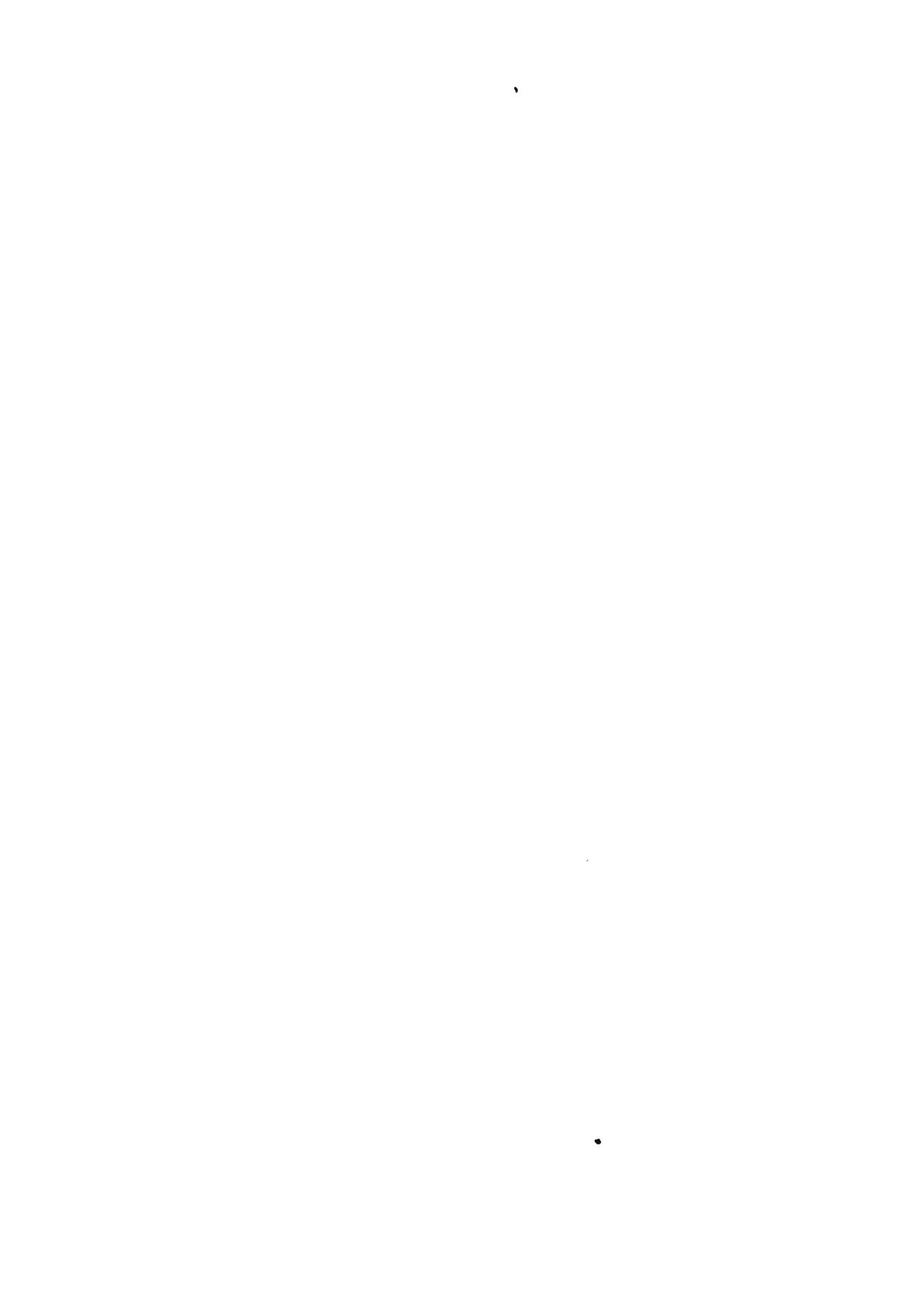


ST. JAMES THE LESS



# ST. JAMES THE LESS

A STUDY IN CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY

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# ST. JAMES THE LESS

## A STUDY IN CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY

### CHAPTER I.

#### His Descent and Life.

**I**CONOGRAPHY, as the derivation of the word shows, is the Science or Art of representation by images. By the study of iconography not only can the artist invest his work with increased interest and meaning through the employment of appropriate emblems and attributes, but also the archæologist, searching back through the picture-book of ancient art, is enabled to read the mysterious and involved language in which our forefathers expressed their imagination and their beliefs, and so obtain a knowledge of their customs, their art and their religion. The artist, for his knowledge, goes to the great monuments of the Middle Ages—the West Front of Wells Cathedral, the sculptured portals of Rheims, Chartres and Amiens. The archæologist relies on the translation of these remains given him by that great storehouse of mediæval lore, the Golden Legend. This work, which was such a powerful factor in the religious life of the Middle Ages, is a compilation made about the year 1275 by a Dominican monk, Jacopo de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, his chief sources of information being the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, the Martyrologies of St. Jerome and the Venerable Bede, and other works of a similar character. The book is arranged roughly in the chronological order of the feasts of the various saints, and, besides giving a history of the saint and of the miracles he performed, and in the case of martyrs,

an account of their sufferings and martyrdom, the author often endeavours to abstract a symbolic meaning from the name of the saint, and to deduce the reasons for his being so called. The conclusions he draws show great imagination and ingenuity, and are also interesting as telling us how the mediæval monk sought to impress upon the laity the worthiness of those held up for their example and instruction. Thus in the legend of St. James the Less we are told—"James is as moche to say as supplantour, or supplantynge a feste, or makynge redy. Or James is said of Ja and of cobar, whiche is as moche to saye as the burthen or weyght of god. Or James may be said of Jaculo a darte, and cope smytyng, which is to say smeten with a darte, or smeten with glayues."\* He "is said the lasse, how wel that he was elder of age than was Saynt James the more, by cause lyke as is in relygyon he that entred fyrst is called ayne [French, aîné], and grete, and he that cometh after shal be called lasse though he be the older, and in this wyse was thys saynt James called the lasse. He was called also the broder of our lord, by cause he resembled moche wel our lord in body, in vysage, and of manere. He was called James the Just for his right grete holynesse, for saint Jherome recordeth that he was so holy that the peple strof how they myght touche the hemme of his robe or mantel. He was also called James the sone of alphey."

The descent of our saint is veiled in obscurity. Mediæval writers, and consequently mediæval artists, were of opinion that St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, married three times. The Golden Legend adopts this view, and under the heading of "The Natyuyte of our Blessid Lady" says—"Joachym spoused Anne whiche had a suster named Hysmerye, and Hysmerye had a doughter named Elyzabeth, and Eliud. Elyzabeth was moder to Johan baptist, & Elyud engendryd Emynen. And of Emynen came saynt Seruace whoos body lyeth in Mastreyght vppon the Ryuer of the Mase in the bisshopryche of lyege [Liège]. And Anne had thre husbondes,

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\*The quotations made here and elsewhere from the Golden Legend are taken from the edition printed by William Morris in 1893.

Joachym, Cleophe and Salome, and of the fyrste she had a doughter named Marye, the moder of god, the whiche was gyuen to Joseph in maryage, & she childed our lord Jhesu crist. And whanne Joachym was deed she took Cleophas the broder of Joseph, and had by hym another doughter named Marye also, and she was maryed to Alphee. And Alphee her husbond had by her four sones, that was James the lesse, Joseph the Juste other wyse named barsabee, Symon, and Jude. Thenne the second husbond beyng deed, Anne maryed the thyrldde named Salome and had by hym another doughter whiche yet also was called Marye, and she was maryed to Zebedee. And this Marye had of Zebedee two sones, that is to wyte, James the more & Johan the theuaunglyst.\*

St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians (i. 19.) says "But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother." Similarly we find in St. Matthew (xiii. 55.) "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?" These references are to be accounted for by the fact that the word "brother" has a wider meaning in the Jewish language than it has in ours, and is applicable to all the near male relations.

Mediæval artists—for it is mainly they who have originated the complicated system of Iconography that has come down to us, while we owe our Symbolism chiefly to the early Christians—in their zeal to impress on the unlettered the characteristics of the saints they depicted, have laid especial stress on St. James's legendary likeness to Our Lord. So much so that, as we find a great similarity of feature in the representations of Christ, so there is a corresponding continuity of likeness, and of likeness to our Lord, in most of those of St. James. This is very noticeable in paintings in which Christ is shown in the midst of the Apostles. Even in the absence of any distinguishing emblem, we can in many cases identify St. James by this likeness alone. The long, ascetic face, with its delicately moulded

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\* See Appendix A, on the Iconography of The Holy Kith and Kin.

nostril and deep-set, piercing eyes; the beard and the long hair, are common alike to the Master and His Disciple. It is this likeness, we are told, that necessitated Judas's kiss in the Betrayal.

Of the early life of St. James we know nothing. The Golden Legend tells us that from childhood he practised the most severe self-restraint. "This James was euer holy after that he yssued out of his moders wombe, he neuer dranke wyne, mede, ne sydre, ne neuer ete flesshe, ne neuer rasour touched his heed, ne he neuer baygned. He knelyd so ofte in prayers that his knees were as harde as the horne of a camel."

He is mentioned in the Gospels, as we have already seen, as being a disciple of Christ, and as one of his relations; and to him is ascribed the Epistle that bears his name. St. Paul in his Epistle to the Corinthians (i. xv. 7) says that Christ appeared to St. James after His Resurrection. After the Ascension St. James was constituted Bishop of Jerusalem by the disciples, which see he held for thirty years. The success of his preaching during that time aroused the anger and jealousy of the Jews, particularly of Ananias the High Priest, and about the year 62 A. D. he was taken up to the Temple that he might renounce his belief before the multitudes then assembled in the city to keep the Passover. He, however, seized the occasion to declare his faith, and the exasperated Jews threw him headlong down the Temple steps.\* Here he was stoned by the people, and at length a fuller, mercifully cruel, killed him with a blow from his club.

In the Chapel of the Blessed Luca Belludi—dedicated to SS. Philip and James the Less—in the Church of St. Anthony at Padua, is a fresco illustrating scenes from the life of St. James. The fresco is the work of Giovanni and Antonio da Padova and was executed in the year 1382. The events represented are:—

(1) St. James elected Bishop by the Council of the Apostles held at Jerusalem.

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\* According to some authorities St. James was taken up to the battlements of the Temple and thrown down from there.

(2) Christ appearing to St. James after his Resurrection.

(3) and (4) The Martyrdom of St. James.

The next two scenes, (5) and (6), are miracles performed by St. James, but there is no authority for ascribing them to him, and in fact the Golden Legend attributes them to St. James the Greater. This must be an instance, of which there are others, in which the identity of the two cousins has been confused.\* The Golden Legend ascribes no miracles to St. James the Less. After a description of his martyrdom it gives, on the authority of Josephus, an account of the several portents that preceded the fall of Jerusalem, which "cam not onely for the deth of saynt James but for the dethe of our lord Jhesu crist pryncypally."

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\* See B. Gonzati, 'La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova,' vol. 1, 1852.

## CHAPTER II.

### Early Representations of the Apostles.

**W**HEN we reflect that a great part of the language used by Our Lord was symbolic, and that the Disciples had perforce to use similar language in expounding the Christian doctrine, it is a natural supposition that a system of Symbolism—which is the representation of an object suggesting some secondary and higher meaning associated with or evolved originally from it—should arise before one of Iconography. During the persecutions under which the early Christians suffered, this Symbolism played an important part in their religion. It was, as it were, a book written in a language which only they could read, and, while acting as a safeguard against their persecutors and as a means of keeping the little band of the faithful together, it served to keep the inner meaning of Christ's teaching constantly before them with a force that no mere realism could have exercised. Our Lord's constant reference to himself as the Good Shepherd, and to His followers as His Sheep, was ample reason for the early Church seeing in the figure of a shepherd a symbol of the love of His flock which Christ Himself exhibited. And it must be understood that in the early centuries of the Christian era there was no attempt to portray Christ as He really was. He is shown as a young, beardless shepherd bearing a sheep on His shoulders—a representation probably derived from the Hermes Kriophoros of Classic times, and used by the early Christians in a purely symbolic sense with no pretensions towards realism or portraiture such as early existed in the case of SS. Peter and Paul.\*

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\* The best example of such a representation of Christ is in the Lateran Museum, Rome, and dates probably from the third century. In the mosaics in the apse of the Church of S. Pudenziana at Rome (c. 390), Christ has a beard.

Continuing the idea of the shepherd and his sheep, we find that the earliest form in which the Apostles were symbolically represented was that of sheep. One of the earliest examples of this is in the mosaics in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna (c. 440). Near the same town, in the Church of S. Apollinare in Classe, the Apostles are shown as sheep coming six on each side towards Christ, also represented as a Sheep, from gates inscribed with the words Jerusalem and Bethlehem. These mosaics date from the VIth century. Other examples are to be seen in the mosaics of several churches in Rome—SS. Cosmas and Damian (526 - 530); S. Cecilia in Trastevere, and St. Praxedes (both early IXth century); and St. Clement (XIIIth century).\* In this last church there is also a mosaic of the same date representing Christ on the Cross, in which the Apostles are figured as doves. During the same period we find, side by side with the *symbolic* representation of the Apostles as sheep, the sheep used as the *emblems* of the Apostles; as for example on a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum at Rome. Here, Christ as the Good Shepherd is shown surrounded by twelve sheep, behind each of which stands an Apostle. Other examples shew the Apostles bearing sheep in their arms. In the Church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna is a series of medallions in mosaic with the heads of the Apostles (c. 547); in S. Maria in Cosmedin the mosaic represents the Baptism of Christ surrounded by the Apostles bearing crowns—St. Peter is to be identified by the key he holds.

There is a tradition that, before their departure to take the Gospel into all the world, the Apostles assembled to draw up a declaration of their faith. This declaration is known as the Apostles' Creed, and is to be divided into twelve sentences of which each Apostle is said to have composed one. We find early representations of the Apostles each bearing a scroll on which is inscribed the article of faith composed by him. In some examples they are arranged

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\* "After the fourth century . . . the symbolism of the Good Shepherd rapidly fell out of favor and was replaced by the mystic lamb of the Apocalypse."—W. LOWRIE, 'Christian Art and Archæology,' p. 220, 1901.

in this order:—

1. St. Peter: "Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cœli et terræ."
2. St. Andrew: "Et in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum."
3. St. James the Greater: "Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine."
4. St. John the Evangelist: "Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus est."
5. St. Philip: "Descendit ad infernos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis."
6. St. Bartholomew: "Ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dextram Dei Patris omnipotentis."
7. St. Thomas: "Inde venturus est, judicare vivos et mortuos."
8. St. Matthew: "Credo in Spiritum sanctum."



Fig. 1.

9. St. James the Less: "Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, sanctorum communionem."
10. St. Simon: "Remissionum peccatorum."
11. St. Jude: "Carnis resurrectionem."
12. St. Matthias: "Et vitam æternam."

In the case of St. James the Less this attribution is to be seen in a fresco by Bernadino Pinturicchio (? 1454 - 1513) and his assistants in the Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican, Rome (Fig. 1). But this sentence is not always attributed to him, and, in fact, the attribution would seem to depend rather on the individual taste of the artist and on what he consid-

ered the proper sequence of the Apostles. St. Paul is never represented thus; St. Peter always holds the first clause, and St. Matthias the last. The sentence "Ascendit ad cœlos, etc." is frequently given to

St. James; instances of this being—

(1) Orcagna's Shrine of the Virgin in the Church of Or S. Michele, Florence. Date, 1359.

(2) Tomb of Ferry de Beauvoir, Bishop of Amiens (d. 1472), in the Choir of Amiens Cathedral. [See G. Durand, 'La Cathédrale d' Amiens,' II, p. 115 and pl. IV, 1903.]

(3) Windows of Fairford Church, Gloucestershire. Early XVIth century. [See J. G. Joyce, 'The Fairford Windows,' p. 100, 1872.]

(4) The painted panels of the Rood screen in Chudleigh Church, Devon. Early XVIth century.

Another method of representing the Apostles is to be seen in the mosaics of the Baptistery in St. Mark's at Venice (XIIIth century.) Here Christ is shown in glory, surrounded by the Apostles baptizing the Gentiles. Over each Apostle is an inscription setting forth the part of the world in which he preached the Gospel. Over St. James is "Jacobus minor baptizat in Judæa." In general however, as in the case of the sentences of the Creed, great variation is shown in the order of the localities assigned to the different Apostles. In later years artists frequently depicted the departure of the Apostles to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. Such representations vary considerably, some artists following Christ's words as given in St. Matthew x. 9, 10—"Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves"\*—others, on the other hand, following rather St. Mark vi. 8, 9—"And commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only; no scrip, no bread, no money in their purse: But be shod with sandals; and not put on two coats."† In allusion probably to the latter text, in early

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\* For example, the painting of the School of Michael Wolgemut (1434-1519) in the Pinakothek, Munich. Here, however, St. Philip is wearing boots.

† For example, the altarpiece painted by Jerg Ratzel (XVIth century) in the Stuttgart Museum.

Christian art the Apostles are usually wearing sandals;\* but in the Middle Ages it is more common to find them barefooted. Only in a few isolated cases are they shown wearing shoes.†

Illustrations of the martyrdom of St. James are very rare during the first eleven centuries of the Christian era. In a Greek manuscript of the early VIth century, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the death of the saint is depicted at the hands of a fuller who holds a small fuller's bat in his hand (Fig. 2).

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\* See the mosaics in the Baptistery (c. 430), the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (c. 440), and the Church of S. Maria in Cosmedin (VIth century), at Ravenna; and the mosaics in the Churches of S. Giovanni in Laterano (VIIth century) and S. Maria in Dominica (IXth century) at Rome. The mosaics in the Cathedral at Parenzo (VIth century) show the Apostles barefooted.

† For example, the figure of St. John the Evangelist on the exterior of the wings of the Ghent altarpiece in the Berlin Gallery, finished by John van Eyck in 1432; and the aforementioned painting by Michael Wolgemut in the Pinakothek, Munich. St. Peter is occasionally shown as a pope wearing the episcopal shoes.



Fig. 2.

### CHAPTER III.

#### The Fuller's Club.

**I**N the preceding chapter we have broadly considered the various ways of representing the Apostles that were in use previous to the Middle Ages. In the early days of Christianity it was a common belief that the end of the world would take place in the year of Our Lord 1000, and, during the century preceding this prophesied event, the Christian nations, as one would naturally suppose, thought more of the world to come than of the development of the arts. But, this dreaded year once safely passed, religion took a healthier form and art again seemed worthy of men's thoughts and energies. The old Roman remains were studied and, founded on them, a new style was developed. Everywhere new churches were built, to be enriched by every effort, as beseeemed the Great Creator to whose honour they were erected. Forgotten arts were revived, and in due course found their chief use in this noble service. The lives of the saints furnished a mine of material from which artists drew suggestions and inspiration for the exercise of their skill. The idealism of the early Christian days was replaced by the realism which culminated in the later years of the Middle Ages. This realism rejected such simple signs as had previously served to distinguish one saint from another, and in course of time the mystic meaning of some of the old symbols had been lost, while others no longer retained their former power of suggestion. And the very *raison d'être* of Christian symbolism—that is, persecution—had disappeared. Religion had therefore, perforce, to be put before the common people in a clearer light. This is especially to be noticed in the case of the Apostles. With the exception of SS. Peter, Paul

and Andrew, facial characteristics alone had formally been relied upon to distinguish them. But such subtle distinctions were not in accordance with the realistic spirit of the mediæval artist, and a system of emblems had to be formed which would adequately serve his purpose. During the Middle Ages this system was more or less simple; but in later years it became very complicated, owing to the increase in the number of saints and the tendency which later artists had towards exaggeration.

In framing his system of emblems the artist argued in this way—St. James the Less was slain by a blow from a fuller's club; let him therefore be represented holding the instrument of his martyrdom. At the same time his legendary likeness to Our Lord was not forgotten. So in subsequent years St. James was distinguished from other saints by these means.

The fuller's club, as in the case of the potter's wheel and other simple industrial tools, has varied but little throughout the ages. Any stick that was capable of dealing a sufficiently hard blow to the cloth was probably used.\* Consequently the emblem given to St. James varies from a short, knotted stick (Fig 13) to a long club not unlike a hockey stick (Fig. 3), while at other times it is simply a flat bat (Fig. 2).

The following lists of illustrations of St. James the Less with his emblem the fuller's club do not claim to be exhaustive. The examples are arranged, according to nationality, in chronological order; and, in the majority of cases, the references given are to illustrations.

#### I. ENGLISH.

c. 1300. Martyrdom. Embroidered orphrey in the

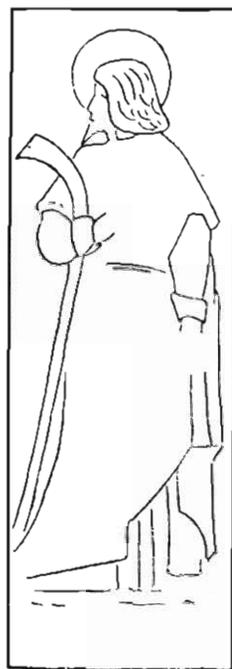


Fig. 3.

\* In Roman times we find it mentioned as the "pila fullonica," and it is interesting to note that in those days the fullers took the place of our modern laundresses.

Musée Royal, Brussels. [See Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Embroidery at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1905.]

XIVth century. Embroidered orphrey in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 829—1903.

XVth century. Embroidered orphrey of a chasuble in St. Dominic's Priory, Haverstock Hill. [See Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Embroidery at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1905.]

West front of Wells Cathedral. [See W. H. St. John Hope, 'The Imagery and Sculptures on the West Front of Wells Cathedral,' *Archæologia*, LIX, pl. xxi, 1904.]

Reredos in Bampton in the Bush Church (Oxon). [See *The Calendar of the Prayer Book*, pl. ix, 1886.]

Embroidered orphrey of a chasuble in Oscott College, Birmingham. [See Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Embroidery at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1905.]

Embroidered orphrey of a cope in the possession of Lady O'Hagan. [*Ibid.*]

XVth - XVIth centuries. Painted panels of rood-screens in Devonshire Churches, e.g. Tor Brian (c. 1430), Alphington (c. 1470), Kenn (c. 1500), Wolborough (c. 1520), and others. [A complete list is to be found in Bond and Camm, 'Roodscreens and Roodlofts,' II, p. 264, 1909.]



Fig. 4.

Painted panels of rood-screens in Norfolk churches, e.g.

Sall (Fig. 3), and Ranworth (Fig. 4, which is from Winter, 'Illustrations of the Rood-screen at Randworth,' fig. 17, 1869).  
Painted panel of rood-screen in Southwold Church.

XVIth century. Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, 1502-20.

Embroidered orphrey in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 4045—1856.

Embroidered orphrey of a chasuble in the possession of W. Gordon-Cumming, Esq. [See Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Embroidery at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1905.]

## II. FRENCH.

XIIth century. Martyrdom. Miniature in a Latin manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 11700. [See Rohault de Fleury, 'Les Saints de la Messe,' VII, pl. DCCXLIII, 1899.]



Fig. 5.

XIIIth century. North side of central porch of west front, Amiens Cathedral. [See G. Durand, 'Monographie de l'église Notre-Dame, Cathédrale d'Amiens,' I, pl. xxix and p. 326, 1901.]

South porch, Chartres Cathedral. [See Vitry and Brière, 'Documents de sculpture française du Moyen Age,' pl. XLIII, No. 2, 2nd ed., 1906; and also Fig. 5.]

Stained glass in clerestory of south side of nave, Chartres Cathedral.

Portal, Church of Notre Dame de la Couture, Le Mans.

Figure from the Sainte Chapelle, Paris, now in the Cluny Museum. [See A. de Baudot, 'La Sculpture française,' part 2, pl. xxxviii, 1884.]

Martyrdom. Miniature in a Latin manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 1023. [See Rohault

de Fleury, 'Les Saints de la Messe,' VII, pl. DCCXXXIX, 1899.]  
West front, Rouen Cathedral.

XIVth century. Stained glass in church of St. Pierre, Chartres.  
Portal, Lyons Cathedral. [See L. Bégule, 'Monographie de la Cathédrale de Lyon,' 3rd series, pl. III, 1880.]



Fig. 6.

Portal, Rheims Cathedral.  
Martyrdom. Miniature in a French manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 183. [See Rohault de Fleury, 'Les Saints de la Messe,' VII, pl. DCCXLIV, 1899; and Fig. 6.]

XVth century. Wall-painting in the chapel of the Château of Siaugues-Romain (Haute-Loire). The saint holds in his right hand a fuller's teasle. [See L. Giron, 'Les peintures murales du Département de la Haute-Loire (du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle),' pl. xiv, 1911; and Fig. 7.]

Painting on the tomb of Ferry de Beauvoir, Bishop of Amiens (d. 1472), in choir of Amiens Cathedral. [See G. Durand, 'Monographie de l'église de Notre-Dame, Cathédrale d'Amiens,' II, pl. LV & p. 115, 1903.]



Fig. 7.

XVIth century. Tomb of François II, duke of Brittany, in Nantes Cathedral, 1507. The work of Michel Colombe (1430-c. 1512). [See A. de Baudot, 'La Sculpture française,' IV, pl. xxiii, 1884.]

Plaque, enamelled copper; ascribed to Jean Pénicaud III, c. 1560-70. In the Victoria & Albert Museum, No. 1190—1864.

Portion of a retable in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 704—1905.

XVIIth century. Engraving by Jacques Callot (1592-1635) in 'Les Images de tous les Saints et Saintes de l'année,' Paris, 1636. [See Fig. 8.]

III. GERMAN.

XIIth century. Reliquary of the Magi, Cologne Cathedral, end of the XIIth century. [See O. von Falke, 'Der Dreikönigenschrein des Nikolaus v. Verdun im Cölner Domschatz,' pl. xx, 1911.]

XIVth century. Wall-painting in Toitenwinkel Church. [See 'Die Kunst- und Geschichts-Denkmäler des Grossherzogthums Mecklenburg - Schwerin,' I, p. 334, 1896; & Fig. 9.] Brass of Burchard von Serken and Johannes von Mul, Lübeck Cathedral, c. 1350. [See W. F. Creeny, 'Monumental Brasses,' p. 13, 1884.]



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

Altarpiece in Grabow Church, 1379. [See A. Goldschmidt, 'Lübecker Malerei und Plastik bis 1530,' pl. v, 1889.]

XVth century. Painting of the School of Cologne, c. 1410, the property of Herr H. Fridt, Cologne. [See P. Clemen and E. Firmenich-Richartz, 'Die kunsthistorische Ausstellung zu Düsseldorf, 1904,' pl. iv, 1905.]

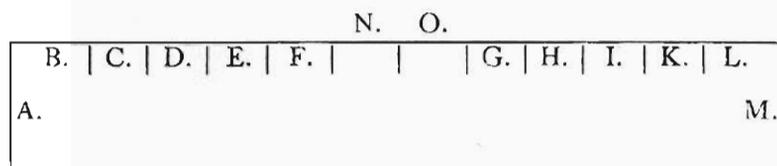
Figure in Church of St. Catherine, Lübeck, 1400-40. [See A. Goldschmidt, 'Lübecker Malerei und Plastik bis 1530,' pl. x, 1889.]

Martyrdom. Painting of the Workshop of Meister Stephan Lochner (d. 1451), in the Städel Gallery, Frankfort-on-the-Main, No. 63. [Phot. Bruckmann.]

## APPENDIX B.

### The Apostles in the West Front of Exeter Cathedral.

**T**HE Apostles in the West Front of Exeter Cathedral (second half of the XIVth century) are to be identified as follows:—



- A. St. Philip, holding loaves of bread.
- B. St. Bartholomew, holding his own skin.
- C. St. Matthew, holding a book.
- D. ? St. Thomas.
- E. St. Andrew, holding a saltire cross.
- F. St. Peter.
- G. St. Paul, holding a sword.
- H. St. John the Evangelist, blessing the poisoned chalice.
- I. St. James the Greater, with staff & wallet, & scallop shell in his palmer's hat.
- K. St. James the Less, holding in his right hand the bow & in his left ? a spear.
- L. St. Simon, holding a club.
- M. ? St. Jude (broken).

The niches N & O originally contained seated figures of Christ & the Virgin, forming a group representing the Coronation of the Virgin; of these two figures only that of Christ, now restored as a king, remains, the figure of the Virgin being replaced by a modern

figure of a king.

Cockerell\* has identified the last three saints as

K. "may be St. Simon."

L. "James the Less, having the fuller's club in his left."

M. "now broken, may be St. Jude."

Subsequent writers have accepted this identification, but it must be obvious to the reader that any Apostle represented with the bow can safely be identified as St. James the Less, and St. Simon is frequently shown with a club (not a fuller's club), especially in the embroidered vestments that were being made in England a few years before the west front of Exeter Cathedral was built (*e.g.* the cope in the Episcopal Museum at Vich—early XIVth century). The fact that the figure of St. James is beardless offers no objection to this identification, as may be seen from many of the illustrations given.†

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\* 'Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral,' Appendix B, 1851.

† See (i) W. R. Lethaby, 'How Exeter Cathedral was built,' *Architectural Review*, XIII, p. 115, 1903. (ii) Prior and Gardner, 'English Mediæval Figure-Sculpture,' *Architectural Review*, XVII, p. 236, 1905.

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#### ERRATA.

Page 24. Fig. 20 should be Fig. 21.  
Page 35, chapter heading. IV should be V.  
Page 42, line 13. Emerentia II should be Emerentia I.

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Two paintings of the School of Meister Stephan Lochner (d. 1451) in the Pinakothek, Munich, Nos. 7 & 9. [Phot. Bruckmann.]

Engravings of the School of the Master of 1466. [See Catalogue of German & Flemish Prints in the British Museum, II, Nos. H.72G., and H.73L., 1883.]

Engravings by Israhel van Meckenem (c.1440-1503). [*Ibid*, Nos. 52, 56 & 89.]

Painting by the Master of St. Bartholomew, in the Pinakothek, Munich, No. 49. [Phot. Bruckmann.]

Painting by the Master of the Life of Mary, in the Pinakothek, Munich, No. 33. [Phot. Bruckmann; see Fig. 10.]



Fig. 10.

#### IV. NETHERLANDISH.

XVth century. Miniature in the Hours of Jacqueline of Bavaria, c. 1450. [See L. Delisle, 'Les Heures de Jacqueline de Bavière,' 1903.]

Figure in a painting by Rogier van der Weyden (1399, 1400-1464) in the Berlin Gallery, No. 534B. [Phot. Braun.] A school copy of this painting is in the Frankfort Gallery, No. 101. [Phot. Braun.]

Brass of Catherine de Bourbon, Duchess of Guelders, Nijmegen Church (Guelderland), 1469. [See W. F. Creeny, 'Monumental

Brasses,' p. 36, 1884.]

Engraving. [See Catalogue of German and Flemish Prints in the British Museum, II, No. 1.95e, 1883.]

Figure on a carved retable in the Victoria & Albert Museum, No. 1049—1855.

1500. Woodcut in the Golden Legend, Delft, 1500.  
 Miniature in the Grimani Breviary, c. 1500, in the Library of St. Mark's, Venice. [See Reproduction, edited by S. De Vries, 1904-10.]



Fig. 11.

Antwerp, 1575.

XVIIth century. Engraving in 'Den Grooten Emblemata Sacra,' by Jan Philipsz Schabaelje, Amsterdam, 1654.

XVIth century. Miniature in the Hours of Anne of Brittany, c. 1508, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. [See the Official Reproduction, 1907.]

Woodcut in the Golden Legend, Antwerp, 1516.\* [See Fig. 11.]

Miniature in the Hortulus Anime, 1517-23, in the Imperial and Royal Court Library, Vienna. [See Reproduction published under the direction of F. Dörnhöffer, 1907-10.]

Woodcut in the Plantin Breviary,

#### V. ITALIAN.

XIIth century. Martyrdom. Mosaic in St. Mark's, Venice. [See 'La Basilica di S. Marco in Venezia,' edited by C. Boito, III, pl. XLVI, 1881; & Fig. 12.]

XIVth century. Painting by Orcagna (? 1308-68) in the Church of S. Maria Novella, Florence, 1359. [Fig. 13.]

XVth century. Medallion of enamelled terra-cotta, by Luca della



Fig. 12.

\* In a Bible printed at Antwerp in 1542 a woodcut of St. James the Greater is at the beginning of the Epistle to St. James. See above, p. 5.

Robbia (1399, 1400-1482), in the Pazzi Chapel, Church of S. Croce, Florence, 1440-50. [See M. Cruttwell, 'Luca & Andrea della Robbia,' pl. p. 77, 1902.]  
 Painting by Botticelli (1446-1510) in the National Gallery, London, No. 1126. [See E. Gebhart, 'Sandro Botticelli et son époque,' pl. VII, 1907.]



Fig. 13.

## VI. SPANISH.

XVth century. Exterior of Condestable Chapel, Burgos Cathedral, 1482. [Fig. 14. Fig. 15 is from the Lion's Door, Toledo Cathedral.]

Figure on the orphrey of a cope in a painting by Pablo Vergós (1473-95) in Barcelona Museum. [See S. Sanpere y Miquel, 'Los cuatrocentistas catalanes,' II, pl. p. 160, 1906; & Fig. 16.]

XVIth century. Figures on the choir stalls in the Cathedrals of Leon & Oviedo.

[See P. Quintero, 'Sillas de coro,' plates pp. 54 and 56, 1908.]



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

## VII. POLISH.

XVth century. Brasses of Lucas de Gorta (1475) and Bishop Andreas (1479) in Posen Cathedral. [See W. F. Creeny, 'Monumental Brasses,' pp. 38 and 41, 1884.]

## VIII. SWEDISH.

c. 1500. Wall-painting in Tegelsmora Church. [See N. M. Mandelgren, 'Monuments Scandinaves du Moyen Age,' pl. xxxii, 1862; and also Fig. 17.]

IX. FINNISH.

- c. 1450. Altarpiece in Raumo Church. [See K. K. Meinander, 'Medeltida altarskåp och träsniderier i Finlands kyrkor.' *In Finska Fornminnesföreningen. Tidskrift*, XXIV, p. 117, 1908.]

X. DANISH.

- End of XVth century. Altarpiece in Frörup Church. [See F. Beckett, 'Altartavler i Danmark,' pl. XXI, 1895.]
- c. 1500. Altarpiece in Tjæreby Church. [*Ibid*, pl. XXXII.]



Fig. 16.

there is no authority for this attribution, the Golden Legend telling us that he was hewn to death, and also that he was "tormentid & done to moche wrong."

Lists of saints who bear a club as an emblem are to be found in Cahier, Husenbeth & the works of other writers on iconography.

St. James the Less is not the only saint who bears the club as an emblem. As may be imagined, a club would form at once a convenient and efficient instrument of death, and in some cases in which no definite details of the martyrdom of a saint were known this weapon was given him as his emblem. But it must be remembered that in such cases the club, although differing in no respects from that borne by St. James, is not a fuller's club.

St. Simon, among others, is frequently represented holding a club in the early English embroideries (cf. the Syon Cope, late XIIIth century, in the Victoria & Albert Museum). But



Fig. 17.

## CHAPTER IV.

### The Bow.

Jacobus der minder.  
Ein Apostel



Fig. 18.

IT was probably early in the fourteenth century that a new emblem began to be assigned to St. James the Less, an emblem for which the reason is not at first quite obvious.\* It is shown in Fig. 18, which is a woodcut from the 2nd edition of the Nuremberg Chronicles, printed at Augsburg in 1496. The saint has evidently just been thrown down from the pulpit represented in the background, and the fuller is on the point of killing him, not with the club but with an instrument not unlike a violin bow. The weapon is obviously not a fuller's club, as its construction would render it unfit to withstand the strain of the prolonged and heavy beating required to full cloth. As a matter of fact the instrument is the bow used by hat-makers in making felt and beaver hats, and by wool-workers in clearing or "whipping" wool.

In Fig. 19† we see how this bow was used; & Fig. 20, adapted from the same source, shows its construction. AB is a round pole some seven or eight feet long;‡ near the end B is tenoned and morticed a little flat piece of wood, having in its thickness at C a groove in which the string of the bow fits; this string, which is

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\*This instrument, as the emblem of St. James the Less, has been variously called by writers a flag, an axe and a violin-bow.

† From 'Dictionnaire des Sciences,' III, 1753, under the heading of 'Chapeliers.'

‡ In some illustrations of St. James holding this emblem it is only about four feet long.

made of spun sheep's gut, after having passed through another groove cut in the extremity B, is wound round the pole and fixed on wooden pegs, H, on the opposite side. At the end A is tenoned



Fig. 19.

and morticed another flat piece of wood, D, which is hollowed out to secure lightness & is thicker at the ends than in the middle, so that the upper end can be fixed more tightly to the pole, & at the lower end a small piece of leather, E, can be fastened by means of gut cords, F2 F2, which can be twisted with small pieces of wood as in a bow saw. The leather is probably to prevent the string of the bow from fraying. This string is fixed by a slip knot at the end A; then it goes over the leather at E, through the groove at

C to the pegs at H where it is fixed and stretched sufficiently, a piece of wood, K, having been previously fixed at E between the string and the leather, thus leaving a space so that the former can vibrate. A leather handle is fixed on the pole at O, through which the hand of the operator is passed. When in use the bow is fastened to the ceiling by means of a rope (Fig. 19), so that the worker has no weight to contend with, and an oscillating movement can be given to the instrument. The string is made to vibrate,

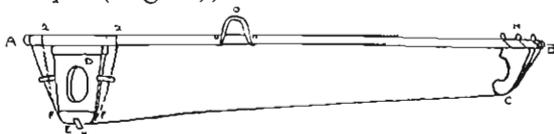


Fig. 20.

in the mixture of hair & wool of which the hat is to be made, by means of the bow-pin—a small piece of wood having a knob at either end—the string being caught by the knob and stretched until it is released sharply by the strain. This operation is called “whipping,” and after a time the component parts of the mixture become closely incorporated; the felt is then boiled and fullled by means of clubs. Cahier,\* speaking of this bow as the emblem of St. James, says: “Des artistes flamands & hollandais, interprétant sans doute les coutumes juives d’après ce qu’ils avaient sous les yeux, ont transformé souvent cette perche de foulon en un énorme archet sous-tendu par une forte lanière de cuir. J’imagine que cet instrument faisait à peu près la fonction des baguettes qui servent à nos matelassiers† pour rendre l’élasticité aux flocons de laine quand elle a pris son pli sous une pression prolongée.” This instrument is to be found in many parts of the world, & in use at the present day. In India,‡ China§ & Persia it is used for cleaning or clearing cotton. “The scutching or cleaning involves the beating & teasing out of the wool. The weavers often do the cleaning themselves,

\* ‘Caractéristiques des Saints,’ II, p. 547, 1867.

† Mattress-makers.

‡ See *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, No. 82, 1903.

§ See Mason, ‘Costume of China,’ pl. XLVIII, 1800.

using an ordinary bow, the string of which is made of gut or of some strong fibre. The bow is held in the left hand with the string partially buried in a little heap of wool, the operator being in a squatting position. The string is caused to vibrate either by being

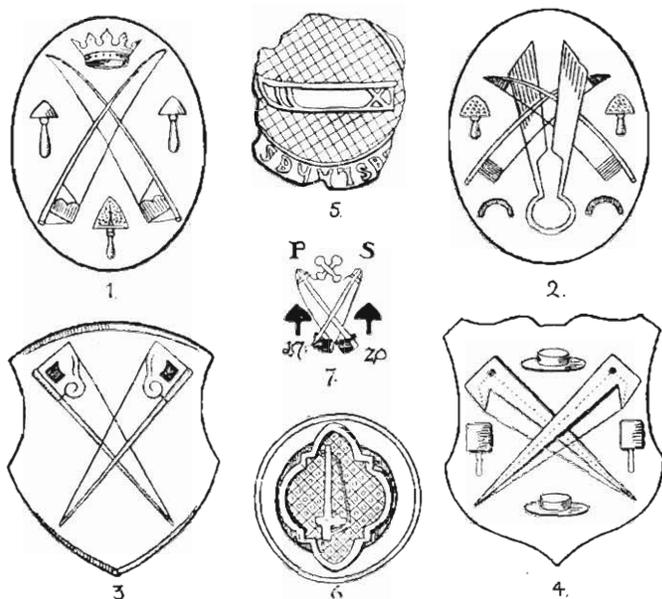


Fig. 20.

plucked with the right hand, or struck with a suitably shaped piece of wood. If large quantities of wool are required, the wool is cleaned by a professional bowman, 'dhunia,' 'behna' or 'pinjari.' . . . The instrument employed by him, known in Urdu as the 'dhenki' or 'pinja,' is a heavy bow, which is suspended string downwards, with the string resting some six inches from the floor. A pile of wool is placed under the string, which is then depressed until it is well into the wool, when it is let go. The string is made to vibrate violently either by hand, or by being struck with a dumb-bell shaped instrument called in Urdu the 'muttiya.' By its vibrations it opens the wool, and frees it from all kinds of dirt which is neither very

viscous nor prickly."\*

There can only be one reason for the origin of the use of this bow as an emblem of St. James the Less, namely, the close connection that existed in mediæval times between the gilds of the fullers and the hatters. As has already been pointed out, the felt when made by the hatters was fullèd before it was finally finished, and from this the reason for the relations between the two gilds can be easily seen. Fig. 21 shows the arms of some of these gilds. Nos. 1 and 2 (from 'Zunft Wappen und Handwerker Insignien,' by A. Greuser, 1889) are the coats of arms of the cloth makers of Magdeburg (XVIIth century) and Gardelegen respectively; No. 3 (from 'Allegories & Emblems,' by M. Gerlach, II, 1883) is the coat of arms of the woollen weavers (1600), the bow being used as a charge owing to its use in cleaning wool; No. 4 (from 'Zunft Wappen') is the coat of arms of the hat-makers of Cracow (1664); No. 5 (from 'Recherches historiques sur les Costumes . . . des Gildes, etc.,' by F. Devigne, pl. xxxi, No. 44, 1847-57), & No. 6 (from 'Inventaire des Sceaux de la Flandre,' by G. Demay, I, No. 4727, 1873) are the seals of the gild of wool beaters of Bruges in 1356 and 1407 respectively; No. 7 (from 'Kunst and Kunsthandwerk,' X, p. 414, 1907) is the arms of a hatters' gild on a vase of peasant maiolica made at Gmunden, Austria. The bow was also used in the arms of the clothworkers of Berlin (in 1442) and Friedeberg. An example of the bow as a charge in private arms is to be seen in the arms of Abbot Georg Kastner on the Kaiserheim Altar in the Pinakothek, Munich, painted by Hans Holbein the elder in 1502 [Fig. 26, No. 2].

St. James the Less was not a very favourite patron of the mediæval gilds. One would have expected to find him as a patron of the fullers, but only in a few isolated cases was that so, perhaps because he was killed by a fuller and members of that trade were not very anxious to recall a circumstance so little honourable to

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\* H. T. Harris, 'Monograph on the carpet weaving industry of Southern India,' p. 25, 1908.

their craft, but more probably because he was overshadowed by other more popular saints such as St. James the Greater, St. Christopher, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Barbara and others. In the XVth century wall-painting in the chapel of the Château of Siaugues-Romain (Fig. 7) the saint is holding a fuller's teasle, which points to the fact that he was patron of a local gild of fullers, or that he was at any rate a patron of the fullers; there can be no other reason for giving him this emblem. He is also to be found as patron of the Hat Makers, the Mercers and Haberdashers, and the Pastry Cooks—of the latter probably in honour of the bread with which he broke his fast.\* He usually shares the patronage with St. Philip, with whom he is associated in ecclesiastic art, and whose feast falls on the same day (May 1st.).

The bow, as the emblem of St. James the Less, is most frequently to be seen in German art, examples of its use in that of other countries being very rare. I have been unable to find any such examples either in Italy or in Spain. One is at a loss to account for its absence in these countries, unless it be due to the idealism of their art as opposed to the realistic spirit that is the key-note of German art. A tool of such universal use must surely have been known in the Latin countries from early times. The origin of its use as an emblem may probably have been in the adoption of St. James as the patron of the hat makers and cloth workers generally.



Fig. 22.

As in the case of the fuller's club, the following lists do not

---

\* "Joseph (i. e. Josephus) recordeth that he had auowed at the deth of our lord that he wold neuer ete tyl our lord were rysen fro deth to lyf, thenne on ester day our lord apperid to hym and said, laye the table fayr broder and ete, for the sone of the virgyn is rysen fro deth to lyfe. Thenne toke he the breed and made the benediction and gaue it to hym."—The Golden Legend.



Fig. 23.



Fig. 24.



claim to be exhaustive. In Germany alone the examples must number many hundreds; those given are chosen rather with the idea of showing how general was the attribution of this emblem to St. James the Less during the XIVth, XVth & XVIth centuries.

### I. ENGLISH.

- XIVth century. West front of Exeter Cathedral, c. 1381. St. James is represented as a youthful figure holding the bow in his right hand, and what may have been a spear in his left. [See Appendix B; & also Fig. 22.]
- XVIth century. Silver parcel-gilt statuette in the Victoria and Albert Museum; one of a set of thirteen figures of Christ & the Apostles, Nos. 6770 to 6782—1860, probably models for Apostle spoons. [Fig. 23.] A similar figure on an Apostle spoon, 1536. [See J. W. Caldicott, 'The values of old English silver and Sheffield Plate,' pl. I, 1906.]

### II. FRENCH.

- XIVth century. Portal of north transept, Bordeaux Cathedral. [See 'Album du Musée de Sculpture comparée,' III, pl. vi, 1897.]
- XVIth century. Woodcut in a Book of Hours, Paris, 1535. The cuts in this book are, however, the work of the German engraver Hans Springinkle (d. c. 1540), and were previously used in the Hortulus Anime, Nuremberg, 1519. [Fig. 28.] Medallion, enamelled copper, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 228—1874. Limoges, probably the work of Léonard Limousin (c. 1505-1575, 7). [Fig. 24.]

### III. GERMAN.

- XIVth century. South portal, Augsburg Cathedral, 1360-70. [See P. Hartmann, 'Die gotische Monumental-Plastik in Schwaben,' pl. xvii, 1910.]
- Wall-painting in the Marien Kirche, Wismar, 1388. [See

‘Die Kunst- und Geschichts-Denkmäler des Grossherzogthums Mecklenburg-Schwerin,’ II, p. 60, 1898.]

Wall-painting in the Church at Lichtenhagen. [*Ibid.*, III, p. 703, 1899.]

XIVth - XVth century. Wall-painting in the Church at Ottmarsheim. [See ‘Das Kunstgewerbe in Elsass-Lothringen,’ IV, p. 51, 1903-4.]

XVth century. Altarpiece of St. Deocharus, Church of St. Lorenz, Nuremberg, early XVth century. [See S. Pückler-Limpurg,



Fig. 25.

‘Die Nürnberger Bildnerkunst,’ p. 77 & pl. vi, 1904.]

Painting in the style of Meister Berthold (fl. first ten years of XVth century). [See Catalogue of the Nuremberg Exhibition, 1906, No. 46; & also Fig. 25.]

Wing of Imhoff Altarpiece, Church of St. Lorenz, Nuremberg, 1418-22.

[See ‘Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst,’ III, p. 207, 1886-90; & for bow, Fig. 26, No. 5.]

West front, Ulm Cathedral, 1420.

[See R. Pfeleiderer, ‘Das Münster zu

Ulm,’ pl. viii, 1905.]

Wing of High Altar, St. Jürgen-Kirche, Wismar, c. 1430.

[See ‘Die Kunst- und Geschichts-Denkmäler des Grossherzogthums Mecklenburg-Schwerin,’ II, p. 76, 1898.]

Martyrdom. Painting of the Workshop of Meister Stephan Lochner (d. 1451), in the Städel Gallery, Frankfurt-on-the-Main, No. 63. [Phot. Bruckmann.]

Figure from a set of the Twelve Apostles, in the Bavarian National Museum, Munich, c. 1450. [See A. Goldschmidt,

‘Lübecker Malerei und Plastik bis 1530,’ pl. ix, 1889.]

Wall-painting of the Last Judgement, Ulm Cathedral, 1471.

[See R. Pfeleiderer, 'Das Münster zu Ulm,' pl. xxxviii, 1905.]

Painting of the Holy Kith and Kin by an unknown master of the Westphalian School, in the Church of St. Maria zur Wiese, Soest, 1473. [See P. Clemen and E. Firmenich-Richartz, 'Die Kunsthistorische Ausstellung zu Düsseldorf, 1904,' pl. xxxv, 1905; and for bow, Fig. 26, No. 6.]

Initial letter U, of the School of Mainz, c. 1490, in the Department of Engraving, Illustration & Design, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. MS. 565. [Fig. 27.]

Martyrdom. Woodcut in the 1st edition of the Nuremberg Chronicles, Nuremberg, 1493.

Wing of altarpiece in Meissen Cathedral, by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), c. 1495. [For bow see Fig. 26, No. 3.]

Martyrdom. Woodcut in the 2nd edition of the Nuremberg Chronicles, Augsburg, 1496, [Fig. 18.]

Engravings by Martin Schongauer (c. 1420-88), copied in reverse by Israhel van Meckenem and others, and Wolf Hammer. [See Catalogue of German & Flemish prints in the British Museum, II, pp. 429, 456 & 370, 1883.]

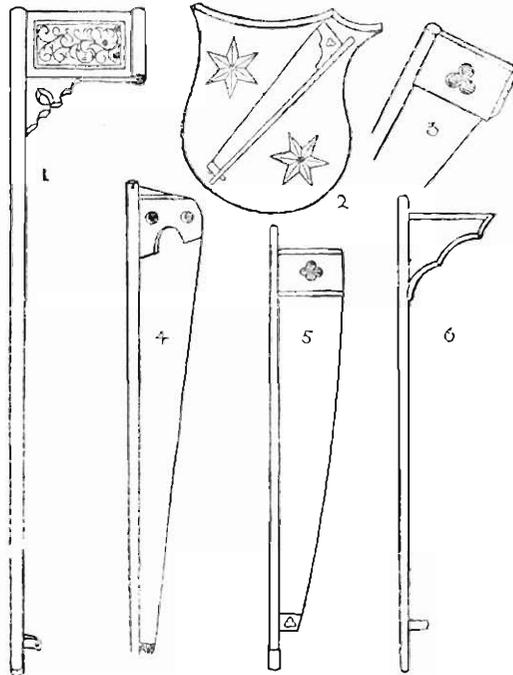


Fig. 26.

XVth - XVIth century. Figure in the Church at Blütenburg (Bavaria). [See B. Riehl, 'Die Münchener Plastik,' pl. vi, 1904.]

Painting of the Holy Kith and Kin, by the Master of the Holy Kith & Kin (fl. 1485-1515), in the Cologne Museum, No 169. [See Fig. 26, No. 4, & Fig. 38, No. 6.]

Figure from a set of the Twelve Apostles, in the Bavarian National Museum, Munich.

[See H. Graf, 'Kataloge des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums,' VI, pl. xx, No. 1164, 1896.]

Figure from a set of the Twelve Apostles, by Hans Tilmann Riemenschneider (1460-1531), in the Bavarian National Museum, Munich, 1500. [See E. Tönnies, 'Tilmann Riemenschneider,' p. 162, 1900.]



Fig. 28.

XVIth century. Woodcut in the Hortulus Anime, Strassburg, 1507.

Altarpiece in the Church of

St. Mary Magdalen, Prenzlau, 1512. [See A. Goldschmidt, 'Lübecker Malerei und Plastik bis 1530,' pl. xxxi, 1889.]

Shrine of St. Sebald, Church of St. Sebald, Nuremberg, 1508-1519. The work of Peter Vischer (c. 1455-1529) & his sons. [See the plaster cast in the Victoria & Albert Museum, No. 1869-14.]

Woodcut in 'Dat Boeck des Hyllighen Evangeln,' Basle, 1513.

Woodcut in the Hortulus Anime, Nuremberg, 1519. This cut, the work of Hans Springinkle (d. c. 1540), was later



Fig. 27.



used in the Book of Hours, Paris, 1535. [Fig. 28.]  
 Martyrdom. Painting by Hans Holbein the elder (c. 1460-1524) in the Nuremberg Museum, No. 275. [Fig. 29.]  
 Engraving of the Upper German School. [See Catalogue of German and Flemish prints in the British Museum, II, No. 1.26, 1883.]



Fig. 29.

[Fig. 30.]

Lectern cover, of embroidered linen, in the Victoria & Albert Museum, No. 8693-1863.

#### IV. NETHERLANDISH.

XVIth century. Woodcut in a Bible, Antwerp, 1532. [Fig. 31.]

#### V. POLISH.

XVth century. Brasses of Archbishop Jacobus Sieniński (1480) in Gnesen Church [Fig. 32], & Bishop Uriel Gorka (1498)

in Posen Cathedral. [See W. F. Greeny, 'Monumental Brasses,' pp. 42 & 47, 1884.]



Fig. 30.

#### VI. DANISH.

XVth century. Retable of High Altar, Aarhus Cathedral, 1479. [See F. Beckett, 'Altertavler i Danmark,' pl. xii, 1895; and also Fig. 33.]

Altarpiece from the Church at Birket (Island of Laaland), now in the National Museum, Copenhagen; 1496. [*Ibid.*, pl. xviii; see also Fig. 34.]

Altarpieces in the Church of Our Lady, Aarhus [Fig. 35], and the Church at Sanderum, end of XVth century. [*Ibid.*, plates LV & LIII.]

#### ST. SEVERUS OF RAVENNA.

The only other saint who bears the bow as his emblem is St. Severus of

Ravenna, and this attribution is only to be found in German art. St. Severus was a wool-worker who lived at Ravenna in the fourth century. When the inhabitants of that town assembled in the cathedral to choose a successor. Severus was chosen, for he was very poor, for he was very ragged, for he was very poor. In the midst of the proceedings a white dove came and perched on his shoulder. Some of those present recognised this as a sign from God, and they elected him from the church. This miracle happened, however, on the two



Fig. 31.



Fig. 32.

worker who lived at century. When the the inhabitants of that Cathedral to choose a there, clothed only in poor. In the midst of dove came and perched those present recognised but the others chased him



Fig. 36.

following days, and finally he was chosen bishop.



33.



35.



34.

He is mentioned as the patron of several mediæval gilds—the Hosiers, the Drapers, the Weavers in cotton and silk, the Serge makers and the Hat makers.

Representations of him are very rare. He is shown in the sixth century mosaics in the Church of S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna, but he

bears no distinguishing emblem. In the wall-paintings of the St. Jürgen-Kirche, Wismar (second half of the XVth century), he is

shown holding the bow [See 'Die Kunst- und Geschichts-Denk-  
mäler des Grossherzogthums Mecklenburg-Schwerin,' II, p. 105,  
1898; and also Fig. 36]. In a German woodcut of the early  
XVIth century he is holding the bow, and over him hovers the  
Holy Spirit in the form of a dove [Fig. 37].

## Von sant Beuero



Fig. 37.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Other Emblems of St. James the Less.

**T**HERE seems to have been no fixed idea among artists as to the relative ages of the four sons of Mary Cleophas—SS. James the Less, Simon, Jude and Joses—so that we find in representations of the Holy Kith & Kin sometimes St. James the Less represented as the baby, sometimes another of the brothers. In many cases it is impossible to identify the four sons from one another; in others they have the name inscribed on the nimbus, while again in others they hold the emblems by which they are to be distinguished. In a painting by Anton Woensam von Worms (XVIth century) in the Cologne Museum (No. 211) St. James the Less is holding a fuller's club (Fig. 38, No. 5); in the painting by the Master of the Holy Kith & Kin (Meister der Heiligen Sippe; fl. 1485-1515) in the Cologne Museum (No. 169), and in one by a master of the Upper German school (1530) in the Stuttgart Gallery (No. 90) he holds a small bow (Fig. 38, Nos. 6 and 7). On one of the panels of the Ranworth rood-screen (late XVth-early XVIth century) St. James is holding a small toy windmill. It may be that this toy is given to him simply to increase the realism and to make the little group of Mary Cleophas & her sons appeal to children as well as to their elders; in many such groups one feels that this was the artist's chief aim.\* But it is a significant fact that this windmill is always borne by St. James the Less, never

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\* In the same group Joses is blowing bubbles; and in a painting by Viktor and Heinrich Dunwegge (first half of XVIth century) in the Propstei Kirche at Dortmund one of the children is playing with a basket of cherries, two of which he has placed over his ear quite in the manner of our modern children (Fig. 38, No. 3).

by either of his brothers. It may have allusion to the water-mills used in fulling cloth; we know that at an early date such mills existed at Florence and elsewhere,\* but I can find no evidence of



Fig. 38.

windmills being so used. But the toy is held by St. James in a sufficient number of cases to justify its identification as one of his emblems.† Other examples are to be seen in a painting in the

\* A. Doren, 'Studien aus der Florentiner Wirtschaftsgeschichte,' I, 1901.

† A similar association of ideas is to be seen in the iconography of St. Victor of Marseilles who, the legends tell us, was crushed under a mill-stone or drowned with a mill-stone tied round his neck. He is frequently represented with a mill-stone as his emblem, but in certain cases he is shown holding a windmill, as for example on the rood-screen in Tor Brian Church, Devonshire (date c. 1430).

Carlsruhe Gallery by a master of the Tyrolese School working early in the XVth century, and in one by Herri met de Bles (? 1480 - c. 1550) in the Pinakothek, Munich, No. 129. (See Fig. 38, Nos. 4 & 8.) In these two examples the windmills are similar to those which can be procured from hawkers at the present day in exchange for bottles. The one at Ranworth is of more elaborate



Fig. 39.

make. In a painting in the Darmstadt Museum by a master of the Middle Rhenish School, working c. 1430-40, St. James is holding a small mechanical mill worked by a string (Fig. 38, No. 2).\*

We next come to a group of emblems which can hardly be given to our saint as distinguishing emblems, though in the cases mentioned they undoubtedly belong to him. It would appear that at times mediæval artists showed a great amount of indifference, not to say ignorance, in their iconography of the Apostles. Having given the keys to St. Peter, the sword to St. Paul, the saltire cross to St. Andrew, the cockle shell & palmer's hat to St. James the Greater, the poisoned chalice

or eagle to St. John the Evangelist, and the flaying knife to St. Bartholomew, they allotted the rest of the possible emblems—the club, saw, cross, halberd, axe & spear—to the other Apostles with no regard to the legends formulated for their guidance or the traditional mode of martyrdom of those saints. Thus we find St. James the Less with a cross and a spear, both of which emblems should rightly be held by St. Philip; St. Jude with the saw by which

\* See F. Bach, 'Mittelrheinischer Kunst,' pl. LXII, 1910.

St. Simon met his death, and the halberd of St. Matthew ; St. Simon with the club, & so on. Husenbeth, on the authority of the glass in Melford Bubb church, gives the saw as an emblem of St. James the Less. The halberd of St. Matthew and the axe of St. Matthais



Fig. 40.

seem to have been interchangeable. But other emblems, such as the boat of St. Jude and the loaves of St. Philip, are always rightly given. It must be admitted that the confusion originally due to the artists has been vastly increased by modern writers, and there is great need of a competent and thorough work on the emblems of the Apostles.

In the early English embroideries (*opus anglicanum*) St. James the Less is frequently shown holding a cross. There seems to be no authority for this emblem in his case, & the attribution may have arisen through confusion with St. Philip, with whom he is usually associated. Examples are:—



Fig. 41.

(1) A cope in the Episcopal Museum at Vich (Spain); early XIVth century. [See De Farcy, 'La Broderie,' *Supplement*, pl. CLIII, 1900; and also Fig. 39.]

(2) & (3) Altar frontal at Steeple Aston, and cope in the possession of Colonel J. E. Butler-Bowdon; early XIVth century. [See Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Embroidery at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1905.]

(4) Orphrey of a chasuble in the possession of G. Troyte Chafyn-Grove, Esq.; early XVIth century. [*Ibid.*]

As has already been pointed out, the figure of St. James the Less on the West front of Exeter Cathedral (c. 1381) is holding in the left hand what may have been a spear [Fig. 22]. The artist possibly had some such authority as had the Golden Legend when it says: "James may be said of Jaculo a darte, and cope smytyng, which is to say smeten with a darte, or smeten with glayues." This derivation of his name may also be responsible for the sword which is sometimes to be seen in

St. James's hand. We have an example of this in the frame of a Textus cover in the possession of the Earl of Crawford [German, XIIth century. See Fig. 40], & in a XVth century wall-painting in the Church at Ameneharads Rada, Sweden [See N. M. Mandelgren, 'Monuments Scandinaves du Moyen Age,' pl. xiv, 1862; & also Fig. 41]. In a wall-painting of the same date in the Church at Risingé, Sweden, St. James is apparently being stabbed to death [*Ibid.*; see also Fig. 42].

In some representations of the martyrdom of St. James the legends are followed more closely than in others. Thus, in a French manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (No. 184), some of the Jews are throwing stones at him [See R. de Fleury, 'Les Saints de la Messe,' VII, pl. xi, 1899]; & in the painting already illustrated by Hans Holbein the elder, in the Nuremberg Gallery, a stone is to be seen under his right elbow [Fig. 29].

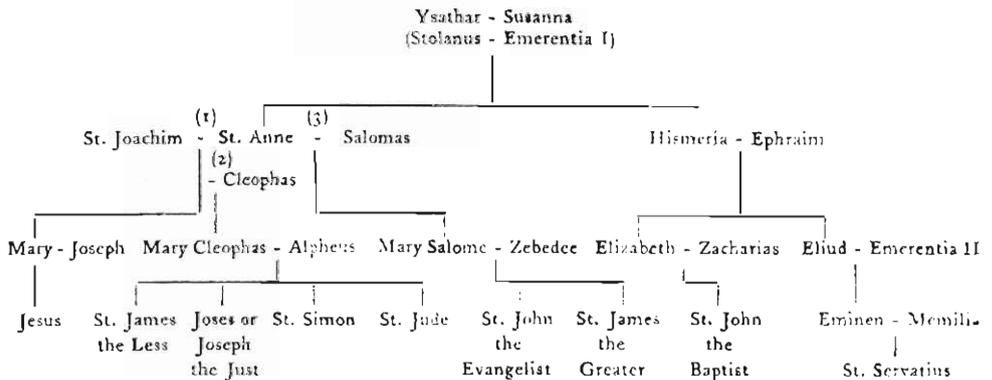


Fig. 42.

## APPENDIX A.

### The Iconography of the "Holy Kith & Kin."

**I**N the opening chapter of St. Matthew we are given the genealogy of Christ from Abraham to Joseph, & it is this account that has inspired the many Trees of Jesse that are to be seen in later Christian art. The Golden Legend on the other hand gave birth to another class of religious art, that of the representation of the Holy Kith and Kin. It is with the latter that we shall deal in this appendix, only mentioning those examples in which St. James the Less is present. From these examples, guided by the account in the Golden Legend (see pp. 2 & 3), we are able to form a genealogical table as follows:—



But in illustrations of this subject great disparity of choice is shown by artists, and it is difficult, or well-nigh impossible, to formulate a scheme by which they can be grouped. Doubtless in a great many cases the artist had some very good reason for the choice of persons composing his group, but in other cases one is at a loss to account for the absence of certain of Christ's relatives. In many

of the incomplete examples this absence is obviously due to limitation of space & other similar difficulties in composition. On the other hand, when wishing to appeal to the juvenile mind the artist would lay stress not so much on the descent of Our Lord as on the fact that many of the disciples were little children with Him and were in human relationship to Him; this would account for the frequent absence of Ysathar and Susanna, and in many cases too of St. Anne and her husbands. As we have seen, the artist portrayed his little saints playing as would the children whose attention it was his aim to attract. They are to be seen blowing bubbles, riding hobby-horses, running with windmills—quite ordinary little people, whom any child could love. When wishing to strike a deeper note, the artist put a horn book in the hands of one of the children to show that even they had to go to school.

In groups of the Holy Kith & Kin, the Virgin and the Infant Christ occupy a central position with, usually, St. Anne beside them; behind the Virgin stands St. Joseph, and behind St. Anne stand her three husbands, St. Joachim, as the direct ancestor of Christ, being on the side nearest to the Virgin. Below Cleophas & Salomas come Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome with Alpheus and Zebedee and their children. On the other side of the Virgin come St. Elizabeth and Zacharias & St. John the Baptist, and further on St. Sevatus with his ancestors. The cult of this saint being more or less confined to the Low Countries and the Lower Rhine, the latter group only occurs in those regions in which he was held in especial veneration. Ysathar and Susanna never seem to have been very popular, and it is probable that even a mediæval artist had doubts about them. Consequently they are usually relegated to a far corner of the picture. In those representations which occur on the several panels of an altarpiece the whole composition is broken up into little family groups, and this division necessitates the repetition of several of the members.

The following classes, while at times they may appear arbitrary, will at least bring together illustrations that are obviously due to

the same inspiration. It will be noticed that certain examples under the various headings are wanting in one or more figures that should be in the group to make it complete, but the governing idea is none the less the same as that in the complete groups.

I. Works containing the whole of the Kith & Kin; that is, a complete group should contain twenty-nine persons:—

(a). Altarpiece painted by the Meister von Kirchheim (fl. end of XVth century), some panels of which are in the Augsburg Gallery (Nos. 25 to 31), others in the Nuremberg Gallery (Nos. 248 to 250). In this series of panels twenty-eight persons are shown. Stolanus and Emerentia I appear instead of Ysathar & Susanna; Emerentia II, Joseph and Christ are missing; and St. Elizabeth occurs four times, Hismeria and St. Anne three, and Stolanus, Emerentia II, Mary Cleophas, Mary Salome, Zacharias, Eliud, St. James the Greater, St. John the Baptist, Memelia and St. Servatius twice. [Phot. Höfle.]

(b). Altarpiece painted by Bernhard Strigel (c. 1460-1528), some panels of which are in the Pinakothek, Munich (Nos. 184 to 187), others in the Nuremberg Gallery (Nos. 254 to 259). Each panel contains a group of figures with a scroll inscribed with Gothic characters. They are:—

1. Ysathar and Susanna with their two children Hismeria & St. Anne.

“ Von Ysathar vnd Susana  
Ist gporn hysmeria vnd anna.”  
(At Munich.)

2. St. Anne, St. Joachim and the Virgin.

“ Anna mit Joachim gebar  
Mariam gottes muter clar.”  
(At Nuremberg.)

3. Cleophas and Salomas with their children (by St. Anne)

Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome.

“Anna vnd Cleophas mit Ee  
Geparn Marias Cleophe.”

“Anna mit Salome nit liess  
Die dritten Maria Salome hiess.”

(At Nuremberg.)

4. Mary Cleophas and Alpheus with their children St. James the Less, Joses or Joseph the Just, and SS. Simon & Jude.

“Cleophe maria alpheu het  
Den mindern Jacob si geben tet.  
Der gerecht Joseph der ander was.  
Der dritt vnd vierd Symon Judas.”

(At Nuremberg.)

5. Mary Salome and Zebedee with their children SS. John the Evangelist and James the Greater.

“Maria Salme vnd ir man  
Zebedevs geparn Iohan  
Ewangeliste rai bekant  
Vnd Iacobv de grössern gnant.”

(At Nuremberg.)

6. Hismeria & Ephraim with their children Eliud & Elizabeth.

“Hismeria vnd ir man hett  
Eliud vnd Elizabeth.”

(At Nuremberg.)

7. Eliud with his daughter-in-law Memelia and her son St. Servatius.

“Von eliud auss memelia kam  
Ain bischoff Servatius was sein nam.”

(At Munich.)

8. Elizabeth & Zacharias with their son St. John the Baptist.

“Johanes töffer vo got erkorn

Auss Elizabeth vn Zacharia hailg geporn."  
(At Munich.)

9. The Holy Family.

“Die erst maria Jhesu genas  
Der hailig gaist tet würcke das.  
Joseph sein gschätzter vatter was.”  
(At Nuremberg.)

Thus in this series of panels twenty-seven persons are shown. Ysathar and Susanna appear instead of Stolanus and Emerentia I; Eminen and Emerentia II are missing; and the Virgin, St. Anne, Mary Cleophas, Mary Salome, Elizabeth, Hismeria & Eliud occur twice. [Phot. Bruckmann and Höfle.]

(c). Auderghem Altarpiece in the Brussels Museum; French or Netherlandish, early XVIth century. [See ‘Annales de la Société d’Archéologie de Bruxelles,’ XXIII, pl. xiv, and pp. 326-7, 1910.] Here twenty-seven persons are shown, Ephraim and Emerentia II being missing.

(d). Carved altarpiece in Trondenes Church (Norway), early XVIth century. Here twenty-six persons are shown. Ysathar & Susanna occur as in (b); St. Joachim, Ephraim and Eminen are missing; and the Virgin, Christ, St. Anne, Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome occur twice. [See H. Fett, ‘Norges kirker i middelalderen,’ pp. 129, 130, 1909.]

(e). Carved altarpiece in the Cathedral at Bruges (end of the XVth century). Here twenty-four persons occur, Susanna, St. James the Greater, Eminen, Memelia & Ephraim being missing; Stolanus & Emerentia I occur as in (a). [See J. J. van Ysendyck, ‘Documents classés de l’art dans les Pays-Bas,’ II, pl. xci, 1886-87.]

II. Works in which the ancestors Ysathar and Susanna, or Stolanus and Emerentia I, are missing; that is, a complete group should contain twenty-seven persons.

(a). Altarpiece painted by a pupil of Meister Wilhelm of Cologne (beginning of XVth century), in the Cologne Museum (No. 55). Here twenty-six persons are shown, Hismeria being missing. [See C. Aldenhoven, 'Geschichte der Kölner Malerschule,' p. 139, 1902.]

(b). Altarpiece painted by an unknown master of the Franco-Flemish School (c. 1500), in the Cologne Museum (No. 426). Here twenty-six persons are shown, Emerentia II being missing. [Phot. Hermann.]

(c). Tapestry in Mainz Cathedral (1501). [See F. Laib & F. J. Schwarz, 'Kirchenschmuck,' xxiv, 8, 1868.] Here twenty-five persons are shown, Ephraim and Emerentia II being missing.

(d). Altarpiece painted by an unknown master of the Middle Rhenish School, 1420-30, in Darmstadt Museum (No. 163). Here twenty-four persons are shown, Emerentia II, Memelia & Ephraim being missing. [See F. Back, 'Mittelrheinische Kunst,' pl. LXII, 1910.]

(e). Painting by an unknown master of the North Tyrolese School, 1510, in the Widumskapelle, Flauring. Here twenty-three persons are shown, Emerentia II, Hismeria, Zebedee and Cleophas being missing. [See H. Semper, 'Alttirolische Kunstwerke,' pl. xiv, 1902.]

(f). The Ortenberg Altarpiece, painted by an unknown master of the Middle Rhenish School, 1420-30, in the Darmstadt Museum (No. 167). Here seventeen persons are shown, but one of them having "Sancta Alpheus" inscribed on her nimbus cannot be identified, as Mary Cleophas, the wife of Alpheus, already occurs in the painting. Perhaps she is the mother of Alpheus; if so, this is the only example of the Holy Kith and Kin in which she occurs. The three husbands of St. Anne, Alpheus, Zebedee, Zacharias, Ephraim, Eliud, Emerentia II, Eminen and Memelia are missing. [See F. Back, 'Mittelrheinische Kunst,' pl. LVI, 1910.]

III. Works in which Hismeria & Ephraim & their descendants are missing, in addition to Ysathar and Susanna or Stolanus and Emerentia I; that is, a complete group should contain 17 persons.



Fig. 43.

(a). Woodcut in the 1st edition of the Nuremberg Chronicles, Nuremberg, 1493 (Fig. 43). The branch from St Joachim is continued on the opposite page & leads to a group of the Holy Family and scenes from the Life of the Virgin.

(b). Altarpiece painted by the Master of the Holy Kith & Kin (fl. 1485-1515), in the Cologne Museum (No. 169). [See C.

Aldenhoven, 'Geschichte der Kölner Malerschule,' pp. 247, 248, 1902.]

(c). Altarpiece painted by an unknown master of the Swabian School (early XVIth century), in the Karlsruhe Gallery (No. 74). [Phot. Bruckmann.]

(d). Carved altarpiece, the wings painted by Martin Schaffner (1521), in Ulm Cathedral. [See R. Pfeleiderer, 'Das Münster zu Ulm,' pl. xxx, 1905.]

(e). Altarpiece painted by an unknown master of the Upper German School (1530), in the Stuttgart Gallery.

(f). Altarpiece painted by Lorenzo de' Fasoli (1513), in the Louvre, Paris (No. 1284). Here sixteen persons are shown, St. Joseph being missing.

IV. Works in which Ysathar and Susanna, or Stolanus and Emerentia I, Hismeria and Ephraim and their descendants, and Salomas & Cleophas are missing; that is, a complete group should contain fifteen persons.

(a). Altarpiece in Swabach Church (end of XVth century). [See Catalogue of the Nuremberg Exhibition, p. 367, 1906.]

(b). Centre of altarpiece, painted by Quentin Massijs in 1509, in St. Peter's Church, Louvain. [See R. Dohme 'Kunst and Künstler,' I, 1877.]

(c). Painting by Herri met de Bles, in the Pinakothek, Munich (No. 129).

(d). Altarpieces in the churches at Nörre Broby (early XVIth century) & (e) Omö (dated 1522). [See F. Beckett, 'Altertavler i Danmark,' plates xxxvi and lvii, 1895.]

(f). Altarpiece in church of St. Nicholas, Doppiswalde, c. 1520. [See E. Flechsig, 'Sächsische Bildnerei und Malerei,' pl. xxxvii, 1910.]

(g). Painting by Perugino (1446-1524) in the Marseilles Museum. Here Alpheus & Zebedee are missing. [See 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' IV, p. 21, 1859.]

(h). Window in Louviers Church, XVIth century. [See H. Fett, 'Norges kirker i middelalderen,' p. 128, 1909.] Here St. Anne is missing.

One would like to carry this classification further, but it is unsafe as many examples that we have, in which only a few of Our Lord's relatives are shown, undoubtedly at one time formed part of a larger composition extending over a series of panels of an altarpiece, the other panels being either lost or at present unidentified. In such a case they would come into one of the earlier classes rather than justify a new class. Such an example is a painting by an unknown master of the Swabian School (c. 1480-90) in the Nuremberg Gallery. On the other hand we have smaller compositions, as on the panels of the rood-screen in Ranworth Church, that we know are complete, but they are so isolated & so varied in their choice of persons that an attempt to classify them is useless. We then come to the still smaller groups of St. Anne with the Virgin & Child, the Holy Family, the Virgin & Child with St. Elizabeth and the infant St. John the Baptist, and so on.