

# The Year 1200: *A Symposium*

*Texts by*

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*Introduction by*

*Jeffrey Hoffeld*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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*Dedicated to the memory of*

Robert Branner

Francis Wormald



# Foreword

The Centennial celebration of The Metropolitan Museum of Art demonstrated the Museum's extraordinary capacity to present exhibitions that are both scholarly and popular. *The Year 1200* exhibition most clearly expressed this ability. This was a distinguished exhibition, drawn from the treasures of museums and collections throughout the world. In their material luxuriance and their artistic vitality, the objects assembled had an immediate appeal, underscored and heightened by their sensitive and imaginative display.

These treasures are also charged with meaning, particularly for the scholar, who looks to them for information and clues as to the identity and character of an entire stage of human social and artistic development that is still somewhat mysterious and misunderstood. I was aware, from my own investigations of the period, of both the splendors and the mysteries of the years around 1200. And I wanted to see these aspects of medieval life presented for others to enjoy and to puzzle over.

*The Year 1200* symposium provided a unique opportunity for scholars from many different countries to come together in order to study and discuss works of art that had similarly been gathered from all over the world. Many thoughts expressed informally by visitors to the exhibition have not, unfortunately, been recorded. But some of the results of our inquiry appear here in this volume of essays.

*The Year 1200* is considered one of the most important exhibitions ever to be assembled in the Western hemisphere. For me its importance lies as much in the activities around the exhibition—such as this symposium—as in the physical exhibition itself. All of this, the exhibition, the symposium, and the book, were made possible by many people, here and abroad. Again I would like to thank them for their special contribution to the Centennial celebrations.

THOMAS HOVING  
*Director*



# Introduction

In 1970, more than three hundred works of sculpture, ivories, metalwork, enamels, stained glass, frescoes, mosaics, manuscripts, coins, seals, gems, and textiles were assembled in New York and shown at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in the centennial exhibition *The Year 1200*.

Before the exhibition, pieces like the ivory cross in The Cloisters Collection (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 60) and the enamel plaques of Nicholas of Verdun from Klosterneuberg (no. 179) already had a distinct identity; these were well known, and had been studied extensively by art historians. Several objects, familiar to students of medieval art, were also recognized, from other contexts, by a broader public. For instance, the bronze statuette of Moses, in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (no. 98) was even discussed by Freud in 1914 in his essay, "The Moses of Michelangelo" (see Jack Spector, *The Aesthetics of Freud*, New York, 1972, pp. 129–131).

In a sense, we can no longer look at these works as they once were: individual objects, occasionally singled out for their subjects, beauty, or historical interest; exhibited, illustrated, and ultimately often understood merely in terms of a limited range of relationships. Three months of seeing and discussing these works produced around the year 1200, together—all in one place—and the catalogue and its companion volume published in connection with the exhibition, have changed the character of our thoughts and associations about the period and the identity of its art. The process of defining and redefining the period from about 1180–1220 began with the exhibition; it has continued in numerous published papers, conferences, and exhibitions. Many observations, certainly made possible only as a result of the exhibition (where they were sometimes intimated), have since been expressed and extended.

This volume of essays, a collection of the papers read at an international symposium held at the Museum in March, 1970, includes essentially only those ideas formulated by scholars before the works were assembled together. However, several of the authors revised portions of their contributions after they saw and discussed the show with colleagues; others have updated their citations, changed their ideas or expanded their theses as a result of the ongoing dialogue about the year 1200.



## INTRODUCTION

Outside the study of art history as such, the exhibition and the talk and writings which it generated have also continued to influence the ideas and the vision of writers in other disciplines. For example, the apparent importance frequently given to the single figure and to the unified image of the human body in the art around 1200 has encouraged at least one author, with a special interest in the origins and development of the novel, to speak of the medieval origins of the centric figure—so fundamental a concept within the genre of the novel (see David Goldknopf, *The Life of the Novel*, Chicago, 1972, p. 2, where the author quotes at length from the introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition).

The passage of time since the exhibition has also brought with it the loss of two men whose writings are represented in this volume, Francis Wormald and Robert Branner. Their contributions to our understanding of the Middle Ages will always be remembered.

While the works on exhibit may have emphasized for some the portrait of the lone, animated individual—a free agent, characterized by independence of conception and action—*The Year 1200* was itself marked by an extraordinary spirit of collective activity. With the leadership and guidance of Florens Deuchler, the project was from the first a collaborative effort; of the Museum's director, Thomas Hoving, the staff, and administration, the European and American advisory boards, the more than one hundred and twenty-five lenders to the exhibition, the author of the exhibition catalogue, Konrad Hoffmann, and the contributors to the background essay volume.

The symposium itself and this publication are an extension of the principle of cooperation. The generosity of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the continuing support of Mary Davis helped to make the conference and this volume possible. Without the patience and assistance of the contributors, as well as the authors of the English summaries of the European contributions, and the energy and intelligence of Jean Gallatin Crocker, who put the manuscripts into final shape, we would not have this last, official memento of *The Year 1200*.

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GERHART B. LADNER

# The Life of the Mind in the Christian West around the Year 1200

The panorama of European life around the year 1200 is so vast and multiform that its description must be highly selective.<sup>1</sup> I fear that some of the things I have to say will be all too well known, while others may appear too narrowly historical or too sweepingly theological. Yet, for a synthetic introduction to an age, certain fundamental historical facts as well as certain generalities concerning the mental structure of the era do seem to be essential. My illustrations have been chosen not so much for strictly art historical reasons, as to illuminate historical personages, events, and trends.

Though my subject is primarily the life of the mind, I shall for the purpose of preliminary orientation in time and space begin with a brief sketch of some of the principal personalities and events during the years from 1180 to approximately 1230. The death of John of Salisbury, as bishop of Chartres, in 1180 may be considered one of the terminal points of the immediately preceding period, the twelfth-century Renaissance, which owed much to this great humanist and to the School of Chartres. The same year saw the accession to the throne of one of the great rulers of the time, Philip Augustus, king of France until 1223. During the following decade two eminent political figures of the twelfth-century West disappeared: one was Henry II of the Angevin Empire—he was king of England and effective ruler of half of France, partly through his famous wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine;<sup>2</sup> the other was Frederick Barbarossa, the first of three great Hohenstaufen emperors in Germany and Italy—he perished at the beginning of the Third Crusade, which had been set in motion by the Moslem conquest of Jerusalem in 1187.

The last years of the century were years of profound change in the leadership of the Christian world. With the death in 1197 of Emperor Henry VI, heir of Barbarossa and ruler, on behalf of his wife, also of the Norman

kingdom of Sicily, and with the election to the papal throne of Innocent III one year later, the hegemonic role of the Holy Roman Empire was eclipsed by the papacy. At the same time, the death of Richard the Lionhearted in 1199 and the succession of his brother, John Lackland, led to the near disintegration of the Angevin Empire—that is to say, to the loss of Normandy and of other English possessions in France to King Philip Augustus.

Until his death in 1216 and even beyond, Innocent III, pope at the exceptionally young age of thirty-seven, was the man of destiny in the midst of these and other political and cultural as well as religious events. Not that things always turned out the way the pope wanted, but he showed amazing flexibility, and gained at least temporary success, in making use even of adverse developments in accordance with his grand design—not of political world domination, but of spiritual overlordship in Christian society.

Two cases in point were the Fourth Crusade, directed against Byzantium, of 1202–1204, and the so-called crusade against the Albigensians, or Cathari, of 1209–1229, which ruined much of the southern French civilization that had been so important a part of the twelfth-century Renaissance. In his lifetime, Innocent III could hope—though mistakenly—to have reunified the Eastern and Western churches and to have stopped the upheaval in Christendom caused by new heresies.

A more permanent success of the age of Innocent III was the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa in the year 1212, a milestone in the reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moslems by its Christian kings.

Most crucial in many ways was the span of somewhat more than a year, beginning in midsummer 1214 and extending to the late autumn of 1215. In July, 1214, a truly decisive battle was fought at Bouvines in Flanders. There Philip Augustus of France defeated John of England, thus not only making permanent the previous losses of the Angevin Empire, but also ensuring that his own ally, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, grandson of Barbarossa, son of Henry VI, heir of Sicily through his mother, and ward of Pope Innocent III, would definitely overcome John's ally, the Guelph Otto IV of Brunswick, in their contest for the German throne.

In consequence of the battle of Bouvines, and almost exactly one year later, John Lackland was forced to sign the Magna Carta, and Frederick II was crowned German king in the traditional place of coronation at Aachen, where with his own hands he hammered a few nails into the lid of the just completed shrine of Charlemagne, in this manner symbolically reviving the idea of empire.<sup>3</sup> In both the German and the French-English conflict, Innocent III had acted as supreme and ultimate arbiter, first favoring Otto IV, then Frederick II, first opposing John Lackland because of his interference with the English Church, then after his submission protecting

him against the loss of his throne to France or to the rebellious English barons, even annulling the Magna Carta—which he not altogether unreasonably considered a document of feudal resistance against monarchy. As to Frederick II, he was crowned emperor in Rome only after Innocent's death, in 1220, and then embarked on a meteoric, almost mythical career, which reaches considerably beyond the era around 1200. Frederician art was not included in the program of this Symposium, and indeed this great ruler would lead us altogether beyond the cultural equilibrium—labile as all such equilibria are—of the age of Innocent III, of which two further events of the year 1215 are very characteristic.

I am referring first to the statutes by which a large measure of autonomy was granted to the University of Paris by the papal legate, Robert of Courçon, in August, 1215; this grant and the even more important privilege of Pope Gregory IX, given to the university in 1231, made possible the concerted effort of two generations to come to terms with the now available full corpus of Aristotle's works; the first important results of this effort, such as the *Magisterium divine* of William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris from 1228, still belong to our period and will be touched upon again later.

Secondly, I am referring to the Fourth Lateran Council, which was held in November and December of 1215. That council was not only the apotheosis of Innocent III's pontificate, but more generally one of the clearest manifestations of papal hegemony in the high medieval world. Innocent and his council had to deal with challenging new aspects of the life of the mind and of the temper of life in western Christendom. To some of these aspects we shall now turn. I mention by way of anticipation the doctrine of transubstantiation concerning the sacrament of the altar, or eucharistic sacrament, the speculations of Joachim of Flora—among which the Lateran Council singled out certain deviations concerning the divine Trinity, while ignoring the related historical three-age doctrine which will interest us later—furthermore, the new forms of monasticism introduced above all by St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi, and generally speaking the emergence of a new *style* of life and thought, of literature and art.

Even the brief survey so far given will have suggested that Innocent III—two contemporary portraits of whom are shown in Figs. 1 and 2<sup>4</sup>—was the dominant figure during the last years of the twelfth and the first of the thirteenth century, and that the Fourth Lateran Council, over which he presided, was an event of epochal significance.<sup>5</sup> In our further investigation of the life of the mind around the year 1200—by which I mean not so much strictly intellectual pursuits, but rather a wide range of human self-expression—we shall hardly go wrong if we take as our starting point the words with

which Innocent III introduced his opening sermon at the Fourth Lateran Council:

Longingly have I desired to eat this Easter meal with you before I suffer.<sup>6</sup>

Innocent here repeated Christ's words at the Last Supper, according to the Gospel of St. Luke.<sup>7</sup> This sacred text, as used by the Pope in November, 1215, comprises two inter-related and basic, though continuously evolving, perspectives of medieval Christianity: the incarnational perspective and the eschatological, both of which are evoked by Christ's paschal meal and by his Passion.

In the Incarnation, according to Christian doctrine, the divine Word of God assumed the flesh of man in order to save mankind through his life, death, and resurrection. The Incarnation is the beginning of the redemption of man and through man of all creation. The incarnational perspective therefore looks toward the conversion and reform of this inchoate terrestrial world by the Christian spirit and also by ecclesiastical institutions.

Eschatology, on the other hand, means the *eschata*, the last things, expected to occur at the end of and beyond history: the Second Coming of Christ, the resurrection of bodies, the Last Judgment, and a new heaven and earth. In the eschatological perspective these are the things to be most hoped for, while the things of the world are at best of secondary value—indeed in this perspective the last aeon has already begun, ever since Christ founded a kingdom that is not of this world. In the Middle Ages, the eschatologically minded Christian par excellence was the monk, who prayed for the world after having withdrawn from it; and yet in a typically Christian paradox such monks could return as hierarchs—that is to say, as priests, bishops, popes—in order to lead reform movements aiming at the continued incarnational sanctification of this world.

It was against the background of this double perspective that the life of the mind in medieval Christendom took on ever new forms. Further clarification of the incarnational and eschatological perspectives will, I hope, result in a better picture of the era around 1200 and finally allow us to perceive at least some of the significant traits that belong specifically to that age.

The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 completed a century and a half of doctrinal developments when it defined the real presence of Christ Incarnate on the altar in the eucharistic sacrament through the term transubstantiation. Figs. 3 and 4 both are suggestive of this development of eucharistic doctrine. A late eleventh-century miniature in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (Fig. 3) prominently displays host and chalice in the celebration of the Mass,

with the inscription "Wine, bread, water: Christ's body on the altar" in the arch above the altar.<sup>8</sup> In the lower zone of the apse mosaic of St. Peter's in Rome (Fig. 2; see note 4) the Lamb of God stood between Innocent III and the Roman Church personified. Most of the original mosaic is lost (only the portrait of Innocent III [Fig. 2] and a few other fragments survive), but, according to the extant copies of the whole mosaic, the chalice stood at the feet of the Lamb to receive his blood.<sup>9</sup>

It may be that Innocent III had the forthcoming definition of the eucharistic dogma in mind when he chose a text concerning the Last Supper—which was the prototype of the Eucharist—for his introductory sermon at the Council, thus comparing the assembly of the pope and the council fathers to the paschal and eucharistic meal of Christ and the apostles. It is at any rate most important to realize that already in the Middle Ages doctrinal and liturgical renewal did not occur merely in a rarefied atmosphere of spirituality, but was part of a whole existential life situation. (On another occasion I have tried to show how the beginning of the new development of eucharistic doctrine in the age of Gregory VII, during the second half of the eleventh century, was connected with the reform of the inner life and the external structure of the Church in the direction of greater autonomy and greater purity.<sup>10</sup>) The increasingly explicit assertion of the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, celebrated here on earth, was bound to heighten the role of the priesthood in this reform movement; for few doubted that the priest alone could bring Christ down to earth again in the eucharistic sacrament and thus provide the most powerful source of spiritual energy for the ever-to-be-repeated renewal of the creational-incarnational order of the world and the Church. Certainly an unprecedented awareness of the incarnational perspective of Christianity and of the redeeming potentialities contained in it inspired the papally-led hierarchical or sacerdotal Church reform from the eleventh century to the reform legislation of Lateran IV under Innocent III, with the single-minded resolve to make the entire terrestrial world more Christian. This is not surprising. For when, as Christians believed, God assumed human nature in the Incarnation and later mystically transformed bread and wine into his body and blood, he sanctified, even divinized, human nature and the whole natural universe or—to express it more conventionally—redeemed and vindicated for further renewal what was left of goodness in creation. Obviously, if Christ became man and lived on this earth, creation in spite of man's many crimes must have been worth saving. One might say, then, that from the Gregorian age onward the eucharistically based hierarchical order was increasingly concerned not only with the incarnational, but also with the creational aspect of human and nonhuman nature, and that a reforming hierarchy



tried very hard to absorb wide areas of natural life in the supranatural order of redemption.

It is only from such viewpoints that one can fully understand the often amazing humanism and naturalism of the Renaissance of the twelfth century,<sup>11</sup> which almost directly followed the Gregorian Church reform and greatly and essentially contributed to the life of the mind in the era around 1200. Within the autonomous field of ecclesiastical liberties, which, since the late eleventh century, the Gregorian reform had staked out for the Church, a general quickening of all pulses of intellectual and natural life occurred, a rediscovery not only of rational dialectics and law, but also of nature as a great generative force, a breakthrough, as it were, of the natural *bios* and *eros*.<sup>12</sup> The incarnational perspective had now more clearly than ever before become fused with the creational one. This can be seen in the School of Chartres, but a tendency in the same direction existed almost everywhere in Europe at that time. The twelfth century conceived of a cosmos of symbols in which *ratio*, *natura*, and *amor* all found their place in an overarching spiritual order, an order strong enough to give its due also to the sensible world and capable of reflecting the light of the first things, the divine days and works of creation, as fully as the anticipated splendor of the *eschata*. More than ever, creation was seen as preparation for the Incarnation, which again was to receive its perfect final fulfillment in eschatology. Something of the natural cosmos, as conceived by the twelfth century, can be seen in the Tree of Life of the pavement mosaic at Otranto of 1165 (Fig. 5), with its profusion of plant, animal, and human life under the sway of celestial constellations and sacred history.<sup>13</sup>

Small wonder then that the symbolic naturalism of the twelfth century could express itself in terms of the so-called hexaemeral genre of literature, that is to say in commentaries or allegorical paraphrases of the Book of Genesis. The writings, especially, connected with the School of Chartres, amounted to a new philosophy of creation and created nature, a new cosmogony and cosmology, and a new anthropology.<sup>14</sup> Within the creational and incarnational perspective of the twelfth century, massive influences from the philosophic, scientific, and literary traditions of pre-Christian antiquity could make themselves felt, influences ranging from Platonism to hermetism and astrology, from Aristotelianism to Stoicism and Roman law, from Pythagorean and Hippocratic lore to Ptolemy and Galen, from Ovid to Seneca. Some of these influences came to the fore as much in the courtly-chivalric centers of troubador or minnesinger poetry and Arthurian romance as in the urban centers of university training and Goliardic poetry; they also reached monastic centers of the old type such as Hildegard of Bingen's Rupertsberg in the Rhineland, where in a manner not yet fully ascertained,

a vast store of astronomical-meteorological-geological and of biological-medical knowledge entered into the visionary symbolism of one of the most extraordinary women of the twelfth century. The illuminated manuscripts of the Hildegardian visions—and especially the Lucca Codex of the first half of the thirteenth century—illustrate in a particularly beautiful fashion a scheme that, though of ancient origin, is one of the most characteristic of the twelfth-century Renaissance and of its continuation in the thirteenth century: that is to say, the correspondence between the macrocosm of non-human nature and the microcosm man in whom all elements of creation are repeated and renewed, who thus truly becomes a cosmic man, while both macro- and microcosm are held and embraced by the Creator God who is one with the Christ Incarnate (Fig. 6).<sup>15</sup>

The increasing emphasis on the creational-incarnational perspective was both cause and consequence of the growing effort of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to organize the entire world in conformity with Christian law and theology. We have seen that Innocent III symbolically and mystically compared himself at the Fourth Lateran Council to Christ at the Last Supper. The claim is immense, but the pope neither expected nor encountered opposition to it. The same Innocent was also the first pope clearly to call himself Vicar of Christ, that is to say, not only successor to Peter, but place holder or viceregent on earth for Christ himself.<sup>16</sup> This is symptomatic of the completion of another of the great changes which had begun a century and a half earlier: ideally, at least, the priestlike king or emperor was gradually replaced by the kinglike and emperorlike high priest (that is to say, the pope) in the leadership of the Christian world, though his exercise of direct political control, where it occurred, was justified, in our period at least, by spiritual reasons or else by special circumstances alone.<sup>17</sup>

In the period between Gregory VII and Innocent III, the Church in its incarnational-creational perspective had taken ever larger areas of the natural life of man on earth under its wings. Yet, the eschatological perspective had never been forgotten, particularly because in one sense the Incarnation itself could be understood as the beginning of the Passion and as a prelude to the last things as they are intimated, for instance, in the apocalyptic vision of Christ in Majesty in the famous tympanum of Moissac of the early twelfth century (Fig. 7). With regard to the time before the consummation of the world, the eschatological perspective stressed the facts of suffering and physical death, but also the radical spiritual transformation of every individual Christian and of the Church as a whole. It is not by accident that Innocent III in the passage of his opening sermon at the Lateran Council saw Christ's Passion repeated in himself and in the Church of which he was the leader on earth. Perhaps he knew or felt that he did not have much

longer to live, but the sermon as a whole is centered on the suffering of the contemporary Church, not only because the Holy Land was still in Moslem hands, but also, and above all, because churches everywhere were laboring under innumerable abuses. It was in this sense above all that Innocent said he was suffering with the Church, and though he declared his willingness to die in the service of a new crusade, his last great work before his death was the reform legislation of Lateran IV.<sup>18</sup> In it the incarnational perspective of a more perfect terrestrial world and the eschatological perspective of supra-mundane transcendence were once more fused in the last truly effective synthetic effort to renew the faith and reform the life of Christian society.

Yet, there also existed around the year 1200 much more radically oriented eschatological movements. There were the new heretics who objected to the established order on social as well as on religious grounds—as did the Waldensians—or who revived age-old radically dualistic and antinomian ideas—as did the Albigensians (Cathari). Even more momentous than their influence and more fateful in the long run was the influence of Joachim of Flora, the famous Calabrian abbot who lived in the second half of the twelfth century and died in 1202.<sup>19</sup>

Joachim's main idea was ingeniously simple, but also ingenuously simplistic, though he developed it in a complicated typological and numerological system. He believed that just as there were three persons in the divine Trinity, God the Father, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, so there must also be three periods in the history of the world. The age of the Father corresponds to the Old Testament, that of the Son, to Church history from the coming of Christ to Joachim's own time; and a third age of the Holy Spirit would begin soon—it would be an eschatological period in which the hierarchical and sacramental Church would be fully spiritualized under the guidance of monasticism. Joachim even seems to have worked out a fairly exact pictorial scheme of this new order of things in the *Liber figurarum*, which—if it is not by Joachim himself—must at least have been written and illuminated by close disciples of his.<sup>20</sup> A miniature from the Reggio Emilia Ms. (Fig. 8) shows various oblongs with inscriptions; these schemata and explanations indicate the various forms and ranks of the spiritual life of the future; all of them live more or less monastically; even the lowest rank, the married, have common property.

The Abbot of Flora was the first great utopian in Christendom, foreshadowing numerous secularized utopias,<sup>21</sup> and yet he was also a traditionalist. His vision of a fully spiritualized Christianity had its foundations in the old typological or allegorical correspondences between the Old and the New Testament. Yet now these correspondences were to embrace all of human history, including the future, and were to do so in a chronologically

discernible way, so that Joachim could venture to predict the coming of his third age in the year 1260. Less far-reaching extensions of the typological principle had appeared elsewhere, ever since earlier in the twelfth century Hugh of St. Victor had systematically construed and described the history of salvation as that of comparable events in the two testaments.<sup>22</sup> It is in this spirit that the ternaries of images on Nicholas of Verdun's Klosterneuburg altar of 1181 illustrate the great phases of salvation history *ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia* (before and under the law of Moses and under the grace of Christ), terminating in eschatology.<sup>23</sup> It is also important that such a literary typologist as the English *Pictor in carmine*, who wrote around 1200, drew parallels not only between the Old Testament and the New Testament but also between the two testaments and the life of the Church in its history after Christ.<sup>24</sup>

Yet Joachim of Flora, though a contemporary of Nicholas of Verdun and the *Pictor in carmine*, is a revolutionary as compared with them. His triadic and trinitarian view of history implies that just as the New Testament had superseded the Old, so the coming of the Holy Spirit would invalidate much that had existed in the previous history of the Church. In other words, Joachim among other things continued and theoretically radicalized a critical trend that had arisen in the Church after the apparent victory of the Gregorian reform movement, when, amazingly soon, warning voices against the transformation of ecclesiastical liberty into ecclesiastical domination, of an incarnational into an all too carnal order of the Christian world, had made themselves heard. We find these misgivings expressed especially strongly in a group of satirical and polemical poems and pamphlets of the latter part of the twelfth century, among which the Gospel of the Mark of Silver, a parody of the Gospel of St. Mark, is perhaps the most famous.<sup>25</sup>

Yet Innocent III himself, the leader of the incarnational order of Christendom around 1200, had in his youth written one of the most penetratingly eschatological treatises of the entire Middle Ages: *On the Misery of the Human Condition*.<sup>26</sup> And during his pontificate he did his best to create living space within the Church for those who continued to see Christianity in terms of poverty, suffering, and death to the world, rather than in terms of terrestrial triumph, power, and glory. Among them were St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi, whose almost contemporary portraits Figs. 9 and 10 reproduce.<sup>27</sup>

However, just as Pope Innocent III, so also Dominic and Francis lived in both of the great Christian perspectives, the incarnational as well as the eschatological, which in fact became almost fused in the mendicant movement whose principal aims were preaching to the world and poverty in the world.

In the case of St. Francis there is even more. Through him, who bore the

eschatological signs of the stigmata, the world of natural life and love, which the twelfth-century Renaissance had rediscovered, was consecrated once more to Christ. Of Francis' love for all creatures of God, many famous anecdotes are a reflection, and the *Cantico del Sole*<sup>28</sup>—his great praise of sun and stars, of plants and animals, of body and soul, of life and death—is the incomparable document.

At the historical moment of the year 1200, then, the tension between the eschatological and incarnational perspectives, which had existed almost from the beginnings of Christianity, reached a high degree of intensity. Out of this crisis a new image of man emerged, which may, I think, be called classical; it might even be better to use more specific art historical terminology, which in this case may be the most exact, and to speak of an early classical image of man in its emergence from a late archaic one. Innocent III and St. Francis represent this new image, together with its roots in older perspectives and its anticipations of the future.

In the space remaining we must study, however briefly, the nature and meaning of this medieval classicism around 1200, which is, it seems to me, the essence of the era, though it did not stop with it but continued to evolve.

There is nothing new, of course, about using the concept "classical" both in a general sense, that is to say, as a category of perfection, and in a particular historical sense, according to which preclassical, classical, and postclassical phases within Hellenic and high medieval civilization can usefully be compared with one another. For the history of art, I may refer, for instance, to Max Dvořák<sup>29</sup> and Henri Focillon.<sup>30</sup>

The new view of nature and of man propagated by the twelfth-century Renaissance parallels in some ways the natural philosophy and anthropology of the early pre-Socratics, as does the archaic nascent naturalism of Romanesque art parallel that of Greek art of the sixth and earliest fifth century B.C. More important in our context, one might point to a kinship between the art of the late archaic and early classical phases of Greece and of the medieval West, respectively. There exists, in my opinion, a kinship also between the styles of the politics of the two periods, Innocent III achieving a balance of multidirectional forces not unlike that maintained by the greatest statesman of the classical Greek polis, Pericles. Furthermore, to continue these analogies, St. Francis of Assisi, the great imitator of Christ, and Socrates, who, according to a tradition going back to the earliest Church Fathers, was Christ's great forerunner among the Greeks,<sup>31</sup> resembled one another in that they both wanted to follow their God integrally and intransigently—Francis by fullest adherence to the life of Christ according to the Gospels, Socrates by following unhesitatingly the voice of his *daimonion*, which to him in all probability was a sign of Apollo.<sup>32</sup> Finally, the great systems of thought

which long after 1200 concluded and even transcended the classical phase of the central Middle Ages—from Albert the Great to Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and Dante—are analogous in place and rank to those of Plato and Aristotle.

To compose a mosaiclike picture of the incipient classical life style around the year 1200 out of many small character traits of historical persons and actions would be possible and fascinating. On this occasion, let me only say that some of the historiographical sources no longer merely describe personages, but convey an impression of their unmistakable personality, and, in doing so, often use a masterly lightness of touch which is in itself a significant symptom of the loosening of individual minds and through them the spirit of the age. Here I must restrict myself to some of the more clearly formed and concise literary expressions of the new classicism, which are found above all in poetry, always keeping in mind, of course, that the figurative arts, to which this Symposium is chiefly devoted, are of at least equal importance for the understanding of the morphology of life at that time. I must to my regret also forgo a discussion of any of the problems connected with actual borrowings from classical antiquity in the art and literature around 1200.

A classical style means at all times a synthesis of the natural and the ideal. Again, I may recall the name of Max Dvořák, and above all his essay on idealism and naturalism in Gothic sculpture and painting, which, though more than fifty years old, is nevertheless still very important.<sup>33</sup> Classicism around 1200 in art, but not only in art, continues the early Gothic reaction against the archaic naturalism of the Romanesque twelfth century, a naturalism which on the whole had remained symbolic and particularized—though there are some protoclassical anticipations, e.g., in the Mosan art of Rainer and Godfrey of Huy and in Norman-Sicilian art.<sup>34</sup> Now, at the turn of the century, there can be observed in art, literature, and in all forms of thought a definite emphasis on the organically integrated and the harmoniously ideal; there is an increased realization that, at least as far as man is concerned, the natural is most real not in parts or fragments, but in its wholeness, and that through living wholeness or integrated animation nature receives ideality of a new kind. The classical idealism which high medieval society produced is, of course, less world-immanent, more world-transcendent than that created by Greek antiquity. Medieval classicism remains within the limits of the spiritual and hierarchical orders and of the incarnational and eschatological perspectives of Christianity—in fact, as suggested earlier, it constituted a tension between these two perspectives, its natural component being related somewhat to the creational, incarnational, and hierarchical, the ideal somehow to the eschatologically spiritual.

The idealism which was part of the classical image of man around the year 1200 did not, however, lead back to that high spiritualism which had been dominant at least during the two centuries preceding the twelfth-century Renaissance, though different kinds of spiritualism were to return among other trends later. The new ideals of human perfection which were expressed, represented, and lived in the classical era of the High Middle Ages are rather centered in the human person himself, in his dignity and freedom, in his hubris, struggles, and tragic complications, as well as in his goodness, beauty, and God-likeness.

The early classical years from 1180 to 1230, then, comprise a uniquely free moment of the Christian ages, a moment of acme and transition in which personality could harmoniously develop in many directions within a still valid sacred order.<sup>35</sup> In some respects, and especially in some places, the momentum of this classical moment, though it was soon to be endangered by petrification, rarefaction, or disruption, was nevertheless to continue for another hundred years; in Italy it was to find its last fulfillment and also its transformation only in the age of the *dolce stil nuovo* and Cavallini, which was to be followed by the "new life" and art of Dante and Giotto.

Nowhere else, perhaps, is the classical moment of Christian medieval history around the year 1200 expressed as clearly as in a famous text from Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*:

Whose life ends in such a way  
That the soul is not made to stay  
Without God through the body's fault  
And who still the good graces can hold  
Of the world full worthily:  
He has striven handsomely.<sup>36</sup>

This is a joyful assertion of the possibility of human perfection, which is beautifully represented also in works of art, especially in sculptures, of the early thirteenth century, for instance in the St. Theodore of Chartres (Fig. 11) or in a different way in the St. Gregory from the same south portal of that cathedral (Fig. 12).

Needless to say, the medieval classical image of the free human person stopped short of a transformation of the existing social order in which unfree or half-free persons were still the vast majority. But at least among the free-born and freed, the late twelfth and early thirteenth century began to raise new standards of perfection. Even the socially limited search for the perfect man was implicitly or explicitly critical of not a few of the past and present ways of the Christian life. The classical perception of life was in its own way

no less novel, no less challenging than Joachim of Flora's extension of the eschatological perspective.

As an example I mention Alanus of Lille's poem *Anticlaudianus*, written in the mid-eighties of the twelfth century.<sup>37</sup> Alanus, called *doctor universalis* in his time, was an almost exact contemporary of Joachim; they both died in 1202. The *Anticlaudianus* is superficially similar to a work of the preceding generation: Bernardus Silvestris' *On the Universe*, which is an account of creation in Platonistic and hermetic terms.<sup>38</sup> Yet there are important differences. On the one hand, Alanus makes greater efforts than Bernardus to reconcile the cosmological and anthropological naturalism of the twelfth-century Renaissance with Christian supranaturalism—*natura* is now only the vicar of God and *Venus* the vicar of nature. On the other hand, the *Anticlaudianus* is no longer a hexaemeral commentary at all; it no longer interprets the first creation, but allegorically describes the creation of a new and more perfect man. It is certainly significant that after 1200 years of Christianity an eminent and highly esteemed Christian intellectual such as Alanus would find it possible and necessary to write and publish a poetic fantasy in which all the highest faculties of the Christian mind—the virtues, the liberal arts, reason, concord, wisdom—are made to embark on a journey to heaven, where they ask God to create an altogether new soul and to allow nature to create an altogether new body for man. Even more surprisingly, Alanus' God acceded to the request and thus implicitly admitted that in spite of the redemption of the old Adam by Christ there was still very little perfection to be found in mankind.

Perhaps the so-called *Primavera* from the School of Antelami in Parma (Fig. 13)<sup>39</sup> can give us an idea of how the period around 1200 conceived of perfect human beings. Adam in Paradise, too, is affected by the early new classicism as in the famous fresco of Ferentillo of about 1190 (Fig. 14).<sup>40</sup>

While Alanus of Lille's poetic formulation of a classical idea of man contains merely implicit criticism of the concrete and actual forms of medieval Christianity, there are other examples of a more explicit character. Let me adduce a few of these, first from the political, then from the social-moral, finally from the purely religious sphere. In each of these three spheres the classical ideal can assume special aspects: in the political sphere it can be agonistic and polemical, merging with the satirical; in the social-moral sphere, humane and subjective, verging on the unconventional, and even agnostic; in the religious sphere, sublime and reaching toward the mystical.

Perhaps the best examples of the political and polemical side of the classical ideal in the literature of the early thirteenth century are those gnomic verses of Walther von der Vogelweide which have a bearing on the



German throne contest between Hohenstaufen and Guelph, and also on Innocent III's decisive, but in Walther's eyes unjustified, intervention.

Not unlike Wolfram, Walther would like to integrate honor, wealth, and grace, the terrestrial and the divine goods. Yet, he thinks, in Germany at least, this is impossible, for

treachery hides behind you  
till open violence find you  
and peace and right suffer deep wounds.<sup>41</sup>

The perversion of right order makes him realize the primevally agonistic character of all life:

I saw the world and what it was  
with field and wood, leaf, reed, and grass,  
what flies and creeps  
and stands and leaps,  
I saw it all and tell you this:  
not one without its hatred is.<sup>42</sup>

Yet the real calamity, as Walther sees it, is that the pope, Innocent III, who should curb hatred, increases it:

in Rome I heard how truth was flayed,  
how both the kings were there betrayed  
.....  
'alas, the Pope is all too young: Lord, help your Christians!'<sup>43</sup>

In the years that follow these early verses, Walther—whose own political shifts were highly subjective—attacked the pope with increasing bitterness, even injustice, and, it seems, with considerable effectiveness—for a contemporary poet wrote:

... a thousand has he led astray,  
he bade them no attention pay  
to what God and the Pope command.<sup>44</sup>

A polemical spirit was one of the by-products of the search for a more human, a more terrestrial perfection; but there were also others: the new classicism could, for instance, lead to a deepening of ethical ideals and to a transcending of social conformity.

This is the case in Hartmann von Aue's *Poor Henry*, which is in my opinion one of the most moving epic poems of the period around 1200;<sup>45</sup> written in strikingly clear and transparent verse—his contemporary Gottfried of Strassburg spoke of Hartmann's crystalline little words<sup>46</sup>—it is classical in the sense of Winckelmann's noble simplicity and tranquil grandeur, though Hartmann's classicism was, of course, still a Christian one.

"Poor Henry" is a young, handsome, lovable knight of high birth and station. Suddenly Henry becomes a leper. He finds a refuge not within his own feudal circle, but in the house of a peasant whose lord he is and who with his family leads the existence of a fairly well-to-do freeman, while being socially far inferior to Henry. Among other children the farmer has a daughter, then still a small girl, who instead of being disgusted by her lord's illness, serves him willingly and with increasing love. It may be recalled in this connection that in high medieval eyes leprosy was the most dread disease and seemed to refute the very idea of natural perfection, but also that, about the time at which Hartmann wrote this poem, St. Francis of Assisi experienced his conversion by overcoming his loathing for lepers. To return to *Poor Henry*, when, after a few years, a doctor of the great medical school of Salerno claims that he can heal him with the heart's blood of a virgin, who out of her free will wants to sacrifice her life for him, the peasant's daughter decides to do just that and prevails against the sorrow of her parents and Henry's own misgivings. Only at the very last moment does the knight find that he cannot go through with it, cannot accept the girl's death for his sake, and only then is their mutual willingness for loving sacrifice rewarded by the miraculous cleansing and healing of Henry's leprosy, his rejuvenation, and the fulfillment of their love, which includes a marriage that, as the poet makes very clear, goes beyond all feudal conventions. As the poem progresses, all external motivations accompanying the relationship between the knight and the peasant girl and between each of them and God are gradually reduced, until only the most essentially and personally human elements are left.

At first Henry was far from showing the patience of Job. Hartmann expresses his feelings convincingly:

for he was sad and much depressed—  
the soaring of his heart was downed,  
his joyful lightness deeply drowned.<sup>47</sup>

Then he let himself be persuaded to accept the girl's sacrifice. Only when he was face to face with the beauty of her body, strapped to the table on which she was to die,

he truly saw her and himself  
 and thus gained new and braver mood,  
 it did no longer seem so good  
 to do that which he'd planned before,  
 he now quite changed for evermore  
 the oldness of his former mind  
 to goodness which was new and kind.

Thus, when her beauty he had seen  
 he told himself what he had been.

.....  
 'What God,' he said, 'for me decreed  
 let it be done, let it go by:  
 I cannot bear this child to die.'<sup>48</sup>

The poet does not tell us directly whether or not the peasant's daughter wants to undergo the sacrifice out of love for her lord, and in view of the social distance between them it would have been hard for her to acknowledge that love even to herself, let alone to declare it to others. Her conscious and stated motives are within the eschatological perspective: they are contempt of the world and a fervent desire to be with Christ. And yet this does not seem to be the poet's only message. The last word is left to Christ himself. Seeing the girl's despair about Henry's refusal of her sacrifice,

He who looks into every heart  
 .....  
 He [who] by His loving plan  
 had found that it would be best  
 first their real worth to test  
 .....  
 He now showed how He held dear  
 loyal mercy He'd found here,  
 and He takes away from both  
 all that's sad and all that's loath,  
 in a single instant's stealth  
 made him pure and gave him health.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, in this case, as in that of Abraham or of Job, God obviously did not wish the sacrifice to be final. He allowed, and approved of, human happiness as something not alien to the divine.

Hartmann's synthesis of the human and the divine, of the natural and the ideal, is characteristic of the classical spirit around 1200. In a much more abstract way, this synthesis is expressed a little later by William of Auvergne in his *De universo*, a part of the vast work entitled *Magisterium divinale*, where

he tries to reconcile Plato and Aristotle. For, William says, we must have faith in two worlds: that of sensible things and that of the intelligibles.<sup>50</sup> To the former we are introduced by the senses, but to the latter—which is the world of universal ideas or forms and of God himself—we are led by our thoughts.

However, whenever, and wherever within the new classical idealism a synthesis between the divine and the human had remained incomplete or was not even intended, the scales could easily be tipped toward the merely human. In literature, the most unforgettable tragic version of this possibility is Gottfried of Strassburg's poem *Tristan and Isold*. Yet there is also the equally unforgettable version in the *chante-fable* of *Aucassin and Nicolette*, where the young hero, angry about the apparent loss of his beloved and perhaps not wholly serious, declares that he has no desire to enter Paradise along with such and such old priest, old cripple, old beggar, but would much rather go to hell with handsome clerks, handsome knights, beautiful ladies, and harpers and jugglers and kings—if, that is, he can have with him Nicolette, his *très-douce amie*.<sup>51</sup>

While Walther's polemical verse suggested new personal freedom in criticizing the political-ecclesiastical order and while Hartmann's *Poor Henry* raised the possibility of a human perfection that might elevate the contemporary social order to a higher ethical level, a third variant of the classical image of man around 1200 consisted in the sublime idealization and fusion of two of the highest older forms of medieval life: that of the knight and that of the monk. This idealization was achieved in the so-called Vulgate-cycle of romances of the Holy Grail, and especially in the *Queste del Saint Graal*, probably written by a Cistercian monk around 1220.<sup>52</sup>

The author of this great prose poem created the figure of Galahad, a messianic figure, more perfect and more ideal, more Christian and also more "classical," than all the other seekers and finders of the Grail. He is the most perfect image of Christ, and he bears, it seems, one of Christ's mystical names, for Galahad is in all probability derived from Mount Galaad, which is a symbol of Christ in the medieval exegesis of Gen. 31: 45-48 and of the Song of Songs 4:1 and 6:4.<sup>53</sup>

Yet Galahad is not a poor and humble monk, comparable to his contemporary in real life, St. Francis, who had left the knighthood behind when he chose the road of evangelical imitation of Christ. True, Galahad is a holy being—not only without sin, but also virginal, just as Christ or John the Evangelist had been—but he is also a combative knight and king of the thirteenth century. For his life is earthly, and yet he is appalled by the consequences of warlike exploits; to evildoers he appears as an avenging angel, but he is finally altogether transfigured by the Holy Grail and ends

his life in mystical rapture. He is, therefore, an ideal that was never fully realized, but nevertheless was not unreal. For the figure of Galahad—even though he was to become a favorite of the nineteenth-century Romantics—was not disconnected from his own time. On the contrary, he represented living forces of the early thirteenth century in a particularly pure manner. Galahad was not a romantical, but a classical invention: he was a natural and supranatural image, a humane and suprahuman hero.

To sum up, in the ever new life of the mind, the historical moment around the year 1200 was the birth hour of medieval classicism in the midst of a tension between the older incarnational and eschatological perspectives of Christianity. That the life of the Christian mind had then reached a classical stage of expression is, of course, nowhere as evident as in the figurative arts which around 1200 created a new classicism in works which may still be regarded as classical.

I shall, therefore, close with a brief characterization of three pairs of works of art. The first pair—a miniature of about 1100 (Fig. 15)<sup>54</sup> and an enamel of the late twelfth century (Fig. 16),<sup>55</sup> both from Limoges—are eschatological theophanies of Christ in Majesty; they evoke his Second Coming. But in contrast to the severely hieratic character of the earlier miniature, the later enamel contains a stronger incarnational element, which is evident in the suggestion of a greater bodily volume, and especially in the fairly advanced naturalism of the sculptured head. We are not far from the synthesis of the eschatological and the incarnational, the natural and the ideal, which is typical of the early classical phase around 1200.

Next we turn to Frederick Barbarossa's portrait bust of ca. 1150–1170, from Cappenberg (Fig. 17),<sup>56</sup> and to the figure of King Solomon, from the Shrine of the Three Magi in Cologne, probably belonging to the early thirteenth-century workshop of Nicholas of Verdun (Fig. 18)<sup>57</sup>—clear illustrations of the change from archaic naturalism to the classical synthesis of naturalism and idealism.

Lastly, there follow two representations of the creation of man: the older one is a relief of the creation of Eve from the bronze doors of Plock, now in Novgorod (Fig. 19),<sup>58</sup> in which we are again confronted by archaic naturalism within the creational-incarnational framework of the mid-twelfth century; the later scene is an example of the high classicism of the early thirteenth century, from the north porch of the cathedral of Chartres (Fig. 20): here we have the perfect Word of God who in mild benevolence shapes Adam in his own image—and the work of art before our eyes expresses the divine and human perfection of that double image with unprecedented immediacy and with a beauty that, even in the midst of imperfections, must have existed also in life and mind around 1200.

## Notes

1. For the role of Byzantium, see the contributions of K. M. Setton and K. Weitzmann in this volume.

2. For her tomb, see the catalogue of the exhibition: *The Year 1200*, I, no. 19.

3. See E. G. Grimme, "Karl der Grosse in seiner Stadt," in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, IV, Düsseldorf, 1967, pp. 237 ff.

4. Fig. 1 reproduces a miniature from *Regesta Vaticana* 5, fol. 49 r., in the Vatican Archives; Fig. 2, one of the surviving fragments of the apse mosaic of Old St. Peter's in Rome; for these portraits of Innocent III, see G. B. Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, II, Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana, ser. II, IV, Vatican City, 1970, pp. 53 ff. and 56 ff.

5. The best biography of Innocent III is by Helene Tillmann, *Papst Innozenz III*, Bonn, 1954.

6. Innocent III, *Sermones de diversis, Sermo*, VI, Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (henceforth cited as *P.L.*) CCXVII, 673 C: "Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum, antequam patiar, id est antequam moriar."

7. Luke 22:15.

8. VIN̄ · PANIS · AQVA · XPI · CORPV · IN · ARA · This must be read together with the inscription in the border of the whole miniature: + MARTYRIO · XPISTI · PATER · ANGELICIQ; · MINISTRI · ASSISTVNT · ERGO · FIVNT · VNVM · TRIA · VERBO · · · See Frauke Steenbock, "Eine Miniatur zur Messfeier im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett," *Festschrift für Peter Metz*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 135 ff. See also the miniature on the verso of a leaf from the scriptorium of Weingarten, ca. 1190-1200 (now in the Art Institute in Chicago) in *The Year 1200*, I, no. 267. This miniature without any doubt represents a eucharistic miracle, performed by Gregory the Great according to his *Vita*, c. 23, by Paulus Diaconus, Migne, *P.L.*, LXXV, pp. 52 ff. Inspection of the original clearly revealed the finger, mentioned by Paulus, which is represented as lying on the paten of the chalice, while Gregory at the same time elevates the

host, the consubstantiality of which with the *caro* of Christ is thus made visible. H. Swarzenski, *The Berthold Missal*, New York, 1943, fig. 11, reproduces the miniature on the verso. The recto shows St. Gregory writing (*ibid.*, fig. 10, and also *The Year 1200*, I, no. 267). The identification of the subject matter of the miniature on the verso supports Swarzenski's surmise (*The Berthold Missal*, p. 15), that the leaf was the frontispiece of a lost Weingarten life of Gregory the Great, yet his iconographic interpretation, as well as that given in the catalogue of the exhibition, must be modified.

9. For these copies, see my book, cited in note 4, pp. 56 ff. In the Grimaldi Album (Fig. 4), the stream of blood, flowing from the Lamb's side wound into the chalice, and still to be seen in most copies, is no longer clearly visible. For the eucharistic doctrine of Innocent III, see, above all, his treatise *De sacro altaris mysterio*, Migne, *P.L.* CCXVII, 763; cf. M. Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III*, Padua, 1972, pp. 339 ff.

10. *Theologie und Politik vor dem Investiturstreit*, Darmstadt, 1968. The best introduction, at least in the English language, to the Gregorian reform in general is still G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, Oxford, 1959, translation by R. F. Bennet of *Libertas: Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreits*, Leipzig, 1936. See also F. Kempf, S.J., in *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. H. Jedin, III, 1, Freiburg, 1966, pp. 401 ff.

11. See C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927; G. Paré, A. Brunet, and P. Tremblay, *La Renaissance au XII siècle: Les écoles et l'enseignement*, Paris-Ottawa, 1933; P. Renucci, *L'aventure de l'humanisme européen au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1953, pp. 54 ff., M.-D. Chenu, O.P., *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, Chicago-London, 1968, partial translation by J. Taylor and L. K. Little of *La théologie au douzième siècle*, Paris, 1957; C. Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, New York, 1970.

12. See E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Bollingen Series, XXXVI, New York, 1953, translation by W. R. Trask of

*Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, first published Bern, 1948, p. 113: "The 'Renaissance' of that period is comprehensible only in the light of a sense of life nourished by the springs of life itself" ("... aus den Quellen des Bios gespeist...").

13. For this mosaic, see the recent interpretation of W. von den Steinen, *Homo Caelestis*, Bern-Munich, 1965, pp. 204 ff., 297. See also C. A. Garufi, "Il pavimento a mosaico della Cattedrale d'Otranto," *Studi medievali*, II, 1906-1907, pp. 505 ff.; P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, I: *Il Medioevo*, Turin, 1965, p. 1115.

14. See E. Gilson, *La philosophie au moyen âge*, Paris, 1947, pp. 259 ff.; J. M. Parent, O.P., *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres*, Paris-Ottawa, 1938; T. Gregory, *Ainma mundi: La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres*, Florence, 1955. Recently, R. W. Southern, "Humanism and the School of Chartres," in *Medieval Humanism*, New York, 1970, pp. 61 ff., attempted to reduce the importance of the School of Chartres, in my opinion with partial success. Cf. also J. O. Ward, "The Date of the Commentary on Cicero's *De inventione* by Thierry of Chartres . . .," *Viator*, III, 1972, especially pp. 220 ff., note 1, and literature cited there.

15. Fig. 6 after Hildegard's *Liber divinorum operum*, Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, Cod. 1942, fol. 9 r. For Hildegard, see, for instance, H. Liebeschütz, *Das allegorische Weltbild der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, XVI, Leipzig-Berlin, 1930; H. Schipperges, *Hildegard von Bingen: Welt und Mensch*, Salzburg, 1965.

16. See M. Maccarrone, *Vicarius Christi: Storia del titolo papale*, Lateranum, Nova Serie XVIII, Rome, 1952, pp. 109 ff., and for twelfth-century antecedents, pp. 100 ff.

17. See G. B. Ladner, "The Concepts of 'Ecclesia' and 'Christianitas' and their Relation to the Idea of Papal 'Plenitudo Potestatis' from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII," in *Miscellanea Historica Pontificia*, XVIII, Rome, 1954, pp. 49 ff., but see also F. Kempf, S.J., "Kanonistik und kuriale Politik im 12. Jahrhundert," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, I, 1963, pp. 11 ff., and B. Tierney, "The Continuity of Papal Political Theory in the Thirteenth Century," *Mediaeval Studies*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 227 ff.

18. Cf. Innocent III's sermon, cited in note 6, Migne, P.L. CCXVII, 673 ff.: "... non abnuo,

si dispositum est a Deo, bibere calicem passionis, sive pro defensione fidei catholicae sive pro subsidio Terrae Sanctae sive pro statu ecclesiasticae libertatis . . . Ego autem . . . non carnali sed spirituali 'desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum' (Luke 22:15), non propter commoditatem temporalem, sed propter reformationem universalis ecclesiae, ad liberationem potissimum Terrae Sanctae: propter quae duo principaliter et praecipue hoc sacrum concilium convocavi. . . ." See also the rest of the sermon, especially 675 C, where Innocent interprets the "Pasch" which he wishes to celebrate with the Council in a threefold way: "corporeal"—"ut fiat transitus ad locum pro miserabili Jerusalem liberanda," "spiritual"—"ut fiat transitus de statu ad statum pro universali ecclesia reformanda," "eternal"—"ut fiat transitus de vita in vitam pro coelesti gloria obtinenda." The term "transitus" applies the concept of "Passover" (*Phase = transitus*, see Exod. 12:11) to the situation of Christendom, and this against the background of the generally accepted identification of the Last Supper with a Passover meal.

19. The literature on Joachim of Flora has grown very large, especially in recent years. I mention only H. Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Fiore*, Stuttgart, 1966; idem, *Neue Forschungen über Joachim von Fiore*, Münstersche Forschungen I, Marburg, 1950; M. Bloomfield, "Joachim of Flora: A Critical Survey of his Canon, Teaching, Sources, Biography and Influence," *Traditio*, XIII, 1957, pp. 249 ff.; H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, II, 1, Paris, 1961, pp. 437 ff.; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Late Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1969.

20. See above all, L. Tondelli, *Il Libro delle Figure dell' Abate Gioachino da Fiore*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 63 ff., and *ibid.*, II<sup>2</sup>, pl. XII, Turin, 1953, also the literature cited in note 19.

21. See K. Löwith, *Meaning in History*, Chicago, 1949, pp. 145 ff. and 208 ff.

22. See de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, II, 1, pp. 339 ff.

23. See, for instance, F. Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar*, Vienna-Munich, 1955, pp. 49 ff.

24. See M. R. James, "Pictor in Carmine," *Archaeologia*, XCIV, 1951, for instance, p. 164, no. cxxv.

25. P. Lehmann, ed., *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1963, pp. 183 ff., see also *ibid.*, pp.

32 ff. Criticism was by no means restricted to parody and satire; I need only refer to the famous treatise *De consideratione* (Migne, P.L. CLXXXII, 727 ff.), addressed by the greatest churchman of the second generation after Gregory VII, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, to his disciple, Pope Eugene III.

26. Last and best edition by M. Maccarrone; Lotharii Cardinalis (Innocentii III) *De miseria humanae conditionis*, Lugano, 1955. According to the Prologue, the author had the intention of supplementing this treatise by another one on "the dignity of human nature," yet he never seems to have succeeded in doing so. The pseudo-Bernardian treatise *De cognitione humanae conditionis*, Migne, P.L. CLXXXIV, 485 ff., deals with both *dignitas* and *miseria*.

27. For the portrait of St. Dominic in the Fogg Museum, see Carmen Gómez-Moreno, Elizabeth H. Jones, A. K. Wheelock, Jr., and Millard Meiss, "A Sienese St. Dominic Modernized Twice in the Thirteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin*, LI, 1969, pp. 363 ff., where it is shown that the first form of the picture dated from the fourth or fifth decade of the thirteenth century. For the portrait of St. Francis, see my article "Das älteste Bild des hl. Franziskus von Assisi," in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*. . . , Wiesbaden, 1964, I, pp. 449 ff.

28. H. Boehmer, ed., in *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi*, Tübingen-Leipzig, 1904, pp. 65 ff.

29. See M. Dvorák, "Idealismus und Naturalismus in der gotischen Skulptur und Malerei," in *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*, Munich, 1924, pp. 62, 87 f.; see also the English translation by R. J. Klawiter: *Idealism and Naturalism in Gothic Art*, South Bend, Ind., 1967, pp. 30, 64 ff.

30. See H. Focillon, *The Art of the West in the Middle Ages*, translated from the French by D. King, London, 1963, II, pp. 72 ff.

31. See Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, especially pp. 28 and 118 f., about Justin the Martyr (died ca. 165) and his view of Socrates as partially anticipating Christ; see also J. Quasten, *Patrology*, I, Westminster, Md., 1951, pp. 209 ff. This tradition continued above all in Greek Christendom, until it was revived in the West in the Renaissance.

32. See the excellent remarks of R. Guardini, *Der Tod des Sokrates*, Hamburg, 1956, pp. 174 ff.

33. See note 29.

34. See, for instance, J. Deér, "Die Siegel Kaiser Friedrichs I. Barbarossa und Heinrichs VI. in der Kunst und Politik ihrer Zeit," in *Festschrift Hans R. Hahnloser zum 60. Geburtstag* 1959, Basel, 1971, pp. 47 ff.; idem, "Die Basler Löwenkamee und der süditalienische Gemmenschnitt des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der abendländischen Protorenaissance," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, XIV, 1935, pp. 129 ff.

35. It is true that in the same moment the threshold of progressive disintegration of that order was reached; see W. von den Steinen, *Homo Caelestis*, Bern-Munich, 1965 (text vol.), pp. 130 ff. See also A. L. Mayer, "Die Liturgie und der Geist der Gotik," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VI, 1926, pp. 68 ff.

36. K. Lachmann, ed. (revised by E. Hartl, Berlin, 1952), p. 388, Book XVI, section 827, verses 19 ff.:

swes leben sich sô verendet  
daz got niht wirt gependet  
der sêle durch des lîbes schulde  
und der doch der werlde hulde  
behalten kan mit werdekeit,  
daz ist ein nütziu arbeit.

37. Thos. Wright, ed., *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, II, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, LIX, London, 1872, pp. 268 ff.; see also the more recent edition of R. Bossuat: Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, Paris, 1955. See G. Raynaud de Lage, *Alain de Lille*, Montreal-Paris, 1951; Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, pp. 117 ff. M.-T. d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, Paris, 1965.

38. *De mundi universitate*, C. S. Barach and J. Wrobel, eds., Frankfurt on Main, 1964. See T. Silverstein, "The Fabulous Cosmogony of Bernardus Silvestris," *Modern Philology*, XLVI, 1948-1949, pp. 92 ff. B. Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester*, Princeton, 1972.

39. See G. de Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami*, Milan-Florence, 1952, I, pp. 177 ff., 265.

40. See Toesca, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, I, p. 951, note 11, where older literature is



referred to, von den Steinen, *Homo Caelestis*, p. 191, also J. Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters- und Pauls-Basiliken in Rom*, Berlin-Vienna, 1918, pp. 30 ff.

41. Walther von der Vogelweide, *Sprüche, Lieder, der Leich*, ed. P. Stapf, Berlin-Darmstadt, 1963, p. 10:

Ich saz ûf einem steine  
 .....  
 dô dâhte ich mir vil ange,  
 wie man zer welte solte leben:  
 deheinen rât kond ich gegeben,  
 wie man driu dinc erwurbe,  
 der keinez niht verdurbe.  
 diu zwei sint êre und varnde guot,  
 daz dicke ein ander schaden tuot:  
 daz dritte ist gotes hulde,  
 der zweier übergulde.  
 die wolte ich gerne in einem schrîn.  
 jâ leider desn mac niht gesîn  
 .....  
 untriuwe ist in der sâze,  
 gewalt vert ûf der strâze:  
 fride unde reht sint sêre wunt.

42. Ibid., p. 8:  
 ich sach swaz in der welte was,  
 velt walt loup rôr unde gras.  
 swaz kriuchet unde flüget  
 und bein zer erde bieget,  
 daz sach ich, unde sage iu daz:  
 der keinez lebet âne haz.

43. Ibid., p. 16:  
 ze Rôme hôte ich liegen  
 und zwêne küene triegen.  
 .....  
 'owê der bâbest ist ze junc: hilf, hêrre, dîner  
 kristenheit.'

44. Thomasin von Zirclaria, *Der wälsche Gast*, ed. H. Rückert, Berlin, 1965, p. 305, verses 11223 ff.:

wan er hât tûsent man betoeret,  
 daz si habent überhoeret  
 gotes und des bâbstes gebot.

45. Hartmann von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich*, ed. H. de Boor, Frankfurt on Main-Hamburg, 1963.

46. Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolde*, ed. F. Ranke, Berlin, 1958, p. 58, verses 4621 ff.:

Hartman der Ouwaere  
 .....  
 wie luter und wie reine  
 siniu cristallinen wortelin

47. Von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich*, p. 16 verses 148 ff.:

wan er was trûrec unde unf rô.  
 sîn swebendez herze daz verswanc,  
 sîn swimmendiû frôude ertranc

48. Ibid., pp. 94 ff., verses 1245 ff., 1268 ff.:  
 und ersach sî durch die schrunden  
 nacket und gebunden.

ir lip der was vil minneclich.  
 nû sach er sî an unde sich  
 und gewan einen niuwen muot.  
 in dûhte dô daz niht guot,  
 des er ê gedâht hâte  
 und verkêrte vil drâte  
 sîn altez gemüete  
 in eine niuwe güete.

Nû er sî alsô schoene sach  
 wider sich selben er dô sprach:

.....  
 'swaz dir got hât beschert,  
 daz lâ dir allez geschehen.  
 ich enwil des kindes tût niht sehen.'

49. Ibid., p. 104, verses 1380 ff.:  
 dô erkande ir triuwe und ir nôt  
 cordis speculator,  
 vor dem deheines herzen tor  
 vûrnames niht beslozen ist.  
 sît er durch sinen süezen list  
 an in beiden des geruochte,  
 daz er sî versuochte  
 reht alsô volleclichen  
 sam Jôben den richen,  
 dô erzeigte der heilige Krist,  
 wie liep im triuwe und barmde ist,  
 und schiet sî dô beide  
 von allem ir leide  
 und machete in dô zestunt  
 reine unde wol gesunt.

50. William of Auvergne, *Opera Omnia*, Paris, 1674, p. 821: *De universo*, II, 1, 14:  
 "... non minus credendum est intellectui de  
 intelligibilibus quam sensui de sensibilibus:  
 quia igitur testimonium seu testificatio sensus  
 cogit nos ponere mundum sensibilem, et  
 ipsum sensibilem, mundumque particularium  
 sive singularium, cogere nos debet intellectus  
 multo fortius ponere mundum intelligibilem,  
 hic autem est mundus universalium sive  
 specierum. Intellectus enim noster hic non  
 apprehendit proprie per se particularia seu  
 singularia, sed universalia tantum, quae sunt  
 genera et species et alia communia, quae Plato  
 formas et species abstractas vocasse videtur."  
 See also the immediately following chapters.  
 See E. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in  
 the Middle Ages*, New York, 1955, p. 258.

51. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, VI, 24-39, ed. M. Roques, Paris, 1925, verse 6.

52. A. Pauphilet, *Études sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, Paris, 1921, 1923, 1949, furthermore, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. S. Loomis, Oxford, 1959, pp. 302 ff. (J. Frappier, "The Vulgate Cycle").

53. The identification of Galaad, the "witness heap" of Genesis, and of Mount Galaad of the Song of Songs with Christ goes back at least as far as Beda Venerabilis, *In Cantica Canticorum allegorica expositio* III, 4, 14, Migne, *P.L.* XCI, 1130 A f. (See also Isidore of Seville, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, 26, 8, Migne, *P.L.* LXXXIII, 266 A.) It is later found in the *Glossa Ordinaria* to the Bible, Migne, *P.L.*, CXIII, 159 (after Isidore) and 1146; and among the followers of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, see Gillebert of Hoiland (died 1172), *Sermones in Canticum Salomonis, Sermo XXIII*, 2, Migne, *P.L.*, CLXXXIV, 119 C. See Pauphilet, *Études*, pp. 135 ff.

54. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9438, fol. 58. See V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Mâcon, 1924, I, pp. 213 ff.

55. Paris, Musée Cluny. This enamel was part of the exhibition, see *The Year 1200*, I, no. 136.

56. See H. Grundmann, *Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf und die Anfänge des Stiftes Cappenberg*, Cologne-Graz, 1959; H. Fillitz, "Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, series III, XIV, 1963, pp. 39 ff.

57. For this shrine see H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, London, 1967, p. 82, nos. 221 ff.

58. See A. Goldschmidt, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Bronzetüren*, II: *Die Türen von Nowgorod und Gnesen*, Marburg, 1932, p. 34, pl. II.

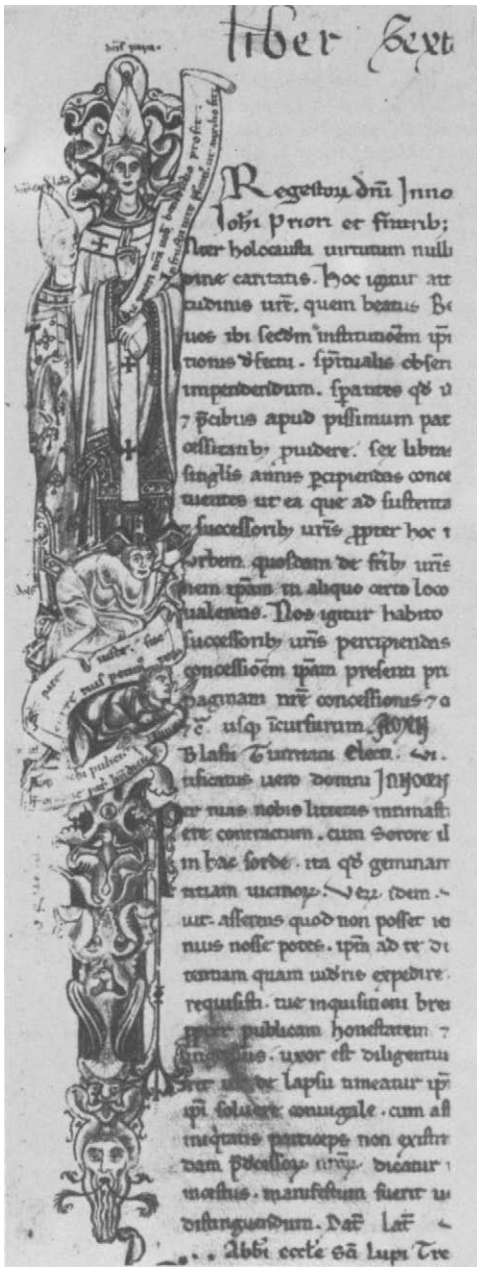


FIG. 1 *Regesta Vaticana 5, Innocent III, Vatican Archives*

FIG. 2 *Innocent III, mosaic from Old St. Peter's, Museo di Roma*





FIG. 3 Priest consecrating host, *Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin*

FIG. 4 *Grimaldi Album, copy of Apsis mosaic of Old St. Peter's, detail: Agnus Dei with chalice between Innocent III and Ecclesia Romana, Vatican Library*



FIG. 5 *Cosmic tree, pavement mosaic, Otranto Cathedral*



FIG. 6 *Cod. 1942, Hildegard von Bingen, Liber Divinorum Operum, Macrocosmus and Microcosmus, Biblioteca Governativa, Lucca*



FIG. 7 *Maiestas Domini, tympanum, St.-Pierre, Moissac*

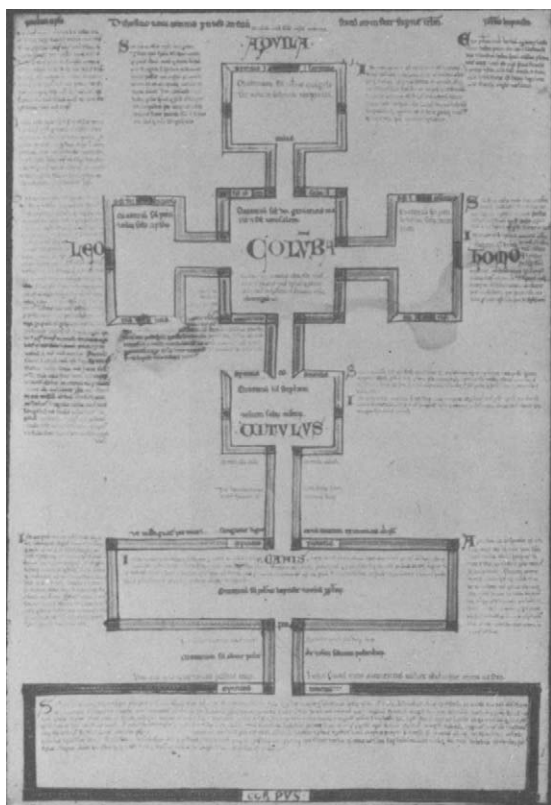


FIG. 8 *Ms. R, Joachim of Flora, Liber Figurarum, schema of the Church in the Third Age, Seminario Vescovile, Reggio Emilia*



FIG. 9 *St. Dominic, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts*



FIG. 10 *St. Francis of Assisi, Sacro Speco, Subiaco*



FIG. 11 *St. Theodore, south portal, Chartres Cathedral*

BELOW, LEFT:

FIG. 12 *St. Gregory the Great, south portal, Chartres Cathedral*



FIG. 13 *"Primavera," school of Antelami, Parma Baptistry*







FIG. 14 *Adam gives names to the animals, fresco, S. Pietro, Ferentillo*





FIG. 17 *Frederick Barbarossa, parish church, Cappenberg*



FIG. 18 *Shrine of the Three Magi, King Solomon, Cologne Cathedral*

OPPOSITE:

FIG. 15 *Ms. lat. 9438, Maiestas Domini, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*

FIG. 16 *Maiestas Domini, enamel, Musée Cluny, Paris*

FIG. 19 *Creation of Eve, bronze doors, Novgorod Cathedral*



FIG. 20 *Creation of Adam, north portal, Chartres Cathedral*

## The Fourth Crusade

The exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of works of art from the years just before and after 1200 has helped to illustrate the extraordinary versatility of the period with which this symposium was concerned. I almost said uniqueness, but there is of course a continuity to human experience. Every age is unique. Civilization is always in a state of flux. While some institutions are forming, others are falling apart. Every era is transitional, either to something better or something worse, and man has mostly lived in an atmosphere of crisis.

Attempts at precise periodization always get the historian into trouble. It is no wonder that the art historian has had difficulty drawing even a wavy line between the Romanesque and Gothic styles as development lags in one area and spurts forward in another. In the introduction to his catalogue of the exhibition, *The Year 1200*, I, Dr. Konrad Hoffmann observes that "during the last two decades of the twelfth century a spirited dynamic style prevailed . . ." (p. xxxvi). A similar agitation obtained in the political life of Europe. It lasted quite beyond the year 1200, causing near chaos in Germany in the strife of Welf and Waiblinger and enabling Philip Augustus to seize Normandy from King John of England. The years just after 1200 witnessed also the sad misadventures of the Children's Crusade and the striking victory of Christian over Moslem at Las Navas de Tolosa in southern Spain. The "calm monumentality" which Dr. Hoffmann notes as following the artistic tension of the late twelfth century has no parallel in the political life of Europe, despite the English Magna Carta of 1215 and the Hungarian Golden Bull of 1222—no parallel, that is, until we reach the age of St. Louis and the *Summa* of St. Thomas, and then we do find some measure of social calm, chiefly in France.

The later twelfth century (and the thirteenth as well) was also a time of

violent change and ferment in the Balkans. Under the first Stephen Nemanya the Serbs were building a new state, which would eventually (in the fourteenth century) become a great power. Stephen died in the year 1200. Under the first Asenids and the formidable Ioannitsa, the Bulgars were launched on the dramatic history of the Second Bulgarian Empire. And before the Fourth Crusade there was already a Latin state in the Ionian Greek islands of Cephalonia and Zante, where the young Matteo Orsini of Apulia had set up a county that would last a long time, and play a conspicuous role in the history of Latin dominion in Greece. The Latins were no strangers to the Byzantine empire, nor was the empire a mystery to them. For long generations pilgrims and crusaders had made their way to Byzantium. They had bought things and brought them home (they had also stolen things), and long before the year 1200 Byzantine influence is unmistakable upon Western crosses, chalices, caskets, coins, seals, ivories, and embroideries, as well as upon the iconography of liturgical and religious themes. Under the Comneni many Westerners, warriors and merchants both, had sought their fortunes in the East. The Latins knew well the manifold weaknesses of Byzantium. Centrifugal forces were pulling the empire apart. The contemporary Greek historian Nicetas Choniates has written, with sadness, of those two decades during which the Angeli ruled in Byzantium (1185-1204) that "there were those who revolted in one place or another, again and again, and it is not possible to say how often this happened."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time it seemed almost as though the West were in training to exploit the weakness of the East. On January 8, 1198, Lothario de' Conti of Segni, a native of Anagni, a young man and a strong one, was elected pope. He took the name Innocent III, and began one of the more brilliant reigns in the long history of the papacy. Apostolic authority was re-established in Rome and in central Italy. Despite his many problems, some of them in Rome itself, Innocent was devoted to the idea of a crusade which should recover Jerusalem, lost to Saladin in 1187, and not recovered by the Third Crusaders. And now with the passing of the German Emperor Henry VI Hohenstaufen from the scene, Ghibelline policy—or rather what the next generation would call Ghibelline policy—had foundered in the Levant as well as in Europe. The Byzantine Emperor Alexius III Angelus (1195-1203) quickly saw an ally in the new pope, whose enemies were his own, and with whom he now entered into a prolonged correspondence (1198-1202); but it was not within the power of Alexius III to effect either the union of the Churches or the recovery of Jerusalem, which were the chief objectives Innocent sought in any papal-Byzantine alliance. Although the pope and the emperor had common enemies, and nothing makes for understanding quite like the possession of common enemies, Innocent and Alexius did not

draw together. The Byzantine Church was opposed, as it had been for centuries, to Roman claims to primacy, and in Europe, especially in Italy, there were other forces working adroitly and, as time would show, successfully to prevent any rapprochement between Rome and Constantinople. The purpose of Alexius III was, like that of Michael VIII three quarters of a century later, to prevent the armed might of the West from being organized for an attack upon the Bosphorus.

Among the enemies whom Innocent III and the Byzantine Emperor Alexius possessed in common was the genial Philip of Swabia, brother of the late Henry VI, both of them sons of the famed Barbarossa. In 1195 Philip had married Irene, daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195), whom his usurping brother Alexius III had driven from the throne, blinded, and imprisoned. But Isaac's son, also named Alexius [IV], had finally managed to escape and find a refuge in Italy, probably in 1201, and was now seeking the support of the Hohenstaufen to regain the throne his house had acquired with the fall of the Comneni sixteen years before. Since the beginning of the year 1201, Innocent had been opposing Philip of Swabia's imperial ambitions in the West and supporting Otto [IV] of Brunswick against him. Months before the crusaders, whom Innocent had called to arms, had been assembled (or interned) on the island of San Niccolò di Lido in Venice, Philip had been trying to employ them on behalf of the exiled Angeli, who were after all members of his wife's family. Fate conspired with Philip to frustrate the intentions of the pope. The leaders of the Fourth Crusade resembled those of the First in two important respects: they included no monarchs among them, and they established enduring states in an alien land.

Everyone knew that the Venetians and the Byzantines had long entertained the heartiest dislike for each other. Despite the famous grant of trading privileges made to the Venetians in May 1082, or rather because of it, there had been intermittent strife between the Venetians and the Byzantines for generations, and the Byzantine government, although finally forced to renew the Venetian privileges, had extended them also to the Genoese, Pisans, and Anconitans. The Venetians resented these new competitors along the shores of the Bosphorus, and the seeds of the Fourth Crusade were planted in the soil of their discontent. Whether or not the Venetians deliberately sought the diversion of the crusade from Egypt and the Holy Land to Constantinople, they certainly did not set out upon the great enterprise with the political ambitions of Frederick Barbarossa and his son Henry VI. They were primarily merchants, and what they chiefly wanted was the security of their trade in the East. They had not only found the Byzantine government unreliable to deal with (as the events of the 1120s

and the 1170s had shown), they had also found a constant source of danger in the very weakness of that government. It made little difference that Isaac II Angelus was friendly to them and his usurping brother Alexius III inimical. The Greek people were heartily opposed to the Venetians. The imperial government counted for less and less, and its debility threatened every merchant of Venice in Byzantine territory.

The Venetians had agreed in April 1201 to transport the Fourth Crusaders to Egypt by sea, and when Egypt had been taken, the road to Jerusalem would lie open. Innocent III is said to have been doubtful and apprehensive. According to the author of the *Gesta Innocentii*, who wrote in midsummer of 1208, "When the Franks and the Venetians had formed this partnership [*societas*], both sides sent envoys to the Apostolic See at the same time, requesting the supreme Pontiff to confirm the pacts they had made between them for the relief of the Holy Land. But he, with some foreboding as to the future [*futurorum . . . praesagiens*], cautiously replied that he believed the agreements would have to be confirmed with the reservation that the allies should inflict no injury on Christians. . . ." Innocent, however, had lost all control over the crusade.

The nobles of northern France had recognized young Count Theobald III of Champagne as leader of the crusade, without papal permission, when they had taken the cross at the tournament at Écry-sur-Aisne in late November 1199, but Theobald died in May 1201, just after the agreement was signed with Venice for the transport of the crusaders overseas. When the duke of Burgundy and the count of Bar refused to succeed Theobald of Champagne, a baronial parliament met at Soissons on June 1, 1201, and elected the redoubtable Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, whose brother Conrad had once been king of Jerusalem (1190-1192), to lead them into those distant lands that his family had known so well. Boniface was a distinguished figure in his day, a patron of the troubadours, related by marriage to the royal family of France and to the Hohenstaufen also; and he was, as his father had been before him, the leader of the so-called Ghibelline party in northern Italy, which could not have recommended him to the pope's esteem. Boniface made his way to France with all dispatch, in response to the crusaders' election of him as their leader. On August 16, 1201, he took the cross himself in the Church of Our Lady of Soissons, and on September 14 he was acclaimed leader of the crusade at the chapter general of the great monastery of Cîteaux. Upon leaving France, Boniface sought Philip of Swabia, whom he found at Hagenau in Alsace on Christmas day of 1201, and the author of the *Gesta Innocentii* declares that the purpose of this meeting was believed to be the diversion of the proposed crusade to Constantinople to restore the dispossessed Angeli to the Byzantine throne.

In the spring of 1202 Boniface was in Rome, we are informed, seeking Innocent's consent to the restoration of the Angeli by the crusaders, "but when he perceived that the pope's mind was not turned in this direction," says the author of the *Gesta*, "he finished the business pertaining to the crusade, and went back to his home." When we turn our minds to *The Year 1200* exhibition, and observe the number of objects from Champagne and Burgundy, Flanders, Germany, and northern Italy, we see something of the social and artistic milieu in which both the leaders and personnel of the Fourth Crusade led their lives, for by and large these crusaders came from the same areas as most of the important items in the exhibition.

The crusaders converged upon Venice in the midsummer of 1202, and in the following September emissaries from Philip of Swabia were also in Venice, requesting the crusaders to win back the Eastern empire for the Angeli. But Innocent rejected the proposal, and affirmed his continued recognition of Alexius III, who was to secure therefor the obedience of the Greek Church to the papacy. As the autumn of 1202 approached, however, the crusaders were quite unable to pay the Venetians some 34,000 marks still due for their transport overseas.

As is well known, the old Doge Enrico Dandolo proposed that they secure a postponement of their debt by attacking Zara, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic, which the king of Hungary had occupied years before. The Doge Enrico now took the cross himself in the Church of St. Mark, and to the consternation of Innocent III, and probably to the exasperation of Boniface of Montferrat, who was pro-Genoese, the crusaders under Venetian direction took the city of Zara after a five days' siege in the middle of November 1202. A month later Boniface himself appeared in Zara, and only now assumed his position as leader of the host. When the news of the fall of Zara reached Innocent III, "no little did he grieve and was he moved. . . ." He wrote the crusaders, "You are not like unto one going to Jerusalem, but rather one descending into Egypt: and verily you have fallen in with thieves." They were to repair the wrong they had done in Zara, and to do no more; otherwise they would find themselves under the ban of excommunication.<sup>2</sup> But what had been done, the Venetians would not allow to be undone, and so the crusaders did find themselves under the ban of excommunication. From that burden of anxiety only the papal authority could rescue them, but this must wait upon their penitence and their obedience to that authority. The crusade was getting off to a bad start. The crusaders had too many leaders at odds with one another, the pope, Boniface, the doge, and the baronial council; and many a lowly Thersites in the army and the fleet must have uttered the classic complaint of those who are led by too many leaders.

The crusaders had not yet received papal absolution—which had, how-



ever, been requested, and was soon forthcoming—for their attack upon Zara when new proposals were made to them by envoys of Philip of Swabia on behalf of the young Alexius Angelus. After prolonged discussions, in which Boniface of Montferrat upheld the cause of Alexius and the Hohenstaufen, an agreement was reached in January 1203, to which the Doge Enrico Dandolo readily gave his consent, whereby the crusaders undertook the restoration of Alexius and his father to the throne. The Angeli, on their side, bound themselves to effect the submission of the Byzantine Church to Rome, to give the crusaders 200,000 marks, to send ten thousand men with them into Egypt, and to maintain throughout the lifetime of Alexius a force of five hundred knights in Palestine.

The destruction of the Greek empire and its replacement by a Latin regime in Constantinople had not yet, presumably, occurred even to the leaders of the crusade, who looked forward, however, to the fulfillment of the very considerable promises made to them by Alexius Angelus. In April 1203 Alexius appeared, briefly, in the crusaders' camp at Zara, just before the departure of the doge and Boniface for Durazzo, which quickly surrendered. The curtain was rising on the drama. After a further stop of some three weeks on the island of Corfu, where Alexius now joined the host for good, the crusaders set sail for Constantinople on May 24. Warned by the papal legate, Innocent wrote on June 20 to Boniface of Montferrat and Baldwin of Flanders, absolutely forbidding, again under penalty of excommunication, the venture upon which they had already embarked against the Greek empire and its emperor: "but rather give up these sorry undertakings and pretended necessities, and go on to the rescue of the Holy Land; avenge the [Moslem] insult to the Cross; take from your enemies the spoils you needs must seize from your own brethren, as it were, if you thus stay in the lands of Romania." At the same time Innocent wrote the crusaders that, although the doge of Venice and his subjects lay under ban of excommunication, the journey to Egypt or Palestine might still be made in Venetian ships (indeed, they had no other ships), but on their arrival overseas the crusaders were not to fight the Lord's battle in company with the Venetians, lest they be defeated and lose their lives to no purpose. But the pope's efforts were all too late and all in vain, for, once the fleet had set sail for the Eastern capital, events moved, rapidly, relentlessly, to the final scenes of that tragedy which Nicetas Choniates and Nicholas Mesarites have described for us. After a stop off the great island of Negroponte (Euboea) and the subjection of the little island of Andros, the crusaders reached Constantinople on June 23, 1203, and disembarked the next day at Chalcedon. Constantinople made a profound impression on them, says Villehardouin, "for they [had] never thought there could be in all the world so rich a city, and they marked the

high walls and strong towers . . . the rich palaces and mighty churches . . . and the height and the length of that city which above all others was sovereign . . . no man there was of such hardihood but his flesh trembled . . . for never was so great an enterprise undertaken by any people since the creation of the world."

Venetian determination to proceed with the attack upon Constantinople despite papal prohibition under the ban of excommunication troubled the avowed Christian conscience of the enterprising sons of St. Mark. But when the recollection of past events is disturbing, sooner or later historians will reinterpret the events. Years after the Fourth Crusade, for example, the chronicler Martino da Canale, who wrote *Les Estoires de Venise* (formerly called the *Cronique des Veniciens*) between 1267 and 1275, justified and idealized the past exploits of the Venetians. Like his contemporary Brunetto Latini, he wrote in French because he wanted his work to reach a wide public, and, as he states in his preface, he wanted readers to know "how the noble city [of Venice] was founded and how it has an abundance of all good things, and how the lord of the Venetians, the noble doge [*dus*], is all-powerful and [how great] is the nobility in the city and the prowess of the Venetian people."<sup>3</sup>

In his extraordinary account of the launching of the crusade, Canale relates how the young Alexius IV, a mere boy (*un enfant de petit age*), was brought before Pope Innocent III (*monseignor l'apostoile*), to whom an appeal was made to restore him to the throne of Constantinople. The pope welcomed Alexius and said that, since the crusading host of Franks and Venetians was then assembled at Zara, "I shall send them a message that they are to abandon the route to Jerusalem and take that to Constantinople and place this boy in possession of his city." Innocent then sent his legate (Peter Capuano) to Enrico Dandolo and the Frankish baronage at Zara with a letter, directing them "que por lor debonairete conducent li petit enfant en Costantinople, et tant facent que li Gres le tiegnent por seignor. . . ." Dandolo asked the barons and noble Venetians what was to be done, and they replied that they would follow his counsel. " 'My lords,' said the doge, 'we cannot refuse the command of the pope as our spiritual father: rather all men should obey him in everything. I pray you that all be done as he commands us.' " They all agreed and sent for Alexius, "and when he had come, my lord the doge received him in his arms."<sup>4</sup> The more the Venetians were charged with ambition, the more they sought a reputation for piety and filial devotion to the Holy See. Canale rewrote history to help them.<sup>5</sup>

The account Canale gives of how the Fourth Crusade got under way was probably becoming the popular Venetian interpretation of Innocent III's relations with Dandolo. Actually Canale was very little read, but a falsifica-

tion of the facts much like his own gained currency also in the Morea, where the descendants of the Fourth Crusaders long lived in the declining splendor of late medieval chivalry. The romantic story of the fugitive prince Alexius, despoiled of his inheritance by a cruel usurper, was an appealing theme for Moreote minstrels to declaim to lords and ladies whose forebears had nobly come to his rescue, and whose subsequent good fortune was obviously the reward of virtue. But since everyone knew that the pope was the prime defender of virtue, the fourteenth-century *Chronicle of the Morea* represents Innocent III as anxious to assist Alexius to restore his dispossessed father to the throne.

Once again, Innocent is declared to have sent his legate to Zara to explain to the crusaders, according to the French version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, "how the expedition to Constantinople would be more honorable and more profitable than that to Jerusalem, because the Greeks were Christians and yet, for some error which had got into them, they were rebellious and unwilling to receive the sacraments of the Holy Church of Rome, and that it was better to regain and convert the Greeks and return them to the obedience of Holy Church, since their lord [Alexius] promised to do so, than to go off seeking that which they did not know [nor] to what end they might well come."<sup>6</sup>

We need not be concerned with details of the two successful sieges of the "God-guarded city," which now succumbed to the onslaught of an invader for the first time in its history. On July 7, 1203, the then "Tower of Galata" on the waterfront was taken, and on July 17 came the Venetian assault upon the city walls, from the Golden Horn. In despair the Emperor Alexius III fled for his life. Isaac II was released from imprisonment. On August 1 Alexius IV was crowned in Santa Sophia, and associated with his father in the precarious possession of imperial power. At the beginning of the crusade the Doge Enrico had stipulated that, "so long as we act in company, of all conquests in land or money . . . we shall have the half and you the other half." Therefore, when the Angeli paid the crusaders 100,000 marks (half the sum promised), the Venetians took 84,000 marks, for in addition to their half share they claimed payment of the crusaders' remaining debts, which amounted to 34,000 marks. These facts are well known. The Angeli asked for an extension of time to meet their remaining obligations. Alexius had undertaken, among other things, to furnish the crusaders with supplies for a year, give them 200,000 marks, and maintain the Venetian fleet at his own expense, also for a year. The crusaders postponed their departure, set for Michaelmas, to March 1204.

In the meantime, the inhabitants of Constantinople had been getting along badly with the crusaders, and a marked coolness was soon discernible in

Alexius' own relations, says Villehardouin, "with those who had done him so much good." Alexius gradually ceased his payments to the crusaders. The commitments he had been happy to make in the days of his exile he viewed with dismay, as he sat in stately insecurity upon the throne, and marked the attitude of his people, among whom he must henceforth live and over whom he must henceforth try to rule. By the beginning of December 1203 war existed between the Franks and the Greeks, who sought on January 1 to set fire to the crusaders' fleet. The crusaders had already burned down a wide area in Constantinople. Reconciliation was impossible. Alexius was now in a very unenviable position, held up to opprobrium both by the Franks and by the Greeks, but on January 28-29, 1204, his troubles were brought to an end, a violent end, for an uprising took place against him, led by a nationalist pretender to the throne, who was himself soon crowned in Santa Sophia. Old Isaac II seems to have died of shock, and, after the failure of two attempts to poison him, Alexius IV was strangled in prison (on February 8, 1204).

The new emperor prepared to defend the capital against what he called the barbarians from the West. Before proceeding with the second siege of the city, however, the Venetians and the crusaders signed in March 1204 a partition treaty, dividing in advance of their conquest the city of Constantinople and the empire of which it was the capital. When the city fell, the Venetians were first to be repaid from the booty the debts due them from Alexius IV, after which there was to be an even division of the remainder between them and the other crusaders. A college of six Venetians and six Franks was to elect a Latin emperor, who was to receive a quarter of the lands to be conquered, together with the palaces of Blachernae and Boucoleon. The other three quarters of the empire were to be divided between the Venetians and the crusaders. A special commission was to apportion the fiefs and honors and determine the service which imperial vassals were to render to the emperor. The Venetians secured by the articles agreed upon with the crusaders in March 1204 all the trading and other privileges they had been accustomed to enjoy in times past, and stipulated that, if the crusaders provided the emperor, the patriarch should be a Venetian and should possess Santa Sophia.

On April 9 the crusaders began operations and made an attack upon the walls. On April 12 they scaled the northern wall; for the third time a terrible fire broke out in the city. The Latin soldiery now subjected Constantinople to a three days' sack (April 13-15), which evoked the wonder of Villehardouin, the disgust of Innocent III, and the utter despair of Nicetas Choniates.

On Sunday, May 9, 1204, young Baldwin IX of Flanders and Hainaut

was elected the first Latin emperor, for the Venetians feared too much the power and prowess of Boniface of Montferrat, who acquiesced peaceably in the elevation of a lesser man to a greater height. But Venetian support of Baldwin, which won him the election, was not designed to secure the weakness of the Latin empire. The Venetians had suffered too much from the feeble and erratic exercise of imperial authority during the preceding quarter of a century. They merely wanted the new emperor to be neither pro-Genoese nor pro-Pisan, and since Boniface's Montferratine affiliations with Genoa were suspect, he was unacceptable to the doge. The latter had played his cards very well. By contriving that half the college of imperial electors should be Venetians, he could and did effect the election of the emperor of his choice, and by his apparent willingness to sacrifice the imperial office to the crusaders, he also secured a Venetian electee as patriarch.

On May 16, 1204, Baldwin was crowned with Byzantine formality in the cathedral church of Santa Sophia. Some time after the conquest of Constantinople Baldwin wrote at length and in an ecstasy of victory to the pope. However, his messenger, one Brother Barozzi, Venetian master of the Temple in Lombardy, was held up in Modon by Genoese corsairs, who relieved him of the jewels and other rich gifts being sent to the pope and to the Templars, and so the emperor's letter was long in reaching Innocent.

Baldwin's position was a difficult one, caught as he was between papal desires and Venetian ambitions, which he knew it would not be easy to reconcile. In the midsummer of 1204 he wrote again, briefly, to his Holiness, referring to his former letter, and now enclosing a copy of the conventions agreed to by the crusaders and the Venetians in the preceding March. At this time, too, the Doge Enrico wrote the pope about how the Venetians had really been forced to take Zara; remonstrated against the sentence of excommunication leveled at him and his fellow citizens, and expressed the hope that his Holiness would take favorable action upon the petitions which the Venetian envoys would place at his feet.

Some months later Innocent would grant the Venetian requests (on January 29, 1205), as we shall see, but it did not suit his purpose yet to lift the ban against the Venetians and to recognize their vast acquisitions in the Levant, and so he did not act upon their overtures. When he responded on November 7, 1204, to Baldwin's first letter, he did not mention the treaty of the preceding March, although he gave his thanks to God that such a victory had been accorded to Latin arms and to the sacrosanct Roman Church, and he charged both the clerical and lay crusaders "to defend and hold the empire of Constantinople," through the aid of which the Holy Land could the more easily be freed from pagan hands.

On November 13 Innocent wrote the crusading clergy concerning the fall

of Constantinople: *Sane a Domino factum est istud*, he quoted the 118th Psalm, *et est mirabile in oculis nostris*: "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes." And if your eyes were sharp enough, they observed the same sentiment inscribed on a late twelfth-century reliquary in the exhibition *The Year 1200*, I (no. 185).

Without consulting the pope the Venetians had taken over the Church of Santa Sophia, and chosen a cathedral staff of fifteen canons, four of whom could not read. These alleged canons now proceeded to elect the fat sub-deacon Tommaso Morosini, then in Italy, as the first Latin patriarch of Constantinople. With great reluctance Innocent finally decided to confirm Morosini's election, for the Curia Romana was anxious for these so-called crusaders to go on to the Holy Land. Also the establishment of the Latin empire, which was marvelous in his eyes, seemed to have made possible the union of the Greek and Latin Churches after generations of vituperative schism.

At long last, on January 29, 1205, Innocent wrote two letters to the Doge Enrico Dandolo, the first reply the doge received to the letter and envoys he had sent to the pope some months before: Innocent refused to confirm the treaty of March 1204, which had provided, subject to papal consent, for the excommunication of anyone who might seek to go against its terms at the same time as it gave the power of altering the terms to a commission of six Franks and six Venetians, who would thus be almost wielding the power of excommunication, an arrangement which Innocent naturally declined to accept.

The Venetian envoys had also asked on the doge's behalf, since he bore the burden of too many years and too much work, that he be released from his vow to make the further journey overseas, for he could aid the dispatch of an army to the Holy Land without accompanying it himself. But Innocent replied that Enrico Dandolo had served the world thus far, and had received no small glory for his effort: let him now serve God, Who leaves no good unrewarded and no evil unpunished. The crusade was to go on to the Holy Land, and Dandolo was to go with it, but the ban of excommunication was removed from the old doge and from the Venetian host which he commanded.

Innocent wrote also to the Emperor Baldwin and the other leaders of the army, warning them to refrain from any division of the possessions of the Church, and threatening to meet any such action on their path with "ecclesiastical censure." But, of course, the crusaders and the Venetians had already divided the Byzantine properties, lay and ecclesiastical alike, and they had no intention of depriving themselves of lands and goods which they looked upon as theirs by right of conquest, merely because these lands and goods had previously belonged to Byzantine clerics and because the pope

refused to see them secularized. They had been generous enough; after all, the pope had sought to impede their venture from the first; and what had the clergy conquered? Decent provision had been made for them. What right had they to more? Every right, was the papal response, and the controversy continued until an alleged settlement in 1206, whereby subject to certain detailed qualifications the Latin clergy received freedom from lay jurisdiction and one fifteenth of all the crusaders' new possessions located outside the walls of Constantinople.

In the meantime a dangerous quarrel had broken out between the new Latin Emperor Baldwin and Boniface of Montferrat, which threatened to dissolve the Fourth Crusade into internecine conflict, but with much difficulty peace was finally re-established between them, and self-destruction averted. The Latin barons had reason to be satisfied with what they had accomplished, and Gunther of Pairis and Robert de Clari inform us that there were those in the host who regarded the taking of Constantinople as an act of retribution falling upon the Greeks for their ancient and treacherous seizure of Troy.

Some time during the summer or the early autumn of 1204 a commission finally drafted the *Partitio Romanie*, which, on the whole, followed, but now made more specific, the agreements of the preceding March, although later events had made some changes necessary. But, generally speaking, the emperor received the lands surrounding the Sea of Marmara, reaching inland to Adrianople and stretching north to the Black Sea. He also received lands in Asia Minor and some of the larger islands of the eastern Aegean, especially Samothrace, Lesbos, Chios, Lemnos, Samos, and Cos. He was to possess, however, only five eighths of Constantinople, the remainder of the city, including Santa Sophia, falling to the Venetians.

The lion of St. Mark got his full share. The Venetians took over or claimed certain places well located for the naval defense of their far-flung commerce, although this aspect of the terms of the partition has probably been given undue emphasis. The Venetians were assigned the European lands to the west of those of the emperor, and in the Aegean they received the northern and southern tips of the islands of Negroponte (Euboea), Aegina, Salamis, and Andros, but not the island of Naxos, later the central fief of the duchy of the Archipelago. Finally the Venetians were also given the western Peloponnesus (the Morea), as well as Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, and the Ionian islands. The doge became a Greek "despot"; he did no homage and paid no feudal rents to the Latin emperor.

The Venetians took over various islands in the Aegean by a number of contemporaneous but probably uncoordinated expeditions, the earliest of which took place in the summer of 1206. In 1207 the most important of these

expeditions gained the adventurous Marco I Sanudo the famous duchy of Naxos, where his heirs ruled until 1383, when they were violently replaced by the Crispi, who held the duchy until 1566. The history of the island dynasts is often very interesting. In 1413, for example, Giovanni Querini took over the island of Astypalaea, called by the Latins Stampalia, which was added to the Querini family name, preserved to this day in Venice in the Campiello, Palazzo, and Pinacoteca Querini-Stampalia (near the Church of Santa Maria Formosa). Some of the island dynasts of the Aegean lasted a long time. For example, the Gozzadini, a family of Bolognese origin, survived with many vicissitudes of fortune as lords of Siphnos, Cythnos, and five other little islands in the Cyclades until 1617, and the island of Tenos remained Venetian until 1714.

The crusaders received, in the final partition, the lands lying west of Venetian territory, including the valley of the lower Hebrus (that is, the Maritza). They were also assigned the eastern half of continental Greece, in the southernmost part of which lay Athens, Thebes, and Megara. Boniface of Montferrat received the great lordship of Thessalonica, which became a "kingdom" in 1209,<sup>7</sup> and was overrun by the Greeks of Epirus toward the end of 1224.

On October 1, 1204, the Emperor Baldwin is said to have knighted more than six hundred men, to whom he gave lands, offices, or fiefs, so that they might live in a manner befitting their new status. At the beginning of 1205 he wrote to Pope Innocent, requesting the latter to send him religious of the chief orders, Cistercians, Cluniacs, canons regular, and others, together with missals, breviaries, and other books which contained the ecclesiastical office according to the institutes of the Holy Roman Church, in order to establish the true faith in the new imperial domain. On May 25 the pope urged the hierarchy in France to send the Latin emperor the religious he thus requested, "men of each order, praiseworthy in character and in learning, and fervent in religion." At the same time the emperor had requested the pope to try to prevail upon masters and students of the University of Paris "to go to Greece, there to reform the study of literature" (*quatenus, in Graeciam accedentes, ibi studeretis litterarum studium reformare*). Innocent wrote to the masters and students of the university that "it would be no source of hardship for many of you to go to a land abounding in silver and gold and gems, well supplied with grain, wine, and oil, and rich in great quantities of all good things." He assured them that their spiritual rewards would even surpass their temporal gains—if they would but serve in Greece "to the honor and glory of Him, from Whom is the gift of all knowledge"—but, even so, the masters and scholars of the University of Paris still preferred the Seine to the Bosphorus and the Ilissus.



Except for the Doge Enrico Dandolo, who was already an old man when he embarked for Zara and Constantinople, longevity was hardly to be expected of the adventurous leadership of the Fourth Crusade. The Emperor Baldwin was captured in April 1205 by Ioannitsa, king of the Vlachs and Bulgars, and he allegedly died in prison. At any rate, he disappears from history, and his stalwart brother, Henry of Hainaut, succeeded him. Two years and some months later, in September 1207, Boniface of Montferrat, the Latin lord of Thessalonica, was caught in an ambush and also killed by the Bulgars, who had become a terrible menace to the newly established Latin empire of Constantinople.

But the Latins were a hardy lot, and in the late fall and early winter of 1204-1205 they had pushed on into central Greece and the Peloponnesus, which was already being called the Morea. A Burgundian knight, Othon de la Roche, became the first lord of Athens, and Guillaume de Champlitte and Geoffrey of Villehardouin became in turn the first princes of the Morea. A dozen or so great baronies were organized, among them Kalavryta in the north central part of the Morea. In this connection, let me note that a manuscript of the New Testament, written before 1219 (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 291), may have once belonged to the Church of the Koimesis at the monastery of Mega Spelaion, which in the days of the Fourth Crusaders was two hours' ride from Kalavryta.

The Greeks offered surprisingly little resistance to the Fourth Crusaders. The fall of Constantinople had meant the fall of the Byzantine empire, the way France seems to fall with Paris. For a while, however, Leo Sgourus, the archon of Nauplia and Corinth, came forward as the leader of a Greek resistance movement. He tried to profit from the confusion by extending his sway from the Morea into central Greece. A wiser man might have regarded the national catastrophe as a personal one, and assumed that his own destruction was also imminent, but Leo Sgourus seems merely to have been an ambitious man. He had already attacked Attica and waged, we are informed, no Archidamian war, in which only the vine and the olive perished.

When Sgourus had his way, he left a wilderness where a city had been. Early in the year 1204, having already, according to the historian Nicetas Choniates, "seduced Argos and stolen Corinth," Sgourus invested Athens by land and sea. He expected an easy conquest, but he reckoned with no understanding of the historian Nicetas' brother, the Athenian metropolitan Michael Choniates, whose love of the famous city was equaled by the courage with which he was prepared to defend it. Although Sgourus was not deterred from his attack upon Athens by the archbishop's eloquence, wherewith he was assailed from the high walls of the Acropolis, he was nevertheless forced to abandon his siege after some days, when the defenders

of the fortress proved resolute and unyielding, although whether from love of their good metropolitan or from fear of Sgourus none can say. But Sgourus vented his anger upon the Athenians by burning their homes in the lower city and by seizing their animals and flocks. After a few days given over to such depredation, Sgourus left Athens and went on to Thebes, which he entered with no difficulty. Thereafter he proceeded northward, but finally withdrew to Thermopylae, where he apparently thought that he might bar the crusaders' entrance into southern Greece. The historic pass brought to Sgourus' mind, however, no thought of emulating the ancient deeds of Leonidas; for the very sight of the Frankish cavalry sufficed, according to Nicetas, to make him abandon Thermopylae in terror, and set him in precipitant flight southward to the impregnable refuge of Acrocorinth.

Nicetas Choniates tells us, frankly and indignantly, that Greek slothfulness and despair made easy the conqueror's advance. When the Fourth Crusaders overran Boeotia and Attica late in the year 1204, the metropolitan Michael did not resist, for he saw clearly that the time for resistance was past. But to him it was a tragedy beyond description, thus to see his beloved Athens and so much of Greece come under the sway of the hated Latins; it caused him, in the years that followed, unceasing pain, and evoked memories which he has recounted with a very heavy heart. The treasures of the Parthenon Cathedral, together with his precious library, had been seized by profane Latin hands, but the conduct of Leo Sgourus caused Michael more grief and anger than the conduct of any Latin commander. In fact, despite the undeniably harsh effects of the Latin conquest, the career of Sgourus had been, in Michael's opinion, an even greater disaster to Greece. The more study that is given to the Latin occupation of Greece, the more it becomes apparent that the Fourth Crusaders made some effort to deal reasonably with the native population.

The Latins had come into Greece in 1204-1205 with the intention of establishing permanent fiefs for themselves. Constantinople had fared badly, but no Greek city was emptied of its inhabitants, like Jerusalem in 1099. The crusaders had no wish unduly to provoke the hatred of those over whom they were to rule. The ecclesiastical regulations made by Innocent III, as well as the provisions made by the Venetians for the governance of their colonies in Greece and the islands, were not unreasonable. The epistolary lament which the metropolitan Michael composed to console his nephew George, an Athenian, for the death of his young son, killed by Leo Sgourus about the beginning of the year 1208, contains a most instructive passage:

Alas, but we have been enriched by our misfortunes. It has not sufficed for us to be tyrannized over by those of another race and to be subjected, as it were, to the fate of slaves, but to so much suffering from the wounds we have

thus received, this alleged Greek [i.e., Sgourus] has also added, for he set the fire which spread, even before the Latin expedition, over so much of Greece and the Peloponnesus, and the coals continue to burn after the expedition. In comparison with him the Latins are to be deemed just, for the wrongs which they have done are more humane than the wrongs which he has done, and men of an alien race seem more civilized to the Greeks than those of their own race, and above all fairer and better too. Here is the proof: from the cities enslaved by the Latins no one has yet sought refuge with such a Greek, for this would have been nothing but escaping the smoke to fall into the fire. As many of his men as can escape from the garrisons under his control, desert to the Latins with a glad heart as though they were returning from hell itself. And the evidence of events bears witness for them, for where are so many of the inhabitants of Argos, Hermione, and Aegina? Where are those prosperous citizens of Corinth? Are they not all gone, unseen, unheard of? But the Athenians, at least, and the Thebans [under Latin domination] and the Chalcidians and those who dwell along the coast of continental Greece remain at home and have not yet fled their hearths.<sup>8</sup>

There were several interesting reliquaries in *The Year 1200* exhibition, and of course one result of the Fourth Crusade, very important at the time, was the acquisition of a vast number of relics by the conquerors, who enriched many churches and monasteries in France with their finds. These survived, almost by the thousands, until they were destroyed by the French revolutionaries. One of these relics purported to be the body of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, the friend of St. Paul and the first bishop of Athens, patron saint of the abbey of St.-Denis in Paris, burial place of the kings of France. From the time of Louis the Pious, in the first half of the ninth century, the monks of the abbey of St.-Denis had claimed to possess the body of their patron saint. For some four centuries skeptics and detractors of the abbey had questioned the authenticity of their chief relic, preserved in a great silver reliquary. Now the papal legate in Greece, Peter Capuano, discovered what was also said to be the Areopagite's body. Peter removed the body to Rome, and Innocent III decided to send it to the abbey of St.-Denis, but if the pope could give the body of St. Denis to the monastery which bore his name, obviously the monks had for centuries been extolling the virtues of a false relic.

The pope did not commit himself: "For certain persons assert that Dionysius the Areopagite died and was buried in Greece, and that there was another Dionysius who preached the faith of Christ to the Frankish peoples. According to some it was the latter who came to Rome after the death of St. Paul and was afterwards sent back to France by St. Clement, and so it was quite a different person who died and was buried in Greece, although both Dionysii were distinguished in their works and words." Innocent III

was very considerate of the feelings of the monks and of the reputation of the abbey. On January 4, 1216, without taking sides in the controversy, he sent to St.-Denis this "sacred memorial of the blessed Dionysius" (*sacrum beati Dionysii pignus*) ". . . so that, since you have both relics, there can be no doubt henceforth but that the sacred relic of the blessed Dionysius the Areopagite is preserved in your monastery." One suspects, nevertheless, that there were minds in which doubt persisted, being stimulated by amusement even in that age of faith.

The success of the Fourth Crusade was incredible. It had all happened partly by accident and partly by design. It created many problems for the future to deal with, and it did not solve the religious question which had for centuries beset celestial minds in Rome and Constantinople. The division of Christendom into the Greek East and Latin West had obviously followed linguistic and ethnic lines which can easily be drawn on a map, and which the Fourth Crusade did nothing to obliterate. The Byzantines and the westerners spoke different languages, figuratively as well as literally. But there were many reasons, apart from language, why the Greek and Latin Churches could not achieve the union which the popes so ardently desired. Discord and disagreement were inevitable between two groups of ecclesiastics who had been brought up with divergent views of the substance and function of canon law. Papal letters were never a significant source of law in the Greek East, where, furthermore, St. Augustine was little known and hardly ever read. Greeks and Latins had different conceptions of the meaning and proper organization of the Church as a spiritual reality as well as a hierarchical structure, the body of Christ as well as the assembly of all believers. Different traditions had produced different mentalities, different ecclesiologies.<sup>9</sup>

In the year 1200 Greek Orthodoxy was still satisfied with the traditional religious synthesis which had been largely completed by the Seventh Ecumenical Council (in 787) while the West had been subjecting the dogmatic tradition to constant analysis for three or four generations. The Greeks still adhered to the vague symbols of the past, and were repelled by the intellectual constructs of Latin Catholicism. There were no universities in the Byzantine world and no scholastic theologians hammering out doctrinal definitions on the iron anvil of dialectic. A Platonic ideality fed the religious mind of Orthodoxy, and theological contradictions seemed not to bother Greek divines who kept reading the patrology and the old conciliar decrees without asking too many questions. Various doctrines have remained to this day without precise definition in Greek theology. Latin Catholicism may have defined too much, too sharply.

Greeks and Latins did indeed speak different languages. As the Eastern mystic became concerned with the divine vision, the juridically-minded

Westerner thought of his moral presentment before God. As reason became the dominant passion of Latin theologians, the Greeks tended to retreat into an ivory tower of spiritual and cultural irrationalism. But there was nothing irrational about the Greeks rejecting the Roman interpretation of the primacy of St. Peter. The Greeks had long been accustomed to an ecclesiastical multiformity at marked variance with the authoritarianism of Roman pronouncements on dogma, law, and the liturgy. Even before the Fourth Crusaders set out, Innocent had made quite clear to the Emperor Alexius III in a letter of November 13, 1199, that the Roman see was the *caput et mater omnium ecclesiarum* and that the pope had the right to legislate for the entire Church with the advice and counsel of his fellow bishops.<sup>10</sup>

Sometimes, of course, the Greek and Latin clergies understood each other all too well, and ample reasons could be found for mutual distrust—not least among them the grim fact of the Fourth Crusade. We may note two eloquent expressions of the Greek attitude toward the Latins and their overlordship. While the arrogant papal legate Pelagius, who wore the red boots, which connoted imperial rank in Constantinople, was trying to bend the Greeks in the capital to the religious dictates of “the older Rome,” a deputation of some of the chief Greek residents of the city informed the Latin Emperor Henry in 1214: “We are a people of another race [*genos*] and have another head to our Church [*archiereus*]; we have submitted to your power, so you may lord it over our bodies, but not our hearts and souls; while we must fight on your behalf in war, we find it impossible, nevertheless, to abandon our religious rites and practices.”<sup>11</sup>

Again, when the Greeks in Constantinople prepared a detailed syllabus of the errors of the Latin Church, to be sent to Innocent III through the cardinal legate Pelagius, they included, toward the end of their statement, a reminder of the ultimate strength of their social position: “We do expect, of course, to have the lord, Sir Henry, as our emperor, and under his shadow to live and do servile things and work our fields and pasture our flocks and sail the sea; but without us the threshing-floor will not be filled with grain, nor the wine-vat with grapes; bread will not be eaten, nor meat, nor fish, nor vegetables; human life and society will not endure. At these tasks do we toil for our Latin brethren, and we gather the fruits of our toil for them, but this is the poorer half of our lives, mortal and frangible; we wish, however, the better half to enjoy the same thoughts as they enjoy, both as long as we live and after death, as we [and they] are parts of a single immortal body.”<sup>12</sup>

The Latin Church did not fare well in the Greek world. The clergy always remained impoverished and dissatisfied with their condition. After all, their heritage from the past was not a rich one. The Byzantine Church

had itself shared in the general decline of the empire, and had hardly been enjoying prosperity at the time of the Fourth Crusade. Most members of the new Latin hierarchy, and certainly the lesser clergy, probably gained as much by way of indulgences and the remission of sins as they did of worldly goods except when they could sell items from the ample stores of relics which they got with the conquest. Latin clerics received benefices, to be sure, which they might have lacked in the West, and younger sons and landless nobles acquired fiefs. The Fourth Crusade had some lucrative consequences, especially in the Morea during the early decades of the thirteenth century. But certainly the Venetians scored the greatest gains. They established a commercial empire in the Levant, and in Venice they now began to build stately palaces along the Grand Canal.

The Fourth Crusade exerted little significant influence on the Greek language, religion, law, or art. Although the Latins made an obvious imprint on later Greek literature, especially the Greek romances, they had no discernible effect upon the Greek mentality. The Fourth Crusaders, however, bequeathed a rich legacy to historians in the five important states they established on Greek soil. The Latin empire of Constantinople lasted until 1261, and the Latin kingdom of Thessalonica until 1224; both capitals and their dependent territories were recovered by the Greeks in a resurgence of strength. But the Latin principality of Achaea in the Peloponnesus endured until 1430; the lordship and duchy of Athens until 1456; and the Aegean duchy of Naxos until 1566. To Dante and Boccaccio, to Chaucer and to Shakespeare, Theseus was the duke of Athens. The title is not so much an anachronism as it is a consequence of the Fourth Crusade, for the title "duke of Athens" came to Shakespeare as this exhibition came to us—from "the year 1200."

## Notes

1. Nicetas Choniates, *De Isaacio Angelo*, III, 2 (Bonn, p. 553), and Hélène Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris, 1966, pp. 292 ff. The present paper is drawn from the first chapter of an extensive work, many years in the making, on *The Papacy, Italy, and the Levant (1204-1571)*, where abundant references which seem unnecessary here will eventually be provided. The reader will find, however, plentiful factual and bibliographical data in Helmut Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kruzzüge*, Göttingen, 1969, esp. pp. 58-131. The letters of Innocent III (where I have dated them) may easily be found by employing August Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, I, Berlin, 1874, who locates the texts in Baluze, Bréquigny, Migne, and other collec-

tions, while most of Innocent's letters relating to eastern affairs have been brought together by Theodosius Haluščynskyj, ed., *Acta Innocentii PP. III (1198-1216)*, Vatican City, 1944 (in the Fontes Pontificiae Commissionis ad redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, ser. III, vol. II).

2. Inn. III, an. V, ep. 161 (Migne, *PL*, 214, 1178-1179); G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, I, Vienna, 1856; Amsterdam, 1964, doc. 100, pp. 407-409.

3. Filippo Luigi Polidori, ed., *La Cronique des Veniciens de Maistre Martin da Canal*, in *Archivio storico italiano*, VIII, Florence, 1845, p. 270.

Canale wrote in French rather than in Latin, "por ce que langue francoise cort parmi le monde, et est la plus delitable a lire et a oir que nule autre" (ibid., p. 268). Nevertheless, his history remained almost unknown, and has survived in a single manuscript in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence. See, in general, Gina Fasoli, "La Cronique des Veniciens di Martino da Canale," *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., II, 1961, pp. 42-74, and Agostino Pertusi, "Maistre Martino da Canal, interprete cortese delle crociate e dell' ambiente veneziano del secolo XIII," in *Venezia dalla prima crociata alla conquista di Costantinopoli del 1204*, Florence, 1966, pp. 103-135. It is not certain that Canale was a Venetian.

For the traditions which finally made the Venetian chronicle a literary genre in itself, together with a discussion of the relationship of the numerous manuscripts of Venetian chroniclers, compilers, continuators, contaminators, and copyists, see the learned study of Antonio Carile, *La Cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence, 1969 (Civiltà Veneziana Studi, no. 25), who re-edits and deals especially, as his title indicates, with those portions of the chronicles which relate to the Fourth Crusade and the partition of Byzantine territory among the conquerors. Venetian publicists also salvaged the popular conscience by producing "prophecies" of the fall of Constantinople, illustrating the divine inevitability of (and so providing additional moral justification for) the incredible events of 1204 (ibid., pp. 178-183). In comparison with the documentary sources the Venetian chronicles are of slight value for the history of the Fourth Crusade except to show the self-righteous mentality of the Venetian ruling class.

4. Canale, *Cronique*, chaps. XL-XLII, in *Archivio storico italiano*, VIII, pp. 324, 326.

5. Gina Fasoli, "Nascita di un mito," in *Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe*, I, Florence, 1958, pp. 469-470, and "... Martino da Canale," *Studi medievali*, II, 1961, pp. 55-56, 68 ff., who shows, however, that for various reasons Canale's history enjoyed no popularity among the Venetians. For one thing, his aggrandizement of the doge's authority was unacceptable to the ruling oligarchy in Venice. For further bibliography on Canale, see Carile, *La Cronachistica veneziana*, pp. 177-178, notes.

6. Jean Longnon, ed., *Livre de la conquête de la principauté de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)*, Paris, 1911, paras. 31-34, pp. 10-12; and see John Schmitt, ed., *The Chronicle of Morea: Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, London, 1904, verses 446-517, pp. 30 ff.

7. Božidar Ferjančič, "Beginnings of the Kingdom of Salonica (1204-1209)" [in Serbian with French résumé], *Recueil de travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines*, VIII-2 (*Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky*, II), Belgrade, 1964, pp. 101-116, has shown that the title king is not applied to Boniface of Monteferrat in either the contemporary literary or the documentary sources. The first Latin king of Thessalonica was Boniface's son Demetrius, crowned on January 6, 1209, by the Latin Emperor Henry. On his seal as well as in documents Boniface uses only the title of marquis (*marchio*), as noted years ago in G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon, and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, Paris, 1943, pp. 193-194, but of course later chroniclers such as Martino da Canale, chap. LIV, in *Archivio storico italiano*, VIII, p. 338, do indeed inform us that "li marquis de Monferal fu fait roi de Saluniqu." Cf. A. Carile, *La Cronachistica veneziana*, pp. 186, 189, 196, and his excerpts from the Venetian chronicles, pp. 301, 513, where however Boniface is rarely referred to as king or Thessalonica as a kingdom.

8. Michael Choniates, *Ep.* 100, 29-31, ed. Sp. P. Lampros, *Μετὰ τὴν Ἀπομνηστικὴν τοῦ Χωνιάτῃ οὐτὰ σωξόμενα*, 2 vols., Athens, 1879-1880, II, pp. 169-170.

9. See the interesting study of Yves M.-J. Congar, "Conscience ecclésiologique en Orient et en Occident du VI<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Istina*, VI, 1959, pp. 187-236, with a rich bibliography, and cf. Congar, *L'Éclésiologie du haut moyen-âge*, Paris, 1968, esp. pp. 321 ff., and idem, *After Nine Hundred Years*, New York, 1959.

10. Inn. III, *Epp.*, an. II, no. 211 (*PL*, 214, 771); Potthast, *Regesta*, I, p. 82, n. 863, and the works of Congar referred to in the preceding note.

11. George Acropolites, *Chron.*, 17 (Bonn, pp. 32-33, and ed. Heisenberg, I, pp. 29-30). There is an adaptation of this passage in the iambic chronicle of Ephraem, *Imperatores*, verses 7429-7457 (Bonn, pp. 301-302). See Ernst Gerland, *Gesch. d. latein. Kaiserreiches v. Konstantinopel*, I, Homburg v.d. Höhe, 1905, pp. 238-239, and Jean Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, Paris, 1949, p. 145.

12. J. B. Cotelerius [Cotelier], ed., *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, III, Paris, 1686, pp. 516-517 (*Criminationes adversus Ecclesiam Latinam*), cited by Gerland, *Latein. Kaiserreich*, p. 239, 240-241, and Walter Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, Berlin, 1903; New York, 1958, pp. 228-229. A rather similar statement appears in the Greek *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. John Schmitt, London, 1904, verses 2089-2095, pp. 140 ff.

## Byzantium and the West around the Year 1200

The years around 1200 have generally been recognized as most decisive in Western art and civilization. This is a most creative and, at the same time, Janus-faced period, with one face looking into the future, the rising Gothic, which aimed at a new interpretation of man's surrounding world and the creation of a new formal vocabulary for its artistic expression, and with the other, still intently fixed on its own Romanesque past, looking anew for inspiration from that culture which for almost a millennium had, time and again, with varying degrees influenced the Latin West—Byzantium. It is the aim of these lines to point out that in this very process of transformation from the Romanesque to the Gothic, Byzantine art was still a major influence. This is the last time that Byzantium held sway over France and England, where the Early Gothic asserted itself most strongly. In Germany and especially in Italy, however, the Byzantine style remained a strong force throughout most of the thirteenth century, and only during the fourteenth century and thereafter did it become sporadic and in some cases a curiosum.

Whenever a wave of Byzantine influence swept the Latin West, it was transformed and absorbed into the self-asserting styles of both cis- and transalpine countries,<sup>1</sup> whereas, in the Slavic countries of the Balkans and Russia, Byzantine art became the almost exclusive foundation of their national styles. But as soon as one Byzantine wave was absorbed, the next came with equal vigor, thus preventing Western Europe before the Gothic period from developing, over any length of time, entirely indigenous styles. Byzantium had set high standards of artistic perfection, and again and again the West accepted its leadership. Yet each time the Latin West looked East for inspiration, it did so for different reasons, and thus the nature of the Byzantine influence must be redefined for each period in which it is en-



countered. Even a sketchy history of it cannot be attempted here, and I shall confine myself to two examples from the period preceding the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup>

In the Commodilla catacomb in Rome there is a fresco depicting the Virgin enthroned and flanked by St. Felix and St. Adauctus, and, in addition, the donatrix, Turtura (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Its general character and its isolation on the wall clearly indicate that the model was an icon. Dated A.D. 528, it belongs to the same century as an encaustic icon on Mount Sinai representing the same type of the Virgin enthroned with the Child, but flanked by two different saints, St. Theodore and St. George, and, in addition, by two ethereal angels (Fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> Because they are very much alike in their layout and iconographical concept, the two paintings can be understood as the creation of a period in which East and West spoke the same artistic language, and Christianity still existed as an ecumenical unity. Yet in spite of their striking similarities there are subtle divergencies that foreshadow the separate trends of Eastern and Western imagery. In the catacomb fresco all figures stare at the beholder as if trying to establish communication with him, while in the Sinai icon the Virgin looks aside into an undefined distance, withdrawn and unaware of the beholder. This is the very basic distinction between the devotional image of the West, with its emphasis on the physical presence of the Deity, and the Orthodox icon, with its stress on the remoteness of the Deity. This distinction is also marked by the difference in corporeality, expressed by linear means, which is relatively greater in the figures of the fresco than in the comparatively more dematerialized figures of the Byzantine icon.<sup>5</sup>

The sense of Christian unity was lost long before the Eastern and the Western Churches officially separated in the schism of 1054. In the artistic sphere, however, the contacts continued, particularly in the court ateliers around the Carolingian and later the Ottonian emperors. In these ateliers the superiority of the Eastern art forms was readily conceded, a superiority largely due to the fact that the culture of Constantinople, based on the Greek past, had been permitted to continue, uninterrupted by invading Germanic tribes.

At the end of the tenth century, notably after the marriage of the German emperor Otto II to the Byzantine princess Theophanu, Byzantine influence became particularly strong in the ateliers dependent on the imperial court, such as the famous monastery of Reichenau. A Gospel lectionary in Wolfenbüttel shows among its splendid full-page miniatures one with the Death of the Virgin (Fig. 3),<sup>6</sup> in which the artist quite clearly followed a good Byzantine model such as the so-called Phocas lectionary in Lavra on Mt. Athos, which must be considered the product of a Constantinopolitan court

atelier (Fig. 4).<sup>7</sup> What attracted the Western copyist was not so much the style of the Byzantine miniature, since the Reichenau had developed its own linear style with an almost expressionistic overemphasis on the articulation of the limbs and on the visionary gazes. This is quite different from the treatment of the human figures in the Byzantine Koimesis, in which the artist used, with considerable skill, formulae of classical draperies in order to reveal the organic structure of the body. What did attract the Western artist was the iconic quality of the Koimesis, which had become one of the canonical feast pictures in Orthodox art. Yet it must seem almost a paradox that the Western artist, by using more abstract forms, displays nevertheless a higher degree of human emotion. The vehement pose of Christ looking longingly toward the Virgin while lifting up her soul is quite in contrast to the Byzantine Christ, who is more an apparition than a physical presence. John, who takes the usual place of Peter in the Reichenau miniature, places his hand comfortingly upon the shoulder of the dead Virgin. From the Byzantine point of view the behavior of both Christ and John would have been offensive to the iconic concept that stresses the divinity of Christ and the Virgin by emphasizing their remoteness from the human sphere. Here we meet fundamental differences even where the iconographical composition is paralleled so closely—differences that, as demonstrated by the previous examples (Figs. 1-2), had already begun to take shape in the Early Christian period.

In the early Romanesque period the relationship between Byzantium and the West changed fundamentally and became, in some respects, the opposite of what it had been in the Ottonian. While in the Koimesis of the Reichenau the artist was interested primarily in the hieratic concept of the model, the miniaturist who, in a lectionary from Cluny around the turn of the eleventh-twelfth century (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), depicted the Pentecost (Fig. 5),<sup>8</sup> concentrated on the stylistic problem of increasing the plasticity of the human figure. The garments are pressed against the body to reveal its organic form even more distinctly than could be seen in nature, unless the drapery were damp and clinging. This is the manner in which Greek art had, since the high classical period, expressed the corporeality of the human body, in which Byzantine art had continued to express it, though shifting gradually from the medium of sculpture to that of painting, and in which the Renaissance under the Macedonian emperors in the tenth century had reasserted it to the fullest extent, not shrinking at times from exaggeration. A comparison with the apostles of an approximately contemporary Pentecost icon from Sinai (Fig. 6)<sup>9</sup> is visual evidence of the length to which the Western artist has gone in his imitation of the Byzantine style.<sup>10</sup>

At the same time it will be noticed that the Cluniac painter did not copy

a Byzantine Pentecost, which by that time had developed a standardized or—as one may say in theological terms—a canonical iconography whereby the apostles are seated in a semicircle. Rather he has squeezed the apostles into a narrow area that does not permit the development of a clear spatial relationship; and the Western iconographical root is most obvious in his placing Peter, Roman fashion, in the center, and adding the bust of Christ in heaven. It is to the credit of Wilhelm Koehler to have demonstrated in a memorable study<sup>8</sup> that this extremely close adaptation of Byzantine figure style was confined neither to this individual Cluniac miniaturist, nor, more broadly, to Burgundian painting (where the same style can be seen also in fresco paintings like those of Berzé-la-Ville), nor to French art in general, but that it spread to the whole of Europe, including England, Germany, and Italy. It was, in the true sense of the word, an international wave of such an extent and intensity as had not been experienced before.

In the second half, and especially the last quarter, of the twelfth century a marked change in style took place; the classical paradigms illustrating this change are the mosaics of the Capella Palatina in Palermo and of the cathedral of Monreale, both monuments erected by Norman kings who had relied, at least in part, on Byzantine craftsmen. Two angel figures may be chosen for comparison. The one liberating Peter, from the Capella Palatina, executed in the 1140s (Fig. 7),<sup>11</sup> shows the artist's predominant interest in the corporeality of the body, emphasized by clinging garments as in the Sinai Pentecost (Fig. 6). The sculptural values are enhanced by the stately pose of this approaching angel, and the calm features of his face are in harmony with the artist's reliance on the classical tradition, both qualities being typical of Middle Byzantine art in general. The angel from Christ's Baptism in Monreale, dated between 1180 and 1190 (Fig. 8),<sup>12</sup> has a very different character. The overcrowding of crumpled folds creates a double effect: diminished corporeality, to which other means, such as the crossing of the body by a wing, also contribute, and nervous agitation. In contrast to the composure of the Palermo angel, there is a feeling here of restlessness. The emphasis of the artist has clearly shifted from a primary interest in the physical reality of the human body to an interest in its behavior, particularly under the stress of emotions.

Scholars like Otto Demus and Ernst Kitzinger, writing extensively on the Sicilian mosaics, have come to the conclusion, correctly, I believe, that these changes are not due to the personal style of the Monreale mosaicists, but rather reflect a major change that took place in Byzantine art and spread over the entire European continent. Indeed, we deal here with a second international wave of Byzantine influence that was just as powerful as that at the beginning of the twelfth century.

A single example must suffice to demonstrate the impact of this second wave, which reached as far as northern Europe. The miniatures of a Gospel book in Wolfenbüttel, executed in the year 1194, perhaps in Brunswick,<sup>13</sup> show the differences between the traditional and the progressive styles even more strikingly than do the Sicilian mosaics, because they were painted in the same manuscript and in the same year by the same artist who obviously depended on different models. The Evangelist Matthew (Fig. 9)<sup>14</sup> is dressed in a garment, which, compared with those of the apostles of the Sinai Pentecost icon (Fig. 6), even exaggerates, by its damp, clinging folds, the tubular limbs of the massive body, whereas in the figures in the Annunciation and the Nativity (Fig. 10)<sup>15</sup> crumpled folds are emphasized as well as quick movements, indicating psychological reactions—a sudden change in style that can only be explained by the impact of a late Comnenian model.

But while one can accumulate ample evidence for the spread of the new style throughout the Western world, it is more difficult to penetrate to the nerve center where it originated. It has been assumed, correctly, I believe, that this center was Constantinople, where the earlier twelfth-century wave had also started; but since no manuscripts of what we call the late Comnenian style seem to have survived, and no monumental paintings, either frescoes or mosaics, have come to light in the Eastern capital so far, scholarship has undertaken to determine the nature of Constantinopolitan art by studying its radiation within the limits of the Orthodox world.

Among the most characteristic examples of the late Comnenian style are the frescoes of the church of St. George at Kurbinovo in Macedonia, dated 1191,<sup>16</sup> and those of the church of the Panaghia tou Arakou in Lagoudhera, high in the mountains of Cyprus, dated 1192 (Fig. 11).<sup>17</sup> In both, the over-elongation of the Annunciation angel has, in comparison with the angel in the Monreale mosaic (Fig. 8), led to a certain weakening of the organic structure of the human body; also an overexaggerated accumulation of crumpled folds has resulted in a more decorative impression that partly obscures the original intention to create an emotional effect. Here one may justifiably ask to what extent these more abstracting tendencies are due to a provincial variant of the late Comnenian style, which blossomed in the border regions of the Byzantine empire. Yet that the body of the Lagoudhera angel, though elongated, maintains a somewhat more organic structure compared with the angel in Kurbinovo, and the way in which the crumpled folds underline the agitation of the figure, while encroaching less on the corporeality of the body, are reasons for assuming that the former is considerably closer to the ultimate source, i.e., a Constantinopolitan model.

The basic problem, then, is whether we can come to a better understanding of the art of Constantinople at the end of the twelfth and the

beginning of the thirteenth centuries and assess its potential with regard not only to its level of quality but also to the many facets of its versatile style and to its vigorous iconography. As said before, no monumental painting and no illustrated manuscripts can fill this gap, at least at the present state of our knowledge. The new insight must come from icon painting, a field in which our knowledge has been greatly enriched by the unique collection of St. Catherine's monastery, recently investigated by a joint expedition of the universities of Alexandria, Michigan, and Princeton.<sup>18</sup>

One of the key monuments filling the gap is an icon of the Annunciation (Fig. 12).<sup>19</sup> Immediately apparent is the close stylistic relationship of the approaching Gabriel to the angel of Lagoudhera (Fig. 11), but, at the same time, we notice his greater refinement and elegance—the main reason for attributing this icon to a Constantinopolitan atelier without, admittedly, being able to offer final proof. In this Annunciation can be demonstrated the very essence of the late Comnenian style. Most striking is the angel's pose, which obviously is based on the study of a good classical model, in all likelihood a dancing maenad. Yet this pose was not chosen for playfulness, but for the expression of a calculated emotional effect whose significance is fully revealed when we compare it with that of an angel of a slightly earlier Annunciation from an iconostasis beam on Sinai (Fig. 30).<sup>20</sup> This angel, too, shows the typical drapery of the late Comnenian period, expressing movement combined with inner excitement. He acts as if he had only the obedient delivery of God's message on his mind, whereas the angel of our icon (Figs. 12, 32), by stopping abruptly and turning the upper part of his body around, appears to hesitate and reflect—actions based on his own decision not to disturb the Virgin suddenly. Thus enters the human element of self-consciousness, a new experience in Byzantine art that occasionally leads to a high degree of emotionalism—the very element which Byzantine art had in the past been careful to avoid in order not to endanger the traditional hieratic and otherworldly sphere of icon painting.

This humanizing trend becomes equally apparent in the expressions of the faces. Whereas the angel and the Virgin in the earlier Annunciation (Fig. 30) show the motionless, idealized facial features of the classical tradition, the angel of our icon, with piercing eyes and contracted brows,<sup>21</sup> reveals his reflections as to what the effect of his message on the Virgin will be. He seems to ponder the impact the joyful message will have, and this doubt seems justified by the Virgin's apprehensive look. The lowered corners of her mouth suggest an awareness of the sufferings which are in store for her. The observation of human behavior is the most important contribution of this late Comnenian art, and the striking mannerisms of the fluttering garments and crumpled folds are essentially pictorial formulae for the

expression of a high pitch of emotion. Yet, it is also typically Byzantine that the very painter of the Annunciation icon almost seems to have become frightened of the implications of this realistic trend, because his startling, fresh observations of human behavior are executed in immaterial, grisaille-like colors and set in a remote, otherworldly sphere.

With this Annunciation established as a focal point in the history of late Comnenian icon painting, it becomes possible to sketch the various stages of development that precede and follow it. Our most revealing material is a series of beams that decorate, in frieze form, the architrave of an iconostasis and depict, normally, the twelve great feasts of the Orthodox Church grouped at either side of a central Deesis with Christ between the Virgin and John the Baptist. Such beams have come to light in considerable number on Sinai, and most of them belong to the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup> Most elucidating for the problem of the development of style is one on which three painters belonging to successive generations worked together, thus affording a rare opportunity to trace the stylistic development within the limits of one monument.<sup>23</sup> To this "beam of the three masters," as we may call it, belongs a Presentation in the Temple (Fig. 13), which I should like to compare with the same subject of a slightly earlier iconostasis beam (Fig. 14),<sup>24</sup> the same one from which the Annunciation with the striding angel (Fig. 30) was chosen. The most striking differences are in the two figures of old Simeon, who in the earlier example takes the Christ Child into his arms with utter calm, while in the later beam he is excited, and this emotion is visually expressed by his bent pose, the nervous design of his drapery, and the worried look on his face. Similarly, the prophetess Anna, calmly standing in the earlier panel, may be contrasted with the corresponding figure in the later, where her face, with its contracted brows, reveals a tension also apparent in the motion of her right arm, raised in the same direction as the visionary glance. In this manner the stylistic devices of the late Comnenian period serve to express human involvement. The important change in coloration cannot, unfortunately, be satisfactorily demonstrated, because the later beam has not yet been cleaned, and its paint lies under a heavy layer of darkening varnish. While the earlier panel<sup>25</sup> shows the polychromy of enamellike, contrasting local colors, the later one introduces shades of pink next to brown and red, thus revealing a tendency toward a colorism that introduces subtle shades of neighboring colors.

To the same "beam of the three masters" belongs the Ascension (Fig. 15), the one scene that shows the collaboration of all three artists. The one who painted the Presentation in the Temple (Fig. 13) executed the group of apostles at the left, headed by the ecstatic Paul. The second master, who painted the Virgin and the apostle group on the right, was a rather eccentric

artist, who developed the mannerisms of the late Comnenian style to extremes by reducing the sizes of the heads to such an extent that the resulting unnatural proportions endanger the organic unity of the human body. Similar extremes had been developed in the late fourth century and are visible in a certain group of sarcophagi that attracted Primiticcio, who, having himself a similar inclination to overelongated proportions, made some drawings after them. The third master added the ascending Christ, whose circular aureola, carried by two angels, is marked, as are the nimbi, by the roughening of the gold ground in such a way as to cause an effect of rotation.<sup>26</sup> This painter, who completed the beam and painted the last two feast pictures, the Pentecost and the Death of the Virgin (Fig. 18), was a great innovator who transformed the linear design of drapery and facial features favored by the other two masters into a painterly style of fleeting brushstrokes. Considering the basic difference in style, the question must be raised whether he is contemporary with the other two or whether the beam may have been completed somewhat later.

We believe him to be, indeed, contemporary and see proof in the fact that, in addition to the above-mentioned Pentecost and Koimesis at the end of the beam, he painted yet another feast, the Nativity (Fig. 16), which is positioned in the earlier part, i.e., it appears between the Annunciation (unpublished) and the Presentation in the Temple (Fig. 13), both of which we attribute to the first master. Once more, the specific qualities of this master become perceptible by comparison with a slightly earlier Nativity (Fig. 17);<sup>27</sup> for this I have chosen again the beam from which the Annunciation and Presentation are already illustrated (Figs. 14, 30). Most striking in the later Nativity is an attempt to give greater prominence to the landscape setting and to render the mountains with a greater feeling for their naturalistic appearance, both in design and color. Instead of the flat mountain backdrops of the earlier panel, the mountain range with its rolling slopes creates the effect of considerable depth. By reducing the size of the human figures in the foreground and by placing the angels not behind, but within, the mountain, a higher degree of realism is infused into the landscape. Moreover, by replacing the gaudy polychromy of the earlier mountains with a brown color for the lower slope and an olive color for the higher mountain range, the artist almost evokes the smell of the earth.

This remarkable third master, to whom the Koimesis scene (Fig. 18) of the same beam must also be ascribed, reached a new height when he was entrusted with the painting of yet another beam, of which a Deesis and two scenes flanking it on each side are preserved,<sup>28</sup> one of which is the Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 19).<sup>29</sup> His individual hand can clearly be recognized when one compares the figure of Peter standing beside the Virgin's bier in the

Koimesis and, just as prominently, behind Christ in the Raising of Lazarus. To point out one of many details, both heads, with their piercing eyes and low foreheads, are covered with smooth, wiglike hair, distinctly different from the row of curls so traditionally characteristic for this apostle. In contradistinction to the mannered style of the past generation, no crumpled folds are used to emphasize excitement, and yet the figures of this progressive master do not fall back into the mode of the earlier twelfth century with its emphasis on corporeality. Rather, they are treated in a free brush technique, by which the artist tries to achieve an effect of high tension similar to that achieved by his earlier collaborators by means of linear design.

Once again, a comparison with the same subject on the earlier Sinai beam (Fig. 20)<sup>30</sup> (from which we have already illustrated the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Presentation)<sup>31</sup> (Figs. 30, 17, and 14), is most instructive. As in the Nativity scene, immediately apparent is the progressive master's concern with a wider landscape setting and a corresponding reduction of the figure scale. There is a calculated correlation between the group of Christ and his disciples and the predominating conical mountain that encompasses the entire group. While traditionally such mountains terminate in formations of basalt cubes, as seen above Lazarus's tomb in the earlier icon, here these peaks look like wind-blown snowcaps, with a dynamic quality shared by the plant at the lower left, whose stems or leaves branch out like tentacles. Thus, we see that here even the inanimate world has become emotionalized, while in the preceding generation emotionalism had been confined to the human figure. Similarly, the colors have a stirring emotional quality, especially the glowing orange of the mountain.<sup>32</sup> We are witnessing the first stage of a new painterly style, insufficiently circumscribed by the term "impressionistic," which will come to its fruition in the Palaeologan period. It is characterized by a new coloration, superseding that of the preceding generation with its emphasis on contrasting, enamellike local colors. For the simplification of the figure style, attained by abandoning the exaggerated crumpled fold systems, parallels can be found in contemporary fresco paintings, such as the earliest ones at Studenica, from the year 1209.<sup>33</sup> As far as the expanded and emotionalized landscape is concerned, however, we do not find it in contemporary monumental painting; the question seems well justified whether one could expect it in fresco painting, which tends toward monumentalization of the human figure, or whether it is essentially a phenomenon of icon painting. Only somewhat later, about the middle of the thirteenth century, can reflections of this new landscape style be observed in Italian panel painting.

Two more examples from this unique beam will deepen our insight into the animated style of this progressive painter. In the scene of the Baptism



of Christ (Fig. 21) the brushstrokes are even freer than in the Lazarus scene, and their fleeting quality foreshadows the phantomlike figures of Theophanes the Greek in the fourteenth century. The landscape is emotionalized even further by the wind-blown snowcaps fluttering like torn flags. One will notice the same dynamic quality in the ragged coastline, giving the impression of tentacles reaching out toward the figure of Christ. Once more, color plays a part in creating a certain mood.<sup>34</sup> John, the tragic prophet in somber garments, is placed before a gloomy, dark olive mountain, while the angels, dressed in gay pink and yellow brown garments, are framed by a mountain of lighter color. The degree of innovation can be measured by a comparison with the Baptism scene from the earlier beam (Fig. 22), which, unfortunately, is badly damaged, though its essential features are not obscured. The earlier contrappostic stance of Christ has given way to a swaying pose, and the diagonal streaks of water across His body convey vividly the rush of the river, while the personification of the river god has been discarded. John the Baptist is most eagerly bending forward, and the poses of the angels reveal excitement, effected by an increasingly freer brush technique.

The most original composition of our master is the Metamorphosis (Fig. 23). Here, in addition to achieving a new spatial concept by the depiction of a high mountain ridge, which creates the impression of a considerable distance between the disciples and their vision, the painter has substantially changed the traditional iconography in order to heighten the emotional impact. Christ, usually rendered in strong axuality, turns slightly toward Moses as if talking to him, a motion that finds response in the highly agitated pose of Moses, who raises his hand in a gesture of speech. One need only compare our scene with the Metamorphosis (Fig. 24)<sup>35</sup> from the earlier beam (Figs. 20, 22) to realize the degree of innovation produced by our master. In the earlier version, Christ, Moses, and Elijah are conceived separately, each in his own remoteness, while our painter stresses their interaction and human relationship through their vivid gestures.

An even higher degree of originality is achieved in the depiction of the disciples, who are thrust to the ground by the force of the light rays. They are shown crouching at the foot of the high mountain range, whose compositional importance becomes all the more apparent when one compares it with the low hillock of the earlier composition. The crouching disciple at the lower left is wrapped in his blue mantle in such a way as to form a solid block, so simple that the whole attention of the beholder is focused on his head, with its expression of anguish, terror, or both. Not until Giotto and Masaccio shall we find again such a cubic figure, placed like an immovable rock into a corner of the composition. Traditionally, as seen in the earlier beam, a kneeling Peter pointing up to Christ takes the position in the lower

left corner, a type that can be traced back to the lost mosaics of the Apostle Church in Constantinople, as described in detail by Nicholas Mesarites.<sup>36</sup> But our black-haired apostle can only be James; and neither before nor after, as far as our knowledge goes, does a parallel exist to this expressive figure. The central figure is the youthful John, who looks as if the light beam had forced him into a prostrate position, a pose quite different from the equally averted and yet more erect pose of the parallel figure in the earlier panel. One is reminded of the similarly expressive loose brush techniques of Theophanes the Greek in Russia and El Greco in Spain. As for white-haired Peter, who takes the place normally assigned to James, he, too, is forced down into a position that deprives him of the power to resist the light beam, from whose glare he tries to shield his eyes. The dramatization of the apostles will be vastly increased in the Palaeologan period, when they will be depicted tumbling down the mountain head first.<sup>37</sup> To our icon we can trace the very beginning of a new Transfiguration iconography, in which an increased interest in human behavior under great stress is revealed.

The Sinai beam to which the three scenes last described belong was apparently executed by a painter who, in his time, must have represented a progressive trend. Yet there is no way of judging more precisely the degree of his originality, since at the present state of our knowledge this beam is his only known work, except for the few panels in the earlier "beam of the three masters" (Figs. 15 in part, 16, 18). We cannot even prove that he is a Constantinopolitan artist, though we should like to believe so:<sup>38</sup> it seems a priori likely that his decisive innovations, which are the logical continuation of the mannered late Comnenian style, originated in the capital, and that only works executed in the capital would show the new style with such spontaneity and freshness. However, one must realize that we are dealing with iconostasis beams that must have been made ad hoc for a chapel of specific proportions. It seems, therefore, not impossible that artists from Constantinople worked at Sinai on such special commissions. One must always remember in dealing with works of art at Sinai that the monastery was an imperial foundation and that direct connections with the capital were strong at times when they were favored by historical circumstances.

Constantinopolitan origin presents less of a problem in the case of a pair of monumental panels at Sinai that must be counted among the great masterpieces of Byzantine icon painting, dating from the very end of the twelfth century. Both subjects, Moses receiving the tablets (Fig. 26) and Elijah being fed by the raven (Fig. 25),<sup>39</sup> are typically Sinaitic; when one climbs the mountain, the Djebel Musa, on the top of which, according to tradition, Moses received the tablets, one passes by the chapel built around the cave in which Elijah supposedly had been hiding. There can be little

doubt that these panels were made for Sinai; and the fact that the inscriptions in the lower frames of both icons, which mention the painter Stephanos, are written in both Greek and Arabic<sup>40</sup> makes an origin in Sinai proper (then Arabic territory) very likely indeed. A refined style like that of these panels does not originate or develop in the desert, and we believe that only a Constantinopolitan artist could have painted them. Because the two prophets, about three-quarters life size, are quite different in style, one might be tempted to consider two different hands were it not that the inscriptions on both panels name the same Stephanos as the painter. Obviously he works in two different modes: for Moses he uses the more crumpled folds, which reflect the inner excitement of the prophet at the moment he receives the tablets, while for Elijah he chose a simpler and more realistic drapery with naturally falling folds. A similar contrast may be seen in the poses: while Moses, stepping forward, follows an accepted convention, the pose of Elijah is more spontaneous. He raises both hands in a gesture of prayer, but not symmetrically, and his palms are turned slightly inward, creating with this lively gesture free space around the figure. How consciously the artist built on this contrast can also be observed in the heads. The head of Moses is sensitive but at the same time somewhat traditional, and his hair, with its wreath of locks falling upon his forehead, is stereotyped and mannered. Elijah, on the other hand, reveals a higher degree of self-consciousness as he looks thoughtfully and with concentration at the hand of God and at the little raven bringing him bread. In contrast to the stylized hair of Moses, the disheveled hair of Elijah creates the impression of naturalness and casualness; the same is true of his beard, combed to one side, and his contracted, shadowing eyebrows. This head of Elijah has the most individualized facial expression known to us in Byzantine art around 1200. In these two prophet panels Stephanos has set the highest standards of icon painting at the turn of the century.

The discussion of the relationship between Byzantium and the Latin West at this period will have to be confined to a few remarks that cannot possibly do full justice to this complex problem, but it seems essential, first, to get a clear picture of the high potential of Byzantine, and essentially Constantinopolitan, art around 1200 and only then to draw conclusions about possible connections with and influences on the Latin West. As we have tried to demonstrate, the most basic innovations in Byzantine art at the turn of the century were:

- (1) a mannered drapery style used as an artistic device to convey the impression of restlessness;
- (2) an emphasis on lively actions, occasionally bordering on eccentricity, which likewise dramatizes an event;

(3) the infusion of emotion into the action by a fresh observation of human behavior resulting in the humanizing of even hieratic feast pictures;

(4) the replacement of polychromy, with its often enamellike contrasting local colors, by a choice of color often for emotional rather than mere decorative effects; and

(5) the first steps toward a more spacious landscape setting in which a tendency toward greater realism is mixed with a desire to infuse an emotional element even into the inanimate world.

Looking at Western art from this point of view, only the first three points come into play for purposes of comparison, since no signs of a similar coloristic development can be observed at this time, and the interest in landscape was awakened only a few decades later in the Italian Ducento.

For a few comparisons between works of Western and Byzantine art, I should like to concentrate, though not exclusively, on the Klosterneuburg altarpiece executed in 1181 by Nicolas of Verdun.<sup>41</sup> These enamel plaques of what once constituted an ambo represent a most progressive and at the same time a highly individual style. In the Crucifixion plaque (Fig. 27)<sup>42</sup> the Christ on the Cross is designed in a manner that clearly reveals a dependence on the Byzantine tradition; this is indicated by the characteristic design of the upper part of His body with the scheme of a double "M" and the peculiar design of the arms, which seems to lay bare the bone structure.<sup>43</sup> Both features may be noted in the Christ of the Crucifixion of the Sinai "beam of the three masters" (Fig. 28).<sup>44</sup> The Sinai Crucifixion provides yet another comparison with the Nicolas of Verdun plaque. Earlier Crucifixion scenes in Byzantine art show Christ's body more elegantly built and elongated, and His face with closed eyes, indicating tranquility, as, e.g., in the well-known Crucifixion scene from the eleventh-century mosaic at Daphni.<sup>45</sup> But in the beam the proportions are rather stocky, and the powerful head, falling on the shoulders, reveals in its strained expression the agony of the dying Christ. While in all these respects Nicolas follows Byzantine formulae, in another point he fundamentally differs: his Christ displays a Herculean muscularity, and the greatest emphasis is placed on sculptural and tactile values. This is perhaps the most basic difference between East and West at the time when they begin to move in opposite directions. In the West realism becomes not only a major concern, but the focal point of interest for an artist like Nicolas of Verdun, and in this respect he surpasses the Byzantine models. In Byzantium, limits are placed upon the realistic mode, which must not interfere with the impression of remoteness from the earthly sphere fundamental to icon painting.

The same similarities and differences may be observed when we compare a figure in vivid action, such as the angel of the Annunciation in Klosterneu-

burg (Fig. 29),<sup>46</sup> with the corresponding angel of the earliest of the three Sinai iconostasis beams seen before (Fig. 30).<sup>47</sup> In both figures the determination expressed by the energetic approach is typical of the later twelfth century, but whereas the forcefulness of the Byzantine angel is concentrated in his wide, tiptoe stride, the Western angel focuses the main action on his extended arm, from whose fingers emanate two rays that strike the Virgin directly in the eyes. This gesture is drastic and uninhibited in a way that might well have been objectionable to a Byzantine artist.

To what extent a Byzantine artist is capable of revealing a psychological state by an intricate pose has been demonstrated by the angel of the Sinai icon of the Annunciation (Figs. 12, 32). In Nicolas of Verdun's Ascension of Elijah (Fig. 31)<sup>48</sup> we see the prophet Elisha in a comparable *figura serpentinata* pose, which here also results from a sudden reaction. The artists, in trying to solve a similar formal problem, have nevertheless produced quite different results. The Byzantine angel acts on an impulse arising from his own decision to stop and consider the least disquieting manner of approaching the Virgin. Elisha's behavior is caused by the extreme proximity of the chariot, in which the ascending prophet stands and turns to him with such vehemence that he, Elisha, recoils. While the Byzantine artist infuses his work with an element of subtle human behavior, he is at the same time concerned about detaching his figures from the world of the senses. Nicolas, however, tries to bring his figures, massive and earthly as they are, into a tactile closeness to the beholder by giving them a higher degree of physical reality, albeit at the expense of some of the spiritual quality characteristic of the best in iconic art.

Yet the confrontation between East and West should not be considered exclusively in terms of a higher or lesser degree of physical reality, in which Nicolas of Verdun was so interested. Other artists of northern Europe at this time concerned themselves less with it, and focused rather on the over-exaggeration of naturalistic details, using an expressionistic and thereby a more abstract mode. A characteristic example is a miniature of the Berthold Missal in the Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, a Weingarten manuscript from the early thirteenth century that represents the Death of the Virgin (Fig. 33)<sup>49</sup> in an iconography which leaves no doubt about its Byzantine descent. The Western miniaturist was interested not so much in the clear, organic rendering of the human body, but rather in conveying the expression of extreme grief. For this he concentrated on wild gestures and oversized heads, whose exaggerated emotional expression leads at times to frozen grimaces. An icon of the Death of the Virgin from Sinai, the left half of which is almost totally destroyed (Fig. 34),<sup>50</sup> demonstrates that, at about the same time, Byzantine art had also gone a long way toward intensifying

the expression of grief by isolating each apostle more strongly and endowing him with individualized gestures of mourning. One apostle in the middle of the right group inclines his head and holds his hand against his cheek, and the youthful apostle next to him, a more contemplative observer, holds his hand under his chin. It will be noticed that the gesture of holding the hand against the cheek was used freely by the painter of the Berthold Missal, and that in the figure of the apostle who leans over the feet of the Virgin he employs both gestures. To the rational Byzantine artist, the combination of these two gestures would have seemed conflicting, since each expresses a somewhat different emotion, but to the German artist such transgressions of reality were permissible for the sake of an expressionistic effect. The homely gesture of the apostle putting his hand comfortingly on the Virgin's shoulder and the compassionate glance of Christ turning to the Virgin—two humanizing features not in the Byzantine tradition—we have met before in the Reichenau miniature of the Death of the Virgin (Fig. 3). But what is new, and most likely an innovation of the Weingarten miniaturist, is the apostle who in despair has thrown himself to the ground—a lack of self-control a Byzantine artist surely would not have condoned.

Here we are at the very root of the problem of why the Eastern and the Western worlds, which throughout the twelfth century were still closely linked in their representational arts, began to drift apart toward the end of this century. The West had embarked on the road to greater realism, which gradually (in spite of some reversals of this trend in the formalistic Gothic of the fourteenth century) would lead to the Renaissance, while in Byzantine art certain limits were set in the adaptation of the realistic mode, both from the formal and from the psychological points of view. Byzantium became almost immune to the kind of realism developed in the Italian Renaissance, because its adaptation would have meant abandoning the very specific spiritual attitude on which the world of the icon was built.

Until the more or less final parting of the Eastern and Western cultures, the Byzantine influence on the Latin West, as manifested in the twelfth century by two successive waves, was indeed so powerful that the fall of Constantinople in 1204 cannot be held responsible for the start of this contact, but, at the most, for its intensification. Even more decisive from the historical point of view were the Crusades, which, through the colonization of the Holy Land by the Latins, brought a much larger section of Western population, including artists, into direct contact with Byzantine culture. Yet, while Crusader architecture and some sculpture have been known for some time,<sup>51</sup> Crusader painting has come to light only recently in two fields. In a pioneering publication Hugo Buchthal<sup>52</sup> was able to reconstruct flourishing ateliers in Jerusalem and Acre, in which chiefly French and

Italian miniaturists worked. Moreover, I myself have been able to establish corresponding ateliers of icon painters on the basis of the great number of Crusader icons that have survived at Sinai.<sup>53</sup> Yet it seems strange that so few Byzantine originals, miniatures or icons, have a provenance that would prove their presence in the Latin West as early as the twelfth century; and it has been inferred, with good reason, that one of the chief means of transmitting the Byzantine style must have been model books.

A characteristic leaf of such a book now in Freiburg (Fig. 35)<sup>54</sup> and dated by some scholars at the end of the twelfth, by others in the early thirteenth century, shows in its upper half the meeting of Christ with Zacchaeus in the tree and in its lower half two rider saints. Otto Demus<sup>55</sup> and other scholars have pointed out the close stylistic affinity of the upper scene with the mosaics of Monreale (although this particular scene does not occur among the mosaics), and they have concluded that our artist passed through Sicily. However this may be, the lower scene comes from quite a different context, namely from icon painting rather than monumental art. Some features point to a Crusader icon, comparable to the one with St. Theodore and St. George on Sinai (Fig. 36),<sup>56</sup> although the latter is somewhat later in date, so that the artist of the model book must have copied an earlier icon of this type. This observation has broad implications. Hitherto miniatures and monumental paintings have been the only media discussed as possible sources for the model books. But icon painting, which the evidence of recent years has proved a central medium for the development of new artistic trends, may well have played a major role in transmitting Byzantine art forms.

The cultures of the East and the West—to sum up our observations of the art around the turn of the twelfth to the thirteenth century—produced simultaneously a type of human figure that displays a high degree of self-consciousness, observes the outside with a new curiosity, and reflects upon it. Great artists have brought about a new individualization, based on a keen observation of human behavior which often reveals a nervous sensibility. The prophet Obadiah of the Three Magi Shrine in Cologne (Fig. 38),<sup>57</sup> believed to have been executed by Nicolas of Verdun between 1181 and 1191, and the prophet Elijah by the painter Stephanos (Figs. 25, 37),<sup>58</sup> are contemporaneous, mature creations of two great artists who were striving toward the same goal and achieved similar ends. However, more intensive research of the sources of Nicolas of Verdun, on the basis of an expanded knowledge of contemporary Byzantine art, will reveal in each individual case whether he was familiar with Byzantine art or whether he arrived independently at a similar solution. All that could be done in this brief sketch was to demonstrate that Byzantine art had reached a potential equal

to that of the Latin West and that the latter, while responding to influences from Byzantium, fused them with its own tradition and its own fresh observations.

Much has been written in the last decades about the intellectual drive that stimulated this sudden interest in human behavior and attempts to reach a deeper understanding of the relationship between body and spirit. The writings of Hugo of St. Victor and of William of St. Thierry on this subject have often been quoted to explain the first signs of concern with psychological observations in early cathedral sculpture. What, however, is not so easily answered is the question of whether the psychological interest we have met in Byzantine art is paralleled in Greek writing of this period. Here we are faced with the verdict of Karl Krumbacher, the great Byzantine authority who, with a slightly derogatory overtone, called the literature of the Comnenian period classical and puristic.<sup>59</sup> Only four years ago Herbert Hunger came forth with an attempt to re-evaluate the literature of the Comnenian period<sup>60</sup> and, while not denying its strong reliance on classical models—a phenomenon shared by the representational arts—he, for the first time, pointed out the fresh observations of the surrounding world, found in the writings of Eustathios, the Homer critic, and Nicetas Choniates, the historian. But especially in the romances of Makrembolites and Niketas Eugenianos, both of whom lived in the second half of the twelfth century, the chief accent, as Hunger points out, is laid on psychological detail in the former and on crass naturalistic descriptions in the latter.

It must be admitted that the history of Byzantine art and the history of Byzantine literature have not yet reached such a stage of integration as have the parallel disciplines in the Latin West. This can be explained for the representational arts of Byzantium, at least in part, by the incomplete documentary publication of even some of the most important monuments, due to a large extent to their relative inaccessibility. One need only be reminded that such a treasure trove as the icon collection of Sinai has become known only within the last few years. It will take some time until this and other treasures, like the icon collections in the various monasteries on Mount Athos and elsewhere and the many fresco cycles that have survived in various parts of the former Byzantine empire, will be more adequately published and will become available as a new basis for a re-evaluation of the impact of Byzantine art on the Latin West in the critical years around 1200.



## Notes

1. While these lines are being written, Otto Demus' book *Byzantine Art and the West* (The Wrightsman Lectures III), which no doubt will deal partly with the same problems and most likely with some of the same material, has not yet appeared.

2. For a somewhat more detailed sketch on which the present paper is based, see K. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XX, 1966, pp. 1 ff.

3. J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg, 1916, II, pp. 938 ff.; *ibid.*, IV, pl. 136. A. Grabar and C. Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting*, Geneva, 1957, pl. on p. 46, and elsewhere.

4. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, Athens, 1956, I, figs. 4-7, color pl.; *ibid.*, 1958, II, pp. 21 ff. K. Weitzmann with M. Chatzidakis, K. Miatev, and S. Radojčić, *Icons from South Eastern Europe and Sinai*, London, 1968, pp. ix, LXXIX, xcvi, pls. 1-3.

5. For a similar comparison between the same Sinai icon and the Roman Hodegetria in the Pantheon, cf. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects," pp. 6 ff., figs. 8-9.

6. O. Lerche, *Das Reichenauer Lektionar der Herzog-August-Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 32, pl. 16. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects," p. 16, fig. 27.

7. K. Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII, 1936, p. 92, pl. iii, 1. *Idem*, "Various Aspects," p. 16, fig. 30.

8. W. Koehler, "Byzantine Art in the West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, I, 1941, p. 69, fig. 8. F. Mercier, *Les primitifs français. La Peinture clunysienne en Bourgogne à l'époque romane*, Paris, 1932, p. 133, pl. xcix. J. Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures*, New York, 1959, p. 24, text fig. 20. M. Schapiro, *The Parma Ildefonsus. A Romanesque Manuscript from Cluny and Related Works*, New York, 1964, pp. 43 ff., fig. 37. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects," p. 21, fig. 35.

W. D. Wixom, "A Manuscript Painting from Cluny," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 1969, p. 132, fig. 5.

9. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, I, fig. 94; *ibid.*, II, pp. 104-105. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects," p. 21, fig. 36.

10. Koehler, "Byzantine Art," p. 77, fig. 16, was the first to establish a close connection between the Cluny Pentecost miniature and its Byzantine models, introducing as a striking parallel the evangelist miniature of a Constantinopolitan Gospel book now in the Cleveland Museum. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects," p. 21, fig. 37. Wixom, "A Manuscript Painting," p. 131, fig. 1.

11. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, p. 299, pl. 41B.

12. E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale*, Palermo, 1960, pp. 71, 94, and *passim*, pl. 47.

13. O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Wolfenbüttel, 1884, I, p. 48, no. 80.

14. K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätkommenische Verkündigungssikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift Herbert von Einem*, Berlin, 1965, p. 309, pl. 71, no. 3.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 309, pl. 71, no. 4. A. Boeckler, *Deutsche Buchmalerei Vorgotischer Zeit*, Königstein im Taunus, 1952, fig. on p. 65.

16. R. Ljubinković, "Stara crkva sela Kurbinova," *Starinar*, XV, 1940, pp. 101 ff. G. Millet and A. Frolov, *La Peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, Paris, 1954, I, pls. 84-85. M. Rajković, "Tragom jednog slikara," *Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog instituta*, III, 1955, pp. 207 ff. A. Nikolovski, *The Frescoes of Kurbinovo*, Belgrade, 1961, pls. 6-7. Weitzmann, "Spätkommenische Verkündigungssikone," p. 303, pl. 71, no. 1.

17. A. H. S. Megaw, "Comnenian Frescoes in Cyprus," *XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès Internat. des Études Byzantines*, Ochride, 1961, *Résumé des communications*, p. 69. A. and J. Stylianou, *The*

*Painted Churches of Cyprus*, Stourbridge, 1964, pp. 70 ff. Weitzmann, "Spätkommenische Verkündigungssikone," p. 306, pl. 71, no. 2.

18. The following figures in this study are published through the courtesy of the Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton Expedition to Mount Sinai: 2, 6, 12-26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36-37.

19. Weitzmann, "Spätkommenische Verkündigungssikone," pp. 209 ff., color pl. on p. 305. Idem, "The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression," *Byzantine Art—An European Art. Lectures*, Athens, 1966, p. 169 and fig. 131. Idem, "Various Aspects," p. 24, fig. 41. Idem, *Icons from South Eastern Europe and Sinai*, pp. xvi, lxxxii, pl. 30. W. F. Volbach and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1968, III, pp. 178, 180, pl. 44.

20. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, I, pl. 100; *ibid.*, II, p. 107. Weitzmann, "The Classical in Byzantine Art," p. 170, fig. 130.

21. Weitzmann, "Spätkommenische Verkündigungssikone," pl. 70.

22. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, I, pls. 87-125; *ibid.*, II, pp. 100 ff. There are several more iconostasis beams on Sinai that were not published by the Sotiriou, and a very interesting one was discovered by M. Chatzidakis in the Athos monastery of Vatopedi "Σίκονες ἐπιστυλίου ἀπὸ τὸ 'Ἅγιον Ὄρος," *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* Athens, 1966, Per. IV, vol. IV, pp. 377 ff., pls. 77-86.

23. One of the beams not published by the Sotiriou. It consisted originally of three sections, each with five scenes under separate arches. The first section contains: (1) the Birth of the Virgin, (2) the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, (3) the Annunciation (these three scenes are as yet unpublished), (4) the Nativity of Christ (our Fig. 16), (5) the Presentation in the Temple (our Fig. 13). The central section is lost, but by analogy to the other beams it must have contained: (6) the Baptism of Christ, (7) the Metamorphosis, (8) the Deesis, forming the very center of the beam, (9) the Raising of Lazarus, (10) the Entry into Jerusalem. The third section continues and concludes the feast cycle: (11) the Crucifixion (our Fig. 28), (12) the Anastasis, (13) the Ascension (our Fig. 15), (14) the Pentecost, (15) the Death of the Virgin (our Fig. 18). Scenes 12, 13, and 15 are reproduced

in Weitzmann, *Icons from South Eastern Europe and Sinai*, pp. xiv ff., lxxxii, pls. 32 (Ascension), 33 (Anastasis [in color]), and 35 (Death of the Virgin [in color]). Scene 14 is still unpublished.

24. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, I, pls. 99, 102; *ibid.*, II, p. 107.

25. It has been cleaned by Carroll Wales, a member of our expedition.

26. This technique was extremely popular in icons of about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it can be found in a great many icons in the Sinai collection.

27. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, I, pls. 99, 102; *ibid.*, II, p. 107.

28. *ibid.*, I, pls. 112-116; *ibid.*, II, p. 111. The four scenes depict: (1) the Baptism (our Fig. 21), (2) the Metamorphosis (our Fig. 23), (3) the Raising of Lazarus (our Fig. 19), (4) the Entry into Jerusalem.

29. Since this central part is all by one hand, it seems quite likely that the missing parts were also executed by the same artist. All the other beams on Sinai were, as a matter of fact, done by single artists, and this seems to have been the rule, so that from this point of view the "beam of the three masters" is an exception.

30. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, I, pls. 95-98; *ibid.*, I, p. 105.

31. This beam also consisted originally of three parts. The first contains the Birth of the Virgin and her Presentation in the Temple, the Annunciation, Nativity, and Presentation of Christ in the Temple; the central one contains the Baptism (our Fig. 22), the Metamorphosis (our Fig. 24), to the left of the Deesis, the Raising of Lazarus (our Fig. 20), and the Entry into Jerusalem to the right. The third part, now lost, comprised without doubt the remaining five of the great feasts: Crucifixion, Anastasis, Ascension, Pentecost, and the Death of the Virgin. Thus the program is identical with that of the "beam of the three masters."

32. See the color reproduction in K. Weitzmann, "Mount Sinai's Holy Treasures," *National Geographic*, 125, January, 1964, p. 118.

33. For an analysis of the style of thirteenth-century Byzantine painting in general, see the comprehensive study by Otto Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei,"

*Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, Munich, 1958. For Studenica, p. 26 and *passim*.

34. See the color reproduction in Weitzmann, *National Geographic*, p. 118.

35. *Ibid.*

36. A good example of this type is a miniature of the eleventh-century lectionary in the Athos monastery of Iviron, cod. 1, which has been related to the Mesarites text by K. Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, M. M. Parris and A. P. Wikgren, eds., Chicago, 1950, p. 164, pl. xxii. Also illustrated in Kurt Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago, 1971, p. 260, fig. 249.

37. One of the most characteristic examples is a miniature in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 1242, which was written between 1371 and 1375 and contains the theological writings of John VI Cantacuzene. H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1929, p. 58, pl. cxxvi b.

38. The Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, proposed an origin in Asia Minor because of some similarities they thought to exist with the cave frescoes from Latmos. Yet this comparison does not seem to us to be convincing.

39. *Ibid.*, I, pls. 74-75; *ibid.*, II, pp. 88 ff. Weitzmann, "The Classical in Byzantine Art," p. 172, figs. 135-136. V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin, 1967, p. 205, fig. 332.

40. For the Greek inscription, see G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, for the Arabic, M. H. L. Rabino, *Le Monastère de Sainte-Catherine*, Cairo, 1938, pp. 59-60, p. 111, nos. 144, 146.

41. C. Drexler and T. Strommer, *Der Verduner Altar*, Vienna, 1903; F. Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar*, Vienna, 1955 (here further bibliography); *Der Meister des Dreikönigsschreins Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesan-Museum in Köln*, exhibition catalogue, Cologne, 1964, pp. 21 ff., no. 7, pls. 2-3.

42. Drexler and Strommer, *Der Verduner Altar*, p. 12, pl. 26; Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar*, p. 73, pl. 27; *Meister des Dreikönigsschreins*, fig. 3.

43. J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, *Die Aktdarstellung*

*in der Malerei vom Ausgang der Antike bis zum Ende des Romansichen Stils*, Strassburg, 1934, pp. 51 ff., pl. iii, 33-36.

44. See note 23.

45. E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece. Hosios Lucas and Daphni*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, pp. 67 ff., fig. 99.

46. Drexler and Strommer, *Der Verduner Altar*, p. 5, pl. 2; Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar*, fig. 2.

47. See p. 89 and note 20.

48. Drexler and Strommer, *Der Verduner Altar*, p. 16, pl. 42; Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar*, p. 81, pl. 43.

49. H. Swarzenski, *The Berthold Missal*, New York, 1943, pp. 41 ff., pl. xxviii, figs. 56-57; K. Hoffmann, *The Year 1200*, New York, 1970, I, p. 279, no. 275.

50. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, I, pl. 42; *ibid.*, II, pp. 58-59. Here dated in the eleventh century, in our opinion too early. The ivories quoted here as parallels (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die Byzant. Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1934, II, nos. 202 and 206) are much simpler in composition; and the figures of Castoria and Ohrid are themselves hardly to be dated before the twelfth century, the former not before the end of that century. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, p. 203, fig. 323.

51. C. Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1925-1928; P. Deschamps, "La sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie à l'époque des Croisades," *Monuments Piot*, XXXI, 1930, pp. 91 ff.; T. S. R. Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-1939, pp. 1 ff.

52. H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957.

53. K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963, pp. 179 ff. *Idem*, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XX, 1966, pp. 49 ff.

54. R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books*, Haarlem, 1963, pp. 73 ff., no. 7,

fig. 25 (here the older bibliography); Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," pp. 78 ff., fig. 62; F. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967, p. 138, pl. LIX, no. 230; Hoffmann, *The Year 1200*, I, p. 273, no. 268.

55. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, pp. 445 ff.

56. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," p. 80, fig. 64.

57. H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer*.

*Die Romanik*, Düsseldorf, 1959 (here the older bibliography); *Meister des Dreikönigsschreins*, pp. 15 ff., fig. 22.

58. See pp. 87, 93 and note 14.

59. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1897, p. 17.

60. H. Hunger, "Die byzantinische Literatur der Komnenenzeit. Versuch einer Neubewertung," *Österr. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Anzeiger der Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1968, pp. 59 ff.



FIG. 1 *Virgin with St. Felix and St. Adaeuctus, fresco, Commodilla Catacomb, Rome*

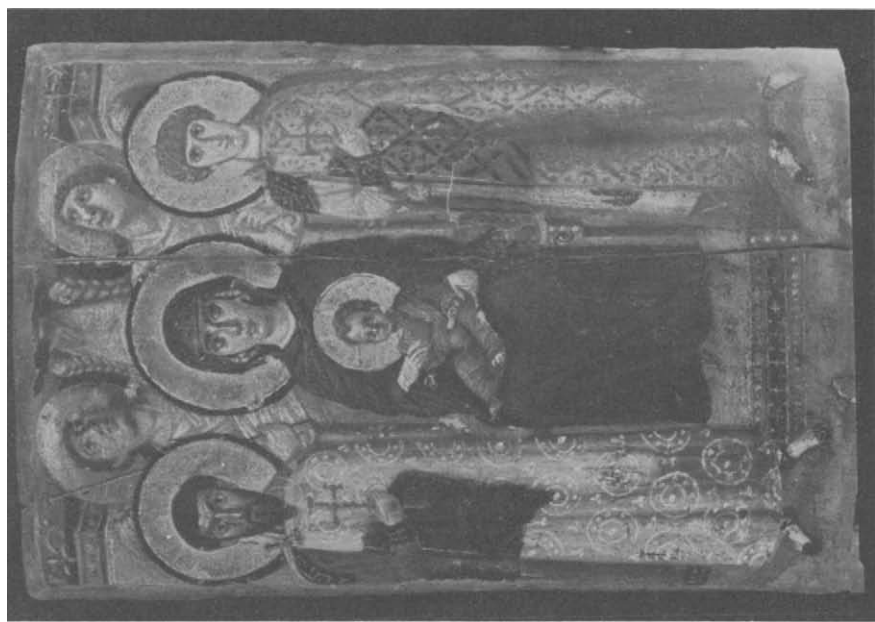


FIG. 2 *Virgin with St. Theodore and St. George, icon, Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*

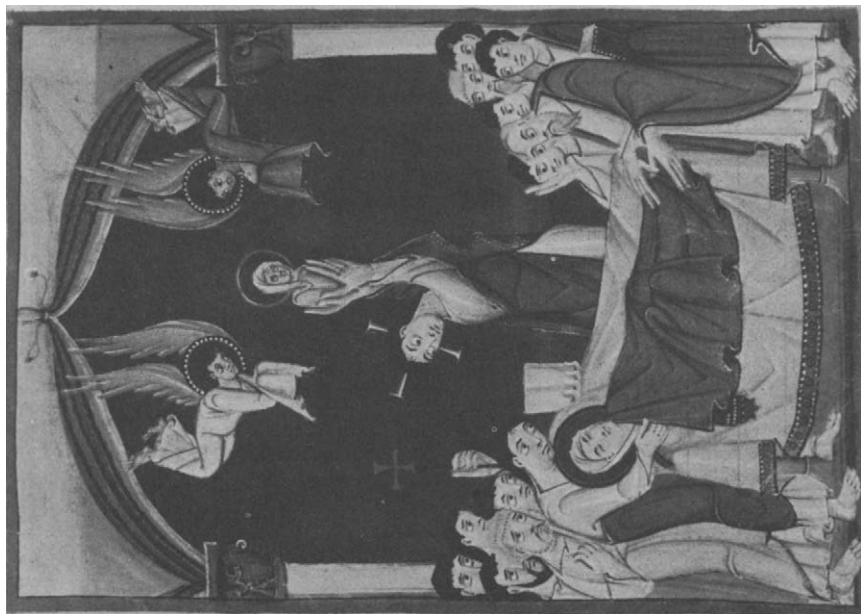


FIG. 3 Cod. 84. 5 Aug. Fol. fol. 79 v., *Death of the Virgin*,  
Wolfenbüttel



FIG. 4 Lectionary, fol. 134 v., *Death of the Virgin*, *Lavra, Skete-*  
*phylakion, Mt. Athos* (photo: Princeton expedition to Mount Athos)



FIG. 5 Cod. nouv. acq. lat. 2246, fol. 79 v., Pentecost,  
Bibliothèque Nationale (photo: Foto Marburg)

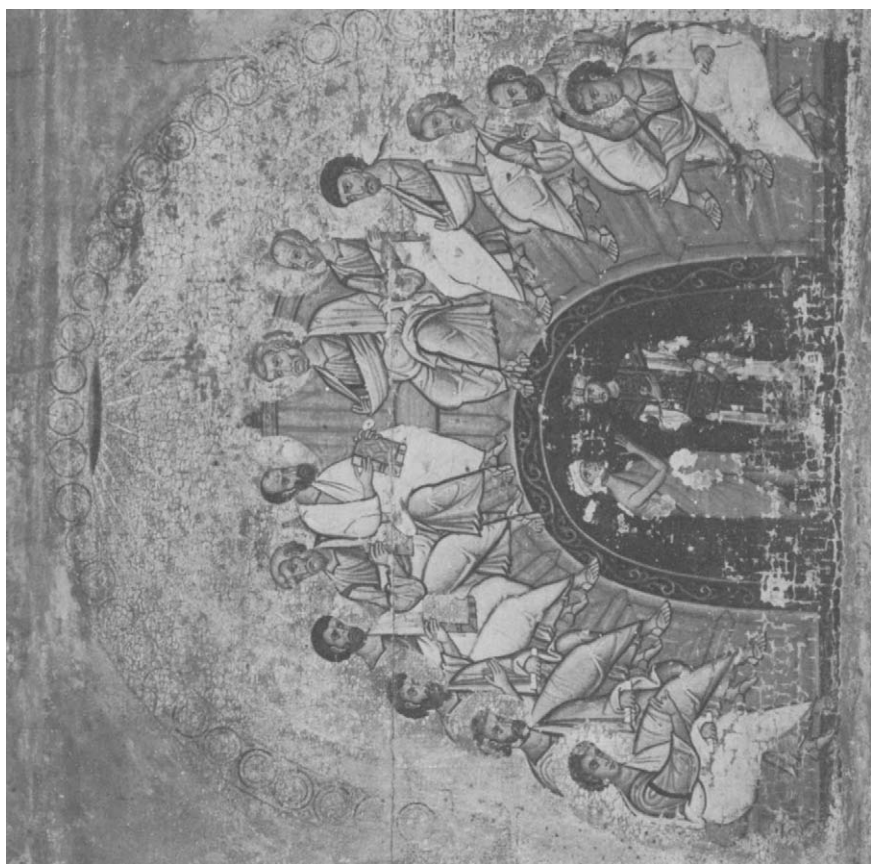


FIG. 6 Pentecost, detail from an iconostasis beam, Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-  
Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)



FIG. 7 Angel from the Liberation of Peter, detail from a mosaic,  
Capella Palatina, Palermo



FIG. 8 Angels from the Baptism of  
Christ, detail from a mosaic,  
Monreale, Cathedral





FIG. 9 Cod. Helmst. 65, fol. 22 v., Matthew, Wolfenbüttel  
(photo: Foto Marburg)

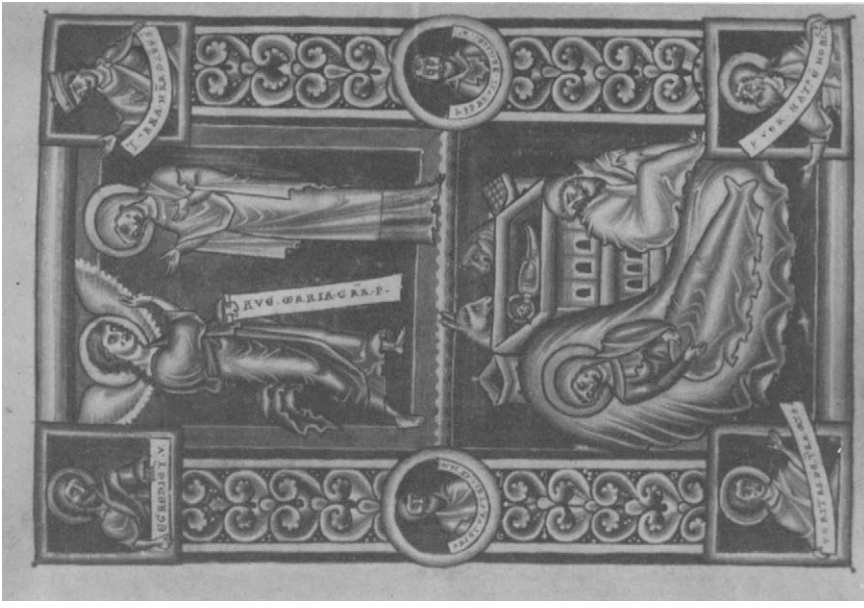


FIG. 10 Cod. Helmst. 65, fol. 10 v., Annunciation and  
Nativity, Wolfenbüttel (photo: Foto Marburg)



FIG. 11 *Angel of the Annunciation, fresco, Lagoudera (photo: Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus Museum)*



FIG. 12 *Annunciation, icon, Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Mitigang-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*



FIG. 13 *Presentation in the Temple, detail from iconostasis beam (No. II), Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*

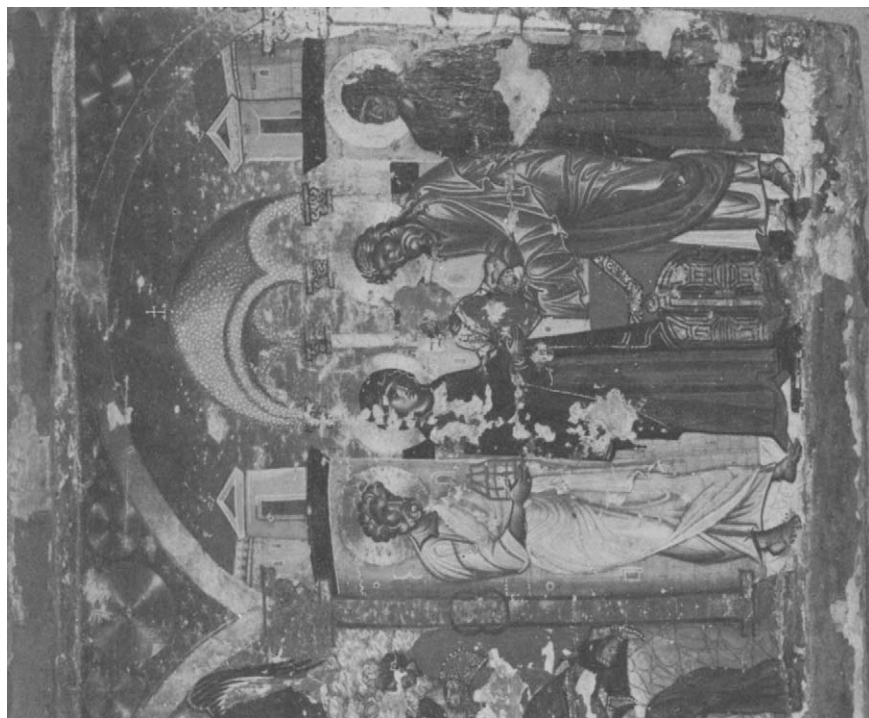


FIG. 14 *Presentation in the Temple, detail from iconostasis beam (No. I), Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*



FIG. 15 *Ascension, detail from iconostasis beam (No. II), Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*



FIG. 16 *Nativity, detail from iconostasis beam (No. II), Sinai (photo : Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*



FIG. 17 *Nativity, detail from iconostasis beam (No. I), Sinai (photo : Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*

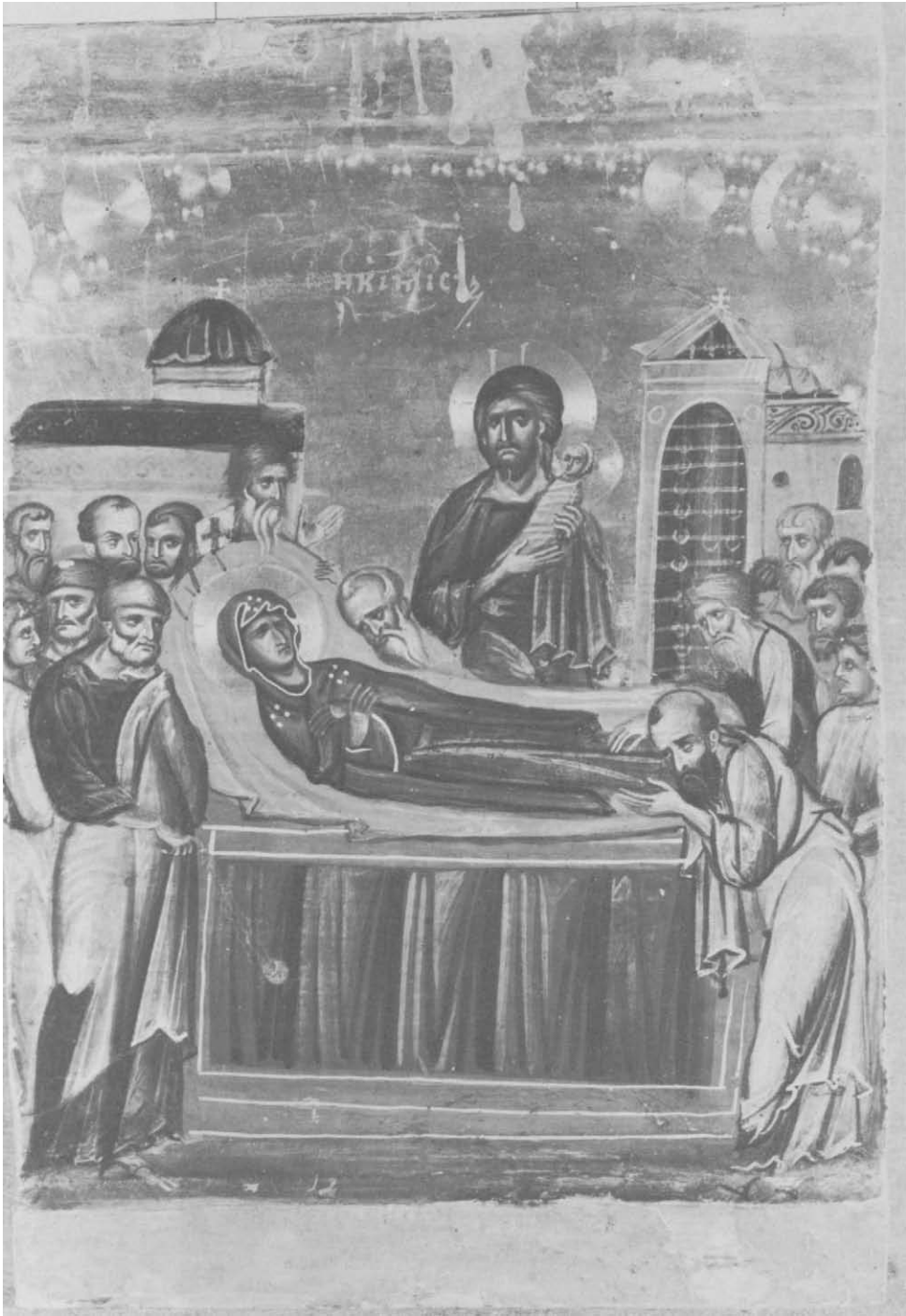


FIG. 18 *Death of the Virgin, detail from iconostasis beam (No. II), Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*





FIG. 19 Raising of Lazarus, detail from iconostasis beam (No. III), Sinai  
(photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)

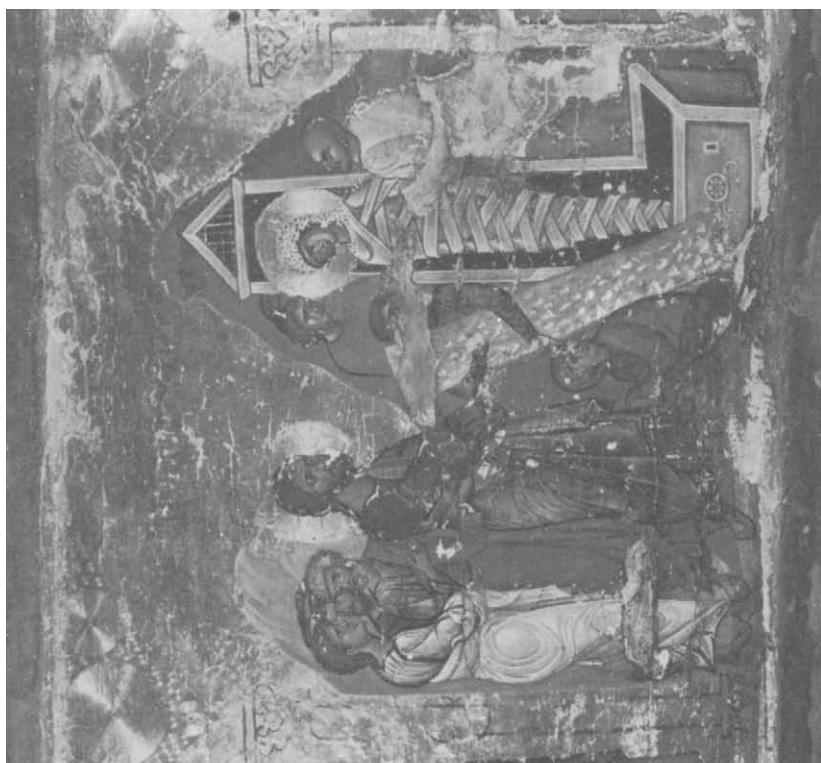


FIG. 20 Raising of Lazarus, detail from iconostasis beam (No. I), Sinai  
(photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)



FIG. 21 Baptism, detail from iconostasis beam (No. III), Sinai  
(photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)

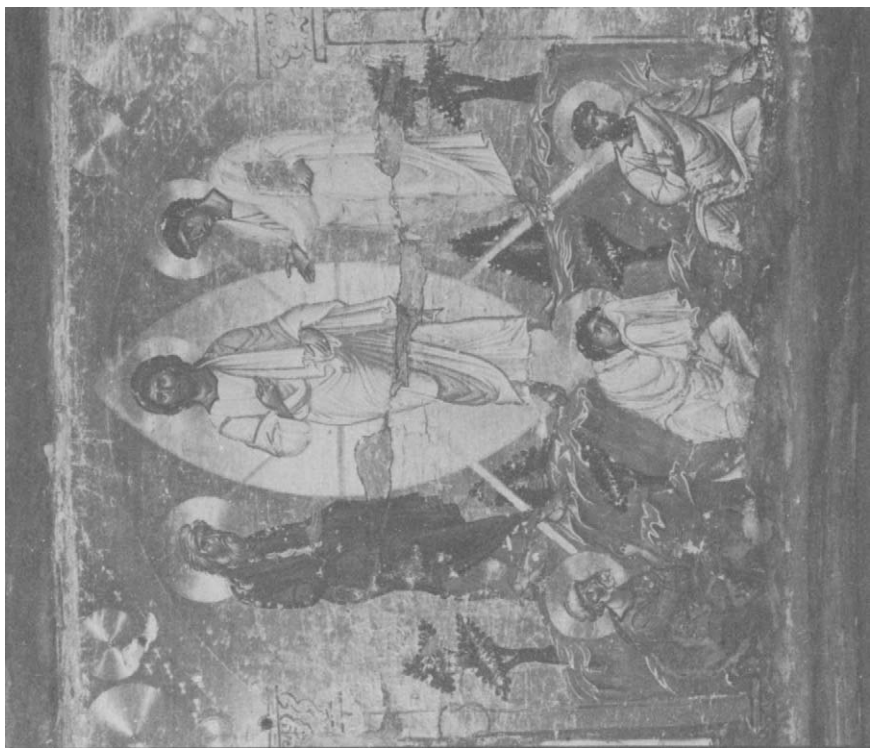


FIG. 22 Baptism, detail from iconostasis beam (No. I), Sinai (photo:  
Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)





**FIG. 23** *Metamorphosis, detail from iconostasis beam (No. III), Sinai*  
(photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)



**FIG. 24** *Metamorphosis, detail from iconostasis beam (No. I), Sinai* (photo:  
Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)

LEFT:

FIG. 25 Elijah and the raven, icon, Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)

FIG. 26 Moses receiving the tablets, icon, Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)





FIG. 27 Crucifixion, altar by Nicholas of Verdun, Klosterneuburg



FIG. 28 Crucifixion, detail from iconostasis beam (No. II), Sinai  
(photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)

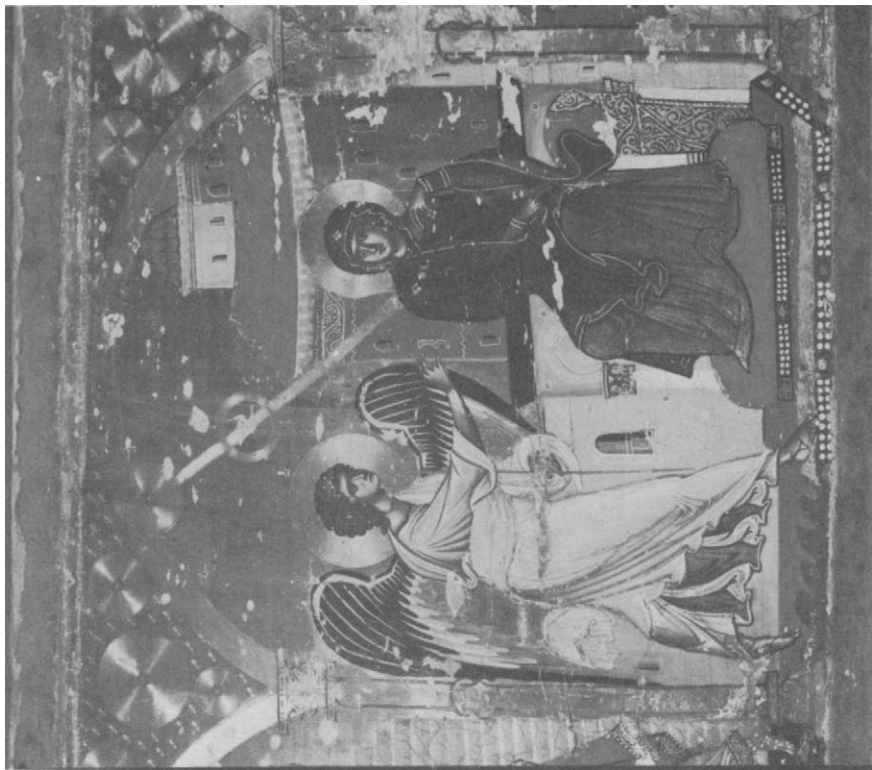


FIG. 30 *Annunciation, detail from iconostasis beam (No. 1), Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigen-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*



FIG. 29 *Annunciation, altar by Nicholas of Verdun, Klosterneuburg*



FIG. 31 Ascension of Elijah, altar by Nicholas of Verdun, Klosterneuburg



FIG. 32 Angel of Annunciation, icon (detail of Fig. 12), Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)



FIG. 33 Cod. 710, fol. 107 r., *Death of the Virgin, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York*



FIG. 34 *Death of the Virgin, icon, Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*



FIG. 35 Christ and  
Zacchaeus and rider  
saints, leaf of a  
model-book, Augustiner  
Museum, Freiburg



FIG. 36 St. Theodore and St. George, icon, Sinai (photo:  
Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount  
Sinai)



**FIG. 37** *Elijah, icon (detail of Fig. 25), Sinai (photo: Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai)*



**FIG. 38** *Obadiah, Three Magi Shrine, Cologne Cathedral (photo: Foto Marburg)*





# European Wall Painting around 1200

Around 1200 wall painting was a dead form of art in the greater part of Europe. Not, however, in the whole of Europe. In Italy for instance, or in the alpine countries and Germany—southern and central Europe, in fact—wall painting was still one of the leading arts throughout the entire thirteenth century and, as far as Italy is concerned, much longer. Those were, of course, the countries in which the influence of Byzantine art reigned supreme long after 1200, while in the northwestern part of Europe, which saw the rise of the Gothic in the second half of the twelfth century, wall painting was in full retreat at the turn of the century. Without simplifying matters too much, one might say that in the critical period Europe was divided into three parts as far as wall painting is concerned: namely, a southeastern, solidly Byzantine, part; a central, “Romanesque,” part, east of a line that runs from the lower Rhine southward; and a western, Gothic, part, west of this line.

Before dealing with the wall paintings of the “Romanesque” and the “Gothic” parts of Europe—the Byzantine part does not concern us here—I should like to eliminate some monuments that have been wrongly attributed to the period around 1200, and others that, though actually dating from these years, do not seem to contribute much to our quest for the role of wall painting at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. To the first group belongs, for instance, the fresco decoration of the interior of Sant’ Angelo in Formis, for which a date in the early thirteenth century has been claimed for historical reasons. I do not believe that many scholars nowadays agree with this highly involved hypothesis (which, in a more primitive manner, had already been advanced by Marignan, sixty years ago). I am convinced that these frescoes really are what they claim to be, namely works commissioned by Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino in

the last quarter of the eleventh century. There are, on the other hand, a good many wall paintings which, to my mind, should be dated around 1200 but which are so archaic—like the frescoes of the Cappella di Sant' Eldrado at Novalesa in northwestern Italy, for which a date at the end of the eleventh century has also been proposed by some authors, wrongly I believe—or which are so provincial, like the remnants of a Last Judgment above the entrance to Santi Felice e Fortunato in Vicenza, that they would only falsify the overall picture were they to be included in this survey. And there are, finally, paintings of the period under review that are very interesting but that seem to me to be in a class by themselves and not subject to the general trends of the development during the critical time. I am referring to a certain kind of secular painting and to those parts of church decorations that do not belong to the ecclesiastic program proper. The monsters depicted on the dado of St. Jacob of Tramin, in South Tyrol, for instance, will greatly interest the historian of culture and even the historian of taste, but they do not yield much for the historian of art in general or of style in particular. Another kind of secular art, namely the aristocratic kind, does not seem to have played an important part in the evolution of Romanesque painting either—it is only in later periods that it became an essential element of the development. It is also true that we have neglected the study of this art so much that we are not able to interpret some of its most interesting productions, such as the socle paintings in the crypt of Aquileja or the frescoes in the Torre San Zeno in Verona (Fig. 1).

But even if we understood the meaning of these paintings better than we actually do, it would not do away with the fact that they are in a class by themselves: so much so that it is difficult to realize that the fierce animals of Arlanza (in The Cloisters) (Fig. 2) were painted, most probably, by the same hand as the almost classical frescoes of Sigena, namely by an English painter from Winchester (Fig. 3). I shall therefore exclude from this survey works of this feudal kind of wall painting and restrict myself, with a few but important exceptions, to "normal" ecclesiastic fresco decorations. I shall be dealing with Italy first.

In 1200, Italy belonged to the conservative part of Europe, at least in its architecture and wall painting. The links with Byzantine art had become especially strong during the latter part of the twelfth century. The frescoes of the west porch of Sant' Angelo in Formis, for instance, might be the work of a somewhat Italianized Greek painter or of a Byzantinized Italian artist, and the painter of the Passion cycle in the crypt of Aquileja must have learned his craft in the Byzantine atmosphere of Venice. Thus, they do not really belong to the history of Romanesque art. However, wall painters were in great demand throughout the country—for old and new buildings

alike. In some regions very old traditions remained in force right into the thirteenth century—especially in Rome, where Early Christian schemes of apse decorations were used as late as ca. 1215 in San Silvestro at Tivoli, for instance. A similar *traditio* scheme is to be found, three hundred fifty miles farther north, in one of the side apses of Hocheppan in South Tyrol (Fig. 4), a decoration also to be dated around 1200. Not only the semidomes were treated in this traditional way; the cylinder walls of apses also conformed to time-honored schemes, for instance, the *apostolado*, or the row of prophets. Examples can be found in the south as well as in the north of Italy. Even the tradition of great narrative cycles remained unbroken. Thus, the time around 1200 can hardly be called a critical period for Italian wall painting. The traditional development was not affected by any kind of revolution. Most important, there were still apses and walls to be decorated, and they were decorated in the time-honored manner.

Quite the opposite is true of the northwest. The steady and ever more rapid growth of the Gothic in the second half of the twelfth century was fast doing away with both apses and walls. In a French cathedral of the late twelfth century there was hardly any space left to place wall paintings—quite apart from the fact that they would have looked entirely out of place in the dynamic and rhythmic movement of plastic forms that constitute a Gothic interior. The only large flat surfaces in these interiors are the windows, filled with the creations of the new art which in the northwest actually took the place of wall painting. Smaller surfaces, like the spandrels remaining on either side of pointed arches, might be filled with single figures—angels, saints, etc.,—but these figures were almost drowned in the colorful rhythm of Gothic architecture. Stained glass and plastically articulated architectural forms between them ousted wall painting as an independent art form in the northwest.

It is not unlikely that artists of the younger generation frequently went over to the new, rising disciplines, especially to stained glass. Others may have emigrated to more conservative regions, to Germany for instance, where Flemish and French painters may have found fields of activity in buildings that still had walls to be decorated. We know of one emigrant painter from an inscription in Brunswick Cathedral, Johannes Waele, or Gallicus, who was active at a later period, the thirties and forties of the thirteenth century—but there may have been earlier cases of emigration. At home, the redecoration of older Romanesque churches continued to offer certain opportunities to wall painters, especially in provincial backwaters. In most cases, however, these opportunities seem to have been as limited as the talents of the painters who had to be content with them. And even better artists, like the head of the workshop that was active in St.-Aignan-sur-Cher

and in Ébreuil-sur-Allier (Fig. 5), seem to have lost heart toward the end of the century. The earlier work in St.-Aignan is still fairly robust, firmly drawn, and energetically colored, while the figures in the later wall paintings of Ébreuil seem to exist in a rarefied atmosphere; they are part and parcel of refined patterns reminiscent of nothing as much as of Art Nouveau.

The Ébreuil painter was probably an old man; the same is most certainly true of the artist who painted the frescoes of the Chapelle du Liget in Chemillé-sur-Indrois (Fig. 6). He too worked about the turn of the century, and his work is even more lifeless than that of his contemporary in Ébreuil. He must have belonged to the old school: while using a Byzantine compositional scheme for his Death of the Virgin, he followed a very archaic style, with outmoded types and a dried-up system of modeling, that is still early Romanesque.

Looking at works like these one has the feeling that wall painting was indeed a dying art in an otherwise avant-garde country.

In the more active centers the technique was precariously kept alive by imitating the effects and borrowing the means of other art forms. Painted "windows" (in fresco), as in Limoges Cathedral with their downright mimicry of stained glass, belong, in the main, to a later period; but earlier works, like the vault frescoes of Petit-Quevilly (Fig. 7), show that even in the twelfth century wall painters borrowed from other techniques, mainly from book illumination. In either case, the grand, heroic manner of wall painting has disappeared: frescoes have dwindled in size and content. Stories are not really told, anymore, in rows of pictures, but only alluded to in compositions that are reduced to a very few figures. The inner structure of such decorations is more akin (iconographically) to the sculptural decor of Gothic façades with their loosely connected statues and small reliefs than to the consistent and coherent systems of Romanesque wall painting.

As to their style, the paintings of Petit-Quevilly are so near to book illuminations that they can be regarded, in all probability, as the work of a miniature painter. He treated the vaults like the margins of a manuscript, to be decorated with scrolls and initials inhabited by tiny figures. The newly discovered Descent from the Cross and the Burial of Christ in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre of Winchester Cathedral exhibit the same typical qualities of miniature painting: the small scale, the neatly arranged compositions, and the calligraphic play of lines.

Panel painters too seem to have invaded the thinned-out ranks of wall painters. As an example I should like to mention the Catalan Master of Llussà, of the early thirteenth century. His panels are much more convincing, more tightly drawn, and more firmly modeled than his frescoes (in Puigreig, for instance), which look like weak imitations of panel paintings,

with heavy shapes substituted for the firmly defined forms of the frontals. Other cases are more complicated. Certain artists around 1200 attempted to inject new life into wall painting by applying the methods and using the effects of other techniques, as in St.-Jacques-des-Guérets (Fig. 8) where the effects of Limoges enamel are imitated in an exceedingly clever manner, including the rendering of cloisons and of *changeant* colors in gradual transitions. Another, even more sophisticated, work of this kind is the great lunette fresco in the Salle des Morts, the former chapter house of Le Puy Cathedral, representing the Crucifixion (Fig. 9). The golden and copper-colored figures are attached to an enamel blue ground, which is studded with golden bosses and framed with hammered golden borders. The effect is one of goldsmith's work. The artist evokes not a scene but depicts a cleverly wrought image, transposing one art form into another, playing with their complicated interrelations. I do not think it necessary to assume that the painter of the Le Puy fresco was actually a goldsmith; he was most probably a wall painter, but one who believed or felt that wall painting had lost its specific language and who therefore borrowed from other techniques.

From all this, it would seem that wall painting in the West had lost, around 1200, its most important quality, its monumentality. Had the West really nothing to oppose to the simple and, as one might call it, gay grandeur of an apse composition like that of Hocheppan in South Tyrol (Fig. 10)? Had Western wall painting completely lost this sureness of touch, this capability of producing a perfect harmony of color and shape that had the power to dominate an entire interior and, at the same time, to produce the impression of having grown there by itself? A search for works of this kind in France produces very little indeed. The Christ in Majesty in St.-Aignan-sur-Cher (Fig. 11), a rather archaizing work of the late twelfth century, looks timid and has no monumental greatness. The secondary figures are squeezed in somehow; they have no room and are not related to the space they decorate. The forms are not at all firmly anchored in spite of the tightness of the frames; the entire complex is loosely thrown together. There are very few exceptions. Perhaps the most impressive is the Majesty in the former chapter house of Lavaudieu in the Auvergne (Fig. 12)—one of the parts of France subject to strong Byzantine influences, whether transmitted through Italy, especially Sicily (as, perhaps, in Payerne, and toward the middle of the century in Le Puy), or through crusading art—the art of La France d'Outremer—which seems to have been the case in Lavaudieu. A specifically Western form of monumentality seems to have grown out of these Byzantinizing forerunners a good deal later, in the second half of the thirteenth century only. The grandeur of such already Gothic works, of about 1250 and after, corresponds to a style that is to be found in goldsmith's work as early as 1181

in the Klosterneuburg ambo of Nicholas of Verdun. It does not seem likely that the classical wet-fold drapery style of Nicholas had originated in monumental painting or even that it had developed in monumental painting parallel to book illumination, goldsmith's work, and sculpture. As far as the preserved wall paintings allow any definite statement, the style entered wall painting comparatively late, later than the other arts, not excluding stained glass.

No direct line of filiation seems to lead to this early Gothic, classical style from the stern late Romanesque grandeur as we find it in Lavaudieu. The main development appears to have taken an entirely different turn, enriching and dissolving the grand design and supplanting the tension of its linear structure by playful and vivid patterns, elegant undulations, and feminine, even modish, refinements. A comparison of two enthroned Virgins, one in Lavaudieu and the other in Montmorillon (Fig. 13), shows that the painter who produced the latter, in one of the most enchanting wall paintings of the entire Middle Ages, must have known figural schemes like those of Lavaudieu. The drapery arrangement of the garment of the Virgin, especially the design around the knees and down the legs, is sufficiently similar to appear as an elaboration of the drapery scheme of Lavaudieu. But this is where the similarity ends. The curves have taken on an entirely different swing, a dynamic fluidity—and all the rest of the drapery is a mass of ornamental fringes and frills. This is certainly not a style that could be regarded as leading toward the classical drapery style; the evolutionary line to which Montmorillon belongs leads in a diametrically opposite direction, away from early Gothic classicism and toward a late Romanesque mannerism.

This mannerist current of the late Romanesque development had many different branches. Side by side with the flowing elegance, the lyrical sweetness, and the feminine grace of Montmorillon—so characteristic of the region between Poitiers and Limoges—we find the spiky, obstinate forms of Rocamadour (Fig. 14), an extreme product of the eccentric south, not very far from Moissac. One feels the inherent affinity across the gulf of three generations. The common denominator of these and other branches of the manneristic current seems to be an almost conscious aversion to, and an evasion of, early Gothic classicism. Everything seems to have been welcome that led away from the structural simplicity and clarity that are the most important qualities of the new art. It is as if the Romanesque, before succumbing to the early Gothic, had fought innumerable rearguard actions, skirmishing and retreating, evading the enemy along devious routes, and entrenching itself in inaccessible terrain.

One of the most inaccessible regions for the progress of the new art was central and eastern Germany. There we can hardly speak of a rearguard

action; what happened there was a counteroffensive. The zigzag style frescoes of Goess in Styria (Fig. 15) are, of course, considerably later than the chronological frame set for this paper. But the fact that the zigzag style was still going strong in about 1280, the date of the Goess frescoes, lends added weight to their testimony. The really interesting question about the zigzag style is not the date of its earliest appearance, but that of its latest occurrence; not really the problem of its origin, but that of its survival. The fact that it was able to hold out almost to the end of the thirteenth century, at least in certain parts of Germany and the alpine countries, shows the immense strength of the opposition against the classicism of the "style 1200," an opposition tainted, at times, with Teutonic hysteria but nevertheless showing an imposing strength. The most disparate ingredients went into the shaping of this style: Carolingian, Anglo-Saxon, Byzantine, and north Italian elements were blended together to produce this most intriguing phenomenon.

It is not easy to say exactly when this style originated; it depends on whether we regard the Helmarshausen manuscript, Wolfenbüttel, Helmstadenensis 65, of 1195, as a forerunner or as a representative of the zigzag style proper. There is, however, no doubt whatsoever that the style was fully developed soon after 1210, the date of the Psalter of Hermann of Thuringia in Stuttgart (Fig. 16), and there is little doubt that the early development took place mainly in the realm of book illumination, most probably in Saxony. By about 1240 it had spread over the whole of Germany and most of the alpine regions. Now, at what time did the zigzag style appear in monumental painting, and which part, if any, did monumental painting play in its development? Or was the zigzag style a pure manuscript style to be employed only later, as a fully developed idiom in monumental painting? The fact that the zigzag style found its most consistent—which means, its most absurd—development in monumental painting (the destroyed frescoes in Goslar were the most extreme products of the style, while St. Gereon in Cologne, of about 1240, and Gurk in Carinthia, after 1250, show forms that are complicated enough) should warn us not to be too quick in deciding that monumental painting had nothing at all to do with the development of this style. In addition, we have wall paintings of about 1200 that show definite zigzag tendencies. The flying folds and the seams of the green upper garment of the angel in the Annunciation of Hocheppan in South Tyrol (Fig. 17) are capricious enough to make the fresco an interesting parallel to the Saxon manuscripts of the early thirteenth century. Both the fresco and the manuscripts are at least kindred phenomena within the great international current of agitated mannerism that swept through Eastern and Western painting, from Cyprus to Russia and from Macedonia to France.



However, the relationship between Hocheppan and the central works of the German zigzag style is more specific than is inherent in this general mannerist trend. It may help in specifying this relationship to point to a possible common source. It has often been observed that the standing figures on the calendar pages of the Landgrafen Psalter (Fig. 16) are presented in an astonishingly monumental manner: they take up the entire height of the page, and their outsize scale is further emphasized by the tiny figures above, which illustrate the calendar proper. This impressive way of rendering single standing figures certainly did not develop in miniature painting—it bears the unmistakable stamp of monumental art, not of sculpture, but of wall painting or mosaic. The prototypes of these figures must have been works like the mosaic panels of prophets, Christ, and the Virgin on the side walls of the western cross arm of San Marco in Venice (Fig. 18); works that were among the latest additions to the mosaic decoration of the interior of the great church. As their date is the second decade of the thirteenth century, these mosaics may not have been the direct models, but mosaics or paintings very similar to these must have been instrumental in shaping the monumental figures of the Saxon manuscripts.

Of course, these Venetian figures cannot be called Byzantine by any stretch of terminology. There are so many Western ingredients in this art that the Byzantine elements are almost smothered. Some of the backgrounds are derived from French illumination, or stained glass, or enamelwork. Stained glass may also have been the model for the exceptional coloristic treatment, as seen in the green mantle of the Virgin. Some of the faces, especially the heart-shaped face of the youthful Christ, are also early Gothic rather than Byzantine; close parallels can be found in Nicholas of Verdun's enamels of the Klosterneuburg ambo (Fig. 19). The Venetian mosaicist must have used models of this kind. It is just this mixture of Western, Italian, and Byzantine elements that makes these figures so thoroughly Venetian; Venetian also is the synthesis of the monumental and the precious, of structural firmness and textural wealth.

The north was only too ready to copy this Venetian synthesis. There is a string of wall paintings of this period along the roads across the Alps that testify to the eagerness with which this new synthesis was accepted and propagated. To these monuments belong the frescoes of St. John in Taufers (Tubre, in South Tyrol), the heads, the expressive, and, at the same time, calligraphic lineaments of which seem to stand midway between the Venetian prophets and the Thuringian apostles, and the wall paintings of the Church of Our Lady in Brixen (Bressanone, also in South Tyrol), sparse remnants of an originally very large and complicated decoration. The figures and half-figures of prophets, sibyls, and allegories, although firmly

Romanesque in structure, show the beginnings of that capricious design of the drapery (especially on the arms and shoulders) which may be regarded as a prenatal stage of the zigzag style. A parallel stage can be seen in rustic wall paintings of the Alps, like those of Maria Pfarr in the Austrian Lungau. In analyzing the ductus of the lineament one realizes that the zigzag element is here something superficial and external, added like a flourish to an entirely different Romanesque design. The region where these wall paintings have come to light belongs to Salzburg; and it is only to be expected that the zigzag style was not very popular in that center of classical Romanesque. The dominant forms that we find there in the first quarter of the thirteenth century represent the organic continuation of the classical Romanesque at a time when that style was already out of date. This is why Salzburg frescoes of the early thirteenth century look so outmoded, so provincial, so heavy. Their style has rightly been called the "heavy style." From Salzburg itself, where we find it in St. Peter's—a wall painting of St. Mary Magdalene with a donor (Fig. 20), on one of the pillars of the great abbey church—it spread to other alpine and central European regions, Carinthia, for instance, and Bohemia, where we find a number of wall paintings of this kind, e.g., in the church of St. Clement in Stara Boleslav.

However, the heavy style was only a provincial sideline. The most effective opposition to the zigzag style came from a different quarter, namely from a renewed contact with classical antiquity. If I were speaking about sculpture, goldsmith's work, or book illumination, I should have to say that this latter current was the only "modern" one, the only one that really mattered. In monumental painting it was only one of several.

As regards wall painting, this current had several sources. One of them, the Byzantine one, tapped mostly in Sicily, does not concern us in this paper. Its effects can be seen in Sigena (Fig. 3), for instance, in the work of an English painter (originally a book illuminator) from Winchester, who must have studied the Sicilian mosaics, especially those of Monreale, before he landed in Spain. These wall paintings, of the former chapter house, of which only bleached remnants survived a fire during the Spanish Civil War, are exceptional (because of their high quality) and isolated works. Had they been painted not *in partibus infidelium* but, say, in northern France, they might have had a deep and widespread influence. In Spain they produced only a very provincial progeny: in the parish church of Sigena itself, in Artaiz and Artajona, and in book illumination.

Another branch of the Renaissance current had its source in Rome—not in classical, pagan Rome, however, but in the Early Christian decorations of the great basilicas of the fourth and fifth centuries. It was a real revival, the effects of which have so far been studied more in their iconographic than

in their stylistic aspects. To be sure, the revival of a detailed Early Christian narrative cycle of Old Testament scenes, as it appears in a number of Roman churches but also in Umbria—e.g., in Ferentillo (Fig. 21), of about 1200—was important enough in itself, but the style of these frescoes seems to me more important still. There is a grandeur about figures such as Noah receiving the order to build the Ark that is unparalleled in earlier Romanesque painting—a monumental grandeur which makes itself felt even in the work of a rather weak artist. The figure fills the entire frame with its energetic stride, the wind-blown mantle spreading out behind. Every curving line enhances this movement; there is no linear play for its own sake as in the mannerist works of the late twelfth century.

Impressive though this Roman revival is, it did not spread far from its source. I do not think that any effects or even faint echoes of this movement can be found outside central Italy. But Roman art seems never to have been expansive in the Middle Ages, at least not until the end of the thirteenth century.

Turning south in search of wall paintings tinged with classical elements, we meet with a complete blank. Even later, in the first half of the thirteenth century, in the period that saw a classical revival in sculpture, the Friderician proto-Renaissance, there was no parallel movement in the realm of painting. It is, however, in northwestern Italy that we encounter a sort of classical revival, a movement that (with perhaps a little exaggeration) I have termed "Venetian proto-Renaissance." This movement took its cue from Early Christian art, as did the Roman one. Like all medieval *renovationes* the Venetian one was deeply influenced by political ideas. The new Venetian empire of the Levant, which was rigged up on the ruins of conquered Byzantium after the Fourth Crusade, needed the semblance of legitimacy; the upstart power had to be provided with a past, reaching back to the times of the state patron, St. Mark himself, in a seemingly unbroken continuity. The invention of suitable legends, the rewriting of Venetian history, the choice of an Early Christian ground plan for the state church and its decoration with original and imitated Early Christian works of art—all these were means of propaganda destined to give Venice the prestige of an Early Christian or even an apostolic origin.

The most important work that originated in Venice as an imitation of an Early Christian original is the mosaic decoration of the entrance hall of San Marco, depicting Old Testament scenes from the Creation (Fig. 22) through the story of Joseph. It is copied from a late fifth- or early sixth-century manuscript, a twin of the so-called Cotton Bible in the British Museum. While translating the miniatures into mosaic, surely the Venetian mosaicists must have been impressed by the Hellenistic elegance and the

painterly freedom of their prototypes. They produced a copy that was not only faithful but also intelligent and impressive. The question is, however, whether this object lesson in late antique illusionism had any effect at all on contemporary art. As far as I can see, there is very little of it to be found, especially in monumental painting. Some newly discovered Genesis frescoes in Innichen (San Candido) in South Tyrol are rather poor translations of Venetian prototypes into a simplified linear style. Generally speaking there existed neither an understanding nor a demand for painterly freedom or Hellenistic illusionism in European painting around 1200. What did count was an entirely different aspect of the classical heritage, namely its power of evoking sculptural qualities in painting, by the harmonious flow of form-designing lines. It is very likely that Venice played a not unimportant part in transmitting some stimuli in this direction. At least there are some wall paintings in the Venetian sphere of influence, in South Tyrol, that show this form-designing drapery style in various early stages of its development. The figure of Abraham urging on his son and his servant on the way to the sacrifice, in the church of Grissian (Fig. 23), is modeled with a certain precision by bundles of curving lines that envelop the entire figure. The garment seems to be stretched tightly across the plastically accentuated parts of the body and to hang down in slack folds and cascades where this tension is lacking. In other words, the garment begins to detach itself from the body while continuing to define it—more clearly and convincingly now than in earlier phases, when garment and body constituted a homogeneous entity. Of course, compared with classical art, the linear pattern is still a little obvious, and it is certainly less harmonious, less organic, and less classical than the draperies of Nicholas of Verdun.

A further and, as regards wall painting, final step seems to have been made in works like the carpets of Quedlinburg and Halberstadt and the wall paintings of Berghausen (Fig. 24). The latter, discovered and overpainted as late as 1936 and de-restored in 1960, are in a sorry state, but they can now be regarded as more or less authentic in relation to their general stylistic habitus; they show the flowing linear style in its classical phase. The movements of the figures (especially that of Moses, with the twelve rods signifying the twelve tribes) have a classical air; the energetic stride in contrapposto with the head turned back is an old Hellenistic motif. The drapery has a softly flowing quality that brings out the sculptural values of the body in movement, without overemphasizing any of the limbs. There is no more dividing up and parceling out of the body into several parts as was the rule in the twelfth century. The frescoes of Berghausen are not dated—but they must belong to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, probably to the latter part of the period. In the field of wall painting, they are more or less

isolated; the nearest iconographic and stylistic parallels are to be found in book illumination.

The Halberstadt carpet (Fig. 25), representing Charlemagne surrounded by four philosophers, shows its Renaissance character also in the choice of the motif. It seemed quite legitimate for the author of the first Western European renaissance to have been represented in the midst of philosophers in a period which in many ways exhibited similar tendencies. Like so many Carolingian works this "1200 style" carpet is a work of humanistic art—a work of a very modern current in contrast to the conservative current of aristocratic art I mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

Even more openly humanistic is the Quedlinburg carpet, now in the treasure of St. Servatius. Made, according to tradition, by the Abbess Agnes von Meissen, who died in 1203, as a gift for Pope Innocent III, it never reached him. At least as curious as the history of the carpet is its subject matter. It represents the marriage of Mercury and Philology, after the poem *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella, a kind of encyclopedia and, at the same time, an apotheosis of the seven liberal arts. This literary source of the fifth century is certainly a very pedantic work, but its revival around 1200 is fully characteristic of the humanist and classicist tendencies of the time. A comparison between the intellectual worlds of Agnes von Meissen and that of an abbess less than one generation older, namely Herrade of Landsberg, authoress of the completely Romanesque *Hortus Deliciarum*, would very well illustrate the profound differences between the two periods and currents. This goes for the style, too. The Quedlinburg and the Halberstadt carpets belong to the most modern, the most humanistic works of the period. They embody the new spirit of the age as impressively and as convincingly as only Nicholas and the Ingeborg Psalter do.

However, the two carpets are hangings and not wall paintings. Although they were composed for adorning a wall, they were not composed on a wall. Composition and single forms have more to do with, say, book illumination, than with wall painting. They belong, generally speaking, to the domain that seems to have attracted (or even produced) the greatest artists of the period in the West: the domain of the so-called applied arts, the minor arts, wrongly so called, which were the sphere of the designer who could work in various techniques and, very often, in many media: miniature painting, goldsmithery, stained glass, and textiles. As far as these artists worked with their hands, they worked with their fingers, from the wrist, and not from the elbow or the shoulder. But, in the main, they worked with their imagination, as designers. The one technique for which, or in which, this new type of artist, the humanistic lay artist and designer, does not seem to have worked, is wall painting—unless he was hard pressed like the English exile of Sigena.

Thus we find nothing in the realm of wall painting north of the Alps that could even remotely compete with the Klosterneuburg enamels or the miniatures of the Ingeborg Psalter. In the northwest, at least, wall painting was a dying art, for which the new, the modern type of professional artist had no use, and which had no part in the great revolutionary movement of 1200, the greatest revolution in art between the Carolingian period and the Renaissance.



FIG. 1 *Secular scene, Torre San Zeno, Verona*

FIG. 2 *Lion, detail of fresco from monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, Spain, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 31.38.1a*

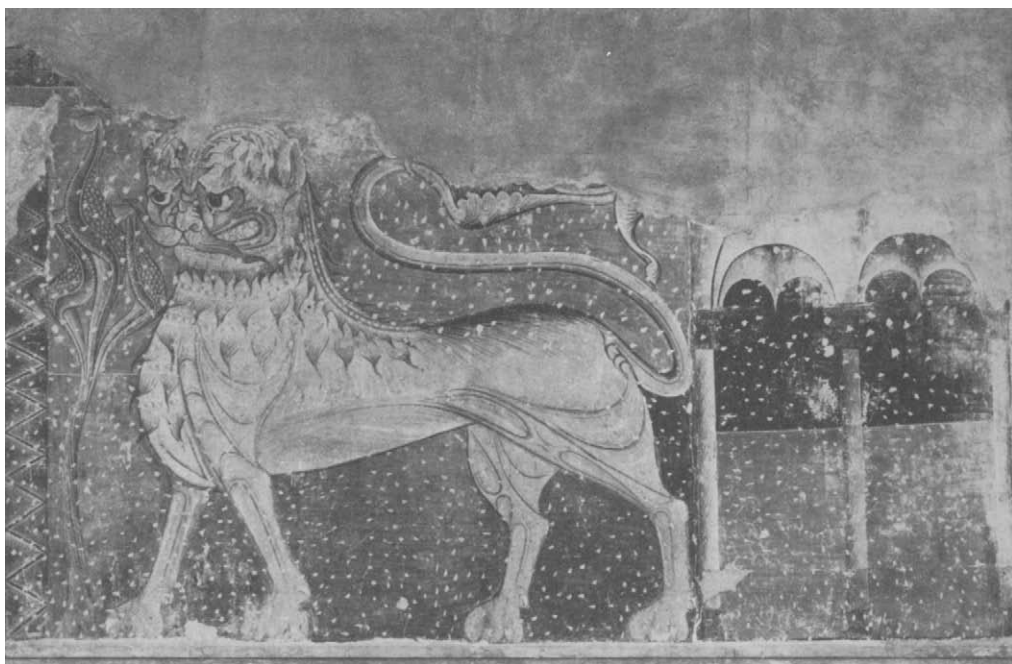




FIG. 3 *The Bath of the Newborn Christ, former chapter house, Sigena (photo: Mas)*

FIG. 4 *Traditio Legis, chapel, Castel Appiano (Hocheppan)*







FIG. 5 *Two saints, parish church, Ebreuil (photo: Service des Monuments)*

FIG. 6 *Death of the Virgin, chapelle du Liget, Chemillé-sur-Indrois (photo: Service des Monuments)*





FIG. 7 *Scenes from the Magi cycle, chapel, Petit-Quevilly (photo: Service des Monuments)*

FIG. 8 *Christ in Majesty, parish church, St.-Jacques-des-Guérets (photo: Service des Monuments)*



FIG. 9 *Crucifixion, detail, former chapter house Le Puy (photo: Service des Monuments)*





FIG. 10 *Virgin, chapel, Castel Appiano (Hocheppan)*

FIG. 11 *Christ in Majesty, parish church, St.-Aignan-sur-Cher (photo: Service des Monuments)*





FIG. 12 *Enthroned Virgin, former chapter house, Lavaudieu (photo: Service des Monuments)*



FIG. 13 *Enthroned Virgin, parish church, Montmorillon (photo: Service des Monuments)*



FIG. 14 *Annunciation, pilgrimage church, Rocamadour (photo: Service des Monuments)*



FIG . 15 *Incredulity of Thomas, Episcopal chapel, Goess (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)*



FIG . 16 *Psalter of Hermann of Thuringia (Landgrafen Psalter), calendar page*

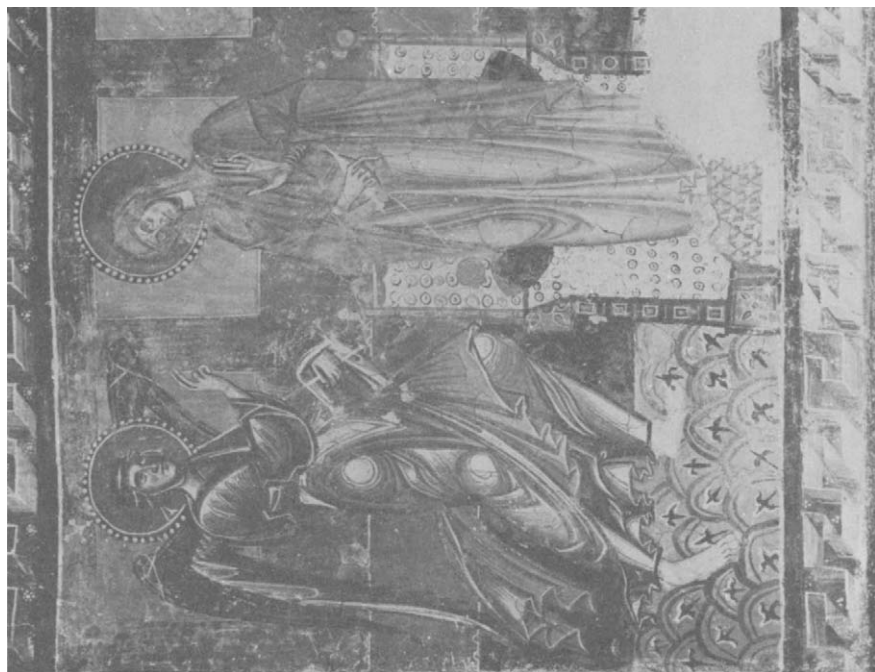


FIG. 17 Annunciation, chapel, Castel Appiano (Hocheppan)



FIG. 18 Christ, San Marco, Venice  
(photo : Fondazione Giorgio Cini)





FIG. 19 *Heavenly Jerusalem, detail, ambo, Klosterneuburg (photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Vienna)*

FIG. 20 *St. Magdalen, abbey church of St. Peter, Salzburg (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)*

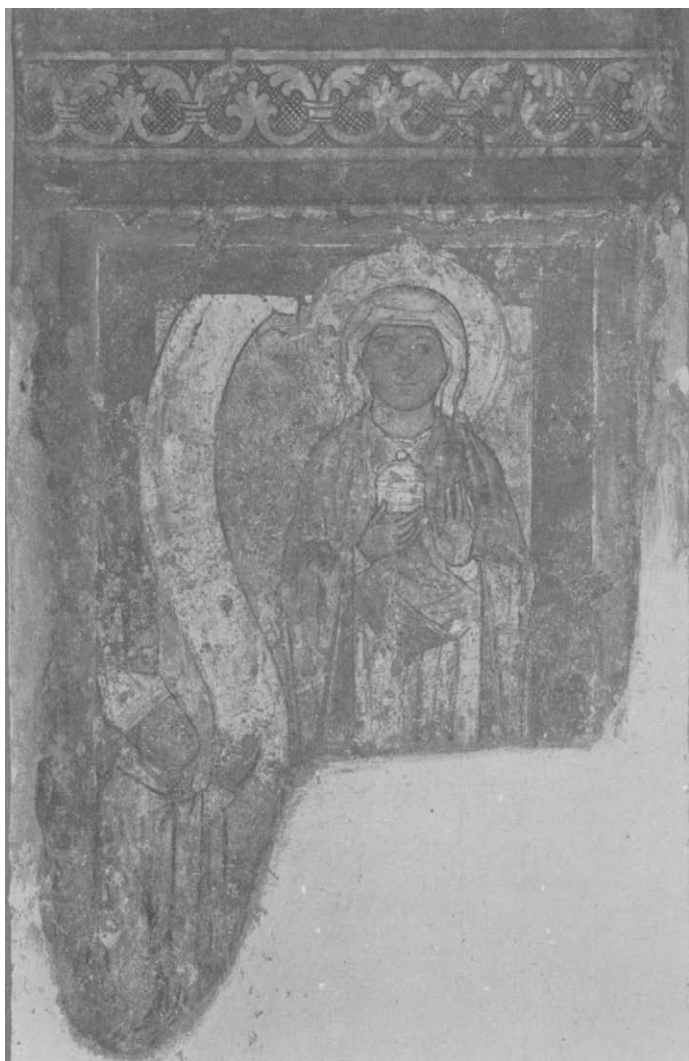




FIG. 21 *Noah, parish church, Ferentillo (photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv)*

FIG. 22 *The Story of Creation, San Marco, Venice*

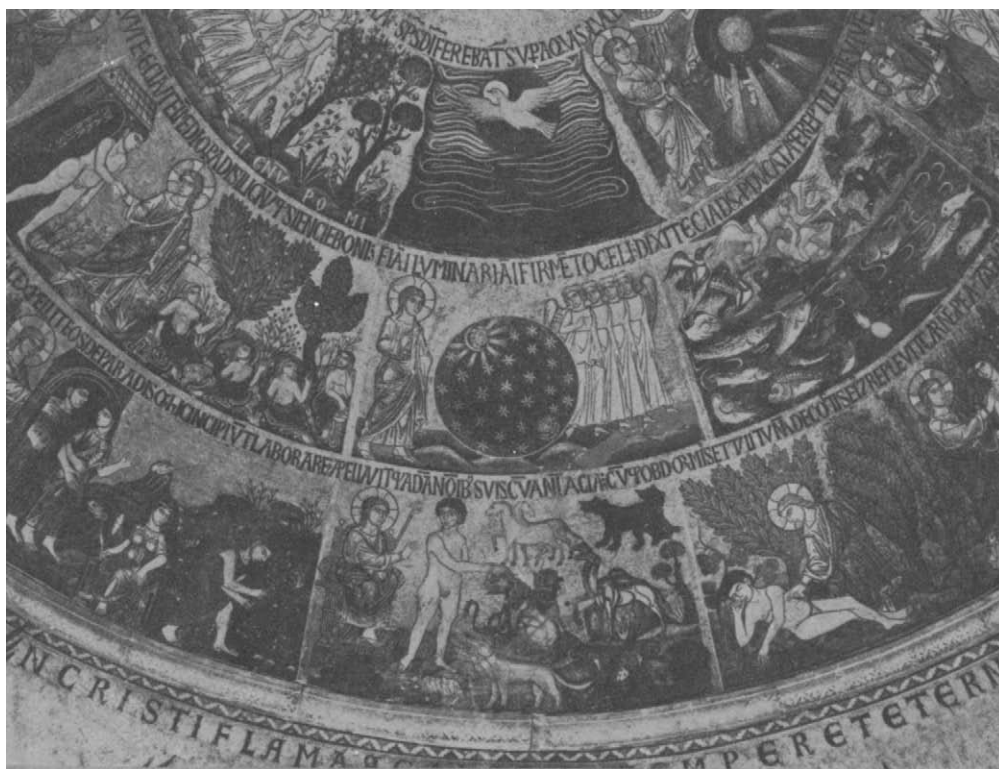






FIG. 23 *Abraham and Isaac, parish church, Grissian (photo: Soprintendenza di Trento)*

FIG. 24 *Moses, parish church, Berghausen*



FIG. 25 *Charlemagne, tapestry, Halberstadt Cathedral*



## The Theological Sources of the Klosterneuburg Altarpiece

The Klosterneuburg enamel altar, created by Nicholas of Verdun in 1181, is one of the most sublime works of the Middle Ages. Between the two ages of late Romanesque and early Gothic, Nicholas reconciled in his style all the endeavors of Western *champlevé* enamel. But having arrived at this high point, he turned away from the common Western enamel and adopted the reality of the engraved picture on blue ground, in order to express his dynamic style with his specific graphic means. Only in this technique was he able to express his stylistic changes under the influence of Byzantine and antique art.

The work of Nicholas marks the end and the climax of a stylistic development of Mosan and northern French enameled church furniture with typological scenes, which have links to England and to the Rhineland, but were usually found as smaller articles of export throughout medieval Europe. Because of its monumental size, the altarpiece cannot be classified in this group of transportable objects, and thus the question arises: why did the founder, Prior Werner, commission a craftsman from faraway Lorraine—in spite of nearby Italy—to create in the southeast of the German empire a genuinely Mosan French work of art? In a manner extraordinary for the Middle Ages, the altarpiece of Klosterneuburg so thoroughly merges a basic theological idea, a political claim, and a high artistic execution, that the genius of Nicholas alone cannot explain the whole work of art.

If we search long enough among the widely scattered works of enamel, it is difficult to find more than a very few iconographic and stylistic models of Nicholas' masterpiece (Figs. 1, 2). By comparing them, we realize the uniqueness of his art in contrast to the development of the Mosan style. The student of the Middle Ages faces, however, the specific problem of establishing the sources of influence that caused the change in his style. Today,

the research carried out by Kitzinger and Demus<sup>1</sup> has revealed that the artist was influenced by Byzantine monumental art of about 1140 to 1180 (Figs. 3, 4). The Byzantine style defined and developed in Palatina and Monreale stands in the background of Nicholas' work on the altarpiece. This specific style was cultivated at Klosterneuburg. Several conditions influenced and supported its refinement, and the new influences from Byzantine art became more and more pronounced as the creation of the altarpiece progressed from left to right. The artist demanded two journeys to the East; one before work began, and the other during the work itself. It should be recalled, too, that in the second half of the twelfth century the Hungarian Esztergom—not far from Klosterneuburg—constituted a melting pot favorably blending Byzantine and French elements, mainly of Hainaut style.

The historical background for this fortunate coincidence is that King Bela III (1173–1196), the rejected adopted son of Emperor Manuel Komnenos, symbolized his claim to the throne by copying Byzantine works of art. At the same time, he opened the border of his country to Western influences by his marriage with Marguerite Capet, the daughter of King Louis VII. Bela called to his country many Cistercians and Premonstratensians, and it is not surprising at all that, in the second half of the twelfth century, works of a purely French origin were created in Hungary.

In the royal residence of Esztergom, the reliefs (Fig. 5) affixed on the throne of Bela can at least technically be associated with later pavements like those of the early Gothic cathedral of St.-Omer. Only a Western artist, influenced by Mosan art of about 1175–1180, would have been able to create such works of intarsia. These may be compared with works of enamel, the models of which might have corresponded to those of the Passional II from the Premonstratensian monastery of Arnstein (Fig. 6). Western artists manufactured the encrusted reliefs of the *porta speciosa* in front of the Adalbert church after 1183. Some years before, Byzantine artists, however, created the engraved Deësis relief of the Christ portal of this church, a counterpart to purely French works<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 7, 8).

There are close stylistic connections with the altarpiece of Klosterneuburg, particularly in the technical resemblance of the engraved panels with blue and gold enameling. Therefore, I consider it possible that Nicholas saw such works in Esztergom and adopted some elements of Byzantine style.

We have to cope with the methodological difficulty that, in view of Nicholas' genius, the quality of all the stylistic models he used is inferior, excluding those created in antiquity itself. The sources and the circumstances at the time of its recovery do not permit an exact dating of the tympanum relief; stylistically, it dates to the end of that stage which leads from the

Palatina to Monreale (although Mary and John appear somewhat more archaic than the figure of Christ on the throne).

Other arguments speak for a monumental influence on the goldsmith's art of Nicholas, which are at most hypothetical, in view of the fact that so many Hungarian medieval works of art were destroyed. In the second half of the twelfth century, rood-screen decorations were created under the influence of Lombardian ornamentation. These figural reliefs are framed by arches resting on columns. Nonarchitectural animal cornices frame the arcades and articulate them. In the relief of Somogvar,<sup>3</sup> depicting the stoning of Stephen, even seraphs fill the arcade spandrel. Of course, the preserved fragments showing Abraham in front of the three angels as the type of Christ's Annunciation (Fig. 9), analogous to the program of the Klosterneuburg altar, seem lost in the reconstruction of the altar barriers of the collegiate church of Obuda.<sup>4</sup> They may, however, refer to further sources of the Klosterneuburg altar, which, I think, can still be specified to some extent.

Formerly, the enamels were applied to the cube-formed ambo which crowned the cross altar and formed the middle of one of the first transalpine rood-screens. Although the ambo of Heinrich II at Aachen provides evidence of another work in the tradition of the goldsmith's art, I prefer to trace back Nicholas' altarpiece to monumental stone prototypes. Some of the relief figures of the building preceding the present Gothic cathedral of St.-Omer, re- and misused as pavements in the last century, can never have been pavements originally; this has been confirmed by technical evidence (Figs. 10-14). In my opinion, they formed the front of a rood-screen of a type like the Modena pontile, or, at most, altar-barriers typified in Ancona. The depressed parts of the engraved relief panels are filled with colored pastes analogous to the enamel technique, i.e., found in Klosterneuburg, particularly in the mixed coloration of the blue and gold enameling. Technically, our altarpiece is therefore a miniature copy of monumental types of northern France. The blue gold enamel enabled Nicholas to incorporate those graphic tendencies aimed at in Hainaut miniature painting (Figs. 15-18). It is particularly in that prolific area, i.e., northern France, that Nicholas adopted the essential stylistic characteristics that pervade all of his work. If Nicholas' technique is not traced back to Cologne-Sieburg, or even to Lower Saxony, the altar technically is a miniaturization of monumental examples from northern France. But we have to remember the fact that in 1968, when the lapidarium of Esztergom was newly arranged, besides purely French, ornamental floor panels (similar to the pavement of St.-Omer), some panels with figures and groups of fighting animals were also found. These must have originally occupied a vertical position. Therefore, we may conclude that the royal chapel of Bela III at Esztergom, which

also has many affinities with Paris, was decorated with a northern French system of engraved panels.

Possibly because of the political demands on the works of art created in Esztergom and the theological ideas of northern France, the founder of the ambo wanted to copy a monumental piece of church furniture, but reduced, in the tradition of goldsmith's art, to a small size. He wished to present his intentions in a more convincing way through luxurious materials. These intentions are most closely associated with the origin of the theological program of the Klosterneuburg altar; for, just as the artists and the technique of the ambo are of French-Lorraine origin, so are its basic theological idea and its typological system.

Let us now inquire into the literary sources in order to explain the different typological scenes. If you follow the method employed so far, and look for the sources in exegetic writings of well-known patristic and early scholastic symbolists, you will see that some scenes can be identified with great difficulty; with others it is impossible. It is, however, difficult to believe that these typological sets were incomprehensible in their own time. In order to resolve this contradiction, we must assume that we have so far dealt with the wrong kind of literature, since we must believe that all the typologies were well known, and only in this case is the altar the first *Biblia pauperum*.

The source of the typologies may be determined by the type of the object, that is, a ritualistic object used in liturgy. If liturgy is examined with this aspect in mind, the following elements of the altar may be immediately explained:

1. The *vita Christi* in the middle row is a selection of the main feasts of the ecclesiastical year, but the mysteries simultaneously celebrated at one feast are subdivided into their historical sequence, e.g., Epiphany is subdivided into Adoration of the Magi and the following scene of Baptism. Liturgy also influences eschata in the two final vertical columns, namely as the beginning and end of the ecclesiastical year.

2. All the prophetic proverbs of the inscriptions in the middle row are taken from liturgy. The acts of salvation of the New Testament, which were typified in the Old Testament, are symbolized by types. The revelations about the New Testament by the Proverbs of the prophets, according to the sentence of the Antiochian Fathers handed down by Cassiodor are: "Prophetia est typus in verbis, Typus est prophetia in rebus, in quantum res esse noscuntur."

3. The inscription on the first enamel, "Tres vidit et unum adoravit," was not, as has been believed to date, taken from Augustine's treatise against Maximus, but from the canonical prayer of the fifth Sunday in Lent. Wrongly understood as a quotation from the Bible, the sentence is here the

responsory to the annunciation of Isaac. In my opinion, it is part of old Christian tradition to consider the sentence a quotation from the Bible, because the *Vetus Latina* already contains a passage which is very similar to our sentence. It is, therefore, not surprising that even Anselm of Laon<sup>5</sup> followed Carolingian tradition and considered this sentence a quotation from the Bible.

4. Some of the typological scenes themselves are of liturgical origin, e.g., the ascension of Enoch and Elias. These salvation mysteries are contained in a sermon of Gregory the Great that has formed part of the canonical prayer of Ascension Day, both gradually differentiated: "Hennoch translatus, atque ad caelum aerium Elias sublevatus, ascensionem Dominicum uturque designavit." In its present form, our liturgy seems most unsuited to explain the sudden increase in early scholastic typologies, but this was not the case in the Middle Ages. At that time, however, the so-called *Zwischengesänge*—the hymns and sequences between lection and gospel—were not in the canon in the strict sense, but occurred in local traditions. Most of them fell victim to the reform efforts of Pope Paul V, leading to the elimination of the German and French elements—most important for us—in favor of the Italian ones. Beginning in the eleventh century, the growing importance of Platonism engendered a new concept of the Mass in accordance with Christ's demand: "Do this in memory of me." Now, each part of the Mass becomes vital since it is rememoratively related to *totus* Christ, that is to say, to His Life and Passion. At that time, this symbolism made Ivo of Chartres see in the Mass the fulfillment of Old Testament types. Rememorative and typological allegorizing complement each other thoroughly, and are only the result of the new interpretation of the Mass which considers the priest's action no longer an action of the Holy Church, but an act of salvation, performed before the faithful in the form of a drama marked by the priest's sacrifice.<sup>6</sup>

The allegorical representation of the salvation story is reflected in the *Zwischengesänge*, those responsorial parts that invite the faithful to active participation, which inspired the first liturgical drama at Klosterneuburg.<sup>7</sup> The twelfth-century parts of the *Zwischengesänge* have been subject to changes because, instead of pure doxologies, typologies have been preferred. A statistical evaluation of the typological pictures of the hymns yields this astonishing result: those which the exegetic literature so far has described as being the rarest types actually occur most frequently in the sequences, e.g., the lion of Judah. Especially in the Augustinian monasteries of France and southern Germany, canon writers composed many typological sequences referring to the scenes of the altarpiece. Moreover, I am able to specify the collection of sequences from which the Klosterneuburg types were taken.

The most important sequence writer of the twelfth century was Adam of St.-Victor in Paris, whose sixth Easter sequence ("Zyma vetus expurgetur") contains nearly all the events of the Passion, in the same combination as the program of our altar. It must therefore be considered a direct source for the sequences: Isaac offered, the grape of Cyprus (here replaced by the grape of the spies, following the first Easter sequence), Joseph in the pit, Jonah swallowed up, the lion of Judah, and Samson carrying the gates of Gaza.

(*Analecta hymnica mediæævi*, 54, 1915, p. 227, no. 149)

Lex est umbra futurorum, [3b]

Christus finis promissorum,

Qui consummat omnia.

Puer, nostri forma risus, [4]

(See: Oblatio Ysaac)

Pro quo vervex est occisus,

Vitæ signat gaudium.

Ioseph exit de cisterna,

(See: Ioseph in Lacu)

Christus redit ad superna

Post mortis supplicium,

Samson Gazæ seras pandit [6b]

(See: Samson fert portas)

Et asportans portas scandit

Montis supercilium.

Sic de Iuda leo fortis [7]

(See: Benedictiones Iacob)

Fractis portis diræ mortis

Die surgens tertia.

Rugiente voce patris

Ad supernæ sinum matris

Tot revexit spolia.

Cetus Ionam fugitivum [8]

(See: Ionas in ventre ceti)

Veri Ionæ signativum,

Post tres dies reddit vivum

De ventre angustia.

Botrus Cypri reflorescit,

(See?: Botrus in vecte)

Dilalatur et excrescit,

Synagogæ flos marcescit

Et floret Ecclesia,

(Ibid., pp. 192 f., no. 121)

Salve, Crux, arbor

Vectis botri

(See: Botrus in vecte)

Typici baiulus

Quem fert credens

Uterque populus.

The two missing pictures can be found in the cross sequence (ibid., no. 120), Samson's fight with the lion and the marking of the lintel with Tau. Similarly, we may identify the other types, too. Although Adam of St.-Victor is the most famous twelfth-century writer of sequences, his work can be determined only on the basis of the inner criteria of the sequences themselves, an endeavor of many hymnologists which has not led to any satisfactory results as yet. The lists of *incipits* of Clichtoveus, William of St.-Lo, and Jean de Toulouse turned out to be wrong, and the oldest graduals of St.-Victor (end of thirteenth century) have led to the selection drawn up by Misset; but we are not absolutely sure about which of these forty-five sequences were written by Adam. The question is insignificant for the solution of our problem. There are good reasons for Dreves' thesis<sup>8</sup> that the graduals of St.-Victor do not prescribe any of Adam's sequences for church weddings, but adhere to the old sequences of Notker. There was a certain aversion at that time to replacing well-known and popular works by new ones. Adam's sequences were not sung until the feast octave. Because of this principle of order, it is very likely that, as early as the twelfth century, original prose works of Adam were confused with similar works of other writers because of the liturgical arrangement in St.-Victor's gradual. Thus, the famous cross sequence "Laudes crucis attolamus" was considered one of the best works of our poet until Weisbein<sup>9</sup> found out that this sequence, already listed in liturgical books of the late eleventh century, became known in all of France and Austria within a short time, and that it was written by Hugo of Orléans. For our purposes, it is important only whether or not a sequence is listed in the gradual of St.-Victor.

In relating the specific typological scenes of the gradual of St.-Victor to the altar of Klosterneuburg, we can be sure that a copy of the troparium of St.-Victor (postulated by Dreves) containing traditional hymns for the feasts, together with Adam's sequences for the feast octaves, existed at Klosterneuburg. Unfortunately, only liturgical treatises dating from the period after the fire of 1330 have been preserved. At that time, the symbolic conception of the Mass as held by Amalar, Durandus, and Honorius had completely gained ground.<sup>10</sup> Fourteenth-century conditions should, however, not be simply and unconditionally applied to the twelfth century. In analogy to the Easter mystery, Victor's sequences also supply the other typological pictures of the Klosterneuburg altar: "Simplex in essentia," the passing on of the laws to Moses, "Quam dilecta tabernacula," Noah's ark, the annunciation of Isaac, the marking of the lintels with Tau, and the manna in the urn. To understand the allegorical connections of the program of our altar it is, however, necessary to find out the principle by which the individual types have been integrated into the larger scheme. Liturgy primarily determines



the selection of the allegorical scenes. It is liturgy that comes to the foreground, supplanting new types, as soon as there are well-known examples for an event of the New Testament, e.g., Ascension, Last Supper, and Baptism of Christ. But liturgy penetrates the overall structure even more subtly, as I will illustrate with an example. At Epiphany, the following responsory pervades the canonical prayer: "Reges Tharsi et insulae munera offerunt. Reges Arabum dona adducent. Omnes de saba venient. . . ." This idea is assumed in the hymns, e.g., "Hanc diem tribus," and, in a sequence of the eleventh century, the Queen of Sheba is mentioned together with the Sabaeans: "Quod Sabaea protulit, ad virtutum pertinet, Sacramenta." In the sequence "Quam dilecta tabernacula," written by Adam of St.-Victor, the Queen of Sheba, admiring Solomon, is represented even as a black person! Who is not immediately reminded of the Klosterneuburg altar when listening to the following stanza?<sup>11</sup>

Hoc venit Autri regina,  
Salomonis quam divina  
condit sapientia.  
Haec est nigra sed formosa,  
Myrrhae et thuris fumosa,  
Virga pigmentaria.

The typological scenes of Adam of St.-Victor are strictly integrated into the system of ante legem, sub lege, and sub gratia. Thus, the first three columns of types illustrating Christ's infancy are automatically paralleled. The circumcision of Samson cannot be found even in the Bible. The time triad was passed on to the Middle Ages by Augustine's doctrine of grace. Even if very rarely used, it was a characteristic feature in the liturgical *speculum ecclesiae* of Honorius of Autun. To the best of my knowledge, the time triad was represented in our ambo for the first time, and found a weak succession only in the doors of the cathedral of Gurk in the twelfth century.

Strict form, specific columns, and relations suggested by the inscription lead us to a direct source, the cod. 311 of the Klosterneuburg library. It is the treatise *De Sacramentis* by Hugo of St.-Victor, confrater of our poet Adam. Hugo's enormous summa was the climax of early scholastic endeavors to eliminate one of the main heresies of the eleventh century, the Berengar dispute.<sup>12</sup> Referring to Augustine's comprehensive definition of sacrament, "Sacramentum est signum sacrum," Berengar denies the actual presence of any contents in the sacrament behind the signum. With the assistance of neo-Platonic ideas, Hugo, however, attempted to demonstrate that the signum contains the *res*, and *res* again is *virtus*—in early scholasticism nor-

mally identified with the *virtus* of the virtues. At that time, the idea of sacramentum was not limited to the number seven as it is today, but subsumed anything related to the Old and New Testament salvations, e.g., the incarnation of Christ or the ascension of Elias. According to Hugo, the sign of sacrament is not only an external symbol but a means for participation with the divine, leading us from *virtus sacramenti* to *veritas*, which are illustrated on our ambo by the beginning and the end of the cycle of virtues. Hugo goes beyond the symbolists in that he believes in the reality of grace implied in the Old Testament sacraments, since they draw their virtue from their interior meaning, the *tempus gratiae*. Just as all the faithful of the Old Testament were familiar with the mysteries of salvation (*fides explicita* as *iustificatio*), the new mysteries of salvation are reflected in the old ones, with *fides explicita* gradually increasing, the sacraments rise from shadow (*umbra/obscure significatio*) to the image (*imago*) and finally to reality under Christ (*corpus*), behind which truth (*veritas*) is to be sought. The older mysteries of salvation can receive their strength and power only from the new ones, i.e., *mediantibus istis*.<sup>13</sup>

Hugo had developed these ideas earlier in his *Exposito in Hierarchiam coelestem* of Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagita.<sup>14</sup> The Pseudo-Dionysios at that time had been erroneously identified with Dionysios—a disciple of Paul—and by Hilduin with the first martyr Paris. He was, therefore, of unparalleled importance for French early scholasticism. In this treatise, Hugo found the decisive neo-Platonic thoughts, saying that salvation is divided into hierarchically arranged grades and that grace operates by degrees: from the angels to human beings and from the signs of salvation of the New Testament to those of the Old. Action results from resemblances of degree.

There is a great similarity as far as the sacraments are concerned. Since those of the Old Testament do not receive their grace directly from Christ, but only indirectly from the sacraments of the New Testament, they cannot be direct signs of grace. The heavenly hierarchy supplies the model of thought of this doctrine; for Pseudo-Dionysios' conception of participation is based on the assumption that only the highest rank of angels receives grace directly from God, and these angels in turn are able to pass grace onto the next lower rank because of the ontological similarity, and it is from these angels that men receive grace. The higher a rank, the more impenetrable it is for the lowest one. While the highest rank in the hierarchy is directly enlightened by God, the lower ranks receive their strength through the higher ranks' similarity to God. In other words, it is the same type of give and take with which Hugo characterizes New Testament sacraments and those of former salvation systems to be. Only the highest rank, i.e., that of the New Testament, receives its sanctification and strength directly from God, the others receive it only through the relation with the highest rank which is

based on similarity, on the symbolic character. It is clear that the lowest rank must be an assimilation and a symbol of the highest rank. This alone makes it possible for the superior power to reach them and to spread the affinity with God. Among the early theologians, we find this argument for the graduation of sacraments within the various orders only in the works of Hugo. In this systematic approach it cannot be found in the works of Augustine either. But it is exactly what the system of illustrations of the Verdun altar exercises, and what its inscription tries to circumscribe in poetic words:

Si pensas iuste legis mandata vetuste,  
Ostentata foris retinent nil pene decoris.  
Unde patet vere quia legis forma fuere,  
Quam tribuit mundo pietas divina secundo.

The sacrament of the Old Testament is a true symbol (*forma*) for the very reason that it receives its effect not directly from God, but indirectly through the sacrament of the New Testament. Thus, it cannot absorb the splendor (*decor*) in all its abundance, but only in a limited degree to the extent to which its ontological similarity with the New Testament sacrament permits.

The *similitudo* is the cause of salvation and consequently one of the main aspects of our ambo. Though taken from the hymns, the typological pictures were set in a new relationship: Sara's doubting smile at the annunciation of her son—usually interpreted as the triumphant laughing of Ecclesia—forms, in the inscription of the Klosterneuburg altar, an external contrast to little Isaac weeping about his circumcision wound.

Flet circumciscus Isaac tuus o Sara risus

The subtle resemblance of the external sign explains why the depiction of the Three Marys at the Sepulcher, the so-called *Sepulcrum Domini*, was replaced by the entombment of Christ; the mere fact of the burial itself fits better with the respective types: Joseph in the pit and Jonah swallowed up.<sup>15</sup>

It is to Hugo of St.-Victor that credit is due for applying the neo-Platonism of Dionysios to the allegories of the Old Testament, which the first commentator Scotus Erigena did not manage to do. He did not even know the Adam-Christ typology. With the help, as it were, of France's most important saint, Hugo solved one of the main concerns of that time, namely the Berengar dispute, and, in so doing, developed a notion of salvation and a system of sacramental allegory that entered art history in a very striking way.

In 1137, Hugo dedicated his commentary to King Louis VII of France

and, a few years later, the king's imperial administrator, Suger, established the Dionysian church of St.-Denis.<sup>16</sup> He decorated it with typological ritualistic objects, notably the well-known enameled pedestal of a cross with typological pictures, which had a great repercussion on the minor arts of northern France. As can be clearly seen from the treatise *De administratione*, Suger does not use Scotus' commentary on *Hierarchia*, but, I think, Hugo's. Suger represented Hugo's fundamental connection of Dionysian neo-Platonism with the Augustinian allegory of sacrament. Werner of Klosterneuburg did the same, one generation later. The Klosterneuburg altarpiece can thus be associated most closely with the typological works of enamel of French and Mosan areas; and it sounds almost impossible that they, too, in their sparse inscriptions, express the fight for a satisfactory definition of the sacraments.<sup>17</sup>

Scribere qui curat Tau vir sacra figurat.  
Plena micant signis Abraham aries puer ignis.

With the increase in number of the Porretans in the second half of the twelfth century, Hugo's conception of the sacrament became outdated, and, together with it, typology on ritualistic objects disappeared. The only example of a Mosan ritual object featuring typological pictures I know is the Maurus shrine, formerly known as the Petschau shrine (now privately owned in Belgium).

In the middle of the narrow Romanesque basilica of Klosterneuburg, the ambo in its form of a *cubus aureus* with its bright colors must have appeared like a glowing symbol of the salvation of God, and must have incorporated the two liturgical meanings of pietas as a central concept of the inscription: the merciful, redeeming love of God and His fascinating *tremendum*. In the narrow church, the powerful altar must have caught the eye; it must, therefore, have had greater significance than a common ritualistic object usually has. This idea is borne out by the fact that the designer of the altar's iconographic program did not proceed according to the usual collective method of early scholastic times, but intentionally drew from two sources, the troparium of St.-Victor and the treatise *De sacramentis* of Hugo of St.-Victor. Theological and political reasons met to materialize the desire for such a tremendous work.

In 1181, the ambo was finished (*fabricavit*). The political constellation of the flourishing monastery did, however, not need such a magnificent demonstration of French ideas in the German empire. We may postulate a longer period of time for the work of art and its stylistic development. Thus the time when the altarpiece was ordered is very close to the beginning of

the administration of Prior Werner (1168–1187), the first of a generation of priors to promote the prosperity of the monastery. Certainly, Werner's financial manipulation was decisive in materializing such an expensive work. But was Werner the designer of the program as well? I think Rudiger I must be considered the designer; he was dean between 1165–1167 and prior from 1167–1168.<sup>18</sup> We have a *summa brevis* in Hierachias S. Dionysii Ariopagite written by Rudiger. It is a prologue to the (*nota bene*) "*opus magistri Hugonis (de s. Victore) in hierarchias sancti Dionysii episcopi.*"<sup>19</sup> The essential parts of the last hexameter of this prologue are identical with the first inscription of our ambo.

Hoc laudis	MUNUS, decet hunc, qui	TRINUS ET UNUS
Huic sobolis	MUNUS, promittit	TRINUS ET UNUS

Moreover, in the leonines of the prologue there are several phrases that can be compared stylistically to the verses of the altar. Furthermore, we have a polemic poem of Rudiger's on the christological dispute of Gerhoch of Reichersberg to Magister Petrus in Vienna.<sup>20</sup> Here, as well, similar word combinations to those on our altar can be found. Therefore, I assume that it was Rudiger, who, between 1163 and 1168, designed the program and the verses for the Verdun altarpiece.

At that time, the monastery was confronted with a political situation entirely different from that of 1181. Rudiger was one of the three reformatory priors (Hartmann, Marquard, Rudiger) who were oriented toward France. All are akin to Gerhoch of Reichersberg whose christological dispute was fought partly at Klosterneuburg. At the time of the reformatory priors, Klosterneuburg was a stronghold of monastic traditionalism, which tried to preserve Augustine's symbolism because of the very structure of the order. As already mentioned, the widely spread Porretans, a secular clergy thinking along Platonic and Aristotelian lines, were meeting their powerful opponent. In the school of Duke Jasomirgott at Vienna, the Porretan Magister Petrus was active as a teacher from 1147.<sup>21</sup> He voiced doubts about the two-nature doctrine of Gerhoch of Reichersberg. Rudiger, defending his brother, interfered in the fierce dispute, which lasted for several years. One year after the dispute at Bamberg, he became prior of Klosterneuburg, thus bringing two quarrelsome personalities of divergent character together. His fellow canon Haimo did not try to bring about a reconciliation until 1163. Going beyond the christological dispute, the antagonism between Klosterneuburg and Vienna was aggravated by a schism. Their relationship had many political implications. Klosterneuburg was loyal to Pope Alexander III residing in Sens, whereas Petrus, as the ambassador of Duke Heinrich,

finally sided with Emperor Friederich and thus with the counter-pope. In the sixties, the christological dispute even spread to Constantinople, and in the seventies Petrus of Vienna gave orders to collect sentences against Gerhoch in Constantinople. What little information we have suggests that Duke Heinrich settled the dispute between Klosterneuburg and the Porretan school of Vienna externally, but the gap due to divergent ideas was too great to bring about a permanent reconciliation because Duke Heinrich also had a favorable attitude toward the ideas of both Manuel and Petrus. So, if the canons of the monastery created such a monumental demonstration of French symbolistic ideas and art as that manifested in the Klosterneuburg altar, we may well conclude that they wanted to continue their fight against the progressive elements at least intellectually. We may interpret the altar as a visible symbol and conscious sign of monastic traditionalism inspired by political hostilities, as well as a statement in opposition to the modern secular priesthood.

## Notes

The manuscript was completed in 1970; the full revised text will be printed in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37, 1974. Otto Demus and I are preparing a new edition of the whole Klosterneuburg altar.

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FIG. 1 *The Second Coming of Christ*, enamel plaque, Musée de Cluny, Paris (photo: Musée du Louvre, Paris)



FIG. 2 *Iudicium sedit*, enamel plaque, Klosterneuburg altarpiece (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)

FIG. 3 *Building of Noah's Ark*, detail of mosaic, Monreale Cathedral (photo: Alinari, Rome)



FIG. 4 *Mortui resurgunt*, detail of enamel plaque, Klosterneuburg altarpiece (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)







FIG. 5 *Personification of Autumn, relief, Burgmuseum, Esztergom (photo: Denkmalamt, Budapest)*

FIG. 7 *Tympanum relief, detail, Adalbert Church, Burgmuseum, Esztergom (photo: Denkmalamt, Budapest)*



FIG. 6 *Harley Ms. cod. 2801, fol. 103 r., Passional II, Fisherman, British Museum*

FIG. 8 *De secundo adventu, enamel plaque, Klosterneuburg altarpiece (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)*



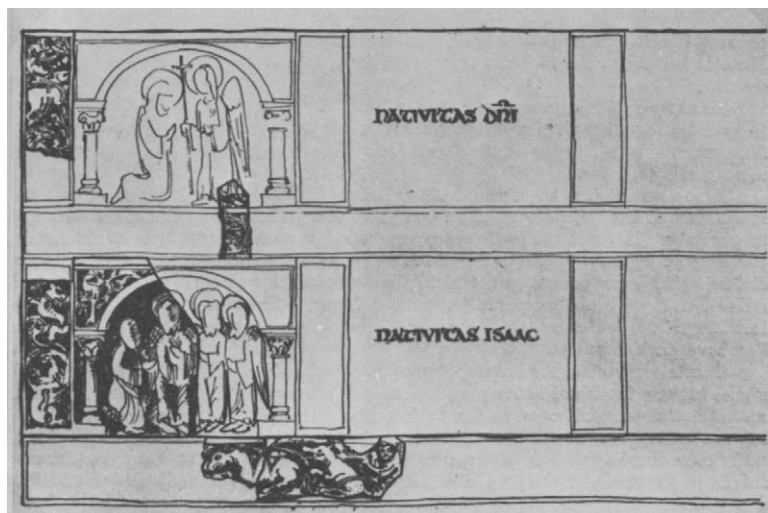


FIG. 9 *Reconstruction of the altar barrier of Obuda after Lévardy*

FIG. 10 *Annunciation, St. Omer Cathedral, reconstruction by author*



FIG. 11 *Annunciatio Domini, enamel plaque, Klosterneuburg altarpiece (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)*





FIG. 12 *Birth of Christ, relief, St. Omer Cathedral*



FIG. 13 *Birth of Christ, relief, formerly St. Omer Cathedral*



FIG. 14 *Nativitas Domini, enamel plaque, Klosterneuburg altarpiece (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)*



FIG. 15 *Ms. 12, II, fol. 140 v., Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job, Bibliothèque Municipale, St. Omer*



FIG. 16 *Annunciatio Samson, detail of enamel plaque, Klosterneuburg altarpiece (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)*



FIG. 17 *Ms. 12, II, fol. 84 v., Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job, Bibliothèque Municipale, St. Omer*



FIG. 18 *Queen of Sheba, detail of enamel plaque, Klosterneuburg altarpiece (photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna)*

# Die Kölner Niello-Kelchkuppa und ihr Umkreis

## I

Die sog. Niello-Kelchkuppa im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum zu Köln (Abb. 1-4) gehört zu den hervorragendsten Zeugnissen der Goldschmiedekunst des 12. Jahrhunderts im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet.<sup>1</sup> Über ihre Herkunft ist Näheres nicht bekannt; sie soll aus dem Rheinland bzw. der Eifel stammen.<sup>2</sup> Der Fuss, der Schaft und der Nodus sind verloren.

Die Schale ist aus Silber getrieben, mit niellierten Darstellungen überzogen und teilweise vergoldet. Sie zeigt vier kreisrunde, von kreuzschraffierten Leisten gerahmte Medaillons. Jedes nimmt eine im Rahmen inschriftlich bezeichnete Figur vor teppichartig gemustertem Grund auf: Christus und ihm gegenüber Maria als Orans, die beide auf breiten, reich verzierten Thronen mit hohen Pfostenlehnen sitzen; zwischen ihnen, Christus zugewandt, die stehenden Gestalten von Abel und Melchisedech. In den kreuzschraffierten Zwickeln sind oben Halbfiguren von Engeln Christus und Maria paarweise zugeordnet, die unteren füllen Blätter; unterhalb des glatten Kelchrandes ein aufrechtes, einfaches Palmettenband in Kreuzschraffur.

Die Niello-Kelchkuppa gilt überwiegend als kölnische Arbeit;<sup>3</sup> ihre Entstehung wurde zumeist um 1180, gelegentlich auch gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts angenommen;<sup>4</sup> dabei hat man wiederholt auf ihre enge stilgeschichtliche Verbindung zum Maasgebiet hingewiesen.<sup>5</sup>

Aloys Weisgerber schloss ihr drei Emailarbeiten an: 1. die hochrechteckige Platte im Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg (Abb. 5), mit der Darstellung der Investitur eines heiligen Geistlichen in das bischöfliche Amt durch einen weltlichen Herrscher, wie es die Inschrift am oberen Rand des Bildfeldes *E P FIT* (*episcopus fit*) erläutert, im unteren Rahmenstreifen, zur Hälfte durchschnitten, die Inschrift *PVEROS DOCET*;

2. zwei querrechteckige Platten im Schatz von St. Servatius in Siegburg (Abb. 6 u. 7), mit einem aufrecht sitzenden bzw. einem schlafenden, bärtigen Heiligen, denen jeweils ein Engel erscheint;<sup>6</sup> 3. vier halbkreisförmige Platten über dem Sockel des sog. Armreliquiars des hl. Olaf im Nationalmuseum zu Kopenhagen (Abb. 8 u. 9) mit den Büsten je eines namentlich nicht bezeichneten Heiligen: einer Frau, eines Bischofs, eines Abtes und eines jugendlichen Geistlichen.<sup>7</sup> Alle Emails zeigen die gleiche Technik: im Ganzen ausgesparte Figuren in ein und mehrfarbigem Schmelzgrund; emailliert sind ferner die Nimben, die Bodenformationen, überwiegend auch Gegenstände und Attribute.

Die Zusammenstellung dieser Gruppe<sup>8</sup> hat allgemeine Zustimmung erfahren, doch blieben die Emails des Kopenhagener Armreliquiars dann stets unberücksichtigt, obwohl an ihrer Verbindung zum Kreis um die Kelchkuppa kein Zweifel sein kann. Weisgerber wies die Kelchkuppa und die Emailarbeiten zwar nicht einem Meister zu, wohl aber derselben Werkstatt, die in Köln seit dem Beginn der achtziger Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts über längere Zeit unter dem unmittelbaren Einfluss des Nikolaus von Verdun tätig gewesen sei. In der Kelchkuppa sah er, mit einer Datierung "um 1180," das früheste Werk; mit ihr gleichzeitig nahm er die Entstehung der beiden Siegburger Platten an. Die Hamburger Investiturdarstellung stehe dagegen "entwicklungsgeschichtlich auf einer jüngeren Stufe," denn sie lasse den unmittelbaren Einfluss des Nikolaus von Verdun schon stärker erkennen und sei deshalb weiter in das "neunte Jahrzehnt" des 12. Jahrhunderts zu rücken.<sup>9</sup>

Ihr schloss er die vier Emails des Armreliquiars in Kopenhagen als Arbeiten desselben Goldschmiedes an und datierte sie "um 1190." Die unmittelbaren Voraussetzungen des zeichnerischen Stils dieser Werkstatt sah Weisgerber, neben allgemeinen kölnischen und maasländischen Traditionen, vor allem in den quadratischen Emails mit Szenen der Kämpfe zwischen Tugenden und Lastern in den senkrechten Streifen auf der linken Dachfläche des Heribertschreines (Abb. 10a-d), die mit diesem "um 1170 entstanden sein werden"; mit ihnen seien "die Siegburger Plättchen am nächsten verwandt" und "vielleicht sind sie sogar von derselben Hand."<sup>10</sup>

## II

Über die von Weisgerber genannten Arbeiten hinaus lassen sich dem Umkreis der Kelchkuppa weitere Werke zuordnen, die zu einer näheren Bestimmung und Eingrenzung dieser Gruppe führen können.

Als erstes ist der fragmentarisch erhaltene Emailschmuck vom Vor-

derdeckel des Nekrologs aus dem ehem. Benediktinerkloster Bleidenstadt am Taunus, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. quart. 651 zu nennen.<sup>11</sup> Vorhanden sind nur die obere Platte mit dem thronenden Christus in der Mandorla, flankiert von zwei Cherubim, und die rechte Rahmenleiste mit den Büsten von sechs, auf trennenden Querleisten namentlich bezeichneten Aposteln zwischen den Symbolen der Evangelisten Matthäus und Lukas (Abb. 11). Der Majestasplatte entsprach im unteren Teil des Deckels ursprünglich ein gleichgrosses Email mit der Kreuzigung, den Frauen am Grabe und dem *Noli me tangere* (Abb. 12); es ist seit 1945 verschollen und noch in einer Photographie überliefert. In der vertieften Mitte befand sich, nach der schriftlichen Überlieferung, ehemals eine Elfenbeinarbeit.

Durch die inschriftlich bezeichnete Gestalt des hl. Ferrutius zur Linken des Gekreuzigten ist die Bestimmung des Einbandes für Bleidenstadt gesichert; in dem Mönch zu Füssen des Gekreuzigten, über dem Rücken als *WOLPO* (Wolpero) bezeichnet, wird man den Auftraggeber oder Stifter des Einbandes und wohl einen Angehörigen des Klosters Bleidenstadt erkennen dürfen. Aus historischen Gründen ist die Entstehung der Bleidenstädter Emails von der zweiten Hälfte der fünfziger bis in den Beginn der achtziger Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts möglich. Die wenigen Goldschmiedearbeiten mittelhochdeutscher Provenienz, die sonst aus dem 12. Jahrhundert erhalten sind,<sup>12</sup> haben zum Bleidenstädter Einband keine Beziehungen. Dagegen dominiert die Stiltradition des Rhein-Maas-Gebietes bei diesem so eindeutig und ausschliesslich, dass man seine Entstehung eher dort, als am Mittelrhein in Betracht ziehen möchte.

Auf die enge typenmässige Verwandtschaft des thronenden Christus mit dem der Kelchkuppa hat Karl Hermann Usener aufmerksam gemacht,<sup>13</sup> doch mit der Einschränkung, dass der Kopf des thronenden Christus aus Bleidenstadt "um wenig" von dem der Kelchkuppa abweiche, dieser "sieht mosaner aus."<sup>14</sup> Diese Differenz ist wohl mit der grösseren Sorgfalt und Feinheit im Zeichnerischen, mit der künstlerischen Überlegenheit der Kelchkuppa zu erklären. Beide Christusfiguren folgen einem, sicher auf byzantinische Quellen zurückgehenden Typus, wie er mehrfach im Maasgebiet festzustellen ist, in Köln an Arbeiten, die in ihrem Stil überwiegend maasländischen Einfluss erkennen lassen.<sup>15</sup>

Von den maasländischen Beispielen dieses Typus ist mit dem Bleidenstädter Christus und mit dem der Kelchkuppa in erster Linie die Majestas Domini des für Lüttich bestimmten und wohl auch dort entstandenen Sakramentars der Kölner Dombibliothek Codex 157, fol. 17 v, unmittelbar zu vergleichen (Abb. 13), das nach den Untersuchungen Useners kurz vor 1164 zu datieren ist.<sup>16</sup> Die Übereinstimmung betreffen nicht nur den



Typus,<sup>17</sup> sondern auch die Drapierung des Gewandes, die Anordnung des Faltenwerkkes und vor allem die gleichartige Zeichenweise. Allem Anschein nach folgten die Kelchkuppa und das Email des Buchdeckels aber nicht der Handschrift, sondern für alle drei Arbeiten wird wohl ein gleiches Vorbild voraussetzen sein.

Die Zeichnung erscheint in Bleidenstadt strenger und vereinfachter als an der Kelchkuppa und weist darin mehr auf die Hamburger Platte. Mit dieser, wie mit den beiden Siegburger Emails und den Emails des Armreliquiars in Kopenhagen (Abb. 8 u. 9) verbindet die Christusplatte die Wiedergabe der Gesichtszüge, der Bart- und Haartracht; die kreuzschraffierten Borten finden sich bei der Hamburger Platte (Abb. 5) wieder, an der Kelchkuppa bei Maria (Abb. 2), während Christus dort und im Sakramentar ornamentierte Borten aufweist.

Auch die Kreuzigungsplatte des Bleidenstädter Einbandes (Abb. 12) ist in ihrem zeichnerischen Stil dem Lütticher Sakramentar nächstverwandt; der Kopftypus der Maria schliesst sich dem der Marienfigur im Kreuzigungsbild fol. 19r, an.<sup>18</sup> Für den Typus der Marienfigur finden sich nächste Entsprechungen in maasländischen Goldschmiedearbeiten, wie dem Triptychon aus Alton Towers in London, Victoria & Albert Museum, oder dem Kreuzreliquiar in Tongeren,<sup>19</sup> in der maasländischen Buchmalerei vor allem in der Marienfigur des Lektionars von St. Trond, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 883, fol. 52 v.<sup>20</sup> Dort fällt fol. 52 r. die weitgehende kompositionelle Übereinstimmung der Szene der Frauen am Grabe mit der des Emails am Buchdeckel auf.

Wie für den thronenden Christus, so ergeben sich auch für den Typus des Gekreuzigten des Bleidenstädter Buchdeckels Parallelen fast ausschliesslich in Goldschmiedearbeiten und in der Buchmalerei des Maasgebietes;<sup>21</sup> vereinzelt tritt er zwar auch in Köln und am Mittelrhein auf, doch dort, nur an Werken, deren enge stilgeschichtliche Verbindung zu maasländischen Arbeiten offensichtlich ist.<sup>22</sup>

Für den Rahmenstreifen des Bleidenstädter Einbandes sind, wie Usener angemerkt hat,<sup>23</sup> die unmittelbaren Voraussetzungen gleichfalls in Schmelzarbeiten des Maasgebietes zu suchen. Seine Gliederung folgt einem Rahmenschema, das dort besonders häufig auftritt: am Vorderdeckel des Evangeliars aus St. Trond in Düsseldorf, Hauptstaatsarchiv G.XI. 1,<sup>24</sup> am tafelförmigen Kreuzreliquiar in Nantes, Musée Dobrée<sup>25</sup> und—mit gravierten Feldern zwischen den Emails—am Vorderdeckel eines Evangeliars in Brüssel, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 14970, sowie Vorder- und Rückdeckel des Evangeliars aus Dinant in Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin Ms. 11.<sup>26</sup> In Köln begegnet diese Art der Rahmengliederung an dem Buchdeckel mit der silbergetriebenen Figur des thronenden Christus, Köln, Schnütgen-

Museum,<sup>27</sup> den Hermann Schnitzler um 1170 datiert und "als kölnische Variante des mosanen Stils" dem "Marien-Meister" des Heribertschreins zuschreibt.<sup>28</sup>

Abweichend von allen anderen Schmelzarbeiten der Gruppe sind im Rahmenstreifen des Bleidenstädter Einbandes allein die Köpfe, die Hände und die Gewandborten ausgespart und vergoldet, die Gewänder und der Hintergrund jedoch in mehrfacher Schattierung emailliert. Für diese vorwiegend an maasländischen Emails bekannte Technik sind unter den in Köln lokalisierten Schmelzarbeiten mit figürlichen Darstellungen nur zwei weitere Beispiele anzuführen: die Personifikationen der vier Winde auf dem Rahmen des eben genannten Buchdeckels im Kölner Schnütgen-Museum und die Personifikationen der vier Kardinaltugenden auf der Oberplatte des nach ihnen benannten Tragaltars im Welfenschatz aus den späteren fünfziger Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts.<sup>29</sup> Eine im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet für ornamentale Emails wohl häufige, für figürliche Darstellungen jedoch ungewöhnliche Technik begegnet dann bei dem Symbol des Lukas; er ist in Vollschmelz gearbeitet, in dem allein die Schriftbänder ausgespart blieben.

Die Apostelbüsten sind den Aposteln der beiden maasländischen Emailplatten<sup>30</sup> mit Jakobus und Johannes in Chicago, Art Institute<sup>31</sup> bzw. Andreas und Philippus in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts,<sup>32</sup> so weitgehend verwandt, dass man hier eine besonders enge Beziehung vermuten möchte. Eine ähnlichdeutliche Verbindung lässt auch der Apostel Thomas vom Fragment eines Buchdeckelrahmens in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>33</sup> erkennen oder einer der Apostel auf der quadratischen Grubenschmelzplatte mit der Pfingstdarstellung in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>34</sup> die zu einer Serie von Szenen des Alten und Neuen Testaments<sup>35</sup> gehört. Das Symbol des Evangelisten Lukas entspricht einem Typus, der ausschliesslich im Maasgebiet verbreitet,<sup>36</sup> in Köln dagegen sonst nicht nachweisbar ist. Mit dieser unmittelbaren Beziehung zum Maasgebiet nehmen die Emails des Bleidenstädter Buchdeckels eine Sonderstellung im Umkreis der Kelchkuppa ein. Bei ihnen sind maasländische Voraussetzungen so weitgehend wirksam geworden, wie an keinem anderen Werk dieser Gruppe. Wäre nur der Seitenstreifen erhalten, würde man nicht zögern, die Emails in das Maasgebiet zu lokalisieren; Christus- und Kreuzigungsplatte bleiben dagegen der kölnischen Tradition stärker verpflichtet. Eine derartige Verbindung ist im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet vor Nikolaus von Verdun wohl nur noch in den Emails am Heribertschrein festzustellen, für den Hermann Schnitzler die Zusammenarbeit zweier Goldschmiede annimmt, von denen einer "von der Maas kam und den Stil des zweiten, wohl kölnischen Goldschmiedes bestimmte."<sup>37</sup>

Eine Besonderheit für das Rhein-Mass-Gebiet bilden die im Schmelz ausgesparten und vergoldeten Metallsprenkel innerhalb der Mandorla Christi (Abb. 11). Sie werden als hildesheimische bzw. niedersächsischwestfälische oder "norddeutsche" Eigenart bezeichnet,<sup>38</sup> doch finden sie sich auch an Emails des Maasgebietes, vor allem am Kreuzfuss in St. Omer, in der rautenförmigen Platte mit dem stehenden Christus zwischen den Altären des Alten und Neuen Bundes in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>39</sup> und in den vorwiegend maasländisch bestimmten Emails eines Buchdeckels in der Kathedrale von Sens.<sup>40</sup>

In den Umkreis der Kölner Kelchkuppa gehören weiterhin die vier kreisrunden, konvex gewölbten Emails mit Darstellungen der Evangelisten am zweiten Knauf des siebenarmigen Leuchters im Dom zu Braunschweig (Abb. 14 u. 15). Er gilt als Stiftung Heinrichs des Löwen und wird in der schriftlichen Überlieferung erstmalig im Jahre 1196 vor dem Kreuzaltar des Blasiusdomes erwähnt.<sup>41</sup> Aus stilgeschichtlichen Gründen wird er zwischen 1170–1180 datiert und die Entstehung des Gusswerkes in Nordfrankreich,<sup>42</sup> in England oder Braunschweig,<sup>43</sup> bzw. in Braunschweig<sup>44</sup> vermutet.

Auf die nahe Verwandtschaft der vier Emails<sup>45</sup> zu rheinischen Schmelzarbeiten hat die ältere Forschung wiederholt hingewiesen.<sup>46</sup> Wegen "der künstlerischen Sonderart ihrer figürlichen Zeichnung" und ihres "ausgeprägten Stils, der sich identisch nirgends findet," wurden sie von Georg Swarzenski dann jedoch mit "englischen" Schmelzarbeiten in Verbindung gebracht; diesen ständen sie "jedenfalls näher als allem, was sonst bekannt ist."<sup>47</sup> Peter Bloch hält dagegen eine Entstehung in Köln für möglich, neigt aber dazu—wie schon Hans Graeven—ihre Herkunft aus einer braunschweigischen Werkstatt mit besonders engen Beziehungen zu Köln anzunehmen, "wie es die hervorragenden Stücke des Welfenschatzes vermuten lassen"; ikonographische Gründe sprächen dafür, "dass die Evangelistenemails von Anfang an für den siebenarmigen Leuchter konzipiert worden sind."<sup>48</sup> Man wird daneben die Möglichkeit nicht ausschliessen dürfen, dass sie ausserhalb Braunschweigs in besonderem Auftrag angefertigt worden sein könnten, wie es in gleichem Sinne für die Schmelzplatten am Bleidenstädter Einband anzunehmen ist.

Die von Georg Swarzenski für die Zeichnung der Gewänder der Braunschweiger Evangelisten als charakteristisch genannte "Betonung der rundlichen, elliptischen Faltenlagen durch straffe Parallellinien" und "das Fehlen oder Zurücktreten der gradlinigen Winkel" finden ihre nächste Entsprechung in den Figuren der Kelchkuppa und der um sie gruppierten Emailarbeiten. Der Typus der Evangelisten weist ebenfalls in das Maasgebiet. So entspricht der vorgebeugte und schreibende Evangelist dem

Matthäus vom Rückdeckel des Evangeliars aus St. Gereon in Köln, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum,<sup>49</sup> oder einem der Evangelisten der Emailplatten im Dom zu Arbe (Rab).

In das Rhein-Maas-Gebiet deuten einige Besonderheiten, in denen Georg Swarzenski typische Merkmale "englischer" Schmelzarbeiten sah,<sup>50</sup> wie z.B. der marmorierte oder "Granit"-Schmelz, der sich an kölnischen wie an maasländischen Emails zahlreich, an englischen Emails dagegen nur einmal nachweisen lässt. Die Emaillierung gewölbter Flächen ist, häufiger als in England, im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet, auch in Niedersachsen und Westfalen anzutreffen; die "getupfte" Emaillierung des Thronkastens bei dem Evangelisten, der den Kopf aufstützt, begegnet im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet an Borten oder Rüstungen.

Den Arbeiten um die Kölner Kelchkuppa ist ferner die querrrechteckige Grubenschmelzplatte am sog. furnierten Kästchen des Welfenschatzes anzuschliessen, jetzt Slg. Robert von Hirsch, Basel (Abb. 16). Sie zeigt die frontale Dreiviertelfigur des Evangelisten Matthäus, der vor sich ein Schriftband mit den Worten VENIE(n)T· DIES· CV(m)· AVFERETVR hält. Von Otto von Falke wurde sie als "Arbeit des Eilbertus Coloniensis um 1150–1160" bezeichnet.<sup>51</sup> Dieser Bestimmung ist man allgemein gefolgt;<sup>52</sup> nur Rosy Schilling hat auf den "flämischen Duktus" der Zeichnung des Emails aufmerksam gemacht und es mit "den Figuren des Heribertschreines oder Lütticher Handschriften" verglichen.<sup>53</sup>

Obwohl sich die Matthäusplatte den Emails des Heribertschreines—Rosy Schilling meinte vermutlich die Darstellungen der Kämpfe zwischen Tugenden und Lastern (Abb. 10a-d)—sicher nicht unmittelbar anschliessen lässt, sie aber kaum maasländischer Herkunft sein dürfte, weist sie dennoch eher dorthin als zur Eilbertus-Gruppe. Es ist ein zeichnerischer Stil, wie er sich im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet nur im Kreis um die Kölner Kelchkuppa wiederfindet. Besonders eng sind die Verbindungen zu dieser, zu den Braunschweiger Evangelisten, vor allem zu jenem, der den Kopf in die Rechte stützt, zum Bleidenstädter Einband, dort in erster Linie zur Kreuzigungsplatte (Abb. 12), und zum Haupt des thronenden Christus im Sakramentar der Kölner Dombibliothek (Abb. 13).

### III

Für den so erweiterten Umkreis der Kölner Niello-Kelchkuppa ergibt sich damit erneut die Frage nach der chronologischen Abfolge der Arbeiten im Einzelnen und der zeitlichen Eingrenzung der Gruppe im Ganzen innerhalb der Goldschmiedekunst des 12. Jahrhundert im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet.

Eine wesentliche Voraussetzung für die Datierung der Gruppe bildete für Weisgerber die Deutung der Hamburger Platte (Abb. 5). Über ihre Herkunft und ursprüngliche Bestimmung ist nichts bekannt; nach dem Befund der Schmalkanten muss sie aus einem grösseren Zusammenhang stammen. Aufgrund der Inschrift im oberen Rahmenstreifen und in Analogie zu kompositionell ähnlichen Investiturszenen des 12. Jahrhunderts identifizierte Weisgerber die Darstellung als Investitur eines heiligen Geistlichen in das bischöfliche Amt durch einen weltlichen Herrscher.<sup>54</sup> Hinweisen von Wilhelm Neuss folgend sah er in der Platte dann das Fragment eines Zyklus aus dem Leben des hl. Anno,<sup>55</sup> die Investitur Annos zum Erzbischof von Köln durch Kaiser Heinrich III.; dieser Szene habe sich unten eine weitere angeschlossen, deren Inschrift PVEROS DOCET sich auf die Tätigkeit Annos als magister scholarum an der Bamberger Domschule beziehe, die in der Vita des Heiligen erwähnt ist.<sup>56</sup> Damit ergebe sich eine Datierung des Emails in das Jahr 1183 oder bald danach, dem Jahr der Kanonisation Annos, weil der hier dargestellte Kleriker mit einem Nimbus ausgezeichnet sei.<sup>57</sup> Diese Deutung wurde von Aloys Fuchs durch die Interpretation von zwei der verlorenen, doch bildlich überlieferten Dachreliefs des Annoschreines in Siegburg als Szenen der Investitur und der Tätigkeit Annos als Jugenderzieher unterstützt.<sup>58</sup>

Die Hamburger Investiturszene kann sich jedoch auch auf jeden anderen heiligen Bischof beziehen, denn weder aus der Darstellung selbst, noch aus der zugehörigen Inschrift ist ein eindeutiger Hinweis auf Anno zu erschliessen. Die von Weisgerber mit der Lehrtätigkeit Annos in Bamberg verknüpfte Inschrift der unteren Rahmenleiste kann dafür nicht als Beweis angesehen werden; Investitur und Lehrscene gehören zum geläufigen Bestand der Vita eines Bischofs.<sup>59</sup>

Bezieht man die Szene aber auf Anno—wie nach Weisgerber vor allem Hermann Schnitzler<sup>60</sup>—dann muss sie nicht unbedingt erst im Jahre 1183 oder danach, sie kann auch schon früher entstanden sein,<sup>61</sup> in propagandistischer Absicht, die sich auf die Herbeiführung der Erhebung und Kanonisation des Erzbischofs richtete. In Annos Vita, die um 1104/05 in Siegburg als Neubearbeitung einer älteren, bald nach seinem Tode (1075) verfassten, doch verlorenen Lebensbeschreibung abgeschlossen ist,<sup>62</sup> wird er bereits als "sanctus" bezeichnet. Auch im Annolied,<sup>63</sup> dessen Abfassung man jetzt überwiegend um 1080 annimmt,<sup>64</sup> erscheint er bereits als Heiliger. Es bleibt jedoch zu vermerken, dass seit dem Abschluss der jüngeren Vita Annonis erst wieder seit 1181 von Bemühungen um die Kanonisation Annos berichtet wird, als Abt Gerhard I. (1171-1185?) von Siegburg entsprechende Verhandlungen aufgenommen hat.<sup>65</sup> Die Auszeichnung Annos durch einen Nimbus und seine Kennzeichnung als Heiliger<sup>66</sup> schon

vor 1183 lässt sich jedenfalls nicht ausschliessen;<sup>67</sup> szenische Darstellungen aus seinem Leben sind erstmalig an seinem Schrein in Siegburg überliefert. Damit ist eine Datierung der Hamburger Platte um oder nach 1183 und zugleich auch der von Weisgerber mit ihr in Verbindung gebrachten anderen Metallarbeiten um 1180 oder danach in Frage gestellt.

Gegenüber der Niello-Kelchkuppa ist die Zeichnung der Investiturszene starrer, gelegentlich auch eckiger und schematischer. Beide Figuren sind von dem Liniennetz der Falten dicht überzogen und von diesem so fest eingebunden, dass die Glieder kaum hervortreten und das Volumen der Gestalten in die Fläche gedrückt wird. Ihre Haltung ist statuarischer, ihre Bewegungen sind steifer als bei den Figuren der Kelchkuppa und der flächenhafte Charakter der Szene wird noch durch die gleichmässige Folie des dunkelblauen Schmelzgrundes betont, vor dem sich beide Gestalten wie ausgeschnitten abheben. Man wird darin traditionelle Elemente erkennen dürfen, die in der Goldschmiedekunst des 12. Jahrhunderts nach Köln weisen. Dort findet man an Werken, wie den szenischen Darstellungen der Deckplatte des Eilbertus-Tragaltars im Welfenschatz,<sup>68</sup> die unmittelbaren Voraussetzungen dieses Stils (Abb. 17).

Mehrfach trifft man an beiden Schmelzarbeiten auf nahezu übereinstimmende Faltenschemata und -motive. Beide zeigen das gleiche Verhältnis der Figuren zum Hintergrund, vor dem sie wie ausgeschnitten stehen, mit ruhigen Bewegungen und in straffem, geschlossenem Umriss.

Andererseits wird man für die Investiturdarstellung eine direkte Abhängigkeit vom Eilbertus-Tragaltar und den ihm mehr oder minder direkt angeschlossenen Emailarbeiten nicht annehmen können. Doch darf in jener Stilrichtung, die die "Eilbertus-Gruppe" repräsentiert, wohl eine wesentliche Voraussetzung für die Hamburger Platte innerhalb der lokalen kölnischen Tradition erkannt werden.

In den beiden Siegburger Platten<sup>69</sup> (Abb. 6 u. 7) verbinden sich die für den Umkreis der Kelchkuppa charakteristischen Stilelemente und Motive in fast exemplarischer Weise. Von der Kelchkuppa und den anderen ihr anzuschliessenden Arbeiten unterscheiden sie sich jedoch, bei allen Gemeinsamkeiten im Zeichnerischen, in ihrem Temperament. Die Szenen sind in der Handlung bewegter und in der Beziehung der Figuren zueinander lebhafter, so etwa im Gegensatz der ausfahrenden Gebärde des heranschreitenden Engels zu dem schlafenden Heiligen, oder der Geste des aufmerksam zuhörenden und schon antwortenden Heiligen, zu dem sich in fast tänzerischer Pose nähernden Engel. Dem entspricht ein abwechslungsreich variiertes Widerspiel der Gewandmotive, das in den beiden Szenen, hier dem lebhaften Dialog zwischen dem Engel und dem Heiligen, dort dem Engel, der dem Schlafenden eine Botschaft bringt, auch im

zeichnerischen Stil unterschiedlichen Ausdruck gewinnt. In der rechten Platte sind die Köpfe runder und kräftiger; nur dort findet man die gleichförmige Wiederholung von Faltenmotiven, wie in der Hamburger Investiturdarstellung; in der anderen Platte sind die Bewegungen dagegen gelöster und die Gewänder fließender.

In sehr naher Beziehung zu den Siegburger Platten werden die Emails mit den Szenen der Kämpfe zwischen Tugenden und Lastern am Dach der Paulusseite des Heribertschreines<sup>70</sup> (Abb. 10a–d) entstanden sein, auch wenn man sie nicht, wie es Weisgerber für möglich hielt, der "gleichen Hand" zuweisen möchte. Sie zeigen gelegentlich direkte Übereinstimmungen mit den Siegburger Platten und lassen sich darüberhinaus auch mit den übrigen Arbeiten um die Kelchkuppa verknüpfen. Der zeichnerische Stil dieser Gruppe hat am Heribertschrein eine Umformung erfahren, eine Steigerung in dramatische und exzentrische Bewegungen, für die sich in der Kölner Goldschmiedekunst des 12. Jahrhunderts nichts Vergleichbares finden lässt.

Die Emails am Armreliquiar in Kopenhagen<sup>71</sup> (Abb. 8 u. 9), die vor Aloys Weisgerber schon Max Creutz<sup>72</sup> mit der Kelchkuppa in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang gebracht hatte, zeigen den gleichen zeichnerischen Stil, die gleichen Kopftypen und zahlreiche Übereinstimmungen in einzelnen Faltenmotiven, doch lassen sie sich keiner der Arbeiten in dieser Gruppe direkt anschließen. Deren typische Zeichenweise erscheint hier in einer Abwandlung, in der man wohl nicht, wie es Weisgerber annahm, einen grösseren zeitlichen Abstand zu den anderen Arbeiten erkennen darf,<sup>73</sup> sondern offensichtlich nur eine andere, eine sehr persönliche Ausbildung dieses Stils, mit der sie sich am ehesten in die Nähe der Kelchkuppa selbst rücken lassen.

#### IV

Bei allen Gemeinsamkeiten im Zeichnerischen wie in den Motiven, die diese Arbeiten miteinander verbinden, sind die Besonderheiten jeder einzelnen nicht zu übersehen. Man wird das wohl nicht allein mit verschiedenen "Händen" innerhalb eines Werkstattbetriebes erklären können. Vielmehr möchte man hier eine sehr ausgeprägte, in sich aber differenzierte Stilrichtung erkennen, für die sich eine chronologische Reihenfolge im Sinn einer fortschreitenden Entwicklung kaum erschliessen lässt.

Für die Datierung der Gruppe ergibt sich mit der in der Hamburger Platte noch nachwirkenden Arbeitsweise des Eilbertus-Tragaltares eine untere Grenze mit den frühen sechziger Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts, wenn

man die Entstehungszeit des Tragaltars<sup>74</sup> und der ihm anzuschliessenden, "auf mehrere Goldschmiedemeister aufzuteilenden"<sup>75</sup> Arbeiten kurz nach der Jahrhundertmitte bis gegen 1160 annimmt. Einen zweiten Anhaltspunkt bildet die unmittelbare Beziehung zum Sakramentar der Kölner Dombibliothek, kurz vor 1164. Ihm steht der Bleidenstädter Einband am nächsten, während die Kelchkuppa mit ihrer fließenderen Zeichenweise über diesen deutlich hinausgeht und sich mehr den Braunschweiger Evangelisten nähert. Die Emails am Armreliquiar in Kopenhagen setzen sicher die Kelchkuppa und auch die Hamburger Platte voraus, wogegen sich die Matthäusplatte am ehesten den Bleidenstädter Emails anschliessen scheint. Die Investiturdarstellung in Hamburg zeigt neben traditionellen Stilelementen Verbindungen zu den Braunschweiger Evangelisten und gelegentlich auch zu den beiden Siegburger Platten, die ihrerseits wohl den Kampfszenen zwischen Tugenden und Lastern am Heribertschrein vorausgehen oder vielleicht auch neben diesem entstanden sind.

So wird man für eine zeitliche Eingrenzung der Gruppe die sechziger und den Beginn der siebziger Jahre annehmen dürfen, in ihnen aber weder schon eine Wirkung des Nikolaus von Verdun noch dessen direkte Voraussetzung erkennen können. Es handelt sich hier um eine Gruppe von Goldschmiedearbeiten, die einen aus maasländischen und kölnischen Traditionen geformten, eigenen zeichnerischen Stil ausgebildet hat, in dem gleichen Jahrzehnt, für das man die Entstehung des Heribertschreines annimmt, doch neben diesem und wohl aus anderen Quellen hervorgegangen. Beide berühren sich aber wiederum stilgeschichtlich, beide repräsentieren besonders eindringlich, wie es vor Nikolaus von Verdun in dieser Masse in Köln sonst kaum beobachtet werden kann, die enge Verbindung der Goldschmiedekunst an Rhein und Maas.

## Anmerkungen

1. A. Schnütgen, *Jahresbericht über Stand und Wirksamkeit des Christlichen Kunstvereins der Erzdiözese Köln für das Jahr 1885*, Köln, 1886, S. 1-10; (Kat.) *Kunsthistorische Ausstellung*, Düsseldorf, 1902, Nr. 519; O. v. Falke in O. v. Falke u. H. Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters und andere Kunstwerke der Kunst-Historischen Ausstellung zu Düsseldorf 1902*, Frankfurt a. M. 1904, S. 17; E. Renard, *Bespr. von: Falke u. Frauberger, "Schmelzarbeiten," Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*,

23, 1904, S. 151; M. Creutz, *Kunstgeschichte der edlen Metalle* (H. Luer u. M. Creutz, *Geschichte der Metallkunst*, 2), Stuttgart, 1909, S. 171; M. Creutz, "Die Goldschmiedekunst des Rhein-Maas-Gebietes," in P. Clemen (Hrsg.), *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, München, 1923, I, S. 128; J. Eschweiler, *Das Erzbischöfliche Diözesan-Museum zu Köln*, Köln, 1924, S. 4; P. Metz, "Das Kunstgewerbe von der Karolingerzeit bis zum Beginn der Gotik," in H. T. Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes aller Völker und aller Zeiten*,



Berlin, 1932, V, S. 275; G. Swarzenski, "Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrich des Löwen," *Städte-Jahrbuch*, 7/8, 1932, S. 387 (weiter zitiert: Swarzenski, "Kunstkreis Heinrich des Löwen"); J. Eschweiler, (Kat.) *Das Erzbischöfliche Diözesanmuseum Köln*, Köln, 1936, S. 8, Nr. 14; A. Weisgerber, "Die Niello-Kelchkuppe des Kölner Diözesanmuseums und der Reste eines Siegburger Anno-Zyklus. Eine Kölner Schmelzwerkstatt vom Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Kunstgabe des Vereins für Christliche Kunst im Erzbistum Köln und Bistum Aachen*, 1937, bes. S. 18 f., 21 (weiter zitiert: Weisgerber, "Niello-Kelchkuppe"); ders., "Das kölnische romanische Armreliquiar im Nationalmuseum in Kopenhagen. Ein weiteres Kunstwerk der Werkstatt der Niellokelchkuppe des Kölner Diözesanmuseums," *Kunstgabe des Vereins für Christliche Kunst im Erzbistum Köln und Bistum Aachen*, 1938, S. 20, 25 f. (weiter zitiert: Weisgerber, "Armreliquiar"); (Kat.) *Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, Bern, 1949, Nr. 354; H. Peters, *Der Siegburger Servatiussschatz* (Die Rheinbücher, N.F. 1), Honnef-Rhein, 1952, S. 17 (weiter zitiert: Peters, *Servatiussschatz*); P. Bloch, (Kat.) *Monumenta Judaica, 2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein*, Köln, 1963, Nr. A28 u. (Handbuch) S. 748; H. Schnitzler u. P. Bloch, in (Kat.) *Der Meister des Dreikönigenschreins*, Köln, 1964, S. 36 f. Nr. 19 (weiter zitiert: Schnitzler u. Bloch, *Kat. Köln*, 1964); G. Zehnder, "Der Sieburger Servatiussschatz," *Heimatbuch der Stadt Siegburg II*, Siegburg, 1967, S. 434 (weiter zitiert: Zehnder, "Servatiussschatz"); H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, Chicago, 1967,<sup>2</sup> S. 79 u. fig. 481 (weiter zitiert: Swarzenski, *Monuments*); (Kat.) *Marienbild in Rheinland und Westfalen*, Essen, 1968, Nr. 13; (Kat.) *Rhein und Maas*, Köln, 1972, Nr. H10.

2. Schnütgen (s. Anm. 1), S. 7: "bisheriger Aufbewahrungsort im Rheinlande"; Weisgerber, "Niello-Kelchkuppe," S. 19 teilt mit, die Kelchkuppe stamme "aus der Eifel."

3. Eine Entstehung der Kelchkuppe in Westfalen haben Schnütgen (s. Anm. 1), S. 9 f. u. Eschweiler, *Das Erzbischöfliche Diözesan-Museum zu Köln* (s. Anm. 1), S. 4 angenommen. Creutz, *Kunstgeschichte der edlen Metalle* (s. Anm. 1), S. 171 nannte sie im Anschluss an nieder-sächsische Nielloarbeiten. Von Swarzenski, *Monuments*, S. 79 u. fig. 481 wurde ihre Herkunft aus Lothringen erwogen. In der übrigen Anm. 1 verzeichneten Literatur wird sie nach Köln lokalisiert.

4. Schnütgen (s. Anm. 1), S. 9; Renard (s.

Anm. 1), S. 151; Eschweiler (s. Anm. 1), S. 4 bzw. 8; Peters, *Servatiussschatz*, S. 17; Bloch, (Handbuch) *Monumenta Judaica* (s. Anm. 1), Abb. 42.

5. Zuerst von Renard (s. Anm. 1), S. 151; danach: Creutz, "Die Goldschmiedekunst" (s. Anm. 1), S. 128; Weisgerber, "Niello Kelchkuppe," S. 19; K. H. Usener, "Ein Mainzer Reliquiar im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum," *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, 3, VIII, 1957, S. 60 f., Anm. 7 (weiter zitiert: Usener, "Mainzer Reliquiar"); Schnitzler u. Bloch, *Kat. Köln*, 1964, S. 37.

6. Weisgerber, "Niello-Kelchkuppe," S. 15-24.

7. Weisgerber, "Armreliquiar," S. 20-29.

8. Wie Weisgerber, "Niello-Kelchkuppe," S. 15 u. 24, Anm. 12 mitteilt, ist er dabei Falke (s. Anm. 1), S. 116 f. gefolgt, der die Hamburger Platte mit den beiden Siegburger Emails in Verbindung gebracht hatte, und Renard (s. Anm. 1), S. 151, von dem vermerkt worden war, dass die Kelchkuppe "nach dem Stil der Figuren unbedingt zu den beiden . . . Siegburger Emailplatten" gehöre. Auf den engen stilgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang der Kelchkuppe mit den beiden Siegburger Emails und den vier halbkreisförmigen Schmelzplatten am Armreliquiar in Kopenhagen hatte vor Weisgerber schon Creutz, *Kunstgeschichte der edlen Metalle* (s. Anm. 1), S. 171 aufmerksam gemacht.

9. Weisgerber, "Niello-Kelchkuppe," S. 18-21.

10. Weisgerber, "Armreliquiar," S. 26-28.

11. Über diesen zuletzt und für das folgende vgl. Verf., "Eine romanische Grubenschmelzplatte aus dem Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseum," *Festschrift für Peter Metz*, Berlin, 1965, S. 154-169; (Kat.) *Rhein und Maas*, Köln, 1972, Nr. H. 10a.

12. Vgl. dazu Usener, "Mainzer Reliquiar," S. 57-64. Ausserdem: K. Hoffmann, *The Year 1200*, I, S. 180 f., no. 185.

13. K. H. Usener, "Kreuzigungsdarstellungen in der mosanen Miniaturmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, IV, 1934, S. 201, Anm. 3; ders., "Mainzer Reliquiar," S. 60 f. Anm. 7.

14. Usener, "Mainzer Reliquiar," a. a. O.

15. Diesen Typus des thronenden Christus kennzeichnen die segnend erhobene Rechte, die dem Oberkörper dicht anliegt, und das von dem wulstförmig gedrehten Mantelsaum gleich einer Schlinge eng umzogene Handgelenk; das geöffnete Buch ist auf das linke Knie gestützt und wird mit der Linken gehalten, meistens von oben, gelegentlich auch von der Seite. Vgl. dazu: F. Rademacher, *Der thronende Christus der Chorschranken aus Gustorf* (Beihefte der *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 12), Köln-Graz, 1964, S. 31 f. u. Anm. 60. Ausserdem: Usener, "Kreuzigungsdarstellungen" (s. Anm. 13), S. 60 f., Anm. 7; ders., "Mainzer Reliquiar," S. 60 f., Anm. 1. Den dort genannten Beispielen ist noch die Majestas Domini der Schmalseite eines Basilika-Reliquiars aus Walrosszahn in Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, hinzuzufügen, vgl. zuletzt (Kat.) *Die Sammlungen des Baron von Hüpsch, Ein Kölner Kunstkabinett um 1800*, Köln, 1964, Nr. 15 u. Abb. 17; Hoffmann (s. Anm. 12), S. 60 f., no. 67.

16. Usener, "Kreuzigungsdarstellungen" (s. Anm. 13), S. 201–203. Ausserdem mit der weiteren Literatur: H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer. Die Romanik*, Düsseldorf, 1959, S. 26. Nr. 18. Danach bes. W. Cahn, "An Illustrated Josephus from the Meuse Region in Merton College, Oxford," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 29, 1966, S. 304.

17. Bereits von Creutz, "Die Goldschmiedekunst" (s. Anm. 1), S. 127, Abb. 107–109 wurden die Darstellungen der Majestas Domini des Sakramentars der Kölner Dombibliothek und der Kelchkuppa gegenübergestellt.

18. Vgl. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer* (s. Anm. 16), Taf. 68.

19. Vgl. Swarzenski, *Monuments*, fig. 423 u. 425.

20. Vgl. E. G. Millar, *The St. Trond Lectionary*, Oxford, 1949.

21. Zu den maasländischen Typen des Gekreuzigten vgl. bes. J. de Borchgrave d'Altena, "Crucifixions mosanes," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, III, 1933, S. 62–67; Usener, "Kreuzigungsdarstellungen" (s. Anm. 13), S. 205–207. Ergänzungen dazu gibt bes. P. Verdier, "Un monument inédit de l'art mosan du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La crucifixion symbolique de Walters Art Gallery," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXX, 1961, S. 17 f.

22. Für Köln ist mit dem Bleidenstädter

Typus sonst nur noch die Kreuzigung des Grubenschmelzkreuzes in Köln, Schnütgen-Museum, zu vergleichen (Kat.) *Das Schnütgen-Museum, Eine Auswahl*, Köln, 1968<sup>4</sup>, Nr. 42 m. Abb. Am Mittelrhein lässt sich für diesen Typus ein Beispiel anführen, im Sakramentar aus Maria Laach, Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek Ms. 891, fol. 55 v. vgl. (Kat.) *Die Sammlungen des Baron von Hüpsch, Ein Kölner Kunstkabinett um 1800*, Köln, 1964, Nr. 59 u. Abb. 92.

23. Usener, "Mainzer Reliquiar," S. 61, Anm. 7.

24. Vgl. F. Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik*, Berlin, 1965, S. 200 f., Kat. Nr. 101, Abb. 140.

25. D. Costa, *Musée Dobrée, Catalogue*, Nantes, 1961, I, S. 24 f. Nr. 20, S. 100 m. Abb.

26. Vgl. Steenbock (s. Anm. 24), S. 202–204, Kat. Nr. 103 u. 104, Abb. 142 u. 143.

27. Vgl. Steenbock (s. Anm. 24), S. 198 f., Kat. Nr. 100, Abb. 137; *Das Schnütgen-Museum* (s. Anm. 22), S. 17, Kat. Nr. 2b m. Abb.

28. H. Schnitzler, *Der Heribertschrein* (Kleine Bücher Rheinischer Kunst), Mönchengladbach, 1962, S. 46.

29. O. v. Falke, R. Schmidt, u. G. Swarzenski, *Der Welfenschatz*, Frankfurt a. M., 1930, S. 66, 127–129, Nr. 18, Taf. 35.

30. Vgl. H. Swarzenski, "The Italian and Mosan Shows in the Light of the Great Art Exhibitions," *The Burlington Magazine*, 95, 1953, S. 155.

31. M. R. Rogers u. O. Goetz, *Handbook to the Lucy Maud Buckingham Medieval Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago*, Chicago, 1945, no. 23, pl. xxix; (Kat.) *Art mosan et arts anciens du pays de Liège*, Liège, 1951, S. 175, Nr. 112, pl. xxii.

32. (Kat.) *Arts of the Middle Ages 1000–1400. Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1940, S. 72, no. 246, pl. xxix.

33. J. Breck, "Notes on some Mosan Enamels," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, I, New York, 1928, S. 81, fig. 1, 82 f.; Verdier (s. Anm. 21), S. 135, 136, fig. 14; Steenbock (s. Anm. 24), S. 203.

34. Swarzenski, *Monuments*, fig. 401.
35. Vgl. zu dieser Gruppe zuletzt: P. Lasko, "The Pentecost Panel and Godefroid de Claire," *The Connoisseur Year Book*, 1966, S. 45–51; W. H. Forsyth, "Around Godefroid de Claire," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XXIV, 1966, S. 304–315.
36. So an den eben genannten Buchdeckeln in Düsseldorf und Brüssel, ebenfalls an der Staurothek in Nantes, vgl. Anm. 24–26.
37. Schnitzler u. Bloch, *Kat. Köln*, 1964, S. 31 zu Nr. 13.
38. Falke (s. Anm. 1), S. 108 f.; Swarzenski, "Kunstkreis Heinrich des Löwen," S. 292 u. Anm. 92, S. 343, Anm. 179, S. 351, Anm. 200.
39. Vgl. dazu P. Verdier, "La grande croix de l'abbé Suger à Saint-Denis," *Cahiers de la civilisation médiévale*, XIII, 1970, S. 25.
40. L. Pressouyre, "Réflexions sur la sculpture du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Champagne," *Gesta*, IX, 2, 1970, S. 21, fig. 8.
41. Swarzenski, "Kunstkreis Heinrich des Löwen," S. 351–360; P. Bloch, "Siebenarmige Leuchter in christlichen Kirchen," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXIII, 1961, S. 145–147, 182, Nr. 5.
42. Swarzenski, "Kunstkreis Heinrich des Löwen," S. 354–360.
43. Bloch (s. Anm. 41), S. 146 f.
44. Swarzenski, *Monuments*, S. 77 u. fig. 462–463.
45. Die ornamentalen Emails am zweiten und dritten Knauf des Braunschweiger Leuchters bleiben hier unberücksichtigt, da ihr Befund eingehender Untersuchung bedarf; sie sind im Jahre 1896 weitgehend erneuert worden, nach Swarzenski, "Kunstkreis Heinrich des Löwen," S. 352 teilweise nur im Schmelzwerk; vgl. auch Bloch (s. Anm. 41), S. 146, 182.
46. H. Pfeifer, "Der siebenarmige Leuchter im Dom zu Braunschweig," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, XI, 1898, S. 36, 47 f.; H. Graeven, "Heinrich's des Löwen siebenarmige Leuchter," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 1902, S. 478; P. J. Meier u. H. Steinacker, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Braunschweig*, Wolfenbüttel, 1906, S. 15; diess., *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Braunschweig*, Braunschweig, 1926, S. 12.
47. Swarzenski, "Kunstkreis Heinrich des Löwen," S. 352.
48. Bloch (s. Anm. 41), S. 147, 182, Nr. 5 erklärt die Tauben des hl. Geistes anstelle der entsprechenden Evangelistensymbole in den Braunschweiger Emails mit der symbolhaften Bedeutung der sieben Lampen des Leuchters für die sieben Gaben des Heiligen Geistes.
49. Vgl. (Kat.) *Die Sammlungen des Baron von Hüpsch* (s. Anm. 22), Abb. 62.
50. Swarzenski, "Kunstkreis Heinrich des Löwen," S. 353.
51. Falke, Schmidt, u. Swarzenski (s. Anm. 29), S. 66, 130, Nr. 19.
52. Swarzenski, "Kunstkreis Heinrich des Löwen," S. 343; O. Homburger, (Kat.) *Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, Bern, 1949, S. 147 f., Nr. 433; R. Rückert, "Eilbertus," *Neue deutsche Biographie*, 4, München, 1959, S. 391; E. Steingräber, "Email," *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, V, Stuttgart, 1959, S. 32.
53. R. Schilling, "Der Welfenschatz," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 64, 1930–1931, S. 40.
54. Weisgerber, "Niello-Kelchkuppe," S. 15 f.
55. Zur Person und Biographie Erzbischof Annos II. von Köln zuletzt, F. W. Oediger, "Anno von Köln," *Neue deutsche Biographie*, 1, München, 1953, S. 304–306; ders., *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, I (Publ. d. Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, XXI), Bonn, 1954–1961, S. 242–338, Nr. 838–1110; R. Klauser, "Anno II.," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 1, 1957<sup>2</sup>, S. 579; F. W. Oediger, W. Neuss, u. F. W. Oediger, *Das Bistum Köln von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Geschichte des Erzbistums Köln, 1), Köln, 1964, bes. S. 184–200; D. Lück, "Erzbischof Anno II. von Köln," *Annalen d. historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 172, 1970, S. 7–112; ders., "Die kölnen Erzbischöfe Hermann II. und Anno II. als Erzkanzler der römischen Kirche," *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 16, 1970, S. 1–50; ders., "Miszellen zur Geschichte Annos II. von Köln und ihre Quellen," *Annalen d. historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 173, 1971, S. 182–204.

56. Weisgerber, "Niello-Kelchkuppe," S. 12 f.
57. Weisgerber, "Armreliquiar," S. 26.
58. A. Fuchs, "Die ursprüngliche figürliche Ausstattung des Annoschreines in Sieburg," *Kunstgabe des Vereins für Christliche Kunst im Erzbistum Köln und Bistum Aachen*, 1938, S. 12 f. Die Zuverlässigkeit der von A. Fuchs erstmalig veröffentlichten, A. Weisgerber offenbar noch unbekannt gewesen. Gemälde mit den Wiedergaben des Annoschreines vom Jahre 1764 in Beleecke/Westfalen wird durch eine wohl gleichzeitig entstandene Zeichnung des Annoschreines von J. W. Fischer bestätigt; vgl. S. Gevaert, "A propos de la chässe de Saint Annon," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, X, 1940, S. 5-10. Ausserdem: Peters, *Servatiusschatz*, S. 20 f.; G. Zehnder, "Servatiusschatz," S. 390 f.
59. H. Swarzenski, "Recent Literature, Chiefly Periodicals, on Medieval Minor Arts," *The Art Bulletin*, XXIV, 1942, S. 301 hat gegen die Deutung der Hamburger Platte durch Weisgerber eingewendet, dass von einer illustrierten Vita des hl. Anno nichts bekannt sei und gemeint, dass die bildliche Überlieferung der verlorenen Ausstattung des Siegburger Annoschreines nicht als verbindliche Quelle für die Ikonographie der Dachreliefs gelten könne. Diesem Vorbehalt wird man angesichts der doch sehr deutlichen Wiedergaben der Dachreliefs auf den beiden Gemälden in Beleecke nicht folgen können. Hoffmann (s. Anm. 12), S. 169, no. 176 lässt, unter Hinweis auf Swarzenski, a. a. O., eine Verbindung der Hamburger Investiturszene zu bestimmten Personen offen.
60. H. Schnitzler, Bespr. von H. Peters, *Servatiusschatz*, in *Kunstchronik*, 6, 1953, S. 56; ders. u. P. Bloch, *Kat. Köln*, 1964, S. 37, Nr. 20. Der Deutung der Hamburger Platte auf Anno haben sich ausserdem angeschlossen: O. Demus, "Nicola da Verdun," *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte*, IX, 1963, S. 919; Zehnder, "Servatiusschatz," S. 434.
61. So bei Schnitzler u. Bloch (s. Anm. 60) für die Hamburger Platte die Bestimmung "Köln, um 1170."
62. Oediger, *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, I (s. Anm. 55), S. 242, Nr. 838; J. Semmler, *Die Klosterreform von Sieburg* (Rheinisches Archiv, 53), Bonn, 1959, S. 221-223.
63. Über das Annolied zuletzt, D. Knab, *Das Annolied. Probleme seiner literarischen Einordnung* (Hermæa. Germanistische Forschungen, N.F. 11), Tübingen, 1962, bes. S. 3-6, 121 f.; E. Nellmann, *Die Reichsidee in deutschen Dichtungen der Salier- und frühen Stauferzeit* (Philologische Studien und Quellen, 16), Berlin, 1963, S. 81. Dagegen hält P. Knoch, "Untersuchungen zum Ideengehalt und zur Datierung des Annoliedes," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 83, 1964, bes. S. 299-301 eine Entstehung des Annoliedes im I. Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts, zwischen 1113 und 1126 für möglich.
64. Vgl. Knab, a. a. O., S. 3 f. u. Anm. 16, 9, 12, 119; Knoch, a. a. O., S. 294 f.
65. Vgl. zuletzt, R. Klauser, "Zur Entwicklung des Heiligsprechungsverfahrens bis zum 13. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 84, Kan. Abt. 40, 1954, S. 96; M. Mittler, "Abt Gerhard I. von Sieburg (1173-1185?)," *Heimatblätter des Siegkreises*, 32, 1964, S. 21-30; ders., *Libellus de Translatione Sancti Annonis Archiepiscopi et Miracula Sancti Annonis. Bericht über die Translation des heiligen Erzbischofs Anno und annonische Mirakelberichte. Siegburger Mirakelbuch* (Siegburger Studien, III-V), Siegburg, 1966-1968, S. 7, Anm. 7.
66. Bernward von Hildesheim, dessen öffentliche kultische Verehrung zwar schon im Jahre 1150 gestattet worden war, dessen Erhebung und offizielle Kanonisation aber erst durch Coelestin III. im Jahre 1193 erfolgte, erscheint bereits seit 1159 mehrfach nimbiert, in den Beischriften als "sanctus" oder "beatus." Dazu bes., S. H. Steinberg, "Die ältesten Bildnisse der Heiligen Bernward und Godehard," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 17, 1927, S. 278 f. Ausserdem: J. Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der heiligen in der deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1943, S. 136; L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III, 1, Paris, 1958, S. 96; D. Valori, "Bernwardo di Hildesheim," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, III, S. 82-85 mit ausführlicher Bibliographie.
67. Vgl. dazu die von P. Bloch, "Romanische Buchmalerei aus Sieburg," *Heimatsbuch der Stadt Sieburg*, II, Siegburg, 1967, S. 542 f. u. Abb. 221, in die Zeit zwischen 1179-1181 datierte Darstellung des hl. Anno als Kirchengründer in der ältesten bekannten Handschrift der vor 1183 entstandenen Vita Annonis minor (Vita B) in Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek Ms. 945, fol. 1 v. Zu dieser Handschrift und ihrer Datierung zuletzt bes., M. Mittler, "Von alten Siegburger Büchern," *Wege*

der Buchwissenschaft, hrsg. v. O. Wenig (Bonner Beiträge zur Bibliotheks und Bücherkunde, 14), Bonn, 1966, S. 30, 39 f. u. ders., "Abt Gerhard I. von Siegburg (1173-1185?)," *Heimatblätter des Siegkreises*, 32, 1964, S. 26.

68. Falke, Schmidt, u. Swarzenski (s. Anm. 29), S. 61-65; E. Meyer, "Goldschmiedekunst des 9. bis 13. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 10, 1942, S. 201 f.; Swarzenski, *Monuments*, S. 57 zu Fig. 241, 242; Kunstgewerbemuseum Schloss Charlottenburg, *Ausgewählte Werke (Kataloge des Kunstgewerbemuseums Berlin, I)*, Berlin, 1963, Nr. 6; A. von Euw in H. Fillitz, *Das Mittelalter, I* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 5), Berlin, 1969, S. 259 zu Abb. 350.

69. Weisgerber, "Niello-Kelchkuppe," bes., S. 17 ff.; Peters, *Servatiusschatz*, S. 16 f.; Schnitzler, Bespr. von H. Peters (s. Anm. 60),

S. 56; Schnitzler u. Bloch, *Kat. Köln*, 1964, S. 36 f.; Zehnder, "Servatiusschatz," S. 433 f.

70. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer* (s. Anm. 16), S. 32-34, Nr. 26; ders., *Der Schrein des heiligen Heribert* (s. Anm. 28); ders. u. Bloch, *Kat. Köln*, 1964, S. 30 f., Nr. 13; Swarzenski, *Monuments*, S. 72 zu fig. 407-413; Euw (s. Anm. 68), S. 260 f. zu Abb. 356.

71. Weisgerber, "Armreliquiar," S. 20-29.

72. Vgl. Anm. 8.

73. Weisgerber, "Armreliquiar," S. 26.

74. Vgl. dazu die Anm. 68 zitierte Literatur.

75. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer* (s. Anm. 16), S. 47 zu Nr. 39.

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE NIELLO BOWL IN COLOGNE

### English Summary by Dietrich Kötzsche

The niello bowl of a chalice in the Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum in Cologne is usually attributed to Cologne and dated to ca. 1180 or ca. 1200.

The bowl was grouped stylistically by A. Weisgerber with the following enamels: the "Investiture" plaque (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe); two plaques with saints and angels (Siegburg, St. Servatius); and four plaques on the base of "St. Olaf's" arm reliquary (Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet). To this group may be added: the front cover of the necrology of Bleidenstadt (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. quart. 651); the evangelist enamels on the candlestick in Brunswick Cathedral; and the plaque of St. Matthew on the veneered casket from the Guelph treasure.

Weisgerber dated the group to around 1183. He based this dating on his belief that the Investiture plaque depicts an episode from the life of St. Anno, and therefore must date to about the time of the saint's canonization. The representation, nonetheless, could have been made before Anno was canonized. Furthermore, 1183 is very late for the linear style of the whole group.

Of more significance in the dating of the group are the stylistic elements of the plaque that reflect those of the Eilbertus portable altar. If the date of soon after 1150 is accepted for the altar, the date of the Investiture plaque would fall within ten years after. Another reason for this dating of our group is its close stylistic link to the sacramentary in Cologne (Dombibliothek, cod. 157), dated to ca. 1164. Within the group itself, the Bleidenstadt book cover is stylistically close to the sacramentary, while the bowl seems later and closer to the Brunswick evangelists. The Copenhagen enamels appear to be later than the bowl and the Investiture plaque, while the Matthew panel is closer to the book cover. The Investiture plaque, besides its traditional elements, has close alliances with the Brunswick evangelists and the Siegburg plaques, and the style of the latter may have been one of the sources for the Virtues and Vices on the Heribert shrine. The whole group can thus be dated to the sixties and early seventies.

Finally, the group evolved from a close partnership of Mosan and Cologne traditions. Its style was developed during the same decade in which the Heribert shrine was probably made, although deriving its style from different sources.



**A B B. 1-4** *Christus, Maria, Melchisedech, Abel. Niello-Kelchkuppe, Erzbischöftliches Diözesanmuseum, Köln (Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln)*

**ABB. 5** Investitur eines Bischofs, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln)



**ABB. 6, 7** Heilige und Engel, St. Servatius, Siegburg (Photo: Schmölz-Huth, Köln)







А В В. 8, 9 *Sog. Armreliquiar des Hl. Olaf, Heilige und Heiliger, Nationalmuseum, Kopenhagen*



ABB. 10 a–d Schrein des Hl. Heribert, Kampfszenen zwischen Tugenden und Lastern, St. Heribert, Köln-Deutz (Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln)

ABB. 11 *Bleidenstädter* Buchdeckel, Ms. lat. quart. 65r, *Majestas Domini* und Apostel, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (Photo: Foto Marburg)





**ABB. 12** Kreuzigungsplatte von  
Bleidenstädter Buchdeckel,  
Ehem. Kunstgewerbemuseum,  
Berlin (Photo: Staatliche  
Museen, Berlin)



**ABB. 13** Lütticher Sakramentar,  
cod. 157, fol. 17 v., *Majestas*  
*Domini*, Dombibliothek, Köln  
(Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv,  
Köln)



A B B. 14, 15 *Siebenarmiger Leuchter, Evangelisten, St. Blasius, Braunschweig (Photo: Foto Marburg)*



A B B. 16 *Matthäusplatte vom "furnierten Kästchen," Slg. Robert von Hirsch, Basel (Photo: Foto Marburg)*



ABB. 17 *Eilbertus-Tragaltar* aus dem Welfenschatz, Detail, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (Photo: Kunstgewerbemuseum Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin)

## The Cross from Valasse

In his chronicle, Robertus de Monte notes, under the year 1157, that a delegation of monks from the monastery of Mortemer (*a mortui mare*) was sent by their abbot Stephen to meet the Empress Mathilde near Rouen.<sup>1</sup> Advised by the archbishop of Rouen, the empress wished to found an abbey in this territory, where she preferred to live since finally leaving England in 1147, after her failure to win the English crown against Stephen. The abbey was to be erected under Cistercian rule and dedicated “ad laudem et honorem Dei et Beatae Mariae omniumque sanctorum.”

In the same year, 1157, as a filiation of the monastery of Mortemer, the abbey of Le Valasse was founded near Lillebonne, on the way to Bolbec. The first abbot was Richard de Blosseville, the only name Robertus de Monte has transmitted. The *Chronicon Valassense*, on the other hand, describes in detail the story of the abbot's election, and also gives the names of his companions.<sup>2</sup> The date of the foundation of Le Valasse was June 15 (14), 1157. Empress Mathilde, Hugo d'Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, and the abbess of Montvilliers (Almodis, who was said to be a sister of Mathilde) were present at the ceremony.

If one believes this source, one can assume that Mathilde was the founder of Le Valasse, and that she gave donations to the new abbey. The filigree cross from the Rouen Museum is often said to be her gift, although the museum's inventory of acquisitions of 1843 more correctly mentions that it *could* be from her treasury.<sup>3</sup>

The first publication of the cross was by Brianchon, who thoroughly examined the strange story of its acquisition.<sup>4</sup> Saved by one of the last pious inhabitants of the manor of Le Valasse-Gruchet after the Revolution, the cross was given to a noble family who decided to sell it in the early 1840s.

After some confusion it finally came to the Rouen Museum through the intercession of the Marquis de Blosseville, probably a descendant of the family of the first abbot. The price was 300 francs, little enough for a marvelous piece of goldsmith's work.

As far as I know, since the first report, the cross has been shown in several exhibitions: Paris-1900; Rouen-1932; Paris-1957; Barcelona-1961; and Paris-1965 at the notable *Les trésors des églises de France*.<sup>5</sup> The catalogue of the 1965 Paris exhibition (edited by M. Taralon) follows the description and dating of the cross by Marie-Madeleine Gauthier in the Barcelona catalogue. She was the first to prove her arguments by a scholarly description and by stylistic analysis. In her opinion, the filigree decoration dates from the last quarter of the twelfth century, and should be compared with décor vermiculé of that time; as seen on the reliquary of about 1175 in the Metropolitan Museum, and, with motifs of décor vermiculé in manuscript illuminations, as in the Helmarshausen manuscripts by Heriman.<sup>6</sup>

What is remarkable is the difference between the larger, outer cross and the smaller, inner cross (Fig. 1). Apparently they do not belong to the same period. The small cross looks older. Its form is related to the Ottonian processional crosses in the Essen cathedral treasury. The type is established by the Lothar cross in Aachen, and has modified followers in the Essen crosses, of which the so-called second Mathilde cross shows very similar capital-shaped terminals.<sup>7</sup> On the Lothar and Essen crosses the decoration actually accentuates their form. Although this organization is not so significant on the Valasse cross, the decoration differs from that on the whole of the large cross. While the large cross is covered with gilded silver plaques, the small cross is of gold, composed of five compartments: a square central plaque and four rectangular areas on the arms, each of which is bordered by pearled wire filigree. Large cabochons outline the cross form; they are accompanied by pairs of little gems, some at the edges diagonally mounted. The filigree ornament is very clearly organized, partly in double coiled volutes with a granule at the end. Where the spirals meet they are fastened with clips that give the whole a stronger structure. The gem settings recall earlier goldsmith's work; they are fastened by a plain collet with a fluted border and a roll-shaped rim, surrounded by pearled wire filigree. The settings of the little stones are similar but somewhat simpler.

The form of the small cross suggests an earlier origin than the large cross, as does the organization of the decoration and its elements. We have little basic data for dating goldsmith's work by ornamental decoration alone; the history of filigree has yet to be written. For somewhat similar motifs in filigree I refer to the Guelf treasure cross in Berlin (Fig. 2), where double coiled spirals are also to be found, although more precise and harder in

feeling; granules and clips only being used along the edges.<sup>8</sup> What appears comparable is the similar organization, characteristic of eleventh-century crosses, in which the harmonic composition is centered on the cross.

If the small cross of Valasse is a late Ottonian work of the early eleventh century, where was it made? Neither the filigree nor the settings can be localized to a region or workshop with any certainty. Some characteristics of the design and the refinement of its manufacture suggest northern Italy. The Guelf treasure cross has been thought to be Italian because of its relationship to the cross of Velletri. This latter cross also has filigree of the same character, especially on the reverse. Again, there are no granules, but the clips are present. However, the different quality of the filigree does not allow us to suppose the same origin for both crosses. Conclusive proof is very difficult because of the absence of directly related works. None of the goldsmith's work from northern Italy or from transalpine regions influenced by Italy—for example, the area of Regensburg—shows the specific mixture of textile structure (in filling the surface) and the rigidity of form. Such particular features might have been typical of works of Lotharingian or Rhenish origin, although no examples survive to compare to the small cross.

The gem settings are also difficult to parallel. They are reminiscent of much older settings, such as those with the indented rims of Carolingian goldsmith's work, analyzed by Usener in his article on the Stephanbursa in Vienna.<sup>9</sup> Comparable to the settings of the small cross is a similar artistic intention and effect, although the form was altered to a more "cubic" Ottonian style.

All observations of form, decoration, and settings confirm the singularity of the small cross, but show it, in my opinion, to be a late Ottonian goldsmith's work, probably of Western origin. On the reverse, the area behind the Ottonian cross has been restored; perhaps this was done in the fifteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

The form of the large cross seems almost to repeat the capital-shaped ends of the small cross. As mentioned above, the wooden core is covered with gilded silver plaques on both sides and along the edges. The contours and most of the compartments are bordered by twisted wire. Filigree ornament overruns the surface between several cabochons of different sizes, which are arranged in a loose order of three rows. Attached to the front is a small reliquary cross with double arms.

The main effect is achieved by the filigree, although there is no clear organization of the ornament throughout. The bands around the small cross on the front contain partly reciprocal scrolls, while the more free running scrolls on the arms form heart-shaped palmettes, enclosing little



branches with granules and occasionally rosettes at the ends. Clips appear again over the hinges and at the points of contact. The decoration on the reverse does not look as rich as the front, and is not as compact; here the pattern is more loosely designed, and the rosettes and clips are missing (Fig. 3). Nevertheless, the wire is doubled, except in the little branches, but is not as regularly serrated as on the front. One might think the two sides to be of different periods, and perhaps see the back as a copy of the front. But I am in doubt—there is no proof. The different impression may result from the different treatment of the same pattern, the front having been given priority.

The decoration of the edges is completely preserved (Fig. 4). Hemispherical bosses appear between embossed pearled bands, and four folded leaves emanate from a central blossom, accompanied by tuberous fruits. This again recalls an earlier kind of decoration found on goldsmith's work of the Carolingian and Ottonian periods. Then, instead of the bosses, stone settings normally alternated with embossed or applied foliage.<sup>11</sup>

If one accepts the tradition that the cross of Valasse was a gift from the Empress Mathilde to her foundation, the date of her death, 1167, would give the terminus ante quem. Stylistic reasons, on the other hand, hardly allow a date quite as early as the sixties. The filigree ornament is surely more typical of the last quarter of the twelfth century. Because of its relatively loose and free design, M.-M. Gauthier has suggested relationships to the freely arranged patterns of vermiculé decoration; her analysis follows the development and transformation of the form from the middle of the twelfth century in several workshops of the West.<sup>12</sup> The studding with rosettes seemed to her to imply a date at the end of the century.

In our present state of knowledge about filigree, one would normally propose a date around 1200 for the addition of rosettes or blossoms on filigree that make the surface more vivid. It announces a development of artistic form and style that culminated in the works of Hugo d'Oignies, where filigree decoration became autonomous. However, in comparison with goldsmith's work of the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century preserved in France, the cross of Valasse does not belong to the group illustrating the rising Gothic style; on the contrary, one should consider it as late Romanesque.

Again, there is the difficulty of finding comparable goldsmith's work that could assist in an exact dating. The examples of *décor vermiculé* are not really satisfactory. So far as one can see, the most comparable filigree patterns are found in illuminated manuscripts, especially the group of richly decorated manuscripts executed in the monastery of Helmarshausen during the second half of the twelfth century. Of the greatest interest are

those executed by Heriman at the command of Henry the Lion. The so-called Gmundener Gospel-book from 1175 in its splendid illuminations shows a great number of decorative patterns that are partly related to textiles, partly to metalwork (Fig. 5). It is not unusual to find similar motifs in book decoration and on goldsmith's work, but it is difficult to say to which belongs the priority of invention. Probably model books assisted as a medium of transmission, so that we could imagine a reciprocal inspiration. I would like to assume that some of the patterns in the Gmundener Gospel-book depend on filigree work, and I would go so far as to believe that kind of ornament not only to be of the same time, but also to depend on the same artistic sources.<sup>13</sup>

The manuscript often has been related not only to Anglo-French influence but also to Western and Mosan styles. Very similar to the works of Heriman seems to be the coincidence of Anglo-French and Mosan elements in the decoration of the Valasse cross. Therefore, despite the lack of comparable goldsmith's work, it seems probable that the large cross of Valasse was made between 1170 and 1180. Historical facts would confirm this date. In 1181 the church of the abbey was consecrated. On this occasion the small cross, given by the empress, might have been enshrined in a larger cross in memory of her.<sup>14</sup> According to tradition, in the following centuries it was used as a processional cross only on solemn occasions. Although highly esteemed, the small cross had to be repaired on the reverse; this was necessary because one side of the small cross had been lost.<sup>15</sup>

As a whole the cross of Valasse cannot be said to be directly connected with the Empress Mathilde. Stylistic and historical reasons would seem to support its donation by one of her followers. Evidently it is an important goldsmith's work of the Plantagenet style, probably made in northwestern France.

## Notes

1. Roberti de Monte (R. de Torinneio) Cronica, Appendix ab Sigebertus ad annum 1158, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, SS. VI, p. 507; Roberti de Monte Cronica, ad ann. 1167, *ibid.*, p. 516.

2. *Chronicon Valassense truncatum* A. R. P. Arturo du Monstier in sua *Neustria pia integrum necnon variis adnotationibus vindicarum ac illustratum*

*de novo edidit F. Somménil*, Rotomagi, 1868, p. 22; see also L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topographique des abbayes et prieurées*, II, M-Z, Macon, 1939, col. 3268 ff.

3. M. Deville, *Musée d'antiquités. Répertoire. Objets acquis pour le Musée et dépenses diverses*, No. 433: "De M. de Blosseville. Croix en argent doré sur bois d'abesse, couverte de filigranes et

ornée de pierres et verres de couleur, provenant de l'abbaye du Valasse, des dernières années du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.—R. 300.—Cette croix *pourrait* avoir été donnée par l'impératrice Mathilde. Hauteur 0.47 m, largeur aux deux bras 0.33 m.”

4. M. Brianchon (Musée des Antiquités, Rouen), “Croix dite du Valasse,” *Bulletin de la commission des antiquités et arts de la Seine-Inférieure*, V, 1882, pp. 68–73.

5. *Exposition universelle*, Paris, 1900, no. 1607: *Exposition d'art religieux ancien*, Rouen, 1932, p. 97, pl. LXXVIII; *Chefs-d'oeuvre romans des Musées de province*, Paris, 1957–58, no. 124; *El arte románico*, Barcelona and Santiago de Compostela, 1961, no. 422; *Les trésors des églises de France*, Paris, 1965, no. 213.

6. Marie-Madeleine Gauthier in *El arte románico*, no. 422; M.-M. Gauthier, “Les décors vermiculés dans les émaux limousins et méridionaux,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, I, Poitiers, 1958, pp. 349 ff.

7. H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer*, Düsseldorf, 1957, I, pls. 151, 152.

8. *Ausgewählte Werke*, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, 1963, no. 5.

9. K. H. Usener, “Zur Datierung der Stephansbursa,” in *Miscellanea pro arte. Festschrift für Hermann Schnitzler*, Düsseldorf, 1965, pp. 38 ff., pls. XV, XIX.

10. The restoration also has been suspected to be of the 19th century. If true, the new cross would have been prepared to fit in the contours more exactly than it actually does. I cannot be sure, but I still believe the restoration to be of earlier date in the typical “composition” of several pieces and the somewhat careless manufacture.

11. This kind of decoration appears on the “*Talisman de Charlemagne*” in Reims Cathedral, the bookcover of Bib. Nat. Ms. lat. 9383, and in the foliage on the frame of the bookcover of Tuotilo at St. Gallen.

12. See note 6.

13. For the Gospel-book see: *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum. 800–1600*, Corvey, 1966, no. 192. Henry the Lion was married to Mathilde of England, granddaughter of the Empress Mathilde. There was a very strong connection between the Guelfs and the court of England; the couple often visited England and also lived sometimes in Normandy.

14. If not given personally to the abbey by the empress, the cross might have come from her treasury and have been dedicated by her son Henry II after her death. S. Roberti de Monte Cronica, MGH, SS. VI, p. 516.

15. See note 10. When I discussed this problem with Professor A. Schönberger, he suggested an enameled crucifixion on the front, and the filigree decoration on the reverse.

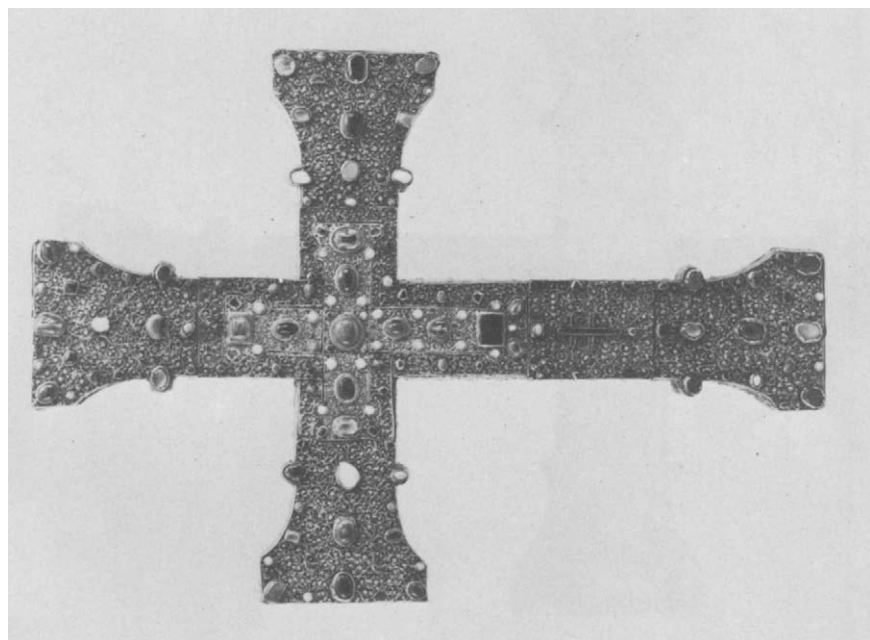


FIG. 1 Cross from Valasse, Musée des Antiquités, Rouen

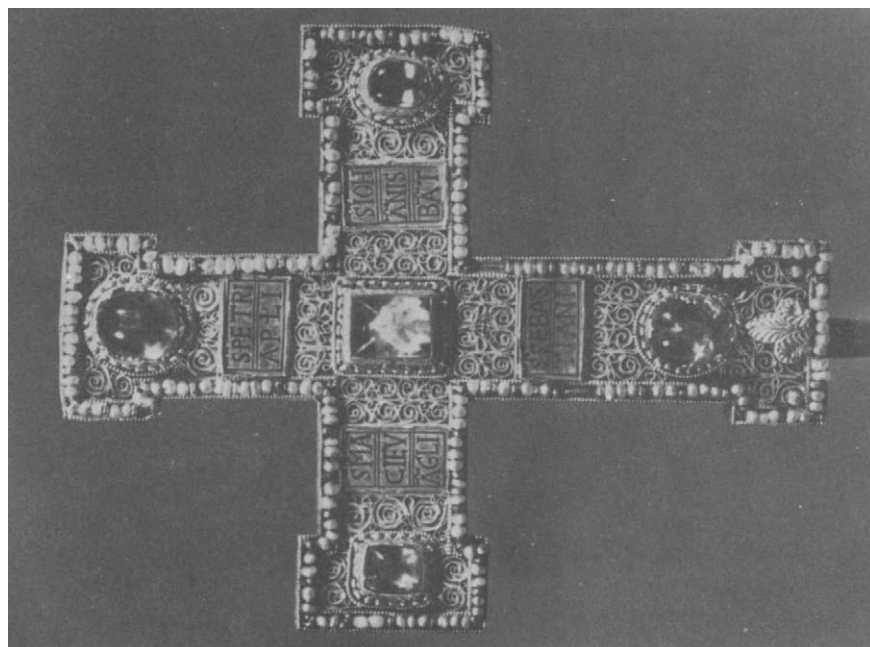
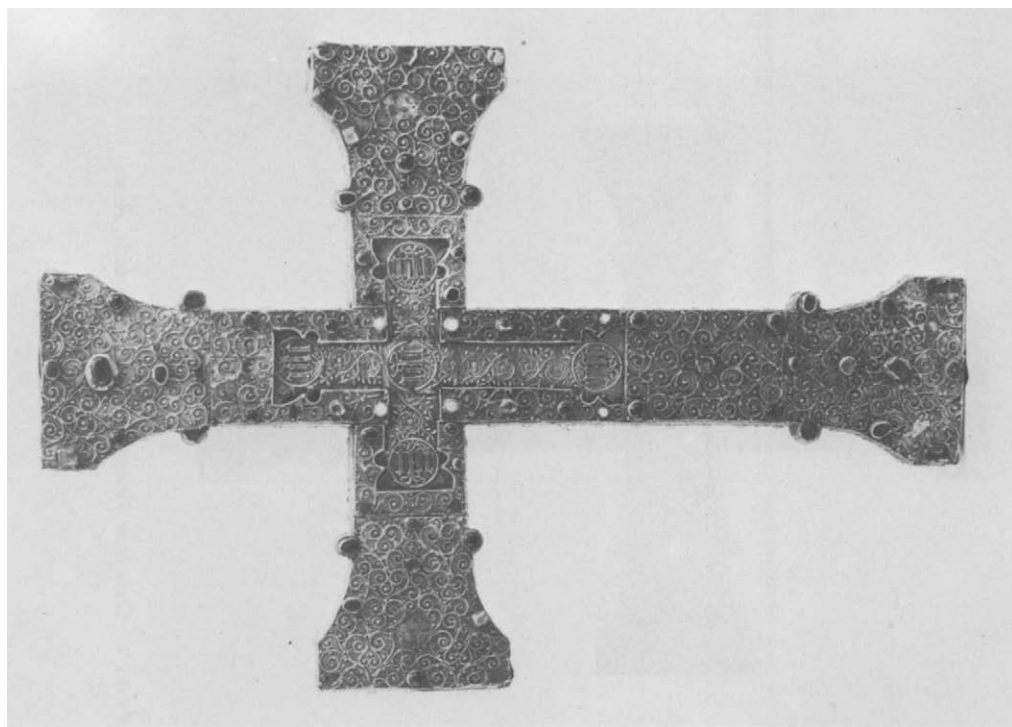


FIG. 2 Guelph treasure cross, reverse, Staatliche Museen, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin



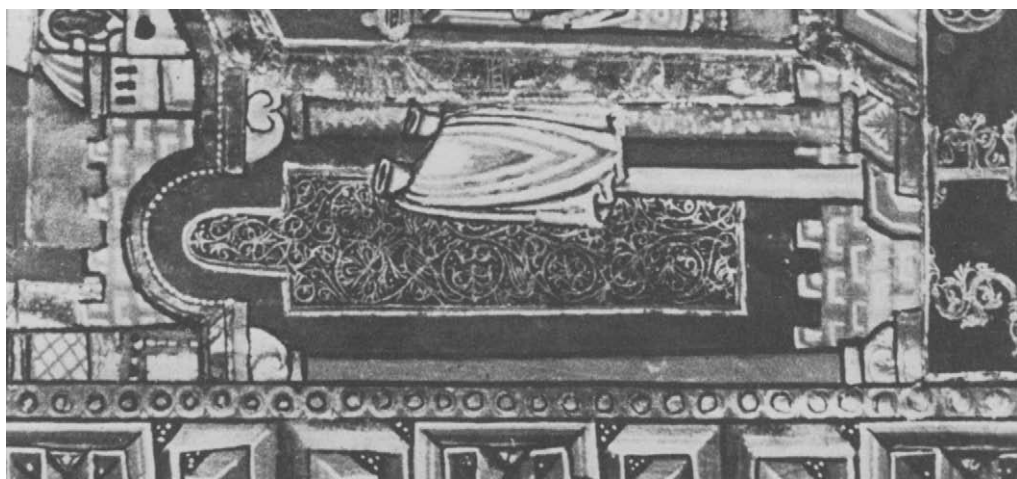
LEFT:

FIG. 3 Cross from Valasse, reverse, Musée  
des Antiquités, Rouen

FIG. 4 Cross from Valasse, side, Musée  
des Antiquités, Rouen



FIG. 5 *Gmundener Gospel-book, detail*





# Manuscript Painting in Paris around 1200

In Paris, as elsewhere in northern France, manuscript painting around 1200 saw rapid advances on two fronts: the change from Romanesque to Gothic style and the shift from monastic to secular artists. Much of the manuscript painting in Paris at this time was of mediocre-to-poor quality. It is tempting, in view of what preceded and of what followed, to see dominant Romanesque traits in the poorer work and to ascribe it to monastic craftsmen who were no longer in full command of their tradition or at the height of their powers, and to stress the Gothic qualities of the better work and attribute it to the rising standards of the professional painters. Such a rule of thumb is not always correct, since a large part of the secular output was uninspired and—what is almost a condition of its existence—routine. On the other hand, I do not know of any outstanding monk-painter, such as Matthew Paris at a later time, who was working in Paris around 1200.

Let us begin with the lesser, nay, the very least, works and progress to the better. One is a volume of homilies on the Gospel lessons, from St.-Germain-des-Prés, with an initial showing the Baptism (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Another is a missal for St.-Maur-des-Fossés, the priory just outside Paris, a manuscript that still contains two initials at the start of the mass (Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> The homilies initial has light colors and painted, rather than inked, shadows; the missal initials have heavily painted heads and linear bodies. All are in rather a poor state of preservation, but no one would, I think, place them high on the ladder of quality. Quite different is the work in the Paris Pontifical formerly in the library at Metz and now destroyed (Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup> Here the figures retain the monumentality of the best late Romanesque painting, with decisive contours and deft, subtle modeling. Unfortunately, however, this particular style does not seem to have continued in Paris; at least I know of no later examples.



Perhaps the most important aspect of Parisian painting of this time was its cosmopolitan character, the existence of a number of distinct styles (or ateliers) literally side by side, each with its own traditions and aims and its own rate of development. This is probably the best description of the "transition" from Romanesque to Gothic in Paris, one of the few cities in northern Europe able to support more than one productive atelier at a time. A few of the more important cases will be taken up here.

Some members of the atelier that produced the Manerius Bible and its affiliates, of which an example was included in *The Year 1200* exhibition (no. 246),<sup>4</sup> were working in Paris around 1200, in one case, at least, for the Augustinian house of St.-Victor. Only three examples need be mentioned. One is a miscellany volume including John Belet's *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* which contains one illustrated initial and the well-known colophon, "Guido scriptor hanc summam sancto Victori Parisiensi scripsit" (Fig. 4).<sup>5</sup> We should recall that St.-Victor had an active scriptorium during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—the regulations are spelled out in the rules of the order<sup>6</sup> (Walter Cahn's paper elsewhere in this volume casts light on the style of the later twelfth century)—and that it seems to have solved the problem of transition from monastic to secular production at that time by hiring professionals to come in and use the facilities of the cloister. The initial in the miscellany, a tall "I" with heads and animals in a rinceau, is distinctly in the Manerius orbit.

A second manuscript in the group is the Peter Lombard gloss on the psalter (Fig. 5). Its relation to Belet's *Summa* can easily be seen in the scrollwork, with leaves of a different color from the stems, and particularly in the head type and the animals. This is the well-known manuscript mentioned by Yvonne Deslandres in her study of Parisian illumination of the twelfth century,<sup>7</sup> the one given by a cleric named Nicolas, who retired to St.-Victor, to the abbot of the house, Guarinus, to dispose of as he saw fit. Guarinus (1177–1192) left it to St.-Germain-des-Prés. There is no indication as to where Nicolas got the manuscript, but I make bold to suggest that he may have had it made through St.-Victor. If this were so, it might also be possible to ascribe to Paris the beautiful two-volume Peter Lombard gloss on the Pauline Epistles (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 14266–14267), the title page of which still bears the Victorine coat of arms that was added to its library books in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Fig. 6).<sup>8</sup> But I do not want to pursue this line further here, or to claim either that all the Manerius-style works were made in Paris (as the old popular view would have it), or that the members of the atelier who were in Paris resided at St.-Victor. These points are still to be decided.

A second Parisian atelier of no later than about 1210 painted in a version

of the *Muldenfaltenstil*, as is shown by Leber 6, the psalter and hours for Parisian use now at Rouen (Fig. 7).<sup>9</sup> I recently suggested that the descendants of this group produced one of the Ste.-Chapelle evangeliaries (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8892), and I persist in this opinion despite certain criticisms.<sup>10</sup> In view of the quality of Leber 6, it might be said here that, insofar as the looped style is concerned in manuscript illumination, Paris was still a provincial outpost in the early thirteenth century; apparently it had not yet developed into the great center it was to become in the next twenty years, and the best artists—to judge by Leber 6, at any rate—were still working elsewhere.

This is also true of the third group, the one leading to the moralized Bibles. Another St.-Maur missal<sup>11</sup> of about 1200, certainly very naïve and not even well painted (Fig. 8), seems to be a very early flower on the stalk that was to produce the well-known cathedral missal of about 1220 (Fig. 9) and, in turn, one painter in the Moralized Bible itself (Vienna 1179).<sup>12</sup> The Moralized Bible is of course of much higher quality, as are its cousins, the book of treatises ascribed to Garnier de Rochefort, bishop of Langres (Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 392),<sup>13</sup> and the Moralized Bible in French (Vienna 2554). It is possible that the minor painters migrated to Paris first, like cadet sons of feudal lords seeking their fortunes far from the current centers of power, and that after the scent of money had been picked up in Paris, the master painters followed suit. Be this as it may, the artist of the Paris Psalter, one of the outstanding painters in this style, seems to have been in the capital no later than about 1215 or 1220 (Fig. 10).<sup>14</sup>

This brief report must conclude with a comment on Paris and royal patronage around 1200. Manuscripts painted for the king, his family, and the members of his court are quite rightly looked for among the great and beautiful works of any period. But around 1200 Paris was not yet the capital of France in the fullest modern sense of the word. The king did not yet reside there for long periods, and administrative offices were not yet established there. The Fréteval ambush, for instance, which led to the location of the royal archives in Paris, had taken place only in 1194, and by 1200 Guérin de Senlis had scarcely begun the work of tracking down copies of lost documents with which to re-establish the archives. Fifty years later all this would be changed; but in 1200 Paris had not yet achieved a dominant and unassailable position in many of the arts or in other fields of endeavor. Royal commands and royal orders might just as easily have been given to any atelier anywhere as to one in Paris. Indeed, that situation was to obtain throughout most of the thirteenth century.

This raises the interesting and thorny question of the so-called Ingeborg Psalter, on which a few words must now be said, trusting my readers will

forgive what must appear to be a digression from the subject at hand. I take my justification from the recent review of Florens Deuchler's book by Reiner Hausscherr, in which the latter claims the calendar indicates the manuscript was made in Paris.<sup>15</sup> Deuchler, of course, says the work was made for Queen Ingeborg in northern France. I must confess I think both gentlemen are partly in error, as will appear from the following.

The phrase, "made in Paris," suggests that the atelier, or at least its chief painter, was in residence there, and I know of no other work in this famous style that can be definitely associated with that city. There is, however, a small group of Parisian works that in a way serves to support this denial by providing evidence of yet another atelier active in the capital, one that was related to but distinctly different from the one that painted the Ingeborg Psalter. The critical manuscript is probably the gradual for the use of St.-Victor, a work that *must* have been painted in Paris.<sup>16</sup> It has one initial, showing St. Gregory writing the mass (Fig. 11), an awkward figure and one painted without much flair. The "tubular" folds of drapery are of particular interest here, however, for they permit us to associate two other manuscripts with the gradual. One of these is Gilles de Paris' *Miroir des princes*, of which the dedication copy still exists.<sup>17</sup> It was written for the dauphin Louis, son and successor of Philip Augustus, who was born in 1187, and it probably dates from about 1195-1200. The features of the tinted figures of the Virtues and Gilles presenting his work to the seated prince (Fig. 12) resemble those of St. Gregory, due allowance being made for the difference between painting and tinted drawing, and for the fact that the *Miroir* heads are in poor condition. The painted and much more carefully executed image of the "prince" in the *Miroir* (Fig. 13), probably by the same hand as the Virtues, provides us with an image that is useful in associating a third manuscript with the two just mentioned. This is a combined Peter of Poitiers *Genealogy* and a Petrus Comestor manuscript in Naples.<sup>18</sup> Several of the Naples illuminations are close in style to the prince, one in particular—a King David<sup>19</sup>—having virtually the same features. But other aspects of the Naples manuscript, especially the drapery, look more like the St. Gregory (Fig. 14). There is therefore some reason to think that all three manuscripts form a group, the work now in Naples being the most distinguished in execution, and also some reason to believe they were all painted in Paris about 1200.<sup>20</sup>

Even the most cursory comparison, however, reveals profound differences between the Peter of Poitiers manuscript and the Ingeborg Psalter. Indeed, despite certain similarities in the general treatment of forms and in details, it is well-nigh impossible to link the Paris group directly to the psalter. It is much more likely that they are cousins than brothers, descending from some

common source. Yet another cousin seems to be no other than the Guthlac roll, which cannot be assigned to the Ingeborg group but which reveals undeniable relationships both to it and to the Parisian manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> These three shops may in fact be different geographical manifestations of the late twelfth-century “international style” suggested by Homburger.<sup>22</sup> Had the Ingeborg Psalter been made in Paris, it could only have been in addition to—I am even tempted to say, in contradiction to—the three Parisian manuscripts just discussed.

Haussherr stressed the Parisian elements in the Ingeborg calendar, and they are many. But to conclude from this that the manuscript was made in Paris is to overlook another possibility, one that appears to me at least as provocative, namely, that it was commissioned for the royal *capella*. As is well known, the *capella* of the king followed the usage of Paris in the thirteenth century, a fact attested by the later royal psalters, by the Bari sequentiary, and so on.<sup>23</sup> But this does not by itself prove that any of these manuscripts was executed in Paris. Manuscripts for the royal family were continually bought ready-made from various places—witness the Leyden and Arsenal psalters—and there is no reason why one could not have been commissioned outside the capital, especially in view of the uncertain quality of Parisian work around 1200. Queen Blanche of Castille had two psalters copied at Orléans in 1242, for example.<sup>24</sup> So the calendar in the Ingeborg Psalter probably ought to be understood as a calendar of the *capella regis*. As far as I know, it is the earliest one known to us.

But if the *capella* explains the calendar of the Ingeborg Psalter, another question remains to be asked: Was the manuscript in fact made for Ingeborg at all? Deuchler does not raise the issue, and even Delisle glided quietly around it.<sup>25</sup> There is no element relating to Ingeborg in the manuscript that cannot fairly be dated at or about the time of her reinstatement in 1213. The four entries added to the calendar—in the same hand and in the same ink—relate to the battle of Bouvines (1214), the death of Eleanor of Vermandois (ca. 1213), and the deaths of Waldemar I (1182) and Sophia (1198), Ingeborg’s parents. To put the question squarely: If the manuscript was originally made for Ingeborg, why was not at least the entry for Waldemar included at the start? To my way of thinking, the sanest answer is simply that the book came into Ingeborg’s hands only after her reinstatement. It is not too farfetched to imagine that the Danish princess, brought back to court after twenty years of banishment and coming into possession of items she undoubtedly considered rightfully hers from the start, had the obituaries of her family and friends added to what was now her chapel psalter. It is tempting, in this view, to suggest that the fairly large number of saints in the calendar may indicate a later rather than an earlier date, although no

one would, I am sure, let a period of five or even ten years become a source of contention.<sup>26</sup>

Let me recapitulate. I am suggesting that the manuscript was made in northern France (but not in Paris) for a queen (or even simply a royal princess) of France, following Deuchler's arguments on the royal character of the iconography; and if not for Isabella of Hainault, Philip's first wife who died in 1189-1190, then perhaps for Agnes of Meran, the Bavarian princess whom he married in 1196 and who died in 1201. But whether or not it was made for one of these ladies, I suggest the volume was more in the nature of a possession of the royal *capella* than of the queen personally, which would account for the way it later passed to Saint Louis and ultimately with other royal books to Vincennes, where it appeared in the 1380 inventory.

Unfortunately, this is as far as I can honestly go and remain close to the limits of this paper's subject matter, which can be summed up thus: Manuscript painting in Paris around 1200 was a valley between its monumental past and its very elegant future; in several senses it was in transition, from monastic to secular and from Romanesque to Gothic; multiplicity and change were the rule.

## Notes

1. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. 11704. See Y. Deslandres, "La décoration des manuscrits de la région parisienne du IX<sup>e</sup> au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," doctoral thesis, Ecole nationale des chartes, 1950, pp. 161-162 and appendix, p. 18.

2. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. 13247. See V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Mâcon, 1924, II, pp. 77-78.

3. Metz, Bibl. Mun. Ms. 1169. See Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Mâcon, 1937, I, pp. 223-230.

4. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Mss. lat. 11535 and 11534.

5. See L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, Paris, 1868, II, p. 214. The section written by Guido begins with the initial on fol. 163 and ends with the colophon on fol. 247.

6. See my "Copenhagen Corpus," *Konsthistorisk Tijdskrift*, 38, 1969, note 23.

7. Deslandres, pp. 155-156.

8. The second volume contains a number of pages decorated with marginalia.

9. See Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Mâcon, 1940-1941, II, pp. 198-200.

10. See my "Le premier évangélaire de la Sainte-Chapelle," *Revue de l'art*, 3, 1969, pp. 37-48, esp. p. 45. See also D. Gaborit, in *Bulletin monumental*, 127, III, 1969, pp. 248-249.

11. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, II, p. 77.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 47 ff. The Moralized Bible painter seems to have worked on fols. 1, 3-9, 11-32, and 41-56; the same master may have

painted in the glossed Bible, Mazarine Mss. 137, 140, and 144.

13. L. Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux manuscrits et les plus belles reliures de la Bibliothèque de Troyes*, Troyes, 1935, p. 87 and fig. 38. Garnier, who gave the manuscript to Clairvaux, was still alive in February 1226 (n.s.) and, while there is no evidence to show he had it copied and illuminated in Paris, there is no evidence against this, either.

14. Leroquais, *Psautiers*, pp. 137-139.

15. F. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967; R. Hausherr in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 32, 1969, pp. 51-68.

16. St.-Victor usage is indicated by the presence of services for the entire octave of the patron (fol. 101 v.) and for his relics (fol. 96).

17. W. Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXVII, Stuttgart, 1938, p. 296.

18. *Arte francese a Napoli*, exhibition catalogue, Naples, 1967, no. 1 and pls. 1 and 11; M. Rotili, *Miniatura francese a Napoli*, *Miniatura e arti minori in Campania*, 2, Naples, n.d., pls. v and vi.

19. *Ibid.*, pl. vi c.

20. Other Parisian manuscripts, deriving directly from these and dating from the early years of the thirteenth century, indicate the shop was in residence in Paris for some time. See my forthcoming *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*.

21. G. Warner, *The Guthlac Roll*, Oxford, 1928; M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Baltimore, 1954, pp. 95, 96, and 108.

22. O. Homburger, "Zur Stilbestimmung der figürlichen Kunst Deutschlands und des westlichen Europas im Zeitraum zwischen 1190 u. 1250," *Formositas Romanica*, Frauenfeld, 1958, pp. 29-45.

23. See my "Two Parisian *Capella* Books in Bari," *Gesta*, 8, 1969, pp. 14-19, and my "The Sainte-Chapelle and the *Capella Regis* in the Thirteenth Century," *Gesta*, 10, 1971, pp. 19-22.

24. Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, p. 7, note 1.

25. Delisle, *Notice de douze livres royaux du XIII<sup>e</sup> et du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1902, esp. pp. 12-13.

26. I am aware of the arguments of Liebman linking the Ingeborg craftsmen to a group containing Scandinavian scribes, but I am not certain that his evidence, even if it be unique, points unequivocally to Ingeborg's entourage (C. J. Liebman, "Remarks on the Manuscript Tradition of the French Psalter-Commentary," *Scriptorium*, 13, 1959, pp. 61-69).

## Postscript

With respect to the various arguments concerning the attribution of hands for the additional entries in the Ingeborg calendar, I prefer (perhaps conservatively) those of Delisle (*Notice*, p. 12). It is also perhaps worth emphasizing Francis Wormald's comment made during the Symposium, to the effect that calendars in such luxury volumes as the Ingeborg Psalter were probably not made for the same intensive liturgical purposes as ones in more modest, work-a-day volumes; the latter reveal their place of usage at once, the former often not at all or only in a very general manner (see Leroquais, *Psautiers*, p. lxiv, on psalter calendars in general).

H. F. Delaborde's "Note sur le Carolinus de Gilles de Paris," in the *Mélanges E. Châtelain*

(Paris, 1910, pp. 195-203) has just come to my attention. Delaborde notes that the poem was written in 1197, corrected in 1198, and copied and presented to the dauphin on September 3, 1200. He also shows that the first seven folia, including the one containing the images of the Virtues, was added to the volume sometime between 1216 and 1223. To my way of thinking it could still have come from the same atelier as the painted image of the prince and would be an indication of the longevity of the atelier. A later date does not disturb the relations among the prince, the St.-Victor Gradual, and the Peter of Poitiers. This and related questions will be taken up in my forthcoming book, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*.



FIG. 1 *St.-Germain-des-Prés Homilies, Ms. lat. 11704, fol. 1: Baptism, Bibliothèque Nationale*

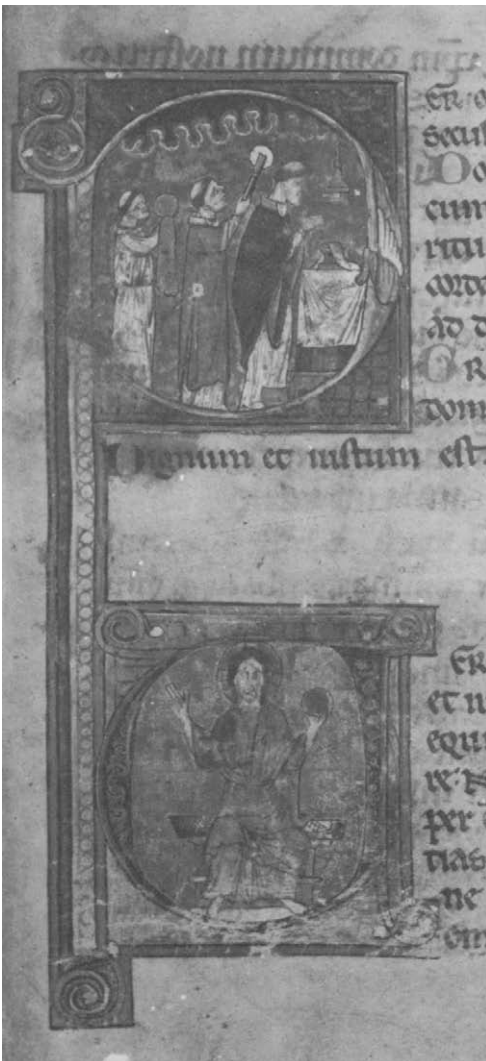


FIG. 3 *Paris Pontifical, Ms. 1169, fol. 146: Te igitur, formerly Bibliothèque Municipale, Metz*

FIG. 2 *St.-Maur-des-Fossés Missal, Ms. lat. 13247, fol. 133: Per omnia and Vere dignum, Bibliothèque Nationale*

FIG. 4 *St.-Victor Miscellany, Ms. lat. 14860, fol. 163: Summa of John Beleth, Bibliothèque Nationale*

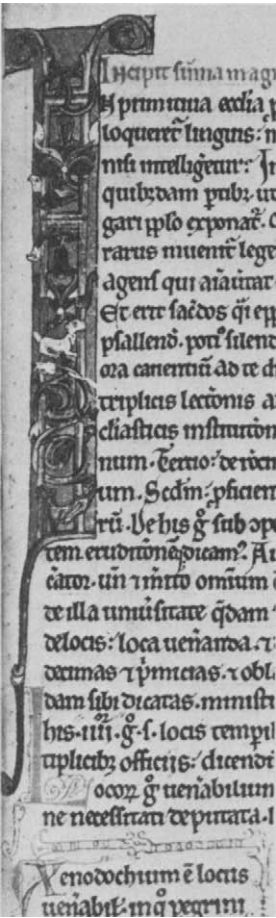


FIG. 5 *Peter Lombard, Gloss on Psalter, Ms. lat. 11565, fol. 63, Psalm 51, Bibliothèque Nationale*





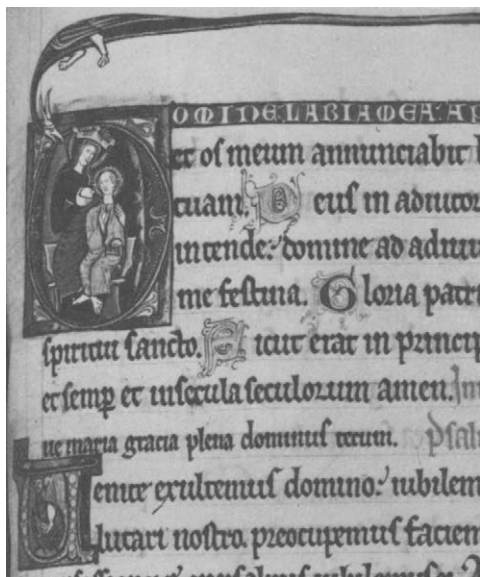
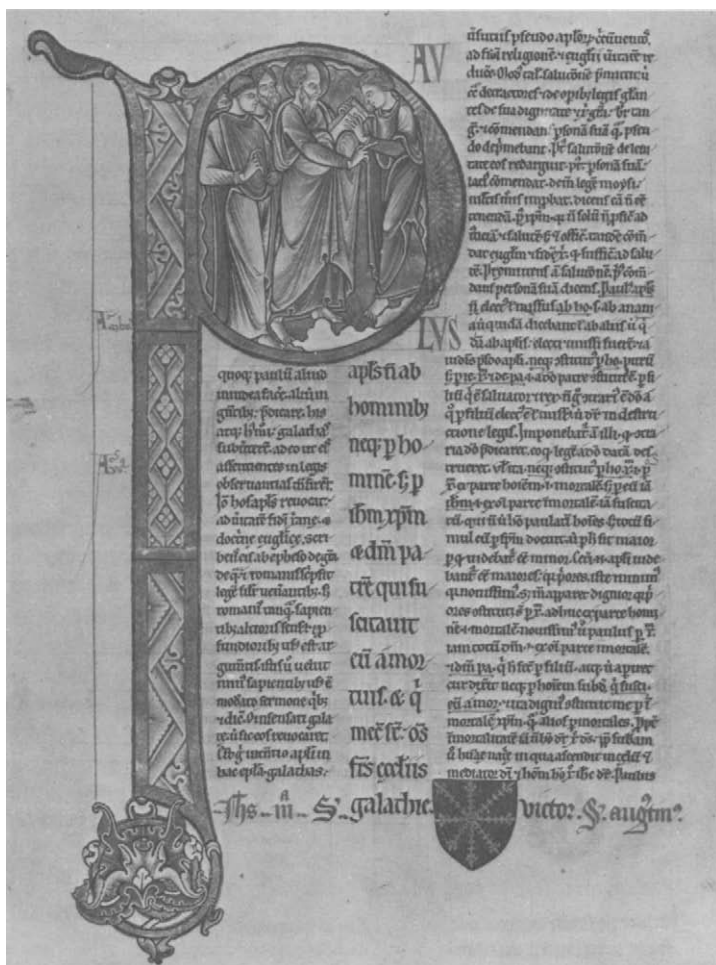




FIG. 8 *St.-Maur-des-Fossés Missal, Ms. lat. 12059, fol. 131: Majesty, Bibliothèque Nationale*

ABOVE, RIGHT:

FIG. 9 *Paris Missal, Ms. lat. 1112, fol. 9: Ad te levavi, Bibliothèque Nationale*

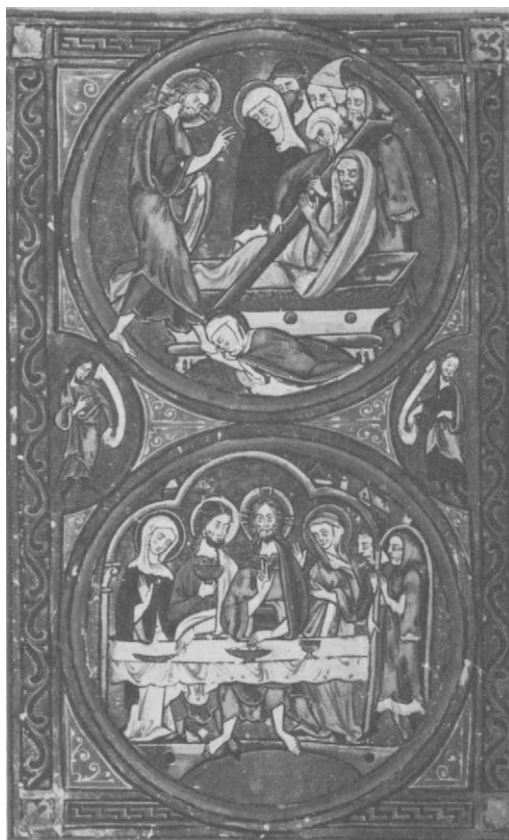


FIG. 10 *The Paris Psalter, nouv. acq. Ms. lat. 1392, fol. 6 v.: Raising of Lazarus, Christ in the House of Martha and Mary, Bibliothèque Nationale*



FIG. 11 St.-Victor Gradual, Ms. lat. 14452, fol. 1r: St. Gregory, Bibliothèque Nationale



FIG. 12 Gilles de Paris, Miroir des princes, Ms. lat. 6191, fol. VII v.: Virtues and Presentation of the Book, Bibliothèque Nationale

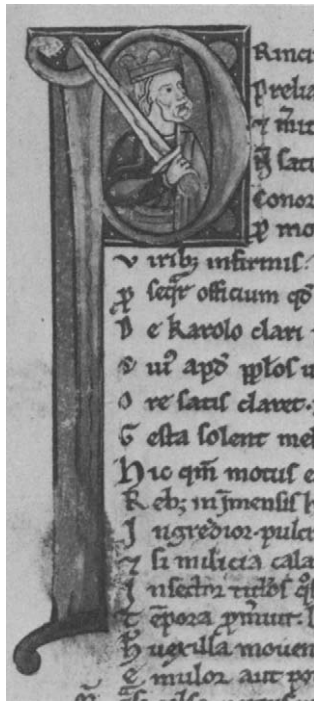


FIG. 13 Gilles de Paris, *Miroir des princes*, Ms. lat. 6191, fol. 1 v.: *The Prince*, Bibliothèque Nationale

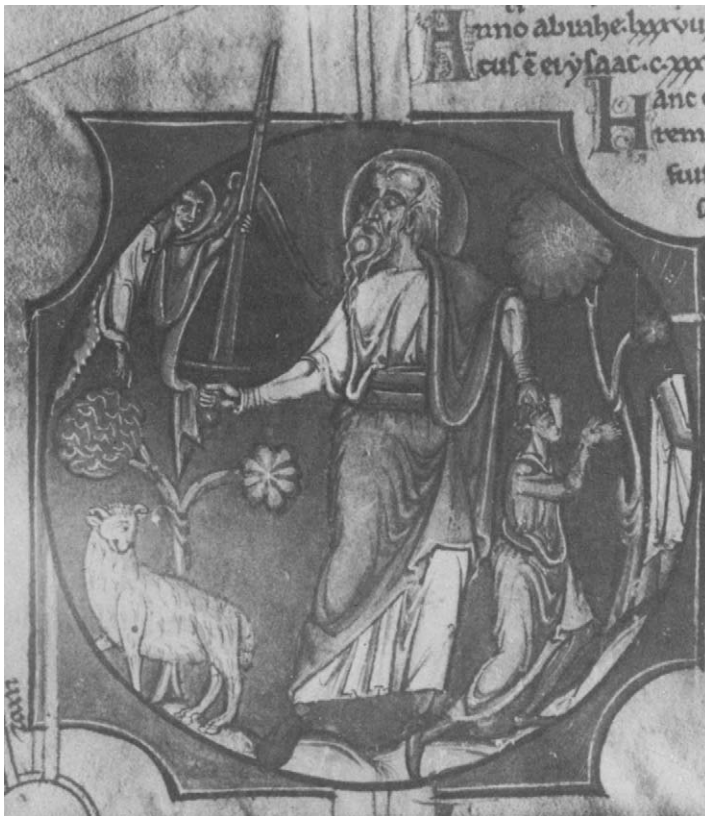


FIG. 14 Pierre de Poitiers, *Genealogy*, Ms. VIII. C. 3., fol. 2: *Sacrifice of Abraham*, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples



# St. Albans and the Channel Style in England

**T**he evolution of Romanesque book illumination in its concluding phases is very difficult to chart in detail. This is not due to lack of evidence. On the contrary, an abundance of fine illuminated manuscripts that exemplify various stages of this development are extant. Unfortunately, the key pieces, like the Ingeborg Psalter in Chantilly,<sup>1</sup> or the third copy of the Utrecht Psalter in Paris, are not datable with precision.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, these and other pertinent monuments stand out as singular and problematic entities without direct antecedents and only a limited posterity. St. Albans, however, is a welcome exception to the general pattern. It was a most productive center in the later years of the twelfth century and, by good fortune, enough of this production survives to make possible a reconstruction of the major lines of development along reasonably precise chronological lines.

The remarkable activity of the scriptorium of St. Albans in the later years of the twelfth century was due to the initiative of Abbot Simon, who governed the monastery between 1167 and 1183. Earlier in the century, the local workshop had distinguished itself through the production of a fine group of manuscripts dominated by the famous Albani Psalter in Hildesheim.<sup>3</sup> The situation in the approximately four decades between the completion of this work and the beginning of Simon's abbacy is less sharply etched on the historical record. In this period must be placed the copy of the Encyclopedia of Rabanus Maurus in the British Museum, which likely dates close to the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> The large painted initial at the beginning of the text (Fig. 1) is by a hand otherwise unknown at St. Albans, though the construction of the upper part of the letter with its spiraling scrollwork in which little figures disport themselves is roughly comparable to a fragmentary and probably somewhat earlier ivory found on the site of the monastery

(Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> This modest yet attractive effort, taken in conjunction with other evidence of miniature painting from this time in St. Albans manuscripts, might lead one to temper, if not altogether cast aside, the negative judgment found in the *Gesta abbatum* on the state of the scriptorium under Simon's immediate predecessors.<sup>6</sup>

The *Gesta abbatum* commends Simon as a learned man and a devoted bibliophile.<sup>7</sup> He is said himself to have been a scribe, and it is clear that he was remembered first and foremost for his scholarly and artistic gifts. R. Vaughn has pointed out that while there is evidence that Simon involved himself to the full in the customary juridical and material transactions on behalf of the monastery, these are unreported in the chronicle. In contrast to the records of both his predecessor and successor, a fair proportion of the much shorter section devoted to Simon's tenure is concerned with additions to the ornaments of the church—goldsmiths' work and books.<sup>8</sup> It is perhaps no accident that in the gallery of avowedly conventional portraits inserted in Matthew Paris' redaction of the *Gesta*, he is the only figure to be flanked by a lectern (Fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> The corresponding illustration in Walsingham's copy and continuation of the chronicle, executed before 1394, amplifies on this characterization by showing him fingering a volume and standing by a cupboard containing painting supplies (Fig. 4).<sup>10</sup> As for the material evidence on which his reputation rests, six manuscripts with identifying inscriptions are known. In two of these manuscripts—the John of Salisbury in the British Museum and the Commentary on Leviticus by Radulphus Flaviacensis in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, which are discussed below—these inscriptions are in the same hand as the text that they precede. The others were added in minium by a librarian at a somewhat later time, most likely on the basis of dependable information and as part of the same process of consolidation of the abbot's reputation as a patron of learning. With the help of Neil Ker's still indispensable handlist and comparisons based on style, other volumes can be restituted to the atelier which he directed.<sup>11</sup>

The two earliest among the books given by Simon to the monastic library constitute more an extension of the past than a radically new departure. The decoration of the copy of Cassiodorus' Commentary on the Psalms (Psalms 1 to 50) in the Escorial seems to derive directly from the Bible of Bury St. Edmunds two or three decades earlier in date, and can scarcely have been executed very long after Simon's elevation to the abbacy in 1167 (Fig. 5).<sup>12</sup> The volume of works of John of Salisbury in the British Museum is a similarly unadventurous product. The elegant pen-drawn initials at the beginning of the major subsections of the text (Fig. 6) resemble closely the kind of work found in the unassuming gradual of the Bodleian Library, a volume which cannot be too many years older, but likely antedates Simon's

reforms.<sup>13</sup> A much more forward-sounding note is struck in the painted initial which introduces John's *Entheticus in Polycraticum* on the first folio of the manuscript and in the decorative pen-work flourish of the first letter of the incipit in its upper left corner (Fig. 7). The letter, which is inhabited by a pair of quadrupeds facing in opposite directions, looks back, for its design at least, to the kind of initial seen in a Boethius from Canterbury dated by Dodwell between 1120 and 1150.<sup>14</sup> But the treatment in fluidly outlined bright and flat tones does not belie its later date.

The foremost new artistic personality to appear on the scene in Simon's years was the painter responsible for the decoration of two further volumes for which the abbot takes credit, the Homilies on Ezekiel of Gregory the Great in Stonyhurst College,<sup>15</sup> and the Commentary on Leviticus by Radulphus Flaviacensis in Trinity Hall, Cambridge.<sup>16</sup> The second and earlier of these codices shows, from Book IV of the work onward, large pen-drawn decorative initials similar to those in the British Museum John of Salisbury. But the script is more angular and a somewhat half-hearted attempt has been made to "modernize" these letters by surrounding them with the more agile linear flourishes of more recent stylistic vintage (Fig. 8). The principal master executed the historiated initials at the beginning of the book as well as those in the Gregory (Figs. 9, 10). His origin and the place of his formative years are matters for conjecture. In this period, work closest to his is found among the initials of the Copenhagen Psalter, a book presumed to have been executed for an Augustinian house in northern England in the third quarter of the century and probably before 1173. The decoration of the Copenhagen Psalter, which is partly in the mode of luxuriant abstraction dominant at the height of English Romanesque art, and partly in the lighter, more feathery manner favored in the later decades of the century, is much the sort of project that we should be tempted to conjure up as a hypothetical step in the painter's earlier career. Pending a more precise determination of date, however, it would be rash to be more affirmative on this point.<sup>17</sup>

The portrait of the pope in the Stonyhurst Gregory (Fig. 10) has an unassuming blandness which contrasts sharply with the underfed visionaries preferred in the glorious days of the Albani Psalter. The discontinuous modeling of "tiger stripe" effects (to use Dodwell's apt phrase) have been replaced by a firm tissue of unbroken tones under which the corporeal substance of the figure asserts itself in understated, yet unmistakable terms. The heightened sense of ponderation is illustrated also in the device by which the outline of the letter traverses the space between the twin peaks of Gregory's miter, seeming to lend to the figure the possibility of freeing itself from the surface of the page; the same device is incorporated in the design of Simon's seal (Fig. 11).<sup>18</sup> The white-haired patriarchal type, the presenta-



tion in half-length, and the frosty highlighting in the treatment of drapery are reflections, albeit superficial in their total effect, of the pervasive Byzantinism which affected much of northern European painting of the later decades of the twelfth century.

The painter has given the pope's gesture of speech a most unusual form. The text is treated as a direct extension of his hand and allowed to "leak" into the framework of the initial. On closer examination, it becomes clear that the intention was to treat the page itself as a scroll displayed by the author. I have found no exact parallels for this curious anticipation of the speech balloon in modern comic strips. Something like it does occur on one of a number of pages with musical notation of south German origin in the Yale Beinecke Library in which Jeremiah is shown intoning his Lamentations.<sup>19</sup> Here, however, the function of the device is somewhat different, based as it is on the desire to show the prophet not only as an author, but, as befits the nature of the manuscript, in the act of singing (Fig. 12). Initials in two twelfth-century manuscripts from Lambach, in a volume containing the Major and Minor Prophets from the same region, and in a Pauline Epistles with a late shelf mark of Stift Haug at Würzburg bring us close to the idea as it is treated by the St. Albans painter, though the scroll remains in these examples an entity distinctly separate from the text column which it penetrates.<sup>20</sup> The author is shown in the process of writing on a strip of parchment horizontally extended or merely displaying it. The St. Albans painter was clearly familiar with this convention and makes occasional use of it in the place of his own more original variant.<sup>21</sup> Did book illumination of south German or Austrian origin serve him as a point of departure? All of the other contemporary or near contemporary examples of the device which I have been able to discover stem from this geographic orbit, though they are pen-drawn rather than fully painted and stylistically of another cast. The painter might also have been led to formulate his own version of the motif through the stimulus of the Albani Psalter. The earlier master had been similarly concerned with the problem of creating a link between the figures represented in the initial and the words attributed to them in the body of the text. His solution was to permit the figures to reach out beyond the outline of the initial and single out with the hand the words to which they laid claim.<sup>22</sup> In our painter's work, the procedure is simply reversed, and the contiguous space admitted into the space of the initial.

A much more important work by the same painter is the Psalter of St. John's College, Cambridge, customarily referred to as the Psalter of St.-Bertin.<sup>23</sup> The initial at the beginning of Psalm 26 conveys a good impression of his narrative style (Fig. 13). It is his usual sparse and undramatic *mise-en-scène*, with staffage reduced to a minimum or eliminated altogether, and the

action totally concentrated in the compact and evenly balanced figural group. The characterization of the prophet Samuel repeats the type of the Stonyhurst Gregory and the device of the scroll widening out into the body of the text is represented in the initial at the beginning of the prayer to the Holy Trinity (Fig. 14). The illustrations of the psalter proper are concentrated in the initials to Psalms 26, 51, and 109. The choice and distribution of the subjects connect the work with a group of psalters and psalter commentaries of English origin which includes the York Psalter and its already mentioned relative in Copenhagen.<sup>24</sup> The circumstances surrounding the genesis of the work have yet to be fully clarified. The calendrical entries include a strong representation of the clan of the lords of Falkenberghe, who were castellans of the town of St.-Omer. The calendar itself is for the use of St.-Bertin, the influential monastery located in that town. Early in the thirteenth century, the manuscript was in the possession of the house of Benedictine nuns at Wherwell in Hampshire. Cockerell, however, has pointed out that the litany is based on that in use at St. Albans.<sup>25</sup> The calendar must also have been devised with a St. Albans text on hand, though the commemorations particular to that house have been toned down.<sup>26</sup> Most important, the painter's style is not otherwise found in book illumination of St.-Bertin, which is fairly well documented for this period. The most reasonable assumption is that the psalter was executed in the scriptorium of St. Albans as a special commission for outside export. The relations between England and the Continental side of the Channel coast were such that occasions upon which such a project might have been carried out were surely not lacking.<sup>27</sup>

Widely varying dates have been proposed for the execution of the manuscript. Basing himself on the obit of Queen Matilda, who died in 1152, and the absence of a commemoration for St. Thomas of Canterbury, canonized in 1173, Boase placed the work between these two dates. G. Haseloff, on the other hand, dated it as late as the end of the twelfth century.<sup>28</sup> The examination of the calendar shows that so far as the contingent of St.-Bertin and other Flemish obits are concerned, only four are in the original hand, while the rest are later additions. The original entries are those for Count Baldwin of Flanders (June 17), "Stephanus advocatus" (August 24), "Willelmus castellanus senior" (June 5), and "Willemus castellanus iunior" (September 25). The first named was Count Baldwin VII, who died in 1119 and was buried at St.-Bertin where he had become a monk.<sup>29</sup> Stephen, the *avoué*, remains unknown to us, for his name does not appear in the very incomplete list of identifiable incumbents of this office that has been compiled by A. Giry.<sup>30</sup> The identification of the castellans of St.-Omer involves difficulties of another kind. Although the names of the incumbents of the hereditary

title in the twelfth century frequently appear in charters that they issued or witnessed, this type of evidence does not make it possible to fix the dates of their tenure with precision.<sup>31</sup> The first William mentioned as a castellan is recorded between 1097 and 1126. Men bearing the same name occupied the office between 1128 and 1143, 1161 and ca. 1175, ca. 1178, and 1186. There are reasons to suppose that the manuscript might have been commissioned for the figure identified by Giry as William III, whose career roughly spanned the sixth decade of the century. At least two of his close kin have obits in the calendar—a brother, the templar Hosto (May 11), and a sister Eufemia.<sup>32</sup> The latter's marriage to a lord of Bailleul clarifies the subsequent vicissitudes of the manuscript, for through her daughter Matilda, abbess of Wherwell until her death in 1226, it likely returned to England.<sup>33</sup> The execution of the work thus falls in the period between Simon's election (1167) and the years 1173–1175. It must have been completed before William III's death, a *terminus ante* that is also in accord with the absence of an entry for St. Thomas Becket as well as the later addition of a commemoration for St. Bernard of Clairvaux, canonized in 1174.

Another project attributable to Simon's painter is the decoration of the Bible Ms. 48 in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge.<sup>34</sup> For a Romanesque Bible, it is a book of comparatively small format and possesses a marked individuality. Not the least of this is due to the layout of the text in three columns, which seems unprecedented in manuscripts of the Scripture, and the simultaneous presentation of the Gospels in four parallel columns rather than in sequence. The same disposition is repeated in the Bible of Eton College<sup>35</sup> and in the second volume of a Bible in Dublin, which are later versions of the same recension, but was not taken up elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> The design of the initials with their beveled construction dividing in the middle through a row of white dots occurs in identical form in the St. John's College Psalter. The now familiar treatment of the text as an extension from the author's hand is seen again, though the handling of the device is here more understated and even a trifle mannered (Fig. 15). The script is not uniform, though there are no definite breaks implying the participation of different hands. Rather, there is a gradual progression from the sober and slightly conservative writing of the opening pages to the markedly more evolved and even proto-Gothicizing manner which prevails in the middle and later sections of the manuscript (Figs. 23, 33). Nothing stylistically so advanced as this occurs in the St. Albans books that have already been mentioned. The dating of the manuscript is thus of special interest. It is founded on two considerations. First, the Bible includes as a prefatory text to the New Testament a letter on the use of the Canon Tables written by Senatus, a monk of Worcester. All too little is known about the career of this author,

who is recorded to have been prior of Worcester in 1189 and retired from this post in 1196. In the opening address of his system of concordances found in the Corpus Christi Bible, however, he identifies himself not as a prior but as a librarian.<sup>37</sup> The recently published cartulary of Worcester contains two documents in which he is mentioned, first as chanter in 1175, then as *camerarius* in the period from 1166 to 1189.<sup>38</sup> The composition of the new set of concordances must therefore be placed before 1186 at the latest. Yet there is evidence that they must have reached St. Albans a few years earlier still and that the Corpus Christi Bible was completed by 1183, the year of Simon's death. This conclusion is based on the fact that some of its illustrations were copied in a manuscript of the New Testament, now in St. John's College, Cambridge, which is one of the books inscribed as a donation of Simon to the monastic library.<sup>39</sup> It is a volume of small format and of equally modest artistic merit, whose execution must have been entrusted to a secondary figure of the workshop. The portrait of the Evangelist at the beginning of Matthew is clearly derived from the corresponding subject in the Corpus Christi Bible, though it is much more archaizing in a pedestrian Romanesque vein (Figs. 16, 17). The same can be said of the Apocalyptic Christ, again a translation into a more old-fashioned style of the Simon painter's illustration in the Corpus Christi Bible (Figs. 18, 19). I would ascribe to this hand the decoration of a copy of Cassiodorus' Epistles in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, another volume which bears an inscription as Simon's donation (Fig. 20),<sup>40</sup> and, somewhat more tentatively, the two initials in a collection of sermons and short tracts by various authors, including Hildebert of Lavardin, Hugh of St.-Victor, and Petrus Comestor in the Bodleian Library (Fig. 21).<sup>41</sup>

The thematic component in the illumination of the Corpus Christi Bible is modest, yet unorthodox. Single figures or small groups in dialogue predominate in the relatively small number of figurative initials. The narrative exuberance for which Romanesque Bible illumination is better known is not in evidence here. Instead, the work stands in the following of books decorated in the manner of the Carilef and Dover Bibles and, ultimately, on their typological antecedents in Italian illumination of the eleventh century.<sup>42</sup> Lamentations is preceded by an arcaded diagram drawn with great finesse that exhibits the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, their Latin equivalents, and a concordance of mystical interpretations (Fig. 22). One set of terms (right column) is that transmitted among the dubious writings of St. Jerome and repeatedly quoted after him. The source of the second set, which is extremely rare, has not been determined.<sup>43</sup> Alexander Neckam, it might be noted, who spent his early years at St. Albans, is known to have dabbled in this kind of exercise.<sup>44</sup> The Genesis initial is clearly based on the corresponding design

in a Jewish Antiquities of Josephus from St. Albans that is attributed to an assistant of the Alexis Master in the Albani Psalter (Figs. 23, 24).<sup>45</sup> A number of emendations, however, have been made. The scene of the Lord resting on the sixth day and blessing his creation is replaced in the Corpus Christi Bible by a representation of Moses receiving the Tables of the Law. The inclusion of this subject is probably to be explained on the basis of the traditional view of the Pentateuch—or, in some sources, the Old Testament as a whole—as inclusively constituting the revelation of divine law.<sup>46</sup> In the depiction of the events of the second day of creation, the mass of primordial unformed matter is designated HILE, a term to which the commentators on the Timaeus had given a certain currency.<sup>47</sup> In a more general way and beyond the contrast of styles, the design of the Simon painter is marked by an effort to adhere or recover the literal sense that is much more pronounced than in the work of his predecessor or the related miniature in the Lambeth Bible. In the representation of the second day, the waters that are “sub firmamento” are separated from those “super firmamentum” (Gen. 1:7) by an expanse of cloud-spotted sky. In the roundels that follow, the schematic presentation of the globe surrounded by the waters is replaced by a straight-forward, optically unified landscape. Following the text, there is on the third day, if not a multiplicity of trees, several in number to allow for a differentiation of species (Gen. 1:12). On the fourth day, stars are seen “sub firmamento caeli” (Gen. 1:17), and on the fifth, birds appear both on land (“avesque multiplicentur super terram”) and in the sky (“volatile super terram sub firmamento caeli”).

It is difficult to bring to a positive resolution the chronology of the series of glossed books of the Bible written and illuminated at St. Albans over a period not far removed in time from the preceding manuscripts. This question is of special interest because the *Gesta abbatum* credits Simon with having written a glossed Old and New Testament which aroused great admiration.<sup>48</sup> Among the surviving books of the monastery, possibly four can present a claim to have been part of this set. The decoration of the fine glossed Luke and John in the Library of Lambeth Palace is very close to that of the Corpus Christi Bible, duplicating its most progressive features in what might be said to constitute, locally at least, the *ultima maniera* of this art (Fig. 25).<sup>49</sup> The Pauline Epistles with the glosses attributed to Peter Lombard in Trinity College is another variant of the same manner, with, perhaps, a slightly more old-fashioned air (Fig. 26).<sup>50</sup> The initials in a pair of volumes containing the glosses on Isaiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel in St. John's College, Oxford, on the other hand, were without much doubt executed by Simon's leading painter himself (Fig. 27).<sup>51</sup> These books, however, are very different in format and script and cannot be regarded as parts of a single set. Nor is

there, unfortunately, any means of dating them, and, consequently, of mapping the extension of their style into the decade 1180–1190, which spans the end of Simon's rule and the initial years of the abbacy of Guarinus, his successor (1183–1195).

In addition to these volumes of glosses on Scripture, at least two other manuscripts have illuminated initials by the Simon painter. The unusual type of author portrait which constitutes a kind of trademark in the production of this artist is exemplified again in a copy of writings of St. Ephrem the Syrian in the Arsenal Library, whose provenance is not known (Fig. 28).<sup>52</sup> In a copy of the *Speculum fidei* by Robert of Cricklade, prior of St. Frideswide's in Oxford after 1141 and later chancellor of the university, there is an initial showing Christ in three-quarter length with a scroll which closely follows the design of one of the initial letters in the Trinity College Pauline Epistles.<sup>53</sup>

Some time in the mid-eighties, however, the Simon painter seems to have left St. Albans for the Continent, where he collaborated on the decoration of the great Bible of the Capucins now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. One volume and a number of initials in a second out of the four that comprise this work are by the hand of a painter whose activity has been very convincingly localized by Louis Grodecki to the region of Troyes in Champagne.<sup>54</sup> This is where the project as a whole must have been carried out. That the Simon painter was indeed involved in this enterprise seems demonstrable. The deferential Jeremiah hearing the voice of the Lord in the Capucins Bible is a restatement of the figure of Moses in the initial at the beginning of Raoul de Flaix's Commentary on Leviticus, one of Simon's books for St. Albans (Figs. 9 and 29). The beveled edge design of the initial is seen again, as in the incorporation of small roundels with figures in half-length or other subjects in its framework, a device employed with some frequency in English illumination earlier in the century. The treatment of the initial words, which are rendered in gold letters on panels of pale color patterned with small white circles alternating with dotted triangles, occurs in identical form in the Corpus Christi Bible and in the Glossed Gospels of Lambeth Palace (Figs. 16, 25, 30). The initials are outlined in green with little fleurons projecting at an oblique angle at the four corners, as they are in the Bodleian Sermons Miscellany (Ms. lat. 87, fol. 65), in the New Testament of St. John's College, the Lambeth codex, and still in a copy of Hugh of St.-Victor's *De archa Noe* from the final years of the century (Figs. 18, 25, 30, and 31). On the other hand, the use of the scroll as a bridge from the initial into the text virtually disappears. Where the device is still employed, as in the initial with the Tree of Jesse at the beginning of Matthew's Gospel, it takes the form of the author displaying a panel on which the initial word is inscribed. In

this, the painter once again was faithful to the precedent of the Corpus Christi Bible (Figs. 16, 30).

There are aspects of the St. Albans painter's share in the execution of the Capucins Bible, however, that are not anticipated in his earlier work. His performance on French soil, which is the last known work in his chronology, has a certain forcefulness and coarse plasticity not previously encountered. In the iconography, there are definite connections with English illumination, but not so much with the St. Albans books already discussed as with the giant Bible genre exemplified by the Lambeth and Winchester Bibles, with their full panoply of narrative and symbolic imagery.<sup>55</sup> The collaborative nature of the project, too, may have affected the outcome. There is clear evidence of a coordination of efforts in the adherence by both painters to the same type of initial design.

Quite apart from its interest as artistic biography, the activity of the Simon painter at St. Albans is significant as a record of the onset of a new aesthetic in book illumination that swept over Europe in the final quarter of the twelfth century and deserves to be considered as the first manifestation of the transition toward Gothic. The genesis of this style is still shrouded in obscurity. Since it is found in both Continental and English manuscripts of roughly the same date, it is now generally designated as the Channel Style. The ornamental initials of the Cambridge Psalter are representative early examples in this new manner (Fig. 32). They show the typically spindly and tentacular foliage forming a dense trelliswork in which little white animals, half-dog and half-lion, may take shelter. Neither the design as a whole nor the individual elements taken in isolation are particularly novel. What is new is the narrowing down of the expressive range and the transformation of this traditional component into a seemingly inexhaustible fund of small-scaled, weightless, and even playful graphic signs. This process of miniaturization is carried further in the Corpus Christi Bible, where we also find the peculiar blue giants so ubiquitous in this art, used as vertical supports of the initial in the manner of an atlante (Fig. 33). The speed with which this art was diffused is as striking as its consistency. Wherever it manifests itself, it seems in a very large measure to have eradicated regional, local, or personal idiosyncracies of style or else forced them into coexistence with it. Thus, two typical examples from widely separated centers, a glossed Pauline Epistles from St.-Evroult in Normandy and a glossed psalter from Narbonne in Languedoc are much more closely related to each other than to work in the customary manner of their own surroundings (Figs. 34, 35).<sup>56</sup> The Narbonne initial has the paneled construction used by the St. Albans painter, and the Norman illumination is yet another example of the foliage bearing or spouting, blue giant.<sup>57</sup> Even more striking, perhaps, was the

impact of the Channel Style on German book illumination. For there, unlike England and northern France, it did not take root on a soil favorably conditioned by a long process of cultural cross-fertilization, but had to assert itself on alien ground in the face of a vital and autonomous tradition. Nevertheless, so authoritative an observer as Hanns Swarzenski has remarked that the repertoire of forms with which we are concerned “. . . although deriving from England and the Channel region had, from about 1200, almost entirely displaced the earlier local forms of initial ornament of Lower Saxony, Franconia, Swabia and the Upper Rhine.”<sup>58</sup>

Opinions on the precedence of France or England in the formation of the Channel Style have fluctuated in relation to shifts in our perception of the comparative strengths of insular and Continental art in the second half of the twelfth century. Adolph Goldschmidt tended to regard it as one of the perennial manifestations of an English proclivity toward fantasy and linear play.<sup>59</sup> But in his investigation of Canterbury illumination, C. R. Dodwell demonstrated that some of the earliest books decorated in this characteristic vein, the group of manuscripts written for Thomas Becket and his secretary Herbert Bosham, were of French origin. Becket's books were written before 1170 when the saint returned to England from exile, and those executed for Herbert can be dated between 1170 and 1177.<sup>60</sup> After that date, the evidence is too divided to permit a clear-cut conclusion. In regard to the origin of Channel Style illumination, however, there is at least one common point of reference. It is to an overwhelming extent concentrated in glossed books of the Bible compiled in the Parisian schools or close to this milieu during the 1160s and seventies. Among these are the popular *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor, chancellor of the university, which was composed between 1169 and 1173, and the earliest surviving copies of the *Decretum Gratiani* executed in the Ile-de-France and Champagne, which date from the mid-seventies.<sup>61</sup> These considerations led T. S. R. Boase and R. Schilling to speculate on the possible role of Parisian book production in the inception and diffusion of the new style.<sup>62</sup>

There does not yet exist a thorough study of the early history of the Comestor text and its diffusion, which seems to have been unusually rapid. Among the glossed books, the leading place in terms of popularity is occupied by Peter Lombard's glosses on the Pauline Epistles, compiled between 1135 and 1136, and on the psalter; these are datable between 1142 and 1143.<sup>63</sup> A survey of some of the major cathedral sees in England made by Glunz tends to show that the Lombard Gloss entered into their libraries roughly between 1150 and 1170.<sup>64</sup> In these and the decades immediately following, much effort was devoted to the task of adding to collections of the traditional *auctoritates* the newer texts of the Parisian masters. In the record of the deeds



of a clerical career, a commission or purchase of these works now loomed larger even than the acquisition of service books.<sup>65</sup> The St. Albans *Gesta abbatum* is typical in this respect. While Abbots Paul (1077–1093) and Geoffrey (1119–1146) are credited with gifts of books for liturgical use, Simon is praised for a glossed Bible.<sup>66</sup> The writer's next specific reference to a book is to a Petrus Comestor with glosses now in the British Museum acquired under Abbot John (1195–1214); this he surely, but significantly, overpraises.<sup>67</sup> This shift in interest must reflect the profound change in patterns of education in the course of the second and third quarter of the twelfth century when the journey to Paris became an attraction not easily resisted for an ever increasing number of young men with aspirations.

Nevertheless, the role of Parisian workshops in the key decades around the inception of the Channel Style remains for the moment a virtual mystery. The artistically most estimable among the manuscripts executed at St.-Germain-des-Prés, St.-Maur-des-Fossés, and other monastic scriptoria in and around the city during the first half of the century show no connection with it. This holds true no less for the Boethius Commentary on Prophyry's *Isagoge* in Darmstadt, a work that may have originated in the Cathedral School around 1140.<sup>68</sup>

We are on more promising ground with the set of glossed books written for Prince Henry, a son of Louis VI, who left them to the monastery of Clairvaux, where he became a monk in 1145. Although they cannot be described as luxury productions, these volumes go well beyond mere school-book requirements and must constitute one of the earliest attempts to give the edition of the gloss a definite artistic personality, an exceptional project which is no doubt explained by the high status of the patron.<sup>69</sup> The determination of origin hinges in large measure on the question of whether Henry acquired his books before or after his arrival in Clairvaux. The evidence is not wholly conclusive, but tends to favor the first alternative and the probability that the commission was carried out in a Paris scriptorium.<sup>70</sup> Unfortunately, the decoration of these books has little to contribute to the resolution of the problem, for it is, in point of style, without parallels in the city or its environs. In the "P" at the beginning of the Glossed Epistles of Peter in Troyes, it recalls most clearly the decoration of the St.-Bénigne Bible, a work datable around 1125 or even a little later.<sup>71</sup> Something of the elongation and thinning out of surface articulation in the occasional figures encountered in these manuscripts, however, seems like a foretaste of later developments (Fig. 36).

Two volumes from the library of St.-Victor shed a useful, if partial, light on local developments in the period around the end of the third quarter of the century. The first is the fine copy of Richard of St.-Victor's Commentary on

the Vision of Ezekiel, which may well represent the original redaction or presentation copy of this text. It is illustrated with care, incorporating a series of highly original designs based on Richard's exegesis of his scriptural source.<sup>72</sup> The illuminated initials display many of the formal ingredients, yet lack the nervous energy and feathery touch which characterizes the decoration of the Bosham books, and remain ultimately tied to a more conservative strain of late-Romanesque ornamental style (Fig. 37). Both Richard, and before him, Hugh of St.-Victor, were fond of opening the discussion of the sacred text by recourse to an illustration, so described as to suggest a graphic image rather than a literary artifice.<sup>73</sup> The illustrations of Richard's commentary and the copies of the works of other masters show us what these designs might have been, though, once again, the original evidence more often than not fails us.<sup>74</sup> From the early seventies onward, the picture of Parisian manuscript production gradually becomes more distinct. Mention is made for the first time of the existence of *stationarii* and information concerning the sale and export of books assumes a tangible form.<sup>75</sup> Master Robert of Edington, who was in Paris in the eighties, brought back from St.-Victor a set of thirty-eight volumes which he gave to Durham Cathedral.<sup>76</sup> The collection of twenty books left by Ralph Foliot, archdeacon of Hereford between 1179 and 1195, to the cathedral library, like those given by the Hildesheim Canon Harderardus to the church of Halberstadt may well have had a similar origin.<sup>77</sup> In the second of our St.-Victor manuscripts, a *Decretum Gratiani* probably datable not later than the end of the eighties, Channel Style decoration appears in full bloom (Fig. 38).<sup>78</sup> The circumstantial evidence thus favors the view that Paris played a role in its inception and diffusion, but it no longer permits us to gauge fully the range and weight of local production during the pioneering phase.

Some time before 1158, when he was elected abbot of Westminster, a certain Master Lawrence became a monk of St. Albans. We owe to him a life of St. Aelred of Rievaulx and an early version of Hugh of St.-Victor's *De Sacramentis*, which he transcribed from Hugh's lectures at St.-Victor on commission from his fellow students and at Hugh's own request. This is the earliest in the necessarily incidental record of contacts between the English monastery and the schools.<sup>79</sup> Shortly after his election, and in any case before 1173, Simon wrote a letter to Richard of St.-Victor to ask for permission to send a scribe to the Parisian house in order to copy works by Hugh that were not yet in the St. Albans library.<sup>80</sup> There is further concern for the acquisition of writings by Richard of St.-Victor in the latter's correspondence with Simon's prior Guarinus. The practical outcome of these efforts cannot be ascertained. But R. W. Hunt has identified in a glossed Priscian of the later twelfth century from St. Albans a version of the commentary which

originated in one of the Paris classrooms,<sup>81</sup> and the miscellaneous collection of texts contained in Bodleian Ms. lat. 87, whose decoration we have tentatively attributed to a St. Albans painter, must have had the same source. We must assume that the existence of a flourishing school attached to the monastery spurred on the effort to acquire and to copy such texts.<sup>82</sup>

The fairly rare full-page portraits of the Paris masters found in this period are of special interest for an evaluation of the artistic impact of their books. There is no cogent reason to believe that such portraits were included in the manuscripts of the Parisian workshops. As practiced here, the Channel Style was an extension of textbook production, in which the large-scale figurative element was generally absent. The formal repertoire of this style and its range of possibilities, too, was rather narrow, lending itself to diminutive ornamental combinations much better than to monumental effects. The cultural dimensions of the masters' personalities, finally, did not readily conform to a convenient stereotype. They were never canonized nor the object of any cult, and they performed no miracles worth recording. On points of doctrine, they could be less than authoritative and even subjected to official censure, as was to happen even to such a figure of comparative orthodoxy as Peter Lombard. All this would no doubt militate against the formulation of a very sustained portraiture tradition. It would thus seem most plausible to regard these conventional likenesses as autonomous creations, harking back to portraits of the Fathers of the Church, Gregory the Great or Rabanus Maurus in manuscripts of the earlier Middle Ages.<sup>83</sup> In the field of edifying author portraiture, the older monastic scriptoria were in a position to make a contribution of their own and no doubt often disposed to treat as devotional literature texts initially conceived in the heat of doctrinal argument or designed for classroom instruction. There is no more telling illustration of this process of domestication of an author whose mixed fame and notoriety had been acquired not long before than the haloed Gilbert de la Porée writing under the inspiration of the Dove of the Holy Spirit, which introduces a late twelfth-century manuscript of his commentary on Boethius, now in Basel.<sup>84</sup>

The representation of Hugh of St.-Victor in discourse with three students in the Bodleian *De archa Noe* is another example of this kind of adaptation (Fig. 31).<sup>85</sup> The composition is modeled on an illustration of the type found in the ninth-century north Italian Egino Codex and might be compared as well to frontispiece illustrations of Augustine's works showing the author with his interlocutors Licentius, Trigetius, and Alippius—three figures seated in the commanding presence of the master.<sup>86</sup> Only the architectural prospect above the seated group, perhaps a token of the increasing identification of the schools with the urban centers then in full growth, strikes an

innovatory touch.<sup>87</sup> Among the manuscripts from the library of St.-Victor in the Bibliothèque Nationale, there is a single late twelfth-century example of the same subject, featuring an anonymous master. It is not, however, local work, but, interestingly enough, an English import of Chichester origin.<sup>88</sup> The historical significance of the Channel Style was to have achieved the reform of Romanesque ornament in book illumination, furnishing the soil upon which Gothic ornamental style first took root. Thus the Channel Style sources of the elaborate decorative initials in the Westminster Psalter, and two decades later, the Psalter of Robert of Lindeseye, can hardly be denied. Figurative illustration, on the other hand, lay almost entirely outside its sphere of influence, and its development was conditioned by the impact of other experiences.

## Notes

The substance of this paper was presented with a slightly different title at the College Art Association meetings in Washington, D.C., on January 29, 1970. I am very grateful to Florens Deuchler for his invitation to publish it in this volume of collected essays on the Year 1200. I also wish to thank the librarians of institutions whose books are discussed here for their cooperation, and notably Guy Lee, Librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Jonathan Alexander of the Bodleian Library.

After the completion of my initial draft, I learned that L. M. Ayres, now of the University of California at Santa Barbara, had independently devoted some study to manuscript illumination at St. Albans of the later twelfth century. For his findings, now published, see his article entitled "A Tanner Manuscript in the Bodleian Library and Some Notes on English Painting in the Late Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 41-54, and especially pp. 45-48.

1. F. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967, and the reviews of R. Hausserr, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1969, pp. 51-68 and L. Grodecki, "Le psautier de la reine Ingeburge et ses problèmes," *Revue de l'art*, 5, 1969, pp. 73-78.

2. Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 8846. A date around 1200 is now generally quoted. The major titles in the bibliography are cited in *The Year 1200*, I, no. 257, pp. 257-258. Earlier, C. R. Dodwell more cautiously placed the work within the period 1170-1200 (*The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066-1200*, Cambridge, 1955, pp. 98 ff.).

3. O. Pächt, C. R. Dodwell, and F. Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter*, London, 1960.

4. Brit. Mus., Royal Ms. 12 G. XIV.

5. A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit, XI-XIII Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1926, IV, no. 60, p. 20. Their comparison with the Rabanus Maurus in the British Museum was made earlier by H. P. Mitchell, "Two Ivory Carvings of the Twelfth Century," *Burlington Magazine*, 1922, pp. 176-180. The attribution of the ivory to Durham here defended does not rest on sufficient evidence.

6. "Scriptorium quoque, tunc temporis fere

dissipatum et contemptum, reparavit, et quasdam laudabiles consuetudines in ipso innovavit" (*Gesta abbatum monasterii sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, London, 1867, I, p. 192). Mention should nevertheless be made of the two leaves from a psalter in the style of the Lambeth Bible (Oxford, Corpus Christ College, Ms. 2) formerly bound in a thirteenth-century Bible whose St. Albans origin would seem to be attested to by the presence of a drawing by Matthew Paris; and further, of the mid-twelfth-century copy of Terence's Comedies in the Bodleian Library (Ms. Auct. F. 2. 13). For these, see most recently the exhibition catalogue, *Romanesque Art from Collections in Great Britain and Eire*, Manchester, 1959, nos. 25 and 26, pp. 18-19. The calendrical illustrations in the psalter of the Bodleian, Ms. Auct. D. 2. 6, which N. Ker tentatively connects with St. Albans, are also close in style to the Lambeth Bible. An initial added to the Albani Psalter some time after its completion (Pächt, *St. Albans Psalter*, p. 163 and fig. 72) suggests that some variant of the more serene mid-century manner of the Shaftesbury Psalter was also practiced locally. The history of the monastery in the second half of the twelfth century is summarized by L. F. Rushbrook Williams, *History of the Abbey of St. Albans*, Oxford, 1917, pp. 66 ff. A most cogent and succinct statement on Simon's activity is found in T. S. R. Boase, *English Art, 1100-1216*, Oxford History of English Art, Oxford, 1953, pp. 180-182.

7. "Vir vitae venerabilis, et bene litteratus scriptuarum et librorum amator specialis" (*Gesta abbatum*, p. 183). In the *Historia anglorum* (*Historia minor*) of Matthew Paris (ed. F. Madden, London, 1866, I, p. 344). Simon's obit characterizes him in similar terms: "Vir magnae religionis, amator librorum et sacrarum scriptuarum." The *Gesta abbatum* (p. 192) also states that Simon made provision for two or three outstanding scribes to labor in his own quarters on a continuous basis, and further, that he made revenues available in order that a "special scribe" be employed at all times in the future. The uncommon term *scriptor specialis* is tentatively taken to mean an individual from outside the monastery by Boase, *English Art*, p. 180. N. Ker holds, in reference to the same question, that the small book hand found among Simon's manuscripts in the New Testaments, Ms. 183 in St. John's College (and presumably as well in the Trinity College Cassiodorus, mentioned below) is the work of a professional scribe (*English Manuscripts after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1966, p. 3 and *passim*).

8. R. Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, Cambridge, 1958, pp. 183-184. Vaughn suggests that Matthew's information concerning Simon's artistic enterprises derives from Master John, a goldsmith commissioned by the abbot to execute the shrine of St. Alban whom Matthew cites as an acquaintance. For the goldsmith's work commissions carried out under Simon, of which nothing has apparently survived, see C. C. Oman, "The Goldsmithwork at St. Albans Abbey during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Transactions of the St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, 1932, pp. 215-236. The drawing of the shrine of St. Alban in the *Vie de Saint Auban* (Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. E. i. 40, fol. 61a) illustrated by Matthew Paris exhibits certain features characteristic of late Romanesque art and might be taken as a reasonably faithful reflection of John's lost work (M. R. James, *Illustrations to the Life of St. Alban*, Oxford, 1924, pl. 50).

9. Brit. Mus., Cotton Ms., Nero D. I, fol. 48 v.

10. Brit. Mus., Cotton Ms., Claud. E. IV, fol. 129 v.

11. N. Ker, *Medieval Libraries in Great Britain*, London, 1964, pp. 164-168. The manuscripts inscribed as Simon's donation are listed on p. 302. The inscriptions in these manuscripts are quoted below in the appropriate footnotes. That in the Trinity College Cassiodorus, which is in a hand not earlier than the second quarter of the thirteenth century, also differs most in the wording. No medieval inventory of the contents of the monastic library has come down. An *indiculus* of Gualterius cantor, however, was known to the seventeenth-century antiquarian Bishop John Bale, who repeatedly quotes from it in his inventory of manuscripts in England (John Bale, *Index Britanniae scriptorum* . . ., ed. R. L. Poole, Oxford, 1902). A. Wilmart (*Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen âge*, II, 1927, pp. 27-29) suggests that Gualterius, who supposedly died around 1180, made his catalogue as part of Simon's bibliophile activities.

12. Escorial, Ms. P. i. 5. P. Guillermo Antolin, *Catalogo de los codices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, Madrid, 1913, III, p. 254. For comparisons with the Bury Bible, see C. M. Kaufmann, "The Bury Bible," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIX, 1966, pp. 60-81, figs. 22, 23, and 26.

13. Brit. Mus. Ms. Add. 13. D. IV. Ker,

*English Manuscripts*, p. 38. The inscription on the upper margin of folio 1, "Hunc librum fecit domnus Symon abbas sancto Albano quem qui abstulerit aut fraudem commiserit aut titulum deleverit vel corrumpit anathema sit" (reproduced by Ker on pl. 13b), is in the same round hand as the rest of the book. The Bodleian Library gradual bears the shelfmark Laud. Misc. 358.

14. Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, p. 64 and pl. 38a, from Cambridge, Univ. Library, Ms. li. 3. 12, fol. 93 v.

15. Stonyhurst College, Ms. 10. On folio 1, "Hunc codicem fecit domn' Symon abbas sco Albano," followed by the anathema. The book is mentioned in passing by H. Chadwick, "Unfamiliar Libraries. II. Stonyhurst College," *The Book Collector*, 1957, p. 349. I have not in this instance examined the original and base myself on photographs deposited at the Warburg Institute.

16. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, Ms. 2. On folio 1, "Hunc librum fecit dominus Symon abbas sancto Albano," followed by the anathema. M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Trinity Hall*, Cambridge, 1907, pp. 4-5. On the work and its author, see B. Smalley, "Ralph of Flaix on Leviticus," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 1968, pp. 35-82.

17. Copenhagen, Ms. Thotts Samml. 132 2°. M. Mackeprang, *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts X-XIII Centuries in Danish Collections*, Copenhagen-London-Oxford, 1921, pp. 32 ff. The initials that are very close to those of the St. Albans painter are on fols. 163, 174, and 178. In the Mackeprang publication, the work is seen as closely related to the York Psalter in Glasgow. This view is also stated by Boase, *English Art*, pp. 243-244, and idem, *The York Psalter*, New York, 1962, p. 5. C. Nordenfalk, writing in the exhibition catalogue *Gyllene Bocker*, Stockholm, 1952, no. 24, pp. 30-31, attributes the manuscript to southern England and dates it around 1175.

18. Brit. Mus., Sloane collection, no. 1553. A. B. Tonnochy, *Catalogue of British Seal-Dies in the British Museum*, London, 1952, no. 852, p. 182 and pl. xxvi.

19. Ms. 481. The sheet is part of a large number of cuttings donated to the library by H. P. Kraus. It bears the pencil notation no. 145A.

20. Stift Lambach Clm. XXII, fol. 4 v.,

and Clm. XCIII, fol. 124. K. Holter in E. Hainisch, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Gerichtbezirkes Lambach*, Vienna, 1959, p. 237, fig. 282 and p. 245, fig. 300. Another initial with a design of the same type is found in a south German or Austrian *Prophetiae Maiores et Minores* sold at Sotheby's in 1929 (*Catalogue of Important Literary and Medieval Manuscripts*. . . , November 12, 1929, lot 393). The Würzburg manuscript is Bodleian Ms. Laud. Misc. 103, fol. 7, which was brought to my attention by J. J. G. Alexander.

21. For example, in the Trinity College Glossed Pauline Epistles, Ms. 0.5.8, fol. 194 v., initial at the beginning of the Epistle to Timothy.

22. C. R. Dodwell comments briefly on the use of this device in *The St. Albans Psalter*, p. 204.

23. St. John's College, Ms. 688 (C. 18). M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in St. John's College*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 216-217. G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert*, Kiel, 1938, pp. 43-45.

24. G. Haseloff, who favored a late date for the manuscript, was misled, I believe, to list the manuscript as part of the group of psalters belonging to the period 1200-1230 (see his comparative chart no. 7). The illustrations are much more at home under his rubric "Die Ausbildung des Illustrationschema in England" (Table No. 1), together with the psalters in Glasgow, Copenhagen, and Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. B.x.9. The failure to include psalter commentaries is also a shortcoming of Haseloff's otherwise useful work. The scheme with the Anointing of David at Psalm 26 and the episode of Doeg and the priests at Psalm 51 is found also in the psalter with Lombard's glosses in Durham, Ms. A.II.9 (R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1939, no. 130, p. 76); the Doeg scene and the Crucifixion with typological scenes (Psalm 68) in Dyson Perrins Ms. 117, a psalter with Lombard's commentary written in 1166 for Archbishop Hartwig of Bremen (G. Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 280-281). See also the Doeg scenes in the glossed psalters of the Bodleian, Ms. Auct. D.2.1, fol. 80, and the British Museum, Ms. Add. 17.392, fol. 81, both of the later twelfth century.

25. S. C. Cockerell, Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1908, no. 32, p. 14.

26. On the St. Albans calendar, see F. Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, London, 1939, I, pp. 39 ff. With reference to the peculiarities of the local calendar as described by Wormald, St. Oswin of Deira is found only once (August 20). St. German of Auxerre occurs on July 31 and Guthlac *confessor* on April 11. Lupus, Wulstan, and Patricius are missing. There is a commemoration of the *Passio sancti Albani* on June 22, but the feast of the *Inventio* (August 2) and, understandably, the *Dedicatio ecclesiae* (December 29) are absent.

27. On the subject, see G. Dept, *Les influences anglaise et française dans le comté de Flandre au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1928. I have not had access to H. A. Round, "Le Boulonnais et l'Angleterre au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Association française pour l'avancement des sciences*, II, Boulogne, 1899. The figure in white robes and wearing a soft felt (?) cap kneeling before the Lord in our Fig. 14 is perhaps to be seen as the original patron.

28. In the Manchester exhibition catalogue *Romanesque Art*, no. 46, pp. 27-28, the book is dated ca. 1170.

29. P. Grierson, *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, Brussels, 1937, p. 37 and note 20 for the sources on the count's end at St.-Bertin.

30. A. Giry, *Historie de la ville de Saint-Omer et de ses institutions*, Paris, 1877, pp. 130 ff. To the list of *avoués* compiled by Giry, one addition has been made: a certain Hamelin de Wareme is mentioned in charters dated 1182, 1183, and 1189 (D. Haigneré, *Les chartes de Saint Bertin*, Paris, 1886, I, pp. xxvi-xxvii).

31. A. Giry, "Les châtelains de Saint-Omer," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1874, pp. 325-355.

32. The first named is mentioned as *Frater Osto*, *frater Hosto de Templo*, *Osto miles templo* in various documents dated between 1141 and 1166 (Giry, "Les châtelains de Saint-Omer," pp. 345-346). Some other additions to the calendar can also be further identified. The *Agnes mater Philippi de Falkenberg* (March 18) is likely the person of the same name mentioned in the chronicle of Baldwin of Avesnes as a daughter of William IV, castellan between 1178 and 1191. An *Osto de Tienes* (May 12) signed two charters granted by Philip, count of Flanders, to the abbey of Clairmarais in 1176

(H. de Laplane, *L'abbaye de Clairmarais d'après ses archives*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, XI, St.-Omer, 1893, pp. 353-357). Two entries, *Matilda priorissa de baillul* (July 11) and *Berta monacha de baillul* (May 2), are connected by James with a "nunnery at Bailleul (Dept. Nord, near Hazebroucke)." I have not been able to locate any trace of such a house. Might Bailleul refer to the seigneurial family of that name rather than to a religious establishment? The names Matilda I de Bailleul and Berta de Bailleul are found in the list of abbesses of Avesnes some time before 1180 (*Gallia Christina*, III, 423-424). They may be presumed relatives of Baldwin, lord of Bailleul, who married William III's sister Eufemia.

33. Matilda (Maud) is said to have reigned between 1186 and 1226 (*A History of Hampshire*, ed. H. A. Doubleday and W. Page, London, 1900-1912, II, p. 137). Lambert of Ardes mentions her as a daughter of Eufemia and Baldwin of Bailleul and as abbess of Wherwell (*Chronique de Ghisnes et d'Arde . . .*, ed. M. de Godefroy-Méniglaize, Paris, 1855, p. 109). For this reason, I depart here from James, who supposes the book was donated to Wherwell by Abbess Eufemia (1226-1257), who is also commemorated in the calendar. As the unpublished cartulary of Wherwell has it, however, both ladies gave books (Brit. Mus., Egerton Ms. 2104, fols. 43 ff.).

34. Corpus Christi College, Ms. 48. M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Corpus Christi College*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 94-98. H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon*, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 175 ff. The attribution to St. Albans was originally made by James. An inscription of ownership which appeared in the upper margin of fol. 1 has been excised. The text is described as Lanfranc's recension by Glunz, with a number of variant readings, one of scholastic origin. Prefaces of Judges, III Kings, and Isaiah are excerpted from Jerome's letter to Paulinus. Nehemia is followed by the text beginning "Hic post incensam a chaldeis iudeam" from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, VI, 3 (D. de Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, Namur, 1920, p. 34). Following the Epistle to the Laodiceans, there are two short passages which seek to justify the inclusion of this text; one from Colossians (4:16) and the other from Gregory's *Moralia* (P.L. 76, 778). Aspects of the punctuation are discussed by P. Clemoes, *Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts*, Cambridge, 1965.

35. Eton Ms. 26. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College*, Cambridge, 1895, pp. 13-14. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate*, p. 177. The book was given to St. Albans by Prior Matthew, who held office under Guarinus, his brother.

36. Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. A.2.2. T. K. Abbot, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, London, 1900, p. 6, no. 51. The manuscript belongs to the same textual recension as the Corpus Christi and Eton Bibles, as pointed out by James. But the decoration—highly interesting in its own right—and the general character of book design militate against the idea that it was executed at St. Albans. The book belonged at one time to the abbey of Westdereham in Norfolk. Another, much more modestly decorated member of the same recension is the New Testament in the Bodleian Library, Ms. Finch c. 25, which also contains the preface of Senatus. The book was given to St. Albans by the sub-prior Fabianus, who is mentioned by Matthew Paris as having participated in the election of Abbot William in 1214 (*Gesta abbatum*, p. 254).

37. "Incipit tractatus magistri Senati Wigoriensis bibliothecarii de concordia et dispositione canonum evangeliorum" (fol. 199). The text has been edited by C. H. Turner, *Early Worcester Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1916, App. II. For an assessment of Senatus' intellectual stature see R. W. Hunt, "English Learning in the Later Twelfth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1936, pp. 29 ff. (reprinted in *Essays in Medieval History*, ed. R. W. Southern, New York, 1968, pp. 106-128). Senatus' text may owe its inclusion in the St. Albans Bibles to the author's statement that the authority behind his treatise was a Bible given by King Offa to Worcester. Offa was venerated as the founder of St. Albans, which claimed to have a privilege of immunity in his hand. Senatus' correspondent, a certain Master Aelredus, has not been further identified. I note (following A. T. Bannister, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library*, Hereford, 1927, p. 19) that this name appears as an owner's mark in three books (Hereford Cathedral, Ms. o.2.4; Oxford, Jesus College, Ms. 26; and All Souls College, Ms. 82).

38. *The Cartulary of Worcester* (Register I), ed. R. R. Darlington, London, 1968 (Pipe Roll Society, XXXVIII), p. lviii, note 5 and no. 165, p. 90.

39. St. John's College, Ms. 183. James,

*Catalogue*, pp. 216-217. The dependence of this manuscript on the illuminations of the Corpus Christi Bible and the implications of this for the dating of the latter work were also recognized by Ayres, "A Tanner Manuscript in the Bodleian Library," pp. 46-47. Earlier authors were reluctant to date the Bible as early as 1183. Glunz places the entire group of St. Albans Bibles in the period of Simon's successor Guarinus (1183-1195). Boase is somewhat non-committal (*English Art*). E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, Paris-Brussels, 1926, p. 40, also holds these books to have been executed after Simon's rule.

40. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. o.7.13. M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, Cambridge, 1902, III, p. 355, no. 1341. The manuscript bears the inscription (fol. 1): "Hic est liber Sancti Albani ex dono magistri Simonis abbatis," followed by the anathema. It is in a hand of the fourteenth century.

41. Bodleian, Ms. lat. 87. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Oxford, 1922, II, pt. 1, p. 92, no. 1872.

42. Italian Bibles with illustration confined to single figures in standing or seated poses are represented in the Todi Bible (Vat. Ms. lat. 10405), Parma, Bib. Palat. 386 or Munich, Staatsbib., Clm. 13001. See K. Berg, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth Century Illumination*, Oslo-Bergen-Trömsø, 1968, pp. 75, 78.

43. For the *Alpha-Doctrina* series, see Ps.-Jerome, *In Lamentationes Ieremiae tractatus*, P.L. 25, 787, and F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1925, p. 27. The two sets of interpretations appear also, albeit in garbled form, in a Bible in Anglo-Norman dialect of the beginning of the fourteenth century (Bib. Nat., Ms. fr. 1, fols. 258 v.-259). This text has been edited by J. Bonnard, "Un alphabet hébreu-anglais du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue des études juives*, 1882, pp. 255-259, followed by a commentary by A. Darmesteter, pp. 259-268.

44. R. Loewe, "Alexander Neckham's Knowledge of Hebrew," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, IV, 1958, pp. 17 ff. The excellence of the rendering of the Hebrew letters suggests a scribe reasonably well versed in the language or perhaps even the participation of a Jewish hand. The interest in Hebrew and Jewish learning during this period has been documented by R.



Loewe, "The Medieval Christian Hebraists of England," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 1953, pp. 225-249, and B. Smalley, *Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in XIIIth Century England*, London, 1939.

45. Brit. Mus., Ms. Royal 13 D VI. Pächt, *St. Albans Psalter*, p. 166. The initial is painted on a separate strip of parchment which has been pasted down. The painter, however, extended the design beyond its edges, and, in particular, the bulbous extremities of the design lie on the parchment ground itself.

46. See, for example, Isidore of Seville, *Proemia in libros veteris ac novi Testamenti*, P.L. 83, 155: "In principio videlicet quinque libri Moysi, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium id est, recapitulatio legis et quasi secunda lex." Hugh of St.-Victor, *Eruditionis Didascalicae*, P.L. 176, 779: "Quinque libros legis Moyses scripsit." Another instance of the appearance of Moses in an illustration of *In principio* is found in a Bible from Corbie in the Bibliothèque Mazarine (Ms. 36). G. de la Batut, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés à la Bibliothèque Mazarine à Paris," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures*, 1933, pp. 8-9. For a further comment on this iconography, see H. Schade, "Das Paradies und die Imago Dei," *Wandlungen des Paradiesischen und Utopischen* (Probleme der Kunstwissenschaft, II), Berlin, 1966, pp. 105 ff.

47. The following definition is offered by Thierry of Chartres: "Istam quattuor elementorum informitatem seu potius paene uniformitatem antiqui philosophi tunc hylen, tunc chaon appelaverunt. Moyses vero nomine caeli et terrae eandem confusionem designat." N. Haring, "The Creation and Creator of the World According to Thierry of Chartres and Clarenbaldus of Arras," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 1955, p. 192, with reference also to Thierry's sources (p. 153).

48. *Gesta abbatum*, p. 184.

49. Lambeth Palace, Ms. 102. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 169-170.

50. Trinity College, Ms. 0.5.8. James, *Catalogue*, 1902, III, pp. 312-313.

51. Oxford, St. John's College, Mss. 26 and 27. H. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in collegiis aulicis oxoniensibus...*, Oxford, 1852,

p. 9. I am grateful to J. J. G. Alexander for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

52. Ms. 233. H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, Paris, 1885, I, pp. 124-125. The book is in an English hand and seems to have been in English ownership until the end of the sixteenth century at least according to notes on the flyleaf. A copy of the initial illustrated here was made for the Count of Bastard's collection of specimens of manuscript illumination now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and rightly linked there with copies of the initials in the Capucins Bible, discussed below. I am grateful to M. F. Avril, who made this discovery and brought it to my attention.

53. Corpus Christi College, Ms. 380. See James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 227-228. L. Ayres kindly called this manuscript to my attention. James' view that this was perhaps the copy of this text seen by Leland in the sixteenth century at Malmesbury cannot be substantiated. On the author and the work, see Hunt, *English Learning*, pp. 117 ff., and C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, Cambridge, 1927, pp. 169-171. It may be appropriate in completing the picture of St. Albans painting in this period to mention a cutting from a gradual (?) with an attractive drawing of four standing saints formerly in the Ball collection, Hertfordshire County Museum at St. Albans, which is regarded as local work by A. Hollander, "The Pictorial Work in the 'Flores Historiarum' of the So-Called Matthew of Westminster, Ms. Cheltenham 6712," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1924, pp. 361-381. This leaf, now in the Rosenwald Collection at the National Gallery of Art (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February supplement, 1965, no. 142), appears to be of German (Rhenish?) origin.

54. Bib. Nat., Mss. lat. 16743-16746. L. Grodecki, "Problèmes de la peinture en Champagne pendant la seconde moitié du douzième siècle," *Studies in Western Art, Romanesque and Gothic Art*, Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art, Princeton, 1963, I, pp. 137-140. Earlier, the Bible had been attributed to St.-Bertin on the strength of its stylistic connection, first discerned by A. Haseloff, with the St. John's College Psalter (A. Haseloff in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, Paris, 1906, II, 1, p. 305). I attribute to the Simon painter the decoration of the final volume (Ms. lat. 16746) in its entirety and three initials in the second (Ms. lat. 16744, fols. 3 v., 37 v., and 81). The other initials in this volume, all ornamental, are by a secondary, more routine hand.

55. The relationship of the Tree of Jesse to the corresponding subject in the Lambeth Bible was noted by A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, London, 1934, pp. 110-111. The illustration of the prophet consuming his scroll at the command of the Lord (Isa. 3:1), a rare subject in Bible illumination, is also found in the Lambeth Bible. The Annunciation to Zacharias at the beginning of Luke has a parallel in the late twelfth-century Bible in the Bodleian, Ms. Laud. Misc. 752.

56. Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 668. J. Porcher, *Manuscripts à peintures du VII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1854, p. 77, no. 207. Bodleian Library, Canon Pat. Ms. lat. 217. O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1966, I, no. 494, p. 39.

57. The construction of initial letters with beveled panels separated by white dots is also found in the following late Romanesque manuscripts, which is not meant, of course, to be an exhaustive list: Chartres, Bib. Mun., Ms. 140, fol. 132 v. (Y. Delaporte, *Les manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres*, Chartres, 1929, p. 40); Florence, Bib. Laur., Plut. XV, Cod. 11 (Haseloff, *Psalter-illustration*, pl. 5); London, Brit. Mus., Egerton Ms. 2652 (ibid., pl. 12); Add. Ms. 15452 (Deuchler, *Ingeborgpsalter*, figs. 169, 171, 177, and 182. Within the Ingeborg Psalter group, the London Bible alone shows this kind of design); Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 11565, fol. 2 v.; Ms. lat. 11566, fol. 97 v. and Ms. lat. 11575, fol. 77; Troyes, Bib. Mun., Ms. 92, fols. 2 and 99 (L. Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux manuscrits et les plus belles reliures de la Bibliothèque de Troyes*, Troyes, 1935, p. 104, attributable to the painter who carried out the decoration of vols. I and III of the Capucins Bible); Vienna, Nationalbib., Cod. 1256, fol. 177 (H. J. Herrmann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, III, 3, Leipzig, 1927, p. 102). An initial from a northeastern French *Moralia* of Gregory the Great of about 1125 (Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 89846) shows the motif in an early stage of development. For the motif of the foliage bearing or spouting giant, perhaps (in the first case) a distant recollection of the motif of Atlas or Coelus bearing their charges, there are antecedents in French and Italian manuscripts of the earlier twelfth century: Valenciennes, Bib. Mun., Ms. 11 (Bible of Alardus), fol. 62; Ms. 122 (Lectionary), fol. 79 v.; Douai, Bib. Mun., Ms. 1 (Bible), fol. 208 v.

58. H. Swarzenski, *The Berthold Missal*, New York, 1943, p. 58.

59. A. Goldschmidt, "English Influences on Medieval Art of the Continent," *Medieval Studies in Honor of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge, 1939, II, pp. 715-719.

60. Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, pp. 104 ff. The copy of Lombard's Psalter Commentary, in all likelihood from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, which recently entered the British Museum as Add. Ms. 54229, suggests that at least some work similar in style was done locally (*The Eric George Millar Bequest of Manuscripts and Drawings*, London, 1968, no. III, pp. 18-19).

61. On Petrus Comestor, S. R. Daly, "Peter Comestor: Master of Histories," *Speculum*, 32, 1957, pp. 62-73. There is as yet no critical edition of the text (*P.L.* 198, 1053 ff.). For a list of manuscripts, see F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, Madrid, 1954, IV, pp. 288-290. For the illuminated copies of the *Decretum Gratiani* in the twelfth century, see R. Schilling, "The Decretum Gratiani formerly in the Dyson Perrins Collection," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1963, pp. 27-39. In the case of the *Decretum*, we are of course dealing with a text which the University through the teaching of canon law helped to diffuse but did not originate. The teaching of canon law in Paris in the late seventies is documented through the testimony of Gerald of Wales (see S. Kuttner, "Les débuts de l'école canonique française," *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris*, IV, 1938, pp. 193-204). One of the earliest in the French series of illuminated Decreta must be the roughly mid-century manuscript from which single leaves have found their way into the Cleveland Museum (no. 54. 598) and the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 8985B-F). A single sheet in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Auxerre (Ms. 269) showing the Tree of Consanguinity must have been part of the same manuscript. The work seems to be that mentioned in several inventories of the library of Pontigny (C. H. Talbot, "Notes on the Library of Pontigny," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, x, 1954, pp. 122, 134, and 164, no. 236). The Cleveland leaf was exhibited in *The Year 1200* (I, no. 241, pp. 242-243) with a date that seems unduly late. The style of the ornamental initials is not too distant from those found in the books of Prince Henry discussed below. I have sought to demonstrate the influence of the Decretum in the sculpture of the south portal of Notre-Dame in my article "The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint-Anne and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 55-72.

62. Boase, *English Art*, p. 183; Schilling, *Decretum*, p. 38.

63. B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 64. In view of the difficulty of determining Lombard's actual share in the compilation of the gloss, a problem which has been much debated, I use his name as author in a conventional sense only. On this question, see B. Smalley, "Les commentaires bibliques de l'époque romane: glose ordinaire et gloses perimées," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 1961, pp. 15-22, and idem, "La Glossa Ordinaria," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 1937, pp. 365-400.

64. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate*, pp. 224 ff.

65. On this theme, see J. de Ghellinck, "En marge des catalogues de bibliothèques médiévales," *Miscellanea F. Ehrle*, Rome, 1924, V, pp. 356 ff. Among the sources, see for example the list of books commissioned by Abbot Gotescalc at St.-Bertin some time in the seventies. "Decreta Gratiani, libros magistri Hugonis de Sancto-Victore, gloses magistri Gisleberti (Porretanus or Autessiodorensis?) et magistri Petri Lombardi super epistolas Pauli, historiam evangelicam et scholasticam, et alios sacre scripture libros, sicut in librariis nostris apparet, scribi fecit" (M. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, Paris, 1845, pp. 340-341). Further, the donation of Beron, bishop of Hildesheim (1190-1194): "Contulit eciam ecclesie veteris ac novi tesamenti libros glosatas et magnos scolasticas diligencie studio elaboratos" (*M.G.H. Script.*, VII, 858), or that of John of Salisbury to the cathedral of Chartres (ca. 1180. *P.L.* 199, pp. xi-xii).

66. *Gesta abbatum*, pp. 58, 94, 184.

67. Brit. Mus., Royal Ms. 4.D.VII.

68. Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek, Ms. 2282. The book is attributed on paleographic grounds to a "French Cathedral School" by B. Bischoff. P. Bloch assigns it to Paris on the somewhat shaky ground of the presence of a Magister Adam—presumably Adam du Petit-Pont (Parvipontanus)—in the company of Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle in the principal miniature (*Die Sammlungen des Baron von Hüpsch*, Darmstadt-Cologne, 1964, no. 60). On manuscript illumination in Paris in the early years of the century, see Porcher, *Manuscrits à peintures*, pp. 85-90, and M. Veillard-Troïekourov, "Art carolingien et art roman parisiens," *Cahiers archéologiques*, XVI, 1966, pp. 77-105.

69. A. Wilmart, "L'ancienne bibliothèque de Clairvaux," *Mémoires de la Société académique d'agriculture, des sciences, arts et belles-lettres du Département de l'Aube*, 1917, pp. 175-182. The manuscripts in question are Troyes, Bib. Mun., Mss. 511, 512, 871, 872, 1023 bis., 1083, and 1620. Two others are in Montpellier, Bib. de l'École de Médecine, Mss. 155 and 231.

70. According to Wilmart, the inscription *Henricus regis filius* in several of the books indicates that they were completed before the death of Louis VII in 1137. G. B. Hobson, "Further Notes on Romanesque Bindings," *The Library*, XV, 1934, pp. 161-211, states that the bindings (p. 171) are "undoubtedly Parisian." The nature of the gloss has not been identified. Glunz (cited by Hobson, p. 168) calls it Lombard's, but remarks that it is incomplete. Miss Smalley, "Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128-1134) and the Problem of the Glossa Ordinaria," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 1936, pp. 44-45, doubts this on the grounds that Lombard, who arrived in Paris in 1135 or 1136, would not have had time before 1137 to produce his compilation. In connection with the dating of the bindings, Schilling has argued that three specimens of the same type in Engelberg reached that house before 1143 ("Neue romanische Bucheinbände. 2. Engelberg," *Jahrbuch der Einbandkunst*, III-IV, 1929-1930, p. 22). Another group in Halberstadt was given by Harderardus, canon at Hildesheim between 1151-1179 (A. Haseloff, "Der Einband der Hs. des Marcusevangeliums des Harderardus," *Miscellanea F. Ehrle*, V, pp. 567-578).

71. Dijon, Bib. Mun., Ms. 2. This Bible is usually dated to the beginning of the century, which seems too early. A valuable witness for illumination in the region of Paris in the second quarter of the century is the lectionary of St.-Arnoul-de-Crépy (Bib. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 162).

72. Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 14516. This manuscript was used by Migne for his edition of the text, which incorporates the diagrams (*P.L.* 196, 527 ff.).

73. Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 95-97, 107.

74. I have in mind here the copies of the *Historia Scholastica* with historiated initials such as Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 16943, from Corbie, dated 1183, or the fine exemplar from Mont-St.-Quentin, near Péronne, in the Yale Beinecke Library; or further, the copies with illustrations of Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium historiae in genealogiae Christi* in Eton College (Ms. 96) and

formerly in the Chester Beatty Collection (E. G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty*, London, 1930, II, pp. 125-126, no. 69). Arthur Haseloff's pioneering essay on illumination in Paris during the later years of the twelfth century drew attention to the chronicle of St.-Martin-des-Champs (Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 17716) and the Commentary of Peter Lombard on the Psalms from St.-Germain-des-Prés (Ms. lat. 11565), both of which have since then achieved hand-book renown (Haseloff, in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, Paris, 1906, II, pt. 1, p. 308). The splendid breviary which he cites as an antiphony of St.-Victor (Ms. lat. 796), however, stems from Montieramey, near Troyes (see V. Leroquais, *Les breviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1934, II, pp. 449-450). A number of late twelfth-century Paris books are cited and briefly discussed in the unpublished dissertation of Y. Deslandres, "La décoration des manuscrits dans la région parisienne du IX<sup>e</sup> au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," Ph.D. thesis, Ecole nationale des chartes, 1950.

75. W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 558. Reference is generally made to a passage in a letter of Peter of Blois to a Master Ernald dated 1175 (H. Denifle and E. Châtellain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, Paris, 1889, I, pp. 33-34). An attempt has been made to reconstruct the procedure of the Parisian scribes in this period, following the pioneering work of J. Destrez for the thirteenth century (C. A. Robson, "The Pécia of the Twelfth Century Paris School," *Dominican Studies*, II, 1949, pp. 267-279). See also on this the critical remarks of J. Châtillon, in his edition of Richard of St.-Victor's *Liber Exceptionum*, *Textes philosophiques du moyen âge*, V, Paris, 1968, pp. 79-80. The customary of the abbey of St.-Victor (usually known as the *Liber ordinis*) contains unusually extensive instructions for the ordering and manufacture of books. The text is published in E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Antwerp, 1737, III, cols. 733 ff., and has been commented on by J. Châtillon, "La culture de l'école de Saint-Victor au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Entretiens sur la Renaissance du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle*, eds. M. de Gandillac and E. Jeuneau, Paris-The Hague, 1968, pp. 150 ff.

76. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, pp. 78 ff.

77. The date given by Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, for Ralph's assumption of the diaconate must be rectified in the light of C. N. L. Brooke, "Hereford Cathedral Dignitaries in the Twelfth Century," *Cambridge*

*Historical Journal*, VIII, 1944, pp. 15-16. He is first mentioned among the *clerici* of the cathedral in 1177. Among the ten volumes in this collection still extant in Hereford, the glossed Ezekiel and Daniel (Ms. o.IV.7) show initials in the characteristic Channel manner. Some of Ralph's books (Ms. o.II.2, o.III.7, o.VI.5, and o.VI.1) are the work of the same scribe and give the impression of being the earliest of the group. For the Harderardus manuscripts, see note 70.

78. Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 14316. The manuscript concludes with the versified chronicle of the popes by Nicholas of Maniacutius, which breaks off with Eugene III (d. 1153). A terminus post is not given, though Kuttner remarks that the text appears to be an early redaction, with no trace of the primitive gloss (*Repertorium der Kanonistik*, Rome, 1937, p. 19, note 2).

79. E. Croydon, "Abbot Lawrence of Westminster and Hugh of Saint-Victor," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, II, 1950, pp. 169-171, and B. Bischoff, "Aus der Schule von Hugos von St. Victor," reprinted in the author's collected essays, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, Stuttgart, 1967, II, pp. 162-187. On the presence of English students in Paris at this time generally, see A. L. Gabriel, "English Masters and Students in Paris during the Twelfth Century," *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 25, 1949, pp. 51-95, reprinted in the same author's *Garlandia*, *Studies in the History of the Mediaeval University*, Frankfurt, 1969, pp. 1-37.

80. P.L. 196, 1228, and Boase, *English Art*, p. 180. The "Prior G." who recommends his brother Matthew to Richard in these letters must be Guarinus, who became Simon's successor. The *Gesta abbatum* states that he was educated at Salerno. Migne's text of these letters is based on the older editions of Duchesne and Martène. The originals seem to be lost (A. Luchaire, "Les receuils épistolaires de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor," *Études sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, Université de Paris, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des lettres, VIII, 1899, pp. 32 ff.).

81. R. W. Hunt, "Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century. II. The School of Ralph of Beauvais," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, II, 1950, pp. 1-56. The manuscript is Bodleian, Ms. Laud. lat. 67.

82. On the monastic school of St. Albans, whose most illustrious product was Neckam, see *Gesta abbatum*, I, p. 194, and D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, Cambridge,

1953, p. 492. A Master Osbert of St. Albans signed with Simon a charter of Gilbert Foliot settling a dispute between Colchester abbey and Higham priory (Z. N. Brooke, A. Morey, and C. N. L. Brooke, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 409, no. 360). The title *Magister* given to Simon in the *ex libris* of the Trinity College Cassiodorus (see note 40) makes one curious about his own educational background, on which the *Gesta* are silent.

83. See for other examples: Leyden, University Lib., Cod. Vulc. 46, fol. 130 (K. Weitzmann, "Zwei Fuldaer Handschriften des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1936, pp. 177 ff.), and Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 44, fol. 1 (P. Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark*, Leipzig, 1911, I, pp. 68-69), both representations of Hugh of St.-Victor.

84. Basel, Universitätsbib., Ms. o.II.24, fol. 14. Reproduction in Gabriel, *Garlandia*, pl. II on p. 16. See also the representation of Gilbert with three disciples, Jordanus, Yvo of Chartres, and John Belet, in Valenciennes Ms. 197, from St.-Amand (J. Porcher, *Manuscrits à peintures en France du VII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1954, p. 67, no. 166).

85. Bodleian, Ms. Laud. Misc. 409. Accord-

ing to the inscription on fol. 1, the volume was given to the monastic library by Abbot William (1214-1235). I believe, however, that it must have been executed earlier. The decorative initials are closest to those in the Eton Bible (Ms. 26). The text appears to have been copied from the roughly mid-twelfth-century copy of this work, Bodleian, Ms. Laud. Misc. 370. For the illustration in the Egino Codex (Berlin, Staatsbib. Phill., Ms. 1676, fol. 18 v.), see W. Braunfels, *Die Welt der Karolinger und ihre Kunst*, Munich, 1968, fig. 188. It is now generally identified as representing Augustine among disciples.

86. Cf. Vienna, Bib. Nat., Cod. 1009, fol. 1 (Hermann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, II, 2, pp. 72-73), a manuscript from Weltenburg near Regensburg, and Admont Ms. 20, fol. 1 v. (Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, p. 49).

87. On this subject, see P. Classen, "Die hohen Schule und die Gesellschaft im 12. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 1966, pp. 155-180.

88. Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 15170, which has a Chichester calendar (Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 51). The miniature of a master discoursing with his students on fol. 126 seems to have been added on a blank folio. It follows the text of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and might have been intended to represent this author.

## Appendix

List of manuscripts with decoration attributable to the Simon Painter.

- 1 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Ms. 48. Bible. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 94-98.
- 2 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Ms. 380. Robert of Cricklade, *Speculum fidei*. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 227-228.
- 3 Lambeth Palace, Ms. 102. Glossed Luke and John. James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 169-170.
- 4 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 233,

Ephrem the Syrian, Homilies; Augustine, Sermons and *Adversus Manicheos*. A fourteenth-century table of contents on the flyleaf indicates that a number of other writings originally completed the manuscript. The book belonged to Henry Stobbing (note on the flyleaf) before passing into the collection of the Marquis of Paulmy. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, I, pp. 124-125.

- 5 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 16743-46. Bible. The four volumes were formerly in the library of the Capucins in

the Rue Saint-Honoré where they were catalogued as nos. 8 to 11. See A. Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, Paris, 1870, II, p. 237, for a brief inventory in which they are initially mentioned.

- 6 St. John's College, Cambridge, Ms. 68. Psalter. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 216-217.
- 7 St. John's College, Oxford. Glossed Isaiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum*, Mss. 26 and 27.
- 8 Stonyhurst College, Ms. 10. Gregory the Great, Homilies on Ezekiel.
- 9 Trinity College, Cambridge, Ms. o.5.8. Glossed Pauline Epistles. James, *Western Manuscripts*, III, pp. 312-313.
- 10 Trinity Hall College, Cambridge, Ms. 2. Radulphus Flaviacensis, Commentary on Leviticus. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 4-5.

#### Workshop Assistants

- 1 Bodleian Library, Ms. lat. 87. Sermons of Hildbert of Lavardin, Hugh of St.-Victor and Petrus Comestor. Gilbert of Hoyland, Commentary on Matthew. Stephen Langton, Commentary on the Song of Songs. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *Western Manuscripts*, II, pt. I, p. 92.
- 2 St. John's College, Cambridge, Ms. 183. New Testament. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 216-217.
- 3 Trinity College, Cambridge, Ms. o.7.13. Cassiodorus, Epistles. James, *Western Manuscripts*, III, p. 355.



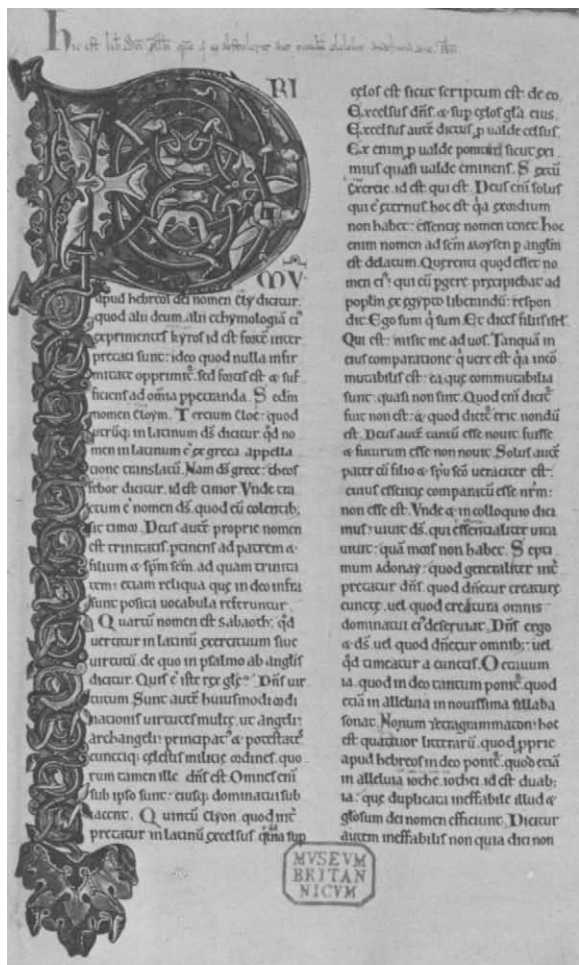


FIG. 1 *Rabanus Maurus, Royal Ms.  
12 G. XIV, fol. 6, British  
Museum*



FIG. 2 *Ivory fragment, St. Albans  
(?), British Museum*





FIG. 3 *Chronicle of St. Albans, Cotton Ms. Nero D. I., fol. 48 v., British Museum*

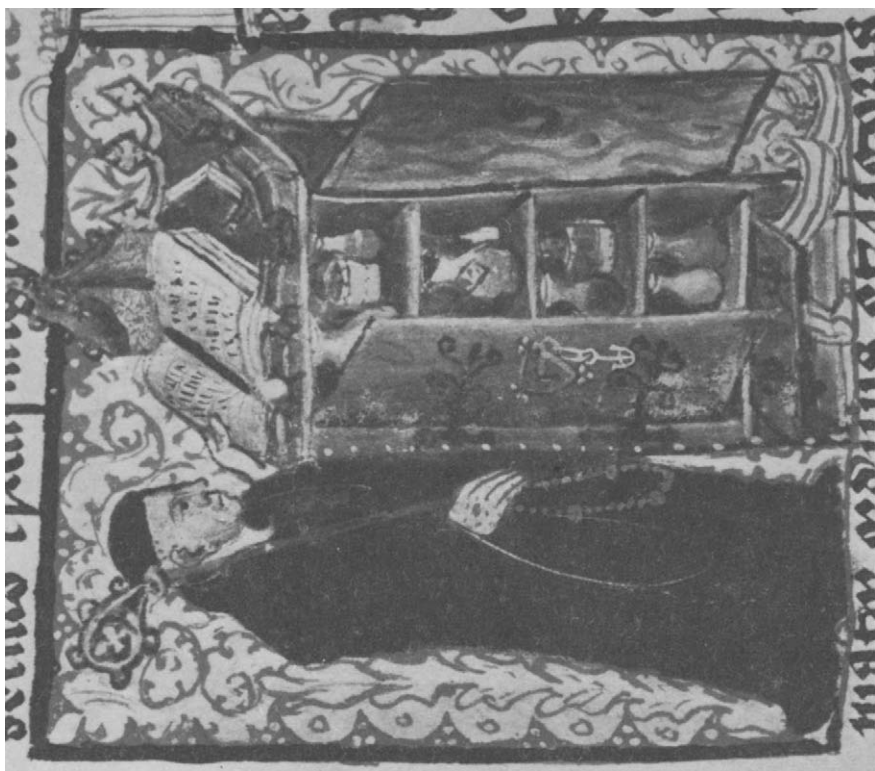


FIG. 4 *Chronicle of St. Albans, Cotton Ms. Claud E. IV, fol. 129 v., British Museum*





FIG. 7 John of Salisbury, Royal Ms. 13 D. IV, fol. 2, British Museum

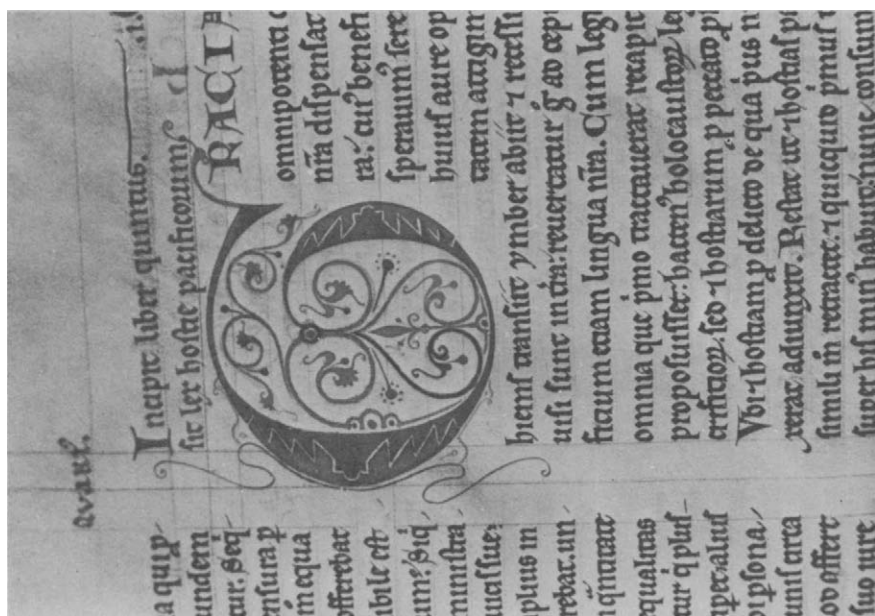


FIG. 8 Radulphus Flaviacensis, Commentary on Leviticus, Book V, Ms. 2, Trinity Hall, Cambridge



FIG. 9 Radulphus Flaviacensis, Ms. 2, fol. 3 v., The Lord Addressing Moses, Trinity Hall, Cambridge (photo: Courtauld Institute)



FIG. 10 Gregory Homilies on Ezekiel, Ms. 10, fol. 1, Gregory the Great, Storyhurst College (photo: Warburg Institute)



FIG. 11 Seal of Simon of St. Albans, British Museum

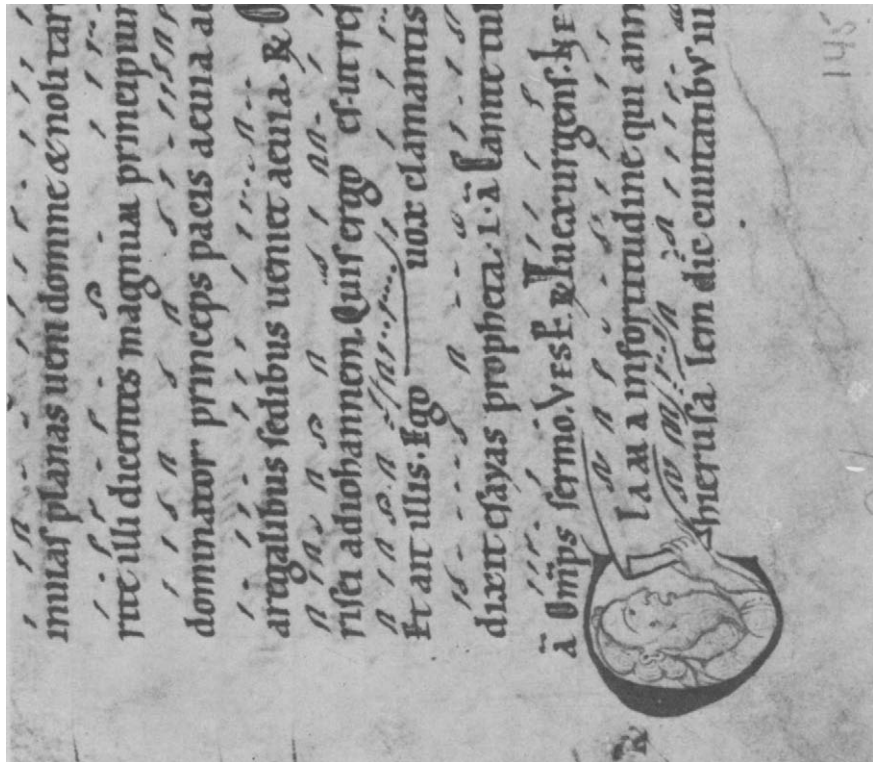


FIG. 12 The Prophet Jeremiah, cutting from a south German missal, Beinecke Library of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Yale University



FIG. 13 Ms. 68, Psalm 26, Anointing of David, St. John's College, Cambridge (photo : Courtauld Institute)





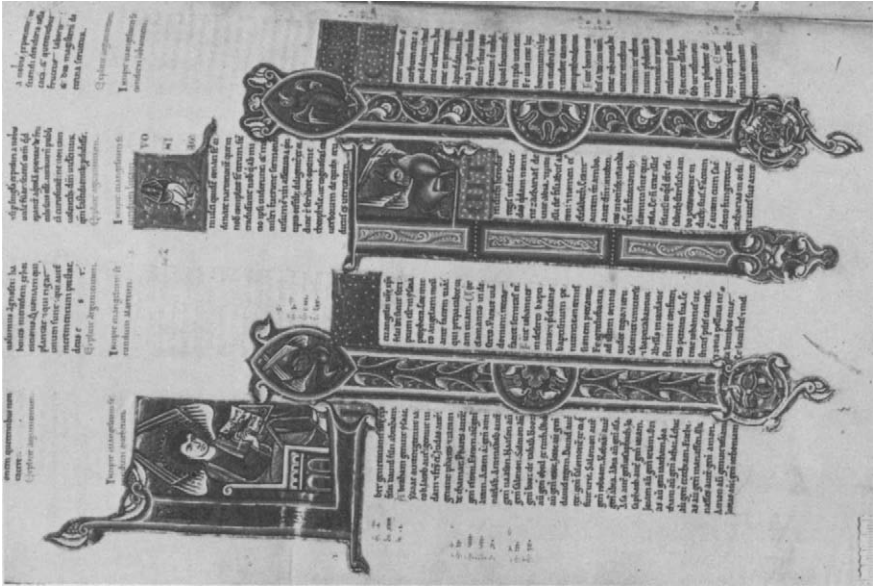


FIG. 16 Ms. 48, fol. 205 v., Bible, The Four Gospels, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (photo: Courtauld Institute)

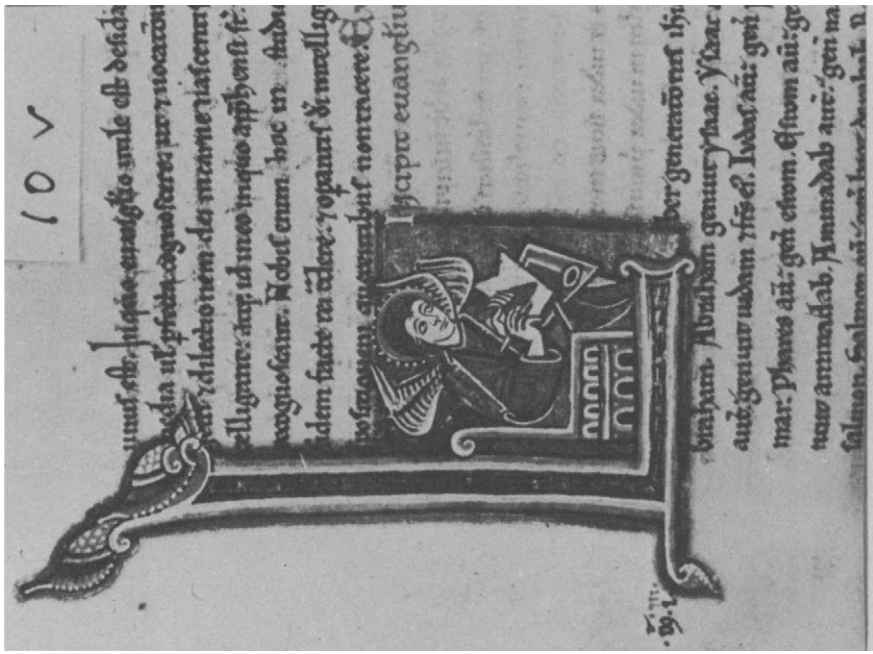


FIG. 17 Ms. 183, fol. 10 v., New Testament, Evangelist Matthew, St. John's College, Cambridge (photo: Courtauld Institute)



FIG. 18 Ms. 183, fol. 156 v., *New Testament, Apocalyptic Christ*, St. John's College, Cambridge (photo: Courtauld Institute)

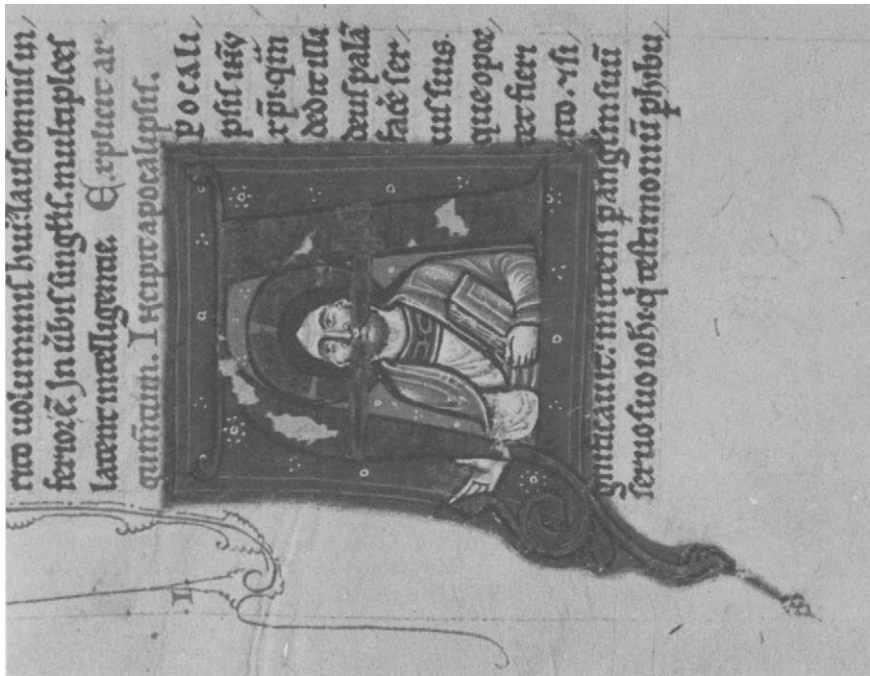


FIG. 19 Ms. 48, fol. 246 v., *Bible, Apocalyptic Christ, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (photo: Courtauld Institute)



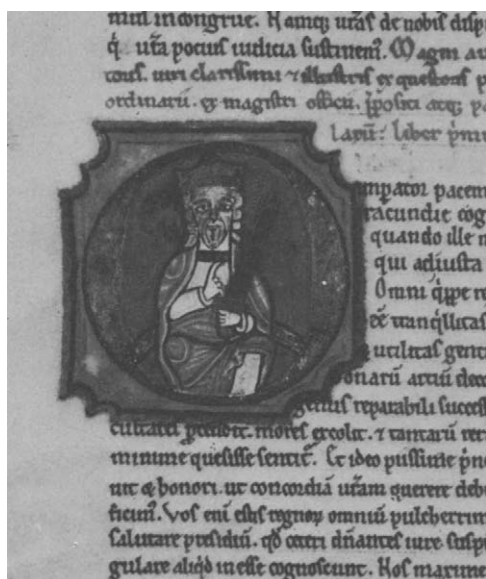


FIG. 20 Cassiodorus, Ms. O. 7. 13, fol. 2 v.,  
Seated Ruler, The Emperor Anastasius (?),  
Trinity College, Cambridge

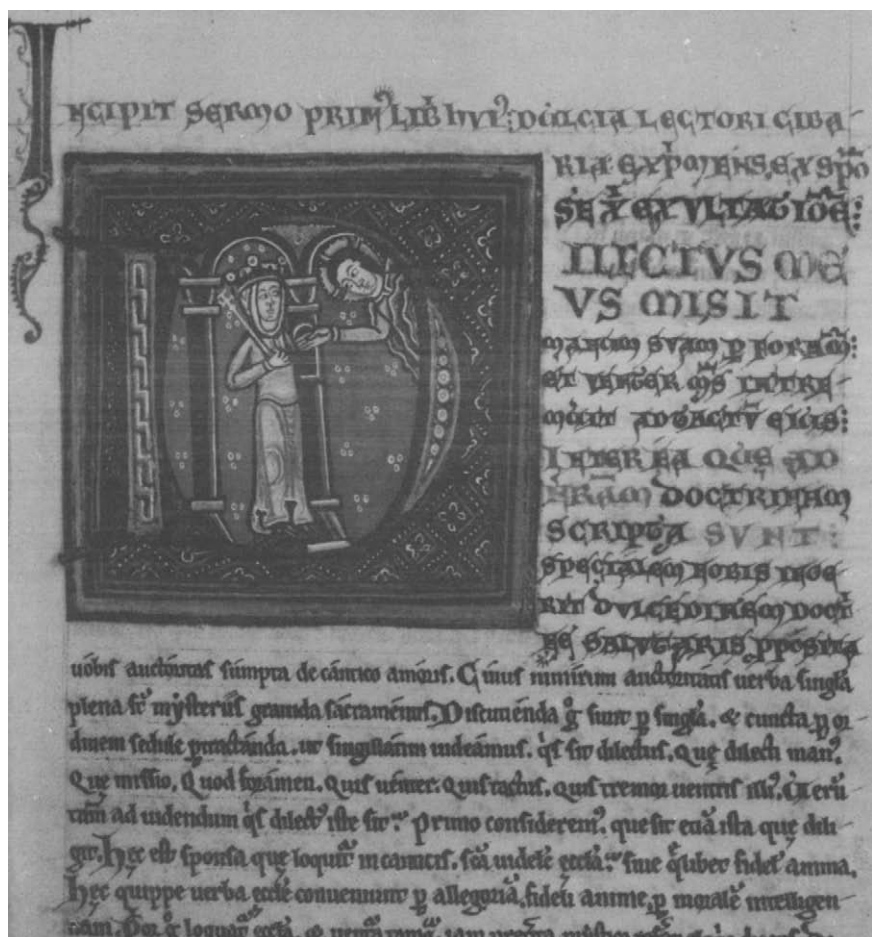


FIG. 21 Ms. lat. 87, fol. 27, Sermons and  
Miscellany, The Messianic Bride, Bodleian  
Library, Oxford

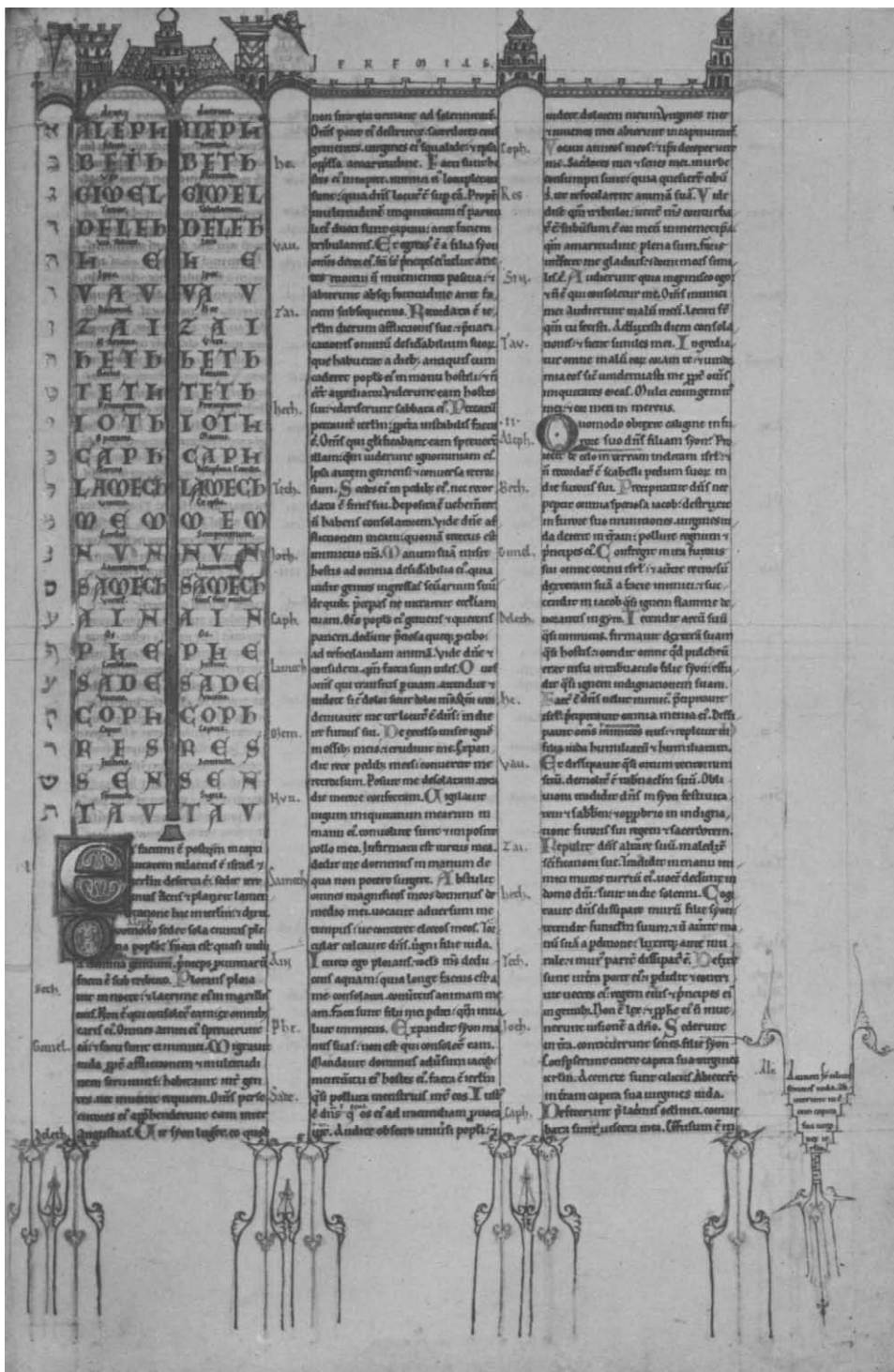


FIG. 22 Ms. 48, fol. 141r, Bible, Lamentations, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge



FIG. 23 Ms. 48, fol. 7 v., Bible, Genesis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

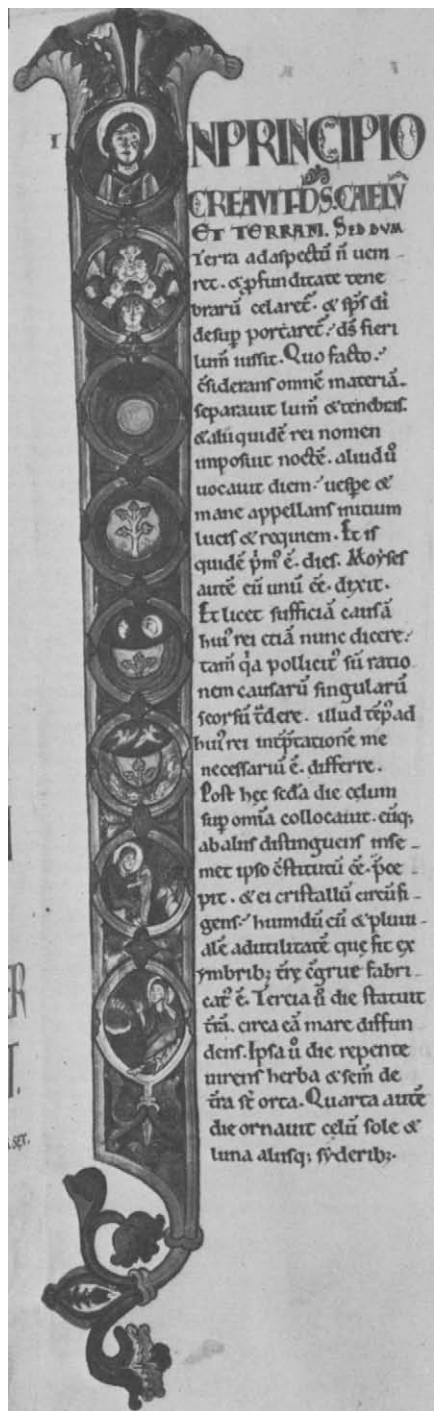


FIG. 24 Josephus, Royal Ms. 13 D. VI, fol. 2, Genesis, British Museum





FIG. 28 Ms. 233, fol. 1,  
St. Ephrem, Bibliothèque  
de l'Arsenal, Paris



FIG. 29 Ms. lat. 16744,  
fol. 37 v., Bible, The  
Lord Addressing Jere  
miah, Bibliothèque  
Nationale



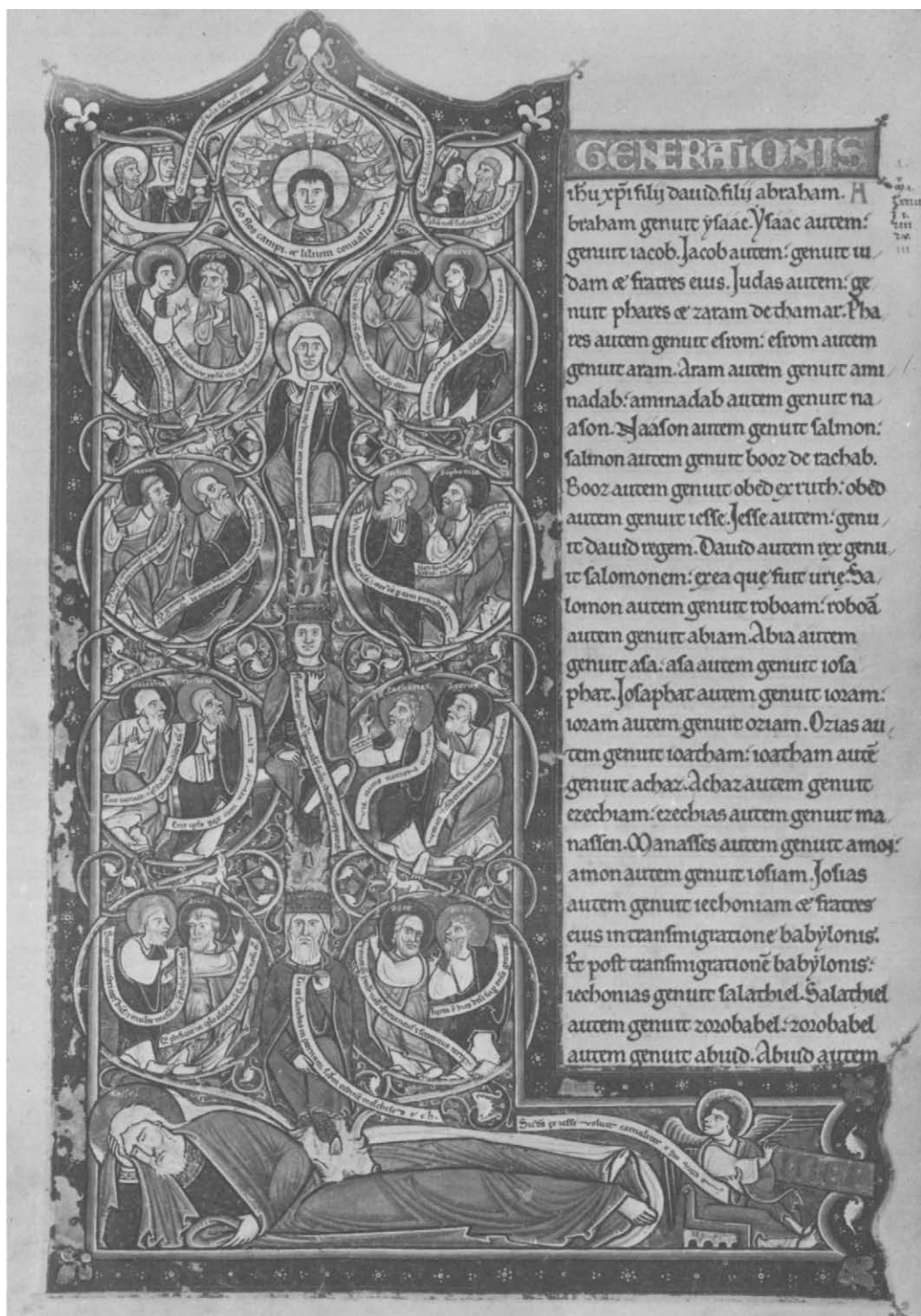


FIG. 30 Ms. lat. 16746, fol. 7 v., Bible, Tree of Jesse, Bibliothèque Nationale

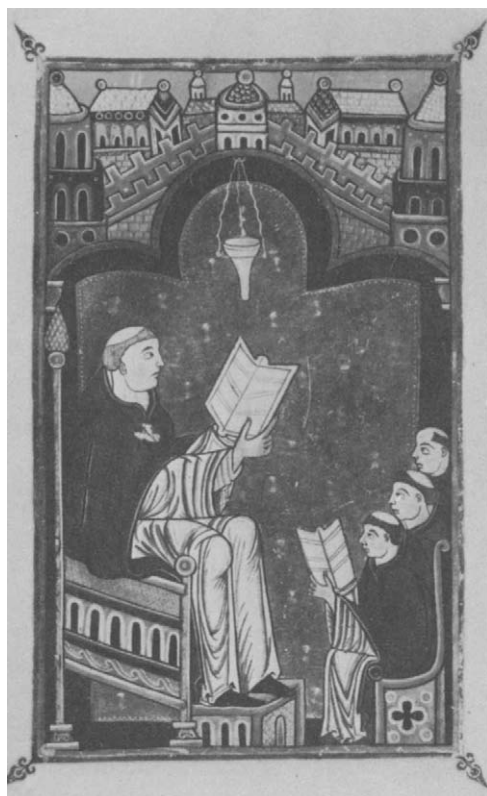


FIG. 31 *Hugh of St.-Victor, Ms. laud. misc. 409, fol. 3 v., Bodleian Library, Oxford*



FIG. 32 *Ms. 68, Psalm 143, St. John's College, Cambridge*



FIG. 33 *Ms. 48, fol. 263 v., Bible, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (photo: Courtauld Institute)*

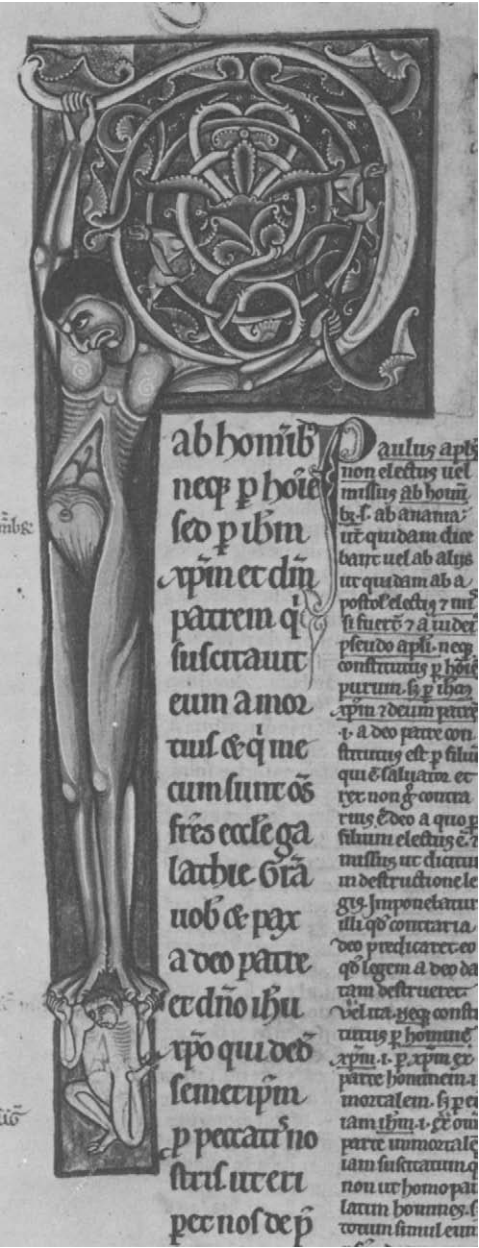


FIG. 34 Ms. lat. 668, fol. 150 v., Glossed Pauline Epistles, Bibliothèque Nationale



FIG. 35 Canon Pat. lat. 217, fol. 3, Glossed Psalter, Bodleian Library, Oxford



FIG. 36 Ms. 1620, fol. 14, Glossed Canon, Epistles, Bibliothèque Municipale, Troyes



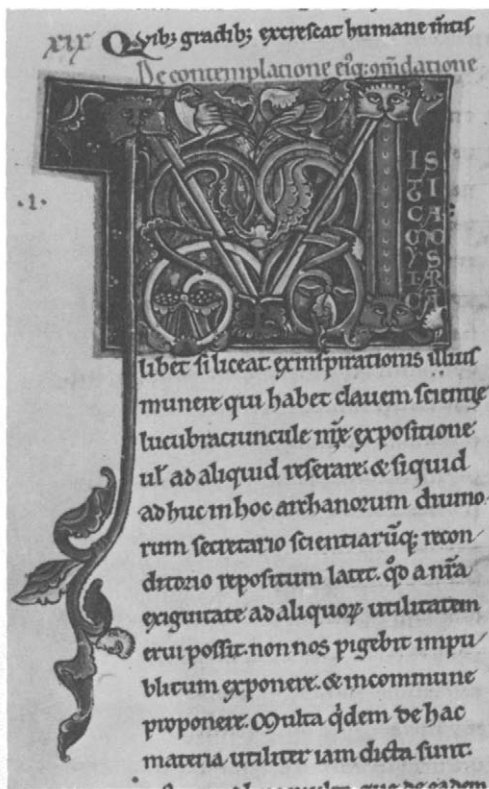


FIG. 37 *Richard of St.-Victor, Ms. lat. 14516, fol. 2 v., Bibliothèque Nationale*



FIG. 38 Decretum Gratiani, *Ms. lat. 14316*,  
*fol. 74, Bibliothèque Nationale*

# Der Ingeborgpsalter

## Bemerkungen zu

### Datierungs- und Stilfragen<sup>1</sup>

#### I

Als vor nunmehr über einem Jahrhundert Léopold Delisle bei einem Pariser Notar zum ersten Male jenen Psalter einsehen konnte, der der Gegenstand dieser Ausführungen ist, und der sich heute als Ms. 1695 in der Bibliothek des Musée Condé in Chantilly befindet, erkannte er sofort, dass diese Handschrift einst der unglücklichen Königin Ingeborg von Frankreich gehört hatte.<sup>2</sup> Es sollten jedoch hundert Jahre zwischen der ersten Würdigung, die jener grosse Gelehrte veröffentlichte,<sup>3</sup> und dem Erscheinen einer vollständigen Veröffentlichung des Psalters durch Florens Deuchler,<sup>4</sup> die eine lebhafte Diskussion auslöste<sup>5</sup> vergehen. Dass es sich um eines der Hauptdenkmäler der französischen Buchmalerei um 1200 handelt, darüber besteht Einigkeit, kontrovers sind immer noch eine präzisere Datierung und die Lokalisierung. Beides wird durch die Isoliertheit des Psalters nicht erleichtert; es haben sich bisher nur wenige Handschriften an ihn anschliessen lassen. Günther Haseloff hat einen glossierten Psalter aus der Kathedrale von Beauvais, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 338 (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 243) dem Ingeborgpsalter zugeordnet.<sup>6</sup> Die Verwandtschaft einer Bibel, London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 15452 (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 251), hat zuerst Eric G. Millar erkannt.<sup>7</sup> Damit ist die Gruppe im engeren Sinn bereits erschöpft. Auch aus dem weiteren Umkreis ist nur wenig zu nennen: ein Missale aus Anchin, Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 90 (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 250), ausserdem ein mit dieser Handschrift vor allem von Hanns Swarzenski in Verbindung gebrachtes Kanonblatt,<sup>8</sup> Köln, Museum (Abb. 12, 13).<sup>9</sup> Doch kann das Missale nicht direkt der Werkstatt des Ingeborgpsalters zugeschrieben werden—nicht umsonst wurde es in der Ausstellung in einer anderen Vitrine gezeigt als der New Yorker Psalter und die Londoner Bibel. Ob und wie weit Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat.

7936 (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 252) in die Umgebung des Ingeborgpsalters gehört, erörtert der Entdecker der Handschrift, François Avril, in einem anderen Beitrag dieses Bandes (vgl. S. 261).

Der Zeitraum, der für eine Datierung des Ingeborgpsalters in Anspruch genommen werden kann, ist kürzlich von Louis Grodecki umschrieben worden: "La date est discutée, mais ne saurait se situer avant 1193 ni après 1215. . . ." <sup>10</sup> Die beiden Extreme werden augenblicklich von Florens Deuchler, der für eine Datierung um 1195 eintritt, und vom Referenten, der dagegen zu einer Ansetzung um 1210 neigt, vertreten. Die zeitliche Stellung, die dem Psalter in der Entwicklung um 1200 zugedacht wird, ist dabei völlig unabhängig von der Lokalisierung, die zwischen England—so einst ein Vorschlag Vitzthums und 1958 Deuchlers <sup>11</sup>—Nordfrankreich und Paris hin- und herschwankt. Günther Haseloff und Hanns Swarzenski hielten eine Entstehung des Psalters in Anchin für möglich. <sup>12</sup> Auf Grund der Forschungen von Charles J. Liebman, Jr., über den französischen Psalmenkommentar des New Yorker Psalters wurde das Scriptorium von Jacques Guignard und Ellen J. Beer in Tournai angesiedelt. <sup>13</sup> Deuchler ist für eine Lokalisierung ins nordöstliche Kronland (Diözese Noyon) eingetreten und hat dafür die Zustimmung Grodeckis gefunden, <sup>14</sup> während der Referent vorschlug, mit Delisle und Leroquais den Psalter in Paris entstanden zu denken. <sup>15</sup>

Eine Datierung innerhalb des abgesteckten Zeitraums setzt eine Einordnung der Handschriftengruppe in die verschiedenen Stilströmungen der Zeit um 1200 voraus—der Stil der Handschriften wird damit zum Ausgangspunkt der Erörterungen.

## II

Den wichtigsten Anstoss für die Analyse der im Ingeborgpsalter vertretenen Stile gab Ellen J. Beer, als sie als erste erkannte, dass die Handschrift stilistisch nicht einheitlich ist. Sie trennt einen byzantinisch geprägten Stil vom Muldenfaltenstil. "Der Meister wächst allmählich in den klassischen Stil nach 1200 hinein." <sup>16</sup> Hier sind die Stilunterschiede innerhalb des Psalters als Stationen der Entwicklung eines Miniators aufgefasst, ein Stil wächst aus dem anderen heraus. Eine Deutungsmöglichkeit ergibt sich inzwischen aus Deuchlers allgemein akzeptierter Aufteilung der Miniaturen auf zwei Maler. <sup>17</sup> Wie er völlig überzeugend erkannte, gehören die Miniaturen auf einem Doppelblatt jeweils zusammen, zwei Maler arbeiteten nebeneinander. Einem zweiten Meister sind ausser den Kalenderillustrationen folgende Miniaturen zuzuweisen: Christus und die Ehebrecherin (fol. 21; D. Abb. 25), Auferweckung des Lazarus und Einzug in Jerusalem

(fol. 22 v; D. Abb. 26), Geisselung und Kreuztragung (fol. 26 v; D. Abb. 30), Krenzigung und Kreuzabnahme (fol. 27; D. Abb. 31), Salbung des Leichnams Christi und Frauen am Grabe (fol. 28 v; D. Abb. 32), ungläubiger Thomas und Himmelfahrt (fol. 31; D. Abb. 35), Pfingsten (fol. 32 v; D. Abb. 136), Jüngstes Gericht (fol. 33; D. Abb. 37), Marientod und -krönung (fol. 34; D. Abb. 38). Nach Deuchlers einleuchtenden Beobachtungen ist das augenfälligste Unterscheidungsmerkmal das von Meistern verwendete Inkarnat: der erste wählt eine hellere Tönung aller Fleishteile, der zweite eine rötliche.<sup>18</sup> Wenn der zweite Miniator blaue Stoffflächen modellieren will, dann geschieht das in einer Abstufung von Blautönen; Weiss ist immer mit Blau gemischt.<sup>19</sup> Dagegen bevorzugt der erste Maler weisse Flächen mit blauer Schattierung. An den Stellen, wo er ähnlich vorgeht wie der Zweite, bleibt das Ergebnis stumpfer. Sie haben offenbar versucht, ihre Farbigkeit aneinander anzugleichen, wenn ihre Miniaturen auf zwei sich gegenüberstehenden Seiten zu stehen kommen sollten. So ist beim ersten Maler in der Verklärung (fol. 20 v.) das Inkarnat zweier schlafender Apostel und das aller Köpfe in Abendmahl und Fusswaschung (fol. 23) rötlicher als sonst.<sup>20</sup> Auf dem Blatt mit der Salbung des Leichnams Christi und den Frauen am Grabe (fol. 28 v.) hat der zweite Maler sein Inkarnat aufgehellt und ausnahmsweise ein weisses Gewand mit blauer Schattierung verwendet.

Im Ingeborgpsalter bedeuten die Grenzen zwischen dem Werk zweier Meister nicht die Grenzen zwischen verschiedenen Stilformen. Händescheidung ergibt nicht Stilscheidung. Die beiden zu beobachtenden Stile lassen sich am einfachsten mit den Schlagworten "byzantinisierend" und "Muldenfaltenstil" benennen. Eine Gegenüberstellung der Miniatur mit Abraham und den drei Engeln (fol. 10 v; D. Abb. 14) und der Pfingstminiatur (fol. 32 v; D. Abb. 36; *The Year 1200*, II, ill. 191) mag den extremen Unterschied zwischen beiden verdeutlichen. Für eine Herausarbeitung der Stilkennzeichen ist es aber besser, zwei Figuren gleichen Typs miteinander zu vergleichen. Es seien dafür der Engel vor Abraham aus der eben erwähnten Miniatur und Christus bei der Auferweckung des Lazarus (fol. 22 v; D. Abb. 26) gewählt, beides nach rechts ausschreitende, im Profil dargestellte Figuren, die den rechten Arm im Redegestus erheben (Abb. 1, 2). Der Engel ist sehr schlank. Scharfkantige, brüchige Falten bestimmen den Gewandstil. Fliessend abgerundete Einzelfalten mit Eindellungen, Ösen und Mulden kommen zwar auch vor, bleiben aber kurztaktig und umgreifen nicht die Gestalt. Die Motive sind eher gegeneinander isoliert als zu einem ganzheitlichen System zusammengefügt. Die Figur wirkt flach. Dagegen ist die Gestalt Christi viel plastischer und als Einheit aufgefasst. Sie wird von den Falten des Gewandes umspinnen, die

stegförmigen Falten, die sich in Haarnadelkurven treffen oder mit Mulden eingetieft sind, umziehen sie wie breiter Draht. Sie halten nicht an der Kontur inne, sondern es wird gezeigt, wie sie in die Tiefe führen. Die Plastizität der Figur wird auch durch ihre breiteren Proportionen hervorgehoben. Dass es in dieser Handschrift erst mit Hilfe des Muldenfaltenstiles möglich ist, das räumliche Hintereinander einzelner Teile einer Figur darzustellen, zeigt vielleicht am eindrucklichsten der im Profil sitzende Christus, dem die Ehebrecherin vorgeführt wird (fol. 21 oben; D. Abb. 25). Man vergleiche damit den links an Abrahams Tafel sitzenden Engel (fol. 10 v; D. Abb. 14) (Abb. 3, 4).

Nach Deuchlers Beobachtungen kann dieser Stilunterschied nicht mehr als die Entwicklung eines Künstlers gedeutet werden. Denn wenn zwei Künstler nebeneinander zusammenarbeiteten, muss nach ihrer Wirkung aufeinander gefragt werden, zumal sich bereits in ihrer Farbigkeit bewusste Rücksichtnahme an jenen Stellen zeigte, wo ihre Arbeiten auf zwei einander gegenüberstehenden Seiten placiert sind. Der erste Meister, der des "byzantinisierenden" Stiles kennt von vornherein Faltenrillen, -augen und -ösen, doch sind es Nebenmotive. Sie werden nicht zur Grundlage des Gewandstiles gemacht. In der ersten Lage des Bildzyklus (fol. 10 v. -17) hat er nur Einzelheiten aus dem Formenrepertoire des zweiten Meisters übernommen, während sich in der nächsten Lage (fol. 18 v. -25), deren mittleres Doppelblatt (fol. 21-22 v.) dem zweiten Meister verdankt wird, eine vollständige Übernahme eben dieses Repertoires beobachten lässt. Dagegen hat der zweite Maler nur sehr gelegentlich Einzelformen des ersten in seine Miniaturen aufgenommen, so ähneln die etwas kurzatmigen, eng nebeneinander stehenden knappen Faltenschwünge um die Beine der toten Maria (fol. 34; D. Abb. 38) entsprechenden Formen bei Abraham, der den sitzenden Engeln das Mal aufträgt (fol. 10 v; D. Abb. 14), oder bei Moses, der die Gesetzestafeln empfängt (fol. 12 v; D. Abb. 16) (Abb. 6-8). Wohl an keiner Stelle hat der erste Maler die "Plastizität" und die Gestaltmächtigkeit von Figuren des zweiten erreicht. Der sitzende Pilatus der Verhörszene (fol. 25; D. Abb. 29), neben den Christus aus der Vorführung der Ehebrecherin (fol. 21; D. Abb. 25) gestellt (Abb. 4, 5), zeigt die Fähigkeiten des ersten Malers allerdings zu ungünstig und macht den Abstand überdeutlich. Doch gibt es auch Figurentypen, die von beiden Malern verblüffend ähnlich wiedergegeben werden, so von vorne gesehene Sitzfiguren, deren eines Bein in die Fläche geklappt ist und wie angesetzt wirkt—man vergleiche den Herodes im bethlemitischen Kindermord (fol. 18 v; D. Abb. 22), ein Werk des ersten Malers, mit dem vom zweiten geschaffenen Christus des Jüngsten Gerichtes (fol. 33; D. Abb. 37) (Abb. 9, 10). Technisch waren beide Maler einander völlig ebenbürtig.

Hat man sich das Verhältnis der beiden Miniaturen und der beiden Stile im Ingeborgpsalter zueinander klar gemacht, fällt die Zuordnung der verwandten Handschriften nicht schwer. Deuchler hat mit Recht betont, dass der glossierte Psalter in New York zum ersten Stil gehört, der noch nicht unter dem Einfluss des zweiten Meisters stand—man wird die Handschrift infolgedessen mit ihm früher als die in Chantilly ansetzen.<sup>21</sup> Allerdings fällt die Schwankungsbreite der Figurenproportionen in den Initialen des New Yorker Psalters auf, viele Figuren sind breit, ja geradezu untersetzt, wenn man sie mit entsprechenden Gestalten im Ingeborgpsalter vergleicht.<sup>22</sup> Man wird den glossierten Psalter für ein Werk des gleichen Ateliers, aber nicht der gleichen Hand halten dürfen. Auch die Londoner Bibel folgt dieser Stilgrundlage, sie übernimmt aber einzelnes vom zweiten Stil—insgesamt bedeutet sie keine Weiterentwicklung. Deuchler hat sie überzeugend für später als den Ingeborgpsalter erklärt.<sup>23</sup> Schwieriger zu beurteilen ist das Verhältnis zum Missale von Ancin, Gegenüber den Figuren des Pfingstbildes im Ingeborgpsalter (*The Year 1200*, II, ill. 191) ist der thronende Christus der Majestas fol. 100 v. im zweiten Band des Missale flächiger und weniger in den Gelenken artikuliert (Abb. 11). Der Kopf ist kleiner und wirkt "byzantinischer." Die Falten sind kleinteiliger und nicht so deutlich voneinander abgesetzt, was auch an der Farbigkeit liegt—verwaschener als im Ingeborgpsalter, möchte man sagen. Da es sich um eine etwas andere Variante des Muldenfaltenstiles handelt, wird kaum zu klären sein, ob tatsächlich der Stil des Ingeborgpsalters vorausgesetzt ist—gleichzeitige oder auch frühere Entstehung kann wohl nicht ausgeschlossen werden.<sup>24</sup> Gerade im Vergleich zum Ingeborgpsalter wird man das Kölner Kanonblatt (Abb. 12) vielleicht eher in die Nähe des Missale von Ancin rücken dürfen.

So zeichnet sich eine relative Chronologie ab, eine absolute Datierung des Ingeborgpsalters aber wird abhängig von der Ansetzung der reifsten, fortgeschrittensten Elemente.

### III

Aus der Ikonographie einzelner Szenen im Psalter ergeben sich keine Datierungskriterien. Wie Deuchler gezeigt hat, werden die gleichen byzantinischen Vorlagen, vor allem der sizilischen Kunst des 12. Jh. verarbeitet, die bereits im späten 12. Jh. am Oberrhein im Hortus deliciarum der Herrad von Landsberg verwendet wurden und die auch in der Werkstatt bekannt waren, in der die Emails vom Markusschrein in Huy (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 182) geschaffen wurden.<sup>25</sup>

Man ist zunächst versucht, die Übernahme des Kreuzabnahmeschemas (fol. 27; D. Abb. 31; *The Year 1200*, II, ill. 193) von einem Elfenbein der

Romanosgruppe als einen Hinweis für die zeitliche Ansetzung zu verstehen, zumal Deuchler auf stilistische Anregungen von diesen mittelbyzantinischen Elfenbeinen im Stil des ersten Malers verweisen kann.<sup>26</sup> Da der hartbrüchige Stil der Romanosgruppe nach Willibald Sauerländers Untersuchungen eine Rolle bei der Genesis des hochgotisch-kubischen Stiles an den Westportalen von Notre-Dame in Paris spielte,<sup>27</sup> wäre es verlockend, an gleichzeitige Entstehung zu denken. Doch kehrt dieses Schema—ausser im sog. St. Blasien Psalter (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 278)<sup>28</sup>—in einem Fresko aus dem ausgehenden 12. Jh. in der Holy Sepulchre Chapel der Kathedrale von Winchester wieder, das aus dem Umkreis des “Master of the Morgan Leaf” (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 256) der Bibel von Winchester stammt.<sup>29</sup> Sollte dies auf die Überlieferung des Schemas durch England deuten? Auffälligerweise zeigen diese westlichen Beispiele alle gegenüber dem byzantinischen Elfenbein die Kreuzabnahme seitenverkehrt.

Auch die “Hinweise auf königliche Ansprüche und Rechte” in einigen Miniaturen des Ingeborgpsalters<sup>30</sup> lassen sich nicht chronologisch auswerten, könnte es sich doch um Anspielungen auf die Rechte handeln, die Ingeborg in ihrem Exil vorenthalten wurden oder in die sie bei der Versöhnung von 1213 wiedereingesetzt wurde.

#### IV

Zu den schwierigsten und bisher nicht recht zu lösenden stilgeschichtlichen Fragen, die die Gruppe des Ingeborgpsalters stellt, gehört die nach der historischen Einordnung des ersten, des byzantinisierenden Stiles. Solange die einzelnen nordfranzösischen Scriptorien des späten 12. Jh. nicht genauer durchgearbeitet sind, lässt sich eigentlich nur sagen, wogegen jener Stil abgesetzt werden kann; denn es ergeben sich weder zum Stil der Werke um die Arztedarstellungen in der Handschrift London, British Museum, Harley Ms. 1585,<sup>31</sup> noch zu der Handschriftengruppe um die Bibel des Manerius von Canterbury<sup>32</sup> Beziehungen.

Eher scheint es möglich, jene Stilstufe der byzantinischen Malerei zu bestimmen, die der Ausgangspunkt des “byzantinisierenden” Stiles gewesen ist. Wenn man Ernst Kitzingers Vergleich von Engelsgestalten der Cappella Palatina in Palermo und des Domes von Monreale mit dem Verkündigungengel des Klosterneuburger Altares<sup>33</sup> den Verkündigungengel des Ingeborgpsalters (fol. 15; D. Abb. 19) (Abb. 14, 15) zufügt, zeigt sich die Nähe des letzteren zu dem älteren byzantinischen Werk. Allerdings sind diesem gegenüber die Beine sehr gestreckt, die ganze Figur abgemagert. Sicher ist also die Rezeption des byzantinischen Stiles des mittleren 12. Jh. bzw. des dritten Jahrhundertviertels die Voraussetzung des ersten Stils

des Psalters, eine Rezeption, die sich bereits im Kreis des Hortus deliciarum auf modernere sizilische Vorlagen, nämlich die Mosaiken von Monreale, gestützt hatte.<sup>34</sup> Die Varianten dieser Aufnahme byzantinischen Formengutes am Oberrhein, im Maasgebiet, in Nordfrankreich und England sind kaum zu übersehen. Für die Heimat des Stiles im Ingeborgpsalter könnte die Beatusseite eines wohl um 1200 anzusetzenden Psalters aus Marchiennes einen Fingerzeig geben (Abb. 16).<sup>35</sup> Bei sehr viel gedrungeneren Proportionen der Figuren finden sich hier Kopftypen und Faltenformen, die entsprechenden Details in Miniaturen des ersten Meisters auffällig nahekommen. Auch die Farbigkeit erinnert wegen ihrer Intensität an den Ingeborgpsalter—ganz ähnlich wie dort kontrastieren dunkles Blau und Violettgrau gegen helles Rot.

C. R. Dodwell hat einmal bemerkt: "Reference should also be made to the relationship between the style of the Paris Psalter and that of the Ingeborg Psalter."<sup>36</sup> Tatsächlich nähern sich die Kopftypen der Wurzel-Jesse-Seite in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8846 (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 257) Köpfen des Ingeborgpsalters—die gemeinsame byzantinische Grundlage wird deutlich. Bewegungen und Proportionen der Figuren sind aber kaum vergleichbar, beim Gewandstil können nur gewisse Einzelheiten, aber keine Systeme herangezogen werden. In England sind byzantinische Vorlagen im Werk des "Master of the Gothic Majesty" der Bibel von Winchester klassischer verarbeitet worden als im Ingeborgpsalter, hier wird sogar ohne das Zwischentreten neuer Formvorstellungen von diesem Ausgangspunkt aus eine plastische Darstellung der Einzelfigur erreicht wie im Westminster-Psalter,<sup>37</sup> die mit ganz anderen Mitteln ein ähnliches Ergebnis erzielt wie auf der anderen Seite des Kanals der Muldenfaltenstil.

## V

Auch für eine historische Einordnung des zweiten im Ingeborgpsalter vertretenen Stiles sieht man sich auf Näherungsmethoden angewiesen, da weder eine sichere Chronologie der nordfranzösischen Handschriften um 1200 erkennbar, noch die Stilbildung der einzelnen Scriptorien geklärt ist. Für diesen Stil insbesondere dürfte gelten, was Ellen J. Beer formulierte: "Die eigentliche Heimat des Ingeborg-Meisters dürfte eher im Maasgebiet zu suchen sein."<sup>38</sup> Ein Zusammenhang mit Nikolaus von Verdun ist vor allem von André-Charles Coppier, Deuchler und Grodecki diskutiert worden.<sup>39</sup> Die Frage nach der Entstehung des Muldenfaltenstiles kann in diesem Rahmen nicht erörtert werden. Für eine Ansetzung des Ingeborgpsalters ist aber nicht unwichtig, in die Nähe welcher Werke des Nicolaus er gerückt werden kann. Wenn man Miniaturen des zweiten Malers mit



Emails des Klosterneuburger Altares von 1181 (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 179)—und man kann dafür ruhig die stilistisch fortgeschrittensten auswählen—vergleicht, fällt zunächst das völlig verschiedene künstlerische Temperament auf. Der verhaltenen Kühle der Miniaturen steht bei Nikolaus hochgespannte Dramatik gegenüber. Auf den Emails sind alle Bewegungen ausgreifender und heftiger, einzelne Gliedmassen werden durch die Faltenführung voneinander isoliert und in ihrer Plastizität gesteigert. Dagegen sind im Psalter die Figuren vereinheitlicht und gestreckt. Diese Beobachtung gibt Anlass zu der Frage, ob für den zweiten Stil des Psalters nicht der "Spätstil" des Nikolaus von Verdun, wie er uns in dem 1205 datierten Marienschrein von Tournai (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 100) entgegentritt, bereits die Voraussetzung ist. Auch die grosszügige Art, eine Gestalt in Faltenwerk einzuhüllen und sie dadurch zu gliedern, ist eher mit Tournai in Verbindung zu bringen als, um Späteres heranzuziehen, mit den sehr viel kleinteiligeren Gravuren der Kreuzreliquientafeln von Trier und Mettlach.<sup>40</sup> Danach würde man eher dazu neigen, den Ingeborgpsalter nach 1200 als davor anzusetzen.

Für eine Entstehung nach 1200 würde es auch sprechen, wenn die von Otto Homburger betonte Nähe zu frühen Reimser Skulpturen, insbesondere der Abraham-Gruppe des Tympanons des Gerichtsportales, als Datierungskriterium verwendet werden könnte.<sup>41</sup> Über allgemeine Stilparallelen kommt man jedoch auch hier nicht hinaus, ausser mit Skulpturen von Reims sind die Miniaturen des Ingeborgpsalters mit Werken aus den Hütten von Laon und der Chartreser Querhäuser verglichen worden. Sollte die konsequente Anwendung des Prinzips der Faltenmulde für eine grössere Nähe zu Reims sprechen?

Die Reife des Muldenfaltenstiles und die Freiheit der Komposition verknüpfen die Miniaturen des zweiten Malers mit dem Mittelfenster und der Rose in der Ostwand der Kathedrale von Laon und dem Wurzel-Jesse-Fenster der Kathedrale von Soissons. Grodecki hat kürzlich darauf hingewiesen, dass letzteres wahrscheinlich chronologisch mit der Vollendung des Chores 1212 zusammenhängt.<sup>42</sup> Man möchte den Psalter nicht sehr viel früher, also um 1210, ansetzen.

Da die Handschrift, wie die Zusammenarbeit zweier Maler und ihre Wirkung aufeinander zeigt, einheitlich ist, müsste diese Datierung auch für den ersten, den byzantinisierenden Stil gelten. Altertümliches also, oder besser auf sehr viel ältere Wurzeln Zurückgehendes, stände neben sehr Modernem.

## VI

Wie bereits Delisle erkannte, bezeugen die Nekrologeinträge als erste Eigentümerin der Handschrift Ingeborg von Dänemark, die 1193 mit

Philippe II Auguste von Frankreich vermählt und sofort verstossen worden war. Nach langem Exil, entbehrungsreicher Gefangenschaft und schwierigen diplomatischen Verhandlungen zwischen König und Papst kam eine Versöhnung und Wiedereinsetzung der Königin in ihre Rechte erst 1213 zustande.<sup>43</sup> Die Schlacht von Bouvines ist im Kalender von einer anderen Hand als die übrigen Zusätze nachgetragen (*The Year 1200*, II, p. 4), die Handschrift ist danach vor 1214 anzusetzen. Die drei Nekrologeinträge gehören zusammen, sie nennen König Waldemar I. von Dänemark (+ 1182) und Sophie, seine Gemahlin (+ 1198), die Eltern Ingeborgs, und die Gräfin Eleonore von Vermandois (+ 1213),<sup>44</sup> für deren Beziehungen zu Ingeborg eben dieser Eintrag anscheinend das einzige Zeugnis ist.<sup>45</sup> Das späteste Datum ist somit als *terminus ante* zu betrachten, und die Frage stellt sich, ob der Psalter ein Geschenk zur Versöhnung von 1213 sein kann. Wenn man die Quellen über Exil und Gefangenschaft der Ingeborg heranzieht, scheint es wenig wahrscheinlich, dass sie, die nicht eben wie eine Königin behandelt wurde, eine so kostbare Handschrift in dieser Zeit besass oder dass sie damals für sie angefertigt wurde. Zwar mag die bewegte Klage, die sie im Mai 1203 aus Etampes an Innozenz III. richtete, unter geistlicher Assistenz stilisiert sein, doch soll man sich tatsächlich vorstellen, die Gefangene, die nach ihren Worten weder Kleider hat, wie sie einer Königin gebühren, noch Gelegenheit für ein Bad oder zum Aderlass, sich über knappes Essen beschwert und vor allem wegen des Mangels an geistlichem Trost bekümmert ist—sie kann nur selten Messe hören, die Stundengebete nie—,<sup>46</sup> diese Gefangene habe damals die uns erhaltene Handschrift besessen?

Gegen die Annahme, der Psalter sei als ein Geschenk zur Versöhnung von 1213 entstanden, wurden während der Diskussion in New York berechnigte Einwände erhoben. Der Umschwung in der Haltung des Königs vollzog sich plötzlich und ist in seinen Motiven ebensowenig aufgehellt wie die Verstossung. Agnes von Meran war 1201 gestorben. Für 1210 sind Pläne des Königs, sich mit einer Tochter des Landgrafen Hermann von Thüringen zu vermählen, überliefert. 1212 versuchten Gesandte erneut, in Rom eine Ehescheidung durchzusetzen, was im Juni dieses Jahres abgelehnt wurde. Am 8. April 1213 hat Philippe Auguste in Soissons seinen Vasallen den Entschluss mitgeteilt, Ingeborg wieder als seine Gemahlin und Königin von Frankreich anzuerkennen und sie dementsprechend wieder in ihre Rechte einzusetzen.<sup>47</sup>

Von der Beobachtung ausgehend, dass die Nekrologeinträge, die auf Ingeborg als erste Besitzerin der Handschrift weisen, erst nachträglich dem Kalender eingefügt sind, hat Robert Branner den Gedanken geäußert, der Psalter sei erst 1213 in die Hände Ingeborgs gekommen, nachdem er bereits

früher für eine andere Dame der königlichen Familie angefertigt worden war.<sup>48</sup> Es sei erlaubt, dies aufzugreifen und ein wenig zu modifizieren. Im Gegensatz zum Eintrag über die Schlacht von Bouvines, der von einer anderen Hand mit brauner Tinte zugefügt ist, sind die Nekrologeinträge mit derselben schwarzen Tinte geschrieben wie der Grundbestand des Kalenders, sie erscheint nur ein wenig schwärzer und glänzender als die für die nicht hervorgehobenen Heiligen, weil in kleinerer Schrift, mit etwas schärferen Rändern der einzelnen Buchstaben geschrieben sind—man könnte beinahe vermuten, die gleiche Hand habe nur eine andere Feder gewählt.<sup>49</sup> Nun sind, wie Deuchler dargelegt hat, die Nekrologeinträge erst geschrieben worden, nachdem eine Reihe von Heiligen in Goldschrift dem ursprünglichen Bestand zugefügt worden war, von einer Hand, die im Kalender auch die *dies egyptiaci* und die Tierkreisbezeichnungen eintrug.<sup>50</sup> Die in Gold ausgeführten Sonntagsbuchstaben scheinen ebenfalls zu dieser Schicht zu gehören. Man ist versucht anzunehmen, der Kalender sei einschliesslich der "Nachtragsschichten"—mit Ausnahme der Nennung der Schlacht von Bouvines—ohne grosse zeitliche Differenzen angefertigt worden. Die Notwendigkeit, Nachträge zuzufügen, wäre dann so zu deuten, dass während des Herstellungsprozesses die Bedürfnisse einer anderen zu beschenkenden Dame als die, an die ursprünglich gedacht war, berücksichtigt werden mussten. Man könnte mithin vermuten, noch während der Anfertigung der Handschrift sei sie für Ingeborg zurechtgemacht worden. Das würde eine Ansetzung um 1210–1213 auch historisch rechtfertigen.

Der Kalender des Ingeborgpsalters ist eng verwandt mit dem im Psalter der Blanche de Castille (Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 1186), Leroquais hat beide à *l'usage de Paris* bezeichnet.<sup>51</sup> Gerade unter Berücksichtigung von Deuchlers Scheidung des Grundbestandes von den in Goldschrift zugefügten Heiligen war es leichter möglich, eine Begründung dieser Lokalisierung zu versuchen. Die im Ingeborgpsalter genannte Marcellus-Translation am 26. 7. weist nach Paris ebenso wie die in der gleichen Handschrift als Fest gekennzeichnete *Inventio Dionisii* am 22. 4., die im Blanchepsalter nicht hervorgehoben ist. Letztere Handschrift hat aber den Tag des gleichen Heiligen am 9. 10. als Fest, das durch eine Octav noch besonders ausgezeichnet ist. Wenn auch in diesen Handschriften für den Gebrauch von Damen des Königshauses nicht die gleiche liturgische Genauigkeit zu erwarten ist wie etwa in Missalien und Brevieren, und wenn auch die meisten genannten seltenen Heiligen sich mit Paris vereinbaren liessen oder, besser gesagt, gelegentlich dort nachweisbar sind, so bleiben doch einige Schwierigkeiten. Christopher Hohler machte vor allem auf den Festkalender aufmerksam und äusserte den Verdacht, es könne eine englische Vorlage verarbeitet sein.<sup>52</sup> In beiden

Handschriften erscheinen englische Heilige, die sonst in Frankreich selten sind.<sup>53</sup> Jener englische Psalter, der damals schon im Besitz der französischen Königsfamilie gewesen sein könnte und dessen Bildzyklus für beide Psalterien vorbildlich wurde, der Psalter des Hl. Ludwig, Leiden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 76 A, ist offenbar für den Kalender nicht benutzt worden.<sup>54</sup> Die Kalender von Tournai und Anchin können zur Erklärung nicht herangezogen werden.<sup>55</sup> Neben den englischen Voraussetzungen scheint die Grundlage des Kalenders wohl doch der von Paris zu sein, ausser den schon genannten Einträgen, die anderswo kaum zu erklären wären, sei auf Aurea am 4. 10. und Gendulfus am 13. 11. im Blanchepsalter und auf Clodoaldus am 7. 9. im Ingeborgpsalter hingewiesen. Die Notwendigkeit, im Ingeborgpsalter in einem zweiten Arbeitsgang hauptsächlich nordfranzösische Heilige—unter denen Evodius am 8. 7. ebensogut auf Rouen wie auf Braine deuten kann—nachzutragen, spricht eher für eine Anfertigung in Paris als ausserhalb, wobei anscheinend ein englischer Kalender neben dem eigenen benutzt wurde. Rätselhaftes und bisher Unerklärtes bleibt auch bei dieser Deutung genug.<sup>56</sup>

Damit ist weder über die Herkunft der beteiligten Maler noch über eine Lokalisierung des glossierten Psalters in New York etwas ausgesagt. Wie Liebman dargelegt hat, ist der Text des Kommentars nach 1163 von Simon von Tournai für Laurette, Tochter des Thierry d'Alsace, Grafen von Flandern, abgefasst worden. Die Handschrift ist für Laurette selbst und—ein Interlinearnachtrag zeigt dies—für eine Eleonore geschrieben, vermutlich die gleiche Dame, deren im Kalender des Ingeborgpsalters gedacht wird. Liebman hat die Rolle aufgehellert, die damals Stephan von Tournai, 1176–1192 Abt von Ste.-Geneviève in Paris, 1192–1203 Bischof von Tournai, der seine Hand schützend über Simon von Tournai hielt und der für die Interessen der verstossenen Königin Ingeborg eintrat, in den kirchlichen und politischen Beziehungen zwischen Dänemark, Paris und Tournai spielte. Für eine Lokalisierung der New Yorker Handschrift kommen danach am ehesten Paris und Tournai in Frage.<sup>57</sup>

Jede Beschäftigung mit dem Ingeborgpsalter und den anderen Handschriften, die ihm zugeordnet werden können, macht immer erneut deutlich, wie wenig Sicheres über die nordfranzösische Buchmalerei der Zeit um 1200 bekannt ist. Erst eine genaue Durcharbeitung der dortigen Scriptorien und eine umfassende Publikation der gleichzeitigen Glasmalerei wird eine Präzisierung von Datierungen und Lokalisierungen möglich machen, augenblicklich sind die Ansetzungen noch zu sehr von der individuellen Beurteilung der Stilsituation abhängig.

## Anmerkungen

1. Vorliegender Text gibt das Referat wieder, das ich am 28.3.1970 gehalten habe, versucht aber gleichzeitig, auf Anregungen aus der Diskussion einzugehen und Ergebnisse des Symposiums zu berücksichtigen. Für die Erlaubnis, Gedanken seines Referates zitieren zu dürfen, möchte ich Professor Robert Branner, Columbia University, New York, herzlich danken. Monsieur Raymond Cazelles, Conservateur de la bibliothèque du Musée Condé, Chantilly, danke ich für die freundlich erteilte Genehmigung, den Ingeborgpsalter erneut untersuchen zu können. Mein besonderer Dank gilt Professor Florens Deuchler, der mich aufforderte, über ein Thema zu sprechen, das vorrangig das seinige genannt werden darf. Die folgenden Ausführungen beruhen denn auch hauptsächlich auf seiner Publikation (*Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967) und den Bemerkungen, die ich im Anschluss an dieses Buch äusserte (*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 32, 1969, S. 51–68). Für eine hilfreiche briefliche Kritik zu diesen möchte ich Christopher Hohler, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, sehr danken. Bei der Beschaffung von Fotografien waren mir lebenswürdigerweise Monsieur François Avril, Paris, und Monsieur Léon Pressouyre, Châlons-sur-Marne, behilflich. Abbildungen aus dem Ingeborgpsalter sind nach Deuchler zitiert (z. B. D. Abb. 38). Das Manuskript wurde im Herbst 1970 abgeschlossen. An neuerer Literatur, die infolgedessen nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden konnte, muss genannt werden: Meyer Schapiro, Besprechung zu Deuchler, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 15, 1972, S. 151–153. Larry M. Ayres, "A Miniature from Jumièges and Trends in Manuscript Illumination around 1200," *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft-Festschrift für Hanns Swarzenski*, Berlin, 1973, S. 128–131.

2. Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Paris, 1907, I, S. 163–164.

3. Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur le psautier d'Ingeburge," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 28, 1867, S. 201–210. Vorausgegangen war nur eine Veröffentlichung von Charles de Sourdeval, *Un psautier de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1864.

4. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, wo die gesamte ältere Literatur.

5. Louis Grodecki, "Le psautier de la reine

Ingeburge et ses problèmes," *Revue de l'art*, 5, 1969, S. 73–78. Weiterhin die Besprechungen von François Avril, *Bulletin monumental*, 127, 1969, S. 58–60, und vom Referenten (wie Anm. 1). Vgl. D. H. Turner, "Manuscript Illumination," *The Year 1200*, II, S. 137.

6. Günther Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert*, Kiel, 1938, S. 42.

7. Eric G. Millar, *British Museum. Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1928, I, S. 10.

8. Zur Ergänzung des veröffentlichten Materials wird hier auch die Rückseite des Kölner Kanonblattes abgebildet (Abb. 13).

9. Hanns Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau*, Berlin, 1936, Text, S. 12. *Katalog Der Meister des Dreikönigenschreins*, Köln, 1964, Nr. 44.

10. Louis Grodecki, "L'an 1200," *L'oeil*, 185, Mai, 1970, S. 9.

11. Georg Graf Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei*. . . , Leipzig, 1907, S. 16. Florens Deuchler, "Zur kunsttopographischen Einordnung des Ingeborgpsalters, Der englisch Anteil," *Actes du XIXe congrès international d'histoire de l'art*, Paris, 1958–1959, S. 180–182. Vgl. weiterhin T. S. R. Boase, *English Art: 1100–1216*, Oxford, 1953, S. 284–285.

12. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration*, S. 41. Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, London, 1954, pl. 228–230, fig. 540–543. Die gleiche Lokalisierung vertrat auch Louis Grodecki, "Le maître de Saint Eustache de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Gedenkschrift Ernst Gall*, München, 1965, S. 190.

13. Charles J. Liebman, Jr., "Le commentaire français du psautier et le manuscrit Morgan 338, pour l'attribution à Simon de Tournai," *Romania*, 76, 1955, S. 433–476. Ders., "Remarks on the Manuscript Tradition of the French Psalter Commentary," *Scriptorium*, 13, 1959, S. 61–69. Jacques Guignard, "La miniature gothique. Le psautier d'Ingeburge," *Art de France*, I, 1961, S. 278–280. Ellen J. Beer, "Gotische Buchmalerei, Literatur von 1945 bis

1961," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 25, 1962, S. 155.

14. Grodecki, "Le psautier," S. 73, und ders., "L'an 1200," S. 9.

15. Delisle, "Notice sur le psautier," S. 201, und ders., *Notice sur douze livres royaux*, Paris, 1902, S. 3. V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Mâcon, 1940-1941, I, S. 141.

16. Beer, "Gotische Buchmalerei," S. 155.

17. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, S. 116-121. Grodecki, "Le psautier," S. 76 mit Anm. 20. Hausscherr, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, S. 63 f.

18. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, S. 121.

19. Vorzüglich zu erkennen auf der Farbabbildung bei Grodecki, "Le psautier," fig. 1.

20. Im Anteil des ersten Malers taucht das für den zweiten typische Inkarnat aus in den Initialen fol. 84 v. und 129 (Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Abb. 45, 49) auf. In den Theophilusszenen (fol. 5 v.-36. Ebenda, Abb. 39-40) ist es etwas rötlicher als sonst in seinen Miniaturen.

21. Deuchler, S. 116 ff.

22. Man stelle etwa Deuchler, Abb. 113, 129, 138, 143, 147, neben Abb. 14 ff.

23. Deuchler, S. 180.

24. Anders Deuchler, S. 164.

25. Deuchler, S. 141-143. Grodecki, "Le psautier," S. 75 f.: "... ce ne sont pas, semble-t-il, des derivations directes, mais filtrées en quelque sorte par des relais anglais, mosans ou rhénans." Über die Wirkungen der sizilischen Mosaiken, Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, S. 445-448; Ernst Kitzinger, "Norman Sicily as a Source of Byzantine Influence on Western Art," *Byzantine Art—An European Art: Lectures*, Athens, 1966, S. 123-147. Über die Quellen der Emails in Huy Vgl. Otto Demus, "Die sizilischen Mosaiken, Venedig und der Norden," *Atti dello VIII congresso internazionale di studi bizantini* (Palermo 1951), Rom, 1953, II, S. 134, und Kitzinger, "Norman Sicily," S. 132-133.

26. Deuchler, S. 143.

27. Willibald Sauerländer, "Die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Westportale von Notre-Dame in Paris," *Marburger Jahrbuch*, 17, 1959, S. 1-55.

28. Deuchler, S. 55.

29. Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, München, 1968, S. 173-174, Tf. LXXX.

30. Deuchler, S. 111 ff.

31. Louis Grodecki, "Problèmes de la peinture en Champagne pendant la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle," *Studies in Western Art, Acts of the 20th International Congress of the History of Art*, Princeton, 1963, I, S. 129-141. *The Year 1200*, I, no. 204-205, 247. In diesem Tagungsbericht der Beitrag von Dietrich Kötzsche (Vgl. S. 139).

32. Die neuere Literatur über diese Gruppe hat Harvey Stahl, *The Year 1200*, I, no. 246, zusammengestellt.

33. Ernst Kitzinger, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the 12th and 13th Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20, 1966, S. 39, u. fig. 14-16.

34. Hieru Kitzinger, "Norman Sicily," S. 135 mit Literatur in Anm. 36, S. 145.

35. Douai, Bibl. Mun. Ms. 19, fol. 2. Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, S. 44.

36. C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200*, Cambridge, 1954, S. 103, Anm. 1.

37. London, Brit. Mus., Royal Ms. 2. A. XXII. *The Year 1200*, II, ills. 177-179.

38. Beer, "Gotische Buchmalerei," S. 155.

39. André-Charles Coppier, "Le rôle artistique et social des orfèvres-graveurs français du moyen âge," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e pér., 17, 1937, S. 271. Deuchler, S. 134-135, 148. Grodecki, "Le psautier," S. 75.

40. Zur Stellung des Psalters im Verhältnis zu Kosterneuburger Altar und Marienschrein jetzt Grodecki, "Le psautier." Die Vergleiche mit Werken der Goldschmiedekunst ließen sich fortsetzen, bei manchen Figuren mag man sich an die Rückseite des Kölner Dreikönigen-schreines erinnern fühlen—sollte letztere etwa

doch ohne längere Pause nach den übrigen Teilen entstanden sein? Diese Frage wäre zu prüfen.

41. Otto Homburger, "Zur Stilbestimmung der figürlichen Kunst Deutschlands und des westlichen Europa im Zeitraum zwischen 1190 und 1250," *Formositas Romanica*, Frauenfeld, 1958, S. 35. Vgl. auch George Henderson, *Gothic, Style and Civilization*, Harmondsworth, 1967, S. 85–86.

42. Grodecki, "Le psautier," S. 78.

43. Robert Davidsohn, *Philipp II. August und Ingeborg von Frankreich*, Stuttgart, 1888.

44. Zum Datum ihres Todes Borrelli de Serres, *La réunion des provinces septentrionales à la couronne par Philippe Auguste*, Paris, 1899, S. LXXII–LXXIX, der S. LXXIX auf eine Urkunde des Königs vom 1213 für Ste.-Geneviève in Paris hinweist, in dem sie als *quondam* genannt wird (*Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste* III, Paris, 1966, Nr. 1307, S. 445–446). Er erschliesst auf Grund von Urkunden und der Daten in Nekrologien den Zeitraum 19.–21. Juni 1213 für ihren Tod und Begräbnis.

45. Jedenfalls zitiert Davidsohn, *Philipp II.*, S. 66 u. 290, kein weiteres.

46. Davidsohn, S. 191–193.

47. A. a. O., S. 239 ff.

48. Robert Branner in diesem Bande S. 173, wo auch seine Ausführungen über Handschriften für die *cappella regia* zu vergleichen sind.

49. Diese Beobachtung, bereits bei Boase, *English Art*, S. 285, Anm. 1, anders Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, S. 17, Anm. 24.

50. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, S. 16.

51. Leroquais, *Les psautiers*, I, 141, und II, S. 13.

52. Brief an den Referenten vom 20. 11. 1969.

53. 18. 3. Edwardus rex (im Ingeborgpsalter als Fest), 20, 3. Cuthbertus (im Blanchepsalter als Fest), 26, 5. Augustinus von Canterbury (in beiden Handschriften als Fest), 22, 6. Albanus (im Blanchepsalter als Fest), 5. 8. Oswaldus rex, 20. 11. Eadmundus rex.

54. Vgl. den von Delisle, *Notice*, S. 100–101, publizierten Kalender. Über die Handschrift ebendort, 19–26, und Boase, *English Art*, S. 281.

55. Dr. Alison Stones, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, stellte liebenswürdigerweise eine Abschrift des Kalenders eines Missale aus dem 13. Jh. im Schatz der Kathedrale von Tournai zur Verfügung, wofür ich ihr herzlich danken möchte. Über die Handschrift Harvey Stahl, "Le bestiaire de Douai," *Revue de l'art*, 8, 1970, S. 12, und demnächst eine Arbeit von Alison Stones. Vgl. weiterhin den bei Eg. I. Strubbe, L. Voet, *De Chronologie van de middeleeuwen en de moderne tijden in de Nederlanden*, Antwerpen—Amsterdam, 1960, S. 158 ff., gedruckten Kalender von Tournai. Für Anchin wurde der Kalender des Missale Douai, Ms. 90, herangezogen, dazu Harvey Stahl, *The Year 1200*, I, no. 250.

56. Für eine genauere Erläuterung dieser Probleme wäre ein kommentierter Druck beider Kalender unter Heranziehung sehr viel anderen Materials nötig. Vielleicht kann das einmal an anderer Stelle nachgeholt werden.

57. Vgl. die Anm. 13 genannte Literatur. Dazu meine Bemerkungen, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, S. 60 f.

## English Summary by Reiner Hausscherr

More than a century ago, Léopold Delisle discovered and identified the Ingeborg Psalter (Musée Condé, Chantilly, Ms. 1695). Its recent publication by Florens Deuchler raised lively discussions and controversies as to its date and place of origin, because of the unavailability of sufficient comparative material. Only two closely related manuscripts exist: the glossed

psalter from Beauvais (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. M. 338) and a Bible (British Museum, London, Add. Ms. 15452). A missal from Anchin and a canon page in Cologne are more distantly related to the group.

Deuchler dates the Ingeborg Psalter ca. 1195; the author prefers a ca. 1210 date. Deuchler and Grodecki place the origin in the northeastern royal French domain (Noyon diocese), while Delisle, Leroquais, and the author believe it to be Paris. Beer was first to recognize the psalter's two styles: one following the Byzantine manner, the other denoting the *Muldenfalten* style. Deuchler sees these styles as the work of two different, but contemporary, masters. They differ in their treatment of the roundness of the human figure, color scales, and drapery style. But the first, the byzantinizing master, assimilated his style to that of the second one.

Iconographic details do not help in the dating. The middle Byzantine models based on the Siculo-Byzantine style are reflected in several Western European regions in the late twelfth century. The style of the first master is derived from the Siculo-Byzantine style of the middle of the twelfth century. Perhaps, a *Beatus* initial in a psalter from Marchiennes (ca. 1200) may give a hint of the local provenance of the first master. A similar style found in the Winchester Bible and the Westminster Psalter suggests a possibility of the influence having passed through England. The second master is closely related to the *Muldenfalten* style of the Meuse region. In comparing his miniatures to works of Nicholas of Verdun, a closer relationship to the Tournai shrine (1205) than to the Klosterneuburg ambo (1181) will be seen. The early sculptures of the Rheims, Laon, and Chartres transepts are not as closely related to the Ingeborg Psalter as are certain stained glass windows in Laon and at Soissons (ca. 1212). The "ca. 1210" date, most appropriate for the Ingeborg Psalter, is supported by historical events in the life of its original owner—Ingeborg of Denmark, queen of France, as well as by the addition of three necrological entries in the calendar, which could have been made only after Ingeborg reclaimed her status of queen; possibly, the psalter was begun earlier for another lady. A date *ante quem* for the psalter is the entry of the date of the battle of Bouvines (1214). The text of the calendar seems to point to Paris as the location of the workshop that executed the manuscript.

A definite decision on the dating and workshop for the Ingeborg Psalter can be reached only after a thorough study of the styles and interrelationships of northern French scriptoria of ca. 1200, and of the contemporary stained glass.





# LINKS:

**ABB. 1** *Ingeborgpsalter*,  
fol. 10 v., *Detail:*  
*Engel*, Musée Condé,  
Chantilly (Photo: Gir-  
audon, Paris)

**ABB. 2** *Ingeborgpsalter*,  
fol. 22 v., *Detail:*  
*Christus*, Musée Condé,  
Chantilly (Photo: Gir-  
audon, Paris)





ABB. 6 *Ingeborgpsalter*, fol. 10 v., Detail: Abraham, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität, Bonn)



ABB. 7 *Ingeborgpsalter*, fol. 12 v., Detail: Moses, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Photo: Giraudon, Paris)

ABB. 8 *Ingeborgpsalter*, fol. 34, Detail: Maria, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Photo: Giraudon, Paris)



#### GEGENÜBER:

ABB. 3 *Ingeborgpsalter*, fol. 10 v., Detail: Engel, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität, Bonn)

ABB. 4 *Ingeborgpsalter*, fol. 21, Detail: Christus, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Photo: Giraudon, Paris)

ABB. 5 *Ingeborgpsalter*, fol. 25, Detail: Pilatus, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Photo: Giraudon, Paris)



ABB. 9 *Ingeborgpsalter*, fol. 18 v., Detail: Herodes, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Photo: Giraudon, Paris)



ABB. 10 *Ingeborgpsalter*, fol. 33, Detail: Christus, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Photo: Giraudon, Paris)



ABB. 11 *Ms. 90, vol. 2, fol. 100 v., Majestas Domini*, Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)



ABB. 12 Einzelblatt, Kreuzigung, Schnütgen-Museum, Köln (Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv)

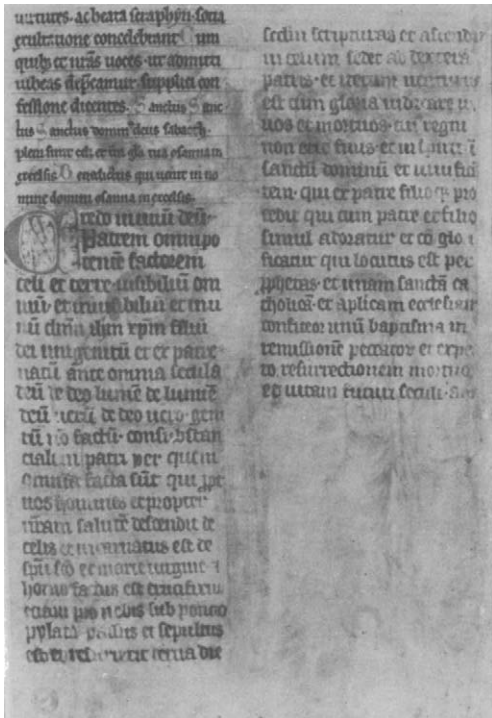


ABB. 13 Einzelblatt, Rückseite, Detail: Schnütgen-Museum, Köln (Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv)



# LINKS:

A B B. 14 *Ingeborgpsalter, fol. 15, Detail: Engel, Musée Condé, Chantilly (Photo: Giraudon, Paris)*

A B B. 15 *Mosaik, Austreibung aus dem Paradies, Detail: Engel, Cappella Palatina, Palermo (Photo: Alinari, Florenz)*

A B B. 16 *Ms. 19, fol. 2, Beatus-Initiale, Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai (Photo: Bibliothèque National, Paris)*



## Punchmarks in the Ingeborg Psalter

The aim of this paper is to call attention to a specific and rare type of decoration in manuscript illumination—a decoration comprised of “complex” or “motif” punches.<sup>1</sup> The study of the decoration may lead to clarification of various art historical problems. Although the exact origin of the Ingeborg Psalter cannot be drawn from the investigation of its punchmarks, connections with certain areas and localized traditions may be perceived.

In studying decorative procedures one has to distinguish between those that can be readily imitated and those that require a special technological knowledge, material, or tool to be duplicated. The second category is more relevant in tracing workshop traditions, influences, and connections. Punched decoration belongs to this category as it requires, in addition to specific instruments not readily obtainable, a special preparation of the ground which is not apparent from mere observation of the finished product.

The backgrounds of the illuminations in the Ingeborg Psalter are formed by a highly burnished gold leaf. The appearance of massiveness is the result of a special padding underneath the gold leaf and the use of a relatively thick foil.<sup>2</sup> This quality associates the psalter with a group of northern French and English manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> However, the adornment of the gold backgrounds with punchmarks, which appear in four illuminations, is unusual. Even this would not be so exceptional were one concerned with the punchmarks in only general terms.

Here I would like to make a distinction in the character of the impressions. Simple patterns such as dot rosettes produced by iterative striking of a pointed instrument or at the most, a still very simple tool producing impressed circles, can occasionally be found in the manuscript illumination as a decorative procedure;<sup>4</sup> these patterns may be seen in the Annunciation on fol. 15 r. (Fig. 1).

Complex punchwork includes shapes such as rosettes, leaves, stars, and arches resulting from a single strike of an instrument with a complex profile. This technique is more sophisticated than the first procedure, and both are to be contrasted with the freehand engraving of patterns in the gold background. Complex punchwork of motif punches may be recognized in the Visitation (Fig. 2), while there is also, inconsistently, one such impression in the Annunciation.

All four illuminations with the complex punchwork are in the first quire and are from the hand of the presumably older of the two illuminators, as shown by Florens Deuchler in his study of the manuscript.<sup>5</sup> The Burning Bush (fol. 12 v.) and the Visitation (fol. 15 r.) were executed side by side before the sheet of parchment (sheet C) was folded; this perhaps explains the occurrence of the patterned background on both. Yet it is difficult to understand why the artist used this decoration on only four scenes.

Two motif punches were used in the psalter, stamped in the center of the rectangles of the checkerboard or diaper designs engraved in the background. The ornate quatrefoil measures almost 5 millimeters; each of the four branches is articulated into three lobes, and the center is marked by a small circle. This is a very specific and accomplished form, and the instrument must have been made with great finesse, befitting goldsmith tradition. The punching of the twenty-six impressions in the Visitation is distinguished by a great precision and care; the impressions are incomplete wherever they would have overlapped the painted form. The other motif punch is a star rosette consisting of eight bar-shaped petals radiating from an open center. The star rosette is smaller than the quartrefoil, ca. 3 millimeters (Figs. 3, 5), and was used in three illuminations. Over one hundred impressions, some of them again partial, appear in the scene of the Burning Bush (fol. 12 v.), while forty were struck into the diagonal compartments formed by double lines in the Epiphany (fol. 17 r.). The same punch appears in the Transfiguration (fol. 20 v.): eighteen impressions can be found in two sides of a narrow frame, rather than in the background as in the other instances.

The presence of the quatrefoil stamp in Western painting at such an early date is unique; this shape will emerge in several variants some one hundred and fifty years later, as I shall show. On the other hand, the star rosette occurs in one contemporary manuscript and was not uncommon in trecento painting. Unlike the quatrefoil, it had antecedents, though in a remote past.

The technique of punching the gold ground can be ascertained in northern French and English manuscript production of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> The recognition of this tradition in this area is important for the history of art techniques as it reflects an early Byzantine procedure. Byzantine stylistic inspiration appears precisely in the same areas at that time.

The star rosette seen in the Ingeborg Psalter is similar to that in an English psalter in the British Museum (Fig. 4). This English psalter was made probably before 1220, as there is no entry in the calendar for the translation of the relics of St. Thomas à Becket.<sup>7</sup> The star rosette here, however, consists of six disjoint bars rather than of eight, as in the Ingeborg Psalter (Fig. 5).<sup>8</sup> Deuchler originally proposed the localization of the Ingeborg Psalter to England. The rare occurrence of the complex star rosette in the English manuscript is therefore of some interest as it points to the spreading of technological procedures. It had been noted that the interlocked medallions in the English manuscript recall the miniatures in the Psalter of Blanche of Castille,<sup>9</sup> which, in turn, contains a cycle of representations parallel to that in the Ingeborg Psalter.<sup>10</sup>

Punched decoration was not the decoration par excellence of manuscript illumination: as a technique, it is much better suited to the gesso-covered surface of panel paintings or to the thicker leather of bookbindings. A variety of stamped decorative shapes and even figural representations exists on contemporary bindings of the same general area. In connection with the Ingeborg rosette, a similar shape may be recognized on two bookbindings. One is a manuscript in the Hereford Cathedral Library (Ms. o.6. iii) from the late twelfth century (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 309); it is thought to be French, probably Parisian, and not English as had been proposed earlier. The other is an early thirteenth-century copy of the *Liber Sapientiae* in the British Museum (Ms. Add. 24076), thought to be of the same provenance (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 310). The mode of the stamped figural representations, as well as of the ornamental palmette and rosette stamps, is indeed clearly related in these two works. The rosettes are likewise eight-petaled, but with the petals in relief rather than pressed below the surface as in the Ingeborg Psalter. (The leather stamps are of the matrix type while those in the paintings are of the patrix type.)

I think it is significant that both motif punches from the Ingeborg Psalter appear as decorative elements, engraved or enameled, in contemporaneous metalwork. Excellent comparisons are provided in the decoration of the Shrine of the Three Kings by Nicholas of Verdun. Octo-rosettes adorn the background behind the figures, and the quatrefoils appear in reserved metal in the enameled bands of the arches above the heads of the figures. Furthermore, a similar quatrefoil appeared in earlier metalwork, as shown by the reliquary of St. Gondulf (ca. 1160–1170) in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.<sup>11</sup>

The ornamental repertory may have been transmitted directly by works of art bearing such adornment, or by means of pattern books. The quatrefoil design harks back to the ornamental concepts of late antique art (and



possibly of Sasanian art), continuing in Byzantine tradition and transplanted into the early medieval art of the West.<sup>12</sup> A similar, painted quatrefoil appears in the corners of Carolingian illuminations from the middle of the ninth century in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Ms. 862, fols. 92 v., 93 v.). Carved eight-petaled rosettes can be traced to middle Byzantine art: the border of a tenth-century marble chancel slab with peacocks from Constantinople, now in San Marco, Venice, or on an eleventh-twelfth-century ivory casket in the Cleveland Museum. This kind of rosette also appears painted (but not stamped) in Byzantine manuscripts.<sup>13</sup>

My investigation of the decoration on panel paintings led me to the conclusion that punched decoration originated in early Byzantine art. The earliest complex punchmarks known to me are on the icon of Christ on Mount Sinai.<sup>14</sup> Around Christ's halo is a circle of impressions in the form of a Greek cross alternating with star rosettes, seven-petaled but otherwise of the same character as the Ingeborg star rosette (Fig. 6). Small circular impressions, appearing six centuries later in Western illumination, occur on another sixth-century icon on Mount Sinai, the Virgin icon. Furthermore, two earlier icons from Mount Sinai (in the Kiev museum), are provided with complex punch impressions. On the seventh-century icon with SS. Sergius and Bacchus, there is a hexa-star and small circle while multi-star rosettes adorn the halo in the Virgin panel.

I know of no examples of rosette punches in subsequent Byzantine painting until the fifteenth century. The long hiatus of eight centuries may be partly explained by the massive destruction of the monuments of Byzantine art, but it is also possible to conjecture that the practice went out of fashion. Nevertheless, an intermediary link in the history of this technique may be provided by the punched decoration of early Italian panel painting. The earliest disjoint rosettes in Italy exist, significantly enough, mainly in the paintings of the Byzantinizing trend, chiefly in northern and central Italy—Venice, Rimini, and Umbria, followed by Bologna and Verona. The motif punch impressions around the halo of a Virgin orans on a panel in the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, seem to provide a chronological bridge to the duecento examples. Coppo di Marvaldo and the Master of St. Francis, prominent representatives of the Italo-Byzantine style, used hexa- and octo-rosettes, while hexa-rosettes appear on paintings attributed to Cimabue.<sup>15</sup> Small octo-rosettes can be recognized in the paintings of Baronzio and the Master of the Life of St. John the Baptist in Rimini, of Paolo and Stefano Veneziano in Venice, and of Maestro di Santa Cecilia in Florence.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that the early occurrence of the Byzantine mode of decoration in Italy came from the introduction of some early venerated Byzantine painting into that area which bore the motif punch

impressions. It was not the method of adornment on Italian Romanesque panels, on which, at most, simple dot punching was used.

Our type of the quatrefoil impression was by no means rare in early trecento painting, as seen especially in Siena in the works of Meo da Siena and Maestro d'Ovile (also called Ugolino Lorenzetti) (Fig. 7).<sup>17</sup> To my knowledge, the form closest to the Ingeborg quatrefoil exists in the royal Bible produced in the last decade of the fourteenth century in Prague for the Bohemian king Wenceslaus IV (Fig. 8).<sup>18</sup> In view of its specificity and rarity, one is tempted to question whether this baffling recurrence is a mere coincidence, or rather a transplanted reappearance of a dormant motif, or in fact, of the whole procedure. Some of the collaborators on this large commission may have originated from the Western domains—Luxembourg or Lorraine—and somehow may have been aware of the old traditions of embellishment in the region. It may be noted that a cognate quatrefoil impression appears in a small triptych with a Trinity in the museum in Berlin-Dahlem, attributed to the Netherlands ca. 1400 (Fig. 9). It has been suggested that it may be of Liège production;<sup>19</sup> we have seen that this shape was used in Mosan metalwork two hundred years earlier.

The connection of the Ingeborg Psalter with the classicizing and Byzantinizing wave in Western Europe, which emerges from the comparisons with the ornamental elements in the work of Nicholas of Verdun and other Mosan works, complements the observations made on stylistic basis. The similarity of decorative forms and ideas in both the Ingeborg Psalter and Mosan metalwork can be perceived in the ornamental initials in the psalter.<sup>20</sup> They can be readily imagined as executed in enamel. The quality of the impressions themselves suggests a goldsmith's touch in the execution of the tool. The *Muldenfaltenstil* of the younger painter in the psalter is very much a reflection of a sculptor's approach, be it an ivory carver or, better still, a goldsmith working a metal sheet in repoussé. On these grounds one may propose that the illuminators were well versed in the Mosan tradition or were at least familiar with Mosan metalwork, as the classical and Byzantine predilections appear to have been at home there (heralded by Renier of Huy).<sup>21</sup> A far more delicate question is that of a direct Byzantine connection in regard to the transmission of what I hold to be a Byzantine technique of decoration. The first of ten large illuminations, imbued with a serene Byzantine spirit and revealing a thorough knowledge of Byzantine traditional forms, would seem to indicate it.

Another assertion may be made: the decoration of illuminations by means of complex punch profiles was centered in northern France, England, and the southern Netherlands.<sup>22</sup> The textual evidence in the psalter pointing to the region between Tournai and St.-Quentin leads to the localization of

the manuscript to that region. The art historian is interested not only in the localization of the manuscript production but also in the localization of the artistic formation of the painters involved; two questions which do not necessarily bring the same answer. Finally, it may be hypothesized that the technique traditional to Lotharingia, the southern Netherlands, and Picardy was transferred into Bohemia at the end of the fourteenth century.

## Notes

1. M. Frinta, "An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of Mediaeval Italian and Non-Italian Panel Paintings," *The Art Bulletin*, June, 1965, pp. 261-265.

2. A successful application of the punching tools on a manuscript page, and especially of the more ambitious complex profile instruments requiring greater exactness to be effective, calls for a cushioning layer to be built up before the laying of the gold leaf. The kind of material used and its color may be revealing as to the grouping of various works since we may presume certain habits and usages, determined, to be sure, by the availability of the specific materials, as existing in individual studios. Of course, we must allow for a possible variation even in a given atelier due to the personal preferences of the collaborators, and for changes as time goes on. The criterion of material is thus more reliable for contemporaneous works in attempting to localize a manuscript. This paper is little more than a proposal of a future course of investigation because there are unfortunately very little technical data available so far on the distribution of the particular types of the *poliment*. In color it may range from white, gray, or light pink to dark red brown and black. Clay with the presence of wax was reported in the *Liber Viaticus* of Jan of Středa, Bohemian, before 1364 (K. Chytil, *Památky českého umění iluminátorského*, Prague, 1915, p. 71).

3. E.g., psalters in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Glazier Ms. 25) and the British Museum (Royal Ms. I.D.X.); the Lothian Bible (Morgan Ms. 791); a New Testament in

Baltimore (Walters Ms. 67); *Policraticus* in Oxford (Bodl. Library, Ms. Barlow 6).

4. As examples of circles, I may cite the instances in the exhibition *The Year 1200*, I, no. 246, a Bible in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. lat. 11535, 4) and *The Year 1200*, I, no. 255, a miscellaneous codex in the Princeton University Library (Ms. Garrett 114), both from the early thirteenth century. Dot impressions appear in the Works of Virgil in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. lat. 7936), no. 252 in the *The Year 1200* exhibit. A quite similar decorative concept exists on one page of the Bible *Moralisée* in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Ms. 240, fol. 8 r.); however, clusters of four dots only are stamped into the engraved diapered background. The manuscript, brought to my attention most kindly by R. Haussherr of Bonn, is quite interesting since there is an analogous drapery style as well. The tradition of punched decoration persisted as shown by the punched circles in a psalter in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. lat. 10.435) from Picardy and a *Plenarium* from the monastery Bethlehem near Doetinchem (Guelders), both from the end of the thirteenth century (*L'Europe gothique*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, 1968, pls. 78, 79). Likewise, the composed stars and dot rosettes continued to be used in the general area: a breviary of Philippe le Bel in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. lat. 1023); a missal from St. Vaast, Arras (Bib. mun., Ms. 517). There is a diagonally engraved ground in the *Horae* from Metz in Birmingham, Barber Institute (M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, New York, 1969,

figs. 534, 548). Among the later English examples are the Peterborough, Ormesby, and Queen Mary psalters (Brit. Mus., Royal Ms. 2B. VII). Frederick Harrison, *Treasures of Illumination: English Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century: 1250-1400*, London, 1937, pl. 15 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 53), pl. 16 (Oxford, Bodl. Library, Ms. Douce 366).

5. F. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967, pp. 24, 120.

6. Complex punchmarks occur in fourteenth-century manuscripts in Tuscany, Venice, and Bohemia, followed by Silesia and Austria in the fifteenth century.

7. I wish to thank my colleague Larry Ayres for pointing out this instance to me.

8. Fols. 7 v. (Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds), 9 r. (Dream of Joseph and Flight into Egypt), 9 v. (Epiphany and Angel Warning the Magi), 12 v. (initial *B*—*beatus vir*).

9. Paris, Arsenal, Ms. lat. 1186. J. A. Herber, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1911, pp. 179 ff.

10. The concordance was already recognized by L. Delisle. Deuchler, *Ingeborgpsalter*, p. 164; R. Hausscherr's review of Deuchler's book in the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 32, 1969, p. 66. O. E. Saunders (*English Illumination*, Florence, 1928, pp. 69 ff.) connected the Ingeborg Psalter with Lansdowne Ms. 420, Royal Ms. I.D.X., Arundel 157, and Munich Clm. 835 as pointing to a common English model.

11. That this was a long-standing Mosan tradition may be shown by a still earlier work: the reliquary foot of St. Andrew (977-993) in the cathedral of Trier is adorned by a simpler quatrefoil in glass paste and a hexa-rosette in enamel. (Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, Chicago, 1954, fig. 62.)

12. Yet, on the whole, it is quite problematic to argue for any precise lineage when we move into the domain of ornamental elements, regardless of the types of execution, because they tend to diffuse widely. For example, similar quatrefoils appear in Sasanian silverware such as the plate of Chosroes in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

13. Paris, Bib. Nat. Mss. gr. 62, 64, 139.

M. A. Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament. A Study in Chronology," *The Art Bulletin*, XVI, 1934, pp. 43-76. Six-petaled rosettes are carved on the original wooden struts in the arcade of the gallery in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

14. I am indebted to Kurt Weitzmann for most kindly supplying me with photographs, and also for pointing out the examples in Kiev.

15. Cimabue's Crucifix in San Domenico at Arezzo and a Cimabuesque Madonna in Torino, Galleria Sabauda, no. 544.

16. Other early examples may be cited: the panel by the Umbrian Maestro di Cesi in the museum in Spoleto, ca. 1310; the altarpiece of 1307 by Giuliano da Rimini in the Gardner Museum in Boston; slightly later the enigmatic "Sieno-Provençal" Nativity and Epiphany panels in the Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, and in the Lehman Collection in New York; according to M. Meiss, perhaps Neapolitan. As still later instances may be cited: Giovanni Badile in Verona and a polyptych from Norcia in Spoleto.

17. The Italian instances are generally smaller than the Ingeborg impression, and a distinct group may be recognized in the works of Meo da Siena, Barna da Siena, Naddo Ceccarelli, Lippo Memmi; the last influencing the Pisan painters Francesco Traini and Giovanni di Nicola. Closer to the Ingeborg quatrefoil are the impressions of Ugolino Lorenzetti (Assunta in Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 61, and a small Crucifixion in the Kress Foundation in New York). I believe that Bernardo Daddi learned this form in Siennese painting as the decorative mode of his later works is strongly indebted to Siena. Larger quatrefoils appear in the paintings of Taddeo and Agnolo Gaddi. The use of this particular type spread from Tuscany to Catalonia and Valencia as demonstrated by the examples by Pere Serra (Seo de Tortosa retable in Barcelona) and a Valencian St. Michael altarpiece in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

18. Vienna, Nat. Library, nos. 2759-2763.

19. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, pl. 70.

20. Deuchler, *Ingeborgpsalter*, pls. xxxv-xl.

21. O. Homburger maintained that the centers of art production in the Mosan region around 1180 moved to England around 1200, and during 1220–1230 to northern France.

22. The practice apparently survived, though sporadically, into the fifteenth century in that area, as is shown by two Crucifixion miniatures in the Cleveland Museum. ("Gothic Art: 1360–1440," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*

*of Art*, September, 1963, pp. 199, 209, nos. 17, 56; 49.205 and 59.254.)

I wish to thank D. H. Turner of the British Museum and Gerhard Schmidt of the university in Vienna, who kindly helped me in securing photographs. I am likewise indebted to Raoul de Broglie of the Musée Condé at Chantilly for his permission to photograph the details in the Ingeborg Psalter.



FIG. 1 *The Ingeborg Psalter, fol. 15 r., detail:*  
*Annunciation, Musée Condé, Chantilly*



FIG. 2 *The Ingeborg Psalter, fol. 15 r., Visita-*  
*tion, Musée Condé, Chantilly*

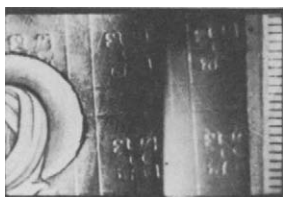


FIG. 3 *The Ingeborg Psalter, fol. 15 r., detail:*  
*Visitation (quatrefoil), Musée Condé, Chantilly*



FIG. 4 *Lansdowne Ms. 420, fol. 8 r., detail:*  
*Journey of the Magi, British Museum*

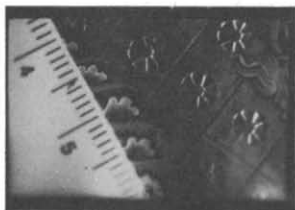


FIG. 5 *The Ingeborg Psalter, fol. 12 v., detail: Burning Bush, Musée Condé, Chantilly*



FIG. 6 *Christ, detail from an icon, sixth century, Mount Sinai (photo: Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria expedition to Mount Sinai)*



FIG. 7 *Ugolino Lorenzetti, Enthroned Madonna, detail, mid-fourteenth century, Siena Pinacoteca*

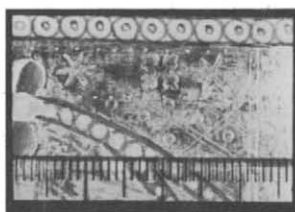


FIG. 8 *Bible of King Wenceslaus IV, fol. 273 r., detail, end of fourteenth century, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna*



FIG. 9 *Trinity triptych, detail, Netherlandish, circa 1400, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin-Dahlem*

# Un Manuscrit d'Auteurs Classiques et ses Illustrations

Notre connaissance de l'enluminure en France septentrionale aux environs de 1200 se réduit actuellement à un nombre restreint de pièces souvent prestigieuses mais difficiles à étudier et à localiser. Cette difficulté tient peut-être au fait qu'elles appartiennent à une époque de transition à la fois dans le domaine stylistique, et dans l'organisation des ateliers et le statut social des enlumineurs: c'est l'époque où la décoration des manuscrits, qui jusqu'alors était presque exclusivement le fait d'enlumineurs monastiques, tend de plus en plus à devenir l'affaire d'artistes professionnels et vraisemblablement laïcs, qui s'organiseront et s'intégreront rapidement à partir du treizième siècle dans le système de production du livre mis au service des universités alors en plein essor. Le manuscrit que je voudrais présenter ici se situe au début de cette évolution.

Le manuscrit latin 7936 de la Bibliothèque nationale attire immédiatement l'attention de l'historien de l'art par l'abondance et la qualité des initiales ornées (vingt-neuf au total) dont il est doté: le style de celles-ci, leur technique picturale raffinée, où l'or joue un rôle prépondérant, les détails du harnachement militaire des personnages<sup>1</sup> permettent d'y reconnaître immédiatement une oeuvre des environs de 1200 dont l'origine est à chercher de toute évidence en France septentrionale. L'examen de la décoration secondaire et de l'écriture vient à l'appui de cette datation et de cette localisation sans permettre toutefois de les préciser. L'intérêt des initiales est encore renforcé par la nature des différents textes qu'elles illustrent. Le manuscrit contient en effet les *Bucoliques*, les *Géorgiques*, et l'*Enéide* de Virgile (fols. 1-80), suivies de la *Thébaïde* de Stace (fols. 81-140), de la *Pharsale* de Lucain (fols. 141-184 v.), et des oeuvres du rhéteur du Bas-Empire Claudien (fols. 185-221); seules ces dernières n'ont reçu aucune initiale historiée. Bien qu'il ne soit pas rare à cette époque de trouver certaines



de ces oeuvres isolément, leur réunion en une sorte de *corpus* constitue un fait singulier qui témoigne de la part du destinataire du volume, sans doute quelque prélat cultivé, d'un intérêt particulier pour la poésie latine de l'époque classique, et plus spécialement pour le genre épique. La chose n'est pas pour étonner en la fin de ce douzième siècle où les clercs plus qu'à toute autre époque avant la Renaissance, étudièrent et imitèrent, souvent avec bonheur, les modèles de la latinité classique: c'est vers 1180 rappelons-le que Gautier de Châtillon composa, à l'instar des épopées latines, son *Alexandréide*. Au cours du premier quart du treizième siècle encore, Guillaume le Breton rédigeait la *Philippide*, long poème épique à la gloire de Philippe-Auguste.<sup>2</sup>

Du point de vue du style, les initiales du lat. 7936 trouvent leur points de comparaison les plus satisfaisants, semble-t-il, dans le petit groupe de manuscrits réunis autour du célèbre Psautier d'Ingeburge,<sup>3</sup> et notamment dans l'oeuvre considérée comme la plus tardive dans ce groupe, une Bible conservée au British Museum et assignée dans le récent ouvrage de Florens Deuchler à la première décennie du treizième siècle:<sup>4</sup> même type et même format d'initiales, même technique picturale, même importance accordée à l'or,<sup>5</sup> même forme d'écriture. Des différences très nettes cependant en ce qui concerne les détails décoratifs secondaires et le coloris, interdisent de voir dans le ms. lat. 7936 une oeuvre sortie de l'atelier du Psautier d'Ingeburge.<sup>6</sup> On ne trouve au surplus dans la représentation des personnages du manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale aucun écho des deux styles distingués par Deuchler dans le psautier: ni le style émaillé de byzantinismes du maître le plus ancien, ni le style "détendu" et déjà presque gothique de son collaborateur. Il reste cependant que des concordances plus profondes permettent de penser que le ms. lat. 7936 a vu le jour dans une aire géographique pas très éloignée de celle, encore controversée, où travaillait l'atelier du Psautier d'Ingeburge. Parmi ces concordances, l'une des plus frappantes paraît être la façon de traiter les initiales. Celles-ci dans le lat. 7936 ont été réduites au maximum à leur fonction de signe géométrique abstrait, dans le but manifeste de ne pas nuire à la compréhension de la scène qu'elles contiennent. Pour parvenir à ce résultat, les enlumineurs ont éliminé presque systématiquement les éléments de la flore et du bestiaire qui avaient été intégrés à la lettre ornée au cours de la période romane: il est significatif qu'il n'existe dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale qu'une seule initiale de type zoomorphique traditionnel, celle du fol. 1, un "T" de forme onciale composé de deux dragons (Fig. 1). Partout ailleurs les artistes emploient pour le corps de leurs lettres les éléments les plus simples et les plus conformes à la géométrie de celles-ci, leur seule concession au décor étant l'utilisation de motifs très sobres qui se réduisent à trois types principaux: série de pastilles

blanches ou de petits cercles, motifs imbriqués, et palmettes stylisées.<sup>7</sup> Dans une ultime étape ces éléments décoratifs ont même été écartés et la lettre simplement dessinée au moyen d'une feuille d'or découpée.<sup>8</sup> Cette recherche de clarté et de rigueur, cet esprit instinctivement classicisant sont assez rares dans le contexte de l'enluminure de l'époque où les modes romanes exerçaient encore une vive attraction,<sup>9</sup> et ne trouvent véritablement d'équivalent que dans un nombre d'oeuvres limitées, au premier rang desquelles se rangent les manuscrits du style Ingeburge.

Bien que d'une facture sensiblement homogène, les initiales du ms. lat. 7936 laissent voir certaines variantes de détail qui suggèrent que leur exécution est due à la collaboration d'au moins deux artistes différents. Le canon des personnages diffère en effet souvent d'une initiale à l'autre, certains d'entre eux étant dotés d'une tête disproportionnée par rapport au corps. Également sensibles sont les variations dans la représentation des arbres, dont le feuillage a l'apparence tantôt d'une chevelure bouclée, tantôt d'un tas de foin.<sup>10</sup> La participation de plusieurs artistes dans le manuscrit est rendu encore plus probable par la présence à proximité de certaines initiales, de ce qui semble être des marques d'enlumineurs. Ces marques qu'on ne discerne qu'après un examen attentif, sont constituées tantôt d'un simple trait, tantôt de deux traits parallèles,<sup>11</sup> et évoquent les signes analogues que l'on a relevés récemment dans des manuscrits de la même époque.<sup>12</sup> Si ces marques, dont la présence répétée ne peut être l'effet du hasard, sont bien destinées à distinguer le travail de deux enlumineurs il faudrait en conclure que leur activité était rétribuée et qu'il s'agissait donc d'artistes professionnels.

L'intérêt iconographique des initiales du ms. lat. 7936 ne le cède en rien à leur intérêt stylistique, ne serait-ce tout d'abord qu'en raison de la rareté des illustrations médiévales de textes classiques qui nous sont conservées. Des trois auteurs dont les oeuvres sont contenues dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale, seul Virgile a été quelquefois illustré avant le quatorzième siècle.<sup>13</sup> On ne connaît en revanche, actuellement aucun manuscrit médiéval de Lucain ou de Stace présentant des scènes illustrées avant cette époque. Est-il vraisemblable dans ces conditions que les initiales historiées des oeuvres de Virgile dans le lat. 7936 aient une filiation avec un quelconque prototype? On serait tenté tout d'abord de répondre par l'affirmative en examinant l'initiale de la première Eglogue (Fig. 1): Tityre y figure assis jouant de la flûte sous l'ombre d'un arbre dont une chèvre broute les feuilles. Cette scène apparaît en effet comme une sorte de contraction de la peinture équivalente figurée dans le *Virgilius Romanus* de la Bibliothèque Vaticane<sup>14</sup> (manuscrit qui, notons-le, fut conservé jusqu'au troisième quart du quinzième siècle à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis),<sup>15</sup> l'enlumineur

ayant éliminé l'autre acteur du dialogue, Mélébée, dont la présence est cependant rappelée par la chèvre de son troupeau. Cette première concordance n'est pas confirmée cependant par le reste des initiales virgiliennes du lat. 7936, qui ne présentent aucun autre point de contact avec ce qui subsiste des peintures du *Romanus*.

A cela il existe une explication bien simple: suivant le procédé de l'illustration littérale utilisée souvent dans les Bibles, les artistes du lat. 7936 ont représenté en règle générale les épisodes évoqués dans les premiers vers de chaque livre. Parfois au contraire les initiales figurent une scène décrite à la fin du livre précédent.<sup>16</sup> Ce n'est que tout à fait exceptionnellement que la signification d'une scène doit être cherchée assez loin dans le texte: c'est le cas par exemple de l'initiale figurant la noyade de Misène qui n'est évoquée qu'aux vers 171-174 du livre VI. Sans doute cette manière de procéder explique-t-elle l'absence dans l'*Enéide* de certaines scènes topiques comme par exemple la mort de Didon qui fut si souvent représentée par la suite dans les manuscrits de l'*Histoire Universelle*.<sup>17</sup>

Il existe un argument plus décisif en faveur de l'indépendance du cycle des initiales virgiliennes du ms. lat. 7936. C'est qu'on distingue à plusieurs reprises à proximité de ces initiales des inscriptions tracées à la mine de plomb: celles-ci, bien que partiellement lisibles, ne peuvent être comprises, lorsqu'on les rapproche des sujets représentés, autrement que comme des instructions destinées aux enlumineurs. Leur présence implique que ceux-ci n'avaient pas de modèles graphiques sous les yeux.

Voici ces inscriptions telles qu'on peut les déchiffrer en partie:<sup>18</sup>

Fol. 12: [un]vilain . . . (*Géorgiques* III, un paysan fauchant le blé), Fig. 4

Fol. 48 v.: I, home enseveli (*Enéide* VII, Enée enterrant sa nourrice Caiète), Fig. 10

Fol. 102 v.: [un] bercel/ . . . l'enfant (*Thébaïde* VI, funérailles d'Opheltes, représenté dans un berceau sur un bûcher en flammes), Fig. 17

Fol. 130: un chatel (*Thébaïde* XI, Cataneus foudroyé par Jupiter sur les murailles de Thèbes), Fig. 22

Fol. 152 v.: une cité sur une . . . (*Pharsale* IV, la ville d'Ilerda), Fig. 25

Fol. 165 v.: [home] en un lit/le soleil (*Pharsale* VII, songe de Pompée à l'aube de la bataille de Philippes), Fig. 28.

Livrés pratiquement à eux-mêmes, et devant le programme habituel d'illustrations qu'ils avaient à accomplir, les enlumineurs se sont tournés, comme il arrive souvent, vers les modèles existants qui pouvaient concorder avec les directives qui leur étaient données. Le cas est patent en ce qui concerne les initiales des trois livres des *Géorgiques*, toutes évidemment inspirées des travaux des mois figurés dans les calendriers illustrés.<sup>19</sup> Mais le plus

souvent il y a eu amalgame avec les types iconographiques de certaines scènes, religieuses empruntées notamment à l'Ancien Testament, et fréquemment représentées dans les Bibles et les psautiers. C'est ainsi que la noyade de Misène représentée au début du livre VI de l'*Enéide* a été probablement inspirée par la scène de Jonas jeté à la mer. La scène figurée au début du livre suivant, Enée enterrant sa nourrice Caiète, évoque également une illustration biblique dont on ne trouve d'exemple, il est vrai, qu'à une époque postérieure au lat. 7936 mais qui pourrait bien avoir été connue dès le douzième siècle: il s'agit d'un épisode parfois représenté au début du Livre de Tobie et figurant celui-ci enterrant le cadavre d'un Juif.<sup>20</sup> De même la composition des initiales du livre X de l'*Enéide* et du livre V de la *Pharsale* (Assemblée des Dieux, et Lentulus s'adressant au Sénat d'Epire) dérive vraisemblablement de celle d'une scène comme la Pentecôte.<sup>21</sup> Enfin l'ultime initiale de la *Pharsale*, figurant un habitant d'Alexandrie apportant la tête de Pompée à César, rappelle d'assez près la scène rare de David apportant la tête de Goliath à Saül, représentée dans le Psautier d'Ingeburge.<sup>22</sup> Tous ces exemples suggèrent fortement que les enlumineurs ont travaillé d'après un recueil de modèles d'illustrations bibliques. Cette situation rappelle curieusement, mais inversée, celle des artistes du cinquième siècle, qui devant inventer de nouvelles compositions pour représenter des scènes bibliques, se tournèrent vers les modèles de l'Antiquité classique, en s'inspirant notamment des illustrations de scènes virgiliennes.<sup>23</sup> Cette manière de procéder, ainsi que la transposition typiquement médiévale des divinités païennes dans le lat. 7936 (qu'on se reporte à la figuration de Bellone en chevalier au livre IV de la *Thébaïde*, et de Mercure transformé en ange de l'Olympe au début du livre VII) et des scènes de bataille, illustre les limites de la "renaissance" du douzième siècle dans le domaine de la peinture et de l'enluminure: comme l'a montré Panofsky c'est avant tout dans les arts à trois dimensions que le contact fut renoué à cette époque avec l'art de l'Antiquité.<sup>24</sup>

Il n'en reste pas moins que par son contenu comme par sa décoration, le *corpus* épique de la Bibliothèque nationale apporte un témoignage nouveau et intéressant sur les préoccupations littéraires des milieux du "proto-humanisme" de l'Europe septentrionale en cette fin du douzième siècle. Il constitue en même temps l'une des ultimes manifestations d'un courant qui à partir du treizième siècle allait être balayé par le mouvement scolastique.<sup>25</sup> Il faudra attendre le quatorzième siècle et Pétrarque pour voir reflorir le goût des "humanités": parallèlement, c'est en Italie et au quatorzième siècle également qu'apparaîtront à nouveau des manuscrits illustrés des poètes classiques et notamment de Virgile. N'est-il pas curieux, pour conclure, de constater que le manuscrit lat. 7936 aboutit au début du

quinzième siècle entre les mains d'un personnage ayant le même culte des classiques que le premier destinataire du volume, Jean Lebègue, greffier à la Cour des Comptes, l'une des figures les plus attachantes de l'humanisme parisien à l'aube de la Renaissance?<sup>26</sup>

### Identification des sujets représentés dans les initiales du ms. lat. 7936:

#### *Bucoliques*

Fol. 1 (Première Eglogue): Tityre assis sous un arbre jouant de la flûte (Fig. 1)

#### *Géorgiques*

Fol. 6 (*Géorgiques* I): un semeur (Fig. 2)

Fol. 9 (*Géorgiques* II): paysan émondant la vigne (Fig. 3)

Fol. 12 (*Géorgiques* III): un faucheur (Fig. 4)

#### *Enéide*

Fol. 19 v. (livre I): un chevalier en armes, son bouclier suspendu, assis sous les remparts d'une cité où un guetteur sonne du cor. Sans doute Enée, chanté par Virgile dans son prologue (v. 1-7) comme le héros fondateur de Rome (Fig. 5)

Fol. 24 (l. II): Enée faisant à Didon le récit de ses aventures au cours du banquet offert par la reine aux Troyens (cf. v. 1-2) (Fig. 6)

Fol. 28 v. (l. III): histoire du cheval de Troie (épisode raconté dans le livre II, v. 250 et suiv.) (Fig. 7)

Fol. 33 (l. IV): Didon confie à sa sœur Anne son amour pour Enée (v. 8 et suiv.) (Fig. 8)

Fol. 37 v. (l. V): lettre ornée

Fol. 43 (l. VI): noyade de Misène, trompette de Enée (v. 171-174) (Fig. 9)

Fol. 48 (l. VII): Enée donne la sépulture à Caiète sa nourrice (v. 5-6) (Fig. 10)

Fol. 53 v. (l. VIII): un guerrier en armes au pied d'une cité. Sur une tour, un sonneur de cor: Turnus, de la cité des Laurentes, proclame la guerre contre les Troyens (v. 1 et suiv.). Le sonneur de cor fait allusion aux trompettes donnant le signal de la guerre (v. 2: *et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu*) (Fig. 11)

Fol. 58 (l. IX): Iris envoyée par Junon auprès de Turnus (v. 2-3) (Fig. 12)

Fol. 63 v. (l. X): assemblée des dieux de l'Olympe (v. 1 et suiv.). Le personnage couronné et tenant un disque figuré dans la partie supérieure, représente évidemment Jupiter (Fig. 13)

Fol. 69 (l. XI): lettrine découpée

Fol. 74 v. (l. XII): combat d'Enée et de Turnus (v. 950 et suiv.) (Fig. 14)

#### *Thébaïde*

Livres I et II: initiales ornées

Livre III: feuillet découpé entre fols. 89 et 90

Fol. 92 v. (l. IV): apparition de la déesse Bellone au moment des préparatifs de guerre des Argiens (v. 6-7) (Fig. 15)

Fol. 98 (l. V): Hypsipyle, nourrice d'Ophelte, interrogée par Adraste (v. 17 et suiv.) (Fig. 16)

Fol. 102 v. (l. VI): un enfant dans un berceau au milieu d'un brasier: funérailles d'Ophelte, fils de Lycurgue (cf. v. 202-212) (Fig. 17)

Fol. 108 v. (l. VII): Mercure envoyé par Jupiter auprès de Mars (v. 5 et suiv.) (Fig. 18)

Fol. 113 v. (l. VIII): l'augure Amphiarius en armes, sur son char, englouti aux enfers (cf. l. VII, v. 819-824) (Fig. 19)

Fol. 118 v. (l. IX): Tydeus blessé à mort tenant la tête de Ménélaos (cf. l. VIII, v. 751-756) (Fig. 20)

Fol. 124 (l. X): combat et mort de l'archer Parthonopeus, fils d'Atalante, contre Dryas (cf. l. IX, v. 856 et suiv.) (Fig. 21)

Fol. 130 (l. XI): Cataneus monté au sommet des murailles de Thèbes invectivant Jupiter et foudroyé par celui-ci (cf. l. X, v. 837-939) (Fig. 22)

Fol. 134 v. (l. XII): la flamme du bûcher funéraire d'Étéocles et de Polynice se séparant en deux (cf. l. XII, v. 492-432) (Fig. 23)

### Pharsale

Livres I et II: lettres ornées

Fol. 150 (l. III): Le navire de Pompée quittant les rives de l'Italie (v. 1 et suiv.) (Fig. 24)

Fol. 152 v. (l. IV): une cité sur une colline: la ville d'Ilerda décrite aux vers 11 et suivants (Fig. 25)

Fol. 155 v. (l. V): Lentulus s'adressant aux sénateurs d'Épire (v. 15 et suiv.) (Fig. 26)

Fol. 160 v. (l. VI): lettre ornée (Fig. 27)

Fol. 165 v. (l. VII): songe de Pompée à l'aube de la bataille de Pharsale (v. 6 et suiv.) (Fig. 28)

Livre VIII: feuillet découpé entre les actuels fols. 170-171

Fol. 174 v. (l. IX): un dieu païen sur un socle (le temple de Hammon, décrit aux vers 510 et suiv. ?) (Fig. 29)

Fol. 181 (l. X): un habitant d'Alexandrie apportant la tête de Pompée à César (cf. l. IX, v. 1010-1013) (Fig. 30)

## Notes

\*Cet article, qui est la version quelque peu modifiée d'un bref exposé présenté à l'occasion du colloque organisé au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York sur l'An 1200, a été rédigé à Princeton au cours de l'automne 1970 lors d'un séjour à l'Institute for Advanced Study.

1. A noter particulièrement le long bouclier triangulaire à pentures rayonnant à partir de l'*umbo*, et les casques de forme hémisphérique. On retrouve ces détails dans toute une série d'œuvres du dernier quart du douzième siècle et des environs de 1200: ainsi par exemple, en ce qui concerne la sculpture, dans le pilier "aux trois chevaliers" provenant du cloître détruit de Notre-Dame-en-Vaux à Châlons-sur-Marne. Voir L. Pressouyre, "La colonne dite aux trois chevaliers de Châlons-sur-Marne," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1963, p. 76 et pl. Voir également pour l'enluminure, les illustrations de l'*Hortus deliciarum* d'Herrade de Landsberg, et le feuillet d'une Bible peint à Winchester vers la fin du douzième siècle (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 619). Sur le dernier manuscrit, voir le catalogue de l'exposition *The Year 1200*, I, p. 257, no. 256.

2. Sur la littérature latine d'inspiration profane au douzième siècle, voir spécialement F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1934, II, passim. Sur l'Alexandréide de Gautier de Châtillon, *ibid.*, p. 72 et suiv., et sur la *Philippide* de Guillaume

le Breton, *ibid.*, p. 343. Voir également les admirables pages d'Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, Stockholm, 1960, pp. 68 et suiv., consacrées au proto-humanisme littéraire du douzième siècle, qu'il définit comme un courant spécifique à l'Europe septentrionale, par opposition à la littérature scientifique qui fleurit dans les régions méridionales.

3. Sur ce groupe, voir la monographie de Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967. La localisation et la datation de ce groupe qui comporte, outre le Psautier de Chantilly, un psautier conservé à la Pierpont Morgan Library (Ms. 338) et une Bible du British Museum (Ms. Add. 15452), restent encore controversées; alors que Deuchler considère que le psautier de Chantilly fut exécuté à l'occasion du mariage de Philippe-Auguste et d'Ingeburge en 1193, M. Rainer Hausscherr le place à la fin du règne de Philippe-Auguste au moment de sa réconciliation avec la reine, en 1213. De même, M. Deuchler s'appuyant sur des considérations historiques et iconographiques extrêmement fortes place l'activité de l'atelier dans le Nord-est du domaine royal (Soissons, Laon), une localisation plus au nord, à Tournai n'étant pas exclue. M. Hausscherr, qui se base notamment sur le calendrier du Psautier d'Ingeburge, considère au contraire comme probable l'origine parisienne du psautier et de ses épigones (voir son compte-rendu de

l'ouvrage de Deuchler, dans la *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1969, pp. 51-68). Il est probable qu'on sera en mesure de trancher ce problème, ne serait-ce que de façon négative, lorsqu'on aura mieux étudié le style des ateliers qui travaillaient à Paris aux environs de 1200. Ce travail reste encore à faire. Nous voudrions cependant, à cette occasion, mentionner brièvement une série de manuscrits qui se situent, nous semble-t-il, au tout début de la production des ateliers laïcs parisiens, et qui en raison de certaines affinités stylistiques avec le groupe Ingeburge, semblent parler en faveur de la thèse de l'origine parisienne de ce dernier. Certains représentants de ce groupe parisien précoce ont été publiés isolément: ainsi le Bible Plut. XV Cod. 11 de la Bibliothèque Laurentienne (G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration in 13. Jahrhundert*, Kiel, 1938, pl. 5 et 6), la Bible Kennicott 15 de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne (O. Pächt et J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1973, III, no. 385, pl. xxxiv), et un Commentaire sur les Psaumes, de Pierre Lombard, de l'ancienne collection Dyson Perrins (voir le catalogue de vente de cette collection, *The Dyson Perrins Collection*, Part III, Londres, Sotheby, 29 nov. 1960, no. 102 et pl. 5). Plusieurs autres Bibles se rattachent au même groupe (Paris, Arsenal 589, et Bibl. nat., ms. lat. 14232 et 16747), ainsi qu'une série de Commentaires sur les livres bibliques (Paris, Bibl. nat., mss. lat. 149, 153, et 508, 11966 et 17204). Un feuillet isolé avec initiale de la Genèse (très proche iconographiquement de celle du manuscrit de l'Arsenal) conservé au Germanisches Museum de Nuremberg appartient également à ce groupe (E. W. Bredt, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Miniaturen des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, Nuremberg, 1903, pp. 26-30, pl. vii). Deux autres manuscrits à rapprocher de ce groupe, confirment l'origine parisienne de celui-ci: il s'agit de deux pontificaux à l'usage de Paris (Metz, ms. 1169 et Montpellier, Ec. de Médecine, ms. 399. Le premier de ces manuscrits est détruit). Voir V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1937, I, pp. 223-240, et pl. xix-xxi.

4. Ms. Add. 15452. Cette Bible de format réduit (21 x 14 cm) appartient déjà à la catégorie des petites Bibles portatives qui connurent une telle diffusion au cours du treizième siècle. A ma connaissance il s'agit d'un des plus anciens exemples de ce genre.

5. La surface des fonds d'or dans le lat. 7936 est fréquemment ornée le long des côtés d'une

série de petits cercles estampés. Sur les motifs estampés du Psautier d'Ingeburge, voir la communication de M. Frinta dans le présent volume.

6. Les têtes animales aplaties employées dans certaines initiales du lat. 7936 ne se retrouvent jamais dans les manuscrits de style "ingeburgien."

7. Les motifs à pastilles apparaissent dans les initiales des fols. 19 v., 33, 113 v., 124, 155 v., 165 v., 174 v. et 181 (Figs. 5, 8, 19, 21, 26, 28, 29, 30). Le motif composé de petits cercles blancs aux fols. 53 v., 134 v., 152 v. (Figs. 11, 23, 25). Le motif d'imbrications apparaît trois fois, aux fols. 63 v., 102 v. et 150 (Figs. 13, 17, 24), tandis que les palmettes stylisées n'ont été employées que pour deux initiales, celles des fols. 48 v. et 92 v. (Figs. 10, 15).

8. C'est le cas des initiales des fols. 9, 12, 28 v., 43, 58, 74 v., 98 et 130 (Figs. 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16, et 22). Cf. une initiale d'or d'un type assez proche dans la Bible du British Museum, Ms. Add. 15452 (Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, fig. 187).

9. Voir par exemple les initiales de la Bible de Manerius (Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Geneviève, mss. 8-10) et de sa copie provenant de St.-Germain-des-Prés (Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. lat. 11534-5). Voir A. Boinet, "Les manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures*, 5, 1921, pl. v. Voir également la fig. de la p. 247 du catalogue de l'exposition *The Year 1200*, I.

10. Du point de vue stylistique, les initiales pourraient se répartir comme suit: une première série (fols. 1, 6, 9, 12, 19 v., 24, 28 v. [?] 48 v., 134 v. [?], et 181 v.) serait due à un premier artiste qui se caractérise par l'utilisation de têtes triangulaires et trop grosses par rapport au reste du corps. Voir Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 23, 30. Mis à part deux autres initiales (fols. 108 v. et 118 v.) peut-être due à une troisième main, tout le reste pourrait être attribué à un second enlumineur, utilisant un type de personnages mieux proportionnés et au visage plus carré (fols. 33, 43, 53 v., 58, 63 v., 74 v., 92 v., 98, 102, 113 v., 124, 130, 150, 152 v. [?], 155 v., 165 v. et 174 v.). Voir Figs. 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29. Il me semble reconnaître la main de ce second artiste dans les initiales historiées d'un remarquable manuscrit des Epîtres de saint Paul glossées (British Museum,

Royal Ms. 4 E. IX). L'une des initiales de ce manuscrit (fol. 84 v., Fig. 31) est particulièrement proche de celles que j'attribue à la seconde main dans le lat. 7936: même type de visage carré au front bombé et fortement modelé, mêmes draperies fluides. La partie décorative de l'initiale a sa contrepartie exacte dans celles du manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale: même forme de "P" avec à la partie supérieure de la hampe verticale une feuille formant crochet, même motif de palmettes stylisées courant le long de la hampe et de la panse de la lettre (cf. avec Fig. 10 et 15). La lettre "P" du manuscrit de Londres est placée dans un encadrement comportant des écoinçons à feuilles stylisées analogues à ceux de l'initiale du fol. 24 dans le lat. 7936 (Fig. 6). L'encadrement lui-même comporte une bande d'or bordée de vert et de jaune pâle dans les deux manuscrits. Aucune mention ne permet de déterminer l'origine du manuscrit de Londres, ni la date à laquelle il est entré dans le fond royal (voir George F. Warner et Julius P. Gilson, *British Museum, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, Londres, 1921, I, p. 93 et pl. 31c et d). Sa présence dans ce fond ne garantit pas nécessairement son origine anglaise, comme semble le croire T. S. R. Boase, *English Art: 1100-1216*, Oxford, 1953, p. 287 et pl. 93c.

11. La marque formée d'un simple trait apparaît à côté des initiales des fols. 43, 69 (découpée), 74 v., 98, 113 v., 155 v. et 181. Les deux traits parallèles accompagnent les initiales des fols. 33, 48 v., 53 v., 63 v., 92 v., 108 v., 124, et 150. On notera toutefois la difficulté qu'il y a à faire coïncider ces marques avec le partage stylistique proposé dans la note précédente: pratiquement toutes les marques se trouvent en face des initiales que j'attribue à la seconde main.

12. Ainsi dans la Bible de Manerius. Voir Robert Branner, "The Manerius Signatures," *The Art Bulletin*, L, 1968, p. 183. Les marques relevées par Branner consistent en lettres de l'alphabet dans le premier volume de la Bible, et en marques formées d'un ou plusieurs traits parallèles, analogues à celles du lat. 7936, dans le volume suivant.

13. Si l'on excepte naturellement les deux célèbres manuscrits de la Basse Antiquité conservés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane (*Vaticanus*, Vat. lat. 3225, et *Romanus*, Vat. lat. 3867), les témoins illustrés médiévaux de Virgile se réduisent à deux manuscrits: le ms. Vienna 58 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Naples, manu-

scrit en écriture bénéventaine de la fin du dixième siècle qui comporte quelques initiales historiées illustrant la Première Eglogue et l'*Enéide*; et le ms. lat. 3251 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (*Bucoliques*), également d'origine italienne et semble-t-il, de la fin du onzième siècle. Sur le manuscrit de Naples, voir P. Courcelle, "La tradition antique dans les miniatures inédites d'un Virgile de Naples," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome*, LVI, 1939, pp. 249 et suiv. Sur le manuscrit du Vatican, voir K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959 (Martin Classical Lectures, XVI), p. 91, et fig. 101. Des scènes des *Bucoliques* ont été également représentées au neuvième siècle sur le manche en ivoire du célèbre flabellum de Tournus. Voir L. E. A. Eitner, *The Flabellum of Tournus*, New York, 1944 (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, 1). Il convient de citer dans ce contexte les illustrations de l'*Enéide* d'Heinrich de Veldeke, poème allemand basé sur le *Roman d'Eneas* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure, conservées dans un manuscrit d'origine bavaroise du premier quart du treizième siècle (Beflin-Dahlem, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, M.g.f. 282). Sur ce codex, voir A. Boeckler, *Heinrich von Veldeke, Eneide. Die Bilder der Berliner Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1939. J. J. G. Alexander me signale que la bibliothèque de Lambeth Palace possède un manuscrit des *Géorgiques* comportant une initiale historiée: l'oeuvre serait probablement anglaise et du début du douzième siècle. Je n'ai pu examiner ce manuscrit.

14. L'iconographie de cette peinture et celle de ses équivalents à l'époque médiévale est discutée par Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, pp. 89-92 et fig. 98-101.

15. Sur la présence du Virgile *Romanus* à Saint-Denis et son passage probable à la Bibliothèque Vaticane par l'entremise du cardinal Jean Jouffroy antérieurement abbé de Saint-Denis, voir notamment C. Samaran, "En marge du *Romanus* de Virgile," *Revue des études latines*, 1929, pp. 334-336. Voir aussi, du même auteur, "Études sandionysiennes. Notes sur la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis au XVe siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, CIV, 1943, pp. 6-7.

16. Ont été inspirées par les premiers vers du texte les initiales des fols. 1, 19, 24, 33, 48 v., 53 v., 58, 63 v., 92 v., 98, 108 v., 150, 152 v., 155 v., 165 v. Les initiales des fols. 28 v., 113 v., 118 v., 124, 130, et 181, en revanche, illustrent,



des épisodes évoqués à la fin du livre qui les précède.

17. Voir F. Saxl, "The Troy Romance in French and Italian Art," dans ses *Lectures*, Londres, 1957, p. 132 et pl. 77. Voir également H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, p. 78 et pl. 152. La scène du suicide de Didon est évoquée également dans l'*Erec* de Chrétien de Troyes à propos d'une selle d'ivoire représentant :

Comant ele por lui s'ocist . . .  
Comant Eneas vint de Troie,  
Comant a Carthage a grant joie  
Dido an son lit le recut  
Comant Eneas la decut

(Cité par C..H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, p. 107).

18. D'autres initiales sont accompagnées d'inscriptions similaires malheureusement trop effacées pour pouvoir être lues, ainsi aux fols. 9, 63 v., 98. Ces instructions aux enlumineurs rédigées en français sont les plus anciennes que je connaisse. Rapprochées des marques d'enlumineurs plus haut mentionnées, elles prouvent, semble-t-il, que le ms. lat. 7936 fut décoré dans un atelier déjà organisé suivant les méthodes en usage dans les ateliers du treizième siècle. Le fait que ces instructions soient rédigées en français indique au surplus que les enlumineurs auxquels elles étaient destinées devaient être des laïcs plutôt que des clercs.

19. Le semeur de *Géorgiques*, I, le paysan émondant la vigne à l'aide d'une faucille de *Géorgiques*, II, et le faucheur de *Géorgiques*, III, correspondent aux médaillons des travaux des mois d'octobre, mars, et juillet dans le Psautier d'Ingeburge (Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, fig. 10, 3, 7). Voir également la figuration de semeur et de faucheur des mois d'octobre et juillet dans un groupe de manuscrits anglais de la fin du douzième siècle. J. C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century*, Princeton, 1938 (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, XXI), cat. no. 93 et 95, pl. LIX et LXI.

20. La scène de Tobie enterrant le Juif apparaît tout d'abord dans la Bible moralisée. Voir A. de Laborde, *Bibles moralisées*, 1912, II, pl. 190. La composition de l'initiale du lat. 7936 est particulièrement proche de l'initiale de Tobie de la Bible d'Acre conservée à l'Arsenal (ms. 5211) et datée du début du troisième quart du treizième siècle par H. Buchthal, *Miniature*

*Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Sur cette initiale, voir *ibid.*, p. 65, n. 3 et pl. 67c. Cette iconographie de Tobie apparaît également dans deux manuscrits originaux d'Italie méridionale, sensiblement de la même époque, la Bible de Manfred (A. Erbach Fürstenau, *Die Manfredbibel*, Leipzig, 1910, pl. VIII) et un Pierre Comestor de la Bibliothèque de Palerme (A. Daneu Lattanzi, *Lineamenti di storia della miniatura in Sicilia*, Florence, 1966, fig. 84).

21. Cf. une adaptation à partir d'un modèle analogue dans une vignette de l'*Épître d'Othée de Christine de Pisan* (E. Panofsky et F. Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Medieval Art," dans *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV, 1933, p. 246 et fig. 31-32). Cf. également comme autre modèle possible une lettrine du psautier Morgan 338, fol. 1 (Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, fig. 111).

22. *Ibid.*, fig. 46.

23. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, pp. 92-93, fig. 102.

24. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences*, pp. 56-57.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

26. L'appartenance du manuscrit à Jean Lebègue est prouvée par la répétition aux fols. 12, 80 v., 140 v., et 221 de l'anagramme de son nom: *A bele vieigne*. Sur la personnalité de Jean Lebègue, cf., en dernier lieu, G. Ouy, "Le songe et les ambitions d'un jeune humaniste parisien vers 1395," dans *Miscellanea di storia e ricerca sul quattrocento francese*, Turin, 1966, pp. 357-407. Le ms. lat. 7936 n'est pas mentionné par l'auteur dans sa liste, la plus complète donnée jusqu'ici, des manuscrits reconnus comme ayant appartenu à Lebègue (voir pp. 373-374, n. 38). Celui-ci était en outre en relation avec les enlumineurs parisiens du temps, et a même fourni à l'un d'eux une "maquette" très précise pour l'illustration d'un manuscrit de Salluste. Voir J. Porcher, introduction à Jean Lebègue, *Les histoires que l'on peut raisonnablement faire sur les livres de Salluste*, Paris, 1962. Son intérêt pour les questions de technique de l'enluminure est également attesté par un recueil de traités sur la confection des pigments, compilé par lui en 1431 et conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale (ms. lat. 6741). Voir l'édition de ces textes dans Mrs. Merrifield, *Original Treatises Dating from the XIIth Centuries on the Art of Painting*, 1, Londres, 1849. Voir aussi J. Corbett, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques latins*, Paris, 1939, I, pp. 39-48. Jean Lebègue est mort en 1457.

## English Summary by Vera Ostoia

A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. lat. 7936) is significant for its abundance of high quality ornamented initials. Their style, employing sophisticated pictorial techniques, suggests a date about 1200, and a probable provenance in northern France. Although some of the texts that are illustrated are found elsewhere separately, their collection in this "corpus" indicates that the original owner had a special interest in classical epics. At the end of the twelfth century, more than in any other period prior to the Renaissance, classical Latin models were studied and imitated. Stylistically, the initials can be compared to those in the small group of late manuscripts of the circle of the Ingeborg Psalter, more specifically to the Bible (British Museum, Ms. Add. 15452) dated to the first ten years of the thirteenth century, but they cannot, however, be attributed to the atelier of the Ingeborg Psalter. The two styles distinguished by Deuchler in the psalter are not found in the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript, where the simplest means are used by the artists for their lettering. Such sobriety, of a classicizing spirit, is rare for this period still alive with Romanesque traditions with their zoomorphic initials, and is found primarily in manuscripts of the psalter group. Certain details suggest the work of professional illuminators.

The iconographic interest of the manuscript is also great, because of the extreme rarity of surviving medieval illustrations of classical texts. Barely readable inscriptions with instructions for illuminators near several initials, for which no models were available, argue in favor of their originality. Left to their own devices, the artists adapted existing models for different subjects apparently using a collection of biblical illustrations, just as in the fifth century, having to create biblical illustrations, artists borrowed from classical antiquity, especially from Virgil. This demonstrates the limits of the twelfth-century "Renaissance" in painting and illumination.

This corpus of epics, by its contents and decoration, proves the literary preoccupation of the "proto-humanists" of northern Europe at the end of the twelfth century. At the same time, it is one of the latest manifestations of a current which was swept aside by the scholastic movement in the thirteenth century. Not until the fourteenth century and Petrarch does the "humanistic" taste revive, when the illuminated works of classical poets, especially those of Virgil, appear again in Italy.



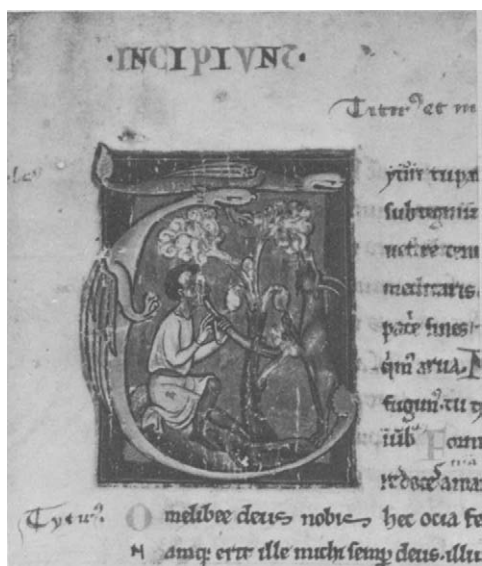


FIG. 1 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 1, Première Eglogue, Bucoliques, Bibliothèque nationale

A DROITE :

FIG. 2 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 6, Géorgiques I, Bibliothèque nationale

FIG. 3 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 9, Géorgiques II, Bibliothèque nationale

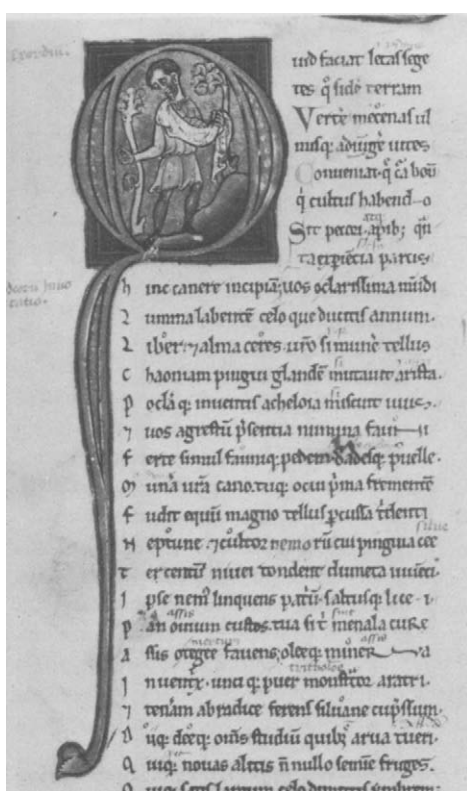
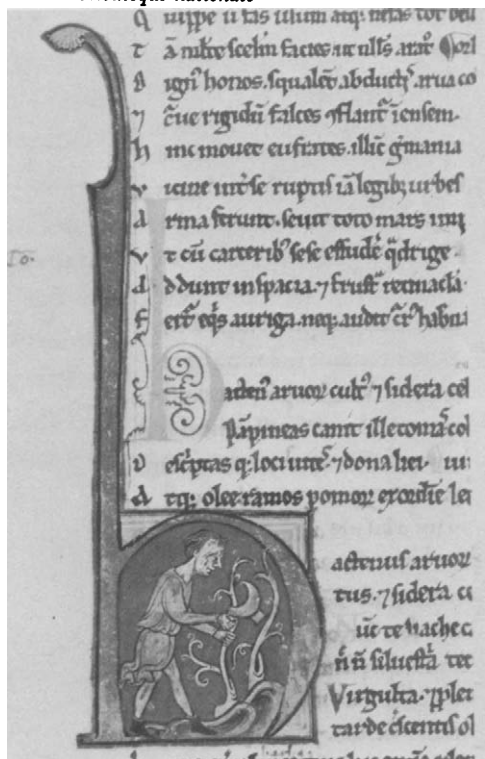


FIG. 4 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 12, Géorgiques III, Bibliothèque nationale

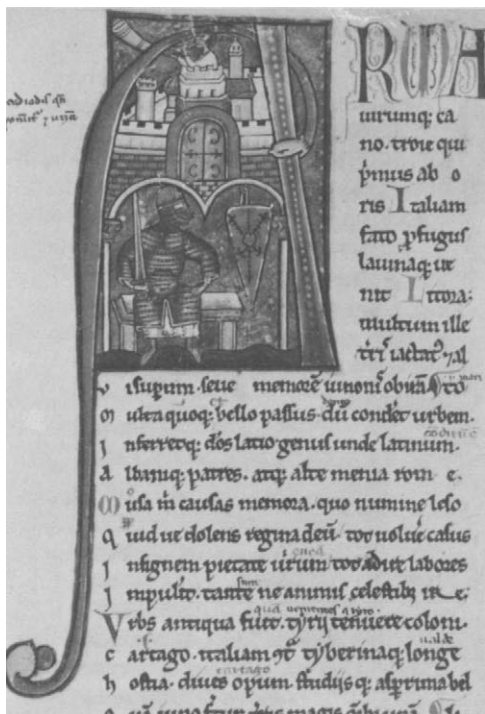


FIG. 5 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 19 v., *Enéide, livre I*, Bibliothèque nationale

FIG. 6 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 24, *Enéide, livre II*, Bibliothèque nationale

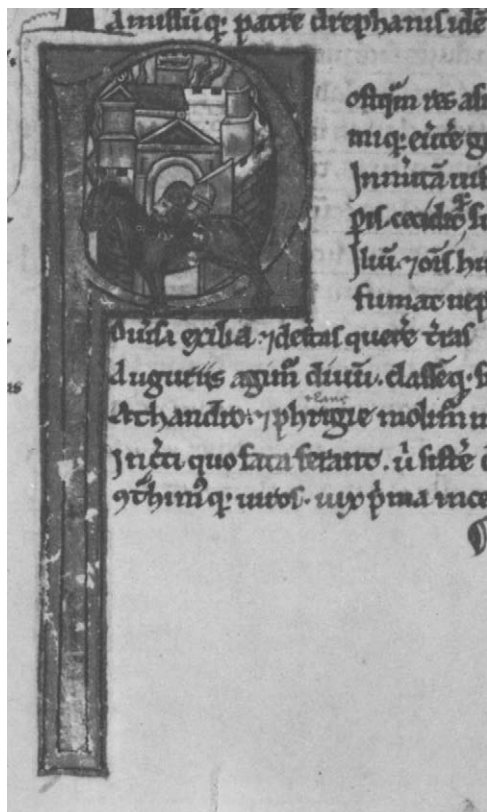


FIG. 7 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 28 v., *Enéide, livre III*, Bibliothèque nationale

FIG. 9 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 43, *Enéide*, livre VI, Bibliothèque nationale

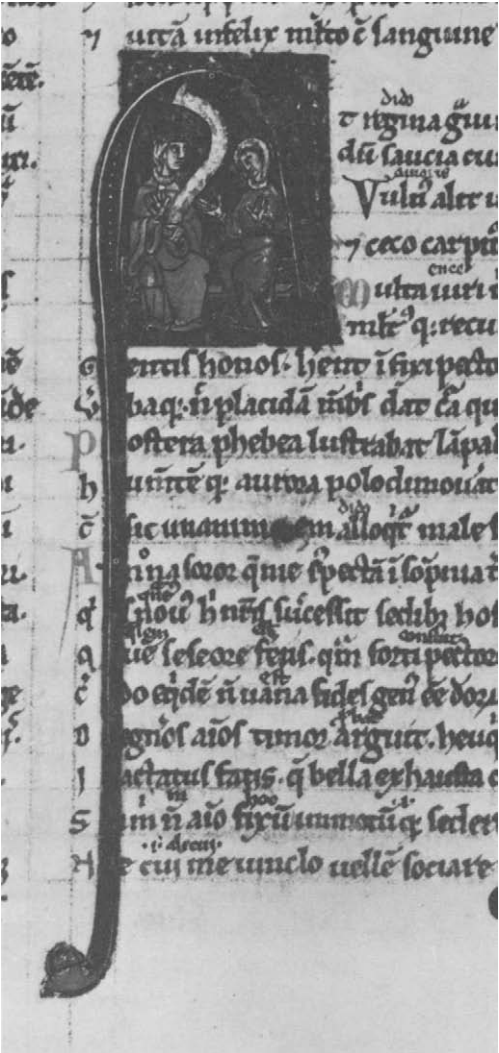


FIG. 8 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 33, *Enéide*, livre IV, Bibliothèque nationale

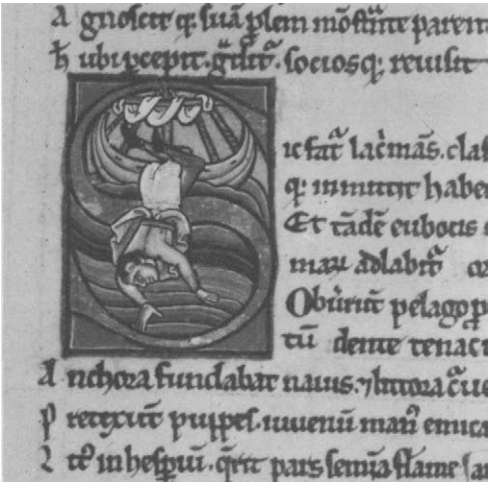


FIG. 10 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 48, *Enéide*, livre VII, Bibliothèque nationale



FIG. 11 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 53 v., *Enéide*, livre VIII, Bibliothèque nationale

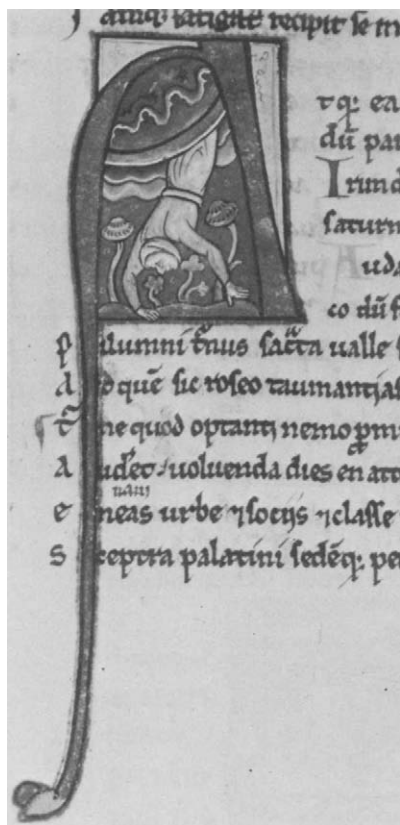


FIG. 14 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 74 v., Enéide, livre XII, Bibliothèque nationale



FIG. 15 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 92 v., Thébaïde, livre IV, Bibliothèque nationale



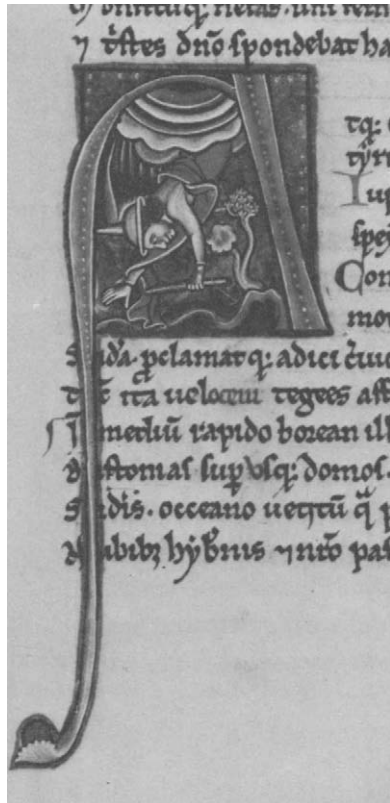
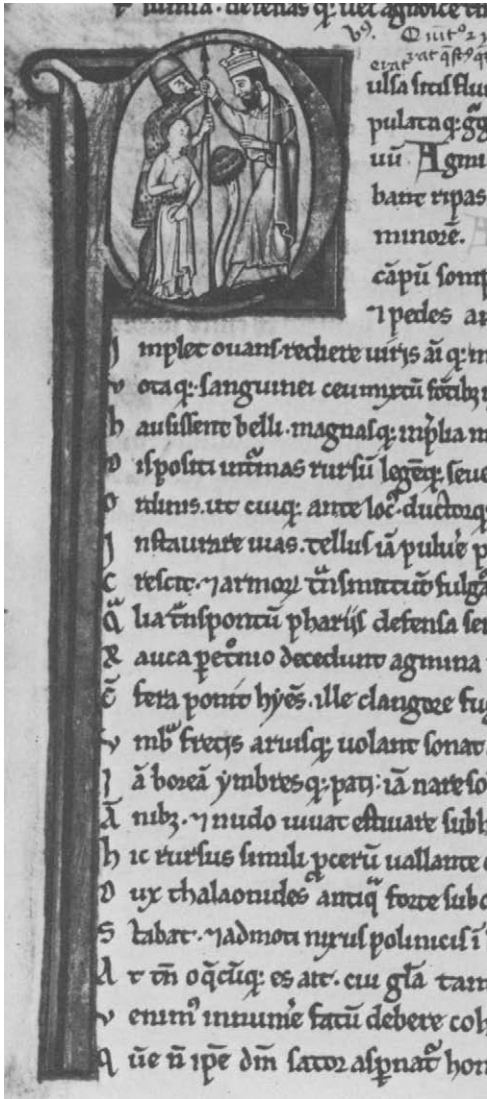




FIG. 20 *Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 118 v.,  
Thébaïde, livre IX, Bibliothèque  
nationale*

FIG. 19 *Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 113 v.,  
Thébaïde, livre VIII, Bibliothèque  
nationale*

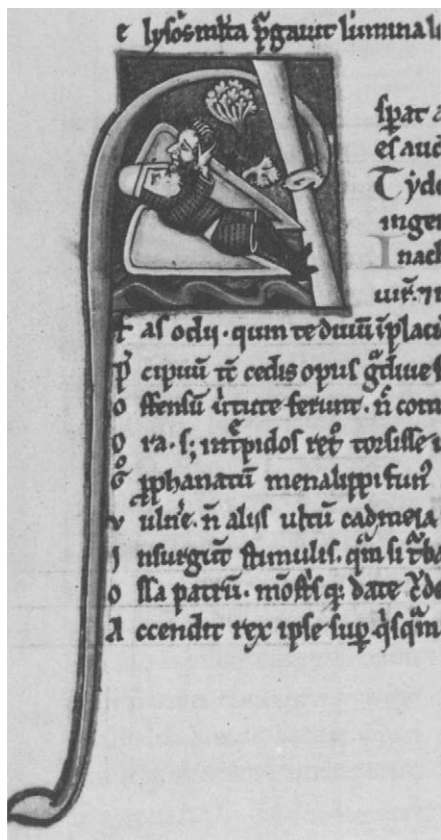


FIG. 21 *Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 124, Thébaïde,  
livre X, Bibliothèque nationale*

#### EN FACE:

FIG. 23 *Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 134 v., Thébaïde,  
livre XII, Bibliothèque nationale*

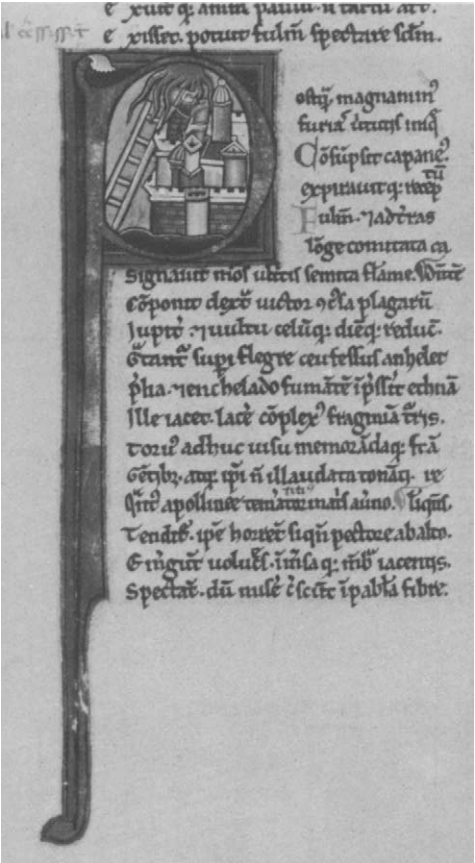


FIG. 22 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 130, Thèbaïde, livre XI, Bibliothèque nationale



FIG. 24 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 150, Pharsale, livre III, Bibliothèque nationale

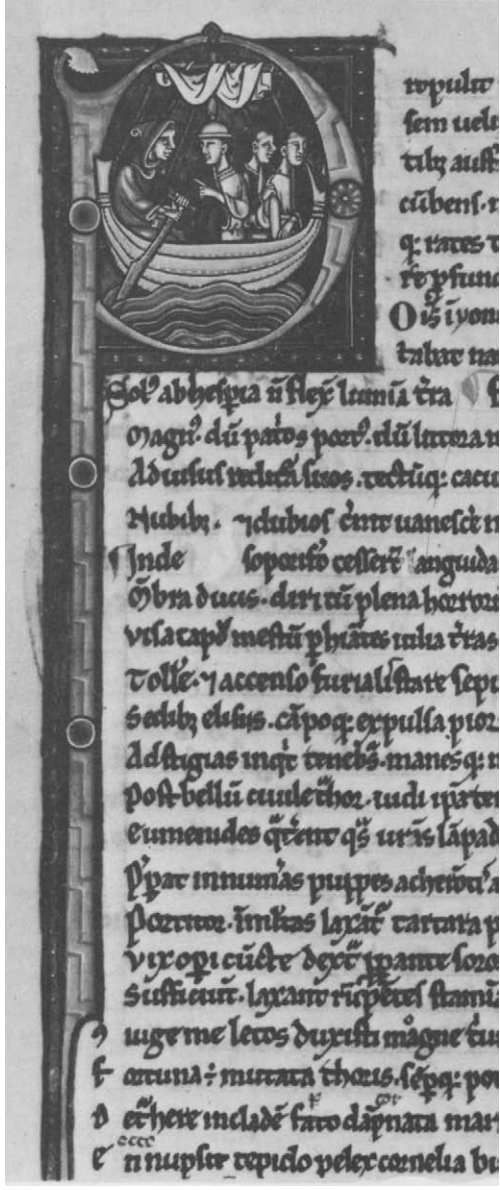




FIG. 25 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 152 v.,  
Pharsale, livre IV, Bibliothèque  
nationale



FIG. 26 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 155 v.,  
Pharsale, livre V, Bibliothèque  
nationale

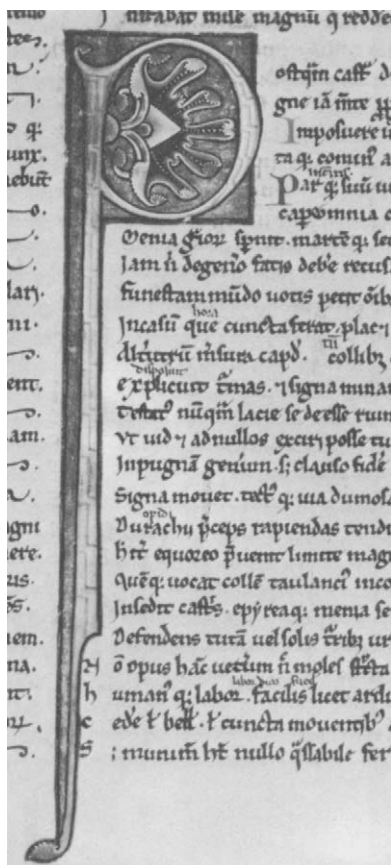


FIG. 27 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 160 v.,  
Pharsale, livre VI, Bibliothèque  
nationale



FIG. 28 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 165 v.,  
Pharsale, livre VII, Bibliothèque  
nationale



FIG. 29 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 174 v., Pharsale,  
livre IX, Bibliothèque nationale

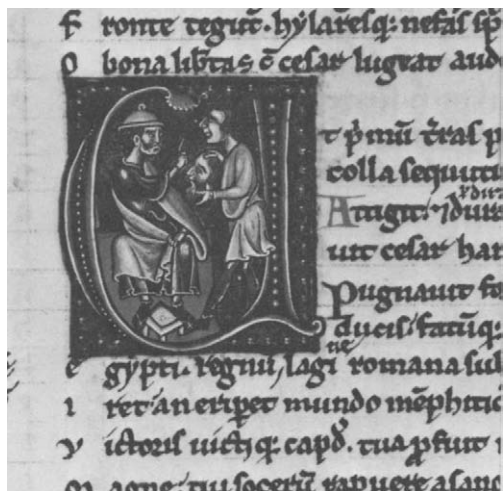


FIG. 30 Ms. lat. 7936, fol. 181, Pharsale,  
livre X, Bibliothèque nationale

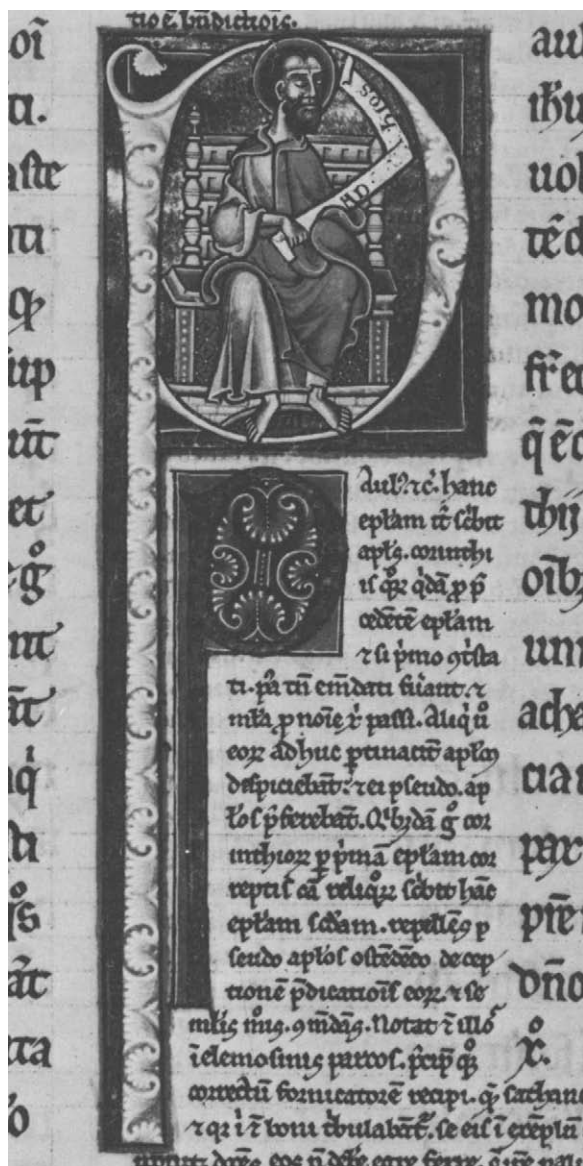


FIG. 31 Royal Ms. E. IX., fol.  
 84 v., initiale "P," British  
 Museum

# Heaven and Hell in a Bohemian Bible of the Early Thirteenth Century

THE Codex Gigas in the Royal Library of Stockholm, cod. A. 148, is a remarkable book in many respects.<sup>1</sup> Written at a time when the Latin Bibles in France and Italy started to be executed in a more handy format than before, it goes to the opposite extreme by having the bulkiest dimensions ever given to the Holy Writ, the Codex Amiatinus not excluded. When open it measures one meter in width and almost as much in height.<sup>2</sup> Although it would be rash to claim that it is the largest manuscript ever made—some of the colossal choir books in Spanish sacristies might be able to compete with it in size—it certainly is the heaviest book of any library, being written on a parchment of more than usual thickness, taken, as tradition has it, from the skins of some 160 mules or asses.<sup>3</sup>

It has a less easily ratable, but no less colossal weight in literary content.<sup>4</sup> It is not just a complete Bible. The Old and the New Testament fill only somewhat more than half of its 618 pages; they are supplemented by a great number of other texts one does not usually find in direct connection with the Holy Writ. Thus, the Old Testament is immediately followed by the two historical works by Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaeorum* and *Belli Judaici*, the former particularly appreciated in the Middle Ages because it contained a famous passage on the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus, nowadays recognized as an interpolation, but then regarded as the first reference to Christ by any non-Christian author. Another historical supplement has its place toward the end of the book—the chronicle of the Bohemian nation by Cosmas of Prague, the first Czech historian. It is followed by a calendar with historical notes, partly in the hand of the original scribe, partly in later additions, thereby bringing the history entirely up-to-date.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, it contains the encyclopedia by Isidor of Seville, the *Etymologiae*, which, up to the scholastic period, remained the most used source for the medieval

teaching of everything concerning the world, its nature, history, and culture. Added to it are two much rarer scientific treatises. The first, *De physica ratione*, is a reader's digest of Galenos' treatise on the human body and its diseases, compiled by a famous Arabic scholar Hunain Ibn Isbaq, who was born in the time of Harun-al-Rashid and spent most of his life teaching medicine at the school of Baghdad.<sup>6</sup> As a practitioner, Hunain was mainly an ophthalmologist, and the second text, "Ten Treatises on the Eye," which comes at the end of his work, is partly based on his own experiences.<sup>7</sup> Both these texts were translated into Latin by a certain Johannes Africanus, who taught at the school of Salerno and died in 1060 as a monk of Monte Cassino.<sup>8</sup> Thus, we have an example of the return of classical scientific knowledge to the West via the Arabs, so important for the whole development of natural sciences in Europe around and after the year 1200.

Finally, there are some odd pieces: written on the leaf pasted inside the front cover, the five alphabets: the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin, the Cyrillic, and the Glagolitic;<sup>9</sup> furthermore, a lengthy confession of sins and, following it, two spells against theft and against epilepsy (*morbus repentinus*).

Far more than a Bible, our manuscript is thus a sort of encyclopedia, a *Summa scientiarum*, loaded with an erudition, both religious and profane, of which any representative of the church around the year 1200 could have been proud. In medieval library catalogues the big pandects were often termed *bibliothecae*, and if any of them deserves this name in its usual sense as well, it certainly is this manuscript.

The Codex Gigas seems immediately to have attracted a great deal of attention by being *etwas noch nie dagewesenes*. When in the nineteenth century a piece of parchment pasted on the inside of the front cover, on which the Slavonic alphabets had been written, was detached, it was seen to cover an inscription. In it, Father Bawor, the abbot of St. Margaret's monastery at Brewnew near Prague, tells us that at the instigation of his superior, Archbishop Gregory of Prague, he persuaded the Cistercians in the monastery of Sedlec, some 200 miles east of Prague, not far from Kutna Hora (Kuttenberg), to sell the book to him.<sup>10</sup> At that time the Bible also contained the Rule of St. Benedict, apparently one of the reasons why Father Bawor was anxious to get it for his own Benedictine abbey.<sup>11</sup> He calls it *librum pergrandem qui dici potest de septem mirabilibus mundi propter sui immensitatem*, "with regard to its giant shape and size deserving to be called one of the Seven Wonders of the World." No doubt it was the book's unusual magnitude which later on made it a prize of two great collectors, Emperor Rudolph II and Queen Christina of Sweden, although the latter treasured it less than the former, since she left it behind when she went into self-chosen exile with the most valuable parts of her library.<sup>12</sup>

More than many other books, the Codex Gigas was likely to arouse the curiosity of everyone who saw it, and, as often happens, supernatural forces were summoned to account for its strange appearance. Following the pattern of the Faust and the Theophilus legends, it was thought to be the outcome of a pact with Lucifer who, although it did not belong to his usual occupations, would have taken part in its production; with his help it should have been written in one night by a monk, who thereby saved himself from being immured.<sup>13</sup> And indeed, certain explicit indicia pointing in this direction could be found in the manuscript itself: not only the magic spells, already mentioned, but also, preceding them, a picture of the alleged helper himself (Fig. 2). Apart from a rather amateurish looking representation of Josephus in the margin at the beginning of his *Antiquitates* (Fig. 3), it is the only other figurative miniature in the manuscript. A Bible with such an iconlike representation of the devil as its most striking artistic feature was really perplexing. The portrait of the evil one became, as it were, the book's trademark, and gave it the name under which it is still popularly known: the Devil's Bible.

But naturally, this name, and the interpretation of the miniature on which it rested, in no way answered the intention of the artist who painted the picture. With his representation of the devil he wanted anything but to show obligation to the prince of evil. The figure should not be seen isolated, but in its proper context, created by the two full-page miniatures of which it forms a part (Figs. 1, 2).

The two pictures evidently belong together, forming the left and the right wing of a diptych. To the left, a medieval fortified city is framed by two high and slender yellow towers with green battlements on top and a curious sort of small apses at the bottom. Between the towers are ten red walls, interrupted by a great many smaller towers in green and yellow that turn blue in the upper region. The whole looks like a strange medieval Manhattan. Inside the fortifications a great number of churches and other buildings emerge on a smaller scale above the city walls. It is a representation of heavenly Jerusalem, the numerous small buildings referring to the words of Christ "In my Father's house are many mansions" (John 14:2).

On the opposite page is also a city framed by two slender towers, but, contrary to the city on the left, this one is entirely devoid of buildings. The empty space is occupied by a single seated figure, our devil, squatting, with both arms raised, in a frontal posture, like a frog caught in a glass cylinder. He is naked except for a white loincloth, which is dotted with red comma strokes, the usual heraldic pattern for ermine, an emblem of earthly power. In accordance with his bestial character, his hands have only four fingers and his feet four toes. His head, in which the awe-inspiring



mask of the classical Medusa seems to be reborn, is covered with scalelike hairs and ends in two red horns. He has a green face—green with envy, as we say—and out of the corners of his mouth curl two red tongues. The fact that the snake has a forked tongue shows, according to some ancient authors, that the tongue was originally also destined to be a double sensory organ, like the ears, the eyes, and the nostrils.<sup>14</sup> Here, however, the form of the devil's tongue appears rather to symbolize the ambiguity of his speech, an attribute given already in the Old Testament to slanderers and betrayers.<sup>15</sup> Besides that, it adds to the perfect symmetry of the figure, so dear to the artist with his strong sense of the decorative.

In Romanesque art the devil is usually represented emaciated like a corpse, in order to emphasize his status as master of the realm of death.<sup>16</sup> But in our miniature he has rather a slim body; in fact it is, in this respect, the most healthy portrait of the devil yet seen. To a modern eye, by the posture of his legs, he even looks as if he was doing gymnastics. Naturally, this idea never entered the mind of the artist. The squatting pose was, on the contrary, chosen to add to the monster's subhuman appearance. The master of the underworld used to sit so; witness among other examples an eleventh-century initial which shows a corpse rising from his tomb, carried by a similarly crouching, horned figure (Fig. 4).

Otherwise it has proved hard to find a complete parallel to our artist's vision of Lucifer. The idea, already propounded in 1851 by a Czech scholar, Josef Pecirka, that he might descend from an Indian dancing demon, would not be too improbable considering the fact that the manuscript originated in a borderland between East and West.<sup>17</sup> But so far it has not been borne out by any parallels in Asiatic art predating our miniature.

The confrontation of heaven and hell as the two opposed principles of creation, which the two miniatures in the Codex Gigas are intended to illustrate, had found its most striking and influential formulation in St. Augustine's great work *De civitate Dei*.<sup>18</sup> According to this treatise, there existed from the beginning of time two cities, that of heaven, the home of the angels and of the righteous, and the city built by Lucifer and his fallen angels, that of hell. Both had their projections on earth, the City of God in his church, that of the devil in all secular institutions. The entire history of mankind could be interpreted in the light of this concept, which remained a guiding thought all through the Middle Ages, not the least after the struggle over investiture had sharpened the conflict between the secular and the ecclesiastical power.<sup>19</sup> Otto, bishop of Freising, who died in 1158, gave his world history the same title as St. Augustine had chosen for his.<sup>20</sup> As far as the miniatures in our Bible are concerned, they are but another confirmation of the influence which St. Augustine's philosophy retained over the medieval mind.

Often copied and available in practically all monastic libraries, the *Civitas Dei* was, however, not often illustrated until it came out in a French translation some time after the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>21</sup> To be sure, St. Augustine's concept of the two cities was more a moral than a visual one and therefore did not lend itself easily to pictorial interpretation. Yet, there are a few copies of the Latin text that have frontispiece pictures, and one of them was written and illuminated in the same country as our Bible and only one or two decades earlier, a manuscript belonging to the chapter library of the Prague cathedral, cod. A.7. (Fig. 5).<sup>22</sup> A certain similarity between the way the heavenly Jerusalem is represented in this manuscript and in the Stockholm Bible cannot be denied. In both cases a city is framed by two slender towers with small apsislike entrance buildings and crenelated walls joining the towers at the top and the bottom. But there the agreements end. As distinct from the unpopulated city of the Stockholm Codex Gigas, the Prague manuscript has its heavenly Jerusalem filled with angels and blessed souls grouped in rows according to the celestial hierarchy around and under a Christ in Majesty, including, in the last zone, some still living Bohemians, full of hope that there would be a place for them too in heaven, when they had passed away.<sup>23</sup>

The representation of the celestial city without God and the blessed sharing his glory is not a unique case. It occurs in the illustrated Apocalypses in the vision of the holy Jerusalem descending from heaven to the angel given a golden reed to measure it.<sup>24</sup> It is also found in the *Liber floridus* by Lambert of St. Omer in Ghent, where, as in our miniature, it is designed not in plan, but in elevation (Fig. 6).<sup>25</sup> Considering the encyclopedic content of the Codex Gigas, it is not without interest to find a similar approach to the theme in this Romanesque encyclopedia. Yet, the formal differences between the two representations do not allow us to assume that our painter got his inspiration from such a model.

As to the opposite pole, the *Liber floridus* offers a different concept: Lucifer mounted upon one of the infernal beasts with no suggestion of any specific locality.<sup>26</sup> Architectural representations of hell are extremely rare, apart from the gate at its entrance, necessary to imprison the sinners. The Princeton Index of Christian Art does not register more than one instance—a German miniature of the late twelfth century in the University Library of Erlangen, where, in an allegory of man at the crossroads between good and evil, both heaven and hell are depicted as cities, that of the devil appropriately enough turned upside down<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 7). The painter of the Codex Gigas did not represent his city of hell reversed, but found another striking way to characterize it as fundamentally different from the celestial Jerusalem. By leaving the space between the framing towers open, he visualized it as the

desolated place it really is. In medieval thought, emptiness, the *nihil*, was a principle of evil and thus most suitable to the theme. Correspondingly framed, but inside at diametrical variance, the two miniatures could be described as the plus and the minus side of God's plan of salvation. The plus side is as rich in splendid mansions as the minus side is barren; both are fortified, since no city could manage without defensive measures. The whole composition is thus most likely to be an independent invention.

That the artist created the two miniatures without relying upon a fixed pictorial tradition seems also indicated by the way he worked. Both leaves on which the miniatures are painted had originally been prepared, like all the other folios of the manuscript, for the purpose of writing by being ruled in advance with vertical and horizontal lines drawn with a pointed pricker. Ordinarily such ledger lines would have hindered the painter's work, but in this case he has taken advantage of them. The vertical lines have been converted into towers and the horizontal lines between them into city walls (Fig. 1). The lack of corresponding walls inside the realm of hell made the ruled lines look more out of place on this page (Fig. 2). But, here too, the artist apparently made some use of them in proportioning the body of the devil. For it could hardly be just chance that so many of the main joints or projecting points of the figure coincide with the ruling. Besides, the artist has not only made use of a ruler, but also of a compass, namely in constructing the circular contour of the devil's cranium. Otherwise the drawing of his body is free, with a spring in the contours and the claws which makes one think the artist was thoroughly at home in calligraphy.

Besides the two full-page miniatures, and the representation of Josephus (Fig. 3), two schematic images of the celestial and the terrestrial globes (again two opposite realms) are painted in the margins of the leaf on which the *Antiquitates Judaearum* starts (Fig. 8). Otherwise, the artistic decoration of the manuscript mainly consists of the splendid rinceaux initials which mark the beginning of each book of the Bible and of the Chronicle of Cosmas.<sup>28</sup> Some of them are truly monumental in size, filling a whole column (Fig. 9). Friedl has tried to derive them from the type of initials used in the Salzburg manuscripts of the late twelfth century, but the parallels are not very convincing. It seems rather more likely that the artist got his models from the West—only in the manuscripts of the Channel schools do we find initials with scrolls turning in almost concentric movements, like tightly wound springs, with small animals wedged into the space between the tendrils.<sup>29</sup> Whatever was his source, the painter of these initials is likely to be the same who painted the cities of heaven and hell—the colors are exactly the same, and the small rinceaux scrolls inserted in three places of the celestial city are similar to those in the smaller decorative letters.

The initials are followed by two or more lines of display script in black or red capitals mixed with uncial forms, which again lead over to the minuscule lines with which the running text is written. Not only is the transition from initial to display script and from this to the text strikingly smooth and well calculated, but also the running script has a calligraphic character, which sometimes makes a purely ornamental impression.<sup>30</sup> The more one studies the manuscript, the more one comes to the conclusion that it is all cast in one piece. Up to the calendar, which may be by another hand, it is practically impossible to divide the manuscript between clearly different calligraphers.<sup>31</sup> This may result from the manuscript being produced in a highly disciplined workshop in which all the members followed as closely as possible the example set by a master scribe. But, in that case, it is hard to understand why the Codex Gigas stands so isolated—it does not form a school with any other known manuscripts. We are, therefore, more or less obliged to assume that its striking uniformity is rather caused by its being written throughout by one single hand. The variations in the writing in the book are in any case not greater than could be expected from a scribe struggling with his task over a period of many years, during bitter cold in the winter and sultry heat in the summer, and probably also under changing states of health. The painter of the initials and the two full-page miniatures could of course be by a second person, but here the already emphasized homogeneity of the script and the decoration speak in favor of the calligrapher and painter being one and the same. The red with which the prologues have been written, as well as the yellow with which they sometimes have been interlined, are exactly the same as those used in the lines of larger display capitals and in the initials. The little we know about the place where the Codex Gigas was produced is entirely in keeping with the assumption that it did not originate in one of the great centers of Bohemian art. According to the inscription on the front cover of 1295, the codex belonged to the Cistercians of Sedlec abbey. It had been pawned to them by the Benedictines of Podlačic, who, being extremely poor, had not been able to redeem it. Nothing indicates that this monastery was ever the seat of an important scriptorium. In fact, it is so little known that even so conscientious a scholar as Ulysse Chevalier calls it in his *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age* “un monastere en Suède” (!)<sup>32</sup> If the Bible was produced in Podlačic, it is more likely the work of one expert calligrapher than of a whole team. The limited resources of this monastery would also explain why, in as late as the thirteenth century, the book contains the Old Latin versions of the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse, another among its many strange features.<sup>33</sup> The scribe would not have had a complete Vulgate Bible to work from—the two books mentioned, being occasionally

put together at the end of the New Testament, could have been lost in the model—and therefore he would have had to fill the gap by using whatever sources were available.<sup>34</sup>

Be this as it may, the assumption that the Codex Gigas might be a one-man work finds support in a text which otherwise never occurs in a Bible. Indeed, it would not seem to belong there at all. After the Book of Revelation, by which the New Testament comes to an end, follows namely, fols. 286 v.–288, a lengthy confession of sins.<sup>35</sup> At once the whole character of the manuscript changes (Fig. 10). The pages have a dullish tint, as if dressed in sackcloth and ashes, and on the blackened parchment are painted large purple panels on which the confession has been solemnly written in uncial letters, first in red and then in yellow. It is as if the light has been lowered and at the same time the voice of the scribe has become graver. What he has to proclaim is of a not far from psychopathic character. In an outcry of anguish, a sin-burdened soul accuses himself in passage after passage of all possible defects and wrongdoings—from the hour of his birth and baptism up to the day of its writing. Included are neglects and forgetfulness in the performance of his ecclesiastical duties, tale-telling, evil thoughts, touchiness, anger, bluntness, iniquity, excess in meat and drink, all sorts of carnal desires, fornication with animals—“except with dogs,” as it is written—etc., etc. The next parallel to this strange testimony of a Christian soul extradited to the powers of evil that comes to mind are the representations of the temptations of St. Anthony in Nordic art of the fifteenth century, or in an example closer in time to the Codex Gigas, the scene in the Guthlac roll that shows the saint lifted up in the air by haunting devils (Fig. 11).<sup>36</sup>

The history of ecclesiastical discipline in the Middle Ages is not completely without texts of a similar nature.<sup>37</sup> Once the old system of public penance was replaced by that of private confessions—which led to various penitentials, or collections of penances, suitable for various classes of offense—there was also a need for similar forms of confessions to help the repentant not to overlook any foul deeds of which he might possibly be guilty. Some of these belong to the oldest texts in vernacular language we have, and corresponding Latin versions are known from the eighth century on.<sup>38</sup> A similar formula for the *abrenuntio diabolo et omnibus pompis eius* is contained as a recommendation for ecclesiastics in a homily by Honorius of Autun;<sup>39</sup> and that they were known in Bohemia is attested by the homiliary of a bishop from Prague which contains two such confessional texts.<sup>40</sup>

No doubt the confession of sins contained in the Codex Gigas depends upon such forms, even if a literal agreement cannot be found anywhere.<sup>41</sup> But their index of possible sins is nothing compared to the catalogue of moral shortcomings in the Stockholm Bible. Furthermore, they are meant to

apply to any repentant sinner, ecclesiastic or layman, whereas our text is directly connected with a priest.<sup>42</sup> Such capital sins as homicide, adultery, and incest are omitted in the Codex Gigas, but the *peccata minuta* are so much more numerous. Consequently, it has a much more personal tenor. It is not a confession directed immediately to God, since in one phrase a priest is explicitly addressed as confessor (*Precor te, frater et sacerdos, ut digneris pro me Dei misericordiam deprecari*). Since the big Romànesque Bibles were used for reading in the church and in the refectory throughout the ecclesiastical year, it is at least theoretically possible that the confession of sins also had its place in this cycle on some of the ember days. But it is uncertain whether this particular text was meant to be read aloud in the monastery for the benefit of all the brethren. For that, it is rather too much of a strictly personal document based upon a self-examination which could not apply to everybody. In any case, it is firmly integrated in the manuscript by finding its conclusion in the two full-page miniatures of the heavenly Jerusalem and Babylon of hell, the former being the harbor the repentant sinner hoped to reach by doing penance, the master of the latter being the great foe to this goal. And, just as the devil is the only living thing on the two illuminated pages, so his traps and temptations completely dominate the confession text. It is properly left open as to which of the two cities will finally prevail, but one cannot help noticing that the devil is given an extra handicap by the two spells against theft and epilepsy being written in the same solemn way as the confession on the pages following the two miniatures.

Whatever function the confession of sins and the two full-page pictures following it had in the use of the Bible, one cannot stress enough the unusual, and personal, character of both.<sup>43</sup> Would they have been given such a prominent place and appearance in the Bible, if they were not meant as the act of penance of a sin-burdened master scribe? Could not, after all, the whole Bible be seen as an act of atonement? We will never know for sure what caused this astonishing manuscript to have been written and illuminated in such a grandiose way. But the tradition following it, that it was the work of an immured monk, really seems to give a hint in this direction. Among the penalties assigned to clerics who had committed some grave sin was imprisonment in a monastery for some length of time.<sup>44</sup> Extremely pious monks could also impose the penance upon themselves, never to set foot outside the convent. One of those two conditions may have had its application to the author of the Codex Gigas. In this connection it is worthwhile noting that in the calendar among the deceased to be remembered by the convent's prayers, there is, at November 10, on the day of St. Ludmilla, an entry remembering *Hermannus monachus inclusus* (the last line of Fig. 12).<sup>45</sup> As already conjectured by Dudik, he might well be our man.

With regard to its giant size and its encyclopedic content, the Codex Gigas allows comparison *mutatis mutandis* with the great cathedrals that were about to be erected all over Europe during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. But, whereas these monuments were creations of a whole community of patrons, architects, and workmen, the Codex Gigas apparently was a one-man work. The biggest buildings are not necessarily the finest, nor are the largest books always so. There were, no doubt, finer manuscripts produced around the year 1200. But the almost superhuman effort that lies behind the creation both of the medieval cathedrals and their counterpart in the world of books will always remain a source of astonishment and admiration.

## Notes

1. Antonin Friedl, *Kodex Gigas*, Prague, 1929 (in Czech with a French résumé). Sten G. Lindberg, "Codex Gigas," *Biblis*, I, Stockholm, 1957, pp. 11-27. By kind permission of the director of the Stockholm Royal Library, Dr. Uno Willers, the manuscript was lent to the centenary exhibition of the Metropolitan Museum in 1970 (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 283).

2. It means that the page, and even more, the double text columns are unusually high and narrow. Each column has no less than 106 lines, whereas in a normal manuscript even half of that would be an exceptionally large number. A pre-Gothic sense of space may be seen in this strong vertical stretching of the proportions.

3. Unfortunately the parchment is too thoroughly scraped on the hair side to make it possible to judge from what sort of animal it has been prepared. Pending a laboratory test, it can only be said that it was taken from fairly large quadrupeds, larger than sheep, goats, or calves. Cowhide may not be excluded, cf. the German saying, "Das geht auf keine Kuhhaut," quoted by O. Weise, *Schrift und Buchwesen in alter und neuer Zeit*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1919, p. 18.

4. For a full description see Bela Dudik, *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte*, Brunn, 1852, pp. 207 ff.

5. It is fully published by Dudik, pp. 403-429.

6. L. Choulant, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medizin*, Graz, 1950, pp. 338-339.

7. That the Codex Gigas contains this text as well was only recently discovered by Sten Lindberg; see his article, "Djävulsbibeln och Ibn Hunain," *Ronden*, XXVI, 1969, pp. 245-252.

8. A. Beccaria, "Sulle tracce di un antico canone latine di Ippocrate e di Galeno," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, II, 1959, pp. 1-59, and E. Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins de médecine du haut Moyen Age dans les bibliothèques de France*, Documents, études et répertoires, XI, Paris, 1966, pp. 145-146, no. xciv.

9. A. Baecklund, *Das Stockholmer abcdarium*, Språkvetenskapliga sällskapet i Uppsala förhandlingar, 1940-1942, pp. 115-149.

10. Printed in full by Dudik, pp. 210-211.

11. It is not so easy to decide where this last part would have been inserted. Dudik (see note 4), proposed that it could have been at the end of the medical texts, after fol. 252, where, according to him, three (in reality, two) leaves are missing. But it seems uncertain if they would have provided enough space for such a long text; another possibility would have been after the calendar, at the end of the whole manuscript.

12. The Codex Gigas is entered by Isaac Vossius as no. 1 in his handwritten catalogue of the library of Queen Christina of 1650, now

edited in a facsimile by C. Callmer (*Acta bibliothecae Regiae Holmiensis*), Stockholm, 1971.

13. The legend does not make its appearance in the history of the manuscript until it came into the Kunst- und Wunderkammer of Rudolph II. The inventory of 1635 refers to it by saying that the devil had brought the scribe the parchment and whatever else was necessary for his work. It might, however, have accompanied the book as an oral tradition, when in 1597 it was first brought to Prague.

14. D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Greek Patristic View of Nature*, Manchester-New York, 1968, p. 48, quoting Nemesius, *De natura hominis*, XXVII, 43.

15. *Jesus Sirach*, V, 9, 14; VI, i; XXVIII, 13. See also Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, XVIII, New York, 1950, pp. 192 ff.

16. J. Baltrusaitis, *Le Moyen-Age fantastique*, Paris, 1955, p. 151.

17. Sten G. Lindberg, "Codex Gigas," *Biblis*, I, 1957, p. 13. On the other hand interesting comparative material leading back to the classical gorgon has been assembled by R. Hertz, "Från gorgo till diabolos," *Ord och bild*, 1970, pp. 476-480.

18. Edited in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, XXX, Leipzig, 1899-1900, translation by M. Dods in *Hafner Library of Classics*, IV, New York, 1948.

19. James T. Shotwell, *The History of History*, New York, 1939, I, pp. 366 ff.

20. *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus* (ed. A. Hofmeister, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, LVIII, 1912, pp. 141 ff.), translation by C. C. Mierow, *The Two Cities*, New York, 1928, pp. 229 ff.

21. A. de Laborde, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu*, Paris, 1909.

22. A. Podlaka, *Die Handschriften des prager Domkapitels* (Topographie der hist. und Kunstdenkmäler im königliche Böhmen, Hauptstadt Prag, II, 2), Prague, 1905, pp. 61-63, no. 12. J. Kvet and H. Swarzenski, *Czechoslovakia: Romanesque and Gothic Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York, 1959, pl. XII.

23. Four persons, a bishop, a monk, and a lay couple, are shown carrying a scroll with the versified titulus: *Spes, amor atque fides iustos locat hic Boemenses*—"Hope, love, and faith guarantee a place here for just Bohemians."

24. P. Brieger, *The Trinity College Apocalypse*, London, 1967, p. 11, and pp. 48-49.

25. *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus, Codex autographus Bibliothecae Universitatis Gandaviensis*, A. Derolez et al., eds., Ghent, 1968, fol. 65.

26. *Ibid.*, fol. 62 (*Diabolus sedens super Beemoth*) and fol. 62 v. (*Antichristus sedens super Leviathan*).

27. E. Lutze, *Die Bilderhandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, Erlangen, 1936, p. 3, fig. 4.

28. All the important ones are illustrated in Friedl's monograph (see note 1), some of them with details. It could well be that the two globes on fol. 118 v., our Fig. 8, were originally meant to be included in an initial "I," since this letter has been omitted in the line with capitals in display script, with which the text of the *Antiquitates* starts.

29. The examples are abundant, since they occur in practically all illustrated catalogues of medieval manuscript collections. As to the spreading of the Channel school style toward the East, see H. Swarzenski, *The Berthold Missal, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 710 and the Scriptorium of Weingarten Abbey*, New York, 1943, p. 58 with notes. I have not been able to find any initials of exactly the same type as those in the Codex Gigas in any other manuscript, particularly any parallels to the curious bulblake leaves accompanying the "I" at the beginning of St. Mark (Friedl, *Codex Gigas*, pl. 10).

30. It is particularly striking in the *Etymologiae* of Isidor. Although written in a smaller and denser minuscule than the biblical parts of this treatise, it often has capital letters at the beginning of a new sentence designed in a highly ornamental fashion.

31. In turning the pages of the book, one is sometimes struck by what at first sight seems to be different styles of writing, for instance, in the double s's, which are sometimes allowed to descend under the line, sometimes not. But it is always impossible to determine where one hand would stop and another start.



32. Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1905, II, s.v. "Topo-Bibliographie," col. 2395.

33. The discovery is due to J. Belsheim, who published it in *Theologisk tidskrift for den Evangelisk Lutherske Kirke i Norge*, vol. 6, 3, Christiania, 1879.

34. Cf. the observations of Pater H. J. Schmitz in "Die Pönitentialien in den Bibliotheken Danemarks und Schwedens," *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht*, LI, 1884.

35. Ibid., pp. 414-418. The text has been completely, but not accurately, edited by Schmitz. It has been translated into Swedish by the librarians of the Stockholm Royal Library, John Rohnstrom and Sten Lindberg, in *Biblis*, I, 1957, pp. 28 ff.

36. On these representations see J. Baltrusaitis, *Réveils et prodiges*, Paris, 1960, pp. 288 ff.

37. G. Watkins, *A History of Penance*, London, 1920, II, particularly pp. 742-743.

38. K. Mullenhoff and W. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII.—XII. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1864, sections LXXI—LXXVI, and F. Hautkappe, *Über die altheutschen Beichten und ihre Beziehungen zu Casarius von Arles*, *Funde und Forschungen*, IV, 5, Munster iW., 1917.

39. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum ecclesiae, De nativitate Domine* (Migne, *PL*, 172, col. 824 ff).

40. F. Hecht, *Das Homiliarium des Bischofs von Prag*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens*, I, 1, Prague, 1863. I know this publication only from the excerpts given by Hautkappe, p. 125.

41. See the confession formula ascribed to Othmar, abbot of St. Gall (d. 759), published by Watkins, *A History of Penance*, II, p. 637.

*Othmar: cum oculis meis vidi, que mihi licitum non fuit, vel negligens fui quod videre debui, etc.*

*Gigas: Peccavi oculis meis quod ego speculatus sum, quod non debui; demisi speculari quod debui.*

Similarly about the sense of hearing, but only the Gigas goes on using the same formulas for the remaining three senses.

42. E.g., *Peccavi quod negligens fui de meo cursu et de mea psalmodia et de meo ministerio quod non custodiavi secundum sanctum ordinem.*

43. Adelheid Heimann has kindly called my attention to the similarity which exists between the confession and its illustrations of our Bible and those by Opicinus de Canistris, another psychopath, a century later; see R. Salomon, *Opicinus de Canistris, Weltbild und Bekenntnisse eines Avignonesischen Klerikers des 14. Jahrhunderts*, *Studies of the Warburg Institute*, I, London, 1936.

44. H. J. Schmitz, "Die Gefängnisstrafe in ihrer Beziehung zur Bussdisziplin," *Der Katholik*, 1884, pp. 484-509, and *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren*, Düsseldorf, 1898, II, pp. 45 ff.

45. If the Codex Gigas is the work of an *inclusus*, it would not be unique in this respect, since a case has been made for attributing the initials in the St. Albans Psalter to its first owner, the Danish-English anchoress Christina of Markyate (O. Pächt, C. R. Dodwell, and F. Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter*, London, 1960, p. 173, n. 3). The imagery of these initials also has a personal tenor, with the evil one as a frequently recurrent figure.

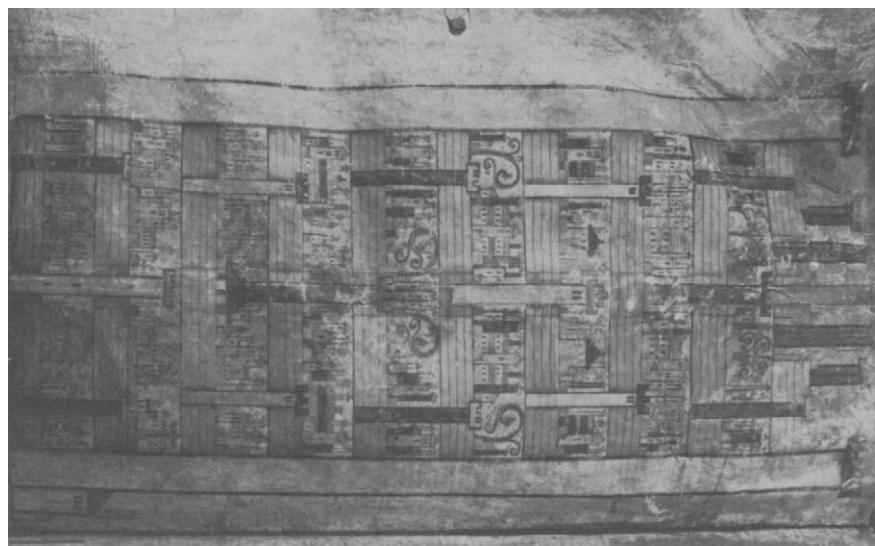


FIG. 1 *Codex Gigas*, cod. A. 148, fol. 289 v., the heavenly Jerusalem, Royal Library, Stockholm

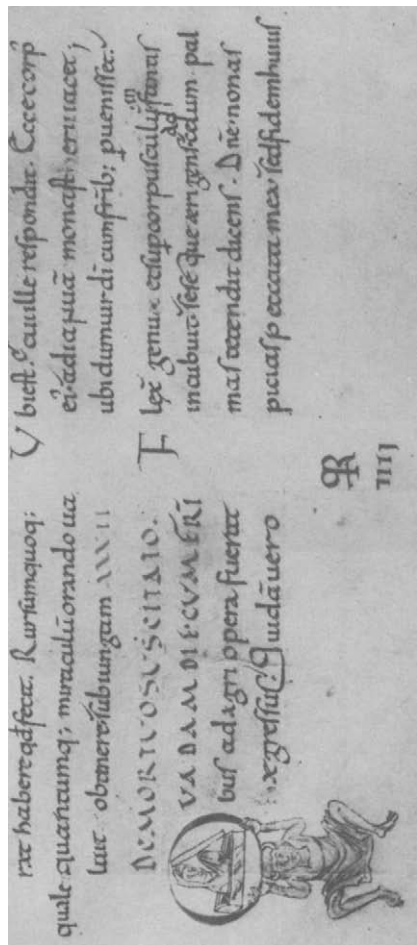


FIG. 2 *Codex Gigas*, cod. A. 148, fol. 290, the city of hell, Royal Library, Stockholm



FIG. 3 Codex Gigas, cod. A. 148, fol. 118, the beginning of Josephus, Antiquitates Iudaeorum, with a portrait of the author in the margin, Royal Library, Stockholm

FIG. 4 Dialogues of St. Gregory, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, cod. W. 16, fol. 32 v., detail: a dead man rising from his tomb, initial from manuscript, eleventh century, Clermont Ferrand



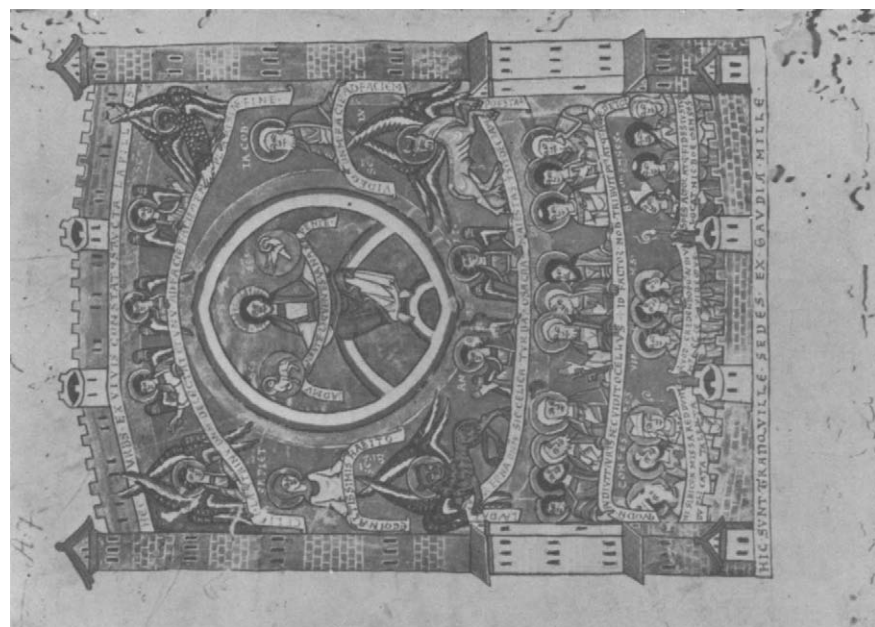


FIG. 5 St. Augustine, city of God, cod. A. 7, fol. 1 v., the heavenly Jerusalem, late twelfth century, Chapter Library, Prague

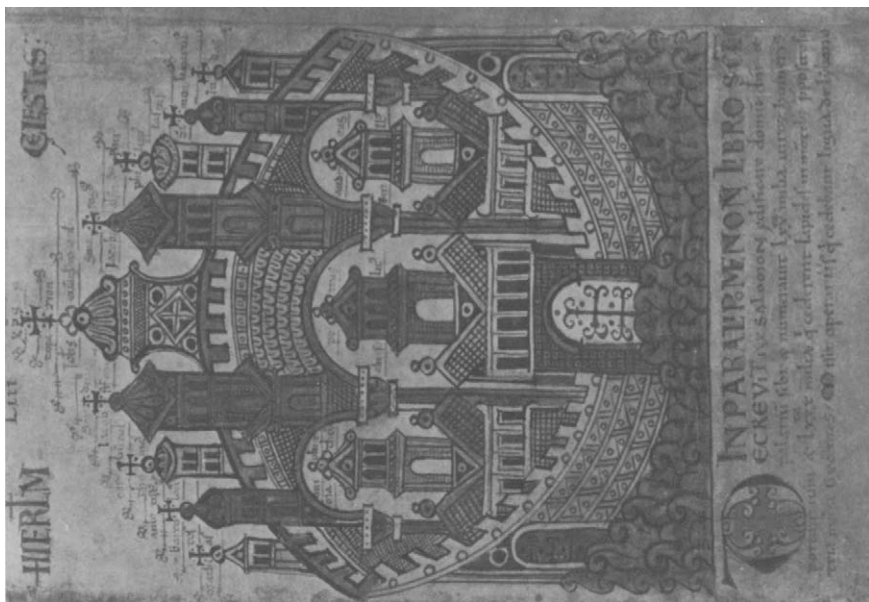


FIG. 6 Lambert of St. Omer, Liber floridus, cod. 92, fol. 65, the heavenly Jerusalem, 1100-1125, University Library, Ghent

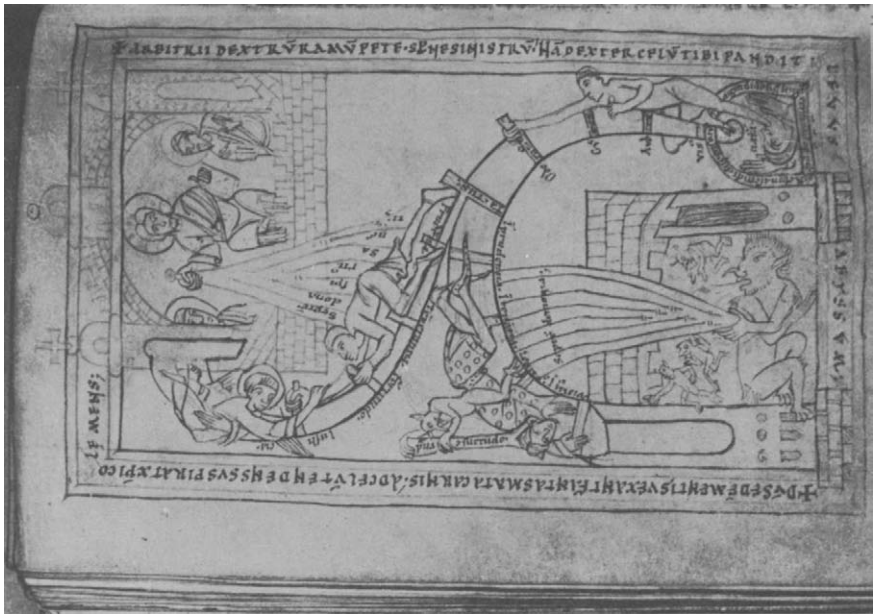


FIG. 7 The road to heaven and hell, from a patristic manuscript, cod. 8, fol. 130 v., twelfth century, Heilbronn, University Library, Erlangen

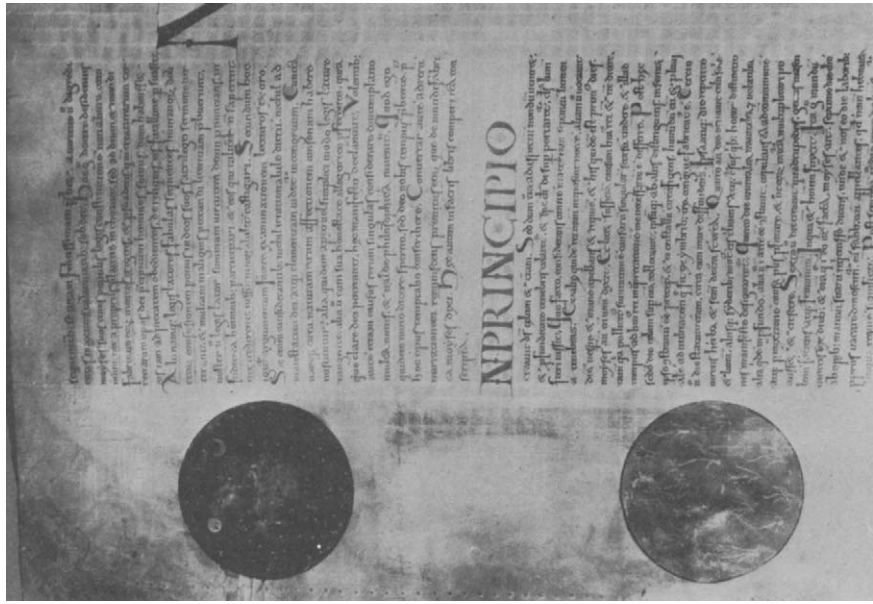


FIG. 8 Codex Gigas, cod. A. 148, fol. 118 v., the celestial and terrestrial globes, Royal Library, Stockholm

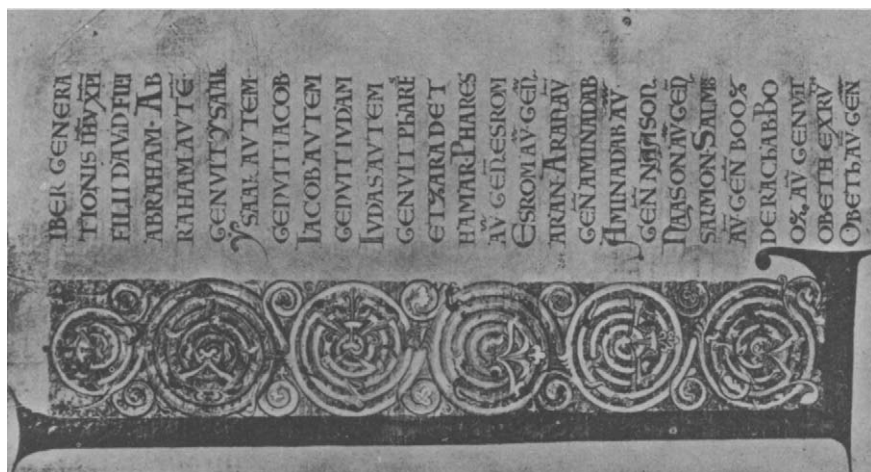


FIG. 9 *Codex Gigas*, cod. A. 148, fol. 254, initial L (*iber*), Royal Library, Stockholm

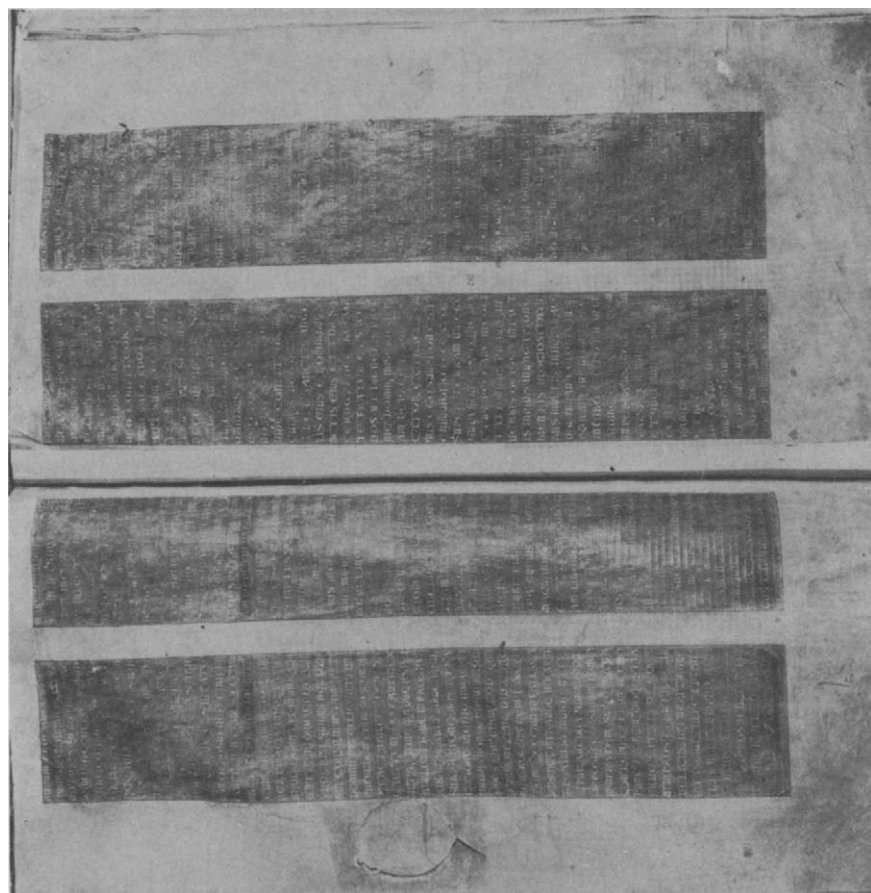


FIG. 10 *Codex Gigas*, cod. A. 148, fols. 287 v.-288, the confession of sins, Royal Library, Stockholm



FIG. 11 *The Guthlac Roll, Ms. Harley T 6, St. Guthlac haunted by devils, British Museum*

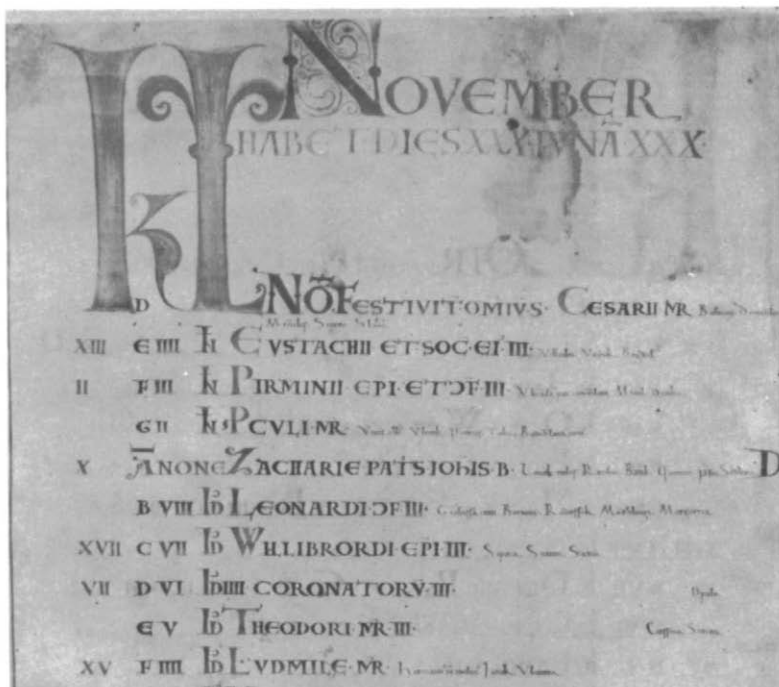


FIG. 12 *Codex Gigas, cod. A. 148, fol. 310 v., detail: the November calendar page, Royal Library, Stockholm*

## The Munich Psalter

**T**he Munich Psalter (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 835) is the earliest and most extensively illustrated of a group of six luxury psalters that closely resemble one another in their decoration and were made in England near the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The Old and New Testament picture cycles of the manuscript include over three hundred scenes, filling no less than ninety-one pages, which have been arranged in five groups placed at the beginning and end of the Psalms and at the major divisions within the psalter. These pages constitute a veritable picture book of the Bible, one of the first and most extended of its type surviving from this period. This extensive project of illumination is the work of four or five artists, some more accomplished than others, who all seem to have been working at the same time and to have assimilated their styles in some measure to one another.

Exactly when and where this remarkable psalter was produced have never quite been decided. The use of the feminine gender in prayers at the end of the manuscript tells us that it was intended for the use of an important lady, and reference in the calendar to the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket indicates a date after his canonization in 1173, while omission of any reference to the translation of his relics in 1220 shows that the manuscript was completed prior to that date.

Traditionally, the psalter has been connected with Gloucester due to certain correspondences between its calendar and one made in the late twelfth century for St. Peter's Cathedral in that city.<sup>2</sup> But the Munich Psalter calendar is of a generalized type without the sort of local commemorations that would clearly associate it with Gloucester or any other specific center. Only slightly more is known about the origins of the other psalters in the group.



The Arundel Psalter in the British Museum (Ms. 157), which contains a cycle of forty scenes of the life of Christ, was painted by one of the artists who worked on the Munich Psalter. The scenes are based on the same iconographic repertoire as the Munich Psalter, and the calendar commemorates three separate feasts of St. Frideswide, the patron saint of Oxford. One of the feasts is the translation of the saint, which took place in 1180, providing a slightly later *terminus post quem* than we have in the Munich Psalter. St. Frideswide also heads the litany of another psalter of our group, which is now in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh (accession no. 3141) and seems to have been made for a nun at Iona.

The only other psalter of the group with a cycle of pictures is Royal Ms. I.D.X. in the British Museum, which contains thirty-one scenes of the life of Christ based on the same iconographic repertoire and gives special attention in its calendar to St. Frideswide as well as a number of Winchester saints.<sup>3</sup> The artist of the Royal Psalter seems also to have been responsible for the illumination of the two remaining psalters in the group (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Liturg. Ms. 407, and Imola, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 100), which were apparently made for Amesbury use. Since the Imola manuscript contains a list of historical events, which includes the death of Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1204 but not that of King John in 1216, it can be placed between these dates. This makes a date in the early years of the thirteenth century most likely for the three psalters illuminated by the artist of the Royal Psalter. Moreover, the strong Oxford associations of three of the psalters seem to indicate Oxford as the most probable location of the scriptorium responsible for the group.

When the three psalters with picture cycles are compared, it is clear that they are of common derivation since the iconographic differences between them are minor. Yet, such a comparison also reveals a clear stylistic development leading from the Munich to the Arundel to the Royal Psalter. For example, in comparing the scenes of the Harrowing of Hell (Fig. 1), there is a progression from the Munich scene, where the hovering Christ is somewhat rigid and self-contained, to the Arundel scene (*The Year 1200*, I, p. 261), which has been simplified by spatial clarifications and the elimination of detail, and where Christ, brought down to earth, shows more concern for those he is rescuing by the inclination of his nimbused head in their direction. In the Royal Psalter (fol. 7 r.), Christ's compassion is further increased by the turning of his whole body in the direction of Adam and Eve, toward whom he actually begins to reach out, and further inclining his more human face toward them. The psychological drama between Christ and the monster in the Munich Psalter has been replaced by Christ's protective compassion in the Royal Psalter. These changes in interpretation, which are accompanied

by increasing naturalism in the rendering of the draped human figure, correspond to the changes that lead from the end of the twelfth into the early thirteenth century.

If the Munich Psalter was executed prior to the Royal one, how much earlier should it be dated and to what works can it be related? Unfortunately, there is not a well-dated series of English illuminations to which our manuscript can be compared. In fact, its style does not seem very closely related to any surviving English illumination. However, one obvious comparison is that between the Christ in Majesty page (Fig. 2), one of the most accomplished in the Munich Psalter, and that in the Westminster Psalter dated ca. 1200 (*The Year 1200*, II, ill. 177). The seated figures share a quality of monumentality and powerfully plastic solidity. In both one senses the bulk of the body and something of the quality of the cloth drawn over it. The firm black outlines surrounding and defining the parts of the figures are also very similar. Yet, the greater breadth and relaxation of the Westminster Christ are striking when compared to the tautness and tension of forms in the more closed Munich Christ figure. The application of linear scrollwork to the strongly projecting knees of the Munich figure perceptibly contributes to the tension by creating a conflict between the volumetric and planar qualities of the figure.<sup>4</sup> These qualities of linearity and inner tension relate the Munich figure more closely to works of the late twelfth than to those of the early thirteenth century.<sup>5</sup> For example, the tightly drawn drapery between the knees and that falling in parallel folds in line with the figure's leaning left leg seem to reflect the sculptural style employed in northern France ca. 1180 at Mantes.<sup>6</sup> Yet, in spite of these rather old-fashioned traits observable in the figure, its monumentality and the impressive plasticity of the drapery drawn around the figure's laterally projecting right knee indicate that the Munich work is most probably approximately contemporaneous with the Westminster Psalter, albeit the work of a much more conservative artist.

The fame and charm of the Munich manuscript are primarily due to the vividly direct and intimate biblical picture cycles that depict the history of the world from its creation to its destruction and the final judgment of mankind. Within this compendium, special emphasis is given to the Old Testament, the fullest cycles being Genesis, Kings, and the feminine heroines Ruth, Judith, and Esther. Clearly, there is a correspondence here with the renewed twelfth-century interests in history, royalty, and a form of feminism which had become nascent.

A charming and typical page by one of the lesser artists of the psalter illustrates the story of Esther (Fig. 3). After Queen Vashti had been deposed because of the dangerous example of insubordination she set by failing to answer the call of her king, Ahasuerus, a new queen had to be found. Hegai

is shown here organizing the virgins of the kingdom for the nightly auditions being conducted at the right by the king (Esther 2:3). But when Esther's turn came, he loved her "above all the women, and she obtained grace and favor in his sight more than all the virgins so that he set the royal crown upon her head and made her queen instead of Vashti" (Esther 2:17). In the two bedroom scenes the artist may well be drawing a distinction between common lust and true love. In the bottom register, Esther's guardian, Mordecai, overhears a plot against the king which he relays to Esther; she faithfully informs the king and he has the schemers hanged (Esther 2:21-23).

There are twenty-four scenes to the Munich Esther cycle, a series of unprecedented length and detail in the history of medieval art. Although a few scenes are reminiscent of earlier cycles, the Munich cycle is highly original and explicit in its presentation of this tale of the court, intrigue, and justice, which were the very material of contemporary courtly romance. In fact, there is here that same preference for the direct and literal presentation of concrete realities that has come to be connected with Englishmen and that has distinguished Anglo-Norman courtly romance from the more fanciful French variety, even in the twelfth century.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the most direct insights into the iconographic derivation and influence of the Munich cycles are to be found in a consideration of the Genesis illustrations, the longest single cycle in the psalter and the most frequently illustrated of the Old Testament books in the Middle Ages. The Creation page with the work of the six days (Fig. 4) shows a standing creator of the Cotton Genesis recension type,<sup>8</sup> common in the West. The layout of the page closely resembles that of the mid-twelfth-century Admont Bible from the Salzburg school in Bavaria (Fig. 5). Considering the marriage of Henry II's daughter, Matilda, to the Welf prince, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria in 1168, and the refuge from the emperor taken by this couple at Henry's court in the early 1180s, it comes as no surprise that such Bavarian pages were known in England at the end of the twelfth century. However, the discrepancies in the first and third days of the Creation indicate that the Munich artist had knowledge of and preferred the treatment given these subjects in the very rich native late Anglo-Saxon cycles. The mid-eleventh-century Aelfric Paraphrase (British Museum, Cotton Ms. Claud. B. IV, fol. 2 v.) shows God standing between heaven and earth on the first day as he appears in the psalter, and on the third day (fol. 3 r.) he gestures to the plants he has created just as he does in the Munich scene. The comparison with the Aelfric (which is supported by other examples) is of particular interest because of the possibility that this manuscript may derive from early illustrated manuscripts brought to England as early as the time of St. Augustine of Canterbury and Benedict Biscop.

On the verso of the Creation folio (Fig. 6), God is enthroned in the first scene, resting on the seventh day as he appears in the Cotton Genesis derived San Marco mosaics, the Aelfric (fol. 4 v.), and the somewhat earlier Anglo-Saxon Caedmon manuscript in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Ms. Junius 11).<sup>9</sup> The Expulsion scene in the lower left corner of this page provides a unique comparison with the late twelfth-century English psalter in Paris (Fig. 7). There the angel swings a long sword far back over his shoulder while pushing Adam, who gestures as in the Munich scene, by the shoulder, with Eve, out of the Garden. Since these precise traits are found in no other surviving scene, direct derivation or a common model seems to be indicated. Nearly contemporary with the Munich Psalter, the Paris Psalter has been said by Otto Pächt to be the work of an artist at least trained at Winchester.<sup>10</sup> Also to be noted is the shovel with which Adam is digging in the next scene. It first appears in scenes of the Toil in the Caedmon manuscript, which also seems to be a product of the Winchester school.<sup>11</sup>

The Munich Psalter cycle was itself the model for a very careful copy made in the early thirteenth century. The copied scenes are found in a psalter in Trinity College, Cambridge (Ms. B.11.4), which belonged to the abbess of St. Mary's in Winchester. In it a sequence of twenty-four of the Munich Genesis scenes are copied without omission or alteration.<sup>12</sup>

The scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 8) provides the most direct confirmation of the iconographic connection of the Munich cycle with Winchester as represented by a scene from the Winchester Bible by the Master of the Genesis Initial.<sup>13</sup> Except for the position of the ram and the curious seated posture of Isaac, the scenes are almost identical, from the posture of Abraham to Isaac turned away from his father on the altar to the very placement of the trees. The most similar scene known to me is that of the fresco in the Chapter House of the Convent of Sigena in Aragon, consecrated in 1188; frescoes that have been shown by Pächt to be the work of an English artist from the school of Winchester.<sup>14</sup> In fact, many of the psalter scenes (and not only those illustrating Genesis) are directly comparable to those in the Sigena Old Testament cycle, indicating a general dependence of the Munich cycle on works connected with Winchester.

The Munich Psalter is also very closely related, both in its general organization and specific iconography, to the psalter (British Museum, Cotton Ms. Nero C. IV) made in Winchester ca. 1150. When we compare God instructing Noah to build the ark and the half-portion of it built on the right in the two psalters (Figs. 9 and 10), the resemblance is striking. Even details such as God gesturing with a *banderole* and Noah's hand overlapping the prow are found in both.

Such comparisons and others show that the tradition drawn upon by the

Munich Psalter was that of the twelfth-century school of Winchester, as represented by the Winchester Psalter and Bible. These and the Paris Psalter, which is in a style related to Winchester, are among the most accomplished surviving English miniature works of the period. The monumental frescoes at Sigüenza in Spain, done by a Winchester artist, attest to the international renown of the school of Winchester (as well as to the personal friendship that existed between Alfonso II of Aragon and both King Henry and King Richard in the 1170s and 1180s).<sup>15</sup> Gerald of Wales' description of Henry's famous painted chamber in Winchester castle,<sup>16</sup> one of his favorite residences, and the fact that Henry borrowed the Winchester Bible from St. Swithun's to lend to his new foundation at Witham as a model,<sup>17</sup> should also be recalled. Evidently the artists at Winchester, so highly favored by royal patronage, served as a court school of artists in Henry's time. Moreover, his royal treasury was in Winchester, the ancient capital of King Alfred and of Henry's grandfather, Henry I, whose reign Henry II took as his own model.

The existence of such a royal school at Winchester would explain the observed influence of a Salzburg Bible page, doubtless taken to Winchester where Henry the Lion's youngest son, William, was born in 1183. It would also explain the resemblances between the Munich Psalter cycle and the Leyden Psalter (Leyden, University Library, Ms. B.P.L. 76.A) made for Henry II's illegitimate son Geoffrey, archbishop of York, ca. 1200.<sup>18</sup> Nor would it be surprising to find a cycle derived from royal Winchester in an Oxford scriptorium at the end of the twelfth century when it is recalled that there was an important royal castle in Oxford. The frequent presence of the court there may well have helped to foster the emergence of Oxford as an important center of study and as the home for a university in the second half of the twelfth century.

The Leyden Psalter is, of course, known as the St. Louis Psalter because, according to a note added to it in the fourteenth century, it was the very psalter from which Queen Blanche taught the young Louis IX of France to read. And, in fact, we find that the Parisian Gothic cycles of the time of St. Louis are an almost direct development of the cycles of Winchester of the preceding century. The Blanche of Castille Psalter,<sup>19</sup> the Morgan Picture Book,<sup>20</sup> and the Bible Moralisée<sup>21</sup> all bear witness to this development. The latter, for instance, shows the same figure of God instructing Noah, the same half-portion of the ark, and the same two principal workers inside and below the ark as appeared in the Munich Psalter scene.<sup>22</sup> With due Gothic amplification, the Morgan Picture Book preserves the basic elements of the Munich Expulsion and Toil scenes,<sup>23</sup> as well as many others. Nor should it be overlooked that the Munich Psalter, with its coherent pictorial narrative

cycles of sacred history, which embrace and enframe the very Psalms of worship, is a conceptual precedent not only of such biblical picture books, but also of such monumentalized programs as the Ste.-Chapelle in Paris where the actual rites of worship were celebrated within a radiant vessel illuminated by narrative cycles of sacred history.

The intent of this brief paper has been to introduce the Munich Psalter and its related group, to show some of its deep roots running back to pre-Norman English art, and to show its special connection with a royally favored school of artists at Winchester as well as the not surprising filiation between that royal Angevin court school of the twelfth century and the royal school of the Capetian court of Paris in the thirteenth century when these dynasties were successively in their fullest flower.

## Notes

1. The psalters are enumerated and discussed with bibliography by Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., Baltimore, 1965, pp. 98 ff.; also see D. H. Turner in *The Year 1200*, II, p. 136.
2. Francis Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after 1100*, London, 1946, II, p. 39.
3. John Herbert, *The Walpole Society*, London, 1913-1914, III, pp. 47 ff.
4. Comparable scrollwork applied to the drapery is found in the Eadwine Psalter and the Copenhagen Psalter, both of the third quarter of the twelfth century (T. S. R. Boase, *English Art: 1100-1216*, Oxford, 1953, pls. 52a, 81a).
5. These traits are also found in initials in the late twelfth-century Pauline Epistles given by Bishop Hugh de Puiset to Durham Cathedral (Ms. A. ii. 19; see Rickert, *Painting in Britain*, p. 87, pl. 88a).
6. See Willibald Sauerländer, "Die Marien-kronungsportale von Senlis und Mantes," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XX, 1958, pp. 115 ff., esp. p. 147 and fig. 83.
7. C. B. West, *Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature*, Oxford, 1938, p. 168.
8. Kurt Weitzmann, "Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, K. Weitzmann, ed., Princeton, 1955, pp. 112 ff.
9. I. Gollancz, *The Caedmon Manuscript*, London, 1927, p. 11.
10. "A Cycle of English Frescoes in Spain," *Burlington Magazine*, CIII, 1961, p. 171, no. 37.
11. Gollancz, *Caedmon Manuscript*, pp. xxv, xxxiv ff., 45, 46.
12. *New Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts*, London, 1903-1912, II, pls. 214-216.
13. Pächt, "A Cycle of English Frescoes," fig. 10.
14. *Ibid.*, passim and fig. 8.
15. Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, London, 1887, II, pp. 133, 230; H. J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia*, London, 1933, pp. 66 ff.
16. George Henderson, "Giraldus Cambrensis: A Note on His Account of a Painting

in the King's Chamber at Winchester," *Archaeological Journal*, CXVIII, 1961, pp. 175 ff.

17. Boase, *English Art: 1100-1216*, pp. 175 ff.

18. Henri Omont, *Miniatures du Psautier de S. Louis*, Leyden, 1902.

19. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. lat. 1186; see Henri Martin, *Psautier de Saint Louis et de Blanche de Castille*, Paris, 1908.

20. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 638; see Sidney Cockerell and John Plummer, *Old Testament Miniatures*, New York, 1969.

21. Alexandre de Laborde, *La Bible Moralisée*, Paris, 1911-1927.

22. *Ibid.*, pl. 9.

23. Cockerell and Plummer, *Old Testament Miniatures*, fol. 2 r.



FIG. 1 Clm. 835, fol. 27 r., *Harrowing of Hell*, *Noli me tangere*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



FIG. 2 Clm. 835, fol. 29 r., *Christ in Majesty*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich



FIG. 3 *Clm. 835, fol. 110 r., Esther scenes, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich*  
(photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

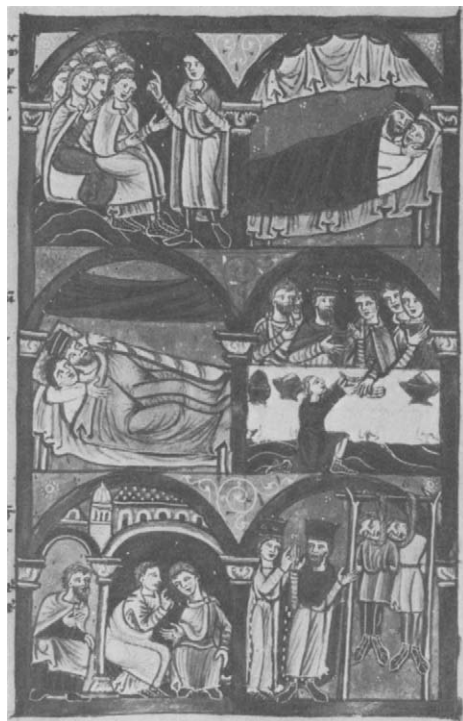


FIG. 4 *Clm. 835, fol. 8 r., Creation scenes, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich*  
(photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



FIG. 5 *Ser. nov., Ms. 2701, fol. 3 v., Creation scenes, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna*





FIG. 6 *Clm. 835, fol. 8 v., Adam and Eve scenes, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)*



FIG. 7 *Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 1 r., Genesis scenes, Bibliothèque Nationale*

FIG. 8 *Clm. 835, fol. 12 r., Sacrifice of Isaac, Isaac meeting Rebecca, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)*

FIG. 9 *Clm. 835, fol. 10 r., Tower of Babel, God instructing Noah, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)*

RIGHT:  
FIG. 10 *Cotton Ms. Nero C. IV, fol. 2, British Museum*



# The Last Copy of the Utrecht Psalter

**T**he Paris Psalter, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8846, is not an unknown manuscript.<sup>1</sup> It is the third and last (extant) copy of the Utrecht Psalter.<sup>2</sup> Art historians often refer to it, and all the illustrations, though much reduced in size and cut out from the text, have once been reproduced,<sup>3</sup> as well as a number of whole sample pages.<sup>4</sup> However, no thorough investigation of the codex has yet been published. The general layout is the same as that in the Eadwine Psalter: the three versions of St. Jerome's translation are copied in three columns side by side: the Gallican, i.e., the Vulgate version, twice as wide as the other two with an interlinear gloss in French above the Hebraicum. The Anglo-Saxon gloss above the Romanum was, however, dropped except for four minute fractions; these will be treated later.<sup>5</sup>

The Paris Psalter is a fragment, though a substantial one, of 174 folios; it might have had as many as 280 folios, if we can judge by the size of the Eadwine Psalter. It breaks off after the sixth verse of Psalm 98. We are singularly uninformed of its history. It is not recorded when or whence the codex entered the Bibliothèque Nationale. We know merely that it was sometime after the Revolution. The manuscript has neither a calendar, nor a colophon, nor an owner's mark; we must therefore rely on stylistic and iconographic comparisons to establish its origin and date.

The illustrations of the Paris Psalter divide conveniently into three, well-defined sections. (1) The illustrations to the psalter text follow the Utrecht Psalter pattern up to fol. 92, Psalm 52, comprising fifty-two illustrations, of which seven were painted by a fourteenth-century Catalan hand over underdrawings of ca. 1200. (2) The remaining forty-six miniatures are by the same Catalan hand and follow a completely different scheme.<sup>6</sup> Since they date from the fourteenth century, they do not concern us here. (3) There

is, however, one remaining portion of the manuscript which belongs to the same period and was painted by the same artists as the psalter illustrations: it comprises four folios at the beginning, each illuminated on both sides, an Old and New Testament cycle without text, except for short captions on the frames and scrolls. These will be examined in conjunction with the psalter illustrations.

It is best to start the investigation with the psalter. The exciting aspect of these illustrations is that they are *miniatures*, in contrast to the Utrecht Psalter which has pen drawings and to the Harley and Eadwine psalters which have colored drawings. The Paris Psalter breaks with this tradition and transforms the drawings into miniatures of a specially sumptuous kind: on gold background and in a brilliant range of colors. Not content with transforming the drawings into miniatures, the artists of ca. 1200 have throughout introduced further characteristic changes. They have extensively "modernized" the compositions, while still following the Utrecht models closely, by transposing them into the style of their own time. This was achieved by altering the proportions of the figures fundamentally; the minute swift-moving, thin creatures of the Utrecht Psalter are given body and proper dress. Those spindly legs were abhorrent to the artists' eyes. These more substantial figures fill the picture densely, in contrast to the widely spaced groups in the Utrecht Psalter. This alteration in size within the picture brought with it a reduction in the number of figures; this applies to all the illustrations. If in the Utrecht Psalter Christ-Logos appears in the sky flanked by six angels, their number in Paris is usually cut down to two and they are firmly encased by a half circle, no longer resting on agglomerations of wispy clouds.<sup>7</sup> To take another example: if a crowd of the wicked, or for that matter of the righteous, numbers fourteen or sixteen in the Utrecht Psalter, there are now perhaps only six in the Paris Psalter.<sup>8</sup> The light illusionistic lines suggesting undulating landscape contours become solid broad bands, partitioning off one group from the other. From Psalm 35 onwards no further attempt is made to imitate these irregular contour lines; a rigid order of two or three registers is imposed instead; these are further subdivided by interspersed columns, all of which made a certain amount of regrouping necessary. The figures are usually dressed in long cloaks and are often bearded. Fewer people are bareheaded; most are provided with some kind of headgear. Many long scrolls are introduced, which tend to crowd the space even more. All these alterations are applied consistently throughout and produce an utterly different appearance.

A few detailed comparisons will point to these and similar deviations. In some cases the Paris artist has deliberately altered one conspicuous feature and introduced something new instead. An object which was

presumably copied without qualms in the Harley Psalter and by Eadwine becomes inadmissible to the Paris miniaturist. The illustration to Psalm 27 shows the psalmist, a king, the anointed of the Lord, praying in front of an altar at the entrance to a temple; behind him stands an angel holding over him an *umbrella*: "Dominus adjutor meus et *protector* meus" (Fig. 1). The parasol or umbrella, the traditional mark of distinction for a ruler in the East and part of the court ceremonial, has here been applied to King David to symbolize the protection he enjoys from the Lord. This feature was taken over and adapted for liturgical use by the church in the West. An interesting example of such use appears in the frescoes of the church of the Quattro Coronati in Rome, where a similar small symbolic umbrella is held over Pope Sylvester (Fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> This object was faithfully copied from the Utrecht Psalter in both the Harley and Eadwine psalters, but appears no longer in Paris. The Paris miniaturist gives the angel a *shield* to hold instead of the umbrella, in accordance with the translation of the Hebraicum that he had in front of him (Fig. 3). There the words are "Dominus fortitudo mea et *scutum* meum."<sup>10</sup> This seems to be the only incident in the Paris Psalter where the artist has followed the Hebraicum vers on and for obvious reasons: the ceremonial use of the umbrella was no longer acceptable in northern Europe at the beginning of the thirteenth century, whereas the shield as a protective symbol was immediately intelligible.

A closer comparison of the Paris Psalter with the Eadwine and Utrecht may lead to the solution of the problem, so far never properly investigated. Did the Paris artist indeed copy Eadwine and did Eadwine in his turn really copy the Utrecht Psalter? That this is so is presumed by all art historians with only three exceptions: Adolph Goldschmidt, D. Tselos, and S. Dufrennes none of whom, however, has produced conclusive evidence.<sup>11</sup> Rather laborious confrontations have to be worked out to throw light on these problems; there is no other way open. In principle it is a similar method to the one philologists employ to establish the uncorrupted text of an author. The argument will have to proceed as follows: if we can show that in spite of the undeniable resemblance between Paris and Eadwine, the Paris Psalter has preserved features, which Eadwine no longer displays, but which are present in the Utrecht Psalter, this would amount to a proof that Paris cannot have copied Eadwine. The illustration to Psalm 22, "The Lord is my shepherd," provides such a case. The psalmist sits "beside the still waters" (verse 2) which flow from a spring in the hillside; a number of cattle drink the water (Fig. 4). An angel behind the psalmist hands him a staff and anoints him with oil (vs. 4, 5) (Fig. 5). In the middle of the picture is "a table prepared for him" (v. 5) and on the right are his enemies shooting at him. On the left stands "the house of the Lord," in which the psalmist

"will dwell for ever" (v. 6) (Fig. 6). The reduction in numbers, while enlarging each considerably, should be noticed: there are only three enemies shooting on the right instead of six and only four animals instead of a dozen. These alterations are a typical refashioning. There are, however, other more revealing dissimilarities: the "prepared table" is round in Paris, rectangular in Eadwine; an undraped square altar stands obliquely at the entrance to the temple, whereas Eadwine shows an oblong one on three legs covered with an altar cloth. Now, confronting Paris with Utrecht, we discover to our surprise that Paris in all these details is following Utrecht, while Eadwine deviates from it. This applies even to the temple, which Eadwine altered, adding columns and windows, while Paris keeps closer to the original design. Such observations blatantly contradict the assumption that the artist of the Paris Psalter copied Eadwine. With Eadwine in front of him, the Paris miniaturist would not have reverted to the round table, nor to the square altar, nor to the temple silhouette. Once on this track, an astonishing number of such discrepancies, where Paris is nearer to Utrecht than to Eadwine, can be traced. In all I have discovered nineteen psalter illustrations where such details occur—nineteen out of fifty-two is a proportion that makes it absolutely certain that the artist of the Paris Psalter cannot have copied Eadwine.<sup>12</sup>

What, or rather, which manuscript did the Paris artists copy? A simple and ready answer might be—yet once again—the Utrecht Psalter. But is this really likely? To find out, the argument has to be reversed; we must turn the other way to see if there are any parallels between Paris and Eadwine. A revealing confrontation is the illustration to the very first psalm. In the Utrecht Psalter, as well as in the Harley Psalter, it is a full-page illustration, serving as frontispiece to the whole manuscript.<sup>13</sup> Neither Paris nor Eadwine shows it like this; both have cut it down to a half page and both have converted the open, diagonally rising landscape into two parallel strips (Fig. 7). The architecture right and left has also been converted in the same way: into a church on the left, a crenelated castle on the right; the two philosophers in the middle into a man (Christ) and a woman, etc. A minor detail clinches the matter: the forks, with which the devils push the sinners into hell—right-hand corner—are crossing at right angles, forming a kind of anti-cross (Fig. 8). If we had not just convinced ourselves that Paris cannot have copied Eadwine, this comparison would be one to prove it.<sup>14</sup> There are countless other details where Eadwine and Paris go together; we can therefore confidently assert that they both go back to a common prototype. The Paris Psalter does not directly derive from the Utrecht Psalter but from a lost intermediary copy, and this same copy was the one which Eadwine used.

Textual evidence fully confirms our visual analysis and deductions. In 1876, Francisque Michel edited the French text of the psalter, comparing and collating the two versions.<sup>15</sup> He came to the conclusion that, near as the two texts are, there exist notable differences, which point to a common source for both and not to a dependence of the one upon the other. This opinion was endorsed in 1884 by Samuel Berger in his study on the *Bible française au Moyen-Âge*,<sup>16</sup> where he had the invaluable help of Paul Meyer. But only recently were the four fragments of Anglo-Saxon gloss in this manuscript published. It is indeed surprising that they had so long escaped the eagle eyes of Anglo-Saxon scholars. At last in 1965, Henry Hargreaves and Cecily Clark<sup>17</sup> of the University of Aberdeen published the few lines with all available parallel passages from eleven Old English psalters, a most thorough and competent inquiry, which, though not absolutely decisive owing to the scarcity of the evidence, seems also to point to a common source rather than to a dependence of Paris upon Eadwine.

With the insight gained from the study of the psalter illustrations, the understanding of the biblical cycle is greatly facilitated. It consists of eight full-page miniatures without text, save for single line captions within the frames, depicting an Old and New Testament cycle, starting with the Creation and *finishing, abruptly*, with Christ healing the man with the withered hand.<sup>18</sup> For this series there, too, exists a model: four single leaves, now divided among the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, the British Museum, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>19</sup> M. R. James has dealt admirably with the coincidences and divergences of the two sets.<sup>20</sup> The single leaves *start abruptly* with Pharaoh commanding the midwives to kill the male children of Israel; they contain a very extensive Passion cycle, which finishes with Pentecost. It looks, therefore, as though by an odd coincidence Paris had lost its last folio or folios, while of the single leaves the first is missing. Professor Dodwell has suggested that these single leaves might once have been part of the Eadwine Psalter.<sup>21</sup> As I have been able to show that Paris did not copy Eadwine, I offer the alternative suggestion that these single leaves once belonged to the now lost intermediary manuscript which Paris and Eadwine copied; that they are, in fact, the only surviving folios of this lost codex. It had been noticed before that these single leaves display a slightly earlier style than Eadwine's, and nobody has ever claimed to recognize Eadwine's hand in these leaves.<sup>22</sup>

To partition a page into twelve sections of equal size in four rows is an ancient device; one of the earliest surviving examples occurs in the famous Gospels of St. Augustine (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Ms. 286) where one such page is preserved—there once were several others—depicting scenes from the Passion of Christ, as James has already pointed



out.<sup>23</sup> Where the single leaves and the Paris folios coincide, the similarities as well as the differences are at first puzzling, but in fact the same principles of modernization have been applied in these biblical cycles as in the psalter illustrations only more trenchantly, as the artist was at greater liberty to alter and refashion. In the psalter illustrations, once it had been decided to follow the Utrecht Psalter pattern, only minor changes and stylistic adjustments could be introduced; the basic pattern had to be adhered to. For the Old and New Testament cycles the artist was free to reshuffle the scenes and figures as much as he liked and he had, of course, a great number of different prototypes to choose from. He could, should he so wish, replace one scene with another or follow an altogether different model. This freedom of choice, together with very similar stylistic modifications (as those observed in the psalter illustrations), accounts for the differences of this set from the earlier one. The most significant alteration is the suppression of all divided compartments, of which there are many in the single leaves. The tiny figures, which these subdivisions made necessary, were no longer favored. The breaking-up of the subdivisions entailed a rearranging of the whole scheme, which in its wake explains the many discrepancies between the two sets. At first glance the differences are bewildering, but viewed in this light, they fall into place. To take just one example: in the earlier set, the Tree of Jesse does not occupy a whole page; it leaves room for six surrounding scenes and incorporates into the Tree itself three further scenes. The Parisian miniaturist purges the Tree of all additional material and uses the whole space for just this one theme, dividing the page into three rows of six roundels, filling the gaps with typical large-lobed leaves.<sup>24</sup>

The identification of the episodes does not present any problems. The incidents are all easily recognizable, but nearly every one of them is presented with unusual details or in an unfamiliar way. Could it be that the remarkably unorthodox manner in which the artists treat these biblical scenes was fostered by the experience with the adjoining psalter? The wealth of unusual motifs in these large compositions, and the way these artists had to adapt their prototypes, must have encouraged a similarly adventurous spirit towards the more conventional biblical scenes.<sup>25</sup> In at least one instance a definite influence from a psalter illustration on a rare biblical subject can be traced.<sup>26</sup> Only a few scenes out of a great number that are especially interesting can be discussed here.

The cycle starts with a Genesis folio, for which no comparative single leaf exists. It opens with six scenes of the Creation, in all of which, most unusually, the Creator is shown full face as a half figure (Fig. 9). The first one with compass and divider proves that the cycle belongs to a special tradition, of which the famous Creator in the Cotton Psalter (Tiberius C.VI) is an

earlier survivor.<sup>27</sup> The page altogether abounds in perplexing and unique features, such as the Lord, who, while creating Eve, is being handed a lump of clay by a kneeling angel to supply material for Eve's body. I have so far failed to discover another example of this practical expedient. Yet another surprising figure is Cain seated naked in the grass at the feet of Eve, who is suckling her second born, Abel (Fig. 10). Cain looks up and points to her. This, too, is, as far as I know, a "hapax," but here I am able to show where Cain was taken from. When isolated on his little plot of flower-studded grass, Cain readily reveals his ancestry: he is Adam from an Octateuch and the boundary of his plot clearly shows that he has been lifted out intact with his surroundings and inserted here (Fig. 11).<sup>28</sup> The Byzantine origin here disclosed will be found to be characteristic of the style and content of many of these biblical illustrations.

The story of Moses, for which a comparative single leaf in the Morgan Library has survived, displays obvious similarities and surprising differences (Fig. 12). Here, as elsewhere, the artist of the Paris cycle has shunned the subdivisions and rearranged the scenes in undivided compartments (Fig. 13). Certain incidents, such as the young Moses trampling on Pharaoh's crown, are left out, other rare subjects are retained—such as the birth of Moses, with his mother Jochebed lying in bed while a midwife brings her the child.<sup>29</sup> For this the Octateuchs again provide a prototype.<sup>30</sup> It is the one used indiscriminately for the Birth of Christ, of the Virgin or, as here, for the birth of Moses. The single leaf and the Paris Psalter both trim the composition; neither the bath nor the visiting women with their gifts are retained and thus pose the question: does this indeed portray the birth or perhaps that later event, when the child is brought back again to Jochebed, in order that she should become its wet nurse?<sup>31</sup> Immediately in front of the bed within the same compartment, and separated from it by a broad, irregularly shaped contour band, a naked woman is shown up to her waist in the Nile, fishing out the basket containing the little Moses. The line of text beneath this compartment is noncommittal: "Ubi filia Pharaon invenit Moysen in fiscella." To interpret it as the second event would involve reading the picture upwards, whereas the remainder all read from the top downwards. Be that as it may, a Byzantine source for this composition is undeniable. However, the woman, who is stepping naked into the water to rescue the child in his basket, does go back to another old and venerable tradition, of which a fresco in the synagogue of Dura-Europos is the oldest surviving representation; it shows Pharaoh's daughter naked up to her waist in the water about to hand the child to her ladies-in-waiting.<sup>32</sup> A similar realistic rescue operation is shown in the Spanish Bible of 1197, where three girls, their nakedness fully exposed to view, undertake to fish out the infant.<sup>33</sup>

The single leaf in the Morgan Library and the folio in the Paris Psalter are nearer to the late antique prototype as there is only *one* woman and she is half-covered by the water. We do not know how this tradition percolated through, but its survival is testified to by these miniatures.

The next scene, Moses in front of the burning bush, is equally unexpected. In the West, Moses, a grown-up, bearded man in a long cloak, is usually depicted sitting, taking off his sandals and looking up to the taller bush in front of him.<sup>34</sup> The single leaf departs from this tradition insofar as Moses is standing next to the bush, which is just as tall as he is (Fig. 14). He wears shoes and there is one noteworthy addition in the serpent, into which Moses' rod has just been transformed, an addition which indicated that Moses has voiced his misgivings and is being assured by God. The Paris Psalter alters this scene dramatically: Moses is now a beardless youth in a short tunic standing next to the bush, which he overtops. Right above this bush an angel appears and addresses him. Between Moses and the bush is the rod turned into the serpent. For this unusual combination a Byzantine prototype is again responsible, this time a more recent one. Two richly illustrated Greek manuscripts of the Homilies of the monk Jacobus, dating from the early twelfth century, have come down to us, one in Paris (Fig. 15), the other in Rome.<sup>35</sup> Both include the scene of Moses in front of the burning bush, showing two consecutive incidents of the story side by side. Left, the angel appears to Moses above the burning bush; right, the angel commands Moses to grasp the serpent by its tail. In the Paris Psalter, the youthful Moses, wearing a short tunic and standing next to a considerably smaller bush above which an angel appears, is so markedly different from the normal Western pattern and so typically Byzantine, including the mountainous landscape with single tufts of vegetation, that we can be certain a Byzantine model has been followed, and one similar to this one from the homilies.<sup>36</sup> Usually it is assumed that during the later twelfth century Byzantine influences in England were derived from Sicilian mosaics. However, for cases such as those just discussed, small-scale works, most probably imported Greek manuscripts, must have been responsible.

The New Testament offers equally intriguing problems. The death of Herod might almost be termed an English specialty, anyhow in the fairy-tale guise which it assumes here, based on a well-known passage from the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus.<sup>37</sup> The knife with which Herod kills himself is handed to him to peel an apple, while a devil is hovering over him to grasp his escaping soul. Earlier representations in two Spanish manuscripts, in the Gerona and the Turin Beatus Apocalyses,<sup>38</sup> as well as on the recently discovered Lambach frescoes,<sup>39</sup> follow a different legend; in these Herod is injured by a fall from his horse while in pursuit of the Christ Child. The

story as represented on the single leaf in the British Museum is copied with remarkable fidelity by the Paris illuminator. Herod's suicide, using a knife, became very popular in England and was doubtless fostered by stage productions.<sup>40</sup>

The saying of Christ: "Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head" (Matt. 8:20; Luke 9:58) was indicated by inscription but not yet actually shown in the St. Augustine Gospels.<sup>41</sup> The illustration of this rarely depicted saying is derived from a psalter illustration and one typical for the Utrecht manner of illustrating the psalms (Fig. 16). Psalm 103:16-18 mentions among the creations of the Lord "the cedars of Lebanon . . . where the birds make their nests . . . and the high hills are a refuge for the wild goats" (Fig. 17). This is depicted on the farthest left of the illustration by a tree with just such nests, each with one fairly large bird sitting in it, and on the hillside below by cavelike openings, in which goats shelter (Fig. 18).<sup>42</sup> Evidently this has influenced the illustration of the saying of the Lord as the boat-shaped nests with their large birds clearly testify. This likeness becomes doubly apparent when compared with one of the few representations of the Lord's sayings, such as one from the Greek Gospels in the Laurentiana, where there are no nests.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, this proves that the single leaves once must have belonged to such a psalter.

The Temptations of Christ are frequently represented; however, the Paris manuscript displays a noteworthy and otherwise rare feature. The Temptations, three admirably concise scenes on the single leaf in the British Museum, filling just one register, have been extended to five in Paris. Additional compartments are given to the angels serving Christ after the devil's defeat and to "the riches of this world" featured like four castles with golden vessels in the foreground (Fig. 19).<sup>44</sup> What makes this set memorable is the introduction of another devil into the second and third Temptation (Fig. 20). For this addition there exists a precedent in the St. Albans Psalter, where the second Temptation shows Christ on the pinnacle of the temple with one devil standing directly behind him, touching him with both hands.<sup>45</sup> Obviously this devil has just placed Christ there; while from below a second devil urges him to cast himself down. The Paris artist uses this configuration twice, for the second and for the third Temptations. The bodily closeness of the arch fiend to the Lord is based on the text of the Bible: "the devil taketh him into the holy city and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple" and "Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceedingly high mountain" (Matt. 4:5, 8). Yet it was hardly ever so portrayed by medieval artists and for obvious reasons: the idea of Christ in the clutches of the devil has something abhorrent about it; its representation was therefore usually avoided.

However, a few isolated cases do occur in the twelfth century. The earliest seems to be the one in the St. Albans Psalter just mentioned, followed in England by the Paris Psalter. In France it appears on the frieze at the south porch of Étampes of ca. 1160, where the devil lifts Christ in his arms, to place him on top of the temple (Fig. 21).<sup>46</sup> On a window from Troyes, now belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum, the devil cradles Christ in his arms next to the temple.<sup>47</sup> This window is roughly contemporary with the miniature in the Paris Psalter. To complete the survey, yet another example exists, the property of the Metropolitan Museum: it is a capital of unknown provenance, probably from northern France, using a different method of transportation: instead of holding Christ in his arms, the devil carries him on his back.<sup>48</sup> A reminder that if a theme is seldom depicted, it does not harden into a rigid pattern; each artist is left free to fashion it as he pleases.

Lastly, a few remarks should be made about the style and the artists. As in the Ingeborg Psalter, two artists of equal quality can be distinguished in the Paris Psalter, of which the second, stylistically more advanced, displays, together with a determination to systematize the compositions, marked Byzantine traits. It is the second artist who introduced the rigid partitions in place of the former irregular landscape settings and who also, probably, painted the Old and New Testament cycles, in which we have discovered several conspicuous Eastern infiltrations. This second artist takes greater liberties with the Utrecht Psalter models. He reduces the number of figures still further. The bunched-up crowds, which are a characteristic feature of the Utrecht Psalter, are thinned down and spaced out by the second hand, leaving more room around the single figures and thus investing each with greater individuality.<sup>49</sup> The same tendency is noticeable in the often remarkably strong profiles with prominent noses and jutting chins, in which the second artist seems to take a special pride.<sup>50</sup> All the figures by both hands are strikingly tall and slim with small heads, following a twelfth-century English tradition, of which the St. Albans Psalter is perhaps the most conspicuous example. The stiffness of the first half of the century disappeared in favor of a pliable softness towards the end of the century. These elongated figures are endowed with an attractive undulating outline and a particular grace. In many ways the fifty years separating the Paris from the Eadwine Psalter produced a greater change than the far longer period separating the earlier copies from the Utrecht Psalter.

Medallions containing stylized scalloped leaves alternating with others encircling half figures of the Tree of Jesse have their nearest parallels on certain English ciboria, such as one in the Morgan Library and another in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The subtle variations in the leaf designs

as well as the interlocking of these circles are remarkably alike.<sup>51</sup> One of the unique pleasures provided by The Year 1200 exhibition was the juxtaposition of the Paris Psalter and these ciboria, which were displayed opposite an arch segment from Sigena, showing similar leafed flowers.

A further point of comparison with the Ingeborg Psalter is the affinity with stained glass, in this case to the early windows in Canterbury Cathedral, although they are not as close as the Laon windows to the Ingeborg Psalter. A comparison to prove this affinity of the genealogical figures of ca. 1180<sup>52</sup> with similarly enthroned figures in the psalter is that of an unnamed seated ancestor of Christ from Canterbury (Fig. 22) and the enthroned Saul illustrating Psalm 51 (Fig. 23). The aversion to really minute figures, which we have noticed several times and in both sections, in the psalter illustrations and in the biblical cycles, is perhaps an indication that these artists were more accustomed to large-scale work such as frescoes and window designs. It might also explain why it has not been possible, so far, to discover another manuscript illustrated by the same hands.

Scholars have agreed, in the absence of any documentary evidence, to date the Paris Psalter in the last decade of the twelfth century or a little later, around 1200,<sup>53</sup> but, concerning its classification, regrettable confusion persists: is it still Romanesque or already Gothic? Provoked by the fact that this manuscript had been included in two exhibitions sponsored by the Conseil de l'Europe (the Romanesque in Barcelona, 1961, and the Gothic in Paris, 1968), W. Sauerländer recently made a number of pertinent critical remarks.<sup>54</sup> It is increasingly being realized that this style, of which the Paris Psalter is one of the foremost examples, is a phenomenon in its own right and should be named accordingly. The Year 1200 exhibition undoubtedly helped to clarify the issue, and though the label "transitional" is perhaps not very felicitous, it serves at least to establish this period as a stylistic entity of its own.<sup>55</sup>

In comparison with the Eadwine Psalter, a typical example of pure Romanesque, the Paris Psalter displays all the peculiarities of this emerging new style: the curves of the figures, the swaying trees, the flowing garments, the modeling of the flesh, an awareness of the human body underneath the draperies. These characteristics all reveal the progressive tendencies of this new style.

## Notes

1. Bibliography: the most detailed description of the manuscript is by V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Mâcon, 1940-41, II, pp. 78-91, where the literature up to 1940 is put together conveniently and reliably on p. 91, omitting, however, two important publications by M. R. James, *The Canterbury Psalter*, London, 1935 (hereafter: James I) and id.: "Four Leaves of an English Psalter," *The Walpole Society*, XXV, 1936-37, pp. 1-23 (hereafter: James II). Recent literature: T. S. R. Boase, *English Art: 1100-1216*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 289-290, ills. 94 b, 95 c, d, e, f, 96. Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 55 f., 58 n. 2, and n. 4; 71, 80 n. 1, pl. 147; O. Pächt, C. R. Dodwell, and F. Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter*, London, 1960, pp. 56, 158, 159, pl. 104 c; Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., London, 1965, pp. 93-95, 232 n. 89a, pl. 93. Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, 2nd ed., London, 1967, pl. 3, fig. 5. Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967, pp. 19, 36-38, 43, 53. Exhibitions: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: *Le livre anglais, trésors des collections anglaises*, 1951, no. 11, pp. 10-11; Barcelona: *El Arte Románico*, 1961, no. 171, p. 108; Paris, Musée du Louvre: *L'Europe gothique*, 1968, no. 234, p. 145.
2. The other two are: (1.) The Harley Psalter, British Museum, Harley Ms. 603, in many respects the most interesting and the most intriguing, as well as the earliest surviving copy, ca. 1000 with later additions. It is not yet available in a facsimile, a lacuna which presents a greatly felt need. I intend in the not too distant future to publish a complete facsimile edition of this psalter. (2.) The Eadwine Psalter, Trinity College, Cambridge, Ms. R. 17. M. R. James published the complete facsimile in 1935 (see: James I).
3. H. Omont, *Psautier illustré (XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris [1906] (hereafter: Omont).
4. Leroquais, pls. LX-LXII. E. G. Millar, *La miniature anglaise du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Brussels, 1926, pl. LXVII. Henry Martin, *Les joyaux de l'enluminure à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris-Brussels, 1928, pls. 22, 23, 24.
5. See p. 317 and note 17.
6. Millard Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth-Century Catalan Workshop," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV, 1941, pp. 45-87, on the psalter illustrations: pp. 73-77, figs. 28, 29, 31. Professor Meiss convincingly established the Catalan hand in these miniatures.
7. E. T. Dewald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton [1932] (hereafter: Dewald), compare Dewald, pl. XVII—six angels—with Omont, pl. 29—two angels; Dewald, pl. XXVI—six angels—with Omont—no angels (!), etc.
8. Compare Dewald, pl. VII, center group—ten men—with Omont, pl. 17, center group—four men; Dewald, pl. XXIX, four large crowds, with Omont, pl. 40—small groups of three, four, five, and seven men.
9. Reproduced: O. Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, Munich, 1968, pl. 57; G. Matthiae, *Pittura Romane del Medioevo*, Rome, 1966, II, pl. 134. This usage lives on in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, where still today, when the host is brought in for High Mass on Sunday, an accompanying priest holds a small fringed silk parasol over it.
10. Dora Panofsky in her article "The Textual Basis of the Utrecht Psalter Illustrations," *Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1943, pp. 50-58, had already noticed this change but dismissed it as "probably due to a mere misinterpretation of the visual data," p. 55, n. 18.
11. Adolph Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim*, Berlin, 1895, p. 16: "Gegen die direkte Ableitung des Pariser vom Cambridger Exemplar sprechen Einzelheiten, deren Angabe hier zu weit führen würde." Dimitri Tselos, "English Manuscript Illustrations and the Utrecht Psalter," *Art Bulletin*, XLI, 1959, pp. 137-149; p. 143: "A further comparative and detailed examination of some sample cases shows that the painter of the Parisian depended not only on the Eadwine but also on the Harley and Utrecht Psalters"—an unlikely solution, obviously based on insufficient discrimination between stylistic adjustment on the one hand and dependence on earlier models on the other. The swaying trees provide such a case. Together with the pliable outline of the figures, they were arrived at by a softening of the straight stiff Romanesque silhouette. The misleading resemblance to the Utrecht Psalter is an interesting by-product of the stylistic development and not due to copying once more the Carolingian model. Suzy Dufrenne, "Les copies anglaises du Psautier d'Utrecht," *Scriptorium*, XVIII, 1964, pp. 185-197; p. 190, n. 7, where the discrepancies in the illustrations to Psalms 3, 4, and 7 are pointed out and correctly assessed.

12. For reasons of space it is unfortunately not possible to show more than one example of comparative illustrations from all three psalters. A list of the nineteen similarly revealing instances is given below with full references. The references are to: Dewald's edition of the Utrecht Psalter, to M. R. James' edition of the Eadwine Psalter, and to Omont's edition of the Paris Psalter. Of the Harley Psalter no edition is yet available; since it is fragmentary, it plays no part in these comparisons.

<i>Utrecht</i>	<i>Eadwine</i>	<i>Paris</i>
1. Fol. 2, Ps. 2, pl. II The "potter's vessel" (v. 9), which the Lord smashes, is a circular, round-bottomed receptacle with a narrow neck. The people, l. and r. next to "the holy hill of Zion" (v. 6), are standing on flat ground	Fol. 6 b The "potter's vessel" is a flat-bottomed pot with straight sides without neck; the people l. and r. are climbing up "the holy hill of Zion"	Fol. 6 v., pl. 11 Shape of vessel like Utrecht; crowds standing on flat ground
2. Fol. 2 v. lower, Ps. 4, pl. III Steps are leading up to the temple on the hill; two worshipers in the lower windows of the lean-to; one man standing fully visible framed by the door of the temple	Fol. 9 No steps to the temple; the men in the lean-to at the same level as the head of the standing one in the door, whose head and covered hands only are visible	Fol. 9, pl. 13 Like Utrecht: no steps to the temple, man fully visible; worshipers in the lean-to on lower level
3. Fol. 3, Ps. 5, pl. IV The devil is centered <i>above</i> the sarcophagus	Fol. 10 The devil is standing <i>next to</i> the sarcophagus, not above it	Fol. 10, pl. 14 Like Utrecht: devil <i>above</i> the sarcophagus
4. Fol. 4, Ps. 7, pl. VI A winged demon, "the enemy" (v. 5), runs uphill from the r. towards the Lord	Fol. 12 b This figure missing altogether	Fol. 12 v., pl. 16 Demon in roughly the same place as in Utrecht, closing the door of an additional building
5. Fol. 7, Ps. 12 (13), pl. XI The sarcophagus in the center foreground placed at an angle	Fol. 21 The sarcophagus parallel to the picture frame	Fol. 21, pl. 21 The sarcophagus at the same angle as in the Utrecht Psalter
6. Fol. 8 v., Ps. 16 (17), pl. XIV Flames issue from the furnace, on which the psalmist stands	Fol. 25 b No flames	Fol. 25 v., pl. 25 Like Utrecht: flames issuing from the furnace
7. Fol. 11, Ps. 19 (20), pl. XVII The altar without cover; two windows directly above the door of the temple; the door's lower frame hidden under an earth mound	Fol. 33 b Altar covered by a cloth with a cross; no windows above the door; lower edge of door visible	Fol. 33 v., pl. 28 Altar without cover; two windows directly above door; lower frame covered by rising landscape contour
8. Fol. 13, Ps. 22 (23), pl. XX See text above	Fol. 39 b	Fol. 39 v., pl. 31



<i>Utrecht</i>	<i>Eadwine</i>	<i>Paris</i>
9. Fol. 13 v., Ps. 23 (24), pl. XXI Altar placed obliquely without cloth; welcoming soldier helmeted; lower frame of door in the lean-to hidden by ridge	Fol. 40 b Oblong altar covered with cloth; soldier without helmet; door of lean-to fully visible	Fol. 40 v., pl. 32 Obliquely placed altar without cloth; soldier with Phrygian cap; earth mound covering lower frame of door
10. Fol. 14, Ps. 24 (25), pl. XXII Classical shape of urn	Fol. 41 b Basket-weave pattern on urn	Fol. 41 v., pl. 33 Classical shape of urn
11. Fol. 14 v., Ps. 25 (26), pl. XXIII Head of Hades in the r. corner issuing stream	Fol. 43 b Upturned hell mouth; no stream	Fol. 41 b, pl. 33 Hades head in r. corner; water pouring out
12. Fol. 18, Ps. 31 (32), pl. XXIX Water's edge curved upwards	Fol. 53 Water's edge straight	Fol. 53, pl. 40 Water's edge curved
13. Fol. 18 v., Ps. 32 (33), pl. XXX The giant in the r. corner: outstretched naked legs	Fol. 54 b The giant with doubled-up legs in stockings and shoes	Fol. 54 v., pl. 41 The giant with stretched out, naked legs
14. Fol. 19 v., Ps. 34 (35), pl. XXXII The pit next to the snares is an open hole	Fol. 58 b The pit shaped like an upturned hell mouth	Fol. 58 v., pl. 43 No hell mouth
15. Fol. 20 v., Ps. 35 (36), pl. XXXIII The psalmist is standing below the fountain on the right	Fol. 61 The psalmist omitted	Fol. 61, pl. 44 The psalmist standing bottom row holding two scrolls
16. Fol. 26, Ps. 44 (45), pl. XLI The king is trampling a foe (demon) under foot	Fol. 78 b No foe under the king's feet	Fol. 78 v., pl. 53 The king standing on a foe
17. Fol. 28, Ps. 48 (49), pl. XLV "Oves in inferno" on the left (v. 16): upright shape of ridge issuing flames	Fol. 84 Diagonal ridge without flames on the left	Fol. 84, pl. 57 Upright shape of "inferno" with flames
18. Fol. 30, Ps. 51 (52), pl. XLVIII The bodyguard l. and r. next to the king framed by the columns of the hall	Fol. 90 b The soldier r. standing in front of a column	Fol. 90 v., pl. 60 Soldier framed by the columns
19. Fol. 30 v., Ps. 52 (53), pl. XLIX upper A tree next to the psalmist	Fol. 92 No tree	Fol. 92, pl. 61 Tree next to the psalmist

13. Recently the illustrations to the first psalm in the three codices, Utrecht, Harley, and Eadwine, have conveniently been published next to each other: M. W. Evans, *Medieval Drawings*, London, 1969, pls. 18, 19, 20.

14. Absalom added to the illustration of Psalm 3 has always been cited as evidence that Paris must have copied Eadwine. This extra figure was demanded by an additional title to the psalm, which is written inside the illustration by Eadwine, in Paris underneath at the foot of the page: "David cum fugeret a facie absalon filii sui," and the manner in which he is depicted is decisively different in Paris and Eadwine: Eadwine's Absalom is hanging by his hair, in Paris he is caught by his neck, which stems from an earlier pictorial version of the death of Absalom. The earliest extant representation of Absalom's death seems to be the one in Müstair (Switzerland) of ca. 800: Erwin Poeschel, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Graubünden*, V, 2, Basel, 1943, p. 319, pl. 333, which shows Absalom hanging by his neck. Cf. also two Spanish Bibles, the León Bible of 960 and its Romanesque copy, the Bible from San Millán de la Cogolla of ca. 1200-1220, which demonstrate the same difference admirably: John W. Williams, "A Castilian Tradition of Bible Illustration," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVIII, 1965, pl. 8 c, d.

15. Francisque Michel, *Le livre des Psaumes, ancienne traduction française*, Paris, 1876, p. x.

16. Samuel Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1884, p. 3 f.

17. Henry Hargreaves and Cecily Clark, "An Unpublished Old English Psalter-Gloss Fragment," *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 12, 1965, pp. 443-446.

18. Working on the iconography of these biblical cycles I have had the generous help and assistance of R. Green and I. Ragusa of the Princeton Index of Christian Art.

19. Morgan Library, Mss. 521 and 724; British Museum, Add. Ms. 37472; Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 661.

20. James II.

21. C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, Cambridge, 1954, p. 101.

22. Elizabeth Parker, "A Twelfth-Century

Cycle of New Testament Drawings from Bury St. Edmunds Abbey," *The Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, XXXI, 1969, pp. 263-302, especially pp. 268 f.

23. F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine. Corpus Christi College Ms. 286*, Cambridge, 1954, fol. 125, pl. 1 (color), pl. III (black & white) (hereafter: Wormald). James II, pp. 21-23.

24. The Tree of Jesse of the Paris Psalter is reproduced in *The Year 1200*, I, p. 258; the Tree of Jesse on the single leaf in the Morgan Library, Ms. 724: Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, Oxford-London, 1934, pl. xxviii.

25. Besides those mentioned above also: fol. 1, 12: God rejecting with His left hand Cain's sacrifice while blessing with His right hand Abel's sacrifice; fol. 1, v. 2: an angel is receiving Abel's soul, while God curses Cain; fol. 1, v. 12: Joseph gathering corn into a granary (cf. *Morgan Old Testament Miniatures*, Ms. 638, fol. 17 v., an illustration to the book of Ruth, where corn is stacked in a similar way); fol. 2, 7: two devils hovering above the Red Sea swallowing up the Egyptians; fol. 2, 9: Moses sitting with the tables of the law, framed by eight lamps; fol. 2 v. 2: Moses and two groups of Israelites behind the messengers with the grape returned from Canaan; fol. 2 v. 12: the negro executioner of St. John the Baptist, one of the earliest in medieval art; fol. 3 v. 4: the "two possessed with devils" (Matt. 8: 28, Mark 5:1-15, Luke 8:27) totally black; fol. 4 v. 6: one of the scribes in front of Herod is holding an astrolabe (see: *The Year 1200*, I, no. 133, p. 129), etc.

26. See below p. 321, and note 42.

27. A. Heimann, "Three Illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and their Prototypes," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIX, 1966, pl. 10 a, p. 54, n. 80.

28. D.-C. H. Hesselning, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne*, Leiden, 1909, nos. 9, 10, 13; F. Uspenski, *L'Octateuque du Sérail à Constantinople*, Constantinople, 1907, nos. 21, 22, 23. Rome, Vat. Ms. gr. 747, fols. 19, 20 v., 22 v. Vat. Ms. gr. 746, fols. 30, 32 v., both unpublished, photographs. Courtauld Institute, London. Not only Cain sitting in the grass is exceptional, Eve having both her children round her is also rare in medieval art. However, there is one in the Arsenal Bible, H. Buchthal,

*Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, pl. 62, and another one at Sigena, W. S. Cook and J. Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura e Imagineria Románicas*, Ars Hispaniae, VI, Madrid, 1950, fig. 99.

29. James II, pl. 1; Omont, pl. 3.

30. See note 28: Smyrna Octateuch, no. 152; Séraïl Octateuch, nos. 92, 93.

31. In a Bible in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 11535, fol. 33 v., a woman holding a scroll is standing behind Jochebed's couch; she can be identified as Pharaoh's daughter by analogy with the Bible in the Bibliothèque St. Geneviève, Ms. 8, fol. 41 v., where a woman in the same position carries the inscription: "Nutri mihi pueri istum," information Princeton Index, unpublished.

32. Carl H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue*, New Haven, 1956, pl. LXVII.

33. François Bucher, *The Pamplona Bible: 1197-1200 A.D. Reasons for Changes in Iconography*, Acts 21 International Congress of Art History, Bonn, 1964, Berlin, 1967, I, pp. 131-139, figs. 1, 7, 8. Id., *The Pamplona Bibles*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1970, pls. 98, 99; see also, Joseph Gutman, "The Illustrated Jewish Manuscript in Antiquity. The Present State of the Question," *Gesta*, 5, January, 1966, pp. 39-41, with further illustrations of this incident in two Spanish manuscripts of the Haggadah from the British Museum.

34. A contemporary example of this typical Western iconography in the Ingeborg Psalter: Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgsalter*, Berlin, 1967, pl. VIII, 16 upper.

35. Cosimo Stornajolo, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco*, Rome, 1910, and Henry Omont, "Miniatures des homélies sur la Vierge du moine Jacques," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions à peintures*, XI, 1927. The Moses page: pl. 21 and pl. x left.

36. An earlier English psalter, British Museum, Cotton Nero Ms. C. VI., fol. 4 of ca. 1150-1160, depicts Moses in front of the burning bush also in a seemingly perplexing manner: he stands next to a low, flame-encircled disc with a blessing half figure inside. The anomaly of this representation can only be explained by the influence of a similar Byzantine prototype. Reproduced: W. Cahn, "The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint-Anne

at Notre Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, pl. 10 a.

37. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, book XVII, 183-185; Loeb edition, 1963, VIII, p. 459. This was taken up by many medieval authors, such as Rabanus Maurus, pl. 109, 1218.

38. W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibelillustration*, Münster, 1931, pl. xx, pl. 34; and id.: "Eine katalanische Bilderhandschrift in Turin," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, Münster, 1930, pp. 36-46, pls. 3, 4.

39. Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, Munich, 1968, pl. xcv.

40. An earlier English example occurs in the Bible of Cîteaux, Dijon, Bibliothèque Communale, Mss. 12-15, fol. 41 in the initial to the Gospel of St. Luke, as pointed out by W. Cahn, "A Defense of the Trinity in the Cîteaux Bible," *Marsyas*, IX, 1962-64, p. 59, n. 7, with reference to the reproduction in C. Oursel, *Miniatures cisterciennes*, Mâcon, 1960. For later examples and especially stage productions: E. H. Gombrich, "The Evidence of Images," *Interpretations: Theory and Practice*, Baltimore, 1969, pp. 82-83.

41. Wormald, pl. II (color), pl. VII (black and white), pl. IX, detail.

42. Dewald, pl. xcv, Harley Ms. 603, fol. 51 v. (unpublished), James I, fol. 182.

43. Florence, Biblioteca Laurentiana, Plut. Ms. VI, 20, fol. 15 v. See: Tania Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne Florence*, Laur. VI, 23, Paris, 1971, pl. 9, fig. 24.

44. *The Temptation* by Duccio, once part of his Maestà (1308-1311), now in the Frick Collection, New York, also depicts "the riches of this world" as separate colorful cities; *Catalogue of the Frick Collection*, New York, 1968, II, pp. 223, 225, and description of the colors on p. 222.

45. Pächt, Dodwell, and Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter*, pl. 23 a.

46. On the left, next to the door, as typological parallel to the Fall opposite, next to the door on the right; details unpublished, photographs: Photoarchiv Marburg.

47. Reproduced: *The Year 1200*, I, no. 204, p. 198; cf. Louis Grodecki, *Problèmes de la peinture en Champagne pendant la seconde moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Studies in Western Art: Romanesque and Gothic. Acts of XX. International Congress of the History of Art, Princeton, 1963, pp. 129-141, pl. XLVI and Jean Squilbeck, "La Tentation du Christ au désert et le Belliger Insignis," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 1966-67, pp. 38-39, 117-151, especially pp. 129 f.

48. J. Breck, "A King of Judah and other Medieval Sculptures," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XVI, 1921, pp. 48, f., fig. 2. Thus, during The Year 1200 exhibition, three of these rare examples were assembled under one roof.

49. Omont, pp. 46, 48, 51.

50. Omont, p. 42: the executioner next to the gridiron right; Omont, p. 43: the man crouching in the right corner; Omont, p. 51:

in the partition left, the man turned to the right holding a shield, etc.

51. *The Year 1200*, I, p. 258: The Tree of Jesse from the Paris Psalter with p. 165: the Morgan ciborium and p. 166: the ciborium in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

52. B. Rackham, *The Ancient Glass from Canterbury Cathedral*, London, 1949, pp. 29-46.

53. This date is supported by palaeographical evidence as Professor Dodwell already pointed out in *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 98, 103; endorsed by Neil Ker (letter: January 6, 1970).

54. W. Sauerländer, "L'Europe gothique: XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Points de vue critiques à propos d'une exposition," *Revue de l'Art*, 3, 1969, pp. 83-92, especially pp. 83-84.

55. D. H. Turner, "Manuscript Illumination," *The Year 1200*, II, p. 133.



FIG. 1 *The Utrecht Psalter, Ms. 23, fol. 15 v., detail: Psalm 27, University Library, Utrecht (photo: Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Utrecht)*

OPPOSITE:  
FIG. 4 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 39 r., Psalm 22, Bibliothèque Nationale*

FIG. 2 *The Eadwine Psalter, Ms. R. 17. 1., fol. 46 v., detail: Psalm 27, Trinity College Library, Cambridge (photo: Courtauld Institute)*

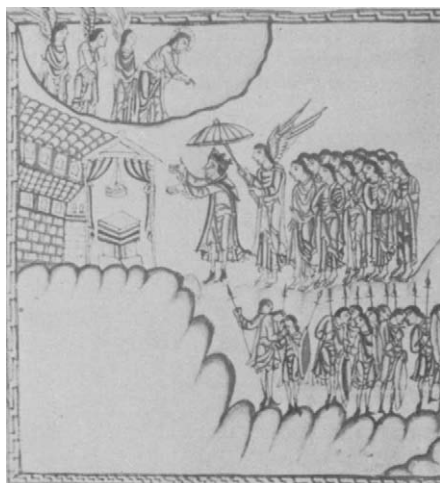


FIG. 3 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 46 v., detail: Psalm 27, Bibliothèque Nationale*





FIG. 5 *The Eadwine Psalter, Ms. R. 17. 1., fol. 39 r., Psalm 22, Trinity College Library, Cambridge (photo: Courtauld Institute)*



FIG. 6 *The Utrecht Psalter, Ms. 23, fol. 13 r., Psalm 22, University Library, Utrecht (photo: Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Utrecht)*





OPPOSITE:

FIG. 7 *The Eadwine Psalter, Ms. R. 17. 1., fol. 5 v., Psalm 1, Trinity College Library, Cambridge (photo: Courtauld Institute)*

FIG. 8 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 5 v., Psalm 1, Bibliothèque Nationale*

FIG. 9 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 1 r., Genesis page, Bibliothèque Nationale*







FIG. 10 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 1 r., detail: Adam delving, Eve spinning, and her two sons, Bibliothèque Nationale*



FIG. 12 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 2 r., detail of upper two registers, Story of Moses, Bibliothèque Nationale*





FIG. 13 *Ms. 724, recto detail of upper register, Story of Moses, The Pierpoint Morgan Library*

OPPOSITE:

FIG. 11 *Octateuch, Ms. Vat. gr. 746, fol. 20 r., Adam, Vatican*

FIG. 14 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 2 r., detail: Moses in front of the burning bush, Bibliothèque Nationale*



FIG. 15 *Homilies of the monk Jacobus, Ms. gr. 1208, fol. 73 v., Moses in front of the burning bush, Bibliothèque Nationale*





FIG. 16 *Ms. Add. 37472 v., detail: "Foxes have holes . . . birds have nests," British Museum*

FIG. 17 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 3 v., detail: "Foxes have holes . . . birds have nests," Bibliothèque Nationale*



FIG. 18 *The Utrecht Psalter, Ms. 23, fol. 59 v., detail: Psalm 103: "the cedars of Lebanon . . . where the birds make their nests," University Library, Utrecht (photo: Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Utrecht)*

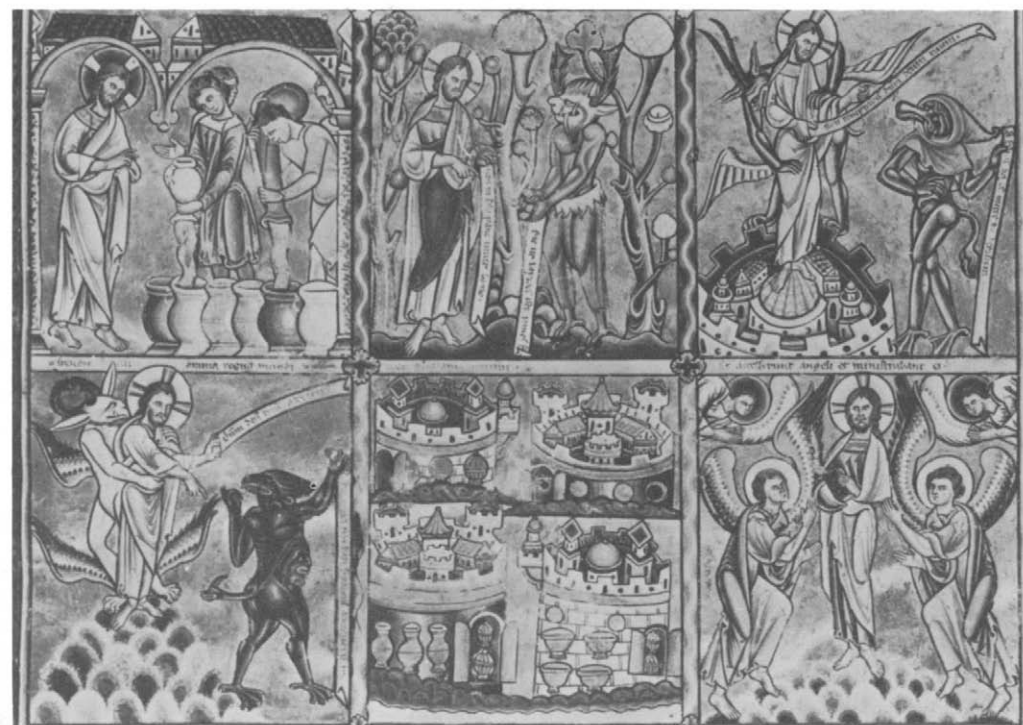


FIG. 19 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 3 r., detail: Temptations of Christ, Bibliothèque Nationale*



FIG. 21 *South porch frieze, detail: First and Second Temptations of Christ, Notre-Dame, Etampes (photo: Foto Marburg)*

FIG. 20 *St. Albans Psalter, p. 34, The Second Temptation of Christ, Hildesheim*



FIG. 22 *Ancestor of Christ window, Othias, Canterbury Cathedral*



FIG. 23 *The Paris Psalter, Ms. lat. 8846, fol. 90 v., detail: Psalm 51, Saul enthroned, Bibliothèque Nationale*

# Le “Maître du Bon Samaritain” de la Cathédrale de Bourges

La chronologie des vitraux du déambulatoire et des chapelles rayonnantes de la cathédrale de Bourges, qui restait imprécise,<sup>1</sup> doit être, à notre avis, considérée aujourd’hui comme assurée, grâce aux travaux de Robert Branner.<sup>2</sup> Cet auteur mit en lumière un texte, transcrit au Cartulaire de la cathédrale, mais conservé aussi en original, d’une charte de 1214, émanant de Manassès de Seignelay, évêque d’Orléans et de Guillaume de Seignelay, évêque d’Auxerre, commis par le pape Innocent III pour régler certaines affaires du chapitre de Bourges.<sup>3</sup> Des disputes ont dû surgir entre les chanoines au sujet des offices, car cette charte impose un règlement: “Quamdiu hore cantantur in choro, non cantetur in circuitu chori cum nota; item cum cantatur majora missa in choro, nullomodo celebratur in circuitu nec post majorem missam.” Si l’on ne devait pas chanter à pleine voix (cum nota), ni célébrer des messes dans le déambulatoire (in circuitu chori) tant que l’on chantait ou célébrait dans le chœur, c’est que des autels étaient établis dans ces deux parties de l’édifice, qui devaient être couvertes et closes avant 1214. Les travaux de l’actuelle église ayant débuté vers 1195, il faut penser que le chœur actuel s’éleva au-dessus de la vaste crypte entre 1200 environ et une année précédant, sans doute de peu, 1214.

Les baies du déambulatoire et du chœur ont-elles gardé les vitraux qui ont été posés avant 1214? On peut l’affirmer avec une quasi certitude, car il est hautement improbable que l’on fit la dépense de verrières “provisoires” pour les remplacer presque aussitôt par des verrières actuelles, lesquelles, de toute manière, appartiennent au début du treizième siècle; l’archaïsme de certaines compositions et de certains caractères stylistiques des vitraux conservés apporte un argument supplémentaire à ce raisonnement.

Cette datation des verrières de Bourges implique la révision de la tradition-

nelle doctrine sur leur dépendance stylistique à l'égard des vitraux de Chartres;<sup>4</sup> les plus anciens vitraux du treizième siècle de Chartres se placent eux aussi entre 1200 environ et 1210;<sup>5</sup> ils sont donc rigoureusement contemporains; une analyse plus précise montre d'ailleurs que l'on ne trouve à Bourges aucun vitrail que l'on puisse attribuer à un "atelier chartrain."<sup>6</sup> Ce sont donc des créations parallèles, et les rapports qui existent entre elles sont les rapports qui unissent normalement des oeuvres contemporaines, produites dans un même milieu culturel.

Nous abordâmes les problèmes stylistiques des vitraux de Bourges il y a déjà plus de vingt ans,<sup>7</sup> et l'étude n'a guère progressé depuis, quoiqu'on ait, quelquefois, accepté nos conclusions.<sup>8</sup> Elles ne nous paraissent plus tout à fait satisfaisantes, la place stylistique de chacun des "trois ateliers" n'ayant pas été justement déterminée. En outre, nous n'avons pas assez tenu compte des restaurations du dix-neuvième siècle (par Thévenot, depuis 1848), excellentes en elles-mêmes, mais plus étendues qu'il ne paraissait. Nous n'avons pas l'intention de procéder ici à la critique d'authenticité, qui prendra un jour place dans le *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*.<sup>9</sup> Tout en tenant compte des observations que nous avons réunies depuis 1948 à ce sujet, nous voudrions seulement présenter ici l'art des "maîtres" de Bourges dans leur rapport avec les "styles de l'an 1200."

Notre identification des trois "ateliers" de verriers du déambulatoire demeure valable; ces trois "ateliers," ou "maîtres," peuvent garder les appellations que nous avons proposées, correspondant aux plus célèbres vitraux de chaque série, ceux de Reliques de St. Etienne (Fig. 1), de la Nouvelle Alliance (Fig. 2), et du Bon Samaritain (Fig. 3).<sup>10</sup> Nous ne revenons pas sur la distribution des verrières dans le déambulatoire, le plan ci-joint (Fig. 4) permettant de s'y reconnaître. Disons seulement que cette distribution est commandée d'une part par le parti architectural du déambulatoire, d'autre part par le programme iconographique général.

Le déambulatoire comporte cinq vastes travées tournantes, chacune d'entre elles s'éclairant par deux fenêtres, qui encadrent en quelque sorte les petites chapelles rayonnantes munies de trois fenêtres chacune. Il y a donc dix fenêtres, plus larges, dans le déambulatoire et quinze, plus étroites, dans les chapelles. Trois verrières d'origine n'existent plus, dans la chapelle centrale, où elles ont été remplacées au quatorzième siècle; il n'est pas douteux que les sujets des vitraux disparus se rapportaient à l'Incarnation: Enfance du Christ, Vie de la Vierge, peut être un Arbre de Jessé. L'ordonnance du décor est d'une très belle cohérence: les verrières étroites des chapelles sont munies de vitraux à barlotières droites, à deux ou trois divisions verticales; les verrières du déambulatoire sont toutes composées de panneaux de formes variées—médaillons, quadrilobes, grands cercles sub-

divisés, etc., sertis dans des barlotières forgées à leur forme. Une unité totale de conception, une homogénéité formelle s'en dégage nettement, et montre que ce programme fut exécuté d'un seul jet.

Le programme iconographique est d'une subtilité telle, que l'on ne peut guère l'exprimer par une formule simple. Les chapelles sont ornées de vitraux hagiographiques, racontant les vies et les martyres de saints. On observera que les vies de Ss. Pierre et Paul (dans la fenêtre centrale de la première chapelle Nord), et de St. Etienne, patron de l'église (dans la fenêtre centrale de la première chapelle Sud) ont été mises en évidence. Le programme des fenêtres du déambulatoire peut se "lire" de deux manières, travée par travée, ou par correspondances symétriques entre le Nord et le Sud. En effet, la travée centrale présente le couple Nouvelle Alliance—Jugement Dernier, c'est-à-dire le fondement du Nouveau Testament sur l'Ancien et la Fin des Temps, la dernière et future alliance de Dieu avec les hommes; dans la travée voisine par le Sud, à la Passion—première Venue du Christ—correspond l'Apocalypse—sa seconde Venue;<sup>11</sup> dans la travée voisine de l'axe vers le Nord, apparaissent deux paraboles sur le Salut, celle du Bon Samaritain et de l'Enfant Prodigue; dans les travées extrêmes, au Nord, à la Parabole du Mauvais Riche et de Lazare correspond l'histoire des Reliques de St. Etienne, au Sud, à l'Histoire de Joseph correspond la Vie de St. Thomas. Le sens "moral" et l'utilisation comme "parabole" de l'Histoire de Joseph, et l'interprétation "tropologique" des deux autres verrières ont déjà été aperçus par Quiévreux.<sup>12</sup> Ce dernier auteur a montré que des correspondances s'établissent entre les vitraux disposés au Nord et au Sud, symétriquement à l'axe de l'édifice. Il faut en conclure que le programme iconographique, lui aussi, est d'une cohérence totale, issu d'une pensée théologique unique, et imposé aux "donateurs" des verrières, qui sont, pour la plupart, des corps de métier.

Ainsi, si trois "ateliers" distincts ont contribué à l'exécution de tout ce décor, il faut admettre qu'ils ont travaillé en même temps, sur un programme commun formel et iconographique. La simultanéité de ces travaux peut encore être montrée par le fait que deux "ateliers" différents ont été chargés de deux vitraux principaux de la première travée Nord, et que dans deux chapelles (celle de l'extrémité Nord et la première vers le Sud) on trouve côte à côte les productions de ces mêmes "ateliers" différents, contrairement à ce que proposait, en 1942, Quiévreux.<sup>13</sup> Ceci n'est pas sans intérêt, car chacun de ces "ateliers" offre, pour le style, une définition différente de la peinture au début du treizième siècle.

Les travaux de l'"atelier" des Reliques de St. Etienne nous importent moins aujourd'hui; il faut pourtant, mieux que cela ne fut fait, circonscrire cette oeuvre et la qualifier. En faisant abstraction des vitraux moins bien



conservés et moins typiques, on peut la définir à partir de trois verrières, celles des Reliques, du Mauvais Riche et de Lazare, et de l'Enfant Prodigue.<sup>14</sup> Les compositions d'ensemble, c'est-à-dire le partage des baies en panneaux au moyen de barlotières et le rapport entre ces panneaux et les compartiments qu'ils contiennent, ne suffisent pas à caractériser cet atelier. Ce sont tantôt des systèmes "additifs," juxtaposant côte à côte des quadrilobes et des demi-quadrilobes, tantôt des schémas "divisifs" (pour employer la terminologie de Paul Frankl) à grands cercles ou à grands quadrilobes subdivisés en panneaux de forme variée, sertis entre des fers forgés à la forme. Toutes ces formules sont habituelles au début du treizième siècle—à Chartres par exemple<sup>15</sup>—et ne présentent, dans leurs exemples de Bourges, aucune originalité marquante. L'ornementation peut être définie de la même manière, mais avec quelques nuances. Bordures de type usuel à feuillages encadrés par des filets lisses—quelquefois d'une grande beauté d'exécution comme à la verrière des Reliques—sans une réelle originalité de conception; mosaïques des fonds d'une admirable qualité décorative et de grand effet, à résille de cercles liés ou de filets orthogonaux, toujours en rouge et bleu, quelquefois enrichies (à la verrière de l'Enfant Prodigue) de galons blancs et de petits médaillons brochant sur le fond; filets d'encadrement lisses et bicolores et, en un cas précis, perlés et munis de rosettes simplifiées; toute cette ornementation trouve des équivalents dans l'art chartrain, ou encore à Sens et à Rouen (dans les éléments provenant des Belles Verrières)<sup>16</sup> et, quelle que soit sa beauté, n'apporte guère au répertoire ornemental de l'art du vitrail d'éléments rares ou très originaux.<sup>17</sup> On ne sait si l'on doit penser que ce "maître" suit la mode du temps, averti de toutes les nouveautés, ou s'il contribue à créer cette mode nouvelle. Le style de la figuration est par contre très personnel et facilement identifiable. Dans la composition des scènes, ce "maître" fait preuve d'un exceptionnel talent, meublant avec aisance des compartiments de forme peu commode ou bizarre (tels les quarts de cercle du vitrail des Reliques, ou les quarts de quadrilobe du vitrail de l'Enfant Prodigue). L'emploi des "ponts," à la partie inférieure des compartiments, destinés à donner une assiette horizontale aux scènes, ou celui de bandes à inscription, pour couper les parties supérieures des panneaux, ou encore d'architectures, tantôt servant de cadre subsidiaire, tantôt utilisées pour "localiser" le récit, l'emploi, enfin, d'arbres pour meubler les fonds, tout cela est d'une habileté consommée, qui touche à la virtuosité. Le peintre n'hésite pas à faire, légèrement, empiéter les scènes sur les filets d'encadrement, ou à couper franchement, par le milieu, les personnages, dont il entend garder l'unité d'échelle dans les compartiments principaux du vitrail. Dans certaines scènes, comme la Tempête en mer du vitrail des Reliques (Fig. 5), il réalise des compositions imprévues et

sans précédent, d'un admirable effet décoratif de surface. La clarté de la distribution des figures, peu nombreuses en général, notamment dans la verrière du Mauvais Riche (Fig. 6) et dans celle de l'Enfant Prodigue, confère aux scènes une remarquable lisibilité du récit.

Les personnages, à grandes têtes, sont souvent courts de proportion, aux corps maigres et aux membres grêles. On n'insiste guère sur leur volume, ni par la coupe des silhouettes, ni par l'arrangement des vêtements. Ceux-ci sont distribués par grands pans juxtaposés, qui ne font guère valoir le relief des corps qu'il recouvrent. Les plis sont dessinés à traits "courts" et souvent contrariés, sans aucune recherche de la continuité linéaire ou de parallélisme des tracés. Nulle connaissance du style "assoupli" propre à certains maîtres du début du treizième siècle. Les visages sont tous pareils, à fronts étroits, à mentons effacés, aux longs nez busqués pendant, en quelque sorte, sur les bouches minces; les cheveux et les barbes sont courts, faits de mèches conventionnelles; les yeux sont grands, tirés vers les tempes, d'une expression monotone.

Nous allons voir que ce style "personnel" n'a rien de commun avec celui des deux autres "maîtres" de Bourges. Peut-on le situer par rapport à la peinture du début du treizième siècle? Quelques analogies—déjà constatées, mais en désordre, par Quiévreux<sup>18</sup>—tendent à proposer la comparaison avec le "Maître de St. Lubin" de la cathédrale de Chartres; c'est à peu près un même sens de l'effet ornemental (quoique avec moins de soin d'exécution), un même éloignement des stylisations romanes, sans que cela entraîne une nouvelle organisation de l'espace ou de la figuration; un style de dessin plus rude, certes, mais, de loin, semblable dans le tracé des figures "courtes," peu volumineuses, aux vêtements coupés en surfaces juxtaposées.

L'art du second maître de Bourges, celui de la verrière du Bon Samaritain, se sépare nettement du premier, tant par l'extraordinaire énergie du dessin, que par des particularités de la composition et de l'ornementation. Cet artiste, ou cet "atelier," ne fit à la cathédrale de Bourges que six verrières, trois dans le déambulatoire et trois dans les chapelles: le Bon Samaritain, la Passion et l'Apocalypse d'une part, les vies de Ste. Marie-Madeleine et de St. Nicolas (dans la chapelle extrême Nord) et le martyr de St. Etienne (dans la première chapelle Sud); de ce dernier vitrail, peu de panneaux authentiques subsistent encore, la partie inférieure des deux autres verrières hagiographiques est moderne.

Dans le partage des verrières en panneaux, apparaissent des formules assez singulières. La Passion est composée de médaillons disposés en deux rangées parallèles, système plus propre au douzième siècle qu'au treizième.<sup>18</sup> Le Bon Samaritain combine des médaillons et des demi-médailles, liés d'une

manière exceptionnelle, "tangentielle," sauf à la partie basse, bizarrement (et maladroitement) découpée (Fig. 2). L'Apocalypse offre des quadrilobes et des fers droits horizontaux, déterminant des compartiments irréguliers, où se détachent des scènes dont le pourtour ne correspond pas à celui des panneaux. Tout cela est plein de bizarrerie, d'inusuel, et tranche avec l'habileté du premier "maître." L'ornementation est, elle aussi, inusuelle; la bordure du Bon Samaritain montre des filets agrementés de têtes d'animaux; si le type même de la bordure se retrouve à Chartres,<sup>19</sup> l'exécution est totalement différente, les motifs végétaux n'étant pas les mêmes. La bordure de l'Apocalypse—une tige sèche et raide parcourue par un filet ondoyant—et surtout celle du martyr de St. Etienne, faite de fleurons superposés sans autre lien (Fig. 7), offrent une originalité remarquable. Dans les filets d'encadrement, un système très curieux, et que l'on ne retrouve guère à Chartres consiste à lier les médaillons (dans la Passion, dans la vie de St. Nicolas) par un encadrement continu lisse, selon un principe que l'on ne voit guère à cette époque dans les vitraux de Poitiers, aux fenêtres latérales du choeur.<sup>20</sup> Certains filets d'encadrement, par exemple dans le vitrail de Marie-Madeleine, sont ornés de perles alternant avec des petites croix, à la manière des galons du douzième siècle. Dans les mosaïques de fond apparaissent deux fois (dans la Passion et dans la vie de St. Nicolas) des rosettes portées par des tiges recourbées, une sorte de rinceau desséché, sans rapport avec la générosité des rinceaux du Maître de St. Eustache de Chartres, ou des vitraux de Sens et de Canterbury.<sup>20</sup> D'autres fonds—ceux du Bon Samaritain et de l'Apocalypse, s'ornent de mosaïques d'un type plus habituel, à résille orthogonale ou à petits cercles; mais les motifs végétaux de ces mosaïques, très "découpés," deviennent presque abstraits à force de stylisation. Nous avons relevé le même système ornemental à Poitiers, au début du treizième siècle.<sup>21</sup>

Les parties figurées de ces vitraux offrent un des ensembles les plus extraordinaires, par la qualité d'art et d'inspiration, comme aussi par les bizarreries du style, de tout le début du treizième siècle. Compositions véhémentes et asymétriques (sauf pour les scènes hiératiques des médaillons principaux de l'Apocalypse), très souvent trop remplies, encombrées, incomplètes ou débordantes, où les figures et les décors se juxtaposent et se chevauchent, s'enchevêtrent quelquefois, comme mues par une dynamique interne irrésistible. Quelquefois, ce désordre et cette violence s'accordent avec le sujet—comme dans les scènes de l'attaque du Marchand par les brigands, dans le Bon Samaritain; tout comme si la véhémence des gestes ou des attitudes ne suffisait pas, l'artiste a fait encore jouer, en travers de la scène, des arbres noueux et tordus, aux étranges feuillages multicolores disposés en couronnes. Les sols—ici comme dans la Passion ou l'Apocalypse

—sont des monticules irréguliers, des rocailles; ou, quelquefois, les pieds pendent dans le vide (notamment dans les scènes du martyre de St. Etienne) (Fig. 7). Des scènes aussi traditionnelles dans leur ordonnance que la Crucifixion (il y en a deux, l'une dans le commentaire du Bon Samaritain, l'autre dans la Passion) prennent une forme insolite, asymétrique, non seulement par la torsion du corps du Christ, mais par l'inégale répartition des assistants, par la distribution des couleurs. Le départ du Marchand de Jérusalem à Jericho, de la parabole du Bon Samaritain (Fig. 8), scène à un seul personnage, se désaxe et s'emplît d'une fantastique vision de ville à deux portes, à cinq tours de hauteur et de formes inégales; la figure du Marchand, comme jaillissant dans un mouvement irrésistible vers la gauche, est une silhouette confuse par l'accumulation et la divergence des lignes directrices. Toute notion spaciaie est brouillée en ce sens que, ni en profondeur, ni en surface, même si les figures ou les choses se juxtaposent les unes aux autres, ce n'est pas par leur indépendance ou par la distance entre elles que nous comprenons leur rapport, mais par leur liaison, ou leur opposition, d'ordre dynamique. Certes, dans plusieurs scènes de l'Apocalypse, plus hiératiques, ou dans des compositions en largeur de la vie de St. Nicolas ou de Marie-Madeleine, ces caractères semblent moins évidents; pourtant, à l'analyse, ils réapparaissent.

Le style des figures est de la même véhémence arbitraire: les personnages sont "courts," paquets de vêtements ayant une valeur propre, surmontés de grosses têtes et, avec une obsédante fréquence, posés sur des jambes grêles, découvertes jusqu'au genou. Les silhouettes sont agitées, jusqu'à devenir incompréhensibles. Les surfaces des corps sont comme découpés en pièces détachables, dont chacune a sa vie propre; une complication proprement fantastique caractérise le dessin des plis, contrariés, anguleux quelquefois, faits en courtes courbes suivies de courbes qui leurs sont opposées, s'achevant brusquement, par des retombées presque géométriques, en flèche, en "T," en équerre. Des pans de draperie inutiles au vêtement des personnages s'ajoutent au devant de leur corps ou se détachent d'eux; l'un des traits les plus curieux dans cet ordre d'idées est le jet des tissus, en boule, qui s'échappe des chaussures et altère la ligne de la jambe (Figs. 7, 9).

Les détails anatomiques des membres et des visages ne sont pas moins singuliers. Les corps nus sont vus comme en transparence, l'ossature dessinée sous la peau aux bras, aux poignets, aux chevilles. Les visages, assez stéréotypés, sont à machoire lourde, à face large aux yeux immenses, exorbités, tracés avec une insistance particulière. Quelquefois, le peintre en arrive aux faces caricaturales d'expression forcée, aux nez busqués, aux mentons saillants. Il y a, dans ces "conventions personnelles" du "Maître du Bon Samaritain," une telle originalité et une telle constance, que ses oeuvres se

distinguent immédiatement des réfections du douzième siècle, quelle que soit leur adresse.

On devrait encore insister sur deux particularités de ce "maître": la qualité technique, et une sorte de génie personnel dans l'adaptation du style à la donnée iconographique. Pour la technique, ce sont des peintures sur verre d'une solidité presque inattaquable: très supérieure en cela à la technique picturale des autres "ateliers," celle-ci n'a guère été altérée par le temps: traits repiqués en épaisseur, même s'ils sont minces en surface, teinte du modelé toujours visible, un peu lourde, à la manière romane. La coupe du verre, très menue—mais cela est impliqué par l'échelle des vitraux du déambulatoire de Bourges—est sans le raffinement que montrent les verrières du "maître des Reliques"; elle cerne de très près la forme peinte et contribue à l'énergie graphique du style, les tracés des plombs accentuant les tracés de la peinture. La coloration est—à part dans l'Apocalypse—d'un chatoiement multicolore qui s'éloigne du contraste "majeur" en bleu-rouge qui commence à s'imposer dès le début du treizième siècle: un emploi très abondant des jaunes associés aux rouges, aux verts, aux pourpres, crée des tonalités chaudes et fort originales. Dans l'Apocalypse, au contraire, la domination des bleus sombres, nocturnes, contrastant avec des rouges très puissants, compose une gamme dramatique, d'une intensité à peine supportable.

On doit aussi se demander dans quelle mesure ce "maître" peut être tenu pour le créateur des thèmes, dont le secret n'a parfois pas été percé, car on n'en trouve guère d'équivalents dans l'art de son temps. Dans l'Apocalypse, "l'oeuvre la plus subtile et la plus profonde que l'Apocalypse ait inspiré à l'art du moyen âge" (Emile Mâle),<sup>22</sup> une reine puissante, étendant les bras chargés de deux couronnes, offre ses fortes memelles à deux vieillards, qui sont l'Humanité, ou les âges de l'Humanité (Fig. 10); dans le repas chez Simon, Madeleine apparaît deux fois aux pieds du Christ attablé par deux fois, parfumant ses pieds et les essuyant de ses cheveux (Fig. 11). On pourrait multiplier les exemples de cette "originalité d'imagination iconographique," que fortifie, en s'accordant avec elle, la puissance d'expression picturale.

Dans quelle mesure ce très grand artiste est-il un "maître de 1200"? Comment concilier son style avec ceux qui sont, pour cette période, les plus représentatifs? Nos anciennes hypothèses, rapprochant ce style de l'art de l'Ouest de la France, et plus particulièrement des ateliers de Poitiers vers 1200-1220, ont été confirmées par Jane Hayward dans ses études sur l'art angevin vers 1200.<sup>23</sup> Aussi bien les principes de la composition, que les motifs ornementaux, ou certains traits du style des figures, se retrouvent, en effet, quoique dépourvus de l'exceptionnelle qualité picturale de Bourges,

dans les plus anciennes fenêtres de parties latérales du choeur et du transept de la cathédrale de Poitiers; un art d'une inspiration semblable règne à Angers au voisinage de la fin du douzième siècle.<sup>24</sup> On peut encore ajouter que, fort naturellement, on trouve un écho de ce style dans les deux petits vitraux de l'église St.-Georges-de-Poizieux (Cher);<sup>25</sup> plus étonnante est l'étroite parenté qui existe entre l'art de ce "maître" et deux verrières du chevet de l'église de Semur-en-Auxois, en Bourgogne, vers 1220-1225 peut-être; ces vitraux n'ayant jamais encore été étudiés, cette analogie ne peut être ici que signalée. De toute manière, la répercussion de ce style ne pouvait pas être considérable, car il ne conduisait guère aux formes qui allaient prévaloir, vers 1230, en Ile-de-France et dans les régions voisines.

En effet, on doit parler de cet art en évoquant, plutôt que la tendance "gothique," les notions du "roman tardif" (le "spätromanisch") dont l'art germanique donne tant d'admirables exemples pendant la première moitié du treizième siècle. On pourrait presque, en reprenant les définitions de Focillon, parler du "baroque roman," par l'exaltation de ce qu'il y a ici d'inorganique ou de "non-unifié" dans le traitement de l'espace, dans l'interprétation du volume, dans la stylistique de la draperie, dans la représentation du corps humain. Des schémas formels, d'une fixité d'ailleurs inégale, se superposent à la représentation du corps, de la draperie, de la flore; ces schémas sont traditionnels, mais leur intervention à ce stade du développement formel, au voisinage des oeuvres beaucoup plus "modernes," provoque une tension dynamique exceptionnelle, qui se révèle dans le mouvement, dans l'expression forcée, dans l'insistance sur la partie, au détriment de l'ensemble. Parmi les manifestations de cette tendance, autour de 1200, l'art du "maître du Bon Samaritain" doit tenir une des premières places, non seulement en raison de sa qualité propre, mais aussi par la valeur démonstrative de cette "tension."

On le voit encore mieux quand on compare ce style à celui du troisième "maître" ou "atelier," celui de la Nouvelle Alliance. Il ne nous reste que deux verrières principales de cet "atelier," l'Alliance et le Jugement Dernier, toutes les deux dans la travée centrale du déambulatoire. Les trois verrières de la première chapelle Nord, dédiées à St. Denis, aux Ss. Pierre et Paul et à St. Martin, assez fortement restaurées au dix-neuvième siècle, dérivent également de ce style, sans que l'on puisse y retrouver le génie pictural de l'auteur des deux verrières principales.<sup>26</sup>

On ne reviendra pas ici, après Cahier et Martin (qui ont consacré à la Nouvelle Alliance la majeure partie de leur monumental *in folio*) et après Emile Mâle, sur l'explication iconographique des verrières de la travée centrale du déambulatoire. Ce sont, chaque fois, des oeuvres exceptionnelles,

par le choix des thèmes et la leçon générale théologique. Les compositions sont complexes, à quadrilobes aux lobes pointus, entourant d'autres quadrilobes, dans le Jugement Dernier, à grands cercles, entourant des quadrilobes, et alternant avec des médaillons, dans l'Alliance. Le système formel semble adapté à la démonstration théologique, les compartiments du milieu constituant le texte, et les compartiments latéraux, la glose. Sur le plan formel, ce sont des compositions de type courant après 1200. L'ornementation, très "soignée" et belle, ne s'impose pas davantage par son originalité, ni dans le modèle des bordures, ni dans les mosaïques des fonds, ni dans les filets d'accompagnement. Toute l'attention se porte aux scènes et à leur style propre.

On est frappé immédiatement par une grande noblesse des figures, par une distribution large et aérée des compositions. On ne peut certes opposer ces scènes à celles des deux autres maîtres en ce qui concerne la recherche de la suggestion spatiale; les formes se juxtaposent les unes aux autres, et, dans le Jugement en particulier, ne se trouvent pas toutes sur le même plan spatial. Mais ces indications ne sont pas déterminantes. Par contre, la recherche de la suggestion, ou même mieux, de la représentation du volume propre aux choses semble concertée. Le modelé propre des corps, plus appuyé, la recherche des attitudes complexes, à la fois, par la disposition des membres "en profondeur," et nettement distinctes par leur isolement à l'intérieur de la composition, sont confirmés par le traitement de la draperie. Celle-ci est ample, aux retombées droites et sans complication, aux grandes chutes obliques et souples, ou les plis parallèles, menus, allongés, font valoir les volumes des corps qu'ils recouvrent. Il y a, dans ce style de la draperie, un rapport évident avec l'art "septentrional" du "maître de St. Eustache" de Chartres—qui était probablement un laonnais—et avec les oeuvres "classicisantes" des environs de 1200.<sup>27</sup> Les corps sont allongés, aux tête petites (par exemple dans le Portement de croix de l'Alliance, dans la figure de l'écrivain du Tau, etc.). Les visages sont pleins, ronds, sans expression forcée, sans schéma unique. Les détails anatomiques superflus ont été éliminés; les nus des ressuscités du Jugement sont musclés, certes, et même athlétiques, mais cela tient moins au tracé des muscles, qu'à un modelé approprié, demeuré visible. Une seule oeuvre, apparentée d'ailleurs à celle-ci, fait voir des musculatures, des volumes des corps nus encore mieux suggérés ou représentés: les scènes de la Création du vitrail du Bon Samaritain de la cathédrale de Sens, d'une même élévation de l'imagination créatrice et d'une même qualité d'exécution.<sup>28</sup> La scène finale, au sommet de l'Alliance, Jacob bénissant, les bras croisés, Ephraïm et Manassé, encore que très restaurée, exprime parfaitement le calme des compositions, l'harmonie des gestes, l'ampleur de la conception des scènes; ou encore les deux "types" de

la Crucifixion, Moïse frappant le rocher, et Moïse élevant le Serpent (Figs. 12, 13).

Quelle que soit l'origine de l'art de ce maître—et nous pensons qu'elle est septentrionale—son style concorde le mieux avec ce que nous pouvons appeler l'art de 1200, non seulement par référence au Psautier d'Ingeburge, à Nicolas de Verdun, au "classique" antiquisant, mais encore par sa qualité interne, d'égal éloignement des stylisations romanes et gothiques. Il semble que nous soyons là en présence d'un des maîtres qui qualifient le mieux le moment particulier d'évolution stylistique de ce temps.

La réalité de l'opposition, à Bourges, entre trois "ateliers" de formation différente, de tendance stylistique divergente, peut être constatée par la comparaison de trois têtes, prises aux vitraux de la cathédrale, et conservés dans les réserves du Musée de l'Université de Princeton (Fig. 14). L'une vient du vitrail du Jugement Dernier, c'est une tête d'ange, ample et calme, monumentale dans l'économie picturale et la simplicité formelle. Une seconde tête vient du vitrail de l'Enfant Prodigue, c'est la tête, couronnée d'un bandeau, du Prodigue: maigre et asymétrique, presque "maniérée" dans son pourtour et dans ses proportions; une troisième venant du vitrail de St. Nicolas, fantastique dans sa découpe, dans l'expression des yeux, dans la convention formelle qui la domine. Toutes les trois, il faut le rappeler, on été peintes entre 1205 environ et 1214.<sup>29</sup>

## Notes

1. Voir, par exemple, M. Aubert, *Le vitrail en France*, Paris, 1946, p. 22: 1215-1220 environ "par des verriers chartrains"; E. von Witzleben, *Licht und Farbe aus Frankreichs Kathedralen*, Augsburg, 1966, p. 34-35: après 1214 et avant 1235 . . . , etc.

2. R. Branner, *La cathédrale de Bourges et sa place dans l'architecture gothique*, Bourges, 1962.

3. Ibid., p. 61-63, et plus particulièrement p. 62, note 1.

4. E. Mâle, "La peinture sur verre en France," dans A. Michel, *Histoire générale de l'art*, II, 1, p. 316-318; Aubert, *Le vitrail en France*, p. 22.

5. Y. Delaporte et E. Houvet, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Chartres, 1926, I, p. 8-10. Les controverses autour de la chronologie des

vitraux de Chartres ont été resumés, avec quelque parti-pris, par J. van der Meulen, "Recent Literature on the Chronology of Chartres Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1967, p. 152-172.

6. Contrairement à ce qui fut dit par E. Mâle, M. Aubert, et F. Quiévreux, "Les vitraux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'abside de la cathédrale de Bourges," *Bulletin Monumental*, 1942, p. 253-275.

7. L. Grodecki, "A Stained Glass 'Atelier' of the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1948, p. 87-111; j'ai admis, dans cette étude, des contacts assez étroits entre les ateliers de Bourges et ceux de Chartres, sans les confondre toutefois.

8. Par exemple, A. van der Boom, *De Kunst der Glazeniers in Europa*, Amsterdam, 1960, p. 100-107.



9. Cette étude devra être fondée non seulement sur les comparaisons de l'état actuel avec les planches de Cahier et Martin, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges. Première partie. Les vitraux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1841-1844, mais surtout sur les calques exécutés par le peintre verrier Thévenot au moment de sa restauration; un petit nombre en subsiste à Bourges, à l'Agence des Bâtiments de France; une autre série, plus considérable, est à la Bibliothèque de l'Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs à Paris.

10. L. Grodecki, "A Stained Glass 'Atelier,'" p. 87-90.

11. Sur l'iconographie de ces deux vitraux, Cahier et Martin, *Monographie*, passim; E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du France au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 3<sup>e</sup> ed., Paris, 1910, p. 171-172, 423-424.

12. F. Quiévreux, *Les Paraboles*, Paris, 1946, p. 241-262 en particulier.

13. F. Quiévreux, "Les vitraux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," p. 256-260.

14. Doivent encore être donnés à ce "maître," dans le déambulatoire, les vitraux de Joseph et de St. Thomas, et, dans les chapelles, ceux de la Vie de Ste. Marie d'Egypte, de St. Laurent, de St. Vincent, de St. Jacques le Majeur, de St. Jean-Baptiste, enfin de St. Jean-l'Evangeliste; soit onze verrières, la moitié de l'ensemble conservé.

15. L'étude de ces compositions a été faite, peu avant sa mort, par P. Frankl, "The Chronology of Stained Glass in Chartres Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963, p. 301-322.

16. Sur Sens, rien ne fut publié depuis L. Begule, *La cathédrale de Sens, son architecture et son décor*, Paris, 1927, p. 50 et suiv. Une thèse fut soutenue sur ce sujet à Columbia University, en 1966, par Miss Sulkiss; elle demeure inédite et nous n'en connaissons pas les conclusions.

17. F. Quiévreux, "Les vitraux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," p. 295 et suiv

18. Ce sont les formules employées déjà à St.-Denis (Passion, Première Croisade), à Chartres (Passion de la façade occidentale), etc. Au treizième siècle, elle demeure exception-

nelle (à Chartres, un seul vitrail reprend ce schéma, celui de Ss. Simon et Jude, no. XXXV de Delaporte); mais elle persiste dans des centres du Sud-Ouest, par exemple à Poitiers.

19. Sur Poitiers, voir notre ancienne étude, L. Grodecki, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Poitiers*, Congrès archéologique de France, 1951, p. 138-163, et "A Stained Glass 'Atelier,'" p. 100-107.

20. Sur cette question, Grodecki, "A Stained Glass 'Atelier,'" p. 95.

21. Ibid., p. 100-104.

22. E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux . . . du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 424.

23. La thèse de J. Hayward reste inédite. J. Hayward et L. Grodecki, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers," *Bulletin Monumental*, 1966, p. 18-29.

24. Voir F. Deshoulières, *Les églises de France*, Cher, Paris, 1932, p. 215.

25. Ces vitraux se trouvent dans la chapelle Nord du déambulatoire; ils sont inédits, datables de 1220-1225 environ. Ils montrent les analogies de style, d'ornementation et de conception avec ceux de Bourges, et doivent dériver directement de ceux-ci.

26. Il est très vraisemblable, mais n'a pas encore été prouvé, que le "maître de la Nouvelle Alliance" travailla également aux vitraux de fenêtres hautes du chœur, où une série "classique" peut être séparée des vitraux plus rudes, plus récents aussi, situés surtout dans les fenêtres des travées latérales (droites) du chœur; par contre, les fenêtres du rond-point sont ornées de personnages d'un style harmonieux et grandiose, aux vêtements à plis allongés et souples, aux têtes d'une grande pureté des traits, que l'on peut rapprocher du style du "maître de la Nouvelle Alliance," malgré la différence très grande d'échelle, qui modifie les tracés et les modèles. Nous pensons en particulier aux figures de Moïse, d'Isaïe, de David, de Jean-Baptiste, de St. Etienne, et de la Vierge.

27. Sur ce style, voir L. Grodecki, "Le maître de saint Eustache de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Gedenkschrift E. Gall*, Berlin, 1965, p. 171-194.

28. Sur Sens, voir ci-dessus note 16.

29. Ces trois têtes font partie d'un lot de six, de la même provenance, conservées à Princeton; il faut ajouter à cette série huit têtes et le corps du Christ de la Crucifixion (vitrail du Bon Samaritain) exposés au Metropolitan Museum de New York (don de G. D. Pratt, en 1930) (30.73.259-265; 30.73.268) (Fig. 15). Ces fragments, non

encore étudiés, se trouvaient à la cathédrale de Bourges en 1920, dans un dépôt de l'édifice, où étaient entreposées les pièces éliminées lors des restaurations de Thévenot en 1848 et suiv. La disparition de ces fragments fut constatée en 1921, selon le renseignement qui me fut donné par Robert Gauchery, ancien architecte des Monuments Historiques de Bourges.

## English Summary by Jane Hayward

The chronology of the windows of the ambulatory and radiating chapels of the cathedral of Bourges is now assured by a document of 1214, which indicates that by that date this part of the building was completed. This early dating is borne out by stylistic archaisms in certain of the windows, and implies revision of the theory of their dependence on Chartres.

The author's original identification of the ateliers of the Relics of St. Stephen, the New Alliance, and the Good Samaritan still pertains, but their stylistic place has not yet been satisfactorily determined. The present study deals with the relationship of these three masters to the styles of the year 1200.

Ten large and fifteen small windows are included in the glazing program: those of the chapels are composed in a grid plan, while the larger windows of the ambulatory are of more complex arrangements. The chapel windows contain lives of saints, those of the ambulatory, theological themes that can be read iconographically in two manners: bay by bay, or in pairs of corresponding windows on the north and the south. The unity of this program indicates it as the product of a single theological idea, executed simultaneously by the three ateliers. Individual differences in the styles of the three offer an interesting program in the definition of painting at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Compositions of the atelier of the Relics of St. Stephen are of the divisive variety, and without much originality. The figure style includes large heads, heavy features, and drapery composed of short, arbitrary lines lacking linear continuity. Analogies can be drawn between the work of this atelier and that of the Master of St. Lubin at Chartres in a kind of localized aspect in art around the year 1200.

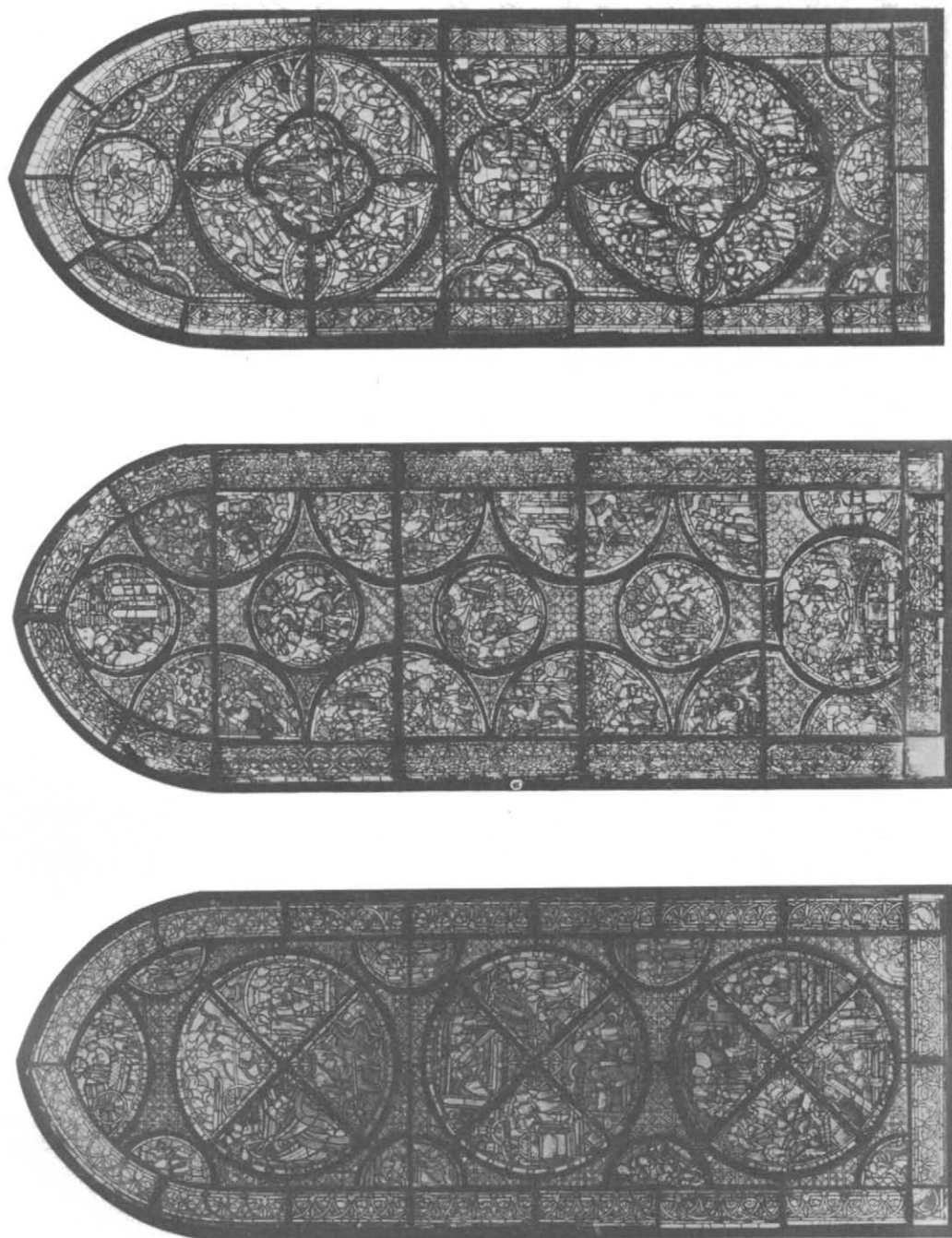
The work of the Good Samaritan Master was previously defined by the

author in relation to windows in the cathedral of Poitiers. In the work of this master can be seen the tensions of late Romanesque art that were manifest in the art around 1200.

Windows of the New Alliance atelier are composed of concentric medallions, with uncluttered, airy compositions and figures of noble proportions. There is, in the work of this master, a relationship to the St. Eustace Master of Chartres, and to the classicizing tendencies of about 1200. The latter probably came from Laon, and it is the balance effected between Romanesque and Gothic in the art of this region that is reflected in this atelier at Bourges.

In the windows of these three ateliers at Bourges, painted between about 1205 and 1214, one can see the opposition, the different formations, and the stylistic divergencies that comprise art around the year 1200.

FIGS. 1-3 *L'Histoire de Reliques de St. Etienne (à gauche); La Nouvelle Alliance (à droite); La Parabole du Bon Samaritain (au centre); cathédrale de Bourges (photos: Monuments Historiques)*



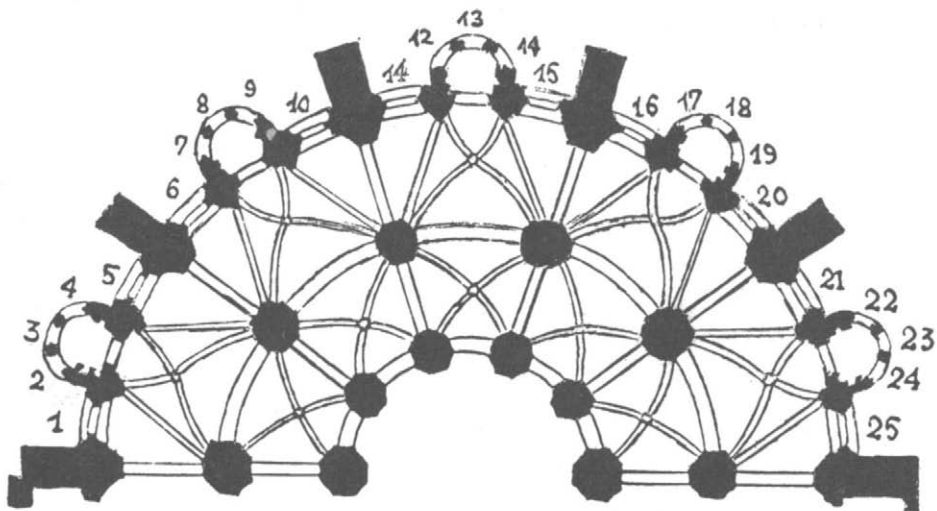


FIG. 4 Plan de situation des vitraux du déambulatoire de la cathédrale de Bourges

1. Parabole de Lazare et du Mauvais Riche

2. Vie de St. Marie Egyptienne

3. Vie de St. Nicolas

4. Vie de Ste. Marie-Madeleine

5. Histoire des Reliques de St. Etienne

6. Parabole du Bon Samaritain

7. Vie de St. Denis

8. Vies des SS. Pierre et Paul

9. Vie de St. Martin

10. Parabole de l'Enfant Prodigue

11. Nouvelle Alliance

12. (Disparu: Vie de la Vierge?)

13. (Disparu: Enfance de Christ?)

14. (Disparu: Arbre de Jessé?)

15. Jugement Dernier

16. Passion

17. Vie de St. Laurent

18. Martyre de St. Etienne

19. Vie de St. Vincent

20. Apocalypse

21. Vie de St. Thomas

22. Vie de St. Jacques Majeur

23. Vie de St. Jean-Baptiste

24. Vie de St. Jean-l'Evangeliste

25. Histoire du patriarche Joseph



FIG. 5 *La tempête en mer, Histoire des Reliques de St. Etienne, cathédrale de Bourges*



FIG. 6 *Le Mauvais Riche en sa maison, Parole de Lazare et du Mauvais Riche, cathédrale de Bourges*



FIG. 7 *Les lapidateurs, Martyre de St. Etienne, cathédrale de Bourges*



FIG. 8 *Départ du Marchand, Parole du Bon Samaritain, cathédrale de Bourges*



FIG. 9 *Baiser de Judas, Passion, cathédrale de Bourges*



FIG. 10 *Eglise nourrissant les peuples du lait des deux Testaments, Apocalypse, cathédrale de Bourges*

FIG. 11 *Le repas chez Simon, Vie de Ste. Madeleine, cathédrale de Bourges*





FIG. 12 *Moïse frappant le rocher d'Horeb,  
Nouvelle Alliance, cathédrale de Bourges*



FIG. 13 *Moïse montrant le serpent d'Aïrain,  
Nouvelle Alliance, cathédrale de Bourges*





FIG. 14 *Trois têtes, provenant de la cathédrale de Bourges, en haut: ange de Jugement Dernier; à gauche: Enfant Prodigue; à droite: un assistant aux miracles de St. Nicolas, Musée de l'Université de Princeton*

EN FACE:

FIG. 15 *Fragments provenant de la cathédrale de Bourges au Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of George D. Pratt, 30. 73. 259-268*





# The Stylistic Problems of the Freiburg Jesse Window

The Freiburg Minster possesses nine medallions of a Jesse window which, because they have been taken out of their original context and set in modern ornamental windows, have up to now received little attention. However, they are of immense importance, not only for iconography, but above all for the study of history of style.<sup>1</sup> The medallions originally had their place in the axis window of the late Romanesque choir, which was pulled down in 1509. This choir was begun about 1200 and completed in 1218, and we may assume that it was also glazed at this time. There is enough evidence to enable a reconstruction of the choir, but not enough to determine the size of the axis window. Nevertheless, the original arrangement of the surviving medallions can be deduced from formal and iconographical considerations, which lead almost unavoidably to an armature system with tangent circles (Fig. 1). A composition such as this, connecting all the medallions together very closely, fits easily into the elevation of the choir and, moreover, corresponds to the development of the axis window which is to be observed in the group of buildings that center around Basel Cathedral. From this we can obtain a fairly reliable idea of how the Freiburg Jesse window originally looked.<sup>2</sup>

Hitherto it was accepted without question that a connection existed between the workshops of the Freiburg panels and those of Strasbourg Cathedral, with particular regard to the panels of a hypothetical Jesse window (Figs. 2, 3) that F. Zschokke had reconstructed for the axis window.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, people had allowed themselves to be led too much by general similarities, such as grounds consisting of concentric circles of color, although this is, in fact, quite a widespread principle of composition. The characteristic form of the crown with a frontal plaque in the shape of a shield that extends beyond the circlet shows a close relationship to upper Rhenish art around

1200; it belongs to the group of the *Hortus Deliciarum* (Figs. 4, 5). On the circlet of Solomon's crown there are four-petaled flowers; stones are set into the frontal plaque. In this respect it is similar to a king's crown from the tympanum of the north transept of Strasbourg Cathedral, whose connection with the *Hortus* has been established.<sup>4</sup> The borders of the garments also point to the *Hortus* group and even find their nearest correspondences in the stained-glass windows of Strasbourg Cathedral, especially in the Solomon panels (Fig. 6). There are, however, basic differences in the style of the figures and in the use of colors which rule out any dependency between the two. The specific style of the Freiburg panels remains isolated on the upper Rhine and it would hardly be possible to say it derived from stained glass, as too many monuments have been lost.

Perhaps its surprisingly severe and monumental character derives from monumental sculpture. Stylistic relationships have already been suggested between the Strasbourg and Cologne stained-glass windows of the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries and French cathedral sculpture, without, of course, a concrete connection between them having been shown.<sup>5</sup> However, the case in Freiburg could be different. The first, and, at the same time, most lasting impressions of the figures of the Freiburg Tree of Jesse are their decidedly statuesque appearance and unusually sculptural conception.

Even from the point of view of subject matter, the seated figures of the Tree of Jesse in the archivolt of the Coronation of the Virgin portals at Laon and Chartres provide good examples for comparison.<sup>6</sup> Those in Laon (Fig. 7) are distinguished by a peaceful, more or less frontal position which is animated by a slight shifting of weight on the legs and a corresponding turning of the upper part of the body. The softly flowing drapery caresses the body, clinging with its folds, hanging loosely and voluminously between the limbs, while still remaining taut over them, thus accentuating the billowing effect. A similar organization of drapery and body could indeed lie at the base of the Freiburg medallions. If, however, one compares the corresponding archivolt figures in Chartres, which take up and consolidate the softly flowing style of Laon, it becomes obvious that the Freiburg glass painter could only have started from the older phase of development in Laon. For there is nothing that connects his figures with the more rigid attitude of the body and the more disciplined drapery, as seen at Chartres. Comparing one of the archivolt figures of Laon with Jacob of Freiburg (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 237) once more, for example, the third from the left, characteristic deviations are now also apparent. Wherever the glass painter has complexes of folds running in circular motion, he uses other means of accentuating the plasticity of the individual parts of the body, for example, the knee.

These observations make one doubt that there is a direct, even if free, translation of the *Muldenfaltenstil* of French cathedral sculpture in the Freiburg panels. Thus, we have to look for closer sources. In the stylistically more advanced enamel plaques of the Klosterneuburg altarpiece (Figs. 8, 9) we find the drapery handled in a way also characteristic of the Freiburg panels. The swelling folds sink into the spaces between the limbs, but cling to the contours of the figure, allowing the body to appear in all its roundness. One only has to compare Jacob from the Benedictions (Fig. 8) with the same figure in Freiburg. True, the coat, bound about the body and hanging down over the left arm, has not the same fullness of the corresponding parts of Abraham's garment in the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 9). The marked tension between the areas with folds and those without—caused by the violent movements of the body—is missing in the draperies of the Freiburg figures. However, single parts of the body—for example, the knee or the waist of Roboam (Fig. 10)—are much more distinctly delineated. Although, in the case of the Klosterneuburg figures, the similarity of the Freiburg figures to sculpture cannot be denied, the handling of the draperies does not seem to be untouched by the art of Nicholas of Verdun or his school. The question still remains: at what stage of stylistic development did such contacts start? On the parts of the Cologne Shrine of the Three Kings which were completed in 1206, there are only a few enamel plaques with figures that offer corresponding comparison. But even the musicians set in foliage from the side roof (*The Year 1200*, II, ill. 117) show in their more regular, more parallel drawing of the drapery that greater tendency toward Gothic style, toward which the shrine of the Virgin of Tournai (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 100) points. As opposed to that, the Freiburg figures seem certainly more archaic.

Surviving stained-glass works can, indeed, only make a limited contribution to the further explanation of the stylistic problems. First of all, one would presumably posit certain connections with the windows of St. Cunibert in Cologne (*The Year 1200*, II, ill. 88, 89), particularly as there seems to be a similar situation to Freiburg in the stylistic development.<sup>7</sup> For these stained-glass windows, which with good reason have been placed into the third decade, belong, together with the evangelistary from Gross-St.-Martin (*The Year 1200*, II, ill. 211, 212), to those works of art in Cologne whose style, after all, leads back to Nicholas of Verdun. A comparison with the most important window of this cycle, the Cunibert window, is also instructive in many respects (Figs. 10, 11). The enthroned King Dagobert can be compared to King Roboam. First of all, it is striking that the slender figure almost entirely lacks the plastic arrangement of the garments, which gives the Freiburg king such a taut and energetic vitality. Although the drapery on Dagobert is furrowed with thick folds softly flowing into each other, the

differences are considerable. They show that the Cologne variant of the *Muldenfaltenstil* had already moved further away from Nicholas of Verdun than the Freiburg variant. At the same time, the Cologne figures are much more restrained and lacking in temperament. This is particularly clear when we examine their heads. The Cologne head is more regular and harmonious in line, but also flatter and weaker than the Freiburg head, which radiates a penetrating liveliness. The greater richness of expression must, in its turn, be seen as something belonging to an older style.

Yet, it is hardly possible to set up relationships between the particular character of the Freiburg heads and those of Nicholas of Verdun. Such a lean and bony face as that of Jacob (Fig. 12), which from a distance reminds one more of the types of heads to be found in the Ingeborg Psalter (*The Year 1200*, II, ill. 190–193), cannot be derived from those much fuller faces with their lush growth of hair in Klosterneuburg or Cologne. We must rather look for other models of inspiration for this. The contacts which have been shown up to now with the art of Nicholas of Verdun lead us beyond Cologne to the Meuse region. But, as far as I know, no single fragment of stained glass from this area has been handed down to us from the time around 1200; decisive material for comparison must have been lost. Moreover, no stained glass before 1200 has survived from the region of Laon-Soissons, and the few original figures of the Liberal Arts in the rose window of the north transept of Laon Cathedral, which was made about 1200, do not allow a comparison with Freiburg.<sup>8</sup> All that remains to be examined now is the huge cycle of windows from the last quarter of the twelfth century in St.-Remi-de-Reims, which despite its undeniable importance for stylistic development has, as yet, not been studied.<sup>9</sup> The prophet Isaiah (Fig. 13), one of the powerful seated figures in the clerestory, which presently are dated to around 1190, can be most readily set against the figure of Jacob in Freiburg (Fig. 12).<sup>10</sup> Isaiah's head, growing out of his broad neck, with its well-defined nose and low forehead corresponds in its type more to the head of Jacob than to the works of Nicholas of Verdun. But the strict line of the body and the overall clarity of the flowing drapery of this particularly slimly proportioned figure endow it with a formal integration, not to be found in the Freiburg figure. Although in both figures the folds cut across and loop over each other, the artistic means and intentions are quite different. In Freiburg, an extremely free and organic unfolding of the lines of the body is realized by a plastic modeling of the drapery. In Reims, a restrained and statuesque appearance is aimed at, using a linear system of folds. In spite of occasional archaisms, one can already see the tendency toward systematization of the *Gewandfigur*, which achieved general currency in the early thirteenth century. The similarities of the heads must not lead

us away from the fact that these two works belong to opposing stylistic directions. It would seem more probable that the stylistic sources of the Freiburg panels belong mainly to the sphere of Mosan art of the late twelfth century, even if this cannot be attested to any longer by stained glass.<sup>11</sup> There is no doubt that the Jesse window was made before 1218.

But does the foliage of the Tree of Jesse also fit into this dating? Only the Virgin Mary and Christ sit among stylized palmette leaves; all the other figures sit among more or less naturalistic foliage. The fact that more natural leaves largely replace the ornamental foliage only on the Tree of Jesse signifies an incomparably adventurous innovation. Clearly, Gothic elements make their most decided appearance here. Must the panels, therefore, definitely have been made later? It will be objected that naturalistic foliage first appears on the upper Rhine on the tympana of the south portals of Strasbourg Cathedral, and that it first becomes general in the works of Hugo of Oignies. Yet, one must not forget that even in the art of Nicholas of Verdun the first beginnings of an awakening sense of nature can be observed. I would therefore like to assume that the inspiration for the Freiburg foliage came from Nicholas of Verdun or his school, especially as some of the borders on the Klosterneuburg altarpiece have similar foliage.<sup>12</sup> The leaves of the Freiburg Tree of Jesse are not so well defined as to be recognizable. This makes clear how far they still are removed from Gothic foliage, in spite of their organic form.

From these observations it can be concluded that even this type of foliage, which is so unusual before the second quarter of the thirteenth century, is in agreement with a dating before 1218. It is quite possible that the Freiburg Master, whose concept of form was completely directed toward an organic, animated style, can be credited with such a great innovating spirit. His local background is betrayed by his connections with the Romanesque traditions of upper Rhenish art about 1200, that is, with the *Hortus* group. He obviously owes his individual artistic hallmark to that "proto-Gothic" direction in Mosan art, the school of Nicholas of Verdun.

All the same, the Freiburg panels must have been made in a workshop of the upper Rhine. The only similarities here point to Strasbourg. Could the Freiburg Master have come from there? In order to test this, let us briefly bring to mind the artistic situation in Strasbourg's glass painting from about 1180 to about 1230. The formal vocabulary of the stained-glass windows which were made for the old cathedral after 1176, up to the rose windows of the south transept which was glazed about 1230, basically changes very little.<sup>13</sup> We still find in the half-figures of the rose window of the Old Testament the same long, smooth faces with soft features that were already characteristic of the Solomon panels. Even the style of the New Testament



panels which deviates from this can be traced back to the late twelfth century. A single early fragment of the Coronation of the Virgin already shows this firmer and more defined drawing of the features. The long life of both these directions in style is surprising. Behind this, the same tenacious, almost provincial adherence to late twelfth-century traditions is visible, an adherence which is also found in the sculpture of Strasbourg before the appearance of the Ecclesia Master.<sup>14</sup> It was only under his influence that a change of style was effected in the stained glass of Strasbourg. True, the window with Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in the north transept (Fig. 14) represents only a weak echo of the beautiful sculptures of the Ecclesia Master. In the sphere of influence of such an insistent workshop there can have been no place for an independent artistic personality, such as the Freiburg Master definitely must have been.

As, however, Freiburg itself cannot be considered as a location of the workshop, the only other possibility is Basel. As the architectonic relationships of the choir point to Basel in any case, it is certainly possible that the glazing should have been commissioned there as well. Once again, decisive material for comparison disappeared with the loss of the choir windows of Basel Cathedral. Perhaps—but this remains a hypothesis—Basel was artistically more open-minded than Strasbourg around 1200. In any case, the Freiburg panels deserve to be placed in a higher artistic order than the better-known stained-glass windows in Strasbourg. Even before the appearance of the Ecclesia Master, there is here a far-reaching liberalization from the bounds of the local Romanesque style, a breakthrough of the stylistic trend that was forged by the pioneering works of Nicholas of Verdun. As opposed to the work of the Ecclesia Master, the new principles of figuration fuse here with older elements into a powerful individual style, which remains without parallel on the upper Rhine. The isolated placing of the Freiburg panels is, however, not a result of the lack of monuments, but rather a reflection of the complex situation of art around 1200.

## Notes

1. One of these panels—Jacob with the ladder—was first exhibited in New York (*The Year 1200*, I, no. 237). Although all the panels had already been dealt with and reproduced by F. Geiges (*Der mittelalterliche Fensterschmuck des Freiburger Münsters*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931, pp. 1–13, figs. 1–43), a

comprehensive study of this significant stained-glass work was possible only in connection with the investigations for the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. It represents the basis for this paper. For additional reference see, therefore, R. Becksmann, "Das Jesse-Fenster aus dem spätromanischen Chor des Freiburger Münsters.

Ein Beitrag zur Kunst um 1200," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIII, 1969, pp. 8-48.

2. See Becksmann, "Das Jesse-Fenster." The present paper will concentrate only on stylistic problems.

3. F. Zschokke, *Die romanischen Glasgemälde des Strassburger Münsters*, Basel, 1942, pp. 176-181. The question of a connection between Strasbourg and Freiburg was first suggested by H. Wentzel in his review of Zschokke's book (*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XII, 1949, p. 135). The suggestion was taken up by I. Krummer-Schroth (*Glasmalereien aus dem Freiburger Münster*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1967, pp. 26-31), and was regarded as indisputable in E. Frodl-Kraft's review (*Kunstchronik*, 21, 1968, p. 339).

4. See W. Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg. Ein Beitrag zur kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung der Strassburger Querhausskulpturen*, Berlin, 1966, pp. 128-131, fig. 213.

5. For Strasbourg, see H. Wentzel, reviews of F. Zschokke in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 12, 1949, p. 134 f., and *Phoebus*, II, 1949, p. 92 f. W. Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg*, p. 131, note 218, has rejected these suppositions. For Cologne, see H. Wentzel, "Die Farbfenster des 13. Jh. in der Stiftskirche zu Bücken an der Weser," part 3, *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, III, 1964, p. 204, note 53. L. Grodecki ("Quelques observations sur le vitrail au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Rhénanie et en France," in *Mémorial d'un voyage d'études de la société nationale des antiquaires de France en Rhénanie*, Paris, 1953, p. 247), on the other hand, regards the early thirteenth-century Rhenish stained glass altogether in the context of the development of goldsmith's work and stained glass between the Meuse and the Rhine.

6. W. Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich: 1140-1270*, Munich, 1970, pp. 108-111, fig. 48 f., p. 113 f., pl. 80 f.

7. See H. Wentzel, *Meisterwerke der Glasmalerei*, Berlin<sup>2</sup>, 1954, pp. 22-24, 87, figs. 26-31, and G. M. Scheuffelen, "Die Glasfenster der Kirche St. Kunibert in Köln," Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1951.

8. L. Grodecki, *Le vitrail français*, Paris, 1958, p. 118, fig. 91.

9. See L. Grodecki, "Problèmes de la peinture en Champagne pendant la seconde moitié du douzième siècle," *Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, Princeton, 1963, I, p. 134, and *Le vitrail français*, p. 108.

10. Louis Grodecki pointed out that Isaiah's face was replaced, but it seems to be quite a faithful copy as the comparison with the prophet Zechariah's head (*The Year 1200*, II, ill. 85) shows.

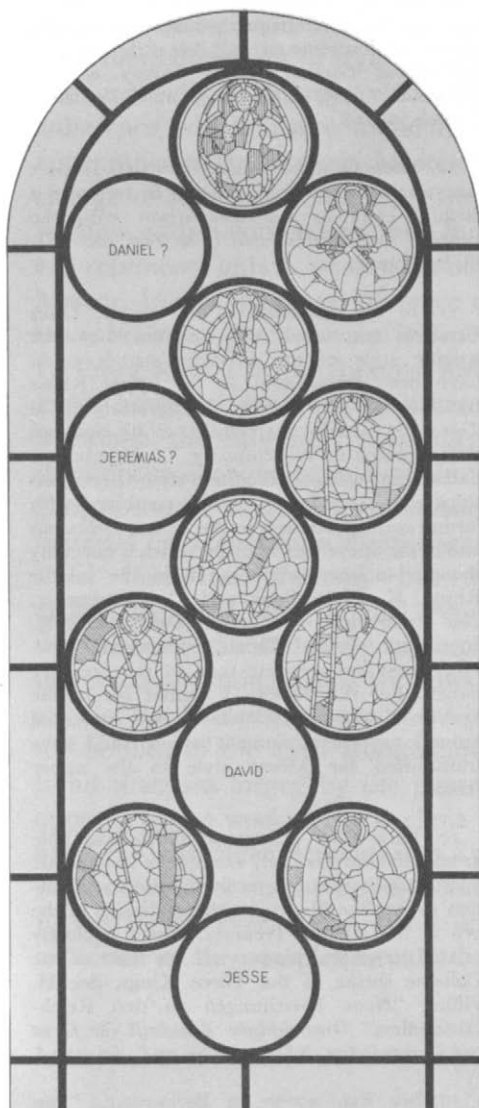
11. In the discussion of this paper, Louis Grodecki expressed the opinion that the specific style of the Freiburg panels could have been transmitted to the upper Rhine by way of the Speyer Evangelistary (*The Year 1200*, II, ill. 204) which, in his opinion, was executed in Wissembourg. O. Homburger had already recognized certain stylistic relationships with Nicholas of Verdun combined with formal correspondences in the *Hortus Deliciarum* and in the Speyer manuscript, which is normally thought to have originated from the middle Rhine. K. Preisendanz and O. Homburger, *Das Evangelistar des Speyerer Domes*, Leipzig, 1930, pp. 39-47. These connections, however, seem less concrete than in the Freiburg panels. For this reason, I cannot see in the Speyer Evangelistary, which was executed around 1197, a monument which could have transmitted the Mosan style to the upper Rhine.

12. In a letter, Hermann Fillitz was able to refer to a further early example of naturalistic foliate scrolls that has received little consideration so far: the filigree on the underside of the orb in the Vienna Treasury, which is closely related to several plaques on the front of the Cologne shrine of the Three Kings. See H. Fillitz, "Neue Forschungen zu den Reichskleinodien," *Osterreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, XII, 1958, p. 79 f., fig. 102 f.

13. See figs. 27-30 in Becksmann, "Das Jesse-Fenster."

14. Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg*, pp. 128-141.

**FIG. 1** *Reconstruction of the Jesse window, before 1218, Freiburg Minster*



**FIG. 2** *Virgin Mary from the Jesse window, before 1218, south transept, Freiburg Minster*

**FIG. 3** *Virgin Mary, about 1190, north transept, Strasbourg Cathedral*

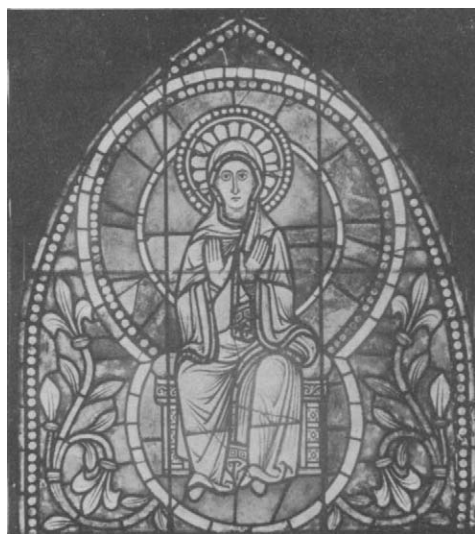




FIG. 4 *King Solomon from the Jesse window, before 1218, south transept, Freiburg Minster*



FIG. 5 *King David, Hortus deliciarum, fol. 59 r., copy, Alsace, 1185–90*



FIG. 6 *Solomon's Judgment, about 1190, north transept, Strasbourg Cathedral*

FIG. 7 *Archivolts with the Tree of Jesse, about 1195–1205, from the west façade (before restoration), Notre-Dame Cathedral, Laon*





FIG. 8 *Jacob's Benedictions*, detail from altar of Nicholas of Verdun, 1181, Klosterneuburg Abbey



FIG. 9 *Sacrifice of Isaac*, detail from altar of Nicholas of Verdun, 1181, Klosterneuburg Abbey



FIG. 10 *King Roboam*, detail from the Jesse window, before 1218, south transept, Freiburg Minster



FIG. 11 *King Dagobert* from the Life of St. Cunibert window, about 1220-30, St. Cunibert, Cologne



FIG. 12 *Jacob, detail from the Jesse window, before 1218, south transept, Freiburg Minster*



FIG. 13 *Prophet Isaiah, detail from clerestory window, about 1190 (?), St.-Remi, Reims*

*Photos: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1-6, 10, 12, 14; Bibliothèque Nationale, 7; Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna, 8, 9; Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne, 11; Monuments Historiques, 13*

FIG. 14 *King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, about 1220–30, north transept, Strasbourg Cathedral*



## The Canterbury Jesse Window

The stained glass from the eastern part of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, has long been recognized as one of the principal collections of English painting of the period 1180–1220.<sup>1</sup> However, twenty-five years have elapsed since the publication of Bernard Rackham's monograph, and in the interim little scholarly attention has been directed to these windows.<sup>2</sup> In view of the scepticism of Walter Oakeshott and others as to the authenticity of much of the glass,<sup>3</sup> I decided in 1967 to carry out a close examination from exterior scaffolding, in order to establish how much of the glass is in fact old. In many cases it was possible also to correlate these findings with prerestoration drawings and tracings, some dating from the mid-nineteenth century, now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the cathedral library. The results of this examination were not as negative as once feared. All but one panel from the typological windows now gathered in the two north choir aisle windows are old. Seven of the Trinity Chapel ambulatory windows and the east window of the corona contain glass that is more than half ancient.<sup>4</sup> The clerestory figures have also been examined in detail.<sup>5</sup> All the glass that remained continuously in the possession of the cathedral authorities from the 1840s to the present time had, however, been releaded and much of it was restored by three successive generations of glaziers.<sup>6</sup>

Two important exceptions are the panels surviving from a Jesse Tree; these are presently displayed in the first window on the north side of the corona, or axial chapel (Fig. 1, corona 1); they not only escaped extensive restoration, but also escaped publication in Rackham's compendium, though they were included in his small handbook at a later time.<sup>7</sup> Represented are King Josiah and the Virgin, clearly identified by inscriptions (Figs. 2a, 3a). From a colored tracing made by O. Hudson in 1948, and



from a description and drawings by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, which were made for the glazier Thomas Willement in 1841, it is known that these two figures from a Jesse Tree were then in the east window of the corona (Fig. 1, corona III).<sup>8</sup> Evidently they had been placed there as stopgaps, and were out of place in this typological Redemption window; in 1853 they were replaced by the glazier George Austin with compositions of his own which were more appropriate to their context.<sup>9</sup> It seems that the Jesse Tree panels were removed to the glass shop; a tracing made by Austin of the figure of Josiah has survived and was presumably the basis of his replicas which appeared in two full Jesse windows in the cathedral in later years (Fig. 4).<sup>10</sup> The original panels passed into the collection of the antiquarian Philip Nelson, who willed them back to the cathedral; in 1953 they were reinstalled in the corona, on the north side adjacent to one of Austin's Jesse windows.<sup>11</sup> In the two panels there has been little replacement of old glass; restoration apparently carried out before they left Canterbury is minimal, involving only the lower part of the tunic of Josiah, a small stopgap inserted in the robe of the Virgin, and a few pieces of background and leafage (Figs. 2b, 3b). Until 1953 the original leading remained in these panels, and it is now among the few medieval comes preserved at Canterbury, in the cathedral library.

The original position of the Jesse window remains uncertain, though it was in all probability in one of the four apertures on the north and south sides of the corona. All the windows have retained their original straight-bar armatures, and all have central openings of approximately the same dimensions as the two surviving panels.<sup>12</sup> Windows II and IV are wider than I and V, and would necessarily have accommodated secondary figures such as prophets flanking the royal ancestors, as seen in Austin's reconstruction (Fig. 4). The glass presently filling the rest of the lower part of window I is old only in part. Three lengths of border, also returned from the Nelson collection through the generosity of John Hunt, do not fit the ironwork, and a secondary border, with quatrefoil leaf motifs, is a modern copy of bands of decoration found in the Jesse Tree panels. Even the armature of this narrower window could have accommodated prophets, if they were contained in semicircles which interrupted the ornamental border of the window, which was not an unusual arrangement.<sup>13</sup> Window II, however, remains a strong possibility although it is not known whether Austin found any fragments of the Tree in situ, and no old glass was incorporated into his design.<sup>14</sup>

A Jesse window associated with a Passion window has precedents at St.-Denis and at Chartres;<sup>15</sup> from a later time one can cite the Ste.-Chapelle in Paris as having a Jesse window in the eastern rond-point, on the north side not far from the Passion in the east window.<sup>16</sup> The Canterbury Jesse window

should be viewed in the context of the glazing of the eastern part of the church, the part of the building reconstructed between 1174 and 1184.<sup>17</sup> The clerestory windows contained a series of eighty-four ancestors of Christ, taken from the genealogies of Luke 3: 23–28 and Matthew 1: 1–17 and represented as full-length seated figures (Fig. 1, windows 1–8, 10–22, 28–40, 42–49). The Jesse window, situated at the lower level (Fig. 1, corona window 1 or 11), recapitulates this series with different emphasis. It was placed alongside a window with typological subjects, treating the Passion and Redemption; this completed the cycle of twelve typological windows which began on the north side of the choir and probably extended through the eastern transepts and presbytery at the lower level;<sup>18</sup> the corona glazing was the knot that tied together the programs of the upper and lower windows. It can thus be viewed as an integral part of a program of glazing laid out for the whole eastern part of the building as early as 1175–1179.<sup>19</sup> The style of some of the Canterbury windows, however, and the history of the Benedictine house of Christ Church, suggest that there were delays in the completion of this program; the Canterbury Jesse window will therefore be given an approximate date on the basis of style, and this will afterwards be correlated with what is known of the history of the building. First, however, I will give a brief outline of the iconographic tradition which is evident in the Canterbury window, since both this and the style indicate the close ties existing around 1200 between Canterbury and the Continent.

It is perhaps not surprising that this is one of three papers in this volume to treat a Tree of Jesse in stained glass; the theme was a common one around 1200, by which time many local adaptations and variations had been created.<sup>20</sup> In psalters, a Tree of Jesse sometimes formed a full-page illustration (Fig. 5), or filled the Beatus initial to Psalm 1.<sup>21</sup> Windows in France commonly followed the schema first used in the abbey church of St.-Denis in 1144, in which prophets were placed beside the royal ancestors of the line of David.<sup>22</sup> But, more extended genealogies, including ancestor busts as well as enthroned kings, were current in Germany, as at Legden.<sup>23</sup> A similar extended scheme is in the painted roof of Hildesheim Abbey,<sup>24</sup> and a more complex one in the portal of the Virgin of Parma baptistery, by Antelami.<sup>25</sup> Compared with these, the Canterbury window appears very conservative; it lies clearly in the tradition of the St.-Denis and Chartres windows of the mid-twelfth century (Figs. 2a, 6). The ornamental and yet extremely vigorous branches of the tree with their fantastic composite flowers are similar. In both panels the organic relation of the figure to the tree is expressed by the small shoots which appear behind his shoulders, but at Chartres the figure is more cohesively related to the tree, in a way which is analogous to a statue column; at Canterbury the figures are seated on a

combination of thrones and orbs which tend to set them apart from the tree.<sup>26</sup> The Chartrain formula had been used previously in English glass painting. A fragmentary panel with a king, preserved in York Minster, dates in all probability from about 1170 (Fig. 7);<sup>27</sup> the disposition of the figure and of the branches may be seen in the outline preserved in the leads. It is essentially the same as that of the Chartres panels and that of the panel with the Virgin at Canterbury (Figs. 6, 3a). The Canterbury example may, however, reflect renewed contacts with the Continent. A page in the so-called Psalter of Blanche of Castille provides a close comparison with the Canterbury window (Fig. 5). An important similarity is seen in the use of thrones; in both the strong central accent provided by the trunk of the tree, as seen at Chartres and York, has been broken; the trunk is masked by ornamental palmettes which serve to knit together the elliptical side shoots. However, in the psalter all the figures but the Virgin are freed from the tree in that they no longer grasp its branches with both hands; further, the subsidiary shoots are more developed, forming a complex system of intertwining scrolls, and much of the divisive clarity still seen at Canterbury is gone.<sup>28</sup>

A comparison of style is useful here as well. In both works the figures are partially enveloped in long loops of drapery, the linear rhythms of which are emphasized by unmodeled passages. The Canterbury Virgin, however, is more symmetrically frontal and more solidly constructed than her counterpart in the psalter; the drapery of the Canterbury figure does not mask the geometrically organized volumes of the legs and body, and these are depicted with a greater plasticity than is evident in the psalter paintings. The French book has been dated on historical evidence between 1200 and 1223;<sup>29</sup> the comparison made here suggests that it represents a more evolved Gothic style, both in the ornament and in the figure painting, and the Canterbury Jesse window might be placed somewhat earlier. I shall now examine the place of this window within the Canterbury style groups, before suggesting wider comparisons with other English and Continental works.

Representatives of an earlier style phase at Canterbury appear in the north choir aisle, and in the figures of ancestors from the clerestory of the choir and eastern transepts (Fig. 1). Josiah may be compared with Pharaoh from the Exodus in the north choir aisle, an example of the work of a very distinctive classicizing painter (Figs. 2a, 8).<sup>30</sup> Pharaoh, with his head turned and his feet crossed, is more active in space than Josiah, but the regular patterning of the drapery folds gives the figure a serenity characteristic of the work of this master. On the other hand, the early clerestory figures, even in a rare frontal position such as that of Joanna (Fig. 9), are characterized by a more turbulent linear quality than the Jesse Tree figures, and a marked asymmetry

is present in the legs. Draperies are wound around the figures, especially here around the arm of Joanna, in contrast to the broad planes of Josiah's mantle. Joanna's wide, bony shoulders give him an appearance of physical strength quite lacking in Josiah.

Later style groups in the Canterbury glass include the work in the Trinity Chapel ambulatory of the "Fitz-Eisulf Painter." He is named for the series of nine scenes, dealing with miracles effected by Thomas Becket in the household of Jordan Fitz-Eisulf, in the easternmost window on the north side of the Trinity Chapel adjacent to the corona (Fig. 1, vi). The figure of Jordan Fitz-Eisulf (Fig. 10) is more attenuated, and to a much greater extent masked by draperies; the treatment is broader and more cursory, rapid linear execution replacing the subtle modulation of tone in the Jesse Tree figures. The differences are more pronounced than would arise merely from a more expressive narrative mode.<sup>31</sup>

The chronology suggested here might also be supported by an analysis of the ornament in the different groups of windows, but that will have to be reserved for a lengthier study than this. However, the colors of the Jesse Window deserve mention. The blue of the ground is less limpid and slightly greener than that of the north choir aisle windows; it is similar to that used in the east window of the corona or the Trinity Chapel ambulatory windows. In the foliage and figures there is a preponderance of mid-green, brownish purple or murrey, and white, with rare touches of red and yellow. There is less obvious control of tonal values, especially in the blues, than in the north choir aisle, although it will be noticed that the green and purple of the Virgin's robes are more brilliant than those used for Josiah. Compared with the Trinity Chapel, on the other hand, the color scheme is rather simple and less brilliant than at least some of the windows of the ambulatory, where acid greens, hard yellows, and reds are much in evidence.

The personal style of the Jesse Tree Master is not restricted to the corona; his hand is readily recognizable in some of the panels in the oculus at clerestory level in the northeast transept and in the figures from a clerestory window on the north side at the entrance to the Trinity Chapel (Fig. 1, nos. 9, 17).<sup>32</sup> The prophet Daniel in the oculus, whose head is unfortunately a restoration, provides a close comparison in the broad sweep of his mantle from the shoulder, and in the complexity of folds between the thighs, where they take on an ornamental quality quite apart from the underlying form (Fig. 11).<sup>33</sup> The same characteristics are salient in the less well preserved figure which has been identified as Salmon, from the Trinity Chapel clerestory (Fig. 12).<sup>34</sup> The head in this case may be a copy of the original, the drapery is essentially ancient, though severely broken. Both Daniel and Salmon possess a degree of restlessness, of pose and of line, which contrasts

with the calm aspect of Josiah. However, the breaking down of the figure into separate units, and the juxtaposition of calm and agitated passages is a feature shared by all three. The same points of comparison are offered by the figure of Ezekiel, another of the prophets in the north oculus; the mantle is clearly from the same hand as Josiah, and comparing details of the heads, I conclude that that of Ezekiel, though modern, is a good copy of the original (Figs. 13, 14). In the head of Josiah the painter's graphic style is well seen; the features are strongly outlined and the face reduced to a series of interlocking ovoid forms; the crown, face, neck, and tunic border form autonomous symmetrical units.

The style of the Jesse Master will now be examined for its relation to other English and Continental works. The figure of King David in a prefatory page to the Westminster Psalter (Fig. 15)<sup>35</sup> offers significant points of comparison. The portrait of Josiah appears as a translation of the essential structure of the head of David into purely linear terms; the outlining of features, especially of the chin as it appears through the beard, is the same, and the crown is given the same angular shape. In both there is a loosening of form in the hair and beard. The more painterly treatment of the musculature and of the draperies, and the bulkiness of the figure of David, however, suggest a more classicizing style. In terms of stylistic development, the Canterbury Jesse Tree might be placed slightly later than the prefatory pages to the Westminster Psalter.<sup>36</sup>

The sprawled figure of Salmon from the clerestory may be said to represent a distinct "mode" from the calm, frontal figures of the Jesse Window; my contention however is that the figure belongs to an earlier period of the Master's career. The expansive pose can be related to figures by Nicholas of Verdun in the Klosterneuberg altar of 1181, as that of Jacob in the scene of benediction.<sup>37</sup> In spite of differences in the treatment of drapery, both artists demonstrate an acute interest in complexity of surface, evinced by a multiplicity of criss-crossing folds. The Canterbury figure differs most markedly in its greater attenuation, especially of the limbs, and in the divisive treatment of structure, in contrast to the compactness of Jacob and the organic unity in the curve from head to toe. One should perhaps view the two works as products of parallel developments on either side of the Channel around 1180. The restless energy of the Canterbury figure seems to derive from the "dynamic" phase of late Romanesque painting, to be seen in a fairly extreme form in a group of clerestory figures from the choir and the first window in the west side of the northeast transept, here illustrated by the figure of Noah (Fig. 1, nos. 1-6; Fig. 16).<sup>38</sup>

The relationship to English art can again, as in the case of Josiah, be widened. A drawing in a manuscript which has been attributed to the St.

Albans' scriptorium represents Tobias and the angel (Fig. 17). Here the linear technique is associated with a flattening of form, a divisive structuring, and ornamental qualities which are closely comparable to the glass painter's work. In the case of the figures of Daniel and Tobias the treatment of the edges of their mantles and of the folds between their legs, as well as the use of broad passages of drapery falling in the picture plane, are almost identical. However, the wide, jutting shoulders of Tobias are more reminiscent of the figure of Joanna from the Canterbury choir clerestory (Fig. 9). It would be hard to date the drawing significantly later than Joanna or Daniel.<sup>39</sup> However, before considering the date of the early style of the Jesse Master, it will be well to study his later development in relation to broader stylistic movements.

The later phase of the Jesse Tree Master's work, as illustrated in the figure of the Virgin, is comparable to the first phase of Gothic style on the Continent; relief figures of the Liberal Arts on the central west portal of Sens Cathedral provide important similarities in the treatment of the frontal, seated figure (Figs. 3a, 18). In both works, emphasis is laid on the geometric structure of the figure; the rotundity of the stomach is outlined in the drapery and separated from the squared torso by a belt. Also in both the figures are heavily draped in mantles, calmly outlined, and poised. The sculptures have been dated in the 1190s by Katzenellenbogen and about 1200 by Sauerländer;<sup>40</sup> a comparable date is more acceptable for the Canterbury Jesse window than one closer to the Psalter of Blanche of Castille, of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. This is confirmed by comparison with the figure of Christ in Majesty from the summit of the Prodigal Son window in the nave of Chartres Cathedral, which was probably executed in the first two decades of the thirteenth century (Fig. 19);<sup>41</sup> in spite of similar linear rhythms in the sleeves and mantle, the figure of Christ demonstrates a more advanced Gothic style; the clarity of structure and the equilibrium of the figure of the Virgin have given way to an almost complete masking of articulations and an asymmetry so pronounced as to cause imbalance.

It is scarcely possible to discuss the Canterbury representations of frontal, seated figures without reference to the stained glass of the abbey church of St. Remigius of Rheims; the figures from the upper windows of that church, as yet unpublished, have been dated on historical evidence sometime after 1172;<sup>42</sup> Hosea is one of the few entirely frontal figures (Fig. 20). The calm outlining, the vertical positioning of the lower legs, and the slender proportions of Hosea provide important affinities with Josiah; however, there is greater emphasis at Rheims on organic unity and on plasticity of form, arising chiefly from the continuous sweep of the mantle. The representation of Hosea might be placed slightly earlier than the Jesse Tree.

It has been found that a transformation of style was effected at Canterbury between the clerestory glazing of the choir and the glazing of the Jesse window in the corona; a parallel transformation is noticeable even within the oeuvre of the Jesse Tree Master, between the upper windows and the Jesse Tree itself. This style change was most probably a consequence of influences from the northeast of France, through works comparable to the St. Remigius figures.<sup>43</sup> The new style had arrived in England, at least in some works, before the end of the twelfth century.<sup>44</sup> The obverse of the Second Great Seal of Richard I (Fig. 21) bears a remarkable similarity to the figure of Josiah from the Canterbury Jesse Tree; the seal was in use during the year 1198–1199, but may have been made, in London, as early as May 1195.<sup>45</sup>

The comparisons of style made so far have served to place the work of the Jesse Tree Master in a middle phase in terms of the chronology of Canterbury glazing. Comparisons with works produced outside Canterbury indicate that a date of about 1190–1200 or so would be acceptable for the Jesse window. I shall now briefly examine the history of Christ Church to see whether this date is plausible historically.

Although there are no contemporary records of the glazing of Canterbury Cathedral, even in Gervase's account of the rebuilding after the fire of 1174,<sup>46</sup> it does seem possible to indicate three distinct glazing campaigns. In 1180, at Easter, the monks entered the newly reconstructed choir. The part of the building so far completed was closed off by a temporary wooden screen, which passed immediately behind the main altar (Fig. 1).<sup>47</sup> From the fact that there is a change in the basic design of the armatures of the clerestory windows at exactly this point, it seems highly probable that the glazing west of this screen was complete, at least at this upper level, by Easter 1180; Joanna, from window 39 in the southeast transept (Fig. 9), would belong to this first campaign, as would the figures of prophets in the oculus of the northeast transept, which I have attributed to the Jesse Tree Master (Figs. 11, 13).<sup>48</sup> A consideration of the textual sources has indicated that the whole program of glazing for the eastern part of the building had been laid out by about 1180, but historical circumstances in the eighties and nineties may not have been conducive to its rapid execution. First there were financial difficulties, beginning in 1183 when all construction was suspended for a year,<sup>49</sup> followed by bitter disputes with two successive archbishops, the Cistercian Baldwin and Hubert Walter.<sup>50</sup> In 1199, the dispute between the monks and Hubert Walter was settled; in the terms of agreement the brethren undertook financial liability for the "perfecting" of the Cathedral church, a term which at that date must have referred to decoration; the chief lacuna in the new building must have been the glazing to the east of the 1180 screen.<sup>51</sup> I therefore suppose that an intensive

glazing campaign was underway in 1200. This, however, would have been discontinued from 1207 to 1213, during which time the inmates of the house were in France taking refuge from King John.<sup>52</sup> The Trinity Chapel ambulatory window from which a detail is illustrated here (Fig. 10) might belong to a third campaign, after 1213.<sup>53</sup>

If the Jesse Tree Master contributed the figures of prophets to the glazing of the oculus before Easter 1180, it is reasonable to suppose, on stylistic grounds, that his figures of Salmon and Booz were painted for a clerestory window not far to the east of the screen only shortly afterwards (Fig. 1). The Jesse Tree represents his later style, and was executed perhaps in the 1190s. It can with certainty be placed in the second glazing campaign, which was cut short in 1207. The works of this painter, even those that have chanced to survive in such an ephemeral medium as glass, are of very high quality. They attest to the fact that artists in England no less than on the Continent were creating a new style. The career of the anonymous Jesse Tree Master of Canterbury paralleled that of his renowned near-contemporary, Nicholas of Verdun. One might also indicate an English parallel, in the career of the Morgan Master of the Winchester Bible.<sup>54</sup>

## Notes

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude grants from Radcliffe College and the Mellon Foundation for British Art that enabled me to work at Canterbury in 1967; and thanks are also due to the Dean and Chapter for permission to scaffold the windows, and to the cathedral architect, B. C. Doughty, the cathedral librarian, William Urry, and the retired glazier to the cathedral, George Easton, all of whom helped in numerous ways.

1. See Emile Mâle in André Michel, *Histoire Générale de l'Art*, Paris, 1907, II, part I, p. 375; Julius Baum, *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters*, II, *Deutschland, Frankreich und Britannien*, Potsdam, 1930, pp. 297-298; O. E. Saunders, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 100-102, 236-238; Walter Oakeshott, *The Sequence of English Medieval Art*, London, 1950, p. 47; T. S. R. Boase, *English Art: 1100-1216*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 291-293; Peter Brieger, *English Art: 1216-1307*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 94-95; Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., London-Baltimore, 1965, pp. 109-110, 113. It has generally been assumed, however, that the glazing extended beyond 1220.

2. Bernard Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, Canterbury, 1949. The handbook of 1957 by the same author, though briefer, contains some new material. Some important iconographical observations have since been made by Adelheid Heimann, "A Twelfth-Century Manuscript from Winchcombe and its Illustrations," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVIII, 1965, pp. 92-93, but these are not part of a systematic study of the Canterbury glass. The material presented here is drawn from my doctoral dissertation, 1970, which dealt with a part of the glass.

3. Walter Oakeshott, review of *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury* by Bernard Rackham in *The*



*Antiquaries Journal*, XXXI, 1951, pp. 86-89. The restoration record was made with the help of George Easton, who had aided in the restoration of the glass from 1908 until recent years. A list of restoration drawn up from photographs in 1951 by Bernard Rackham and Samuel Caldwell, Jr., is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Ceramics, but it was not found to be complete.

4. The glass is described in my "Catalogue of the Stained Glass of the Trinity Chapel, Corona and North Choir Aisle Triforium Windows of Canterbury Cathedral," 1967 (typescripts in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Ceramics, and in Canterbury Cathedral library).

5. Examination was completed in 1971; it will now be possible to reassess the importance of the Canterbury glass in its totality.

6. For a brief account of the restorations, see Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 24-27; also Caviness, "Catalogue of the Stained Glass," pp. 24-33.

7. The disappearance of the Jesse Tree was noticed by N. H. J. Westlake, *A History of Design in Painted Glass*, London, 1881, I, p. 41, who knew of its previous existence from Charles Winston, "An Account of the Painted Glass in Lincoln Cathedral and Southwell Minster," *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, 1848, p. 91. The loss was further publicized by Hugh Arnold and Lawrence B. Saint, *Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France*, London, 1939 (1st ed., 1913), p. 72, and by Bernard Rackham, *Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Ceramics: A Guide to the Collections of Stained Glass*, London, 1936, p. 32. Some details of ornament were published from drawings in Lewis D. Day, *Windows: A Book about Stained and Painted Glass*, London, 1909, fig. 250, without giving the source. Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 116-117, gave a fuller discussion of the disappearance of the Jesse Tree, and reproduced Hudson's drawing of the Virgin, pl. v (b). Brief mentions of the re-discovered panels include: Bernard Rackham, *The Stained Glass Windows of Canterbury Cathedral*, Canterbury, 1957, pp. 44-45, pl. 4; D. Ingram Hill, *The Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, Canterbury [1962], p. 18; John Baker and Alfred Lammer, *English Stained Glass*, New York [1960], p. 46, pl. 11; Jean Lafond, *Le vitrail*, Paris, 1966, p. 103.

8. J. G. Joyce, *Specimens of the Ancient Stained*

*Glass in Canterbury Cathedral Drawn for Thomas Willement*, 1841, Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. of Prints, 93.H.29, no. 4523.39; O. Hudson's watercolors are also in the print room, nos. 4154.1 and 4154.9.

9. The Crucifixion and Resurrection, see Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 74, 76. Westlake, *A History of Design in Painted Glass*, p. 102, pls. LX and LXI, accepted the Crucifixion as a genuine work of the thirteenth century.

10. A Jesse window in one of the chapels on the east side of the southeast transept is dated 1854; another was placed in the corona, in the second window on the north side, in 1861.

11. It is not, perhaps, surprising that Nelson did not refer to any of his glass in his book, *Ancient Painted Glass in England: 1170-1500*, London, 1913, of which pp. 103-120 contain an account of the cathedral glass; it appears, however, that he bought the glass in Canterbury about 1908. Other panels acquired by him passed in 1953 into the collection of John Hunt in Ireland (see *The Year 1200*, I, nos. 226-228, 230; no. 228 was given by Hunt to the Victoria and Albert Museum). Since 1968 a large panel with two figured medallions, described in Conseil de l'Europe, *L'Europe gothique: XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1968, no. 202, has been acquired from Hunt by the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond and is the subject of an article in *Arts in Virginia*, 13, 1973, pp. 4-15.

12. In windows I-V of the corona, the central rectangular unit is 30 in. high in each case; the widths in II-V are uniformly 30½-31 in.; the panels now in window I are 33 in. wide, but may have been filled out slightly in re-leading—it is to be noted that they were once accommodated in window III where the ironwork is slightly narrower.

13. The border of window I is unusually wide (14½ in., cf. 11½ in. in window V and between 7 and 10 in. in the Trinity Chapel ambulatory windows); panels from a Jesse window in the Victoria and Albert Museum, nos. 5, 6-1881, include several such prophets, about 12 in. wide (see Rackham, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, pp. 32-33, pl. 4); these formed part of a Jesse window of about 1220 from northeast France, see Louis Grodecki in Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Le vitrail français*, Paris, 1958, p. 140, fig. 110.

14. There is some slight evidence that he copied the border from an original which has

since disappeared; the motif is found at Sens, and since there are other exact correspondences between Sens and Canterbury ornament, and since Austin used only local models so far as can be ascertained, it is probable he was copying an original Canterbury fragment. No other figures, however, have the appearance of being copied from the original Tree.

15. At Chartres, the Jesse window, of about 1150–1155, is in the west façade, on the north side of the central Infancy of Christ window, and balanced to the south by a Passion window; it has recently been demonstrated that three somewhat similar windows once existed in the easternmost ambulatory chapels of St.-Denis abbey church, dating from about 1144; one window contained a typological Passion, the forerunner of that at Canterbury; in the axial chapel were the Jesse window and the Infancy of Christ (see Louis Grodecki, "Les vitraux de St.-Denis: L'enfance du Christ," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, New York, 1961, pp. 177–185).

16. Louis Grodecki in M. Aubert, J. Lafond, L. Grodecki, and J. Verrier, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France, I, Les vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris*, Paris, 1959, pp. 81–82, who sees the principal meaning of the Jesse Tree, in this context, as prophetic; there is also an Infancy of Christ in the Ste.-Chapelle, interposed between the Jesse Tree and the Passion window, as at Chartres.

17. The rebuilding, after a fire, was documented by an inmate of the house, Gervase (Gervasius), *Tractatus de combustione et reparatione Cantuariensis Ecclesiae*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Gervasii Cantuariensis Opera Historica*, Rolls Series 73, I, London, 1879, pp. 3–29.

18. It has generally been assumed that there were properly only twelve windows in this series—as by M. R. James, *The Verses Formerly Inscribed on Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society Octavo Publications, no. 38, Cambridge, 1901; the inscriptions from these twelve windows were recorded in a fourteenth-century manuscript, but those in the corona window were not associated with them, probably because of its physical separation in the building.

19. The evidence is discussed in full in my thesis, "The Stained Glass of the Trinity Chapel Ambulatory of Canterbury Cathedral," Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1970 (chap. IV, pp.

126 ff.). James, *The Verses Formerly Inscribed on Twelve Windows*, p. 10, had already suggested that the inscriptions for the twelve typological windows, which had been used at Peterborough, were sent to Canterbury by Benedict soon after he became abbot there in 1177. Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Peterborough Abbey and the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, XXXIII, 1970, pp. 36–49, has attempted to reverse this chronology.

20. Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, Oxford–London, 1934, studied representations up to about 1200, and concluded (p. 146) that not all were "merely dependents on one detailed formula."

21. As illustration to Psalm 1, the Tree of Jesse is found chiefly in English manuscripts; see Günther Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert* [Kiel], 1938, pp. 10, 16, 100, 118. Examples of full-page representations of the twelfth century are in Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pls. xvii (Psalter of Henry of Blois) and xviii (Shaftsbury Psalter). A later example, from the Continent, is referred to below, n. 28.

22. The glass at St.-Denis is much restored; the original composition is known from the drawings of Charles Percier, made in 1793–1794; see Grodecki, "Les vitraux de St.-Denis," p. 179. More recently a fragment in Scotland has been identified by Professor Wentzel as a prophet from the St.-Denis Jesse window; see [William Wells], Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, *Figure and Ornamental Subjects: Stained and Painted Glass: The Burrell Collection*, Glasgow, 1965, no. 8, with bibliography. The mid-twelfth-century window of Chartres has fourteen prophets; see Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pp. 120–125, pl. xxvi, and Yves Delaporte and Etienne Houvet, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Chartres, 1926, color pl. 1, pls. I–III, pp. 143–149.

23. Johannes Sommer, *Das Deckenbild der Michaeliskirche zu Hildesheim*, Hildesheim, 1966, p. 44, fig. 39. Rüdiger Becksmann, "Das Jesse-Fenster aus dem spätromanischen Chor des Freiburger Münsters," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIII, 1969, pp. 26–29, gave a useful survey of French and German developments.

24. Sommer, *Das Deckenbild der Michaeliskirche zu Hildesheim*, pp. 51–53, and numerous plates.

25. The Baptistry was founded in 1196, with Benedetto Antelami in charge of the building. Twelve royal ancestors of the Virgin on the right jamb are balanced by twelve sons of Jacob on the left; in the lunette are twelve prophets with busts of apostles; see Pietro Toesca, *Il battistero di Parma. Architetture e scultore di Benedetto Antelami*, Milan [ca. 1960], pp. 9, 14, illus. p. 19; and Geza da Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami*, Florence-Milan, 1952, p. 197, figs. 225, 227, 233.

26. The use of orbs is an unusual feature of the Canterbury iconography; the Virgin is seated on a throne, with a footstool, but placed prominently in front of the throne is a blue orb, outlined in yellow. The image suggests Regina Coeli, in spite of the inscription *Sancta Maria*. In the case of Josiah, the orb is red and is placed less conspicuously behind the throne; a heavenly connotation may nonetheless be intended, and the proximity of Redemption windows may be significant; in the east window, the Almighty appears in the summit, seated on a yellow orb. The arch of heaven is frequently represented at Canterbury—Abia, from the clerestory, is seated on an arch (Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, pl. 6c), and several other figures rest their feet on one (ibid., pls. 5a-c, 6a, b, d, 7c, d). The use of a red ground encircled by blue for the Freiburg Jesse Tree figures should probably be understood as part of a German decorative tradition, rather than having cosmological meaning; Becksmann, "Das Jesse-Fenster," figs. 29-31.

27. By comparison with the Master of the Apocrypha Drawings of the Winchester Bible (Walter Oakeshott, *The Artists of the Winchester Bible*, London, 1945, pl. xii) and with St. Sigismund on the base of the reliquary head of St. Oswald in the Hildesheim Cathedral treasury (Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, London, 1967, fig. 484, p. 79). Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pp. 140-141, gave earlier bibliography for the York figure. Recent literature is given by Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967, p. 34, and Becksmann, "Das Jesse-Fenster," p. 26. A Tree of Jesse probably also once existed in Lincoln Cathedral; one king's head has been identified by Jean Lafond, "The Stained Glass Decoration of Lincoln Cathedral in the Thirteenth Century," *Archaeological Journal*, CIII, 1946, no. 15, pp. 127-128, pl. xix; it may be dated early in the thirteenth century on the basis of style, and departs from the St.-Denis tradition in that it is a three-quarter view.

28. The subdivision of the psalter page into demi-circles, a central arched element, and vesicas, however, gives it the appearance of a "vitrail de poche"; a more unified composition had already been used in the Ingeborg Psalter; see Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, pl. x.

29. H. Martin, *Psautier de Saint Louis et de Blanche de Castille*, Paris [1909], pp. 3-12.

30. Caviness, "The Stained Glass of the Trinity Chapel Ambulatory," pp. 80-81; he is one of the painters who executed the north choir aisle windows, whom I previously grouped as a single "Master of the North Choir Aisle Windows"; see Caviness, "A Panel of Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass from Canterbury in America," *The Antiquaries Journal*, XLV, 1965, p. 194.

31. The Trinity Chapel glass has customarily been dated rather late, generally after the translation of the relics of Thomas Becket, July 7, 1220; as by Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 81-82; Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass in England: 1170-1500*, p. 109; Westlake, *A History of Design in Painted Glass*, I, p. 110. In my view, the glazing of the lower windows was completed by the translation, and the westernmost of them may have been designed as the building progressed.

32. In my thesis, "The Stained Glass of the Trinity Chapel Ambulatory," p. 113 and fig. 6, this painter was tentatively called the "Booz Painter"; the Jesse Tree panels are, however, the most perfectly preserved examples of his work and it is preferable to name him after them; his surviving works at Canterbury may be listed here; they are, Booz and Salmon from clerestory window 17, four prophets in the north oculus (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel), and the Jesse Tree figures. For the first two groups, see Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 44-45, 49, and pl. iv. In the course of the present study he has emerged as an autonomous artistic personality and it seems preferable therefore to give him the title of "Master," that of "Painter" being used for those who were probably executing panels from cartoons by another hand.

33. My knowledge of the restoration in the oculus comes from tracings of the glass preserved in the Cathedral library.

34. The identification was first made by Canon A. J. Mason, *Guide to the Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, Canterbury, 1925, p. 13.

The figures are now in the south window of the southwest transept; see Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 37, 44. That the figure is from window 17 was confirmed by measurements taken in 1971.

35. London, British Museum, Royal Ms. 2 A xxii, see E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Centuries*, London, 1926, pls. 62–63, pp. 90–91; Boase, *English Art: 1100–1216*, pp. 284–287, pl. 85b. A St. Albans' origin has been proposed for the manuscript on the basis of several leaves bound in at the end that are related in style to Matthew Paris' school at St. Albans. More recent discussions are by Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, pp. 92–93, and D. H. Turner in *The Year 1200*, II, pp. 135–136, ills. 177–179. Louis Grodecki, "Problèmes de la peinture en Champagne pendant la seconde moitié du douzième siècle," *Romanesque and Gothic Art: Studies in Western Art*, Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art, I, Princeton, 1963, p. 131, had noticed a general similarity between the early Canterbury glazing, the Westminster Psalter prefatory pages, and the "Gothic Majesty" of the Winchester Bible. The figure of Joanna, discussed above, compares very closely to the drawings in the initials to Psalm 110 by the so-called Master of the Gothic Majesty; see Oakeshott, *The Artists of the Winchester Bible*, pls. xxxviii, xliv.

36. The Westminster Psalter paintings are generally dated about 1200 on stylistic grounds.

37. Illustrated in Floridus Röhrig, *Der verduner Altar*, Munich–Vienna [1955], pl. 38.

38. Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 33, now in the southwest transept.

39. The "Bestiary," of which the drawings form an integral part, has not been fully studied. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*: fig. 545, p. 84, assigned it to the early thirteenth century, as did Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, p. 108. Brieger, *English Art: 1216–1307*, pp. 149–150, pl. 50, described the drawings as being in Matthew Paris' style, an overstatement of the connection with Matthew; this stylistic link is, however, grounds for a tentative attribution to St. Albans. See also D. H. Turner in *The Year 1200*, II, ills. 188–189, who suggested a date of 1210–1220. The book is in fact an oddly ordered collection of writings, including the bestiary of Hugh of St. Victor; see *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge,

1858, III, no. 2040, pp. 670–673. The illustration discussed here is one of three to the tract *de naturis Angelorum*; there are also three author portraits in the book, from the same hand.

40. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, "Iconographic Novelties and Transformations in the Sculpture of French Church Façades, ca. 1160–1190," *Romanesque and Gothic Art: Studies in Western Art*, ed. Millard Meiss, Princeton, 1963, pp. 112–113; Willibald Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich*, Munich [1970], pp. 49, 99–102.

41. Window LVIII, see Delaporte and Houvet, pp. 9–10, 381–383; Grodecki in *Le vitrail français*, pp. 124, 129, dated this window 1200–1210 or 1215, and related the style to that of the left-hand window (Legends of Theophilus and of St. Stephen) in the east end of Laon Cathedral—dated by Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, p. 157, before 1205.

42. Grodecki, "Problèmes de la peinture en Champagne," p. 134.

43. Other series of seated figures from upper windows are known but the St. Remigius figures may have been the earliest, at least, on the Continent, as suggested by Jane Hayward in *The Year 1200*, I, no. 202, p. 196. The impact of stylistic influence from the Continent does not appear in the earliest of the Canterbury clerestory figures—those from the choir—which suggests that the inception of the Canterbury program may predate that of St. Remigius.

44. Larry Ayres, "A Tanner Manuscript in the Bodleian Library and some Notes on English Painting of the Late Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, discussed the Crucifixion miniature in Ms. Tanner 169, which is dated before 1193, in relation to Continental style trends (pp. 50–54). The concept of a "Channel School" has recently been modified, originally by Francis Wormald, to that of a "Court Style"; see M.-M. Gauthier, "Le goût plantagenet," *Stil und überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, I, Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn, 1964, Berlin, 1967, p. 142.

45. Fritz Saxl, *English Sculptures of the Twelfth Century*, ed. Hanns Swarzenski, Boston [1952], pp. 20–21, pl. nd; Boase, *English Art: 1100–1216*, p. 275; W. de Gray Birch, *British Museum: Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts*, London, 1887, I, nos. 87–90, p. 14; Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta: 1087–1216*, Oxford, 1955, p. 373, n. 6; Lionel Landon,

*The Itinerary of Richard I*, Pipe Roll Society, LI, n.s. 13, London, 1935, p. 178. I am grateful to the late Professor Wormald for the last reference.

46. Gervase, *Tractatus de combustione*. . . .

47. Ibid., p. 22: "Paries quoque ligneus ad secludendas tempestates ex parte orientis per transversum inter pilarios penultimos positus est, tres vitreas continens fenestras." The meaning of "penultimos" must be, in context, the next to last of the ten piers so far constructed, which are mentioned in the previous passage p. 20, and not the next to last piers of the choir proper. As seen in the plan (Fig. 1) the screen probably passed immediately behind the main altar and the altars of SS. Dunstan and Alphege to which their relics had been translated for the 1180 entry. In view of the ambiguity of the text, I am glad to have the position of the screen confirmed by Kenneth Severens, who was kind enough to communicate his reasoning, which is based on a detailed knowledge of the building.

48. This judgment also includes the work of the "Master of the Parable of the Sower" who collaborated with the Jesse Tree Master in the north oculus (figures of Moses and Synagogue and four Virtues, Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, pls. 9-11), and who supplied scenes for the sixth window of the typological series, now gathered in window 11 of the north choir aisle, but originally in a window of the transept, below the oculus (ibid., pls. 15a, b, 17c-f, color pl. v).

49. Gervase, *Tractatus de combustione*. . . , p. 29.

50. Ibid., pp. 29 ff. The disputes were followed in detail by William Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, *Epistolae Cantuariensis*, the Letters of the Prior and Convent of

*Christ Church, Canterbury, from A.D. 1187 to A.D. 1199*, London, 1865, II, pp. xxxviii-xciii.

51. Ibid., p. 499, letter 534.

52. Gervase, *Gervasii Cantuariensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Roll Series 73, London, 1880, II, pp. lxiii-iv, 99-100; this account is by Gervase's continuators.

53. Hugh Arnold in Arnold and Saint, *Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France*, p. 70, is the only author who has previously envisaged a break in the glazing of the Trinity Chapel because of the Interdict. In my view, the six easternmost of the ambulatory windows are later in design than those to the west.

54. Since his identification by Oakeshott (*The Artists of the Winchester Bible*, pp. 12-13), other works have tentatively been attributed to the Master, viz. the partially destroyed frescoes from the convent of Sigena in Huesca, Spain, and newly uncovered paintings in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher at Winchester (see *The Year 1200*, I, p. 235, no. 238, for bibliography); Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, pp. 84-85, associated the Westminster Psalter prefatory pages with the Morgan Master and the Sigena paintings, without implying the same authorship; D. H. Turner in *The Year 1200*, II, p. 135, has attributed to the Master the early part of the Canterbury Psalter, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. lat. 8846, but this seems untenable on stylistic grounds; most recently L. M. Ayres, "Studies on the Winchester Bible" (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1970), has attributed the work of Oakeshott's "Master of the Gothic Majesty" to the Morgan Master, thus taking into account a development in his style. It is hoped that a full study of the Master will be forthcoming.

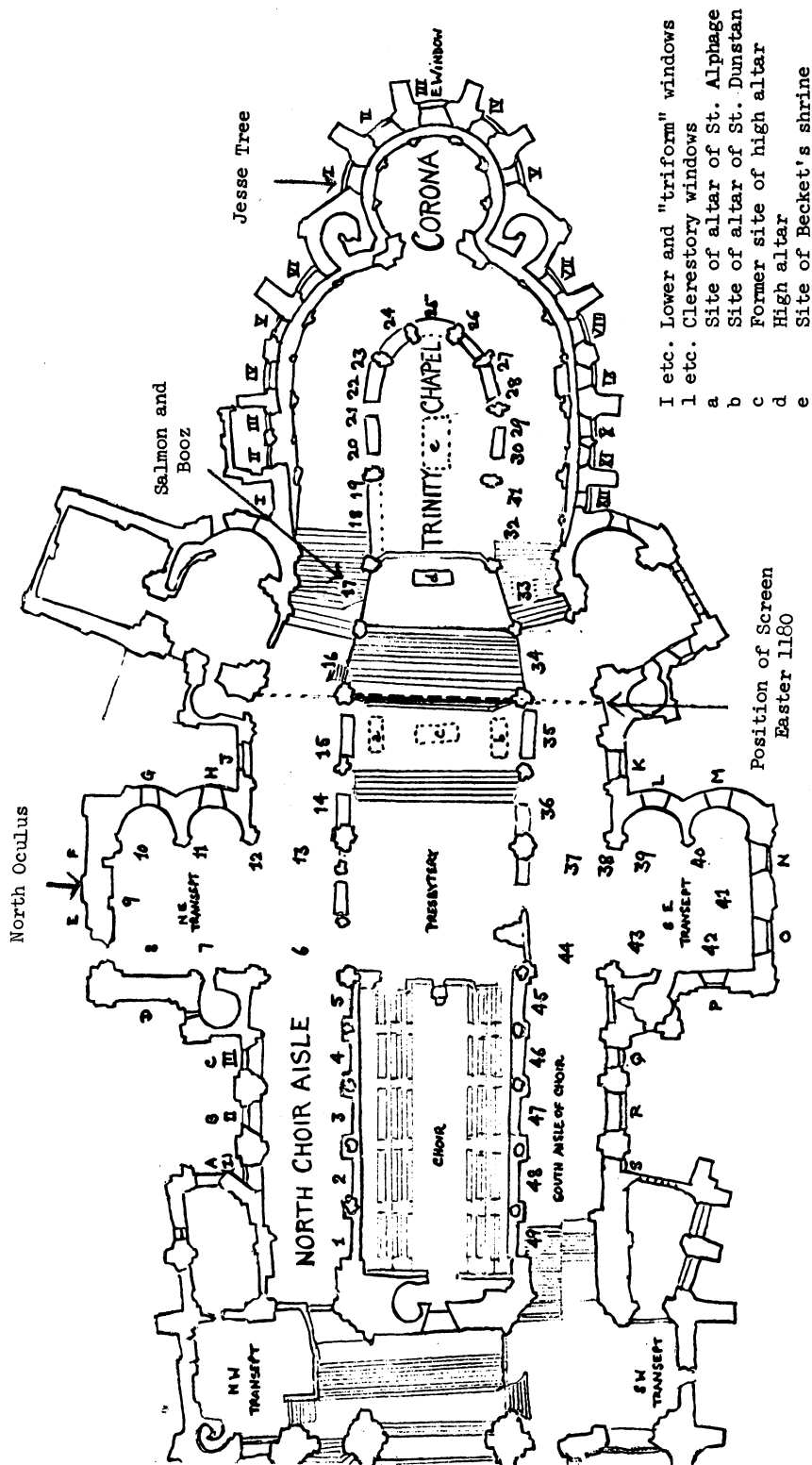
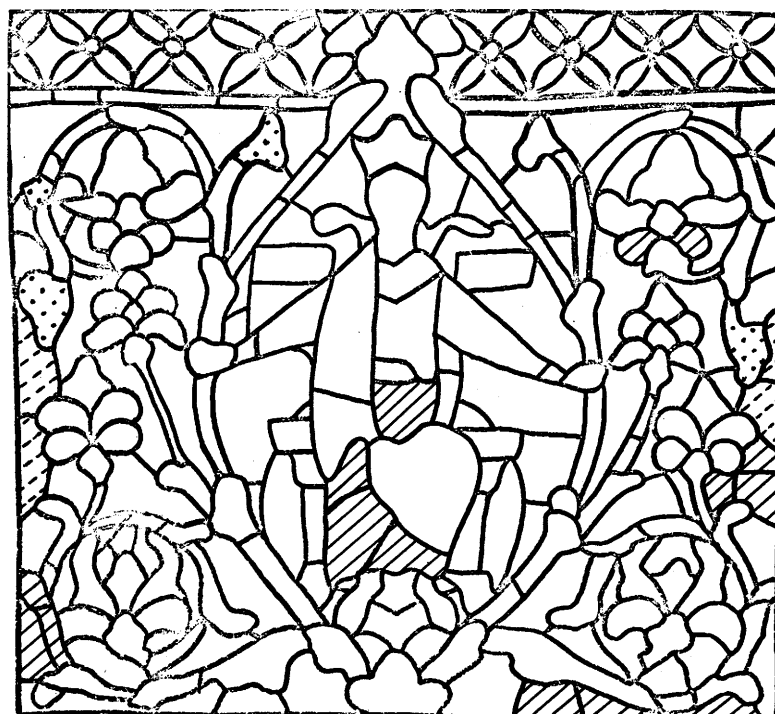





FIG. 1 Plan of the east end of Canterbury Cathedral



FIG. 2a *King Josiah, Jesse window, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Entwistle)*

FIG. 2b *Restoration in the panel with Josiah*



-  *Restored*
-  *Probably restored*
-  *Stop-gaps*

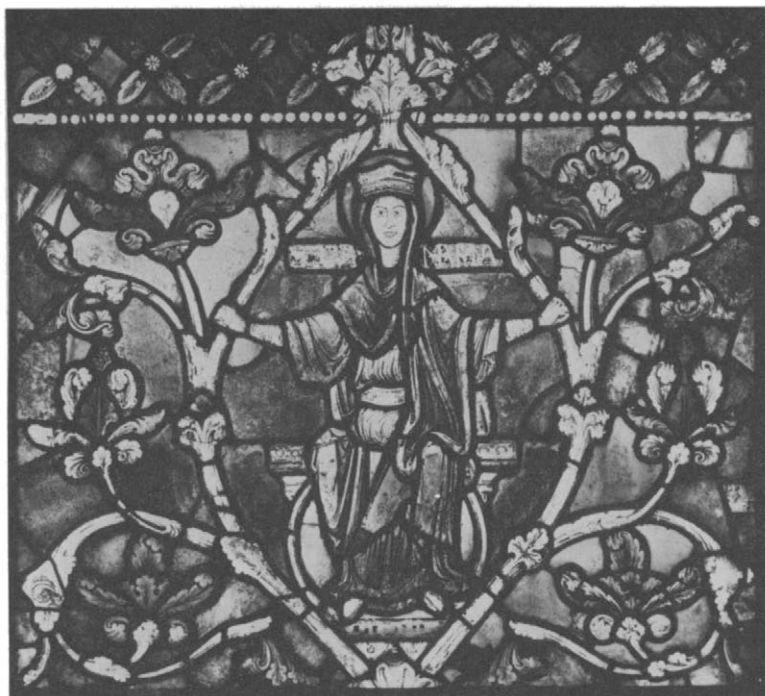
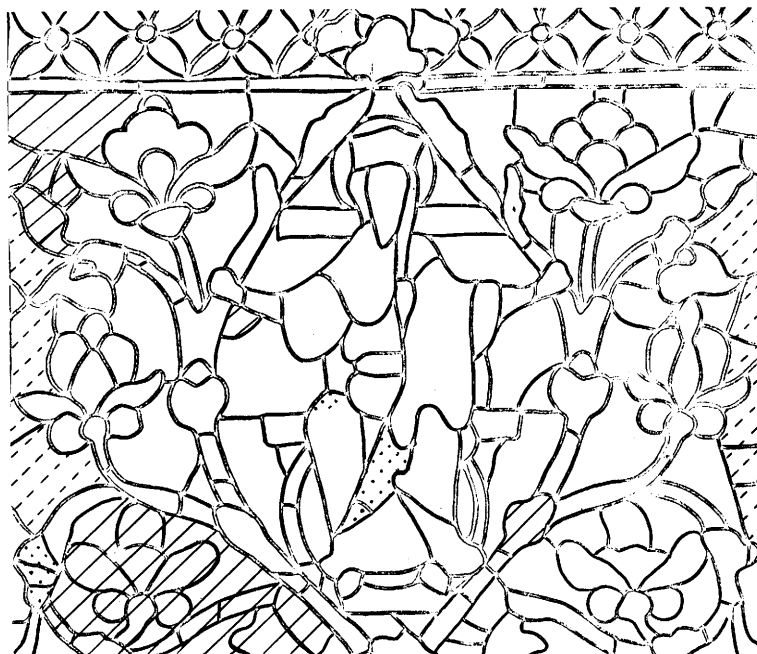


FIG. 3a *The Virgin, Jesse window, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Entwistle)*

FIG. 3b *Restoration in the panel with the Virgin*





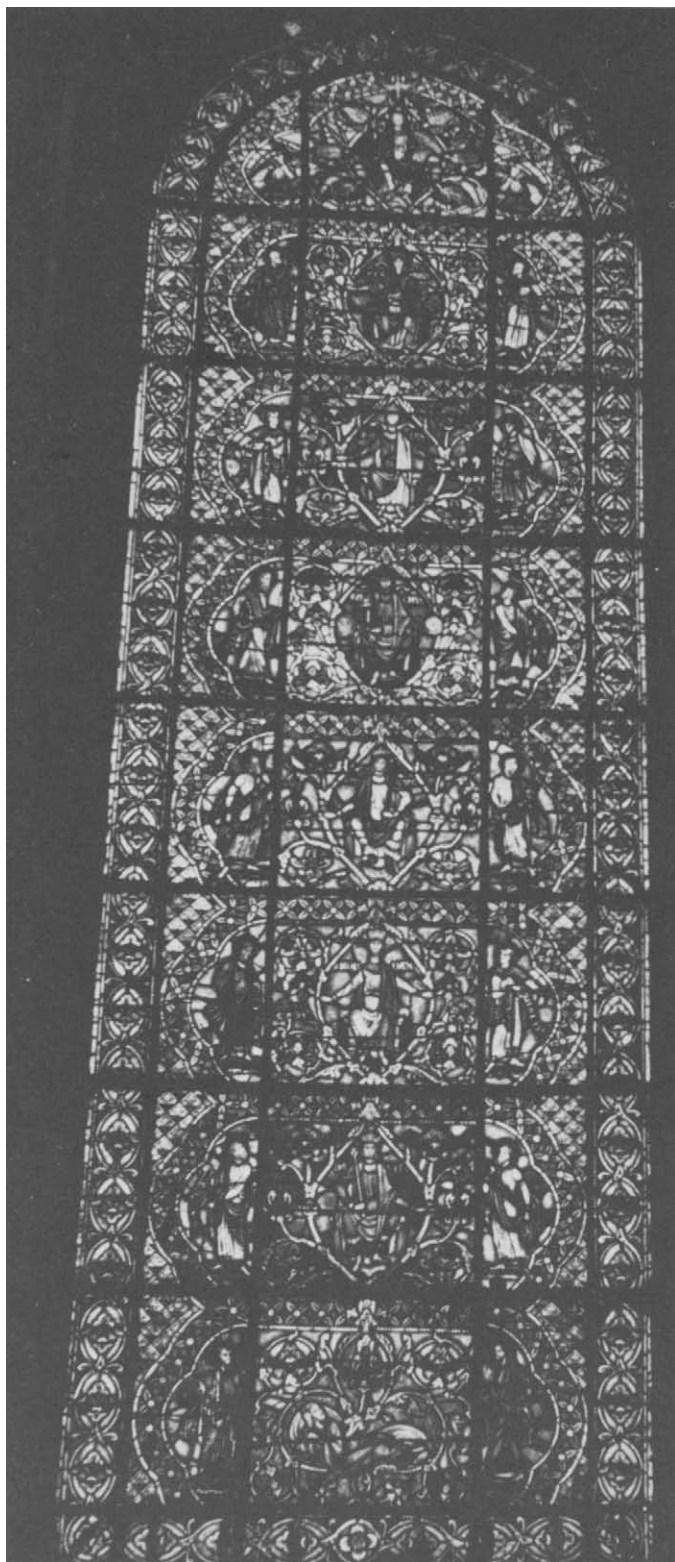


FIG. 4 *Jesse window by George Austin, 1861, corona II, Canterbury Cathedral*

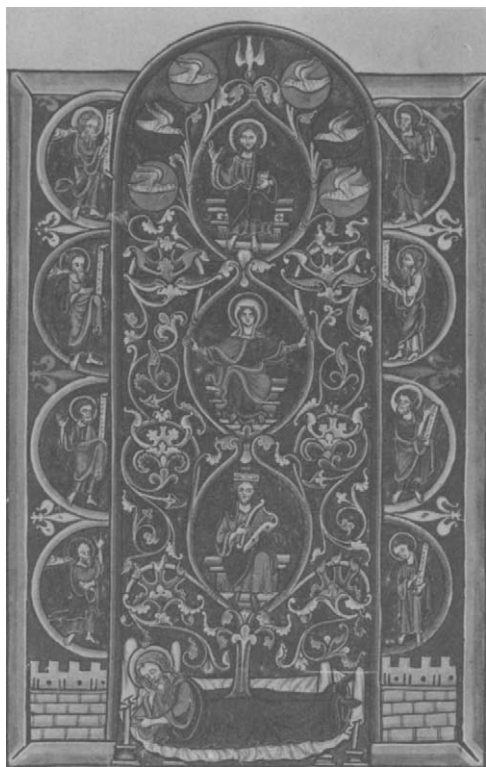


FIG. 5 *Psalter of Blanche of Castille, Ms. 1186, fol. 15 v., Jesse Tree, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)*



FIG. 6 *King, Jesse window, west end of Chartres Cathedral (photo: after Delaporte and Houvet)*

FIG. 7 *King, Jesse window, York Minster (photo: Dean and Chapter of York)*

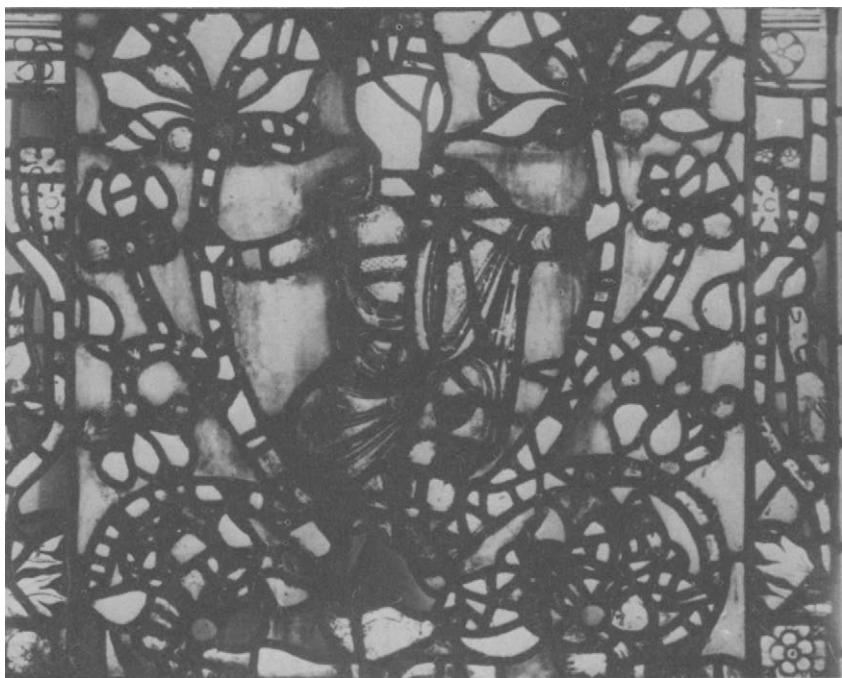




FIG. 8 *Pharaoh, detail of Exodus panel, north choir aisle II, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)*



FIG. 9 *Joanna, southwest transept (from clerestory 39), Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)*



FIG. 10 *Jordan Fitz-Eisulf, detail, Trinity chapel VI, Canterbury Cathedral*



FIG. 11 *Daniel, north oculus, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)*

FIG. 12 *Salmon (?)*, southwest transept (from clerestory 17), Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



FIG. 13 *Ezekiel*, north oculus, Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

OPPOSITE:

FIG. 15 *Westminster Psalter*, Royal Ms. 2.A. xxii, fol. 14 v., King David, British Museum



FIG. 14 *King Josiah, detail, Jesse window, Canterbury Cathedral*



FIG. 16 *Noah, southwest transept (from clerestory 6), Canterbury Cathedral (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)*







FIG. 17 *Ms. Kk. iv. 25, fol. 48 r., Tobias and the angel, University Library, Cambridge (photo: Courtauld Institute)*

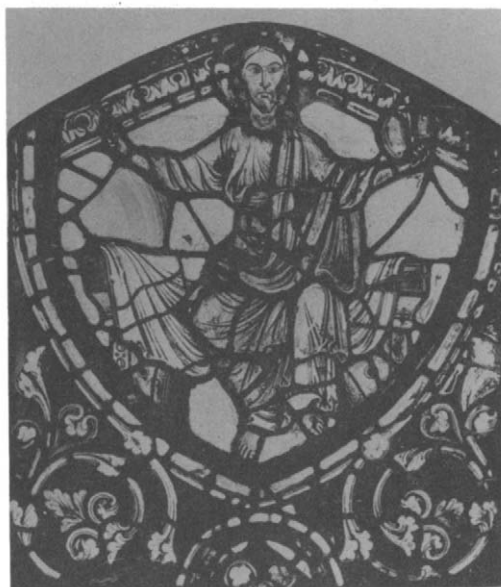


FIG. 19 *Christ in Majesty, Prodigal Son window, Chartres Cathedral (photo: after Delaporte and Houvet)*

FIG. 18 *Liberal Arts, central west portal, Sens Cathedral*





FIG. 20 *Hosea, St. Remigius abbey church, Rheims*  
(photo: *Monuments Historiques*)





**FIG. 21** *Second Great Seal of Richard I, obverse*  
(photo: Warburg Institute)

# La Verrière des Sept Dormants d'Ephèse et l'Ancienne Vitrierie de la Cathédrale de Rouen

Il y a cinquante ans, on dispersait à New York la célèbre collection d'antiquités formée par Henry C. Lawrence.<sup>1</sup> Les vitraux y occupaient une place importante: vitraux allemands, flamands, anglais, et surtout français. De ceux-ci, au nombre d'une cinquantaine, la majorité était formée par ce que j'appelle les "vitraux d'antiquaire," fabriqués à l'usage des amateurs avec des fragments anciens tant bien que mal assemblés pour former des scènes à peu près cohérentes et plausibles.<sup>2</sup> On y remarquait cependant quelques chefs d'oeuvre authentiques: deux médaillons de la légende de St. Nicolas peinte à la fin du treizième siècle pour l'église St.-Urbain de Troyes,<sup>3</sup> un Roi de l'Arbre de Jessé de la cathédrale de Soissons,<sup>4</sup> et quatre panneaux de la légende des Sept Dormants d'Ephèse, indiqués comme "removed many years ago from a cathedral church of France."<sup>5</sup>

Trois de ces panneaux ont été acquis par un célèbre collectionneur américain et le quatrième par le Musée de Worcester.<sup>6</sup> C'est à Worcester que Louis Grodecki a le premier prononcé le nom de la "cathédrale, française." Il avait reconnu la manière de la Vie de St. Jean-Baptiste qui orne une fenêtre de Notre-Dame de Rouen.<sup>7</sup>

On va voir par quelle suite de circonstances je suis en mesure d'apporter à l'opinion de mon savant ami une confirmation décisive, bien qu'aucun ouvrage n'ait signalé un vitrail des Sept Dormants à la cathédrale de Rouen.

Je possède en effet un plan sommairement esquissé sur lequel le dessinateur-archéologue E. H. Langlois, mort en 1837, a noté les vitraux du treizième siècle conservés de son temps dans la cathédrale de Rouen.<sup>8</sup> A la cinquième chapelle du bas-côté sud (Ste.-Colombe), on lit: "Panneaux supérieurs

XIII<sup>em</sup> s,” et à la suivante (Chaire de St. Pierre): “Panneaux supérieurs avec des inscriptions commençant par *hic: hic ante presul (em)*. . .” C’est précisément la légende d’un des panneaux “américains,” celui qui portera dans la liste donnée ci-après le numéro 8.

Le même plan indique, dans le collatéral nord, les vitraux des chapelles St.-Jean-dans-la-nef et St.-Sever, heureusement demeurés en place. On sait quelle opération singulière, dictée sans doute par un souci bien normand d’économie, ces vitraux justement célèbres ont subie vers 1270.<sup>9</sup>

Lorsqu’on décida de créer des chapelles latérales en utilisant l’intervalle des contreforts extérieurs de la nef, on ne se fit pas scrupule de conserver les vitraux qui avaient garni les lancettes géminées du collatéral primitif.<sup>10</sup> Mais pour les adapter aux quatre “lumières” des nouvelles fenêtres rayonnantes, on ne se borna pas à confectionner quatre bordures supplémentaires. Il fallut aussi rogner les panneaux avec une brutalité qui nous surprend, en mutilant sans pitié les encadrements, les jeux de fond et le décor végétal.

Mais pourquoi nous montrerions-nous plus délicats que les contemporains? Dès le quatorzième siècle, la chapelle St.-Jean-dans-la-nef était dite “des Belles-Verrières.”<sup>11</sup> Aussi bien devons-nous une gratitude certaine à la dame que le peintre verrier auteur du remaniement a représentée à genoux et faisant l’offrande d’un vitrail. C’est grâce à sa libéralité et à celle de ses émules que nous possédons encore les restes plus ou moins considérables de sept légendes, répartis entre les deux chapelles du collatéral nord.<sup>12</sup>

C’est au prix des mêmes mutilations que les Sept Dormants et d’autres vitraux de la même époque ont longtemps subsisté dans les chapelles méridionales de la nef avant d’être sacrifiés au souci d’ “unité” qui a fait commettre tant d’erreurs aux architectes diocésains du siècle dernier.

En 1867, la reconstruction “dans le style primitif” d’une fenêtre du croisillon sud avait fait déposer la magnifique verrière de la Dormition, l’Assomption, et le Couronnement de la Vierge, exécutée en 1528 par Engrand Le Prince et l’atelier de Beauvais pour la Confrérie de Notre-Dame-du-Jardin.<sup>13</sup>

Quelques années après, les architectes décidèrent de restaurer l’ensemble des fenêtres méridionales de la nef. Aux scènes de la légende de St. Romain et au Portement de croix,<sup>14</sup> on substitua des copies et quelques têtes, à la vérité fort usées, furent partagées entre le Musée départemental des Antiquités et le “magasin” de la cathédrale. Peu s’en faut que le vitrail de la chapelle Ste. Catherine ait été “restauré” dans la même proportion.<sup>15</sup> Dans les autres chapelles, tout ce qu’on voyait, avant le bombardement de 1944, n’avait pas tout à fait cent ans.

Le “magasin” qui possédait déjà de précieux débris du quatorzième siècle provenant de la restauration de la chapelle de la Vierge, était devenu un

véritable trésor. Mais il n'a que trop justifié son appellation commerciale, car en 1911, les panneaux "américains" des Sept Dormants d'Ephèse s'en étaient déjà envolés.<sup>16</sup>

Cette année-là, je faisais mon service militaire au Havre. Le hasard d'une permission m'amena à Rouen le jour même où le peintre verrier de la cathédrale devait prendre ses dispositions pour rendre libre le fameux "magasin" où allait être installée la soufflerie électrique des grandes orgues.<sup>17</sup> D'accord avec M. Emile Auvray, architecte ordinaire des Monuments Historiques,<sup>18</sup> je me mis en devoir de classer les vitraux qui s'y trouvaient entassés dans le plus grand désordre. Je dénombrai ainsi, pour le treizième siècle, quinze panneaux légendaires, onze fragments de décor ou de scènes illisibles et vingt-neuf bordures diverses. Le reste du dépôt se composait de grandes figures mutilées datant des trois siècles suivants, d'une fort belle légende de Ste. Catherine, en huit panneaux, des dernières années du quinzième siècle<sup>19</sup> et d'un certain nombre de fragments légendaires du seizième. Les grands panneaux de Notre-Dame-du-Jardin, déclarés non réparables en 1867, s'étaient dangereusement affaissés, mais ils présentaient encore des morceaux magnifiques.

Lorsque je retournai au Havre, tous les panneaux étaient enfermés dans de solides caisses de bois, entreposées à l'agence des travaux, et M. Auvray était en possession d'un catalogue sommaire de l'ensemble.

J'ai le regret d'ajouter qu'en 1931, lorsque les caisses furent ouvertes à l'occasion d'une exposition d'art religieux ancien,<sup>20</sup> on y trouva surtout quelques pierres, destinées à "faire le poids."

Dès 1911, le peintre verrier de la cathédrale avait puisé dans les séries du seizième siècle pour remplacer six panneaux de verre blanc au registre inférieur du vitrail du Grand St.-Romain. Il en fit une macédoine où je reconnais sept numéros de mon catalogue de 1911, parmi lesquels un fragment très bien peint du Martyre de St. Eustache.<sup>21</sup> Du chef d'oeuvre d'Engrand Le Prince, il ne subsiste à l'heure actuelle que les beaux morceaux passés en 1899 dans la collection rouennaise de Charles Morel.<sup>22</sup> Avec la légende de Ste. Catherine, tout ce qui était "présentable" en 1911 avait été aliéné.

Le treizième siècle avait été relativement épargné. Deux panneaux d'une Légende de St. Pierre avaient disparu, à l'exception d'une demi-figure du Prince des Apôtres. Mais il restait des bordures, deux fragments d'une Légende de St. Jean l'Evangéliste et surtout les sept panneaux ou fragments qui font l'objet principal de cet article.<sup>23</sup> Certes, ils ont été aussi plus ou moins détériorés, mais ils demeurent lisibles. Avec les panneaux "américains," ils constituent une série de douze scènes qui illustrent presque entièrement la Légende des Sept Dormants d'Ephèse.

Mais il convient d'abord de résumer la légende telle que St. Grégoire de Tours l'a fait connaître à l'Occident au milieu du sixième siècle.<sup>24</sup>

Au temps où l'empereur Dèce persécutait les Chrétiens, sept frères d'Ephèse refusèrent d'adorer les idoles. L'empereur ne voulut pas les condamner sur le champ, mais leur laissa un temps de réflexion. Alors ils se réfugièrent dans une caverne. Chaque jour, l'un d'eux (nommé Malchus dans la *Légende dorée*) descendait en ville pour faire les provisions. Quand il apprit à ses frères le retour de l'empereur, Dieu permit qu'ils s'endormissent d'un sommeil qui devait durer près de deux siècles.

Pour les faire mourir de faim, Dèce ordonna d'obstruer l'entrée de la caverne avec de grosses pierres parmi lesquelles un chrétien parvint à placer une inscription portant les noms des martyrs et leur histoire.

Sous le règne de Théodose, un habitant d'Ephèse s'empara des pierres pour construire une étable et rouvrit la caverne. Dieu rappela alors à la vie les sept frères, persuadés qu'ils avaient dormi seulement une nuit.

Parti comme de coutume aux provisions, Malchus s'étonna de voir une croix sur la porte de la ville. Le boulanger, à qui il présenta une pièce à l'effigie de Dèce, l'accusa d'avoir trouvé un trésor et le traîna devant l'évêque. Celui-ci courut à la caverne, lut l'inscription commémorative et s'entretint avec ceux qu'on appellera désormais les Sept Dormants d'Ephèse.

Aussitôt des messagers portèrent la nouvelle à l'empereur Théodose, alors fort affligé par les progrès d'une hérésie qui niait la résurrection des morts. L'empereur se hâta de gagner Ephèse. Il se prosterna devant les frères qui lui déclarèrent que leur résurrection avait été ordonnée par Dieu afin de le confirmer dans la vraie foi, lui et son peuple. Ensuite ils se couchèrent de nouveau et ils dormaient encore lorsque Grégoire de Tours traduisit leur légende "avec l'aide d'un interprète syrien."

Voici maintenant comment on peut décrire ce qui reste du vitrail des Sept Dormants. Comme les panneaux rouennais ont été très maltraités, je les décris en utilisant mes notes de 1911. Plusieurs mesuraient alors 0.80 x 0.70 m. Nos panneaux "américains" ont fait toilette pendant leur séjour chez l'antiquaire qui les a vendus. Ils se présentent avec des dimensions uniformes (0.67 x 0.63 m environ), un filet perlé tenant lieu de bordure et (sauf en un cas) un jeu de fond assez banal: quadrillage de filets rouges enserrant des carrés bleus.

1. Lemieux conservé des morceaux de Rouen montre plusieurs personnages cheminant vers la gauche (Fig. 1). Le premier tient un bâton. De même est représenté en entier un second personnage, derrière lequel on peut compter —d'après le contour des plombs—cinq têtes dont une seule, vue en partie, est bien conservée. Il s'agit peut-être des sept frères se dirigeant vers la caverne qui sera leur refuge. Un groupe analogue appartenant à la Légende

de St. Etienne se voit à Rouen dans la troisième lancette des "Belles Verrières" (Ritter, pl. III, D 3) Jeu de fond: un treillage de filets perlés est posé sur des cercles bleus tangents entre eux et décorés de petites feuilles de trèfle. Dans les intervalles, verre rouge sans peinture. Deux bordures: celle du début du treizième siècle consiste en rinceaux de palmettes entrecroisées; celle du remaniement est faite de fleurs de lys et de châteaux de Castille.

2. Bien que très mutilé, un second panneau rouennais appartient sans conteste à la légende (Fig. 2). A gauche, dans l'encadrement d'une porte, paraît Malchus chargé de pains. Le bas de sa tunique est décoré d'un galon peint à la grisaille qu'on retrouve au panneau 7. Ses frères sont assis à droite. Ils présentent encore cinq visages bien peints. Au milieu du groupe, une tête n'est plus représentée que par son contour. Bordure héraldique.

3. Un fragment rouennais en ruine offre une composition très voisine de la précédente. On reconnaît la porte et le mur maçonné qui la flanque du côté gauche. Le personnage nimbé qu'elle encadre est peut-être Malchus apprenant à ses frères le retour de leur persécuteur. En effet, il joint les mains dans un geste qu'on peut interpréter comme exprimant le désespoir et le personnage debout qui lui fait face lève la main, index pointé. Le reste n'est qu'un réseau de plombs vide de ses verres.

4. Ici peut se placer le panneau de la collection privée américaine, où seraient représentés les sept frères agenouillés—sans doute pour prier le Seigneur de les endormir (Fig. 3). Mais la seule partie cohérente est fournie par les personnages, où cependant le mouvement des draperies, emportées par des souffles contraires, ne s'accorde guère avec la position à genoux. Le réseau des plombs indique que le panneau a été très profondément remanié. On ne peut guère deviner sa forme primitive. Tout le bas n'est qu'un maladroit assemblage de fragments. On reconnaît le contour d'un fermailet (à gauche) et les écailles d'un jeu de fond. Je vois ici, à regret, un "vitrail d'antiquaire."

5. Evidemment authentique est le petit fragment de Rouen pourvu d'une inscription qui ne laisse aucun doute: *hic obturatur rup[es]* (Fig. 4). L'ouvrier court vêtu qui mure la caverne est armé d'un marteau. Une bordure héraldique en place et une bordure de bâtons brisés interpolées.

6. Non moins caractérisé est le panneau de Rouen qui montre une Croix monumentale érigée devant une porte fortifiée (Fig. 5). On y retrouve le jeu de fond du panneau 1 et la bordure héraldique.

7. Dans le panneau de la collection privée (Fig. 6), on voit Malchus présentant des pièces de monnaie au boulanger qui lui sert des pains sur une table. A gauche, un personnage coiffé d'un bonnet pointu le saisit par le bras. Bien conservé dans l'ensemble, ce panneau présente des pièces déplacées et des bouche-trous.

8. Le troisième panneau de la même collection (Fig 7) a gardé l'inscription relevée par E. H. Langlois: *hic ante presulem ducitur*.<sup>25</sup> Le personnage qui tient Malchus par la main montre les monnaies anciennes à l'évêque assis à droite. Ici encore, on pressent un remaniement affectant le trône et son dossier (?) ainsi que la partie inférieure de l'acolyte.<sup>26</sup>

9. Dans le panneau du Musée de Worcester (Fig. 8), les messagers d'Ephèse fléchissent le genou devant l'empereur Théodose, assis sous un entablement soutenu par deux colonnettes. Ils lui relatent le miracle.<sup>27</sup> Deux d'entre eux portent le bonnet phrygien. Malgré un remaniement de la partie inférieure, accusé notamment par le plomb horizontal formant couture, le morceau est magnifique. Les messagers ressemblent d'une façon frappante aux auditeurs de St. Jean-Baptiste dans le vitrail de Rouen (Fig. 9).

10. Accompagné de deux autres cavaliers, Théodose se rend à la caverne, dont la porte est représentée comme en 2, avec un mur appareillé comportant un élément de crénelage (Fig. 10). Cette scène, en bon état, appartient à la même collection que les autres, bien qu'elle n'ait pas figuré à la vente Lawrence. Elle passait pour représenter le Triomphe de Mardochée. C'est le seul panneau "américain" qui présente une bordure héraldique de la fin du treizième siècle.

11 et 12. Les deux derniers panneaux ont été grandement détériorés depuis 1911. J'y avais vu d'une part quatre Dormants, de l'autre trois Dormants pareillement encensés par un ange. Aujourd'hui on reconnaît l'encensoir dans le premier panneau (Fig. 11), mais l'ange a disparu. Le visage aux yeux ouverts est une interpolation. Dans le second, restent seulement deux Dormants à peu près entiers, sauf les têtes, et la partie inférieure du troisième personnage couché.

Le fait que chacune de ces scènes occupe la moitié inférieure d'un grand cercle empêche de les placer toutes les deux à la fin de l'histoire. L'une d'elles doit par conséquent se rapporter au premier sommeil des sept frères.

Il ne saurait être question de faire ici une étude complète et définitive du vitrail des Sept Dormants. Il faudrait pour cela soumettre les panneaux "américains" et les fragments rouennais à un examen critique approfondi.

Le traitement que les uns et les autres ont subi au cours de sept siècles compliquent tous les problèmes qu'ils posent, celui de la composition par exemple. Il semble que les sujets aient trouvé place dans des demi-cercles, disposés dos à dos dans un registre et, dans l'autre, superposés pour former un cercle parfait, mais ce n'est pas certain.

Pour le jeu de fond, il semble que le choix doive se porter sur la belle combinaison présentée pour les panneaux 1 et 6 (Figs. 1 et 5). On la retrouve notamment à Bourges dans le vitrail de la Nouvelle Alliance.

En ce qui concerne le style, tout a été dit par Louis Grodecki quand il a, sans hésiter, attribué les panneaux “américains” au Maître du vitrail de St. Jean-Baptiste. Entre les deux ouvrages, l'accord est absolu. D'autre part on constate entre les verrières de la nef de Rouen et celles de la nef de Chartres une étroite parenté. Les deux séries sont sensiblement contemporaines.

En effet, la nef de la cathédrale de Rouen s'est trouvée en état de recevoir des vitraux très peu de temps après l'incendie de 1200 qui ravagea surtout le chœur et le transept romans. Georges Lanfry estimait que sa construction avait débuté avant la catastrophe.<sup>28</sup> Je croirais plutôt que, devant la nécessité de rendre rapidement l'église au culte et pour limiter la dépense, on s'est résigné à rebâtir la nef sur les fondations anciennes au lieu de l'aligner sur le plan du nouveau chœur, arrêté avant 1200 et peut-être déjà réalisé en partie, comme la façade occidentale et son portail St.-Jean, lié à la Tour St.-Romain.<sup>29</sup>

Dans les meilleurs vitraux de Chartres comme dans nos verrières, on commence à reconnaître, après une trop longue timidité, le style parisien de l'année 1200. L'influence de l'école de l'Ouest de la France, défini par Louis Grodecki et Jane Hayward, n'y a point de part. On ne la constate à Rouen qu'à la fin du treizième siècle, dans le rose septentrionale du transept mais dès le début du quatorzième siècle, dans la chapelle de la Vierge, Paris reprendra le dessus.<sup>30</sup>

Il nous reste à chercher pourquoi les Sept Dormants ont été honorés, au treizième siècle, d'un vitrail dans la cathédrale de Rouen.

Depuis les travaux de Baronius, la légende des Sept Dormants était tombée dans le discrédit et, jusqu'à ces derniers temps, les savants la tenaient pour un conte imaginé à plaisir. Dom Leclercq, par exemple, se félicitait de n'avoir pas à en connaître dans son *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.<sup>31</sup> Cependant, en 1926, les fouilles entreprises à Ephèse par l'Institut autrichien d'archéologie ont dégagé les ruines d'une basilique bâtie vers 450 au-dessus de la caverne des Sept Dormants. L'“invention” des sept corps saints sous le règne de Théodose II est maintenant admise comme “un évènement authentique d'histoire locale éphésienne.”

En France, le célèbre orientaliste Louis Massignon s'est appliqué à l'étude de leur culte avec un intérêt passionné.<sup>32</sup> Non seulement il estimait que “le monde spirituel de la chrétienté a reçu à Ephèse une structure interne indéniable où Marie se retrouve avec Jean, la Madeleine et les Sept Dormants reliés, là, ensemble dans une même perspective de dormition et de résurrection,”<sup>33</sup> mais il était frappé par le fait, assurément important, que la légende des Sept Dormants se retrouve dans le Coran. Elle est évoquée dans la Sourate XVIII, dite De la Caverne, qui est récitée dans les mosquées tous les vendredis.<sup>34</sup> Massignon appelait ce texte “l'Apocalypse de l'Islam”



et il considérerait la légende comme le trait d'union entre les deux grandes religions.

La fête des Sept Dormants est inscrite au calendrier de toutes les églises chrétiennes d'Orient et d'Occident. De son côté, "l'Islam, à mesure qu'il s'étendait, a fondé sur tous ses fronts des sanctuaires des Sept Dormants,"<sup>35</sup> où la tradition orale s'exprime aujourd'hui encore de la même manière, comme on a pu le constater aussi bien en Turquie qu'au Maroc. Depuis 1952, Louis Massignon participait au pèlerinage de la "chapelle des Sept Dormants" édifiée sur une imposant dolmen formant crypte, près d'une "source aux sept veines" à Vieux-Marché, petit village proche de Plouaret (Côtes du Nord).<sup>36</sup> Il y conduisait ses amis musulmans. Sa mort n'a pas mis fin à cette remarquable manifestation d'union spirituelle, renouvelée tous les ans aux alentours du 27 juillet.<sup>37</sup>

L'enquête ouverte par Louis Massignon a réuni un nombre considérable de témoignages venus de tous les pays de Europe, de l'Asie, et de l'Afrique du Nord. A la vérité, tous ne se rapportent pas forcément aux Sept Dormants d'Ephèse, car il y eut d'autres Dormants et d'autres cavernes.<sup>38</sup> Mais ce qui nous intéresse particulièrement, c'est d'abord le fait, signalé par Louis Massignon, d'une " Brusque résurgence en chrétienté latine, au onzième siècle de la légende éphésienne." <sup>39</sup> Elle est traduite en anglais par Aelfric, moine d'Eynsham; elle forme le fond de deux visions: l'une de Reinerus, moine de St.-Laurent de Liège, l'autre de St. Edouard le Confesseur;<sup>40</sup> enfin, "un oratoire dédié à l'Archange Gabriel et aux Sept Dormants est érigé à Rome, via Appia."

Cependant les représentations figurées sont très rares: même les miniatures,<sup>41</sup> qui se multiplieront seulement à partir de la fin du treizième siècle, lorsque la *Légende dorée* et ses imitations, de même que les *Gesta Romanorum* auront donné de l'histoire des Sept Dormants une version amplifiée et enjolivée.<sup>42</sup>

L'intérêt du vitrail de Rouen, du point de vue de l'iconographie, c'est qu'il a été peint avant la rédaction de la *Légende dorée* et d'après le récit de Grégoire de Tours. Il figure dans l'enquête de Louis Massignon grâce à une communication de Louis Grodecki.<sup>43</sup> Aucun autre exemple n'est signalé dans l'art monumental du moyen âge, à l'exception d'une peinture murale de l'abbaye rhénane de Brauweiler peinte vers 1170,<sup>44</sup> et c'est le seul cycle signalé jusqu'ici, en dehors des miniatures et des gravures de la *Légende dorée*.

L'exploration des archives rouennaises n'a révélé l'existence d'aucune chapellenie ni d'aucune confrérie des Sept Dormants. Mais l'histoire nous apprend que le monastère bénédictin de la Trinité, fondé vers 1024 sur le mont qui domine à l'est la capitale normande, a changé de nom dès le

milieu du onzième siècle parce que des reliques de Ste. Catherine, apportées du Sināi, y opéraient des miracles.<sup>45</sup> Jusqu'à la Révolution, le prieur de St.-Julien-les-Rouen, attribué aux Bénédictins après la ruine de leur monastère pendant les guerres de religion, a conservé "le doigt de sainte Catherine enchâssé dans une petite tour d'argent."<sup>46</sup>

Même les critiques qui rejettent catégoriquement les légendes recueillies par les chroniqueurs reconnaissent que c'est en partant du monastère "Ste.-Catherine-du-Mont-de-Rouen" que s'est propagé dans l'Occident un culte oriental dont la fortune fut prodigieuse.<sup>47</sup>

On sait assez, d'autre part, le rôle capital joué par la Normandie dans le culte de St. Michel, attesté dès le quatrième siècle à Constantinople et à Alexandrie. Passée dans les Pouilles, au mont Gargan à la fin du siècle suivant, la dévotion à l'archange s'implanta sur un îlot voisin d'Avranches au début du huitième siècle. Le Mont-St.-Michel-au-péril-de-la-mer n'allait pas tarder à devenir le but d'un des principaux pèlerinages de la Chrétienté.

Certes ces deux faits n'apportent pas la réponse précise qu'on souhaiterait donner à la question ici posée, mais leur évocation ne me semble pas dépourvue de valeur.<sup>48</sup>

## Notes

1. American Art Association, New York, 27-29 janvier 1921.

2. Voir Jean Lafond, *Le vitrail*, Paris, 1966, p. 100. Michel Acézat (1878-1944) s'était fait une spécialité de cette déplorable industrie. Sa collection vient d'être vendue (Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 24-25 novembre 1969). En dehors de 143 numéros où se côtoyaient le meilleur et le pire, elle comprenait plusieurs centaines de fragments anciens vendus en vrac. Acézat était en rapports avec les grands marchands parisiens nommés dans la préface du catalogue comme les fournisseurs de Henry Lawrence. On regrette de constater, d'autre part, que, si la section française de la collection est presque entièrement felatée, les vitraux provenant des autres pays semblent "honnêtes."

3. Nos. 344-345, sujets non identifiés et donnés comme allemands du seizième siècle. Louis Grodecki les signale comme "perdus" dans son étude sur les Vitraux de Saint-Urbain de Troyes (Congrès archéologique de France, 1955, p. 135, fig. 5).

4. No. 372, attribué à un atelier anglais. Ce panneau, exécuté vers 1220, appartient aujourd'hui à la collection privée la plus importante des Etats-Unis. Il a été identifié par Louis Grodecki, "Un vitrail démembré de la cathédrale de Soissons," dans la *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, octobre 1953, pp. 170-171, fig. 2.

5. Nos. 374-378. La série est correctement indiquée comme se rapportant aux Sept Dormants d'Ephèse et la notice signale qu'ils ont inspiré à l'historien d'art Arthur Kingsley Porter un drame, *The Seven Who Slept*, publié à Boston.

6. *Art through 50 Centuries from the Collections of the Worcester Art Museum*, Worcester, Mass., 1948, p. 86, fig. 48.

7. Jane Hayward, aujourd'hui Conservateur au Musée des Cloîtres, à New York, avait eu le rare privilège de visiter la collection privée. C'est elle qui a signalé à Louis Grodecki la destination des autres panneaux. Françoise Perrot en a retrouvé un cinquième dans la

même collection. Voir le *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1970, séance du 24 octobre.

8. Cf. du même auteur le *Mémoire sur la peinture sur verre*, Rouen, 1823, p. 12, et *L'essai historique et descriptif sur la peinture sur verre*, Rouen, 1832, p. 31.

9. Jean Lafond, "Les vitraux," dans A. Loisel, *La cathédrale de Rouen*, Paris, 1919, pp. 111-112; du même, *Le vitrail*, p. 57; G. Ritter, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen*, Cognac, 1926, pp. 7-8, 37-38, pl. I-VIII; L. Grodecki, "La cathédrale de Rouen. Les vitraux," dans *Les monuments historiques de la France*, 1956, pp. 102-103; exposition *L'Europe gothique*, Paris, 1968, no. 191 du catalogue et pl. 64.

10. Les lancettes jumelles subsistent dans la première travée du bas-côté nord, sur le mur aveugle qui sert de culée au "pont" de la tour St.-Romain.

11. C. de Beaurepaire, "Les chapelles de la cathédrale de Rouen," dans *Bulletin de la Commission des Antiquités de la Seine Inférieure*, VII, années 1885-1887, pp. 243-267. Faut-il rappeler que le même nom a été donné de bonne heure, dans la cathédrale de Chartres, à une Vierge du douzième siècle incorporée dans un vitrail du treizième?

12. Vie de St. Jean-Baptiste, légendes de St. Sever, évêque d'Avranches, de Ste. Catherine, de St. Etienne, de St. Nicolas, histoire de Job, fragments d'un vitrail des Apôtres et plusieurs "signatures" de corporations.

13. Jean Lafond dans V. Leblond, *L'église Saint-Etienne de Beauvais*, Paris, 1929, p. 69 n. 1, et dans *Le vitrail français*, Paris, 1958, p. 216.

14. Première et deuxième chapelles en partant du transept. G. Ritter, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen*, pls. LXXVIII, LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXI à LXXXVI. Avant cette "restauration," on voyait aussi dans la première chapelle les belles grisailles de la Passion, remontées dans le salle des Etats de l'Archevêché vers 1890 (*ibid.*, pls. xcvi à c).

15. *Ibid.*, pls. LVIII à LIX.

16. De même avaient été détournées les bordures du treizième siècle pareilles à celles qui seront décrites plus loin, qui sont aujourd'hui "cousues" à des panneaux d'une autre provenance conservés à Londres et à Baltimore (B.

Rackham, *Victoria and Albert Museum. A Guide to the Collection of Stained Glass*, Londres, 1936, pp. 30-31 et 40, pl. 6; L. Grodecki, "Stained Glass of St-Germain-des-Prés," dans *The Connoisseur*, août 1957, p. 37, fig. 12; P. Verdier, "La verrière de saint Vincent à Saint-Germain-des-Prés," dans *Paris et Ile de France. Mémoires*, 1958, IX, pl. VII).

Une très belle bordure du quatorzième siècle peinte pour la chapelle de la Vierge, avec des singes grimant dans un feuillage de chêne où sont perchés des oiseaux, accompagne au Musée de Montréal (Canada) un sujet de St.-Germain-des-Prés. Elle est reproduite en couleurs dans Maurice Drake, *The Costessey Collection of Stained Glass*, Exeter, 1920, pl. IV, ce qui fait connaître sa première étape. Un morceau de la même bordure est resté à Rouen, mais au Musée départemental des Antiquités de la Seine-Maritime. Comme il figure au *Catalogue* de 1838 (p. 15), il apparaît que le "magasin" de la cathédrale a été exploité pendant au moins cent ans.

Les monuments de Rouen n'étaient pas les seuls fournisseurs d'un trafic aussi scandaleux, organisé d'abord au profit de l'Angleterre (Jean Lafond, "The Traffic in Old Stained Glass," dans *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters*, XIV, no. 1, 1964, pp. 58-67) comme le montre mon petit livre *Le vitrail*.

On commence à s'émouvoir de la quantité de sculptures françaises du douzième et du treizième siècle recueillies par les collections, puis par les musées d'Amérique. M. Léon Pressouyre, dans le no. 7 de *La Revue de l'Art*, cite de nombreux exemples de chapiteaux remplacés dans nos églises par des copies ou même par de simples moulages. Cela suppose une organisation et des complicités qui mettent en cause la responsabilité des architectes chargés de la direction et du contrôle des travaux.

17. C'était la salle située sur le "pont" bâti pour assurer à la tour St.-Romain un large accès à la cathédrale et que desservait seulement aujourd'hui un escalier de la façade occidentale. On l'appelait "la salle du verrier," mais elle n'avait pas servi de dépôt, ni, à plus forte raison, d'atelier avant le dix-neuvième siècle. Dès la construction de la cathédrale actuelle, on l'avait transformée en chapelle avec un autel et une fenêtre percée à l'est. M. Allinne et A. Loisel, *La cathédrale de Rouen avant l'incendie de 1200*, Rouen, 1904, pp. 56-68 et pls. II à V.

18. On dirait aujourd'hui "architecte des Bâtiments de France."

19. F. de Guilhermy, qui les a vus en place en 1864, les détaille ainsi: "Sainte Catherine à genoux devant la roue—décapitée—entourée d'anges—son corps emporté par des anges" (*Notes de voyage*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Nouv. acq. fr. 6.107).

20. Les meilleurs morceaux ont été exposés à Rouen en 1931. (F. Guey et J. Lafond) *Catalogue de l'exposition d'art religieux*, Rouen, 1931, no. 309: "Personnage debout devant quatre dormants"; le no. 310: "L'auditoire d'un saint," qui sera ici le no. I; et les nos. 308, 311, 312, 313, et 314.

21. Ritter, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen*, pp. 18, 85 et pl. xcv.

22. Je possède depuis 1933 la majeure partie de cette collection de vitraux où j'ai retrouvé beaucoup de pièces de verre tirées du magasin de la cathédrale, notamment un fragment d'inscription du treizième siècle: *Septem...* qui se rapporte évidemment aux Dormants d'Ephèse. Les morceaux dûs à Engrand le Prince ont été présentés aux expositions *Vitraux de France*, Paris, 1953, sous le no. 53 et *Mille ans d'art du vitrail*, Strasbourg, 1965, sous les nos. 185, 186, et 187.

23. Le "solde" des magasins de la cathédrale de Rouen est aujourd'hui confié au Dépôt des Monuments Historiques organisé par M. Jean Taralon dans les dépendances du Château de Champs (Val-de-Marne). On y trouve plusieurs bordures du quatorzième siècle analogues à celles des vitraux de St.-Ouen de Rouen.

Deux bordures du treizième siècle, beaucoup plus larges que les autres, proviennent sans doute d'une grande fenêtre de façade. L'une d'elles est reproduite dans Arthur Martin et Charles Cahier, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*, Paris, 1841-1844, pl. N (mosaïques et bordures).

24. Migne, *Patrologie latine*, LXXI, cols. 787-789, et *Analecta Bollandiana*, XII, 1893, pp. 371-397 (édition Bruno Krusch).

25. Les lettres qui précèdent le démonstratif *hic* sont rapportées.

26. Ce panneau est reproduit en couleurs dans le catalogue de l'exposition *The Year 1200*, I, p. xxix.

27. La notice du catalogue de l'exposition *Medieval Art in Private Collections*, New York,

1968, voit ici les parents des sept frères se présentant à Dèce pour les dénoncer. Mai si cet épisode figure dans la *Légende dorée*, il n'appartient pas au récit de Grégoire de Tours.

28. G. Lanfry, *Cahiers de Notre-Dame de Rouen*, no. 1, Rouen, 1956, p. 67 et suiv.

29. L'axe de ce portail n'est pas celui du collatéral de la nef, mais celui du déambulatoire et le "carré" du transept s'est transformé en trapèze pour répondre à la largeur du choeur.

30. Jean Lafond, *Les vitraux du choeur de Saint-Ouen de Rouen*, C.V.M.A. France, IV/2<sup>1</sup>, Paris, 1970, pp. 44-45.

31. A l'article *Ephèse*, fasc. XLV, Paris, 1922, cols. 140-141.

32. *Les Sept Dormants d'Ephèse (Ahl-el-kahf) en Islam et en chrétienté*, sept fascicules extraits de la *Revue des études islamiques* (Paris), de 1954 à 1961. Cet ouvrage constitue une remarquable apologie des croyances populaires. Avec quatre autres opuscules de Louis Massignon, il a été refondu par M. Youakim Moubarac dans une élégante brochure tirée de la revue *Studia Missionalia* de l'université grégorienne de Rome, vol. XI (1961).

33. C'est l'épigraphie de son ouvrage, empruntée au livre *Wieder erwachendes Ephesos* de K. Gschwind.

34. "Elle est la seule récitée à la radio d'Etat en Egypte, tous les vendredis à la prière de midi," L. Massignon, I, p. 69.

35. Ibid., p. 62.

36. L. Massignon estimait que "le culte gréco-oriental d'Ephèse" avait pu s'implanter "devant le dolmen au VI<sup>e</sup>me siècle." Ibid., p. 102.

37. *Le Monde* du 25 juillet 1972. En 1966, le gros bourdon de l'ancienne cathédrale d'Alger a été remonté dans l'église paroissiale de Vieux-Marché.

38. Au t. LXXI de la *Patrologie Latine*, cols. 1107-1118, on trouve une épître attribuée à Grégoire de Tours concernant les Sept Dormants de Marmoutier, parents de saint Martin. Une note de la col. 1118 signale encore les Sept Dormants de Germanie, dont Paul Diacre parle au premier livre *De gestis Longobardorum*.

39. Massignon, I, p. 95.

40. *La estoire de seint Eadward le Rei*, manuscrit du treizième siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque universitaire de Cambridge et publié par M. R. James (Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1920), contient une miniature de cette vision (p. 46). Dans la chapelle St.-Edouard de l'Abbaye de Westminster, la frise du retable sculptée vers 1475, représente notamment l'empereur Théodose devant la Caverne (Francis Bond, *Westminster Abbey*, Londres, 1909, p. 238).

41. L. Massignon reproduit les miniatures byzantines du *Psautier Chludov* (Musée historique de Moscou, neuvième siècle) et du *Ménologe* de Basile II (Bibliothèque Vaticane, onzième siècle). Massignon, I, pls. I, II, XX.

42. *Legenda aurea*, éd. Graesse, chap. CI, p. 435.

43. Massignon, III, pp. 3-4; VI, pp. 110-111.

44. Paul Clemen, *Die romanischen Monumental-malerei in den Rheinlanden*, Düsseldorf, 1916, p. 395, fig. 279 et p. 403, fig. 285. Les voûtes de la salle capitulaire sont ornées de fresques dont on possède des relevés antérieurs à la restauration radicale de 1862. K. Kuenstle, *Ikongraphie der Christlichen Kunst*, Fribourg-en-Brisgau, 1926, II, pp. 532-533.

45. *Vies des saints par les Bénédictins de Paris*, Paris, 1954, XI, pp. 862 et 870 (bibliographie) et Paris, 1848, VI, pp. 16-17. *L'Histoire de l'abbaye de la Très-Sainte-Trinité, dite depuis de Sainte-Catherine-du-Mont-de-Rouen* par un Religieux de la Congrégation de St.-Maur (Dom Pommeraye), Rouen, 1662, pp. 3 et suiv., raconte que le monastère a été fondé à la prière d'un moine du Sinae, nommé Siméon, et par lui doté de reliques de Ste. Catherine. Henri Eloy, "La Côte Sainte-Catherine," dans le *Bulletin de la Société des Amis des Monuments rouennais*, années 1935-1938, pp. 121-163. Selon la *Légende dorée* (éd. Graesse, p. 795), les reliques avaient été apportées par un moine de Rouen qui avait fait le pèlerinage du Sinai pour se mettre pendant sept ans "au service de sainte Catherine."

46. *Histoire de la Ville de Rouen* [par François Farin], 3<sup>ème</sup> éd., Rouen, 1738, V, p. 361.

47. Robert Fawtier, "Les reliques rouennaises de sainte Catherine," dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLI, 1923, pp. 357-368.

48. Je remercie Monsieur Louis Grodecki, professeur à la Sorbonne, et Madame Françoise Perrot, chargée de recherche au C.N.R.S., de l'aide précieuse qu'ils m'ont apportée dans la préparation de cet article.

## English Summary by Jane Hayward

Although no document from Rouen mentions the Seven Sleepers series, its provenance is certain and is confirmed by one of the inscriptions recorded by E. H. Langlois. The window was placed in the nave of Rouen Cathedral, about 1210, and then altered and reemployed when chapels were added between the nave buttresses, about 1270. In the nineteenth century, it was again removed and placed in storage at the cathedral. Five panels from the window, now in the United States, were sold before the author's inventory of the cathedral glass in 1911. This inventory noted seven additional panels.

The Legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus was first made known to the West by Gregory of Tours in the sixth century. This identification of subjects of the panels is from the author's inventory notes:

1. The seven Christian brothers go to the cavern that will be their refuge (Rouen).
2. Malchus brings bread to feed his brothers (Rouen).
3. Malchus informs his brothers of the return of their persecutor (Rouen).
4. The seven brothers kneel and pray in the cave (U.S. private collection).
5. A mason seals the cave (Rouen).
6. The appearance of the cross before the town of Ephesus (Rouen).
7. Malchus seized while attempting to buy bread with ancient coins (U.S. private collection).
8. Malchus brought before the Bishop of Ephesus to explain possession of the coins (U.S. private collection).
9. Messengers from Ephesus relate the miracle to the emperor Theodosius (Worcester Museum).
10. Theodosius goes on horseback to see the miraculous cave (U.S. private collection).
11. Fragments showing the death of the seven brothers and a censuring angel (Rouen).

The original arrangement of the window is complicated by the recutting, but its mosaic background is similar to that of the New Alliance window of Bourges. In style, the series relates to work of the St. John the Baptist Master of Rouen, and to windows of the nave of Chartres. Here, in the best productions of both places, one can recognize the style of Paris, about 1200.

Reasons for the inclusion of this rare legend at Rouen find their origins in the resurgence of its popularity in the West in the eleventh century. Oriental cults such as that of St. Michael were particularly strong in Normandy. At Rouen, the Monastery of the Trinity changed its name to that of St. Catherine of Alexandria because of miracles wrought by her relic.



FIG. 1 *Les sept frères se rendant à la caverne (?)*, Dépôt des Monuments Historiques, Château de Champs

FIG. 2 *Malchus apportant des pains à ses frères*, Dépôt des Monuments Historiques, Château de Champs

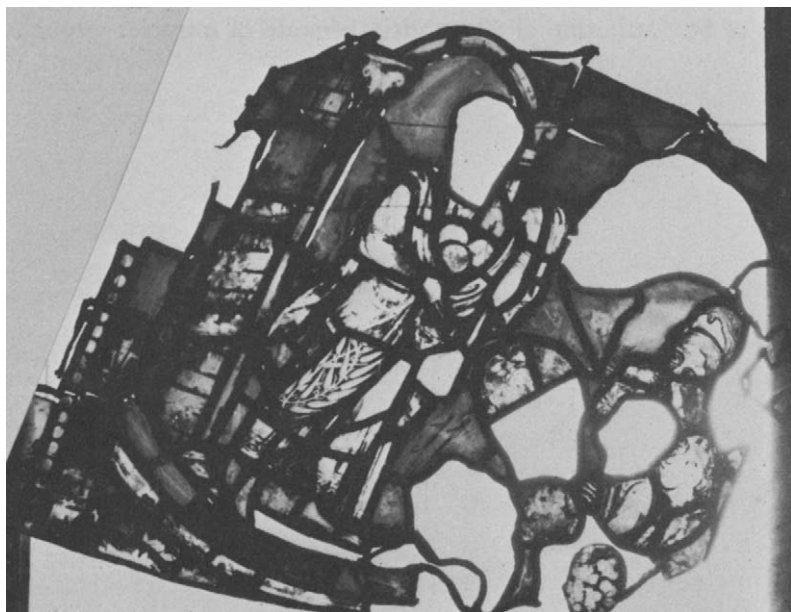




FIG. 3 *Les sept frères agenouillés  
dans la caverne, collection privée*



FIG. 4 *Un maçon mure l'entrée de  
la caverne, Dépôt des Monuments  
Historiques, Château de Champs*



FIG. 5 *La croix à l'entrée de la ville  
d'Ephèse, Dépôt des Monuments  
Historiques, Château de Champs*



FIG. 6 *Malchus chez le boulanger d'Ephèse,  
collection privée*



FIG. 7 *Malchus devant  
l'évêque d'Ephèse, collec-  
tion privée*



FIG. 8 *Les messagers  
d'Ephèse devant l'empereur  
Théodose, Worcester  
Art Museum*





FIG. 9 *Prédication de St. Jean-Baptiste, chapelle des Belles Verrières, cathédrale de Rouen*



FIG. 10 *Théodose se rendant à la caverne, collection privée*



FIG. 11 *Le sommeil des sept frères, Dépôt des Monuments Historiques, Château de Champs*

## Note sur les Arbres de Jessé de Gercy et de St. - Germain - les - Corbeil

Le but de la présente note est d'indiquer sommairement comment les vitraux de Gercy et de St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, présentés à l'exposition *The Year 1200* et figurant l'Arbre de Jessé, s'inscrivent dans l'évolution du vitrail français au début du treizième siècle.

Le développement de la peinture sur verre parisienne pendant la première moitié du treizième siècle est encore mal connue. On ne peut plus suivre son évolution à Paris même où il ne subsiste aucune oeuvre entre la rose occidentale de Notre-Dame (vers 1220)<sup>1</sup> et les vitraux de St.-Germain-des-Prés et de la Ste.-Chapelle (1243-1248 environ), sensiblement contemporains.<sup>2</sup> D'une manière générale, le rôle de Paris, centre politique et intellectuel important dès le règne de Philippe-Auguste, semble avoir été sous-estimé.<sup>3</sup> Cependant, quelques vitraux de cette époque restent en place dans la région parisienne et leur étude pourra se révéler fructueuse.<sup>4</sup>

Ce groupe de vitraux comprend : la rose occidentale de Mantes, quelques panneaux de Nogent-sur-Oise, une fenêtre de la Passion à St.-Jean-aux-Bois, deux panneaux à Bussy-St.-Martin, la rose orientale et des fragments de grands personnages dans les fenêtres hautes de la nef à Brie-Comte-Robert, divers panneaux remontés dans la fenêtre d'axe de St.-Sulpice-de-Favières, la rose orientale de Donnemarie-en-Montois, les quatre fenêtres de St.-Germain-les-Corbeil auxquels il convient d'ajouter les restes de quatre fenêtres que l'on croit provenir de Gercy, maintenant déposés au Musée de Cluny.<sup>5</sup>

Cette étude ne fait que commencer, mais les premières conclusions—encore toutes provisoires—semblent confirmer la tendance actuelle à diminuer le rôle de Chartres dans l'évolution du vitrail, qu'Emile Mâle avait peut-être exagéré.<sup>6</sup> Il est reconnu maintenant qu'à Chartres des tendances diverses se sont manifestées et l'on a pu établir des rapports précis

avec certains vitraux de la région laonnaise.<sup>7</sup> Il existe également entre des vitraux de Paris et de Chartres (la rose occidentale de Notre-Dame de Paris et celle de Notre-Dame de Chartres, à laquelle sont stylistiquement liés le vitrail de l'Histoire de Joseph et du Bon Samaritain) des liens certains, bien qu'encore mal définis. En conséquence la source du style parisien ne semble pas devoir être cherchée à Chartres, mais plutôt dans la région de Laon-Soissons et le milieu qui a produit le Psautier d'Ingeburge.<sup>8</sup> C'est dans ce contexte, nous allons le voir, qu'il faut envisager les deux vitraux de Gercy (Fig. 1) et de St.-Germain-les-Corbeil (Figs. 2 et 3).

Tous deux représentent l'Arbre de Jessé. On sait que cette formule iconographique, particulièrement variable puisqu'elle ne répond pas à un texte, mais à la rencontre de la prophétie d'Isaïe (11:1-3) et du *Liber generationis* qui ouvre l'Evangile de Matthieu,<sup>9</sup> a trouvé dans un vitrail de St.-Denis une réalisation où, pour la première fois, le thème généalogique est amplement développé: de Jessé endormi s'élève une tige verticale sur laquelle se succèdent de bas en haut trois Rois, la Vierge, et le Christ, chacun se tenant aux branches qui se détachent du tronc à ses pieds et l'encadrent de leurs rinceaux, et flanqués de Prophètes porteurs de banderoles, debout dans des demi-cercles. Cette interprétation généalogique et linéaire du thème triomphe en France et en Angleterre, où tous les Arbres de Jessé dérivent du modèle dionysien, alors qu'en Allemagne le développement sera différent.<sup>10</sup>

De la fenêtre de Gercy, seuls les deux panneaux supérieurs avec la Vierge et le Christ nous sont parvenus (ensemble 0.90 m de haut sur 0.58 m de large). Ils sont bien conservés<sup>11</sup> et une partie du réseau de plombs est ancienne. La Vierge couronnée est assise dans un fuseau à fond rouge déterminé par les deux branches parties du tronc de l'arbre; elle lève la main droite et tient un livre de sa main gauche. Deux Prophètes nimbés et tenant des banderoles sans inscriptions se détachent sur le fond bleu du vitrail, de chaque côté du fuseau. Dans le panneau supérieur, le Christ, assis dans un fuseau semblable à celui de sa Mère, bénit et tient le globe timbré de la croix. Les rameaux détachés du fuseau forment des rinceaux où s'inscrivent six colombes présentées de profil, ailes déployées, la septième, nimbée, descend sur la tête du Christ.

A St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, les dimensions de la fenêtre (1.09 m de large sur 6 m environ de haut) ont permis de développer le thème plus largement. La fenêtre en place comprend cinq registres: en bas, Jessé endormi (moderne, ainsi que le Prophète à droite et la majeure partie du Prophète à gauche) surmonté de deux Rois, de la Vierge et du Christ (tête moderne), tous encadrés de Prophètes. Au centre, les personnages sont assis dans des fuseaux à fond bleu placés sur un champ rouge où se développent des

rincaux formés par des tiges détachées des fuseaux. Le Christ tient le globe (refait) comme à Gercy; la Vierge a la même attitude que dans le vitrail de Gercy et tient également un livre. Les deux Rois, taillés d'après un même carton, n'ont point d'attribut et se tiennent aux branches; on peut supposer, comme l'a fait A. Watson,<sup>12</sup> qu'ils représentent David et Salomon. Dans l'amortissement, six colombes figurant les dons de l'Esprit Saint prises dans des rincaux de feuillage issus de l'Arbre forment comme une bordure autour de la septième, nimbée, qui descend au-dessus de la tête du Christ. Dans des panneaux étroits séparés de ceux du centre par une armature métallique, se tiennent les Prophètes nimbés, tête nue ou coiffé d'un bonnet pointu traditionnel, debout dans des niches au couronnement simple, avec une arcature en plein cintre ou trilobée reposant sur deux colonnettes à chapiteau, qui reproduisent trois modèles. Alors que les deux Rois sont figés dans la même position, les Prophètes se présentent dans des attitudes variées; seulement deux d'entre eux ont été peints d'après le même carton (Isaac, à gauche du Christ, et Roboam). Les banderoles qu'ils tiennent portent leur nom enlevé sur un fond de grisaille opaque. De chaque côté de Jessé, on trouve Daniel à gauche et Jacob à droite; au registre suivant, Josué et Aaron; ensuite Roboam et Abraham; puis Jérémie et Moïse; enfin Isaac et Manassès. A part le registre inférieur presque entièrement refait, la conservation est plutôt bonne dans l'ensemble, quoique certains verres soient devenus opaques.<sup>13</sup>

Ces deux représentations de l'Arbre de Jessé diffèrent du modèle dionysien par quelques points de détail. En premier lieu, les rameaux détachés de la tige principale se referment au-dessus de la tête des personnages qu'ils encadrent: les Rois, la Vierge, et le Christ sont donc assis dans des fuseaux en forme de mandorles. Cette présentation de personnages dans une succession de fuseaux n'est pas vraiment nouvelle; dès le douzième siècle, on la trouve aux voussures des portails (par exemple au portail occidental de Laon et, au début du treizième siècle, au portail nord de la cathédrale de Chartres) et aussi dans les manuscrits.<sup>14</sup> Cette formule très harmonieuse a été retenue dans tous les vitraux français conservés du treizième siècle, en particulier à Angers, Le Mans, Troyes, Beauvais, Auxerre, la Ste.-Chapelle de Paris, etc., sauf à Soissons.<sup>15</sup>

Les Prophètes sont présentés dans des compartiments aux formes variées selon les vitraux. Dans les deux cas qui nous occupent, la présentation se rattache à des modèles traditionnels. A Gercy, les Prophètes sont placés dans le même panneau que la Vierge, ce qu'explique l'étroitesse de la fenêtre.<sup>16</sup> Celui de gauche est posé directement sur le fond bleu, sans prendre appui sur la base du panneau; ceci s'apparente à la manière dont les personnages sont posés sur le fond doré des manuscrits (les Prophètes de

l'Arbre de Jessé du Psautier d'Ingeburge, par exemple). Mais, pour le second Prophète, à droite, on a choisi un parti différent: il est debout sur un petit tertre dessiné au bas du panneau. C'est un parti que l'on rencontre fréquemment dans la peinture sur verre, où l'on répugne à laisser les personnages "dans le vide," simplement posés sur le fond.<sup>17</sup>

A St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, les Prophètes sont debout sous de petites arcatures reposant sur les chapiteaux de minces colonnettes. Ce détail apparaît également dans l'Arbre de Jessé de Soissons (vers 1212). Cette manière de placer des personnages dans des petites niches superposées était courante, déjà au douzième siècle, dans les piédroits sculptés des portails, mais aussi dans les initiales enluminées des manuscrits.<sup>18</sup> Le vitrail de St.-Germain-les-Corbeil est le premier qui nous soit parvenu, où l'on trouve cette présentation des Prophètes associée aux fuseaux de la lignée royale; en cela, il précède une représentation bien connue, celle de la Ste.-Chapelle, à Paris, où l'Arbre de Jessé partage une fenêtre avec l'histoire d'Isaïe, ce qui lui rend pleinement son sens prophétique.<sup>19</sup> L'identité de ces deux représentations est telle que l'on pourrait leur supposer un modèle commun.

A St.-Denis, aucun attribut ne distinguait les personnages. Au contraire, à Gerçy et à St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, la Vierge et le Christ tiennent respectivement un livre et le globe. Or cette représentation du Christ est l'image du Christ au septième jour de la Création; le fait qu'on l'ait insérée dans un autre contexte est un exemple de la contamination des thèmes. Ceci ne change pas radicalement le sens de l'Arbre de Jessé et au treizième siècle le Christ est généralement représenté avec un attribut qui varie selon les vitraux (à la Ste.-Chapelle, il tient le livre et la croix); il en est de même dans les manuscrits.

Ces deux vitraux offrent donc des figurations traditionnelles de Arbre de Jessé, conformes au type du treizième siècle, avant sa disparition temporaire du vitrail français au siècle suivant.<sup>20</sup>

Ces deux vitraux, si voisins par leur iconographie, proviennent d'édifices situés à une dizaine de kilomètres l'un de l'autre et relevant tous deux du diocèse de Paris, dont ils ne sont éloignés que d'une trentaine de kilomètres. De Gerçy, trois autres fenêtres ou fragments de fenêtres, d'un style un peu différent et plus évolué, sont conservés; ces vitraux ont dû orner l'église paroissiale mentionnée en 1205 dans Pouillé du diocèse de Paris<sup>21</sup> et démolie à l'extrême fin du dix-huitième siècle. L'église de St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, construite au début du treizième siècle, conserve dans son mur oriental deux autres fenêtres, consacrées à la Passion et à St. Vincent ou à St. Germain de Paris, et un oculus contenant six scènes;<sup>22</sup> tous ces vitraux ont été faits par un même atelier, même si l'on y reconnaît plusieurs mains. Ces deux

ensembles sont parmi les plus importants du groupe "parisien" du début du treizième siècle et appartiennent à la même famille stylistique.

Dans les deux fenêtres qui font l'objet de cette note, les couleurs laissent dominer le bleu assez intense et le rouge des fonds. Les autres couleurs, toutes assez soutenues, sont celles que l'on retrouve normalement au début du treizième siècle: le blanc habille encore quelques personnages, mais surtout le pourpre-rose, le vert, et le jaune.

Toujours présent dans les figurations de l'Arbre de Jessé, le décor végétal se réduit, à Gercy, à deux rinceaux d'acanthes trifoliées, placés de part et d'autre du fuseau à sa base et à son sommet. A St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, on retrouve, dans des rinceaux plus riches, largement développés autour de chaque fuseau, les mêmes acanthes à trois folioles, présentées à plat, de profil ou en bouquet, parfois accompagnées de petits fruits en grappe, comme on en voit dans l'Arbre de Jessé de Soissons et plus généralement dans le décor des vitraux de la région de Laon-Soissons. Les bouquets forment une sorte d'éventail à la terminaison des rinceaux, au niveau de la tête du premier roi et de la Vierge, sont comme des éléments de bordure; on en trouve de semblables à Laon et, posés perpendiculairement à l'axe de la fenêtre, ils forment la bordure du vitrail de la Passion à St. Germain même.

Dans tous les vitraux de St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, les proportions des personnages sont très variables pour leur permettre de s'adapter au cadre et de le remplir au maximum. Cette particularité se voit également dans l'Arbre de Jessé où les personnages assis au centre sont aussi hauts que les Prophètes debout. Ces derniers sont dotés de têtes assez grosses posées sur des corps fluets et toutes peintes d'après le même modèle. Des traits épais et précis dessinent le nez, la bouche, les mèches de la barbe—ils sont tous barbus—les sourcils et les yeux dont les doubles lignes enserrent une énorme pupille; ces traits sont posés sur un léger lavis. Les trois visages présentés de face sont plus petits et plus fins.

A Gercy, les têtes plutôt petites sont peintes selon la même technique, mais de façon plus fine. Il existe le même contraste entre les visages des Prophètes et ceux de la Vierge et du Christ. Ces derniers sont très maladroitement peints, surtout celui de la Vierge, au contour irrégulier, avec des yeux pas trop dissymétriques. Les têtes des Prophètes sont plus régulières et plus soignées, en particulier celle de gauche; celle de droite, moins bien conservée (verre rongé et peinture effacée), présente la particularité d'être peinte sur le même verre que le nimbe, ce qui est généralement réservé, à cette époque, à des têtes de petites dimensions.

Toujours à Gercy, les personnages, assez menus et bien proportionnés, se présentent tous dans des attitudes calmes, même les Prophètes qui, dans les Arbres de Jessé, forment contraste avec les Rois par leur gesticulation.



Les mouvements de la draperie sont très souples; de grands traits continus en indiquent les mouvements principaux, accompagnés de traits plus fins, interrompus et repris, comme on le voit bien sur le manteau du Christ qui dessine une longue diagonale le l'épaule droite au genou gauche. La chute des plis est calme. C'est un graphisme comparable à celui de Laon.

A St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, l'ensemble est plus animé. Les Prophètes occupent tout l'espace qui leur est imparti et empiètent la plupart du temps sur le cadre architectural, sans être cependant dans des attitudes très contournées. Les vêtements sont fortement chargés de peinture. Les plis sont creusés de "cuillers" profondes remplies de peinture. Parfois le vêtement colle à l'épaule, au genou ou à la hanche en laissant des plages sans peintures soulignées par un gros trait ou même un triangle de grisaille (sur les jambes d'Abraham par exemple). La complication du drapé sur le buste des Rois est surprenante. Cette manière de peindre le drapé, lourde et chargée, rappelle celle que l'on voit sur certaines Vertus de la rose occidentale de Notre-Dame de Paris, et qui se laisse comparer au drapé de certaines figures monumentales des vitraux de Soissons.

La date de ces deux vitraux ne peut être donnée avec précision, faute de documents. Cependant les traits stylistiques que nous avons essayé de dégager indiquent le premier quart du treizième siècle. Les proportions encore trapues des personnages, les têtes encore trop grosses et d'un dessin archaïque, les attitudes stéréotypées, le drapé souple, mais fortement marqué se placent dans la tradition. Dans la miniature, le style de St.-Germain-les-Corbeil trouve un répondant avec le Psautier dit de Blanche de Castille (vers 1220), où le dessin du drapé et même celui des visages sont assez voisins.<sup>23</sup> Mais on n'arrive pas encore à la mutation décrite par L. Grodecki et R. Branner,<sup>24</sup> qui conduit à un certain maniérisme des attitudes, aux plis cassés à "becs débordants," au graphisme rapide des visages, caractéristiques de l'art qui trouve son épanouissement dans les vitraux de la Ste.-Chapelle.

## Notes

1. J. Lafond dans J. Lafond et L. Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte Chapelle de Paris*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi. France, I, Paris, 1959, p. 19.

2. Sur l'ensemble du problème de St.-Germain-des-Prés, voir L. Grodecki dans *Le vitrail français*, Paris, 1958, pp. 144 et 149. Sur

les vitraux de la Ste. Chapelle, voir L. Grodecki dans J. Lafond et L. Grodecki, C.V.M.A. France, I, pp. 72-93.

3. J. Lafond, "Lincoln Cathedral. The Stained Glass Decoration of Lincoln Cathedral in the Thirteenth Century," dans *The Archaeological Journal*, CIII, 1947, pp. 152-153.

4. Pour le douzième siècle, le vitrail parisien n'est représenté que par les médaillons de la *Légende de saint Matthieu*, remontés dans la rose méridionale de Notre-Dame de Paris (J. Lafond, dans C.V.M.A. France, I, pp. 52-67). M. Grodecki a pu établir un lien entre eux et des médaillons remontés dans la chapelle de la Vierge de St.-Germer-de-Fly: "Les vitraux du XIIème siècle de Saint-de-Germer-de-Fly," dans *Miscellanea Pro Arte. Festschrift für Hermann Schnitzler*, Düsseldorf, 1967, p. 157.

5. La plupart de ces vitraux n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'études détaillées, mais certains ont figuré dans des expositions. Sur Mantes, voir L. Grodecki dans *Le vitrail français*, Paris, 1958, pp. 123-124; sur St.-Jean-aux-Bois, A. Philippe, *Le vitrail de Saint-Jean-aux-Bois*, Epinal, 1921; sur Donnemarie-en-Montois, F. Perrot "La rose de Donnemarie-en-Montois," dans *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Provins*, 1970; sur St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, voir les nos. 194 et 195 du catalogue de l'exposition *L'Europe gothique*, Paris, 1968; sur Gercy, en dernier lieu: catalogue de l'exposition *Cathédrales*, Paris, 1962, nos. 149-154. Sur l'ensemble du problème, voir Grodecki dans *Le vitrail français*, pp. 123 et 144-149.

6. E. Mâle, dans *L'histoire de l'art d'A. Michel*, Paris, 1906, II<sup>1</sup>, p. 573. Ceci a été rectifié notamment par Grodecki dans *Le vitrail français*, p. 115 et dans l'introduction de son article "Le maître de saint Eustache de la cathédrale de Chartres," dans *Gedenkschrift Ernst Gall*, Munich-Berlin, 1965, p. 171. De même a-t-on limité le rôle de Chartres dans l'architecture; J. Bony, "The Resistance to Chartres in Early Thirteenth Century Architecture," dans *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., XX-XXI, 1957-1958, pp. 35-52 et aussi R. Branner, "Paris and the Origins of Rayonnant Gothic Architecture down to 1240," dans *Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1962, pp. 39-51.

7. Voir Grodecki, "Le maître de saint Eustache de la cathédrale de Chartres," pp. 171-194.

8. Grodecki, dans *Le vitrail français*, p. 123, suivi par Lafond dans C.V.M.A. France, I, pp. 25-26.

9. Voir A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, Londres, 1934 et, depuis, G. Schiller, *Ikongraphie der Christlichen Kunst*, Gütersloh, 1966, I, pp. 26-33, sur les premières représentations de l'Arbre de Jessé et leur

évolution. Les Prophètes n'a paraissent ni dans la prophétie d'Isaïe, ni dans le texte de Matthieu. Le nombre des Rois varie essentiellement selon la place dont les artistes disposent. D'autres personnages, comme la Sibylle, St. Pierre ou St. Paul, peuvent remplacer les Prophètes auprès du Christ, mais on ne les trouve pas dans les vitraux français.

10. Sur ce point, voir R. Becksmann, "Das Jesse-Fenster aus dem spätromanischen Chor des Freiburger Münsters," dans *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIII, 1-4, 1969, pp. 25-30.

11. Il n'est pas certain que la pièce jaune qui couvre le genou droit de la Vierge soit ancienne; il en est de même pour une pièce blanche au bas à gauche, dans la robe du Prophète de gauche. L. Magne, *Les vitraux de Varennes provenant de l'ancienne abbaye de Gercy*, dans *Département de Seine-et-Oise. Commission des Antiquités et des Arts*, 7ème vol., Versailles, 1887, pp. 75-98, a donné des indications précieuses sur l'état de ces vitraux en 1887.

12. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, p. 110.

13. Les registres médians que nous reproduisons avaient été lavés pour l'exposition *L'Europe gothique* (Paris, 1968), ce qui leur a rendu leur translucidité. La partie supérieure de la fenêtre, non encore déposée et nettoyée, est difficile à examiner et impossible à photographier dans son état actuel.

14. Par exemple, dans le Psautier lat. 238 de la Bibliothèque Nationale ou dans des Bibles de St.-Germain-des-Prés (ms. lat. 11.534 et ms. lat. 11.554) ou encore dans le Psautier dit de Blanche de Castille (Paris, Arsenal, ms. 1186). Dans les manuscrits, cette présentation en succession de mandorles entourées de rinceaux est utilisée dans d'autres cas que l'Arbre de Jessé, en particulier pour les scènes de la création (par exemple dans une Bible venant de St.-Germain-des-Prés, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 11.506 et dans d'autres Bibles du groupe de la "Bible de Soissons": R. Branner, "The 'Soissons Bible' Paintshop in Thirteenth Century Paris," dans *Speculum*, XLIV, no. 1, janvier, 1969, pp. 13-34).

15. Sur ce dernier vitrail, voir L. Grodecki, "Un vitrail démembré de la cathédrale de Soissons," dans *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XLII, 1953, pp. 169-176.

16. Cette particularité de composition se retrouve dans un vitrail anglais contemporain, à Westwell; N. H. J. Westlake, *A History of Design in Stained Glass*, Londres, 1879-1880, I, p. 78 et pl. XLIVa.

17. Ainsi à Donnemarie-en-Montois, l'artiste a dessiné des petits tertres semblables sous les tombeaux de la résurrection des morts. De même, à Laon, dans le vitrail de la Passion, on a dessiné le sol sur lequel marchant les personnages, en suivant le bord rectiligne des panneaux. Réciproquement, dans certains manuscrits influencés par l'art du vitrail, on a posé les personnages sur de petits tertres: par exemple, dans certains médaillons du Psautier dit de Blanche de Castille (Arsenal, ms. 1186; en particulier l'ange de l'Annonciation [fol. 16] est debout sur un léger monticule alors que la Vierge se détache sur le fond doré, le facsimile publié par H. Martin, *Les joyaux de l'Arsenal*, I, Paris, 1909).

18. Les exemples peuvent se multiplier: on en trouve dans les manuscrits cités à la note 14. Là aussi il faut remarquer qu'une telle présentation ne s'applique pas seulement à des personnages isolés, mais aussi à des scènes.

19. Grodecki, dans C.V.M.A. France, I, pp. 173-174. Le Psautier ms. lat. 238 de la Bibliothèque Nationale présente un arbre de Jessé dans l'initiale de l'Evangile de St. Matthieu où sont réunis les éléments caractéristiques des vitraux de la Ste. Chapelle et de St.-Germain-les-Corbeil; il est postérieur à 1173, puisque St. Thomas Becket figure au calendrier, et antérieur à 1223, car l'obit de

Philippe-Auguste a été ajouté. Son origine n'est pas connue, mais il ne peut pas être mis en rapport stylistique avec les vitraux qui nous intéressent. V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques de France*, Mâcon, 1940-1941, II, pp. 38-39 et pl. LI et, depuis, no. 244 du catalogue de l'exposition *The Year 1200*, I.

20. M. Jean Lafond a constaté l'absence d'Arbres de Jessé dans les vitraux français du quatorzième siècle et l'explique par le parti de composition qui laisse une très grande place au verre blanc; J. Lafond et E. W. Ganderton, *Ludlow Stained and Painted Glass*, Ludlow, 1961, p. 8.

21. *Pouillés de la Province de Sens*, éd. par M. Longnon, Paris, 1904, 357 b.

22. L. Vollant, *L'église de Saint-Germain-les-Corbeil*, Corbeil, 1897, pp. 2-4, et pp. 31-36. La date précise de la fondation n'est pas connue. L'abbé Lebeuf rapporte que, en 1209, le curé desservant et son diacre "donnèrent dans les erreurs des Albigeois" (*Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, Paris, 1883, V, p. 81).

23. Voir le facsimile de ce manuscrit publié par H. Martin, *Les joyaux de l'Arsenal*, 1909, I.

24. Grodecki, dans *Le vitrail français*, p. 144 et dans C.V.M.A. France, I, pp. 91-93; R. Branner, "The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris," dans *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new ser., 58, part 2, 1968, pp. 19-22.

## English Summary by Jane Hayward

The purpose of this note is to indicate how the Jesse Tree windows from Gercy and St.-Germain-les-Corbeil, shown in *The Year 1200* exhibition, enter into the evolution of French stained glass at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Study of the glass of this period is particularly difficult because of the lack of examples from the city of Paris, which, because of its political and intellectual importance, should have been a center for artistic

production. Several examples from the Parisian area: the west rose of Mantes, some panels from Nogent-sur-Oise, a window at St.-Jean-aux-Bois, two panels at Bussy-St.-Martin, the west rose and some fragments at Briecomte-Robert, some panels at St.-Sulpice-de-Favières, the east rose of Donnemarie-en-Montois, and other glass from Gercy and St.-Germain-les-Corbeil are still in place, and their study should be fruitful.

Tentative conclusions tend to diminish the role of Chartres in the evolution of Parisian style in favor of influence from the Laon-Soissons area. The placing of the prophets in architectural niches occurred about 1212 in the Jesse Tree at Soissons, at Corbeil, and continued at Ste.-Chapelle. Attributes held by Christ and the Virgin in these trees appear earlier in manuscripts and later at Ste.-Chapelle; ornament is similar to that of Laon. The ensemble at Corbeil is more animated than that at Gercy, and the manner of painting the drapery recalls the west rose of Notre Dame of Paris and certain figures at Soissons. Dating for these two windows cannot be precise, but their style suggests the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Certain features of the style of Corbeil recall that of the Psalter of Blanche of Castile, about 1220, but it has not yet arrived at the mutation characterized by certain mannerisms that will culminate in the windows of the Ste.-Chapelle.



FIG. 1 *L'arbre de Jessé, ancienne abbaye de Gercy actuellement au Musée de Cluny (photo: Monuments Historiques)*



FIG. 2 *L'arbre de Jessé, les trois registres médians, St.-Germain-les-Corbeil (photo: Monuments Historiques)*

FIG. 3 *L'arbre de Jessé, détail, St.-Germain-les-Corbeil (photo: Monuments Historiques)*



## Scandinavian Art and Its Relations to European Art around 1200

Scandinavia embraces a part of north-western Europe of considerable geographical size. The historical and cultural development of the peoples of this huge area were to a large extent dependent on where they lived: the rugged fjords and valleys of Norway on the Atlantic Ocean; the vast plains of middle Sweden more or less facing the Baltic; or the rich islands and peninsulas of Denmark with free access to the east, south, and west. The important background of this area is almost unknown to art historians outside the countries mentioned, and I shall start this survey with a few words about it.<sup>1</sup>

Each of the three Scandinavian peoples that existed as independent nations about 1200 in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark had its own royal saints, church primas, laws, traditions, and kings. They spoke almost the same language and, despite constant feuds, considered themselves more closely related to one another than to the rest of Europe. Norway was still troubled by civil wars when, in 1183, Archbishop Eystein returned from exile in England and began building his splendid Gothic cathedral in Trondheim to house the shrine of the royal saint Olav. Seven of his dioceses were located on the mainly Norwegian-populated islands surrounding Scotland and the northernmost Atlantic Ocean.

Scania, in present-day Sweden, was one of the most precious possessions of the Danish kings, and its capital, Lund, the seat of powerful archbishops. They not only ruled their church, but greatly helped their kings in conquering new territories on the Baltic Sea. The rich plains of middle Sweden, around the big lakes, made up the core of the country, with Uppsala as the archbishop's seat. About 1200, the kings were again strong enough to take an interest in eastern affairs and they began to conquer the Finnish coast, and



to confront the forward surge of the republic of Novgorod. The merchants of Gotland in the Baltic Sea played a unique role as a link between the eastern and western states, with many subsequent gains.

In its cultural relations with Western Europe, Scandinavia's peripheral position in the north was of minor importance. For centuries its merchants had sailed to all the towns bordering on the Baltic and the North Sea, bringing with them ivory from Greenland, fur from the inland districts, and fish from the western coasts. In northern Europe, Bergen in Norway and Visby on Gotland were two of the most important merchant centers and attracted visitors from every country. The church and the monastic orders were vital international factors. Artists and art works knew no borders; people seeking learning looked to Paris as the center of wisdom; ecclesiastics going south to Rome went via England and Paris or by way of Germany or Flanders. Due to its geographical position, Norway's closest ties were with the British Isles, followed by those with the Rhine region, the Netherlands, and Denmark. For similar reasons, Sweden looked to Novgorod and the southern towns, partly via Gotland. But the east could not compete with Saxony, Westphalia, and the Rhine region; culturally, these countries held a sure and dominating position. Denmark faced both the Baltic and the North Sea. Like Sweden, it turned more and more to northern Germany for inspiration and advice. All pilgrimage routes led through Germany except two: one crossed the North Sea and led south to Canterbury; the other, and most important route went north to St. Olav's shrine in Trondheim in Norway, where an overwhelming English influence could be seen in all arts and architecture.

The majority of Scandinavian art objects from the period around 1200 consists of wooden objects—crucifixes, Virgins, and saints. A number of murals are preserved, as well as a few bronzes and ivories, but illuminated manuscripts are rare. Enameled objects were imported from Limoges, Cologne, and the Mosan towns. The number of wooden sculptures, especially in Sweden, is amazing. Viewed as a whole, these objects reflect the art of other European art centers and were either imported or produced by Scandinavian artisans. It may have been of importance to the stylistic development that the Cistercians, who settled in Scandinavia in the 1140s, came to Sweden and Denmark from France, and to Norway from England.

Judging from the material preserved, the period from about 1180 to about 1220 was not a separate stylistic period on Scandinavian soil. Art objects and murals from the end of the twelfth century and about 1200 that bear witness to the classical and Byzantine influence on European art are, in most cases, offshoots and echoes of the production in the Western or Eastern art

centers, or even imports. Before 1200, art in Scandinavia was still solidly based on older traditions.

The artistic situation of Scandinavia about 1200 thus made clear, I will draw attention to those works that bear witness to the mounting European interest in a more naturalistic version of nature, especially as seen in the treatment of human forms and clothing. I have chosen to start with the monuments most obviously influenced by Byzantine and classical art; the same styles which influenced European art centers in the last half of the twelfth century. These objects will not always be given in chronological order.

It is generally unknown to European scholars that Byzantine influence not only reached the northern countries via the western routes, but that for centuries there existed an eastern entry which may have been of importance to Western European art as well. Several of the still existing twelfth-century churches of the very important merchant town of Novgorod near Leningrad preserve remnants of beautiful murals in Russo-Byzantine styles. Hundreds of Western Europeans, most of them Scandinavians, paid visits to this town every year while the Russians went to the west. Some of the artists probably moved over to Gotland at the end of the century and decorated the Garde Church with ornaments and representations of long-nosed Byzantine saints in rich garments, bristling with green, bright yellow, and brown. Remnants of their art are visible in several churches on the island (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> These artists influenced the stone carver Master Byzantios, who carved some remarkable fonts for churches on the island and for export to the mainland (Fig. 2).<sup>3</sup>

In the 1960s, restoration of the apse and the choir of the royal church of Vå in Scania (originally Denmark) brought to light exquisite Byzantine-influenced paintings. Christ in Majesty, angels, saints, and ornaments reveal in their colors and execution an artist well acquainted with the classicizing art of the late Comnenians (Fig. 3). The gift of the church by Waldemar I to the Premonstratensians was confirmed by solemn act in 1170; this could well be the date of the paintings.<sup>4</sup> Works of the same quality as those in Garde and Vå are rare. The many murals in medieval Denmark and southern Sweden from this period reveal a number of masters of lesser standards. It is clear that the background of the majority of these masters was northern Germany and France.

The great school, active around 1200, which worked in many of the churches of the main Danish island, Zealand, is more difficult to place. Many of the murals are hardly visible, partly because they are still hidden behind a coat of whitewash, or restored, and therefore more or less destroyed. Some of the murals with classicizing busts in roundels, saints, the Virgin,

and Christ in Majesty as in Vinslöv, Kirke-Hyllinge, Maalöv, Söstrup, and Jörlunde are related to the paintings in Väst, although not executed by the same hand.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that the powerful Danish king, Waldemar I, or his energetic archbishop, called for skilled artists from Novgorod, which is not far from Estonia and which the Danes had begun to subdue. Some Scandinavians certainly took part in the Fourth Crusade, which ended in the Byzantine disaster of 1204. But this date is too late to have influenced the early phase of Scandinavian art about 1200.

It would be expected that the art of book illumination flourished side by side with the art of decorating churches with murals, and that its centers would be found in the south Scandinavian towns, especially in Denmark and in the monastic centers. Although it is impossible to establish any proof for this assumption, a single manuscript leaf gives at least an indication (Fig. 4). This page is all that has come down to us of a lavishly illuminated book from the Benedictine monastery of St. Knud in Odense on the fertile island of Fyn. The page depicts a Crucifixion scene which was incorporated in a portable altar about the middle of the sixteenth century. The altar is now in the National Museum in Copenhagen under the name of the Rantzau altar.<sup>6</sup> The painting has been variously attributed to all the countries around the North Sea. A few illuminated pages in the British Museum from a bigger book could be by the same hand.<sup>7</sup> The magnificent Crucifixion, against a gold background, shows the two mourners at the sides (the lower parts of the Virgin and possibly of St. John are touched by a later hand) and the Ecclesia and the Synagogue at the base of the cross. Above the cross, a man and a woman in roundels hold the sun and the moon with covered hands. The classicism of the group is clear, but it is obviously not Eastern classicism.

The Christ figure is certainly a Western European type, despite the fact that it was derived from a well-known Byzantine conception of the Comnenian era. This type, with its beautiful, inclined head and closed eyes, is actually found in all media from Spain to Scandinavia in the last third of the twelfth and the first third of the thirteenth century. Moreover, the drapery of this well-made resting Christ figure does not appear often outside certain areas influenced by English, Mosan, and, more rarely, by west German art. One could compare the crucifix figure and the two mourners to the Crucifixion group in a manuscript from Horne church, Salling, which was illuminated in Denmark about a quarter of a century later (Fig. 5).<sup>8</sup> Therein is revealed the whole development of Western European art and the style in the beginning of the thirteenth century in a more peripheral scriptorium.

It is more enlightening to study a Crucifixion group in wood from Giske church on the northwestern coast of Norway (Fig. 6). The church was built

of local marble in the last half of the twelfth century for Nikolas Kuvung, the head of one of the richest and noblest families in the realm. Either Kuvung, or more probably his son Pål Flida, bought the group at the end of the century. Again we are faced with classicism in the side figures, this time of the same high quality as in the Vå paintings, and a Christ figure closely related to the Christ figure of the Rantzau altar. But the stiffness, which marks the side figures in the illumination, is replaced by a superb spiritual harmony and elegance. The heavy, well-shaped body of the dead Savior, the weightless, well-balanced figures of the Virgin and St. John, with their youthful, elongated faces filled with controlled sorrow, are among the best examples of what we could call an Anglo-Norwegian art (Fig. 7).<sup>9</sup> Where was the group carved? Was it in Trondheim, the archbishop's town, in Bergen, the big merchant city, or was it ordered from England across the sea? We don't know. The style of the Christ figure is clearly English. The owner of the estate of Giske and Bjarkøy certainly had every opportunity to ask for the best, no matter where it came from.

Medieval art is full of enigmas. Almost all the surviving monuments present problems; the origin of the Giske group is only one of them. Even if it was not made in Norway, the crucifix type had spread far and wide by the end of the century—to the province of Jemtland in the east (originally part of Norway) via Trondheim and to Heggen church in the south, probably via Oslo. The quality of the Heggen figure is still good, but earlier Romanesque stylistic traditions dominate (Fig. 8).

The monk's (saint's) head from Urnes stave church in the Sognefjord in western Norway expresses the same classicizing ideas as the mourners from Giske, but this time seen through the eyes of an artist of a stylistic milieu other than that of the Giske group (Fig. 9).<sup>10</sup> The youthful oval face with the small chin and little mouth, long thin nose, and big dominating eyes reveals general features which are reminiscent of the faces of the Virgin from Viklau, the Haverö Michael, the seated angel in Berlin, and dozens of other representations in all media throughout Western Europe from the last half of the twelfth century. All the same, there is something in the shape and the cutting of the enormous eyes and the stiff arrangements of the curled hair that makes one think of English twelfth-century translations of the Byzantine way of drawing human heads. It may be compared to parallels in such works of art as the Bury St. Edmunds Bible from about 1150 and especially the murals in the St. Gabriel chapel in Canterbury Cathedral from about 1180.<sup>11</sup>

The leaf from the Rantzau altar and the Giske sculptures share a curious common feature. In both objects, the mourners follow more or less Byzantine formulas of style, whereas Christ on the cross is more dependent on north-

west European traditions. These traditions are even more apparent in a little battered Christ figure of walrus ivory, which the Danish art historian Emil Hannover bought in 1884 in an antique shop in Copenhagen (Figs. 10, 11). The figure was published by Hannover, Adolf Goldschmidt, and other scholars as a Norwegian work of art and dated to about 1250.<sup>12</sup> Recent investigations of this excellent carved figure have revealed that the lost legs originally were placed side by side and went down to the left. The figure thus made a broken line with the head and the knees to the right and the shoulders and the feet to the left.<sup>13</sup> This is a well-known conception of the crucified Christ in European art. In this case it goes back to English illuminations of the eleventh century with the Weingarten Gospel dated to the second quarter as the finest and also the oldest example.<sup>14</sup> The iconography ultimately derived from Byzantine art and was possibly introduced into English art via Ottonian art, which has left a masterpiece like the engraved Christ on the back of the Lothar Cross (ca. 1000) in the Aachen Dom.<sup>15</sup> The arms of the figure, judging by the holes in the shoulders, were raised in a steep curve, almost without parallels in this period.<sup>16</sup> The thin fabric of the loincloth is draped far down the right leg and arranged in an elegant knot on the left hip, thus balancing the sinking head. The realistically drawn face shows pain in its closed eyes and drooping mouth. The crown of thorns is astonishingly naturalistic. The hair is neatly carved, and the small curls of the beard are arranged in a stiff row not unlike the curls on the monk's head from Urnes. The body itself is carved in a truly naturalistic way, not unlike early Gothic art of the thirteenth century. Only the damp folds between the thighs and on parts of the roll of fabric around the hips are definitely of the twelfth century. The crown was a barrier for an early date for the Christ figure, as no crown of thorns was known on the Savior in the twelfth century, or earlier. However, this obstacle has been removed by the discovery of a crown of thorns on two earlier Crucifixions, one of morse ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated to about the year 1000,<sup>17</sup> and the other painted on a wooden icon in the collection of the St. Catherine monastery of Mount Sinai, dated to the eighth century.<sup>18</sup>

All the features of the Oslo ivory figure enable a dating in the late Romanesque period, and an origin in England around the late twelfth century. In style, it can be compared with excellent works of art in stone and ivory and to book illumination; but it is most rewarding to study the richly carved walrus ivory cross in the Metropolitan Museum. Details of the Oslo figure may be compared to the Christ figure of the Deposition. The ivory cross has been attributed to the Bury St. Edmunds Monastery and dated to the 1180s.<sup>19</sup> The arguments for the attribution are vague, but the date must be accurate. Nobody today has seen the Christ figure of the cross; it was

missing when the cross appeared in the postwar years. Recently, the Oslo figure was tried in the empty place and it fitted very well; but, with the arms and legs gone, it will be hard to prove that the Oslo figure is the lost figure of the cross. It will be necessary to examine and compare very small fragments of chalk and paint on the figure and on the cross to reach a conclusion. The walrus figure of Christ is a rare survival of English or English-influenced art. Another remarkable survival is that of a rood crucifix from Jondal Church in Hardanger (Figs. 12, 13). The cross ends are cut, and both cross and figure were painted gray in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. A crown of thorns of uncertain date covers the remnants of a king's crown.<sup>20</sup> The sculpture was recently restored, and the secondary additions removed. The overpaint partly hid layers of original paint as well as thirteenth- to fourteenth-century layers covering the original ones. The light rosy colors of the flesh are thus contrasted with the heavy red and brownish oil gilding (secondary) of the loincloth and the glimmering gold of the hair. The side wound is painted, as is usual in Romanesque Norwegian art. The strong movement of the figure to the right is made by two almost straight lines, one from the feet and one from the shoulders, both ending at the right hip. This style is typical of a group of crucifixes of the last half of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. The movement is combined with a drooping head, curved arms, closed eyes, and a body modeled in a naturalistic way. This crucifix type reflects again the very strong Byzantine influence on northwestern Europe. The best parallels are preserved from the Rhine region, the Mosan valley, and southern England. The type possibly entered England from Cologne or perhaps from Sicily. One of the best Byzantine examples is found in a late twelfth-century enameled cross in Cozensa Cathedral, in northern Italy. The best west German examples are on the Klosterneuburg altar of Nicolas of Verdun, ca. 1180, and on a royal bracelet in a private collection in Basel, ca. 1160–70. In England we find the best comparison to our wooden crucifix in a drawing from ca. 1160–70 in Oxford.<sup>21</sup> It is notable that about 1200 a remarkable Crucifixion group of this type could be seen in an illuminated English manuscript then in the possession of the mighty Folkunga family in western Sweden. This is a late Winchester work from ca. 1170–80, and contains a full-page Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John (Fig. 14).<sup>22</sup> It is not known how or when the manuscript came to Scandinavia.

The stylized treatment of the Jondal crucifix, seen especially in the details of the chest, the damp folds on the left hip and leg, and the long triangular loincloth, with its characteristic pointed fold covering the stomach, indicates an east English milieu akin to the one that produced the ivory Christ in Oslo. If the Jondal crucifix is of English make, it is the only

monumental English work preserved in this style. At any rate, it is the only wooden rood crucifix of this kind in existence. This iconography influenced some crucifixes in Norway, but the distinctive movement of the body was weakened and mingled with older traditions and with other types coming from abroad. We will see later that this crucifix type influenced south Scandinavian art as well, but combined with stylistic trends from other centers.

The main Anglo-Norwegian monument of this period—about 1200—is nonetheless not a sculpture, but a work of architecture. It is the richly ornamented octagon at the east end of the cathedral of Trondheim. When Archbishop Eystein returned from his exile in England in 1183, he started the construction of a building he felt would be more worthy as the shrine of the popular St. Olav than the narrow chancel of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, and better fitted to receive the many pilgrims. The octagon should be mentioned both because of its high artistic standard and because the ambulatory dating from the end of the twelfth century is decorated with a mingling of classic and pure Western European Romanesque details (Fig. 15).<sup>23</sup> This is just what could be expected in this early phase of changing styles. We have observed the same phenomenon in different sculptures and other works of art and will find it again and again. In Trondheim, the mingling of old and new certainly results from the archbishop's years in England and also from his visit to France. The capitals of the south door of the octagon are decorated with inhabited scrolls containing naked humans, grapes, eagles, lions, and a central human mask. All are carved in a naturalistic way never seen before in Scandinavia, but easily found in English illuminations, French stone sculpture, and Rhenish-Mosan metalwork. On the stringcourse of the exterior there are some human heads and half-figures of the same date which are astonishingly naturalistic (Figs. 16, 17). For architectural reasons they all have to be dated to the end of the century, or to about 1190 at the latest. About 1200 there was a break in the building program and, when it started again about 1210, it was with other stone masons from England, whose sculptural principles curiously enough were more old-fashioned and are less interesting today.

At the end of the century the standards of the artistic milieu in Trondheim must have been high, as well as eclectic, with English art formulas as the dominant element. If the Oslo Christ figure of walrus ivory was carved in Norway and not in England, it could only have been executed in Trondheim, as far as we can judge today. Walrus ivory was plentiful there, and was one of the archbishop's main sources of income.

An artistic center like Trondheim surely influenced some of the many pilgrims who came from every corner of Scandinavia each summer to visit

St. Olav's shrine. This could possibly be the explanation for the unusual carvings of the doorways of Hof stave church in southeastern Norway (Fig. 18).<sup>24</sup> The big pilasters are rustic in make, and their acanthus tendrils and leaves have, in their rounded trefoil leaves, their counterpart in the metalwork about 1200 from the Rhenish-Mosan regions. The woodcarver might have copied the pilasters of another shrine, the most costly and most renowned being that of St. Olav in Trondheim.

In this period, one of the art centers of Scandinavia was the blossoming island of Gotland in the Baltic. Because so much of the island's medieval art has been preserved, this is today perhaps the best place to study German and French-German influences on south Scandinavian art. The Virgin from Viklau Church best represents the new trends in their earliest stages (Figs. 19, 20). It is a remarkable sculpture, almost undamaged and with the original gilding preserved; the Christ Child, however, is lost. Among the numerous Romanesque Swedish Virgins that are still in existence, the Viklau Madonna is without parallel. The others may be placed in the same type of chair, in the same position, but they are solid and blocklike, while the masterpiece from Viklau is slim and full of inner life. Furthermore, the garments outline the body, falling in thin folds on both sides of the legs and meeting in sharp falling angles.

The Virgin's oval face, with its pointed chin, huge eyes, arching eyebrows, and finely carved hair, is reminiscent of the monk's head from Urnes stave church and of many other representations from the last half of the twelfth century, all of them betraying their far-reaching Byzantine ancestry. The Virgin was thought to be a product of the northern French transitional styles of about 1170-80; the statue could have been imported to Visby, or perhaps even produced in that town by an immigrant craftsman. Aron Andersson has given good reasons for the northern French styles emanating from Cologne, or having been brought by a craftsman from this big city who settled in Visby.<sup>25</sup>

The very strong Byzantine influence on the art of Cologne is well known, as is the importance of French stylistic ideas in the workshops of this town about 1200. But it should not be forgotten that classicizing ideas played a decisive role in the development of art not only about 1200 but in most of the twelfth century in the Rhenish-Mosan areas. The mingling of art impulses about 1200 in this area is particularly evident in the glorious statue of St. Michael in the out-of-the-way church of Haverö in Medelpad in northern Sweden (Fig. 21). The archangel, in his late medieval coat of gold paint, stands firmly on his doglike dragon. He is joyfully resting his spear (modern) in the willing mouth of the creature, apparently unconsciously, and is looking ahead with half-shut eyes and a saintly smile. His left hand holds a



globe, like many Byzantine archangels before him. The wings are well carved, and the halo is of unusual design. The form of the head and the details of the face of St. Michael are reminiscent of the features of the Virgin from Viklau and less like those of the more remote and restrained monk from Urnes. This may be due to the different way of carving the eyes and the curls of the hair, or the fact that paint is almost gone from the monk.

The St. Michael is a unique piece of art; no wooden parallels remain. The thin delicate folds of the garments underline the body differently than those on the classicizing mourners of the Giske group, or on the Virgin from Viklau. Stylistically, the archangel is more advanced than these objects and is closer to a small number of sculptures in Germany, the latest of them being Mary and John from a Crucifixion group of ca. 1220 in Halberstadt Cathedral. Consequently, the St. Michael statue should be dated to somewhere in the first third of the thirteenth century. Again, the sculpture has been attributed to a Rhenish workshop under strong northern French influence;<sup>26</sup> the Byzantine globe and the form of the halo indicate the Rhine Valley. But we should not forget that we know very little about wooden sculpture of this period from the coastal regions of northern France, from Flanders, and the Mosan districts. The style of the archangel recalls some of the best goldsmiths' work, which is now preserved in Belgium and in the Rhine region. It could be of interest as well to study more closely stone sculptures from northern and northeastern France dating from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Up to now we have concentrated mainly on one aspect of the art of Scandinavia—those objects which either were created by top immigrant artists, perhaps even imported from leading art centers in the West, or were at least influenced by these centers. We are, therefore, forgetting the majority of the preserved monuments from about 1200 that still followed the old art formulas. A few of them may have been touched by the new art principles; the crucifix from Heggen is one of them. Three other examples are: the bishop from Hjortsberg church in Blekinge in southern Sweden (originally Denmark), the Virgin in Gesäter church in Dalsland in Sweden at the Norwegian border, and an enigmatic Virgin from Veldre church in eastern Norway.

The Hjortsberg bishop is one of several bishop figures preserved in Sweden (Fig. 22). They are all similar and may, for stylistic reasons, be dated to the first half of the thirteenth century. Like many of the seated Swedish Virgin types, it is possible that the prototype of the bishops, too, is found in western Germany; a wooden St. Nicholas in the Landesmuseum, Bonn, is carved according to the same principles.<sup>27</sup>

The Gesäter Madonna may be said to be a modernized version of the dozens of purely Romanesque Virgins most often found in Sweden (Fig. 23). The pose, chair, and garments are seen again and again in earlier sculptures. The folds around the right knee and leg are, for instance, made almost in the same way as those of the Viklau Virgin. Like some of the bishops, the Gesäter Madonna has the damp fold drapery on the right arm. This may be due to Western influences. And the same could be said about the thin, arrowlike folds on the Virgin's breast. She could be a product of English influences in the first quarter of the thirteenth century that came in through east Norwegian towns, or she could even have been brought across the border.<sup>28</sup> The contacts between Dalsland and the adjoining Norwegian provinces of Östfold and Bohuslen at the coast of Skagerak were very strong.

The Virgin from Veldre church in the diocese of Hamar in the interior of eastern Norway again tells a story of mingling influences in the beginning of the thirteenth century (Fig. 24).<sup>29</sup> She sits on the same sort of bench as the Swedish Virgins, and on her lap is a Christ Child with the same crossed legs. Other details are different and derived from other sources. The Virgin from Veldre has no known parallels; she might be an import or even the last representative of a Romanesque school in the diocese. If so, the sources most reasonably are found in a milieu which produced the Virgin from Ouderghem in Belgium (Musée Cinquantenaire, Brussels, no. 6095) and other sculptures of this important area.

Dating an object of art on style alone will always be dubious work; the objects are always ready for redating, even if they are of the best quality. If the object is a retarded work or a copy, the dating will be particularly precarious.

In my opinion, these problems fully present themselves in two well-carved Romanesque rood crucifixes, one from the Läby church (Fig. 25) and the other from the Husby Länghundra church in Uppland, Sweden, the mainland of the country;<sup>30</sup> both are now in the Swedish Museum of National Antiquities. They are very much alike and follow the typical Comnenian iconography, well known in Europe, with shoulders, drooping head, and knees to the right, and hips and feet to the left. The loincloth is equally balanced on both sides with a fold in front of the stomach. The king's crown has been cut away. The eyes are open on the Läby figure and hidden beneath overpaint on the Husby Länghundra example. What is most curious is the perfect, stylized Byzantine mustache on both figures. Would such a detail be possible if the sculpture really was carved in Sweden as early as in the 1160s to seventies, believed to be its date? These are the years when a detail like the thin, pointed mustache was introduced in the main Western

European art centers in the Rhine region and in England, along with other characteristics developed as a result of the impact of Byzantine style in these centers in the last half of the twelfth century.

There are reasons to believe that the mustache and the loincloth, with its flap and its flat regular folds, hardly permit a date earlier than about 1200. Because of the loincloth, these crucifixes should be compared to one of the most interesting sculptures preserved from this period in Scandinavia: the big rood crucifix in Stenkumla church on the island of Gotland (Fig. 26). This athletic Christ hangs on the original cross with the evangelist symbols placed at the ends. The head is erect, the eyes open; the king's crown is missing, a rich black beard and long curly hair cover the cheeks and shoulders. The veins of the arms are carved in the wood, and the feet are dressed with the imperial shoes of the King of Heaven.<sup>31</sup>

The naturalism of this astonishing figure is certainly due to Byzantine influences mingled with domestic traditions. But where were they combined? Was it in Visby with its inhabitants from Lower Saxony, Westphalia, and the Rhine region, or in the Mosan valley, or perhaps somewhere in France? Or was it in Lund? It is hard to say. Cologne is always the last hope and refuge when all other places fail. The shoes are found on some other Scandinavian crucifixes from the first half of the thirteenth century, but there are no early European parallels except for the silver shoes on the renowned Volto Santo in Lucca in northern Italy. In my opinion, the Stenkumla crucifix should be dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century for stylistic reasons.

If we are uncertain about the origin of the Stenkumla crucifix, we are even more uncertain about the origins of the remarkable roods in the Hemse (Figs. 27, 28), Väte (Fig. 29), and Alskog churches on Gotland. They have been convincingly placed in a Rhenish milieu in the tradition of the Gero crucifix and dated to the end of the twelfth century.<sup>32</sup> German crucifixes from the eleventh and twelfth centuries present more problems than those of any other country, mainly because the Ottonian traditions during the entire twelfth century were so strong. In the Hemse Christ figure almost all details except the dropped eyes, the crown, and the stylistic treatment of the loincloth are reminiscent of Ottonian works; even the fullness of the body can be traced back.

The movement of the Väte Christ, with the hips to the right and the knees to the left, is seldom seen outside Germany. It is a creation of Ottonian realism from about the year 1000. The movement is combined with a Byzantine fold on the left hip, and the same facial expression as that of the Hemse crucifix. It is carved of lime wood, the cross of oak. The Alskog crucifix is not of the same high quality as the two others and is an icono-

graphical mixture of both. Quite a number of crucifixes in the same school are preserved, but they do not compare to these masterpieces.

It has been discussed whether these sculptures were imported from the Rhine region or were the works of one or more masters from Cologne who settled in Visby. It is hard to believe that so many similar masterpieces were imported at about the same time. It seems unreasonable as well that imported works, which disappeared into their churches in the countryside, could have had any chance to influence a school in Visby, the thriving merchant town of the island. The solution could be that the Gotlanders imported works of art, and that the sculptors from the Westphalia-Rhine region actually settled in Visby and worked on for years.

In the thin and well-built Crucifixion figure from Hovland church in southern Norway, strong Byzantine traditions are clearly seen; such as the thin arms, the lowered eyelids, the mustache, and other details (Figs. 30, 31).<sup>33</sup> The ends of the cross are cut; the figure itself is 91 cm high. Recent investigations have revealed that the eyes were overpainted in the thirteenth century. Originally they were half-open and fashioned like the eyes on the Chichester reliefs in England, dated by George Zarnecki to as early as the 1140s.<sup>34</sup>

A brownish color is hidden behind the deceiving gold and black of the beard, mustache, eyelids, and hair. Even the crown of thorns is secondary. The cross is of oak; the material of the figure is willow (*salix caprea*), to which fir is added in the crown and in the repaired right hand. *Salix caprea* grows in southern Norway and in all other countries around the North Sea. The slimness of the body and the outlining of the details are best paralleled in Byzantine art of the eleventh century, i.e., on a paten in the Halberstadt Domschatz and in a few manuscripts with marginal illustrations made in Constantinople. Even the form of the loincloth has parallels in this art. But the original half-open eyes, the blocklike suppedaneum, and the faint curve of the body to the left are purely Western European. It has already been mentioned that the left curving crucifixes had their main center in the Rhine region around Cologne. A few other wooden crucifixes, among them one in Osnabrück Cathedral, have so many features in common with the Hovland crucifix that there are reasons to believe that they were made in the Rhine region or were at least influenced by it.

A good stylistic parallel is found in the Crucifixion window of Poitiers from ca. 1165–80. There are even close similarities with a late twelfth-century gilt-bronze crucifix in the Louvre, where the clothlike hair on the shoulders is made in the same way. But even the much later, copperplated Danish crucifix from Örtting church, now in the National Museum in Copenhagen, and dated to about 1225 by Poul Nörlund, contains certain

similarities (Fig. 32).<sup>35</sup> The painted beard, mustache, and hair of the Hovland figure with its gilding and black lines could very well have been made by a man accustomed to working with gilded copper. Thus, the Hovland crucifix fits in the iconographical and stylistic melting pot period of about 1200, either before or a little later.

Danish art of this period occupies a special position. Judged superficially today, it is dominated by altar frontals of repoussé copper, just as Swedish art is dominated by seated Virgins, bishops, and the crucifixes of Gotland, and Norwegian art is dominated by Romanesque stave church doorways and the octagon of Trondheim.

At the end of the twelfth century, workshops in the old towns of Ribe, Aarhus, and Aalborg on Jutland in Denmark had been making repoussé copperwork for at least two generations. Very probably, workshops were found in Scania and on Zealand as well. The well-preserved gilded frontal in the church of Ölst on Jutland reproduces the formula of all frontals: a central figure with flanking figures or scenes between horizontal and vertical ornamented frames. In this case, we find Christ in Majesty in the center and his story in square frames on both sides ending with the Passion (Fig. 33). "De sede maiestatis benedicat nos dextera dei patris" (He blesses us from the seat of majesty at the right hand of God the Father) is written in large letters around the seated Christ. The style and the Crucifixion at the lower left (Fig. 34) allow a dating of the frontal to the end of the twelfth century or even about 1200.<sup>36</sup> It is the same crucifix type as the Anglo-Norwegian example from Jondal in Norway. But it is not the English style we find in the Christ figure of Ölst or elsewhere in the frontal; we are faced with a style coming from western Germany, possibly from Cologne via Westphalia.

It is worthwhile to compare the Crucifixion scene on the Ölst frontal with a similar scene on a stone base, possibly for a monumental crucifix now in the National Museum in Copenhagen (Fig. 35).<sup>37</sup> The base originated in Roskilde, the old town of kings and bishops on Zealand. On one side is carved a seated Christ flanked by two angels. The Crucifixion scene is very worn, but this is clearly the same conception as on the frontal and the same source of inspiration. The crucified is surrounded by agitated mourners: Longinus, Stephaton, and two angels above the cross. The style is unmistakably late twelfth century or about 1200. This date is also appropriate for a little enameled reliquary shrine that came to the National Museum from St. Clemens' church in Nyböl, not far from the old military base and bishop's town of Ribe in southernmost Denmark (Fig. 36).<sup>38</sup> The sides of the casket are adorned with busts of the apostles. On the lid appears a calvary group of the same iconographical conception as those on the Ölst frontal

and the stone base from Aarhus. This time the figures are marked by a provincial way of drawing and an almost crouching Christ figure; the quality of the enamels is mediocre. The origin of the box could either be Lower Saxony or Ribe itself.

Richest of all the Scandinavian altar fittings, and the only one which has been completely preserved, is the altar in Sahl church in the diocese of Ribe (Fig. 37).<sup>39</sup> The town was one of the most important of the country, with many connections to the south. When the Romanesque cathedral was built, stones were brought by boat from the Rhine region. The altar, with frontal and arched retable, is one of the most interesting relics of Romanesque art in Europe. Christ in Majesty is surrounded by scenes from the Bible in the second row and by the twelve apostles in the first row. In the retable we see the enthroned Christ and the twelve apostles in a rich arcading. Christ is placed above, flanked by Mary and John with the celestial arch crowned by the heavenly Jerusalem at the top. The hand of God is seen beneath the heavenly city. Numerous inscriptions describe the scenes. The constantly varying decoration, buildings, and towers testify to the blossoming imagination of the workshop and the diversity of its sources. The style of this altar is certainly earlier than that of the Ölst frontal. After the most careful analyses, Poul Nörlund dated it to about 1200. He may have been correct. I suppose that he would not have objected to a possible dating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, as the Christ figure at the top is similar to other European crucifixes which are dated to the first third of the century. They are all representatives of the last Byzantine impact on Western European art. It is possible that this influence began at the very end of the twelfth century, but it was not generally felt before the turn of the century. The sacking of Constantinople in 1204 only accelerated it.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, Western European art was still influenced by Byzantine art, although now of a more classical kind. In different centers it developed more and more special traits which grew into native styles. Minor arts were dominated by Cologne, the Meuse valley, and southern England. Many of these objects are stylistically so similar to each other that it often is difficult to decide where they were made. To the east, Saxon styles showed special traits, and to the west, French cathedral sculpture was destined to take the lead.

We are going to study several Scandinavian examples of this North Sea style with its decidedly classical features. One of the earliest is the well-known silver-gilt clasp from about 1210–20 in Stockholm (Fig. 38), of the same period as the gilt-bronze clasp in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>40</sup> Both objects are beautifully made, rare survivals of chivalric jewelry. The nearly identical treatment of the thin parallel folds on the figures of both clasps

allows a similar date and origin for both. The identification of the rider, the female figure, and the following boy or man has not yet been clarified, nor has the identity of the two seated figures. The origin may well be England, but it could be the Meuse Valley or even Cologne.

The way art developed can be studied by examining different sculptures. One is the charming little Virgin of oak from West-Skrukeby in East Götland, now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Stockholm (Fig. 39).<sup>41</sup> The crowned Virgin is seated on a bench; her cloak is draped freely around her shoulders and down the right leg in a very long gutterlike fold. It creates thin, sharp folds on both sides of the left leg and triangular, unruly movements on the Virgin's breast. The Child leans backward on her left knee, a position that appears before the formula becomes stiff. A more rude and retarded version is seen in a Virgin from Mosvik church in Trøndelag in Norway, now in the Archaeological Museum of Trondheim.

An excellent Anglo-Norwegian rood crucifix from this early period is the Christ from Årdal in Ryfylke, now in the Stavanger Museum (Fig. 40).<sup>42</sup> The cross and arms are gone, but the paint of the figure has been well preserved. The left foot has been poorly restored. The crowned head, with its half-shut eyes, inclines slightly forward. The body is executed in a stylized naturalism with a carved side wound and marked division between breast and stomach. The loincloth reaches down the left leg leaving the right knee uncovered in a familiar style. A folded lap of cloth falls in front of the stomach.

All early English rood crucifixes have disappeared. The Norwegian ones are left to tell how their English counterparts looked. The Årdal Christ, with its royal face, is a worthy representative of the starting decades of the early thirteenth century (Fig. 41). The oil-varnished gold of the loincloth, the hair and the crown, the glimmering gold of the mustache and the beard, together with the faint pink of the skin and the brownish red of the wound (now carved), the eyebrows, and the lids make it clear how much the paint and gilding meant to the sculpture, and how much the worn and colorless wooden images have lost in appearance. Judging from a few folds on Christ's left thigh, the Årdal crucifix should be dated to the later part of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Its style can be compared to a number of English manuscripts from about 1210–30, the Lothian Bible in the Morgan Library, dated to about 1220, as one example. There is even a technical aspect indicating an early date. The lost arms were fastened to the shoulders by means of incisions on both sides of the shoulder, leaving a thin winglike "wall" that went into a split in the arms. A complicated technique like this was never practiced again on the many Anglo-Norwegian early Gothic crucifixes in Norway.

Originally observed by scores of pilgrims, and significant as evidence of the high artistic level of the sculptors of the Trondheim Cathedral, is a sadly broken stone St. Olav seated on an elephant throne (Fig. 42).<sup>43</sup> The style is the fully developed *Muldenfaltenstil*, the way it was executed on the reliquary of the cross in St. Matthias in Trier of about 1220, and on other objects of art from about the same date. The original place of this big sculpture in the cathedral is unknown. It had some connection with the new choir and possibly occupied a central place in a pulpit or in a choir screen. The Kings' Doorway at the south side was made in the 1220s or about 1230 at the latest. It has a large blessing Christ in the boss, and scrolls inhabited with Tanagra-like figures in the outer doorjambs. The style is much the same as that of the enthroned St. Olav, and was probably introduced via England, despite the fact that English stylistic parallels are not easily found.

Another, and more subtle, side of the same *Muldenfaltenstil*, which spread from the north French-Mosan-Rhenish districts, is found in two remarkable objects from the end of the period. They are the Adoration group of elephant ivory in the National Museum in Copenhagen and the rood crucifix, also apparently of elephant ivory, in the Herlufsholm abbey church on Zealand. The Adoration group (Fig. 43)<sup>44</sup> came into the Royal Danish collections from the seventeenth-century collector Ole Worm. Only lately has it attracted the interest its quality deserves. The Virgin, seated with the child on her left knee, is trampling the dragon. The Child clasps his mother's right hand and receives from the aging, kneeling king a golden wreath, the way Roman emperors did from their subjects. The two other kings are standing back with their gifts in their hands and are not looking at the Christ Child. According to old traditions, they are full of wonder and awe. In later works they will be portrayed discussing the heavenly sight in a more agitated way. Stylistically, the group has sufficient parallels in sculpture and illuminated manuscripts to permit a dating in the first two decades of the century. Mosan and northern French works from about 1200 to 1215 seem especially convincing. One can well agree with Hanns Swarzenski, who judged the group to be a Danish work, but not necessarily with his opinion that English art influences intermediated.

The perfectly carved body of the Herlufsholm rood crucifix curves to the left, thus following century-old iconographic principles rooted in the art of the Rhine region. The head droops, the eyes are shut, and the pain is evident only in the eyebrows. The hair and the beard are treated in much the same way as in the Adoration group, and in numerous other works of art in the Rhine and northern French regions (Figs. 44, 45).<sup>45</sup> The naturalistic way of treating the body is not readily found on other crucifixes, but it is present in cast works of the Rhine and Mosan districts, and perhaps in



England as well (that is, if the Milan candlestick is truly English). It is very tempting to conclude that these two excellent pieces of art both were carved by the same foreign artist of Rhenish-Mosan-northern French origin, who settled in Denmark in the second or third decade of the century. It may be so, despite the fact that the folds of the drapery in the Adoration group are finer, more rounded and subtler than the square and harder treatment of the folds of the crucifix figure. I am convinced that an artist could adapt his style to changing stylistic principles as readily in the thirteenth century as in late centuries.

At any rate, these objects form an early, very sophisticated south Scandinavian group of carvings in ivory. In my opinion, they are well ahead of the later south Scandinavian school, which excelled in wood-carving from the 1230s until about 1260–70. This school should be seen as the result of far stronger European influences of much the same kind on Scandinavian art in the 1230s and 1240s.<sup>46</sup>

It is characteristic of Scandinavian art that, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, influences came to Norway more and more from England and to Denmark and Sweden from Germany. That is a rule that with many exceptions continued throughout the century.

## Notes

1. The study of medieval art in Scandinavia presents many still unsolved problems. The vastness of the subject precludes a thorough treatment in an article of this length, and therefore this paper is offered as a survey with many questions left unanswered.

2. Armin Tuulse, "Väst och öst i Gotlands romantik," *Fornvännen*, Stockholm, 1971; O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, New York, 1970, p. 24; A. Cutler, "Garda, Källinge and the Byzantine Tradition on Gotland," *The Art Bulletin*, LI, no. 3, 1969; Aron Andersson, *L'art scandinave*, II, *Zodiaque*, 29, 1968, pl. 175, pp. 279 f.; Erland Lagerlöf, *Garde Kyrka, Gotland*, V, *Sveriges Kyrkor*, 145, Stockholm, 1972, pp. 292–301, figs. 329–342.

3. Johnny Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gotlands*, Stockholm, 1918, pp. 101–124, pls. xxiv–xxx.

4. Henrik Graebe, "Kalkmålningarna i Vä Kyrka," *Ale*, 2, Kristianstad, 1967; idem,

*Kyrkorna i Vä, Skåne*, III, 1, *Sveriges Kyrkor*, 139, Stockholm, 1971, pp. 74–94, figs. 79–94; Andersson, *L'art scandinave*, II, pls. 163–165.

5. Poul Nörlund and E. Lind, *Danmarks romanske kalkmalerier*, Copenhagen, 1944; Andersson, *L'art scandinave*, II, pls. 170–171.

6. *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts—X/XIII Centuries—in Danish Collections*, Copenhagen-London, 1921, pp. 27 f., pl. XLIII; northern Germany is proposed as the place of origin. *Gyllene Böcker*, exhibition catalogue, Stockholm, 1952, no. 26, p. 31, where Germany, northern France, or Denmark are given as possible origins; the page is dated to ca. 1200.

7. British Museum, London, Cotton Ms. Caligula A 7. *British Museum: Reproductions from Illustrated Manuscripts*, Series I–IV, London, 1923–1928, III, pl. 12.

8. *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 18–24, pl. xxxiv; *Gyllene Böcker*, no. 29.
9. Harry Fett, *Billedhuggerkunsten i Norge under Sverreætt*, Kristiania, 1908, p. 26, figs. 34 a, b. Fett had already recognized the English features of the style and dated the group to about 1200; Andersson, *L'art scandinave*, II, p. 329, fig. 114, pls. 200, 201.
10. Head of monk (saint) from Urnes church, Sogn, Norway. *Art norvégien. Mille ans de tradition Viking*, exhibition catalogue, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, pl. 14. Andersson, *L'art scandinave*, II, p. 328, pl. 202. Andersson expresses the opinion that the tonsured head from Urnes is what remains of a mourning St. John from a Calvary group. A St. John carved like a monk would certainly be unusual and hardly compatible with the quality of the preserved sculpture. At an uncertain date, the wooden head was pegged into the top of a wooden font cover.
11. T. S. R. Boase, *English Art: 1100–1216*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 47, 161–162, pls. 25, 54; E. W. Tristram, *Twelfth Century English Wall Painting*, London, 1944.
12. Emil Hannover, "Et middelaldersk norsk hvalroskrusifiks i dansk privateie," *Kunst og Haandverk*, Kristiania, 1918; Adolf Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1923, III, no. 128. Courtesy of Dr. Erik Moltke, Copenhagen, who provided the information about when and where Emil Hannover bought the corpus.
13. Martin Blindheim, "En romansk Kristusfigur av hvalrosstann," *Årbok 1968–1969, Kunstindustrimuseet*, Oslo, pp. 22–32.
14. New York, The Pierpoint Morgan Library, Ms. 709, fol. 1 v.; Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, London, 1954, p. 51, pl. 43.
15. Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, London, 1954, no. 71, pl. 29; Hermann Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer*, Düsseldorf, 1957, I, no. 32, pls. 92, 93.
16. One of the few examples is a broken bronze figure in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, no. Z. 11503.
17. Reliquary cross, figure of walrus ivory, H. 19 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 7943–1862; Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, no. 142, pl. 63. Adolf Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1926, IV, no. 3.
18. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, Athens, 1956, I, fig. 25.
19. Thomas Hoving, "The Bury St. Edmunds Cross," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, June, 1964, pp. 317–340; Sabrina Longland, "The Bury St. Edmunds Cross," *The Connoisseur*, November, 1969, pp. 163–173.
20. Fett, *Billedhuggerkunsten i Norge under Sverreætt*, p. 27, dates the Jondal crucifix to the "Gothic period." Martin Blindheim, "Triumfkrusifiks fra middelalderen i Björgvin bispedømme," *Björgvin Bispestol. Byen og bispedømmet*, Bergen-Oslo-Tromsø, 1970, p. 159.
21. Enameled cross, Cosenza Cathedral. Klaus Wessel, *Die byzantinische Emailkunst vom 5. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Recklinghausen, 1967, no. 56, pl. 56b. Royal bracelet, collection R. v. Hirsch, Basel. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, no. 405, pl. 181. Drawing of crucifix, Bodleian Library, Bodley Ms. 297; Boase, *English Art: 1100–1216*, fig. 65.
22. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ms. Thott 143, 2, fol. 14 v. *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 32–42, pl. LIV; Boase, *English Art: 1100–1216*, pp. 243–244; *Gyllene Böcker*, no. 24.
23. Gerhard Fischer, *Domkirken i Trondheim*, Oslo, 1965, I, pp. 134–162, with figs.; *ibid.*, II, pp. 569–572, for summary. Heads on string-course, *ibid.*, I, pp. 138–140, figs. p. 143, dated to 1180–90. Martin Blindheim, *Norwegian Romanesque Decorative Sculpture: 1090–1210*, London, 1965, p. 56, figs. 211–213.
24. Blindheim, *Norwegian Romanesque Decorative Sculpture*, p. 29, pl. 202.
25. Johnny Roosval, "Gottländska Forskningsgar, II. Madonnan i Viklau," *Kult och Konst*, Stockholm, 1908, pp. 95–101, figs. 95, 96. Carl af Ugglas, *Gotlands Medeltida Thäskulptur till och med Höggotikens Inbrott*, Stockholm, 1915, pp. 99–119. Aron Andersson, "Viklaumadonnans mästare," *Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Antikvariskt Arkiv*, 19, Lund, 1962, pp. 1–48, summary.
26. Roosval, "Gotländska Forskningsgar, II," pp. 95–105. Aron Andersson, "St. Michael i

Haverö, ett rhenländsk arbete," *Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 83, *Antikvariska Studier*, V, Lund, 1953, pp. 83-116.

27. Aron Andersson, *Romanesque and Gothic Sculpture*, Statens Historiska Museum, Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Sweden, Stockholm, 1966, II, pp. 48-53, figs. 25-29; *The Museum Collection: Plates*, Statens Historiska Museum, Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Sweden, Stockholm, 1964, V, pls. 19-21.

28. Andersson, *Romanesque and Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 46-48, fig. 22.

29. Fett, *Billedhuggerkunsten i Norge under Sverreætten*, fig. 37. Other than a few lines in this publication, the Veldre Virgin is unpublished. Compare A. Jansen, *Christliche Kunst tot het einde der Middeleeuwen*, exhibition catalogue, Brussels, 1964, no. 213/6095.

30. Crucifix, Husby-Långhundra church, Uppland, oak, H. 150 cm, Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, no. 9409:2. Andersson, *Romanesque and Gothic Sculpture*, p. 18; *The Museum Collection: Plates*, pls. 6-9.

31. Martin Blindheim, "Skandinaviske krusifiks med verdighetstegn," *Ikongrafiska Studier*, *Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien*, *Antikvariska serien*, 26, Stockholm, 1972, pp. 74-105, summary.

32. Crucifix, Alskog church, Gotland, aspen, 149 cm. Aron Andersson, "Viklaumadonnans mästare," pp. 1-48.

33. Martin Blindheim and Leif Einar Plahter, "The Crucifix from Hovland Stave Church in Eggedal: A Work of Rhenish Origin?," *Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Arbok 1960-1961*, Oslo, 1963, pp. 63-107.

34. George Zarnecki, "The Chichester Reliefs," *The Archaeological Journal*, CX, 1954, pp. 106-119.

35. Poul Nörlund, *Gylde Altre*, Copenhagen, 1926, pp. 152-154, summary. *L'Europe gothique: XII-XIII siècles*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, 1968, no. 398.

36. Nörlund, *Gylde Altre*, pp. 131-140, dated to about 1200; *L'Europe gothique*, no. 397.

37. Base, Roskilde, Zealand, Denmark, unpublished.

38. Carl af Ugglas, "Baeraltaret i Norrala," in *Bidrag till den medeltida Guldsmedkonstens Historia*, II, *Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Stockholm, 1948, pp. 97-104.

39. Nörlund, *Gylde Altre*, pp. 177-202, dated to about 1200.

40. Carl af Ugglas, *Gotländska silverskatter från Valdemarstättens tid*, Stockholm, 1936, p. 20, pl. XXI; *L'Europe gothique*, Paris, 1968, no. 399; *The Year 1200*, I, no. 103.

41. Andersson, *Romanesque and Gothic Sculpture*, p. 83; *The Museum Collection: Plates*, pls. 62-63.

42. Unpublished.

43. Fischer, *Domkirken i Trondheim*, I, figs. p. 349. It has been discussed by several authors whether the figure represents Christ or St. Olav, with the majority in favor of the first alternative. In a recent article, Anne Anker concludes that the sculpture probably represents St. Olav, the elephant throne and the costume being too secular for a seated Christ. Anne Anker, "Trondheim Domkirkes vestfront i middelalderen," *Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers bevaring, Arbok 1971*, Oslo, 1972, p. 74, fig. 5.

44. Hanns Swarzenski, "A Vièrge dorée," *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 58, 1960, pp. 73 f., fig. 14; *The Year 1200*, I, no. 74. Aron Andersson, "The Holy Rood of Skokloster and the Scandinavian Early Gothic," *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, March, 1970, pp. 132-140. The author is of the opinion that the Adoration group and the Herlufsholm crucifix were made by the same master and places them at the head of a south Scandinavian school, ca. 1220-40.

45. Francis Beckett, "Nogle indførte middelalderlige Kunstvaerker i Danmark," *Tidsskrift for Industri*, XIII, Copenhagen, 1912; R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques*, Paris, 1924, I, p. 54; *ibid.*, II, p. 6; Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, III, no. 126, dated to the first half of the thirteenth century.

46. Andersson, "The Holy Rood of Skokloster," pp. 132-140.



FIG. 1 *Unknown Byzantine saint, mural, Garde church, Gotland (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*

FIG. 2 *Angel between chalice and cross, font, Atlingbo church, Gotland (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*



FIG. 3 *One of a pair of angels, mural, Vå church, Scania, Sweden (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*



OPPOSITE:

FIG. 6 *Crucifixion group from Giske church, Möre, Norway; Christ: oak, 133 cm; Virgin: alder, 126 cm; St. John: alder, 128 cm, Historical Museum of Bergen University, Bergen, no. m.a. 333 (photo: University Museum, Oslo)*

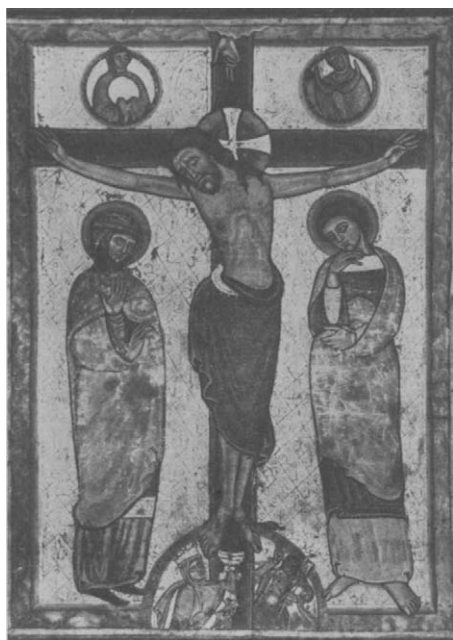


FIG. 4 Crucifixion scene, leaf from lost ms., from the St. Knud monastery, Odense, Denmark, 27.6 × 19.6 cm, National Museum, Copenhagen, no. 12135



FIG. 5 Crucifixion scene, Gospel, fol. 17 v., from Horne church, Salling, Denmark, National Museum, Copenhagen, no. 380





FIG. 7 *Detail of Fig. 6, Virgin*  
(photo: Riksantikvaren, Oslo)

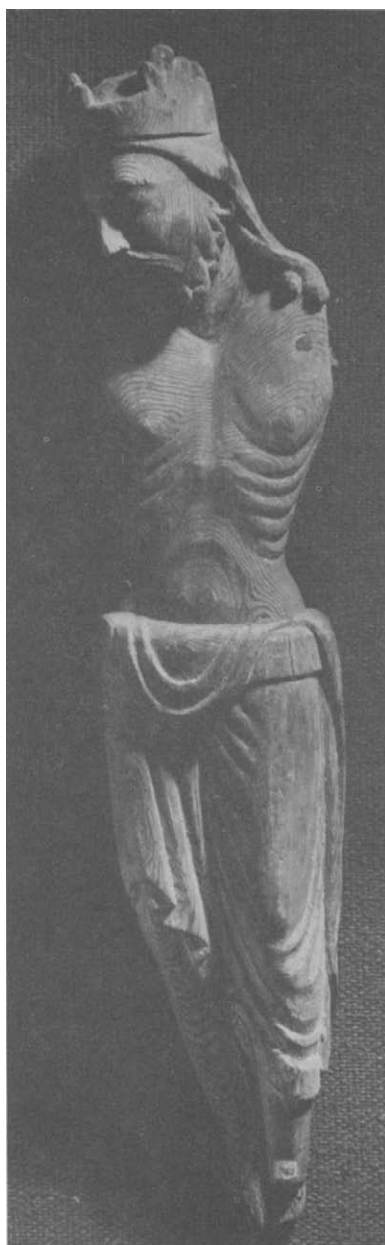


FIG. 9 *Head of monk from lost figure, from Urnes church, Sogn, Norway, birch, remnants of paint, 20.5×14 cm, Historical Museum of Bergen University, Bergen, no. m.a. 77*

OPPOSITE:

FIG. 8 *Christ figure from crucifix, from Heggen church, Buskerud, Norway, wood, fragments of paint, 119 cm, Drammen Museum, Drammen, Norway, no. D. 3003 (photo: Riksantikvaren, Oslo)*

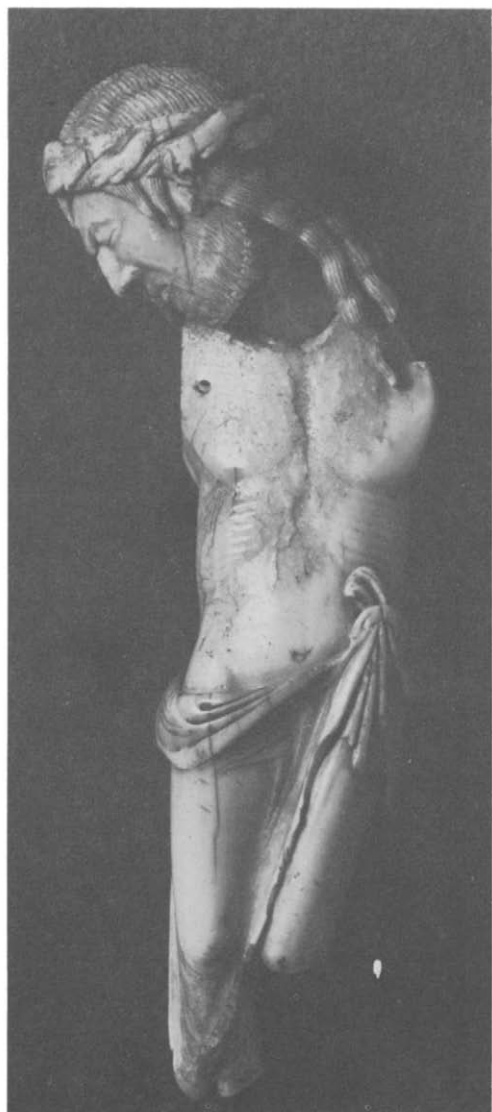


FIG. 10 *Christ figure from lost crucifix, walrus ivory, fragments of paint, 19 cm, Oslo Applied Art Museum, Oslo, no. 10314 (photo: University Museum, Oslo)*



FIG. 11 *Reverse of Fig. 10*





FIG. 12 *Crucifix from Jondal church, Hardanger, Norway, wood, overpainted, figure: 119.5 cm, Historical Museum of Bergen University, Bergen, no. m.a. 269 (photo: G. Franceschi)*



FIG. 13 *Detail of Fig. 12, head, secondary crown of thorns removed (photo: Riksantikvaren, Oslo)*

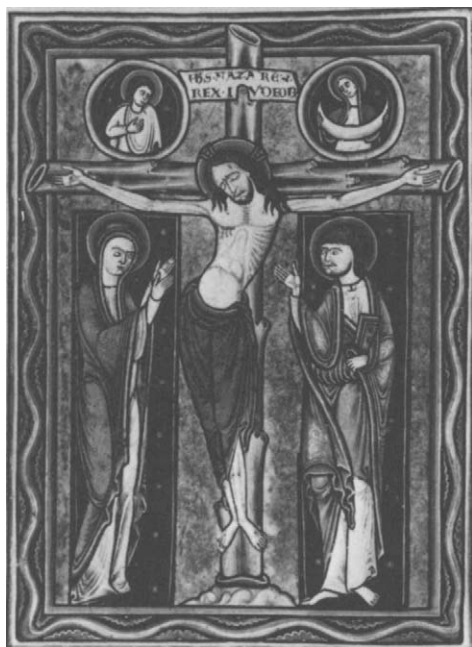


FIG. 14 *The Folcunga Psalter, Ms. Thott 143, fol. 14 v., Crucifixion scene, southern England, ca. 1170-80, Royal Library, Copenhagen*

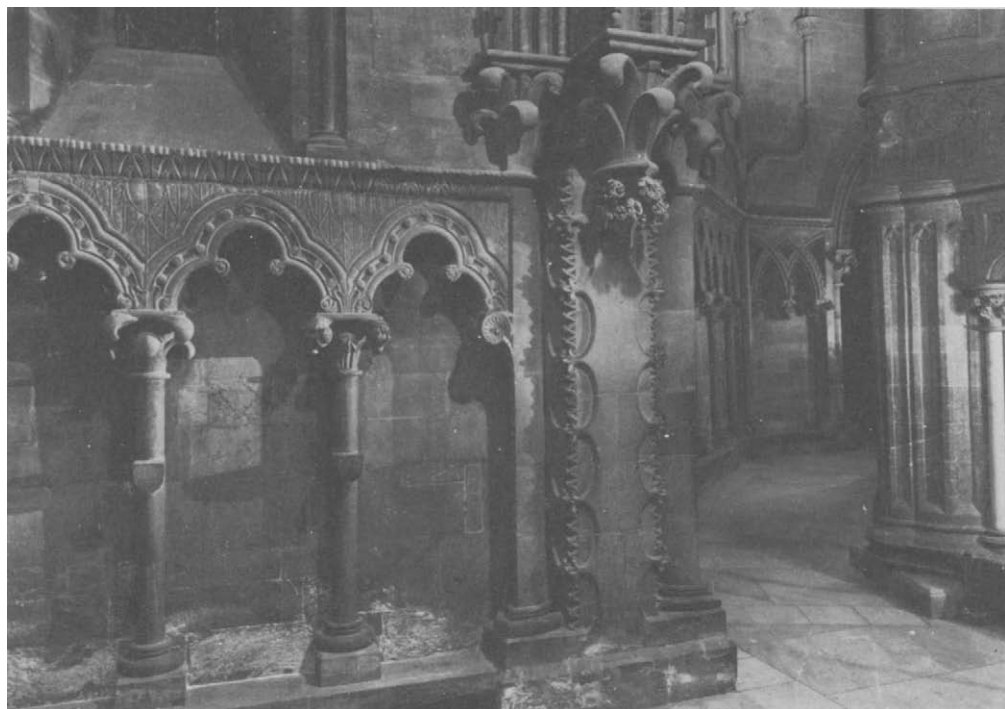


FIG. 15 *Ambulatory of octagon, Trondheim Cathedral, Trondheim, Norway*

FIG. 16 *South doorway of octagon, east jamb, Trondheim Cathedral, Trondheim, Norway*

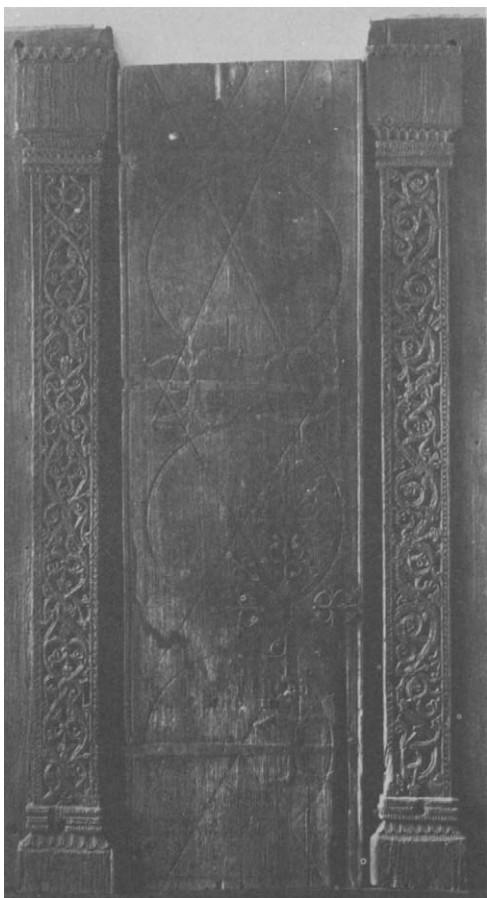




FIG. 17 *Sculpture of stringcourse, octagon, Trondheim Cathedral, Trondheim, Norway*



FIG. 18 *Stave church doorway, Hof church, Solør, Hedmark, Norway, wood, 310 cm, University Museum of National Antiquities, Oslo, no. 2805*



OPPOSITE:

FIG. 19 *Seated Virgin, Viklau church, Gotland, aspen, details in beech and oak, painted and gilded, 67 cm, Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, no. 18951 (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*

FIG. 20 *Detail of Fig. 19 (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*



FIG. 21 *St. Michael, Haverö church, Medelpad, Sweden, lime, painted and gilded, 78 cm (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*



FIG. 22 *Seated bishop, Hjortsberg church, Blekinge, Sweden, alder, paint lost, 87 cm, Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, no. 19663 (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*



FIG. 23 *Seated Virgin, Gesäter church, Dalsland, Sweden, lime (?), paint lost, 81 cm (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*

FIG. 24 *Seated Virgin and Child, Veldre church, Hedmark, Norway, painted wood, 83 cm, University Museum of National Antiquities, Oslo, no. 9064*



FIG. 25 *Head of Christ from Crucifix, Låby church, Uppland, Sweden, lime, fragments of paint, 138.5 cm, Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, no. 25300:42 (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*

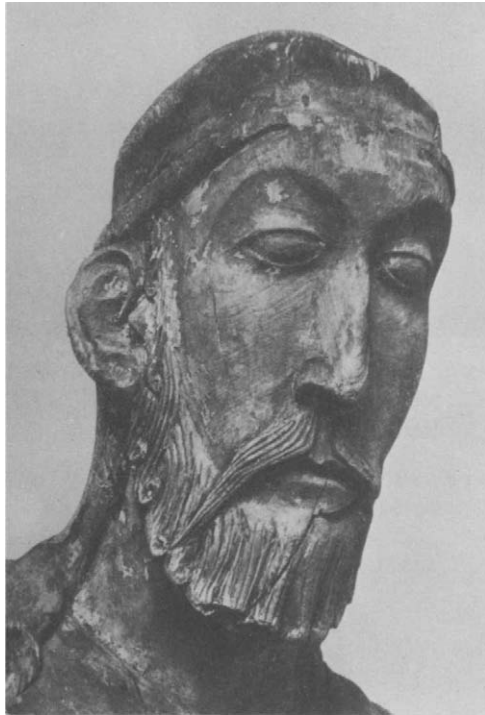




FIG. 26 *Crucifix, Stenkumla church, Gotland, painted wood, 280 cm (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*

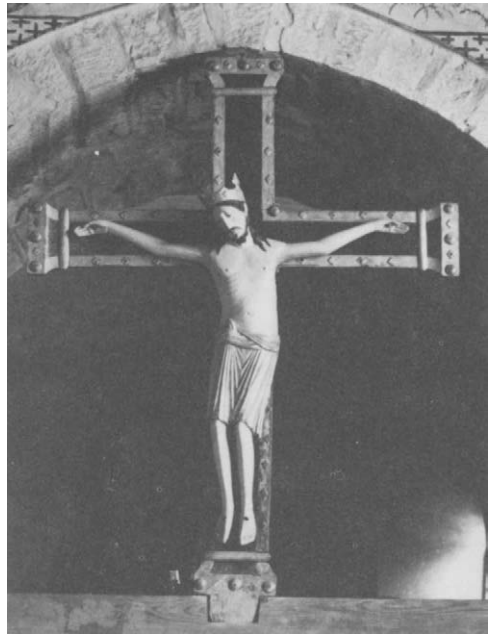


FIG. 27 *Crucifix, Hemse church, Gotland, painted and gilded wood, figure: 101 cm (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*

FIG. 28 *Detail of Fig. 27*

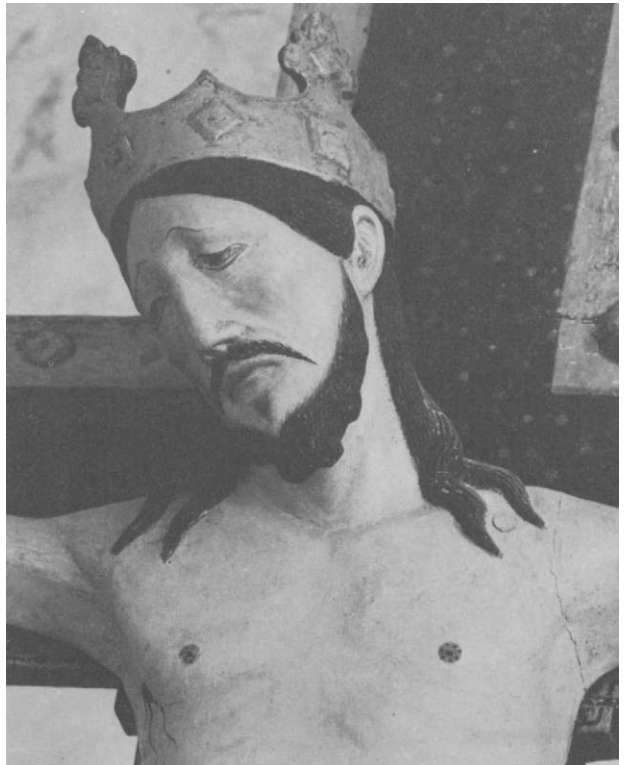




FIG. 29 *Crucifix, Väte church, Gotland, cross: oak; Christ: lime tree, painted, figure: 162.5cm (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*

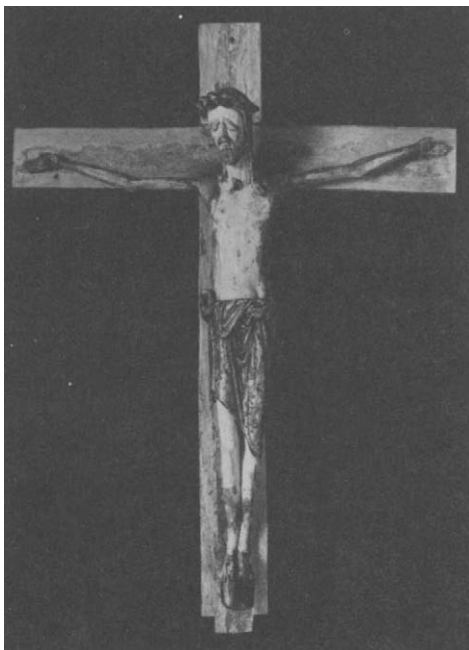


FIG. 30 *Crucifix, Hovland church, Eggedal, Buskerud, Norway, sawn, painted and gilded, figure: 91 cm, University Museum of National Antiquities, Oslo, no. 10780*

FIG. 31 *Detail of Fig. 30*

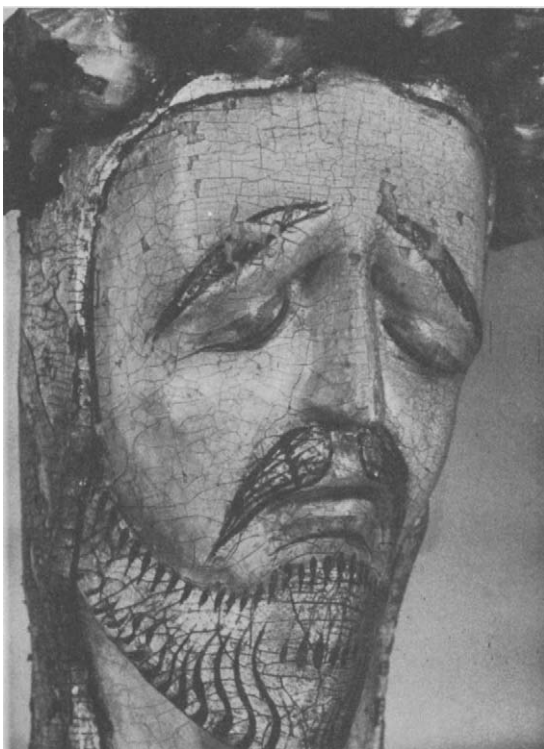






FIG. 32 *Crucifix, Örting church, Aarhus c.,  
Jutland, gilded, copperplated wood, cross:  
133 cm, National Museum, Copenhagen, no.  
D. 2662*

FIG. 33 *Altar frontal, Ølst church, Randers c., Jutland, gilded, copperplated wood, 105×182.5 cm,  
National Museum, Copenhagen, no. D. 5144*





FIG. 34 *Detail of Fig. 33*



FIG. 35 *Sculptured base, Roskilde, Zealand, stone, 61×50 cm, National Museum, Copenhagen, no. 12531*



OPPOSITE:

FIG. 36 *Plaque from casket, St. Clemens church, Amrum, Sönderborg c., Jutland, copper gilt, champlevé enamel, 9.5 × 10.5 × 17.3 cm, National Museum of Antiquities, Copenhagen, no. 12531*



OPPOSITE, BELOW:

FIG. 37 *Altar, Sahl church, Ringköbing c., Jutland, gilded, copperplated wood, 101 × 184 cm (photo: National Museum, Copenhagen)*



FIG. 38 *Clasp, Dune, Gotland, silver gilt, 5 × 9.5 cm, Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*

FIG. 39 *Seated Virgin, West-Skrueby church, East Götland, oak, fragments of paint, 4.35 cm, Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, no. 20386:6 (photo: ATA, Stockholm)*



FIG. 41 *Detail of Fig. 40 (photo: University Museum, Oslo)*

LEFT:

FIG. 40 *Christ from crucifix, Årdal church, Rogaland, Norway, sallow, painted and gilded, 117 cm, Stavanger Museum, Stavanger, Norway, no. 3113*

FIG. 42 *St. Olav (?), Trondheim, Norway, soapstone, ca. 120 cm, Cathedral Museum, Trondheim*





FIG. 43 *Adoration of the Magi group, walrus ivory, 17 cm, National Museum, Copenhagen, no. 9095*

FIG. 44 *Christ from a crucifix, Herlufsholm abbey church, Zealand, elephant ivory (?), 72 cm*



FIG. 45 *Detail of Fig. 44*



## Il Maestro dei Mesi di Ferrara e la lunetta di San Mercuriale a Forlì

**H**o desiderato presentare a questo Symposium la lunetta di San Mercuriale a Forlì dopo il restauro che l'ha rivelata opera certa del Maestro dei Mesi di Ferrara.\* Penso che questo tema possa, anche se leggermente esorbitante dai limiti cronologici posti all'argomento del Convegno, far parte dell'indagine da esso proposta, giacché si riferisce a una vicenda storica che prende l'avvio dal nodo culturale che si forma intorno all'anno 1200 nell'Italia del nord con gli ultimi sviluppi dell'arte di Benedetto Antelami e col manifestarsi, in essa, dei primi contatti dell'arte italiana con la cultura gotica dell'Ile-de-France.

Nella decorazione dei portali esterni del Battistero di Parma, iniziata dall'Antelami nel 1196, ben scarso è ancora il rapporto con le forme del primo gotico francese, anche se in molti particolari se ne mostra la conoscenza diretta. L'intera composizione figurata, in cui pur si riecheggiano le concezioni iconografiche dei cicli gotici della seconda metà del XII secolo, è ancor fissata, con originale ed alto risultato di stile, in una forma astratta, 'romanica', internamente legata, con forza chiusa e compatta, alla struttura architettonica e ai suoi moduli geometrici; e nulla o quasi traspare di ciò che il primo stile gotico già andava riscoprendo di una visione classica della realtà tendente ad accogliere in sé molteplici aspetti della natura e della vita e nel tempo stesso a sublimarli rapportandoli a una ideale misura.

L'apparire, l'affermarsi della nuova visione classico-gotica della realtà ha luogo, entro il pur coerente sviluppo dell'arte di Benedetto Antelami, negli anni seguenti: in un gruppo di opere situabili nei primi due decenni del '200. Non possiamo qui evidentemente affrontare il vasto, arduo e ancora aperto problema dell'ultimo periodo dell'Antelami ed esporre i motivi che ci portano a condividere l'opinione di chi ne espunge con certezza tutte le opere di Vercelli, e che ci fanno ritenere problematica



l'attribuzione al Maestro stesso degli stupendi Profeti di Fidenza, dove alla cultura provenzale del primo Antelami si aggiunge l'esperienza di opere dell'Ile-de-France intorno al 1180, come le sculture di Mantes. I Profeti potrebbero comunque inserirsi soltanto in un periodo intermedio (intorno al 1190) del percorso del Maestro, che sembra invece coerentemente conchiudersi nel più tardo gruppo delle opere parmensi.

Qui è, in Italia, il primo vero scatto, nei primi due decenni del secolo, verso una forma espressiva che non solo denuncia il contatto con la cultura gotica francese, ma che ne assume, e subito ne assimila e originalmente ne interpreta, taluni dei più alti significati, non tanto nella struttura intellettuale quanto nel nuovo sentimento della realtà e della vita: solo che già ora, nell'ultimo Antelami, e sempre, di poi, negli scultori dugenteschi dell'Italia del nord, il contatto con la cultura gotica francese non spezza la tradizione, ma feconda e tramuta una cultura che alla tradizione romanica resta profondamente legata e che si sviluppa in modo del tutto originale, con caratteri profondamente diversi da quelli di Francia.

Una maturazione della cultura antelamica nella direzione indicata si può notare—a partire dai portali settentrionale e occidentale del Battistero di Parma, e attraverso il timpano del portale meridionale—nelle due più belle lunette dei portali interni (la Presentazione al Tempio e David fra i cori), fra i capolavori dell'Antelami, datati giustamente dal De Francovich posteriormente a quelli esterni, già verso la fine del primo decennio del '200; e inoltre nelle statue dei Profeti, di Salomone e Saba, e soprattutto nei Mesi, in gran parte dovuti alla mano stessa del Maestro.

Non crediamo che la cultura che l'Antelami aveva acquisito in Italia e in Francia prima dell'inizio, nel 1196, della decorazione esterna del Battistero, basti a spiegare l'intero arco di questo sviluppo, e soprattutto quest'ultima più decisa svolta, che è nei Mesi, verso una nuova concezione plastica, che, nonostante i molteplici legami con la precedente fase stilistica dei portali, sembra già doversi porre in relazione a fatti di una cultura gotica più matura, quali in Francia emergono intorno al 1200 e nel primo decennio del secolo (Profeti del Museo di Laon, che possono porsi in relazione con i Profeti dell'Antelami; portale centrale del transetto nord di Chartres, a cui possono accostarsi, come vedremo, taluni aspetti dei Mesi).

Il punto che congiunge l'Antelami a questo momento del gotico francese è nel modo di rappresentare la realtà con nuova evidenza e presenza di vita, e nel tempo stesso con una grandiosa, monumentale misura ancor dilatata in una solenne astrazione. Il punto che lo differenzia è nel rapporto che egli cerca e pone tra la figura e lo spazio che l'accoglie, la definisce e la delimita: un rapporto, una misura, un equilibrio plastico e spaziale, che resterà alla base dello sviluppo dell'arte italiana fino ad Arnolfo e a Giotto.

Un analogo equilibrio, operante su diversi elementi di stile e di cultura, caratterizza lo stile del Maestro dei Mesi di Ferrara nei confronti delle contemporanee opere francesi. E in questo caso la relazione col gotico francese si determina in un momento, in un giro di anni, fra il secondo e il terzo decennio, immediatamente posteriore a quello indicato per l'ultimo Antelami. Potremo dire che il momento della cultura francese da cui prende l'avvio il Maestro dei Mesi comincia là dove finisce quello a cui si lega l'arte del tardo Antelami o tardo-antelamica di Parma.

E veniamo ora, per verificare sull'opera le nostre ipotesi, all'esame del gruppo forlivese, che qui intendiamo riproporre all'attenzione dei critici; che del Maestro dei Mesi di Ferrara è, vedremo, opera certa, e forse la prima a noi nota: particolarmente importante, dunque, per mostrare, di quel grande maestro, la formazione e l'avvio, gli elementi base e la direzione della sua cultura.

L'altorilievo raffigurante l'Adorazione dei Magi decorante il timpano del portale di San Mercuriale di Forlì (Fig. 1) è sempre stato ritenuto mediocre e rozzo lavoro provinciale, fuorchè da Adolfo Venturi,<sup>1</sup> che, ammirandone l'ingenua semplicità, l'assegnava ad uno scolaro (forse veneto) dell'Antelami, e ne riconosceva i rapporti con l'Adorazione dei Magi del Seminario Patriarcale di Venezia. Il Toesca parlava di "grottesca scena di genere":<sup>2</sup> giudizio ripreso dal De Francovich;<sup>3</sup> e lo Jullian<sup>4</sup> definiva l'artista "discepolo un po' grossolano dell'Antelami."

In realtà, i danni subiti nel tempo—per l'accumularsi di sudiciume, di smog e di escrementi di piccioni, e per le successive sovrapposizioni di colori a olio e a vernice culminate in una recente verniciatura a finto bronzo—avevano reso l'opera quasi illeggibile e irriconoscibile nella sua vera qualità formale. Solo la recente pulitura, che ha messo in luce la superficie, quasi ovunque intatta, del marmo veronese, ha rivelato, senza possibilità di dubbio, che l'opera di Forlì, come è facilmente dimostrabile anche attraverso la documentazione fotografica, è appunto opera del Maestro dei Mesi di Ferrara: artista, questo, che è sempre stato altamente valutato dalla critica e considerato il maggior scolaro dell'Antelami.<sup>5</sup>

Veramente non è possibile stabilire se ci sia stato un rapporto di discepolo lanza diretta fra l'ignoto maestro e Benedetto Antelami. La personalità del Maestro dei Mesi di Ferrara si stacca infatti in modo assai netto da quella dell'Antelami, nonostante i legami evidenti con l'ultima fase dell'arte antelamica.

E' intanto da considerare che fra il gruppo di Forlì e la composizione figurata dei timpani di Benedetto Antelami all'esterno del Battistero di Parma la distanza è incolmabile. Qui, a Forlì (Fig. 2), la concezione spaziale è già quella che si attua nei timpani delle chiese gotiche: con il naturale

sviluppo plastico delle figure a tutto tondo disposte nello spazio reale della lunetta, come su di una ribalta e dentro la scena di un teatro: concezione naturalistica, tipicamente gotica, della figura e dello spazio in cui vive. E' evidente, se osserviamo come si snoda nello spazio la composizione, che la lunetta di Forlì è assai più vicina, poniamo, alla Adorazione dei Magi del portale sinistro nella facciata nord di Chartres (Fig. 3) che non alla lunetta dello stesso soggetto, del 1196, di Benedetto Antelami (Fig. 4). La possibilità di rapporto con l'Antelami si ha soltanto con le opere tarde del Maestro, che segnano un radicale mutamento all'interno del suo percorso. E' soprattutto nella serie dei Mesi di Parma (Fig. 5)—progenitori di quelli di Ferrara; ma quanto diversi di spirito e di stile nella loro forza primigenia, nella loro arcaica grandezza!—che si fa luce una nuova concezione nel rapporto tra la figura e lo spazio, improntata ad un naturalismo gotico che subito, peraltro, si compone in un equilibrato e calibrato rapporto di spazi e di volumi.

Lo stesso rapporto, sia pure in forma meno rigida e severa, si trova nella lunetta di Forlì, non meno che nei Mesi di Ferrara. Anche qui, a Forlì, l'altezza poetica della forma espressiva è data proprio da questo contenere in una misura ferma e calibrata, nella sospensione estatica di un lento moto, la forza affiorante di una vita possente: una forma espressiva che con limpida chiarezza dà vita ad una narrazione poetica di tono popolare, di domestica semplicità, di accenti familiari, senza trasposizioni intellettuali e complessa costruzione di strutture metafisiche.

Avvicinandoci ai particolari (Fig. 6), subito vediamo nella scena del Sogno (i Magi sono coricati sotto la stessa coltre, che accompagna la modulazione plastica dei corpi), il lento posarsi della luce sulle forme solide, levigate, ma ben lontane dalla dura, lapidea fermezza delle sculture antelamiche. Sono cosa nuova nel 'romanico' emiliano, e lontana dalla forza eroica dell'Antelami, la mobile trasparenza del modellato, la ricerca di un'espressione così vera, immediata della vita, pur idealizzata in forme di classica armonia: tutti elementi che mostrano l'artista assai progredito nella acquisizione di nuovi elementi di cultura gotica anche nei confronti delle ultime opere antelamiche.

L'identità delle forme nelle opere di Forlì e di Ferrara è già resa evidente dal confronto fra i volti dei due Magi in primo piano e le due teste del Giano bifronte nella formella ferrarese del Gennaio (Fig. 7). In quest'ultima, la forma espressiva che, in luogo della descrizione fresca e immediata dell'episodio naturale, ricerca la maestà del mito e del simbolo, si accosta in modo particolare—nel saldo equilibrio fra verità, forza vitale e classica idealizzazione formale—a talune fra le più alte creazioni del gotico francese dell'inizio del XIII secolo: specialmente a quelle, fra il secondo e il terzo

decennio, che liberano dalle forme ancora improntate ad una solenne ed alta misura ideale una più potente e vibrante espressione di sentimenti e di vita. Si osservi, ad esempio, questa figura di re nel portale di Salomone a Chartres (portale destro del transetto nord), del grande maestro che il Vöge chiamò "Meister der Königsköpfe" (Fig. 8).

Quella stessa fresca vena di poesia attenta alle cose umili e vere, che si manifesta, eternando, momenti di vita e di azione, nelle più famose formelle dei Mesi di Ferrara, nella lunetta di Forlì svolge con limpida chiarezza il racconto e lo anima di una commozione immediata e spontanea. Rivediamo (Fig. 6) il replicato ritmo delle mani che i Magi portano istintivamente all'orecchio quasi a raccogliere la voce dell'Angelo che ad essi parla nel sonno. La viva freschezza della narrazione si esprime nelle forme, naturali e insieme raffinate, di uno 'stil novo,' che sa toccare anche i toni più delicati della gentilezza e della grazia nella rappresentazione della realtà: una realtà ritrovata—per la prima volta, forse, nell'arte italiana—nella varietà sfumata dei suoi aspetti, con una intensità di vita, nei dettagli, ben paragonabile a quella delle contemporanee sculture gotiche di Francia.

Dall'attica purezza di queste immagini dei Magi dormienti, si passa, nella testa dell'Angelo (Fig. 9), ad una austera severità arcaizzante (anche nel modo, che discende dall'Antelami, della modellazione dei capelli a riccioli stilizzati): quella stessa aura di greicità arcaica che dà un religioso afflato alla figura del Febbraio (Fig. 10) nel ciclo dei Mesi di Ferrara; dove si alternano, e più spesso si congiungono, nella multiforme ricchezza della rappresentazione, i toni più naturali di vita immediata ai toni di più severa, quasi rituale gravità. Si realizza tale congiunzione ad un grado altissimo in questa formella stupenda del Febbraio, dove la composizione nello spazio e nella luce della figura e degli oggetti sentiti in tutto il loro spessore, in tutta la loro differenziata e viva presenza, già sembra preannunciare la equilibrata chiarezza e la solenne maestà che la poesia della vita e del lavoro umano prenderà nelle formelle del campanile di Santa Maria del Fiore, di Giotto e di Andrea Pisano. E' qui, infatti, in questo rapporto che in modi diversi si stabilisce, nel tardo Antelami e nel Maestro dei Mesi, fra l'arte gotica francese dei primi decenni del secolo e la tradizione romanica, che già si pongono le premesse del nuovo linguaggio italiano. Di qui parte la gettata del grande arco che giungerà ad Arnolfo, a Giotto, e, per essi, al Rinascimento.<sup>6</sup>

Se vediamo il volto dell'Angelo di Forlì da un altro punto di vista (Fig. 9), esso sembra sciogliersi da quella attitudine ieratica per animarsi nella parola, nel sorriso.<sup>7</sup> E si accosta, così, al volto vibrante del Luglio di Ferrara (Fig. 11): la stessa forza di vita affiorante da forme ancora improntate ad una severità arcaica—quasi direi prefidiaca, da Maestro di Olimpia—

quale troviamo anche nello stupendo volto del più giovane Mago (Fig. 13); e, con analogo spirito, in contemporanee opere francesi. Lo dimostrano questi frammenti altissimi, conservati nel Museo di Cluny (Fig. 12), provenienti dal Giudizio Universale di Notre Dame e dovuti, come giustamente propone il Sauerländer, al più moderno maestro operante nel Giudizio, già verso la fine del terzo decennio: in epoca, cioè, parallela o di poco anteriore a quella in cui opera il Maestro dei Mesi (che pensiamo attivo intorno al 1230). E' da tener presente, peraltro, che, come preciseremo in seguito, tale tendenza verso una più naturalistica, se pur contenuta animazione nella rappresentazione dei sentimenti e della vita, matura in Francia, specie nei cantieri di Parigi e di Chartres, già nel corso del secondo decennio ed è, in talune grandi opere e maestri, già pienamente sviluppata intorno al 1220.

E passiamo alla vera e propria scena dell'Adorazione dei Magi (che in realtà dovrebbe precedere quella del Sogno dei Magi). Abbiamo visto, nella veduta d'insieme (Fig. 2), il lento incedere, il misurato gestire dei personaggi che entrano in scena, l'uno dopo l'altro, come in una sacra rappresentazione. Il primo Mago, che esamineremo in seguito, è già inginocchiato ed ha riposto su di un piolo il suo manto e il suo cappello. Gli altri due giungono ora: il giovane si è già scoperto il capo (Fig. 13 e 15), il più anziano si toglie in questo momento, sollevandola con ambo le mani, la pesante corona (Fig. 17). Ovunque una evidenza realistica di persone, e una evidenza realistica di cose, nel greve spessore dei panni e di ogni oggetto.

E' questa una espressione aperta e possente di vita che è ormai 'gotica', nel pieno raggiungimento della rappresentazione naturalistica del sentimento e dell'azione e nel ritrovato equilibrio organico della statuaria classica: elementi che lasciano indietro definitivamente, con uno stacco ormai incolmabile, la poetica degli scultori 'romanici'. Il confronto col Gennaio di Ferrara (Fig. 7 e 17; si riveda anche la Fig. 8) è nuovamente probante a dimostrare l'identità di mano: solo che si tenga conto della maggiore fissità ieratica e simbolica che il soggetto del Gennaio ferrarese richiedeva, in rapporto alla rappresentazione di vita in atto, al gesto naturale della figura di Forlì.

Che si tratti qui del Maestro dei Mesi è reso ancor più evidente dal confronto fra il volto del giovane re e il volto del Cavaliere di Ferrara (il Maggio, Fig. 13 e 14), e fra il retro della figura e della testa e il retro dello stesso Cavaliere (Fig. 15 e 16): dove riappare l'aspetto di purezza classica arcaica—quasi di sculture di Egina—da cui muove il grande Maestro, oscillante fra questo polo stilistico arcaizzante e l'altro polo di un naturalismo più mobile e sciolto: restando la dialettica fra i due poli uno dei maggiori motivi di fascino della sua poesia.

Ed ecco il Mago inginocchiato (Fig. 18): una delle figure più alte del complesso. Lo sviluppo plastico della figura nello spazio segue qui pienamente i canoni del naturalismo classico. La solidità e la larghezza dei volumi, la forza e la tensione con cui la figura poggia sul suolo e si pone nello spazio che gira tutt'intorno ad essa ha certo un precedente nei Mesi antelamici di Parma (Fig. 5). Solo che là è uno spazio che isola la figura e la fissa—come fissa l'espressione del volto—in una immota astrazione. Qui, come nella già osservata formella del Febbraio ferrarese (Fig. 10), è uno spazio che accoglie, che si apre a nuovi rapporti, che fa circolare la luce che là era irreale e immota, che scioglie e diffonde in toni più aperti, più naturali, più familiari l'altissimo epos dei Mesi dell'Antelami. E' una concezione plastica che pur conservando, come quella dell'Antelami, una ferma solidità strutturale che deriva dalla scultura romanica, è già per tanti aspetti in relazione più stretta e più diretta con ciò che il gotico francese aveva scoperto e rivelato di un sentimento nuovo della natura e della vita.

E, pur tenendo conto della più possente squadratura di volumi e più lenta articolazione delle forme che è propria delle opere dugentesche italiane rispetto alle sculture francesi, non è forse già leggibile in chiave 'gotica', nello stupendo frammento del Novembre di Ferrara (Il raccoglitore di rape) (Fig. 19), questa solenne presenza di vita in questo spazio avvolgente e luminoso? Benché mutila e frammentaria, la mirabile figura trasmette viva ed intera questa presenza ed apertura vitale in forme in cui ancora una volta si rivela, nel confronto col Mago inginocchiato (Fig. 18), l'assoluta identità fra l'opera di Ferrara e quella di Forlì.

Sono così vicine le due opere di Ferrara e di Forlì—sia negli aspetti più arcaizzanti che in quelli più 'moderni' e 'gotici', in entrambe presenti e in egual modo accordati—che non è facile stabilire quale possa essere la loro successione temporale. E se propendiamo a credere che, per certo maggior legame in taluni particolari (specie nella Madonna col Bambino) con le tarde forme antelamiche, l'opera di Forlì sia da considerarsi leggermente anteriore, è pur vero che anche a Forlì si ritrova, come in questo Re inginocchiato, lo stesso punto di progresso culturale che si riscontra in molte parti del ciclo ferrarese. E in ciò può vedersi appunto la conferma che nell'accostamento delle forme arcaiche alle più moderne sia da cercarsi una costante dialettica del maestro più che un progresso del suo stile nel tempo.

Anche nel volto e nell'espressione affiorante del sentimento il Mago inginocchiato (Fig. 22) segna il punto più avanzato di 'goticismo' nell'opera forlivese, e si trova in parallelo con quel passaggio e mutamento che ha luogo, sotto questo profilo, lungo il secondo decennio soprattutto nei cantieri chartriani. E' il passaggio da una immota fissità da cui traspare possente la vita in una accezione, ancora, di ideale astrazione (Fig. 21), ad

una nuova, più avvicinata attenzione naturalistica che quella fissità tende a muovere e a sciogliere nella espressione di una psicologia più umana e caratterizzante: ove i volti s'aprono a un più spirante moto dell'animo (Fig. 23). E' il passaggio che porta—lungo una direzione ben visibile, pur fra oscillazioni e ritorni, nel corso della creazione dei sei portali dei transetti di Chartres—della grandiosa, monumentale dilatazione che è, nel primo decennio, nelle figure e nei volti del portale centrale nord, a cui possono accostarsi i Mesi antelamici di Parma (Fig. 20 e 21), fino al più vivo e ricco naturalismo che tocca intorno al 1220 (secondo la cronologia autorevolmente proposta dal Sauerländer) i risultati più nuovi e più alti nel portale di destra della facciata sud (Fig. 23) e in quello di destra della facciata nord (Meister der Königsköpfe) (Fig. 24). Ed è su questo nuovo piano di una più sciolta e umana apertura espressiva che, a differenza dell'Antelami (Fig. 20), si pone il Maestro dei Mesi (Fig. 17 e 22) fin dall'opera, che è forse la sua prima, di Forlì. E' infatti nel terzo decennio che ci sembra di poter collocare la presa di contatto da parte del Maestro dei Mesi con la cultura francese, quando questa ha già percorso l'intero arco del secondo decennio, fondamentale per il maturarsi di queste ricerche, e già si inoltra nel terzo: ciò che rende probabile una data verso la fine del terzo decennio, intorno al 1230, per le opere del maestro italiano.<sup>8</sup>

Nella lunetta di Forlì la Madonna (Fig. 2) segna, si è detto, il punto di più stretto rapporto fra il Maestro dei Mesi e l'Antelami.<sup>9</sup> E', in tutto il complesso, la figura più costretta in una astrazione strutturale ancora romanica, meno sciolta nel nuovo naturalismo gotico. Essa resta perciò un compromesso non completamente risolto fra le nuove forme e la tradizione, con residui aspetti di ascendenza paleocristiana e tardoantica. Eppure il volto della Madonna (Fig. 25) già si anima 'goticamente' quasi a farci presentire Nicola Pisano e il giovane Giovanni Pisano, a riprova di quanto debba considerarsi con attenzione questo filone dell'arte che suol dirsi 'tardo-romanica'—ma che noi chiameremo piuttosto 'protogotica'—del Nord Italia, insieme alla cultura meridionale, nella formazione della nuova grande cultura pisana e toscana.

Anche il San Giuseppe, concepito naturalisticamente nella pienezza della sua struttura plastica, ma innaturalmente raccorciato nelle proporzioni dal calare della lunetta (Fig. 1), è figura da considerarsi fra le meno coerenti del complesso; ed evidenzia, come la Madonna, la tradizione e la cultura da cui si diparte l'artista più di quella da cui è sospinto e a cui tende. Il raffronto con i Mesi ferraresi e con la massiccia figura del Settembre è ancora una volta dimostrativo (Fig. 26 e 27). Si veda l'identico modo con cui la cuffia aderisce al capo mettendo in rilievo la forma dell'orecchio; e lo stesso senso della materia, dello spessore delle cose: così vivo in quel motivo

del berretto di pelle, che si incontra, con analogo significato formale, anche a Chartres nella figura già osservata del portale destro del transetto nord (Fig. 24). Anche il volto ha la stessa intensità di espressione psicologica che abbiamo già paragonato a quella che si manifesta e si svolge nei cantieri chartriani del secondo decennio.

Vediamo ora, dopo questo rapido esame della lunetta forlivese, altri aspetti, fra i meno noti, dei Mesi di Ferrara. In essi la rappresentazione delle piante, dei fiori, è già chiaramente 'gotica', come nella formella col 'giglio' fiorito, o nella figurazione del Giugno, che già il Sauerländer ha confrontato con un rilievo di Notre Dame nel portale dell'Incoronazione della Vergine.<sup>10</sup> E la stessa famosa pianta di vite del Settembre (Fig. 27), pur nell'ispessimento e solidificazione della forma peculiari allo stile dell'artista italiano, è pur già innegabilmente un motivo di flora gotica, quale spesso incontriamo oltralpe e, ad esempio, in forma particolarmente vicina come risultato di stile, nel fregio gotico di una chiesa di Normandia: la chiesa di Norrey nel Calvados (Fig. 28).

Si rende sempre più chiaro come le forme di quella che viene chiamata solitamente scultura romanica emiliana del '200 siano in una stretta relazione con la scultura gotica d'oltralpe. In tutti gli esempi che ci è accaduto proporre, infatti, abbiamo constatato la continuità del rapporto—che proprio per tale sua ininterrotta presenza non può considerarsi casuale, ma indice di una ben definita direzione culturale—e nel tempo stesso una coerente continuità di tramutazione, in quel rapporto, degli elementi formali francesi in diverse soluzioni di stile.

La relazione con la scultura gotica dell'Ile-de-France si fa chiara anche osservando una delle figure più frammentarie ma più belle dei Mesi ferraresi (Fig. 29), l'Arciere (che, insieme alla altrettanto alta formella con il Raccoglitore di rape, simboleggia il Novembre): figura la cui 'grecità'—che rammenta il largo, pausato ritmo di una metopa prefidiaca—è una evocazione derivata da una lettura dell'arte classica già chiaramente in chiave 'gotica', come dimostra il confronto con i rilievi dei Mesi—databili nel secondo decennio—nel portale della Incoronazione della Vergine di Notre Dame<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 30).

Un altro potente frammento dei Mesi ferraresi (Fig. 31) da queste forme parigine sembra ricondurci a quelle chartriane del pilone di sostegno del Cristo nel trumeau del portale centrale sud (Fig. 32), dove opera un maestro il cui stile è caratterizzato, nel contesto chartriano, da una ricerca di più solida e greve plasticità, che giunge a risultati particolarmente affini a quelli che si riscontrano in queste opere emiliane. Si osservino i volti larghi e sferici, come quelli del Maggio ferrarese (Fig. 14), i solidi volumi delle figure massicce, simili a quelli dei Magi di Forlì (Fig. 2), la verità di materia



del cestino di vimini, paragonabile a quella del famoso cesto del Settembre ferrarese (Fig. 27).

Le forme che, a Chartres e a Parigi, possono porsi in rapporto col Maestro dei Mesi si dispongono dunque in un arco di tempo che va all'incirca dall'inizio del secondo decennio (con queste parti del portale centrale sud) fino almeno alla prima metà del terzo. Quest'arco, che a Chartres segna uno sviluppo temporale, si trova riflesso, si è visto, all'interno dell'opera del Maestro dei Mesi (sia nell'opera ferrarese che in quella di Forlì) nella simultaneità del rapporto fra un atteggiamento stilistico più arcaizzante ed un altro più moderno all'interno della stessa forma espressiva.

La collocazione cronologica intorno al '30 per le due opere, vicinissime nel tempo, del Maestro dei Mesi (forse, dicemmo, con un leggero anticipo per quella di Forlì) si conferma per molte vie come la più probabile. Non è comunque accettabile una data molto anticipata, che non tenga conto di questo contesto storico in cui l'opera del grande ignoto maestro va, a nostro parere, collocata: nello sviluppo di un corso storico che ha nell'Antelami, intorno all'anno 1200, il suo inizio e nella cultura gotica il suo costante polo di attrazione, la forza di rinnovamento e di guida.

Non abbiamo qui la possibilità di dimostrare come della direzione di questa storia italiana, connessa con quella francese ed europea, si trovino continue conferme nei suoi ulteriori sviluppi che, nel periodo immediatamente seguente, hanno luogo soprattutto nel Veneto e a Venezia, e in particolare nel capolavoro della scultura italiana fra il quarto e il quinto decennio: il portale centrale di San Marco. Nell'Adorazione dei Magi del Seminario Patriarcale già il Venturi mostrò il rapporto con l'Adorazione dei Magi di Forlì. Non è, anzi, del tutto improbabile che si tratti di opera dello stesso maestro, di un decennio più tarda, intorno al '40, con chiari rapporti con la stessa cultura chartriana fra il secondo e il terzo decennio. Ne tratteremo in altra sede.<sup>12</sup> Possiamo solo attirare fin d'ora l'attenzione sulle affinità che legano la più arcaica delle figure del gruppo veneziano, il San Giuseppe (Fig. 33), con il gruppo di Forlì da un lato, e dall'altro con opere francesi come quelle, ora esaminate, del trumeau del portale centrale sud di Chartres (Fig. 32; si riveda anche la Fig. 24), mentre il più goticizzante Re Mago inginocchiato di Venezia (Fig. 34) trova riscontri precisi nel timpano del portale destro della facciata sud (Fig. 35); e la Madonna è, nei confronti di quella di Forlì, una mediazione più evoluta fra la tradizione antelamica e la nuova cultura classico-gotica.

Ma anche considerando per ora solo la lunetta di Forlì, a cui deve forzatamente limitarsi questa notizia, e che è dovuta con assoluta certezza al Maestro dei Mesi di Ferrara, la personalità di quest'ultimo viene a configurarsi in una dimensione più ampia e più rilevante nella storia

dell'arte italiana. Anziché un'opera isolata, quella ferrarese, che pur lasciava comprendere l'importanza del Maestro, abbiamo di fronte, con l'aggiunta dell'opera forlivese, una persona artistica più complessa, che sorte, sì, dalla cultura antelamica, ma che la svolge in modo del tutto nuovo e con ben diversi risultati di stile.

Collocata nel suo quadro storico, la piccola opera di Forlì, che forse i Mesi di Ferrara di poco precede, acquista così una importanza particolare in un momento cruciale di questo nuovo corso dell'arte italiana che dalla congiunzione e dalla differenziazione con la civiltà gotica d'oltralpe prende l'avvio: una importanza assai maggiore di quella che la modestia della sua destinazione paesana e le deturpazioni che l'opera aveva subito nel tempo, avessero lasciato intravedere ed intendere.

Quella rappresentazione naturale e serena, classica, del mondo e della vita, che nel macrocosmo figurato delle cattedrali gotiche è parte di una sintesi universale, armonicamente strutturata, che tutta la realtà comprende e in cui la realtà si conchiude, tocca e raggiunge qui, entro la semplice architettura della nuda facciata romanica e fuor del contesto di quella complessa elaborazione intellettuale, lo stesso grado di intensa commozione, gli stessi limpidi accenti di verità: nell'ambito di una diversa ricerca di stile, ma nel comune alveo di una civiltà che ha riscoperto la realtà nei suoi valori più umili e profondi e liberato la vita nella sua umana verità. E' questo il punto—ma è un punto sostanziale—che collega e congiunge alle monumentali opere di Parigi e di Chartres la piccola opera di Forlì e la rende partecipe del nuovo messaggio.

Quanto siamo venuti osservando a proposito di quest'opera credo possa suggerire qualche utile considerazione—che naturalmente andrebbe estesa ad un campo ben più vasto d'indagine e di studio—sull'esistenza, sulla natura, sull'importanza del rapporto fra l'arte italiana e l'arte dell'Ile-de-France nei primi decenni del '200: rapporto spesso sottile, difficile da precisare e puntualizzare, ma tanto più profondo quanto meno palese, proprio perché non riflesso in citazioni testimonianti una imitazione superficiale e passiva, ma innestato in un ricco e intenso processo di assimilazione e di rielaborazione, interno ad una situazione spirituale e culturale diversa e ben caratterizzata.

La forte differenziazione sul piano dello stile è, come si è detto, necessaria conseguenza della complessità di quell'incontro e di quel rapporto che, sulla traiettoria aperta dall'Antelami intorno all'anno 1200, resterà poi continuamente operante, continuamente riproponendosi, nel tessuto storico dell'arte italiana per tutto il '200 e oltre. Esso non diminuisce certo l'originalità, anzi accresce la forza creatrice di una cultura che proprio per essere viva e profondamente innovatrice non poteva restare avulsa dalla cultura

francese; se è valida, come riteniamo valida, la prospettiva storica che, nel quadro generale dell'arte europea (e l'arte medioevale non può studiarsi e comprendersi se non nei vasti confini di una circolazione culturale europea), vede nel formarsi e nello svolgersi della cultura gotica dell'Ile-de-France dalla metà del XII alla metà del XIII secolo, un evento culturale e storico di tale portata da porre basi il corso di tutta la civiltà figurativa d'occidente.

I fondamenti di tale innesto e della nuova storia che ne scaturisce sono, vedemmo, nell'arte dell'Antelami. La nuova attenzione che egli rivolge a quella cultura senza snaturare la propria, la svolta che per forza di quell'innesto egli impone, nel corso del suo stesso cammino artistico, alla tradizione romanica emiliana e lombarda, modificandola fino a dar forma e vita a una tradizione nuova, sono prova della sua originalità e della sua grandezza. Con lui la nuova tradizione dell'arte del '200 nell'Italia del Nord si fonda su basi di così alta autorità che tutto il suo corso si svolgerà poi nella dialettica di analogo rapporto fra la tradizione di cui non si spezza la continuità e la moderna cultura gotica che in quella continuità si inserisce come elemento che innova e trasforma.

Così il Maestro dei Mesi, che segna, nel solco dell'arte antelamica, una fase culturale più avanzata, sviluppa ricerche che a quelle dell'Antelami si ricongiungono ma che si aprono a nuovi svolgimenti in un clima spirituale che si va evolvendo, come era nella logica dei tempi, verso una attenzione sempre più viva alla realtà nei suoi più differenziati aspetti, verso una rappresentazione più ricca e più mossa della vita e dei sentimenti umani: nel progresso di una cultura a cui l'impulso possente della civiltà gotica francese ha impresso una direzione irreversibile.

Fa parte dell'eredità che l'Antelami trasmette ai suoi seguaci questa direzione dello sguardo verso quel mondo di nuove idee e di nuove forme, verso quella fonte di nuovi orientamenti spirituali. Fa parte della sua stopa eredità il filtrare quell'esperienza attraverso la trama di una cultura solidamente ancorata ad una tradizione, che dalla nuova esperienza viene trasformata ma non spezzata. La ricerca di serrate, bloccate strutture, di rigorosi rapporti volumetrici e spaziali, di calcolati, armonici equilibri tra le figure e lo spazio in cui si iscrivono, che le accoglie e le definisce, trapassa dall'Antelami al Maestro dei Mesi in un nuovo contesto culturale e stilistico. Le componenti sono le stesse, in uno stadio appena più avanzato (ma rapido è il corso di questa grande forza innovatrice) dello sviluppo storico della civiltà gotica. Da un lato la solidità delle masse, la larghezza monumentale, la rigorosa astrazione volumetrica, che pur si va sciogliendo dall'assoluto e spoglio rigore della visione antelamica; d'altro lato l'interna pressione di un naturalismo più mobile e più vivo. Se il primo dei due termini si riconduce, come nell'Antelami, alla tradizione romanica, il secondo si

riallaccia, come nell'Antelami, alla cultura francese. Il rapporto si attua in una chiave diversa, si articola in una forma nuova, meno rigida e più complessa, ma il rapporto non cambia. L'originalità dell'artista ancora una volta—come era stato nell'Antelami, come sarà in tutto il '200 italiano—si manifesta proprio in quel rapporto; in quell'intensa congiunzione che all'istante, senza lasciare alcun spazio possibile all'imitazione, diviene trasformazione profonda e creazione nuova.

## Note

\*L'autore ha preferito conservare al testo stampato negli Atti il suo iniziale carattere discorsivo di lezione svolta attraverso la sequenza delle immagini proiettate.

1. A. Venturi, "Lo scultore romanico di San Mercuriale in Forlì," *L'Arte*, II, 1898, pp. 246 ss.; idem, *Storia dell'arte*, Milano, 1904, III, p. 342 ss.

2. P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana, Il Medioevo*, Torino, 1927, p. 781.

3. Geza De Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami*, Milano-Firenze, 1952, pp. 420-421.

4. R. Jullian, *L'éveil de la sculpture italienne. La sculpture lombarde dans l'Italie du Nord*, Paris, 1945; idem, "Les persistances romanes dans la sculpture gothique italienne," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, III, 1960, p. 298.

5. Si dava notizia per la prima volta di tale identificazione, nella relazione sul restauro della lunetta di Forlì, in *Restauri d'arte in Italia: VIII Settimana dei Musei italiani*, catalogo, Roma, 1965, pp. 169-170; e più recentemente nel catalogo della mostra *L'Europe gothique*, Paris, 1968, pp. 33 e 45. L'identificazione veniva poi accolta da C. L. Ragghianti e A. R. Garzelli, in *L'Arte in Italia*, III, 1969, pp. 331 e 659.

6. Si veda in *L'Europe gothique*, la mia introduzione alla Sezione italiana della mostra a pagine XLIX-L.

7. In questo e in qualche altro caso (Fig. 15, 25) si è fatto uso di specchi per fotografare punti di vista non visibili nella veduta frontale.

8. Si conferma così la data già proposta da De Francovich (*Benedetto Antelami*, p. 421) per la lunetta di Forlì: data che conviene approssimativamente anche ai Mesi ferraresi, quasi contemporanei, forse immediatamente posteriori. La data di esecuzione, indicata dal De Francovich fra il '30 e il '35 per i Mesi di Ferrara (di un decennio circa posteriori a quelli dell'Antelami) è perciò da accostare maggiormente, alla luce anche degli ulteriori sviluppi della scultura emiliana e veneta, al primo dei due termini.

9. Il De Francovich ha notato notevoli rispondenze di particolari compositivi fra la Madonna dell'Adorazione dei Magi di Forlì e la più tarda "Madonna dello schiaffo" del Duomo di Vercelli, giungendo alla conclusione che entrambe siano derivazioni dalla perduta Madonna della Adorazione dei Magi del pulpito di Vercelli, in cui il De Francovich vede l'ultima maniera dell'Antelami e di cui il gruppo di Forlì sarebbe copia abbastanza fedele. Siamo d'accordo col Sauerländer ("L'Europe gothique, XIIe-XIVe siècles. Points de vue critiques à propos d'une exposition," *Revue de l'Art*, III, 1959, p. 90) sia nel non ritenere dell'Antelami le opere di Vercelli sia nel non condividere l'opinione del De Francovich (*Benedetto Antelami*, p. 463), che il Maestro della Porta dei Mesi di Ferrara si riallacci palesemente alle sculture del pulpito di Vercelli. Si tratta infatti a Ferrara e a Vercelli—nonostante l'affinità di qualche motivo, naturale in opere di simile, ma non

eguale cultura—di due ben diversi maestri, che hanno entrambi legami sia con l'Antelami sia con la cultura francese, ma assai differentemente caratterizzati. La lunetta di Forlì, ora rivelatasi capolavoro del Maestro dei Mesi, occupa un posto di ben più alto rilievo, nella storia della scultura dugentesca, di quello di "copia dall'Antelami": tale da rendere verosimile l'ipotesi, che il De Francovich respingeva (*ibid.*, p. 421), che proprio dalla Madonna del gruppo forlivese derivò la Madonna dello schiaffo; tramite forse il pulpito vercellese; opera, probabilmente posteriore al gruppo di Forlì, di artista di cultura antelamica ed emiliana, che poteva essere già a conoscenza dell'opera del Maestro dei Mesi.

10. Sauerländer, *Revue de l'Art*, p. 90, fig. 18-19. Si veda anche De Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami*, p. 463, fig. 533.

11. I rapporti fra il Maestro dei Mesi di Ferrara e il portale della Vergine di Notre Dame erano già stati segnalati dal De Francovich (*ibid.*, p. 463).

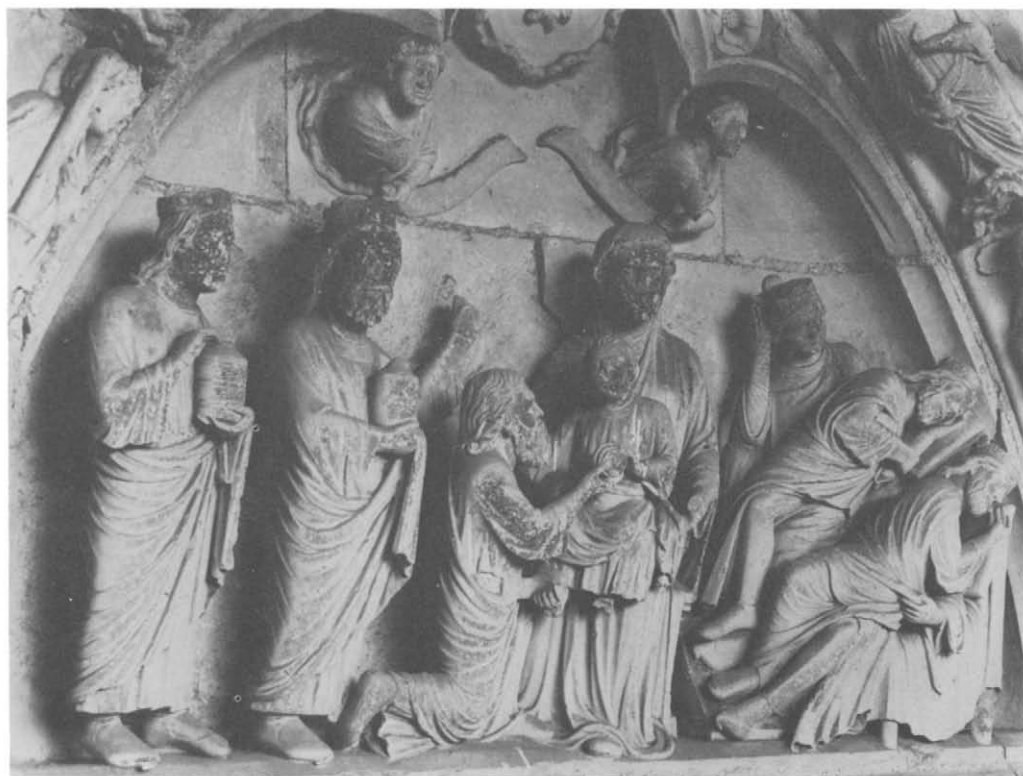
12. Tralascio anche, perciò, di riferire qui sulla recente storia critica dell'opera, anch'essa esposta alla mostra *L'Europe gothique*. Propendo ora ad anticipare di quasi un decennio la data—intorno al 1250—da me proposta nella scheda del catalogo (p. 45).

## English Summary by Florens Deuchler

A recent restoration of the Forlì tympanum showed clearly that the lunette is the work of the Master of the Ferrara Months. This attribution is of art historical significance for the understanding of early thirteenth-century north Italian sculpture, particularly in relation to Antelami's development, and as an indication of the first momentous contacts between the art of Italy and that of Ile-de-France. The latter had but minor influence on Antelami's early works, such as the portals for the Parma Baptistry (1196). From 1200 to 1220, however, this French influence grew, becoming predominant in his later works. The Ferrara Master's early sculpture revealed the omnipresent influence of this French school. The artist active at Forlì and Ferrara began where Antelami ended. The Forlì tympanum appears to be the key early work in this artist's adoption and continuation of Antelami's style, which had come to rely so heavily on the art of Ile-de-France. Although it is difficult to establish the chronological order of the groups at Forlì and Ferrara, both datable to around 1230, as they both show equal influence of French models of around 1220 (Paris, Chartres), the Forlì lunette appears to be slightly earlier than the Ferrara Months.



FIG. 1 *Il Sogno e l'Adorazione dei Magi, San Mercuriale, Forlì*



OPPOSTO:

FIG. 2 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, San Mercuriale, Forlì*

FIG. 3 *L'Adorazione e il Sogno dei Magi, portale di sinistra della facciata nord, Cattedrale, Chartres*



FIG. 4 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, particolare, Benedetto Antelami, portale settentrionale del Battistero, Parma*



FIG. 5 *Il Mese di Novembre, Benedetto Antelami, Battistero, Parma*



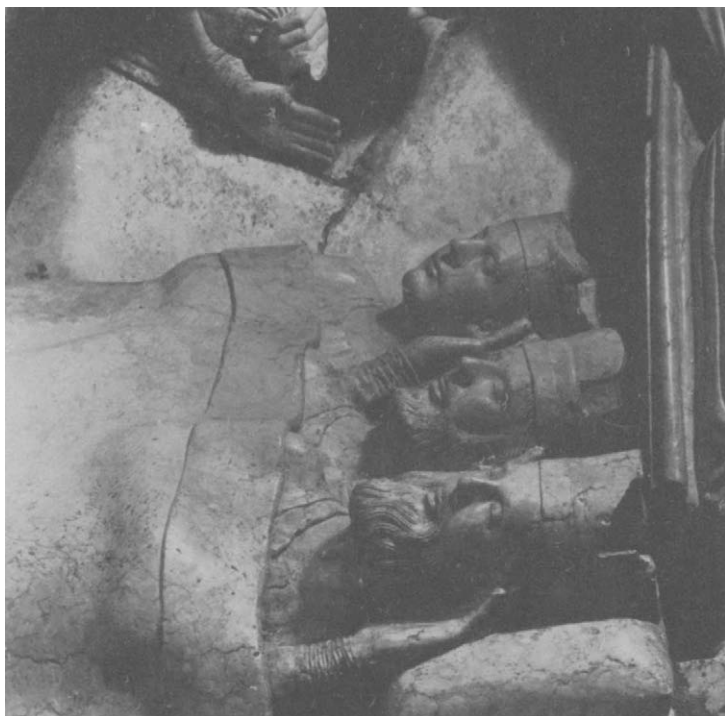


FIG. 6 *Il Sogno dei Magi, San Mercuriale, Forlì*

FIG. 7 *Il Mese di Gennaio, particolare, Museo del Duomo, Ferrara*



FIG. 8 *Testa di Re, portale di destra della facciata nord, Cattedrale, Chartres*

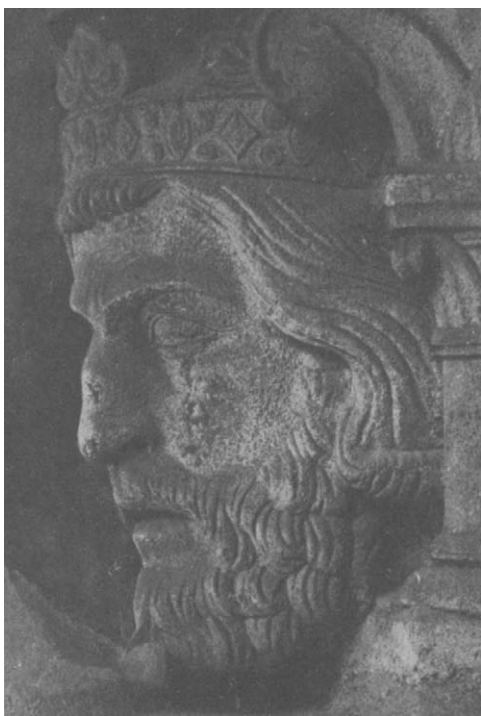


FIG. 9 *Il Sogno dei Magi, particolare, San Mercuriale, Forlì*



FIG. 10 *Il Mese di Febbraio, Museo del Duomo, Ferrara*





FIG. 11 *Il Mese di Luglio, Museo del Duomo, Ferrara*

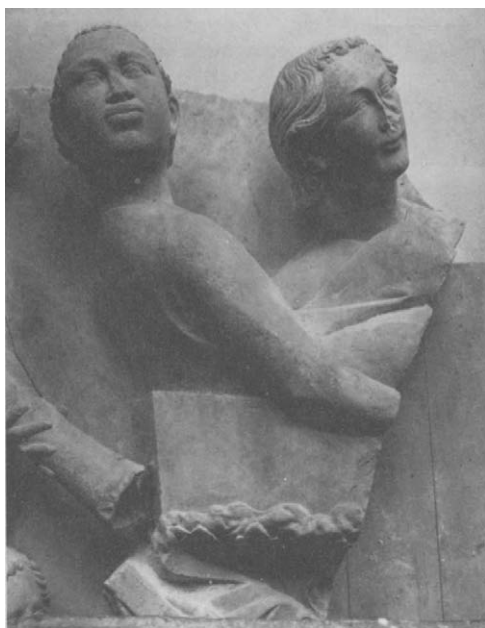


FIG. 12 *Frammenti del Giudizio Universale, dalle portali centrale di Notre-Dame, Musée de Cluny, Paris*

FIG. 14 *Il Mese di Maggio, Museo del Duomo, Ferrara*

FIG. 13 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, particolare, San Mercuriale, Forlì*

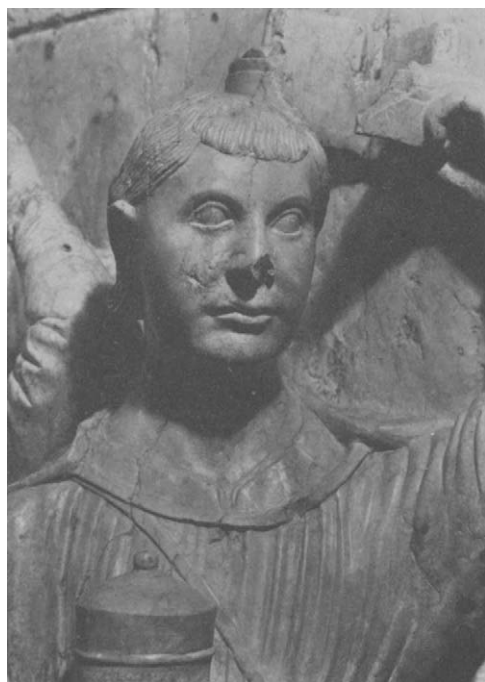




FIG. 15 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, particolare, San Mercuriale, Forlì*



FIG. 16 *Il Mese di Maggio, Museo del Duomo, Ferrara*

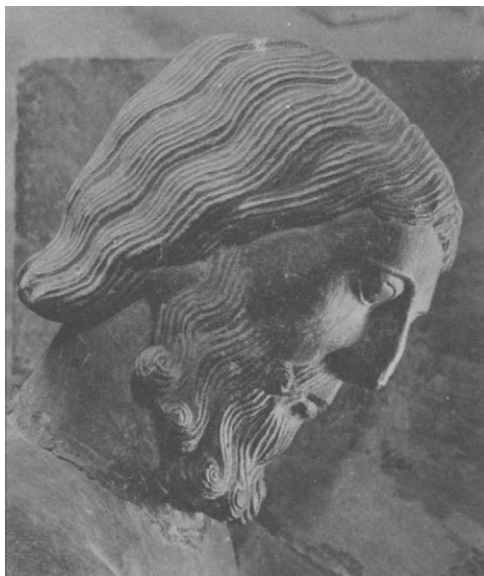
FIG. 17 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, particolare, San Mercuriale, Forlì*



FIG. 18 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, particolare, San Mercuriale, Forlì*



FIG. 20 *Il Mese di Dicembre, particolare, Benedetto Antelami, Battistero, Parma*



OPPOSTO:

FIG. 19 *Il Mese di Novembre, Museo del Duomo, Ferrara*

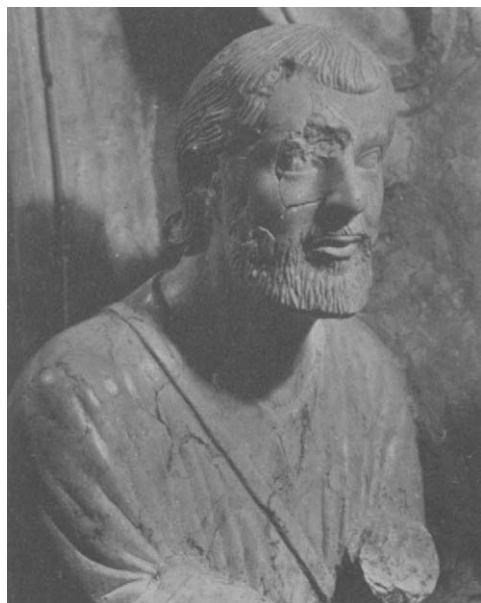


FIG. 22 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, particolare, San Mercuriale, Forlì*

FIG. 24 *Storia di Giobbe, particolare, portale di destra della facciata nord, Cattedrale, Chartres*



FIG. 23 *Statue dei Confessori, particolare, portale di destra della facciata sud, Cattedrale, Chartres*



OPPOSTO:

FIG. 21 *Un Profeta, particolare, portale centrale della facciata nord, Cattedrale, Chartres*



FIG. 25 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, particolare, San Mercuriale, Forlì*

FIG. 26 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, particolare, San Mercuriale, Forlì*

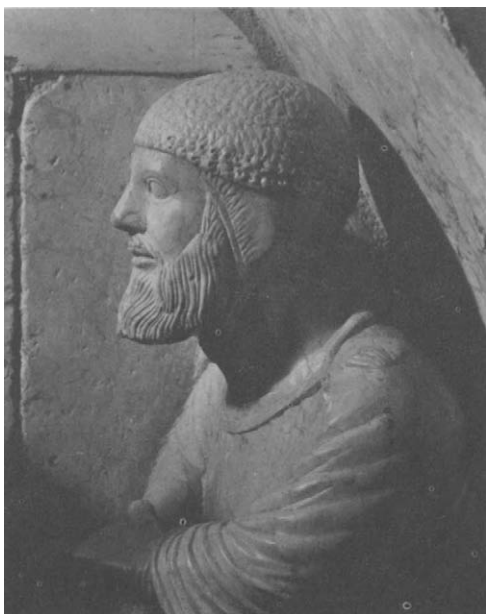


FIG. 27 *Il Mese de Settembre, particolare, Museo del Duomo, Ferrara*





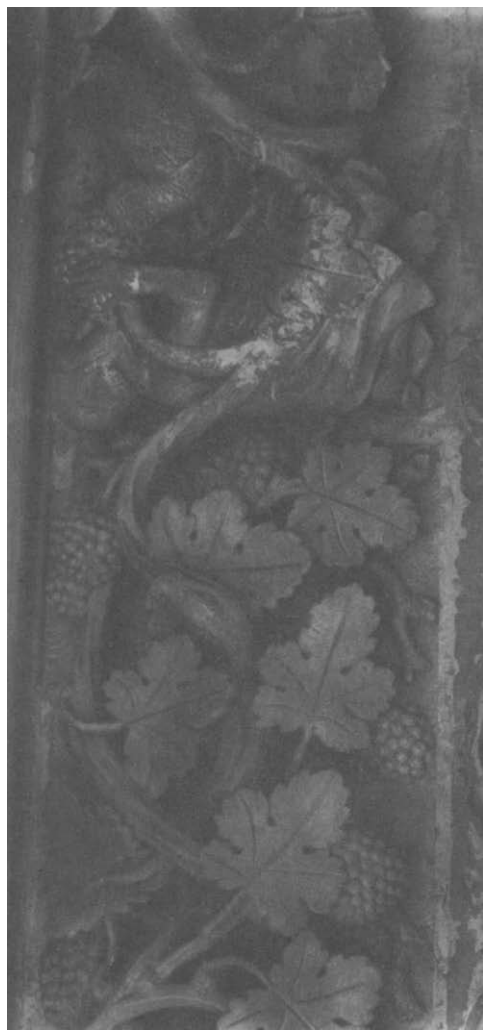


FIG. 28 *Fregio nel deambulatorio, Chiesa di Norrey (Calvados)*

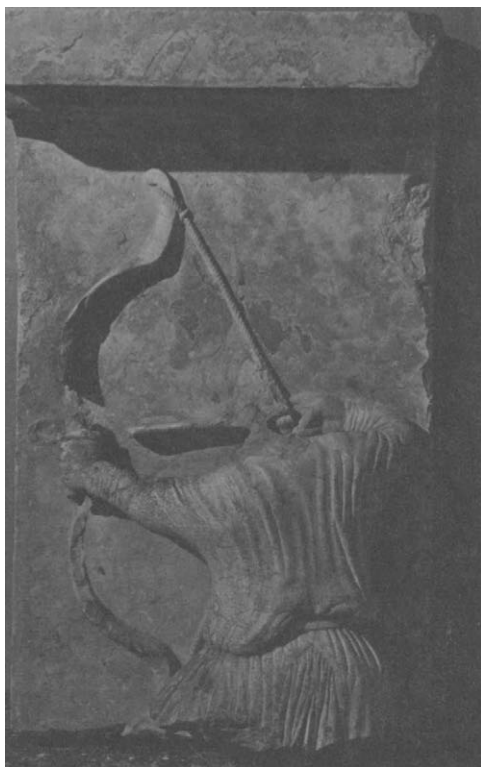


FIG. 29 *Il Mese di Novembre, Museo del Duomo, Ferrara*

FIG. 30 *Il Mese di Settembre, portale dell'Incoronazione della Vergine, Notre-Dame, Paris*







FIG. 31 *Il Mese di Dicembre, Museo del Duomo, Ferrara*



FIG. 32 *Base del trumeau del portale centrale sud, Cattedrale, Chartres*

FIG. 33 *San Giuseppe, L'Adorazione dei Magi, Seminario Patriarcale, Venezia*



FIG. 34 *L'Adorazione dei Magi, particolare, Seminario Patriarcale, Venezia*



FIG. 35 *Portale di destra della facciata sud, particolare, Cattedrale, Chartres*

# Representations of the Madonna about 1200

Two types of Byzantine Madonnas had a significant influence on Western art: the Nikopoia and the Hodegetria. The Nikopoia, meaning "bringer of victory," shows the Virgin enthroned, the Child seated frontally on her lap. This image of the Virgin was worshiped under the rule of Emperor Justinian or perhaps even as early as under Anastasius (491–518).<sup>1</sup> The Hodegetria, so called after the Hodegos Church in Constantinople, portrays the Virgin with the blessing Child on her left arm: Mary may be represented as enthroned, standing, or as a half-figure (Figs. 1–4).<sup>2</sup> The Western Virgins of the early and late Middle Ages go back essentially to these Byzantine types or their variations: the enthroned Madonnas of Romanesque art are related to the Nikopoia or to the enthroned Hodegetria, the statues of Gothic art to the standing Hodegetria.

The earliest representation of the Virgin, in a drawing commissioned by Bishop Etienne (about 940–984) for his cathedral at Clermont-Ferrand, corresponds to the Nikopoia type—the Christ Child is seated frontally on his mother's knees.<sup>3</sup> This type was not only copied in the Auvergne, as well as in Orcival, St.-Nectaire, Mozac, but also in the form of single sculptures of the eleventh century, as well as by numerous Madonnas of the twelfth century, such as the Ottonian fragment (ca. 1015) at Hildesheim, the *Sedes Sapientiae* from Evegnée in the Diocese Museum at Liège, and the Madonna from Hoven (ca. 1170) in the Rhineland, which directly reflects the French prototype of the Nikopoia.<sup>4</sup>

The Pingsdorf Madonna (ca. 1200) in the Cologne Diocese Museum at first followed the type of the Nikopoia and then, during the making, the Child (which was made separately and can be moved) was seated on the left knee of Mary.<sup>5</sup> Thus developed a second type of the Virgin, perhaps another version, differing from the prototype of the Nikopoia in that the Christ

Child is seated on Mary's left knee.<sup>6</sup> An early and rather isolated example is the so-called Imad Madonna (ca. 1060) in the Diocese Museum of Paderborn. Here the Child appears to have been placed on one knee of the Virgin as a result of her abrupt turning to the side.<sup>7</sup> Another type was developed in the late twelfth century wherein the Child—in most cases no longer seated on the left knee but raised and held on the level of the hip—follows the prototype of the enthroned Hodegetria. The Virgin from the Gustorf Chorschranke (1160) at Bonn or the Virgin from a retable (ca. 1200) at Brauweiler with the diptych ("funfteiliges Diptychon") in the monastery of Etschmiadzin are examples of this type.<sup>8</sup> The drapery drawn over the Brauweiler Christ Child reflects Byzantine influences. The Vierge d'Orée in Boston, the Madonnas of Gassicourt and of St.-Omer, the Madonna on the knob of the Trivulzio candlestick in the Milan Cathedral, the Madonna of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the Virgin with the rock crystal reliquary in the Schnütgen-Museum belong to the same group.<sup>9</sup>

Around 1200 a third type of Madonna appeared: the Maria Lactans showing the Virgin suckling the Child.<sup>10</sup> In an early example, the Virgin of Dom Rupert (ca. 1150) in the Musée Curtius at Liège, the Child is sitting on the left knee of the mother seizing her breast with both hands.<sup>11</sup> An inscription calls Mary the *porta clausa* of Ezekiel (44:2). The Lactans at the Puerta de las Platerias of Santiago de Compostela is another example of this type.<sup>12</sup> The Virgins in stone at Verona, Aquileja, Udine, Friesach (Austria), and Berlin (now lost) form another group of this type<sup>13</sup> that can be traced back from Irish book illumination (Book of Kells) and Coptic art to Hellenistic representations of Isis with Horus.<sup>14</sup> In my opinion, the oldest preserved sculpture of the Virgin in the West, the Golden Virgin in the Essen Cathedral (Cologne, ca. 1000), may be considered a mediating link between the Egyptian Isis and the Romanesque Maria Lactans.<sup>15</sup> She differs from all other Virgins by the diagonal position of the Child, which provides conclusive evidence that this type was inspired by Isis images. The left hand of the Essen Virgin supports the shoulder of the Child in a way comparable to the Isis figures; her right hand no longer points to the breast but holds the globe. The (restored) right hand of the Child corresponds to the original gesture of seizing the mother's breast. We may assume that provincial Roman representations of Isis were known to the artist of the Essen Madonna, where the motif of suckling the Child was changed into the more sublime gesture of blessing. In Christian times, an image of Isis (without Horus), with the inscription "Isidi invicte," was discovered head down in the wall of St. Ursula's at Cologne; an altar of Isis was also found in the building material of a pillar of St. Gereon at Cologne.<sup>16</sup> Another related example is in St.-Germain-des-Prés in Paris: until 1514, an image of Isis

was worshiped as the Virgin Mary; only then was it unmasked and destroyed.<sup>17</sup>

The presumably oldest standing Virgin of the West, the so-called Virgin of the Blessed Hermann Joseph, is preserved in the church of St. Maria im Kapitol in Cologne (Fig. 5).<sup>18</sup> This caressing type goes back to the Glykophilousa or Eleousa, then known to the West in small copies such as the sixth-century Baltimore ivory which, according to earlier literature, was once in Cologne.<sup>19</sup> The seal with the Virgin from Schwarzhof (near Bonn, 1171), which bears a Greek inscription, and the ivory Virgin on the front of a Cologne reliquary in the Brussels Museum<sup>20</sup>—both seated Virgins—prove the popularity of these smaller images in Cologne. Another important example is the Lombard seated Virgin in the Boston Museum,<sup>21</sup> and another example, in which the Child's position is reversed, is the late Romanesque statue of the Virgin in Magdeburg Cathedral (Fig. 6), to which I shall come back in another context.

The Eleousa of the Blessed Hermann Joseph and the one in Magdeburg Cathedral are single works. The standing Virgin of French Gothic art, as it was developed in the trumeau of the cathedrals, reaches again and in specific form back to the Hodegetria. The St. Anne of the north transept portal at Chartres demonstrates the relationship between the two types, but variations also exist that are typically Western in their conception:<sup>22</sup> the Byzantine paenula has become a veil; Mary's right hand no longer points to the Child but supports him; and the drapery is reversed and gathered on the bearing arm. The classic formula is finally reached in Reims about 1235.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, we can establish five types of the Virgin around 1200: (1) the seated Sedes Sapientiae following the Nikopoia; (2) the seated Virgin with the Child placed on her left side (this Madonna, at least in its Rhenish version, follows the enthroned Hodegetria); (3) the Maria Lactans, reverting to provincial Roman versions of the Hellenistic Isis; (4) the Eleousa; and (5) the Gothic trumeau Madonna, which follows the standing Hodegetria. A sixth type of Virgin about 1200 was introduced in *The Year 1200*, I. Here it is stated that the enthroned Madonna with the Child standing on her left knee from the shrine of the Virgin of Tournai was not an invention of the fourteenth-century reworking, but was original to Nicolas of Verdun.<sup>24</sup> It is primarily the position of the Magi that conflicts with this assumption. These figures, preserved from the epoch about 1205, bow so deeply with their presents that their devotion can only have been meant for a seated Child. It must be admitted, however, that the invention of a Child standing on his mother's knee would not have been a completely isolated case. The tombeau of St. Junien in the church of the same name (Haute-Vienne) shows a Madonna with a standing Child as does the fresco of Solomon's throne at

Gurk from the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>25</sup> A Byzantine Eleousa with the Child standing on the right knee appears on the marble relief of the Theotokos Aniketos from the second half of the thirteenth century in San Marco at Venice, Capella Zeno.<sup>26</sup> However, these examples, just as the Eleousa of St. Maria im Kapitol, are isolated cases. It is only about 1300 that the enthroned Madonna with the standing Child reaches widespread importance, i.e., at the same time as the standing Child appears alone.<sup>27</sup>

The different types of Virgin about 1200 are combined with three motifs: the dragon, the lion, and the serpent. Sculptures showing Mary above the dragon and the lion represent the demons which Christ and Mary will overcome in accordance with Psalm 91:13: Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.<sup>28</sup> Examples of this type include: the enthroned Madonna of Solsona (1150–1160); two ivory Virgins of the early thirteenth century, one in the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (also exhibited in New York) the other in the Museo Nazionale at Florence; and a seated Virgin suckling the Child depicted in the Amesbury Psalter at Oxford (All Souls College, Ms. 6, ca. 1250).<sup>29</sup> The Eleousa of Magdeburg Cathedral on a monumental pedestal of lion and dragon is a further example (Fig. 6). Lilli Burger has correctly shown, on the basis of its style and material, that the Eleousa replaced a somewhat earlier statue of Mary crowned by angels from the south transept of Magdeburg Cathedral. The position of the right forearm is due to incorrect restoration. It had been raised in an orating gesture, thereby creating ties to the Mary of the Annunciation: Annunciation, Coronation, and conquest of the lion and the dragon.<sup>30</sup> Also to be considered are the Annunciation group from Toulouse (exhibited in *The Year 1200*) and the more complete group at Lérida, Spain, showing the angel of the Annunciation above the dragon and Mary above the lion.<sup>31</sup> It is suggested in *The Year 1200*, I, that the lion shown resting under the feet of Mary represents Christ overcoming the dragon that is under the feet of the angel; another possible explanation would be that both dragon and lion are to be interpreted as the demons according to Psalm 91. A more frequent portrayal is that of the Virgin stepping on the dragon only, whether she is standing or seated. The standing Virgin did not become popular until the middle of the thirteenth century. An ivory diptych (ca. 1320) in the Kofler-Truniger collection in Lucerne contains one plaque showing the standing Virgin above the dragon, the other showing the crucifix above the resurrected Adam, thus confronting the conquest of the devil by incarnation and the overcoming of death by salvation.<sup>32</sup> Seated Virgins stepping with one foot or both feet on the dragon appear mainly in Mosan images of the early thirteenth century, notably the Virgin of St.-Jean-l'Évangéliste at Liège;<sup>33</sup> further examples are in Brussels,

Cologne, and the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to note that in the fourteenth century the dragon motif either degenerated into a *drôlerie* or was incorporated into the ascending composition of High Gothic.<sup>35</sup>

In this case it is apparently the question of a formal reduction of the demons from Psalm 91 involving two other biblical conceptions: first, the Queen of Heaven of the Apocalypse (Rev. 12:1-11) who has overcome the dragon that pursues her and her newborn child; secondly, Mary as the new Eve who, according to Gen. 3:15, tramples down the head of the serpent. The Virgin trampling the serpent is a motif that became very significant around 1200. This is seen in the Virgin of the Annunciation in the Stammheim Missal (Hildesheim, ca. 1160) and the chancel at Wechselburg (1230-1235), where Mary and St. John the Baptist flank the *Majestas Domini* in the manner of the *Deesis*.<sup>36</sup> The mourning Virgin beside the monumental cross (*Triumphkreuz*) of the Freiberg Cathedral (Saxony) and the mourning Virgin from Naumburg in Berlin also stand on a serpent.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, it is most dubious whether representations of Mary on a lion only may be explained as mere reductions. In favor of this hypothesis, the beautiful Mosan seated Virgin in the Liège Diocese Museum could be mentioned.<sup>38</sup> Although related to the Madonna in St.-Jean-l'Évangéliste, she steps—as far as I can see—with her left foot on a lion, not a dragon. As far as I know, this monument is unique. The other examples connect the lion so specifically to the throne that we must think of the throne of Solomon. Perhaps the earliest example is a Franconian ivory relief from the end of the eleventh century in Munich, part of a portable altar; with a further relief plaque it could be put together as an Adoration of the Magi.<sup>39</sup> This connection with the Epiphany thereby associates the lion with the throne of Solomon: the three Magi meet the Christ Child, seated on the knees of his mother, as the one to whom, according to St. Luke (1:32-33): the Lord God shall give . . . the throne of his father David. Other examples are two early twelfth-century capitals, closely related in style and composition, from St.-Etienne, Toulouse (in the Musée des Augustins), and from Ste.-Marie de Lombez (Gers) (in the Victoria and Albert Museum).<sup>40</sup>

An image of the Madonna seated on Solomon's throne of lions is the so-called *Presbyter Martinus Madonna* in Berlin (Fig. 2).<sup>41</sup> According to an inscription, this sculpture was created in 1199 for Borgo San Sepolcro by a Presbyterian named Martinus. The inscription continues: "In gremio matris fulget sapientia patris." The *Sedes Sapientiae* relates to Solomon's throne by the two lions positioned under the *suppedaneum*. The *Presbyter Martinus Madonna* presumably imitates a Virgin at Todi (preserved as a fragment only),<sup>42</sup> made about 1180 by a French artist and corresponding as a whole to the forms of the early Gothic style in the Ile-de-France.



There are examples of the Virgin of the Adoration with a dragon and not a lion such as the relief at S. Maria della Pieve at Arezzo.<sup>43</sup> The inscription on the side of her throne agrees almost word for word with the inscription of the Presbyter Martinus Madonna: "in gremio matris residet sapientia patris." Also, in this case, the words "sapientia patris" are yet another allusion to Solomon's throne after all. This throne, however, is placed above the dragon. Corresponding examples of the Virgin on the dragon in Adoration of the Magi scenes can be found on the tympanum of the Liebfrauenkirche at Trier (ca. 1250) and the ivory from Copenhagen.<sup>44</sup>

The tympanum at Neuilly-en-Donjon shows the Adoration of the Magi above an enormous lion and ox,<sup>45</sup> doubtlessly to be interpreted as symbols of the evangelists Luke and Mark. It is not clear whether the angel behind the Virgin is to be explained as a third symbol of an evangelist. The Siegburg Madonna, shown only with the lion of Mark and the ox of Luke (Schnütgen-Museum), in its type follows the half-figure Hodegetria.<sup>46</sup>

This question is more difficult in the case of the seated Virgin from the west gable of St. Maria im Kapitol in Cologne, created about the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>47</sup> The crouched animal with waving tail opens its mouth upward, comparable to the demon under the Psalm Virgin at Magdeburg. The lion is, on the other hand, so obviously attached to the throne that the suggestion of Solomon's throne emerges.<sup>48</sup>

## Notes

1. G. A. Wellen, *Theotokos*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1961, pp. 147 ff.

2. Ibid., pp. 157 ff., 176 ff.

3. Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. Municipale, Ms. 145, fol. 130 v. I. Haering Forsyth, "Magi and Majesty: A Study of Romanesque Sculpture and Liturgical Drama," *The Art Bulletin*, L, 1968, pp. 215 ff., with detailed bibliography. The author points correctly to the turning to the side of the Madonna in the drawing, alluding to a connection with the Adoration of the Magi. It is undetermined whether the liturgical function of the enthroned Madonna as well as the reason for her creation are also explained in this way. The Essen Madonna represents another type; the Sedes Sapientiae of the Presbyter Martinus was certainly not

portable. In connection with the "Majestés de la Vierge" from Limoges, M. M. Gauthier pointed to the fact that most examples of this type appear as part of an Annunciation scene. Its function as a reliquary and the representation of the Annunciation defined the image of the Madonna in the sense of incarnation, that is as receptacle of incarnation and as Sedes Sapientiae: M. M. Gauthier, "Les Majestés de la Vierge limousines et méridionales du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, March, 1968, pp. 67 ff., esp. p. 90.

4. R. Wesenberg, *Bernwardinische Plastik*, Berlin, 1955, pp. 59 ff., figs. 154, 155; V. H. Elbern and H. Reuther, *Der Hildesheimer Domschatz*, Hildesheim, 1969, no. 82; fragments

of the original gold covering are preserved (Fig. 40). S. Collon-Gevaert, J. Lejeune, and J. Stiennon, *Romanische Kunst an der Maas im 11., 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Brussels, 1962, no. 4. P. Bloch, *Kölner Madonnen*, 2nd ed., München-Gladbach, 1970, no. 6.

5. E. Trier, "Die Madonna von Unkelbach," *Miscellanea Pro Arte. Festschrift Hermann Schnitzler*, Düsseldorf, 1965, figs. 6, 7.

6. Madonna with the Child on the right knee or arm: Tournus, St. Philibert (I. Haering Forsyth, "Magi and Majesty," fig. 11), Reims Cathedral, western north portal: R. Hamann-MacLean, "Antikenstudium in der Kunst des mittelalters," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 15, 1949-1950, pp. 157 ff., fig. 34. Compare also the Byzantine (?) ivory relief at Milan, Castello Sforzesco: W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 2nd ed., Mainz, 1952, no. 253, pl. 51.

7. Trier, "Die Madonna von Unkelbach," fig. 4. Possibly this statue originally represented an "Anna Selbdritt."

8. Bloch, *Kölner Madonnen*, nos. 4, 9. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike*, no. 142, where the prototype for the V-shaped position of the legs can also be found. Other examples: *ibid.*, nos. 145, 156.

9. H. Swarzenski, "A Vierge d'Orée," *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bulletin*, 58, 1960, pp. 65 ff. *Der Meister des Dreikönigenschreins*, exhibition catalogue, Kölner Domblatt, 1964, no. 30; *ibid.*, nos. 32, 36; Bloch, *Kölner Madonnen*, nos. 11 and 12.

10. K. Wessel, "Eine Grabstele aus Medinat el-Fajum, Zum Problem der Maria lactans," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität Berlin*, 4, 1954-55, no. 3, pp. 149 ff. P. Eich, "Die Maria lactans. Eine Studie ihrer Entwicklung bis in das 13. Jahrhundert und ein Versuch ihrer Deutung in der mittelalterlichen Frömmigkeit," Ph.D. dissertation, Frankfurt/Main, 1953.

11. Collon-Gevaert, Lejeune, and Stiennon, *Romanische Kunst an der Maas*, no. 26.

12. O. Naesgaard, *Saint-Jacques de Compostela*, Aarhus, 1962, pp. 100 ff.

13. E. Arslan, *La pittura e la scultura Veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII*, Milan, 1943, figs.

182-185. J. Zykan, in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 18, 1964, pp. 60 ff., fig. 73. The localization to Verona of the Berlin Lactans exhibited in New York is denied in the *The Year 1200*, I, no. 40; this denial is based on a mix-up with a second Lactans lost during the last war which really belonged to this group (O. Wulff, "Altdeutsche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke," Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen III*, Berlin, 1911, p. 31, no. 1771).

14. P. Bloch, "Überlegungen zum Typus der Essener Madonna," *Kolloquium über frühmittelalterliche Skulptur, Vortragstexte*, 1968, Mainz, 1970, pp. 65 ff. Concerning the representation of Isis compare also: C. R. Clark, "The Egyptian Mother Goddess," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, IV, 1946, pp. 240 ff. Mother with diagonally lying child: J. Saint Fare Gernot, "Deux vases Egyptiens representant une femme tenant un enfant sur ses genoux," in *Mélanges Charles Picard*, Paris, 1949, II, pp. 905 ff. H. W. Müller, "Isis mit dem Horuskinde. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie der stillenden Gottesmutter im hellenistischen und römischen Ägypten," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst III*, 14, 1963, pp. 7 ff. *Idem*, *Die stillende Gottesmutter in Ägypten*, in *Materia medica Nordmark*, 2, Sonderheft, 1963.

15. P. Bloch, "Überlegungen zum Typus der Essener Madonna," pp. 65 ff.

16. A. Stelzmann, *Illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 4th ed., Cologne, 1966, p. 39.

17. Müller, "Isis mit dem Horuskinde," p. 35.

18. A. Goldschmidt, *Gotische Madonnenstatuen in Deutschland*, Augsburg, 1923, fig. 3. Bloch, *Kölner Madonnen*, no. 8.

19. E. Aus'm Weerth, *Fundgruben der Kunst und Ikonographie in den Elfenbein-Arbeiten des christlichen Altertums und Mittelalters in 35 Tafeln*, ed. F. Witte, Bonn, 1912, pl. xvi: "Das mit 'Köln' als früherem Aufbewahrungsort verzeichnete Stück. . ."

20. *Meister des Dreikönigenschreins*, no. 55. A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1923, III, no. 53.

21. H. Swarzenski, "A Masterpiece of Lombard Sculpture," *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bulletin*, 57, 1959, pp. 65 ff. The author

points to connections between Lombardy and Cologne. In 1164 the relics of the Magi had come from Milan to the Rhine and the "Milan Madonna" in the Cologne Cathedral refers apparently to an old Lombard prototype.

22. Goldschmidt, *Gotische Madonnenstatuen*, figs. 1, 2.

23. Ibid., fig. 5.

24. *The Year 1200*, I, no. 100.

25. P. Deschamps, "Les inscriptions du tombeau de St. Junien et la date de ses sculptures," *Monuments et Mémoires Fondation Piot*, 29, 1929, pls. 8, 9 (kindness of Vera Ostoia, New York). Referring to the Eleousa at Gurk: H. Schrader, *Die romanische Malerei. Ihre Maïestas*, Cologne, 1964, p. 197, fig. on p. 142.

26. J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, London, 1970, fig. 248.

27. U. Schlegel, "The Christchild as Devotional Image in Medieval Italian Sculpture. A Contribution to Ambrogio Lorenzetti Studies," *The Art Bulletin*, LII, 1970, pp. 1 ff.

28. P. Bloch, "Die Muttergottes auf dem Löwen," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 12, 1970, pp. 253 ff. Since the Carolingian epoch the Virgin became known more and more as the suppressor of heresy: E. Guldán, *Eva und Maria. Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv*, Graz-Cologne, 1966, p. 95.

29. Guldán, *Eva und Maria*, fig. 106; Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, III, nos. 133, 134; *The Year 1200*, I, no. 55; Schrader, *Die romanische Malerei. Ihre Maïestas*, p. 182, figs. 272, 273.

30. L. Burger, "Die apokalyptische Maria in dem unvollendet gebliebenen Figurenzyklus des Magdeburger Domportals," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 4, 1937, pp. 16 ff. *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1937, ad vocem Aspis, fig. 4.

31. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, pl. 553; M. Aubert, *Die gotische Plastik Frankreichs: 1140-1225*, Leipzig, 1929, pl. 53. *The Year 1200*, I, no. 18 (the lion of this group is lost).

32. H. Schnitzler, F. Volbach, and P. Bloch, *Skulpturen (Elfenbein, Perlmutter, Stein, Holz)*

*Sammlung Kofler-Truniger Luzern*, Lucerne-Stuttgart, 1964, p. 93; Bloch, "Die Muttergottes auf dem Löwen," fig. 20.

33. *Art mosan et arts anciens du pays de Liège*, exhibition catalogue, Liège, 1951, no. 367; Collon-Gevaert, Lejeune, and Stiennon, *Romanische Kunst an der Maas*, no. 64.

34. Trier, "Die Madonna von Unkelbach," pp. 233 ff., figs. 1, 2, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17.

35. H. Appel, "Die Füssenicher Madonna in der Achsenkapelle des Doms," in *Kölner Domblatt*, 1963, pp. 127 ff.

36. Guldán, *Eva und Maria*, p. 58, figs. 26, 105.

37. A. Goldschmidt, *Die Skulpturen von Freiberg und Wechselburg*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 21 ff., pl. 87a. P. Metz, *Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen von der Spätantike bis zum Klassizismus*, Munich, 1966, no. 181.

38. Collon-Gevaert, Lejeune, and Stiennon, *Romanische Kunst an der Maas*, no. 57; *The Year 1200*, I, no. 40.

39. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, no. 153c; Bloch, "Die Muttergottes auf dem Löwen," fig. 26.

40. P. Mesplé, "Chapiteaux du Cloître de Lombez au Musée des Augustins de Toulouse et au Victoria and Albert Museum de Londres," *La Revue des Arts*, 8, 1958, p. 177, figs. 6, 71.

41. Metz, *Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, no. 207; Bloch, "Die Muttergottes auf dem Löwen," fig. 28.

42. F. Santi, "Appunti sù inediti in Umbria," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi*, Rome, 1962, II, pp. 51 ff.

43. G. Vezin, *L'adoration et le cycle des Mages dans l'art chrétien primitif*, Paris, 1950, p. 88, pl. 20; E. Guldán, *Eva und Maria*, p. 93; K. Hoffmann, "Bemerkungen zum Michaels-Relief der Zollernburg," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, 5, 1968, p. 14.

44. Bloch, "Die Muttergottes auf dem Löwen," fig. 21. *The Year 1200*, I, no. 74.

45. W. Cahn, "Le tympan de Neuilly-en-Donjon," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* X<sup>e</sup>

*XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 8, 1965, pp. 351 ff.; Guldán, *Eva und Maria*, p. 93, fig. 72.

46. P. Bloch, H. Mittler, and H. J. Roggen-dorf, "Die Siegburger Madonna und zugehörige Steinfragmente. Geschichte, Stil und Deutung," *Heimathuch der Stadt Siegburg*, Siegburg, 1967, II, pp. 366 ff.; *Das Schnütgen-Museum, Eine Auswahl*, 4th ed., Cologne, 1968, no. 47.

47. Bloch, "Die Muttergottes auf dem Löwen," fig. 29.

48. In this context, Albertus Magnus, who in 1248 became director of the German general studies of the Dominicans at Cologne, wrote one of the most detailed interpretations of Mary as Solomon's throne (*De Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis* X, 2).



FIG 1 *Nikopoia*, ivory diptych, sixth century, Constantinople (photo: Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturenabteilung, Steinkopf, Berlin)



FIG. 2 *Madonna of the Presbyter Martinus*, 1199, Borgo San Sepolchro (photo: Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturenabteilung, Steinkopf, Berlin)



FIG. 4 *Madonna, retable, ca. 1200, Cologne, Brauweiler St. Nikolaus (photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv)*



FIG. 3 *Hodegetria, book cover, tenth-eleventh century, Byzantium, Aachen Domschatz (photo: Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem)*

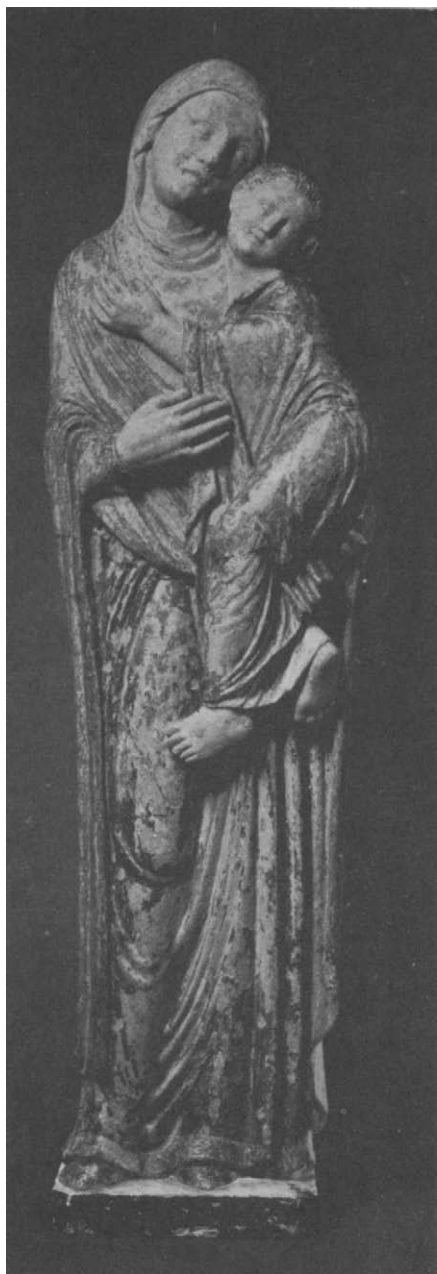


FIG. 5 *Eleousa*, ca. 1200, Cologne, St. Maria im Kapitol (photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv)



FIG. 6 *Eleousa above dragon and lion*, ca. 1230, Magdeburg Dom (photo: Foto Marburg)

## Sculpture and Its Architectural Context at Chartres around 1200

It is inexpedient to pursue the interpretation of the Gothic cathedral before a disciplined grasp of the individual components has been achieved.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, however, any separate analysis of cathedral sculpture, architecture, or painting eventually is conditioned by consideration of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. In fact, almost no investigation of early and High Gothic art can be undertaken without eventual corroboration in the cathedrals.

This dilemma is aggravated by the almost total lack of documentation of the works of art by those responsible for them.<sup>2</sup> The dates applicable to the building programs of the cathedrals themselves invariably prove to be elusive when applied to the individual parts.<sup>3</sup> And without an assured relative chronological foundation all interpretation of style is idle—the most convincing analysis proves to be reversible as long as the chronological framework of influence and dependence remains fluid.<sup>4</sup>

In a field where virtually nothing is known, connoisseurship cannot compensate for methodology. But, after two-thirds of a century, discussion of cathedral sculpture is still repeatedly placed under the aegis of quotation from Wilhelm Vöge.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the approach to research, on which the chronology of this undated sculpture is based, appears to show less change than did the development of sculptural style postulated for any equivalent period straddling the year 1200 as, for example, the sixty years between the south portal of Notre-Dame in Etampes and the earliest figures on the west façade of Reims Cathedral, or the equivalent period between the St.-Denis north transept portal and the Josephsmeister. Although the history of art received essential impulses from Vöge's interpretations, it is necessary to recognize that his criteria are developed almost exclusively out of the sculpture itself, regardless of its immediate architectural context. This may be condoned as



having been a necessary expedient for the genius of Vöge's generation, but the subsequent search for a convincing chronology to fit the interpretation has propagated an atmosphere of connoisseurship in which opinions are shared or rejected, but in which little or nothing can be considered proven.

The circumstances of a *Kunstwissenschaft*, or objective discipline of the history of art, carry the seeds of its corruption. Since the subject matter (the visual precipitation of historic culture) is grouped together with the literary arts, the description of historical art commonly succumbs to literary criteria. Not only is the historical truth, or even simple chronology, all too often pursued (or prostituted) by the poetry of an art historical description, but the supposed "empathy" of the observations entailed have often been given more credence than have the existing material circumstances of the works of art themselves.<sup>6</sup> Until physical masonry relationships, dimensions, evidence of recutting, etc., are established, empathy should be confined to literary rather than art historical publication. To take a recent example: the early sixties produced no less than three reconstructions of the earlier portal programs of Reims Cathedral, tolerably formulated but all untenable due to lack of initial descriptions of the dimensions and physical evidence of the sculptures—which could, therefore, never have been interchanged as postulated.<sup>7</sup> The lack of description which led to these conclusions may appear at first sight to concern only the sculpture, and indeed the authors' incorrect grouping of sculptures of differing height is of itself inexplicable. In fact, however, as long as medieval monumental sculpture develops within the strict context of the column figure, the height of the embrasure figures or, rather, the length of their shafts, corresponds to the coursing, the base or shaft ring and the capital or baldachin-capital being tied into the regular coursing of the masonry structure. Of course, a certain latitude exists due to the very limited expedient of truncating the shaft (should it originally have been longer than the figure), but in principle the subjection of the (dimensions of the) sculpture to architectural circumstance or, because the opposite also holds true, their interdependence is almost absolute. The subjection of medieval sculpture to architecture, its origin and slow enfranchisement within the immediate architectural context is best recalled by the Virtues in the central window archivolt of the Aulnay south transept façade.<sup>8</sup> Their admittedly concentric arrangement allows them a three-dimensionality denied to the earlier, radially ordered voussoir relief figures of the subjacent portal. However, this volume is still achieved and expressed within the absolute form and dimension of the original rectangular masonry archivolt out of which they are born, that dimension which still holds captive the more emancipated figures of the west façade of the same church

and, for that matter, all voussoir figures into the High Gothic period. But it is also at Aulnay where the subjection of the masonry structure to the demands of the portal, or, rather, the total integrity of the sculptured architecture, can best be demonstrated. In a monumental expression of that excellence of integral masonry, or "good handwork," which we usually tend to associate with the architecture of classical antiquity, the finely jointed courses comprising the base, capital, and impost frieze of the south transept portal are continued throughout the original building.<sup>9</sup>

To what extent this classic integrity was applied—or was applicable—to the infinitely more complex cathedral projects has to be decided according to the circumstances of each individual case. The prolonged, almost perpetual building periods of these extensive complexes and the consequent repeated changes of plan lead to individual irregularities that cannot be interpreted according to a universal postulate. What applied to Reims may not apply at Chartres. But the principle of the integrality of the elements within the whole (structure and construction) was known to both Romanesque and Gothic architecture, and the application of this principle may be assumed in specific cases, if it can be demonstrated by the precise interrelationship of the parts or by the correspondence of dimension or even masonry coursing.

One of the primary causes of the failure of this classic principle is the imposition upon the original design, or upon the eventual execution, of a second definitive characteristic of medieval architectural sculpture, namely its barbarian component: the *spolia*. The reintegration of existing art objects within new compositions is commonly stressed in the case of the minor arts, but is scarcely ever given due consideration in studies on Gothic cathedral sculpture—in spite of its conspicuousness. A glance at the circumstances pertaining to the minor arts must serve as background. Whereas Langobard goldsmiths incorporated valued fragments from late antiquity,<sup>10</sup> and Carolingian "originals" could be composed around Byzantine cloisonné,<sup>11</sup> stately Ottonian art itself was not above the incorporation of classic,<sup>12</sup> antique,<sup>13</sup> or even Frankish,<sup>14</sup> and, of course, Carolingian *spolia*.<sup>15</sup> In fact, even near-contemporary objects were also appropriated<sup>16</sup> and, of even more significance, it appears as though by the twelfth century earlier panels could be utilized in an expanded and improved version of the same object, as in the case of the bronze doors of San Zeno in Verona.<sup>17</sup> Within the context of the minor arts, it is also significant that the earliest (?) preserved free-standing cult figure—of Ste. Foy at Conques—represents a conglomerate of various antique and medieval additions to what was originally probably a late antique portrait.<sup>18</sup>

This nomadic manifestation, whereby components of art came to rest at a place or in a context for which they were not originally executed, is easily

acceptable in the case of essentially portable objects. But the history of art has been more hesitant to heed the same principles within the static dignity of architectural sculpture. In actual fact, the tradition of *spolia* is more extensive in the case of architectural sculpture than it is for the minor arts, namely, from late antiquity until well into the thirteenth century.<sup>19</sup> The earliest example is, of course, provided by the Arch of Constantine in Rome,<sup>20</sup> a monument quite as important for the understanding of medieval sculpture (and its Gallic façade setting) as are the Constantinian basilicas for the history of church building. To pass off the use of earlier imperial relief *spolia* as an economic expedient due to haste of construction<sup>21</sup> is to destroy the foundations for understanding medieval sculpture. The appropriation of earlier imperial reliefs must be seen rather in terms of changing intellectual tendencies that are expressed in the inscription: submission to divine motivation and a corresponding symbolic allusion to imperial vindication.<sup>22</sup> Here, prior to the conversion of Constantine, art objects are presented as a symbolic physical retrospect, as homage paid to the authority of precedent or previous conditions.

It would be equally incorrect to interpret the reuse of medieval sculptures in successive programs purely in terms of economic exigencies, which would reflect a lack of spiritual vigor, scarcely compatible with the medieval intellect. This is furthermore belied by the obviously available means of artistic production, the residual legacy of which suffices to baffle the scholarly vigor of the twentieth century. In an equivalent sense of piety toward the achievements of a venerated past, the medieval reassertion of earlier sculptures by incorporation in later structures may be seen as a parallel to that reinterpretation of the authorities which formed the basis of medieval philosophy.

As important as the question may be, space does not permit us to concern ourselves here in detail with the circumstances of pre-Gothic architectural sculpture; suffice it to say that what we find happening to the portal sculptures of the Gothic cathedrals around 1200 reflects a tradition well documented in the monuments of the so-called Romanesque,<sup>23</sup> and evident also in the west façade sculptures of the cathedral of Chartres, the immediate prototype for the problem to be discussed here.<sup>24</sup> Our concern to establish the earliest documentary evidence of specific building campaigns, to which the chronology of the sculpture has then *nolens volens* been subjected, has tended to obscure our receptiveness to the methodological implications of the prevalence of *spolia*. Our exaggerated credulity in regard to the apparent integrity of the cathedral portals as original design entities within the existing architectural structure has led to the fabrication of an absolute chronology that is invalid even within its own premises. This can be most

easily demonstrated at Reims Cathedral, where, within a remarkable span of stylistic development, almost every piece of embrasure sculpture has been transposed. This textbook example, however, also demonstrates the dangers of ignoring less evident stylistic variations and structural irregularities in the portal complexes of other cathedrals. It is generally accepted that components of sculpture which antedate the destruction of Reims Cathedral by fire in 1210 were in fact incorporated in the High Gothic structure, namely the fragments comprising the tympanum area of the western portal of the north transept façade.<sup>25</sup> The widest use of *spolia* is, therefore, known to have been applied in this period in Reims. The appropriation of fragments of earlier portals of unknown locality, possibly, but not necessarily, executed for an earlier version of the same façade (whether erected or not), also occurred at Reims, namely, the earliest figures (of prophets) which finally composed the southern embrasure of the southern west portal.<sup>26</sup> (Other well-known examples of this process are provided by the early Gothic tympanum, a lintel, and some archivolts inserted in the High Gothic southern west portal "St. Anne" of the cathedral of Paris.) But also entire portals, the sculptural style of which would seem to indicate their execution within the documented chronological context of the High Gothic structure to which they were finally added, were apparently shunted from façade to façade, whereby more or less extensive restructuring may have proven necessary for both portal and architectural components. In the case of the two major north transept portals of Reims Cathedral, we are probably concerned with remnants of an original west façade, whether erected or not.<sup>27</sup> It also occurred that entire portals of much earlier date and archaic style came to be incorporated within High Gothic structures, whereby inconsiderable recutting or slight remodeling was all that was required.<sup>28</sup> The two earlier portals replaced at Bourges as lateral nave portals in the High Gothic cathedrals may or may not originally have been on the west façade of the forerunner. Lateral portals had, namely, a long tradition in France, having achieved monumental sculpture at least as early as the Porte Miègeville of St.-Sernin in Toulouse and as late as the north portal of St.-Benoît-sur-Loire, itself probably a later addition within earlier masonry.<sup>29</sup> Thus, it would appear that lateral portals of this nature, or, at least, portals that were not intended for a west façade, were executed independently of any other major building activity. The north transept portal of St.-Denis is a further example of a portal that is commonly dated to a period for which there is neither documentation for building activity nor any reason to postulate it on grounds of style.<sup>30</sup>

Given the above conditions there is no valid *terminus post quem* for the archaic figures of prophets on the south portal of the Reims west façade;

they may have been sculpted at any time for a portal anywhere on the pre-Gothic cathedral.

Not only Vöge's unquestioned opinion that no embrasure figures at Reims antedate the fire of 1210, but also the subsequent complex mesh of "creative" interpretation of the various interrelationships between the cathedral ateliers around the year 1200 are based on insufficient descriptions of sculpture as a component of the architectural whole.<sup>31</sup> Against the background of the examples given, and bearing in mind the repeated changes of locality of almost all the individual figures of the west portal program of Reims Cathedral (with its resultant interpenetration and novel confrontation of styles and iconographic relationships), it is evident that around 1200 there were no particular chronological restraints in regard to the appropriation of *spolia*. Relatively contemporary works, as well as fragments of programs, or even complete portals at least three generations earlier, could be used and reused within the determining framework of changing architectural contexts and, as the corollary demands, reevaluated within the immediate or collective iconographic context—whereby the style, currently the primary art historical criterion, scarcely appears to have been taken into consideration.

An initial approach to our obligation to ultimately interpret the Gothic cathedral may be indicated by the truism that the *Gesamtkunstwerk* represents more than the sum of its parts. It is this element, which lies beyond the range of the material description of the architecture, sculpture, and painting (to a certain degree that which represents the transcendent nature of the cathedral), that in the past has induced that "creative" description, or premature interpretation, whereby the boundaries of reason have been projected by empathy. Recognizing that the components of the cathedral cannot be considered independent of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, it would have been a more realistic aim to try to establish the sum of these parts, i.e., to describe their physical relationship (that which they are immediately beyond themselves) before attempting to interpret them, inversely, from that which lies beyond. It is against this background that the architectural context of the transept portals of the cathedral of Notre-Dame of Chartres must be considered.

Between the seven new bays of the single-aisled High Gothic nave (commenced after the fire of 1194, which spared the western towers, façade, and portals) and the four bays of the double-aisled long choir, the cathedral of Chartres has a monumental transept, the side aisles of which terminate at the façade walls. Two triple portal units, basically identical to each other, are held, as it were, at arm's length by the respective three bays of the transept arms—which thus each project one bay beyond the outer walls

of the long choir (Diagram 1). In contrast to the narrow-chested, incongruous effect resulting from the retention of the three western portals (which correspond to only the central vessel of the justly famous first High Gothic nave—two new vaulting bays being inserted between the extant towers to allow the incorporation of the older façade), the triple portal complexes of the transept are integrated in formal (but, as we will see, not structural) perfection into a monumental transverse building element physically as long as the nave itself.<sup>32</sup>

This hypertrophication of the transverse element has no precedent in the earlier development of the style.<sup>33</sup> The early Gothic cathedrals of the north of France originally either had no transept,<sup>34</sup> or the apsidal form given this element subjected it formally to triconchiform unity with the dominant apse.<sup>35</sup> Despite the apparently competitive spirit of the time, the integral monumentality of the Chartres transept with its six portals was neither achieved nor apparently ever intended by any succeeding building of the thirteenth century.

Thus, the primary criteria—unification and clarification (of early Gothic systems)—which justify the epithet classical for the first High Gothic cathedral fail to be effective precisely in the basic architectural composition: plan and volumes are subject to a disturbing duality on the major axes. It is the cathedral of Reims that today represents the classic integration of the transverse volume of the transept. We will see that this is modeled on the original plan of Chartres (analyzed in Appendix A), which in 1194 was to consist of only two bays per arm, and thus not project beyond the long choir outer walls.

One important factor differentiates the apparently identical transept from the nave: all three vessels are narrower than those of the nave, the central vessel differing by more than 2.00 meters,<sup>36</sup> the side aisles by almost 1.00 m each.<sup>37</sup> As a result of this, the crossing is not square but transversely oblong<sup>38</sup>—in spite of the original intention to surmount it with a lantern tower.<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, a closer investigation of the transept immediately reveals a series of irregularities which indicate, (A) that it was not executed in accordance with an original plan and, (B) that the architectural system of the portals does not correspond with that of the transept.

(A) The original plan of the High Gothic structure is largely conditioned by the retention of the older crypt. The general irregularity of dimensions and relationships thereby imposed on the parts east of the crossing have been long recognized.<sup>40</sup> It is interesting to observe, however, that despite this preconditioning factor, the four regular bays of the nave (adjoining the crossing; WI, WII, WIII, WIV)<sup>41</sup> are set out with remarkable regularity, the

width of the central vessel varying by only 0.04 m, although to achieve this a divergence of no less than 0.365 m has had to be compensated for between the older crypt walls and the exterior masonry of the Gothic cathedral.<sup>42</sup> Thus, it can be said that, in spite of grave conditioning factors, the first plan of Chartres west was set out with normal concern for regularity. The only elements of the new building which could be executed independently of the crypt were the projecting arms of the transept.<sup>43</sup> It is therefore of particular significance that, although the transept could have been set out with unhindered regularity, the main arcades are thrown off axis in each bay; the zigzagging of the axis can be seen on Lassus' *plan au dessus du sol*,<sup>44</sup> or by standing in the extremities of the transept passages and looking along the triforium parapet wall toward the crossing<sup>45</sup> and, finally, is confirmed by the dimensions (Diagram 1). This reflects the additive vicissitudes of the transept during execution.

The decision to extend each arm by one bay can also be traced in the actual masonry and detail forms. (This has already been demonstrated with the aid of one technical criterion, the vault anchors, and is confirmed by the sculptural style of the vault keystones.<sup>46</sup>) In the socle story the regular coursing of the masonry of the first nave bays (VII, VIII, etc.) is retained in the first bay of each transept arm (Fig. 1), but stops short against the flanks of the first buttresses (n2w1 and s2w1—Fig. 2). These buttresses and the adjoining wall section in both transepts—hatched on Diagram 1—have the appearance of having been inserted (Fig. 3), because the coursing breaks off abruptly again against the flank of the outer buttresses (on the axes n3 and s3).<sup>47</sup> In this region, on both sides of both transepts, the addition of the façade “slab,” as it were, is also reflected in a sharp break in the detail forms. The socle profile is reduced in height in the hidden inner angle of the outer buttresses so as to adjust to the new façade (Fig. 4); an example of an equivalent break in the cornice (Fig. 5) is present on both sides of both transepts.

But the final proof of the addition of the outer bays to form a projecting transept with a monumental three-portal composition is provided by the enigmatic crypt galleries, which extend under the side aisles of the transept from the wall of the Fulbert crypt to beyond the transept façades, terminating today in slit window openings in the risers of the great transept stairways. Entrance to these galleries is provided in all four cases by means of stairs in the last buttresses (on n3 and s3).<sup>48</sup> The western passages give access to the crypt and need not concern us here,<sup>49</sup> but both eastern passages terminate at the Fulbert windows in the crypt wall (Figs. 7, 8). In the original plan these were merely light shafts of one bay length, corresponding to the arches in the enveloping masonry which spare the earlier crypt windows in both

nave (Fig. 1) and choir.<sup>50</sup> This in itself suggests that the transept could not originally have been intended to have extended two bays beyond the crypt wall, but the actual corroboration is provided again by the axial relationships of the ground plan. The cathedral architect, M. Mouton, fortunately prepared an accurate superimposed plan of the south gallery in conjunction with excavations undertaken between 1891 and 1893<sup>51</sup> (Fig. 7). The light shaft is not laid out at right angles to the crypt; instead, commencing symmetrically about the window, it angles off slightly to the east so as to ensure a symmetrical opening between the axes of the Gothic superstructure *one bay* farther; its subsequent straight extension beyond this point results in its lying asymmetrical to the axial system of the façade. The lack of rectilinear relationship to the crypt wall is motivated by the superstructure, but by a superstructure evidently intended to be terminated one axis back from the present façade.

This amplification of the transverse spatial volume of the cathedral must, however, be considered in conjunction with the monumentalization of the transept portals and façades.<sup>52</sup> This question also must be approached first from the relationship of the parts to each other.

(B) A closer perusal of Diagram 1 indicates that one reason for the deviation of the transept's main arcade axes is that they splay out from the crossing by ca. 0.20 m.<sup>53</sup> This increases the axial width of the central vessel exactly to the axial dimension of the present middle portal composition measured from center to center of the buttresslike projections that separate the middle portal complex from the side portals (Figs. 11–16). This indicates that the axial system of the central portal does not correspond to the axes of the crossing, or, put in concrete terms, that at the time of the setting out of the crossing and the erection of the crossing piers, provision was not made for the present portal composition of the façade. (Although we must agree with popular opinion that single middle portals were indeed executed for the transept façades,<sup>54</sup> they must have been subject to an axial composition different from that of the existing portals.) The relationship of the erratic axial system of the transept outer walls to that of the façade side portals<sup>55</sup> confirms this conclusion for the entire portal composition, although the circumstances of Gothic axial systems around 1200 do not allow us to assert that the side portals are actually too wide for the side aisles—in spite of appearances (see Appendix B, in which the irregularities between the southern portal dimensions and the adjacent architecture of the façade and foreportal are also explained). It is equally incorrect to interpret the amplification of the transept portal complexes as a subsequent *in situ* breaking through of side portals, i.e., a chiseling out as was suggested for the north façade by Grodecki in 1951 in confirmation of the theories of



Lefèvre-Pontalis and Marcel Aubert.<sup>56</sup> As Delaporte pointed out in 1959,<sup>57</sup> both portal complexes are identical (with the exception of the four outer figures of the southern side portals, which have obviously been inserted in place of the original semiengaged columns). Measurement proves them to correspond to an astounding degree, and compels the conclusion that they were both executed from one and the same template (see Diagram 1). Two factors must be stressed in this regard. First, despite the identity of composition of the two complexes, column statues of widely varying styles and some difference in size have been combined into one composition;<sup>58</sup> the heterogeneous nature of the major sculptures here combined into one and the same complex of six portals is likely to originate in the reuse of sculptures of various ages and origins. Second, however, the resultant two façade-portal "slabs" bear no relation to the adjacent architectural articulation: we have discussed the plan above, now we see (Fig. 11) that not a single horizontal molding, weathering, or other decorative or forming element corresponds.<sup>59</sup>

The classical quality of the "Parthenon of France" may appear to have been lost from view against this background of patchwork irregularity. However, if we are to believe that the original conception of High Gothic architecture (i.e., the original plan of the cathedral of Chartres) included the retention of the older western towers, then this classical model was founded on a conceptual patchwork no less distressing. A glance at the side elevation shows that—to an even greater degree than in the case of the portal story of the transept façade—no single element of the nave design takes cognizance of the existing earlier towers; no attempt has been made to integrate them into the new design.

All the irregularities referred to are resolved by a reevaluation of the theories of Hans Kunze. The classical character of the model for High Gothic architecture is restored if three individual portals of the nature and dimensions of the individual present transept portals are incorporated in the reconstruction of the west façade which was originally planned after the fire of 1194.<sup>60</sup> The basic coordinates of this façade must correspond to the dimensions given by those parts of the cathedral erected according to the original plan, namely, the four regular bays of the nave. No hypothesis or cavalier reconstruction is permissible.

We are thus compelled to assume that the additional bays which were to have been erected westward of the four regular bays to replace the older works spared by the fire must have been planned identically to the extant four.<sup>61</sup> By corollary—particularly in a classical solution—we must subject ourselves to the proviso that the façade buttresses bore an identical articulation. If buttresses identical to those of the extant nave side aisles are placed axially on the axes of the extant main arcade measured in the fourth regular

bay prepared for this façade (w<sub>4</sub>–16.46 m),<sup>62</sup> then the space between the flanking shoulders characteristic of the Chartres buttresses tallies to within 2½ cm of the width of the present middle portal of the south façade (Diagram 1, and detail A).<sup>63</sup>

An equivalent degree of certainty cannot be established as a matter of course for the side portals because, it will be remembered, it is not possible to determine for certain where the axis of the outer wall lies. If, however, side portals of the dimension of the present-day transept side portals (between 5.21 m and 5.23 m wide) are placed against the regular buttresses on the predetermined axes of the main arcade, then the outer buttress of the façade does fall on the axis of the socle wall as constructed in the four regular bays.<sup>64</sup> More conclusive evidence for the relationship between the present transept side portals and an original west façade (planned with standard Chartres buttresses) is provided, however, by the almost exact correspondence between the dimensions of the ca. 1.38 m deep embrasure, set off as it is by a 0.41 m wall projection<sup>65</sup> and the flanking shoulder projections of the richly articulated Chartres nave buttresses, which also average out at ca. 1.39 m × 0.41 m. In fact, the uniquely rich articulation of the Chartres buttresses is motivated by the planned façade.<sup>66</sup> If the portals of the transept façade are transposed to the west façade, and lowered to the level at which they would here have lain and for which they were designed, then each major element of the portals (even reflected in the gables of the foreportals) corresponds to a related element of the rich buttress articulation (Fig. 12).<sup>67</sup> Placed on the transept façade, the portals have, namely, had to be raised due to the presence of the long crypt galleries that run underneath the entire length of the side aisles of the Gothic structure, crossing the transept so that the apices of their vaults determine the level of the transept portal thresholds. In the nave we are, however, confronted with different circumstances: the floor of the central vessel slopes down from the crossing which lies ca. 0.95 m higher than the paving at the west façade.<sup>68</sup> The present paving must be the original because it is bonded integrally with the steps leading up to the side aisles<sup>69</sup> and even into the bases of the main arcade piers. Hans Kunze's theory is here again confirmed by exact measurement. The floor slopes down uniformly some 0.39 m<sup>70</sup> from the western axis of the crossing to the sixth axis of the nave, at which point it dips sharply to fall a full 0.55 m within the limited distance of three bays to the threshold of the retained portail royal.

The floor level in the eastern parts is original; extended at its original slope it would lie more than 0.30 m above the present west portal threshold. Had it been intended to retain the portail royal when commencing work on the new cathedral, a uniform angle of slope could have been chosen so as

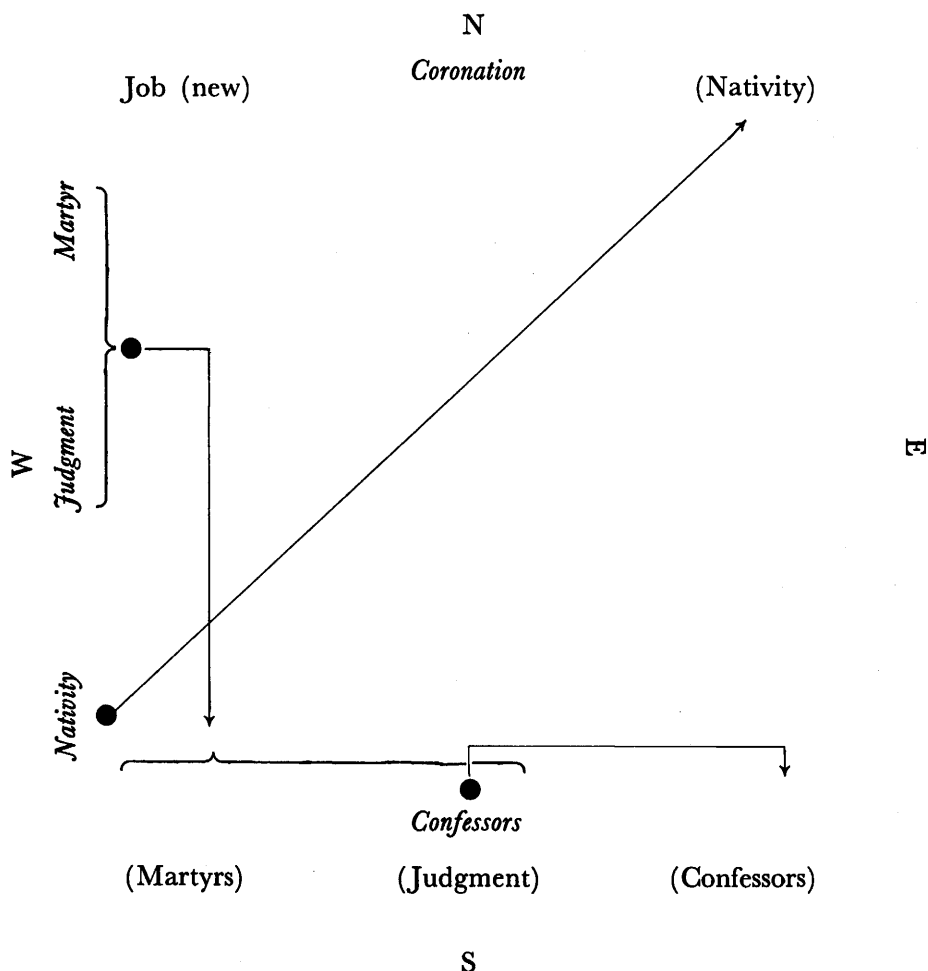
to avoid the ugly ramp and break in the floor line which today is so evident when entering the building.<sup>71</sup> Conversely, if the present transept portals had been placed at the level of intersection of the floor line of the original eastern bays with the west façade they would have been integrated in classical perfection.<sup>72</sup>

It can therefore be said with relative certainty that a typical three-portal complex composed of three individual portals separated by uniform buttresses (as erected in the oldest parts of the High Gothic cathedral) was executed for the projected new west façade. At some period during construction it was decided to retain the western towers and portail royal and integrate them by means of the patchwork of the westernmost bays and the upper parts of the west façade.<sup>73</sup> The sculptured portals already executed for the west façade were then drawn together into a closer unity (the narrower buttresslike articulation replacing the broad buttresses, see Diagram 1, detail A) to enable them to be placed on the narrower façade of the now amplified transept; the transformation and necessary new level of the portals, however, preventing their being integrated into the existing architectural system. Finally, the situation was complicated by the existence of the two additional middle portals which had apparently been executed or begun for the transept façades. Hamann-MacLean suggested that the original western portal complex consisted of the Last Judgment portal (Fig. 13) flanked by the Martyr portal (at present on the left on the south transept façade, Fig. 14) and the historical Virgin portal, now on the east side of the north façade (Fig. 15). This is confirmed by the fact that the six figures of Confessors, now forming the embrasures of the eastern south portal, are obviously too large for their present position (Figs. 16, 17). We may conclude that they were executed for a main portal in which the column figures are separated by colonnettes (Fig. 13).<sup>74</sup> As the most obvious *spolia* of the transept façades, they have only been able to be forced into the limited confines of a side portal embrasure by the expedient of chiseling down the column shafts which now balance eccentrically on the shaft rings of the lower embrasure columns (Figs. 18–20). In spite of this, the figures jostle each other and intersect the architectural frames of the portal (compare to the Martyr portal, Fig. 14). This reworking of the portal also explains the marked advance in style between the embrasure figures and the tympanum.<sup>75</sup>

The implications of the change of plan for the sculpture are, of course, fundamental and explain all the idiosyncrasies and irregularities of the portals that have led to so many fluctuating theories. Before we proceed, it is necessary to summarize the state of affairs. All scholars, regardless of all other differences, are agreed that originally the transept arms were each

to have had one middle or "main" portal. There is also general agreement that the embrasure figures (and tympanum?) of the Coronation portal (Fig. 21) represent the oldest sculptural style, and that there is close stylistic similarity between the Last Judgment portal (Fig. 13) and that of the Martyrs (Fig. 14), and relatively close ties between these and the Nativity portal on the north façade (Fig. 15). The style of the Confessors is more problematic but, again, all are agreed that the figures of the western portal of the north façade (Job/Solomon, Fig. 22) are the most recent.<sup>76</sup>

According to the observations made above, at some time after the fire of 1194 there were on the site three "main" portals with two side portals intended to flank the Last Judgment on the west façade.



After the decision to retain the portail royal and to reappropriate the accumulated sculpture in the creation of a monumental transept, itself also amplified in size, the three new western portals had to be distributed on *both* transept façades (due to obvious iconographic considerations). Two identical side portals thus being incorporated on two different façades necessitated that both portal complexes be executed according to one and the same template—as recognized by Delaporte<sup>77</sup> and which can, as we have demonstrated above, be confirmed within 2 cm. The commissioning of a new side portal (Job, Fig. 22) for the north façade presented no problem, but the reuse in a side portal of the embrasure figures originally executed for the middle portal of the south façade presented, as we saw, grave difficulties (Figs. 16–20).

And it is with the consideration of this portal that we take up the thread again. Although the tympanum in question could not be reused,<sup>78</sup> archivolts are in principle interchangeable within considerable limits. Indeed, archivolts composed of oversized figures are to be found in the eastern north transept portal; here the wise and foolish virgins are too big for their placement in the limited space of a side portal, the chiseling off of the baldachins barely sufficing to allow the figures to be incorporated in this context at all (Figs. 23–26). These figures fill the second archivolt of the portal, an additional figure taking the bottom place in the adjacent third archivolt (Fig. 24). That we are here concerned with *spolia* is confirmed beyond doubt by the fact that three of the resultant four lower archivolts in a vertical position stand on baldachins (of original form) now embedded in mortar, and that one of them at least was originally carved as a voussoir.<sup>79</sup>

The free animation of these figures within their niches sets them off clearly from the rather severe sterility characteristic of the Judgment and Martyr portals—in fact they are as unique stylistically within the Chartres archivolts as are the Confessor figures among the embrasure figures.<sup>80</sup> Recently Willibald Sauerländer postulated a relationship between the Confessor figures and the atelier at Sens using the animated style of the preserved (but totally undated) tombs at Lèves as a stylistic bridge.<sup>81</sup> Without going into the question of the Lèves tombs (Figs. 27, 28), it may be remarked in parentheses that there is also considerable similarity between the Chartres archivolts of wise and foolish virgins and the figures on these tombs. It is, namely, not the aim of the present investigation to assert stylistic relationships, but rather to test the validity of current criteria in this field. To do this, we rather examine one of the Chartres portals, which we may well hope to have preserved intact before us, the Martyr portal in its original position, also a side portal flanking the Judgment portal. We see that although in the case of the figures on the left half of the lintel (Fig. 29),

“der Leib . . . von einem engmaschingen Netz von Falten völlig übersponnen wird, wie das etwa für die Figuren an den beiden Hauptportalen des Querhauses in Chartres so überaus bezeichnend ist,” the continuation of the story of St. Stephen on the right half of the lintel (Fig. 30) shows figures which, by contrast, are clothed as at Sens in garments of which it can be said “dass die Stoffe sich an manchen Stellen glatt und faltenlos den gerundeten Gliedern anschmiegen.”<sup>82</sup> The fact that it is possible to use an accepted form of description of the contrast between the sculptural style of two separate cathedrals for the description of one and the same lintel, indicates to what extent priority should rather be given to an exact description of the individual works of art in consideration of the reuse and interchange of parts.

Around the year 1200 we are concerned at Chartres with three dates. 1) 1194, the assured date of the destruction of the early Romanesque parts of the cathedral by fire and the commencement of work on the High Gothic building. 2) 1204, when the cranium of St. Anne was donated to the cathedral by Louis, count of Blois and Chartres, through the mediation of his wife, Katherina. The acquisition of this relic, we are justified in supposing, motivated the unique execution of a trumeau figure of St. Anne instead of one of the Madonna (Figs. 31, 32).<sup>83</sup> The St. Anne figure can be dated probably at some time after 1204; not, however, the rest of the portal. The earliest parts, to which belong the tympanum (Fig. 33) and certain column figures, could well antedate the fire of 1194, forming part of a portal which could have been executed or intended as a new transverse portal independent of the subsequent building campaign. The tympanum of the Coronation portal would appear to contain some of the oldest sculptures on the transept façades, but the lintel and its baldachin frieze, all independent stones, are of a later period, perhaps having been replaced at the time of the interchange of the Madonna trumeau for one representing St. Anne, this in its turn probably being undertaken at the time of the moving of the portal to its present position. The base of the original trumeau was probably reused, the change between old and new material can be easily recognized in the change of color between the lower and middle monoliths composing the trumeau. 3) 1213 or 1214, the date of the marriage of Pierre Mauclerc, supposedly represented on the socle of the trumeau of the south façade middle portal (Figs. 34, 35). This date has no relevance to Chartres.<sup>84</sup> The figures, if they are portrait figures at all (and I believe they are), and if we are to lay any value on the documentary evidence of the *Cartularium*, can only be those of Louis of Blois and his wife, Katherina.<sup>85</sup>

The south trumeau, being executed for the new façade, projected after the fire of 1194, is therefore not some ten years later than the north trumeau

but perhaps some ten years earlier than it, i.e., before the year 1200. This can be defended in terms of the development of the trumeau as such and can also be defended stylistically. There is, to quote Vöge, certainly a more "fröhliche Hingabe an das Leben"<sup>86</sup> expressed in the figure of St. Anne which is yet lacking in the early High Gothic Beau Dieu. Her freer stance, and the expression of the slight contrapost through the garment, is facilitated by the clear horizontal stage provided by an architectural console, on which she firmly stands, whereas the Beau Dieu yet slides off his supporting lion and dragon in typical early Gothic fashion.<sup>87</sup>

The Beau Dieu forms part of the only complete and integral portal composition of the transepts of Chartres—a portal which is related centimeter for centimeter to the original architecture commenced immediately after 1194. The architecture, namely, which in a comparable reduction of its parts to classical severity may be drawn on as the final architectural context in which the sculpture of Chartres must be seen immediately before and after the year 1200. The Beau Dieu corresponds stylistically to the development of the sculpture of the early Gothic, as does the cathedral building of Chartres to the development of architectural style. This figure may well be understood as being the work of the architect of the cathedral itself in the year 1194—in its reduction of the multiplicity of its parts and movement to the necessary severity of a classical style.<sup>88</sup>

## Appendix A

The original basic disposition of the ground plan of Chartres Cathedral—with transept arms each one bay shorter—has been preserved at Reims; laid out some seventeen years later, Reims may be seen as an organic interpretation of the Chartrain system. In contrast to Reims, however, the unifying integration of early Gothic forms is motivated at Chartres by existing circumstances, the "genius" of the first master being all but forced on him: the forms of the chevet crypt story (and additional criteria) indicate that the three deeply projecting radial chapels of the early Romanesque (Fulbert) building had been enveloped in the early Gothic period to form a unified seven-chapel chevet (probably originally a structural necessity). This solution induced dual side aisles for the long choir,<sup>89</sup> but the retention of the lower church, or crypt, imposed a three-vesselled nave on Chartres, thus prohibiting the Paris solution of extending the dual side aisles westward. However, the synthesis of two opposed traditions, that of spatially neutral transverse portals (present at Chartres) and that of spatially

assertive but axially blind apsidial transept arms,<sup>90</sup> enabled the High Gothic design of Chartres to integrate the resultant off-set at the junction of the five-part choir to the three-part nave: namely, the innovative expression of the traditional lateral portals as a transverse spatial volume within the cathedral masked the off-set, while at the same time ensuring spatial interpenetration, or volumetric interlocking, by the presence of the western aisles of the transept.<sup>91</sup> The essential unifying balance was achieved by reducing the external dominance of the transept on the one hand (by flattening its ends so as to enable integration within the periphery or ground plan contour of the long choir), while, on the other hand, clearly asserting the transverse spatial axis in the interior, the transept façades being stripped of the spatially confusing (essentially longitudinal) continuum of the side aisles and tribunes (still present at Laon) so that the portal axis is effective. The latter aspect can best be understood by evaluating the relationship between Chartres and Laon. At first glance, the presence of the Laon transepts in the vicinity of the Ile-de-France may appear to contradict the genesis of the (originally planned) transverse element at Chartres as analyzed above. But it is precisely in the treatment of the façade as a curtain wall, “hung” in front of the framework of the cross section (in contrast to the volumetric dual shell—atrophying *Westwerke*—of the foregoing early Gothic west façades, e.g., Mantes), that the masters of Chartres achieved a major aspect of that clarification by suppression of multiple parts which we term High Gothic. The reduction of the spatial massiveness of the façades, which was achieved by suppressing the continuous side aisles (and tribunes), enabled the masters of Chartres to achieve axial clarity. The character of the original transept of Chartres is not prejudiced by that of Laon; on the contrary, the later circumstances of the building of Laon Cathedral probably were motivated by the accident of the change of plan at Chartres: the monumental mutation of the flat-ended transverse spatial volume, graced with dominant rose windows opposite the point of entry (regardless of direction of approach), not only affected the transepts of the High Gothic cathedrals after 1220 (Amiens, Beauvais, Cologne, in contrast to Reims), but was applied at Laon to the *main* (longitudinal) axis of the cathedral in the peculiar transformation of the chevet and ambulatory during extension of the cathedral eastward, also after the year 1220. In all likelihood, the intended rebuilding of the north transept façade of Laon Cathedral, evidenced by the initial work still visible on the west side of the rose window, was aimed at realizing the clarifying possibilities of “curtain” façades on the transverse axis. Of course, this solution was also applied toward the middle of the century in the cathedral of Paris and, later, at Senlis and Sens.



## Appendix B

The axial width of the transept façade side portals appears to exceed that of the corresponding side aisles, but we are confronted here with a factor which excludes this being corroborated by exact measurements. Namely: it is very difficult to establish retrospectively the relationship between the axial system of the bays (i.e., the vaults) and the axis of the wall mass, at least in the case of early Gothic and early High Gothic churches around the year 1200. Whereas all free-standing piers, wall responds, and the transverse buttresses are strictly subject to the axial systems (coordinates) of the vaulting bays' main and transverse arcades (*Scheid- und Gurtbögen*), the additional mass of the outer walls perforce has to lie largely outside this system and, in fact, is expressed as such by the articulation of the wall arches or wall ribs (*Schildbögen* or *-rippen*). The vaulting system is, as it were, introduced within the massive boundary of the outer walls. On the (west or transept) façades, there is no immediate problem in aligning the *inner* buttresses on the axes of the main arcade (i.e., the middle portal corresponds to the axial system of the vaults), but, in regard to the outer buttresses, the question arises as to which axis is to determine their position, that of the vault system or that of the outer wall.<sup>92</sup>

The effect of these considerations is that a perfect or definitive axial relationship between the width of side portals and side aisles can only be postulated with reserve. At Chartres, the transept side portals have a greater axial width than have the (vaulting bays of the) transept side aisles,<sup>93</sup> but this does not have the same implications as observed for the middle portal; at first, it simply means that the outer axes of the portal-façade complex lie (at some indeterminate point) within the outer wall thickness: the *total* axial width of the north and south transept portal complexes is 29.0025 m and 28.9825 m respectively, whereas the *total* axial width of the three vessels of the northern transept arm, although increasing from 28.497 m in the bay adjacent to the crossing (on n1), still only measures 28.535 m in the outer bay immediately behind the façade; the respective dimensions for the south transept arm are 28.055 m on s1, increasing to 28.360 m behind the façade.<sup>94</sup> Thus, the outer axes of the portal composition relate to a point approximately 0.415 m from the inner surface of the northern transept wall, 0.490 m in the south.<sup>95</sup> In neither case can this be the axis of the outer walls because their minimum thickness scales at approximately 1.50 m.<sup>96</sup> The total irregularity of the ideal outer axis of the transept reduces the above considerations almost to hypothetical character; all of which, however, allows the conclusion to be drawn that the two almost identical and perfectly symmetrical portal complexes were not foreseen at the time

of the setting out of the inner bays of the transept, and that their final integration was only achieved by an axial patchwork scarcely compatible with good handwork.

Our deliberations find their confirmation in a preliminary consideration of the adjacent architecture: the total axial dimension of the actual south façade architecture measured above the roof of the foreportal corresponds to within 0.065 m of the axial width of the portal complex below—in fact, because the difference is divided symmetrically, one can speak of an exact correspondence;<sup>97</sup> by corollary with the portals below, the outer buttresses of the south transept façade must lie on an axis running within the outer walls of the transept, independent of the vault axial system. (We only concern ourselves here with the south transept façade, because, in contrast to the general homogeneity of the basic structure of the north façade, portal and foreportal, it is only here that serious irregularities require investigation.<sup>98</sup>) In spite of the close correspondence of the outer frame of the façade-portal complex at both levels, there can be no thought of the present façade, portal and foreportal complex being cut out of the façade, even if this were technically possible.<sup>99</sup> The buttress to the east of the middle section of the façade (on axis e) lies some 0.205 m east of the corresponding axis of the portal, causing a structural overhang of a full 0.230 m on the eastern flank.<sup>100</sup> Despite this one major lack of alignment between the upper and lower parts of the façade, there is a close correspondence between the western side portal and its superstructure<sup>101</sup> and, furthermore, the articulation of the middle section of the façade above the roof of the foreportal appears to be motivated by the composition of the middle portal, although the dimensions do not tally.<sup>102</sup>

Thus, only at one point do the portals undercut the buttresses by as much as 0.23 m (only 0.06 m on the eastern side), a condition which may at first glance tend to be incorrectly interpreted as the portal being too broad for the corresponding side aisles.<sup>103</sup> The effect of this undercutting is exaggerated on Lassus' south elevation (Fig. 11),<sup>104</sup> not by any inaccuracy on the part of the engraver, but simply by the correctly represented, planar projection of the *foreportal* on the façade behind: because the side bays of the foreportal are broader than the side portals on the façade<sup>105</sup> the overhang of the buttresses above the eastern side portal are exaggerated on the elevation to a full 0.3745 m and 0.2700 m on the western and eastern sides respectively.<sup>106</sup>

## Notes

1. Paul Frankl's relentless survey of past interpretations, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries*, Princeton, 1960, which climaxes in the chapter titled "Modern Aberrations," pp. 734 ff., must be seen in the light of reaction to his own interpretation, and this in its turn must be read in reference to reviews of works written by the reviewing authors.

2. The dearth of documentation has led to considerable over-interpretation of the few sources available. Thus, "the Gothic" as a style is supposed to originate in the partial rebuilding of the Abbey of St.-Denis because Suger's account happens to be the earliest preserved account of the building of a specific Gothic church. The textbook asserts that "the origin of no previous style can be pinpointed as exactly as that of Gothic. It was born between 1137 and 1144 in the rebuilding . . . of St.-Denis . . . Gothic architecture happened to come into being at this particular spot . . ." (H. W. Janson, *History of Art*, New York, 1967, p. 229). In terms of stylistic development, the chevet of St.-Denis would have been classified as the perfected solution, evolving out of a series of other preserved, but undated, choir solutions. Due only to the coincidental preservation of Suger's documentation, these churches are usually relegated provincial and dated after 1140. It is significant that even Frankl (*The Gothic*, pp. 3 ff., particularly pp. 19 ff.), who carefully limits many aspects of the interpretation, justifies the supposed preeminence, by elevating St. Dionysius to be "the leading missionary of Gaul" (ibid., p. 3) to the exclusion of St. Martin, the patron saint of the Franks, and by referring to the church, the burial place of the French kings, as "the foremost church in the land, according to secular rank," without reference to the more ancient tradition of the coronation at Reims (ibid.). Finally, Frankl also ascribes decisive aesthetic impulses to the politician Suger. Although Suger may well be the first "to utter the decisive principle" of the *lux continua*, neither his appreciation of this aspect nor his literary acumen suffice to claim that "the arrangement . . . that produced the specific Gothic light" began at St.-Denis (ibid., p. 11)—particularly in view of the convincing and repeated documentation of stained glass at Chartres since the end of the eleventh century.

Suger had great admiration for his architect (ibid., pp. 9f.), and the only reference made by him in regard to his actually influencing the design is his demand that a mosaic be placed in the northern tympanum "though contrary to modern custom." Is this uniquely conservative, if not reactionary approach (as Frankl says, "loyal to a bygone stylistic trend"), likely to have been instrumental in the genesis of a "new" style? See note 24.

3. For Chartres, see Jan van der Meulen, "Recent Literature on the Chronology of Chartres Cathedral," *Art Bulletin*, 49, 1967, pp. 152-172. Comparison with the cathedral of Reims is useful: Francis Salet, "Le premier colloque international de la société française d'archéologie (Reims 1er-2 juin, 1965), chronologie de la cathédrale," *Bulletin Monumental*, 125, 1967, pp. 347-394. The most convincing chronology for Reims Cathedral to date is provided by Richard Hamann-MacLean, "Zur Baugeschichte der Kathedrale von Reims," in *Gedenkschrift Ernst Gall*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 195-234.

4. Willibald Sauerländer's *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich: 1140-1270*, Munich, 1970, is likely to consolidate the popular construction of this chronological framework because Sauerländer's text fails to stress the essential foundation of doubt in regard to the dating of the sculptures.

5. Most recently, and significantly, the opening sentences of two opposed studies: Willibald Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg*, Berlin, 1966, p. 1, and Martin Gosebruch, "Zur Bedeutung des Gerichtsmeisters am südlichen Querhaus der Kathedrale von Chartres," in *Argo. Festschrift für Kurt Badt*, Cologne, 1970, pp. 142-163.

6. See note 31.

7. Doris Schmidt, "Portalstudien zur Reimser Kathedrale," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 11, 1960, pp. 14-58; Robert Branner, "The North Transept and the First West Façades of Reims Cathedral," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 24, 1961, pp. 220-241; Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims*, Paris, 1963. Cf. Richard Hamann-MacLean, "Die Versatzmarken der Westportalstatuen der Kathedrale von Reims," *Kunstchronik*, 19, 1966, pp. 287 ff.

8. Roger Adams has recently demonstrated a new interpretation for these figures. It is hoped that the results of his research will soon be published.

9. Excluding, however, the later west façade. The only other exception is the upper coursing of the outer north wall of the nave; the variance within the eastern jamb of the south portal itself is apparently due to repair. The implications of this are only apparent if we recall:

1. The economics of quarrying render the retention of specific courses over a long distance an extremely expensive affair, all strata breaking thicker having to be worked down to these specific dimensions, whereas frequent change of course thickness allows stones of varying size to be grouped together with a minimum of cutting. 2. The coursing of Romanesque (and, where applicable, also Gothic) masonry is only effective on its outer faces and in the articulating elements, the core being comprised of material of varying irregularity (roughly coursed rubble or even concrete fill). Thus, the coursing of the inner and outer shells of the wall mass is only physically related at the reveals of doors or windows (where, due to the high degree of vertical articulation, the course thickness can in practice be altered without the change being too evident, e.g., monolithic columns which hide any variation of coursing effected in the inner angle of the stepped embrasure behind them). 3. These openings, however (inclusive of the height of their arch construction), proffer a total vertical break in the coursing, that is to say that the same factor that causes inner and outer shells to meet totally interrupts the coursing apparent on the elevation as a whole, thus allowing independent course dimensions to the left and right of each of these openings. The promoters and masters of the Aulnay church determined to adhere to an identical sequence of courses, both interior and exterior and on both sides of the south transept portal (there being six courses between base and capital, the third being conspicuously shallower, corresponding approximately to the dimension of the impost course), and retained this sequence irrespective of the interruption of the south nave portal (so that its subsequent walling up forms a continuum; note particularly also the continuity of the course corresponding to the transept portal impost in spite of its being interrupted by the arch) and throughout the complex articulation of the eastern parts (so that, for instance, the transept portal impost course is continuous from the inner shell of the north aisle, around the chapels of the eastern end, passing out by the south transept portal—

where its motivation is briefly expressed by projection and sculptured ornament—to then return on the outer surface all the way back to cross the blind north transept façade). This all reflects a monumental intention of antique classical tenacity.

10. The seventh-century Langobard processional silver cross (Desiderius cross) into which is set a fourth-century gold-glass (W. F. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst*, Munich, 1958, pls. 60 f.).

11. The early ninth-century, so-called ewer of Charlemagne in the church treasury of St.-Maurice d'Agaune, Switzerland, which is composed around an eastern Byzantine cloisonné, having already served to adorn the scepter of an Avar king (Louis Grodecki, *Pre-Romanesque Art*, ed. Busch/Lohse, New York, 1966, p. 136).

12. The so-called Lothar cross, ca. 1000, in the cathedral treasury, Aachen, in the center of which is set a cameo of Augustus Caesar (Victor Elbern, *Das erste Jahrtausend*, Düsseldorf, 1962, pl. 303).

13. The early eleventh-century ambo of Heinrich II in Aachen Cathedral, almost entirely composed of late antique bowls, crystals, and ivories (Grodecki, p. 137).

14. The late tenth-century Andreas reliquary from the Egbert workshop in the cathedral treasury, Trier, on one side of which is set a Frankish almandine (F. Rademacher, *Trierer Zeitschrift*, XI, 1936, pp. 146 ff.).

15. The early eleventh-century cover of the book of Perikopes of Heinrich II in which is set an ivory Crucifixion panel from the Liuthard group, ca. 870 (Grodecki, p. 114).

16. The front cover of the so-called evangeliary of Otto III from Bamberg Cathedral treasury, ca. 1000, in the center of which is set a nearly contemporary Byzantine (tenth-century) ivory panel (Grodecki, p. 177).

17. The earlier panels may date from the eleventh century, or earlier, Albert Boeckler, *Die Bronzetur von San Zeno*, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Bronzeturüren*, III, Marburg, 1931.

18. Grodecki, p. 178.

19. The cessation of the practice coincides with the change of value judgments toward new

objects occasioned by the advent of Aristotelian materialism and by the corresponding growing awareness of historical maturation.

20. Neither the historical consciousness of Roman art, its traditional commemorative function, nor the material tradition of actual plunder from conquest or commerce, nor their combination suffice to explain the development of the new religious sensitivities reflected in the Arch of Constantine. (Even the Parthenon appears to have been conditioned by the reuse of earlier building elements, Rhys Carpenter, *The Architects of the Parthenon*, New York, 1970.)

21. André Grabar, *Early Christian Art*, The Arts of Mankind, New York, 1968, p. 148; W. F. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst*, Munich, 1958, p. 49. The intended reflection of a "decline and fall" impotence does not bear consideration—neither in material terms in view of the contemporary basilica of Maxentius and its colossal portrait of the emperor Constantine, nor in intellectual terms in view of Rome's successful synthesis of Diocletian's political achievements within late antique spirituality—the resultant three-quarters of a century of stability consolidating precisely this medieval synthesis prior to its emulation by barbarian heirs.

22. Heinrich Drerup, unpublished notes, 1961.

23. The point of departure for consideration of Romanesque *spolia* is provided by the well-known Early Christian reuse of pagan architectural sculpture in the form of capitals, columns, etc. But also in Gaul, the evident re-employment of early marble capitals renders it necessary to consider similar processes in all cases where earlier capitals (regardless of material) could correspond to the required architectural system. In Toulouse, marble reliefs, which in fact are reminiscent of a façade program, have been built into the choir screen. In Souillac, portal sculpture has been variously distributed on the inner west wall—and yet we judge comparable sculptures at Moissac with reference to documented building dates without considering the general lack of interrelationship between these sculptures and the church architecture in front of which the portal has been attached. Not all *spolia* need necessarily have been inserted with the carelessness and damage evident in the two reliefs on the façade of Gensac-la-Pallue (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 39358 and 39359). When confronted with the evidence of two or more hands and a change of

architectural plan or even execution, as at St. Gilles', the question must be posed as to whether the masters are necessarily contemporary, or whether the ultimate design has been adjusted to digest *spolia* from an earlier condition of the building.

24. The apparent truncation of the lintels and tympana (and archivolt?) has generally been accepted as indicating that the entire present portal composition was originally executed with wider dimensions for another locality; the replacement in its present position, therefore, would render it a *spolium* in toto (Willibald Sauerländer, "Zu den Westportalen von Chartres," *Kunstchronik*, 9, 1956, pp. 155 f.). However, the tympana cannot have been cut. On the north portal, the cloud border around the curved sides of the lateral slabs, which inscribes the outspread wings of each angel, is carved from the same stone as are the angels' wings, and both show no evidence of cutting. The border, which is now completely missing along the top of the central slab, and the upward outspread wings of both angels, must have extended free and in the round up to the head of the Deity, perhaps even in metal. A support, apparently a metal strut, can still be seen to the left of the Deity's halo, and what appears to be the socket of a second strut is visible on the opposite side. Finally, the vertical joints between the slabs could never have been recut because of the perfect correspondence of the joints separating the parts of both the undulating mass at the feet of the Godhead and of the forearms of the angels on the respective slabs. Furthermore, there is no break in the regular undulation of the lower cloud border, which is cut from the same slab. Thus, also on the upper lintel, the cloud border out of which the four angels fall cannot have tolerated the postulated excision of the central part: it is formed of layers of parallel undulating strata, that of the lower layer folding inward on each alternating scallop and thus interrupting the regular pattern of the upper layers. This pattern would have had to have been cut back by two complete scallops—more than one quarter of its present span—to have retained the regular alternation. The left central angel on this lintel could never have had a downward projecting inner wing as suggested by Sauerländer. His upward hand is namely attached directly to the ground of the lintel (compare the corresponding arm of the right central angel which overlaps and is thus attached to his inner wing). If the left angel were indeed to have had an inner wing projecting forward as far as that of the angel on the right, an inordinately large expanse of empty ground

would have resulted at the center of the composition. The unequal subdivision of the two slabs composing the lintel does not indicate a cutting back of one slab, but is obviously conditioned by the exigencies of the composition, the joint occurring at a point where no sculptural features overlap. Thus, too, on the south side portal tympanum, neither the outspread wings of the angels, nor the stylized foliate motif border along the curved sides of the lateral blocks of the tympanum could have been cut. The vertical edges of the central and lateral blocks could not have been cut back because the garland motifs of the lower edge would have had to have been shortened in the process, whereas, in fact, the pattern spanning the joint, where it is preserved on the left, can be seen to be perfectly retained. Furthermore, Sauerländer's opinion, that the baldachin had to have lain within the border, is based only on extraneous analogies—which may, of course, never be elevated to this absolute degree; the baldachin of the Coronation portal at Chartres itself certainly is integrated with the border, and, even more determinative, the base of the very baldachin in question itself overlaps and displaces the lower border of this tympanum. Only the two lintels of this portal have obviously been cut on the right side, but even this may be due only to a desire to move the composition out of axis because fillers appear to have been introduced on the left side.

Beyond this, however, the question must be posed as to whether the outer embrasure figures of the side portals are necessarily contemporary with the work of the twelfth-century Main Master, differing from his style as much as they do (but corresponding to the style of the lower north lintel?). These elements could have composed an earlier portal, or even two portals, one four-figured and one with only two column figures, neither having a tympanum. The style of the capital frieze, tying all parts together as it does, would solve the problem—if we could agree on the style. The style of the heads of the Main Master's tympanum figure, and of at least some of those of the subjacent embrasures, presupposes the artistic experience of the growing relative naturalism of the transept façades of Chartres Cathedral. It is out of the question that these heads date before the year 1200, so that many of the characteristics of the so-called Main Master may in fact be due to a reworking of earlier sculptures, once again the expression of veneration of earlier works. The excellent state of preservation of these figures compared to the weathered condition of all other heads (particularly those of the Angel Master) corroborates this opinion.

More problems would be solved than raised by applying the question of *spolia* also to the only well-documented portal composition of the twelfth century, that of St.-Denis. Suger's loquacious self-commendation falls silent on the embrasure figures and the entire sculptural program—in spite of clear descriptions of new bronze doors cast for two portals, and in spite of his stressing that above older doors, which had been reused in the left side portal (*spolia*: dated by Aubert between 1075 and 1087, according to Frankl "obviously Carolingian"), he demanded a mosaic tympanum "though contrary to modern custom." The reuse of existing doors suggests the possibility of the reuse of their architectural frame. If two, or three, existing portals (possibly from different parts of the building), of which one had no tympanum, had been dismantled and synthesized into an enlarged and unified triple-portal composition by means of additional sculptural masonry, and this complex taken as the basis for the design of the new façade, then the idiosyncrasies of Suger's texts become less puzzling. We know, furthermore, that Suger preserved the entire nave so as "to respect the very stones, sacred as they are, as though they were relics." This admonition would have applied also to the original portals of the nave in question (regardless of their date) and their retention as *spolia* would have conformed to traditional medieval principles; as such Suger speaks only of his own additions.

25. Louis Demaison, *La cathédrale de Reims*, Petites monographies des grandes edifices de la France, Paris, 1954, pl. xx.

26. Ibid., pl. xiv. Sauerländer's inexact definition of the south embrasure prophets of the southern side portal of the west façade—simply as "jenen ältesten Reimser Gewändefiguren, welche für die erste Westfassade bestimmt waren" (*Kunstchronik*, 19, 1966, p. 296) has already motivated a chain reaction of misunderstanding in peripheral studies. Rainer Budde (*Der Skulpturenschmuck des 13. Jahrhunderts im Dom zu Münster*, Cologne, 1969, p. 13) believes Sauerländer refers to the embrasure figures of the central north portal (Demaison, pl. xviii). This error in Budde's point of departure for a profound analysis of stylistic circumstances serves to demonstrate how self-sufficient traditional style analysis can become.

27. First proposed by Hans Kunze, *Das Fassadenproblem der französischen Früh- und Hochgotik*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 65 ff., and subsequently generally confirmed.

28. A novel variation is that suggested for the south portal of Notre-Dame d'Etampes by L.-Eugène Lefèvre, *Le portail royal d'Etampes*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1908, pp. 19 ff., namely, that the portal has remained in place, the church, however, has been rebuilt.

29. It is shown as being a later addition on Aubert's plan in the *Congrès archéologique*, 94, 1930, p. 620, but an examination of the masonry coursing would be necessary to confirm circumstances here. Sauerländer does not quote this article in his bibliography (*Gotische Skulptur*, p. 104), which accounts both for his remark that the "ursprüngliche Funktion nicht klar (ist), da auf der Nordseite die Wirtschaftsgebäude der Abtei lagen" (*ibid.*), and also for his questioning me on this example at the *The Year 1200* symposium. According to Aubert, *Congrès archéologique*, p. 647, it is "une porte qui fut la principale entrée de l'église jusqu'au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle et qui était percée à peu près dans l'axe de la porte nord de l'enceinte du monastère." It probably represents the monumentalization of a (minor?) lateral entrance to the nave corresponding to the one opposite it in the south wall.

30. The portal (Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur*, pl. 49) was subsequently perfectly integrated into the thirteenth-century façade, see Sumner McK. Crosby, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, Paris, 1953, pl. 31.

31. "Es ist kein Zufall, das seine (Vöges) klarsten Erkenntnisse oft in einem Gedicht, und seine zartesten Empfindungen oft in einem Wortspiel ihren Ausdruck fanden," not in subjection to the factual circumstances of the monuments themselves. It is no coincidence that in Panofsky's biographical evaluation of Vöge (published as the foreword to *Bildhauer des Mittelalters: Gesammelte Studien von Wilhelm Vöge*, Berlin, 1958, pp. ix-xxxi, p. x here quoted) literary aspects and personalia are blended into a nostalgia, if not a cult, largely independent of the monuments. It would appear as though in the course of this century the cathedrals themselves have ceased to be the subject of art historical discipline, having become mere objects predicative of the art historians ("Reims—seiner Kathedrale," Panofsky, p. xxviii), as though Vöge's "Süssigkeit des Individuellen" (*ibid.*, p. xi) has been transposed from the unique work of art to the *Gedichte* and *Wortspiele* of premature interpretation.

32. The nave measures somewhat more than 59 m from the inner west wall to the crossing, while the transept is some 3 m longer.

33. Above all, no motivation for a projecting transept can be ascribed to the original building on the site of the cathedral of Chartres. Fulbert's building (commenced after 1020) certainly had none, and there is no indication that the rebuilding of the chevet during the early Gothic interim (van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," p. 153, n. 13) included or intended an element of this nature. The primary influence (on the new design) of the predecessor on the same site, the remnant model as it were, is often lost sight of due to our predisposition to seek sources of influence in variously remote, supposed prototypes.

34. The transeptless cathedrals of Mantes, Paris, and the perhaps roughly contemporaneous planning of Bourges, furthermore, St.-Leu d'Esserent, and Poissy (and the churches of St.-Julien-le-Pauvre, St.-Pierre-de-Montmartre, and St.-Sulpice-de-Favières in Paris and St.-Martin and Notre-Dame in Etampes). Also the cathedrals of Sens and Senlis, which merely have projecting lateral chapels which cannot be considered to be rudimentary transepts.

35. In the Rhenish tradition: Tournai, Noyon, Soissons, and St.-Lucien at Beauvais; Cambrai had portals on the transverse axis. The areal relationships of the plan and the compositional massing of the exterior retain the original predominance of the liturgical focus, which is provided by the triconchiform church type.

36. The axes of the main arcades (in the eastern bays) of the nave are about 16.415 m apart, while those of the first bays of the north and south transept arms are only ca. 14.225 m and ca. 13.987 m apart (the bases of the piers are not aligned, with the result that the centers of the piers have to be calculated:  $n_1 = 14.23$  m and 14.22 m;  $s_1 = 13.975$  m and 14 m respectively on the north and south sides).

37. The axes of the side aisles, as far as these can be said to exist, can only be measured in the four bays diagonally adjacent to the crossing, the position of the axes within the outer walls not being known, see Appendix B. In the northwest bay (nw1) the ratio is 8.052 m for the nave aisle (wn1) to 7.135 m for the transept aisle (nw1), while in the southwest bay (sw1) the ratio is 8.062 m (ws1) to 7.13 m (sw1).

38. The western side measures 16.285 m as against 13.980 m and 14.075 m measured on the north and south sides of the northern piers, and 14.005 m and 13.990 m measured on the

corresponding sides of the southern piers. The eastern piers of the crossing are in fact even farther apart, measuring 16.380 m; this is probably the "différence entre les piliers . . . ceux de l'ouest (côté nef) seraient un peu plus étroits que ceux de l'est (côté chœur)" referred to by chanoine Brou in his letter to abbé Bulteau, August 8, 1875; not the thickness of the masonry piers themselves is intended—as Delaporte correctly doubts, Yves Delaporte, *Remarques sur la chronologie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Mémoires de la société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, XXI, 1959, p. 305, n. 5.

39. Ibid., pp. 299–320, especially pp. 305 ff. (The chapter relative to the transept portals, pp. 309 ff., is fundamental.) It would be reasonable to expect crossing towers to have square ground plans as at Laon and Braine. Visible from two sides at once, differences in the length of the sides would impose the necessity of considerable correction of articulating elements such as the rise of arches, etc., to maintain symmetry. In fact, however, almost all the High Gothic cathedrals around the year 1200 appear to have transversally rectangular crossings—besides Chartres, also Soissons, Reims, Troyes, and St.-Quentin. Carl Barnes, "The Twelfth-Century Transept of Soissons; The Missing Source for Chartres?" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXVIII, 1969, p. 15, states that "Soissons alone of the High Gothic cathedrals of France has a crossing notably rectangular in plan. A square crossing is found at . . . Chartres and Reims." This is wrong, as is Barnes' quotation of me in his n. 14. Barnes' dating of the original northern transept arm (which had a lower, i.e., squatter, cross section than the south arm) as being later than the southern arm is also not likely to be correct; it would certainly not have been in the interests of unifying the High Gothic cathedral of Soissons to demolish the later of the two transept arms, i.e., to replace a postulated three-story elevation with another having the same system while leaving the earlier four-story south arm intact.

40. Kunze, *Das Fassadenproblem*, p. 39, n. 1.

41. The first four bays west of the crossing measure 7.120 m (which includes the thicker crossing pier), 7.075 m, 7.085 m, and 7.030 m, respectively; the adjacent three bays westward are progressively reduced in width: 6.890 m (–0.140 m), 6.315 m (–0.575 m), and 6.145 m (–0.170 m, which includes the thicker tower pier). The exterior dimensions: north side, 4.240 m, 4.224 m, 4.230 m, then 4.050 m

(–0.180 m), 3.521 m (–0.529 m), and 3.018 m (–0.503 m); south side, 4.232 m, 4.233 m, 4.224 m, then 3.838 m (–0.386 m), 3.242 m (–0.596 m), and 2.635 m (–0.607 m). The west façade of Fulbert's cathedral, the early Romanesque predecessor of the High Gothic structure, lay on the fifth axis west of the present crossing; the narthex west of this (lying partly between and including the western towers) must have been vaulted because the stained glass of the west façade and the sculptural detail of the towers survived the fire. Today it is surely accepted by all scholars that the four bays represent the original work with which rebuilding was commenced after the fire of 1194. See van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," p. 158, and earlier studies.

42. The outer shell of High Gothic masonry which envelops the crypt in the socle story of the cathedral retains a thickness of 0.65–0.68 m in the three regular southern bays (wii, wiii, and wiv; the first bay west of the crossing, wi, of course not being effective here). In contrast to this, on the north side the outer wall surfaces of the old and new buildings converge, so that the thickness of the High Gothic masonry shell is reduced progressively from 0.575 m (on wi) to 0.210 m on the west flank of the third buttress (w4).

43. It is necessary to stress that we refer here to the setting out (concerned as it is with axuality, straight lines, etc.) and not of course to the actual dimensions, because in fact the width of the transept as such and also the width of the first bay in each arm adjoining the crossing were largely conditioned by the crypt.

44. Lassus, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Paris, 1837–1867, pl. 1 (= "3"). The irregularities are more easily evident if one side of the plan is raised to the eye so as to increase the angle of incidence.

45. The zigzag effect cannot be appreciated at ground level because there are only two free-standing piers on which to orient oneself, whereas three points are necessary to be able to establish the lack of alignment.

46. Jan van der Meulen, "Die Querhausportale und die relative Chronologie der Kathedrale von Chartres mit Bezug auf das Datum 1220," *Kunstchronik*, 1966, pp. 286 f., demonstrates that the vaulting referred to by sources dating from the year 1220 cannot be related to the transept portal sculpture.



47. The insertion of the outer bays has been discussed before, see above, note 46. It was possible to reuse the wall articulation of the interior transept façade; it was the piers on the axes n2 and s2 which had to be added.

48. See the crypt plan in René Merlet's *La cathédrale de Chartres*, Petites monographies des grandes edifices de la France, Paris, 1939, facing p. 1. Explanations for these access passages extend from Marcel Aubert's *Die gotische Plastik Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 101, to the practical suggestion of John James, an architect/contractor at present preparing a study on the building history of Chartres Cathedral: the vaulted passages, he suggests, were executed first so as to enable workmen and materials to be brought in under cover (from falling objects?).

49. The portals in the crypt wall can be shown to antedate the Gothic cathedral and probably date from the 1020s. Therefore the galleries under the western side aisles of the transept were indeed constructed so as to retain existing access to the crypt, and would have terminated in a portal in the socle story of the façade (probably without sculptural articulation because of considerations of symmetry with their eastern counterparts, see below). This would, however, not have required a long passage as at present, the one bay length having more the effect of a galilee porch. This functional motivation was retained even after the extension of the transept, but the stairs leading to the side portals, which were introduced concurrently with this change of plan, necessitated the provision of access at right angles in the buttress where it is today. A most significant factor is that after the addition of the foreportal "terrace" (probably in the last quarter of the thirteenth century) a window was introduced in the terminal wall of the passage, the mullion of which can still be seen in damaged condition below the present light slits (Fig. 6). This proves that the addition of the foreportal was taken advantage of to introduce light into the crypt gallery, access to the terrace being limited to the central section (and/or laterally from the east and west?). The monumental stairway of the foreportal as we see it today is definitely not medieval (van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," n. 17 b for the traditional interpretations of the sources); on the northern transept this is corroborated by documentary evidence related to the asymmetry of the stairs (Jan van der Meulen, *Die angrenzenden Bauwerke der Kathedrale von Chartres*, Berlin, forthcoming).

50. The crypt floor lies at this point about

4.65 m below the level of the threshold of the west portal, that of the gallery only 2.76 m (Fig. 8). This excludes the popular supposition that the windows have not yet been broken out to provide that access to the crypt which had been intended at the time of their construction. A light shaft of this nature would be impractical, if not senseless, at the present length (under an extended transept); but immediately adjacent we have a state of affairs corresponding exactly to that postulated for the original condition. In the bays of the crypt on the eastern flank of the transept, EII NI and EII SI, light shafts of this nature were present until transformed in the seventeenth century, in the north, to a new crypt access (later walled-up again), in the south, to the chapel of St. Nicolas, the window of which still shows the original simple arch (Fig. 9). In the northern crypt wall, the remnant of the original window can still be seen opposite the chapel of SS. Potentien and Savinien adjacent to the altar of Notre-Dame *sous terre*; whereas in the south the creation of the Nicolas chapel must have left the original outer wall of the crypt in unfit condition because in 1968 or 1969 a new masonry arch was introduced at this point.

51. See Jan van der Meulen, *Literaturübersicht zum Stand der Forschung zur Baugeschichte der vorgotischen Kathedrale Notre-Dame de Chartres*, Berlin; forthcoming, and idem, *Die angrenzenden Bauwerke der Kathedrale von Chartres*, Berlin, forthcoming.

52. Delaporte, *Remarques sur la chronologie*, p. 317, demonstrated that the towers were not originally planned. His observations in fact provide confirmation that the later addition of towers occurred in conjunction with the general monumentalization of the transept.

53. Measured in the transept itself, the divergence is 0.24 m in the northern arm, 0.19 m in the south arm. Because the octagonal bases are not aligned, different dimensions are obtained on the north and south side of each free-standing pier; in the case of the four piers of the crossing, the complex form aggravates the problem considerably; the eastern pair is damaged and half covered by later structures. (However, the near correspondence of axial dimension of the southern pair, 14.005 m–13.990 m would seem to allow us to take the average between 13.980 m and 14.075 m to arrive at ca. 14.030 m. This would mean a divergence of 0.190 m in both arms of the transept.)

54. See van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," for reference to relevant material.

55. Diagram 1 shows that in contrast to the regular transverse dimensions of the nave side aisles, those of the transepts vary from bay to bay.

56. Van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," *passim*. An adjustment in the coursing of the western side portal of the north transept façade is apparent (Fig. 10), but this occurs in the context of a complex reuse of the inner articulation of the end wall of the side aisle; the portal indeed replacing a window which was originally executed in this position, but one bay back, on axis n2. All references to the witness of the masonry having been effaced in this region by the restoration work on the foreportal at the turn of the century are without foundation: early photographs, records, etc., exist to prove the extent of restoration.

57. Delaporte, *Remarques sur la chronologie*, n. 38.

58. The dimensions of the embrasure column figures are

		NW			
	w	e			
total shaft length	250	243			
figure	210	?	not measured		
console	40	?	„	„	
		NM			
	w	e			
total shaft length	271.6	274			
figure	?	248	not measured		
console	?	26	„	„	
		NE			
	w	e			
total shaft length	249.5	249			
figure	211	209			
console	38.5	40			
		SW			
	w	e			
total shaft length	248.5	248			
figure	209	212			
console	39.5	34			
		SM			
	w	e			
total shaft length	274	275			
figure	243.5	252.3			
console	30.5	22.7			
		SE			
	w	e			
total shaft length	249.5	249			
figure	222.2	222			
console	27	27			

59. The socle molding of the nave and long choir is subjected to a double change of level on the outer buttresses of the transept (where, as we saw above, it also changes in size) to enable it to correspond to the socle molding of the portals. A corresponding effort is not made with the second, similar molding, which simply abuts the outer portal architecture.

60. Kunze, *Das Fassadenproblem*, see van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," p. 152, n. 2 and pp. 158 ff., and idem, *Die Baugeschichte der Kathedrale Notre-Dame de Chartres nach 1194*, *Mémoires de la société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, XXIII, 1965, pp. 82-84, 97 f., and 104 ff. Preliminary investigation undertaken in cooperation with Hans Kunze in 1958 enabled reconstruction of the original façade in broad outline (Fig. 12). Corroboration by measurement was facilitated in 1962 by the Richard Hamann-Stipendium Fellowship, but the vast range and the methodological implications of the theory prevented a preliminary report being published before 1965, with the aid of the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The brief introduction to several aspects of the problem presented here indicates how necessary it is to understand the circumstances related to the crypt before a final statement on the building history of the High Gothic cathedral should be attempted. Manuscripts related to these preliminary aspects were accepted by the Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir in 1967, but never published. It was intended to avoid premature publication of the reconstruction of the west façade at Chartres because individual problems, torn out of context and not taking heed of related circumstances, too often produce theories which, while complicating the state of research, contribute little to objective documentation of the cathedral. However, sufficient criteria can indeed be brought to bear on the limited aspect here presented, and after twelve years it appeared advisable to make the basic aspects preliminarily available, while awaiting publication of material which a systematic methodology in fact requires to be published first.

61. Van der Meulen, *Die Baugeschichte*. Here we are only concerned with the portal architecture; the reconstruction of the entire façade is confirmed by many factors which cannot be dealt with here.

62. The positioning of the nave main arcade is subject to the existing walls of the crypt, which may account for the inconsiderable

(0.045 m) narrowing of the bays nearest the crossing. The third bay cannot be measured due to the presence of the pulpit.

63. The reconstructed west portal, excluding the outer figures to facilitate comparison with the present transept portal composition, measures 12.00 m, in fact, 12.025 m if based on the dimension taken on the fifth axis where Fulbert's façade stood ( $w_5 = 16.486$  m), that is to say a nearly exact correspondence with the present-day south middle portal; the northern middle portal is 0.016 m wider.

64. The wall thickness cannot be measured by simple means; it scales at slightly less than 2.00 m on Goubert's dimensioned cross section at the Archives des Monuments Historiques (the dimensions have been removed from the engravings published by Baudot and Perrault-Dabot, *Les cathédrales de France*, Paris, n.d.). The width between the axes of the façade buttresses obtained by using the dimension of the existing transept side portals is between 8.85 m and 8.87 m, i.e., ca. 0.805 m broader than the corresponding axis of the vaulting system measured in the first bay of the nave west of the crossing (8.052 m). From the articulation of the responds at the corner of the wall masonry it can, however, be established that this vaulting axis lies some 0.175 m within the wall mass (see Diagram 1 and detail B). This means that the axis of the outer façade buttresses must lie approximately 0.98 m within the wall mass, i.e., on the axis as scaled from Goubert's measured drawing.

65. These shoulders are masked in the final transept solution by a semiengaged, fluted column (Figs. 15, 22), which was subsequently replaced on the south transept façade by four column figures of the most advanced style at Chartres (Figs. 14, 16, 17). The diagrammatic reconstruction (detail A) concerns only the dimensions of breadth under discussion. The relationship of the reconstructed portals to the present articulation of the south façade suggests several other solutions with regard to the forward planes of the individual portals and the detailed articulation. It is these factors which preclude precipitate cavalier reconstruction.

66. Because we are here not concerned with the entire façade reconstruction, we must forgo a detailed analysis of the buttresses as explained in various public lectures: "Das Verhältnis der äusseren Seitenschiffgliederung zu den Querhausportalen an der Kathedrale von Chartres," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1966, p. 343.

67. Exact measurements of even the second zone of the buttresses cannot be taken without scaffolding. The exact relationship or juncture of the articulating elements of the portals to those of the architecture must in any case remain somewhat hypothetical. The broad relationship as illustrated can, however, be confirmed by the reader by tracing or scaling off Lassus' south elevation. The wall socle profile corresponds with the embrasure socles of the portals. The second and similar profile demarcated the figure zone and "carries" the arched forms of the archivolts in the same way as the window embrasures are carried by it on the side elevation. The sloping forms of the stilted gables (taken over in the reconstruction from the foreportal) reflect finally the complex system of weatherings on both buttress and flanking shoulders.

68. In fact, the portals lie even higher on the transept façades, at +0.925 m on the south and a full +1.080 m on the north façade.

69. These steps are themselves motivated by the crypt. It may be seen from this repeated influence of the crypt on all other considerations why publication of the façade reconstruction is subject to a fuller understanding of the pre-Gothic structure.

70. On the north side from +0.893 m to +0.450 m = 0.443 m, on the south side from +0.812 m to +0.468 m = 0.344 m.

71. Despite its being largely masked by the heavy benches placed near the line of the break, which thus interrupt the clear view of the floor area; this can today be appreciated best when the benches are removed during the May confirmation services.

72. The reconstruction is based on Lassus' longitudinal section and can be easily verified.

73. See van der Meulen, *Baugeschichte*.

74. The original Confessor portal appears, however, to have had proportions different from those of the present main portals: the dimensions given above (see note 58) show that although the figures are between 10 and 13 cms taller than the normal side-portal figures, they are considerably smaller than those of the two main portals. They do, however, also correspond to the main portals in the small size of their consoles, those of the side portals being consistently larger (as though this narrative element were allowed freer play in contrast to

the representational monumentality of the main portal figures).

75. Willibald Sauerländer, *Die Kathedrale von Chartres*, Stuttgart, 1954, p. 16, "ein entschiedener Gegensatz lässt sich kaum denken, als jener zwischen den feierlichen Gewandfiguren des Bekennerportals und diesem reizenden Bogenfelde. In der Tat scheinen hier neue Kräfte aufgetreten zu sein, welche zumal über das Verhältnis von Skulptur und architektonischer Gliederung eine andere, freiere Meinung besaßen als sie bisher an den Chartreser Querhausportalen geherrscht hatte." The reduction in size of the original middle-portal tympanum would have necessitated too violent a truncation to permit its reuse.

76. The relevant literature has been assembled by Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich*, p. 121.

77. Delaporte, *Remarques sur la chronologie*, p. 309.

78. See note 75.

79. Observed by Roger Adams.

80. Sheila Douglas investigated the style of these figures within the context of the Chartres archivolts.

81. Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg*, pp. 71 ff.

82. Ibid., p. 30. According to Sauerländer, p. 31, the Martyr portal has "nicht das Geringste mit Sens zu tun, sondern stammt von der Werkstatt des Gerichtsmeisters."

83. Parisian colleagues have recently started questioning the identity of the north transept trumeau figure. However, my own attempts in this direction foundered on the "irreversible" presence of the garment covering the feet of the child; if it were not for this, it could be postulated that the female child without cross-halo could have been transformed from a Christ Child, see van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," p. 154, n. 19.

84. In spite of my pointing out the lack of validity of this course, see *Baugeschichte*, p. 120 ff., Sauerländer adhered to this date (*Von Sens bis Strassburg*, p. 56), relying on an apparently broad selection of relatively recent authorities: Merlet, *La cathédrale de Chartres*, p. 58 ff., n. 110 (on whose authority the figures were supposedly

identified); Mâle, *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, p. 50, nn. 111, 113 (referring to the marriage taking place in 1212—in fact it occurred in 1213), so that "ce portail . . . devait être en place en 1212." It is unclear why G. Schlag, "Die Skulpturen des Querhauses," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XII/XIII, 1943, p. 157, is adjoined to Mâle's statement with the assertion that he "datiert ebenfalls '1200–1212'"; also in n. 113, Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 54, is considered to interpret the relationship of the marriage to the execution of the portal more correctly by suggesting that "in about 1213 the south façade was started." All these authors had, however, simply repeated the identification as Pierre de Dreux (Mauclerc) from Bulteau, *Monographie*, I, 1887, p. 121, and II, 1888, p. 292 f., or from his *Description*, 1850, p. 102. In fact, the erudition originates at the latest with A. P. M. Gilbert, *Description historique de l'église cathédrale de N.-Dame de Chartres, nouvelle édition*, Chartres, 1824, p. 40, that is to say at a time when the portal itself was still being dated around 1060.

85. Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur*, pp. 114 ff., has indeed subsequently given up the earlier identification but, because the net of supposed absolute chronologies is already so closely spun, he adheres to a date relative to the traditional and avoids discussion of the criteria to be won from the Cartulaire, van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," p. 154, n. 18, and p. 160, n. 56.

86. W. Vöge, "Zur frühgotische Plastik Frankreichs," *Das Museum (Spemann)*, VII, 1902, p. 25, reprinted in "Bildhauer des Mittelalters," Berlin, 1958, p. 44.

87. Gosebruch, "Zur Bedeutung des Gerichtsmeisters," also bases his stylistic analysis on the relative chronology postulated by me in 1965 (*Baugeschichte*), without, however, citing the article in question.

88. I wish to thank Clark Maines and David Stanley for valuable comments in reading this manuscript. All research on this study after 1962 was enabled by fellowships from the State of Hesse (Richard Hamann-Stipendium, 1962), the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (1964–66), and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (1966–68).

89. Regardless of whether the outer aisle was continued as an ambulatory or not.

90. Cambrai would have to be seen as a transitional or dependent solution.

91. The additive effect of the alternative can be seen at Salisbury and other English examples where the transepts have aisles only on the eastern side. The individual bays of these side aisles are apparently seen (or intended) as a succession of chapels; the lack of their western counterparts—for which there is in fact no liturgical, only aesthetic motivation—causes the junction at the western axis of the transept to be additively harsh, without interpenetration of the spatial volumes or outer masses.

92. No published ground plans are accurate enough to judge individual solutions, and a glance at the ground plans prior to the year 1200 shows such a divergence of solution to this problem (which is comparable to the triglyph problem of the Greek temple) that reference to analogies would only confuse the issue; an overview of the historical development of the solution to the façade corner problem will require a vast campaign of measuring the individual examples. In fact, Kunze already recognized that the inner buttresses are not always aligned on the axes of the main arcades (*Das Fassadenproblem*, passim).

93. The side-aisle axes can be measured in the free bays open on all four sides due to the interpenetration of nave (or choir) and transept side aisles. In all other side-aisle bays, flanked as they are on one side by outer walls, the outer (ideal) axis of the vaulting bay can only be established theoretically by projecting the corresponding axis of the free bays; at Chartres this ideal axis lies ca. 0.175 m behind the inner wall surface (see Diagram 1, detail B). The dimensions show that although all the transept side portals have an almost identical axial width varying between 7.3825 m and 7.4075 m, the axial width of the corresponding side aisles never exceeds 7.215 m, falling as low as 6.965 m. Calculated dimensions are bracketed on the diagram to distinguish them from measured dimensions.

94. Further irregularities in the breadth of the individual bays can only be discussed in conjunction with accurate triangulation in a future study, taking into account the effect of the long choir bays and the addition of the transept towers. Here it suffices to stress that aspect which we have termed the additive vicissitudes of the transept arms.

95. North:  $29.0025 \text{ m}$  less  $28.535 \text{ m} = 0.47 \text{ m}$ ; the ideal axis of the vaulting bays which forms the basis of the calculation lies, however,

ca. 0.18 m from the inner surface of the wall (see note 93), therefore, the axis of the outer buttresslike projections of the façade relate to

a point  $\frac{0.47}{2} \text{ m} + 0.18 = 0.415 \text{ m}$ .

South:  $28.9825 \text{ m}$  less  $28.360 \text{ m} = 0.62 \text{ m}$ ;  
 $\frac{0.62}{2} + 0.18 = 0.490 \text{ m}$ .

96. On the Lassus plan (*Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, pl. 1). The error factor in computing this wall thickness with the means at the disposal of the individual scholar justified the approximation of scaling it off Lassus' plan.

97. Portal:  $28.9825 \text{ m}$ , façade:  $28.9175 \text{ m}$ , the western axis being offset  $0.035 \text{ m}$ , the eastern axis offset  $0.030 \text{ m}$ .

98. Van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," p. 164.

99. Ibid., p. 159 ff.; the diagram, p. 161, demonstrates the incorrectness of Grodecki's postulated "perfect correspondence" between upper and lower parts when the 0.22 m dimension of the two profiles (correctly) postulated by him is taken into account. As built, however, the second profile of the buttress system of the side aisles abuts against the outer flanks of the portal complex and is therefore not effective in the portal zone.

100. The motivation of this narrowing of the eastern section of the façade and its effect on the upper façade and interior are of no concern to our immediate problem. Because we know the main arcade axes (14.1800 m) to correspond to the middle portal axes (14.1925 m), and because the left side portal of equal width corresponds nearly to the buttress system above, the position of the buttress in question can only be motivated by consideration of the upper façade structure above the cornice.

101. The portal measures 5.43 m, the buttress flanks are 5.406 m apart, being set off 0.07 m on the west side, only 0.046 m on the east flank. If the resultant eccentricity (0.058 m!) has indeed been measured correctly, the circumstances here could well indicate the demolition and reerection of the superstructure at the time of the addition of the foreportal vaulted roof; the subsequent interruption of the original vertical continuity would explain the close correspondence of structural measurements in spite of lack of vertical axial continuity.

102. The presence of the two wall projections is today largely masked by the roof of the foreportal. Because they are not motivated by the staircase (which lies axially within the buttress), or by the composition of the upper façade above the cornice, the only explanation for their presence appears to be as a reminiscence of an original portal composition. Demolition of the upper parts and reerection at the time of the introduction of the foreportal roof vault would explain the irregularities (see note 101). The outer face of the eastern projection aligns exactly with the forward surface of the portal composition below (the buttresslike projection which separates the portals), but the western one projects some 0.18 m in front of the portal plane; in width, the eastern one extends to within 0.235 m of the corner of the portal composition below, the western one, however, lying a full 0.31 m short. As in the case of the western side portal (see note 101), there is a specific relationship to, but lack of alignment with, the subjacent portal composition, a circumstance which may be explained eventually by the demolition and reerection of this coursing subsequent to the insertion of the foreportal roof vault.

103. The western side portal, of the same width (5.43 m: 5.45 m), does not undercut the buttresses in this manner (see note 101), although the aisle behind measures only

6.96 m, as against 7.21 m for the eastern side aisle. In fact the eastern side aisle is progressively broadened from 6.95 m in the first bay (a factor which in itself may at first glance have been incorrectly interpreted as indicating the need to broaden the side aisle to take the portal, if the converse had not been the case on the western side, where the side aisle is *reduced* from 7.13 m to 6.96 m). Considerations of this kind are always suspect when only one axis (that of the main arcade) provides a fixed factor, the outer wall and façade being subject to another axial system. Cf. note 93 ff.

104. An effect diagrammatically represented and thus unfortunately "documented" by me on a sketch traced from Lassus for Hans Kunze, *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 14, 1960, p. 83, fig. 4. Cf. van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," p. 152, n. 2.

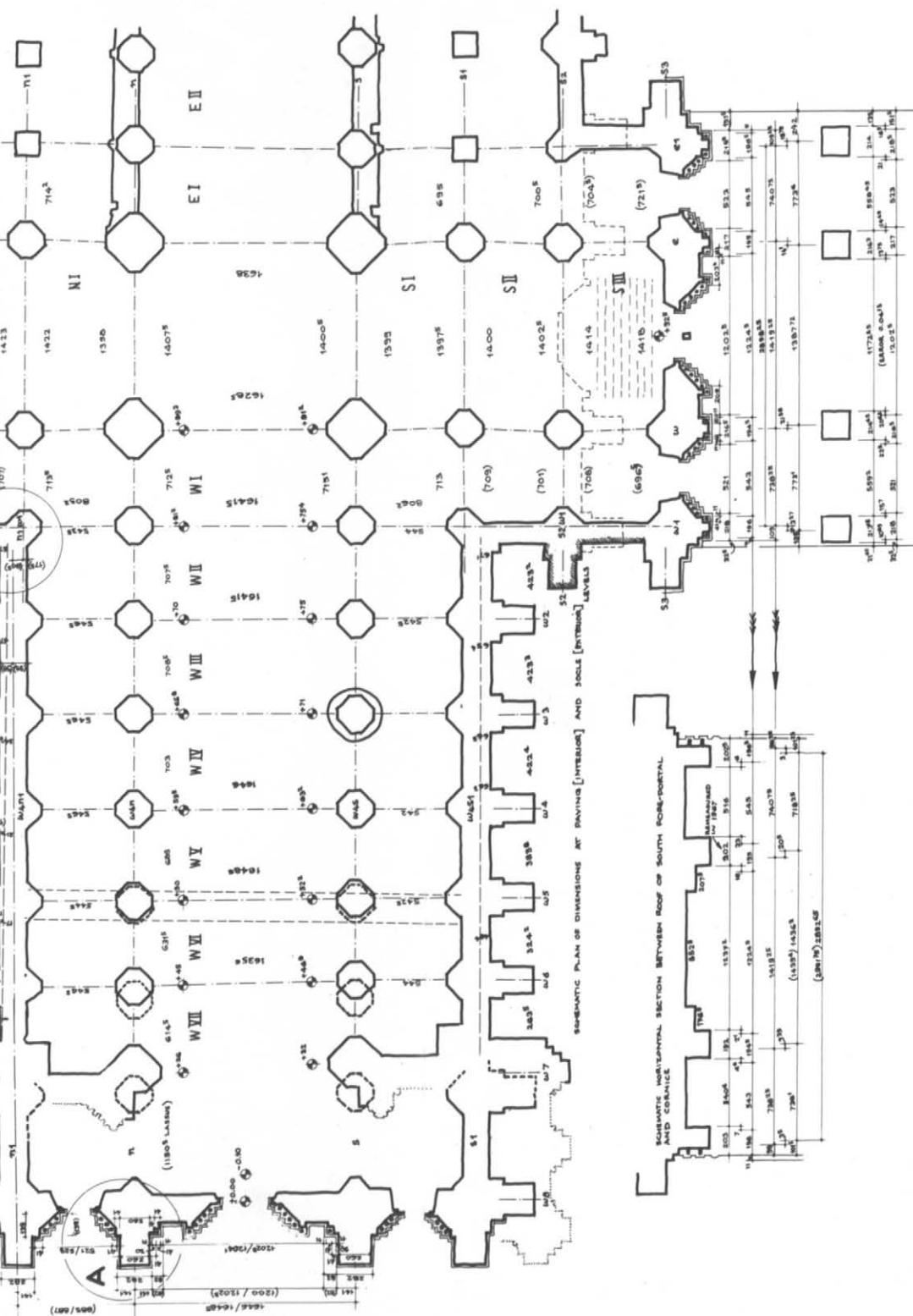
105. The western bay of the foreportal is 0.3820 m, the eastern bay 0.3545 m wider than the corresponding portals; the lintels of the foreportal vaults splay outward accordingly. A possible explanation for this major irregularity may be found in the reuse of various sculptures originally executed for the west façade, e.g., window archivolt, as at Laon.

106. 0.23 m + 0.1445 m and 0.06 m + 0.21 m, respectively.

*The diagram of the portal zones should be compared with Figs. 13, 15, 21, 22. The lower profile articulates the socle, the dies of the stepped embrasure determine the effective clear structural width of the portal, the column shafts carrying the figures being conceived of ("Romanesque"-wise) as replacing the arris of the stepped embrasure. This relationship is clearly expressed in the pilaster articulation of the jambs where, also, the die surface defines the clear opening of the doorway. Furthermore, the physical relationship of the embrasure figure-columns to the archivols (cf. Aulnay, south transept, upper window!) confirms that the dies determine the structural dimensions of the portal, regardless of whether the archivols are physically carried by the figure-column shafts or whether the cantilever effect of the baldachin capital course relieves the shafts of structural effectiveness. The structural dimension of the portal as built, therefore, lies immediately above the socle profile which causes a continuous 0.11 m offset, and it is this chain of dimensions that must be related to the structural dimensions of the buttresses appearing above the foreportal roof.*







# DIAGRAM 1





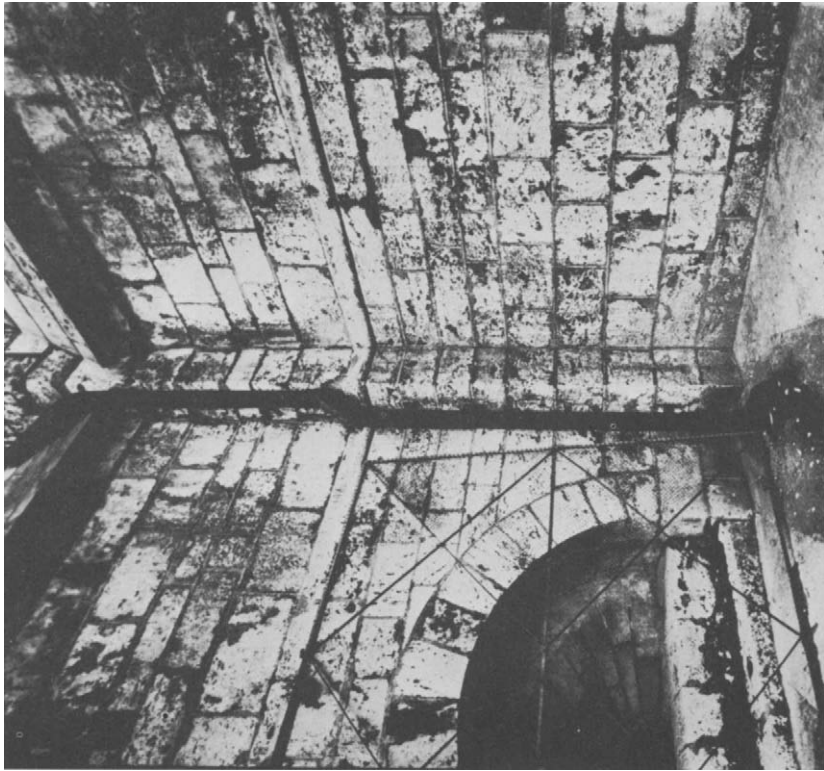


FIG. 1 Sockle story, exterior masonry coursing at southwest junction of nave and transept (WII s1-SII w1), Chartres Cathedral



FIG. 2 South transept arm, west side sockle story, north flank of inner buttress (s2 WII) abutting the masonry coursing of the transept wall (SII w1), Chartres Cathedral

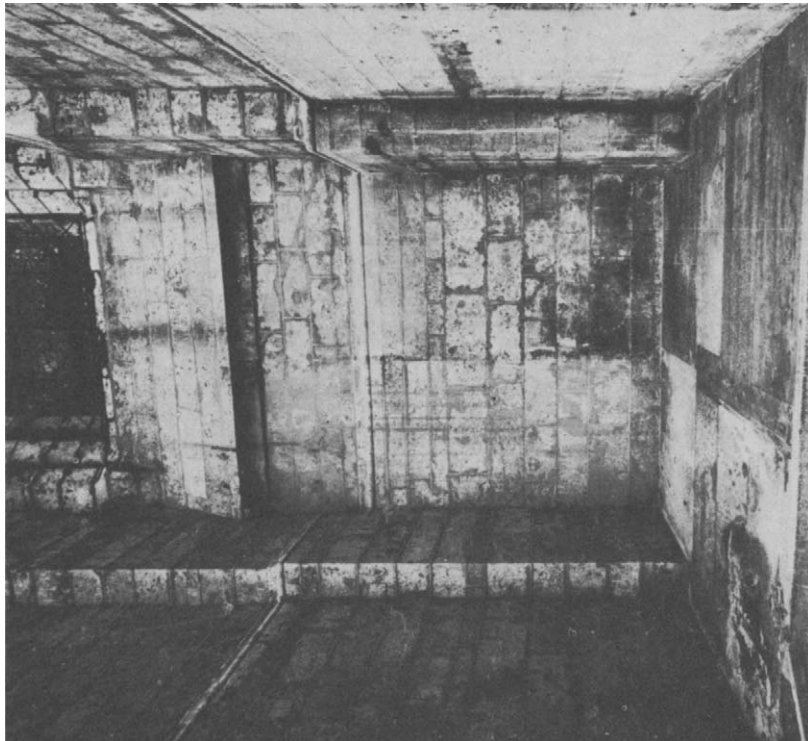


FIG. 3 North transept arm, west side, outer bay (NIII wI) showing continuity of coursing with adjacent inner buttress (n2 WII) and the interruption of the courses at the junction with the outer buttress (n3 WII), Chartres Cathedral



FIG. 4 Detail of Fig. 3. Reduction of socle molding at junction of outer buttress (n3 WII/NIII wI)



FIG. 5 North transept arm, east side, reduction of the crocket cornice above the side aisle window (NIII e1), Chartres Cathedral



FIG. 6 South end of the crypt access gallery running under the western side aisle of the south transept, showing blocked-up window with stump of original mullion, Chartres Cathedral

FIG. 7 Plan of the eastern half of the south transept arm superimposed over the subjacent crypt galleries, executed by M. Mouton, ca. 1891, Chartres Cathedral (courtesy of Dominique Maunoury)

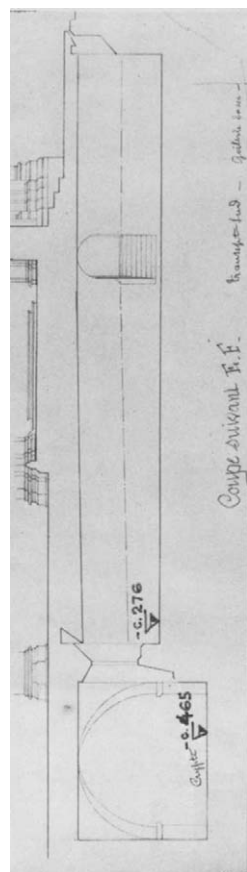
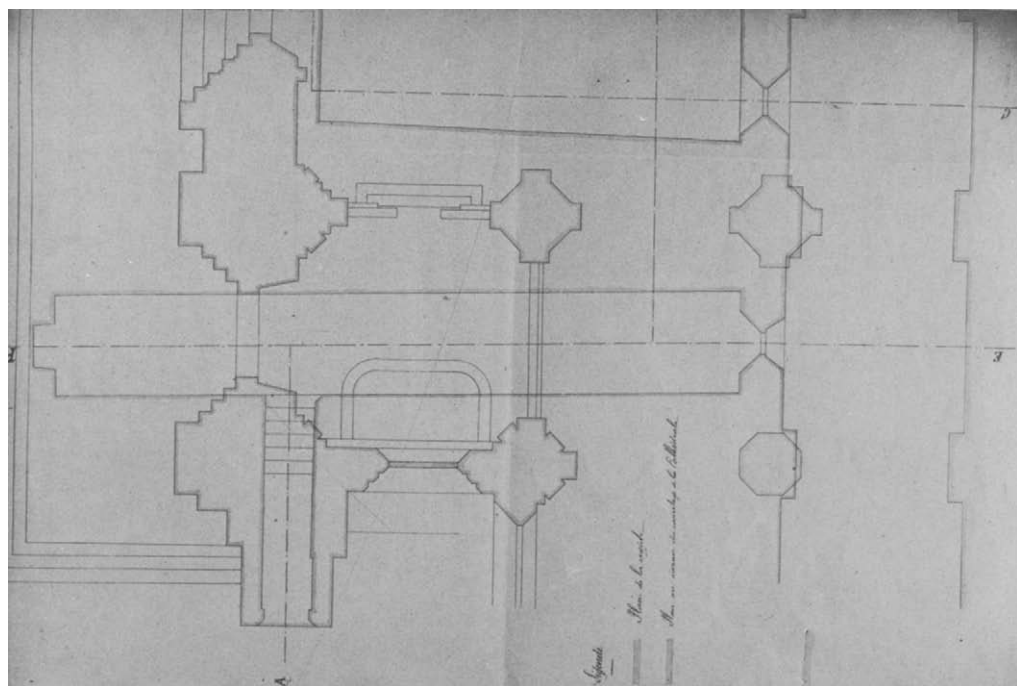


FIG. 8 South transept, longitudinal section "E-F" through the gallery running under the eastern side aisle, abutting on the window of the Fulbert crypt, Chartres Cathedral. Cf. Fig. 7

BELOW:

FIG. 10 North transept façade, western side portal, western jamb and reveal, showing interruption of masonry coursing, Chartres Cathedral

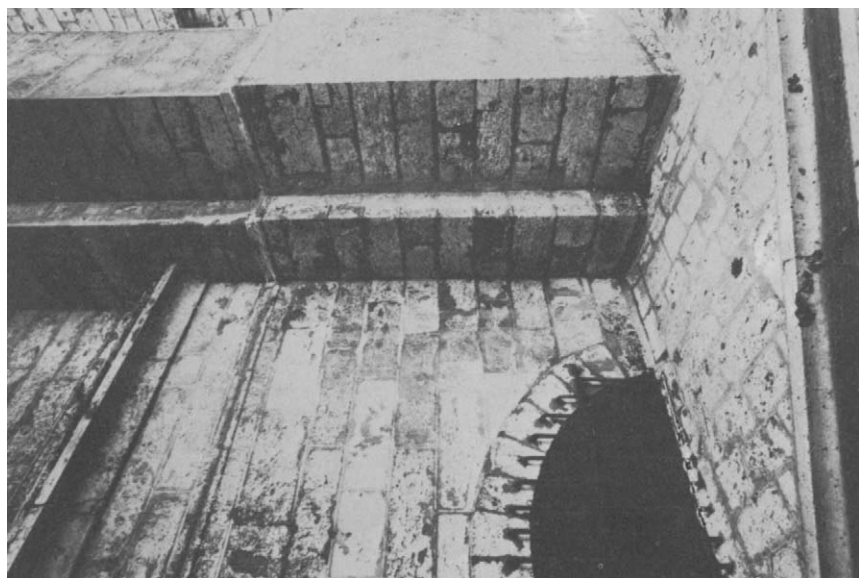
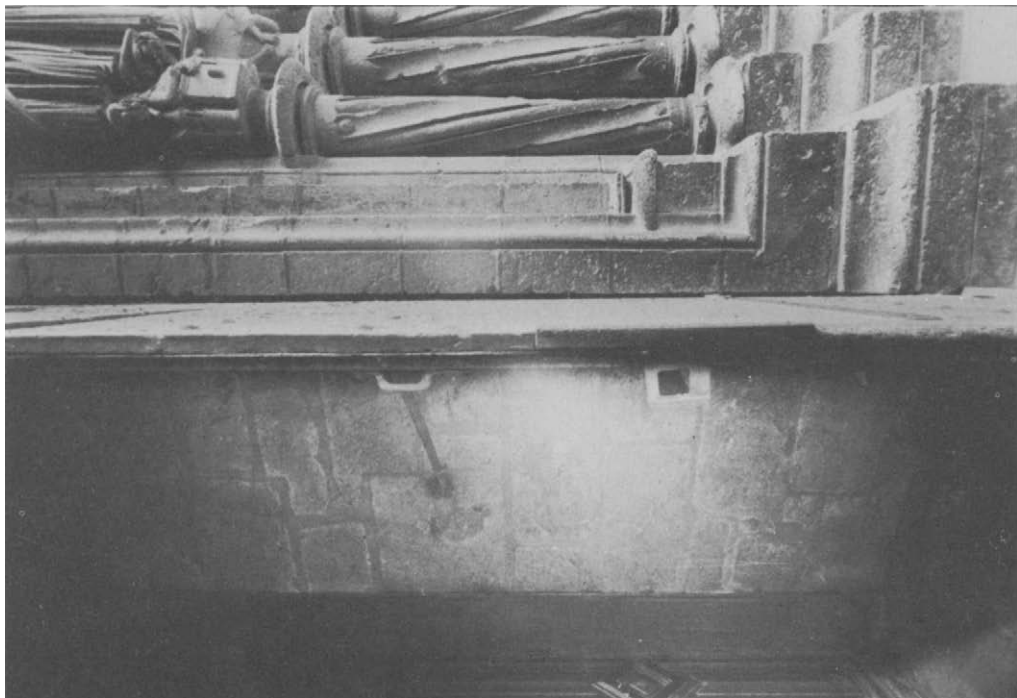


FIG. 9 First bay of the long choir, south side (EII 52), showing the arch of the original light shaft leading to the crypt window transformed (probably in the 17th century) into the crypt chapel dedicated to St. Nicolas, Chartres Cathedral



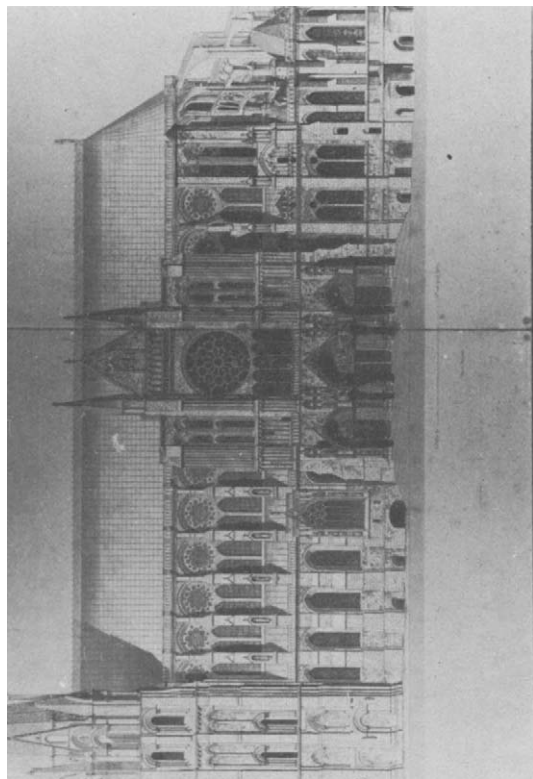


FIG. 11 Side elevation, Chartres Cathedral (J. B. Lassus, Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres, Paris, 1867)

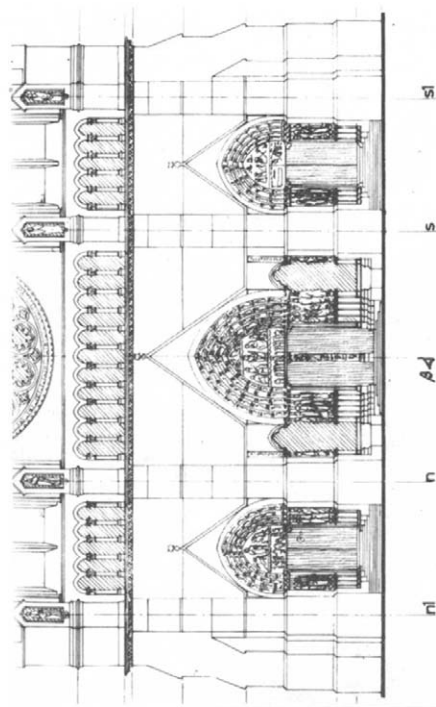


FIG. 12 Kunze/van der Meulen preliminary reconstruction of the lower part of the planned west façade showing elevational correspondence between the present transept portals and the articulation of the nave buttresses, Chartres Cathedral

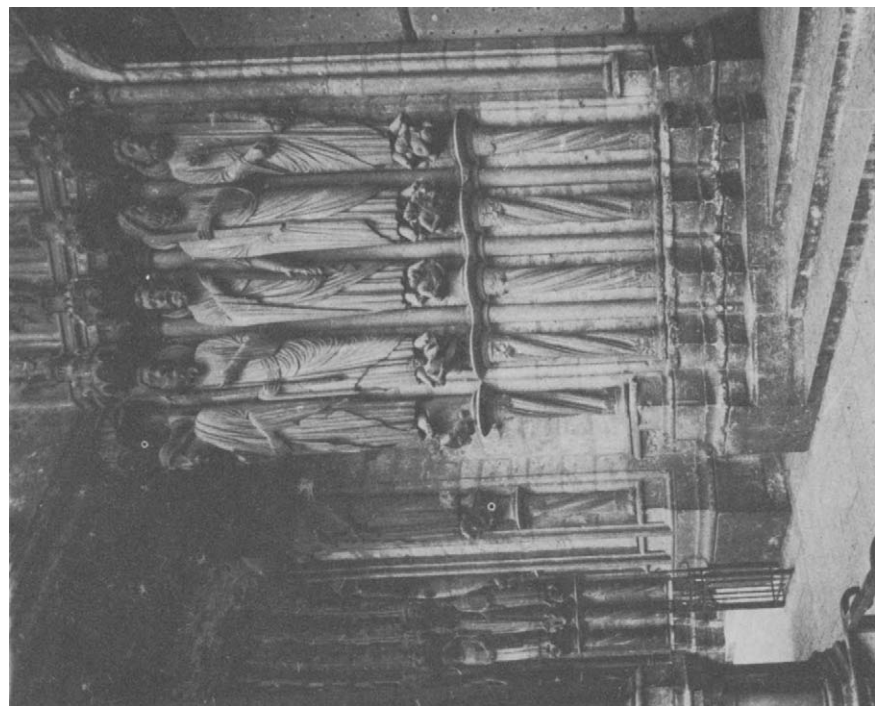


FIG. 13 South transept façade, middle portal, west embrasure, Chartres Cathedral

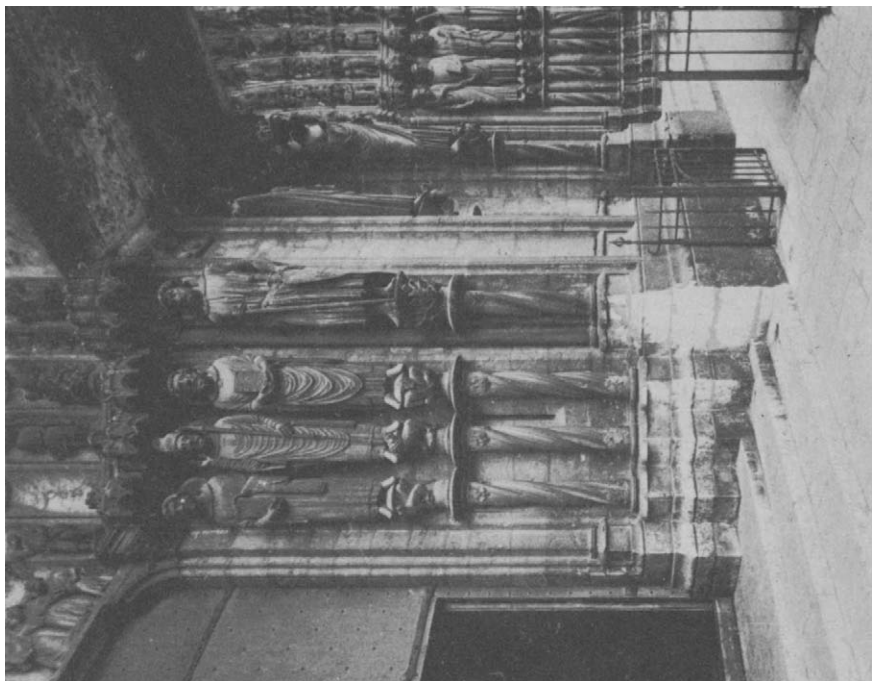


FIG. 14 South transept façade, western side portal, east embrasure, Chartres Cathedral

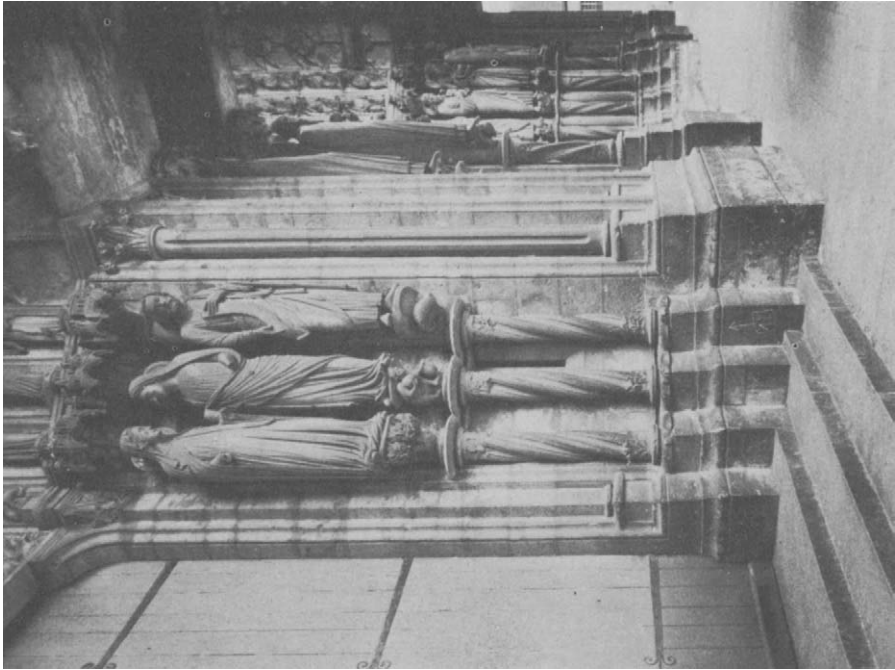


FIG. 15 North transept façade, eastern side portal, west embrasure,  
Chartres Cathedral

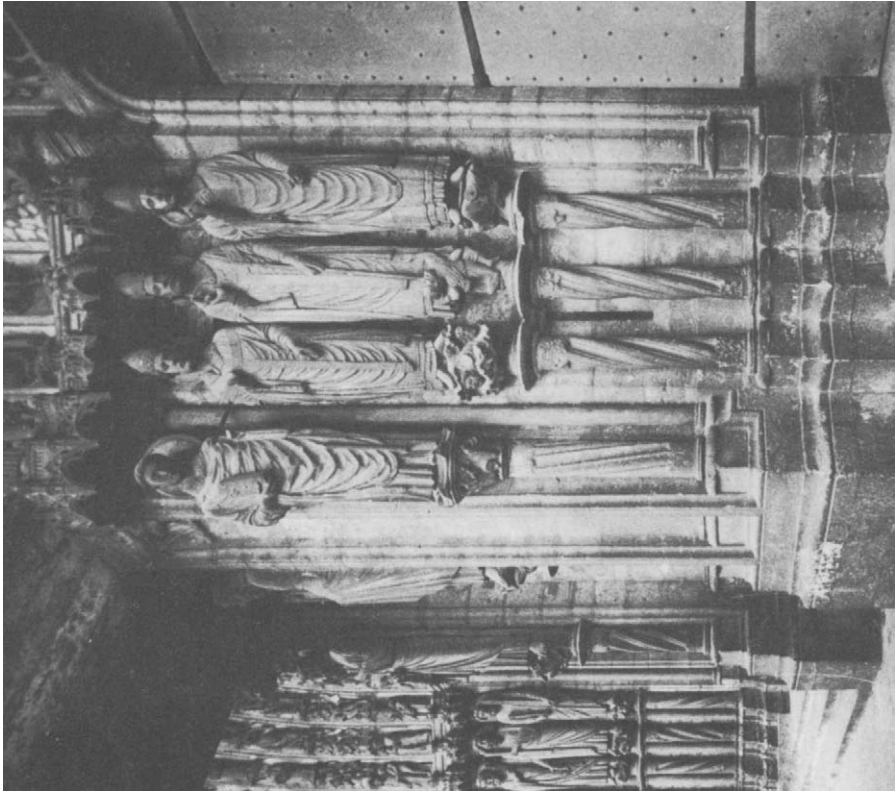


FIG. 16 South transept façade, eastern side portal, west embrasure,  
Chartres Cathedral

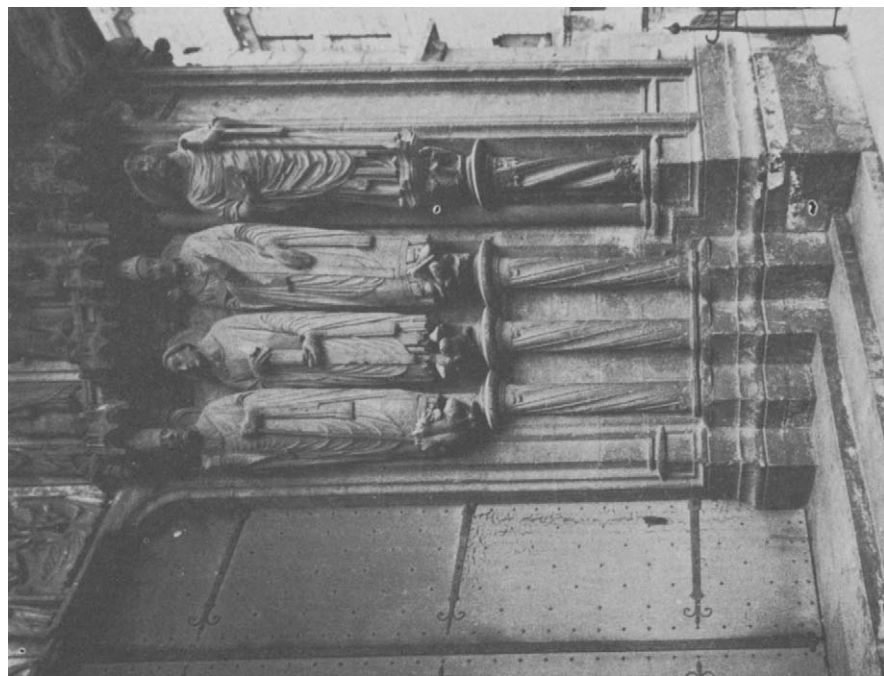


FIG. 17 *South transept façade, eastern side portal, east embrasure, Chartres Cathedral*

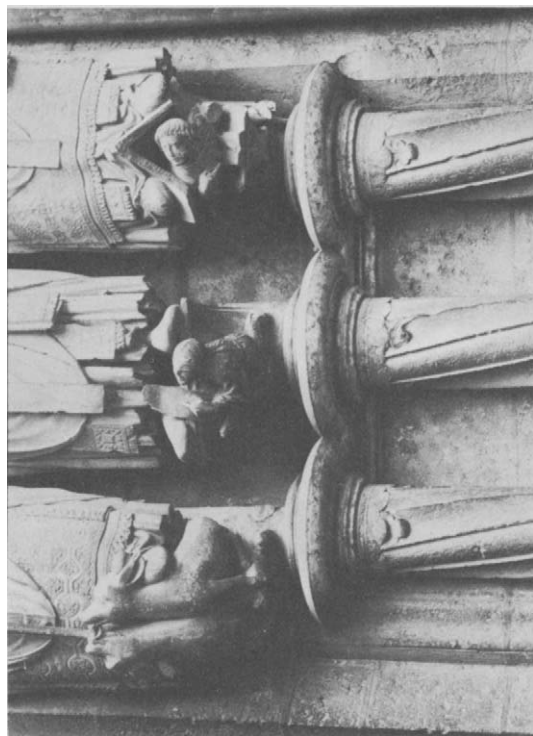


FIG. 18 *Detail of Fig. 17, showing eccentric placing of upper columns*



FIG. 19 Detail of Fig. 16, showing eccentric placing of upper columns

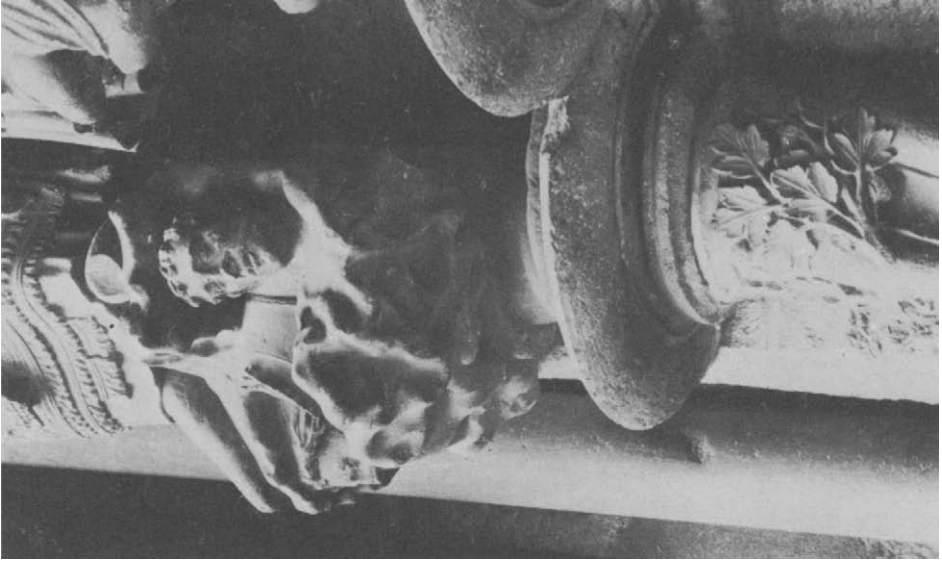


FIG. 20 Detail of Fig. 19, showing cutting away of upper column

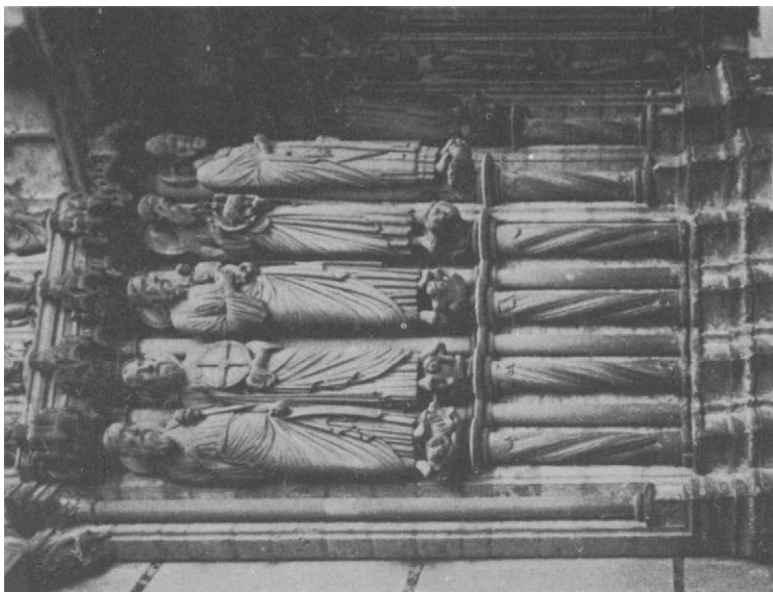


FIG. 21 *North transept façade, middle portal, west embrasure, Chartres Cathedral*

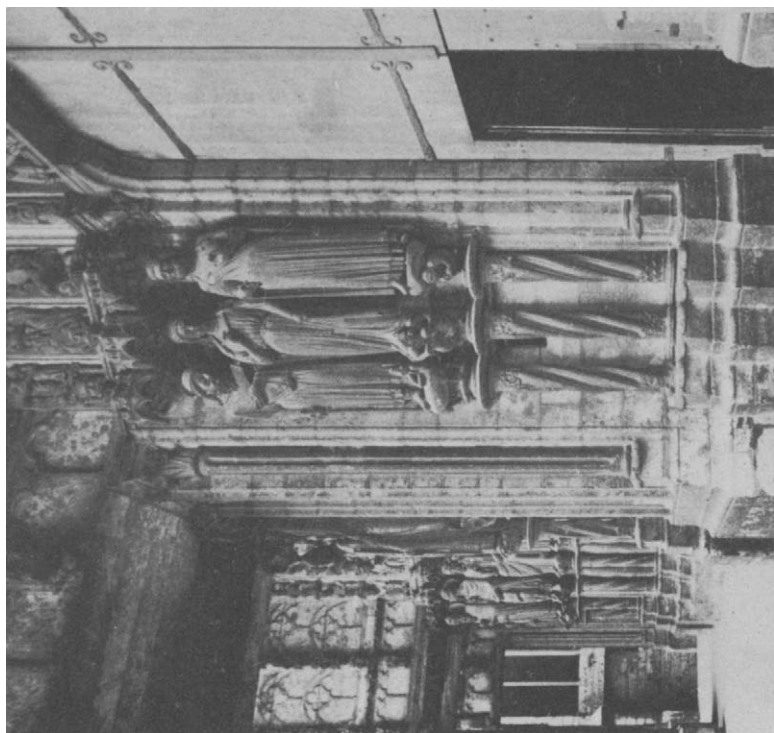
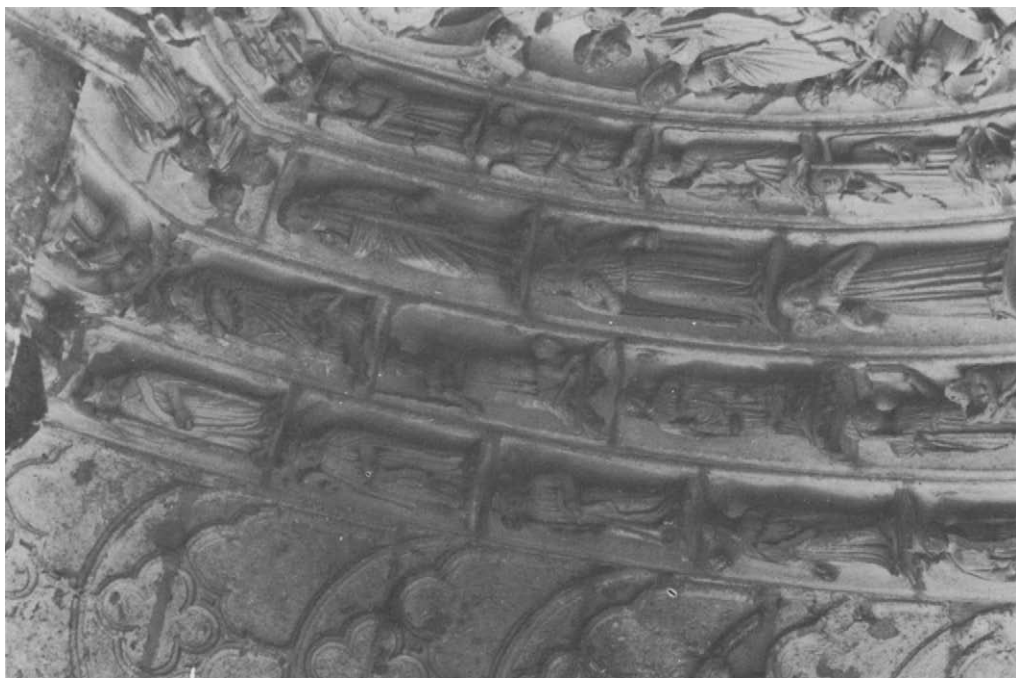


FIG. 22 *North transept façade, western side portal, east embrasure, Chartres Cathedral*

FIG. 23 North transept façade, eastern side portal, archivolts east side showing oversize figures of foolish virgins in second archivolt, Chartres Cathedral



FIG. 24 North transept façade, eastern side portal, lower (stirling) archivolts on west side, showing figure of wise virgin in third archivolt with baldachin below embedded in mortar, Chartres Cathedral (photo: Monuments Historiques)





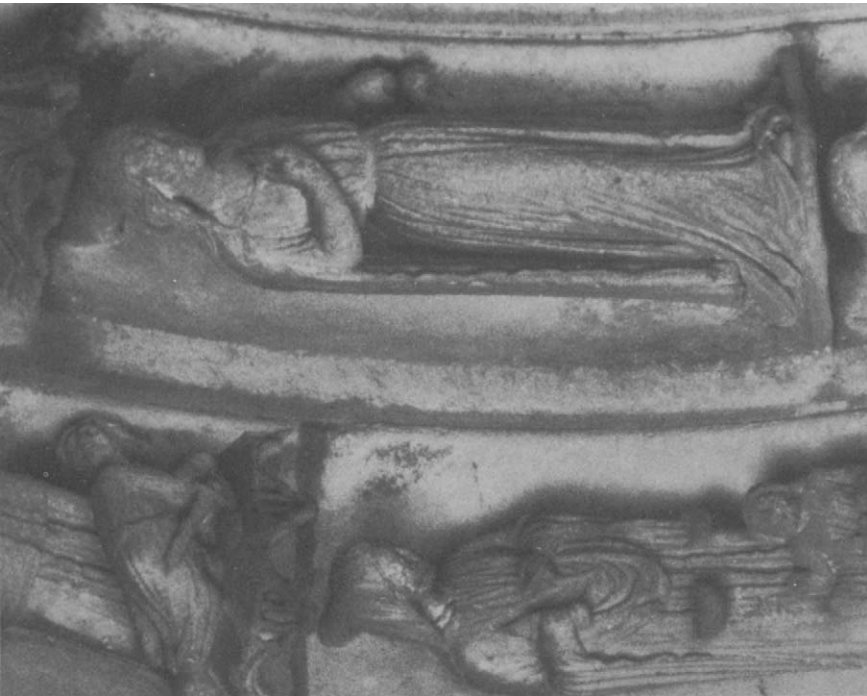


FIG. 25 *North transept façade, eastern side portal, second archivolt, east side, third figure, foolish virgin, Chartres Cathedral*



FIG. 26 *North transept façade, eastern side portal, second archivolt, east side, lowest (stirling) figure of foolish virgin with baldachin below embedded in mortar, Chartres Cathedral (photo : Roger Adams)*





LEFT:

FIG. 27 Undated tomb from Abbey of Josaphat, Léves,  
Asile d'Alègre



FIG. 28 Undated tomb from Abbey of Josaphat, Léves,  
Asile d'Alègre

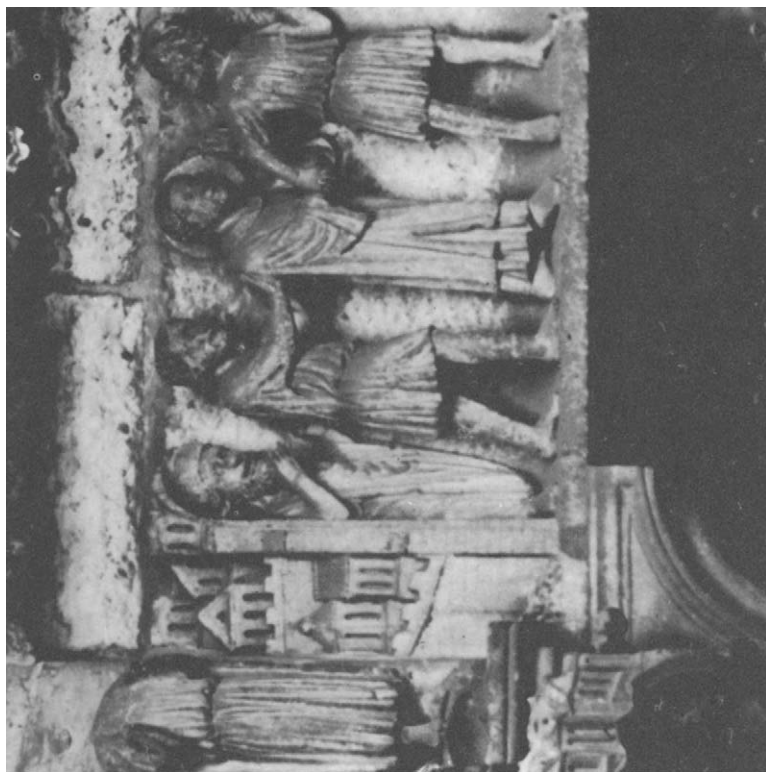


FIG. 29 South transept façade, western side portal, lintel, left half showing St. Stephen being led from city, Chartres Cathedral (photo : Foto Marburg)



FIG. 30 North transept façade, west side portal, lintel, right half showing stoning of St. Stephen, Chartres Cathedral (photo : Foto Marburg)

FAR LEFT:

FIG. 31 *North transept façade, middle portal, trumeau, Chartres Cathedral*



FIG. 32 *North transept façade, middle portal, trumeau figure, Chartres Cathedral (photo: Roger Adams)*

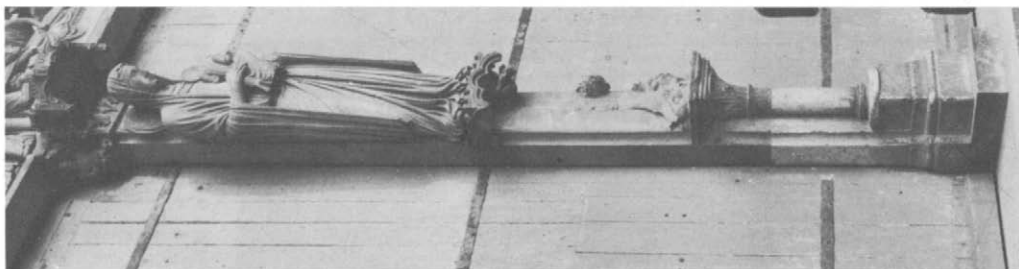




FIG. 33 *North transept façade, middle portal, tympanum and lintel, Chartres Cathedral*

LEFT:

FIG. 34 South transept façade, middle portal, trumeau, Chartres Cathedral

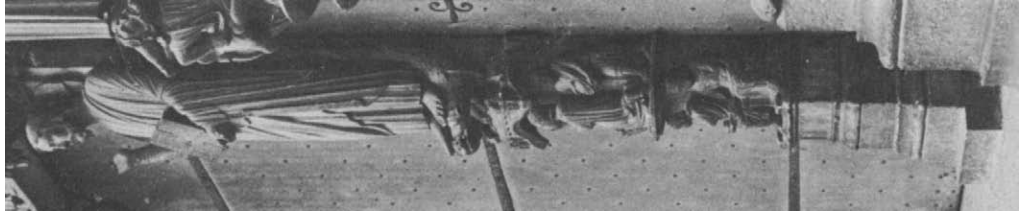


FIG. 35 South transept façade, middle portal, trumeau figure, Chartres Cathedral (photo: Draeger et Verve, Paris)

# La Sculpture Funéraire vers les Années 1200: Les Gisants de Fontevrault

Il semble que tout ait été dit sur les quatre tombeaux des rois et reines Plantagenêts de l'abbatiale de Fontevrault.<sup>1</sup> Les études les plus récentes ont considérablement vieilli les trois gisants qui nous intéressent plus particulièrement: Henri II, Richard Coeur de Lion, et Aliénor d'Aquitaine. En effet, le quatrième de bois est plus tardif. J'ai essayé de montrer qu'il s'agissait de celui d'Isabelle d'Angoulême.<sup>2</sup> Cette attribution ne semble pourtant pas avoir emporté la conviction générale, car le style de l'oeuvre indiquerait plutôt les années 1220.<sup>3</sup> Si cette oeuvre remontait aussi haut dans le temps, l'identification proposée serait inacceptable, car Isabelle d'Angoulême est morte en 1246 et son tombeau a été exécuté en 1254, lorsqu'Henri III fit transférer dans le "Cimetière des Rois" le corps de sa mère.<sup>4</sup> Malgré le problème stylistique que soulève l'identification de ce gisant de bois avec celui d'Isabelle, il faut néanmoins l'admettre. En effet, le gisant est certainement celui d'une reine puisqu'il est représenté couronné, or Isabelle est la seule reine à l'exception d'Aliénor à avoir été inhumée à Fontevrault, Bérengère, femme de Richard Coeur de Lion, ayant en effet préféré reposer dans l'abbaye de l'Epau qu'elle avait fondée en 1229.

Devant ces arguments contraignants, on doit admettre qu'il s'agit bien du tombeau d'Isabelle et, en conséquence, le dater très précisément de 1254. Cette date tardive pour une oeuvre qui paraît, de peu, peu postérieure aux trois autres gisants, peut s'expliquer par la volonté, exprimée par Henri III au sculpteur à qui il passe commande, d'exécuter une oeuvre qui, venant prendre place dans le "Cimetière des Rois," s'accorderait stylistiquement avec les trois autres. Ce souci de pastiche a été poussé très loin puisqu'on retrouve chez Isabelle la couronne qui ceint la tête des trois autres souverains: les mêmes cabochons disposés d'une semblable façon ornent le bandeau.

C'est cependant plus spécialement du gisant d'Aliénor que s'est inspiré l'artiste. On retrouve en effet le voile court dont les pans s'écartent sur les épaules, la mentonnière, le manteau légèrement ouvert et retenu par une longue bride, le fermail qui tient serré sous le cou, la robe, la ceinture qui souligne fortement la taille ainsi que le mouvement de la cotte qui s'évase de part et d'autre des pieds. Ajoutons enfin le désir de se plier par le traitement calligraphique des plis au style de Fontevrault. En revanche le mouvement du manteau qui s'écarte pour laisser le bras droit dégagé et qui revient ensuite en dessinant une courbe très ample indique un nouveau domaine stylistique: les artistes commencent à sentir tout ce que les jeux de draperie peuvent apporter dans la dynamique d'une oeuvre. Bien qu'un tel fait puisse choquer nos indées souvent trop rigoureuses sur l'évolution du style, on doit cependant admettre que cette oeuvre n'a pas vu le jour avant le milieu du treizième siècle.<sup>5</sup>

L'originalité iconographique de ces tombeaux a déjà été soulignée, à différentes reprises, sans qu'on puisse en donner une explication.<sup>6</sup> La question mérite donc d'être examinée à nouveau, à la lumière de l'histoire qui permet de saisir toute la portée politique de cet ensemble. Les souverains sont figurés allongés sur des lits, les yeux clos ou demiclos.<sup>7</sup> Les rois tiennent des deux mains leur sceptre, et leur épée est posée à leur côté. On ne retrouvera plus par la suite une telle figuration. On rencontre seulement quelques exemples d'une représentation de lits funéraires, proches de ceux de Fontevrault dont les artistes se sont manifestement inspirés.<sup>8</sup>

Le lit sur lequel repose chaque gisant évoque sans doute ceux qui existaient à l'époque. Il est constitué de quatre montants verticaux et de traverses horizontales, de bois, entre lesquels une toile a été tendue pour former une suite de civière. Soulignons d'ailleurs que les parties extrêmes sous les pieds et sous la tête sont relevées. Le tout a été recouvert d'un drap qui dépasse légèrement sur les quatre côtés. L'artiste a poussé encore plus loin son souci de réalisme en soulignant l'affaissement de la toile sous le poids du corps. Le drap fronce en effet à l'emplacement de chaque sangle chargée de soulager la toile. Enfin la présence de l'oreiller sous la tête de chacun des personnages renforce l'impression de la volonté du sculpteur de reproduire une scène réelle, et ceci dans le moindre détail.

Or tel semble bien avoir été le cas. On est en droit en effet d'établir un rapport très étroit entre la cérémonie des funérailles, telle qu'elle se déroulait sous les souverains Plantagenets, et les gisants.<sup>9</sup> Alors qu'il n'existait, jusqu'à l'accession au trône anglais des Plantagenets, aucune cérémonie funéraire qui souligna le caractère spécifique du souverain, on assiste au cours de la seconde moitié du douzième siècle à la mise en place d'un cérémonial, unique alors dans l'Europe occidentale. En 1183, après la mort d'Henri le

Jeune, fils aîné d'Henri II qui mourut avant d'avoir régné, mais après avoir été sacré, son corps fut revêtu des vêtements de lin qu'il portait le jour de son sacre.<sup>10</sup> Pour la première fois donc, dans l'histoire de la monarchie anglaise, un lien étroit est établi entre le sacre du roi et ses funérailles. Ce témoignage pourrait ne pas être retenu si l'on en avait un second concernant Henri II, mort six ans après son fils. La chronique de Benoit de Peterborough, due sans doute à un duc de la cour royale, qui rédigea les événements au jour le jour jusqu'à son interruption en 1192<sup>11</sup> rapporte dans les moindres détails, la cérémonie à laquelle l'auteur avait peut-être assisté: le roi mort avait été revêtu de ses vêtements royaux, la tête ceinte de la couronne, les mains couvertes de gants et portant l'anneau d'or au doigt. Il tenait le sceptre à la main. Ses pieds, chaussés de souliers tissés d'or, étaient munis d'éperons. Ceint de l'épée, il gisait ainsi revêtu, le visage à découvert.<sup>12</sup> On ne peut qu'être frappé par l'étroite correspondance entre ce texte et le gisant du roi Henri II, où l'on retrouve la couronne, le sceptre, les gants, l'épée,<sup>13</sup> les souliers, et les éperons signalés par le chroniqueur. Quant aux médaillons circulaires qui ornent les gants des deux rois Henri II et Richard, sur la présence desquels on s'est interrogé, il s'agit en fait des plaques de métal d'or ou d'argent que l'on cousait sur le dos du gant des évêques pour rappeler que le jour de leur consécration, ils avaient été oints sur le plat de la main.<sup>14</sup> Or leur présence sur les gants royaux s'explique fort bien lorsque l'on sait l'importance que prend en Angleterre sous Henri Ier la notion de l'onction. L'anonyme d'York développe la théorie selon laquelle le roi est lui-même membre du clergé. Il compare phrase par phrase l'*Ordo* du sacre royal avec celui alors en usage pour la consécration des évêques et souligne que le roi est consacré avec un chrême exactement semblable à celui qui est employé pour les évêques.<sup>15</sup> Le roi d'Angleterre devait donc être comme les évêques, oints sur les mains, à la différence du roi de France qui ne l'était pas.<sup>16</sup> Quant aux regalia, portés par les deux rois, ils correspondent assez exactement à ceux qu'ils recevaient lors de leur sacre: la couronne, l'anneau, et l'épée. Les éperons rappelaient d'autre part l'investiture de la chevalerie.

Cette précision dans la représentation de Henri II, permet d'affirmer que le corps du roi ainsi revêtu fut "exposé" à Chinon où il mourut, ou à Fontevrault où il fut inhumé.<sup>17</sup> La signification politique de ce cérémonial ne peut échapper: la nouvelle dynastie avait besoin pour renforcer sa propre légitimité d'une cérémonie où le caractère sacré du Roi fut exalté. Il fallait en outre que cette cérémonie soit matérialisée d'une façon visible aux yeux de tous. Aussi Aliénor d'Aquitaine imposa-t-elle à l'artiste chargé d'exécuter le tombeau de son royal mari, une iconographie qui rompait entièrement avec les traditions de la sculpture funéraire de l'Europe occidentale. Aucun document ne permet d'attribuer en toute certitude à Aliénor la commande



de cette oeuvre, mais les arguments historiques la rendent plus que probable. Retirée à Fontevrault où elle devait mourir, la reine s'était montrée particulièrement généreuse envers l'abbaye à qui elle fit don d'objets précieux et qu'elle fit enclore d'une muraille.<sup>18</sup> Parallèlement à ces travaux, elle fit exécuter avant sa mort qui survint en 1204, le tombeau d'Henri II et sur ce modèle celui de Richard Coeur de Lion.

Quant à la représentation d'Aliénor sur son tombeau, il ne pouvait être question de lui donner d'autres regalia que la couronne. En effet elle ne semble pas avoir été couronnée après son remariage avec Henri II,<sup>19</sup> si bien qu'elle a considéré comme définitive la consécration qu'elle avait reçue en 1137 en compagnie de son jeune époux, le futur Louis VII. Or il ne s'agissait que d'un simple couronnement sans qu'il y ait onction ni remise d'insignes particuliers. C'est la raison pour laquelle elle est ainsi représentée tenant de ses mains un livre de prières sur lequel elle semble méditer.<sup>20</sup> Ici encore nous avons affaire à une iconographie originale dont il n'existe pas d'autre exemple en France et en Angleterre à cette même époque, où l'on trouve plus habituellement les gisants figurés les mains jointes. Notons donc le fait sans pouvoir dire la raison de cette figuration.

L'originalité de cette série de tombeaux n'éclate pas seulement sur le plan iconographique, mais également sur celui du style. Depuis Arthur Gardner on a coutume de mettre en rapport l'art des trois gisants de Fontevrault avec le style du portail central du bras nord de Chartres: le couronnement de la Vierge.<sup>21</sup> M. Schreiner a repris cette idée tout en la nuancant fortement en soulignant l'existence d'autres influences, notamment celles du portail du couronnement de Laon et celles du portail nord de Bourges.<sup>22</sup> Plus récemment M. Sauerländer a récuse pour les gisants de Henri II et de Richard tout rapport avec les monuments locaux et a évoqué le portail nord de St.-Denis et le gisant de Childebert aujourd'hui à St.-Denis.<sup>23</sup> En fait tous ces rapprochements ne sont guère convaincants et ont pour conséquence inverse de montrer la profonde originalité des gisants.

Avant d'aller plus loin, il faut dissocier stylistiquement en deux groupes ces trois tombeaux: d'une part ceux d'Henri II et de Richard, dus ou à un même artiste ou à deux artistes très proches, et d'autre part celui d'Aliénor. Dans le premier groupe, le traitement calligraphique des plis frappe avant tout; les plis tracés avec beaucoup de régularité, sont en léger relief, comme si l'artiste avait repoussé une oeuvre de métal. Or c'est précisément la technique du métal qu'évoque le sculpture des deux gisants. Ainsi la façon dont les plis du manteau divergent à partir de l'attache du manteau de Richard se retrouve avec la même régularité dans les oeuvres de métal: ainsi le personnage qui précède le groupe auquel St. Jean-Baptiste adresse son prêche, dans les fonts baptismaux de Liège<sup>24</sup> ou chez St. Cyprien dans le

reliquaire du Musée du Cinquantenaire.<sup>25</sup> On retrouve d'ailleurs dans cette dernière oeuvre d'autres points de comparaison avec les gisants, et notamment la manière de traiter les manches qui paraissent tomber sous leur propre poids en formant un angle très aigu et la façon de faire converger sur la jambe droite de St. Candide et sur celle d'Henri II les plis concaves et les plis convexes: le sculpteur du tombeau a résolu de la même manière la même difficulté. C'est également l'art du métal qu'évoque la forme des plis qui se terminent en "V," du manteau d'Henri II. On les trouve en effet fréquemment dans l'orfèvrerie mosane de la seconde moitié du douzième siècle.<sup>26</sup> Enfin un autre détail confirme ce rapprochement: la forme très aiguë du pli du manteau de Richard qui passe au-dessus de l'autre pour se terminer en pointe, comme une languette de métal.<sup>27</sup> Il faudrait enfin ajouter que la représentation d'un gisant avec les yeux fermés se trouve plus volontiers à cette époque dans les oeuvres de Limoges, comme nous l'avons vu, que dans la sculpture de pierre.<sup>28</sup>

Ces quelques remarques nous éloignent sensiblement de la sculpture monumentale des années 1200 à laquelle les deux gisants semblent bien étrangers et nous rapprochent des oeuvres de métal. Or il a existé une quantité de tombeaux de métal—de bronze ou en oeuvre de Limoges—remontant à une époque aussi haute, mais qui ont tous disparu soit au cours de la Révolution soit même avant.<sup>29</sup> Or l'Allemagne, plus riche en ce domaine, a conservé la tombe de Rodolphe de Souabe, à la cathédrale de Merseburg et celle de Frédéric de Wettin, à la cathédrale de Magdebourg, l'une et l'autre antérieures aux gisants de Fontevault. Elles permettent de se rendre compte de la place essentielle qu'ont eu les oeuvres de métal dans l'histoire de l'origine du gisant. Il n'est donc pas impossible d'énoncer l'hypothèse d'un rapport très étroit entre les tombes de Fontevault et d'autres de métal, aujourd'hui disparues.<sup>30</sup> Or l'on sait maintenant que les Limousins confectionnaient des tombes dès le début du treizième siècle.<sup>31</sup> Il est possible qu'il ait existé d'autres tombes de métal en dehors de Limoges à une époque plus ancienne, comme dans l'Empire. Leur disparition ne permet plus de relier à tout ensemble ces deux gisants de Fontevault. Cependant la relation que l'on a essayé d'établir entre ces tombes de métal et ces deux gisants ne doit pas nous faire oublier de nous interroger sur l'origine de l'artiste auquel la reine avait fait appel pour exécuter ces deux sculptures.

Nous avons déjà dit qu'ils sont l'oeuvre sans doute d'un même artiste, les rapports stylistiques entre ces deux oeuvres sont trop proches pour qu'il faille y voir la main de deux sculpteurs. Néanmoins on ne doit pas oublier que leur similitude peut également s'expliquer par la volonté de la reine qui, ayant commandé d'abord le gisant de son mari, mort en 1189, demanda

après la mort de son fils survenue en 1199, à un autre sculpteur de s'inspirer du premier tombeau. Quoiqu'il en soit ces deux oeuvres sont antérieures à la mort de la reine survenue en 1204. Quant à l'artiste ou aux artistes auxquels la reine s'adressa, il paraît bien qu'il fut originaire de la région, habitué à la taille du tuffeau, et connaissant les principales réalisations de l'époque. Même si les rapports avec les sculptures de St.-Martin d'Angers, aujourd'hui à l'Université de Yale, sont moins certains qu'on ne l'a souvent dit, c'est cependant avec elles que les deux gisants de Fontevrault ont le plus de communauté.<sup>32</sup> L'espace de temps qui sépare les deux oeuvres permet d'expliquer l'accentuation calligraphique des gisants par rapport aux statues de St.-Martin d'Angers.<sup>33</sup> A côté de ces deux gisants, celui d'Aliénor tranche vigoureusement. Il s'y fait jour une souplesse dans le traitement des plis, bien étrangère à l'art du sculpteur qui exécuta les gisants d'Henri II et de Richard. La robe vient s'écraser sur les pieds de la reine et s'y étale en une vaste série de courbes et contre courbes très harmonieuses. A cela s'ajoute l'élégance du drapé du manteau qui recouvre la partie médiane du corps, en laissant dégagés le buste tout entier et les jambes. Le traitement de la robe en petits plis régulièrement creusés met d'autre part en valeur les formes du corps de la reine dont on sent la présence sous ces linges assez fins. La ceinture qui souligne fortement la taille accentue la sveltesse du buste et la rondeur des hanches. L'artiste a réussi à donner l'impression d'un corps encore vivant dont on sent la tension interne, alors que dans les deux précédents gisants il s'agissait de mort attendant la Résurrection éternelle. Le visage d'un ovale très allongé, pris par une mentonnière qui l'enserme, paraît endormi avec ses yeux mi-clos.<sup>34</sup> Tout ceci prouve une sensibilité très aiguë, nouvelle dans la sculpture de l'ouest de la France.

On en recherché les sources en dehors de cette région et principalement à Chartres. On retrouve en effet dans le Portail du couronnement de la Vierge—au bras nord du transept—la même façon de représenter les plis de la robe qui s'écrase sur les pieds en s'évasant largement. On y retrouve également ces plis régulièrement creusés et qui évoquent la technique antique du pli mbuillé. Néanmoins ces rapprochements que l'on a voulu établir entre Chartres et Fontevrault ne sont peut-être pas aussi certains qu'on a cru pouvoir l'établir. Il est assuré que chronologiquement les deux oeuvres sont très proches, puisque le gisant d'Aliénor doit être de peu postérieur à 1204, et que le portail nord est traditionnellement daté de peu après 1204.<sup>35</sup> Néanmoins le gisant d'Aliénor relève de ce grand courant antiquisant parti de la Meuse et qui a recouvert toute une partie de la Vallée du Rhin et de la France du Nord. On pourrait ainsi citer nombre d'exemples empruntés aussi bien à la sculpture qu'à l'orfèvrerie ou à l'art du dessin où l'on retrouve ce style linéaire qui caractérise plus particulière-

ment le tombeau d'Aliénor. Je me contenterais de rappeler la belle Vierge assise du Musée de Boston que l'on dit être originaire d'Ile-de-France. Cette oeuvre de bois rappelle par ces multiples plis creusés et par l'allongement si singulier de ce visage, notre gisant.<sup>36</sup> Nous sommes en effet plus proche dans cette oeuvre de Fontevrault que ne l'est le portail du couronnement de la Vierge, traité dans un style plus monumental où les plis sont véritablement creusés, alors qu'ici le tuffeau paraît à peine entamé. Il est possible que le sculpteur d'Aliénor ait connu le chantier de Chartres, mais la chose n'a rien d'assuré, il est plus vraisemblable qu'il baignait dans cet art des années "1200" qu'il a interprété d'une façon originale en accentuant avec beaucoup d'habileté ce goût pour les plis mouillés. Nous nous trouvons donc en présence d'une oeuvre située la plus à l'ouest de ce grand mouvement stylistique qui ne paraît guère avoir touché l'Anjou, du moins dans le domaine de la sculpture.

De plus le gisant d'Aliénor comme les deux autres, rappelle la technique du métal. Le visage lui-même d'Aliénor paraît si proche des masques funéraires de métal, sortis des ateliers de Limoges qu'on peut légitimement se demander s'il n'en est pas la transposition en pierre. On objectera à cette hypothèse la date attribuée traditionnellement à ces masques. Or l'on note déjà que très vraisemblablement le masque de femme, du Musées St.-Jean à Angers, remontait aux premières années du treizième siècle et que d'autre part, il existait à une époque aussi ancienne d'autres exemples de tombes de Limoges, avec les masques semblables, depuis disparus. Mais ce visage d'Aliénor n'est pas le seul élément qui rappelle si fortement la technique du métal. La façon même dont l'artiste a dégagé de son bloc de tuffeau le gisant rappelle précisément la technique du repoussé et non celle de l'épannelage. En effet, le corps se dégage de la dalle de pierre comme s'il avait été "repoussé" si bien que l'artiste a réussi à donner l'illusion d'une ronde-bosse soudée à une dalle. C'est cette même impression de ronde-bosse, rattachée aussi au fond, à laquelle était arrivé le "Maître de la châsse des Trois Rois" en repoussant ses figures.<sup>37</sup>

Or se pose une nouvelle fois la question de l'origine de l'artiste. Il est bien difficile d'y répondre, car il n'existe aucune oeuvre de la région où l'on retrouve un style proche. Cependant on ne peut écarter l'hypothèse qu'il soit originaire de la région, mais ce qui le distingue des autres artistes de son pays est qu'il se rattache à cet art des années 1200 qu'il interprète assez librement.

On voit ainsi tout ce qui distingue fondamentalement les trois gisants de Fontevrault de la production funéraire contemporaine: le thème de la figuration sculptée de l' "exposition," alors unique, est voulu pour des raisons hautement politiques. Ensuite le style même de ces trois oeuvres ne

trouve guère d'écho dans la sculpture contemporaine. Enfin, le grand mouvement antique qui tourne autour de 1200, et dont Nicolas Verdun a été le plus illustre représentant, bouleverse les traditions stylistiques et produit, avec le gisant d'Aliénor, une oeuvre de grande qualité artistique, d'un style très différent des deux autres tombeaux.

## Notes

1. Voir en dernier lieu Ludwig Schreiner, *Die früngotische Plastik Südwestfrankreichs*, Cologne, 1969, p. 67-77; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "Cimetière des Rois" à Fontevault," dans *Congrès archéologique de France*, Anjou, 1964, p. 482-492; Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, New York, 1964, p. 57. *The Year 1200*, I, no. 19, p. 15-16. Willibald Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich: 1140-1270*, Munich, 1970, p. 130-131, no. 142. On trouvera dans ces études la bibliographie ancienne aujourd'hui en grande partie périmée, du moins dans l'optique de cette étude.

2. Erlande-Brandenburg, p. 486-490.

3. Sauerländer, p. 131.

4. Matthieu Paris, *Chronica majora*, Master of Rolls, vol. 57, V, 1872-1883, p. 475.

5. M. René Crozet, "Notes sur les monuments funéraires de l'abbaye de Fontevault," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1966, p. 6, admet notre identification du gisant de bois, mais en conclut que les quatre sculptures seraient du milieu du treizième siècle. Cette datation ne peut évidemment être retenue pour les trois premiers.

6. Ainsi Ludwig Schreiner.

7. C'est du moins ainsi qu'ils nous apparaissent aujourd'hui, après les restaurations assez importantes qu'ont notamment été faites sur les visages. Si l'on en croit les dessins de la collection Gaignières (Ob. 10a fol. 14, 15-18) gravés dans l'ouvrage du P. Bernard de Montfaucon (*Les monuments de la monarchie française*, 1729, II, pl. xv) les figures ont les yeux à demi-fermés. Or les yeux ainsi représentés fermés se retrouvent dès une époque très ancienne dans l'oeuvre de

Limoges: ainsi le masque de femme (Musée St.-Jean d'Angers), le tombeau de Dom Maurizio de Burgos. Les tombeaux d'Eudes de Sully, mort en 1208 (Coll. Gaignières Pe IIa fol. 26), de Philippe de Dreux, mort en 1217 (Gaignières Pe Ia fol. 76), Robert de Dreux, mort en 1218 (Gaignières Pe Ia fol. 75). On peut donc en conclure que tel était l'aspect original de ces tombeaux. Cette formule se transposera par la suite dans des oeuvres sculptées dans la pierre dans le Midi Limousin, puis à Avignon.

8. Voir Crozet. La date attribuée aux tombeaux de Fontevault ne permet pas d'hésiter sur leur antériorité par rapport aux exemples de tombeaux très proches cités par cet auteur. Nous avons là, comme si souvent, l'exemple d'un thème qui voit le jour dans un grand chantier et qui est reproduit—assez maladroitement souvent—par des artistes de second plan.

9. Pour Courajod ("Les sépultures des Plantagenets," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, II, 1867, p. 542), qui avait établi également un rapport entre les deux choses, en avait conclu que les chroniqueurs s'étaient inspirés des tombeaux qu'ils avaient vu à Fontevault.

10. Matthieu Paris, II, p. 319: "Corpus autem in lineis vestibis, quas habuit in consecratione sacro crismate delibutas, regaliter involutum . . .," de même Roger de Wendover, *Florus historiarum*, Master of Rolls, vol. 84, I, 1886, p. 130.

11. Emile Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1902, II, no. 1993.

12. Benoit de Peterborough, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi et Ricardi primi*, Master of Rolls, II, 1867, p. 71. Roger de Wendover (I, p. 159-160) et Matthieu Paris (II, p. 344-346) se sont inspirés de la précédente chronique pour rédiger la leur.

13. Pour ce qui est de l'épée que l'on ne voit pas sur le dessin de Gaignières, il peut s'agir d'un oubli du dessinateur, car on la voit sur la gravure qui orne l'ouvrage de C. A. Stothard (*The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, Londres, 1817, pl. 4, 5) antérieure aux restaurations du dix-neuvième siècle.

14. Voir Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, III, *Le costume*, Paris, 1916, p. 382-385.

15. Voir sur cette question, Jean de Pange, *Le roi très chrétien*, Paris, 1949, p. 310-322, plus spécialement p. 317-318.

16. Néanmoins je n'ai pas trouvé trace de cette onction sur les mains. Dans une lettre d'Alexandre III à Henri II, le pape lui rappelle que les rois étaient oints à trois endroits: "sur la tête, sur la poitrine, et sur les bras" (voir Pange, p. 323-324). Cependant dans la bulle *De sacra unctione* fulminée le 24 février 1204, Innocent III souligne que seuls les évêques peuvent être oints sur les mains, ce qui lui donne pouvoir de consacrer. Or ce pouvoir, le pape le récuse au roi (ibid., p. 337-338). Cette insistance du pape qui veut imposer une distinction essentielle entre l'onction épiscopale et l'onction royale, indique vraisemblablement la confusion volontaire que faisaient les rois d'Angleterre, à la suite de l'Anonyme d'York.

17. Cette importante question a été plus spécialement développée dans mon ouvrage (*Les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France*) qui doit prochainement paraître chez Droz (1974).

18. Bibliothèque nationale, Cab. ms., collect. Touraine-Anjou, XII-1, fol. 154.

19. Pange, p. 320.

20. Bien que le livre, les mains, et une partie de l'avant-bras gauche soient modernes, l'existence du livre est indéniable comme le prouvent d'une part les documents iconographiques antérieurs à la Révolution qui indiquent ce livre et, d'autre part, le mouvement des bras qui appellent un tel geste. La gravure qui orne l'ouvrage de Francis Standford (*A Genealogical History of the Kings of England and Monarchs of Great Britain*, Londres, 1677, p. 63-64), et dont le dessin avait été envoyé à l'auteur par Jeanne-Baptiste de Bourbon (voir p. 65 et 71), représente d'ailleurs la reine avec son livre.

21. Arthur Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture in France*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 348-349.

22. Schreiner, p. 71-75.

23. Sauerländer, p. 131.

24. Il est évident qu'il n'y a aucun lien direct à établir entre ces deux oeuvres, comme d'ailleurs entre la plupart des oeuvres citées plus bas, je désire simplement par quelques exemples montrer les rapports de technique. Pour une illustration commode voir Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, Londres, 1967, fig. 254.

25. *Art mosan aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Bruxelles, 1961, p. 236, fig. 43.

26. Ainsi le St. Jean-Baptiste baptisant le Christ sur les fonts de Liège et le châsse de St. Hadelin (Swarzenski, fig. 350). En fait cette forme de plis est assez fréquente dans les oeuvres de dessin: on en verra quelques exemples dans Swarzenski: fig. 288, 297, 298, 315, 384.

27. Il faut d'ailleurs souligner sur le gisant les étonnants plis horizontaux qui ornent le bas de la dalmatique, alors que toute la sculpture est traitée dans le sens vertical.

28. Voir note 7.

29. A l'exception de ceux des évêques d'Amiens, plus tardifs.

30. On pourrait citer d'ailleurs d'autres exemples semblables: ainsi le tympan de Carennac, le tombeau de St.-Junien (voir Paul Deschamps, *Les inscriptions du tombeau de Saint Junien et la date de ses sculptures*, *Monuments Piot*, XXIX, 1927-1928, p. 193-208), et plus spécialement *Etude sur la renaissance de la sculpture en France à l'époque romane*, extr. *Bulletin monumental*, 1925, 98 p., surtout p. 84 et suiv., et plus récemment, Willibald Sauerländer, "Art antique et sculpture autour de 1200," *Art de France*, I, 1961, p. 47-56.

31. Geneviève Souchal, "Les émaux de Grandmont au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, CXXI, 1963, p. 322-329. On peut d'ailleurs se demander si le fameux masque de femme (Musée St.-Jean à Angers), dont j'ai montré qu'il ne pouvait provenir de Fontevrault ("Cimetière des Rois à Fontevrault," p. 489), n'est pas bien antérieur au milieu du treizième siècle, datation qu'on donne habituellement. Le style de cette oeuvre avec son visage allongé indique plus vraisemblablement les années 1210, alors que le masque d'homme (Musée du Louvre) serait en revanche plus récent. Pour la bibliographie voir en dernier lieu *L'Europe gothique: XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1968, no. 404, 405.

32. Voir en dernier, Schreiner, p. 7-15, Sauerländer, p. 97.

33. Leur datation est mal assurée. Pour M. Schreiner entre 1160 et 1180 et pour M. Sauerländer entre 1180 et 1195.

34. On pourrait évidemment se demander si le gisant n'a pas été commandé par la reine de son propre vivant. Outre que chronologiquement un tel fait serait difficilement admissible, il n'existe aucun exemple d'une commande du vivant à une date aussi ancienne. Il faut en effet attendre, en France du moins, le quatorzième siècle pour en trouver le premier témoignage.

35. Louis Grodecki, "The Transept Portals of Chartres Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin*, XXXIII, 1951, p. 156 et suiv. Cette chronologie a été récemment remise en cause, par M. Jan van der Meulen, au cours du colloque, voir p. 509.

36. Cet allongement du visage d'Aliénor se retrouve aussi dans des manuscrits contemporains, ainsi dans la Vierge de la Pentecôte du Psautier d'Ingeburge daté des années 1192-93-1213-14, voir Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgsaller*, Berlin, 1967, pl. xxviii.

37. Louis Grodecki, "L'an 1200," *L'Oeil*, 185, mai, 1970, p. 6.

## English Summary by Vera Ostoia

A considerably earlier date has recently been accepted for the royal tombs of Henry II, Richard the Lion Heart, and Eleanor of Aquitaine at Fontevrault. Stylistically, the three effigies fall into two groups: those of Henry II and of Richard are by the same master, or by two closely related ones. The tombs of Henry II and Richard the Lion Heart were ordered by Eleanor to be made after the same model. Eleanor's effigy, by another hand, differs in its sensitivity as seen in the new suppleness in the drapery. The folds and other details characteristically appear as if made in "repoussé" metal, thereby resembling Limoges metal tombs and casts in bronze, rather than stone sculptures. Eleanor's face appears to be a translation into stone of the metal funerary masks made in Limoges.

An attempt to recreate the royal funeral ceremony is seen in every detail. This ceremony, introduced in England in the second half of the twelfth century by the Plantagenet sovereigns after their ascension to the English throne, did not exist anywhere else in Western Europe. The effigy of King Henry closely follows the description of the royal burial by Benedict of Peterborough. A close connection between the royal consecration and burial was established when Prince Henry (heir-apparent to Henry II) died in 1183, and was clothed for his burial in the garments he wore for his consecration. The faithful portrayal of actual "lying in state" of the deceased, unique at this period, was required for political reasons; its significance is evident:

the need for the new dynasty to evince its legitimacy, and to prove its sacred character by exalting the king. The kings are shown in full regalia including crowns, scepters, gloves, swords, and spurs, but Eleanor's effigy shows no regalia except for her crown. Therefore, she was given a prayer book to hold in her hands (which has no parallel on contemporary tombs), instead of having her hands arranged in prayer as was usual in France and England. Also, while the gisants of the two kings represent dead persons, the queen's figure is that of a living person with eyes only half-closed.

A fourth gisant, of Isabella of Angoulême, made of wood, could be dated stylistically to about 1220–1230. But Isabella died in 1246, and her tomb was made in 1254. Despite the stylistic problem raised by such dating, and the shock it might produce for the strict adherents to the theory of style evolution, it can be only Isabella's effigy, and cannot be dated before the mid-thirteenth century. The wish of Henry II to have his mother's tomb modeled after Eleanor's effigy could explain its similarity in style to the earlier tomb figures, although the artist of Eleanor's tomb was unable to withstand the newer, more dynamic tendencies.

The tombs' relation to the sculptures from St.-Martin d'Angers (Yale University) is stressed less now than formerly; the difference in style may be due to the difference in date. The relationship of the Fontevrault gisants to the Coronation of the Virgin tympanum (north transept at Chartres), both dating about 1204, is also considered less close than before. The effigy of Eleanor should be compared rather to the seated Virgin and Child from Ile-de-France (Boston Museum of Fine Arts), which shows a similar elongation of the face and similar treatment of drapery folds.

All four of the tombs were probably made by local masters, familiar with carving on local tuffa stone, but also acquainted with the main contemporary achievements. The master of Eleanor's tomb interprets the art of around 1200 in a very original manner, showing a taste for the principle of "wet folds" modeling. Coming from the Meuse regions, the influence of the "antiquisant" trend of around 1200, whose most famous representative was Nicholas of Verdun, reached Fontevrault, upsetting the local stylistic traditions, and producing in the gisant of Eleanor a work of the highest artistic quality, different in style from earlier tomb figures.





FIG. 1 *Le gisant d'Isabelle d'Angoulême, Fontevrault (photo: Luc Joubert)*

EN FACE:

FIG. 3 *Le gisant d'Henri II, Fontevrault (photo: Luc Joubert)*

FIG. 4 *Le gisant de Richard Coeur de Lion,*

FIG. 2 *Le mausolée à Fontevrault, d'après la gravure de Francis Standford dans, A Genealogical History of the Kings of England, Londres, 1677*





FIG. 6 *Le gisant d'Alienor, Fontevrault (photo: Luc Joubert)*



FIG. 5 *Détail de la Fig. 4, le visage*





FIG. 7 *Détail de la Fig. 6, le visage*

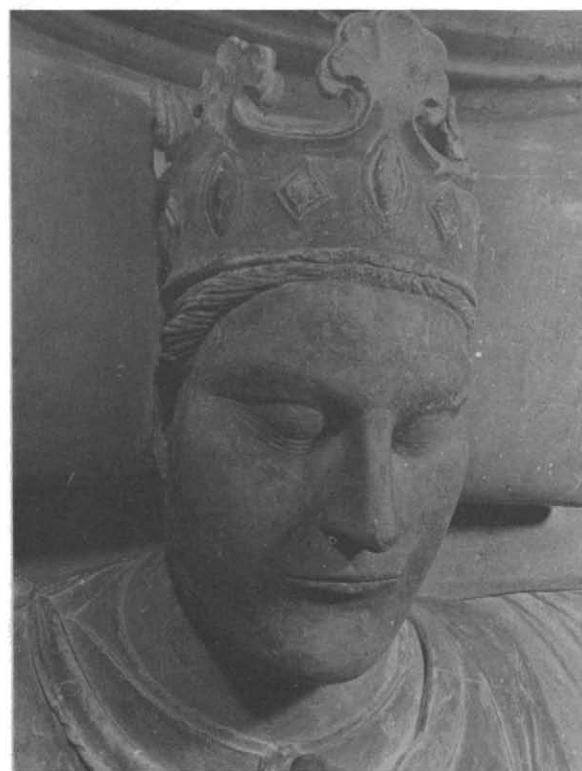


FIG. 8 *Détail de la Fig. 3, le visage*



FIG. 9 *Détail de la Fig. 4, attache de  
manteau*



FIG. 10 *Détail de la Fig. 3, manche  
du manteau*



FIG. 11 *Détail de la Fig. 3,  
plis du manteau au niveau  
de la taille*



FIG. 12 *Détail de la Fig. 3,  
les main gantées*



## Les Statues de l'Atelier de Rougemont

La sculpture des portails des églises de St.-Thibault et de Semur-en-Auxois se situe dans le second quart du treizième siècle, entre l'important ensemble iconographique de Notre-Dame de Dijon, qui a presque complètement disparu, et le portail du collatéral sud de l'ancienne abbatale de Moutiers-St.-Jean, maintenant aux Cloisters de New York. On peut reconnaître à Notre-Dame de Dijon l'influence de la sculpture de Laon-Sens-Chartres, et à Moutiers-St.-Jean celle de la sculpture rémoise, qui deviendra prépondérante à la façade occidentale de la cathédrale d'Auxerre.<sup>1</sup>

Mais la sculpture bourguignonne du treizième siècle à l'état brut—si l'on peut dire—est représentée par les statues de l'ancienne abbaye de Rougemont, située aux lisières ouest de l'Auxois, près de Montbard. La fondation de cette abbaye de religieuses bénédictines est antérieure au douzième siècle, ainsi qu'en témoigne la crypte dont l'accès a été récemment dégagé.<sup>2</sup> La reconstruction de l'église fut entreprise vers 1235, en commençant par la façade occidentale.<sup>3</sup> La nouvelle église resta inachevée, malgré les donations *operi ecclesiae Beate Marie Rubeomontis*, qui sont accompagnées de dispositions en faveur des églises de l'Auxois: St.-Thibault, Notre-Dame de Semur-en-Auxois, et Moutiers-St.-Jean.<sup>4</sup>

Les statues de Rougemont n'avaient pas jusqu'ici attiré l'attention des archéologues. Quant au tympan du portail,<sup>5</sup> sa sculpture n'avait pas été considérée pour elle-même, mais seulement pour deux cas particuliers. On a cru y voir, depuis Emile Mâle,<sup>6</sup> la plus ancienne représentation sur un portail d'un miracle apocryphe du cycle de l'Enfance du Christ, celui du Blé qui lève au passage de l'Enfant sur le chemin d'Egypte. Or cette scène existait au portail de la Nativité de Notre-Dame de Dijon, datant des



environs de 1225, qui a servi de modèle.<sup>7</sup> On a pris, d'autre part, le cas de Rougemont comme exemple d'une sculpture sûrement exécutée après la pose des matériaux du tympan et laissée inachevée. Mais cet état n'implique pas nécessairement que le tympan ait été sculpté après la mise en place des pierres du portail: il est dû surtout à la mauvaise qualité du calcaire à entroques jaurière de l'Auxois, matériau employé pour les registres supérieurs; il est possible que les parties qui semblent avoir été laissées à l'état d'ébauche aient été destinées à être remplacées par d'autres reliefs sculptés dans des blocs d'oolithe blanche, semblable à celui du registre inférieur, les deux matériaux pouvant être extraits sur place à des niveaux différents.<sup>8</sup>

Sur ce tympan, on distingue deux types de personnages particulièrement caractérisés: celui de St. Joseph, coiffé d'un bonnet laissant voir ses cheveux bouclés, celui du grand prêtre au visage rude, à la chevelure et à la barbe grossièrement peignées. On retrouve ces deux types sur le devant d'autel de la Ste.-Chapelle de Dijon.<sup>9</sup> D'autre part, le vieillard barbu de la Présentation au temple, que l'on voit aussi à Rougemont sur le bas-relief encastré au revers du mur de façade, se trouve, ainsi que les anges porteurs de couronnes, d'encensoirs, et de navettes, au linteau et à la partie supérieure du tympan de St.-Thibault.<sup>10</sup>

Sur les deux petits tympan des portails latéraux de la façade de Rougemont, on reconnaît, malgré les martelages, du côté nord, le Martyre de St. Pierre, comme sur le relief de la Ste.-Chapelle de Dijon, et, du côté sud, le Miracle de St. Nicolas ressuscitant les trois enfants.<sup>11</sup> Mais, dans les petites scènes des registres du tympan du portail central, comme sur les tympan latéraux, les personnages ont perdu à la fois leur carrure et leur majesté.

Voyons donc comment se présentent les statues.<sup>12</sup> Elles devaient être au nombre de dix: six aux piédroits du portail et quatre sur les contreforts encadrant les ouvertures du porche, reposant sur des consoles et protégées par des dais.<sup>13</sup> Elles ont eu un sort pitoyable: il n'en reste que huit.<sup>14</sup> Sur les huit, deux seulement avaient conservé leur tête, les autres ayant été décapitées, sans doute à la Révolution.<sup>15</sup>

Sept statues sur huit ont à peu près les mêmes proportions: elles mesurent environ 180 cm de hauteur et avaient une largeur d'environ 50 cm à la base. Sur ces sept statues, six représentent des apôtres, les pieds nus; ils tenaient le livre de la main gauche. Trois sont identifiables: St. Pierre qui porte la clef (Fig. 1), St. André (Fig. 2) qui présente horizontalement la croix de son supplice, et St. Jacques le Majeur qui a la panetière du pèlerin timbrée de la coquille (Fig. 3). Les apôtres sont tous revêtus d'une robe à larges manches, qui laisse dépasser l'extrémité des pieds. Le manteau, drapé transversalement, est passé sur l'épaule, d'où il retombe verticalement sur le

côté. Les chutes sont larges, raides, et légèrement aplaties; le drapé transversal détermine quelques plis obliques, où quelquefois se dessine légèrement la saillie du genou. On remarque une souplesse plus grande sur deux des statues dont le drapé rappelle la forme antique (Fig. 4 et 5).

Ces statues étaient destinées à être incorporées à l'architecture. Deux d'entre elles présentent dans le dos, dégagé du même bloc, un large montant partant de la base et atteignant la partie supérieure de la tête (Fig. 6).

Deux autres statues se distinguent du groupe des six apôtres. La première (Fig. 7), représentant un prêtre de l'Ancienne Loi, sans doute Aaron, porte sur sa robe le vêtement liturgique replié à la ceinture, avec un pectoral et une étole à décor géométrique. La différence d'aspect de cette statue tient pour une bonne part au grain plus grossier et à la teinte jaunâtre du calcaire à entroques. Cependant le personnage donne une égale impression de force; plus peut-être: il semble doué d'une énergie presque sauvage.

La deuxième statue (Fig. 8), au contraire, est mince et élancée. La robe, que ne recouvre plus le manteau, est serrée à la taille par une ceinture, à laquelle est suspendue une bourse avec ses lanières de fermeture. Il existe entre ces deux dernières statues une différence comparable à celle que l'on peut constater à la façade occidentale de la cathédrale de Reims entre le personnage "à la tête d'Ulysse" et la Reine de Saba. Il doit s'agir de ce roi "tenant un grand rouleau déployé qui lui descend jusqu'à mi-jambes," décrit au dix-huitième siècle par Dom Plancher et dont on sait qu'il avait pour pendant une reine.<sup>16</sup> On retrouve ce type de personnage fluët, retenant par la bride le manteau ouvert, à St.-Thibault, à Semur-en-Auxois, puis à Moutiers-St.-Jean sur le portail conservé aux Cloisters.<sup>17</sup>

Examinons maintenant les têtes: elles présentent toutes un large front, un nez fort, des yeux nettement cernés par les paupières sous une arcade sourcilière bien marquée, une bouche petite à la lèvre inférieure à peine saillante. Elles ont un air sévère, accentué par un froncement des sourcils, sauf les deux têtes imberbes dont la jeunesse s'accompagne d'un léger sourire.

La chevelure prend des formes variées: tantôt les cheveux sont simplement peignés et la barbe est formée de touffes de poils superposées, tantôt les mèches sont plus souples avec une boucle au départ de la raie médiane des cheveux et la barbe est faite de longues mèches ondulées; tantôt un rang de boucles encadre le visage. Mais la chevelure la plus caractéristique est celle du St. Pierre (Fig. 1): sa face est encadrée d'une foison d'épaisses boucles, qui lui élargissent considérablement le visage. Avec son front aux rides horizontales et le biseau des arcades sourcilières, cette tête n'est pas sans rappeler celle du Musée archéologique de Dijon, que Panofsky avait comparé à la tête du Salomon de Chartres.<sup>18</sup> Cependant les boucles sont

en sens inverse, et au lieu de former des cernes creux, leur enroulement se termine en saillie, comme sur la tête du Moïse d'York.<sup>19</sup> Une tête du même type est conservée au Musée de Semur-en-Auxois.<sup>20</sup> Mais la statue qui se rapproche le plus du St. Pierre est une autre statue du même saint, celle de l'église St.-Martin de Chablis (Fig. 9), provenant de l'église St.-Pierre:<sup>21</sup> on peut l'attribuer sans hésitation au Maître de l'atelier de Rougemont. En effet, on y retrouve, avec cependant moins d'autorité, les mêmes traits du visage, les mêmes boucles de la chevelure et de la barbe.

On a l'habitude de dire que l'ordonnance gothique de la façade de la Madeleine de Vézelay,<sup>22</sup> avec ses statues étagées au-dessus des fenêtres, est inspirée de celle de St.-Père-sous-Vézelay. Certes, ces deux façades sont en rapport étroit l'une avec l'autre. Mais je pense que le couronnement de la façade de l'église de St.-Père ne fait qu'imiter, maladroitement d'ailleurs, l'ordonnance de la partie médiane de Vézelay: les niches de St.-Père sont garnies de statues disparates, de date postérieure, hissées sur de disgracieux supports de hauteur inégale. De part et d'autre de chacune des cinq étroites fenêtres de la façade de la Madeleine sont placées les statues de St. Jean-l'Évangéliste, St. André, St. Jean-Baptiste, St. Pierre, St. Paul, et un saint mitré, sans doute St. Lazare.<sup>23</sup> St. Jean (Fig. 10) a la même robe, le même manteau passé sur l'épaule que les statues de Rougemont. Son visage souriant, aux traits larges, aux cheveux bouclés, rappelle celui de la tête jeune et imberbe de Rougemont (Fig. 11). Quant à la statue de St. Lazare, avec son rang de boucles de cheveux dépassant le mitre, son visage également souriant, avec une auréole de même forme et de même diamètre que celle des statues de St. Pierre, elle est aussi très proche des sculptures de Rougemont.<sup>24</sup> La statuaire de la façade de Vézelay est donc d'origine bourguignonne et ne doit pas être rattachée aux modèles chartrains.<sup>25</sup>

Enfin, de la statue du Lazare de la façade de Vézelay doit être rapprochée celle du saint évêque des Cloisters (Fig. 12) provenant de Chablis.<sup>26</sup> On y trouve la même raideur des vêtements liturgiques et ce visage jeune dont le modèle rugueux s'éclaire du même sourire que celui d'un des apôtres de Rougemont. Cette statue provenant de Chablis et représentant sans doute St. Martin est, comme le St. Pierre de Chablis, une oeuvre du Maître de Rougemont datant du milieu du treizième siècle.

## Notes

1. P. Quarré, "La sculpture bourguignonne du XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle," *Bulletin de la Société des Amis du Musée de Dijon*, 1964-66, pp. 19-23.
2. P. Quarré, dans *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, XXVI, p. 124. Les constructions antérieures au treizième siècle doivent faire l'objet d'un mémoire de Philippe Leclerc à l'Université de Lyon.
3. Sur l'architecture de cette église, voir Robert Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, Londres, 1960, pp. 75-76 et 166-167; et P. Quarré, *Eglises de Côte-d'Or*, Paris, 1968, p. 19.
4. Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, IV, pp. 446-447; *ibid.*, V, pp. 204 et 220.
5. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, ill. 150.
6. *L'art religieux en France au XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1898.
7. P. Quarré, "Les sculptures des portails et de la façade de Notre-Dame de Dijon," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, XXVI, 1963-69, pp. 305-339.
8. L'examen de la pierre en lames minces a été fait par M. Tintant au laboratoire de géologie de l'Université de Dijon.
9. Exposition: *Huit siècles de sculpture française*, Musée du Louvre, 1964, no. 21.
10. P. Quarré, "Le portail de l'église de Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois," *Bulletin Monumental*, 1965, pp. 181-192.
11. On voit aussi trois apôtres et un évêque aux clés des travées des bas-côtés de la nef.
12. Dom Plancher, dans son *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1739, I, p. 518, signale quatre grandes statues sur les "quatre grands piliers." Il semble qu'il ait pu en tenir deux autres de chaque côté du portail central: le St. Pierre dont la base est circulaire pouvait s'adapter au support-colonne. D'autre part il existe un socle surmonté d'un dais sur chacun des retours latéraux du porche, moins saillant que ceux du devant.
13. Les dais couronnés d'architectures, où alternent tours crénelées et frontons triangulaires, sont inspirés de ceux de l'église Notre-Dame de Dijon: Quarré, "Les sculptures des portails."
14. Nous ne comptons dans ces dix statues ni la Vierge qui se trouve au trumeau, ni le personnage dont il ne reste que la partie inférieure du corps.
15. Deux statues ont tant bien que mal recouvré leur tête. Les deux autres "restaurations" sont inacceptables (nous reproduisons ces deux dernières statues en ne laissant pas apparaître la reconstitution).
16. Dom Plancher fait remarquer qu'ils "paraissent l'un et l'autre le doigt de la main droite par dessous l'attache de leur manteau qui pend par derrière et est attaché au cou par devant." Il y a là une indication qui évoque les statues de Reims, dont on retrouvera aussi la marque à Burgos.
17. J. J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters*, New York, 1963, p. 14.
18. W. Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg*, Berlin, 1966, fig. 191; *L'Europe gothique: XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Musée du Louvre, 1968, no. 37; *The Year 1200*, I, no. 25.
19. *The Year 1200*, I, no. 30.
20. P. Quarré, "Les types de têtes dans la sculpture bourguignonne du XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, XXVI, pp. 95-97.
21. F. Salet, "Chablis," *Congrès archéologique d'Auxerre*, 1958, p. 210.
22. F. Salet, *La Madeleine de Vézelay*, Paris, 1948, p. 97; C. Oursel, *L'Art en Bourgogne*, Paris, 1953, p. 103; cette opinion est profondément ancrée et l'on considère généralement que la sculpture du pignon de St.-Père-sous-Vézelay est "d'excellente qualité, alors que celle du

pignon de Vézelay est assez médiocre": *Centre international d'études romanes*, 1969, IV, p. 18.

23. Je limiterai l'examen aux statues des extrémités, en écartant les quatre autres qui ont été largement restaurées.

24. La présence au dépôt lapidaire de Vézelay d'un fragment de chapiteau (cf. V. H. Debidour, *Vézelay*, Paris, 1962, fig. 23) dont l'attribution au Maître de Rougement est indiscutable, confirme l'intervention de ce maître à la façade de Vézelay.

25. S'il peut y avoir un écart de quelques

années entre les statues disposées de part et d'autre des fenêtres et celles qui occupent le fronton au cintre brisé, elles n'en pas moins toutes une même origine bourguignonne. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de comparer les anges présentant la couronne ou ceux qui tiennent encensoir et navette avec ceux de Rougement, St.-Thibault, ou Semur-en-Auxois.

26. Rorimer, *The Cloisters*, p. 106. Même si l'on veut comparer cette statue au St. Etienne du trumeau de St.-Thibault, elle doit être datée du milieu du treizième siècle, les statues de St.-Thibault étant contemporaines des sculptures du tympan et des voussures du même portail.

## English Summary by Timothy B. Husband

The portal sculpture of the churches of St.-Thibault and Semur-en-Auxois falls in the period between the iconographically important sculptural programs of Notre-Dame of Dijon and the south portal of the abbey church of Moutiers-St.-Jean, now preserved in The Cloisters. The influence of Laon, Sens, and Chartres can be recognized in Dijon, and that of the western façade of Auxerre in Moutiers-St.-Jean.

Thirteenth-century sculpture of a less "finished" nature is represented by the statues from the Benedictine abbey of Rougement, situated on the western border of Auxois near Montbard. The foundation is anterior to the twelfth century, and the uncompleted rebuilding program began with the west façade in 1235.

The portal sculpture of Rougement has been noted (incorrectly) as containing the earliest representation of an apocryphal miracle of the Infancy cycle, and as an example of sculpture executed on unfinished sections of installed stone.

Two characteristic figural types are distinguished in the tympanum. One is represented by St. Joseph and the other by a high priest; both can be recognized in a frontal in the Ste.-Chapelle in Dijon. The latter type is found not only elsewhere in Rougement, but in parts of the sculptural decoration of St.-Thibault as well.

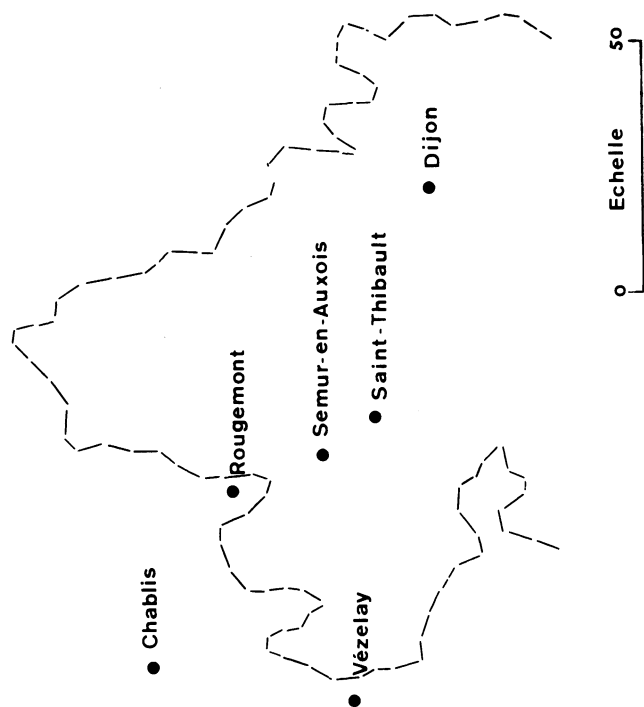
Originally there must have been ten statues at Rougement; eight remain,

all but two without heads. Seven are of the same proportions, six represent apostles, of which SS. Peter, Andrew, and James the Greater are recognizable. Of the remaining two, one represents an Old Testament priest, probably Aaron. This figure is distinguished from the apostles primarily by its coarser grained and rather yellowish stone, but it nonetheless imparts a similar if not greater sense of strength and energy. The other statue, by contrast, is thin and slight, a type that reappears at St.-Thibault, Semur-en-Auxois, and the Moutiers-St.-Jean portal at The Cloisters.

Certain facial characteristics and the handling of the hair, best represented by the head of St. Peter, can be compared with the head of Solomon at Chartres, of Moses in York, and a similar head in the museum of Semur-en-Auxois. But, the closest comparison is with another figure of St. Peter now in the church of St.-Martin in Chablis, originally from the church of St.-Pierre. This figure can be attributed to the Master of Rougemont.

Flanking the narrow windows of La Madeleine in Vézelay are six statues of saints. Of these, St. John has the same type of robe and mantle as the Rougemont statues, and shares several stylistic elements as well. The mitred figure, undoubtedly St. Lazare, recalls St. Peter and the work of the Rougemont Master, although the statuary of the façade of Vézelay is Burgundian in origin and cannot be tied to Chartrian models.

Finally, the figure of St. Lazare recalls that of a bishop saint, undoubtedly St. Martin, which originated in Chablis and is now in The Cloisters. Having many similarities with the Rougemont apostles, this statue, as well as the St. Peter from Chablis, can be attributed to the Master of Rougemont.



*Rougemont et environs*



FIG. 1 *St. Pierre, Rougemont*



FIG. 2 *St. André, Rougemont*

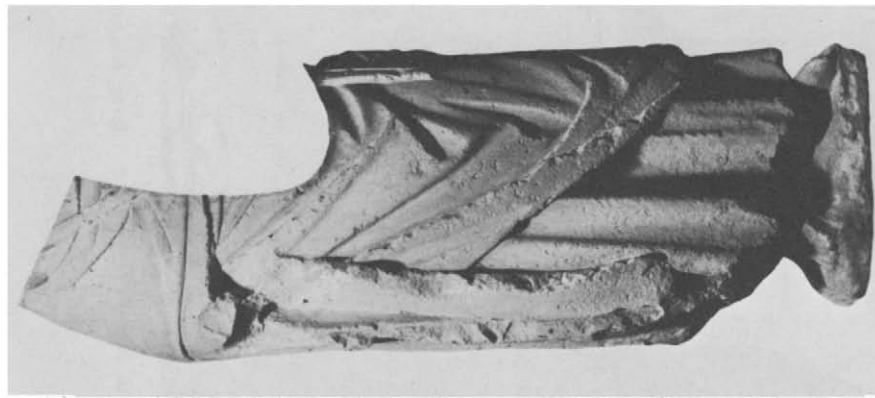


FIG. 3 *St. Jacques, Rougemont*

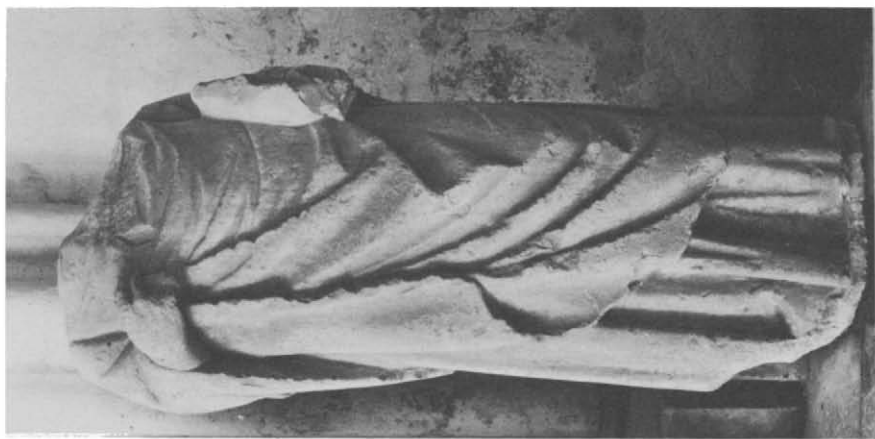


FIG. 4 *Apôtre, Rougemont*





FIG. 5 *Apôtre, Rougemont*

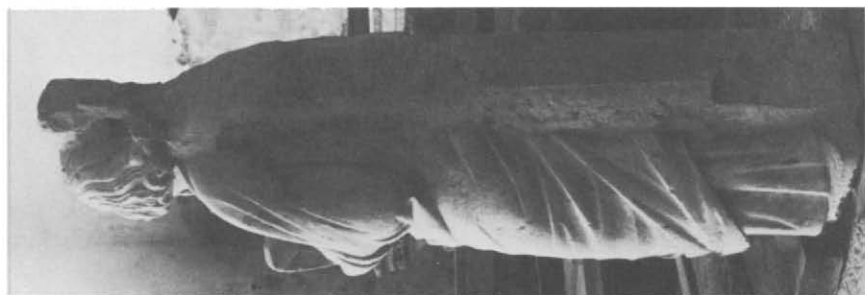


FIG. 6 *Apôtre, vu de dos, Rougemont*



FIG. 7 *Aaron, Rougemont*

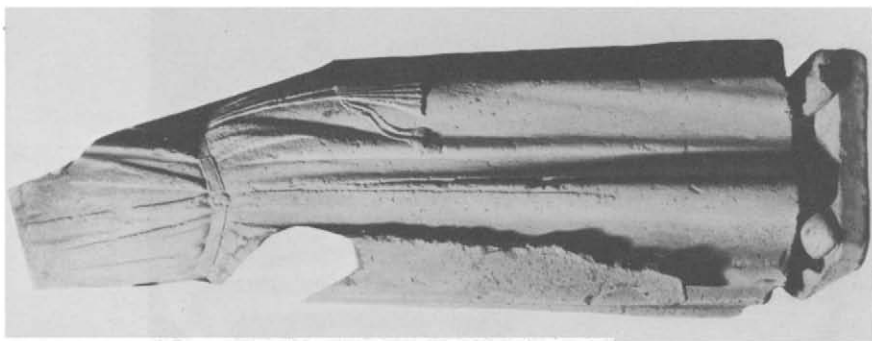


FIG. 8 *Roi (?), Rougemont*



FIG. 11 *Tête de St. Jean (?)*,  
Rougemont

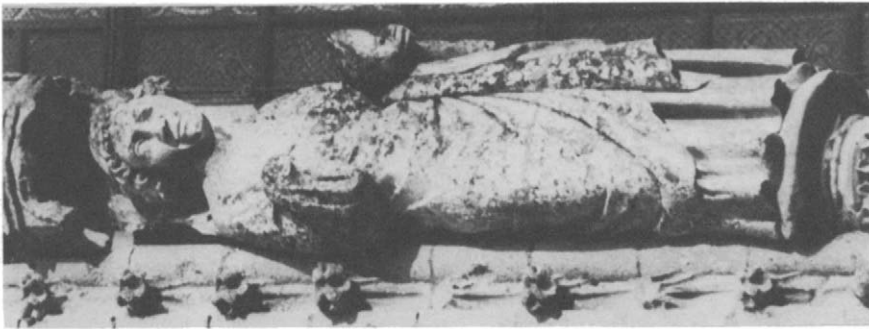


FIG. 10 *St. Jean, Vézelay*



FIG. 9 *St. Pierre, Chablis*

FIG. 12 *St. Martin, Chablis, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 47.101.14*



# The English Seal as a Measure of Its Time

Hitherto, in art historical circles, seals, while recognized as having some interest, have received only rather fitful attention. This probably results from a certain snobbery, since seals, for the most part, survive only as wax impressions attached to the documents they were intended to authenticate. These impressions, particularly of seals of corporate bodies such as abbeys, often were made much later than the matrix. Yet, even when impressed on wax at a later date, they are still works of art of the date of the original matrix. These seals were the possessions of great and powerful individuals and institutions. They, therefore, may reflect artistic styles of high and original order, and their iconography often expresses interesting ideas. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, by their very nature, seals were highly mobile, for impressions were spread far and wide by means of the documents to which they were attached. Who can say what stylistic influences they may not have had?

The medieval seal often had two faces, the obverse and the reverse, made from two separate matrices, which may be of different dates. Equally, a seal may have one main face and, on the reverse, a counterseal which is usually smaller and often formed by an engraved gem, frequently from a signet ring.

The first seal to be discussed shows an antique gem transformed into the image of an Anglo-Saxon saint, in much the same way that the face of the famous image of Ste. Foy at Conques is contrived from an antique funeral mask. This gem forms the reverse of the capitular seal of the great cathedral priory of Durham. The obverse is a simple cross with an inscription reading *SIGILLUM SANCTI CUTHBERTI*, the lettering of which suggests a late eleventh-century date, probably from the time of the introduction of the Benedictines into the priory in 1083. The inscription on the reverse is certainly later than

that on the obverse. The main design is formed from a magnificent intaglio of the head of Jupiter Sarapis wearing the modius, or corn measure, on his head. The inscription reads somewhat surprisingly *CAPUT SANCTI OSWALDI REGIS*, and it is clear that the modius has been mistaken for a crown. Now, there were two great relics preserved at Durham. The most important was the head of St. Oswald, king of Deira, who died in 641. The head of Jupiter Sarapis has become the head of Oswald. It is not known when this Sarapis seal was first used, but it was before 1208. The lettering of the inscription suggests that it was near 1200. Thus, on the capitular seal of Durham are commemorated the two great saints of the house. It must not for a moment be supposed that the Durham community knew that they were transforming a pagan god into a Christian saint, though they may have recognized that the gem was ancient. What was important was that here was a crowned head, and therefore a good candidate to be called St. Oswald.

Such metamorphoses are not unique, as may be seen on the reverse of the great capitular seal of the Augustinian abbey of Waltham Holy Cross, located a little north of London. Waltham had originally been a small house of secular priests founded in the tenth century by one Tovi in honor of a miraculous cross. This humble establishment had been much enlarged by Harold Godwinson, afterward king of England, and dedicated in the year 1060. In 1177, this Saxon foundation was dissolved by King Henry II, and a group of Augustinian canons from various houses in England was brought in; a priory was formed, which in 1184 became an abbey.

In its most developed form, the great seal of Waltham is an elaborate affair, large and round. On the obverse, there is a representation of the Holy Cross supported by angels with an inscription reading: *HOC EST SIGILLUM ECCLESIE SANCTE CRUCIS DE WALTHAM* placed within a vesica-shaped band. The reverse is similarly arranged. Within the vesica are three gems surrounded by an inscription saying: *HOC CARTE FEDUS CUM TOVI FIRMAT HAROLDUS* (This charter granted by Tovi Harold confirms). The large gem in the center shows two heads probably intended to represent Castor and Pollux. Whether this gem is an antique or a barbaric copy is uncertain. What is, however, quite clear is that the canons of Waltham equated these two heads with their founders Tovi and Harold. Before attaining its final circular form, the seal went through various changes. Before 1201 only the vesica obverse was in use with a small gem counterseal. By the first quarter of the fourteenth century, probably earlier, the latter had been supplanted by the vesica-shaped obverse with the two-headed intaglio. In the middle of the fourteenth century, the old vesica-shaped seals were set into the round framework, thus forming the final design of the seal. It is uncertain why this change took place, but it was probably to bring

the design into line with a fashion for large, round capitular seals which had evolved during the course of the thirteenth century. It would be interesting to trace the source of these large, round monastic and capitular seals. One possible inspiration may have been the great seals of the sovereigns. In England, a number of them appear toward the middle of the thirteenth century. Christ Church, Canterbury, and St. Augustine's both had them, and Glastonbury, always a rival of Christ Church, quickly followed suit.

The manner in which a monastic seal of this kind evolved its iconography may be seen in the seal of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. It is rather later in date than some of those which have just been mentioned, being of the early fourteenth century. It shows on the obverse SS. Peter and Paul enthroned and below them the baptism of King Aethelbert of Kent by St. Augustine, the ceremony being watched by Queen Bertha. On the reverse is St. Augustine seated in glory between St. Hadrian on his right and St. Mildred on his left. In the canopies of the edifice under which he sits are the figures of the early archbishops of Canterbury whose bodies were buried in St. Augustine's. Now it can be shown that on both sides of this seal there are elements that are derived from an earlier capitular seal. This earlier seal is of some interest as it is dated by an inscription on the obverse to the tenth year of the reign of King Richard, i.e., between 3 September 1198 and 6 April 1199. Birch in his catalogue of seals in the British Museum has given the date incorrectly as 1189. It will be seen that the style in which this seal is executed is a good example of the art of its date, and as a dated object not by any means negligible. On the obverse is St. Augustine in episcopal panoply wearing the pallium. He is flanked by the heads of two monks who peep out of quatrefoils and recall certain contemporary sculptures still preserved in Canterbury Cathedral. Now this enthroned figure was clearly the inspiration of the central figure of the saint on the reverse of the great fourteenth-century seal. The reverse of the 1198/9 seal is more elaborate in design than the obverse. It shows SS. Peter and Paul holding between them a roundel in which are a number of saints' heads. At the feet of the two apostles crouches a figure that is labeled *NERO*, the emperor under whom they suffered martyrdom. The composition recalls the illustration of the opening words of Psalm 110: "The Lord said unto my Lord: sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool" in the Utrecht Psalter and its Canterbury derivatives. Nero disappears from the fourteenth-century seal and in his place is a curious devil's head flanked by a lion and a dragon deriving probably from the well-known motif of *Christ super aspidem*. It is, therefore, clear that the fourteenth-century seal of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, is an elaboration of the theme of the seal of about the year 1200.

It must never be forgotten that in an age that was still only semiliterate,

the seal was something extremely personal and extremely precious. Such words as "hanc cartam meam presentem sigilli mei impressione roboravi" or "in huius rei securitatem huic scripto sigillum meum apposui" are not just empty phrases, but serve to underline the authenticating virtue of the seal. It is small wonder that seals were decorated with the most cherished images of the time, even if Jupiter Sarapis becomes a royal saint and Castor and Pollux a couple of Anglo-Saxon worthies.