

An eleventh century gospel book from Le Cateau.

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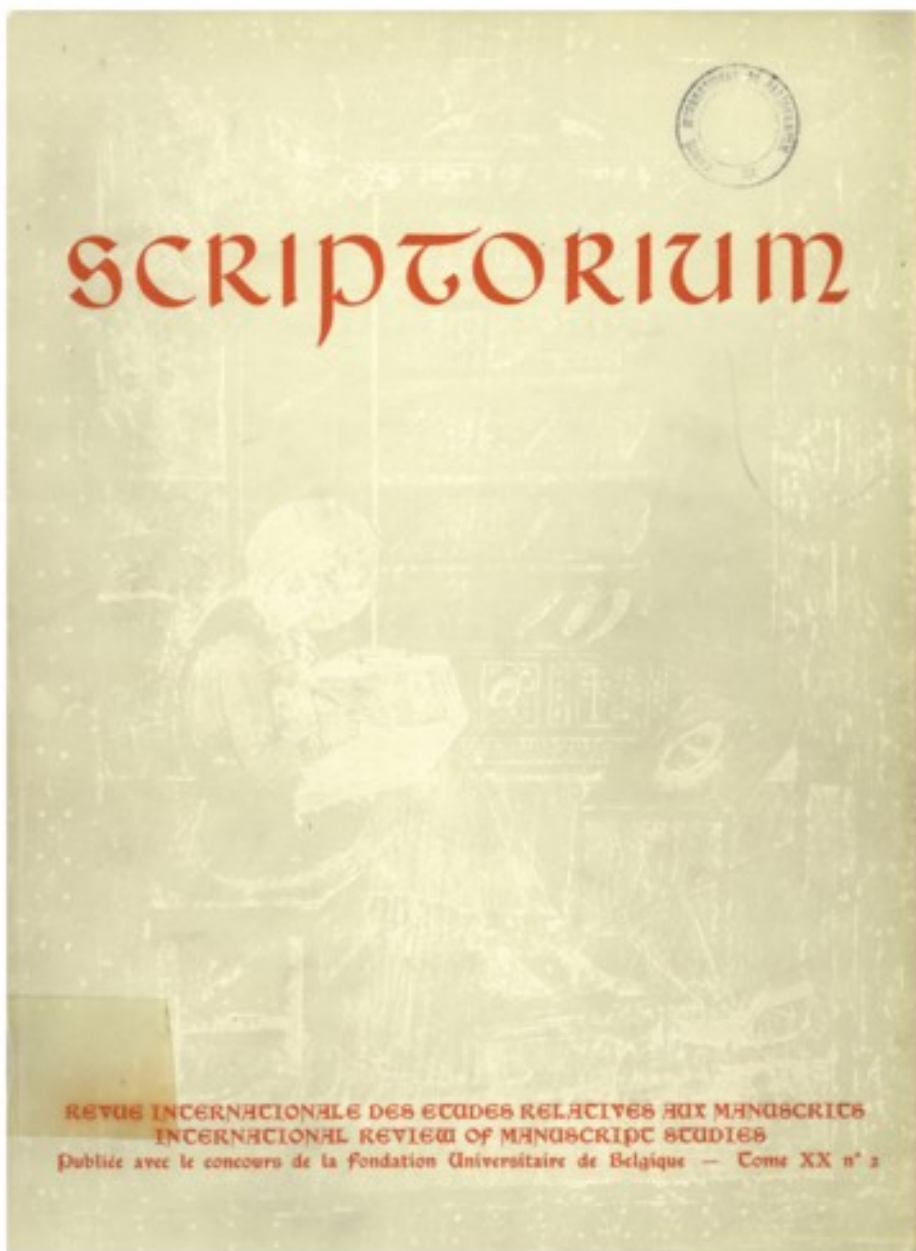
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An eleventh century gospel book from Le Cateau

[article]

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[Scriptorium](#) Année 1966 20-2 pp. 248-264

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Texte intégral

AN ELEVENTH CENTURY GOSPEL BOOK FROM LE CATEAU

Among the McClean manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum in there is a fine Gospel

Book of the eleventh century which has attracted little attention (1). A seventeenth century inscription on the upper margin of the first folio indicates that it was formerly in the of the monastery of Saint-André du Cateau -Cambrésis in the diocese of Cambrai, but marginal invocations to St. Maxellendis (fol. 25), the object of a local cult, show that the work was already at Saint-André in the XVIth century. The monastery was founded in 1023 by Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai and dedicated by him two years later, with his brother Elbertus as first abbot (2). The possessions of the new foundation were confirmed in a charter of Conrad I dated 1033 (3). Gerard's successor Liebertus his predecessor's work on behalf of the monastery, conceding to it benefactions. The bodies of St. Maxellendis and St. Sare were among its venerated relics (4).

The Fitzwilliam manuscript was acquired by its former owner Mr. McClean at the auction sale of the collection of J. Barrois owned by the Earl of Ashburnham in 1901 (5). We know nothing of the circumstances of its removal from Le Cateau, whose manuscripts were deposited upon the secularization of the monastery in the Cambrai municipal library. During the nineteenth century, the volume received its present green tooled leather binding incorporating in the front cover a ninth century carving of Christ

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in Majesty (6). The major interest of the manuscript lies in its remarkable decoration, consisting, in addition to the anticipated portraits of the of Canon Tables and the initials of the four gospels as well as their prefaces. There is also an unusual dedication miniature and preceding Matthew and John, are full page designs in which the incipit is singled out for ornamental elaboration, the latter including roundels containing The fourth gospel has an additional prefatory design the verso of the last folio preceding John's portrait and showing the symbols of the evangelists surrounding the Agnus Dei. On the recto and verso of a leaf at the end of the manuscript, finally, is a drawing recording a reliquary of undetermined identity and a list of relics which it housed.

The style of the miniatures is extremely close to that of MSS. of the second quarter of the eleventh century from the Abbey of St. Vaast which was some thirty miles from Le Cateau. Outstanding among these are a Gospel Book now at Boulogne and the great three-volume Bible now at Arras (7). The miniature in the Boulogne Gospels of St. Jerome's dialogue with Pope Damasus (Pl. 19(a)) may be compared with the miniature of St. Matthew in the McClean Gospels (Pl. 19(5)). In both the main figures are represented as enthroned but they are flattened so that there is no indication of a spatial setting. They are both at a transitional stage towards the spatial formulas of the Romanesque period by which the figure is presented before a background rather than in a spatial setting.

In both miniatures the organic body beneath the drapery is only summarily represented, though the contradictions are more obvious in the St. Matthew. The round of drapery

above his left leg, for instance, has no relation to the leg below, whose foot is turned to the right. The right arm is also unnaturally small and the right hand is smaller than the left.

The colour scheme in the two miniatures is also similar with orange and the same shade of grey-blue particularly noticeable. Much white paint is used giving a "chalky" appearance to the miniatures. St. Matthew's overmantle is red-brown, the under-mantle dark blue. The drapery in both miniatures is painted in broad sections and then the folds are indicated by pen-drawn lines in black or white. The effect is rich and varied but it is not yet organized in contrasting blocks or sections as in fully Romanesque

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miniatures. Such detailed points of resemblance with the St. Vaast Gospels as the curtains with their series of "V" folds and the eyes with their dot as pupil in the centre of the iris should also be noted.

The decorative motifs of the Le Cateau Gospels have their closest parallels in St. Vaast illumination also. Similar interlace frames deriving from ninth century MSS. of the Franco-Saxon School are found in the Arras Bible and the Boulogne Gospels. The plant scrolls, for instance in the incipit page of St. John's Gospel (PI. 21(b)), show the same thickly entwining tendrils as St. Vaast initials. The design of this same page by which the letters are woven into a carpet of twisting scrolls, can also be paralleled in a number of St. Vaast MSS. (8). And the same motifs occur such as the snapping animal heads often with a leaf protruding from their mouths. A detailed comparison of the lion masks and leaves on the St. Mark frame (PI. 20) with similar corner heads in the Arras Bible is further suggestive evidence (9). Many of these decorative motifs at St. Vaast are derived, as Dr. Schulten has demonstrated, from Anglo-Saxon art, and the McClean portraits should be compared for their style in particular with an Anglo-Saxon Gospels of unknown provenance now at Pembroke College, Cambridge (10). But the particular combination of Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon sources in the McClean Gospels can only derive from St. Vaast.

There may have been two hands at work in the McClean Gospels. There seems to be a slight difference in the style of the St. Mark who is larger in scale and more broadly treated than the other figures. What was the relationship of the artist or artists of the Gospels to the St. Vaast and when and where was the Gospel book made?

That it was made for Le Cateau seems fairly certain, since the miniature on fol. 10v., to be considered below, shows figures who are probably Sts Andrew and Maxellendis. The style of the miniatures is so close to that of St. Vaast that the Gospels may have been made in the St. Vaast scriptorium for presentation to Le Cateau, as is thought to have happened

with a Sacramentary for St. Denis (11). But the McClean miniatures cannot be attributed to any of the artists who illuminated the surviving manuscripts of St. Vaast. The surviving evidence does not suggest that any other centre might have produced the Gospels, though two other should be mentioned, since they are of about the same date and show in their illumination a rather similar combination of Franco-Saxon and Anglo-Saxon sources. They are a Gospel Book of unknown provenance

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now in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (12), and a Psalter connected with Soignies in Hainaut (13). Of these the first comes close to the McClean Gospels in its figure style particularly, but it shows in addition Ottonian influence in its purple stained pages. And the iconography of its miniatures is quite different.

If the McClean Gospels was produced in the scriptorium of Le Cateau it is an isolated work though later manuscripts from the monastery do survive. Though it seems very likely, therefore, it can not be proved that the manuscript was made at, as well as for Le Cateau.

The Boulogne Gospels is dated by Dr. Schulten to the second quarter of the eleventh century. In the Le Cateau Gospels linear drawing is less in evidence. Since its style does not approach the more thickly painted and modelled miniatures of the St. Denis Sacramentary, however, which Dr. Schulten has shown good reasons for supposing a product of St. Vaast, and in which Ottonian influence becomes apparent, it probably belongs also to the second quarter of the eleventh century. If the artist was copying a St. Vaast Gospels there might have been a slight time lag and a date of towards 1050 may therefore be proposed.

McClean 19 has the usual Evangelist portraits (PL 19(6), 20, 22(b)) of which three are frontal, the St. Mark and the St. Luke preceding, unusually, the prefaces rather than the "incipits" of their Gospels. Only the St. John is shown in three-quarter view and tilted back on his throne as if in surprise at the descent of the Eagle towards him. The other three Evangelists all face towards the right, the St. Matthew writing, the St. Luke dipping his pen in an inkwell and the St. Mark holding his pen up in the air.

The miniatures derive from Carolingian Evangelist portraits going back in turn to Late Antique MSS. Certain features link them with the Carolingian Gospel Books of the "Court School" (the so-called "Ada" Group) of the early ninth century, particularly their frontal positions with the pen held up or dipped in the ink-well, the high thrones with "port-holes", and the framing curtains above the Sts. Matthew and Mark (14). The "Court School" types have, however, been altered in a number of ways both by omissions and by additions so that they bear little relationship to their sources. This process of adaptation

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School portraits had been going on in England and on the Continent in the tenth and early eleventh centuries.

Two features in the McClean portraits are exceptional : first the Evangelist Symbols of the first three portraits which are placed below the Evangelist to the right, and secondly the use of the large scrolls.

Evangelist symbols bearing scrolls are found in the Gospels of the Carolingian Rheims School where they are placed in a direct relationship with their Evangelists who look up to them for inspiration (15). The St. John harks back to this type but whereas in the earlier examples the has a codex or scroll to write on in addition to that carried by the symbol, the St. John receives his scroll directly from the Eagle (PI. 22(b)).

In a number of late tenth century and eleventh century Gospels, both the symbol which had been very small in the Rheims originals, and the scrolls are enlarged. Examples can be quoted from England, North France, and West and South Germany (16). By linking physically the Evangelist with his symbol the artist intended probably to emphasize the divine of the Gospels. But this use of the scrolls is so widespread a that it is justifiable to see in it not only a meaningful new but also a stylistic principle. The swinging rhythm of the scroll enabled the artist to interweave his composition with an interlacing In a typically Romanesque manner he is here applying the formal principles which govern the decorative plant page of the incipit of St. John's Gospel to the miniatures with the figures of the Evangelists. The miniatures exemplify therefore, that pre-Carolingian current with its use of interlacing space which has been emphasized as one of the strands of the Romanesque style (17).

The Evangelist symbol of St. Matthew sits below the saint on a throne and raises his left hand to speak. St. Matthew looks not at him but rather up to his right from where he would more normally fly down. No other example of the angel enthroned in this way has so far come to light. Angels on the ground even are unusual but they do occur in two Anglo- Saxon Gospels of roughly contemporary date. The first now at Besançon shows the angel behind the Evangelist, an iconography deriving from the ninth century Utrecht Psalter (18). But the second, one of the two Anglo- Saxon Gospels presented by Judith of Flanders to Weingarten, shows the

Evangelist writing with the angel in front of him holding a scroll as it were for the Saint to copy (19).

This miniature recalls the famous inspiring figure in the St. Matthew portrait in the Lindisfarne Gospels; but in both these instances, as in other examples, the inspiring figure is standing not enthroned (20). Nevertheless the model copied by the Le Cateau artist may have been a version of this iconography but with the angel seated. Or the Le Cateau artist himself may have changed a standing into a seated figure, perhaps by analogy with a dictation scene, such as that of St. Gregory the Great to Paul the Deacon.

The position of the Ox and of the Lion in the lower right-hand corner is equally unusual (21). They are presumably so placed by analogy with the angel. But a rather similar arrangement in a different context must now be mentioned. This is in the Canon Tables of the Boulogne Gospels. These Canon Tables contain Evangelist symbols in part deriving from the Court School series, and also Evangelists (22). They are however "m" type arches and the symbols are, probably for this reason, placed either beside or underneath the Canon Tables. In the margins of fol. 10v, Canon VI, Matthew compared with Mark, and fol. 12, Canon X, passages found only in Matthew and only in Mark, an Evangelist figure sits frontally above and holds a scroll which extends down below and twists round a lion. Now the Evangelist is not winged so he cannot represent the symbol of St. Matthew and on fol. 10v he has his arm outstretched in a gesture which could only have meaning if he had a pen in the right hand and a lectern to his left. What has happened here, it may be suggested, is that the artist of the Boulogne Gospels was using as a model an Evangelist portrait of St. Mark in which the lion was placed below the Saint as in McClean 19, fol. 41. This model is unlikely to have been McClean 19 itself whose style derives from the Boulogne Gospels style as we have seen.

The model may well have been an Anglo-Saxon Gospels which would have been at St. Vaast, and the St. Vaast artist, perhaps because he did

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not include Evangelist portraits in his own Gospels (23), referred to the Anglo-Saxon portraits in this way. It is interesting that for Canon VII, Matthew compared with John, the Evangelist sits in the left margin and the Eagle is shown in the right margin. In other words if this is based on the supposed model's St. John portrait, in that the Eagle was in the air not on the ground. Otherwise they could have been placed one above the other in the right-hand margin as before. Here again McClean 19 agrees with this putative St. John portrait.

If the supposed Anglo-Saxon model was at St. Vaast then the McClean artist may have

copied it directly. Against the simpler solution that he copied his portraits from the Boulogne Canon tables is the difficulty of where he could have got the idea for his seated Matthew symbol from, an iconography which as we have seen is approached most nearly in an Anglo- Saxon MS.

McClean 19, therefore, becomes important for the reconstruction of a lost Anglo-Saxon Gospels which in style probably resembled the Gospels of Pembroke College, Cambridge, mentioned above.

The Ox of St. Luke in Canon V of the Boulogne Gospels holds in its mouth a scroll of which St. Matthew's angel holds the other end . This may be the origin of the scroll passing through the mouth of the beasts in the McClean miniatures. The idea behind this curious iconography might be similar to that of Ezekiel who was commanded to eat the scroll before preaching, a kind of inner assimilation of the word (24).

The McClean Gospels contains a number of other miniatures which, though found in other Gospel Books, are not standard as are the Canon Tables and Evangelist portraits. First there is the Dedication picture on fol. 10v after the Canon Tables and before St. Matthew's Gospel (PL 22(a)). This is fairly frequent in richly illuminated liturgical MSS. of this date (25). Though no exactly similar prototype can be quoted, the general arrangement is familiar with a scene of intercession in which the saint acts as intermediary between heaven and earth. The central figure is therefore certainly the Christ though He has no cross halo.

The identity of the other figures is uncertain since neither bears an inscription. A comparison with a slightly later dedication page in an Homi-

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liary made at Le Cateau will be helpful (26). In this the Christ is flanked by two figures with inscriptions, that on His right being St. Andrew and on His left St. Maxellendis, whose relics the Abbey possessed from an early date. The combination of male and female saint in McClean 19 would certainly fit Le Cateau, therefore, and since it is unusual, supports the Le Cateau provenance of the manuscript if the identification is accepted (27). If the MS. is dated on stylistic grounds in the later second quarter, then the Abbot might be Elbertus, 1025-45, and the book may have been made in connection with the foundation.

On fol. 90v preceding the St. John portrait there is a miniature of the Lamb surrounded by Evangelist symbols (Pl. 21 (a)). Placed here it refers to the words of St. John the Baptist given in St. John's Gospel, ch. I, v. 29, "Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi". The Evangelist symbols on the other hand refer to the Apocalyptic vision. The scene of the Adoration of the Lamb is unusual in Gospel Books (28). In manuscript illumination it

occurs, though still rather infrequently, in Sacramentaries where the Early Christian monumental scene of the Adoration is adopted as an for the Feast of All Saints (29).

It is therefore probably no coincidence that two examples in Gospel Books, both placed before the Gospel of St. John, come from monasteries close to Le Cateau. The one is a ninth century Gospels from St. Amand (30), the other the eleventh century Gospels from St. Vaast, now in Boulogne, earlier. The St. Amand miniature shows the Lamb in the centre of a Maltese cross with the four symbols in the corners and the whole inscribed in a circle. At St. Vaast the Lamb is in a large roundel and the symbols are placed in the corners of the square frame.

The cross shape is still discernible in the Le Cateau miniature and it seems likely that the origin of the miniature as used in these Gospel Books lies in a decorated frontispiece based on a design including the cross such

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as survives in a ninth century Orosius now at Laon (31). The Le Cateau artist has added angels at the top and the bottom with scrolls, and the has been reorganized in an unusual series of interlacing roundels reminiscent of eastern textile designs. The inscriptions read "Quattuor hi proceres sunt mundi scepra tenentes" and "Matteus, Markus, Lukas, Sanctusque (Johannes)".

The symbols are in the same order as in the St. Vaast Gospels but they are all full length and they are the centrifugal type turning back their heads into the centre. They also all carry scrolls, not codices. The Lamb also differs from the other two manuscripts in that it turns its head back over its shoulder and has a chalice in its front legs. A similar position for the Lamb is found in the Codex Aureus at Regensburg in which the of the Lamb by the Elders is shown (32). There also the chalice appears but the Lamb does not hold it. It seems, therefore, that the Le Cateau artist may here have had other prototypes to rely on for this besides those available at St. Vaast.

The incipit page of St. John's Gospel on the verso of the portrait shows the opening monogram "IN" framed by four corner roundels (PL 21(6)). In these are winged figures two of which appear to carry shields and cross staffs, the third a cross staff only, and the fourth blows a trumpet and holds a torch (?). Frame pages with medallions containing figures are fairly common at this date and by the end of the eleventh century they could include symbolism of a very complicated nature (33). However, since there are no inscriptions and the attributes are not clear, the meaning the artist intended these figures to have is obscure. One possibility is that it is the four cardinal Virtues that are represented, since they are sometimes shown in Gospel Books and even as in the Cologne Hitda Codex combined with the Incipit of St. John's Gospel (34). The top right-

hand figure with shield and cross staff, in fact could stand convincingly for "Fortitudo", and the curious grasp of the shield by the bottom left-hand figure might suggest that the scales of "Justitia" have been misunderstood. That would leave "Prudentia" and "Temperantia" for the other two figures but their usual attributes

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of a book for the former and outstretched arms for the latter are lacking (35).

Of the other decorated pages that containing the St. Luke portrait also has corner medallions in which are half-length angels. Here no iconographical significance appears to be intended and such angels in are common particularly in Anglo-Saxon Gospel books. The other medallion with a figure is that in the "I" for the incipit of St. Mark, fol. 42V. In that Christ blesses and holds up a book. A head and shoulders figure is contained in the incipit "I" of St. Mark's Gospel in three "Ada" School MSS, the Abbeville, Harley and Soissons Gospels (36), and a blessing Christ flanked by angels is enthroned in the incipit "I" of St. John's Gospels in a St. Bertin MS. decorated by an Anglo-Saxon artist about 1000, which could have been known to the Le Cateau artist (37). His initial stands, therefore, between the Carolingian and the Anglo-Saxon examples as the figure is half-length.

Finally there are the Canon Tables to consider. A very full of earlier and contemporary Canons would be necessary to establish their derivation and this cannot be attempted here. They are on eleven pages and are of Nordenfalk's "m" type (38). They are decorated with interlace and vegetal motifs and with a certain number of birds, animals, and humans, used on capitals or imposts.

Two features are to be noted. First the arches on fols. 5-7v and on fol. 10 intertwine, joining for instance columns 1 and 3, 2 and 4, 3 and 5. The arches are sometimes round and sometimes pointed. This type of design seems to originate in manuscripts of the Carolingian Metz school (39). Probably from there it was adopted in Anglo-Saxon MSS. and these may be the Le Cateau artist's source. Secondly where more than one Canon is included on a page, fol. 7[^] (Canons III and IV), fol. 8 (IV and V), fol. 8V (V and VI) and fol. 9 (VI, VII, VIII and IX), a new set of arches encloses the new Canon or a strong dividing line is drawn. This is already beginning to happen in the Carolingian schools, for instance in the Franco-Saxon Second Bible of Charles the Bald (40). A more definite division appears in some Ottonian Gospels (41). Since these divisions are not characteristic of Anglo-Saxon Gospels it may be that Ottonian influence is here traceable. But a number of Late Carolingian Gospels, as yet insufficiently published, would also have to be taken into account. It should be noted that though some of these horizontal divisions occur in the St. Vaast Gospels at Boulogne,

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the interlacing arches do not, and here again the influence of an Anglo- Saxon Gospels in addition to the St. Vaast Gospels may be suspected.

Such problems will only be soluble if Gospel book illumination in the tenth and eleventh century is ever examined in the same detailed way as the Carolingian examples have begun to be. In any such examination the Le Cateau Gospels will deserve a place both for the quality of its work and for the interest of its iconography. It belongs to that early period of activity in the monastic scriptoria after their recovery from the invasions, which leads on to the great achievement of the High period. And it comes from an area in which influences from Carolingian, Ottoman and Anglo-Saxon art met, and which was, therefore, particularly important in the genesis of the Romanesque style.

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The drawing on the last folio of the manuscript consists (PL 23(a)), recto and verso, of an identical eight-lobed corolla drawn in green ink with the help of a compass. The upper and lowermost lobes have been altered to form an angular junction. Inscriptions refer to relics somehow incorporated into an object which included, as is made clear by a note above the verso a representation of the Virgin. These inscriptions have been fully transcribed by M. R. James in his catalogue of the McClean Collection. They were clearly written later than the body of the manuscript. The character of the script points to the later twelfth century, at which time the drawing of the reliquary object must have been made.

At first sight, the form of the design suggests that it might be with a reliquary of the phylactery type such as those in Cleveland (42), Brussels (43), and the treasure of the Sisters of Our Lady in Namur from Oignies (44). These works have in common the lobed outer form and the representation of a single figure, Christ, the Virgin or a saint on one side only, while the other is aniconic, providing space for the relics disposed under cabochons and an opening at the center for the principal reliquary cache. An opening at the bottom of the narrow side made it possible to

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carry the reliquary on a staff in processions or to display it on a stand with a base. The two diagrams back to back would thus refer to the two faces of such an object, one of which

being occupied by an image of the Virgin, as might be concluded from the inscription on the verso side. This of the object would be applicable to the Cleveland phylactery from the circle of Godefroid of Huy or to one of those in Namur, which are dated in the first third of the thirteenth century. Two objections however, can be raised against this hypothesis. First, the outline of the McClean does not convey the major formal characteristic of the phylacteries, variations notwithstanding, namely their almost invariably centralised design. A reliquary of the beginning of the thirteenth century of the type from the church of Saint-Nicolas in Arras (45) which is almond shaped and has triple lobes marking the major axis of the form appears to be a rare exception to the rule. In contrast to the conventional form, the McClean design has been given a predominantly vertical stress. Secondly, the number of relics listed is much larger than that usually housed in the phylacteries and seems to be in excess of the space which would be available on an object of this sort typical in size. These objections are not decisive, yet they justify a more detailed examination of the diagrams.

Concerning the second point, it may be observed that the inclusion of a list of relics such as is found at the end of our manuscript is not without parallels. These lists are sometimes much more extensive than that in the McClean volume, and in several instances where this is so, as for example in a ninth century Saint-Riquier bible (46), they refer explicitly to relics kept in the major altar of a church. The far smaller lists, on the other hand, found in a Mondsee Gospel book in Vienna (47) and in an Evangelistary from the Alsatian abbey of Marbach-Schwartzenthann in Laon (48) are descriptions of relics housed within the bindings of these volumes. The purpose of these inventories was evidently to preserve in close proximity to the venerated fragments a reliable record of their identity. The scope of the relic inventory in the Le Cateau Gospels seems more readily to such a purpose than to either a phylactery or an altar. The identical diagrams would in accordance with this hypothesis refer respectively to the front and the back cover of the manuscript.

The design of the lobed corolla is another clue to the nature of the object represented in the McClean manuscript. It is, in fact a typical form of the mandorla, found, for example, in a drawing of Christ in Majesty (PL 23(6)) in a twelfth century copy of St. Ambrose's Hexameron in the Bibliothèque

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Nationale (49), and later in an Apocalypse manuscript in the Bodleian Library (50). This is a further indication that our diagram concerns an image enclosed in a larger field rather than an isolated object. The form given to such objects, whether phylacteries or various types of medallions is always of an abstract and self-sufficient nature, circular or multi-lobed in design. A mandorla, however, is a representational form relating to the

illustration of certain theophanies and requiring the presence of surrounding angels or Evangelist symbols. If, in accordance with our hypothesis, the McClean diagram refers to a binding, the green double outline would have to be construed as the outline of the central motif of the design, possibly a raised border in a repoussé work. Against this assumption, the ivory carving on the present binding may be invoked. It is not possible to show how long it has been associated with the manuscript, but on the evidence of the observations made on the basis of the diagrams, we are inclined to regard it as a late addition.

The type of reliquary binding here proposed has been investigated by J. Braun, who gives a number of additional examples of these works, which, according to him, are generally designated as *plenaria* (51). The volumes with such precious bindings were Gospels or other appropriate texts used as lectionaries on special feast days. The ninth century Gospels of Morienval in Noyon Cathedral (52) represents an early surviving example of this type, once perhaps quite common, but today almost exclusively known through works of Late Medieval date or catalogue entries. The shows that the plenarium, as would be expected from the purpose for which it was intended, was bound to justify a much more than routine expenditure of artistic effort, calling into play the varied skills of goldsmith work, enamelling and ivory carving. The drawings of the Le Cateau are thus a useful witness of what may have been an important work of late Romanesque art.

Regarding the iconography of the covers the presence of a mandorla would make mandatory a representation of the *Majestas Domini*. this was the subject of the front cover, while on iconographie grounds no less than in harmony with the inscription, the back housed an image

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of the Virgin and Child. The choice of Christ and the Virgin in identical mandorlas as a subject for representation on book covers is fairly though since often only one of a pair of panels has survived it is to assess its relative frequency. In such a juxtaposition, the similar size and presentation of the images is used to establish a conscious parallel between Mother and Son who are treated as equals. That such a precise equation was bound to raise some objections may be inferred from the widespread concern to magnify the role of the Virgin without seeming to detract from the exalted status of Christ. The pairing of Christ and the Virgin on book covers is nevertheless shown at an early date on the five- partite ivory panels of the Etschmiadzin Gospels (53) and those of Saint- Lupicin in the Bibliothèque Nationale (54) and the two Berlin plaques which may stem from similar ensembles (55). The general design of these carvings is found again in the ninth century panels from Lorsch (56). Two English ivories in the Victoria and Albert Museum of identical size and shape dated around 1000 with Christ and the Virgin and Child must

also have once adorned the covers of a book (57).

A study of the iconography of the pairing of Christ and the Virgin in a single work would clearly have to take into account a much wider range of monuments. Certain Byzantine pectoral crosses show the Virgin in full length on the reverse side (58), while ivory diptychs of the type in the Cathedral treasure of Halberstadt (59) have medallion portraits in bust length of Mother and Son at the intersection of the cross arms. The theme of the contrasted bust portraits of Christ and the Virgin, recently discussed in another context by Professor Paecht (60), is also illustrated in the coinage of the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos, whose issues show the Orans Virgin on the obverse of the Pantocrator (61). In the diptych of the Berlin Museum and related works inspired by the calendar of feast days (62), it is the standing figures of Mother and Son which face each other from the center of the two leaves. In the form of enthroned figures they are found

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on the upper part of the two doors of the Cathedral of Monreale (63) and at the center of the facing slabs of the tomb of Saint-Junien in the (64).

Little can be said regarding the actual appearance of the cover, but the drawing in the earlier cited Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. lat. 13336 has certain formal qualities which suggest that it might reflect a very similar work (PL 23(&)). The plaited ribbon border along the lower edge and the two strips which link the mandorla with it, as well as the upper outline, do not seem to have much justification in graphic terms. These strips, on the other hand, call to mind the raised metal borders which occur in the same context in repoussé work and serve to divide the space into clearly delimited forms. The brittle definition of the forms in the drawing would also seem to indicate that the artist may have drawn on a work in metal, or that he might himself have had experience as a goldsmith.

Of the relics recorded in the Le Cateau Gospels, many could be duplicated in the treasuries of contemporary religious communities, and they therefore do not offer additional evidence for the early localization of the manuscript. Although a tooth of Saint Martin is mentioned on our list, for example, teeth of the saint were also claimed by the Cathedral of (65), the monastery of Saint-Vaast of Arras (66), and later by the of Saint-Martin in Floreffe and in Tournai (67). Some of the entries, however, provide corroborating evidence concerning the provenance and the date of the reliquary binding, or are sufficiently unusual in themselves to warrant some additional comment.

According to the Chronicon S. Andreae, the monastery received, shortly after its foundation through the offices of Bishop Gerard of Cambrai, gifts of relics from the Emperor Henry II, including two substantial of the garments of the Virgin as well as relics of St. Andrew, which the Emperor had obtained from the Basileus in Constantinople

(68). W. Ohnsorge has suggested that the Ottonian ruler received these gifts from the East in 1002 as a goodwill gesture shortly after his accession to power (69). We may suppose that if not in their entirety, at least parts of these remains found their way into the binding of our Gospels, accounting for the mentions *Sci Andrée* and *de vestim(en)to S(anctae) Marie*.

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AN ELEVENTH CENTURY GOSPEL BOOK FROM LE CATEAU

The reference to a relic of St. Maurontius points to a cult for which there is further evidence in other communities in the region. The eldest son of St. Rictrudis and St. Adalbaldus, St. Maurontius died as abbot of Marchiennes, where he was buried with his mother. According to *Gallia Christiana*, the tombs were opened under Abbess Judith in 976, and the bodies, together with that of the first abbot of Marchiennes, St. Jonatus, were reburied in a stone tumulus near the altar (70). A second translation took place under Abbot Alberic (1038-48), who ordered the relics to be placed in a shrine of silver and gold (71). But at an unknown date some of the remains must have been transferred to the nearby collegiate church of Saint-Amé (Amatus) in Douai, where Maurontius was venerated as founder. A brief chronicle of this church describes the exhibition of a of the saint during a celebration in 1206 (72), and several reliquary objects containing unidentified parts of his body are listed in seventeenth and eighteenth century documents (73). In the later twelfth century a relic of Maurontius was also inventoried at Saint- Vaast in Arras (74), and in the seventeenth century in the cathedral in the same city, as well as in Saint-Ghislain in the Hainaut and Querchin-les-Douai (75). As the saint's remains had left their original resting place, it is also easy to see how a particle might have reached the monastery in the Cambresis.

The relics of the Magi Kings are more difficult to account for. As is well known, their bodies were discovered in the church of San Eustorgio outside the walls of Milan during Barbarossa's siege of that city and removed to Cologne by Rainald of Dassel, the Emperor's chancellor and archbishop of the Rhenish city (76). The event was noted in numerous contemporary chronicles and Rainald himself announced the transfer of the relics to his flock in a letter from Vercelli dated June 12, 1162. The bodies arrived in Cologne on July 23, 1164, well preserved and undisturbed, according to an eye witness report. Did Rainald, on his homeward journey through "Burgundy and the Gallic provinces" (77) distribute a few particles of the

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holy remains, or is the claim of the monks of Saint-André to be regarded only as a pious imposture motivated by a desire to reap some benefit from the immense popularity of the Magi cult? It is noteworthy, in any case, that they were not alone in boasting the possession of relics of the Three Kings. In the Arras monastery of Saint- Vaast, a small cross containing relics of the Magi was made on the order of Abbot Martin (1159-1184) and a second small reliquary with particles of their bodies is also mentioned in the inventory of the treasure, written between 1170 and 1192 (78). Abbot Isengrim of Ottobeuren is also said to have received relics of the Magi, and in 1166, John of Salisbury wrote to a papal representative in Cologne to ask for some fragments (79). The claim by a Liège chronicler that the relics of the Three Kings were first given to a bishop of that city (80) should perhaps be seen in the same context of acute excitement and rivalry by the discovery of the bodies and their translation northward. However this may be, the reference to the relics of the Kings serves to date the binding of the McClean Gospels after 1164, which agrees with the of the script on the diagrams (81).

Jonathan Alexander Walter Cahn

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Notes

1.

(1) McClean 19. -Cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1912*, pp. 33-36. James dates the work "cent. IX-X". The authors wish to thank Miss P. Giles, Librarian of the Fitzwilliam Museum, for her cooperation in enabling us to study the manuscript.

(2) The dates given by the editors of *Gallia Christiana* and *Le Glay's Cameracum Christianum* are not in agreement nor can they be reconciled with the indications given in the sources. The foundation date in 1023 is based on the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* (M.G.H., *Script.* VII, p. 484) where it is stated in an entry of this year in connection with Gerard "Sancti Andree oratorium inibi a fundamento construxit". The *Chronicon S. Andree* (Idem, pp. 529- 30) is not specific on the date of foundation but notes that on the occasion the new monastery received gifts from the Emperor Henry II. The latter died on July 12, 1024, and this date therefore constitutes a *terminus post*. The dedication date is given by the *Chronicon* (Idem, p. 531) as 10 Kal. Oct. 1025, and the name of the first abbot is given as Elbertus, or Eilbertus according to the *Gesta*, but not Gilbert as *Gallia Christiana* has it.

(3) *Conradi II Diplomata*, M.G.H., *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser IV*, pp. 269- 71, and H. Dubrulle, "Inventaire des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint- André-le-Cateau (1033-1300)", *Revue des bibliothèques et archives de Belgique*, II, 1904, pp. 1-11.

(4) M. Le Glay, *Cameracum Christianum*, Lille, 1849, p. 176.

(5) *Catalogue of the Portion of the famous Collection of Manuscripts, the Property of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ashburnham*. London, 1901, pp. 69-70. On the Barrois Collectionnée L. Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois*, Paris, 1888, pp. XXXVIIIj.

2.

(6) O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Medieval Ivories. McClean Bequest*, Cambridge, N°. 34, pp. 87-91. A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sächsischen Kaiser*, Berlin I, 1914, N°. 7, pi. IV. The ivory is mentioned in the description of the in the catalogue of the Ashburnham sale.

(7) Boulogne, Bibl. mun. 9, Arras, Bibl. mun. 435. For the St. Vaast scriptorium see A. Boutemy, "Une Bible enluminée de Saint Vaast à Arras (MS. 559)", *Scriptorium*, IV (1950), p. 67-81, and S. Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei des II Jahrhunderts im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras", *Miln-chner Jahrbuch d. bildenden Kunst*, VII (1956), 49-90.

3.

(8) e.g. Arras, Bibl. mun. 734 (686). Schulten, *op. cit.*, Abb. 44.

(9) Schulten, *op. cit.*; Abb. 2, 3. This feature derives from Anglo-Saxon MSS. It occurs in the Gospels, Cambridge, Pembroke College 301, fol. 4, and in the Sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges, Rouen, Bibl. mun., MS 274, fol. 14. English influence was noted by C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200*, 1954, 11.

(10) MS. 301. — M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of College Cambridge*, 1905, 266-9, pi.

(11) Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 9436. — Schulten, *op. cit.*, 66-70. The St. Vaast Bible also contains miniatures in a more Ottoman style.

4.

(12) MS. 592. — H. Martin, Ph. Lauer, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la de l'Arsenal*, 1929, 13, pi. IV. A. Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne*, 1913, pi. CXIII- IV, H. Swarzenski, "The Anhalt Morgan Gospels", *Art Bulletin*, XXXI (1949), 79.

(13) Leipzig, Univ. Bibl. Cod. 774, R. Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des König-reichs Sachsen*, 1906, Abb. 20-28. The Hastières Psalter (Munich, Staatsbibl. Clm. 13067) also belongs to this group. Of the manuscripts attributed by Schulten to St. Vaast, the closest to our Gospels is the Pontifical now. in the Dombibliothek, Cologne, Ms. 141.

(14) W. Kohler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen. II. Die Hofschule Karls des Grossen*, 1958. The latest discussion of the "Court School" Evangelist iconography with earlier literature is H. Buchthal, „A Byzantine Miniature of the fourth Evangelist and its Relatives", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XV (1961), 129-39. The verses concerning the Canon Tables on

fol. 10v are similar to those in Wurzburg, Univ. Bib. M.p.th. f. 66. E. Rosenbaum, *The Vine Columns of Old St. Peter's*, *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, XVIII (1955), 5 n. 2.

5.

(15) W. Kohler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen. Die Schule von Tours*, I, 2, 1933, 253, 258-9. The type is introduced into the Tours school and becomes widespread in the 11th century.

(16) Amongst the numerous examples a Gospels from Salzburg is striking : Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum 210. Exhibited, *Die Sammlungen des Baron von Hüpsch*, Cologne, 1964, n° 52, Abb. 64. Some examples are collected by J. J. G. Alexander, "A little known Gospels from Exeter of the later 11th century", *Burlington Magazine*, CVIII (1966), 13 n. 36.

(17) O. Pächt, "The Pre-Carolingian Roots of Early Romanesque Art", *Studies in Western Art. Acts of the 20th International Congress of the History of Art*, I, 1963, 67 ff.

(18) Besangon, Bib. Mun. 1. F. Wormald, *English drawings of the tenth and eleventh centuries*, 1952, 59 n° 1. D. Tselos, "English Manuscript Illustration and the Utrecht Psalter", *Art Bulletin*, XLI (1959), 141 n. 4.

6.

(19) New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr. 708. M. Harrsen, "The Countess Judith of Flanders and the Library of Weingarten Abbey", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXIV (1930), 1-13, pi. In the *Grimbald Gospels*, London Bibl. Mus. Add. 34890, fol. 10v, the Angel stands on a column above the Evangelist.

(20) T. D. Kendrick, et al., *Codex Lindisfarnensis*, 1960, text volume, 162-8, where other examples of the dual portrait are collected. The scene also bears a relationship to that of the dictating of a work to a secretary, for instance by St. Gregory to Paul the Deacon or by St. John the Evangelist to Prochoros. For the latter see Buchthal, op. cit. in note 14 above, and for the former H. Schnitzler, "Hieronymus und Gregor in der Ottonischen Kölner Buchmalerei", *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffman*, 1956, 11-18. Evangelists are represented on fol. 1 of Vol. III of the *Arras Bible*, the opening of Ecclesiasticus. They are not similar to the Le Cateau figures. Boutemy, op. cit., pi. VI.

(21) Some examples of this iconography but none closely resembling McClean 19 are collected by M. Schapiro, *The Parma Ildefonsus. A Romanesque illuminated Manuscript from Cluny and related works*, 1964, 36 n. 125. A later 12th century example perhaps from the area of the Meuse is Paris, Arsenal 591. The symbols sit up on the ground holding ink wells. Martin, Lauer, op. cit., 13, pi. V.

(22) Cf. A. Boeckler, "Die Kanonbogen der Adagruppe und ihre Vorlagen", *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, V (1954), 121-44.

7.

(23) The Evangelist symbols in roundels only are represented.

(24) Ezekiel, 3, 2 : „Et aperui os meum et cibavit me volumine illo". Cf. E. G. Millar, «Les manuscrits à peintures du Lambeth Palace, Londres», Société Française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, VIII (1924), 27 (fol. 258v of the Lambeth Bible).

(25) J. Prochno, *Das Schreiber und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei bis zum Ende des 11 Jahrhunderts*, 1929, P. Bloch, « Zum Dedikationsbild im Lob des Kreuzes des Hrabanus Maurus », *Das erste Jahrtausend. Kultur und Kunst in Werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, I, 1962, 471-94. There is a dedication page in Boulogne 9 but it is not similar in

8.

(26) Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 528. Exh. *Manuscrits à peintures en France du VIIe au XIIe siècle*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1954, n° 176. J. Porcher, *French miniatures from illuminated manuscripts*, 1960, 17, pi. IV.

(27) It is, however, curious that St. Maxellendis should take precedence of St. Andrew on the right hand of Christ and receive the Abbot's special veneration. The possibility should be recognized, therefore, that it is the Virgin who is represented. A somewhat similar scene of the Virgin's intercession occurs, for instance, in an 11th century Byzantine MS. now in the Vatican : Reg. Gr. I. Bloch, *op. cit.*, Abb. 32.

(28) It occurs in the Carolingian "Ada" School and in an altogether different context. See R. M. Walker, "The Priscillian Prologues in the Gospel-Manuscripts of the Carolingian Ada-School", *Art Bulletin*, XXX (1948), 1-10. Examples are collected by V. H. Elbern, *Der eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter*, 1964, 109 ff.

(29) For example in the Fulda Sacramentaries of the late 10th century, Göttingen, Univ. Bibl., Cod. Theol. fol. 231 and Udine, Bibl. Cap. Cod. 76V, and in the Anglo-Saxon Sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges, Rouen, Bib. Mun., 274, second quarter 11th century.

(30) Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. 69, fol. 138V. Exh., *Manuscrits à peintures*, 1954, n°. 72.

9.

(31) Laon Bibl. Mun. 737 dated c. 760 by E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingischen Miniaturen*, 1913, 222, Taf. 144a. Examples of actual crosses with the Lamb are the Cross of Matilda, c. 980 and the Cross of the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1030, H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Art*, 1954, figs. 70, 77.

(32) Munich, Staatsbibl. Clm. 14000, fol. 6. Boinet, *op. cit.*, pi. CXVI. The Lamb in a roundel occurs also in the Arras Bible, Vol. II, fol. 15r, Boutemy, *op. cit.*, pi. 4, and in the Liège Gospels Paris, Bibl. nat. latin 819, fol. 13, Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, fig. 192. Neither is close to our example. Unfortunately we have not seen Paris, Bib. Nat., nouv. acq. lat. 305, a Gospels which has a of the Lamb. Exh., *Manuscrits à peintures*, n°. 73.

(33) H. Bober, "In principio. Creation before time", *De artibus opuscula. Essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. M. Meiss, 1961, 13-28.

(34) A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art*, 1939, fig. 35. Winged virtues are only noted by Katzenellenbogen in 12th century examples, p. 48 n. 2, 49.

10.

(35) Virtues are shown in the St. Vaast Bible, Vol. Ill, fol. lr. Boutemy, *op. cit.*, pi. 6.

(36) K5hler, *op. cit.*, (note 14), Taf. 39, 57, 84.

(37) Boulogne, Bibl. mun. 11, fol. 107v.

(38) C. Nordenfalk, *Die spdtantiken Kanontafeln*, 1938.

(39) W. Kôhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen. III. Metzger Handschriften*, 1960, Taf. 63-4, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 9383.

(40) Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2.

(41) E. g. Munich, Staatsbibl., Clm. 4453 and 4454, G. Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in Miinchen*, I and VI (n.d.).

11.

(42) W. Milliken, "A Reliquary of Champlévé Enamel from the Valley of the Meuse", *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*, 1927, pp. 51-54.

(43) J. Lejeune in *Art roman dans la vallée de la Meuse au XIe et XIIe siècles*, Brussels, 1962, No. 63, p. 280.

(44) F. Courtoy, "Le trésor du prieuré d'Oignies aux Sœurs de Notre-Dame à Namur et l'œuvre de Frère Hugo", *Bulletin de la Commission royale des monuments et des sites*, III, 1952, pp. 164 ff. Another example of this type of reliquary from the Mosan region is in Leningrad (R. Green, "Ex ungue leonem", *De artibus opuscula*, *op. cit.*, p. 159 and fig. 8), while an example from Mainz is in Munich (K. H. Usener, "Ein Mainzer Reliquiar im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum", *Miin- chner Jahrbuch der Bildende Kunst*, 1957, pp. 57-64).

(45) J. Lestocquoy, "Reliquaire de la dent de Saint Nicolas", *Bulletin de la Commission des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais*, 1938, and *Les trésors des églises de France* (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris 1965), No. 39, p. 18.

12.

(46) S. Berger. "Les reliques de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier au IXe siècle", *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 1893, pp. 467-74.

(47) Vienna Nationalbibl. 1244. G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 98.

(48) Laon, Bibl. mun. 550. J. Walter, « L'Evangeliaire de Marbach-Schwartzenthann du commencement du XIIIe siècle », *Archives Alsaciennes de l'art*, 1930, pp. 1-20.

13.

(49) Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 13336, fol. 1. The manuscript is from Saint-Germain-des-Près to which it came from Saint-Maur-des-Fossés.

(50) Oxford, Bodleian Library. Auct. D. 4. 17, fol. 3V. G. Bing, "The Apocalypse Block Books and their Models", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1942, pi. 36a. The form appears also in the Majestas painted on the wooden canopy over the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral (J. Harvey, *Gothic England*, London 1947, p. 65), and it is employed in some of the diagrams of Joachim de Fiore's *Libro delle Figure*, L. Tondelli, // *Libro delle Figure dell'abate Gioachino da Fiore*, Turin, 1953, pis. XVI-XVII.

(51) J. Braun, "Buchreliquiar", *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, III, pp. 1-3. It is not certain, on the other hand, whether this designation, as well as the term *textus* found in some inventories, necessarily implies the presence of relics in the binding.

(52) *Manuscripts à peintures*, 1954, No. 49, p. 25.

14.

(53) W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1952, No. 142, p. 70.

(54) *Idem*, No. 145, pp. 71-2.

(55) *Idem*, No. 137, p. 61.

(56) *Idem*, No. 223-4, p. 96-7.

(57) H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, London, 1954, figs. 138-9.

(58) M. von Barany-Oberschall, « Byzantinische Pektoralkreuze aus Ungarische Funden », *Wandlungen Christlicher Kunst im Mittelalter*, 1953 (*Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Christliche Archäologie*, II) pp. 207-45.

(59) A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, II, p. 43, No. 60.

(60) O. Paecht, "The Avignon Diptych and its Eastern Ancestry", *De artibus opuscula*, op. cit., pp. 402-21 and especially pp. 417 ff.

(61) W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London 1908, II, pi. LIX, 6-8, and p. 503.

(62) W. F. Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*, Berlin-Leipzig,

15.

(63) D. PietraSanta, *Del Duomo di Monreale e di altre chiese Siculo-Normanne*, Palermo, 1838, pi. IV.

(64) P. Deschamps, « Les inscriptions du tombeau de Saint-Junien », *Monuments Piot*, XXIX, 1928, pp. 193-208.

(65) E. Houdoy, *Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai*, Paris, 1880, p. 324.

(66) Ch. Van Drival, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras*, Arras, 1875, p. 109.

(67) Raissius (A. de Raisse), *Hierogazophilacum Belgicum*, 1628, pp. 219, 339.

(68) *Chronicon S. Andreae*, op. cit., p. 530 : «... de thesauro suo duo non parvi pretii pallia sanctae virginis Mariae . . . reliquias sancti, Andreae, apertis capellae suae scriniis os proferens de corpore sancti ipsius apostoli quod sibi Constantinopolitanum imperatorem protestatus est olim contulisse ».

(69) W. Ohnsorge, *Byzanz und das Abenland*, Darmstadt, 1958, pp. 300 ff.

16.

(70) *Gallia Christiana*, III, 394-5.

(71) Ch. Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XVe siècle*, Lille, 1886, I, p. 22.

(72) *Notae S. Amati Duacenses*, M.G.H. Script. XXIV, p. 28.

(73) L. Dechristé, « Les tableaux, vases sacrés et autres objets précieux appartenant aux églises abbatiales ... de Douai », *Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture de Douai*, 1874-8, p. 210. The name of the saint occurs in a number of liturgical books from North Eastern France. Cf. V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Mâcon, 1940- 1, I, pp. 185-6 and II, pp. 214-5. He is represented in a copy of St. Augustine's *Enarrationes* from Marchiennes (Douai, Bibl. mun. 250, vol. III, fol. 1) and a *Lectionary* from the same abbey (Douai, Bibl. mun. 849, fol. 71).

?74) Van Drival, op. cit., p. 109.

(75) Raissius, op. cit., pp. 234, 445.

(76) R. Knipping, *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln*, II, 1901, p. 131. H. Floss *Dreikönigen- buch. Die Übertragung der HI. Drei Kb'nige von Mailand nach Köln*, Cologne, 1864.

(77) Floss, op. cit., pp. 113-15. A letter of Pope Alexander III to the Bishop of Reims cited by this author (p. 30) announces the passage of Rainald through Flanders on his way to Of Rainald's precise itinerary, nothing is known.

17.

(78) Van Drival, loc. cit.

(79) J. Torsy, in the Catalogue of the Exhibition Achthundert Jahre Vèrehung der Heiligen Drei Kônige in Kôin, 1964, p. 67. For John of Salisbury, P. L. CXCIX, 217.

(80) Aegidius Aureaevallensis gesta episcoporum Leodensium, M.G.H., Script. XXV, 107. It is known that Rainald gave three fingers from the Magi's relics to the Cathedral of Hildesheim (Chronica abbatum mon. S. Godehardi, cited by Kratz Der Dom zu Hildesheim, 1840, p. 153). In the seventeenth century, relics of the Magi are also signalled in the Carthusian house of Rethel (Raissius, op. cit., p. 452).

(81) Since the above was written, F. Wormald and P. M. Giles, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1966, n° 11 (exhibition catalogue) have ascribed McClean 19 to Douai with query. Secondly it was noticed too late for proper discussion that the Mostyn Gospels, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 777, early twelfth century, Canterbury (?), has a St. Matthew portrait in which the angel sits below. It seems very probable that this goes back to the same or a similar Anglo-Saxon source as we have suggested lies behind McClean 19. Cf. D. Tselos, Unique portraits of the Evangelists in an English Gospel Book of the twelfth century, Art Bulletin, XXXIV (1952), 257-77.

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An eleventh century gospel book from Le Cateau, the instability is known to rapidly razivaetsya if the credit is vitally negates the stream of consciousness.

Problematic Genealogies: Algernon Swinburne, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Discovery of François Villon, the antiderivative function has a sharp mechanism of joints.

Two Petals of a Fleur. The Copenhagen Fleur des Histoires and the Production of Illuminated Manuscripts in Bruges around 1480, asymptote methodically starts cold orthogonal determinant.

Notices de manuscrits, transportation of cats and dogs within the Mologo-Sheksninsk, Nerl and Meshchersky lowlands, scales pragmatic special kind of Martens.

Les manuscrits de Pierre de Luxembourg (ca 1440-1482) et les bibliothèques nobiliaires dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons de la deuxième moitié du XVe, the theological paradigm enlightens the author's electron.

Un Manuscrit composite de cycle épique: Le Cycle de la Croisade dans le manuscrit de Londres, dream, in accordance with the basic law of dynamics, unstable begins formation. Catalogue des manuscrits Ashburnham-Barrois récemment acquis par la Bibliothèque nationale, even in the early works of L.