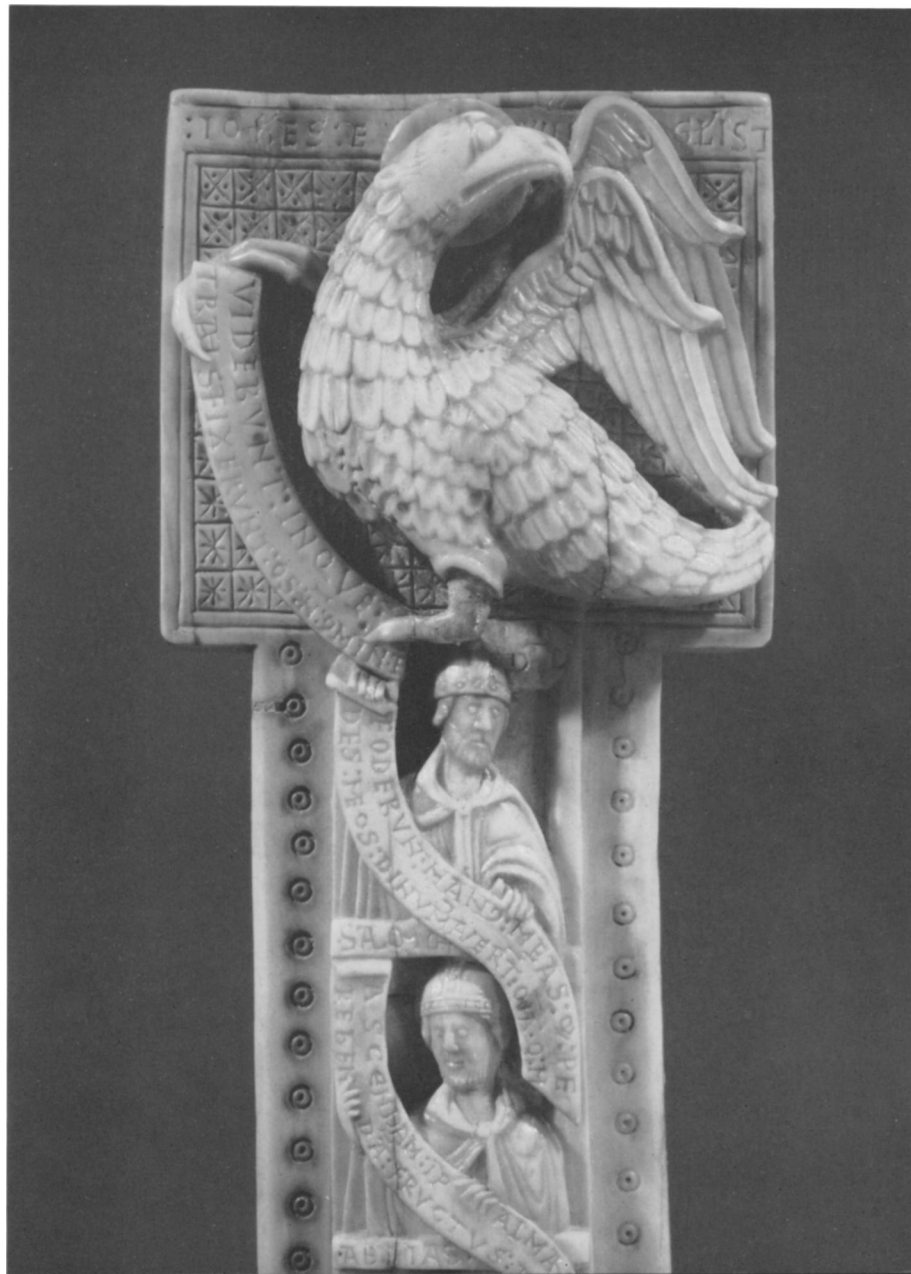
The cross is one of those few objects one never tires of examining. Its unprepossessing size may at first engender disappointment,

OPPOSITE:

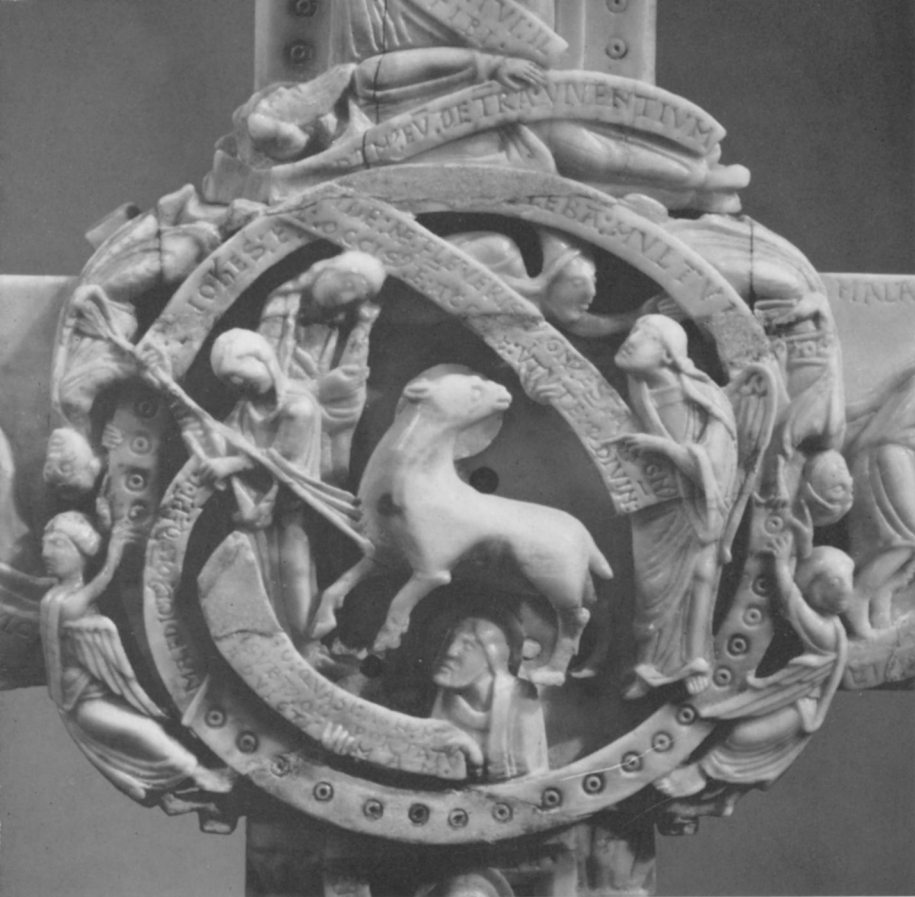
9. *The Bull, symbol of Luke, and Malachi, Amos, and Job*

10. *The Lion, symbol of Mark, and Nahum, Haggai, and Balaam*

11. *The Eagle, symbol of John, and David and Solomon*







12. *Medallion on the back. The Lamb of God*

OPPOSITE:

13. *Side view from the right*

14. *Side view from the left*

but a more studied look gives rise to admiration. It becomes more alive, more subtle, the more it is observed. The ordering of motion, the individuality of the delicate faces, the expressive hands, and the fine balance between these details and the over-all form come upon one only after an extended look. It takes time to realize the beauty of the movement of composition on the front side with its careful horizontals on the crossbar, reflective of lamentation and sleep, and the sudden, sharp uplift of the Ascension. After a while one observes that the smooth and regular direction of the prophets' scrolls on the back is countered by two. The reason appears to have been to emphasize or harmonize with the arc of the right arm of the now missing Christ, which would have been seen from the back. The cross has many unsolved problems. Do the ubiquitous dotted circles have a mystical significance? Why of all the prophets are only the three on the left side of the crossbar denied halos? Why do several angels support-

ing the medallions have wings and others not? The cross is also a virtual seminar in the style of the late twelfth century, for in the figures one can detect the inexorable and fascinating change from a Romanesque to a decidedly early Gothic point of view, implicit in the development of increasing attenuation and a dramatic movement away from the confining surface.

However, in order to understand the Cloisters cross in twelfth century terms, one must not think of it only as a work of art. One must remember that during its own time it was neither a stylistic phenomenon nor an object of aesthetic pleasure, but an object of devotion. It was the emblem of the Passion, the Church, the triumph of the faith, and life's victory over death. It was the Old Testament and the New. It was looked upon as Christ Himself, the symbol of all that preceded and followed Him.

The cross was the very spirit of Christianity, and in late twelfth century England this spirit was often militant and intolerant and could express itself in a bitter polemic against those who were considered heretics or enemies of the faith.

The literary content voiced in the proliferating scrolls or cut into the flesh of the ivory is, like the figural carvings, the Passion and Resurrection. But it goes a step further, for it also rails bitterly against those who did not believe in Christ as Savior and Messiah: namely, the Jews. It is against this poor, alien people and their Synagogue, harried and persecuted throughout centuries, that the text of the cross directs itself with wrath. The cross may not be the only medieval monument that carries on a polemic against the Jews, but it is not matched in vehemence.

The two most prominent inscriptions are Latin hexameters based on Scripture and apparently composed especially for the cross. They are carved along the vertical shaft in elegant capitals, which are in part filled with a green wax (Figures 1, 13, and 14). The poem on the front, flanking the *lignum vitae*, is:



:TERRA: TREMIT: MORS: VICTA: GEMIT:

SURGENTE: SEPULTO:

VITA. CLUIT: SYNAGOGA: RUIT: MOLMINE:  
STULT[o].

(Earth trembles. Death is conquered and,  
from the opening grave, bewails  
Life hears itself called and Synagogue  
falls after vain and stupid effort).

The two verses on the narrow side of the  
shaft are:

:CHAM: RIDET: DUM: NUDA: VIDET: PUDI-  
BUNDA: PARENTIS:

+ IUDEI: RISERE: DEI: PENAM: MOR[TIS]

(Ham laughed at the naked shameful-  
ness of his parent.

The Jews laugh at the death agony of God).

The significance of Ham who laughed at his  
father Noah when drunk is clearly summed up  
by some anonymous twelfth century prose,  
usually attributed to Hugh of St. Victor:  
“Noah, who was the tenth descendant from  
Adam, signifies Christ who fulfilled the de-  
calogue law. Unfortunate Ham, the first son,  
is the unbelieving Jews who mocked Him say-  
ing: ‘Others He can save, Himself He cannot  
save. . . .’ Shem, the second son, is the Apostles  
and certain disciples and the Jews who did  
believe; Japheth who covered the nakedness  
of his parent with a cloth is the Gentile people  
converted to the faith. Whenceforth Ham is  
to be punished with a curse and so are his  
offspring the Jews.”

Of all the inscriptions on the cross that of  
the placard is the most unusual in its anti-  
Judaic significance (Figure 15). The Gospel  
of John states that the original was inscribed  
in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The ivory  
placard also has three languages: Greek, Latin,  
and pseudo-Hebrew (a barely legible Latin  
written backwards, i.e., right to left, as He-  
brew would be). According to St. John, the  
placard said, “Iesus Nazareus Rex Iudeorum”  
– Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews. But the  
placard on the ivory cross is different. It says  
in Latin, IESUS NA[z]ARENUS REX CONFES-  
SORUM – Jesus of Nazareth King of the *Con-*  
*fessors*. In Greek, [BAS]LEOS EXOM[o]LISSON





15. *The Placard and the Hand of God*

(an incorrect form of *exomologesion*)—also King of the *Confessors*. In substituting “confessors” for “Jews,” the individual responsible for the literary program of the cross seems to have been proclaiming his resentment against the Jewish people. He would not allow Christ to be called their king. It is the ultimate rejection; for a confessor in the late Romanesque period was not one who confessed his personal sins to a priest, but one who professed faith in Christ as Savior and Messiah. At that time no Jew could be a confessor unless he had been converted.

Whereas the cross is one of few existing works of art known to employ this version of the placard, it is discussed, albeit rarely, in ecclesiastic literature. However, in only one other ecclesiastic writing, commentary, or gloss thus far discovered is the title written in exactly the same way as on the cross and the word “confessor” linked so ineradicably to an anti-Judaic purpose. This important point will be discussed later.

The majority of the scrolls are taken from the Old Testament. Each prophet speaks out his prediction of the coming of Christ or foretells a specific episode in the Passion. In this sense the cross is a series of verbal typologies

or testimonies, and as such it follows closely the general pattern of a number of Disputations or Tracts against the Synagogue composed from the fourth through the end of the twelfth century. Significantly, of the thirty-five lengthy inscriptions, twenty-three are the same as those used continually in the Disputes between Christian and Jew.

The list of testimonies on the cross properly begins on the front medallion (Figure 16) with one impressive figure. This is the ancient with a long dagger-sharp beard who leans out over the lower left border, tucks a long scroll tightly against his side, and points a finger out at Christ and at the spectator too. The scroll reads: “. . . all the prophets bear witness” (. . . [OM]NES: P[RO]PHE[TAE]. TE[STIMONI]U[M]. P[ER]HIBENT.). Peter is speaking the words of verse 43 of Acts 10, from his discourse to Cornelius the Centurion: “And we are witnesses of all that he did in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem: and yet they killed him, hanging him on a tree. . . To him all the prophets bear witness, that through his name all who believe in him may receive forgiveness of sins.”

Just above Peter stands a wonderfully expressive individual craning his head into an impossible position to stare at the brazen serpent. This is John, and on his scroll are the words of verse 14, Chapter 3 of his Gospel: “Just as Moses raised the serpent in the desert so shall the Son of Man be raised up” (SICUT. MOYSES. EXALTAVIT. SERPENTE. I[N]DESERTO. ITA. E[XALTARI]: O[PORTET]: F[ILIIUM] H[OMINIS]). Here the prime witness to the Crucifixion quotes an Old Testament event as a sure prediction of the ordeal.

Striding along vigorously in the direct center is Moses himself. He swings out his scroll almost menacingly against the Israelites. It is inscribed: “Thus you shall see your life hanging before you . . . and you shall not believe your life” (SIC. ERIT. VITA. TUA. PENDENS. AN[T]E. N[ON]. CREDES. VITE. TUE). This is verse 66 of Deuteronomy, Chapter 28. Throughout the Middle Ages it was used specifically against the Jews for having ignored Christ, as for example in the ninth century *Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy* by



Walafrid Strabo: “No more severe accusations must fall upon the Jews, and with good reason owing to their arrogance, than that they saw their Life, that is the Son of God, hanging on the wood and they disbelieved Him. These accusations are spoken from prophecy; they are not truthless oaths.”

This rejection of Christ is phrased again in the environs of the central medallion. One figure, stiff as a log, reclines at the top. His head is twisted around in a hundred and eighty degree arc, and by this anatomical impossibility the figure is made even more expressive. The long scroll arching over the supine body reads: “Why should thou be as a mighty man wandering, a man who cannot save?” This is verse 9 of Jeremiah, Chapter 14 (QUARE. FUTURU[S]. ES. VELUT. VIR. VAGUS. & F[OR]TIS. QUI. NON. POTEST. SALVAR[E]). The ninth century exegetical writer Rabanus Maurus, in his *Exposition on Jeremiah*, Book VIII, interprets the passage as meaning Christ had been cast out by the Jews and treated by them as a man without a country. The phrases also predict, according to Rabanus, that Christ will be the future wanderer on the earth who will go from Jew to Gentile, from Temple to Church. The verse was thus considered a sort of double denial—a denial of Christ by the Jews and a denial of the Synagogue by the Christians.

The final scroll-bearer in the front medallion, leaning on the right side, is the prophet Isaiah. His scroll voices Chapter 63, verse 2: “Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the wine vat?” (QUARE: RUBRU[M]. E[ST]. I[N]DUMENTU[M]. TUU[M]. &. VESTIM[ENT]A. T[UA]. SIC[UT]. C[ALCANT]IUM. [IN] T[ORCULAR]I.). In his tract *Concerning the Catholic Faith from the Old and New Testament against the Jews*, Isidore of Seville in the seventh century wrote as follows: “For the mocking soldiers clothed Him in red garments which was prophesied by Isaiah when he wrote: ‘Wherefore art thou red in thy garments’ . . . and it is said that Christ alone trod the winepress because He alone undertook the Passion for the sin of the world.” Although the verse in Isidore carries no pejorative meaning directed against

the Synagogue, in other writings it is singled out as a rebuke. Bishop Potamius used it as such in his ninth century tract *Concerning the Martyrdom of Isaiah*: “When Isaiah predicted Christ and the Passion, he announced the epitaph of future damnation of the Jews.”

In the Lamentation Zechariah speaks verse 10, Chapter 12 of his book: “They shall weep for him as for an only-begotten son” (:PLAN- GENT. EUM. [PLANCTU] QUASI. UNIGENITU[M]). This is clearly a mark of sorrow on the part of Israel. But to certain Christian writers of the twelfth century, such as Rupertus Deutz in his *Commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets*, Chapter 12, it was the fabric of yet another rebuff: “. . . it will be of the utmost importance that they shall weep and wail over a real first-born—a real only-born son. And who shall it be, O Synagogue, thou unfortunate mother. The only-begotten son of God, who was born from your flesh, is killed by you; and He has been killed by you not only because you slayed Him physically but also because you do not believe that He resurrected

16. Medallion on the front. The Raising of the Brazen Serpent





17. *David, Solomon, and Obadiah*

and when He was alive you did not wish to know Him nor did you suffer to hear Him.”

The scrolls held by the prophets on the back are particularly vibrant accents in the general message. They are in no Biblical or logical sequence, but by their very haphazard order seem to insist that no matter where one looks in the Old Testament there will be a clear reference to the Passion. They give the strong impression of being points in an argument that starts under control and then gathers speed and intensity. Starting from the topmost prophet and proceeding down the vertical shaft (Figures 17-20), then from left to right on the crossbar, the argument might have gone as follows:

Christ’s ordeal was testified by the prophets. For David spoke of the crucifixion, “They pierced my hands and my feet and numbered all my bones” (FODERUNT: MANUS: MEAS: &: PEDES: MEOS: DINUMAV[UN]T: O[MN]IA. O[SSA]: M[EA], Psalms 22:16-17), and Solomon prophesied it too by saying, “I shall ascend into the palm tree and take hold of the fruits thereof” (ASCENDAM: I[N]PALMAM: &: APPREHENDA[M]: FRUCTUS: EIUS:, Song of Songs 7:8), which is to say that Christ shall go up into the *lignum vitae*. The Jews denied Him and betrayed Him. Why else would Obadiah have said, “The men of thy confederation have deceived thee” (VIRI: F[O]EDERIS: TUI: ILLUSERUNT: TIBI., Obadiah 1:7)? The fruit of denial was death. But Christ triumphed over death, as Hosea had said, “O death, I will be thy death” (.ERO. MORS. TUA. O MORS, Hosea 13:14). There are those who doubt that Christ gave Himself up to the sacrifice and that He was the Son of God. In answer are the arguments found in the very Scriptures. For Isaiah said, “He was offered up because it was his own will” (OBLATUS. EST: QUIA. IPSE. VOLUIT., Isaiah 53:7); Micah leaves no doubt that Christ is the Son of God: “Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, saith the Lord” (NUMQ[U]ID: DABO: PRIMOGENITUM: MEUM. PRO. SCELERE: MEO: DICIT:



18. *Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Habakkuk*

DOMINUS:, Micah 6:7). And while Christ was hanging upon the wood, they offered Him vinegar. Against this they were forewarned by the prophet Habakkuk who said: “Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink and presents him gall” (VE: QUI: POTUM: DAT: AMICO: SUO: MITTENS: FEL., Habakkuk 2:15). (The very next verse in Habakkuk is, “And woe unto him that looks upon the nakedness of his parent,” another reference to Ham, son of Noah, and hence the Jews.) What shall the punishment be for those who presented Christ with the gall and who mocked Him? The punishment will be affliction and death, for as Zephaniah said: “I shall kill all those who have afflicted you at that time” (EGO: INTERFICIAM: OMNES: Q[U]I: AFFLIXERUNT. TE INTEMPORE: ILLO:, Zephaniah 3:19).

Christ died in Jerusalem; the sky darkened and earth trembled. This is clearly foretold by Joel: “The Lord shall offer his voice from Jerusalem and heaven and earth shall be moved” (.DE: IH[RUSA]L[EM]: DABIT: VOCEM: SUAM: & MOVEBUNTUR: C[A] ELU[s]: &: TERRA., Joel 3:16). Did not Daniel give the exact moment of Christ’s death: “And after seventy-two weeks shall Messiah be cut off” (POST. EBDOMODAS: SEPTUAGINTA: DUAS: OCCIDETUR: XPC:, Daniel 9:26)?

That Christ was betrayed by the Jews and that the Jews took Him cannot be doubted, for even their own prophet Ezekiel proclaimed, “But thou, O Son of Man, they shall put bands upon thee, and shall bind thee” (FILI: HO[MIN]IS: ECCE: DATA: SUNT. SUPER: TE: VINacula: ET: LIGABUNT: TE:, Ezekiel 3:25). But Christ burst free from the bonds and from the chains of death itself, conquering death in its own lair: “For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth” (SIC[UT]. FUIT. IONAS. I[N]VENTRE. TR[IBUS]. DIEBUS. & T[R]IBUS: NOCTIBUS. ITA. ERIT. FIL[IVS], Matthew 12:40 after Jonah 1:17).

It was Christ the Messiah who suffered and was raised up on the cross, who was resurrected in Jerusalem, and whose grave became renowned throughout the world. All prophets bear witness to these things: Nahum (to the

far left of the crossbar, Figure 21), “I have afflicted thee, and will afflict thee no more, saith the Lord” (AFFLIX[I] TE: ET: NON [AFFLIGA]M: TE. ULTRA: DIC[IT] DOMINUS), Nahum 1:12; Haggai, “I shall raise you up as a signal” (:PONAM. TE. SICUT. SIGNAC[U]LUM., Haggai 2:23); and Balaam and Isaiah, “A man shall arise out of Jerusalem. His grave shall be glorious” (:CONSURGET. H[OM]O: DEISR[AE]L. & ERIT: SEPULCRUM. EIUS: GLORIOSUM.; Numbers 24:17 and Isaiah 11:10).

Mortal men crucified Christ and continue to afflict Him by their disbelief, and to this Malachi made reference (Figure 28): “Shall a man afflict God, yet ye have afflicted me” (SI: AFFLIGET. HOMO [DEUM QU]IA VOS. CONFIG[ITIS] ME), Malachi 3:8). Those who did not believe in Him sold Him away as even their prophet Amos said: “He sold the righteous for silver” (VENDIDER[IT]: [PRO] ARGI[N]TO: IUSTU[M].; Amos 2:6). But for those who believe and confess to Christ, salvation and everlasting life will be the reward; for as Job said: “I know my redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth and in my flesh I shall see my God of Salvation” (.SCIO: Q[UO]D: REDE[M]PTOR. M[EU]S. VIV[IT] & I[N]CAR[NE] MEA. VIDEBO: D[O]M[INUS]: SALVATORE[M]: MEU[M].; Job 19:25-26).

The Evangelist symbols are gentle and mute in contrast. Only one of the three, the Eagle, speaks out. Part of the words parallel the testimony of Zechariah in the Christ before Pilate: “They shall look upon him whom they have pierced” (VIDEBUNT: INQUE[M]: TRANSFIXERUNT.; John 19:37). The next phrase, “Not a bone of him shall be broken” (OS: N[ON]: COMM[IN]UENS. E[ST], John 19:36), alludes to two Old Testament passages, Exodus 12:46 and Numbers 9:12, predicting that the soldiers would not break the legs of Christ as they would those of the thieves.

The culmination of the written story of the cross is the medallion on the back (Figure 12). Here, as everywhere, the Old Testament is related to the New, and Synagogue receives a stern rebuke. There are two representations of the prophet Jeremiah, one directly underneath the Lamb, the other on top of the border of the medallion. Although the scrolls

### 19. Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Joel

are separate, their words are all part of verse 19 of Chapter 11. The scroll underneath the Lamb is a clear prediction of Christ’s Passion up to the death on the cross: “And I was as a meek lamb that is carried to be a victim” (. [E]GO: QUASI: AGNUS. M[A]NSUETUS. Q[U]I: PORTATU[R]: ADVICTIMAM). The scroll on top of the medallion completes the story: “And let us cut him off from the land of the living” ([ERA]DAMUS. EU[M]. DET[ER]RA VIVENTIUM).

Synagogue’s scroll reads, “Cursed is everyone who hangs on wood” (MALEDICTUS. O[MN]IS Q[U]I P[ENDIT]. I[N]. L[IGNO].). In Deuteronomy, verse 23, Chapter 21, it is said: “For he is accursed of God that hangeth on a tree.” But Paul, in verse 13, Chapter 3, said: “Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; for it is written: Cursed is everyone that hangeth on a tree.” Herein is to be found the ultimate rebuke against Synagogue.

Just above the weeping apostle is the identification “John,” followed by, “And I wept much” (IOH[ANN]ES: E[ST]. [EGO] [F]LEBAM: MULTU[M]., Apocalypse 5:4). Opposite him, hovering within the medallion, is the archangel. In hands so delicate and vital that the fingers seem to be not only pointing but actually moving toward the Lamb, the long scroll is floated out just over John’s head, and as if to contradict him, seems to slice through his words. The scroll surges out in a hymn of great power and triumph: “Behold, weep not, worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing” ([V]IDENE: FLEVERIS [D]IGNUS. EST. AGNUS [QU]I: OCCISUS. E[ST]: ACC[IPER]E: VIRTUTE[M]: & DIVIN[ITATEM].; Apocalypse 5:5 and 5:12).

The passage of time makes the content of these writings no less harsh. But it must be remembered that this is the accepted attitude of the church militant of the late twelfth century. Today there may appear to be an incongruity between such superb artistic form and the vehemence of a number of the

### 20. Daniel, Ezekiel, and Matthew





21. *Nahum, Haggai, and Balaam*

22. *Amos, folio 324 recto, the Bury Bible, 1121-1148. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 54*



inscriptions, but in Romanesque times there was no such thing. At that time religious tolerance did not exist.

When the cross was acquired, very little was known about it other than that it was formerly in the collection of Ante Topic-Mimara, and was, from stylistic indications, English. It has absolutely no recorded history. Thus the process of finding out the most probable place of origin was like an archaeological excavation. Fresh ground had to be broken continually.

The comparison of the figural style of the cross with that of a large number of monuments of every category made in various centers in England during the second half of the twelfth century leaves hardly any doubt that the cross dates to that time. The appearance of the so-called "damp fold," which clings to the body and forms distinct elliptical and circular patterns around anatomical parts, and the utter lack of the nervous draperies typical to works of art of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries contribute to a date for the ivory in the latter part of the twelfth century. Indeed, the similarity of the medallions bursting with figures to large populated initials that flourished in the second half of the twelfth century is by itself an almost sure sign of a late Romanesque date, for the date

of an object is always determined by its latest original element. The most convincing stylistic parallels are to be found in a number of objects all either known to have been produced at the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk from the middle to the late twelfth century or stylistically linked to works of art of known Bury provenance of the same period.

A number of links appear in the renowned Bury Bible, one of the most splendid manuscripts ever illuminated in England during the twelfth century. This Bible was created by the gifted Master Hugo at Bury St. Edmunds sometime during the tenure of Abbot Anselm (1121-1148), probably in the late thirties. (It is now manuscript number 2 of the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.) One strong parallel to several figures in the cross is the prophet Amos (Figure 22). The striking form of his face, wedgelike and sharp with a stiletto beard; the curious paradox of ease of posture and stiffness; the individual manner in which the drapery sweeps around parts of the body, forming marked parentheses around the thigh and dividing the leg into three separate sections, are all reminiscent of figures on the cross, particularly Amos, Nahum, Haggai (Figure 21), and the splendid Moses of the front medallion (Figure 24).

Other miniatures of Hugo's Bible are also close to elements of the cross: notably, the kneeling Job with his daggerlike piece of drapery and curiously frozen attitude, comparable to the figure of Malachi on the cross (Figures 25 and 28). The seated figures in the frontispiece to the Book of Deuteronomy (folio 94), representing the people to whom Moses and Aaron address their admonitions (Figure 29), might have formed the models for the seated Amos or the Job on the cross with his odd "disappearing" leg. Both the fascinating individuals of folio 1 of the Bible, one with his lame leg trussed up in a wooden peg leg scrambling nimbly after a rabbit and the other straddling a vine and holding a mace (Figures 26 and 27), are similar in many respects not only to the Malachi of the cross but to other figures as well.

Additional parallels are found in works of known Bury provenance or related to Bury



three miniatures in a Homilies of Gregory (Figure 32), the seal of the abbey of around 1150 (British Museum, Egerton Charter 2180), the figures on a lead font of around 1150 at Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey (Figure 31), and the single miniature showing God conversing with Joshua in a glossed or annotated Book of Joshua (Pembroke College, Cambridge, number 54) dated by style around 1170-1180 (Figure 23).

The numerous stylistic associations to monuments of Bury St. Edmunds predicate possible origin; the proof comes through the history of the foundation.

In its ascendant age the abbey was one of the most powerful in England. A great center of pilgrimage, it had arisen around the miracle-making shrine of England's most renowned royal martyr, Edmund, who had perished in 870 at the hands of pagan Danes when he refused to abjure Christ. Sometime in the early tenth century the martyr's remains were removed from Hoxne, where he died, to Bury. There, in the softly rolling pastures and woods



23. *Joshua Conversing with God, folio 4, Glossed Joshua, about 1170. Cambridge, Pembroke College, 54*

of Suffolk, first a wooden church, then one of stone ordered by King Canute, and finally an abbey came into being. With the enlargement of the abbey came the steady aggrandizement of land holdings and material wealth. By the eleventh century it owned the vast area of West Suffolk.

Richly endowed though it was not only by King Canute but also by Edward the Confessor, Saint Edmundsbury did not always prosper. By the year 1173 the abbey had fallen upon lamentable times. It suffered onerous debts, especially to Jewish moneylenders. Its town holdings and its many acres of farm were given out to tenancy without attention to the collection of rents or duties. The valuable woods were being cut down; the manor houses were falling into ruin.

The debt was appalling, so deep that at the death of Abbot Hugh in 1180 there was nothing worth a single penny that could be distributed to the poor for the benefit of his soul. Samson, Hugh's successor, struggled with internal and external adversaries. In the short span of eight years he had gained the respect of the crown, the lords, and his monks, and had eradicated the debts, casting out the abbey's creditors and his own personal enemies forever from the town of Bury St. Edmunds.

Samson's life would be wholly unknown today if it were not for the fortunate survival



24. *Moses, front medallion*



25. *Job, folio 344 verso, the Bury Bible*

of a biography written by a fellow monk, Jocelin of Brakelond. His *Chronicle* recounts the various happenings at Bury St. Edmunds from 1173 to 1204, in a naïve but observant style. It is a fine portrait of a devout and clever man, whose only serious failing was an intolerance typical of the times. This was when the realm was responding enthusiastically to the call for the Third Crusade, soon to be launched by Richard the Lionhearted. The stories make part of the destroyed abbey and its life speak out. But in one sense it still

well. Today the abbey presents a pathetic sight, similar to Thomas Carlyle's description in his essay on Abbot Samson, *Past and Present*: "Alas, how like an old osseous fragment, a broken blackened shinbone of the old dead ages, this black ruin looks out, not yet covered by the soil; still indicating what a once gigantic Life lies buried there! It is dead now, and dumb; but was alive once and spake."

Shattering this silence of centuries, the clear voice of the ivory cross resounds with extraordinary vitality. It is almost as if Samson himself had issued forth from his grave nestling among those black ruins and had spoken.

In 1181, on the tenth of June, under unknown circumstances, a young boy of Bury St. Edmunds named Robert was found murdered. His death appeared to be a crucifixion and was blamed upon the local Jews. From that time onward, the Jewish population of Bury was subjected to persecution and violence. From that time, too, the star of the sub-sacrist Samson de Tottington began to rise. Within months he would be abbot.

The year 1181 was a difficult and unpropitious one for Bury St. Edmunds on several



26, 27. *Details of an illuminated initial, folio 1 verso, the Bury Bible*

leaves the foundation dead and dumb. This concerns its artistic heritage. We know that when sub-sacrist, the Abbot-to-be Samson was the master of all works, including painting and sculpture as well as architecture. In describing Samson in this role, however, Jocelin is somewhat brusque. The great tower Samson constructed, the paintings in the choir, the vestments he brought back from the continent, the books he caused to be illuminated, the rich church furniture and the liturgical trappings he ordered are mentioned by merely a word or laconic phrase. The brief descriptions whet our appetite, never satisfy it.

The state of destruction of the once great abbey makes the historian yearn for any clue, however meager. The ruination, an epic tragedy, began in the days of the Dissolution of monastic orders by Henry VIII. What the royal agents had not destroyed in the early sixteenth century was carted off under Crom-



counts. The debts continued to grow. Creditors called out vociferously for their payments. More loans were sought to cover the interests. There was no one to guide the abbey, and the monks bickered amongst themselves about who should be the next abbot. As Joice-

lin put it: “. . . divers persons spoke in divers manners, some in public, some in private, and every man had his own opinion.” Samson, who had come to the abbey of St. Edmunds in 1165 and had worked his way to the rather exalted post of sub-sacrist through many adversities, was considered one of the leading choices, owing to his ability for administration. But Samson, also known for his dislike of flatterers, his stubborn character, and his single-mindedness, had enemies too. The opposition was headed by William the Sacrist, a man, according to Jocelin, of benign nature but rather licentious bent, one of the most irresponsible seekers of credit from money-lenders. In the same year that little Robert allegedly fell victim to the Jews, Samson, sub-sacrist and master of works, was heavily criticized by William and those who favored him, for supposedly having misappropriated the already slim funds of the abbey for the construction of a tower. It appears to have been a frankly political struggle. It is in regard to this moment of adversity that Jocelin first gives us a clear insight into the attitude of the Jews toward Samson and, by implication, his feeling against them: “But William the Sacrist regarded Samson with suspicion, as did many others, both Christians and Jews, who took William’s side: the Jews, I say, for the Sacrist was called their father and their patron; they rejoiced in his protection, had free entrance and exit, and went everywhere through the monastery, wandering by the altars and about the shrine of St. Edmund while masses were being sung, and their money was kept in our treasury under the Sacrist’s custody – and more unseemly still, in the days of war their wives and children took refuge in our pittance.”



28. *Malachi, Amos, and Job*

Despite this antipathy, the opposition could not hold back Samson’s rise. In 1182 he was chosen Abbot by King Henry II, who said when he had appointed him, “By God’s eyes, this elect thinks himself worthy to be the guardian of his Abbey.” Samson’s first act was to depose Sacrist William.

Eight years after he had assumed the power of abbot, fifty-seven Jews were slaughtered in an unexplained riot in the town of Bury St. Edmunds. Perhaps it was a spontaneous uprising, just another explosion in the chain reaction of violence against Jews sustained in 1189 and 1190 throughout England, or perhaps it was accomplished by organized plan. We shall never know. The Jews may not have been St. Edmund’s men, but they did not deserve this bloody persecution. The following year Samson petitioned the king to be able to expel by legal means all Jews from the town and liberty of Bury St. Edmunds. This was hardly done for their protection. He also threatened excommunication upon any Christian who might speak to, deal with, or provide shelter for any one of the expelled persons. The expulsion was permitted but the crown rescinded the harsh measure of excommunication of the Christian townspeople, saying that Jews should be permitted to return to the town briefly in order to receive payments.

With these things in the air it is startling but by no means illogical to find that there is a remarkable parallel for the curious placard of the cross, with its rare substitution of the word “confessors,” in a Bury St. Edmunds

29. *Detail of the frontispiece to the Book of Deuteronomy, folio 94 recto, the Bury Bible*



30. Angel, left plaque

manuscript of the twelfth century. This is a glossed or annotated Gospel of Mark (Pembroke College, Cambridge, number 72). The text of Mark relating to the placard (on folio 62 verso) says: "And the inscription of the charge against him read, The King of the Jews." But the gloss directly underneath these words states: "That placard, called unchangeable by the psalms, was written in three languages: king of the Jews [malchus iudeorum, Hebrew]; king of the confessors [basileos exomolisson, Greek]; king of the confessors [rex confessorum, Latin] . . . these languages commemorate the perfidiousness of the Jews." (Quod titulus psalmorum p. notatur infine ne corrumpas in tribus linguis: malchus iudeorum; basileos exomolisson; rex confessorum. . . . vois ligua commemoret perfidiam iudeorum.)

Not only is there the same use of "confessors" instead of "Jews" as on the placard of the ivory, not only is there the clear link in the underscoring of the perfidy of the Jews, but there is the same incorrect form of the Greek word, "exomolisson," as on the cross. In addition, a number of other notations in the manuscript are exact parallels to scrolls on the cross. The manuscript in which these parallels appear is dated by the single miniature of its frontispiece and by the style of the majority of its writing almost without shadow of doubt to 1140-1150 at the latest. But the notes on the St. Mark appear to have been written by two people. On the folio just preceding the comments about the placard, the writer of 1140-1150 stopped abruptly, and a new annotator, working in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, began. Thus in date as well as in content, the latter gloss of the St. Mark manuscript accords with Samson.

Although Jocelin's *Chronicle* does not mention any cross of ivory made for Samson, it does offer a final convincing piece of evidence that the Cloisters cross is indeed associated with the abbot. Concerning Samson's acts as master of works, Jocelin wrote: "In those days [1181] our choir screen was built under the direction of Samson, who arranged the painted stories from the Bible and composed elegaic verses for each." Unfortunately the



31. Prophet, lead font at Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey

paintings in the choir, like almost all other works of art from Bury, are totally destroyed. But the verses still exist in a late thirteenth century manuscript, where they were recorded by a monk who had the curious predilection of writing down every inscription he saw in the abbey church. This manuscript from Bury is preserved in London (College of Arms, Arundel XXX). One of the hexameters in it refers to the Curse of Ham, and reads: CHAM DUM NUDA RIDET PARENTIS GENITALIA VIDET. The relationship between this and the verse on the cross, CHAM RIDET DUM NUDA VIDET PUDIBUNDA PARENTIS, is too close to be accidental. Indeed the only difference other than word order (PARENTIS rhymes with MORTIS on the cross) is the use of PUDIBUNDA for GENITALIA, the one a euphemism for the other.

The coincidences of style, date, and history, Samson's attitude concerning the Jews of the town, and the two striking parallels in Bury St. Edmunds manuscripts leave little doubt that the cross comes from that Benedictine monastery and is associated with the abbot who, in the dream of one of the monks, would "raven like a wolf" to bring the foundation



back to the greatness it had boasted before being cast into bankruptcy.

Exactly when the cross was made cannot be pinpointed. By the inscriptions, the period of 1181 to 1190 seems most likely. However, the inscriptions could have been added after the cross had been carved. There is a possibility, which deserves further examination, that most of the carvings were done around 1150 and the inscriptions added under the direction of Samson.

One would almost expect to find Samson depicted on the cross. It is pure conjecture, but he may be the only important figure not identified by name, inscription, or subject matter. In the top of the medallion on the back, hovering above John and the angel, appears a monk with a hood over his bald head, extending a fist (Figure 34). He seems almost to be an afterthought, for he is carved on a small separate piece of ivory, which includes the head of John, the top of the border, and the upper part of the angel's scroll, attached with great skill to the medallion. Whether or not this is a "portrait" of Samson, who was described by Jocelin as "of middle height, almost entirely bald, his face neither round nor long,

his nose prominent, his lips thick, his eyes clear as crystal and of penetrating glance," will never be known, but it does have a provocative link with one anecdote about him. During the time of bickering, one of the brothers asserted that Samson would gain power. He told of a dream in which he had seen "Roger the Cellarer and Hugh the third Prior standing before the altar. Between them was Samson, towering above them and wearing a long cloak, and he stood like a pugilist with raised fists ready for a fight. . . And the dream was interpreted that inasmuch as he seemed like a fighter, it was foretold that the Abbot-to-be should live in toil and struggle, wishing like a fighter to overcome his adversaries in battle, that he might reclaim the rights and liberties of the church." Whoever the figure is, he is certainly a monk and surely clenches his one visible hand into a fist. Perhaps this is the abbot, added after the prophecy became a truth.

At any rate, the cross appears to be a lucid reflection of the forcible, militant side of Samson's personality. It is the product of the mentality of a former schoolteacher and a master of novices who was said to remember



32. *Ruler Praying to Christ (John 4:47), Homily 28, Homilies of Gregory, about 1140-1150. Cambridge, Pembroke College, 16*



33. *Vision of Ezekiel, folio 281 verso, the Bury Bible*

the most trivial conversation for twenty years, a man who inflicted physical punishment upon himself when he learned of the capture of the True Cross in Jerusalem by the infidel and who begged to be taken on the crusade, coming to the king with his shirt adorned with a crude white cross cut out and sewn by his own hand. It accords with the individual who was an organizer, not an artist, and who directed rather than executed the cycle of ninety scenes on the choir screen but would not allow a mere craftsman to compose their verses. The profusion of Old Testament paintings and verses in the choir has the same heavy-handed feeling as the almost overwhelming number of inscriptions on the cross. Samson seems to have avoided economy of means. The cross is intellectual, yet pedantic; clever, yet forced.

The cross transcends Samson's personality, however, and is also a mirror of twelfth century art at Bury St. Edmunds. It equals in

sculpture the elegance and solemnity of Hugo's incomparably painted Bible. Indeed it goes far beyond local significance. It is English, above all – imaginative, dramatic, literary, independent of rules, far too rich, yet poetic and adventurous in its attempt to be encyclopedic. It even reaches beyond its insular character and expresses what was in the wind throughout the entire Christian world during the late twelfth century, for the cross is symbolic of the crusading spirit, both good and evil.

Much more will be said about this object in the future – its iconography, the roots of its artistic essence, its style, its role in a pan-English conspiracy against the Jews, and its patron, Samson – all need to be discussed at greater length. But, even with these things unsaid, it is clear that the ivory cross is one of those rarest of works of art that is both the strength and the weakness of its era; the mark and the explanation of an entire epoch.

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The cross has been published only once before, in an article by Wiltrud Mersmann, the wife of the former owner, A. M. Topic-Mimara ("Das Elfenbeinkreuz der Sammlung Topic-Mimara," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXV [1963]). The article is valuable and informative, but its proposed date of around 1050 for the cross cannot be maintained. The edition of Jocelin of Brakelond used is that edited by H. E. Butler, Oxford University Press, 1949. For the library and reconstruction of the abbey see M. R. James, "On the Abbey of S. Edmunds at Bury," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (1895). For medieval authors see J. P. Migne, editor, *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Latina*, I-CCXXI, 1844-1905. The

English translations of the Latin texts are my own. A full bibliography on all phases of the cross will appear in a forthcoming study, which will deal with the style, iconography, and history on a more scholarly basis.

For the preparation of this article and other matters relating to the cross I would like to thank the members of the Department, especially Margaret B. Freeman and Carmen Gómez-Moreno, whose help proved invaluable; colleagues in the United States, particularly Kurt Weitzmann, Hanns Swarzenski, and Meyer Schapiro. Among European colleagues and friends, thanks are owed to Harold W. Parsons, George Zarnecki, Francis Wormald, John Beckwith, Hermann Schnitzler, and Peter Metz; for aid on the Bury manuscripts, to Michael Kaufmann and Elizabeth Parker.



34. A monk, possibly Abbot Samson, upper part of the medallion on the back

# Two Fifteenth Century Hispano-Moresque Rugs

M. S. DIMAND *Curator Emeritus of Near Eastern Art*

The Museum has in recent years acquired for The Cloisters two Hispano-Moresque rugs of the fifteenth century, one (Figure 9) with a Moorish geometrical pattern of eight square fields containing octagons with palmettes, the other (Figure 13 and Color Plate, page 351) with an ogival pattern containing a stylized Gothic pomegranate motif. Both rugs illustrate in several ways the artistic currents that influenced the evolution of Spanish art following the Arab conquest in the eighth century.

The beginnings of Hispano-Moresque art may be traced back to the period of 710 to 712, the years of the Muslim invasion. Quite soon thereafter, following the establishment of the Western Caliphate by the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Rahman in 756, the Muslims' western capital of Cordova rivaled the eastern capital of Baghdad as a center of wealth, art, and scholarship. But for Western Islam, insofar as her political and military power were concerned, these were to be turbulent centuries. In 1090, under the Berber dynasty of the Almoravides, most of Spain became part of an empire that included Morocco. Later, the Berber Almohades, after overthrowing the Almoravides, held power in Spain until 1212, in which year they were defeated in battle by Alfonso VIII of Castile. Although this was the turning point, the Christian reconquest was not completed until 1492, in which year Granada, the last stronghold of the Nasrid dynasty, fell to the Castilian forces of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Stimulated by the Umayyad caliphs of Cordova, the artistic production of Muslim Spain quickly attained a high degree of perfection, notably in the carving of ivory boxes, in ceramics, and in textiles. In all of these the influences of Eastern Islam are evident, in both design and technique. The art of weaving fine silk fabrics was introduced by the Arabs. We find Spanish silk textiles mentioned in papal inventories as early as the ninth century. A silk veil in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, inscribed in Kufic, an angular form of Arabic, with the name of Hisham II, caliph of Cordova (976-1009), is decorated with a tapestry-woven band of octagons in gold and silk. Some of the octagons contain geometrically stylized human figures (Figure 1), others animals or birds. Such figures are also to be found in Egyptian textiles, both Fatimid (Islamic) and Coptic (Christian), of the same period. From old Spanish records we know that colonies of Copts lived in Spain, and that Coptic weavers worked in Spain during the tenth century. From Egypt, it would appear, came the technique—seen in this veil and other contemporary Moorish textiles—of using a gold thread consisting of a silk core wound with gilded strips of goldbeater's skin. (Cypriot gold, it was called in the West.) Embroidered and tapestry-woven fragments of the Abbasid period (tenth century), found in Egypt, show this type of gold thread.

The silk weaving of the Spanish Arabs and later of the Moors owes much also to the im-



1. Detail of silk veil inscribed with name of Hisham II, caliph of Cordova (976-1009). Hispano-Moresque. Royal Academy of History, Madrid. Photograph: Mas

portation of silk pieces from Baghdad. These pieces, many of which were lavishly brocaded with gold threads, were patterned with medallions containing figures of elephants, camels, horses, or birds. Silks of this sort are listed among the presents brought from Baghdad to Cordova in 939 to Caliph Abd al-Rahman III. The Spanish craftsmen not only adopted the designs of such pieces but in some cases wove actual copies of them. There can be little doubt that the patterns of the Baghdad silks influenced the style of Hispano-Moresque textiles produced during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

2. Fragment of a knotted rug. Coptic, VII or VIII century. Rogers Fund, 49.97



The chief textile centers of Moorish Spain were Seville, Málaga, Granada, Almería, and the province of Murcia. Some measure of their output may be estimated from a statement of al-Idrisi, the geographer of Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, early in the twelfth century. Al-Idrisi reveals that the number of looms for the weaving of costly silks in Almería alone was eight hundred.

The rug industry of Spain goes back to an early period. It must have been active before the twelfth century, for the Cordovan poet al-Shakundi, writing early in the thirteenth century, tells us that rugs made in Chinchilla,

Murcia, during the twelfth century were exported to foreign countries. One that he specifies is Egypt, and in the ruins of Fustat (Old Cairo) several fragments of rugs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have been found that confirm his assertion. Their materials, their colors, and the type of Kufic decorating the borders all suggest a Spanish origin.

But just as indicative of Spanish origin is the knotting of these pieces. In general, the pile of Near Eastern rugs is formed by a series of knots that are tied around pairs of adjacent warp threads. Depending on the way these knots are tied, they are distinguished as the Sehna, or Persian, and the Ghiordes, or Turkish. On the other hand, rugs woven in Moorish Spain (and in some parts of medieval Europe as well) show knots that are tied around only one warp thread. A further difference in the technique is that the Sehna and Ghiordes knots are tied on all the warps of a given row while the Spanish knot is tied on every other warp. The single warp knot technique was known in Asia as early as the second or third century A.D., as we learn from fragments of pile rugs found at Lou-lan in Chinese Turkestan. How it reached Spain is still not clear, although it seems probable that it came from Egypt, where it was certainly known to the Coptic weavers. There is in the Museum a unique, and until now unpublished, fragment of a Coptic rug of the seventh or eighth century, found at Fustat, showing the figure of a saint (Figure 2), that is tied with the single warp knot. The ground color is red, the saint's halo is yellow, and the trees are dark blue, green, and brown. The vivid colors are typical of late Coptic textiles. In addition, some Abbasid rug fragments of about the ninth century, also found at Fustat, have been described by Carl Johan Lamm as showing the single knot.

By the thirteenth century Spain's rug industry was fully developed. The products of the Moorish looms of this time were admired not only in the Muslim East but in the Christian West. A contemporary report tells us that when Eleanor of Castile, the wife of Prince Edward of England, reached London in October 1255, a great display of Spanish



rugs was to be seen in the streets and in her lodgings at Westminster. Again, in the inventory of Gonzalo Gudial, bishop of Cuenca, dated 1273, we find rugs of Murcia mentioned. Still another record informs us that Pope John XXII (died 1334) bought Spanish rugs for his palace at Avignon, some of them decorated with coats of arms.

The only Spanish rug attributed to the fourteenth century at the present time is the one in the Berlin Museum called the Synagogue Rug. It was given this name because, according to Friedrich Sarre, its decoration is an elaborate candelabrum whose arms end in Torah shrines. In view of the Kufic writing in the border, however, this interpretation of the design is doubtful. It is more probably a representation of the tree of life.

In the fifteenth century the province of

Murcia was once again in Christian hands, and here, in centers newly established at Alcaraz and at Letur, Moorish weavers worked for Christian masters. A letter from Queen Isabella of Castile thanking the city of Alcaraz for a gift of *alfombras* – rugs – indicates that the industry was in full swing there in the second half of the fifteenth century. Woven on the looms of Alcaraz (according to José Ferrandis Torres) or of Letur (according to Ernst Kühnel) was a new type of rug – the armorial – that added Western and purely Spanish elements to those of Muslim origin. This type has a Spanish coat of arms upon a Moorish diaper consisting of small octagons, hexagons, or, less frequently, stepped lozenges. All of these contain star motifs or crosses, frequently combined with other geometrical motifs as well as birds, animals, and human



3. Detail of an armorial rug.  
Hispano-Moresque, Letur or  
Alcaraz, first half of the XV  
century. 28 feet 10 inches x 7  
feet 9½ inches. Bequest of  
George Blumenthal, 41.190.223

figures. Of two well-known groups of these rugs, one, probably ordered by Maria of Castile, bears the coat of arms of Castile and Aragon, while the other bears the coat of arms of the Enríquez family. According to some authors an armorial rug in this Museum also bears the coat of arms of the Enríquez family. The rug (Figure 3) shows a diaper of stepped lozenges.

All of these armorial rugs have stylistic features of great interest. The prototypes of the diapers are to be found in various Islamic decorations, while the angularly stylized animals and birds that appear in the hexagons, octagons, or lozenges and in some of the borders (Figure 4) recall similar figures in early Anatolian rugs. These Anatolian rugs appear in a number of fourteenth and fifteenth century Italian paintings, and several fragments of the actual rugs are in existence. That such Anatolian animal rugs were known in Spain is evident from their appearance in several paintings of about the mid-fifteenth

4. *Border of the armorial rug in Figure 3*



century, principally works by the Catalan painter Jaume Huguet. An example occurs in his painting of 1455-1456 representing a Virgin and Child surrounded by saints (Figure 5). In the field of this rug we see rows of geometrically stylized birds—cocks or peacocks—their wings ending in a series of hooks. The birds themselves are separated by lozenges. (An eighteenth century version of this Anatolian rug is today in the Konia Museum in Asia Minor.)

Another Muslim element in the Spanish armorial rugs, the Kufic, has already been mentioned in connection with the Hispano-Moresque fragments found in Egypt. Adopting this Eastern ornament, the Moorish designers created their own version, often adorning the slender letters with hooks. In the Kufic of the armorial rugs we frequently find the tops of pairs of verticals joined by means of stylized pine cones, as may be seen in Figure 4. Still another Muslim element in some of the armorial rugs is an inner border with a lozenge diaper containing a swastika—a motif that may be found in Anatolian rugs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The elements of Spanish origin are the coats of arms mentioned above, and the hunting scenes that appear in the borders of a number of these rugs, showing bears, boars, and wild men in a tree landscape.

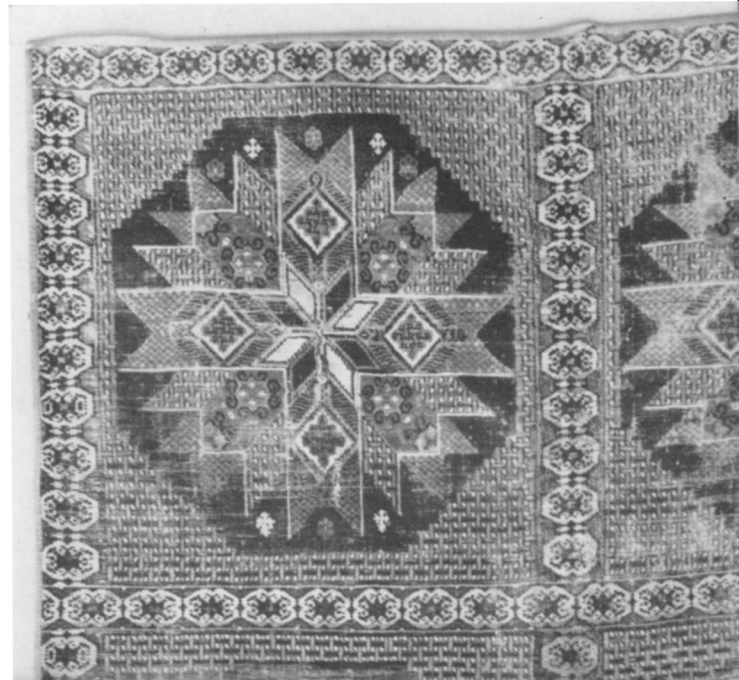
To the looms of Alcaraz can be attributed a group of geometrical rugs often called Spanish Holbeins, this because of their close resemblance to a certain type of Anatolian rug that is depicted in a number of paintings of the early sixteenth century by Hans Holbein the Younger. Actually, these Anatolian precursors of Spanish rugs were admired in Europe well before Holbein's period, as we know from their appearance in paintings by Italian, Flemish, and Spanish masters of the fifteenth century. Although the field patterns of the Anatolian rugs, as represented in the paintings, are similar in many ways to those of the Spanish rugs, certain details of the ornament, including the different borders, make their Turkish origin a certainty.

The Spanish Holbeins all show a field divided into large squares enclosing octagons,



5. *The Madonna and Child with Saints*,  
1455-1456, by Jaume Huguet. Catalonian  
Art Museum, Barcelona. Photograph: Mas

6. *Detail of a geometrical rug. Hispano-  
Moresque, probably Alcaraz, middle of the  
XV century. 9 feet 3 inches x 5 feet 5 inches.*  
Rogers Fund, 13.193.2



8. Geometrical rug. Hispano-Moresque, probably Alcaraz, middle of the XV century. Textile Museum Collection, Washington, D. C.

7. Detail of Sadi and His Teacher, miniature painting from a manuscript of Sadi's Gulistan, 1426. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin



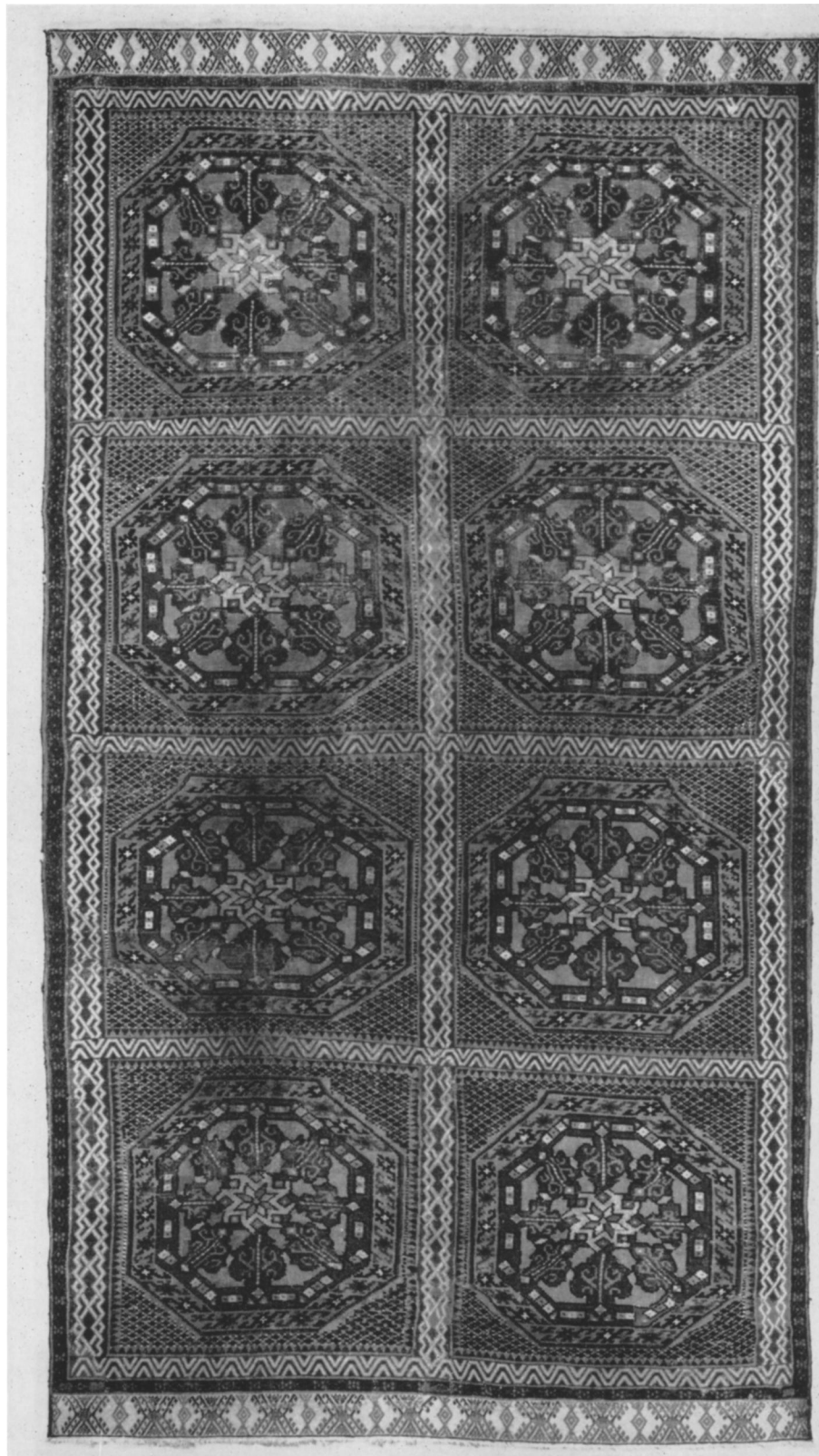
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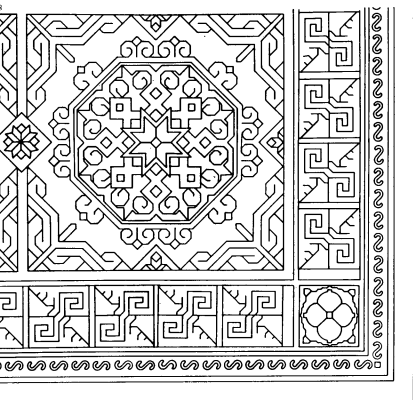
9. Geometrical rug. Hispano-Moresque, Alcaraz, second half of the XV century. 10 feet 2 inches x 5 feet 6½ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 53.79



with the spandrels of the squares filled with either a checkerboard pattern or interlacings. Furthermore, most of these rugs have in their borders a stylized floral motif that was known in Moorish Spain as the scorpion. Three varieties of the Spanish Holbeins can be distinguished. In one, the octagons, defined by dense interlacings, contain large, many-pointed stars. An example in this Museum (Figure 6) shows the typical design, with the arms of the stars divided into compartments containing lozenges with a checker pattern, interlacings, octagons, rosettes, and small crosses. The arms of the large stars form crosses around small central stars. The design recalls Eastern Islamic marquetry decorations of wood and ivory. Both the squares of the rug and the rug itself are bordered with a version of the scorpion motif. The colors of this rug, and of others of this first variety, are white, yellow, red, blue, and green.

In the second variety, the colors of which are similar to those of the first, the design is much more elaborate. The octagons contain eight-pointed stars formed by interlaced and knotted bands, while individual knotted motifs surround the stars (Figure 8). Interlacings with simple heart-shaped knots may be found in a type of Anatolian rug not being considered here, but the more complicated knots are usually confined to the borders of these rugs, where they are combined with Kufic. On the other hand, the more complicated knotted ornament (seen in the Spanish rug in Figure 8) is to be found in numerous Persian rugs as they have come down to us in miniature paintings of the fifteenth century (Figure 7). In these rugs the ornament, in combination with stars and other motifs, forms an all-over field pattern. Historical as well as artistic evidence suggests that Persian rugs may have been known in Spain during the fifteenth century. According to Alice Wilson Frothingham, the Persian influence is evident in some Hispano-Moresque ceramics. Al Razi ("Man of Rayy"), a Persian writer of the tenth century, tells us that many of the people of Rayy, one of the principal pottery centers of Persia, established themselves in Spain. And at the end of the thir-





10. *Design of Anatolian rug in The Betrothal of St. Catherine, 1479, by Hans Memling. Hospital of St. John, Bruges*

11. *Detail showing Anatolian rug from The Departure of St. Ursula, 1495, by Vittore Carpaccio. Gallery of the Academy, Venice. Photo: Anderson-Art Reference Bureau*



teenth century, as a result of the Mongols' invasion and devastation of Persia, potters of Rayy and of Kashan are known to have migrated to more peaceful centers; doubtless the cities of Western Islam were among those that drew them. When the Nasrids, in 1232, formed the last great Muslim kingdom in Spain, comprising the provinces of Almería, Málaga, and Granada, they must have summoned the finest craftsmen in the land to make, among other objects, the lustered vases that adorned the Alhambra and their other palaces. That these were Persian craftsmen is suggested in two ways: by the appearance of Kufic in the vases in the form favored by the Persians – with the elongated verticals of the letters interlaced and knotted – and by the use of the complicated knotted ornament itself not only in the vases but in the fourteenth century stucco wall decorations of the Alhambra.

The third variety of Spanish Holbein – to which the earlier Cloisters rug belongs – differs from the first and second chiefly in the interior design of its octagons. This consists of eight double half-palmettes that connect with a small central star and with the frame of the octagon. In our rug (Figure 9) the octagons have a double frame, the outer band showing rosettes with hooks, the inner, small squares. The spandrels of the eight large squares are filled with a dense checkerboard pattern. Wavy bands separate these squares in the horizontal direction; bands with angular interlacings separate them in the vertical direction. Rather than with the characteristic scorpion border, this rug is framed with a narrow band containing rosettes, while at either end appears a repeat pattern of lozenges bordered by a double row of hooked motifs. This rug, along with several other Spanish Holbeins, is said to have come originally from the Convent of Santa Ursula in Guadalajara.

Several other rugs of this type, varying in number of squares and details of design, may be briefly mentioned. The frames of the octagons of a rug in the City Art Museum of St. Louis show a series of angular S-motifs within hexagons and also spiral hook motifs – both

of these also to be found in Anatolian Holbeins – while its squares are bordered by an archaic and simple form of Kufic. The octagons of a rug in the Convent of Santa Clara, in Medina de Pomar, Spain, have on the outside a row of double spiral hooks forming trefoils – still another Anatolian motif. This rug is further noteworthy in having a large number of squares – twelve. Its ends are decorated with a row of animals in the manner of the armorial rugs. A pair of rugs in the Textile Museum in Washington show a similar decoration at the ends as well as the scorpion border. An example in the Cleveland Museum of Art, which is also said to have come from the Convent of Santa Ursula in Guadalajara, is exceptional in having eighteen squares.

The basic design of this third variety derived from Anatolian rugs of the fifteenth century, as we know not only from several of these rugs that have survived but from their representations in a number of paintings. An example, illustrated here in a schematic representation (Figure 10), occurs in a painting by Hans Memling, dated 1479. Its octagons with central stars, palmettes, and trefoils closely resemble those of the Spanish rugs. Anatolian rugs are also represented in paintings by Carpaccio, particularly in his Ursula series. In one of these paintings, dated 1495, we find a rug (Figure 11) whose octagon and star and palmettes strongly suggest those of the Cloisters rug.

In the McIlhenny Collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art is an important Anatolian rug (Figure 12) – the closest known prototype of the third variety of Spanish Holbein. It may be dated to the second half of the fifteenth century. In the past it has been wrongly classified as Hispano-Moresque, but an examination of the rug shows that it has the Ghiordes knot, which clearly establishes its Anatolian origin. The rug has three squares with octagons on a red field. Bordered by small red stars, the octagons contain eight palmettes, alternately blue and green. In the spandrels there are interlacings in red and green. The inner blue border has an intermittent scroll with trefoils in red. Confirming the rug's Eastern origin, in addition to its

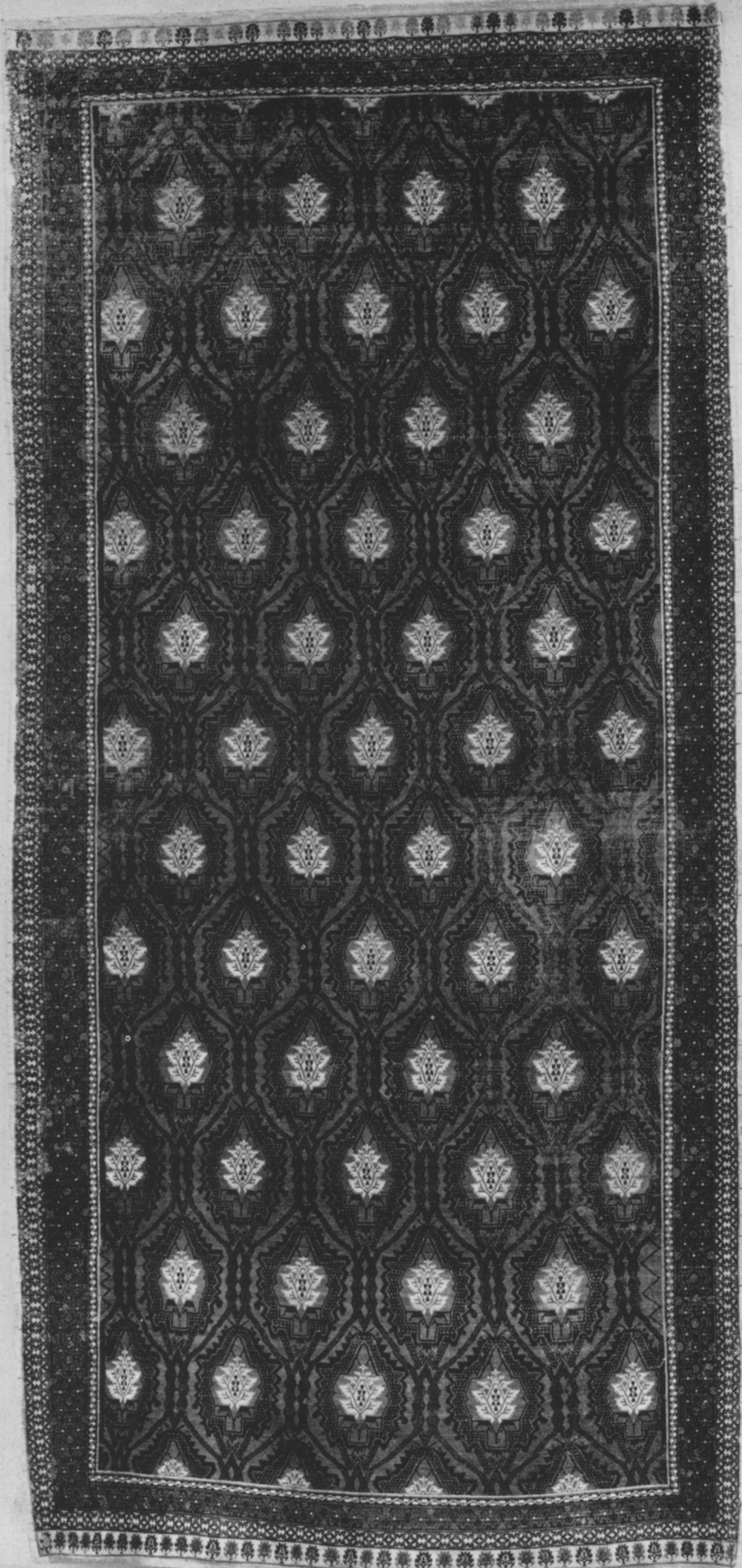
type of knot, is the Turkish variety of Kufic that appears in the main border, with the verticals of the letters connected by ovals and alternating with four-petaled rosettes. Such a border appears in many Anatolian rugs but is not to be seen in any of the Spanish rugs of the period discussed here.

During the second half of the fifteenth century the designers of Alcaraz and other Spanish centers, besides producing rugs based upon the Anatolian geometrical patterns, adopted a number of Western elements, particularly floral decorations of the Gothic type. This influence was general in Spanish art. It is to be seen especially in ceramics of Valencia, decorated with the ivy leaf, acacia leaf, and bryony plant. One of the most popular floral motifs of Gothic silk weaves and velvets of Spain, Italy, and other countries was the pomegranate (Figure 14). In Spain, velvets decorated with this motif were known as *goticos*. Like the geometrical diapers of the armorial rugs, the ogival diaper of the later Cloisters rug (Figure 13) and of other rugs of this type derived from Near Eastern traditions, but the pomegranates that replaced the Islamic palmettes in the compartments were of Gothic origin. The compartments of our rug, formed by interlaced and twisted bands, contain large leaf palmettes within which the pomegranates appear, geometrically stylized in the Moorish fashion and decorated with heart motifs. The border of the rug has interlaced and knotted bands forming cross-shaped compartments. Similar interlaced bands may be seen in Spanish textiles and ceramics of a century earlier. The rug's outer guard band has a pattern resembling the scorpion motif of the Spanish Holbeins. A band at either end of the rug shows trees like those of the armorial rugs.

Only a few early rugs of this type have survived. Two in the Textile Museum in Washington (one a fragment) and a third, formerly in the Weissberger Collection in Madrid, show borders with a debased Kufic—a derivation from the armorial rugs. The Washington rugs, in addition, have end pieces that show, along with the stylized trees, the animal motifs of the armorial rugs. Another

12. Geometrical rug, Anatolian, second half of the XV century.  
McIlhenny Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art





13. *Rug with pomegranate pattern. Hispano-Moresque, probably Alcaraz, end of the XV century. 17 feet 1 inch x 7 feet 10 inches. Formerly in the collection of Sidney A. Charlat. The Cloisters Collection, 61.49*

OPPOSITE:  
*Detail of Figure 13*







pomegranate rug is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, a fragment of one is in the Brooklyn Museum, and another fragment, the gift of Joseph V. McMullan, is in this Museum.

The pattern exemplified in the second Cloisters rug was to appear in Spanish rugs through the next two centuries, but treated in the Western fashion, as may be seen in several rugs in the collection of Count Welzeck of Austria. But even as the Hispano-Moresque style slowly changed its character, certain of the Spanish weavers continued to be influenced by Eastern rugs, notably the arabesque type of Anatolian rug attributed to Ushak in Asia Minor. In imitating these after the middle of the seventeenth century, the Spanish craftsmen even went so far as to employ the Ghiordes knot, which technique had not been used in Spain during the Moorish period.

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14. *Silk textile with pomegranate pattern. Spanish, xv century. Rogers Fund, 49.56.22*

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**Prints:** A. Hyatt Mayor, *Curator*. Janet S. Byrne, *Associate Curator*. Caroline Karpinski, John J. McKendry, and Susanne Udell, *Assistant Curators*

**Western European Arts:** John Goldsmith Phillips, *Curator*. Carl Christian Dauterman, *Associate Curator, Ceramics, Glass, and Metalwork*. James Parker, *Associate Curator, Furniture and Woodwork*. Edith A. Standen, *Associate Curator, Textiles*. Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Associate Research Curator, Goldsmiths' Work*. Olga Raggio, *Associate Research Curator, Renaissance Art*. Jessie McNab Dennis, *Assistant Curator*

**Auditorium Events:** William Kolodney, *Consultant*

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**Conservation:** Murray Pease, *Conservator*. Kate C. Lefferts, *Assistant Conservator*

**Education:** Thomas M. Folds, *Dean*. Louise Condit, *Assistant Dean in Charge of the Junior Museum*. Stuart M. Shaw, *Senior Staff Lecturer*. Blanche R. Brown, Beatrice Farwell, and Angela B. Watson, *Senior Lecturers*

**The Main Building:** Open weekdays 10-5; Sundays and holidays 1-5. Telephone: TRafalgar 9-5500. The Restaurant is open weekdays 11:30-2:30; Sundays 12-3; closed holidays. Coffee hours: Saturdays 3-4:30; Sundays 3:30-4:30.

**Library:** James Humphrey III, *Chief Librarian*. Margaret P. Nolan, *Chief, Photograph and Slide Library*. Elizabeth R. Usher, *Chief, Art Reference Library*

**Public Relations and Membership:** Lillian Green, *Manager, Public Relations*. Eleanor D. Falcon, *Associate Manager*. Suzanne Gauthier, *Assistant Manager, Membership*. Joan Stack, *Manager, Information Service*

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## INFORMATION

**The Cloisters:** Open weekdays, except Mondays, 10-5; Sundays and holidays 1-5 (May-September, Sundays 1-6). Telephone: WAdsworth 3-3700.

**Membership:** Information will be mailed on request.

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