The Winteringham Tau Cross and *Ignis Sacer*

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In recent years a number of exceptional objects have been unearthed in the English countryside by treasure hunters wielding metal detectors. The most spectacular example of these is certainly the Middleham pendant (Figures 1, 2). Solid gold and surmounted by a large sapphire, the piece is engraved on the obverse with the Trinity against a leafy background and an inscription around the frame; on the reverse is the Nativity, with the Agnus Dei below and a series of saints around the frame. A catch on one edge releases the upper left section of the reverse frame, allowing the back plate to slide out to reveal the interior of the capsule. This magnificent piece of jewelry was found in 1985 just off the medieval road connecting Jervaulx and Coverham abbeys, very near Middleham Castle in Yorkshire. Long a seat of the Neville family, Middleham Castle was granted in 1491 by Edward IV to his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, later Richard III. The findplace of this rare example of late-fifteenth-century gold engraving also suggests a rich historical context for this unique object.

The serendipitous unearthing of such objects adds to our art-historical knowledge of Late Gothic England, which was decimated by the wholesale destruction provoked by monastic dissolution and reformation. These objects introduce us to otherwise unrepresented styles of goldsmithery and engraving, but they also inform us, through their function and imagery, of the preoccupations and concerns of the original owners in particular and of late-medieval society in general.

Another outstanding example is a small gold alloy tau cross fashioned as a capsule pendant (Figures 3, 4), which was recently acquired by The Cloisters. Found in a field at Winteringham, South Humberside, in North Lincolnshire (Figure 5), the cross is a mere inch and one-eighth in height and weighs eleven grams. It comprises two pieces: the larger is cast as a walled container about one-eighth of an inch in depth; the other is a repoussé sheet that serves as the back cover plate. The inside face of this cover plate is fitted with a flanged tongue, which slides underneath a plate soldered at the junction of the arms of the cross on the interior of the front piece. The plate is secured by a latten pin, which passes through the lower walls of the base section and then through a tube soldered to the inside of the cover plate. Two posts protrude from the joins of the arms and the lower upright. Analogous posts on a reliquary crucifix found on the site of Clare Castle in Suffolk (Figure 6) and on the engraved pendant cross capsule now preserved in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Figure 7) indicate that each of these had originally held a pearl, which subsequently disintegrated in the earth.

The exterior face of the capsule part of the tau cross—like the Middleham pendant—is engraved with the Trinity. God the Father seated on a throne holds the crucified Christ on a T-shaped cross before him, while the dove of the Holy Spirit descends near the proper right hand of God. Engraved on the outside of the cover plate is the standing Virgin holding the Christ Child. Both groups are set on brackets and placed against a background of leafy branches, which terminate in the corners with cross-hatched fruits or blossoms, a decorative idiosyncrasy found in several other engraved objects of similar date.

Since both the Winteringham tau cross and the Middleham jewel were designed as pendant capsules and equipped with elaborate closures, the question of their intended contents and function arises. The Middleham pendant, opened shortly after its discovery, was found to contain, in addition to soil and roots, no more than a few small roundels of silk and metallic thread, which seem to have been cut out of a flat woven textile (Figure 8). While the physical evidence is insufficient, the iconographic program of the engraving on the pendant does suggest its original content and function.

Around the obverse edge is an inscription that

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reads “Ecce agnus dei qui tollis [sic] peccata [sic] mundi miserere nobis,” followed by the words “tetragrammaton ananyzapta.” The words of John the Baptist (John 1:29), “Behold the Lamb of God [be-
understood as a reference to the creation of man on one hand and the redemption of humanity, for whom Christ became man, on the other. The specific iconographic type of the Trinity represented here is the Throne of Mercy. Christ is not enthroned at the right hand of God, but hangs limply on the cross supported by God. The emphasis is thus on God’s acceptance of His only son’s expiatory death vouchsafed for universal redemption.

The Nativity represented on the reverse side of the Middleham pendant is intended not merely as an historical scene from the life of Christ but specifically as the Incarnation, which is both proven and justified through Christ’s sacrifice on the Cross. The exegetical significance of these scenes is further developed by the Agnus Dei, which appears just below the Nativity and was in medieval times recognized as the eucharistic interpretation of Christ’s sacrificial death. Thus the Baptist’s words are not only a prophecy of redemption through sacrifice, but also a reference to continuing salvation through the Eucharist, which is understood to be identical to the Agnus Dei. His words—the very ones invoked at the administering of the Eucharist in the celebration of the Mass—are intended to remind the celebrant that Christ’s sacrifice is perpetuated through the liturgy; in fact, the words miserere nobis [have mercy upon us] are drawn from the liturgy, not the biblical text.

The iconographic program of the Middleham pendant may therefore be viewed essentially as an
Beyond being a mnemonic device signifying the redemptive value of the Eucharist, the Middleham pendant was also vested with amuletic value. The sapphire, the symbol of a pure soul, has historically been credited with a variety of prophylactic powers, including the protection of eyesight and the detection as well as the neutralizing of poison. The term ananyzapta (or ananyzaptus)\textsuperscript{13} was widely incanted to ward off falling sickness, or epilepsy. A manuscript with magical texts now in the British Library, for example, advises “for ye fallyg ewell Sey yis word ananizaptus.”\textsuperscript{14} In other instances the term was invoked to insure against the more prosaic failing of drunkenness.\textsuperscript{15}

The Winteringham tau cross, like the Middleham pendant, is engraved on the obverse with the Throne of Mercy, but there seems to be no programmatic connection with the standing Virgin and Child, nor is there an explication inscription. The intended contents of the capsule as well as its function and significance can therefore be elucidated only through the interpretation of external evidence.

The Greek letter tau held a variety of meanings in the Middle Ages. It was, in medieval imagery, the protective sign that Aaron painted in blood on the upper doorposts of Israelite houses on the night of Passover [Exodus 12:1] and thus was understood as a symbol of salvation (Figure 9). The tau was also the sign marked in ink on the foreheads of the righteous of Jerusalem so they would be recognized and spared God’s destruction (Figure 10): “Go through the midst of . . . Jerusalem: and mark Thau upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and mourn for all the abominations that are committed in the midst thereof” (Ezekiel 9:4). In the typological arrangements of the twelfth century, this scene was juxtaposed with that of Christ carrying the Cross or the Crucifixion. Tau was the model for the cross itself, and T-shaped crosses are often reserved for Dysmas and Gestas, the thieves who flanked Christ’s Crucifixion, and for Christ himself in representations of the Throne of Mercy. The staff with which Moses upheld the Brazen Serpent was also represented in the form of a tau and was understood to foreshadow the Crucifixion. Sts. Philip and Matthew were crucified on T-shaped crosses. The tau cross also symbolized Advent and, by extension, eternal life in Christ. By the later Middle Ages, however, the tau cross became primarily associated with St. Anthony Abbot, a fourth-century Egyptian who established a monastery in the Fayum but who led a

Figure 7. Cross with reliquary capsule. Netherlands, ca. 1480. Gold, pearls. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

Figure 8. Interior of Middleham pendant capsule in Figure 1, showing contents when found (photo: Sotheby's)

exegesis of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.\textsuperscript{11} This strongly suggests that the capsule was intended to hold a relic directly related to Christ’s sacrifice, perhaps a fragment of the True Cross, or, more probably, something specifically related to the celebration of the Eucharist, such as a paschal wax wafer stamped with the Agnus Dei and carrying a papal blessing.\textsuperscript{12}
largely hermetic life in the mountain wilderness. The tau, a peculiarly Egyptian form of cross, may have symbolized his abbatial authority and, because of its crutchlike appearance, may have also referred to his extreme longevity.

The relics of St. Anthony are purported to have been translated in about 1070 by Geilin II, count of Dauphiné, from Constantinople to the parish church of Saint-Didier-la-Mothe, in the foothills of the Dauphiné in southwestern France. Here, on lands later deeded to the Benedictine priory of Montmajour, a larger church dedicated to St. Anthony was constructed and, in 1119, consecrated by Calixtus II. According to tradition, Gaston, a lord of the Dauphiné, and his son Guérin established in 1095 a nearby hospice, which eventually became the central house of the Order of the Hospitalers of St.-Antoine-de-Viennois, known commonly as the Antonines. Early in the thirteenth century, the Antonines were allowed to build a chapel adjoining the hospital. In 1231 statutes for the order were drawn up putting a Grand Master in charge of each dependent house, or commandery; in 1247 the Antonines adopted the rule of St. Augustine, and the original priory was elevated by Boniface VIII to the rank of abbey and converted to an order of Augustinian canons. Antonine foundations spread through France as well as Spain, Italy, Germany, and the

Figure 9. Detail of a stand of a cross with Aaron marking the door of an Israelite's house, from the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer. Mosan, ca. 1170. Gilded bronze, enamel. St. Omer, Musée Archéologique (photo: Art Resource)

Figure 10. Detail of a stand of a cross with Aaron marking the forehead of the righteous with the letter tau, from the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer. Mosan, ca. 1170. Gilded bronze, enamel. St. Omer, Musée Archéologique (photo: Art Resource)
Figure 11. Badge in the form of a tau cross with the Crucifixion. English, ca. 1475–1500. Lead alloy. London, British Museum (photo: British Museum)

Figure 12. Niklaus von Hagenau (ca. 1445–ca. 1538), Detail from the central shrine of the Isenheim Altarpiece, showing two figures presenting St. Anthony Abbot with a hen and a piglet. Lindenwood, polychromy. French, Upper Rhineland (Alsace), ca. 1505. Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden (photo: Art Resource)

Figure 13. Ring with a tau cross and a figure of St. Anthony. English, ca. 1480–1500. Gold. London, British Museum (photo: British Museum; line drawing after Dalton)

Figure 14. Engraving of the ring of Richard Mayo, bishop of Hereford (from Archaeologia, XXXI, p. 251)
Near East. By the mid-thirteenth century, the Antonines were established in London at a site in Threadneedle Street, a foundation that appears to have been better known for its school than for its hospital.\textsuperscript{18} The London commandery was granted the advowson of All Saints, Hereford, and its dependent chapels, and there were also two hospitals in York dedicated to St. Anthony.\textsuperscript{19}

Devoted largely to the care of the sick, the Antonines wore a black habit emblazoned with a large tau cross. St. Anthony is often shown with a pig, which is thought to have originally symbolized the saint’s conflicts with evil spirits. By the later Middle Ages the Antonines obtained the privilege of allowing their pigs to run free, whether in town or country, foraging on what they could find. Bells were tied around their necks to distinguish them from strays, and, sanitary considerations notwithstanding, it was considered meritorious, even in urban settings, to feed them. The bell therefore also came to symbolize the order.

Numerous tau crosses and bells, generally cast in latten or lead alloy, have survived. The crosses, usually embossed with the Crucifixion and occasionally with an inscription (Figure 11), and the bells, generally unmarked, were probably sold by the Antonines to raise funds for the hospitals.\textsuperscript{20} These tokens may have been souvenirs acquired by pilgrims visiting specific sites, but the Antonines, who were known to have actively solicited donations, announced their presence by ringing a bell, and they exchanged such badges for contributions in cash or kind. In the central shrine of the altar carved by Niklaus von Hagenau (the wings of which were later added by Grünewald), commissioned for the Antonine foundation at Isenheim, the seated figure of St. Anthony, in reference to this form of support, is flanked by two diminutive figures, one a landowner presenting the august abbot with a hen and the other a rustic presenting a piglet (Figure 12).

Other forms of more precious jewelry that incorporated Antonine attributes appear to have been produced independently as objects of personal adornment. A considerable number of rings, for example, dating from the mid-fifteenth through the early sixteenth century have a Lombardic T or tau cross engraved on the shoulders.\textsuperscript{21} One gold band is engraved with a tau cross as well as a standing figure of St. Anthony, along with a scallop shell and a standing figure of St. John the Baptist; an inscrip-
tion appears on the inside (Figure 13).22 A gold ring set with a ruby flanked by tau crosses in green enamel, with small engraved bells below, was found in the tomb of Richard Mayo, bishop of Hereford, who died in 1516 (Figure 14).23 More germane to this study, however, are the rarer gold pendants in the form of a tau cross. In addition to the example in The Cloisters, another cross, excavated at the site of St. James's church in Bath in 1962, is engraved on the obverse only with a representation of St. Anthony Abbot holding a bell with a pig at his feet (Figures 15, 16).24 In the museum of the church of St. Peter Hungate, Norwich, is the front section of an engraved gold and opaque black enamel pendant capsule (Figure 17) found at Matlaske in Norfolk (see Figure 5). The engraving represents the Crucifixion flanked not by the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist but by St. John the Baptist and an unidentified bishop saint, all set against a tendril-and-floral background. The shape of the pendant results from the merging of a tau with a curvilinear form, the concave termini of the arms projecting from the edge. The piece is hollowed out as a receptacle.

The obverse of the pendant is engraved with a representation of the Annunciation against a background of stylized trees.25 The obverses of the Matlaske and Bridlington pendants, like that of the Winteringham pendant, were each cast as a hollowed-out receptacle attached to the facing plate by a slotted flange and a pin-and-barrel tube. Each of these three capsule pendants was originally fitted with a suspension loop from which a small bell once undoubtedly hung.26

In the fifteenth century a number of confraternities, both secular and religious, were established for both men and women. John Carpenter, the master of St. Anthony's, Threadneedle, instituted or revived in 1441 such a confraternity, which gave its members, among other privileges, the right to choose their own confessor, who was empowered to commute vows of abstinence and pilgrimages for five years.27 These advantages presumably cost the members dearly, to the enrichment of the Antonine hospitals.

There were numerous other such confraternities associated with various Antonine foundations. In recognition of his contributions to the house at St.-Antoine-de-Viennois, Jacques II de Bourbon and his heirs were granted the right to wear a gold tau cross and bell on their collars at the vigil and feast of St. Anthony.28 In 1468 Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg was admitted to the commandery of Maastricht and was entitled to wear the tau badge and bell on his collar. Perhaps the most famous of these orders was that of the Knights of St. Anthony, founded in 1382 by Albrecht II of Bavaria, count of Hainault (d. 1404).29 Originally a quasi-military order loosely aligned with the Knights of the Teutonic Order, this confraternity had been converted by 1420 into an aristocratic society attached to the chapel of Saint-Antoine-de-Barbefosse at Havré, near Mons in Hainault.30 Membership, which required annual dues to the Antonines, seems to have been limited largely to Albrecht’s heirs—Johann, Wilhelm, and Jacoba—and to select members of the aristocratic or patrician classes.

The insignia of this order, a gold tau with a small bell suspended from a heavy collar, in imitation of the knotted waist cord of St. Anthony, appears in several fifteenth-century portraits. The earliest of these is the portrait of a man holding a pink, often identified as Johann of Bavaria, count of Hainault, and attributed to a follower of Jan van Eyck (Figure 20).31 Another example is found on one of the bronze figures, thought to represent Albrecht or
Figure 20. Follower of Jan van Eyck, *Man Holding a Pink*. Flemish, ca. 1420–40. Oil on panel. Berlin, Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Gemäldegalerie)

Figure 21. Courtly figure from the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon (d. 1465), from the abbey church of St. Michael's, Antwerp, ca. 1476. Bronze. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

Figure 22. Detail of Figure 21 showing insignia of the Order of the Knights of St. Anthony
Wilhelm of Bavaria, count of Hainault, from the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon (d. 1465), cast about 1476 but after models of a somewhat earlier style and formerly located in the abbey church of St. Michael, Antwerp (Figures 21, 22). The insignia is also worn by Frank van Borselen, Stadholder of Zeeland (d. 1470), and by his fourth wife, Jacoba of Bavaria, countess of Holland and Zeeland (d. 1436), in a pair of portraits probably copied in the sixteenth century after originals of about 1435 (Figures 23, 24). The order appears to have enjoyed currency well beyond the lifetimes of the immediate heirs of Albrecht of Bavaria, as the insignia is worn by a woman in a double portrait attributed to the Master of the Death of the Virgin and dated about 1515 (Figure 25). Indeed, these orders became so prevalent that St. Anthony himself is shown wearing an insignia in a painting by Petrus Christus (Figure 26).

The Order of the Knights of St. Anthony could have been introduced into England by Jacoba, who annulled her second marriage in order to marry Humphrey, duke of Gloucester and regent to Henry VI. Such orders were viewed as tokens of allegiance and were often bestowed in the course of negotiating grander alliances. The one in question here, which would have placed Hainault, Friesland, Holland, and Zeeland in the possession of the English crown, was certainly not calculated to please Philippe the Good, duke of Burgundy, who was no doubt instrumental in thwarting its consummation. In any event, at least two Englishmen, Sir Roger de Boys and Sir Bernard Brocas, are known to have belonged to the order.

Preciousness of material and quality of craftsmanship indicate that the Winteringham tau cross and the others under discussion here were not ordinary badges of the sort associated with pilgrimages or almsgiving. Rather, they must have been either individual commissions of the well-to-do or the insignia of elite confraternities. Whether any of these pendant crosses can be linked specifically to the Order of the Knights of St. Anthony is not of primary interest. The more compelling question is why so many individuals and confraternities chose to espouse the Antonines and their patron saint. The
function of these tau crosses and the significance they held for those who wore them may well be explained by the primary function of the Antonine hospitals themselves.

Medieval hospitals, or spitals, as they were often more graphically termed, served a variety of functions vital to the very fabric of medieval society. More responsive and flexible than their modern counterparts, medieval hospitals were prepared to serve not only as custodians for the sick but also as shelters for the poor and homeless, residences for indigent students, clinics, dispensaries, hostels for pilgrims and other travelers, leprosaria, orphanages, old-age homes, and refuges for the blind. Hospitals that specialized in clinical care functioned more as nursing homes, with little distinction made between short-term treatment and long-term residential care.36

From an early date, the Antonine hospitals were renowned for their treatment of victims of an endemic disease that became known as St. Anthony's fire, or ignis sacer. This disease—or plague, as it was then thought to be—sporadically broke out across Europe with inexorable virulence from the eleventh century onward. The horrific symptoms included agonizing intestinal pain, hallucinations accompanied by muscle spasms, and violent contortions. The common name of the disease derived from the accompanying burning sensation in the extremities, which eventually turned gangrenous, withered, and ultimately required amputation. Because of the burning sensation, flames were understood as a reference to the disease; the cross from Bath, for example, shows flames dancing about St. Anthony's feet (Figure 15). Those who suffered from the disease were often depicted with flames shooting from their hands or feet (see Figure 29). Once contracted, the disease was progressive, relentless, and utterly incurable. The grotesque figure in the inner right wing of Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece, whose bloated body is covered with angry pustules and whose limbs are gangrenous, has been interpreted—apparently with a degree of pathological accuracy—as a victim in extremis (Figure 27).37
devastating effects of the disease occasionally reached proportions matched only by outbreaks of bubonic plague. In 1418, for example, an outbreak of \textit{ignis sacer} in Paris claimed fifty thousand lives in a single month.\textsuperscript{38}

For the modern reader to understand the importance of the Antonine hospitals in relation to this abominable disease, it is necessary to understand medieval notions of medicine in general and the common view of this disease in particular. After the theory of disease transmission through germs evolved during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and particularly since the advancement of medical knowledge and technology late in the twentieth century, we tend to expect medicine to cure illness and disease. Even in confronting the most intractable cancers, for example, we remain doggedly convinced that, however far in the future, some sort of cure will eventually be discovered. Medieval man, on the other hand, viewed medicine not as a curative but merely as a palliative. One of the most famous medical texts of the early sixteenth century, Hans von Gersdorff's \textit{Feldbuch der Wundartzney}, published in Strasbourg in 1517, provides a vast array of remedies and therapies to alleviate a great variety of symptoms, but prescribes a cure for not so much as a single illness. In the case of \textit{ignis sacer}, the populace was all the more terrorized by the seemingly ubiquitous and random nature in which it struck; isolated rural towns often spared by the Black Death knew no respite from St. Anthony's fire. Because a cure was inconceivable, the Antonine hospitals could only attempt to alleviate the symptoms and to prepare the patient for the inevitable. Furthermore, as the etiology of disease was unknown, the means of contracting it was often viewed as a matter of divine governance; man was being stricken for his sins. The AIDS pandemic of the past decade brings us poignantly close to the world of late-medieval man besieged by St. Anthony's fire.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Antonine hospitals devoted themselves exclusively to the care of victims of \textit{ignis sacer}; in fact, the reforms of 1497 required that only patients properly diagnosed with the disease could be admitted to the hospital. The more common therapies relied on a variety of plants and herbs, particularly those that were thought to be dry and cold, such as plantain, poppy, sage, and verbena, and were thus viewed as an allopathic remedy to the burning sensation of the disease. The Antonine hospitals were particularly well known for two topical concoctions, a balsam and a wine vinegar known as Saint Vinage.\textsuperscript{39} It is possible that hydrotherapy was also used in treating the disease; there were famous thermal waters in the Vosges very close to the hospital at Isenheim, and monasteries often had such baths under their purview.\textsuperscript{40} When all else failed, as it inevitably did, the Antonine hospitals resorted to their specialty: amputation. Hans von Gersdorff describes the procedure and notes that he had conducted hundreds of these radical interventions in the Antonine hospital at Strasbourg (Figure 26).
The hospitals were, of course, operated by religious communities, and piety and faith also played a key role in caring for the ill. In the case of the hospital at Isenheim, Andrée Hayum, in an exceptional interpretive work, argues compellingly that Grünewald's great altar was created specifically for a hospital context and that its iconographic program was intended to serve as part of this spiritual and psychological healing mission.

Those living with ignis sacer also sought comfort in St. Anthony. Credited with miraculous powers, he was customarily invoked as an intercessor. In the fifteenth century St. Anthony is frequently shown serenely enthroned holding the Crux Taumata, the symbol of his abbatial authority, as figures on crutches with fire shooting forth from their extremities beseech him; above, limbs of the amputees are strung up as ex-votos (Figure 29). These severed limbs may also be a reference to the fact that the hôpitaux des démembrés are said to have kept ex-voto collections of limbs that could be reclaimed at the Last Judgment. But just as St. Anthony had the power to assuage the ravages of the ignis sacer, he was also accorded the retributive power to inflict the disease on sinners. Thus, those not yet afflicted also approach him with wary piety. In the Lisbon Temptation of St. Anthony the tormented saint turns to gaze out balefully at the viewer; in the foreground is an amputated foot, a gruesome allusion, no doubt, to his special powers (Figure 30).

Only in 1676 was the cause of this disease, known by modern medicine as ergotism, discovered to be the consumption of grain, particularly rye, that had been contaminated by the mold claviceps purpurea; the disease can be readily cured with penicillin. Apparently there were no significant reported outbreaks of ergotism in England during the late Middle Ages, largely because of the climatic condi-
tions and because rye was used much less in bread making. But the populace must have been well aware of Continental outbreaks. Not understanding the etiology of *ignis sacer* and mindful of the ineluctable spread of bubonic plague, the English were no doubt as anxious as their Continental neighbors to embrace any form of prophylactic believed efficacious. Whether the Winteringham tau cross and others similar to it held an amuletic compound or relics of the saint the owner wished to propitiate, and whether they were the insignia of a confraternity of the Antonines or simply pieces of personal jewelry, these tau pendants must have been worn in faith that a higher power would provide protection against a fearful disease.

NOTES

1. Now the Yorkshire Museum, York.

2. The pendant was sold at Sotheby's, London, on Dec. 11, 1986, and was more recently acquired by the Yorkshire Museum, York. Although the Middleham pendant is a unique survivor, lavish jewels of this type were apparently not uncommon, and numerous mentions appear in inventories of the 15th century. That of Sir Henry Howard, for example, compiled in 1466, itemizes a gold collar "set on a corse of black silk with a hanger of gold garnished with a sapphire."

3. I would like to thank John Sare for his constructive reading of this article.

4. MMA, The Cloisters Collection, 1990, 1990.283. The composition of the gold alloy is 75.4 gold, 16.7 silver, and 7.9 copper, normal proportions for medieval gold. The Winteringham cross was consigned by its owners to Sotheby's, London, where it was auctioned on July 5, 1990, as lot 9.

5. London, the British Museum, lent by Her Majesty the Queen. The central part of the cross, engraved with the Crucifix-
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28. Ibid., p. 368.
29. Ibid., p. 369.
31. Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Inv. no. 525A. Jan van Eyck was in the employ of Johann of Bavaria in The Hague in 1422–25, dates that reasonably correspond to the style of the original, according to M. J. Friedländer, Early Netherlandish Painting I (London, 1967) p. 59.
32. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
33. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, A 498, A 499. A similar but earlier copy of the portrait of Jacoba is in the Royal Gallery, Copenhagen, inv. no. 63, and a 19th-century copy of this is also in the Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 954. A late copy of the pendant portraits with English inscriptions is now in the British Museum, London.
34. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 2464. On the back are inscribed Dirck B... van Amerongen and the dates 1527 and 1549. See Friedländer, Early Netherlandish Painting X, p. 85, no. 153, pl. 117.
37. Particularly the gangrenous tone of the flesh and the withered limbs. For more detailed discussions of the pathology of St. Anthony’s fire, see G. Barger, Ergot and Ergotism (London, 1931) esp. pp. 41–43; Chaumartin, Le Mal des ardens (Paris, 1946) esp. pp. 88, 154–155; and Laurinda S. Dixon, "Bosch’s ‘St. Anthony Triptych’—An Apothecary’s Apotheosis," The Art Journal 44, 2 (Summer 1984) esp. p. 120.
38. There were, in the time frame of the Cloisters tau cross, serious outbreaks in 1473, 1474, 1494, and 1509. See Marie-Madeleine Antony-Schmitt, Le Culte de Saint-Sébastien en Alsace (Strasbourg/Colmar, 1977) p. 96.
41. Hans von Gersdorff, Feldbuch der Wundartzney (Strasbourg, 1517) chap. 20, "Von der Abscheydung." In a rhymed couplet he notes that it is necessary to cut off a leg or an arm in order to extinguish St. Anthony’s fire.