THE SAINT-VAAST BIBLE: POLITICS AND THEOLOGY IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY CAPETIAN FRANCE

by

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Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of History of Art
University of Toronto

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Abstract

Arras BM MS 559 (435) is a three-volume Bible of grand dimensions produced during the first half of the eleventh century at the monastery of Saint-Vaast, in the city of Arras in Northern France. It includes an elaborate programme of twenty-four figural scenes illustrating many parts of the Old and New Testaments. There is no precedent for a work of this kind surviving from the earlier, Carolingian scriptorium of Saint-Vaast, and no contemporary Bible from Northern Europe offers as complex a programme. This thesis is the first contextual study of the programme as a whole.

The Saint-Vaast Bible is the first of a series of Bibles produced in Northern France in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries within monasteries connected to the reform of Richard of Saint-Vanne. All of these Bibles lack the Gospels and Psalter, and several include evidence that they were created specifically for the newly revived practice of choir and refectory reading in reformed monasteries. The Saint-Vaast Bible's pictorial programme reflects another aspect of Richard of Saint-Vanne's monastic reform, his willingness to submit his monasteries to the authority of the local bishop, through its depiction of a glorified bishop before the Book of Jeremiah.

Much of the Bible's cycle of images parallels the writings associated with Bishop Gerard of Cambrai, particularly the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* and the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*. Both texts encapsulate Gerard's

belief in the divine origin of the offices of king and bishop, an ideology then under attack with the rise of feudalism. The artists of the Saint-Vaast Bible's pictorial programme used the images of prototypical Old and New Testament leaders to visualize this belief by investing these figures with Christological attributes and anachronistic regalia.

The Arras Bible also includes a series of images of Old Testament women who embodied the virtues of an idealised queen, according to Carolingian and contemporary Capetian beliefs. Using biblical women who were interpreted as types of *Ecclesia* in biblical exegesis and writings on queenship, the artists attempted to underline the appropriate duties of a queen as the wife of the king, himself a type of Christ.

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Everyone, when finishing a study of this length and scope, owes a debt of gratitude to more people than they can hope to name on a single page. I feel my debt is greater than most. After the tragic early deaths of two of the three members of my advisory committee, Professors Robert Deshman and Kathleen Openshaw, a host of people immediately stepped forward to offer me their assistance and support. It is because of their generosity that I was able to see this project through to its completion. Professor Luba Eleen, who first suggested the Saint-Vaast Bible as a possible topic, has been unstinting in her advice and encouragement, and a willing and thorough critic as thesis advisor. Professor Herbert Kessler has also been an invaluable support, a ready sounding-board and a welcome critic throughout the long process of researching and writing the thesis. Professor Jeffrey Hamburger willingly read and critiqued the thesis, and provided much needed suggestions for organization and further investigation. Professor Jens Wollesen also made suggestions about the study of kingship and Professor Isabelle Cochelin provided guidance on the historical aspects of the study. Finally, Professor Lawrence Nees made many valuable recommendations about both content and form, as well as the historical setting of early medieval France.

Two mentors in particular have guided me in my choice of field of study, and the attitudes which I bring to my work. Professor Elizabeth McLachlan, whose courses on Medieval art at Rutgers University first awakened my interest in the period and its issues, introduced me to the idea of a scholarly community and the support and stimulation it could provide. In her own generosity of spirit she embodies its ideal. Professor Robert Deshman, through example as well as instruction, furnished a model of the highest level of scholarship to which one could aspire. His commitment to a

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Arras BM MS 559 (435) is a three-volume Bible of grand dimensions produced during the first half of the eleventh century at the monastery of Saint-Vaast in the city of Arras in Northern France. It is ornamented with a series of full-page frames enclosing decorative initials, and including an elaborate programme of twenty-four figural scenes illustrating many parts of the Old and New Testaments. There is no precedent for a work of this kind surviving from the earlier, Carolingian scriptorium of Saint-Vaast, and no contemporary Bible from northern Europe offers as complex a programme. The Saint-Vaast Bible stands alone in its period and its region, yet it has been the subject of very little detailed investigation.

Like some of the Carolingian Bibles of the previous era, and the Romanesque Bibles to follow, the Saint-Vaast Bible is illustrated with a combination of narrative scenes and author portraits prefacing the individual books of the Bible (Appendix 1). Narrative images are found before the Books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, III Kings, IV Kings, II Chronicles, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Nahum, the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Ezra, Esther, II Maccabees, the Passion of the Maccabees, Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, I Peter, the Epistle of John, and Acts. Author portraits appear before Habbakuk, Wisdom, Tobit, Paul's Epistle to Philemon, and II Peter.

Already it should be obvious that the selection of books illustrated is in many cases unusual and surprising. Not only are books which had received narrative imagery in the earlier Carolingian Bibles now bare of figural illustration,[1] but also opening books of sets, such as the First Book

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[1] Carolingian Bibles, including the Grandval Bible, London, BM MS Add. 10546, the Vivian

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of Kings, go without illustrations while subsequent books in the series receive elaborate narrative scenes. For instance, the Books of Genesis and Exodus, favoured with illustrations by the Carolingian artists of the Tours Bibles and San Paolo Bible, are in the Saint-Vaast Bible introduced only with framed full-page initials. Instead, the first extensive figural illustrations of the Bible elaborate the two folios opening the Book of Deuteronomy, vol. I, fols. 53v-54 (figs. 2 and 3). I Kings, vol. I, fol. 97v, marked only by a framed initial and two crouching atlas figures, is followed by a two-register illustration before III Kings, fol. 128v (fig. 5), and a second two-register image before IV Kings, fol. 144v (fig. 6). Similarly, the opening folio of the I Chronicles, vol. I, fol. 158, is bare of figural decoration, while that of II Chronicles, fol. 170 (fig. 7), features a quatrefoil frame enclosing a two-tier narrative scene. In the same vein, while the beginning of the First Book of Maccabees, vol. III, fol. 52v, is decorated with only a framed double initial, the Second Book of Maccabees and the pseudepigraphical Passion of the Maccabees are both graced with full-page figural images, fols. 70v and 81v (figs. 17 and 18).

Although it is tempting to attribute the seemingly scattered and inconsistent nature of this collection of images to either lack of planning or later damage to the manuscript, a careful examination of the Bible quickly reveals that this cannot be the case. In only a handful of instances have the first folios of a biblical book been lost, indicating that the introductory decorations of almost all the books are as complete today as when the Bible was originally illustrated.[2] In addition, a study of the

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Bible, Paris, BN MS lat. 1, the Bamberg Bible, Staatsbib. Misc. class. Bibl. 1, and the San Paolo Bible, Rome, San Paolo fuori le mura, were illustrated with a variable selection of narrative images, which could include illuminations prefacing the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Psalms, the Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse, among others.

[2]The introductory initial of the following books seems to have been lost: Numbers, Judges,

content and meaning of the images will reveal that the choice of books to be illustrated was guided not by happenstance, but by a programmer intent on elaborating a complex political agenda within the illuminations of the Bible. Rather than attempting to illustrate every book of the Saint-Vaast Bible or to conform to the choices made within the Carolingian Tours Bibles, the programmer instead selected books for illustration based on their ability to transmit the concept of the divine authority of ecclesiastical and secular rulership as it was set out in the text of the Old Testament. The desire to depict virtuous kings, queens and clergy and the biblical precedents for the cooperation between church and state guided the construction of the picture cycle.

This study seeks to interpret the illustrative programme of the Saint-Vaast Bible in light of its historical context, and to assess its place in the development of the Romanesque Giant Bible as a genre. Through this investigation, I hope to provide clues as to why Giant Bibles were produced in the Romanesque period, and highlight how political and reform ideas could be expressed pictorially within the authoritative setting of a Bible.

The production of the Saint-Vaast Bible and its picture cycle were guided by the issues concerning the inhabitants of Arras in the eleventh century. The city of Arras is located in the French département of Nord/Pas de Calais, today only an hour north of Paris by high-speed train. The city is situated on a broad plain, south of the Scarpe river and straddling the minor, and now mostly covered, Crinchon river. The modern city is an industrial centre, visited only occasionally by tourists,

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Ruth, Isaiah, Job, the Epistle of Jacob and the Apocalypse. See Appendix 1, a catalogue of the Saint-Vaast Bible.

mostly coming to see either its two striking scroll-gabled seventeenth-century market squares, or to visit the World War I battle sites and cemeteries that dot the surrounding countryside. Unknown to most of these visitors is the earlier history of Arras, which goes back to pre-Roman times.[3]

Arras in its early history was an important northern strategic and mercantile centre, very similar to its medieval incarnation. In the Roman era, Arras was one of the principal cities of Northern Gaul.[4] *Nemetacum*, as the Romans called Arras, existed as a city by the second century A.D., when it was cited in Ptolemy's Geography.[5] Already in this period, the city began to take on the topography that would govern medieval Arras. The evidence that has appeared of Arras in this era shows that settlement was centred around the area which would later be dominated by the now destroyed cathedral, Notre Dame, a section later called la Cité, south of the Scarpe and west of the Crinchon.[6] By the late imperial period, Arras had

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[3] Alain Jacques et al., *Histoire d'Arras* (Arras, 1988), 11-12. Evidence of paleolithic habitation has been most thoroughly surveyed at nearby Biache-St. Vaast, about seven miles east of Arras. Some evidence of neolithic settlement also survives in the form of tools and polished axe-heads, such as those from Fampoux, in the valley of the Scarpe between Biache-St. Vaast and Arras. By the second half of the Iron Age, c. 450-50 B.C., the area was heavily populated by La Tène Celtic settlements, particularly between the Scarpe, the Gy and the Crinchon rivers. Remnants of Iron Age dwellings have been discovered in what are now the western suburbs of Arras.

[4] Jacques, *Histoire*, 12-13. Caesar describes in the *Gallic Wars* his confrontation with the *Atrebates* in 57 B.C., a Belgic tribe that had invaded the Scarpe river valley between the fourth and second centuries B.C. *Libri IV de Bello Gallico*, ed. Renatus Du Pontet (Oxford, 1900), book II:4. For further information on Belgic migrations into northern France, see Pierre Pierrard, *Histoire du nord: Flandre-Artois-Hainaut-Picardie*, Hachette (1978), 26. Also, Janine Desmulliez and Ludo Milis, *Histoire des Provinces Françaises du Nord; 1. De la Préhistoire à l'an Mil*, Westhoek-Editions (1988), surveys the controversy about the origin of this tribe (34-45). In his efforts to conquer this area, Caesar settled troops at *Nemetocenna* in c. 51 (*De Bello Gallico*, book VIII:46, 52). This encampment may have been set up at the joining of the routes to Amiens, Therouanne and Cambrai, where Arras is today, at a hypothetical Celtic settlement called by the Romans *Nemetacum*. See Desmulliez and Milis, 54, for the most recent assessment of the possibility of pre-Roman urban settlement.

[5] Jacques, *Histoire*, 16.

[6] Desmulliz and Milis, 55 and 60-61, and Alain Jacques, "Arras gallo-romaine," *Archeologia*

become a centre of commerce, known throughout the Roman world for its production of textiles, called in antique texts *atrebates birri*.[7] At the end of the fourth century A.D., *Nemetacum* was renamed *Atrebates*, after the Belgic tribe that predominated in the area.[8] Finally, the Salian Franks arrived in the region between 445 and 451, effectively ending Roman domination.[9]

Not much evidence survives of Merovingian Arras, but by the Carolingian period the history of the city became closely aligned with the history of its abbey, Saint-Vaast.[10] Named after the baptiser of Clovis and

n. 213 (1986), 58-63. Excavation has shown a Roman orthogonal street pattern aligned with the axis of the roads to Amiens and Cambrai. See also the survey article by Jean Lestocquoy, "Les étapes du développement urbain d'Arras," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire*, XXIII (1944), reprinted in *Études d'histoire urbaine: Villes et abbayes Arras au Moyen-age* (Arras, 1966), 122-137. At the end of the second century, some catastrophe, possibly the invasion of the Franks or the Alemans, caused the buildings of the early Roman era excavated so far to be abandoned. They were never reinhabited, but remains of later structures such as third-century cultic buildings have been discovered in the Baudimont suburbs west of Arras proper, and parts of a defensive city wall, also from the third century, have recently been uncovered. See Jacques, *Histoire*, 17, and Pierrard on contemporary destruction at Amiens, Etaples and Boulogne, 39. *Les Cultes à Arras au bas empire*, Exh. 26 April-17 September, 1990, Musée des Beaux Arts (Arras, 1990), 10-15. For the recent excavations of the walls, see Jacques, "Arras," 58-63.

[7]Jacques, *Histoire*, 23. Texts listed in Desmulliez and Milis, 113. Diocletian also lists something called *lanae atrebaticae* in his edict on prices 25:13, of c. 301, Marta Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium* (Genoa, 1974), vol. 1, 184.

[8]Jacques, *Histoire*, 24.

[9]Jacques, *Histoire*, 25.

[10]A good summary of the history of the abbey and a survey of the relevant sources is provided by Eugène F.J. Tailliar, "Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de St. Vaast d'Arras, jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle," *Mémoires de l'academie des sciences, lettres et arts d'Arras*, XXXI (1859), 171-501. Much of the early history of the Abbey of Saint-Vaast is contained in a now lost cartulary copied by Guiman, a monk at the abbey in the later twelfth century. On this cartulary, see G. Besnier, "Le Cartulaire de Guiman d'Arras, ses transcriptions. Les autres cartulaires de Saint-Vaast," *Moyen-âge*, LXII (1956), 453-478 and Jean F. Lemarignier, "L'exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne," *Recueil d'articles rassemblés par ses disciples* (Paris, 1995), Appendix 1, 332-337. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century transcriptions of the cartulary were published many times before they were destroyed in World War I. The most accessible is probably E. Van Drival, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast rédigé au XIIIe siècle par le moine Guiman* (Arras, 1875). This edition combines the later copies of the cartulary, but provides little criticism of its reliability (pp. vii-xxx). Tailliar, 210 note 1, speculates that the pre-tenth-century parts of the cartulary are probably fabrications, based on anachronisms within the texts, and the fact that much of the library of the monks of Saint-Vaast was supposedly lost in a fire in 886. Parts of the cartulary were also included as the *Libro de possessionibus*

the apostle to northern Gaul, the sixth-century saint Vedastus, the abbey was, according to tradition, founded in the seventh century under the auspices of the Merovingian king, Thierry III. This was the beginning of a long tradition of association between the abbey and the ruling houses of kings and lesser nobles. The abbey came to prominence under the Carolingians, when in 790 Charlemagne chose Rado, his own chancellor, to be its abbot.[11] In 843, Lothar received the abbey as part of the treaty of Verdun. In 866, it was ceded to Charles the Bald by Lothar's son, Lothar II.[12]

It was this period, under Abbot Rado, that saw the first flowering of the scriptorium of the abbey of Saint-Vaast, when the monks began to produce illuminated manuscripts in a Franco-Saxon style. Several of these manuscripts are preserved. The products of Saint-Vaast are remarkable, because unlike those of other Franco-Saxon scriptoria, which are mostly non-figurative, they often include either small figures

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Sancti Vedasti in <u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum</u> XIII, ed. Georg Waitz (Hanover, 1881), 710-715, (henceforth MGH SS) and in an appendix to Tailliar. The other main source for the early history of Saint-Vaast is the chronicle of the abbey up to 899. The *Chronicon Vedastinum*, MGH SS XIII:674-709, was transcribed from an early eleventh-century manuscript, Douai BM MS 753, which incorporates paraphrases of other sources from early Christian times to 899. Chrétien Dehaisnes edited parts of both that manuscript and Brussels BR MS 15835, and published a more complete chronicle for the years 874-900 in *Les Annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast* (Paris, 1871), hereafter *Annales Bertiniani* and *Annales Vedastini*. He notes, p. ix, that certain allusions to events of the early eleventh century imply that the chronicle was actually compiled then. Parts of the Chronicle of Saint-Vaast for 874-900 were also transcribed from Brussels BR MS 6439-6451 as the *Annales Vedastini* in MGH SS II, ed. George Pertz (Hanover, 1829), 196-209.

[11]Details of the missionary work of Saint Vedastus are included in the abbey chronicle, MGH SS XIII:683-685. Two priviledges reputed to describe the foundation of the abbey are found in Guiman's cartulary, Van Drival, 17-19, *Privilegium Theodorici regis de prima fundatione monasterii sancti Vedasti Atrebatensis* and *Privilegium sancti Vendiciani episcopi de libertati monasterii et castri*. On the appointment of Rado, MGH SS XIII:705. See also Jacques, *Histoire*, 32 and Tailliar, 197 and 203.

[12]Deshaines, *Annales Bertiniani*, 55-56, and 156. See also Jacques, *Histoire*, 32 and Tailliar, 233-239. Another privilege in Guiman's cartulary is alleged to be that of Charles the Bald, reconfirming the original donation of Thierry III, Van Drival 38-40, *Privileggium Karoli regis et imperatoris confirmantis subdata et collata a Theodorico augentisque munera*.

incorporated into the decoration, or larger narrative scenes. The most
famous of these manuscripts is the Franco-Saxon lectionary still found in
the municipal library of Arras, MS 1045 (233).[13] Ornamented throughout
with elaborate interlace initials set into complex geometric frames, the
style of this manuscript would prove to be very influential in the
eleventh-century scriptorium. Another gospel book, now Prague,
Kapitulni Knihovna, Cim. 2, includes both full page decorative initials,
and full-page narrative scenes depicting the calling of each evangelist as a
preface to each gospel.[14] The Franco-Saxon manuscripts of Arras were
later to provide the foundation for the Saint-Vaast scriptorium's
eleventh-century decorative style.

With the advent of the Norse incursions in the ninth century,
production at the scriptorium of Saint-Vaast must have lapsed. In
November, 880, Arras was burned by attacking Vikings. The monks of
Saint-Vaast fled to Beauvais with the body of their patron saint, their
treasure, and their library. They would remain there for the next twelve
years. Disaster struck Arras again on the Monday before Easter, 892, when
the entire city burned a second time in an accidental fire.[15] In addition,

[13]This is arguably the most famous manuscript produced at the scriptorium in the pre-
Gothic era. First published extensively by Leopold Deslisle, L'Evangéliaire de Saint-
Vaast d'Arras et la calligraphie franco-saxonne du IXe siècle (Paris, 1888), it is also
included in Amédée Boinet, La miniature carolingienne (Paris, 1913), pls. xciii-xciv, and
Carl Nordenfalk, "Ein Karolingisches Sakramentar aus Echternach und seine Vorläufer,"
Acta Archaeologica, II (1931), 234-235. More recently, André Boutemy, "La Miniature," in
Histoire de l'église en Belgique des origines aux débuts du XIIe siècle, ed. Edouard de
Moreau (1940), 311-361 and L'Art du moyen âge en Artois (Arras, 1951), 52-53.
[14]Florentine Mütherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, Carolingian Painting (New York, 1976), 17-
18, 27, XVIII pls. 39-41.
[15]On the flight to Beauvais, see the chronicle, MGH SS XIII:709 and Deshaines, Annales
Vedastini, 306-307. For the fire which destroyed Arras, Deshaines, Annales Vedastini,
343. See also Jacques, Histoire, 34 and Tailliar, 260.

the monks saw some of their treasures and books burned in September of

886 when Beauvais itself was attacked by Vikings.[16]

The declining years of the Carolingian Empire saw the abbey

handed back and forth as a pawn between warring successors to

Charlemagne and the increasingly powerful counts of Flanders.[17] With

the rise of Hugh Capet in 987, however, the abbey was given over to Count

Baldwin IV of Flanders (988-1035) as part of marriage negotiations for

Robert the Pious's first wife, Suzanne. It remained a possession of the

counts of Flanders for the remainder of the tenth and eleventh

centuries.[18]

In the era of peace and prosperity after the cessation of the Norse

raids, the city grew and again became a mercantile centre. A cartulary of

Saint-Vaast, written in the twelfth century by a monk called Guiman,

records the tithes collected by the abbey in 1036. This document shows that

the inhabitants of Arras were engaged in international trade in such

materials as iron, fabric, and even foodstuffs.[19] The newly prosperous

town of Arras was centred for the most part not around the old Cité and

cathedral, but in the area known as La Ville, situated east of the Crinchon,

around the monastery of Saint-Vaast.[20] This shift in gravity towards the

[16]Dehaisnes, *Annales Vedastini*, 326. *His diebus, id est 15 kal. octobris, Bellovagus civitas ex parte crematur; in quo incendio omnis ornatus monasterii sancti Vedasti, in thesauro et sacris vestibus et libris et kartis, deperiit.* Also Tailliar, 252.

[17]See, for instance, the treatment of this period in Guiman's cartulary, *Quod usque ad tempora Karoli regis abbatia Sancti Vedasti in manu regum semper fuerit...* MGH SS XIII:711 and in the chronicle, Deshaines, *Annales Vedastini*, 342-345, 348-352, 358-359, and Tailliar, 260-266.

[18]Jacques, *Histoire*, 36 and Tailliar, 271.

[19]The privilege recording the tithes is transcribed in Van Drival, 170-175, *Privilegium Leduini abbatis de terminis et consuetudinibus census et thelonei.* See also Jacques, *Histoire*, 38-39.

[20]Lestocquoy, 125-131, 136-137. Even in the twelfth century, the inhabitants recognized this migration away from the old Roman center of Baudimont, marked by ruins, as described in Guiman's cartulary, MGH SS XIII:710. *Nec super hoc quisquam ambiguitatis scrupulus subrepat, quod hic locus tunc extra civitatem ad orientalem plagam fuisse, nunc autem in*

monastery probably reflects the fact that Arras had not been an autonomous bishopric since c. 545, five years after Vedastus's death, when the *cathedra* was transferred to Cambrai, and the dioceses of Arras and Cambrai were combined.[21]

The monastery's scriptorium only recovered sufficiently to begin production again at the beginning of the eleventh century. The first surviving product of the newly revived scriptorium, the Saint-Vaast Bible, was also to be its most lavish and ambitious.

The eleventh-century scriptorium of Saint-Vaast has been the subject of three general studies which have localised a series of manuscripts to the abbey, and devised a chronology. Boutemy drew attention to the products of the scriptorium as a group in his 1949 article "Un Trésor injustement oublié: les manuscrits enluminés du nord de la France (période pré-gothique)."[22] In 1954, Sigrid Schulten completed her extensive study of the manuscripts of Saint-Vaast, and published the results in a substantial article in 1956.[23] Her work has rightly formed the basis of all subsequent studies of the scriptorium. Denis Escudier incorporated a survey of Saint-Vaast manuscripts into his 1970 study of musical notation in Arras.[24] More recently, a brief overview of the scriptorium was included in a general survey of the arts of the region,

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medio civitatis esse probatur, quia, sicut in veteribus chronicis legimus, hec civitas antiquitus in monte qui Baldui-mons dicitur sedit, sicut ruinarium vestigia et vallorum aggeres, qui contra Iulium Cesarem et Romanos constructi sunt.

[21]Henry Gruy, *Histoire d'Arras* (Arras, 1967), 34.

[22]*Scriptorium,* III (1949), 111-122.

[23]"Die Buchmalerei im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras im 11 Jahrhundert," Ph.D Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1954, and idem, "Die Buchmalerei im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst,* VII (1956), 49-90.

[24]"Le Scriptorium de Saint-Vaast d'Arras des origines au XIIe siècle: contribution à l'étude des notations neumatiques du Nord de la France," Thèse, Paris, École nat. Chartes, 1970, 3 vols. Idem, "Le Scriptorium de Saint-Vaast d'Arras des origines au XIIe siècle," *Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartes* (1970), 75-82.

Nord Roman.[25] Out of all the manuscripts produced in the eleventh

century at Saint-Vaast, only the Saint-Vaast Bible has received any detailed

attention, and that mostly in the context of studies of Bibles in general.

Not since Boutemy's 1950 article examining the codicology of the

manuscript, however, has the Bible been the exclusive subject of a study.[26]

Several records of the early library holdings of the monastery give

evidence of the library's holdings in the post-Carolingian period. A

catalogue written in the twelfth century into a copy of the *Registrum*

Gregorii, Arras BM MS 323, fol. 71v, lists 229 manuscripts belonging to the

library, and another late-eleventh-century list describes the thirty-three

books given to the monastery in 1074 by Abbot Sewold of Bath on his way

to Flanders (Arras BM MS 849, fol. 159).[27] Many of the books from both

lists have been identified, a task made easier by the labelling of many

manuscripts belonging to Saint-Vaast in 1628 with the ownership mark

Bibliothecae Monasterii Sancti Vedasti Atrebatensis 1628.[28] In 1790 the

monastery's collection was handed over to the state, and in part dispersed

to other regional libraries. Nonetheless, 598 manuscripts from the Saint-

Vaast library are still preserved in Arras, in the seventeenth-century

buildings that formerly belonged to the monastery.[29] In addition, thirty-

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[25]Hervé Oursel, Colette Deramble-Moubès and Jacques Thiébaut, *Nord Roman* (1994), 260-267.

[26]"La Bible enluminée de Saint-Vaast à Arras (Ms. 559)," *Scriptorium,* IV (1950), 67-81.

[27]Philip Grierson, "La Bibliothèque de Saint-Vaast d'Arras au XIIc siècle," *Revue Bénédictine,* LII (1940), 117-140 and idem, "Les livres de l'abbé Seiwold de Bath," *Revue Bénédictine,* LII (1940), 96-116.

[28]This inscription is found in all three volumes of the Saint-Vaast Bible, on fol. 2 of vol. 1, fol. 1 of vol. 2, and fol. 2 of vol. 3.

[29]These holdings have been catalogued several times, and therefore bear several sets of catalogue numbers. The most often used are those of the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France,* IV(Paris, 1872, reprinted 1968) and Zephir François Cicéron Caron, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la ville d'Arras* (Arras, 1860). I will use the numeration found in Caron, which is the system presently in use at the Bibliothèque Municipale in Arras.

two manuscripts were sent to the municipal library in nearby Boulogne-sur-Mer.

Although the Saint-Vaast Bible was not listed with the collection in the twelfth-century library catalogue, Schulten argued that this does not disprove its Saint-Vaast origin. Like other highly decorated Saint-Vaast manuscripts that were not catalogued, the Bible was probably kept not in the library, but in the treasury of the monastery.[30] In fact, not a single book of the Bible, whether Gospels, Psalter, Apocalypse or Epistelary is included in the twelfth-century list, even though clearly several were in the possession of the monastery. This omission suggests that the monastery's biblical books may have been listed on a now missing subsequent folio, as the list breaks off mid-word at the bottom of the right hand column.

There is no direct internal evidence for either the dating or localisation of the Bible. Its localisation to Arras rests on its strong stylistic similarity to several other manuscripts irrefutably connected to Saint-Vaast.[31] Two of the artist's hands that Schulten identified in the Bible she also found in other, securely localised Saint-Vaast manuscripts, Arras BM MS 860, a Breviary, and Boulogne BM MS 9, a Gospel Book.[32] She rightly identified the hand that produced the Esther illustration in volume three, fol. 44 (fig. 16), with its flat and opaque dark paint covered with harsh black lines delineating diagonal and horizontal folds, with that of the artist

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[30]Schulten,*Münchner Jahrbuch*, 50 and Grierson, "La Bibliothèque de Saint-Vaast," 119. This was a common occurrance with medieval liturgical books.

[31]Arras BM MSS 616, 860, and 903, which belong stylistically to the same family as the Arras Bible, all invoke Saint Vedastus in their colophons. In addition, ownership inscriptions in the hand of the scribe of each manuscript are found in Arras BM MSS 60 and 826, both of which are also decorated with Saint-Vaast-style ornament. Finally, Cambrai MS 75, a Gradual decorated with Saint-Vaast type tendril interlace, has a calendar and a litany which both feature Saint Vedastus. Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 62.

[32]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 51.

responsible for the similarly flatly opaque and clumsily outlined miniatures in Boulogne BM MS 9 (fig. 25). The Gospel Book can be localised to Saint-Vaast because of its dedication page illustration, where a donor presents the manuscript to a figure labelled *SCS VEDASTUS*.[33] The most accomplished initials in Arras BM MS 860, according to Schulten, were drawn by an artist she termed the "präzisen Ornamentzeichner," the same artist who produced six small initials in volume two of the Bible.[34] And indeed in both manuscripts, this artist's work is easily identified through its energetic and tightly packed striated white tendrils, with many little twisting leaf ends that cup around crossing stems. MS 860 contains an ownership inscription by the original scribe localising it to Saint-Vaast.[35]

None of the Saint-Vaast manuscripts are internally datable. Schulten proposed a date for the Saint-Vaast Bible of between c. 1025 and c. 1050, based on a convincing chronology of style developed in her 1954 dissertation on the scriptorium, "Die Buchmalerei im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras im 11. Jahrhundert", and in her subsequent 1956 article. The scriptorium's figure style evolved over a period of fifty to seventy-five years from a rather clumsily-executed, Anglo-Saxon influenced, line-drawing technique with colour-washes and some touches of flat, opaque overpainting, as seen in the Saint-Vaast Bible, to an illusionistic and colourfully elaborate painted style unique to Saint-Vaast. This was paralleled by a change in the school's script. The script used in the scriptorium developed from a rounded late-Carolingian minuscule found

[33]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 61. Boulogne, BM MS 9, fol. 1.
[34]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 63. She identified this artist as Albertus, the scribe whose elaborately painted colophon *Albertus scripsit* decorates fol. 6 of Arras BM MS 734, a *Liber miraculorum et officii Sancti Vedasti* (p. 72).
[35]For localisation, see note 32, above.

in the Saint-Vaast Bible and other early manuscripts, to a slightly more upright and angular pre-Gothic script. Both the figure style and the script of the Saint-Vaast Bible accord with the features described by Schulten, and lacking any evidence to the contrary, her dating of the manuscript to the second quarter of the eleventh century seems reasonable.

A *terminus ante quem* for the stylistic development of the scriptorium is provided by its supposed latest product, a Psalter today in Dijon, BM MS 30, which most likely was given to Robert of Molesme during his visit to Saint-Vaast in 1094 or 1095, as recorded in an inscription on fol. 10.[36] Schulten quite reasonably localised the Psalter to Saint-Vaast because it is stylistically related to the later manuscripts of the Saint-Vaast school, and Saint Vedastus features prominently in both its calendar and litany.[37] Its tendril ornament can also be compared with that found in a Saint-Amand manuscript dated ca. 1087, suggesting that the Saint-Vaast manuscript in Dijon was produced around this time.[38] A beginning point for the school's development is more difficult to pinpoint. It is unlikely that a project as lavish and complex as the production of a heavily illustrated three-volume Bible was undertaken before the reform of the monastery by Richard of Saint-Vanne and Leduinus around 1018, as will be discussed in chapter two. The different hands at work in the Bible, however, seem to have assimilated English line-drawing style to an ever greater degree as work progressed from the first volume through the third. A comparison to manuscripts produced

[36]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 85 and 90, note 75. Visits between Bishop Lambert of Arras and Robert of Molesme are recorded in the Cartulary of Molesme for 1094 and 1095.
[37]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 74-75.
[38]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 76.

in southern England can therefore provide a tentative date for the production of the Bible's pictorial cycle.[39]

According to Schulten, because the figural drawings in volume one (fig. 3) reflect the line-drawing style found in the late-tenth-century Sherborne Pontifical, Paris BN MS lat. 943, fol. 5b (fig. 26), the artist had probably recently encountered a similar tenth-century English manuscript.[40] Meanwhile, she noted that the white tendril ornament in the Winchcombe Psalter, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.23, which is approximately dated 1025-1050, is similar in outline to that found in volume three of the Bible. Also, as Schulten observed, the drawing style of the figures in volume three of the Bible, with their crinkly folded wind-blown hems with jerkily gesturing arms and hands wide open (fig. 24), may have been influenced by a Winchester manuscript contemporary with the New Minster *Liber Vitae*, BL Stowe MS 944, fol. 6, dated c. 1031 (fig. 27).[41] Therefore she suggested that the style of the Bible developed over time, with the artists of the successive volumes exposed to later English influences as work on the Bible progressed. This division of models is too rigid, however, because the products of the different hands in the Bible cannot be very far apart in date. Instead, it appears that the

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[39]That North French scriptoria were exposed to art from across the channel is suggested by the Anglo-Saxon influence demonstrated at nearby abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, where a visiting Anglo-Saxon artist illustrated a late tenth-century gospel book, Boulogne BM MS 11, and added marginal drawings to the well-known Odbert Psalter, Boulogne BM MS 20. See *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066*, ed. Janet Backhouse, D.H. Turner, and Leslie Webster (London, 1984), 60-65 and Claire Kelleher, "Illumination at Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer under the Abbacy of Odbert," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1968, 53. The same artist may have moved on to Arras to produce the so-called Anhalt Morgan Gospels, New York, Pierpont Morgan M. 827. On this manuscript, Hans Swarzenski, "The Anhalt Morgan Gospels," *Art Bulletin*, XXXI (1949), 77-83.

[40]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 76. On the Sherborne Pontifical, see *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, 55.

[41]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 76. On the New Minster *Liber Vitae* and the Winchcombe Psalter, see *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066*, 78.

three identifiable artists were working either contemporaneously, or serially, but with their tenure in the scriptorium at times overlapping. There are two more likely scenarios. First, the artists may have been exposed to the same set of models, but assimilated English line-drawing or painting style to different degrees. Second, the artists could have been exposed to different English models before they arrived at Saint-Vaast and took up work in the scriptorium. Nonetheless, Schulten convincingly demonstrated that the Bible was produced in the second quarter of the eleventh century, and proposed that it is the first surviving product of the newly revived scriptorium.

The stylistic vocabulary of the manuscript is very revealing. As the first product of a newly reborn scriptorium, the Saint-Vaast Bible is a unique record of the monks' search for a local style, a quest only completed with the development of an opaque painted style later in the eleventh century. The manuscript's decorations reveal that the artists were clearly in the process of inventing a workshop style in the course of the production of the Bible, although what they achieved in this manuscript was more of a derivative pastiche than a unified style. Even a cursory examination of the Bible reveals the scriptorium's programme of work, which progressed from the beginning to the end of the Bible in linear order. In the first folios of the manuscript, figures were crudely squeezed into the margins in whatever space was left around the frame (figs. 2 and 3). By the final volume, the artists were able to create compositions of striking harmony, incorporating figures, initials, frames and text (fig. 17). The competence of the artists to integrate their figural images into the decorative framework around the text pages clearly increased as work progressed. Because different artists appear to have been

responsible for frames, initials and figural images, one cannot attribute this change to a switch from one artist to another. Rather, the entire workshop gradually refined its vision and its ability to cooperate. Thus, although the hands of different artists remained identifiable, by the end of the project they were able to work together as a coherent group.

The Saint-Vaast monks faced an interesting challenge. Because their scriptorium had been moribund for over a century, they were not bound to the practices of previous masters when adopting a decorative vocabulary. Nonetheless, perhaps in reference to the monastery's past grandeur and the authority of their own manuscript tradition, they chose to adopt the Franco-Saxon interlace and framed decorative pages of the scriptorium's Carolingian flowering as the basis of their new style. As Schulten demonstrated in her study of the products of the Arras scriptorium, the Saint-Vaast Bible displays the fruits of this revival. Many of the folios introducing books of the Bible are set off with frames of a variety of shapes constructed of solid bands filled with pen-drawn interlace and accented with rectangular or circular medallions set in the corners and mid-frame.[42] Inside these frames are giant interlace initials, often elaborated with animal heads and bodies. Even a superficial comparison with manuscripts that may have originated at Saint-Vaast in the Carolingian era shows the striking similarities between the Bible and its Franco-Saxon models (fig. 28).[43] So indebted is the Saint-Vaast Bible to its Carolingian decorative heritage that it was once suggested that it was

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[42]Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 104.

[43]Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 104-108. She compares the decorative frames and initials of the Bible to the Saint-Vaast Lectionary, Arras BM MS 1045 and the Boulogne Gospels, Boulogne BM MS 12, two ninth-century manuscripts which were still in Arras during the eleventh-century rejuvenation of the scriptorium, and to the Leofric Missal, Oxford, Bodl. MS 579, a Saint-Vaast manuscript of the tenth century.

simply a replica of an older Franco-Saxon Bible, rather than a new creation.[44]

The Romanesque artists of Saint-Vaast were not content, however, to copy the work of their predecessors wholesale. For instance, while Carolingian manuscripts were often brightly painted, the framed initial pages of the Saint-Vaast Bible were executed almost entirely in pen and ink, with color restricted to pale washes of green, orange, ochre and blue. They also copied ornamental details from other manuscript schools and incorporated them into their Franco-Saxon framework, as Schulten has shown in her examination of the sources of the Saint-Vaast style. As already mentioned above, clear parallels can be found within contemporary English manuscripts for the loose Winchester-style acanthus filling frames and entwining frame medallions within the Saint-Vaast Bible, such as in the frame medallions on fol. 128v of vol. I (fig. 5).[45] Initials constructed of dragons, such as in vol. III, fol. 135v (fig. 22), were probably also inspired by Anglo-Saxon manuscript illumination.[46] Such elements were adapted from a variety of Anglo-Saxon scriptoria, suggesting that the Saint-Vaast artists had been exposed to several different English manuscripts, and had investigated them for useful motifs which they then knowledgeably integrated with their local interlace-based designs.[47]

At the same time that the Saint-Vaast scriptorium was mining its Franco-Saxon past for decorative motifs, the artists decided to add figural

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[44]Nordenfalk, "Ein Karolingisches Sakramentar," 235 n. 54.

[45]Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 109-110. She compares the Saint-Vaast acanthus to the unlocalised early eleventh-century gospelbook, London BM Royal MS I.D.IX. One could also compare the contemporary Missal of Robert of Jumièges, Rouen, BM MS Y 6, which was the work of the same scribe (see The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 69).

[46]Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 112. See Oxford, Bodl. MS Junius 27,

[47]Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 114.

illustrations to their manuscripts. Although earlier Saint-Vaast manuscripts, such as the Gospel Lectionary Arras BM MS 1045 (233), could have provided the necessary model for a painted figural style, the artists instead turned for inspiration to the art of Anglo-Saxon England. Here they found a pen-drawn figure style on which they modelled their own compositions.

Not surprisingly, the Bible's twenty-four figural illustrations show evidence of several different hands, and of two significant phases of illustration.[48] The first campaign of figural illustration seems to have been carried out by at least three hands, although the bulk of the decoration was divided between two easily identifiable artists.[49] One recognizable artist can be called the Ezra Master. Like the other main artist at work in the first campaign, he was obviously influenced by Anglo-Saxon techniques of pen drawing and had begun to assimilate them. His figures, however, display none of the sureness of hand found in English manuscripts such as the Sherborne Pontifical, Paris, BN MS lat. 943 (fig.

[48]For the purposes of this study, I will count only those figures which are identifiable or take part in a narrative as actual figural illustrations. Figures or heads used in isolation as ornament will not be included. Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 22-33, and 41-42, does not complete a full division of hands within the Bible, lamenting that this was impossible for a manuscript of such variability and low quality. She characterizes the Bible's decoration as the product of a workshop with a strong guiding director. Nonetheless, she divides some of the decoration within the Bible between a number of different "werkstattgruppe" based on details in composition, framing and tendril ornament. Schulten associates the different workshop groups with phases in the development of Anglo-Saxon manuscript illumination, "Die Buchmalerei," 115-117. She believes that the first group of line drawings, which she identifies as products of the "erste Bibelwerkstattgruppe" at work in the first two volumes of the Bible, are based on a model related in style to the late tenth-century Sherborne Pontifical, Paris, BN MS lat. 943. The line drawings she attributes to the "zweite Bibelwerkstattgruppe" copied a style related to the early eleventh-century New Minster *Liber Vitae*, London BM MS Stowe 944, from Winchester. The painted figural images, assigned by Schulten to Master A, meanwhile, copied a manuscript similar to a late tenth-century Prudentius, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 23.

[49]The first campaign includes the illustrations for Deuteronomy, Joshua, III Kings, IV Kings, II Chronicles, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ezra, Esther, II Maccabees, the *Passio Machabeorum*, Paul's Epistle to Philemon, I and II Peter, I John, and Acts.

26). Rather, they are characterized by rubbery joints, heavy and laboured double-lined drapery, and more static, rigid poses and gestures. This artist produced the figures prefacing Deuteronomy (figs. 2 and 3), Joshua (fig. 4), III Kings (fig. 5), II Chronicles (fig. 7), parts of Jeremiah (fig. 8), Ezechiel (fig. 9), Wisdom (fig. 13), the Song of Solomon (fig. 12), Tobit, and Ezra (fig. 15).[50] His work is found in all three volumes of the Bible, although it disappears abruptly after fol. 29 of volume III.

The most technically accomplished figural artist in the first campaign, the Acts Master, also adopted more fully the contemporary Anglo-Saxon pen-drawing style. Characterized by recessive, pointy chins, broad noses, large hands and quick, excited gestures, his figures reveal a fluid pen with a sure handling of drapery and anatomy. The figure style of this artists resembles that found in such Anglo-Saxon manuscripts as the early eleventh-century New Minster *Liber Vitae*, London BM MS Stowe 944, from Winchester (fig. 27), implying that the Acts Master must have been copying the style of a relatively recent model. This artist was responsible for the figural illustrations prefacing IV Kings (fig. 6), parts of Jeremiah (fig. 8), II Maccabees (fig. 17), the *Passio Machabeorum* (fig. 18), Acts (fig. 24), Paul's Epistle to Philemon (fig. 20), I and II Peter (figs. 21 and 22), and the underdrawing of the First Epistle of John (fig. 23).[51] Out of all

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[50]Vol. I, fols. 53v-54, 72, 128v, and 170, vol. II, fols. 15, 42v, 141, and 144, and vol. III, fols. 17 and 29. Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 40-42, lumps many of the figural illustrations together and attributes them to the first workshop group, both neglecting to mention vol. III, fols. 17 and 29, and to differentiate between the artists responsible for ornament versus those responsible for figures. At the same time she never convincingly demonstrates that the division of ornament between workshop groups corresponds to the division of the figural images. She does not mention cases such as vol. III, fol. 141, Acts, where the frame and initial bear a strong resemblence in their unevenness and lack of tendril and animal elaboration to her description of the work of the "erste werkstattgruppe," although she attributed the figures, lively and competently drawn, to the "zweite werkstattgruppe" (p. 40).

[51]Vol. I, fol. 144v, vol. II, fol. 15, and vol. III, fols. 70v, 81v, 126, 133v, 135v, 136v, and 141. Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 40, attributes all of these as well as the image prefacing

these images, only two are found in the first two volumes of the Bible, and the first of these appears to be an ad hoc addition. Therefore, although he contributed to the illustration of all three volumes of the Bible, the Acts Master was probably not the first artist to work on the project, but rather joined the effort some time after it was initiated.[52] Nonetheless, the Ezra Master and the Acts Master both participated in the composition of the Jeremiah miniature, and both worked in volume III, suggesting that their tenure in the Saint-Vaast workshop overlapped.[53]

A third artist may have been responsible for the two illustrations of the first campaign which were painted, rather than drawn. The illustrations for Esther and John (figs. 16 and 23), both found in volume III, show an awkward mixture of matt patches of underpainting, and surfaces which have been articulated by black or brown pen-drawing. Although this may be the work of the Ezra Master, the difference in medium succeeds in disguising most similarities to his pen drawings. It is therefore prudent to assume that these illuminations were produced by a third artist, identified by Schulten as Master A, who favoured painting over pen drawing.[54]

Ezechiel (vol. II, fol. 42v) generally to the second workshop group. It seems clear to me that the Ezechiel image is rather the work of the Ezra Master. In addition, the underdrawing of the historiated initial prefacing the First Epistle of John (vol. III, fol. 136v) should also be attributed to the Acts Master, although it was later over-painted by Master A. Finally, all of these works are so similar they could only be the product of one hand.

[52]The Acts Master's only contribution to vol. I seems to be an afterthought, the full-page illustration added to the almost blank text page at the end of III Kings, prefacing IV Kings.
[53]A close examination of the Jeremiah minature reveals that, in keeping with the practice in the rest of the Bible, the initial and frame were drawn first, and the figural composition added later, seemingly simultaneously by both artists, for no part of the figural program interferes with another.
[54]Vol. III, fols. 44 and 136v. Although Master A played only a small role in the illustration of the Saint-Vaast Bible, his contribution to the artistic output of the scriptorium was considerable. He was largely responsible for the illumination of several other manuscripts, including the Arras Gospels, Boulogne BM MS 9, and a collection of Jerome and Cassiodorus texts, Arras BM 732, illustrated with a prefatory image of the Assumption of Mary (Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 52 and 87).

The chief significance of this division of hands in this context is its contribution to our understanding of the genesis of the Bible's iconographical programme. One cannot avoid the conclusion that all three artists of the earlier campaign, the Acts Master, the Ezra Master, and Master A, working either simultaneously or only a few years apart, carried out components of the programmes of kingship, queenship and episcopal governance which make up the underlying theme of the Bible's cycle of illustrations. This remarkable amount of cooperation indicates that a programmer of some sort must have directed the content and composition of the images, as well as possibly their accompanying inscriptions.

The two early painted compositions of Master A can be easily distinguished from the painted additions made to the manuscript in the second campaign of decoration. Sometime between twenty-five and fifty years after the original nineteen figural illustrations were produced, a monk at Saint-Vaast returned to the Bible to add a further five images.[55] This artist used a much more sophisticated painting technique than that employed many decades earlier by Master A.[56] Master A had simply modified the local line-drawing technique by adding an underlayer of opaque color. This artist, instead, modelled his figures three-dimensionally with white highlights and dark shadows, and used white cross-hatching to define draperies, and greenish-grey modelling for the skin-tones. The faces have a yellow-brown tinge, while the ears are set very high on the sides of the head, and the neck and brow are articulated with lines. This artist, who we can call the Colossians Master, added the

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[55]Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 77-83.
[56]Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 22 and 77-83 on the characteristics of the Colossians Master.

illustrations for the preface to Genesis, Frater Ambrosius (fig. 1), Nahum (fig. 10), Habakuk (fig. 11), Ecclesiasticus (fig. 14), and Paul's Epistle to the Colossians (fig. 19). Although these paintings are later than the Bible's initial programme, two of them nevertheless fit into its overall ideological scheme, as will be discussed below.[57]

Despite the Bible's potential to reveal information about workshop practice and its complex pictorial programme, however, it has fallen victim to the scholarly neglect of manuscripts of its era and region in the last thirty years. Since the pioneering work of André Boutemy in a series of articles of the 1940s and 1950s, the scriptoria of Northern France in the eleventh century in general have seldom been the subject of scholarly investigation. Only the scriptorium of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer has received any recent attention of note, and that has been devoted almost exclusively to one manuscript, the Odbert Psalter, Boulogne BM MS 20.[58]

Scholars have long recognized the originality of the giant luxury Bibles produced in the Romanesque period. Full Bibles were seldom produced in the pre-Romanesque era. Instead, single books of the Bible or small groups of books, such as the Pentateuch, the Psalter, the Gospels, the Apocalypse or the Wisdom books were more frequently produced. Prior to the eleventh century, the last great period of Bible production was in the Carolingian era, following the reforms of Charlemagne and the correction of the biblical text undertaken by Alcuin.[59] The most famous

[57]See chapter six.

[58]Kelleher, "Illumination at Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer under the abbacy of Odbert." Rainer Kahsnitz, "Der christologische Zyklus im Odbert-Psalter," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, LI (1988), 33-125. See also most recently Susan Lowry, "New York Pierpont Morgan Library M. 333 and Manuscript Illumination at the Monastery of Saint Bertin under Abbot Odbert (986-ca1007)," Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia,1996.

[59]For the most recent bibliography, see David Ganz, "Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts: The Carolingian Bibles from Tours," in Richard Gameson, ed., *The Early Medieval Bible* (Cambridge, 1994), 53-62, and Rosamund McKitterick, "Carolingian Bible

Bibles produced in this period were the Tours Bibles, such as the Grandval Bible (London B.L. Add 10546) and the Vivian Bible (Paris B.N. Ms. Lat. 1), which were illustrated in the mid-ninth century with cycles of whole-page scenes and a few historiated initials.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, monastic scriptoria renewed the practice of producing large-scale illustrated Bibles. The reasons for this change in practice have never been satisfactorily explained. The later Romanesque boom in Bible production has been associated, especially in the work of Peter Brieger, with the reform of the Church undertaken by Pope Gregory VII in the late eleventh century. The Saint-Vaast Bible, however, was produced as much as fifty years before this reform. More recently, Walter Cahn explored the possibility that monastic reform movements preceding the broader church movement of Gregory could have provided the inspiration for the production of such Bibles.[60]

In the selection of biblical books to be illustrated and the choice of iconography used to illustrate them, the pictorial cycle of the Saint-Vaast Bible in many ways presages those that would decorate the many more famous Bibles of the later Romanesque era, while at the same time breaking with the traditions established by the Carolingian Bibles. Although it is the earliest surviving example of an illustrated Giant Bible found north of the Alps in the post-Carolingian era, the inspiration for the illustrations has never been investigated in depth, and the similarities and

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Production: The Tours Anomaly," in Gameson, 63-77. Also Paul E. Dutton and Herbert Kessler, *The Poetry and Painting of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor, 1998).
[60]Peter Brieger, "Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform," *Studies in Church History*, II (1965), 161-164, and doubts expressed by François Masai in his review of Brieger's article in "Bulletin Codicologique," *Scriptorium*, XXI (1968), 102-103. Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illustration* (Ithaca, 1982), 95-102.

differences between this Bible and later Romanesque Bibles have never been defined.

In addition, it has never before been noted that some of the codicological characteristics of the Bible make it a recognizable member of a select group of North French Bibles, and that these characteristics may reveal the intent behind the production of Bibles of this size and lavishness, and the reasons why they were first produced in this region. Although the significant damage to the Saint-Vaast Bible in the period immediately following the French Revolution makes it difficult to provide a detailed codicological survey of the manuscript, it is clear that the Bible never included either the books of the Gospels or the Psalter (Appendix 1).[61] This is also true of several other Giant Bibles produced in northern France in the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries. All of these Bibles were copied and illustrated either at monasteries reformed by Richard of Saint-Vanne or his followers or at a cathedral under his strong influence. These lacunae set the North French Bibles apart from the other Romanesque Giant Bibles. A careful examination of the Bibles and their reform context will reveal their intended function as tools for daily refectory and choir reading within the monasteries where they were produced.

Richard of Saint-Vanne (d. 1046) dominated religious life in the diocese of Arras-Cambrai in the early eleventh century. Called to the diocese as abbot of Saint-Vaast in 1008 from his home abbey in Verdun by Bishop Gerard of Cambrai's predecessor, Erluinus, Richard reformed the abbey of Saint-Vaast, and then, in cooperation with Gerard, used Saint-

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[61]See Appendix 1, note 1, for a discussion of the damage to the manuscript.

Vaast as a base to reform monasteries throughout the diocese.[62] His disciples Leduinus and Poppo of Stavelot carried this reform even further afield, so that it predominated in northern France and Flanders until the advent of the Cluniac reform in the region at the end of the eleventh century. It was probably under the abbacy of Leduinus that the Bible was produced at the abbey of Saint-Vaast. The standards for monastic practice set by the reform of Richard of Saint-Vanne had a profound impact on the production of this and several other Romanesque Giant Bibles, and may cast light on the function of Giant Bibles in general, as will be shown in chapter two. In addition, the reform movement's model of cooperation between episcopal and abbatial authority probably contributed to the Saint-Vaast Bible's pictorial programme, as I will discuss in chapter two.

The historical circumstances surrounding the production of the Saint-Vaast Bible make it a singularly interesting object of study. In particular, another important personality connected with Arras at the time the Bible was created, Bishop Gerard of Cambrai, may have affected not only the decision to create the manuscript, but also the way in which the monastery chose to illustrate it.

The city of Arras was located in what was a particularly lively region of France at the beginning of the eleventh century. The County of Flanders was constantly exposed to outside influences because it lay on the most commonly used route between England and Rome. Between the mid-tenth century and the end of the twelfth century, the port of Wissant on the north-west coast was the chief embarkation point for journeys to

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[62]Only one monograph on Richard of St. Vanne has been published: Hubert Dauphin, *Le Bienheureux Richard, abbé de Saint-Vanne de Verdun, d. 1046* (Paris, 1946). Richard's reform has been analyzed in other contexts, particulary in studies of Cluniac monasticism of the eleventh century. See chapter two, note 49.

and from England. The main road south passed through St. Omer, Arras and Cambrai.[63] In addition, the diocese of Arras-Cambrai was at that time led by one of the most powerful bishops in the archdiocese of Reims, a man who held sway in not one, but two royal courts. Because of the division of his diocese between two realms, Gerard of Cambrai (c. 980–1051), Bishop of Arras-Cambrai from 1012 to 1051, was put in the unusual and delicate position of being subject to both the Holy Roman Emperor and the Capetian King of France. The Treaty of Verdun in 843 had established the frontier at the Scheldt, or Escaut, river between what later became the County of Flanders, under French domination, and the realm of Lotharingia, which fell under the Holy Roman Empire.[64] This river runs through Cambrai, and on its west bank begins the County of Flanders, in which Arras is situated. Until 1094, when Arras was again consecrated an independent bishopric, the diocese of Arras-Cambrai therefore bridged two realms, the city of Arras lying in the Capetian County of Flanders, and the city of Cambrai in Ottonian Lorraine. Gerard of Cambrai managed to maintain good relations with both Robert II the Pious, the Capetian king of France, and Emperor Henry II, and even acted as a negotiator between them, yet he remained a vassal of the Empire as the Count of Cambrai.[65] The political ideology developed by Gerard to cope with his unusual and highly sensitive situation has proven to be an essential component of the illustrative cycle of the Saint-Vaast Bible,

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[63]Philip Grierson, "The Relations between England and France before the Norman Conquest," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, XXIII(1941), 80-81.

[64]Alfred Cauchie, *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai* (Louvain, 1890), vi, and Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980), 17, have different interpretations of their loyalties.

[65]Cauchie, xxv-xxix. For extensive bibliography on Gerard of Cambrai, see chapter two, notes 102-105. The most recent works to discuss him are Duby, 28-43, and Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (1983), 120-139.

which was produced between c. 1025 and 1050 during Gerard's episcopate, and probably inspired in part a programme focussing on secular and ecclesiastical rulership. Its series of narrative images of Old Testament kings, patriarchs and prophets sets up a typology of Christological kingship by emphasizing the divine origin of kingship as an institution, and the virtues of the successful king, as I will discuss in chapter four. In addition, the Bible's pictorial programme underlines the Old Testament origin of the division between ecclesiastical and secular rule, its similarity to the institution by Christ of the Christian Church, and the biblical tradition for cooperation between Church and State. This theme suggests the strengthening of the office of bishop, while it seeks to preserve the Carolingian status quo at a time when a feudal model of government and a surge in monastic reform movements was threatening the traditional powers of both the king and the bishop, as I will demonstrate in chapters three and four.

Another closely related series of images in the Saint-Vaast Bible sought to set out an image of ideal queenship. Using a trio of Old Testament prototypes of queenly behavior, the illustrators attempted to outline a model of queenship which stressed the role of the queen as subsidiary to that of her husband. In addition, they pictured the most important duties of the queen through the agency of these holy women. As I will discuss in chapter five, the Bible's programme stresses the functions of the queen as an intercessor for the church, an educator of royal heirs, and a virtuous ornament and consort to her husband.

Finally, yet another historical event contemporary with the reemergence of the scriptorium at Arras may have affected the Bible's programme of decoration. In 1025, in one of the most famous incidents of

heresy in the early eleventh century, a heretical sect was discovered practicing in Arras. A description of the synod convened by Bishop Gerard to deal with the heresy has been preserved, and gives evidence not only of the beliefs of the heretics, but also of Gerard's own attitudes towards ecclesiastical office. The heretics were reputed by Gerard to have rejected the hierarchy of the church, as well as the sacraments and the greater part of the Bible.[66] The memories of this heresy may have caused a Saint-Vaast artist to return to the Bible at a later stage to add the elaborate miniature prefacing Ecclesiasticus to the Saint-Vaast Bible's programme, as will be shown in chapter six.

All of these events, and the people associated with them, formed the atmosphere in which the Saint-Vaast Bible was created. Furthermore, the codicology of the Bible and the contents of its pictorial programme make it a particularly important specimen for understanding the genesis of Romanesque Bible production.

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[66]For a brief discussion of this heresy, see Robert I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London, 1975), 15-20, or Jeffrey Burton Russel, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Los Angelos, 1965), 21-26. Peter Brieger has already drawn a connection between heresy and the Saint-Vaast Bible ("Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform," 154-164).

Chapter 2

The Arras Bible and Eleventh-Century Monastic Reform

The lavishly ornamented and illustrated Bibles of the Romanesque period have long been set apart as a distinct type of manuscript. Produced in the monasteries of northern Europe, Spain and Italy beginning in the eleventh century, these large, often multi-volume Bibles share many characteristics. For instance, they are remarkably consistent in their overall dimensions, usually measuring between 45 and 60 centimetres tall, and between 30 and 40 centimetres wide when closed.[1] The most characteristic form of decoration for these manuscripts is the historiated initial, although many of the Bibles also include illustrated frontispieces before the more important books of the Bible, such as the Book of Genesis. They are also usually written with a large and very legible script.

Although scholars agree on the general characteristics of these Romanesque Bibles, they have not been able to come to a widely accepted conclusion as to the motivation behind their production, and their intended function. No contemporary statements exist explaining why such Bibles were made, but several theories have been advanced. Peter Brieger, in his 1965 article "Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform," saw the production of these Bibles as an outgrowth of the Church reform

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[1] Although scholars such as Walter Cahn, Edward B. Garrison, Knut Berg and, more recently, Larry Ayres have used the term "Giant Bible" to describe the Italian Bibles produced beginning in the mid-eleventh century, this term should perhaps not be restricted to the products of Italian scriptoria, for Italian Romanesque Bibles were not significantly larger than their contemporary northern European counterparts. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, 1982), 101, Berg, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination* (Oslo-Bergen-Tromsö, 1968), and Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, 4 vols. (Florence, 1953-1962). See Ayres, "The Italian Giant Bibles: aspects of their Touronian ancestry and early history," in Richard Gameson, ed., *The Early Medieval Bible: Its production, decoration and use* (Cambridge, 1994), 125 n. 3, on the origin of the term. For a survey of manuscript dimensions, see the catalogue of Bibles in Cahn, 251-293. The dimensions of the Arras Bible are vol. I: 48 x 35 cm., vol. II: 50 x 33.5 cm. and vol. III: 51 x 35 cm.

movement spearheaded by Pope Gregory VII in the late eleventh century.[2]

Knut Berg and Larry Ayers have related the production of Italian

Romanesque Bibles in the Roman sphere of influence more closely to this

reform.[3] Brieger recognized, however, that the origins of this wave of

manuscript copying and decoration are found earlier, before the

widespread monastic reform movements of the eleventh century were

codified under Gregory. He saw another inspiration for Bible production

in the heresies which troubled Europe in the eleventh century, some of

which denied the worth of the Old Testament as well as parts of the New.[4]

While the rise of heresy did contribute to the iconography of the

Romanesque Bibles, including the Saint-Vaast Bible, the greater impetus

must have come from the pre-Gregorian monastic reforms then spreading

throughout Europe. Such reforms prescribed a return to the Benedictine

rule's order that monks read Scripture not only in the choir as part of their

devotions, but also in the refectory.[5] Margaret Gibson has aptly termed the

large and luxurious volumes born of this necessity "Display Bibles."[6]

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[2]*Studies in Church History*, II (1965), 154-164. See also Margaret T. Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West: The Medieval Book* (Notre Dame, 1993), I, 9.

[3]Berg, 19 and Ayers, 126.

[4]Brieger, 159-160.

[5]Heinrich Fichtenau, "Neues zum Problem der italienischen 'Riesenbibeln'," *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung: Mitteilungen*, LVIII (1950), 59-61. Also Ayers, 126, Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, 95-96 and Brieger, 161. The best known example of this is the Customary of Udalric, which describes monastic usage at Cluny c. 1080 (PL 149:643-645). Here, the Bible was read "et in ecclesia, et in refectorio" in a prescribed order throughout the year beginning with the Book of Genesis at Septuagesima (i.e. the third Sunday before Lent). Later evidence for refectory reading in the Cistercian context is found in Laon BM MS 471, which gives instructions for how to read certain books in the refectory. See also Laura Light, "Versions et révisions du texte biblique," *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon, Bible de Tous les Temps, IV (Paris, 1984), 71, for evidence of reading from the Bible in the refectory in England.

[6]Gibson, 8-9. Fichtenau, 60 and Brieger, 161 n. 3, point out that when the customary of Hirsau mentions only one "librum" which must be carried back and forth between the church and the refectory, sometimes by two people, just such a lectern Bible is probably being discussed. PL 150:1028 *Librum in quo legendum est, in refectorium portat et reportat is*

Presumably, any small, tattered volume could have provided a text for refectory reading. The fact that such lavish, complete and attractively decorated manuscripts were now suddenly considered necessary within the monastic context demonstrates that the function for which they were intended, probably public reading, was considered to be fundamental to the life of the monastery.[7]

Due to controversies over the dating of the manuscripts involved, it is impossible at this time to state definitively whether the large scale production of such Bibles took place earlier in the archdiocese of Reims, or in the orbit of Rome.[8] Nonetheless, the earliest surviving example of a Romanesque Giant Bible is the Saint-Vaast Bible, written and illustrated in the archdiocese of Reims in the second quarter of the eleventh century, and therefore predating both the major campaigns of Bible production associated with Reims and Rome.[9] In fact, the Saint-Vaast Bible, through its connection with the prominent eleventh-century reform movement of Richard of Saint-Vanne, provides valuable evidence for the intended function of these manuscripts as tools for monastic reading. At the same time, the philosophy behind Richard's reform helps to explain the content of the Bible's pictorial programme, in particular its marked support of the divine institution of the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchy.

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qui legit ad servitores, adjuvante eum ipso, si opus est, mensae lectore: qui et mox cum eum deposuerit, quod legendum est invenit.

[7] Light, 71.

[8] Brieger, 162, and Light, 69-70. In particular, the Italian Giant Bibles seem to defy firm dating. See the studies of Garrison, Berg. For Reims BM MSS 16-19, 20-21, and 22-23, see Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1996), I, 23 and II, 84-87, and Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, 279-280. Nonetheless, the controversy at the moment leans towards dating the first Italian Giant Bibles earlier than the products of Reims.

[9] For a discussion of the date of the Saint-Vaast Bible, see chapter one.

The North French Group of
Psalter- and Gospel-less Bibles

The Saint-Vaast Bible conforms to the definition of a Romanesque

Giant, or lectern, Bible in its size, its decoration and script, and in its

division into several volumes. Several striking characteristics, however,

set it apart. First, it is in fact not a complete Bible, but lacks both the Psalter

from the Old Testament, and the Four Gospels from the New

Testament.[10] Although it is tempting to assume that these lacunae

represent losses sustained by the manuscript when it was mutilated in the

early nineteenth century, a careful examination of the codicology proves

that these books were never included in the Bible (Appendix 1).[11] Second,

the Saint-Vaast Bible includes an unusual pseudepigraphical addition, the

text of the *Passio Machabeorum*.

The order of the books in a Bible when produced as a unit was not

standardized before the thirteenth century, when the so-called Paris Bibles

were first mass-produced.[12] Nonetheless, it is possible to suggest where

the Gospels and Psalter might have fallen in an eleventh-century Bible, as

well as to establish the continuity of the text in the Arras Bible around

these areas. The Psalter is almost always found before the Wisdom books:

Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

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[10]André Boutemy was the first to recognize that these lacunae were original, although he did not provide a detailed explanation for his opinion ("La Bible enluminée de Saint-Vaast à Arras," *Scriptorium*, IV [1950], 70).

[11]This kind of investigation is assisted in all the North French Romanesque Bibles by the contemporary practice of allowing the prefatory material of the subsequent book to follow on the same folio, or even in the same column, as the ending and explicit of the previous book.

[12]Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris, 1893 reprinted New York, 1958), 301. On the Bibles produced for the Paris University trade, see Light, "Versions et révisions du texte biblique," 75-93 and idem, "French Bibles c. 1200-1230: a new look at the origin of the Paris Bible," in *The Early Medieval Bible*, 155-163, on the order of the Paris Bible and earlier Bibles.

The Touronian Bibles, such as the Grandval Bible, the Vivian Bible, the Rorigo Bible, and contemporary Bibles like the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura, and the Second Bible of Charles the Bald, all placed the Psalter between the Book of Job and the Wisdom books.[13] This practice was taken up by many of the surviving tenth and eleventh-century Bibles, such as the Leon Bible of 960, the Stavelot Bible, and the First Bible of Saint-Martial.[14] In the Arras Bible, as in the Touronian Bibles and the later First Bible of Saint-Martial, the Book of Job follows the Prophets in the Bible. However, in the Arras Bible Job ends on fol. 132 of vol. 2, and immediately thereafter, the incipit to the first of the Wisdom Books, Proverbs, begins. There is no break between between the two books, and therefore the Psalter was never there. A different order is found in two other Bibles, the ninth-century Hincmar Bible and the eleventh-century Moissac Bible. In these, the Psalter is placed after the Prophets, rather than after Job, and before the Wisdom books.[15] Once again, however, there is no gap in the Arras Bible either before the Wisdom books, or at the end of the Prophets on fol. 119v of vol. 2 which would provide evidence of the removal of an entire biblical book. In addition, in 1628 an inscription of ownership was added on folio 1 of volume two of the Bible, and at that time the same scribe listed the biblical books then found in that volume. This table of contents, added long before the large scale destruction of the post-

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[13]Paris, BN MSS Lat. 1, 2 and 3, and London, BL Add. MS 10546. For the order of books in several hundred different Bibles, see the confusing but exhaustive index in Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, Appendix I, 331-339. See David Ganz, "Mass Production of early medieval manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours," in *The Early Medieval Bible*, 53-62, on the amount of standardization among Tours Bibles.

[14]León, Colegiata de San Isidoro, Cod. 2, London, BL Add. MS 28106-7, and Paris, BN MS lat. 5, Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, Appendix I, #s 20, 27 and 50.

[15]Reims, BM MS 1 and Paris, BN MS lat. 7, Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, Appendix I, #s 40 and 42.

revolutionary period, lists all the books found in the volume in the

correct order, but makes no mention of the Psalter.[16]

The same dilemma occurs when one hunts for the hypothetical

home of a missing set of Gospel books. Again, a table of contents was

added to folio 2 of volume three in the early seventeenth century. This

list makes no mention of the Gospels, but lists all the rest of the surviving

books in the correct order.[17] In earlier and contemporary Bibles, the

placement of the Gospels varied, although they were almost always the

first books of the New Testament. They could be found at the beginning of

the New Testament, followed either by Acts, as in the Touronian Bibles, or

by the Pauline Epistles, when Acts was instead found before the

Apocalypse at the end of the New Testament.[18] In the Arras Bible, the

Acts of the Apostles is found before the Apocalypse at the end of the New

Testament. Where one would therefore expect to find the Gospels

between the end of the Old Testament, here with the *Passio*

Machabeorum, and the beginning of the Pauline Epistles, there is no gap.

Rather, both fall on fol. 85v of volume III. In fact, there is no sign of a

series of folio stubs large enough to show that more than two or three

folios were removed in a group anywhere in the Bible. It is therefore

almost impossible to maintain that the Psalter and Gospels have been

removed from the manuscript at some point in its history. In addition,

the manuscript is otherwise complete, with no large sections of text left

unfinished.

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[16]See Appendix 1.

[17]See Appendix 1.

[18]The Gospels are followed by Acts in the Hincmar Bible, the Stavelot Bible and the
Moissac Bible, and by the Pauline Epistles in the Leon Bible of 960, where Acts is placed
before Apocalypse.

Further evidence that the producers of Arras Bible never intended to include the Gospels or the Psalter in the manuscript is provided by a group of North French Giant Bibles from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In fact, the Saint-Vaast Bible was simply the earliest in a series of Bibles which were designed to exclude these books. Although the evidence is complicated by the mutilated state of several of the manuscripts, it appears that at least four other Giant Bibles never possessed a Psalter. Three of these manuscripts, and a fourth from one of the same scriptoria, can be shown never to have included the Gospels. Cataloguers of these Bibles have occasionally tried to explain the absence of these seemingly crucial books by complicated hypotheses about damage to the manuscripts. When they are examined as a group, however, it becomes obvious that such explanations are unnecessary. These Bibles were never intended to be "complete" in the commonly accepted sense, and therefore may have been designed for a particular setting and function which can only by identified by examining them as a group.

The least damaged of this series, Douai BM MS 1, is a two-volume Giant Bible written and decorated at the abbey of Marchiennes in the first half of the twelfth century.[19] In volume I, which contains the first half of the Old Testament, one might expect to find the beginning of a Psalter before the first of the Wisdom books and at the end of the Chronicles. Instead, the explicit of II Chronicles on fol. CCIv is followed immediately on the same folio by the incipit for Proverbs, signalling that there has never been a Psalter between these two books. In the second volume, the

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[19]Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, 271, and *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, VI: Douai (Paris, 1878), 3-4. Volume I contains the Octateuch, the Books of Kings and Chronicles, as well as the Wisdom books. Volume II contains the historical books of Job, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Ezra, and the Maccabees, the Major and Minor Prophets, and the New Testament.

New Testament begins with the Acts of the Apostles, on fol. CLXVIIv, the verso of the folio on which the last of the minor prophets, Malachi, is found. There are no significant gaps or missing sections in the manuscript. Douai 1 therefore never included either the Psalter or the Gospels.

The situation for the other surviving Bibles from Douai is more complicated. Douai BM MS 3, also from Marchiennes, is a later compilation made when the surviving parts of two twelfth-century Giant Bibles were sandwiched together.[20] In Douai 3a, which contains the Wisdom books and some historical books, one would expect to find the Psalter before Proverbs, at the end of the Book of Job. There is no break, however, between the end of Job on fol. 18 and the beginning of Proverbs, signalling that the Psalter was probably never included. Douai 3b, the second Bible remnant of the compilation, begins in the midst of the Book of Proverbs on fol. 148. It is, therefore, impossible to tell now if it ever had a Psalter. The New Testament from this Giant Bible, however, does survive. There is no interruption between the *Passio Machabeorum* and the Pauline Epistles, both of which occur on fol. 238. The rest of the New Testament follows without a gap. It is thus very unlikely that this manuscript ever contained the Gospels.

The first Bible of Saint-Amand, Valenciennes BM MSS 9-11, sometimes known as the Alardus Bible, was written and illustrated in the late eleventh or early twelfth century at the monastery of Saint-Amand.[21]

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[20]*Catalogue général*, VI: Douai, 4-5. Douai 3a, the remnant of the first Bible, begins with the Book of Job, followed by the Wisdom books, Tobias, Judith, Ezra, Esther and the Maccabees, and ends with the *Passio Machabeorum*. Douai 3b contains the Wisdom books, Tobias, Judith, Ezra, Esther, the Maccabees, the *Passio Machabeorum*, the Pauline Epistles, the Canonical Epistles, Acts and the Apocalypse.

[21]*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Départements, XXV: Poitiers-Valenciennes (Paris, 1894), 195-196, and André Boutemy, "Les enluminures de

It has suffered some damage, but enough of the original manuscript survives that it is possible to assess that, once again, it was created without a Gospels or Psalter. In MS 10, there is no break between II Chronicles and the Book of Proverbs, where one might expect to find the Psalter. In MS 11, the last of the minor Prophets, Malachi, and the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles are found on the same folio, 60v. No gaps exist in the text of the New Testament, and thus no Gospels were ever included.

This codicological evidence is reinforced by that provided in a mid-twelfth-century catalogue of the monastery of Saint-Amand, the *Index maior*, Paris, BN Lat. 1850, which lists 315 manuscripts from the library.[22] The second item on the list is described as *Duo magna volumina in quibus separatim vetus et novum testamentum continetur, praeter evangelium et psalterium. - Alardus*. André Boutemy was able to identify this as Valenciennes BM MSS 9-11, and speculated that the mid-twelfth-century author of the list was describing the losses which the volume had already suffered.[23] It seems surprising, however, that this indexer would not have noted the other books now missing from the Bible, such as the prophets Ezechiel and Jeremiah, and the historical books of Tobias, Judith, Ezra, Esther and the Maccabees. Furthermore, MSS 9 and 10 were originally one volume, as can be deduced from the sudden break mid-sentence in the text of I Kings on fol. 122v of MS 9. I Kings picks up again at the beginning of

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l'abbaye de Saint-Amand," *Revue Belge d'archeologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XII (1942), 135-141, and Cahn, 283. MSS 9 and 10, originally one volume, contain the Octateuch, the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and the Wisdom books. MS 11 begins with the Books of Ezechiel and Daniel, continues with the minor Prophets, and ends with the New Testament.

[22]Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1868-1881), II, 448-458.

[23]Boutemy, "Les enluminures," 136-137. He appears subsequently to have revised his opinion, for he later compared the Alardus Bible to the Saint-Vaast Bible in its Gospel- and Psalterless design (Boutemy, "La Bible enluminée," 70, n. 1.)

MS 10, with the missing text sentences supplied in Gothic script. If the loss of the Gospels and Psalter had taken place already in the mid-twelfth century, it is striking that it was not rectified when the losses to I Kings, suffered through the division of the first volume, were replaced in Gothic script. Given the existence of other contemporary Bibles with similar lacunae, it seems more likely that the compiler of the list described the original extent of the Bible in its twelfth-century form: two large volumes containing the Old and New Testaments, except for the Psalter and the Gospels.

The final Bible of this series was not produced for a monastery, but for a college of cathedral canons. Cambrai BM MSS 278-280 from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, originated at Notre-Dame de Cambrai, the cathedral church of the diocese which before 1093 had been Arras-Cambrai.[24] Once a four-volume Giant Bible, the first volume, containing the Octateuch, is now lost. Today only three of the volumes survive, and they have been numbered out of sequence.

In MS 279, the New Testament begins with the Acts of the Apostles on fol. 91v, after the explicit for Job. The rest of the New Testament, the Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse and the Pauline Epistles follow without a break. It is, therefore, clear that the manuscript never contained the Gospels, for the New Testament runs without interruption, and ends in a blank verso, signaling that no subsequent folios have been lost. The status of the Psalter is more difficult to determine. It is very unlikely that it was

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[24]Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination,* 269, and Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France,* Départements, XVII: Cambrai (Paris, 1891), 108. MS 280 contains the Books of Kings and Chronicles, as well as Ezra. MS 278 begins with Wisdom books, then includes the Books of Tobias, Judith, Esther and the Maccabees, and finally the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and the incipit for Ezechiel. This volume appears to have been split from MS 279, where the chapter list for Ezechiel picks up midstream. Daniel, the Minor Prophets, Job and the New Testament follow.

lost with the Octateuch volume, since the Psalter was at that time not usually included there. A more likely location for it would have been after Ezra in MS 280, or before Proverbs in MS 279. Nonetheless, neither the end of MS 280 or the beginning of MS 279 show any evidence that they are missing folios. In fact, the last folio of MS 280, fol. 112v, is blank beneath the explicit for Ezra. It is probable, therefore, that the Cambrai Bible was also originally planned without a Psalter.

The final thread connecting these Bibles is their common inclusion of the *Passio Machabeorum*. In the first Marchiennes Bible, Douai BM MS 1, the *Passio* is the very last book of the Bible, beginning on fol. CCXXXIX of vol. 2. The two Bible fragments from Marchiennes making up Douai BM MS 3 each include a copy of the *Passio*, Douai 3a beginning on fol. 146v, and Douai 3b beginning on fol. 234v. The Alardus Bible from Saint-Amand, Valenciennes MSS 9-11, is missing the section which might have included this book. The Cambrai Bible, Cambrai BM MS 278-280, includes the *Passio* in MS 278, beginning on fol. 103. Four of these Bibles, therefore, include the book, and the fifth cannot be shown *not* to have included the book.

Despite these similarities, however, these Bibles otherwise show a striking lack of conformity in the order of their books, the choice of prologues and *capitula* prefacing the various books, and even the incipits used to introduce each book.[25] Disparities among the Bibles demonstrate

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[25]For example, Douai BM MS 1 from Marchiennes, Cambrai BM MS 278-280 from the Cathedral chapter of Cambrai, and Valenciennes BM MS 9-11 from St. Amand all differ from Arras BM MS 559 in placing the Wisdom books before rather than after the Major and Minor Prophets. Cambrai BM MS 278-280 and Valenciennes BM MS 9-11 order the New Testament books in this way: Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, Pauline Epistles. Douai BM MS 3b, also from Marchiennes, on the other hand, follows the order found in Arras BM MS 559: Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, Acts and then Apocalypse. The number and variety of prologues also steadily increases in the later Bibles. Cambrai BM MS 278-280 has a selection of prologues very close to that in the Arras Bible, but includes in addition for

that the similarities they do share are not merely the result of their all

being copies of a single earlier manuscript, either the Saint-Vaast Bible, or

its textual model. Rather, these Bibles were copied or compiled from

diverse sources. Their similarities must be the result of conscious choices

made to answer a need dictated by their environment.

In addition, although these later Bibles in some cases reflect the

influence of the images developed at Arras for the Saint-Vaast Bible, they

did not adapt the complex pictorial programme of the Bible or its

underlying meaning. Rather, the images found in the later works are

more typical of later Romanesque Bibles, particularly in their use of

historiated initials instead of full- or half-page framed illustrations like

those in the Arras Bible, and in their emphasis on the Book of Genesis.[26]

Chronicles *Quomodo Graecoruum historias* (Samuel Berger, "Les Préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1st ser., XI/2 [Paris, 1902], 37, #37) and for I Maccabees *Machabeorum libri duo prenotant* (Donatien De Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible Latine* [Namur, 1920], 151) as well as a different prologue for Apocalypse, *Apocalypsi Iohannis tot habet sacra* (DeBruyne, 261). Douai BM MS 1 includes these first two prologues, in addition to the Arras Bible prologues, but favours the Arras Bible's Apocalypse prologue over that found in the Cambrai Bible. Like the prologues, the number of *capitula* also seems to increase over time. The later Bibles include *capitula* for the Books of Numbers, Judges, Kings, Chronicles and Acts, none of which are found in the Arras Bible. In addition, Douai BM MS 1 and Valenciennes BM MS 9-11 include different *capitula* for Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Joshua than those found in the Arras Bible. Such minor differences abound in these Bibles.

[26]Cambrai BM MS 278-280, from the Cathedral chapter of Cambrai, contains very few decorations. Its only surviving illustration is the historiated initial prefacing I Kings, MS 280, fol. 1, where a haloed man seated between two haloed women grasps the hand of one and the chin of the other. Douai BM MS 1, from Marchiennes, is illustrated with a much fuller program. It begins with an illustration for Genesis, a page-high initial 'I' embellished with images of the Fall, vol. I, fol. Dv. Aside from an Ecclesiasticus image very similar to that in the Arras Bible, the remainder of the images are primarily author portraits, or portraits of a main character of each book, such as the illustrations for the Books of Job, Tobit, and Judith. Job is shown with his three companions, vol. II, fol. i. The Book of Tobit is illustrated with a bust portrait, while the Book of Judith is prefaced with a portrait of a king, vol. II, fols. XII and XVI. The same can be said for the historiated initials prefacing the Major and Minor prophets. The book of Ezra, vol. II, fol. XXVII is ornamented with an initial holding medallion portraits of Ezra and Cyrus, very similar to that in Douai 3a.

In a few cases, however, the Bibles may have been influenced by the pictorial programme of the Saint-Vaast Bible.

For instance, the illustration for Ecclesiasticus in Douai BM MS 1 (fig. 29), from Marchiennes, is similar to, although much less elaborate than that in the Saint-Vaast Bible. Christ sits enthroned holding a book and blessing, while two flanking angels hold cross-staffs.[27] This could only be loosely based on the Ecclesiasticus illumination of Christ enthroned in the Saint-Vaast Bible.

Douai BM MS 3a, also from Marchiennes, contains four images, three of which loosely recall the iconography found in the Arras Bible. The Book of Proverbs begins with an image of Solomon enthroned holding a sword, a staff and a book, similar to the Wisdom image in the Saint-Vaast Bible. Ecclesiasticus is illustrated with an historiated initial of Christ enthroned with his arms outstretched (fig. 30). Finally, the Book of Ezra is prefaced with two medallions within an initial, one showing the scribe Ezra at work, and the other holding the portrait of a king, a combination which again recalls the Arras Bible (fig. 31).[28] An illustration in Douai BM MS 3b, also from Marchiennes, complements those found in part 3a. The Book of Ecclesiasticus is again prefaced with a portrait of Christ, who this time blesses with his right hand and holds a book with his left (fig. 32).[29]

Valenciennes BM MS 9-11, from Saint-Amand, has a selection of illustrations similar to that of the other later North French Bibles surveyed here, combining typical Giant Bible motifs such as the Genesis I

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[27]Douai BM MS 1, vol. I, fol. CCXXV.
[28]Douai BM MS 3a, fols. 19v, 50v and 93v. In addition to these, Job is shown crowned within a roundel in the initial V prefacing his book, fol. 3v.
[29]Douai BM MS 3b, fol. 168v bis. Also, a complex initial incorporating haloed men and fantastic beasts in interlocking ovals begins the Book of Song of Solomon, fol. 159v.

initial and author portraits, with initials similar to the Arras Bible.[30]

Before Song of Solomon one finds an historiated initial 'O' filled with an

embracing Christ and Ecclesia, an illustration which carries the

iconography of the Saint-Vaast Bible's Sponsus-Sponsa image into a more

intimate realm (fig. 33). The book also has an illustration for Ecclesiasticus

which might recall its predecessor at Arras. In another historiated initial

'O,' Christ sits enthroned on a heavenly arc while holding a book and a

sheaf of wheat (fig. 34).[31]

This brief survey of the illuminations in the Bibles produced in

northern France after the Saint-Vaast Bible, Cambrai BM MS 278-280,

Douai BM MS 1 and MS 3a and b, and Valenciennes BM MS 9-11,

demonstrates that only a few of the illustrations found in the Arras Bible,

namely those to Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the Song of Solomon and Ezra,

find much of a following in the later North French Bibles. Therefore, in

spite of their similarity to the Arras Bible in the choice of the books they

contain, none of them strongly echoes its pictorial programme, and none

of them could be directly copied from it, at least not without a great deal of

revision.

The Function of the Arras Bible

This rather tedious recital of the similarities and differences among

a series of badly battered Romanesque Bibles finds its importance in the

fact that these particular Bibles can provide clues to the intended function

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[30]Like Douai BM MS 9-11, it begins with a very large historiated initial encompassing scenes of the Fall as an illustration for Genesis, Valenciennes BM MS 9, fol. 5v. The third volume of the Bible, MS 11, includes author portraits for James, Peter, and Paul, as well as an illustration of Paul and Timothy in the initial for II Corinthians, MS 10, fols. 113 and 123.

[31]Valenciennes BM MS 10, fols. 113 and 123.

of this type of Giant Bible in general, as well as furnishing the reason why the first example was produced in Arras. The codicological characteristics that make these Bibles unusual, and their context within the contemporary reform movement sweeping northern France, demonstrates that they were intended to be used as tools for refectory and choir lection reading within reformed monasteries.

Bibles lacking a Psalter were by no means uncommon in the medieval period, as a glance through Samuel Berger's concordance of the order of biblical books quickly demonstrates. Gospels were also not always included in Bible manuscripts.[32] A superficial reason for this choice is not difficult to find. Many monasteries still had in their possession in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth-centuries highly decorated luxury Gospel or Psalter manuscripts from the Carolingian era. It would not be surprising if, already possessing a luxury display Psalter or Gospel, a monastery decided to concentrate the energies of its scriptorium on producing what it lacked: a display version of the rest of the Bible. Similarly, as David Ganz has noted, a series of Tours Bibles had the Gospels and Psalter copied in a small Caroline minuscule used otherwise only for copying chapter lists, instead of the large script used for the rest of the Bible.[33] As Ganz points out, this was probably because these manuscripts were intended for church

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[32]Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, Appendix 1, 331-339, sections I-VII, and 339-341 on the New Testament, in particular #22, 25-34, and 37. Berger lists over 30 Bibles which lack the Psalter but not the Gospels.

[33]Ganz, 59. The Bibles surveyed by Ganz which include small text Gospels and Psalters are Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Car C.1, London, BL Harley MS 2805 (first half of a Bible), London, BL Add. MS 10546, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Clm 12741, Trier, Bistumsarchiv MS 95 1/2 (a fragment of the Psalter), and Paris, BN MS lat. 47 (missing Psalter and Wisdom books).

reading, where a separate Gospel book and Psalter would have been available.[34]

To have the Psalter *and* the Gospels missing from the same Bible is much more unusual. In fact, aside from the North French manuscripts catalogued above, almost all the pre-Gothic Bibles listed by Berger from which both the Psalter and the Gospels are missing belong to a special group in which the Bible has been arranged in a non-standard order. Specifically, in this type of Bible, the biblical books are not arranged in roughly the order in which they were written, with the Octateuch preceding the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and the Old Testament placed before and separated from the New Testament, as they were in most Bibles, including the North French group of Psalter- and Gospel-less Bibles. Rather, in these liturgically-ordered Bibles the biblical books are arranged in the order in which they were meant to be read in the monastic context, with the books of the Old and New Testament interspersed according to their placement in a calendar of readings.[35] At least eight different Bibles display variations of this type: an early-tenth century Bible, now Einsiedeln MSS 5-7,[36] two tenth-century Bibles in the Ambrosiana, MSS E 26 Inf and E 53 Inf,[37] four late-eleventh and early-twelfth century

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[34]Ganz, 59 and 56, where he discusses other evidence that the Bibles where intended to be read in church, including a poem composed by Alcuin which instructs the reader to take care over pronunciation, and the carefully marked division of books and chapters using a hierarchy of scripts.

[35]Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 305-306, and Appendix I, section VII, 338-339. The order in which the books are found varies slightly from Bible to Bible, and begins at different points in different manuscripts. Roughly, however, it can be summarized thus: Isaiah, Pauline Epistles, Octateuch, Jeremiah, Acts, Apocalypse, Catholic Epistles, Kings, Chronicles, Wisdom Books, Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Ezra, Maccabees, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets. Certain Bibles begin instead with the Octateuch, in which case Isaiah and the Pauline Epistles follow the Minor Prophets.

[36]Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 132-133, 382.

[37]Renata Cipriani, *Codici miniati dell'ambrosiana*, Fontes Ambrosiani, XL (Milan, 1968), 235, 238.

Bibles from Reims, Reims BM MSS 5, 16-19, 20-21, and 22-23,[38] as well as a

twelfth-century Bible in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 44-45 (3-4).[39]

Brieger noted that the order found in several of the Reims examples

is similar to that in an eleventh-century list inserted on fol. 104v in the

Carolingian Hincmar Bible, Reims BM MS 1-2, as well as to the

instructions for monastic reading written by Lanfranc for Canterbury from

ca. 1075 and Udalric's description of Cluniac practice around 1080

(Appendix 2.1-4).[40] The seeds of these instructions can be found in several

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[38]Henri Loriquet, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France,* Départements, XXXVIII: Reims (Paris, 1904), 25-30. Also, *Trésors de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Reims* (Reims, 1978), pt. 1: Manuscripts, ed. Michel De Lemps, #22-24. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination,* 280. Berger did not include MSS 22-23, the Bible of St. Thierry, on his list in *Histoire de la Vulgate.* Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts,* 86-87, speculated that the books missing from this Bible, Isaiah, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, the Psalter, the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, were all lost from the end of the surviving manuscript. Given the order of books in the remainder, however, and the fact that the missing books, excluding the Psalter and the Gospels, were part of a continuous series in the reading-ordered Bibles, it is more likely that the Psalter and the Gospels, as in the other Reims Bibles, MSS 5, 16-19, and 20-21, were never included here.

[39]Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine,* 4 vols. (Paris, 1885-1892), I, 16. Berger also included in his list three fragmentary Bibles from the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 94 from the late-ninth or early-tenth century, MS lat. 95, part of a set of four incomplete volumes of the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries from Chalons, and lat. 96, part of set of two twelfth-century volumes from Noailles. For none of these manuscripts, however, does even one book from the New Testament survive, making it nearly impossible to speculate as to their original purpose or arrangement. Philippe Lauer, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue général des manuscripts Latins,* 6 vols. (Paris, 1939), I, 36-37.

[40]Brieger, "Bible Illustration," 161. For a transcription of the Reims BM MS 1 list from Loriquet, *Catalogue général,* XXXVIII, 1-2, see Appendix 2.1. A copy of this list can be found in one of the above-mentioned Romanesque Bibles from Reims, BM MS 20, fol. 194v, where one also finds marginal notations throughout the manuscript indicating lections for choir reading, while in another of the Reims Bibles, MSS 22-23, a different list is found (See Appendix 2.2). On Lanfranc's customary, see *Decreta Lanfranci Monachis Cantuariensibus Transmissa,* ed. David Knowles, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum III (Siegburg, 1967), XIII-XXVIII. This customary was based primarily on older Cluniac examples (*Decreta,* XVII-XVIII). According to Lanfranc, the monks were to read the Bible in the following order beginning at the following holidays: First Sunday in October, Maccabees; All Saints, Prophets; Advent, Isaiah; Feast of the Circumcision, the Pauline Epistles; Septuagesima, the Octateuch; Passion Sunday, Jeremiah; Holy Thursday, Lamentations; Second Sunday after Easter, Acts; Third Sunday after Easter, the Apocalypse; Second Sunday after Pentecost, Kings and Chronicles; First Sunday in August, Wisdom Books; First Sunday in September, historical books of Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther and Ezra. Udalric's list is very similar, except that he begins his description at Septuagesima instead of in October, and adds mention of the Catholic Epistles, read between the Apocalypse and the Books of

early Cluniac customaries from the late tenth or early eleventh centuries,[41] and in the Cluniac *Liber tramitis*, dating from the time of Odilo, abbot of Cluny in the first half of the eleventh century (Appendix 2.5).[42] According to such lists, these books of the Bible were read in a special order throughout the year in the choir and the refectory, while the Gospels and the Psalter were read continually through the year as part of the liturgy.[43] All of the Bibles in this liturgically-ordered group conform generally to the order found in these lists, and none contain either the Gospels or the Psalter, books which would have been more convenient to use for this type of reading in separate codices.

Of the few remaining Bibles in Berger's lists lacking both the Psalter and the Gospels which are not liturgically ordered and do not belong to

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Kings, while neglecting the Chronicles (PL 149:643-644 and Appendix 2.4). An edition of such lists and discussion of their origin is found in Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, Spicilegium sacrum Iovaniense; études et documents, fasc. 11, 23-24, 28-29, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931-1961), II, 467-526, Ordo XIIIA-D.

[41]*Consuetudines Cluniacensium Antiquiores Cum Redactionibus Derivatis*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, VII/2 (Siegburg, 1983), 9-150. On the dates of these customaries, see *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII Monumenta: Introductiones*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, VII/1 (Siegburg, 1984), 83-115.

[42]*Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, ed. Peter Dinter, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, X (Siegburg, 1980). On the date of the *Liber Tramitis*, see Joachim Wollasch, "Zur Datierung des Liber tramitis aus Farfa anhand von Personen und Personengruppen," *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1988), 237-255. The cycle of readings prescribed in the *Liber tramitis* is less easy to identify, but seems to run as follows: Advent, Isaiah; the Nativity of the Lord, the Pauline Epistles; Feast of Circumcision, the Pauline Epistles; Septuagesima, the Octateuch; Passion Sunday, Jeremiah; Holy Thursday, Lamentations; the Octave of Easter, Acts; the First Sunday after Octave of Easter, Apocalypse; the Third Sunday after the Octave of Easter, Seven Canonical Epistles; the Third Sunday after Pentecost, Kings; the First Sunday in August, the Books of Solomon; the First Sunday in September, Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther and Ezra, First Sunday in October, Maccabees; First Day of November, Ezekiel, Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets (See Appendix 2.5).

[43]Interestingly, such instructions for monastic reading are *not* found in surviving non-cluniac customaries from the tenth century, such as the *Consuetudines Floriacenses Antiquiores* from Fleury, the *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis* from 972, or the *Redactio sancti Emmerammi, dicta Einsidlensis*. See *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, VII/1, ed. Kassius Hallinger (Siegburg, 1984), pp. 7-60, 69-147, and 193-256.

the North French group identified above, only two are pre-Gothic.[44]

These two Bibles, Sens BM MS 1-2 and London, BL MS Add. 14788-90, were both twelfth-century monastic products. Both of these Bibles can be set apart from the North French group of Psalter and Gospel-less Bibles, however, because neither includes the Passio Machabeorum.[45]

The existence of lists meant to instruct monks on the order in which the Bible was to be read in the choir and the refectory sheds a great deal of light on the intended function of the Saint-Vaast Bible and the related North French Giant Bibles. The practice of monastic reading of the Bible in a prescribed order was certainly known in the region of Saint-Vaast. A segment of a Bible that survives from the cathedral chapter of Saint-Omer contains a list very similar to those found in the eleventh-century monastic customaries, and included in the two Reims Bibles described above. Saint-Omer, BM MS 2, an early twelfth-century volume containing the Octateuch and Job, was once part of a Bible, as an inscription on fol. 1, "Biblia Sacra Bibliothecae sancti Audomavi,"

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[44]The gothic examples are Lyon MSS 410-411(337), a thirteenth-century Bible with Stephen Langton capitula (Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, XXX: Lyon, [Paris, 1900], 101-102), Geneva BM MS 3, a fourteenth-century manuscript catalogued as 'incomplete' (Jean Senebier, Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits [Geneva, 1779], 60) and Basel Univ. B.I.1-3, written between 1435 and 1445 (Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Abteilung B Theologische Pergamenthandschriften, 3 vols. [Basel, 1960-1975], I, 1-9).

[45]A damaged but almost complete twelfth-century Bible from the monastery of Sainte-Colombe-Lès-Sens, now Sens BM MS 1-2, appears not to have included either the Gospels or the Psalter. See Auguste Molinier, Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, VI: Sens (Paris, 1887), 148-149. Despite the assessment of the cataloguer (p. 148), that these two volumes represent the surviving halves of two different Bibles, they match so closely in contents that they are most likely products of the same project. Surviving exempla from other monasteries demonstrate that various volumes of a single Giant Bible do not always have the same dimensions or style of decoration. See also Cahn, Romanesque Bible Illumination, 281. London BL Add. MS 14788-90, from the Premonstratensian abbey of St. Mary-de-Parc near Louvain, which contains a colophon dating it to 1148, also did not contain either book. See Cahn, Romanesque Bible Illumination, 264-265, and Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCXLI-MDCCCXLV (London, 1850), Year 1844, 6.

testifies.[46] An *Ordo Librorum ad legendum* was also written on fol. 1 in the same era that the Bible was produced (Appendix 2.6). This contains instructions for reading the books of the Bible throughout the year in the same order as was specified by Lanfranc and Udalric, and in the *Liber tramitis*.

The Arras Bible and the North French Bibles which followed it do not take up the practice of ordering the biblical books according to the order of monastic reading, as seen in the tenth-century and later liturgically-ordered Bibles discussed above. Nonetheless, their production without the Gospels and Psalter must have answered a similar contemporary demand in the monastic context, tying them together as a group. In addition, two of the Bibles show internal evidence that they were used for liturgical and refectory reading. All of the Bibles discussed here are well-thumbed volumes which were obviously heavily used, including the Saint-Vaast Bible. Although one cannot tell from simple wear and tear how a manuscript was employed, the Arras Bible and the Alardus Bible, Valenciennes MS 9-11, also both contain numerous lection markings in the margins of the biblical text, giving evidence of their function in the monastic context. These markings are for the most part simply Roman numerals in groups of eight or three, starting either at the beginning of the biblical book or at some point after the beginning. They divide the text into sections roughly a chapter in length (fig. 35).[47] These

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[46]Henri Michelant, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, III: St. Omer (Paris, 1861), 11-12. Michelant, surprisingly, did not transcribe either the inscription of ownership or the instructions for reading.

[47]Although at the beginning of each biblical book these markings are often easily confused with chapter divisions, particularly when more than one set of chapters has been noted, by the middle of each book it becomes obvious which numerals are intended as lection markings, for they rarely rise above VIII in number. This division into groups of three or eight corresponds to the type of instruction sometimes given in the *Liber tramitis*, such as for Holy Thursday, *Prime tres lectiones de Lamentationibus Hiaeremie legantur*, or for the

lection marks do not run continuously through the Bibles, and were not part of their original production, although some were later rubbed out and are now only faintly visible. Occasionally the marks are prefaced with a slashed "L" or "Lc", demonstrating that the marks were intended to indicate lections. Few of them are elaborated with references to the day on which they were meant to be read.[48] In the monastic context of liturgical and refectory reading as described above, however, references to date would have been unnecessary. An entire book was read from beginning to end, starting on the day mandated in the local customary. Indeed, the first lection of a book is often not even marked, but the markings pick up at "II," a suitable interval after the first words of the text. The only guide necessary on a daily basis was one which advised how long each reading should be, in order that the readings not be unfittingly short or tediously protracted. In fact, the Saint-Omer Bible, which is prefaced by a list instructing in what order the books are to be read, also includes a series of lection marks of the same type.

The presence of these lection markings, together with the correspondence of the biblical books included in these Bibles with those mentioned in the directions for choir and refectory readings in the Cluniac-influenced eleventh-century customaries of Lanfranc and Udalric and the *Liber tramitis*, and in the Reims and Saint-Omer Bible lists, helps

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Third Sunday after Pentecost, *Aliis namque diebus dominicis quae subsequuntur similiter lectiones octo ad nocturnalia obsequia legantur ex libris Regum usque ad kalendas augusti* (*Liber tramitis*, 72, 121).

[48]In the Arras Bible, the marks start with the Book of Genesis, and are found throughout the Bible, although not continuously. Only in the Pauline Epistles, starting on vol. III, fol. 88v, are there any markings to indicate the reading was intended for a Sunday. In Valenciennes BM MS 9, some of the markings are more specific. In the Book of Genesis, fol. 6, the beginning of the text is marked with a somewhat confusing set of references to Sunday readings, with sets of eight lection marks finished with an F mark. The other marks in the book omit any reference to date.

us to identify these North French Giant Bibles as manuscripts meant for monastic reading in reformed houses. They were used in much the same way as the Bibles that were reordered to accord with the calendar of prescribed readings, such as the eleventh and twelfth-century Reims Bibles.

A further explanation for the commonalities between these manuscripts may be found in their region of origin. All of these North French Giant Bibles can all be connected to a monastery or college of canons that was at one time under the direct influence of the reform of Richard of Saint-Vanne of Verdun, the famous early-eleventh-century reformer of the Abbey of Saint-Vaast. Therefore, all probably were intended to be tools in one of the reform movement's goals, to revive the practice of daily monastic reading of the Bible.

Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Monastic Reform Movement

Richard of Saint-Vanne began his reforming career in Verdun at the monastery of Saint-Vanne in 1004.[49] He had been educated at Reims in the era of Gerbert of Reims, where he was apparently known for his devotion to the Cross, and for saying the entire Psalter daily, fifty psalms said bent over with his hands to the ground, fifty said upright, and the

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[49]The most complete sources on the life of Richard of Saint-Vanne are the *Vita Richardi Abbatis S. Vitoni Virdunensis*, MGH Scriptorum XI (Hanover, 1854), 281-290, probably written in the early twelfth century, and the *Chronicon Hugonis* of Hugo, Abbot of Flavigny, PL 154:197-266. He is also discussed in the *Gestis episcoporum Virdunenium continuatis*, MGH SS IV: 45-51, as well as the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, PL 149:9-176. Unfortunately, Ernst Sackur, "Richard, Abt von St. Vannes," Ph.D Diss. (Breslau, 1886) is now inaccessible. His life has been summarized in a more hagiographic vein in Hubert Dauphin, *Le bienheureux Richard, abbé de Saint-Vanne de Verdun, 1046* (Louvain, 1946). Some possible architectural implications of Richard's reform are discussed by Warren Sanderson, *Monastic Reform in Lorraine and the Architecture of the Outer Crypt, 950-1100*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, NS, LXI/6 (Philadelphia, 1971). He does not distinguish between the Gorze reform and that of Richard of Saint-Vanne.

remaining fifty said while prostrate. Here he met his earliest assistant in reform, Count Frederick of Verdun.[50] Richard and Frederick entered Saint-Vanne while it was still, according to his biographers, in a state of decadence.[51] Seeking a more strict observance, the pair left Saint-Vanne and travelled to Cluny, where they sought admission to the Cluniac order, meanwhile staying for several days in the guesthouse. Abbot Odilo, however, is alleged to have convinced them instead that their calling was to reform the house that they had fled, Saint-Vanne.[52] They duly returned to Saint-Vanne, and reformed it under the reigning abbot, Fingenio the Scot, who died only three months later.[53] Richard then succeeded to the abbacy, where he was able to proceed with his reforms.

Richard's influence soon spread beyond Verdun. According to contemporary sources, the fame of his piety attracted the attention of rulers and bishops, leading him to be invited into other dioceses to reform their local monasteries. The very first of these was Saint-Vaast at Arras.[54] In 1008, Richard was invited to the diocese of Arras-Cambrai through the joint effort of Count Baldwin of Flanders and the current Bishop, Erluinus.[55] Richard succeeded in displacing the ruling abbot of Saint-Vaast, Fulrad, who had, according to the chronicle of Hugo, Abbot of Flavigny, sinned in allowing too great a secular influence in the monastery, to the point of permitting a fortified residence to be built

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[50]MGH SS XI:281-282, *Chronicon Hugonis* II, PL 154:199-201, and Dauphin, *Le Bienheureux Richard*, 55-56.

[51]MGH SS XI:282, PL 154:202-203 and Dauphin, *Le Bienheureux Richard*, 80.

[52]MGH SS XI:282, PL 154:203-205, and *Gesta Episcoporum Virdunensium*, MGH SS IV:48.

[53]MGH SS XI:283.

[54]PL 154:214. The study of the Richardian reform movement which best summarizes the various monasteries with which Richard came in contact is undoubtedly Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, Studia Anselmiana, XXII-XXIII (Rome, 1950). Hallinger terms Richard's reform the "Lotharingsiche Mischobservanz," hereafter, Lotharingian mixed-observance.

[55]*Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, PL 149:119.

within the cloister.[56] Richard did not remain at Saint-Vaast, but soon appointed a series of priors to oversee the monastery. One was his partner in reform, Frederick, and Poppo of Stavelot also served in this post. Finally, a monk from Saint-Vaast, Leduinus, was appointed Richard's successor as abbot.[57] Meanwhile, with the support and cooperation of the subsequent bishop, Gerard of Cambrai, Richard set about reforming many other monasteries in the diocese and beyond.

The exact nature of Richard's reform is more difficult to pinpoint. No customary composed during Richard's lifetime survives from any of the monasteries in his reform circle. A fragment of a customary, the so-called *Consuetudines S. Vitonis Virdonunensis*, survives from the library of Saint-Vanne, but its date has always been disputed, and there is no internal evidence that it was produced either at or for Saint-Vanne. The text of the customary was once found in a manuscript cited as Verdun, Saint-Vanne Abbey Library Cod. 73. This manuscript was later lost, probably during the French Revolution.[58] Dated by its original editor to the tenth century, more recently Kassius Hallinger has speculated that, based on internal evidence and the reform history of the monastery, the text of the customary instead probably originated between 1060 and 1085,

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[56]PL 154:214.

[57]The chronology of this series of priors, and even their status, is quite confused. The *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium* mentions only that Leduinus was appointed to succeed Richard (PL 149:151). According to Hugo's chronicle, Leduinus was appointed only in 1024 (PL 154:241). The *Vita Richardi* relates that Frederick died at Saint-Vaast in 1022, after serving as prior (MGH SS XI:285). The *Vita Popponis Abbatis Stabulensis* on the other hand, says that Poppo accompanied Richard to Saint-Vaast, and was put in charge soon after the initial reform (MGH SS XI:300). Therefore one can say with assurance only that Frederick and Poppo served as priors at Saint-Vaast at some point before Leduinus became abbot in 1024. For one possible chronology, see Alfred Cauchie, "Richard de Saint-Vannes," in *Biographie Nationale* (Brussels, 1907), XIX, 257.

[58]Originally edited by Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1737-1738), IV, 847-860. On the history of the study of this text, see *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*, 196-205.

and certainly before 1115.[59] Even if it does preserve some of the practices

developed under Richard, and there is no concrete evidence that it does, it

provides no information on the reading of the Bible at Saint-Vanne.

Although the customary contains miscellaneous instructions for

observances in the choir and refectory, as well as notes about the

ordination of priors and deacons, its specific directions about reading refer

only to the Psalter.[60]

A fourteenth-century ordinale that survives from Saint-Vaast

could, however, perhaps preserve some of the practices introduced by

Richard.[61] Arras, BM MS 230 (907), is localised to Saint-Vaast based on the

contents of its calendar, and dated to 1307-1308 (Appendix 2.7).[62] In spite of

the late date, its editor speculated that because the ordinale shows

similarities to early Cluniac ordinales, but lacks feasts introduced by Cluny

in the eleventh century, it must preserve remnants of the liturgy

introduced to Saint-Vaast by earlier Cluniac-influenced reformers, such as

Richard of Saint-Vanne.[63] This conclusion assumes that, despite a

complete lack of surviving evidence, Richard of Saint-Vanne or an earlier

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[59]Hallinger, *Consuetudinum*, VII/1, 197-201. According to Bruno Albers, who reprinted Edmond Martène's eighteenth century edition of the text from *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1764), IV, 297-301, the *Consuetudines S. Vitonis Virdonunensis* could not have originated in a Cluniac house, for they give extensive instructions for the eating of meat (see Albers, *Consuetudines Monasticae*, V [Monte Cassino, 1912], xv-xvii and 113-133). Dauphin argued that the same prohibition holds true for Richard, meaning the customary could not have been produced under his reform (*Le bienheureux Richard*, 334). Hallinger concluded that the text must have been composed after Richard's death in 1047, but before the monastery came under the strong influence of St. Bénigne around 1115. He also suggested that the customary may have been composed by Hugh of Flavigny, whose familiarity with Saint-Vanne, and knowledge of classical authors, makes him a good candidate for authorship. Although there is no internal evidence that the customary was composed at Saint-Vanne, according to Hallinger, its linguistic usage and orthography are consistent with an origin in that region (p. 203-205).

[60]See the new edition in *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII*, 375-426.

[61]*The Monastic Ordinale of St. Vedast's Abbey Arras*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 86 and 87, ed. Louis Brou, 2 vols. (Bedford, 1957).

[62]*The Monastic Ordinale*, II, 14-17.

[63]*The Monastic Ordinale*, II, 19-20.

reformer such as Gerard of Brogne in the tenth century, imposed a Cluniac ordinale on Saint-Vaast. It is possible that Richard picked up certain aspects of Cluniac ritual during his brief stay at Cluny, or that he learned of them later through hearsay, and incorporated them into his customary, along with his own practices. If this speculation were true, and the Saint-Vaast ordinale does contain remnants of Richard's customary, it could provide valuable evidence for the use of a Giant Bible as part of religious observances at the monastery in earlier eras. The ordinale preserves on fols. 36r-v a list of refectory readings which recalls not only those found in the Cluniac *Liber tramitis*, the Lanfranc and Udalric customaries and the eleventh-century lists in the Reims Bibles, Reims BM MSS 1-2, and 20, but also that preserved in the twelfth-century North French Bible, St. Omer BM MS 2.[64] Despite the lack of conclusive proof, one must assume from the number of Giant Bibles surviving from monasteries reformed by Richard and his disciples, and from indirect evidence such as the Arras ordinale, that he did encourage the practice of monastic reading.

The series of monasteries reformed by Richard or his principal disciples, Poppo and Leduinus, spreads like a web around Saint-Vaast,

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[64]*The Monastic Ordinale*, II, 50 and 184-185, where the list, entitled *HEC SUNT QUE DEBENT LEGI AD MENSAM PER ANNI CIRCUITUM*, is reprinted. Although the order of readings found in this list differs in surprising ways from those found in the other lists, little evidence survives in these Bibles that this particular order was used in the region. Unlike any of the reading lists from other customaries, the Arras list instructs that the Books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth are to be read in the season of Pentecost, after the Apocalypse, rather that with the Pentateuch. Also, Ezra is to be read after Kings and Chronicles and before the Solomonic books, rather than with Job, Tobit, Judith and Esther. Finally, Ezekiel and Daniel, according to this list, are to be read after rather than before the Twelve Minor prophets, which are moved from November to October. The only evidence that such an order may have influenced the arrangement of Biblical books in northern France is in Cambrai, BM MSS 278-280, where Ezra is placed in MS 280 after the Kings and Chronicles, and presumably before the Solomonic books which begin MS 278. But Job, which should, according to all the lists, be read before Tobit, is instead found before Acts, suggesting that the Bible as a whole has suffered some confusion unrelated to the surviving reading lists.

Arras. Many of these houses later produced illustrated Giant Bibles. Two of the first to be reformed by Richard were the monasteries of Florennes, between 1010 and 1022, and Lobbes, in 1020, source of the Lobbes Bible (Tournai, Bibliothèque du Séminaire 1) from 1084.[65] Poppo eventually carried the reform to Stavelot, home of the Stavelot Bible (London, BL Add. MS 28106-7), and to St. Laurent in Liège, which produced another Giant Bible (Brussels, BR MSS 9642-44).[66] Poppo also reformed Echternach, home of the Giant Bible now in Luxembourg, BN MS 264, produced between 1051 and 1081.[67]

The monasteries where our North French group of Psalter- and Gospel-less Bibles were produced are geographically less distant. Saint-Amand, the source of the Giant Bible now at Valenciennes, BM MS 9-11, was one of the earliest monasteries to be reformed by Richard, when he was invited to take over the monastery by Count Baldwin of Flanders between 1013 and 1018.[68] Saint Richtrude of Marchiennes, in the diocese of Arras-Cambrai, was reformed in 1024 by Richard's student, Leduinus of Saint-Vaast, under the advice of Gerard of Cambrai and Baldwin. This monastery then welcomed a series of abbots sent from Saint-Vaast.[69] The three Giant Bibles now in Douai, MSS 1, and 3a-3b, all originated in this

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[65]PL 149:150-152, and Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 285-286 and 289-290. On the Lobbes Bible, see Don Denny, "The Historiated Initials of the Lobbes Bible," *Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XIV-XV (1976), 3-26.

[66]Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 290, *Vita Popponis*, MGH SS XI:302 and the *Chronicon Sancti Laurentii Leodinensis*, MGH SS VIII:269-270. On the Stavelot Bible, see Wayne Dynes, *The Illuminations of the Stavelot Bible* (New York, 1978). For the Bible from St. Laurence, Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, 263-264, and Joseph van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 13 vols. (Brussels, 1901-1948), I, 17.

[67]Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 298-299, and *Vita Popponis*, MGH SS XI:305. On the Echternach Bible, see Blanche Weicherding-Goergen, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Luxembourg* (Luxembourg, 1968), 24-27,

[68]Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 287. *Catalogus abbatum Sancti Amandi Elnonensis*, MGH SS XIII:387. See also the oblique reference in *Vita Popponis*, MGH SS XI:286-287.

[69]Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 294, *Annales Marchianensis*, MGH SS XVI:614 and PL 149:133.

abbey. Finally, the three-volume Bible from the cathedral of Cambrai, Cambrai BM MSS 278-280, was produced outside a monastic context but nonetheless within Richard's sphere of influence, for Gerard, Bishop of Cambrai, was one of Richard's most ardent supporters, and undoubtedly carried some of his ideas to his own chapter of canons.

Although contemporary or near-contemporary sources often detail Richard's physical improvements to a given monastery, obviously an important aspect of his reforming efforts, they say little about spiritual matters. It is clear from the surviving records that Richard considered the physical and financial well-being of a monastery to be a necessary prerequisite to its spiritual health, and that Richard quickly set about meeting a monastery's material needs as a first step of his reform. Richard, with Frederick's help, is credited at Saint-Vanne with building towers, the cellar and refectory, with restoring the dormitory and donating the instruments of the divine rite. As to monastic practice, however, we learn only that he gave himself up to divine worship, spending day and night in praise of the Lord, and sought to teach his charges religious ways.[70] Hugo of Flavigny's chronicle also lists many of his gifts to the church, including several service books with jeweled covers, but no Bible is mentioned.[71] The same is true of the records of his tenure at other monasteries. Describing his work at Beaulieu, the *Vita Richardi Abbatis* mentions Richard's many donations but says nothing about his changes to practice.[72] Discussing the founding of St. Laurent of Liège or St. Peter of Chalons around 1020, the *Vita* attests only to Richard's care for

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[70]MGH SS XI:283, PL 154:206.
[71]PL 154:210. Gifts listed in this chronicle included reliquaries, fans, crosses, votive crowns, Gospel books, an epistolary, a missal, and a collectarium.
[72]MGH SS XI:286.

monasticam vitam and *norma religionis,* while relating the story of his building activities in great detail.[73] The only detailed instructions found for actual monastic practice are connected with his concern for the physical well-being of the monasteries under his care. According to Hugh of Flavigny, in all the monasteries governed by Richard, a calendar listing the benefactors of the church was to be read daily in the chapter.[74] The most specific allusion to his reforms in observance is connected to St. Peter's of Corbie. Hugh of Flavigny mentions in his chronicle that the monks were compelled to follow the Benedictine rule, and that monastic custom was reformed.[75] The detailed recounting of Richard's physical improvements and gifts to newly reformed monasteries nonetheless suggests that a desire to enrich the libraries of these monasteries with luxuriously written and illustrated Bibles would not have been inconsistent with his other practices. Despite the fact that no gifts of Bibles are mentioned, and no reforms in observance requiring new Bibles are specifically described, Richard apparently gave other kinds of manuscripts to Saint-Vanne and instituted the use of new calendars in the chapter at all the monasteries he reformed, implying that he frequently commissioned manuscripts from scriptoria.

The frustrating lack of specificity about spiritual reform in the contemporary records adds to the confusion created by Richard's brief visit to Cluny early in his career. Scholars have speculated that Richard's

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[73]MGH SS XI:286-287. One account describes how, when directing building activities in those places, he floated columns and building materials down the Scheldt and Meuse rivers from the abbey of St. Amand. See also PL 154:212-213.

[74]PL 154:220.

[75]PL 154:213. *Hic ter beato patri nostro abbatiam sancti Petri Corbeiacensis regendam contradidit, ut eius institutione et vigore servaretur in eo regula patris Benedicti, et rigor reformaretur monasticae institutionis.* Although the Benedictine rule does include an injunction to read from the Bible daily, no specific mention is made of this aspect of the rule in the Chronicle.

reform movement is simply a northern offshoot of the Cluniac reform, and that Richard himself was an ardent follower of Odilo from the time of his visit to Cluny in 1004.[76] In addition, so little evidence exists regarding the specifics of the Richardian observance that it is difficult to separate it from contemporary customs at Cluniac monasteries. As has already been observed, the North French Giant Bibles connected to monasteries reformed by Richard were probably meant to be used for a type of monastic reading outlined in Cluniac customaries. It is nearly impossible, however, to establish a direct link between the two movements.

Scholars have debated for over century how closely Richard's reform was linked with Cluny, beginning with the assumption that the two movements were indistinguishable. Alfred Cauchie, in the prelude to his 1890 study of the investiture crisis, interpreted Richard as a Cluniac because of his friendship with Odilo of Cluny, although he later modified his view. [77] Ernst Sackur, in his early study of the Cluniac order, also placed Richard of Saint-Vanne's reform efforts under the Cluniac umbrella, although he failed to describe the specific nature of Richard's reform, or to enumerate any similarities between the two schools.[78]

In this century, scholars have looked more closely at the surviving records for signs of contact between the two reforms, and moved away

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[76]See Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 493-516 for a summary of this debate.

[77]*La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liege et de Cambrai* (Louvain, 1890), xxxix-xlii, lxiii. Cauchie later noted in *Biographie Nationale*, 252, that contact between the two reformers was minimal, and that although he had absorbed its precepts during his visit to Cluny, Richard did not apply the entire Cluniac rule to his monasteries. He nonetheless maintained that, like Cluny, the Richardian reform was strongly centralised in nature, and sought exemptions from episcopal control (264-266).

[78]*Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur mitte des elften jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Halle A.S., 1892-1894), II, 133-154. Sackur did distinguish, however, between the tangential connection of Richard's reform to Cluny, and the more straightforward connection initiated at the end of the eleventh century and beginning of the twelfth when these same monasteries accepted monks from Cluny (p. 152).

from the view that the Cluniac and Richardian reforms were identical. Etienne Sabbe questioned Sackur's assumptions in his 1928 study of Richard of Saint-Vanne.[79] He noted Sackur's lack of evidence for any connection between the two movements, and the fact that, in the few days which Richard and Frederick spent in the guesthouse of Cluny, it would have been impossible for them to have learned the entirety of Cluniac doctrine and practice, and no evidence survives that they possessed a Cluniac customary after their departure. Also, there is no evidence either that any Cluniac monks were dispatched to monasteries reformed by Richard in order to impart their customs to the newly reformed monks, or that Richard sent any of his disciples to Cluny with a similar purpose.[80] Sabbe's most convincing observations come from the records of how carefully contemporary observers distinguished the customs of the two reforms. When the Cluniac customary was finally imposed, chroniclers noted that it was different from the customary currently in use.[81]

Kassius Hallinger, in his far-reaching study *Gorze-Kluny*, also sought to distinguish the two movements.[82] He termed Richard's reform the "Lotharingian mixed-observance", seeing in it a combination of the customs of the Gorze reform, with some Cluniac elements. Richard had been exposed to the practices of both movements for St. Vanne had been reformed by Gorze in the tenth century, and some of its practices

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[79]"Notes sur la réforme de Richard de Saint-Vannes dans Les Pays Bas," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, VII (1928), 551.

[80]Sabbe, 555-557.

[81]Sabbe, 558-60. For instance, he notes that in the chronicle of Herimannus of St. Martin of Tournai, the author states explicitly that before 1080 Cluniac customs had not been observed anywhere in the Archdiocese of Reims. Herimannus, *Liber de restauratione S. Martini Tornecensis*, MGH SS XIV:298, 313. Further, in the *Gesta Abbatum Trudonensium*, the author Rudolph, who had himself introduced the Cluniac customary to St. Trond in 1107, acknowledged that it was different from the Richardian rule practiced there before. MGH SS X:262, 273.

[82]Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 483-484, 491-492.

undoubtedly still survived when Richard arrived, while Richard had visited Cluny in 1004.[83] The most striking difference administratively between the Lotharingian mixed-observance and the Cluniac reform, is that the abbots appointed by Richard fostered cooperation with local ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the tradition of Gorze, rather than attempting to establish exemptions according to the Cluniac model.[84] Hallinger suggests, however, that the Richardian reform borrowed from the Cluniacs a tendency towards centralized organization, though it was less successful than Cluny in fostering an elaborate hierarchy.[85]

Hubert Dauphin, in answering Hallinger's proposition, agreed that the evidence does not support a firm link between Richard's reform and Cluny.[86] For instance, at the abbey of St. Vanne, no Cluniacs are mentioned in the necrology of the monastery until 1047, when Milo, abbot of Moyenmoutier is added.[87] This is forty-three years after Richard's meeting with Odilo, and at least a year after his death in 1046. In addition, when the Cluniac reform was finally introduced to the formerly Richardian monasteries at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, it was often met with stiff resistance.[88] In

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[83]Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 280 and 474.

[84]Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 502-503. On monastic exemption and Cluny, see Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), 22-36, and the historiographical summary by Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1982), 20-23. Also fundamental is Jean F. Lemarignier, "L'exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne," in *Recueil d'articles rassemblés par ses disciples* (Paris, 1995), 285-337.

[85]Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 280 and 496-499. Hallinger notes that when the Cluniac rule was imposed on St. Trond, Rudolph's *Gesta Abbatum Trudonensis* (MGH SS 10:273) recorded that the old system of government was replaced by a priory structure from the Cluniac tradition (p. 484).

[86]See Dauphin, *Le bienheureux Richard*, 335-345.

[87]"Monastic Reforms from the Tenth Century to the Twelfth," *The Downside Review*, LXX (1952-1953), 66.

[88]Dauphin, "Monastic Reforms," 68. See also Sabbe, 560-561 and especially Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 474-492.

contrast to Hallinger, Dauphin believed that Richard never intended to develop a strongly centralized order, but rather accepted the previous practice of Gorze, and the original Cluniac practice, to reform an abbey, appoint a follower to lead the newly reformed monastery, and then merely hope to influence its future development.[89]

Scholarly consensus now seems to be that Richard's reform was ultimately not formally connected to that of Cluny, and also that there were distinctive differences in practice between the two movements recognized by those living in monasteries reformed by either order. At the same time, although Richard may have adopted some elements of Cluniac custom, two characteristics essential to the Cluniac order by the early eleventh century were missing from his movement: Richardian monasteries did not seek exemptions from episcopal control as a matter of monastic policy, and, whether by design or by happenstance, these monasteries were never organized into a strong centralized hierarchy. Nonetheless, it is obvious that the North French Giant Bibles associated with Richard's reform were intended for a type of refectory and choir reading repeatedly prescribed and described in Cluniac documents such as the early customaries, the *Liber tramitis*, which dates from only a few years after Richard's visit to Cluny, and the Udalric and Lanfranc customaries, demonstrating that some connection may have existed between these two reforms.[90]

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[89]Dauphin, *Le bienheureux Richard*, 342-345, and "Monastic Reforms," 70-71. See also Sabbe, 568-569.

[90]See Joachim Wollasch, "Zur Verschriftlichung der klösterlichen Lebensgewohnheiten unter Abt Hugo von Cluny," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, XXVII (1993), 317-324, on evidence for early written customaries at Cluny. It is, of course, possible that Richard encountered a written customary at Cluny when he visited in 1004, and that he took it with him when he left, although the records of his visit emphasize that he never penetrated further into the monastery than the gatehouse. No evidence of a customary imported to Saint-Vaast from Cluny at that time survives. In addition, Aelfric included a Cluniac-

Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Arras Bible

The fact that the Richardian reform was not a branch of the Cluniac movement has two important implications for our understanding of the North French group of Psalter- and Gospel-less Bibles in general, and the Saint-Vaast Bible in particular. First, because the monasteries reformed by Richard were not formally linked in a centralized power structure like those of Cluny, whatever similarities one finds in their practices or in the products of their scriptoria arose from indirect influence rather than a specific mandate from the original reforming house. Nonetheless, the fact that so many Bibles from monastic houses which had been reformed by Richard and his followers subsequently produced an illuminated Bible clearly meant for internal choir and refectory reading points to a very strong influence from the reformer. Furthermore, although there is no concrete evidence that this kind of reading was an integral part of Richard's monastic policy, the existence of such a series of Bibles is enough to prove that this was a component of his reform. Second, Richard's reform differed from the Cluniac movement in fostering cooperation between its leaders and secular and ecclesiastical authority. The Saint-Vaast Bible, with a pictorial programme that supports a particular view of the interdependence of secular and ecclesiastical authority, in particular glorifying the role of the bishop, is uniquely a product of a Richardian, non-Cluniac, milieu.

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influenced reading list in his *Epistula ad Monachos Egneshamnenes Directa* some time after 1004, demonstrating that such reading instructings need not have reached Saint-Vaast by way of Cluny, but could also have come from England (*Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII: Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*, 181-184).

One of the most striking and complex miniatures in the Saint-Vaast Bible demonstrates that the Bible's pictorial programme expresses a fundamental underpinning of Richard's reform; his belief in the efficacy of cooperation with local bishops. This is suggested by the highly elaborate image illustrating the opening of the Old Testament Book of the prophet Jeremiah, volume 2, fol. 15 (fig. 8). Here, interspersed within and around an oval interlace frame enclosing the initial V are scattered a series of six angels, as well as, more significantly, an apocalyptic Lamb blessed by a heavenly hand enclosed in a two-layer lobed mandorla. Jeremiah, depicted as a tonsured bishop in a liturgical chasuble and holding a crozier and a book, stands below.[91] This figure is also enclosed in a full body

[91]It is impossible to identify a figure as a bishop strictly through his possession of a crozier, for in this period a crozier could also be the attribute of an abbot, witness the miniature of Saint Benedict holding a crozier in the Eadui Psalter, London, BL Arundel MS 155, fol. 133 (*The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066,* ed. Janet Backhouse, D. H. Turner, and Leslie Webster (London, 1984), 72-74). Nonetheless, the depiction of Jeremiah here is consistent with that of bishops found in contemporary manuscripts, who are signalled in particular by the wearing of liturgical garb such as the alb and the chasuble with Y-shaped orphreys. On the development of this type of chasuble, see Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Darmstadt, 1964), 213. The figure here wears a chasuble depicted as it commonly was in the eleventh century, with a short pointed front, and a longer, wider back, as is seen on Archbishop Stigand of York in the Bayeux tapestry, location 30 (Herbert Norris, *Church Vestments: Their Origin and Development* [London, 1949], 73-74). Braun argues that this did not reflect an existing form of chasuble, however, but was merely a pictorial convention for depicting the cumbersome garment (Braun, 175). Bishops in this period are sometimes shown tonsured; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, 8 vols. (Basel, 1968-1976), I, 301-302. The wearing of the mitre by cardinals and bishops was not well established until the mid-eleventh century; see Christa C. Mayer-Thurman, *Raiment for the Lord's Service: A Thousand Years of Western Vestments* (Chicago, 1975), 33-34. See, for near contemporary representations of bishops, the Bishop-Saint Vedastus shown wearing a very similar chasuble on the dedication page of the Saint-Vaast Gospel Book, Boulogne BM MS 9, fol. 1 (Sigrid Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst,* VII (1956), fig. 52), Saints Dunstan and Aethelwold, both bishops, flanking King Edgar in the *Regularis Concordia,* London BL Cotton Tiberius MS A.III, fol. 2b, or the many images of bishops found in the Warmund Sacramentary, Ivrea, Bibl. Capitolare MS LXXXVI. For the Warmund Sacramentary, see Luigi Magnani, *Le miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea e di altri codici Warmondiani,* Codices ex Ecclesiasticis Italiae Bybliothecis delecti Phototypice Expressi, VI (Vatican City, 1934), or Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: an Historical Study,* 2 vols. (New York, 1991), II, 87-90, fig. 55. See also Adriano Peroni, "Il ruolo della committenza vescovile alle soglie del mille: il caso di Warmundo di Ivrea,"

mandorla, an attribute traditionally reserved for Christ, especially in the manuscripts produced at Saint-Vaast and in northern France in this era.[92] Jeremiah was often interpreted as a type of Christ, for in Jeremiah's sanctification in the womb, his experience of being abandoned by his people and his death as a martyr, he prefigured the sufferings of Christ.[93] This provides some justification for the choice of the Jeremiah image as a carrier of Christological meaning. To my knowledge, he had never before been represented anachronistically as a bishop.[94] Nevertheless, Jeremiah's role as an advisor to kings, whose preaching was ignored by King Sedecias of Juda, leading to the destruction of Jerusalem, as we will see in chapter

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Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XXXVIII, 2 vols. (1991), I, 243-270.

[92]Outside of the Saint-Vaast Bible, in eleventh-century Saint-Vaast manuscripts the mandorla was reserved for manifestations of Christ. See, for instance, the Boulogne Gospels, Boulogne BM MS 9, produced at the same time as the Bible and by one of the same artists, Master A (see above, chapter 1). Here, on fols. 1 (fig. 25), and 112v (fig. 36), Christ is shown enthroned in a full-body mandorla. In Arras BM MS 903 (549), fol. 110 (fig. 37), the same artist showed Christ inspiring Augustine from within the same type of mandorla (Sigrid Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras im 11 Jahrhundert," Ph.D Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1954, 53). Finally, in Boulogne BM MS 11, a Gospel book produced at Saint-Bertin in the late tenth century by a visiting Anglo Saxon artist, Christ is shown repeatedly within a mandorla as a way of distinguishing his majesty, see fols. 10, 56, and 107v (figs. 38-40). See *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966-1066*, 60-65.

[93]The preface to the Book of Jeremiah by Jerome, which is found in the Arras Bible on fols. 13-13v, before this image, states: *Sacerdos ex sacerdotibus et in matris utero sanctificatus, virginitate sua evangelicum virum christi ecclesiae dedicans.* Isidore of Seville reinforces a typological interpretation of the Book of Jeremiah: *Hieremias propheta, 'qui interpretatur' excelsus domini simplex in loquendo et ad intelligendum facilis, qui in omnibus dictis et passionibus suis redemptoris nostri imaginem praetulit, hic postquam in typo christi regna destruxit diaboli iustitiaeque vel fidei aedificavit imperium, iubetur prophetare super omnes gentes...* Donatien de Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible Latine* (Paris, 1920), 124 and 129-130.

[94]See *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, II, 387-391. Nonetheless, the representation of Jeremiah as a prefiguration of Christ is not unknown. For instance, on the Bury St. Edmunds Cross of c. 1180, two figures of Jeremiah surround the apocalyptic Lamb, holding text-scrolls with a quotation from Jeremiah 11:19: *Et ego quasi agnus mansuetus, qui portatur ad victimam...et eradamus eum de terra viventium* (Elizabeth C. Parker and Charles T. Little, *The Cloisters Cross; its Art and Meaning* [New York, 1994], 110 and 246-247). Jeremiah was shown holding a staff, but not a crozier, along with a text scroll in the c. 900 Golden Psalter of St. Gall, St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek MS 22, p. 150. See Christoph Eggenberger, *Psalterium Aureum Sancti Galli; Mittelalterliche Psalterillustration im Kloster St. Gallen* (Sigmaringen, 1987), 148 and plate 16.

three, may have made his image a very appropriate vehicle for episcopal regalia in the Saint-Vaast Bible, associating Jeremiah with the contemporary conception of the bishop as an advisor to the divinely-sanctioned king.[95]

Why would the Old Testament prophet Jeremiah have been portrayed as a bishop in the Saint-Vaast Bible? What could have been the motivation for a monastic scriptorium to depict the figure of a bishop in such glorious surroundings, to the point of making a visual comparison between the bishop and the apocalyptic lamb through their vertical alignment and enclosure in mandorlas? The most immediate answers to these questions can be found by examining the relationship between Richard of Saint-Vanne, his successor at Saint-Vaast, Leduinus, and the local reigning bishop, Gerard of Cambrai.

The connection between Bishop Gerard of Cambrai and the reformer Richard of Saint-Vanne was deep and of long standing. Gerard had first met Richard at Reims, when both were in the course of their spiritual education.[96] As products of the same school, both men seem to have developed a respect for the importance of divinely-ordained government, both secular and ecclesiastical, and neither was later to object to limited secular interference in the running of religious establishments.[97] Instead, the Richardian reform, like the Gorze reform which had preceded it, relied on the support of the episcopal hierarchy to

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[95]Jeremiah 36-39 especially.

[96]Gonzo of Florennes, *Ex miraculis S. Gengulfi*, MGH SS XV:792. See Theodor Schieffer, "Ein deutscher Bischof des 11. Jahrhunderts: Gerhard I. von Cambrai (1012-1051)," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, I (1937), 354.

[97]Heinrich Sproemberg, "Gerhard I., Bischof von Cambrai (1012-1061)," in *Mittelalter und demokratische Geschichtsschreibung: ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, XVIII, ed. Manfred Unger (Berlin, 1971), 107, and Hallinger, 502-503.

gain authority in the monasteries to which it was invited.[98] Gerard had already demonstrated his patronage of Richard around 1010, when he invited the reformer to replace the canons in a monastery founded by his family at Florennes with monks from Saint-Vannes.[99] This was to be the model of cooperation between the two leaders.[100] Richard and Gerard cooperated on more than the reformation of monasteries, for they also acted together as legates from Emperor Henry to King Robert the Pious at Compiègne in 1023.[101]

The *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, written around the same time that the Saint-Vaast Bible was produced, repeatedly underlines the legitimacy of the bishop's jurisdiction over the monastery of Saint-Vaast, and praises Richard of Saint-Vanne for his willingness to submit himself to episcopal authority. This chronicle, written for Gerard by a canon or scribe at the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Cambrai, is undoubtedly the most important source for the episcopate of Gerard of Cambrai, and eleventh-century Arras in general.[102] The *Gesta* is composed of three books. In the first, the author recounts the early history of the region and the history of the bishops of Cambrai up to the time of Gerard. In the second, he surveys

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[98]Sproemberg, 113-114 and Lemarignier, "L'exemption monastique," 313.

[99]Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 285-286, and Cauchie, *Biographie nationale*, 257. See the undated notice in the *Gesta*, PL 149:151-152, and Gonzo of Florennes, MGH SS XV:792.

[100]Like Gerard, Richard was also active in political life. When Emperor Henry II began the process of selecting a bishop to succeed Erluinus, who had originally invited Richard to Arras, Richard may have suggested his old schoolmate, Gerard, for the job, and was one of the party sent to accompany the bishop to his new *cathedra*. PL 149:143. Sproemberg, 107.

[101]Jean F. Lemarignier, "Paix et réforme monastique en Flandre et en Normandie autour l'année 1023," in *Droit privé et institutions régionales: Études historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Paris, 1976), 444-445, and below, chapter three.

[102]The *Gesta* has been published in whole or in part many times. In addition to the editions discussed below, for relatively complete editions see, Georges Colveneere, *Chronicon Cameracense et Atrebatense, sive historia utriusque ecclesiae III libris...* (Douai, 1615), 1-353, and André Joseph Ghislain Le Glay, *Chronique d'Arras et de Cambrai, par Balderic, chantre de Thérouane au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1834), in the original Latin and in a French translation by Faverot et Petit, *Chronique d'Arras et de Cambrai, par Balderic, chantre de Thérouane au XIe siècle* (Valenciennes, 1836), 25-374.

the monasteries in the diocese of Arras-Cambrai. In the final book, the deeds of Gerard I of Cambrai himself are described.[103]

C.L.C. Bethmann postulated in his edition of the *Gesta* that, based on the events described, the original chronicle was written between 1041 and 1043.[104] Erik Van Mingroot has suggested more recently, however, that much of the chronicle was written earlier, in 1024 or 1025, and that a different author added a later section, which starts at book three, chapter 50. According to Van Mingroot, this later addition was written by an author in the employ of Gerard's successor, Liebert, between 1051 and 1054, and at the same time examples of Gerard's correspondence from 1029-1030 were inserted into the earlier text before chapter 50.[105] This earlier date for the bulk of the chronicle and the suggested later revision would explain the curious lacuna in the description of events between 1024/1025 and 1031, including possibly the best known event in Gerard's episcopate, the 1025 heretical incident in Arras.[106] According to Georges Duby, most of

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[103]The *Gesta* is preserved in many later versions. C.L.C. Bethmann, in his edition of the *Gesta* for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, SS VII:399-401, summarized the sources available and suggested a date for the original composition of the chronicle. The most complete early manuscript is in the Hague, Koninlijke Bibliotheek MS nr. 75 F 15, an eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript which Bethmann believed to be an autograph of the scribe. It now contains only the first two books of the chronicle, but when transcribed in the seventeenth century also included part of book three. Also edited by Bethmann was a Saint-Vaast manuscript, Arras BM MS 398 (666), a fifteenth-century copy of a now lost original from the Cathedral of Arras, which contains the remainder of the *Gesta* missing from the Hague manuscript. Bethmann also consulted a fourteenth-century transcription now in Paris, BN MS lat. 5533a, and several other less complete works. Bethmann's edition was reprinted with his commentary in the more accessible PL 149:9-176, with the later interpolated letters, book three chapters 28-32 and 34 moved to PL 142:1313-1322. Henceforth, references to the text of the chronicle will refer to the PL edition.

[104]MGH SSVII:393. See Georges Duby, "Gérard de Cambrai, la paix et les trois fonctions sociales, 1024," *Compte rendu des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1976), 136-146, for a thorough summary of the dating debate.

[105]Erik Van Mingroot, "Kritisch underzoek omtrent de datering van de *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, LIII (1975), 281-332. See Van Mingroot, "Kritisch underzoek," 282-4 for a summary of the various dates that have been suggested for the chronicle, 304-305 for a discussion of the inserted letters, and 331-332 for a summary of his redating of the chronicle.

[106]On the Arras heresy, see chapter three.

the chronicle was written under Gerard's direction, but after his death some of it was rearranged and combined with the work of the later author, so that in book three, chapters 52-54 were also the product of the original chronicler.[107] Therefore, the composition of the parts of the *Gesta* dealing with issues of episcopal authority and the relationship between Richard and Gerard, the early chapters and chapters 52-54, seems to have taken place within the same era as the actual events, and not many decades later as originally thought.

According to the *Gesta*, Richard was originally invited to reform Saint-Vaast with the agreement of Gerard's predecessor, Erluinus, because the monastery had sunk to such a state of decadence that the abbot, Fulrad, no longer respected the authority of the bishop.[108] In criticizing Fulrad's leadership, the *Gesta* repeats an anecdote from the Carolingian era, when the monastery had drifted so far from the control of the local bishop due to the incursions of the Danes, that the body of Saint Vaast was removed from the abbey.[109] In contrast, the chronicler records the most important quality of Richard as an abbot, in the eyes of the episcopal hierarchy.

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[107]Duby, "Gérard de Cambrai," 141.

[108]On Fulrad see PL 149:108-110 and 118-119. PL 149:118. *Infelix ille! qui beatum Augustinum non advertebat memoriae dicentem male illos disputare contra claves aecclesiae, qui auctoritatem aecclesiasticam, quam in episcopis constat fateri, contendunt adnullare; alioquin aecclesia quae in episcopali auctoriate habetur, potestatem ligandi atque solvendi neutiquam habere valeret.*

[109]PL 149:109. *...quia tantae moli impares tam arduam causam absque auctoritate episcopi attemptare formidabant, corpus sancti Vedasti quaesitum a loco moveret, et inpositum feretro pro metu Danorum ad deferendum aliosum pararet.* See also earlier recounting, PL 149:53-54. At the same time, the chronicler also sought to reinforce the bishop's rights, by alluding to the Benedictine rule's injunction in support of the bishop's jurisdiction over the affairs of the monastery, "If the community elects someone who encourages their wickedness, and this is made known to the bishop of the diocese or other abbots and good Christians in the locale, these in turn should annul the choice, and they should choose a worthy overseer of God's house." *The Rule of St. Benedict*, trans. Anthony C. Meisel and M. L. del Mastro (Garden City, N.Y., 1975), Chap. 64, p. 99. See Cowdrey, 23-24, on the Rule and episcopal influence. PL 149:109. *Porro iste, qui contendebat disciplinam et increpationem episcopi declinare, et contra evangelicae et apostoliae institutionis auctoritatem a jugo episcopi cervicem deditionis excutere, male intelligebat sententiam*

The count entrusted the banished abbey to that most religious man Richard, to be ruled with the bishop overseeing and regulating (it). He [Richard] built up the rules of religious discipline among the many brothers...The evil Fulrad having been expelled, he [Richard] always appeared subject with all reverence to the lord bishop, and he complied with him in all things with the pure sign of love, as is proper.[110]

In addition, the Gesta glowingly reports the many instances of cooperation between Abbot Richard and Bishop Gerard in reforming the monastic houses of the region, such as Hautmont and Lobbes.[111] The same can be said for episcopal relations with Richard's successor, Leduinus. The Gesta again chronicles the activities of Leduinus in reforming and founding monasteries together with Gerard.[112] These records of cooperation and obedience to episcopal authority may exaggerate events that had happened a decade or more before. Nonetheless, if the Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium was written at his request, then clearly the issue of episcopal jurisdiction was very important to Bishop Gerard. Perhaps in reaction to the recent history of discord, he now sought through the Gesta to foster cooperation between himself and the abbots of Saint-Vaast.

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sancti benedicti, ubi, tractans ordinando abbate, inter cetera dicit: "Episcopus, ad cuius diocesim ipsum monasterium pertinet,"

[110]PL 149:119. Quare et huic amotam abbatiam Richardo religiossimo viro comes, providente episcopo atque ordinante, moderandam commisit. Qui in tantum fratres norma disciplinatae religionis extruxerit... Hic etiam, extincta Fulradi malicia, semper domno episcopo cum tota reverentia subjectus extitit, eique in omnibus, sicuti decet, intermerato amoris signaculo obsecundavit. The Gesta also records the participation of Bishop Gerard in the selection of Leduinus, the successor to Richard as abbot of Saint-Vaast. PL 149:151. Ea etiam tempestate Richardus abbas, ut et liberius Deo servire potuisset, et pro coelesti potius quam pro humana affectatione se onus sumpsisse cunctis notificaret, a regimonio Atrebatensis aecclesiae se relaxare disposuit, consilioque Gerardi episcopi in sua vice Leduinum, ex laico piae religionis monachum factum, substituit.

[111]PL 149:147 on Hautmont, 150 on Lobbes, and 151 on Florennes.

[112]PL 149:133 on Marchiennes, 131 on Billi-Berclau, 133 on Denain, and 134-135 on Haspres.

Although this evidence for successful relations between the Bishop of Cambrai and the abbots of Saint-Vaast comes mainly from the episcopal viewpoint, the Jeremiah illustration of the Arras Bible in itself provides proof that in the monastic context as well, the bishop must have been regarded in a benign light. The Jeremiah figure, dressed in episcopal regalia, is surrounded with the insignia of divine authority, including angels, haloes, and the apocalyptic lamb (fig. 8). All this implies that the illustrator, or programmer, of the Bible viewed the episcopal office as that of a legitimate governor. Once again, this belief can be aligned specifically with Richard and his reform movement, for it certainly was not common to all monastic reformers of this period.

Two other documents show that this relationship between the abbot of Saint-Vaast and the Bishop of Arras-Cambrai was institutionalized from the point of the abbot's installation. Two different *ordines* for the consecration of an abbot originating in this diocese both include as an integral part of the ceremony a pledge of obedience made by the abbot to the bishop and his successors.[113] Similar pledges are found in other medieval consecration *ordine*, and may have been inspired by the examination of bishops in their own ceremonies of consecration. Nonetheless, as Edmond Martène long ago pointed out, such pledges were far from universal in abbatial consecration ceremonies. In most *ordine* no such pledge can be found.[114] In Cluniac sources, as one would expect, no

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[113]Cologne, Dombibliothek MS 141, and Arras, BM MS 745.

[114]Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri*, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1736), II, 409. The Roman Pontifical, the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, and the Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries included no such pledge. See Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-âge*, Studi e Testi, 86-88, 99, 4 vols. (Vatican City, 1964-1965), Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (Fribourg, 1971), Sieghild Rehle, *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Mixtum von Saint-Amand* (Regensburg, 1973) and Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, 3 vols., Studi e Testi 226, 227, 269 (Vatican City, 1963-1972).

pledge of obedience to the local bishop is exacted from the candidate for abbacy. [115]

The first of the *ordine* for the consecration of an abbot from Arras is found in the Cologne Pontifical, Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141, probably produced at the scriptorium of Saint-Vaast in the middle of the eleventh century, within a few years of the production of the Saint-Vaast Bible, and when the same concerns were likely to have been current in people's minds. [116] Sigrid Schulten localised the manuscript to the scriptorium of Saint-Vaast based on textual and artistic evidence in her 1956 study of the scriptorium. [117] Textually, the manuscript can easily be localised to the archdiocese of Reims. In the litany, only the names of Vedastus and Benedictus are written in capital letters. The litany also ends with the name of Gaugericus, first bishop of Cambrai, implying that this manuscript was produced for the bishop of Arras-Cambrai and thus suggesting that the manuscript was copied and decorated at Saint-Vaast for the local bishop. [118] This is only reinforced by the style of the manuscript's decoration, which lies purely within the later Saint-Vaast school, recalling strongly the hurried line-drawing style seen in English manuscripts c.

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[115]In the near contemporary *Liber Tramitis* from the Cluniac reformed monastery of Farfa, the local bishop is permitted to oversee the election and to consecrate the new abbot, but not to obtain a pledge of loyalty. *Liber Tramitis Aevi Odilonis Abbatis,* 208-210.

[116]Cologne, Schnütigen Museum, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütigen-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich Kunsthalle,* ed. Anton Legner, 3 vols. (Cologne, 1985), I, 423-425 and *Handschriftcensus Rheinland,* ed. Günter Guttermann (Wiesbaden, 1993), 654-655, n. 1105. The complete series of *ordine* found in the manuscript was published in a most abbreviated way by Michel Andrieu in *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge,* Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense; études et documents, fasc. 11, 23-24, 28-29 (Louvain, 1931-1961), I, 108-114. He argued that the manuscript was probably written in a Benedictine monastery in the joint diocese of Arras-Cambrai, most likely in the Arras region of the diocese (*Les Ordines Romani,* I, 108, and IV, 475).

[117]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch,* 49-90.

[118]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch,* 64-66.

1000.[119] In fact, Schulten concluded that the Pontifical was created at Saint-Vaast for the Bishop of Arras-Cambrai, very possibly in connection with the production of the early manuscripts such as the Bible. She suggests a date of ca. 1050, while Gerard of Cambrai was still bishop, or very soon after his death.[120]

Like the other ceremonies for consecration found in this manuscript, the *ordo ad benedicendum abbatem* was apparently compiled from a variety of sources, including the tenth-century Romano-Germanic Pontifical.[121] On fol. 134v, the ceremony for the consecration of an abbot begins with an admonition that the the bishop must celebrate mass in the presence of two or three other abbots, and then give to the candidate a staff, shoes and a copy of the Benedictine Rule. A lengthy examination of the candidate by the bishop follows. On folio 135, as part of this examination, the bishop asks the abbot to indicate his willingness to acknowledge episcopal authority. "Do you desire to show obedience and subordination to the holy Church of .... and to me and to my successors according to canonical authority and the decrees of the holy bishops?"[122]

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[119]Schulten identified the roots of the Cologne manuscript's decoration in that of the "präzisen Zeichners." She compares especially the historiated initial of Christ on fol. 33 of Cologne MS 141 with the seated Christ found in the Bible's Acts illustration, volume III, fol. 141, particularly in the proportions of the figures and the design of the drapery (Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 66).

[120]Schulten, *Münchner Jahrbuch*, 66.

[121]Vogel and Elze, Ordo XXVI, 62-69.

[122]*Vis sanctae .... aecclesiae et mihi meisque successoribus subiectionem et oboedientiam exhibere secundum canonicam auctoritatem et decreta sanctorum pontificum.* At some point in the manuscript's history, the name of the church was scratched out. Michel Andrieu, in his study of medieval ordinals, speculated that this lacuna originally read *cameracensis*, and that after the division of the diocese between Arras and Cambrai in 1093, when Arras was removed from the jurisdiction of the cathedral of Cambrai, the word was effaced (Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, I, 108 and *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, I, 423). This demand mirrors that found in the ceremony to consecrate a bishop from the same manuscript. On fol. 124 the archbishop asks of the candidate, "Vis fidem et subiectionem sanctae ecclesiae matri remensi omnes dies vitae tuae servare?" Very similar combinations of components from the Romano-Germanic Pontifical and the episcopal examination and pledge can be found in a twelfth-century manuscript from Sens, Paris BN lat. 934, fols. 101v-

Although the greater part of this ceremony was adapted from that found in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, the examination of the candidate and pledge of loyalty made to the episcopal seat are both interpolations, demonstrating that the *ordo* has been adapted to suit contemporary circumstances.

The second manuscript to include a similar pledge is an edition of the Benedictine rule produced at the Cathedral of Arras, today Arras BM MS 745.[123] Like other manuscripts which were in Arras at the beginning of the nineteenth century, this one has suffered considerable damage, and is missing many folios. Nonetheless, much of its contents can be reconstructed. The Rule of Saint Benedict is followed by a series of *ordine*, including an *ordo ad monachum abbatem faciendum*. This last is almost entirely different from the *ordo* in the Cologne Pontifical, and contains only one prayer borrowed from the Romano-Germanic Pontifical. Its contents seem rather to mirror a series of French *ordine*.[124] In the Arras manuscript, the directions for the selection of the abbot prefacing the examination of the candidate emphasize the right of the bishop to observe

104v and a fourteenth-century manuscript now in England, London BL Egerton MS 931, fols. 152v-167v, but the Cologne version is the earliest I have discovered so far. For the Paris and London manuscripts, see Martène, 433 and Aimé Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène: Étude codicologique,* Studi e Testi, 279 (Vatican City, 1978), nos. 296, 298.

[123]*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements,* IV: Arras (Paris, 1872), 408. The manuscript was probably produced in the early twelfth century, and can be attributed to the cathedral based on a contemporary inscription, *Liber beate Marie Atrebatensis,* on the first guard page.

[124]These include three examples from Reims, two of which are now unfortunately missing, and a Spanish manuscript copying the usage of Saintes, Besançon BM MS Z 174, fols. 111-113, Tours, BM MS 236, fols. 11-20v and Reims, BM MS 343. Martène transcribed the *ordo* found in two manuscripts from St. Remi at Reims, both now lost. Martimort has established, however, that the same *ordo* is included in a thirteenth-century manuscript from Reims Cathedral. Martène, 428, 432 and 436 and Martimort, nos. 56, 103, 248, 259 and 260.

and confirm this choice.[125] Then follows an examination which is similar but not identical to the one in the Cologne Pontifical *ordo*. On fol. 22, the bishop once again demands of the candidate a pledge of obedience to the episcopacy. "Do you wish to be subject to the holy church of Arras, and to me and all my successors according to the rule of the blessed Benedict?"[126] Then, the candidate is instructed to write out this pledge.

> I, the following, now being ordained abbot, to the following church, promise to show subjection and reverence by the decree of the holy fathers, and obedience according to the precept and rule of Saint Benedict, to this holy church of Arras, and to you father the following bishop, and to your successors forever, and I confirm this with my own hand.[127]

The manuscript was probably composed before c. 1115, for by then Saint-Vaast and the other monasteries in the diocese had been forcibly converted to Cluniac observance, although manuscripts produced by the cathedral may have preserved such a form after it had fallen from practical use.[128] Despite the differences between them, both the *ordine* in the Cologne Pontifical and the Arras Benedictine Rule demonstrate how important monastic obedience to the authority of the bishop was in the

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[125] Arras BM MS 745, fol. 21. *Deinde episcopo in cuius diocesi abbas est ordinandus, ipsa electio perscriptum et testes presentetur, quatinus per episcopum si digne facta fuerit confirmetur, et statuto tempore electus ab illo consecretur. Si autem electio in presentia episcopi facta et confirmata fuerit, dicatur.*

[126] *Vis sanctae atrebatensi aecclesiae et mihi et successoribus meis esse subiectus secundum regulam beati benedicti.*

[127] Fols. 22-22v. *Ego, illum, nunc ordinandus abbas, ad titulum illum, subiectionem et reverentiam a sanctis patribus constitutam et oboedientiam, secundum preceptum et regulam sancti benedicti, huic sanctae atrebatensi, tibi que pater illum episcope, et tuis successoribus perpetuo me exhibiturum promitto, et propria manu confirmo.* This same pledge can be found in manuscripts from Besançon, Tours, and Reims. Martène, 428, 432 and 436.

[128] Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 473-492, best summarizes the conversion of the region to Cluniac custom. It is also possible, however, that some aspects of Richardian practice lingered for a time in the region which had resisted the incursions of Cluny so strongly. The pledges, both spoken and written, also testify to the fact that the manuscript was written after 1093, since the church to which obedience is given is Arras. No mention is made of Cambrai, which was split off from the diocese of Arras in 1093.

diocese where Saint-Vaast is located. This tradition of obedience sets these monasteries apart from the contemporary Cluniac movement, and created the environment where a manuscript containing a programme of illuminations glorifying the authority of the bishop could be produced.

Episcopal exemption was not one of the original founding principles of Cluny, which had stressed immunity from interference in its temporal affairs, but had said nothing about exemption from the spiritual guidance of its local ecclesiastical hierarchy.[129] Rather, exemption only developed over time into a defining characteristic of the Cluniac movement. The push to remove Cluny from episcopal influence was first made in the 990's, and culminated in 1024 with the full exemption of Cluny from the control of local bishops granted by Pope John XIX.[130] The Pope soon found the opportunity to ask King Robert the Pious of France to offer his support to this exemption, drawing the secular ruler into the debate.[131] This involvement did not go unnoticed by the bishops of the Capetian realm. They protested against the undue influence they saw exercised over the king by the abbot of Cluny, whom they believed to be usurping the role traditionally played by the bishops. One example of this is the poem *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem*, written by Gerard of Cambrai's fellow bishop and cousin, Adalbero of Laon. In this poem, Adalbero names Odilo of Cluny as his nemesis, and, through parody, warns the king of the dangers of a world where monks have overstepped their traditional role and assumed that reserved for consecrated leaders, the bishops.[132]

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[129]Cowdrey, 6-8, and on Cluniac exemption, above note 84.

[130]Cowdrey, 23, 28-34, Lemarignier, "L'exemption monastique," 298-322, and Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980), 140-141.

[131]Cowdrey, 35. See PL 141:1145-6.

[132]Adalbéron de Laon, *Poème au roi Robert*, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, XXXII, ed. Claude Carozzi (Paris, 1979), 2-13. See Duby, 53-55.

Although none of the monasteries in the diocese of Arras-Cambrai sought

episcopal exemption under the direction of Cluny in the early eleventh

century, this controversy was brewing at precisely the time when the

pictorial statement of monarchical and episcopal precedence and

cooperation was laid out in the Saint-Vaast Bible.[133]

The monastery of Saint-Vaast under the direction of Richard of

Saint-Vanne or his disciple, Leduinus, was an appropriate locale for the

production of a Bible promoting such an agenda. According to the

chronicle of Gerard of Arras-Cambrai, Richard of Saint-Vanne and his

followers were the epitomes of monastic obedience to episcopal

jurisdiction.[134] In addition, Gerard may have supported Richard's reform

movement in an attempt to oppose that of the Cluniacs which was now so

threatening to episcopal authority. Whether the pictorial programme of

the Bible was actually planned and commissioned from the Saint-Vaast

scriptorium by Gerard, or was produced to complement his ideas, or was

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[133]Two early exemptions included in the late twelfth-century cartulary of Guimann of
Saint-Vaast have long been recognized as forgeries. Although once thought to have been
forged under the episcopate of Gerard, Lemarignier noted that the invention of such
documents during this era of cooperation must be highly suspect (Lemarignier, "L'exemption
monastique," 332-337). Instead, he has redated these texts to the abbacy of Fulrad, c. 988-
1004, and interpreted them as ammunition in the lasting dispute between the decadent
abbot, and two of Gerard's predecessors, Rothard and Erluinus. For the early privileges
from Saint-Vaast, see E. Van Drival, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast rédigé au
XIIIe siècle par le moine Guiman* (Arras, 1875), 17-64. A third episcopal privilege from
Gerard to Leduinus refers to one of these forgeries as "libellum quod a beato Vindiciano
eiusdem sedis episcopo." It sets out clearly the bishop's responsibility to protect the
monastery from disturbances (*omni seculari inquietudine et mundana potestate*) by secular
lords and powers (*neque comes nec aliqua regia postestas vel judiciaria*), quoting from the
earlier forgery. The explicit exclusion of the bishop, however, is elided in the later
document, from *Si autem talis extiterit causa, ut merito episcopus accersiri debeat, nisi
vocatus ab abbate vel a monachis, aliter, ut diximus, nec alicui liberum ingressum
consentimus* to *Si autem extiterit causa ut merito episcopus accersiri debeat, vocatus ab
abbate veniat.* For Gerard's privilege, see Van Drival, 61-63. Once again, because the
cartulary was compiled in the late twelfth century, when Saint-Vaast had long been under
Cluniac control, the authenticity of this last document must also be doubted. On the origins
and editing of the cartulary, see above, chapter one, note 10.

[134]Duby, 139-140, on Gerard's probable distinction between Richard of Saint-Vanne and
Cluny.

an unconnected manifestation of similar concerns, cannot be proven. Its place of production, however, was not without significance. Richard of Saint-Vanne and Gerard of Cambrai obviously shared an ideology of rule in which monks answered to the ultimate authority of the bishop, otherwise Richard would not have found the path smoothed for his reform in the diocese of Arras-Cambrai. In supporting Richard and his reform, Gerard was undoubtedly, at least in part, attempting to work against the threat to his authority posed by Cluny, and the danger he thought it represented to the power of the king.

The fact that an image such as the Jeremiah illumination, which obviously seeks to glorify the episcopal office, is found in the Arras Bible, is amply explained by the Richardian reform movement's philosophies. The *way* in which the bishop is glorified, however, is more reasonably defined through an understanding of the political beliefs of Gerard of Cambrai, as expressed in the writings associated with him, including the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* and the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*. The effect of Gerard of Cambrai and his anachronistic political agenda on the pictorial programme of the Saint-Vaast Bible will be explored in chapter three.

Chapter 3

The Episcopal Programme of the Saint-Vaast Bible and

the Political Ideology of Gerard of Cambrai

The Jeremiah miniature in the Saint-Vaast Bible, with its unique iconography that dresses Jeremiah in the regalia of a bishop, and surrounds him with a choir of angels and an Apocalyptic lamb, is in part the product of its reform milieu, as discussed in chapter two (fig. 8). The fact that a miniature glorifying the office of bishop is found in an early eleventh-century Bible produced in a monastic scriptorium raises the possibility that the iconography of the Bible is intimately connected with the reform movement of Richard of Saint-Vannes, a monastic reformer who was unusually open for his time to episcopal interference in the day-to-day running of houses under his direction.

At the same time, however, details of the portrayal of Jeremiah are better explained through an examination of the philosophies of Gerard of Cambrai, the bishop of the joint diocese of Arras-Cambrai, and one of the most influential bishops in the region at the time the Saint-Vaast Bible was created. As such, his political outlook helps to illuminate the Bible's illustrative programme.

The Christological Bishop in the Jeremiah Miniature

In the Carolingian era, Jeremiah had been depicted in conjuntion with the Lamb of the Apocalypse in *maiestas* images. He was sometimes chosen as one of the four prophets to surround the Lamb, accompanied by the four evangelist symbols, in *maiestas agni* frontispieces to the Gospels, such as that in the Touronian Bamberg Bible, Bamberg, Staatsbib. Misc. class. Bibl. 1, fol. 339v (fig. 41), or in the St. Gauzelin Gospels now in the

Cathedral Treasury at Nancy, fol. 3v (fig. 42).[1] In the Carolingian era and before, however, he was never singled out as the sole prophet to be associated with the Lamb. Nevertheless, the iconography of the Arras Bible scene recalls in part an almost contemporary local image of another bishop. The *Vita Sanctorum* produced at the nearby monastery of St. Bertin in St. Omer includes on two facing folios a pair of dedication images (figs. 43 and 44).[2] In one, a haloed bishop stands with book and crozier flanked by two deacons, while above him, framed in a circle, is a nimbed Apocalyptic lamb. On the facing page, the bishop is depicted receiving a book from a kneeling monk, while a divine hand descends from above. The Arras artist has combined the two motifs of the divine hand and the Apocalyptic lamb in the Jeremiah image of the Saint-Vaast Bible.[3]

In the Saint-Vaast Bible miniature, Jeremiah is vested in a chasuble, and carries a crozier in his right hand, and a closed volume in his left, signifying in combination that he is a leader among the ordained clergy, in other words, a bishop (fig. 8).[4] The bishop's glory is signalled not only by

[1]Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*,(Princeton, 1977), 42-58.
[2]Boulogne BM MS 107, fols. 6v-7. Claire Kelleher, "Illumination at Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer under the Abbacy of Odbert," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1968, 63-66. Kelleher, 32, believes this manuscript was illuminated by Abbot Odbert himself, and can therefore be dated ca. 990-1012. She identifies the unlabelled central figure on both folios as St. Bertin (p. 64), presumably because the images preface a mass for St. Bertin. Yet, as St. Bertin was apparently never ordained, and certainly never consecrated a bishop, it would have been inappropriate to depict him wearing the chasuble, dalmatic and stola and holding a maniple as in fol. 7. The wearing of the chasuble and dalmatic in combination was restricted to bishops (Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* [Darmstadt, 1964], 249). It is more likely, therefore, that the images depict a historical or contemporary bishop, although one cannot rule out the possibility that the artists mistakenly invested St. Bertin with an office that he never attained.
[3]That the Lamb blessed by the divine hand is a new creation of the illustrator is supported by the fact that, in earlier depictions, the Lamb of the Apocalypse never receives such divine sanction. See *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, 8 vols. (Basel, 1968-1976), III, 7-14.
[4]See chapter two.

the choir of angels surrounding him, but also by the full-body mandorla which encloses him (fig. 45). The mandorla was an attribute typically reserved in the eleventh century for Christ or Christological representations.[5] Here, this interpretation is reinforced by the Apocalyptic lamb which floats above the standing Jeremiah. This lamb is itself surrounded by a lobed mandorla, and blessed by a heavenly hand. A visual parallel, which attributes Christ-like qualities to the figure dressed as a bishop below, is clearly intended.

The Saint-Vaast Bible was not the only Saint-Vaast manuscript in which a visual parallel was made between Christ and a bishop. In the contemporary Arras BM MS 616 (548), containing Augustine's *Confessiones* and *De vera religione*, on fol. 1v, the dedication page, an enthroned Christ is shown being approached by a kneeling Augustine, while directly below, an enthroned bishop, in this case Vedastus, is approached by a kneeling scribe (fig. 46).[6] The intended parallel between Christ and Bishop Vedastus could not be more obvious.

The rather unusual elevation of the image of a bishop to Christ-like status in the Saint-Vaast Bible requires some explanation. A rationale for this surprising iconography can be found within the writings associated with Gerard of Cambrai, documents which have never before been connected with the Saint-Vaast Bible, although they originated in the same era and region.

Perhaps the event of Gerard of Cambrai's episcopate best known to modern scholars is the heresy that occurred in Arras in the season of

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[5] See chapter two, note 92.
[6] Sigrid Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras im 11 Jahrhundert," Ph.D Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1954, 57-58, believes this drawing was carried out by the "zweite Werkstattgruppe," the same group responsible for much of the illustration in the Bible, including parts of the Jeremiah image.

Epiphany in 1025. The primary documentary source for this event is also the fullest elaboration of Gerard's theories on kingship and episcopal power. Within it one finds an explanation for the iconography of the Jeremiah miniature, for Gerard used this opportunity to defend the office of bishop by explaining its Old Testament origins and its Christological nature.

The rise of heresy in early-eleventh-century France can be seen as a symptom of shifting social structures at the end of the Carolingian era and the beginning of the Capetian. The heresy at Arras was not an isolated occurrence, but was one of the earliest examples of what Jeffrey B. Russel calls "reform dissidence", heresies that, in the doctrines of their adherents, reflect a dissatisfaction with the corrupt state of the contemporary Church, and presage many of the reforms that would later become Church policy under Gregory VII.[7]

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[7]Jeffrey B. Russel, *Dissent and Order in the Middle Ages: The Search for Legitimate Authority* (New York, 1992), 21, and idem, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Los Angelos, 1965), 20. This heresy has been discussed generally many times. See, for example, Robert I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London, 1975), 15-20, idem, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (New York, 1987) 17-19, and idem, *The Origins of European Dissent* (Toronto, 1994) originally published 1977, 9-20. Like many of these early heresies, that at Arras was characterized by the participation, not of the educated or noble classes, but of those inhabiting the lower rungs of society. That they were illiterate is suggested by the *Acta*, which reports that after the sentence had been read in Latin, it had to be translated into the vernacular for the benefit of the heretics, who signed it only with crosses (PL 142:1312, Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 17). They also may not have been freedmen, if it were true that they were tortured during their three days of confinement before the commencement of the synod. Robert I. Moore, "Literacy and the Making of Heresy, c. 1000-1150," *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530* (Cambridge, 1994), 26, note 23, accepts the translation of Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, eds., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York, 1969), 84, of *supplicia* as "tortures" in Gerard's letter to Roger: PL 142:1270. *Verum illi quoque qui, missi ab eis ad seductionem huiusmodi, ad nos devenerant, comprehensi multa dissimulatione renitebant, adco ut nullis suppliciis possent cogi ad confessionem....* This assumption can be questioned, however, for not only were laws regarding torture in a state of flux in the eleventh century, but also, although in the Greek and Republican legal canons only slaves could be tortured, already in the third century anyone in the lower ranks of society, whether slave or free, could be tortured, and all ranks could be tortured in the case of accusations of treason or heresy (see Malise Ruthven, *Torture: the Grand Conspiracy* [London, 1978], 36-52).

Bishop Gerard had just celebrated Christmas of 1024 in Cambrai when, as was his custom, he departed to spend a few days in Arras. When he reached Arras, he was informed that a group of heretics had arrived from Italy, and were preaching their beliefs. He had the adherents brought before him, where he questioned them. Agreeing that they were indeed heretics, Gerard ordered them imprisoned for three days. He then convened a synod, and processed into the Cathedral with his retinue singing the antiphon, *Exurgat Deus*. Surrounded by all the clergy of Arras, including abbots and priests, archdeacons, and all the rest seated according to their rank, Gerard called the synod to order and the heretics were brought before him so that he could question them.[8]

The *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* are the records of this examination.[9] Erik van Mingroot has argued on the basis of orthography and literary style that the *Acts* were composed by the same cleric who composed the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, and probably around the same time.[10] The earliest copy of the text now known is a twelfth-century Cîteaux manuscript now in Dijon, BM MS 582. Here, the *Acts* are immediately prefaced by an epistle to a certain Bishop R., upbraiding him for his laxity in allowing heresy to flourish in his diocese, and letting it

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[8]PL 142:1271.

[9]The *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* are most accessible in PL 142:1269-1312. They were first published in Luc D'Achéry, *Veterum aliquot scriptorum quo in Galliae bibliothecis, maxime Benedictinorum latuerant, Spicilegium,* XIII (Paris, 1677) republished as Luc D'Achéry and Louis De La Barre, "*Synodus attrebatensis a Gerardo...*", *Spicilegium, sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant,* I (Paris, 1723), 606-624, reprinted by the Gregg Press (1967).

[10]On the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* see above, chapter two. Erik Van Mingroot, "*Acta Synodi Attrebatensis* (1025): problèmes de critique de provenance," in *Melanges G. Fransen,* ed. Stephan Kuttner, 2 vols. (Rome, 1976), II, 224-225. Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), 121, using the evidence of Van Mingroot, but advancing with more caution, argues on the other hand that the *Acta* may only have been revised by the author of the *Gesta*, presumably some time before the death of the recipient in 1042.

spread unchecked to neighboring dioceses. Most scholarship on the texts

themselves has been restricted to uncovering the identity of R., the

recipient of the letter.[11] But the intended recipient of the letter is of less

moment here than the ideas espoused in the text resulting from the

synod.

Scholars have long noted that there seems to be a sizeable

discrepancy between the beliefs admitted by the heretics in their own

statements, and those with which they were charged by Gerard in the

Acts.[12] During the single opportunity given them to speak, the heretics

stated that they were followers of the Italian Gundulf, who had taught

them to accept from the Bible only the precepts of the Gospels and the

Apostles, to abandon the world, to restrain the desires of the flesh, to live

by the labour of their own hands, to injure no one, and to share with those

of the same faith. Furthermore, they saw no merit in baptism, because

children could not knowledgeably commit to the responsibility of baptism,

but also because the baptised often took up again what they had abjured at

the font, and the ministers who performed this sacrament were not free

from sin themselves.[13]

Gerard, however, did not restrict himself to attacking these

confessed beliefs, but rather accused the heretics of a host of other false

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[11]The literature involved in this debate is immense. The two most popular candidates have been Réginard, Bishop of Liège, and Roger, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne. See the recent summary of the controversy in Van Mingroot, "Acta Synodi Attrebatensis," 203-229. The most recent proposals have been by Jeffrey B. Russel, "A propos du synode d'Arras en 1025," Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, LVII (1962), 66-87, who prefers Réginard de Liége and believes the synod actually took place in 1026, and J. M. Noiroux, "Les deux premiers documents concernants l'heresie aux Pays Bas," Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, IL (1954), 842-855, a partisan of Roger of Châlons-sur-Marne. Van Mingroot argues convincingly in favour of a date of 1025, and Roger as the intended recipient.

[12]Moore, "Literacy and the Making of Heresy", 26-27, and idem, The Origins of European Dissent, 14-16 and 288-289. Also Russel, Dissent and Reform, 22-23, and Stock, 126.

[13]PL 142:1271-1272.

doctrines, which he rebutted one by one in great detail in the over 20,000 words of the *Acts*. Gerard appears to have been most disturbed by the possible threat to the hierarchy of the Church represented by these heretics, a threat probably already familiar to him from the heresies then making their way north from Italy.[14] Even before they had finished their confession, it seems, he interrupted to add that they also rejected the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the legitimacy of marriage, and the efficacy of penance, while also denying the existence of the Church and the value of confessors, believing that only apostles and martyrs should be venerated.[15] In the body of the *Acts* he further accuses them of not praying for the dead and denying the need for Christian burial, rejecting holy orders and the Church hierarchy, and condemning the singing of psalms, the offices, and the decoration of churches with images and the cross.

Gerard then proceeds to counter each of the stated or proposed doctrines of the heretics. He bolsters his argument with a wealth of examples taken from both the Old and New Testaments, underlining the importance of tradition and the order instituted by God as the most meaningful precedents for determining what is heretical.

One may ask with some justification if Gerard could really have delivered this lengthy discourse in one day, in the presence of the heretics. It is much more likely, as Robert I. Moore and Brian Stock have pointed out, that the composition and dissemination of an account of the synod was used by Gerard as an opportunity to air views that had less to do with the Arras heretics themselves, than with the changing power

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[14]See Russel, *Dissent and Reform*, 27-38, and Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, 25-35 on the early eleventh-century heresies at Orléans and Monteforte.
[15]PL 142:1271.

relationships in that time period that threatened the established hierarchy of the Church.[16] Stock proposes, for instance, that the sermon could have been intended at least in part for participants in the contemporary debate over the reform of the Church.[17] He sees Gerard's discourse as an exposition on the legitimacy of current Church practices not because they are customary, but because of the institution of these practices or similar ones in the text of the Bible.[18] Like the heretics, who, in contrast, had stated that they wished to discard the accumulated customs of the institutional church and return to the simpler practices exemplified by the mandates of the evangelists and the apostles, Gerard thus uses arguments based on biblical precedents.[19]

Georges Duby adds to this interpretation of the *Acts* a further layer of significance. Duby sees the text as, above all, a defence of order, both of the trifunctional division of society regulating the roles of all humans, and of the hierarchy established within the structure of the Church.[20] In addition, the order here on earth which Gerard was defending reflected the order present in heaven, except that, whereas on earth the leadership of the ecclesiastical and secular realms was divided between two officers, the king and the bishop, in the heavenly sphere, by contrast, one entity

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[16]Stock, 122, and Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, 15.
[17]Stock, 129.
[18]Stock, 129-135.
[19]Stock, 127-129. PL 142:1271. *At illi referunt se esse auditores Gundulfi, cuiusdam ab Italiae partibus viri, et ab eo evangelicis mandatis et apostolicis informatos, nullamque praeter hanc scripturam se recipere, sed hanc verbo et opere tenere.* Stock considers the contrast between these differing interpretations of the roots of church custom in the Scriptures as the crux of the disagreement between Gerard and the heretics. Through his explanations, Gerard argues against the free access of uneducated laymen to the text, as without the preparation to understand its teachings, they may misinterpret its directives and fall into just such a heresy. The authority of the church's practices and its right to act as intermediary between the text and the public is therefore reinforced (Stock, 137).
[20]Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980),14-18, 31-32.

combined these two functions: Christ.[21] Gerard was attempting to defend

the rights he saw as essential to those distinguished through sacramental

consecration for leadership, against those who would level society.

According to Duby, Gerard's belief in the parity between king and bishop,

and the gulf that separated these two offices from the rest of society, were

both antiquated ideas reminiscent of the Carolingian era, but no longer

relevant in the early eleventh century. He thus sees Gerard as a

conservative who sought to preserve a dying tradition.[22]

In the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, Gerard defends the authority of the

bishop to govern the Church based on two grounds, both of them rooted

in the Bible. The first is that the institution of a governing hierarchy in

the Church was established in the Old Testament, meaning that the

eleventh-century incarnation of a head priest, the bishop, was simply the

most recent version of a biblically mandated leader. This belief in the Old

Testament origin of Church leaders may help to explain the choice of an

Old Testament figure to carry episcopal regalia in the Saint-Vaast Bible,

and why a Bible was chosen as the appropriate locale to demonstrate such

ecclesiastical rights. The second, and related, ground for respecting the

authority of the bishop, according to Gerard, was that in taking up his

office, if not in his personal characteristics, a bishop was made a type of

Christ. This was achieved through the act of consecration anointment,

when the bishop was imbued with the grace of Christ, an event

typologically related to the Baptism of Christ. The belief that the bishop

was a type of Christ, and that this typology was established through

anointment, was a constant in art, literature and liturgy from at least the

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[21]Duby, *The Three Orders*, 33.
[22]Duby, *The Three Orders*, 163.

ninth to the twelfth centuries, and is reflected in consecration liturgy from the Carolingian era onwards and in the writing of authors such as the Norman Anonymous, as well as in the *Acts*.

The details of Gerard's description of the office of bishop in the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* and his defence of the right of the bishop to govern are echoed in the Jeremiah miniature in the Saint-Vaast Bible, as a few selections from the *Acts* will make clear. In chapter fifteen of the *Acts*, entitled "About the ruling orders of the Church," Gerard defends the ecclesiastical hierarchy, with the bishop at its head, using the example of the Old Testament as a precedent of the New:

> Therefore, we read that in the Church of the old people, which is usually called by the name synagogue, the orders were arranged by God through Moses, who and what kind, and how and when they must govern the rest or be governed by the rest, or rule the rest or be ruled by the rest, and how they must serve in separate offices. But also now in the Church, which is called the Kingdom of Heaven in likeness to the heavenly order, we read and know the ministers to have been lucidly arranged through the institution of the Lord and apostolic tradition...[23]

The special status of the bishop came from the belief that he was a type of Christ. Gerard describes this aspect of his special status in his defence of his own office. He begins, as usual, with its roots in the Church of the Old Testament and its replication in the apostolic period, in chapter 6, "About the sacred orders."

> Moses, placing his hand upon Joshua's head, gave to him the spirit of virtue and the leadership of the people of Israel. So

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[23]PL 142:1308. *Igitur ordines in Ecclesia veteris populi, quae usitato nomine Synagoga vocatur, fuisse legimus per Moysen a Deo dispositos, qui et quales et qualiter ac quando ordinare caeteros vel ordinari a caeteris, vel regere caeteros, vel regi a caeteris deberent. Sed et nunc in Ecclesia, quae regnum coelorum appellatur, ad instar coelestium ordinum, ministros Domini institutione et apostolica traditione legimus et cognoscimus distincte esse compositos..."*

also fulfilling the Law and the prophets, our Lord Jesus Christ blessed the Apostles. Also in the Acts of the Apostles, at the order of the holy spirit, a hand was placed on the Apostles Paul and Barnabas in bishophood, and so they were sent forth to evangelize. The head indicates the chief of the mind, and just as the body is ruled by the mind, so the Church, which is the body of Christ, is ruled through the bishops.[24]

Gerard, or the composer, also explains that the bishop's special status, and his typological identity with Christ, was the fruit of his consecration anointment, which immediately elevated the bishop to a rank above the unanointed by imbuing him with the grace of God.[25] Once again, this was instituted by Moses in the Old Testament with the priesthood of Aaron, whom he compares to bishops. Quoting Psalm 44:8, "Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows," he comments:

> When he calls them colleagues (fellows), what else does he consider them unless bishops, who, about to receive the grace of unction from him, who is the true priest according to the order of Melchisedech, he foresaw in prophetic spirit as vicars of Christ to rule the holy Church? Moreover, Christ is our head, therefore the high priest, who is made the vicar of Christ, is anointed on the head. By imitating him, who is the head of the whole Church, he himself is also made the head of the whole Church through this mystery of unction.[26]

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[24]PL 142:1294. *Moyses, super caput Josue manum imponens, dedit ei spiritum virtutis et ducatus in populo Israel. Sic et suppletor legis et prophetarum, Dominus noster Jesus Christus, apostolos benedixit. Et in Actibus apostolorum ex praecepto sancti Spiritus Paulo et Barnabae apostolis manus imposita est in episcopatum, et sic missi sunt ad evangelizandum. Caput enim principale mentis designat; et sicut mente corpus regitur, ita per episcopos Ecclesia, quae est corpus Christi, regitur.*

[25]The consecration anointment of the bishop on the head is well documented already in the Carolingian period, in Archbishop Hincmar of Reims' epistle describing the process of consecration to Adventius of Metz in 869-870. See Michel Andrieu, "Le sacre épiscopal d'après Hincmar de Reims," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, XLVIII (1953), 39, part 9: *Ut autem ventum fuerit ad loca, in quibus sunt cruces signatae, accipiat consecrator vas chrismatis in sinistra manu et cum dextro pollice, cantans quae ibidem continentur, per singula loca faciat crucem de crismate in verticem consecrandi.*

[26]PL 142:1290. "*Unxit te Dominus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae prae consortibus tuis.*" *Quando consortes nominavit, quos alios intuebatur nisi episcopos, quos, Christi, vicarios spiritu prophetico ad regendam sanctam Ecclesiam praevidebat, qui hanc unctionis gratiam ab eo*

Gerard then makes a further parallel between the bishop and Christ, identifying the New Testament precedent for unction in the Baptism of Christ.

> Just as Christ speaks on behalf of the universal Church, so the bishop [speaks] on its behalf given to him. Into him, therefore, whom it is said was anointed Christ by the prophet before his colleagues, penetrated the gift of spiritual grace, in which Christ was anointed before the rest of his colleagues, meaning the saints, the unction of whom was performed in that time when he was baptized in the Jordan and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descended over him and remained with him.[27]

Furthermore, he distinguishes the Christological consecration anointing of a bishop from that of a priest, for while bishops are anointed on the head, signifying their Christ-like nature, priests are anointed only on the hands.[28]

Gerard saw the power of the bishop as not springing from any merit inherent in the pre-existing man, but as a gift of grace. He compares the election of contemporary bishops to the election of the original Apostles. "And bishops, who were appointed through the world in the seats of the Apostles, succeeded the same Apostles in ordination. (They) are not now elected from race of flesh and blood as at first, but each and every one through the merit which divine grace confers in him."[29]

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accepturi erant, qui est verus sacerdos secundum ordinem Melchisedech? Porro caput nostrum Christus est, ideo pontifex in capite ungitur, qui Christi vicarius efficitur. Imitando enim illum, qui est totius caput Ecclesiae, per hoc unctionis mysterium fit et ipse caput Ecclesiae sibi commissae.

[27]PL 142:1290. Et sicut Christus pro universa interpellat Ecclesia, ita episcopus pro sibi commissa. In eo autem quod ait propheta unctum Christum prae consortibus suis, spiritualis gratiae donum, quo Christus prae consortibus, id est caeteris sanctis, unctus est, insinuat, cuius unctio illo expleta est tempore, quando baptizatus est in Jordane, et Spiritus sanctus in specie columbae descendit super eum, et mansit in illo.

[28]PL 142:1290. Igitur hunc unctionis morem in ordinandis episcopis sancta adhuc servat Ecclesia; ipsi etiam episcopi in consecrandis presbyteris, manus eorum ungunt in oleo, ut mundi sint ad offerendum Deo hostias, et largi ad caetera officia pietatis.

[29]PL 142:1294...et ipsis apostolis ordinantibus successerunt episcopi, qui sunt constituti per

Gerard repeatedly defends the office of bishop by recalling its origins in the Old Testament and in the apostolic era. He stresses the similarity between the sacramental anointing of the bishop at his elevation and the Baptism of Christ, and the symbolic parallel between Christ and the bishop as the "head" of the earthly Church, the body of Christ. This parallel is visualized in the miniature of Jeremiah in the Saint-Vaast Bible (fig. 8). Here, the bishop's Christ-like role is emphasized both by the vertical alignment of the bishop and the Lamb of the Apocalypse, and by the mandorlas which surround both the bishop and the Christological lamb above, signifying that both received the gift of spiritual grace, Christ at his baptism, the bishop at his ceremonial anointment, the moment when he was imbued with the ability to lead.

That such a meaning was intended is further reinforced by another miniature from the Saint-Vaast scriptorium. In the compilation manuscript Arras BM MS 732 (684), on fol. 2v, the Pseudo-Jerome letter *Cogitis me*, which discusses with skepticism the possibility of bodily Assumption, is prefaced with a miniature of the Virgin Mary's Assumption into heaven (fig. 47).[30] In this image, one of the earliest depictions of bodily Assumption, a Christological hand surrounded by a

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mundum im sedibus apostolorum, qui non iam ex gente carnis et sanguinis eliguntur sicut primum, sed pro uniuscuiusque merito, quod in eum divina gratia contulit.

[30]Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 86-88, attributes this image to Master A, who was also responsible for the Esther miniature in the Saint-Vaast Bible, and parts of Boulogne BM MS 9, the Gospel book from Saint-Vaast. For the text of *Cogitis me*, PL 30:122-142. Philip Grierson, "Les Livres de l'abbé Seiwold de Bath," *Revue Bénédictine* , LII (1940), 109, identified this manuscript as possibly one donated to Saint-Vaast by Seiwold c. 1060-1070, described as "lib. de assumptione sanctae Mariae," in the record of the donation in Arras BM MS 849 (539), fol. 159. Because the miniature was undeniably created by an identifiable Saint-Vaast artist, one must conclude that either the illustration was added at Saint-Vaast after the donation of the book, or another manuscript was recorded in the list. On the authorship of the text, C. Lambot, "L'homilie du Pseudo-Jérome sur l'Assomption et l'évangile de la Nativité de Marie d'après une lettre inédite d'Hincmar," *Revue Bénédictine* , XLIV (1934), 265-282.

mandorla descends from above to enclose Mary's head within the glory while she floats above the groundline.[31] On either side, angels with draped hands hover, in a visual echo both of the *Koimesis*, where angels sometimes carry the soul of Mary aloft, and of the baptism of Christ, where angelic bystanders frequently hold clothes for the drying of the newly baptised Christ.[32] The instilling of heavenly grace in Mary is therefore visually signalled by her sharing of the mandorla with the hand of Christ, while the Christological equivalent of this event, the Baptism of Christ, may be recalled. Clearly the artists of Saint-Vaast consciously used this Christological attribute as a symbol of grace, and intended in the Jeremiah miniature of the Saint-Vaast Bible to show the bishop partaking in the glory of Christ.

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[31] Images of the bodily Assumption of the Virgin Mary did not become common until the twelfth century. Contemporary artists almost always chose to represent Mary's death and acceptance into heaven with the *Koimesis* (see for instance the Pericope book of Henry II, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Clm 4452, fols. 79v-80, which show both the Assumption of the soul of Mary and its glorification). The only reasonably similar contemporary images are the Assumption of Mary in the Augsberg Sacramentary, London BL MS Harley 2908, from the first half of the eleventh century, where Mary is shown surrounded by a mandorla held by bare-handed angels and the sacramentary from Mont St. Michel, New York Pierpont Morgan M. 641, fol. 142v (on the history of the western iconography, see Gertrud Schiller, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst*, 5 vols. [Gütersloh, 1966-1991], IV/2, 95-107, and J. J. G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St Michel 966-1100* (Oxford, 1970), 155-157 and plate 42a. Henry Mayr-Harting argues that such images, though they may be mistaken for the bodily Assumption, merely represent the glorification of Mary's soul as described in the Pseudo-Jerome letter (Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination; an Historical Study*, 2 vols. [New York, 1991], I, 151). The Saint-Vaast miniature, however, like the Mont St. Michel image shows an unmistakeably life-sized Mary ascending towards heaven, and prefaces a text which discusses bodily Assumption.

[32] Although images of the *Koimesis* sometimes included hovering angels accepting the soul of the Virgin within draped hands, the fact that in this case the Virgin is full-sized and partially enclosed in a mandorla increases this image's resemblance to images of the Baptism. This iconography appeared in the sixth century, in works such as the *Sancta Sanctorum* reliquary casket and the throne of Archbishop Maximianus in Ravenna. It continued to be popular in Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon art, for instance in the Baptism on the ninth-century Brunswick casket in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum and in the Anglo-Saxon Benedictional of Aethelwold, London BL Add. MS 49598, fol. 25. See Schiller, I, 143-150 and Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold* (Princeton, 1995), 45-54.

Gerard was not alone in believing bishops to be types of Christ. In fact, it was at this time becoming a commonplace in Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian art and literature. The Norman Anonymous, an unknown royalist cleric writing around the year 1100, for instance, supported a conservative and old-fashioned view of Christocentric rulership.[33] He described kings and bishops as *personae geminae*,[34] blending spiritual and secular power through the institution of consecration and unction.[35] Remarkably, Gerard of Cambrai used the same term to describe the bishop and the king nearly 75 years earlier, in the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, although he used it in a different way.[36] In his *De Consecratione pontificum et regnum*, the Norman Anonymous explained that both kings and bishops, through their ordination anointings, imitate the anointings of the Old Testament kings of Israel, or *christi* as he calls

[33]Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: a Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), 42-61. Kantorowicz says of the Norman Anonymous, p. 60-61, "He is the champion of ideals of the Ottonian and early Salian period as well as of Anglo-Saxon England, and in his tractates he actually sums up the political ideas of the tenth and eleventh centuries." Also idem, "Deus per.Naturam, Deus per Gratiam: a Note on Mediaeval Political Theology," *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, 1965), 124-125, where he points out the similarity between the Norman Anonymous's view of Christological kingship and that expressed by Pope John VIII in 877, referring to the consecration of Charles the Bald. In addition, see George H. Williams, *The Norman Anonymous of ca. 1100 a.d.; Towards the identification and evaluation of the so-called Anonymous of York* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), 125-7, for a discussion of the authorship of the treatise.

[34]MGH Ldl III:664. *Itaque in unoquoque gemina intelligitur fuisse persona, una ex natura, altera ex gratia, una in hominis proprietate, altera in spiritu et virtute.*

[35]MGH Ldl III:663. *Ad hanc itaque regendam reges in consecratione sua accipiunt potestatem, ut regant illam et confirment in iudicio et iusticia et disponant eam secundum christianae legis disciplinam...Ad hoc ipsum etiam et episcopalis ordo instituitur et sacra unctione et benedictione consecratur, ut et ipse regat sanctam aecclesiam secundum formam doctrinae a Deo sibi traditam.*

[36]PL 149:158. *Hoc etiam modo sanctae aecclesiae statum confundi, quae geminis personis, regali videlicet ac sacerdotali, administrari precipitur. Huic enim orare, illi vero pugnare tribuitur.* The Norman Anonymous used the term to describe the concept of a single person holding twin natures, one human and one divine, given by grace, in the image of Christ. Gerard, in contrast, seems to describe the king and bishop as twins of each other through their God-given roles, both modelled on the one celestial prototype, Christ. See Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 46-61 on the origin of this concept and how it is used by the Norman Anonymous.

them, because they foreshadow the *Christus* of the New Testament.[37] The

king's, and thus the bishop's, power became the same as that of Christ, and

because they acquired grace through anointment, they both paralleled in

their double human and divine natures the two-natured Christ.[38]

Such ideas of Christ-centred rulership, as Ernst Kantorowicz has

pointed out, were paralleled iconographically in a ruler image possibly

from Reichenau, produced around the year 996. In the Aachen Gospel

book, Aachen Cathedral Treasury, fol. 16, the Emperor Otto III is depicted

partaking of the nature of Christ (fig. 48).[39] The Emperor is shown

enthroned on a cushioned bench, carried by a personification of the earth,

and surrounded by a mandorla.[40] A hand of God places a diadem on

Otto's head. Around Otto's mandorla are the four apocalyptic beasts, and

below are a group of his subjects. The overall format of the image is

derived from that of a *Maiestas Domini*, or Christ in Majesty,

composition, such as the one found in the Carolingian Vivian Bible, fol.

329v, where Christ is shown enthroned in a figure-eight mandorla,

surrounded by evangelist symbols, busts of four prophets, and seated,

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[37]MGH Ldl III:664. *Sed ut verum esse liqueat, quod vir unctus oleo sancto et divina benedictione sanctificatus mutetur in virum alium, id est in Christum Domini, et habeat in se spiritum Dei et virtutem, sine quibus christus non potest, et cum quibus non potest non esse christus... "Ecce unxit te Dominus super hereditatem suam in principem, et insiliet in te spiritus Domini et prophetabis et mutaberis in virum alium."*

[38]MGH Ldl III:664. *Quoniam et istae duae personae in veteri testamento olei sancti unctione consecrate et divina benedictione sanctificate leguntur ad hoc, ut in regendo populo Christi Domini figuram vicemque tenerent et in sacramento preferrent imaginem. Ad ipsam quippe unctionem et divinam benedictionem insiliebat in eos spiritus Domini et virtus deificans, per quam Christi figura fierent et imago...*

[39]Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 61. Kantorowicz, following early twentieth-century opinion, dated the manuscript to c. 973, and identified the ruler pictured as Otto II. More recently, Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, I, 60, assigned the manuscript to the Liuthar group of Reichenau manuscripts and accepted a date of ca. 996. See Mayr-Harting, I, 217 note 4, for further bibliography.

[40]Mayr-Harting, I, 65, observes that Otto III was crowned emperor on Ascension day, 996, which may provide some explanation for the pictorialization of the floating, enthroned monarch, as if in the midst of ascension.

writing evangelists (fig. 49). In the Aachen Gospels image, however, Christ has been supplanted by the Emperor, while the other attributes of Christ, including his gesture, the evangelist symbols, and the mandorla, have been retained.[41] The Emperor's two natures are represented, the human part below, with his feet on the earth, and the divine part above, with his head in heaven, the two parts separated from each other by a scroll-shaped form.[42]

In a similar way, the Arras Bible image of Jeremiah has made visual the bishop's partaking of the nature of Christ. As in the Aachen Gospels ruler image, the prophet has been surrounded by a mandorla and a heavenly hand appears above, where it blesses the Apocalyptic Lamb of Christ in its own mandorla. The Old Testament prophet Jeremiah therefore simultaneously takes on both the attributes of a bishop and of Christ himself, and, through the blessing hand, receives heavenly sanction.

This is not the first time an Old Testament figure has been made a type of Christ using a mandorla and other Christological iconography. In the Psalter frontispiece of the Carolingian Vivian Bible, fol. 215v (fig. 50), King David was represented as a type of Christ by placing him in a composition comparable to the Bible's *Maiestas Domini* image.[43] Standing in the middle of a blue Christological mandorla, David is surrounded by six figures, four of them seated musicians echoing the seated writing evangelists in the *Maiestas Domini*. Furthermore, as Herbert Kessler has pointed out, this typology was part of a larger series

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[41]See Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, 36-58, on the construction of the Gospel frontispieces at Tours.

[42]Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 63-67.

[43]Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, 106-108.

meant to encompass not only the Old Testament King David, but also the
ruler portrait of Charles the Bald in the same Bible, fol. 423 (fig. 51), by
giving both kings the same crown and similar facial features.[44] The
composition of the Psalter illustration, in surrounding a Christ-like figure
with a series of sitting and standing figures, also parallels that of the Arras
Bible Jeremiah illustration.

The Origins of Gerard of Cambrai's Political Ideology

As a defender of the ecclesiastical status quo, Gerard of Cambrai
sought to preserve the ancient rights of bishops, and with them, the
divinely sanctioned rights of kings. By defending the privileges
traditionally inherent in episcopal office, Gerard at the same time
defended those of the king, whose office was granted through the same
type of anointing. Gerard seems to have developed his somewhat
anachronistic philosophy of ecclesiastical leadership in response to the
situation in which he found himself both during his education and in his
role as bishop of a conflicted diocese.

Gerard's early life and the circumstances of his appointment to the
bishopric of Cambrai are described in some detail in the chronicle written
under his direction, the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*.[45] Gerard
was of noble birth, from a prominent family related to Adalbero, the early-
eleventh-century archbishop of Reims. After studying at Reims, along
with his cousin, Adalbero of Laon, Gerard served in the imperial chapel at
Aachen for Henry II. Gerard's chronicle is unabashed in admitting that

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[44]Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, 109. See Herbert L. Kessler "A Lay Abbot as
Patron: Count Vivian and the First Bible of Charles the Bald," *Settimane di Studio del
Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, XXXIX (1992), 662-668, on the broader
political implications of the comparison between David and Charles the Bald.
[45]On the *Gesta*, see above, chapter two.

Gerard received the bishopric of Cambrai through imperial favour.[46]

Gerard was appointed to the seat in 1012 while the previous bishop was

still alive, apparently in an effort by Henry II to forestall a similar move by

the count of Flanders.[47]

From the beginning of his episcopate, Gerard sought to distinguish

his episcopal role from his duties as a temporal vassal. Alfred Cauchie, in

his early study of the investiture crisis, stated that Gerard and his

successor, Lietbert were both invested at court.[48] But Gerard, according to

his chronicle, successfully avoided the Emperor's desire to oversee his

consecration as bishop. In book three, chapter two, Gerard's chronicler

describes the circumstances of his consecration. According to this account,

Henry II commanded Gerard to the imperial court to be consecrated

according to correct Lotharingian tradition, in an apostolic mass and

surrounded by his cobishops and abbots.[49] Gerard, however, claiming a

sentimental attachment to the city where he was trained, Reims, asked if

[46]PL 149:141-142. *Domnus imperator Henricus, ut superius diximus suorum principium unanimi consilio usus, Gerardo suo capellano, adhuc diacono, non infimis parentibus Lothariensium atque Karlensium edito, apud Arvitam villam Saxoniae Kalendis Februarii (1012) donum largitus est episcopii, Hunc in puericia Albero Remensium archiepiscopus, pro consanguinitate, sed et pro praediis quae ex patre matris in ipsa terra habebat hereditario jure tenendis, secum permissione parentum abduxit, et sub regula canonica degetem familiariter educavit.*

[47]PL 149:122. *Qui* (Azelinus) *etiam paulo antequam domnus Erluwinus ex hoc seculo decederet, suae ambitioni consulere estimans, suos imperatori legatos dirigere festinavit, per quos eius benivolentiam fortasse empturus ad episcopii prerogativam pertingeret....His autem repulsis, communi suorum usus consilio, potius Gerardum suum capellanum estimavit donandum.*

[48]Alfred Cauchie, *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai* (Louvain, 1890), xxxii. See Heinrich Sproemberg, "Gérard Ier, évêque de Cambrai," *Biographie Nationale,* Supplément, VII/1 (Brussels, 1969), 286-299, as well. Gerard was, however, ordained a priest at court in 1012, before he could accept the position of bishop. PL 149:143. *Hoc autem in loco ipsum* (Nimwegem) *domnum Gerardum in sua presentia fecit ordinari presbyterum.*

[49]According to Theodor Schieffer, "Ein deutscher Bishof des elfen Jahrhunderts: Gerard von Cambrai (1012-1051)," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters,* I (1937), 333, Henry's demand that he consecrate Gerard as bishop was part of a larger policy to remove the diocese of Arras-Cambrai from the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Reims.

he could be consecrated there instead. Henry II seemingly gave way

gracefully, asking only that the ceremony take place according to an *ordo*

which he gave to Gerard, so that no irregularities would occur as a result

of the consecration taking place in the realm of the Capetian sovereign,

Robert the Pious.[50] Thus, Gerard seems to have avoided a potentially

divisive event: the investing by the Holy Roman Emperor of the bishop of

a Capetian province, namely Arras.

Between Gerard's consecration in 1012 and the death of Henry II in

1024, the chronicle describes many missions undertaken by Gerard for his

imperial patron.[51] Gerard also acted as a mediator in both secular and

ecclesiastical affairs.[52] But Gerard's most often noted actions on behalf of

Henry II are the two occasions on which he acted as an intermediary

between the Emperor and the Capetian king, Robert II.

In May of 1023, Gerard and Richard of Saint-Vanne met Robert II at

Compiègne. Their purpose was to act as envoys from Henry II in order to

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[50]PL 149:144. *Post haec vero monuit illum imperator, ut secum ad novum episcopum
dedicandum, in civitatem videlicet Bavenberg, una proficisceretur, ibique in sua presentia a
missis apostolicis multisque coepiscopis sive abbatibus, qui illuc ad encenia templi
convenire deberent, ordinaretur episcopus. Qui et si honorabilius et disciplinatius coram
regia pompa et Lothariensi sollertia sciret se ordinandum: tamen loci amore, quo nutritus
fuerat, captus, a nullo quidem nisi a metropolitano Remensium archiepiscopo ordinatum iri
velle respondit; quippe satis provide ac competenter causam considerans, ne forte videlicet
eo etiam ipse consuetudini sedis metropolitanae contraire videretur, quod domnus Erluinus
episcopus ob supradictum contentionem, Romae ordinationem. Quo audito, imperator
altioris consilii illum advertens, libenter acquievit, dataque reditus licentia, largitus est ei
librum consecrationes clericorum et ordinationem episcopi continentem, ut per hunc videlicet
consecratus, haud fortasse quidem indisciplinatis moribus Karlensium inregulariter
ordinaretur. Unde mox ad sua cum honore et prosperitate concessit.*

[51]Immediately after his consecration as bishop, in August of 1012, Gerard left his new
diocese to assist the Emperor at the siege of Metz. In October of 1013, Gerard went with
Balderic, Bishop of Liege, as Henry's legate to a synod at Coblenz (PL 149:145).

[52]Chapter seven of book three describes how Gerard worked to secure the recognition of the
emperor's protégé, Duke Godfrey of Verdun, the newly-appointed duke of Lower
Lotharingia, from the counts of Louvain and Hainaut (PL 149:159-160). Later, in the 1023
synod attended by the Emperor at Aachen, Gerard settled a dispute between the imperial
bishops of Liège and Cologne over their rival claims to authority over a local monastery
(PL 149:160).

arrange a formal meeting between the two sovereigns. Then, in August of 1023, Henry II and Robert II met at Ivois on the Meuse to negotiate a peace. The preparatory meeting at Compiègne is not well described in the chronicle, where discussion is limited to Gerard's argument with several fellow bishops over their proposal for a general "Peace of God",[53] but chapter thirty-seven of the chronicle describes in some detail the summit at Ivois, attended not only by King and Emperor, but also other nobles, bishops and abbots. Here, the two rulers pondered, according to the chronicle, the Peace of God then being proposed within the Church.[54] It was also decided at that time that both Robert and Henry would in the future travel to Pavia to hold a further meeting in the presence of Pope Benedict VIII. This meeting was prevented by the death of Henry II in 1024. The writings associated with Gerard that resulted from his involvement in these negotiations surrounding the Peace of God will be very important for our understanding of the pictorial programme of the Bible.

Gerard of Cambrai and his relations with Henry II have been interpreted in various ways, sometimes reflecting the nationalistic agendas of the respective scholars. It is necessary to strip away the rhetoric that has accumulated around the actions of Gerard in order to interpret the relationship between his politics and the Saint-Vaast Bible's

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[53]PL 149:157-158. Better evidence of the presence of Gerard and Richard is provided by a charter written by Guérin of Beauvais, presumably at the time of the meeting. For a discussion of its contents and authenticity, see Jean F. Lemarignier, "Paix et réforme monastique en Flandre et en Normandie autour l'année 1023," in *Droit privé et institutions régionales: Études historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Paris, 1976), 444-445.

[54]PL 149:161-162:...*certe pacis et justituae summa diffinitio mutuaeque amicitiae facta reconciliatio; ibi quoque diligentissime de pace sanctae Dei aecclesiae maxime tractatum est, et quomodo Christianitati, quae tot lapsibus patet, melius subvenire deberent.* For an interpretation of what kind of peace was intended by these words, see Lemarignier, 452-453.

programme of illustrations. His persona has changed from that of a pro-imperial functionary in pre-World-War II Germany to non-aligned idealist in the post-war era, to ardent defender of the rights of the French monarchy in 1970's France. A position somewhere between these three is probably the most appropriate. Gerard above all seems to have been a politically astute and practical thinker who nonetheless attempted to follow the principles instilled in him during his early education.

In 1937, Theodor Schieffer argued that the Bishops of Cambrai were gatekeepers appointed by the Emperor to further his interests and protect (or increase) his territory on the contested western border of the Empire.[55] Schieffer downplayed Gerard's family connections to the western kingdom, instead stating that Gerard's loyalties must have been unilaterally imperial in order for him to undertake a Church career in a time when imperial and clerical power were so closely interconnected.[56]

In 1960, however, Heinrich Sproemberg emphasized Gerard's family connections to the archdiocese of Reims, highlighting his western, Lotharingian background. He believed that Gerard was most likely brought up speaking a Romance, as opposed to Germanic, language.[57] He saw as crucial the time spent by the future Bishop of Arras-Cambrai during his formative period under the tutelage of an archbishop unencumbered by imperial loyalties. Nonetheless, Sproemberg underlined that Reims under Adalbero was sympathetic to the imperial promotion of cooperation between Church and state, and that this eased Gerard's entry

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[55]Schieffer, 323-360.
[56]Schieffer, 332.
[57]"Gerhard I, Bischof von Cambrai," in *Mittelalter und demokratische Geschichtesschreibung: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, ed. Manfred Unger (Berlin, 1971), 103-106.

into service at the chapel of Henry II.[58] After Henry's death, according to Sproemberg, although Gerard attempted to keep his commitment to the emperors as their vassal, his opinions were more and more at odds with the policies of Henry's successors. It is not surprising, therefore, that Gerard was to play no significant role in the future political life of the Empire.

It is clear from the chronicle that with Henry II's death in 1024, Gerard's role as advisor to the Emperor came to an end. He was loath to be the first imperial bishop to acknowledge Conrad II, and he was never again entrusted with the same sort of diplomatic mission.[59] Despite Gerard's self-identified strong connection to Henry, and his pride in his importance as the Emperor's advisor made obvious in the chronicle, Gerard's other ruler, Robert the Pious, also appears repeatedly in the chronicle, although often in the role of an adversary.

Most interpreters of the political life of Gerard of Cambrai seem to agree that he had at times been at odds with the policies of Robert the Pious. From the beginning of his episcopate, Gerard had continually been harassed by the local castellan of Cambrai, Walter of Lens. The chronicle details at great length the constant small and large assaults perpetrated by Walter against the bishop and his prelates in an attempt to increase his authority. Walter, however, was not a free agent. He was acting at least in part at the behest of Baldwin V, count of Flanders, and Robert the Pious, both of whom hoped to gain a foothold in Cambrai, thereby encroaching on imperial territory.[60] Their incursion could have been reinforced by the

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[58]Sproemberg, *Mittelalter und demokratische Geschichtesschreibung*, 107.

[59]On the imperial succession, PL 149:169-170. See Sproemberg, *Biographie Nationale*, 293-294, and Sproemberg, *Mittelalter und demokratische Geschichtesschreibung*, 116, for an assessment of his reduced position under Henry II's successors.

[60]See Duby, *The Three Orders*, 23, for a general overview.

fortuitous joining of the ecclesiastical leadership of Cambrai to that of the Capetian territory under Robert's control. In fact, the chronicle records that soon after Gerard's consecration, Walter actually called on Robert the Pious to assist him in appeasing Gerard after burning part of the town. Robert sent a delegation led by a Capetian bishop, Harduin of Noyon, to support Walter's negotiations in Cambrai.[61]

Nonetheless, Gerard owed allegiance to the king and took seriously his duty to advise him and to foster his interests. Georges Duby, more than Schieffer or Sproemberg, emphasizes Gerard's connections with the French king, stating that "Gerard of Cambrai-Arras was a member...of a circle of bishops who gravitated towards the Capetian king. As 'Orators' they spelled one another in insuring that the monarch was exposed to an uninterrupted disquisition on morality, or rather, that he was engaged in a continuous moralizing dialogue".[62] Duby sees the original 1024/1025 part of the chronicle as having been produced with one goal in mind, to portray Gerard of Cambrai as the proponent of a "true peace", the peace of kings, as opposed to what he saw as the "false peace" being promoted at that time, the "Peace of God" intended for the general populace at the urging of the Bishops of Soissons and Beauvais. According to Duby's interpretation, Gerard saw the Peace of God as a threat to the trifunctional hierarchy of society that sustained the proper role of kings and bishops.[63]

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[61]PL 149:145. *Nam Robertum regem et Odonem comitem precatores sibi et adjutores paravit, et ut domnum episcopum placaturi, suae temeritati veniam rogarent, obtinuit. Verum hii circa negocium aliud occupati, Harduinum Noviomensum episcopum cum aliis etiam oratoribus usu vicario ad Gerardum pontificem delegarunt.* Schieffer, 335.
[62]Duby, *The Three Orders*, 17.
[63]Georges Duby, "Gérard de Cambrai, la paix et les trois fonctions sociales, 1024," *Compte rendu des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1976), 139-142 and Duby, *The Three Orders*, 21-22.

This is in part an explanation for his continuing opposition to the Peace of God suggested by other Capetian bishops.

The Peace of God first proposed by the Bishops of Soissons and Beauvais in 1023 was part of a broader movement occurring in France at that time. In an effort to repress the ever-increasing threat from marauding minor nobles, such as Walter the Castellan of Cambrai, leading clerics proposed that a general peace be sworn, not just by the commonly identified culprits, but by society at large, led by the clergy. It was thought that this oath made over relics, along with the requisite penance and fasting and the threat of excommunication, would put responsibility for enforcing the peace and preventing violence into the hands of lay-people.[64]

The Peace of God was first proposed to Gerard by the Bishops of Soissons and Beauvais at the royal conference at Compiègne in 1023, where Gerard had been sent as an envoy, along with Richard of Saint-Vannes, to Robert the Pious.[65] In the chronicle's description of this meeting, the author makes clear that Gerard recognized the danger of this idea from the beginning. The author, in chapter twenty-seven of book three, explains that the two bishops were inspired by the practices in Burgundy, which they felt, if adopted in the archdiocese of Reims, would

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[64]See generally Henri Platelle, "La violence et ses remèdes en Flandre au XIe siècle," *Sacris Erudiri,* XX (1971), 101-173, Egied I. Strubbe, "La paix de Dieu dans le Nord de la France," *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin,* XIV, no. 1 (1961) 489-501 and more recently, Geoffrey Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000,* ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, 1992), 239-258. On the peace proposed at Compiègne and carried out at Douai, Lemarignier, 457-461, and Roger Bonnaud-Delamare, "Les institutions de paix dans la province ecclésiastique de Reims au XIe siècle," *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (Paris, 1957), 165-200.

[65]Bonnaud-Delamare, 175-176. The *Gesta* does not explain where this took place, but circumstantial evidence suggests it must have been at Compiègne, where all are recorded as having gathered.

halt the decline of law in the region.[66] He then describes the Burgundian model as a sacramental bond constraining clergy and laity alike to be the servants of peace.[67] The Bishop of Cambrai-Arras immediately argued against the proposal, because it confused the duties of Church and state, thereby undermining both the powers traditionally held by the secular office of the king and the ecclesiastical office of the bishop. He thought that the two proponents of the plan, Beroldus of Soissons and Walerannus of Beauvais, were taking advantage of the, in his words, *inbecillitate regis*, to weaken royal authority by proposing the Peace of God, a peace that would apply, not just to imperial territory, but also to the realm of *Francia*.[68]

Gerard's opposition to the Peace of God was motivated, not simply by personal loyalties to particular rulers, but by his long-held belief in the cooperative model of government between bishops and kings fostered at Reims, the belief that had led him to support Henry II as a ruler. In his original argument against the Peace of God, as recorded in the chronicle in connection with the meeting at Compiègne, Gerard explained his view of the special roles set aside for bishops and kings. Kings, according to his *schema*, were assigned the job of suppressing mutinies, allaying wars and expanding peace. Bishops, on the other hand, were supposed to advise kings and to pray for their victories.[69] The Peace of God, by making the

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[66]PL 149:157. *Ipso in tempore videntes episcopi Beroldus Suessionensium et Walerannus Belvacensium, prae inbecillitate regis peccatis quidem exigentibus statum regni funditus inclinari, jura confundi, usumque patrium et omne genus justitiae profanari; multum rei publicae succurrere arbitrati sunt, si Burgundiae episcoporum sententiam sequerentur.*
[67]PL 149:158. *Hii nimirum totius auctoritatis expertes, commune decretum fecerunt, ut tam sese quam omnes homines sub sacramento constringerent, pacem videlicet et justitiam servaturos.*
[68]PL 149:157-158.
[69]PL 149:158. *Hoc enim non tam inpossibile quam incongruum videri respondit, si quod regalis juris est, sibi vendicari presumerent. Hoc etiam modo sanctae aecclesiae statum confundi, quae geminis personis, regali videlicet ac sacerdotali, administrari precipitur.*

enforcement of peace the function of an episcopal oath, therefore removed this duty from the regal sphere and reassigned it to the clerical.

Despite his misgivings, Gerard finally did lead the Peace of Douai in 1024, after having been pressured by Leduin, abbot of Saint-Vaast, Roderic, abbot of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer, both disciples of Richard of Saint-Vanne, and Baldwin IV, the Count of Flanders.[70] Gathering in a field at Douai, in the centre of the diocese of Arras-Cambrai but on the border between France and the Holy Roman Empire, Gerard led the crowd in saying a pledge over relics brought from every part of the diocese.

Just before the description of the Peace of Douai in the chronicle there is a lengthy chapter where Gerard reiterates his argument against the Peace of God, this time using illustrative examples taken from the Old and New Testaments. Here, he again describes his vision of the three different segments of society, made up of those who pray, those who labour or farm, and those who fight. All work to support each other: the *pugnatores* protect the *oratores* from worldly cares, while the *oratores* provide them spiritual sustenance in return; the *agricultores* furnish their worldly and spiritual protectors with food and material sustenance while the *oratores* seek to lift them up to heaven through prayer and the *pugnatores* guard

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Huic enim orare, illi vero pugnare tribuitur. Igitur, regum esse seditiones virtute compescere, bella sedare, pacis commercia dilatare; episcoporum vero, reges ut viriliter pro salute patriae pugnent monere, ut vincant orare.

[70]The involvement of Leduin and Roderic is reported in the *Gesta*, PL 149:158. The date of this peace has been disputed, because its retelling in the *Gesta* is found in book three, chapters 53-54, a section originally thought to describe events from the year 1036. Duby, however, believes that this description, and the other documentary evidence of the peace, date from 1024, and were inserted into a later section of the chronicle when it was reworked after Gerard's death (See above, chapter two). This suggestion is convincing, as it puts the eventual execution of the Peace much closer to the time it was suggested, instead of allowing an unexplained lapse of twelve years between the two events. Duby, *The Three Orders*, 25-26. For the 1036 dating of these two documents, see Bonnaud-Delamare, 188-189 and 191.

them against danger while still here on earth.[71] Once again, Gerard

reinforced the notion that although the ecclesiastical and secular

hierarchies, led by the king and the bishop, must cooperate in order to

create a civil society, at the same time they must not trespass on each

others' clearly defined duties. Gerard based his system on the example of

the Old Testament kings and patriarchs Abraham, Joshua and David, who,

like the contemporary *pugnatores* of Gerard's era, were to be supported by

the *sacerdotes* of the Church through which they gained their right to

lead.[72] Furthermore, he argues against a suggested component of the

Peace that would prohibit the return of booty, again reinforcing the

traditional rights of kings, who, he explains, are taught by the holy fathers

to protect the goods of the Church and return what has been unjustly

taken.[73]

This cooperative model of the relationship between the Church and

the state in which each component abides by its biblically defined roles, as

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[71]PL 149:170-171. *Genus humanum ab initio trifarium devisum esse monstravit, in oratoribus, agricultoribus, pugnatoribus; horumque singulos alterutrum dextra laevaque foveri, evidens documentum dedit: "Oratorum a saeculi vacans negotii dum ad Deum vadit intentio, pugnatoribus debet, quod sancto secura vacat otio; agricultoribus, quod eorum laboribus corporali pascitur cibo. Nihilominus agricultores ad Deum levantur oratorum precibus, et pugnatorum defensatur armis. Pari modo pugnatores, dum reditibus agrorum annonantur et mercimoniis vectigalium solatiantur armorumque delicta piorum quos tuentur expiat precatio sancta, foventur ut dictum est mutuo."*

[72]PL 149:171. *Quibus - dum Abraham et Josue et David ex voce Domini arma tulisse in prelium vetus ostendit pagina, et sacerdotes gladio accingunt reges, regnante gratia in nostra matre aecclesia Dei sponsa - officium non est in culpa, si deest peccatum in conscientia.*

[73]PL 149:171. *Inde reges per sanctos patres edocti, statuerunt firmas leges, ut res suas injuste sublatas aecclesia vel quilibet juste repeteret; quas legaliter cogeretur qui rapuerat, restituere.* The text of the promise of peace made at Douai that day is preserved in an eleventh-century codex originally from the abbey of Marchiennes and now in Douai, MS 856, fol. 91. Bonnaud-Delamare, 196-198. The document is transcribed in p. 184bis. *Ceterum in hac pace nullus nisi rex caballicationem aut hostilitatem faciat et quicumque in caballicatione aut hostilitate regis fuerint in hoc episcopatu nihil plusquam sibi ac suis equis necessaria sunt ad victum accipiant.* In this peace, Gerard, true to his stated beliefs, reserved for the king the right to make war, a situation that would not obtain in later north-French peace agreements.

propounded in the writings of Gerard of Cambrai surrounding the Peace of God declared at Douai in 1024, may also be expressed in one of the miniatures found in the Saint-Vaast Bible. In the image prefacing the Book of Ezra, a king and a Christian priest, who is once again identified through the anachronistic use of vestments, are shown cooperating in the distribution of the scriptures.

The Ezra Illustration

The illumination introducing the Book of Ezra, volume III, fol. 29 (fig. 15), incorporates two small figure illustrations into the frame around the textual *incipit*. Into either side of the oval frame are inserted roundels. To the right, a king sits enthroned on a faldstool. Under the king's feet is a *suppedaneum*, while in his left hand is a knobbed lily-sceptre. He is crowned with a trefoil crown and gestures with his right hand towards the roundel on the left. Here, a bearded man wearing a long robe stands on a small hillock and gazes heavenward. He holds a open book in hands protected by a maniple. Another bearded man in a short tunic stands to the right.

The Book of Ezra was not a popular source for narrative illustrations in the pre-Romanesque period. Even author portraits of the scribe are few and far between.[74] The only vaguely similar Ezra image is

[74]One survives in the seventh-century Syrian bible, Paris BN syr. 341, fol. 212, where Ezra is shown standing as a orant in a veiled, colonnaded enclosure (Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* [New York, 1977], 17 and 29). Another example is found in the Codex Amiatinus, Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Am. 1, fol. 5, which depicts Ezra in the style of a seated, writing evangelist, in front of a cupboard holding the volumes of the Bible (Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian*, 24 and 29, and R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, "The Cassiodorus-Ezra Miniature in the Codex Amiatinus," in Thomas. D. Kendrick et al, *Codex Lindisfarnensis* (Lausanne, 1960), and idem, "The Art of the Codex Amiatinus," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXXII [1969], 1-25). See also more recently, Richard Marsden, "Job in his place: the Ezra miniature in the Codex Amiatinus," *Scriptorium* , IL (1995), 3-15, and Paul Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus and the

that found in the nearly contemporary Ripoll Bible, Rome, Vatican lat.

5729, fol. 312 (fig. 52), which shows a man holding in his left hand an

unfurled scroll inscribed with the *incipit* of the Book of Ezra, and

gesturing with his right towards a group of five seated observers.[75] Facing

them is a bearded man wearing a pointed cap, presumably Ezra, preaching

to his audience. But in this example, only the content, Ezra preaching, is

similar to the Saint-Vaast Bible illustration.

The precise moment depicted here is not immediately obvious.

Several kings appear in the Book of Ezra, but the king shown in the Arras

Bible has no distinguishing characteristics to help in his identification. Yet

in combination with the second, parallel image, a probable subject for the

two medallions emerges. At first glance, it might seem that the two

images could illustrate the very first verses of the first Book of Ezra,

> In the first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of
> the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the
> Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of the Persians: and he
> made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and in
> writing also, saying: Thus saith Cyrus king of the Persians:
> The Lord God of heaven hath given to me all the kingdoms
> of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house in
> Jerusalem, which is in Judah.[76]

Codex Amiatinus, *Speculum*, LXXI (1996), 827-883. Meyvaert, 872-876, shows that the Ezra figure in the Wearmouth-Jarrow manuscript was most likely inspired by a portrait of Cassiodorus, rather than an earlier image of Ezra. Neither type of image could have provided any visual inspiration for the unprecedented Saint-Vaast illustration, although if Meyvaert is correct in speculating that Ezra was intended to be a type of Christ (pp. 881-882), the Amiatinus and the Arras Ezra images may share an underlying symbolism.

[75]Wilhelm Neuß, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn, 1922), 105 and more recently Peter Klein, "The Romanesque in Catalonia," *The Art of Medieval Spain ad. 500-1200* (New York, 1993), 306-307.

[76]I Ezra 1:1-2. Biblical quotations in English are taken from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate, with the exception that names of persons and places have been changed to accord with the Revised Standard Version of 1952.

This would accord with the frequent practice in the Saint-Vaast Bible of illustrating the opening of a book with the first events described in the text.[77]

Claire Donovan, interpreting the three initial quatrefoils illustrating the Book of Ezra in the twelfth-century English Winchester Bible, Winchester Cathedral Library, fol. 342 (fig. 53), believed that the first quatrefoil, showing a king enthroned holding an unfurled scroll, illustrated King Cyrus holding this proclamation.[78] The quatrefoil below showed the distribution of the proclamation, and the lowest quatrefoil, showing a bearded man holding a rolled scroll preaching to four busts of followers, illustrated Ezra bringing the Law to the children of Israel, after the building of the temple was thwarted.

> And the seventh month came: and the children of Israel
> were in their cities. And all the people were gathered
> together as one man to the street which is before the water
> gate, and they spoke to Ezra the scribe, to bring the book of the
> law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel.
> Then Ezra the priest brought the law before the multitude of
> men and women, and all those that could understand, in the
> first day of the seventh month.[79]

While this is a tempting identification for the Saint-Vaast Ezra illustration, it may be that the two roundels illustrate instead a moment from the Book of Ezra which is more in keeping with the message behind the texts just discussed. I Ezra 7 describes the cooperation between Artaxerxes, King of the Persians, and Ezra, the leader of the Israelites.

> This Ezra went up from Babylonia and he was a ready scribe
> in the law of Moses, which the Lord God had given to Israel:

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[77]Instances where part or all of the subject matter illustrated comes from later chapters include the miniatures for III Kings (fig. 5), IV Kings (fig. 6), Esther (fig. 16) and the *Passio Machabeorum* (fig. 18).
[78]Claire Donovan, *The Winchester Bible* (London, 1993), 57.
[79]II Ezra 8:1-2.

and the king granted him all his request, according to the
hand of the Lord his God upon him...For Ezra had prepared
his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do and to teach in
Israel the commandments and judgement. And this is the
copy of the letter of the edict, which King Artaxerxes gave to
Ezra the priest, the scribe instructed in the words and
commandments of the Lord, and his ceremonies in Israel.
Artaxerxes king of kings to Ezra the priest, the most learned
scribe of the law of the God of heaven, greeting. It is decreed
by me, that all they of the people of Israel, and of the priests
and of the Levites in my realm, that are minded to go into
Jerusalem, should go with thee. For thou art sent from
before the king, and his seven counsellors, to visit Judah and
Jerusalem according to the law of thy God, which is in thy
hand.[80]

This text seems to account for several distinctive details of the

illustration. First, the horizontal parallel between the two roundels, and

the gesture made by the king towards Ezra and his companion, imply

communication, or at least contemporaneity, between the king and Ezra.

This would be difficult to explain with the first texts, for Ezra is not

described as living under the reign of King Cyrus. The text also describes

specifically that the Law of Moses is "in thy [Ezra's] hand", a detail which is

depicted explicitly, in that the Law rests on Ezra's manipled hand. This

anachronistic piece of liturgical gear invests Ezra with a new meaning, for

wearing this, he becomes not just the Old Testament head priest of the

Levitical order, but also a Christian priest. In the Carolingian Grandval

Bible, as Martina Pippal has observed, Aaron the high priest also holds a

maniple draped across his left hand, thereby becoming a priest of the

Christian, Frankish church (fig. 54).[81] Here as well, Ezra, who is described

[80]I Ezra 7:6, 10-14.
[81]London, BL Add. MS 10546, fol. 25v. Martina Pippal, "Distanzierung und Aktualisierung in der Vivianbibel: Zur Struktur der touronischen Miniaturen in den 40er Jahren des 9. Jahrhunderts," *Aachner Kunstblätter*, LX (1994), 70.

as a high priest, above the other Levites, is made into a high priest of the Christians, a bishop.

The cooperation between king and bishop implied by this pair of roundels illustrating the Book of Ezra is related to the cooperation prescribed and celebrated by Gerard of Cambrai in his writings, particularly in those militating against the Peace of God in the chronicle.

The presence of this single miniature in the Bible and its depiction of the role of a king would not be enough to set out a coherent iconography of kingship within the miniature cycle. The Saint-Vaast Bible is, however, replete with other images of kingship, many of which seem to borrow aspects of the philosophy of divinely inspired rule set out by Gerard of Cambrai in the two most important writings associated with his episcopate, the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* and the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*. As I will demonstrate in chapter four, taken in combination, the images of episcopal authority discussed above and the representation of the rights of the king together provide a visual equivalent to the textual excursus found in the chronicle and in the *Acts*.

Chapter 4

The Saint-Vaast Bible and the Politics

of Secular Rulership

Several themes have already emerged from a careful examination of the illuminations prefacing the Books of Jeremiah and Ezra. The choice of scenes used to illustrate these books of the Bible, and the details with which they are illustrated, serve to interpret the biblical narrative in the light of religious concerns current in Northern France in the first half of the eleventh century. By looking at other texts contemporary with the Bible and commentaries on the biblical texts illustrated, as well as the images and the texts associated with Bishop Gerard of Arras-Cambrai, it will be possible to demonstrate that one of the intentions of the programme was to reinforce the divine right of not only bishops, but also kings, to govern. As we have already seen, of the eighteen narrative illustrations in the Bible, two show figures wearing clerical regalia. In addition, nine show kings or secular rulers, most of whom bear royal regalia reminiscent of the Carolingian era. By including these illuminations in our examination, it will become clear that the theme of the divine sanction of the institution of the kingly and priestly offices, and the heavenly origin of the Law which was its basis, underlies the cycle of miniatures.

The Illustration for the Book of Wisdom

By applying the same type of Christological iconography found in the miniature of Jeremiah to a series Old Testament kings, the artists of the Saint-Vaast Bible sought to express not only the Christ-like persona of the bishop, but also that of the king. The image prefacing the Book of

Wisdom on fol. 144 of volume two portrays the purported author, King

Solomon (fig. 13). He is shown enthroned on a bench-throne within the

initial D, wearing a trefoil or lily-crown with what appear to be the

dangling ends of *infulae* or pendants and carrying a short foliate sceptre,

echoing royal regalia that originated in the Carolingian west, and was

perhaps ultimately rooted in part in biblical description.[1] In the four

roundels in the corners of the frame, courtiers in tunics blow horns, while

in the left-hand side roundels, dogs confront the hornblowers. Most

striking, is that, like the bishop illustrating the opening of the Book of

Jeremiah, King Solomon, who was consecrated to his reign through

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[1]Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bilder ihrer Zeit; 751-1190*, ed. Florentine Mütherich (Munich, 1983), 167-174. In particular, several images of Charles the Bald picture a lily-crown quite similar to that seen in the Solomon image, including the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, c. 860, Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, fol. 38v, the Psalter of Charles the Bald from before 869, Paris, BN lat. 1152, fol. 3v, and the equestrian statue tentatively identified as Charles the Bald, c. 870, now in the Louvre. In none of these, however, are *infulae* or dangling decorations appended to the crown. Percy Ernst Schramm, "Die Kronen des frühen Mittelalters," *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, MHG Schriften XIII/2 (Stuttgart, 1955), II, 414-415. See also the surviving lily-crown now decorating the Essen Madonna, Schramm, "Die Kronen des frühen Mittelalters," fig. 55. More contemporary with the Arras Bible, both the lily-crown and the lily-scepter appear again in the Ottonian era, in depictions of Henry II, such as in the ivory *situla* from c. 1000, now in the Cathedral at Aachen, on seals, in the Regensburg Sacramentary of Henry II, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4456, fol. 11v, and in modified form in the Pontifical from Seeon in Bamberg, Staatsbib. MS Lit. 53, fol. 2v, where there are also dangling *infulae* or *pendilia*, Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, 208-216 and Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination; an Historical Study*, 2 vols. (New York, 1991) I, 199. However, the depictions of crowns which are most similar to that seen on Solomon in the Saint-Vaast Bible are the crowns found in the Anglo-Saxon Benedictional of Aethelwold, London BL Add. MS 49598, such as those crowning the members of the choir of Virgins, fols. 1v-2. Like Solomon's crown, these crowns are simple gold bands with projecting trefoils, without the jewelled decoration found on the Carolingian and Ottonian crowns of the same shape. Once again, however, the Anglo-Saxon crowns have no *infulae* or pendants, such as those seen on Solomon's crown. The Benedictional was completed ca. 973. Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold* (Princeton, 1995), 260-261. Schramm believed that the Carolingian lily-scepter and lily-crown were both inspired by the texts of Exodus and Kings, where God requests that Moses and Solomon decorate the implements of the tabernacle and later the Temple, both of which were meant to contain the tablets of the Law, with lilies. See Exodus 25:31-34 and 37:17-20, and 3 Kings 7:19-22 and 49. Schramm, "Die Kronen des frühen Mittelalters," 412-413.

unction, is also represented surrounded by a full-body mandorla.[2] In this case it is divided into an almond shape behind the body, and a circle behind the head, an interesting inversion of the typical Christological mandorla depicted around the enthroned Christ in other Saint-Vaast manuscripts.[3]

Not surprisingly, an examination of one of the same texts that shed light on the iconography of the Jeremiah illumination can also enhance our understanding of this image of Solomon. The Norman Anonymous wrote *De consecratione pontificum et regnum* as a defence of the concept of divinely sanctioned kingship around 1100 in response to the investiture crisis.[4] Although he identified the source of power in the offices of both king and bishop as the same, resting in their initiation through sacramental anointment, he ultimately saw the king as preeminent over the bishop. While strengthening the authority of the episcopate in an effort to reinforce at the same time that of the king, he still placed the king first, as the true image of Christ. In the words of George Williams, "As the king was the recipient of the same unction in a more representative way than any of his bishops, he was both more royal and more priestly than they were."[5] He also believed that the dual nature, both human and divine, of contemporary kings had already been established in the Old Testament with the anointment of the kings of Israel, who were types of Christ reigning in eternity.[6] Therefore, both this text and the illustrative

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[2]For the coronation anointing of Solomon, see 3 Kings 1:39.

[3]See above, chapter two, note 92.

[4]On the Norman Annonymous, see above, chapter three

[5]George H. Williams, *The Norman Anonymous of ca. 1100 a.d.; Towards the identification and evaluation of the so-called Anonymous of York* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), 199. See especially MGH Ldl III:669.

[6]MGH Ldl III:666. *Nam et ideo Saul et David electi dicuntur a Deo et uncti super hereditatem dei Israel et sederunt in solio et sede regni in Hierusalem, super quod et a propheta et ab angelo sessurus esse Christus in aeternum describitur.*

cycle of the Bible may have attempted to demonstrate that the authority of contemporary kings to rule was rooted in their typological connection to Old Testament and Christological prototypes.

The Norman Anonymous did not invent this concept. The connection between Old Testament Kings, particularly David and Solomon, and contemporary kings was well established in the Carolingian period. King Louis the Pious, like earlier Carolingian kings, was addressed in panegyrics as "the New David."[7] As described in chapter three above, in the Carolingian Vivian Bible, produced at Tours in the mid-ninth century, a series of images visually parallel King Charles the Bald with King David, and also, through the similarity of facial features and compositions, with Christ himself. In fact, Christological kingship had been even more overtly portrayed in several other manuscripts. In a Carolingian copy of Rabanus Maurus's *carmen figuratum De laudibus sanctae crucis*, a nimbed, diademed Louis the Pious is shown as the Christian soldier of the Pauline Epistle to the Ephesians, followed a few folios later by an image of Christ crucified.[8] In the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, Munich, Residenz fols. 38v-39 (figs. 55 and 56), the kneeling ruler assimilates himself to Christ on the cross by humbling himself, as Christ was humbled on the Cross. In elevating the Emperor to the position of

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[7]Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: a Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), 81, quoting Amalarius of Metz, PL 105:988. See also Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, 1969), 44.

[8]Rome,Vatican Reg. MS lat. 124, fol. 4v, Robert Deshman, "*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*. Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, XXII (1988), 236-237, Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold*, 210-211 and Elizabeth Sears, "Louis the Pious as *Miles Christi*; the Dedicatory Image in Hrabanus Maurus's *De laudibus sanctae crucis*," *Charlemagne's Heir; New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* eds. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1990), 605-628 and *Rabani Mauri in honorem sanctae Crucis*, ed. Michel Perrin, CCCM C (Turnholt, 1997), plates A5 and B1. Belief in Christological kingship was also demonstrated in the Carolingian period by Smaragdus's *Via Regia*, written as a *Speculum principis* for Louis the Pious.

Christ, the image of an enthroned Otto III in the Ottonian Aachen Gospels, Aachen Cathedral Treasury, fol. 16 (fig. 48), discussed above, therefore made more specific a visual topos already invented in the Carolingian period.

The same ideas were also voiced much closer to home in a coronation *ordo* written in the Cologne Pontifical, a manuscript copied and illustrated in Arras in the middle of the eleventh century.[9] The manuscript actually contains not one, but three separate *ordines* related to royal and imperial consecrations: an *ordo ad consecrandum regem*, fols. 153-165v, an *ordo ad benedicendam reginam*, fols. 168v-171v, both of which have been recently edited and published by Richard A. Jackson as Ordo XVI,[10] and separating these two *ordines* an *ordo Romanus ad benedicendum imperatore*, edited by Reinhard Elze in 1960 as Ordo IX.[11]

Percy Schramm and Jackson agree that the Cologne *ordo* for consecrating a king was never used in France, but Jackson points out the circumstances of its compilation in the joint diocese of Arras-Cambrai, which straddled the border of the Empire and France, as a factor rendering more important this seemingly uninfluential *ordo*.[12] Nonetheless, he seems not to have been aware of Sigrid Schulten's localisation of the manuscript to the scriptorium of Saint-Vaast itself in her study of Saint-Vaast manuscripts.[13] That the Cologne Pontifical was copied at Saint-Vaast means that the *ordo* for the coronation of a king may be an

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[9]See above, chapter two.

[10]*Ordines Coronationis Franciae. Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1995), 201-216.

[11]*Ordines coronationis imperialis: Die Ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin*, MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui, IX (Hanover, 1960), 20-22.

[12]Percy Ernst Schramm "Ordines-Studien II. Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und des Franzosen," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, XV (1938), 23-24 and Jackson, 29.

[13]See above, chapter two.

invaluable piece of evidence of the way in which kingship was regarded during the episcopate of Gerard of Cambrai, because the manuscript was produced under or immediately after his reign. And indeed, this *ordo* is replete with typological imagery which justifies the king's right to rule through his similarity to Old and New Testament prototypes. In addition, as the *ordo* was compiled from two preexisting *ordines* of the late Carolingian era, once again Gerard's allegiance to older ideals of kingship that were quickly being superceded is underlined.

The *ordo* for the consecration of a king, as laid out in Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141, fols. 153-165v, has eight principal parts. First, the king enters the church, accompanied by the clergy and people in a solemn procession, ending with the singing of an antiphon. Next, the candidate for consecration is examined, and pledges his willingness to defend the Church and its clergy.[14] Then, a series of prayers led by two bishops asks for wisdom for the king and peace and prosperity in his reign. The prayer of consecration then follows. This prayer lists repeatedly the Old Testament prototypes of the contemporary king, and asks for the cooperation of the Lord in making his reign equally well-guided.

> All-powerful and ever-living God, creator and governor of heaven and earth, composer and arranger of angels and men, king of kings and Lord of lords, you who made your faithful servant Abraham triumph over enemies, who bestowed great victory to Moses and Joshua displayed before your people, who lifted up your humble boy David to the summit of the kingdom, and freed him from the mouth of the lion and the hand of the beast and Goliath but also from the spiteful sword of Saul and from all his enemies, and who deigned to reward Solomon with the ineffable gift of peace

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[14]Jackson, 205, n. 13. *Promitto vobis, sanctissimi patres, et perdono, quia unicuique de vobis et ecclesiis vobis commissis canonicum privilegium et debitam legem atque iustitiam servabo et defensionem quantum potuero, adiuvante Domino, exhibebo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo et ecclesiae sibi commissae per rectum exhibere debet.*

and wisdom, consider favourably the prayers of our humility
and upon this your servant, whom we have chosen for the
kingship in suppliant devotion, give greatly of your blessings,
and surround him always with the right hand of your power,
just like the aforesaid Abraham strengthened in faith, Moses
supported in gentleness, Joshua defended with strength,
David exalted in humility, distinguished with the wisdom of
Solomon, may he please you in everything, and may he
always walk through the footpath of justice in uninterrupted
course, and may he always in his reign so nourish and
inform the Church in order with all the people connected to
it... Besides the virtues with which you have adorned your
above-mentioned faithful, enhance with the blessing of
many honours and invest in the ruler of the higher reign,
and anoint him with the oil of the grace of the Holy Spirit.[15]

The king is then to be anointed with oil while the clerics sing the

antiphon "Zadoch the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed Solomon

king in Gihon, and those approaching rejoiced and said: may the king live

in eternity."[16]

The consecration prayer then continues:

Whence you anointed priests, kings and prophets and
martyrs, who conquered kingdoms through faith and were
occupied with justice and attained promises. Let this most
holy unction flow over his head and descend into his interior
and penetrate the inmost of this heart, and with the promises

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[15]Jackson, 206-207. *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, creator ac gubernator caeli et terrae, conditor et dispositor angelorum et hominum, rex regum et dominus dominorum, qui Abraham fidelem famulum tuum de hostibus triumphare fecisti, Moysi et Iosue tuo populo praelatis multiplicem victoriam tribuisti, humilem quoque puerum tuum David regni fastigio sublimasti, eumque de ore leonis et de manu bestiae atque Goliae sed et de gladio maligno Saul et omnium inimicorum eius liberasti, et Salemonem sapientiae pacisque ineffabili munere ditasti, respice propitius ad preces nostrae humilitatis, et super hunc famulum tuum, quem supplici devotione in regnum pariter eligimus, benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eumque dextera tuae potentiae semper ubique circumda, quatinus praedicti Abrahae fidelitate firmatus, Moysi mansuetudine fretus, Iosue fortitudine munitus, David humilitate exaltatus, sapientia Salomonis decoratus, tibi in omnibus complaceat et per tramitem iustitiae inoffenso gressu semper incedat, et totius regni ecclesiam deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis ita enutriat ac doceat... Virtutibus necnon quibus praefatos fideles tuos decorasti, multiplici honoris benedictione condecora et in regimine regni sublimiter colloca, et oleo gratiae Spiritus sancti perunge,*

[16]Jackson, 207. *Unxerunt Salomonem Sadoch sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem in Gion, et accedentes laeti dixerunt, "Vivat rex in aeternum,"*

that the most victorious kings attained, let him be made
worthy of your grace, and just as also in the present time he
may reign happily, let him succeed to the society of them in
the reign of heaven, through our Lord your son Jesus Christ,
who was anointed with the oil of joy before his colleagues
and subdued the brazen powers with the power of the cross,
destroyed the infernal regions and conquered the kingdom of
the devil and ascended a victor into heaven, in whose hands
victory, all glory and power rests, and who lives with you
God and reigns in unity with the Holy Spirit, through all the
ages.[17]

The prayer after the unction continues in the same vein, picking

out in particular the Old Testament leaders of the Israelites as prototypes

for the present-day ruler. "You ordained your servant Aaron as priest

through the unction of oil, and afterwards, through infusion of this

unguent you made priests, kings and prophets to rule your people Israel,

and the appearance of the Church you predicted in oil rejoicing through

the prophetic voice of your servant David..."[18] A second prayer adds yet

another comparison to Christ. "God, son of God Jesus Christ our Lord,

who was anointed with the oil of exaltation by his father before his

colleagues, let him pour the same blessing, by means of the immediate

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[17]Jackson, 207. *Unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges et prophetas ac martyres, qui per fidem vicerunt regna et operati sunt iustitiam atque adepti sunt promissiones. Cuius sacratissima unctio super caput eius defluat atque ad interiora descendat et cordis illius intima penitret, et promissionibus quas adepti sunt victoriosissimi reges, gratia tua dignus efficiatur, quatinus et in praesenti seculo feliciter regnet et ad eorum consortium in caelesti regno perveniat, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui unctus est oleo laetitiae prae consortibus suis et virtute crucis potestates aereas debellavit, tartara destruxit regnumque diaboli superavit et ad caelos victor ascendit, in cuius manu victoria, omnis gloria et potestas consistunt, et tecum vivit et regnat Deus in unitate eiusdem Spiritus sancti. Per omnia secula.*

[18]Jackson, 208. *...Aaron famulum tuum per unctionem olei sacerdotem sanxisti, et postea per huius unguenti infusionem ad regendum populum tuum Israheliticum sacerdotes, reges ac prophetas perfecisti, vultumque ecclesiae in oleo exhilarandum per propheticam famuli tui vocem David esse praedixisti...*

infusion of the holy unguent of the paraclytic spirit, upon your head and cause it to penetrate into the interior of your heart."[19]

The ceremony then continues with the investment of the king with the royal regalia, the ring, sword, crown, sceptre and staff, each of which is accompanied by a prayer for the Christian qualities of rulership, and the continued protection of the Church. The prayer over the conferring of the sword includes a justification for the participation of bishops. "Accept this sword through the hands of the bishops, although unworthy, [they are] however also consecrated by the authority of the holy Apostles, [it is] imposed upon you magnificently in the office of our benediction, divinely ordained in defence of the holy Church of God..."[20]

After the royal regalia are conferred, the king is blessed, and a series of ten petitions are made. The king is then led to the throne, and sits in it, accompanied by a further series of prayers. Finally, after a kiss of peace, the mass is said, with the king participating as the bearer of the bread and wine in the offertory.

The text of the *ordo* makes a number of important points. First, the examination of the candidate sets out the relationship between the royal office and the Church, by making one of the king's principal duties the defence of the Church and its clergy. Next, in the prayer before the consecration, justification for the rule of the contemporary king is placed in the context of his Old Testament predecessors, Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon. God is asked to grant the king the same virtues and

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[19]Jackson, 208. *Deus, Dei filius, Iesus Christus dominus noster, qui a Patre oleo exultationis unctus est prae participibus suis, ipse per praesentem sacri unguinis infusionem Spiritus paraclyti super caput tuum infundat benedictionem eandemque usque ad interiora cordis tui penitrare faciat...*

[20]Jackson, 209. *Accipe gladium per manus episcoporum, licet indignas, vice tamen et auctoritate sanctorum apostolorum consecratas, tibi regaliter impositum nostraeque benedictionis officio, in defensionem sanctae Dei ecclesiae divinitatus ordinatum...*

blessings that are ascribed to these prototypical rulers. Next, the antiphon accompanying the act of anointing itself makes a clear parallel between the king as the type of Solomon, and the bishops as the types of the Old Testament priest Zadoc and prophet Nathan.

The *ordo* then amplifies the biblical typology by suggesting the similarity of royal unction to that received by Christ at his Baptism. These parallels between both Old and New Testament recipients of unction are repeated and elaborated in the prayers after consecration, when Aaron and the religious and secular leaders of Israel are mentioned again, and finally, God is asked to infuse the king with the Holy Spirit through unction just as he did to Christ during Christ's baptismal unction. Finally, the role of the bishops participating in the ceremony is justified by the mention of their institution through the Apostles.

It is hardly surprising that so many of the beliefs expressed in this ceremonial *ordo*, composed in the circle of Gerard of Cambrai in the middle of the eleventh century, recall those of the other writings associated with his episcopate, the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* and the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*. As in those two works, the *ordo* emphasizes strongly the Old Testament origin of contemporary institutions, in this case kingship and anointing. As in the *Acts'* defence of the office of bishop, the recipient of anointing is made a type of Christ, justifying his right to rule, and the contemporary ceremonial anointing is compared to both the anointings of the Old Testament and the Baptism of Christ. Again, as in the chronicle's discussions of the Peace of God, the

obligation of the king to support the Church just as the Church supports the king is a key tenet of the ceremony.[21]

Several aspects of the *ordo* may give clues to the intended meaning of the Saint-Vaast Bible's illustration for the Book of Wisdom (fig. 13). Of greatest relevance to the consideration of the illustration of Wisdom is the climax of the consecration ceremony, the anointing of the king with sacred oil. This is accompanied by an antiphon which compares the contemporary king to Solomon, who was anointed king by Zadoch and Nathan at the instruction of his father David. This prayer explains the choice in the Saint-Vaast Bible of the Old Testament King Solomon as the embodiment of kingly virtues. Furthermore, Solomon is shown with the regalia of the Carolingian kings, the lily-crown and foliate sceptre.[22] This reference to the attributes of the historical French kings in the image of one of their biblical prototypes may have been intended to emphasize the typological connections between French and biblical kingship. Immediately following the antiphon, a prayer describes the unction of Christ, making types of Christ not only the unknown Capetian king for

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[21]Interestingly, the *ordo* for imperial blessing in the same manuscript does not make some of the same parallels. According to the text of the *ordo* published by Elze, 22, section 8, anointment does not take place on the head, but rather on the wrists and between the shoulders: *Hic ungat ei de oleo sanco compagem brachii dextri et inter scapulas.* The prayer before consecration does include references to the Old Testament predecessors of the emperor, Elze, 21, section 4: *Deus inenarrabilis auctor mundi, conditor generis humani, gubernator imperii, confirmator regni, qui ex utero fidelis amici tui patriarchae nostri Abrahae praeelegisti reges saeculi profuturos...Visita eum sicut Moysen in rubo, Iesu Nave in proelio, Gedeon in agro, Samuelem in templo, at illa eum benedictione siderea ac sapientiae tuae rore perfunde, quam beatus David in psalterio, Salomon filius eius te remunerante percepit e caelo...* Also, the prayer after unction makes reference to priests, kings and prophets, as in the royal *ordo.* Yet no mention is made of the baptismal anointing of Christ, therefore, no Christological typology is constructed. Michel Andrieu does note, however, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen age,* Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense; études et documents, fasc. 11, 23-24, 28-29, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931-1961), IV, 477, that the words for consecration directly preceding anointment are borrowed from the traditional rite for the consecration of a bishop.

[22]See above, note 1.

whom this *ordo* was designed, but also Solomon, as is depicted through the use of the Christological mandorla surrounding the enthroned Solomon in the Wisdom image.

The biblical typology of royal consecration was obviously not invented by the composer of the royal *ordo* in Cologne MS 141, who compiled the *ordo ad consecrandum regem* from at least two other older *ordines* that were available in Northern France: the English-influenced late tenth-century Ratold *ordo,* and the Romano-Germanic Mainz *ordo* of ca. 950.[23] Already in the Carolingian period, anointing may have implied parallels between Old Testament and Carolingian kings and contemporary and Levite priests.[24] Similarities between royal and episcopal consecration, with their references to the Christological nature of both offices, were also not innovations of eleventh-century northern France. The anointing of Charles the Bald in 848, Janet Nelson speculates, may have been inspired by the increasing popularity of anointing bishops on the head in that period. The coronation oath demanding that the king support the people and their church, an oath based on that made by

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[23]Jackson, 29 and 201. Although its earliest origins are contested, it is clear that by the era of the Carolingians, anointing was an accepted part of royal ceremonial in Frankish lands. Competing theories for the Carolingian practice of anointing kings ascribe the origins to Ireland, Visigothic Spain, or simply the contemporary anointment during baptism. For a summary of this debate, see Arnold Angenendt, "*Rex et Sacerdox.* Zur Genese der Königssalbung," in *Tradition als historische Kraft,* ed. N. Kamp and J. Wollasch (Berlin, 1982), 100-118. Also, more recently, Michael J. Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin, 1985), and Robert-Henri Bautier, "Sacres et couronnements sous les Carolingiens et les premiers Capétiens: Recherches sur la genèse du sacre royal français," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France,* 1987 (1989), 10-11. Pippin the Short was anointed at least twice, first in 751 and again in 754, and Charles the Bald was anointed in 848. See Bautier, 8-9, 11-13 and 34, for documentary evidence for the anointings of Pippin and Charles the Bald. Janet L. Nelson believes that regular anointing of Anglo-Saxon kings probably began as early as 787, and was a part of the ceremonial inauguration in all the main kingdoms by the mid-tenth century. See "Inauguration rituals," in *Early Medieval Kingship,* ed. P. H. Sawyer and Ian N. Wood (Leeds, 1977), 52-54.

[24]Nelson "Inauguration rituals," 58.

candidates for the office of bishop before their anointing, was also introduced in this era.[25] This is also when Frankish bishops took over from the pope in consecrating kings to rule, and therefore gained spiritual jurisdiction over this office.[26] The tradition of royal unction and the biblical typology it implied, along with the prominent role of bishops, was therefore well established as part of the inaugural ceremony of a monarch in France by the time the Capetian dynasty succeeded the Carolingian at the end of the tenth century, beginning with the consecration of Hugh Capet by Archbishop Adalberon of Reims in 987 and Hugh's association of his son, Robert II, to the throne through unction in Orléans later that year.[27]

The Saint-Vaast Bible may be the first Capetian manuscript to express the idea of Christological kingship, but this model of government was a common topos in contemporary Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon art. The Aachen Gospels portrait of Otto III (fig. 48), with its Maiestas composition and enclosure of Otto within a Christological mandorla, was the most explicit visualization of this philosophy, but it did not stand alone. In the c. 1000 Warmund Sacramentary, Ivrea Bibl. Capitolare MS LXXXVI, fol. 2 (fig. 57), the depiction of the consecration unction of the emperor is visually assimilated to that of the Baptism of Christ through the appearance in both images of the motif of the double-ampulla of

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[25]On ninth-century episcopal anointings, see also Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, IV, 40-43. Nelson, "Inauguration rituals," 61-62, and idem, "Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought of Hincmar of Reims," *English Historical Review*, XCII (1977), 258-260. On the implications of the oath and of the mediation of bishops, see idem, "National Synods, Kingship as Office, and Royal Anointing,"*Studies in Church History*, VII (1971), 41-59, reprinted in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 239-258.
[26]Nelson "Kingship, law and liturgy," 245-250.
[27]Bautier, 52.

chrism, expressing a political theology current among the Ottonian ecclesiastical and secular hierarchy.[28]

The idea of Christ-centred ecclesiastical and secular rulership was also current in Anglo-Saxon England, and was expressed in art.[29] The composition of a ruler portrait found in the New Minster charter illustrated at Winchester, London BL Cotton Vespasian MS A.VIII, fol. 2b (fig. 58), shows King Edgar in the act of offering the New Minster charter itself to Christ, who is enthroned above in a mandorla carried by angels. The ruler below is flanked by Mary and Peter in imitation of a Deesis composition, perhaps intended to assimilate Edgar to Christ in a manner quite reminiscent of the ruler image in the Aachen Gospels.[30] In addition, King Edgar and the bishops pictured with him in the Christ Church Canterbury *Regularis Concordia*, Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester and Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury, jointly rule the worldly and spiritual kingdoms because both the offices of king and bishop derive from Christ, their model (fig. 59).[31] The Arras Bible's illustrative programme shows

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[28]Robert Deshman, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary: A Study in Political Theology," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIV (1971), 1-20. In addition, this program may also have encompassed the image of the consecration of a bishop, which is very similar compositionally to that of the consecration of the emperor. Roger E. Reynolds, "Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art," *Gesta*, XXII (1983), 30-31, expands this interpretation, suggesting that the scene may depict the consecration of the "summmum pontificem," the pope.

[29]Deshman, "*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*," 228-231 and Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold*, 210.

[30]Deshman, "*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*," 224.

[31]London, BL Cotton Tiberius MS A.III, fol. 2v, c. mid 11th century, may copy an earlier model. Deshman, "*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*," 210. Further, the abbot also became a type of Christ in Anglo-Saxon imagery, based on the ninth-century commentary on the Benedictine Rule by Abbot Smaragdus of St. Mihiel. For example, in the Arundel Psalter, London BL Arundel MS 155, illustrated at Christ Church Canterbury between 1012 and 1023, and the *Regularis Concordia* manuscript, Benedict is depicted wearing the Crown of Life, also worn by Christ in contemporary Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Deshman, "*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*," 211-218. On the crowned Christ, see also idem, "*Christus Rex et magi reges*: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, X (1976), 367-405. Just one of many Anglo-Saxon examples of Christ wearing a diadem is found in the Boulogne Gospels, Boulogne BM MS 11, fol. 10,

that the same political theology existed in contemporary Capetian France, and was applied visually to its rulers.

Unlike the images in the Anglo-Saxon *Regularis Concordia* manuscript, or in the Ottonian Aachen Gospels, in the Arras Bible particular rulers and bishops are not represented. Instead, the illuminator applied Christological attributes and office-specific regalia to Old Testament figures who could stand as ciphers for unnamed leaders. This allowed the programmer to avoid the potentially divisive effects of demonstrating explicitly the loyalties of the abbey or patron. By showing the Christological nature of the two offices of bishop and king, he was nonetheless able to express a coherent political philosophy, in keeping with those seen in the earlier Carolingian period and in the contemporary Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon worlds.

Why would the concept of Christocentric kingship, so firmly established under the Carolingians, Ottonians, and Anglo-Saxons, have appealed to Gerard of Cambrai? It may be that, faced with the spectre of a declining Capetian kingship, which threatened not only the institution of royal power but also that of the king's allies, the bishops, Gerard and his supporters were attracted to the idea of Christocentric kingship as a defence of the traditional authority of both kings and bishops. The programme of illustrations in the Bible answers the threat Gerard felt both institutions faced at the hands of those reform movements, such as Cluniac monasticism, that advocated exemption from local ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the growth of a feudal system of government based on contract and mutual obligation, rather than divine right.

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illustrated by an English artist visiting the monastery of St. Bertin in St. Omer in the late tenth century. See *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066*, ed. Janet Backhouse, D. H. Turner, and Leslie Webster (London, 1984), 60-65.

The perception that royal power had been weakened emerges from an examination of the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*. The bishops of Soissons and Beauvais suggested the Peace of God as a possible remedy for the disorder plaguing a region where the king was too powerless to prevent war and plunder among his own subjects. When Gerard protested against the Peace of God and its infringement on royal authority and the prerogatives of the royal office, he attributed the bishops' initiative to the *inbecillitate regis peccantis quidem exigentibus statum regni funditus inclinari, jura confundi, usumque patrium et omne genus justitiae profanari*.[32] One classic explanation for this weakness may be found in the growth of feudalism in Northern France. Feudal government was, according to a strict definition based on legalities, the organized exchange of vassalage and benefice, meaning the obligation of service given to the lord was exchanged with the lord's material support of the vassal.[33] Feudalism as it was known in the Capetian realm had its origins in the Carolingian period. In fact, the spread of vassalage and sub-vassalage under the Carolingians has been interpreted as contributing to the undermining of royal authority under the later Carolingians and the Capetians.[34] Territorial lords had become so powerful, and the loyalty and number of their own vassals so great, that their commitment to the king became irrelevant. In Ganshof's words, "Among the aristocracy, the class from which the agents of royal power were drawn, the spread of vassal engagements, created by what was in form a mutual contract, contributed

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[32]PL 149:157.

[33]For an introduction to feudalism in the Medieval west, see the two classic studies, one by Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society* (London, 1961), a translation of *La societé féodale* of 1940, and the other by François Louis Ganshof, *Feudalism* (New York, 1964). More recently, Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900-1200* (New York, 1991), provides an updated survey. The terminology I use here is derived from Ganshof.

[34]Ganshof, 56.

to the extension of the idea that royal power itself was only conditional."[35] Although by the time of Robert II, regional lords were still nominally his vassals, in reality Robert held very little power over them. The weakness of the early Capetian kings must have been one of the primary motivations behind Gerard's empowering depiction of their office.[36]

At the same time that the ideal of divinely appointed kingship was being undermined by the growth of feudalism and the power of territorial lords, the traditional authority of the episcopate was also being questioned by proponents of reformed monasticism, of which the best known example is the Cluniac reform.

George Duby portrayed the increasing power of the Cluniacs as the principal threat faced by North French bishops of the early eleventh century.[37] In fact, Duby likens Gerard's textual defence of the offices of bishop and king to that of his cousin, Bishop Adalbero of Laon.[38] Like Gerard, Adalbero was an advisor to Robert the Pious, and in an elaborate and esoteric poem, the *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem*, composed between 1027 and 1031,[39] Adalbero mocks the Cluniacs as lay people greedy of power, who desired only to displace the bishops as advisors of the king.[40]

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[35]Ganshof, 57.

[36]For the process through which territorial princes coopted previously royal attributes, see Georges Duby, "L'image du prince en France au début du XIe siècle," *Cahiers d'histoire*, XVII (1972), 211-216.

[37]Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980), 44-55 and 139-144.

[38]Duby, *The Three Orders*, 44ff. On Adalbero of Laon, see Robert T. Coolidge, "Adalbero, Bishop of Laon," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, II (1965), 1-114, especially chapter 5, "Adalbero and Robert the Pious, 1000-1031," 66-93, where Coolidge assesses Adalbero's interaction with the Cluniacs.

[39]The *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem* is available in PL 141. It has also recently been studied and edited by Claude Carozzi in Adalbéron de Laon, *Poème au roi Robert*, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, XXXII (Paris, 1979). Carozzi proposes that the poem was begun after the consecration of Henry, son of Robert, in 1027, and was left unfinished at Adalbero's death before the middle of 1031 (Carozzi, cxvi-cxvii).

[40]Coolidge, 73.

Cluny advocated the exemption of their monasteries from the jurisdiction of the local bishop.[41] Although it does not appear that the Cluniac reform made any significant inroads into monasteries in either the diocese of Gerard of Cambrai or of Adalbero of Laon under their respective episcopates, both bishops no doubt felt threatened by the philosophy behind this movement, and by the increasingly important role in advising King Robert played by Odilo of Cluny, who was present along with Adalbero of Laon at the consecration of Robert's son Henry to the throne in 1027.[42]

Adalbero also addresses another contemporary issue in his *Carmen*, namely the attributes, or better, qualifications for rule, of King Robert. He uses two terms to describe the two natures of a good ruler: *imago iuventutis*, which is the powerful, proactive, and warlike aspect of the ruler to which the first part of the poem is addressed, and *sapientia*, the gift of God which makes him govern wisely, the aspect which Adalbero addresses in the second part of the poem.[43] Adalbero outlines the heavenly origin of this wisdom, saying:

> *Munera concessit Pius omnibus his meliora*
> *Dans intellectum quae sit sapientia vera,*
> *Per quem scire potes quae sunt caelestia semper.*[44]

Adalbero therefore reinforces in his poem the characteristic of kingship which we have already encountered in the Cologne *ordo*, where *sapientia* is mentioned as one of the kingly attributes of Solomon, given by God.[45]

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[41]See above, chapter two.
[42]Coolidge, 78 and Carozzi, cxvi.
[43]Carozzi, cxxvi-cxxx and Duby, 1978, 45-47.
[44]*Carmen*, v. 190-192 in Carozzi, 14-15.
[45]Jackson, 206-207. *...et Salemonem sapientiae pacisque ineffabili munere ditasti...sapientia Salomonis decoratus*

Another image from the Arras Bible pictures the king's unique

God-given wisdom, while at the same time depicting the Capetian practice

of pre-death association of the heir, a practice which implied that kingship

was a divinely granted office, rather than one intended to be forged by

contract between the ruler and the ruled. Hugh Capet, the first Capetian

king, was anointed by Adalberon of Reims in 987. That same year, Hugh

associated his son, Robert the Pious, to the throne through consecration

and coronation.[46] The custom of formally associating the son and heir to

the father's throne before his death was meant to assure unchallenged

succession within the family.[47] Not only was Robert the Pious associated

to his father's reign, but Robert himself associated his son Hugh in 1017,

and after Hugh's premature death, associated his younger son Henry in

1027.[48]

III Kings: The Wisdom of David and Solomon

In the two-tiered miniature prefacing the third Book of Kings, vol.

3, fol. 128v (fig. 5), two Old Testament kings are depicted receiving the

quality of wisdom. In the top register, an aged King David reclines on a

curtain-draped, lion-footed bed. At his feet stands his son and successor,

Solomon, who holds a foliate sceptre of office, and is accompanied by a

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[46]Bautier, 52, and idem, "L'avènement de Hugues Capet et le sacre de Robert le Pieux," *Colloque Hugues Capet, 987-1987, La France de l'an mil (1987) Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil*, ed. Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 1992), 27-37.

[47]Andrew W. Lewis, "Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France," *American Historical Review*, LXXXIII (1978), 906-927, challenges the popularly held view that anticipatory association was exclusively a mechanism of weak kings bent on shoring up questionable dynasties. He argues instead that the practice reflects a trend common to the higher levels of noble society at that time. While he grants that Hugh Capet's association of his son Robert in 987 was clearly an effort to continue a dynasty still seen by some as usurpers, by the time Robert associated his two sons, the Capetian kingship was already considered hereditary (Lewis, 908-909).

[48]See above, notes 46-47.

sword bearer. A woman stands behind the bed. According to the inscription above the frame, *Hic David calefit ab adolescentula et salomon ante eum que monet ut confortetur in mandatis et in .... viis domini,* this scene represents two moments. One is taken from the first chapter of the III Kings, where David's advisors, realizing that their elderly king was no longer able to warm himself, introduced to him a Shunammite maiden, Abishag, who could warm him.[49] The presence of Solomon was inspired by a later moment in the next chapter, where David called to his son after he had been anointed as his heir, and admonished that he be strengthened in the commandments of God.[50] ·

Although the depiction of David introduced to, or warmed by Abishag was to become very popular in the Giant Bibles of the later Romanesque period, there are no known examples of this scene earlier than the Arras Bible.[51] Images of David's last charge to Solomon are, however, more common. Depictions of this scene survive primarily from two different contexts: art of the Byzantine east and early medieval Spain. The Spanish versions of David's charge to Solomon differ from that in the Arras Bible, in that they show David enthroned and crowned instead of bedridden and crownless.[52] A Byzantine manuscript of the Book of Kings,

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[49]III Kings 1:1-4.

[50]III Kings 2:1-9.

[51]The only similar earlier image might be the depiction of a bedridden, elderly David visited by Bathsheba in the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus, Paris BN MS gr. 923, fol. 323, where Bathsheba is shown standing behind David's bed. In this image, however, both figures are markedly argumentative in gesture. The content of the scene is clearly different. For the *Sacra Parallela* see Kurt Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus graecus 923* (Princeton, 1979).

[52]In the Spanish examples, a crownless Solomon approaches the seated David from the right with both hands outstretched. See the León Bible of 960, San Isidoro MS 2, fol. 142v, and León, San Isidoro MS 3, vol. I, fol. 142, a twelfth-century Bible which is thought to copy the model of the earlier Bible. On the León Bible of 960, John Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (New York, 1977), 55-61. On the relationship between the various Bibles, also idem, "A Castilian Tradition of Bible Illustration: The

Vatican gr. 333, fol. 72v, in contrast, includes a column illustration of

David, crowned and sitting up in bed, instructing an already crowned

Solomon who sits at the end of the bed.[53] A fan bearer stands behind the

bed. This composition is closer to that found in the Arras Bible than any

of the Spanish examples. Furthermore, in the thirteenth-century Arsenal

Old Testament, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 5211, fol. 183v (fig. 60),

one finds a full-page miniature comprising six scenes from the beginning

of the Book of Kings that may reflect column illustrations found in

Byzantine books.[54] Here, in the upper left hand corner, David is shown in

bed, while a young girl approaches from the right, and is introduced by

two advisors. Following is a series of scenes including Bathsheba's

petition to David and Solomon anointed by Nathan and Zadoc, and in the

lower left hand corner, a crowned Solomon flanked by an advisor

approaching a crowned David on his deathbed. The Saint-Vaast artist

seems to have combined two such images to create the top register of the

Arras Bible III Kings illustration. The Arsenal Old Testament scenes are

not like those in the Arras Bible in every detail. For instance, in the Arras

Bible Solomon stands at the end of the bed instead of behind it, and carries

a sceptre instead of wearing a crown, and David is shown without a crown.

Nonetheless, the cycle in the Arsenal Old Testament furnishes evidence

suggesting that images of both moments showing David in bed with the

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Romanesque Bible from San Millán," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXVIII (1965), 66-85.

[53]Jean Lassus, *L'illustration byzantine du livre des Rois, Vaticanus Graecus 333,* Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, IX (Paris, 1973), 79, fig. 98.

[54]Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), 54-61, and Daniel Weiss, "Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art," *MLN,* CVIII (1993) 710-737. Weiss sees the images of David and Solomon in the Arsenal Old Testament as part of a program to make these two Old Testament kings "Biblical *exempla*" for Louis IX during his conquest of the Holy Land. In this way, the intention behind the program is similar to that in the Arras Bible III Kings image.

other protagonists standing, approaching from the right, may have been available to the Arras Bible illustrator, presumably in an eastern manuscript of the Book of Kings. In addition, if such a model were available, the ways in which the Saint-Vaast artist adjusted the images in the model to fit them into their new context in the Arras Bible answered a new intention behind their inclusion.

Peter Brieger, in his article "Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform," cited this miniature as one of the most meaningful in the manuscript.[55] He believed that the two-register image, along with the miniature prefacing the Book of Esther, demonstrates "God's ordinance of Kingship and the Church," by picturing royal succession and its divine origin. Despite the inscription identifying the woman in the top scene as Abishag, however, Brieger felt that she was more likely meant to be interpreted as Bathsheba, pleading for the succession of her son, Solomon.[56] Even though Brieger was clearly wrong in this respect, his overall argument is correct and is actually reinforced by the inclusion of Abishag.

In the Arras Bible image, Solomon is shown as already having been elevated to kingship, for he carries a sceptre, which according to contemporary custom was given as part of the consecration ceremony. Solomon is advised by his still-living father to rule with the guidance of God, in whose power he would be strengthened, just as eleventh-century divinely appointed monarchs were strengthened through God's sanction of their rule. The scene also emphasizes the most important characteristic of the divinely sanctioned ruler in early-eleventh century belief, wisdom,

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[55]*Studies in Church History*, II (1965), 154-164.
[56]Brieger, 156.

using the person of Abishag, the Shunammite maiden. Angelom of

Luxeuil, a Carolingian commentator, builds on an idea first expressed by

Jerome by interpreting Abishag in this way: "Who is this Shunammite

wife and virgin, so hot that she could warm the cold man, and yet so holy

that she would not provoke excitement and passion, except Sapientia?"[57]

The votive crown hanging over Abishag reinforces the divine quality

ascribed to Sapientia in this context, as pendant votive crowns in this

period were used almost exclusively to indicate the presence of the holy.[58]

The scene in the lower register reinforces this interpretation. An

inscription sketched over two dark bands between the two scenes describes

the content of the lower half of the miniature: *Post mortem David*

apparuit dominus salomoni per somnium dicens, postula quod vis ut

dem tibi. Once again, a ruler, identified by the inscription as Solomon,

reclines on the bed. At his feet, under an arched doorway, stands a host of

six guards, while above his head dangles another votive crown. From a

multicoloured glory above appear a Christ-logos carrying a cross-staff and

two angels. According to the inscription, this scene represents Solomon's

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[57]PL 115:393. *Quae est igitur ista Sunamitis uxor et virgo, tam fervens, ut frigidum calefaceret, et tam sancta ut calentem ad libidinem non provocaret, nisi sapientia ...*
[58]The dangling votive crown was a very popular motif in this time, and appears repeatedly, especially in Ottonian manuscript art. See, for example, the Gospel book of Saint Bernward of Hildesheim, Cathedral Treasury MS 18, fol. 17, where votive crowns dangle from the arches of an arcade over the enthroned Virgin and two flanking angels, and fol. 111, where one is found hanging over the altar in the temple at the Annunciation to Zacharias (Marlis Stähli, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz zu Hildesheim*, Mittelalterliche Handschriften in Niedersachsen, VII [Wiesbaden, 1984], 17-50). In the Aachen Gospels of Otto III, Aachen Cathedral Treasury, fol. 129v, three votive crowns hang over a scene of the Presentation in the Temple, and also appear in several other miniatures (Ernst Grimme, *Das Evangeliar Kaiser Ottos III im Domschatz zu Aachen* [Freiburg, 1984], 62). The Carolingian Drogo Sacramentary includes a votive crown suspended over the altar in an historiated initial for *Te Igitur*, Paris, BN MS lat. 9428, fol.15v, and in numerous other liturgical scenes (Florentine Mütherich and Joachim Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* [New York, 1976], fig. 28). Votive crowns were also used in Anglo-Saxon art, for instance in the c. 1025-1050 Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, Rouen, BM MS Y 7 (369), fol. 54v, scene of the Death of the Virgin (*The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, 60, and Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold*, 267-268).

dream after the death of his father, where the Lord appeared to him and asked him what he desired.[59] This scene seems to be unknown in earlier art, although it does appear in two early eleventh-century Spanish Bibles.[60] In the Roda Bible, only a winged angel carrying a sceptre visits Solomon. In the Ripoll Bible by contrast, a full-length Christ-logos seated in a mandorla held by angels hovers over Solomon's bed, while two spear-holding attendants stand at the end.[61]

Biblical commentators discussing this moment emphasized that the most important desire of Solomon, and his greatest gift from God, was that of divine wisdom. According to the III Kings 3:11-12, God answered Solomon's request for an understanding heart, "Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life or riches, nor the lives of thy enemies, but hast asked for thyself wisdom to discern judgement, behold, I have done for thee according to thy words, and have given thee a wise and understanding heart." The commentator Claudius of Turin, writing in the mid-ninth century, refined this, saying, "And so Solomon went up to Gibeon, and there he made a burnt offering to the Lord, where the Lord appeared to him during the night, and listened to his plea, which he demanded, and gave to him wisdom and knowledge...After having

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[59]III Kings 3:5-12.

[60]The Roda Bible, Paris BN MS lat. 6, vol. 11, fol. 75 and the Ripoll Bible Rome, Vatican MS lat. 5729, fol. 95, see Wilhelm Neuß, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn, 1922), 77-79. The Roda Bible's version of this scene is actually found not before III Kings, but rather before II Chronicles. A later similar scene might be the depiction of the Solomonic bed found in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsberg. Here, Solomon, as a type of Christ, was shown asleep in a bed which was identified in an inscription as the Church, the typological womb of Christ's mother, Mary. Behind him are a crowd of quards. Although superficially similar to the Saint-Vaast illustration, this image is missing the visionary appartition which would identify it as the same scene. See Herrad of Landsberg, *Hortus Deliciarum* (New Rochelle, 1977), pl. LIII.

[61]This actually illustrates a different moment than that described in the Arras Bible inscription, for it shows God's second appearance to Solomon in III Kings 9, after the construction of the Temple, which is picture before the dream in the Ripoll Bible miniature.

received this wisdom from heaven, soon it is tried because of the judgement of base women."[62]

The Arras image, therefore, in both the upper and lower registers depicts Old Testament kings, the prototypes of the contemporary eleventh century kings, receiving the essential trait which set them apart from lesser nobles and justified their authority: God-given wisdom.

In several ways, the underlying meaning of this illumination recalls that found in the Arsenal Old Testament. As a product of the thirteenth-century crusader kingdom, the Arsenal programme itself had a mission. Daniel Weiss argues that by including three portraits of Solomon in the Arsenal manuscript's Book of Proverbs, all seated beneath a temple-like baldachin strongly reminiscent of Louis IX's baldachin over the Grande Chasse in the Sainte-Chapelle, the artist compares Solomon to King Louis. Visual parallels between depictions of Louis and Solomon in the stained glass programme of Sainte-Chapelle continue this typology.[63] Like the Arras Bible, other Old Testament miniature pages in the Arsenal manuscript also show the divine institution of rulership by prefacing a series of scenes with an image of God appearing to the protagonist.[64] Furthermore, according to Weiss, the III Kings frontispiece in the Arsenal Old Testament is meant to depict the orderly transition of rule between David and his heir, Solomon, by including scenes of David's instruction to anoint Solomon, the anointing itself, and David's final charge to Solomon. This he feels was an appropriate programme because David and

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[62]PL 50:1103. *Abiit itaque Salomon in Gabaon, et immolavit ibi holocaustum Domini, ubi apparuit ei Dominus per noctem, et exaudivit deprecationem quam postulavit, deditque ei sapientiam et scientiam,...Post acceptam autem divinitus sapientiam, mox turpium mulierum de causa judicio tentatur.*

[63]Daniel Weiss, "The Three Solomon Portraits in the Arsenal Old Testament and the Construction of Meaning in Crusader Painting," *Arte medievale*, Ser. II, VI/2 (1992), 15–38.

[64]Weiss, "The Three Solomon Portraits," 21.

Solomon were understood as royal *exempla*. In addition, like the Saint-Vaast Bible, the Arsenal miniature depicts the practice of anticipatory association, where the chosen heir is crowned before the death of the reigning king.[65]

Differences in detail in the Saint-Vaast image, however, give it a subtly different meaning from that implied in the Arsenal manuscript's programme. Specifically, by combining the introduction of Abishag as a personification of holy wisdom with David's final charge to Solomon, the artist has emphasized that Solomon's, and by extension the contemporary ruler's, real qualification for just rulership is the possession and exercise of God-given wisdom. In adding to the top register's scenes the dream imagery of the bottom register, where Solomon asks the apparition of God for wisdom, this intention of the programme is further underlined. In the context of the rest of the Arras Bible's programme, where the Christ-like nature of rulership is alluded to, this miniature's admonitory message is clear.

What is striking, however, is the remarkable continuity in the use of imagery of David and Solomon as prototypes of contemporary kings. Well established in the Carolingian period with the Vivian Bible illuminations of David and King Charles the Bald, and rejuvenated in the early Capetian illustrative programme of the Arras Bible, the use of David and Solomon as *exempla* persists into the later Capetian era, where artists, still using the same pictorial and exegetical sources available to the earlier generations of artists, inventively combined and altered these programmes to create messages directed at specific rulers and contexts.

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[65]Weiss, "Biblical History and Medieval Historiography," 731.

Furthermore, this series of images of Solomon does not end with the miniature prefacing III Kings. Instead, Solomon appears yet again, and in a second depiction of the same moment shown in the bottom register of the Kings image.

II Chronicles and Solomon's Dream at Gibeon

The first Book of Chronicles, fol. 158 of volume one, is prefaced only with a full-page decorated initial. Before the second Book of Chronicles, volume one, fol. 170 (fig. 7), however, one encounters the last of three images of Solomon in the Saint-Vaast Bible. Inside a quatrefoil frame is a two-level composition: in the lobe at the top, Christ-logos sits enthroned flanked by two angels, while in the initial C below, Solomon is enthroned on an animal throne, crowned with trefoil crown and holding a lily-sceptre, regalia much like that adorning Solomon in the miniature for the Book of Wisdom. In this case, however, he sits in profile and makes a speaking gesture towards the impassive figure of Christ-logos, above. Outside the frame one finds a set of fantastic animals in the top spandrels, and two facing shield- and spear-bearing soldiers in the bottom spandrels. At the very top of the illumination, a pair of tiny closed doors sits atop the frame. This image, like the bottom register of the III Kings illumination, illustrates Solomon's vision after his sacrifice at Gibeon. In this case, however, the Christ-logos appears to Solomon while he is awake, rather than in a dream. This difference can be ascribed to the miniature's different textual source.

The biblical Books of Chronicles were never popular subjects for figural illustration, and no earlier examples of Chronicles illustration survive. In the contemporary Spanish Catalan Bibles, where the Books of

Chronicles were prefaced with cycles of illustrations, either entirely different subjects were chosen for illustration, or the scene in question, the sacrifice at Gibeon, is illustrated with material inspired by the description from III Kings.[66] Because the Chronicles for the most part simply recount material that is also described in the other canonical books of the Octateuch and Kings, artists seeking source material need only have referred to illustrations of the more popular incidents from those books in other contexts. The illustration from Chronicles in the Saint-Vaast Bible, however, has the appearance of an ad hoc creation. The nondescript figure of Christ enthroned between his angelic companions has been awkwardly squeezed into the space in such a way that elements such as wings are truncated. Meanwhile, the figure of Solomon below has been twisted sideways on his seat, his legs knotted under him, while his throne is not a faldstool or masonry structure as in the Bible's other royal images, but the front half of a standing animal whose back end and hind legs are missing.

This image was intended to illustrate the events surrounding Solomon's sacrifice at Gibeon, the first action described in the second Book of Chronicles, therefore the text which immediately follows the illumination. Unlike the III Kings miniature, however, in this image Solomon is portrayed as awake and addressing the deity. This must be a direct result of the differences between the two texts describing the incident. For while the text of III Kings was very specific in describing that

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[66]See the Ripoll Bible, Rome, Vatican lat. 5729, fols. 159v-161, for extensive cycles of unrelated scenes from IV Kings and Chronicles, and the Roda Bible, Paris BN MS lat. 6, fols. 63 and 75. The three-register illumination on fol. 75, prefacing II Chronicles, shows Solomon acclaimed, the sacrifice at Gibeon, and Solomon's vision, where an angel visits him while he sleeps. As will be demonstrated below, this depiction is closer to the text of III Kings than II Chronicles. See Neuß, 77-81.

Solomon was dreaming when he received the vision of Christ, saying

"And the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night," in the Book of

Chronicles, the moment of revelation is described differently.

> And Solomon went up thither to the brazen altar, before the
> tabernacle of the covenant of the Lord, and offered upon it a
> thousand victims. And behold that night God appeared to
> him, saying: Ask what thou wilt that I should give thee. And
> Solomon said to God: Thou hast shewn great kindness to my
> father David: and has made me king in his stead...Give me
> wisdom and knowledge that I may come in and go out before
> thy people; for who can worthily judge this thy people, which
> is so great?[67]

Like the description of the sacrifice at Gibeon in III Kings, the Chronicles

version once again emphasizes that Solomon was visited by God, who

gave him the opportunity to ask for some favour, and that Solomon

pleased him by asking for the gift of wisdom. Unlike the III Kings version,

however, in the II Chronicles rendition, there is no mention of either

dreaming or sleep, meaning that the II Chronicles illumination, which

shows Solomon in wakeful communication, accurately reflects the text

which was its inspiration. The artists, or programmer, of the Saint-Vaast

Bible chose to show kings being given wisdom a total of three times in

what was, after all, a fairly restricted cycle of illuminations. Interestingly,

Carolingian commentary for the Book of Chronicles version of Solomon's

vision after his sacrifice at Gibeon, unlike commentary connected with III

Kings, chooses to focus not only on the necessity of wisdom for the just

rule of secular society, but also its importance among leaders of the

Church.[68]

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[67]II Chronicles 6-8, 10.

[68]Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Paralipomena*, PL 109:415-416. *Ubi moraliter
considerandum est: si Salomon, rex factus in terresti Jerusalem, non aurum, nec divitias, non
substantiam, neque gloriam mundanam a Deo petivit, quanto magis necesse sit rectoribus
sanctae Dei Ecclesiae, quibus commendata est cura et regimen animarum, ut non substantiam*

Finally, in two other details of the illustration the artist may have attempted to refer to Solomon's relationship to both the Church and the state. The figures of shield- and spear-bearing soldiers in the lower spandrels may also have been inspired by the text. The beginning of the text of II Chronicles emphasises Solomon's leadership role within the military by saying "And Solomon gave orders to all Israel, to the captains of thousands, and of hundreds, and to the rulers, and to the judges of all Israel, and the heads of families..." and later, "And he gathered to himself chariots and horsemen, and he had a thousand four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen..."[69] Finally, the tiny doors at the top of the image may be intended to represent the tabernacle of the covenant of the Lord, before which Solomon made his sacrifice at Gibeon, or they could foreshadow the events of chapter two, where Solomon sets out to build the first Temple.[70]

The writings of Gerard of Cambrai and other contemporary documents, such as the consecration *ordine*, again and again defended the conception of divinely sanctioned kingship and episcopal rule using the

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terrenam vel divitias mundi quaerant, sed sapientiam et scientiam legis Dei atque divitias virtutum appetant, ut possint populum Dei digne judicare, et ingressum eius ad fidem atque egressum ad speciem aeternae beatitudinis rite ac rationabiliter docendo ei demonstrare.
[69]II Chronicles 1:2, 14.
[70]Similar doors appear in two Carolingian manuscripts of the Apocalypse, the Trier Apocalypse, Trier, Staatsbib. MS 31, fol. 11v, the letter to Philadelphia (Apoc. 3:7-13), and 14v, the First Vision (Apoc. 4), and a slightly later copy of the Trier manuscript, Cambrai, BM MS 386, fol. 7v, the letter to Philadelphia and fol. 10v, the First Vision. In these texts, "door" refers to the door of Heaven. For the Trier Apocalypse, see *Trierer Apokalypse: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex 31 der Staatsbibliothek Trier*, Codices selecti phototypice impressi, v. 48 (Graz, 1974-1975) and Paul Huber, *Apokalypse. Bilderzyklen zur Johannes-Offenbarung in Trier, auf dem Athos und von Caillaud d'Angers* (Düsseldorf, 1989), 23-35, with recent bibliography. Lawrence Nees has pointed out in *The Gundohinus Gospels* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 185-188, that the positioning of angels labelled CYRUBIN with wings raised to protect Christ in that manuscript may have been intended to recall the cherubim of the Ark of the covenant. The angels with raised wings flanking Christ in the II Chronicles miniature of the Saint-Vaast Bible may therefore be meant to allude to the doors above as the Ark or the tabernacle, and to Christ below as a New Ark.

explanation that both offices had been instituted in the Bible. Therefore, the Capetian king and bishop were merely the most recent holders of offices already held by their biblical prototypes, including David, Solomon, and the Apostles, and most importantly, their heavenly exemplar, Christ, who combined both offices in one ruler. According to Gerard, one of the primary reasons for opposing the Peace of God was that it undermined the division of leadership roles already instituted in biblical times when Abraham, Joshua and David wielded the sword, while the priests supported them with prayer.[71] Gerard further believed that this division of roles was specifically mandated by God through Moses when the Law was handed down to the Israelites, as for instance, when he defends the episcopal office by pointing out that Moses had created the hierarchy within the Church of the Old Testament.[72] The moment of the institution of secular and clerical leadership may be depicted as the first narrative illustrations in the Saint-Vaast Bible, introducing the origin of the governmental system defended in many of the Bible's other miniatures.

The Deuteronomy Illustrations

The first narrative images in the Saint-Vaast Bible are found in the opening to the Book of Deuteronomy. Unlike the earlier illustrated Carolingian Bibles of the ninth century, and unlike the Romanesque Bibles that would follow in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, it

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[71]See also above, chapter three. PL 149:171. *Quibus - dum Abraham et Joshua et David ex voce Domini arma tulisse in prelium vetus ostendit pagina, et sacerdotes gladio accingunt reges...*

[72]See also above, chapter three. PL 142:1308. *Igitur ordines in Ecclesia veteris populi, quae usitato nomine Synagoga vocatur, fuisse legimus per Moysen a Deo dispositos, qui et quales et qualiter ac quando ordinare caeteros vel ordinari a caeteris, vel regere caeteros, vel regi a caeteris deberent.*

appears that the Saint-Vaast Bible was never provided with illustrations for the Old Testament Books of Genesis and Exodus. Instead, the first illustration of the Pentateuch in the Arras Bible is found before Deuteronomy, the last book of Moses.[73]

The two folios of the opening, fols. 53v and 54 of volume one (figs. 2 and 3), mirror each other, with almost identical double-lobed frames surrounding the display capitals opening the text and, on the facing page, the densely written text itself. Narrative images have been squeezed into the spandrels above the frame. On the left hand side of fol. 53v, a Christ-logos sits on an architectural throne with his feet on a globe. *PAX* is inscribed within his cross-nimbus, and he gestures towards a pendant figure on the opposite side of the page. Here, Moses is enthroned on a faldstool, the medieval sign of episcopal or secular jurisdiction, gesturing towards the Christ-logos.[74] An inscription between the two figures describes the action: *Dominus ad moysen loquitur,* "the Lord speaks to Moses."

On the facing folio, fol. 54, a similar exchange is taking place: Moses, holding a cross staff, stands and blesses three bowing figures, two men and a woman. Again, the event is described by an inscription placed in a darkened band between Moses and the facing group: *Moyses ad filios israel loquitur,* "Moses speaks to the children of Israel." Thus, according to the inscriptions, this pair of scenes illustrates the end of the Book of Numbers,

[73]For the Genesis illustrations in the Touronian Bibles, see Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton, 1977), 13-35. See also, on the San Paolo Bible, Joachim Gaehde, "The Touronian Sources of the San Paolo Bible," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien,* V (1971), 359-400. On Romanesque illustrations of Genesis, Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illustration* (Ithaca, 1982), 175-182.

[74]On medieval faldstools, see Ole Wanscher, *Sella Curulis: The Folding Stool, an Ancient Symbol of Dignity* (Copenhagen, 1980), 191-238.

where God dictates the Law to Moses, and the beginning of Deuteronomy, when Moses transmits the Law to the Israelites.[75]

This is not the first time that Moses has been shown communicating with God and then the Israelites in an illustration for the Octatuech. Although they do not include figural images for the Book of Deuteronomy, the illustrative programme of the Carolingian Tours Bibles contain illuminations which exhibit some similarities in content to the Saint-Vaast miniature. Important differences, however, underline that the Arras Bible image was created with a slightly different message in mind, one which emphasizes the institution of kingship as opposed to that of the Levitical priesthood.

In both the Grandval and Vivian Bibles, scenes of the transmission of the Law to Moses and its transferral to the Israelites illustrate the Book of Exodus.[76] In both, Moses receives the tablets of the Law from the hand of God and then, accompanied by Joshua, transfers the teachings of the Lord to his followers, either the Israelites or the Levites.[77] In the Grandval Bible (fig. 54), the episode of Moses receiving the Law from the hand of God in the upper register is accompanied, as Herbert Kessler has demonstrated, not by another scene from Exodus, but a moment from Deuteronomy, when Moses preaches to the priests and elders, here labeled *filii Israhel*.[78] Furthermore, Archer St. Clair has shown that in the

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[75]Roughly, Numbers 25:10-Deuteronomy 30.

[76]London, BL Add. MS 10546, fol. 25v and Paris, BN MS lat. 1, fol. 27v.

[77]Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, 59-68. Also idem, "Traces of an Early Illustrated Pentateuch," *Journal of Jewish Art*, VIII (1981), 20-27.

[78]Deuteronomy 31:10. Kessler, "Traces of an Early Illustrated Pentateuch," 24, bases this identification on comparisons with the fifteenth-century Rovigo Bible, Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, MS 212 and London BL Add. MS 15277, which he believes preserves the iconography of an Early Christian Pentateuch cycle. Here, Kessler has reassessed his original supposition that the lower scene represented Exodus 34:29-33, Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, 62.

Grandval Bible, the Exodus frontispiece was part of a broader programme
to invest the Bible with a Christian typological meaning. Moses has been
given the facial features of Paul, and the scene takes place inside the
tabernacle, imitating Paul preaching in the Synagogue, instead of out of
doors as would be appropriate in the Pentateuch to all but the priesthood,
the only people holy enough to enter the tabernacle.[79]

In the Vivian Bible (fig. 61), as Kessler has pointed out, Moses
receiving the tablets of the Law has been paired with his transfer of the
commandments to the Levite priesthood just before his own death,
another moment from Deuteronomy.[80] The scene has been christianized
by the addition of a cross in the pediment of the basilica that has replaced
the wilderness tent described in the text, and on the tablets Moses transfers
to the Levites there is a quotation from Deuteronomy which was later,
according to the Gospels, repeated by Christ.[81] In the Vivian Bible, Moses
is again made a type of Paul, taking on Pauline facial features.
Furthermore, an obvious counterpart to the image is the frontispiece to
the Pauline epistle in the same Bible, fol. 386v, where at the bottom of the
page Paul preaches to a similar audience in a similar architectural
setting.[82] The typology connecting the two images emphasizes the
continuity of the Old and the New Law as revealed by God.[83] In this way

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[79] Archer St. Clair, "A New Moses: Typological Iconography in the Moutier-Grandval Bible Illustrations of Exodus," *Gesta*, XXVI (1987), 21-25.

[80] Deuteronomy 31:9. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, 64.

[81] Deuteronomy 6:5. *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo...* Matthew 22:37 and Mark 12:30. Herbert L. Kessler, "An Apostle in Armor and the Mission of Carolingian Art," *Arte medievale*, II/4 (1990), 32.

[82] Kessler, "An Apostle in Armor," 32.

[83] See Herbert L. Kessler, "A Lay Abbot as Patron: Count Vivian and the First Bible of Charles the Bald," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, XXXIX (1992), 658-9, for a summary of recent research on this theme.

the Carolingian artist attempted to represent the importance of the
Christian mission to the Franks, the Chosen People of the ninth century.[84]

Like the Exodus illustrations in the two Touronian Bibles, the
Deuteronomy image in the Saint-Vaast Bible depicts the Lord giving the
Law to Moses, and Moses subsequently transferring it to his followers.
This meaning is enhanced by the fact that within the pair of tablet-shaped
frames between and below both groups of figures, the text of the Law, as it
is preserved in the Book of Deuteronomy, is transcribed.[85] In addition, a
Christological attribute, in this case, Moses's cross staff, establishes that
some sort of typological connection with the New Testament is
intended.[86] In the Saint-Vaast image, however, the moments depicted are
different from those found in the Carolingian images. Moses does not
receive the tablets of the Law from God, but is instead seen in
conversation with him, and his transmittal of the Law to the Israelites
takes place orally, instead of in written form.[87] This can be accounted for
by the fact that the scenes preface a different text, Deuteronomy, where

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[84]Kessler, "An Apostle in Armor," 35.

[85]My thanks to Jeffrey Hamburger for pointing out the similarity between the tablets of the Law, and the shape of the frame in this opening, which could be intended to create a tablet-diptych opening out of these pages. This would help to convey that, although Moses is not shown transferring the tablets of the Law, nonetheless, his pronouncements, and the government he instituted, have their basis in the framework, so to speak, of the Mosaic Law.

[86]The representation of Moses as a type of Christ, implying that the Old Law as transferred through him was but a foreshadowing of the New Law to be introduced by Christ, was prevalent from an early period. See Archer St. Clair, "The Basilewsky pyxis: typology and topography in the exodus tradition," *Cahiers archéologiques*, XXXII (1984), 16-17. Nonetheless, the representation of Moses holding a cross-staff seems to be unique.

[87]The combination of moments pictured in the Arras Bible is also found in the Anglo-Saxon Aelfric Hexateuch, London BL Cotton Claudius MS B.IV, fol. 99v, an illustration for Exodus 20-24.3, where Moses kneels before the Lord on Mount Sinai, and then returns with empty hands to the waiting Israelites, below. This image is too different in detail to have provided anything more than a very general model for the Saint-Vaast illustration. On the Hexateuch, see *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, 153 (unillustrated), and C. R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, XVIII (London, 1974), fol. 99v.

Moses is described in the first words of the text as retelling to the people all that the Lord had commanded.[88] In addition, Moses is enthroned as a ruler in the presence of God, a depiction that is, as far as I know, unprecedented. Again, this may reflect the choice to illustrate the Book of Deuteronomy, for within the first chapter, therefore in the text written inside the tablet-shaped frame directly under the image of Moses speaking to the Israelites, the establishment of the leadership of Israel by Moses is described.

> I alone am not able to bear you: for the Lord your God hath multiplied you, and you are this day as the stars of heaven, for multitude...I alone am not able to bear your business, and the charge of you and your differences. Let me have from among you wise and understanding men, and such whose conversation is approved among your tribes, that I may appoint them your rulers. Then you answered me: The thing is good which thou meanest to do. And I took out of your tribes men wise and honourable, and appointed them rulers, tribunes, and centurions, and officers over fifties, and over tens, who might teach you all things.[89]

The second figure of Moses in the Arras Bible, in holding a staff and speaking to the Israelite multitude rather than simply the Levitical priesthood, such as in the Carolingian miniatures, may have been inspired by an image of Moses blessing the Israelites just before his death, as described in the Book of Deuteronomy, chapter 33. Such an image can be found in the contemporary Anglo-Saxon Aelfric Paraphrase, London BL Cotton Claudius MS B.IV, fol. 139v (fig. 62), where Moses holds a rod and blesses a group of standing Israelites to the right.[90] As Martina Pippal

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[88]Deut. 1:1-3. These are the words, which Moses spoke to all Israel...Moses spoke to the children of Israel all that the Lord had commanded him to say to them...
[89]Deut. 1:10, 12-15. This folio contains Deut. 1:1-18, in which Moses recounts the battle with the Amorrhites, the gift of the Promised Land, and the institution of rulership.
[90]See *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, 153 (unillustrated), and Dodwell and Clemoes, fol. 139v.

has recently pointed out, before his final blessing in Deuteronomy, Moses instructed the Israelites to install a king over themselves as directed by God once they reached the Promised Land.[91] This king was to be guided by the Law, kept in the possession of the Levites.

> When thou art come into the land, which the Lord thy God
> will give thee, and possessest it, and shalt say: I will set a king
> over me, as all nations have that are round about; thou shalt
> set him whom the Lord thy God shall choose out of the .
> number of thy brethren...But after he is raised to the throne
> of his kingdom, he shall copy out to himself the
> Deuteronomy of this law in a volume, taking the copy of the
> priests of the Levitical tribe, and he shall have it with him,
> and shall read it all the days of his life, that he may learn to
> fear the Lord his God, and keep his words and ceremonies,
> that are commanded in the law.[92]

In both this text and that found in chapter one, the text surrounded by the framed narrative opening, the Book of Deuteronomy established the secular hierarchy of rulership and the relationship between the priestly and kingly orders.

Søren Kaspersen demonstrates that the Exodus illustration in the Vivian Bible (fig. 61), where Moses hands the book of the Law to the Levite priesthood observed by his appointed successor, a sceptre-bearing figure of Joshua, may show the division by Moses of the offices of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* between Joshua and Aaron. Moses, here shown taking an intermediate position between the two leaders, has power over both offices. The institution of kingship is therefore made an important part of biblical history, and its relationship with the Church standardized.[93]

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[91]Martina Pippal, "Distanzierung und Aktualisierung in der Vivianbibel: Zur Struktur der touronischen Miniaturen in den 40er Jahren des 9. Jahrhunderts," *Aachner Kunstblätter*, LX (1994), 73.

[92]Deuteronomy 17:14-19

[93]Søren Kaspersen, "Cotton-Genesis, die Toursbibeln und die Bronzetüren - Vorlage und Aktualität," *Bernwardinische Kunst: Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposium in Hildesheim vom 10.10 bis 13.10.1984* (Göttingen, 1988), 87-91.

Pippal, in her evaluation, shifts the emphasis of the scene only slightly. She agrees that in the Grandval Bible image (fig. 54) Moses is shown both as the prototypical leader of the people and as the founder of the Church in the act of dividing these offices between Joshua and Aaron, both of whom hold foliate scepters. In the Vivian Bible illustration, however, she sees the institution of the powers of the Church as the most important theme, with the priest defined as the guardian of the *ius divinum*. The high priest Aaron is here represented, through the use of liturgical garments such as an alb, *tunicella* and *clavi*, as a Christian bishop.[94]

The differences between these images and that in the Saint-Vaast Bible underline that almost two hundred years have elapsed between their respective production. Whereas the illustrators of the Touronian Bibles may have been attempting to depict the origins of the Christian mission of the Franks in the Old and New Testaments, the artists at Saint-Vaast in the early eleventh century were more immediately pressed by the weakness of the institution of Capetian kingship and the threat to the authority of the bishop. Their programme therefore has a different emphasis. Although the Arras artists may have been aware of such images as those found in the Touronian Bibles, they have shifted the meaning of the scene in the Saint-Vaast Bible both in choosing to place the illustration of the transmission of the Law before Deuteronomy, and in the details of the image. In illustrating Deuteronomy, rather than Exodus or Leviticus, the artists were able to avoid showing the transmission of the tablets of the Law, although that tablets existed may have been implied by the tablet-shaped frame around the opening text of Deuteronomy.

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[94]Pippal, 62-63, 71-72. This is in addition to being distinguished from the other Levite priests by his elaborate crown and *rationale*.

Moses's enthronement in the presence of the Lord may be meant to indicate that the Lord entrusted to him the institution of rulership. His oral transmission of the Law, and his rendition of the origin of the secular hierarchy of rulership in Deuteronomy 1 were directed not at the Levitical priesthood, who would become the guardians of the tablets, but at all the children of the Israelites. This is underlined by the inclusion of women within the image, for women were obviously not eligible for priesthood.

Furthermore, another image of divinely sanctioned biblical rulership in the Saint-Vaast Bible emphasizes that, not only were leaders ultimately appointed and inspired by God, but they ruled only within and through the Law as it was handed down to Moses.

Joshua Inspired by the Lord

The narrative imagery prefacing the Book of Joshua on fol. 72 of volume one is so minimal compared to other openings in the Bible that it might escape notice (fig. 4). A frame surrounds a large initial, in the foliage of which is entwined a nude man with a tendril piercing his throat. The narrative image is confined to the two roundels in the top corners of the frame. A bust-length Christ-logos is shown on the left, holding a cross-staff and gesturing towards the opposite roundel. There, a bust-length Joshua returns the gesture, and holds a book in his left hand. Between the two and above the frame is an inscription: *Dominus iosue monet ut confortetur ad docendum filios israel.* It is clear from the inscription that the scene is intended to show God's support for the rule of Joshua, who had been invested with the leadership of the Israelites by

Moses before his death.[95] The image may refer obliquely to Joshua 1:8,

"Let not the book of this law depart from thy mouth: but thou shalt

meditate on it day and night, that thou mayst observe and do all things

that are written in it: then shalt thou direct thy way, and understand it."

Almost all images of Joshua represent him in the persona of a

warrior.[96] Joshua is not described in the Bible as a bookish leader, but

rather as one constantly employed in the battle to conquer the Promised

Land, and most cycles of Joshua illustration concentrate on these

campaigns. No earlier images resemble that in the Arras Bible, although

the early eleventh-century Roda Bible displays some similarities in its

column illustration prefacing the Book of Joshua.[97] In choosing to

illustrate the Book of Joshua in this way, the artists at Saint-Vaast may

simply have been attempting to visualize some of the first words of the

text, which admonished Joshua to rule within the Law. These words are

not found on the same folio as the illustration, however, where instead

the Lord promises Joshua that he will conquer the land beyond the Jordan.

It is more likely that the artists were elaborating on the theme already

introduced within the Deuteronomy image: that the model for the secular

and ecclesiastical hierarchy had been instituted by Moses at the direction of

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[95]Deut. 34:9. And Joshua the son of Nun was filled with the spirit of wisdom, because Moses had laid his hands upon him. And the children of Israel obeyed him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses.

[96]See *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, 8 vols. (Basel, 1968-1976), vol. II, 436-442. The most famous images of Joshua depict him at war, such as the mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore and the Joshua Roll (Vatican cod. Palat. gr. 431). However, even images where Joshua is not depicted making war often nonetheless show him garbed in battle-dress, witness the images in the Grandval and Vivian Bibles, London BL Add. MS 10546, fol. 25v, and Paris BN MS lat. 1, fol. 10v. In the Bible from San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome, which unlike the two Tours Bibles does include a frontispiece for the Book of Joshua on fol. 58, Joshua is not shown in the tunic of a soldier, but is shown in the midst of battle.

[97]Paris, BN MS lat. 6, vol. I, fol. 89r. Here, the Lord, standing in a round glory, hands the book of the Law to Joshua, who lifts it in his draped hands to shield his face from the radiance of the Lord.

the Lord, and that rulers thus chosen were to rule within the Law as it had been handed down to Moses.

Although in combination, the miniatures prefacing the Books of Deuteronomy and Joshua emphasize the origin of secular kingship in the Bible, the institution of the Church and its leadership is not ignored. Instead, the Arras artists used an illustration from the New Testament and its typological connection to Moses in Deuteronomy to establish that the Church of the New Testament, and thus the contemporary Capetian Church, was simply the Christian continuation of an institution and hierarchy established by Moses and sanctioned by God.

The Acts Illustration

In the Carolingian Vivian Bible a typology was created between Moses, the Old Testament patriarch, and a New Testament figure, Paul the Apostle. Similarly, in the Arras Bible the Deuteronomy and Acts illustrations contain a typology between the Old Testament patriarch and a figure of the New Testament, as is implied by the cross staff carried by Moses. In the Saint-Vaast Bible, the counterpart of Moses is not Paul, but Christ. A complement to the image of Moses explaining God's Law to the Israelites, as described in the inscription on fol. 54, is that used to illustrate the beginning of the New Testament Book of Acts. The framed initial page in volume three, fol. 141 (fig. 24), shows two narrative moments. Above, in the initial P, the author Luke is shown speaking to Theophilus, as mentioned in the beginning of the text of Acts.[98] Below, an enthroned Christ preaches to the twelve Apostles.

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[98] Acts 1:1. "The former treatise I made, O Theophilus, of all things which Jesus began to do and to teach,"

There was no earlier tradition of the illustration of the Book of Acts in the medieval West. Depictions of Luke addressing his speech to Theophilus are unknown in earlier western art, although examples do exist in the margins of Byzantine Gospel and lectionary manuscripts.[99] By contrast, images of Christ enthroned among the seated Apostles are much more common, although they are not found accompanying the text of Acts. They appear almost from the inception of Christian art in catacomb painting and funerary sculpture. In the Roman catacombs, for instance, in the cubiculum of Damasus in the Catacomb of Marcus and Marcellianus, Christ is shown enthroned on a high backed throne with seated rows of Apostles sloping away from him on either side.[100] Such images were used to decorate apses after the legalization of Christianity, as in the apse of the Chapel of St. Aquilino in the Church of San Lorenzo in Milan.[101]

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[99]See the examples in an early eleventh-century Gospel book, Paris BN MS gr. 64, fol. 102v, and a lectionary, Venice, St. Giorgio dei Greci, fol. 384v, where the evangelist Luke can be found preaching to a standing Theophilus across a column of text, usually Luke 1:3, which includes Luke's reference to his scribe, Theophilus. For Paris BN MS gr. 64, Henri Omont, *Les plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1926). Sirarpie Der Nersessian also identified a similar iconography prefacing the Book of Acts in Dumbarton Oaks MS 3, fol. 215, a Psalter and New Testament dating from 1084. Here, a barely visible Theophilus faces Luke, who has become the upright of the initial T. No image of Christ and the Apostles is found in this manuscript. "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIX (1965), 161. For a discussion of the "witness" motif of Luke with Theophilus and its later history, see George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (Vienna, 1979), 53-56. This motif was used before the Book of Acts in several Byzantine manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[100]Josef Wilpert, *Die Malerei der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg, 1903), pl. 177 (1). Other examples include a niche fresco in the catacomb at the Giordani cemetery which shows Christ seated surrounded by Apostles who overlap in a way more reminiscent of the Saint-Vaast image. Pasquale Testini, *Le Catacombe e gli Antichi Cimiteri Christiani in Roma* (Bologna, 1966), fig. 130. Early Christian sarcophagi also portray scenes of an enthroned Christ teaching, flanked on either side by a row of seated Apostles, such as the example from the Cathedral of Nîmes. Josef Wilpert, *I Sarcofagi Cristiani Antichi*, I (Rome, 1929), pl. XLIII (5).

[101]Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 5. The hypothesis of Ihm's first chapter, "Der lehrende Christus und die himmlische Kirche," 5-10, is that apse decorations such as that at San Lorenzo would have provided the model for catacomb and

Manuscript illustrations of Christ preaching to the Apostles, unlike the monumental depictions, almost never show both Christ and the Apostles seated. In cases where Christ is shown seated on a bench throne, such as the Byzantine representations of Christ and the Apostles used to illustrate the Gospel, Paris BN MS gr. 74, fols. 19v and 74v (fig. 63), the Apostles grouped on either side are shown standing.[102] An exception is found in the problematic Montecassino version of Rabanus Maurus' *De Universo*, p. 73, where Christ and a semi-circular ring of Apostles are shown seated in front of an arcade, with an eagle-shaped lectern in front of Christ and a disembodied hand rising behind.[103]

In the Carolingian period, the iconography of a seated Christ teaching Apostles seated on either side of him reappeared on the top level

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sarcophagus images of a similar subject. The apse image directly mirrored, and was inspired by, the arrangement of bishop flanked by priests which would be found in the apse below, making the bishop a type of Christ, and the priests the types of the Apostles. It is tempting to identify a similar meaning in the Saint-Vaast image. The introduction of the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* describes Bishop Gerard taking his place in his *consistorium* in the Cathedral, while the rest of the lesser clergy were arranged on either side of him in declining order according to rank, *...utrinque abbatibus, religiosis atque archidiaconis, caeterisque secundum ordinationis suae gradum discumbentibus...*(PL 142:1271). In addition, an early Byzantine ivory now preserved in the Museum of Dijon shows Christ enthroned in a curtained enclosure surrounded by a ring of Apostles, each on his own high-backed chair. The disposition of the Apostles recalls the U-shaped compositions of Byzantine Pentecost images, and could not have inspired the horizontally formatted Saint-Vaast image. Wolfgang Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und frühen Mittelalters*, 3rd ed. (Mainz, 1976), nr. 148.

[102]Henri Omont, *Evangiles avec peintures byzantines*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1908). Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Recherches sur les miniatures du Parisinus Graecus 74," *Jährbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* XXI (1972), 109, laments the overuse of this particular composition. More commonly, Christ is shown seated or standing to one side, instead of in the midst of the Apostles. Many examples of this survive from both east and west, as for example in the Byzantine Gospel book, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Plut. VI.23, fol. 19, or the initial illustration from the Carolingian Drogo Sacramentary, Paris BN MS lat. 9428, fol. 64v. The first is only one of dozens of such compositions in this Gospel book. See Tania Velmans, *Le tétraévangile de la Laurentienne, Florence, Laur. IV.23* (Paris, 1971), plate 11, fig. 33. This manuscript does not contain an image of Luke with Theophilus. For the Drogo Sacramentary, Mütherich and Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* , 14-15, 26, and Elizabeth Leesti, "New Testament Illustrations in the Drogo Sacramentary," Ph.D. Dissertation, Toronto, 1984, 225-228.

[103]Cod. Casinensis 132.

of the Einhard Arch reliquary, where Christ is shown, according to drawings that record the imagery from the now lost reliquary, enthroned on a bench throne with a footstool and holding a book (fig. 64).[104] The Apostles are seated on long, arcade-fronted benches in groups of three, ranged around the front and sides of the arch. The use of arcaded bench thrones and a footstool is similar to the Saint-Vaast Bible Acts illustration.

Although the blessing gesture of Christ's right hand is extremely common, only the earliest catacomb representations of the theme and some of those in the Byzantine Gospel book, Paris BN MS gr. 74, show Christ without a book in his left hand, as in the Saint-Vaast Bible. No Byzantine Gospel book survives that includes both an image of Luke preaching to Theophilus and a bookless Christ enthroned flanked by symmetrical rows of Apostles, but it is possible that such a cycle did once exist, and some form of this could have been present in the medieval west, and have provided a model for the combination of moments depicted in the Arras Bible. In addition, the Apostles flanking Christ in the Saint-Vaast image are seated somewhat awkwardly, in some cases with legs almost straight, as if copied from standing figures, suggesting that the artist may not have had in front of him a model which provided seated Apostles. Thus two possible sources can be posited for the Saint-Vaast Acts illustration: a Byzantine Gospel book or lectionary, or a Carolingian image similar to the Einhard Arch.

Two observations, however, suggest that the Saint-Vaast image was an *ad hoc* creation invented by the artist to serve a specific need. First, the illustration for the second Book of Maccabees, volume 3, fol. 70v (fig. 17)

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[104]Hans Belting, "Die Einhardsbogen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVI (1973), 100-104, and *Das Einhardkreuz: Vorträge und Studien der Münsteraner Diskussion zum arcus Einhardi*, ed. Karl Hauck (Göttingen, 1974).

in the Saint Vaast Bible, includes rows of seated men whose legs have the same ambiguous attitude between sitting and standing, suggesting that this may simply have been the artist's method of depicting seated figures in profile. Second, the figure of Luke in the initial of Acts is shown in profile and with the same semi-bent legs, a posture not used for any other standing figure in the Bible, making him look more like a seated than a standing figure, although no seat supports him. No Byzantine Gospel book includes a seated Luke preaching to Theophilus. In addition, because other versions of this composition survive which are closer to the Saint-Vaast image, it is unlikely that the artist would have needed to resort to adapting a Byzantine Gospels model of a different composition with such an awkward result. Finally, although the benches on which Christ and the Apostles sit are closely paralleled only by those in the Einhard arch, the three-quarter profile aspect of the Apostles in the Saint-Vaast image does not reflect the frontal depictions seen in the Einhard arch. No copy relationship can be posited between any of the other images surveyed, including the Einhard arch, and the Saint-Vaast Acts illustration, for none are sufficiently alike in detail. It is more likely that the illustrator of Acts composed the full-page image from a combination of sources, including an unknown example of Christ enthroned between his Apostles, and a seated man preaching to a standing, bearded follower.

The Saint-Vaast Bible Acts illumination was therefore a *de novo* creation, and the first surviving use of this combination of moments to illustrate the Book of Acts. The two events were actually connected by Gerard of Cambrai in his *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, however, where he compares the founding of the Christian church by Christ described in Acts to the foundation of the Church of the Old Testament through Moses.

Defending the institutional church, Gerard writes, "Finally, Luke, writing

to Theophilus, said that the Lord Jesus 'showed himself alive to his

apostles by many proofs after his passion, appearing to them for forty days,

and speaking of the Kingdom of God (Acts 1:3).' What did he say about

the Kingdom of God, unless to set in order the state of the Church, which

is called the Kingdom of God?"[105]

Gerard also draws a connection between the institution of the

priesthood in the Book of Acts and the institution by Moses of the

Levitical priesthood. He sees both events as justifying the early eleventh-

century hierarchical church. He describes how, in the Book of Numbers,

Moses was instructed by the Lord to invest the tribe of Levi with the

maintenance of the Temple, serving under the priest Aaron. Gerard then

connects this with the Book of Acts, where the Apostles gathered together

to choose seven followers to serve as deacons, freeing themselves to

preach.[106]

Thus, the two images, the first the Deuteronomy illustration

showing Moses instituting the secular government and the Church as

instructed by God (figs. 2 and 3), and the other the Acts illustration

depicting Christ instituting the Church of the New Testament (fig. 24), are

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[105]PL 142:1286. *Postremo Lucas ad Theophilum scribens, ait quia Dominus Jesus "post
passionem suam, discipulis seipsum vivum praebuit in multis argumentis, per dies
quadraginta apparens eis et loquens de regno Dei." Quid est loqui de regno Dei, nisi de statu
Ecclesiae, quae regnum dicitur Dei, ordinare?*

[106]PL 142:1292. *Cui vero otium fuerit Vetus Testamentum revolvere, inveniet ab eo hos
sumpsisse exordium, nec minus etiam eos qui supersunt, id est, Levitas et sacerdotes, quorum
gradus quia altior est, paulo plus in eis nobis est immorandum. Nam, sicut liber Numerorum
refert: Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen, dicens "Applica tribum Levi, et fac stare in conspectu
Aaron sacerdotis, ut ministrent ei, et excubent, et observent quidquid ad cultum pertinet
multitudinis coram tabernaculo testimonii, et custodiant vasa tabernaculi, servientes in
ministerio eius* (described in Numbers 1:50)." *De his scriptum est, in Actibus apostolorum,
quia "convocantes duodecim multitudinem discipulorum, dixerunt: Non est aequum nos
derelinquere verbum Dei et ministrare mensis. considerate ergo, fratres, viros ex vobis boni
testimonii septem, plenos Spiritu sacto et sapientia, quos constituamus super hoc opus; nos
vero orationi et ministerio verbi erimus instantes* (Acts 6:2-4)."

connected through their content: the institution of heavenly sanctioned orders. In addition, Moses is made to prefigure Christ not simply through his actions, which foreshadow those of Christ, but visually, by carrying the Christological implement of the cross staff.

The miniatures for Deuteronomy which introduce the narrative programme of the Bible, and the miniture for Acts which closes it, therefore serve as bookends, imbuing the Biblical narrative with a particular meaning. The two sets of images, seen in the context of the concerns of early eleventh-century northern France, interpret the Bible as the story of the secular and ecclesiastical governance of the Christian world. From the Book of Deuteronomy, where Moses divided the kings from the priests, inventing the Levitical priesthood and instructing the Israelites to choose a king, to the Book of Acts, where Christ, through the Apostles, instituted the hierarchy of the Christian Church, the Bible thus becomes the model-book for contemporary rule.

The miniatures in between make more specific the rights and attributes of the rulers thus instituted. The offices of the king and the bishop, through the miniatures for Jeremiah and Wisdom (figs. 8 and 13), are justified by the belief that the office-holders become types of Christ upon their elevation to office. The miniatures of III Kings and II Chronicles demonstrate God's gift to kings, the divine wisdom that allows them to rule justly (figs. 5 and 7). The miniatures of Joshua and Ezra (figs. 4 and 15), furthermore, delimit these offices. The first serves to show that kings must rule within and through the Law, which was guarded by the priests. The second demonstrates that kings and Church leaders, or bishops, must also cooperate in the creation of a civil society.

In choosing which books to illustrate, the programmer or artists repeatedly passed over the more popular or commonplace choices or the first books in a series, such as Genesis, I Kings or I Chronicles, and selected instead books whose content provided material for this programme. At the same time that this ideology of rule was pictorialized in the Saint-Vaast Bible, it was also set out in words in such documents as the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, and the *ordo ad consecrandum regem* in the Cologne Pontifical. By examining all of these together, a very clear picture of the troubled state of the government of northern France, both secular and ecclesiastical, arises, as does the solution proposed by those in power, such as Gerard of Cambrai.

Chapter 5

Speculum Reginae

The Saint-Vaast Bible not only elaborates the contemporary view of

kingship, as expressed in miniatures such as the illustrations for Wisdom,

Ezra, and III Kings, but that of queenship as well.[1] Women are

represented in some surprising places in the Bible's illustrative cycle. For

instance, in the second illustration for the Book of Deuteronomy, the

group of three figures labelled *filii israel* includes one bowing, veiled

woman (fig. 3).[2] In the illumination prefacing the second Book of

Maccabees, vol. III, fol. 70v (fig. 17), which depicts the *fratribus qui sunt per*

aegyptum to whom the text on the page is addressed, two more veiled

women witness the animated discussion in the lower register. In the

Epistles, two images also show women as part of the listening crowd:

Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, vol. III, fol. 114 (fig. 19), and Peter's First

Epistle, vol. III, fol. 133v (fig. 21). The populating of these images with

women would not be in any way remarkable were it not for the presence

of three miniatures, of significance to the overall programme, where

women play a central role. The images where women figure prominently

are part of the Bible's programme of Old and New Testament *exempla* for

contemporary institutions, in this case, that of queenship.

Esther

The illustration of the Book of Esther, vol. III, fol. 44 (fig. 16), once

again provides a prototype for the contemporary ruler, the queen, from

the Old Testament. The illustration is placed in the top half of the framed

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[1] The term 'queenship,' in this context as within the current scholarly debate, describes
consorts of ruling kings who have been elevated to office through consecration, as well as
queens who reign in their own right.
[2] On the possible significance of her presence, see above, chapter four.

incipit-page. The image is divided in half by the top end of the initial I. Unlike the other miniatures, here the background has been set off from the neutral white of the parchment surface using an opaque wash of dark brown. To the right of the initial, a crowned king sits with his feet on a footstool. He is enclosed in a curtained opening flanked by two columns. To his left, three tiny acolytes, the one in front probably meant to represent the king's advisor, Haman, float in front of one of the columns. In his left hand, the king holds the short sceptre, while with his right he extends the long staff over the top of the initial so that it touches the lips of the queen standing opposite him.[3] These are two of the insignia of office, the *sceptrum* and the *virga*, described in the near contemporary Cologne *ordo* for the coronation of a king produced at Saint-Vaast (Cologne Dombibliothek MS. 141).[4] The queen is represented with an outsized crown, and her veiled hands are raised to her mouth, where they support the outstretched staff. Behind her stand two servants, a dark-haired

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[3]Interestingly, both this image and the next to be discussed, the illustration for the Song of Solomon in the initial O for *Osculetur*, make allusion to kissing, the first visually, the second in the text. The kiss had important symbolic significance in the text of the Old Testament, where it was often a sign, as in the case of Esther, of reconciliation. In the New Testament, and especially in Early Christian interpretations of the Song of Solomon, the kiss came to stand for the uniting of Christians in the body of the Church through the sharing of the soul, and the soul's reception of spiritual grace through the agency of the kiss. The kiss could also embody the sealing of a contract between two people at a betrothal or marriage, and later in the feudal ceremony of homage. Nonetheless, because in the Esther image the kiss is not exchanged between two people but rather between a person and an inanimate object, and in the Song of Solomon image no kiss is shown, such a meaning could only be tangential. See Nicholas Perella, *The Kiss Sacred and Profane* (Los Angeles, 1969), 13-27, 31-50, and J. Russell Major, "'Bastard Feudalism' and the kiss: changing social mores in late medieval and early modern France," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* , XVII (1987), 509-535. Rabanus Maurus, in his commentary on the Book of Esther, *Expositio in librum Esther*, refers to the kiss as a sign of veneration, rather than an opportunity for the sharing of spiritual grace, or a reenactment of any nuptial bond (PL 109:655-656).

[4]Richard A. Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae. Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1995), I, 201-211. This ordo was compiled mainly from two earlier sources, the Romano-Germanic pontifical and the Ratold ordo. Already in the Ratold *ordo*, initiates were given both the *sceptrum* and the *virga* (Jackson, 187). Thus the compiler of the Cologne Pontifical was not responsible for introducing these insignia.

bearded man wearing a short tunic, presumably Mordecai, and a veiled woman. Between the two royal figures, the background of the scene is interrupted by an overpainted inscription: *Quid petis Hester oro o rex si tibi placet dona mihi animam meam pro qua rogo et populum meum pro quo obsecro,* or "What are you asking, Esther. I pray O King if it pleases you, give me my soul for which I ask and my people for whom I beg."

Like Ezra, Esther was depicted only very infrequently in the pre-Romanesque period.[5] In the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, Esther's audience with Ahasuerus was to become a popular subject of historiated initials prefacing the Book of Esther in Giant Bibles. The Arras Bible illustration, however, is probably the earliest surviving example of this scene.[6] Perhaps contemporary with the Arras Bible, the two Spanish Catalan Bibles, the Roda Bible and the Ripoll Bible, include quite extensive cycles of illustration for the Book of Esther, both of which have scenes of Esther's audience with Ahasuerus. In neither, however, is she shown at the same moment.[7]

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[5]For a general outline of Esther iconography, see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, 8 vols. (Basel, 1970) I, 684-687.

[6]Only a late ninth-century, and now badly damaged, fresco in the lower church of San Clemente in Rome may once have depicted the Esther before Ahasuerus. Josef Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom 4. bis 13. Jahrhundert,* 4 vols. (1917), IV, pl. 217, made this identification, but John Osborne, *Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome* (New York, 1984), 152-3, argues convincingly that the scene instead represents the Martyrdom of Santa Cirilla, an identification that accords much better with the surviving fragments of an inscription.

[7]In both the Roda Bible, Paris BN lat. 6, vol. 3, fol. 97v, and the Ripoll Bible, Rome, Vat. MS lat. 5729, fol. 319v, Esther is depicted as approaching King Ahasuerus from the right, instead of from the left as in the Arras image. In the Roda Bible, Esther is embraced by the king, already having been forgiven, while in the Ripoll Bible the king is helping her to rise with his left hand under her chin. In neither is she shown kissing the sceptre, as in the Arras image. For the Catalan Bibles, see Peter Klein, "The Romanesque in Catalonia," in *The Art of Medieval Spain ad. 500-1200* (New York, 1993), 306-309, and Wilhelm Neuß, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn, 1922), 101-103, figs. 119, 120 and 126.

The illustration in the Arras Bible represents the most famous incident in the life of the Old Testament queen Esther. Inspired by his advisor, Haman, King Ahasuerus condemned the Jews of his realm to death. Esther, his queen, who unbeknownst to the King was Jewish, was persuaded by her uncle, Mordecai, to risk death and visit the king in his inner court uninvited in order to plead for the lives of her people.

> And on the third day Esther put on her royal apparel, and stood in the inner court of the king's house, over against the king's hall: now he sat upon his throne in the hall of the palace, over against the door of the house. And when he saw Esther the queen standing, she pleased his eyes, and he held out to her the golden sceptre (*virgam auream*), which he held in his hand: and she drew near, and kissed the top of his sceptre. And the king said to her: What wilt thou, queen Esther? what is thy request?[8]

Following this, the queen invited Ahasuerus and Haman to a banquet in her chambers, where she pleaded with the king for her people. The inscription between the king and queen in the illustration, however, actually conflates Esther's visit to the king with the events of the banquet. Esther is depicted here as asking for her own life as well as those of her people, for the king has unknowingly condemned her to die as a Jew. The inscription is an almost direct quote from chapter seven: "If I have found favour in thy sight, O king, and if it please thee, give me my life for which I ask, and my people for which I request."[9] In fact, the conflation of moments found in the image may be explained by looking at an almost contemporary document which sheds light on the interpretation of Esther as a prototype for early Capetian queenship.

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[8] Esther 5:1-3. This event is also described in part in chapter 15, verses 5-15, which recapitulates Esther's visit to the king.

[9] Esther 7:3. *Si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis o rex, et si tibi placet, dona mihi animam meam pro qua rogo, et populum meum pro quo obsecro.*

The mid-eleventh-century Cologne Pontifical, which was produced at Saint-Vaast, contains, in addition to the *ordo* for the consecration of a king, another ceremony with the rubric *ordo ad benedicendam reginam*.[10] Although specified as an *ordo* of blessing, the ceremony in fact includes both a consecration unction and a coronation of the candidate. Like the *ordo ad consecrandum regem*, the *ordo* for the blessing of a queen is made up of several parts. First, the queen is led into the church while the metropolitan says a prayer. Then, after prostrating herself before the altar, she is raised by the bishops and an archbishop delivers a prayer of consecration. After this prayer, she is anointed on the head, an action accompanied by another prayer. Then she is invested with her two insignia of office, the ring and the crown. The ceremony closes with a final prayer.

The introduction read by the metropolitan during the *adventus* of the queen and the bishops already makes clear that this *ordo*, like the preceding *ordo* intended for the consecration of a king, will draw heavily on the Old Testament models for contemporary rulership.

> All powerful and everliving God, source and beginning of all goodness, you who, by no means rejecting, rather choose the fragility of the sex of women, and who, choosing the weak of the world you diminished the strong confounding each one, and who even wished to reveal the triumph of your glory and virtue once in the hand of the woman Judith of the Jewish people because of the most terrible enemy, consider the prayers of our humility, we ask, and multiply the gifts of your blessings over this, your servant N., whom we choose queen in suppliant devotion, and always and everywhere surround her with the right hand of your power, so that powerfully protected on all sides with the shield of your defence she may be able triumphantly to conquer the iniquities of the enemy, both seen and unseen, and one with

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[10]Jackson, 214-216.

Sarah and Rebekah, Leah and Rachel, blessed and reverent women, she may be worthy of being fruitful and give thanks in the fruit of her womb, governing and also protecting for the ornament of the whole realm and the state of the holy Church of God, through Christ our Lord, who, born from the undefiled womb of the blessed Virgin MARY deigned to visit and to restore the world, who lives with you and God is glorified in unity with the Holy Spirit. Through the immortal ages.[11]

Like the *ordo ad consecrandum regem* in the Cologne manuscript, which in the prayers both before and after unction recalled Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon as Old Testament prototypes for just and wise rulers, the *ordo ad benedicendam reginam* in its introductory prayer sets up several Old Testament figures as *exempla* for the future queen. Sarah, Rebekah, Leah, and Rachel provide models of women of the Old Covenant who glorified the reign of the Israelites by providing acceptable heirs to the throne, also one of the principal duties of the early Capetian queen. Again, the composer of the *ordo* connects these Old Testament prototypes to their New Testament counterpart, the Virgin Mary, by pointing out her similar role as the birth-giving mother of the King of Eternity.

Judith, by contrast, is portrayed not as a provider of children but as a woman chosen by God as saviour of the Jewish people. This more active

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[11]Jackson, 214. *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui feminei sexus fragilitatem nequaquam reprobando potius eligis, et qui infirma mundi eligendo fortia quaeque confundere decrevisti, quique etiam gloriae virtutisque tuae triumphum in manu Iudith feminae olim iudaicae plebi de hoste sevissimo resignare voluisti, respice, quesumus, preces humilitatis nostrae, et super hanc famulam tuam N., quam supplici devotione in reginam eligimus, benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eamque dextera tuae potentiae semper et ubique circumda, ut umbone muniminis tui undique secus firmiter protecta, visibilis seu invisibilis hostis nequitias triumphabiliter expungnare valeat, et una cum Sara atque Rebecca, Lia et Rachel, beatis reverendisque feminis, fructu uteris sui fecundari seu gratulari mereatur ad decorem totius regni statumque sanctae Dei ecclesiae regendum necnon protegendum, per Christum dominum nostrum, qui ex intemerato beatae virginis MARIAE utero nasci visitare ac renovare dignatus est mundum, qui tecum vivit et gloriatur Deus in unitate Spiritus sancti. Per immortalia secula.*

role for the future queen, as promoter and protector of the realm, is the

role exemplified by Queen Esther, the Old Testament prototype for a queen

represented in the pictorial programme of the Arras Bible. Her actions are

highlighted in a second prayer immediately preceding the consecration

unction.

> God, who with equitable balance casts down the arrogant
> from princely rule, and promotes the humble worthily into
> the heavens, we suppliants entreat your unutterable mercy,
> that just as, for the sake of the salvation of the Israelites, you
> freed Queen Esther from the shackle of her captivity, and
> made her pass through to the chamber of King Ahasuerus
> and to a share in his kingdom, so allow this your servant N.,
> in service of the welfare of the Christian people, with the
> blessing of our humility, mercifully to cross to the worthy
> and elevated bond of our king and of the society of his
> kingdom.[12]

Here, the composer has again framed the duties of the queen in terms of

an Old Testament *exemplum*, explaining that as the defender of the

Christian people of her husband's realm, the queen must act the part of

Esther, bravely facing all obstacles to protect them, even unto the royal

chamber itself. This justifies in part the conflation of Esther's audience

before the king with her later request at the banquet, as found in the Saint-

Vaast image of Esther. The illustration shows Esther at the moment

where she has crossed the *thalamum regis*, as described in the *ordo*'s

prayer, as well as the reason for her boldness, her mission to undertake the

duty of the queen and protect the chosen people, in this case the Jews.[13]

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[12]Jackson, 215. *Deus qui superbos aequo moderamine de principatu deicis atque humiles dignanter in sublime provehis, ineffabilem misericordiam tuam supplices exoramus, ut sicut Hester reginam Israhelis causa salutis de captivitatis suae compede solutam ad regis Assueri thalamum regnique sui consortium transire fecisti, ita hanc famulam tuam N. humilitatis nostrae benedictione christianae plebis gratia salutis ad dignam sublimemque regis nostri copulam regnique sui participium misericorditer transire concedas...*

[13]In patristic texts describing this sort of event, *thalamus* was generally intended to mean marriage chamber or marriage bed. At the time the coronation prayer was composed, in the tenth century, this was probably the meaning implied here. Nonetheless, by the later

Finally, as in the consecration of the king, the role of wisdom is again underlined. The prayer accompanying the coronation of the queen makes the crown a concrete symbol of the interior wisdom with which she is meant to be endowed.

> Having been blessed in queenship by the office of our or the congregation's unworthiness, preserve the crown of royal excellence, which as is fitting was placed on your head by the however unworthy hands of the bishops, whence just as on the outside you shine crowned with gold and jewels, so also may you merit to be decorated on the inside with the gold of wisdom and the jewels of virtue, in so far as after the downfall of this age worthily and laudably meeting with the prudent virgins and with the perpetual husband our Lord Jesus Christ, you may be worthy to enter the royal door of the heavenly court, supported by the same Lord our God Jesus Christ, who with...[14]

The Book of Esther had long been seen as an admonitory work meant for the edification of Christian queens, and there was a strong Carolingian tradition of using Esther as a model for queenship.[15] Rabanus Maurus dedicated his commentary on the Book of Esther to queen Ermingard, consort of Lothar, between 841 and 851. He prefaced the

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middle ages, in both ecclesiastical and secular writing *thalamus* more commonly meant simply room or chamber, or a chamber of a more elevated type, such as the chamber where the feast celebrating the coronation of the pope took place. To an observer reading or hearing the text of the order, therefore, and attempting to visualize the actions of the queen, the more well-known narrative of her precipitous audience in the king's chamber would have easily sprung to mind. Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et imfimae latinitatis*, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883-1887), VIII, 93 and Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des auteurs chrétiens* (Paris, 1954), 815.

[14]Jackson, 216. *Officio indignitatis nostrae seu congregationis in reginam benedicta, retine coronam regalis excellenciae, quae licet ab indignis episcoporum tamen manibus capiti tuo est imposita, unde sicut exterius auro et gemmis redimita enites, ita et interius auro sapientiae virtutumque gemmis decorari valeas, quatinus post occasum huius seculi cum prudentibus virginibus sponso perenni domino nostro Iesu Christo, digne et laudabiliter occurrens, regiam caelestis aulae merearis ingredi ianuam, auxiliante eodem domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum...*

[15]On Esther as a model for Carolingian queens, see Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Age* (Athens, Georgia, 1983), 25-26.

commentary with a letter to the Queen, explaining Esther's value as an example.

> I, however, because I can add nothing to your wealth and virtue, at least was able to elaborate this which from the abundance of divine piety in the holy scriptures, meditating and examining, I determine to share with you, if you consider [it] worthy. For that reason I have entrusted to your worthiness the first explanation of the Book of Queen Esther, whose prudence and constancy of mind and victory over enemies proffers to the faithful a most noble example, so that serving divine law and having strong hope in the goodness of God, they are confident in being released from all enemies.[16]

In another preface added to his commentary on the Book of Esther, this time addressed to Queen Judith, Rabanus expands this idea. "May omnipotent God, who encouraged the mind of that Queen to liberate her people from calamity, deign to guide you working in similar study to eternal joy."[17]

Rabanus takes up a standard theme in his commentary on the Book of Esther, making Queen Esther into a type of the Church. His interpretation of the incident pictured in the Arras Bible sheds a great deal of light not only on the meaning of this image, but also on its connection to several other images in the Bible. Rabanus interprets Esther's visit to King Ahasuerus in this way.

> What is it that on the third day Esther was dressed in regal garments, unless that the Church of the people in the third

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[16]MGH Epistolarum V (Berlin, 1899), 500, Hrabanus Maurus, Epistola 46. *Ego autem, quia nichil vestrae opulentiae et virtutibus addere possum, saltem hoc quod ex largitate divinae pietatis in sacris scripturis meditando et disserendo elaborare potui, vobiscum, si dignum ducitis, participare decerno. Idcirco primum vestrae dignitati expositionem libri Hester reginae transmisi, cuius prudentia et constantia mentis victoriaque de hostibus nobilissimum quibusque fidelibus praebet exemplum, ut divinam legem servantes et spem firmam in Dei bonitate habentes confidant se de universis inimicis liberandos.*

[17]PL 109:636. *Deus omnipotens, qui illius reginae mentem ad liberandas populi sui calamitates erexerat, te simili studio laborantem ad aeterna gaudia perducere dignetur.*

age, that is after the Incarnation, Passion and Resurrection of Christ, dressed herself beautifully in the sacraments of baptism through the confession of the Holy Trinity, and in the faith, hope and charity of all the virtues, so that from then she would be made the worthy partner of the king, [and] would burn incessantly with his special love? Who stands in the court of the house of the king which was inside against the king's hall, that is who, in the pious charity of the present life, looks to the future reward in the heavens, where the King of kings himself has been enthroned in the celestial throne, and has promised to those who with pious prayers call to him? Who extends towards this queen the sceptre which he holds in his hand, and shows with it the power of his rule, or the cross of his passion, through which he acquired for himself power in heaven and on earth and under the earth...The full joy of the holy Church is not bestowed otherwise unless in the gathering of the Kingdom of Heaven, where the happy Queen will rule with Christ the King in eternity.[18]

This interpretation clearly makes both Esther and Ahasuerus into types of New Testament *exempla* for contemporary rulers. Ahasuerus is made a prefiguration of Christ, the King and the prototype of all earthly rulers. Esther is made a figure both of the pious believing Christians of the Church and of the personification of the Church, Ecclesia, Christ's bride and Queen in heaven. This interpretation is refined near the beginning of the commentary.

Not anyone that most wealthy king, who, persuaded by the prayers of his most faithful wife, set aside the threatened

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[18]PL 109:655-656. *Quid est quod die tertia induta est Esther regalibus vestimentis, nisi quod Ecclesia gentium tertio tempore saeculi, hoc est post incarnationem, passionem et resurrectionem Christi, in sacramenta baptismatis per sanctae Trinitatis confessionem, fide, spe et charitate, omniumque virtutum se induit decore, ut inde regali consortio digna fieret, cum eius amore praecipuo incessanter ferveret. Quae stat in atrio domus regiae quod erat interius contra basilicam regis, hoc est in praesentis vitae pia operatione quae spectat ad futuram in coelis remunerationem, ubi ipse rex regum solio consedit superno, et precibus pie ad se clamantium annuit. Qui extendit contra hanc reginam virgam quam tenet in manu, cum ostendit illi regiminis sui pontentiam, vel crucem passionis suae, per quam sibi acquisivit potestatem in coelo, et in terra, et subtus terram...Gaudium enim plenum sanctae Ecclesiae non alibi tribuitur nisi in perceptione regni coelestis, ubi cum Christo rege felix regina regnabit in aeternum.*

death of the Jews which evil men contemplated, who is adapted through the image of our Redeemer, who, daily addressed by the prayers of the Holy Church, which is his own most beloved wife, frees the elect from the hands of enemies, and subjects their enemies to worthy punishment. There is no doubt, however, that Esther would remain a type of the Church, nor ought she to be called in any way the wife of anyone other than Christ.[19]

It is important to recognize that King Ahasuerus is not interpreted as evil on account of his commandment that the Jewish nation be destroyed. Rather, Rabanus blames his actions on the bad council of an advisor. "If one, however, will have asked how it would be suitable for the most just king to inflict torments on the innocent, let him know this: that he does not proceed from the longing for bad, but from the command of the highest council..."[20]

The compiler of the Cologne Pontifical, who so aptly expressed the appropriateness of Esther as the Old Testament prototype for a contemporary queen, was simply repeating a series of formulae already invented at least as early as the tenth century for use in the coronation ceremonies of Frankish queens. The earliest surviving *ordo* for the coronation of a queen, that composed by Hincmar of Reims for the 856 marriage and coronation of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, already mentioned several admirable Old Testament *exempla* as holy wives, including Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Esther, and Judith.[21] By the early tenth

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[19]PL 109:637. *Nec enim alicui rex ille ditissimus, qui uxoris suae fidelissimae precibus exoratus, Judaeorum, quem iniqui meditabantur, imminentem removit interitum, quam Redemptori nostro per figuram aptatur, qui quotidie sanctae Ecclesiae, quae sponsa ipsius est dilectissima, orationibus interpellatus, liberat electos suos de hostium manibus, atque inimicos eorum dignae subjicit vindictae. Quod autem Esther typum Ecclesiae teneat, nulli dubium est, nec ipsa alicuius sponsa quam Christi ullo modo dicenda est.*

[20]PL 109:654. *Si quis autem quaesierit quomodo regi justissimo conveniat infligere tormenta innocentibus, sciat hoc non ex malitiae voto, sed ex summi consilii procedere nutu...*

[21]Jackson, 73. On the development of *ordine* for the consecration of queens, see Gunther Wolf, "Königinnen-Krönungen des frühen Mittelalters bis zum Beginn des Investiturstreits," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte,* CVII, Kanonistische Abteilung,

century, the aspects of these women's lives which were meant to serve as lessons to the queen were being described much more explicitly in coronation *ordine*. The two prayers found in the Cologne Pontifical, borrowed from older models, explain in detail the acts and duties of Judith, Esther, Sarah and the other Old Testament women most important to the role of the Capetian queen.[22]

Jackson and others who have studied the Cologne Pontifical have found no evidence that the *ordine* in the manuscript were ever used for the coronations of actual kings and queens of France.[23] Although the antiquity of the concerns expressed in the *ordo* is reinforced by the author's decision to rely heavily on two tenth-century *ordine* as his models, the compilation of the Cologne Pontifical's *ordo* for the coronation of a queen may have been, at least in part, inspired by an incident which occurred in 1051, immediately after the death of Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai.

Following Gerard's death, the Emperor Henry III, who was at that time in residence at Cologne, was asked to select Gerard's successor to the

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LXXVI (1990), 62-88, and Janet L. Nelson, "Early Medieval Rites of Queen-making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne Duggan (London, 1997), 301-315. After accepting a ring meant to symbolize both faith and the bonds of marriage, the officiant recites the following words: *Despondeo te uni viro virginem castam, atque pudicam futuram coniugem, ut sanctae mulieres fuere viris suis, Sarra, Rebecca, Rachel, Hester, Iudith, Anna, Noemi, favente auctore et sanctificatore nuptiarum, Iesu Christo domino nostro, qui vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum* (Jackson, 77). This prayer paraphrases a passage from Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians, chapter 11, verse 2: "For I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ." *Despondi enim vos uni viro virginem castam exhibere Christo.*
[22]These prayers were borrowed from the Romano-Germanic Pontifical of Mainz, one of the two main sources used by the compiler of the Cologne *ordo*. The Cologne Pontifical's author simply combined these prayers with others taken from a now-lost relative of the north-French tenth-century Ratold Ordo, creating a longer and more elaborate service for the consecration and coronation of a queen than any of the Carolingian or earlier Frankish versions. Jackson, 169, 176 and 201.
[23]Jackson, 202.

diocese of Arras-Cambrai.[24] The Emperor chose as his candidate Liebert,

nephew and committed disciple of Gerard of Cambrai, as well as one-time

member of the imperial chapel, and invested him with the secular

lordship of the city of Cambrai.[25] The consecration of the new bishop took

place, however, not in the imperial court, but at Reims, as it had with

Gerard almost forty years earlier, and once again was performed by the

Archbishop of Reims. According to the *Vita Lietberti*, the Capetian king,

Henry I, hearing that this ceremony was to take place, demanded that his

marriage to his new wife, Anne of Kiev, and her consecration as queen

should be celebrated at the same time.[26] According to the author of

Liebert's *Vita*, "At this consecration of the Queen our Lord Liebert, Bishop

of Cambrai, was present and took the lead."[27] There is no evidence that

the Cologne Pontifical was produced as a service book for this occasion,

and indeed such a long and complete manuscript certainly could not have

been copied and illustrated on such short notice. Nonetheless, the *ordo*

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[24]*Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium: Continuatio - Gesta Lietberti Episcopi*, PL 149:177-180.
[25]*Gesta Lietberti Episcopi*, PL 149:183. *Sicque annuente isto cum aliis omnibus, donavit episcopatum Cameracensem domno Lietberto imperator Romanorum Henricus secundus. Videres igitur omne palatium gaudio repletum esse et exultatione, et incipientem ipsum etiam imperatorem Te Deum Laudamus, prosequi episcopum cum clero et populo usque in aecclesiam, cum huius ymni jubilatione. Magnificatus est pontifex a rege et principibus eius in magna gloria, et receptus est a suis cum gratiarum actione et letitia magna. Pontifex, facta fidelitate imperatori, et omnibus competentibus adimpletis, satagebat ad civitatem suam reverti.*
Vita Lietberti, PL 146:1456. *Actum est Agrippinae in palatio imperiali, confirmatum in ecclesia S. Petri principis apostolorum et coelestis clavigeri, ita annuente Guone cum caeteris omnibus, donavit civitatem Cameracensem cum suis appendiciis omnibus domno Lietberto imperator Romanorum Henricus IV.*
[26]Robert-Henri Bautier, "Anne de Kiev, Reine de France, et la politique royale au XIe siècle," *Revue des Études Slaves*, LVII/4 (1985) 550 and Marion Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France 987-1237," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, V (1968), 17. PL 146:1459. *Audiens Cameracensis episcopi consecrationem futuram, quoniam videre virum diu praeoptaverat, interfuit, acturus quoque sui negotii causam: petiit ut sponsa quae sibi parabatur in eodem conventu benediceretur regalique consecratione pariter insigniretur.*
[27]PL 146:1459. *Huic regiae consecrationi domnus noster Lietbertus, Cameracensis episcopus, interfuit et praefuit.*

for the consecration of a queen found in the Cologne manuscript may preserve the text of an *ordo* created for that occasion, or at the least mirror the conception of queenship that was current at Saint-Vaast in the early Capetian era at the time of Anne's consecration, as witnessed by Liebert, Bishop of Cambrai and follower of Gerard.

The illustrative programme of the Saint-Vaast Bible, like the Cologne Pontifical's coronation *ordo*, provided images not only of an Old Testament prototype for the contemporary queen, but also a model for her relationship with the sovereign based on that of Christ and his queen, Ecclesia. As we have already seen in Rabanus Maurus's commentary on the Book of Esther, when Queen Esther bravely sought an interview with her king, Ahasuerus, in the inner sanctum of his court on the third day, she prefigured the Church in the third age, the age of Grace.[28] When Ahasuerus extended towards her the royal staff, symbol of the Cross of Christ's passion, he made of them both a figure for the mystical marriage of Christ and Ecclesia in heaven. The illustrators of the Saint-Vaast Bible made this message even plainer by illustrating the Song of Solomon with an image of Christ and Ecclesia.

The Song of Solomon: Christ and Ecclesia

The Saint-Vaast Bible's illustration for the Wisdom Book the Song of Solomon is found in volume two on folio 144v (fig. 12), facing a text page. The image is enclosed within a frame made of interlace and one small section of acanthus scroll. Within this frame, the image takes up only the top two-thirds of the available space. Below the solid acid green background against which the illustration is set, the introductory lines of

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[28]PL 109:655-656.

the text are spread in a single column across the page, beginning with a series of display capitals: "Osculetur me osculo oris sui."

The illustration for the text is perhaps one of the most complex in the entire manuscript. The most striking aspect of the image is the zodiac circle which surrounds the figural scene, echoing the circular form of the "O" initial that introduces the text. Inside the zodiac circle, a Christ-logos sits enthroned in front of a multicoloured heavenly city. The Christ-logos holds an open book in his left hand, while with his right he makes a gesture which may indicate speech. Below his feet is a *suppedaneum*, which floats in front of an empty circle. The Christ-logos is accompanied by an unidentified veiled woman, presumably Ecclesia, who stands to his right and also makes a gesture indicating speech with her right arm.

This illumination is one of the first surviving illustrations of the Song of Solomon. As a poetic book, and one which uses such vivid and colourful sexual language, the Song of Solomon must have posed many challenges to the Christian illustrator. Surviving early medieval and Romanesque images for this book almost always illustrated the allegorical interpretations provided by Christian commentators.[29]

The only earlier surviving illustration for the Song of Solomon is found not in a Bible but in the Bamberg Commentaries, a late tenth-century manuscript from Trier which includes the text of the Song of Solomon accompanied by a marginal gloss by Alcuin based on Bede.[30] The text of the Song of Solomon is introduced with a two-page opening. On fol. 4v (fig. 65), the earthly Church, represented by kings, clergy, holy

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[29]*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, II, 308-312

[30]Bamberg, Staatsbibl, MS Bibl. 22, fols. 4v-5. Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination. An Historical Study*, 2 vols. (London, 1991), II, 31, corrects the *Patrologia Latina*'s attribution of this text to Isidore, identifying it instead as Alcuin's *Compendium in Canticum Canticorum*.

women and ordinary laymen, proceeds from baptism by St. Peter along a cloudy pathway to heaven, culminating in a welcome by a *vexillum-* and chalice-bearing Ecclesia, or heavenly Church, who gestures towards the crucified Christ. On the facing folio, fol. 5 (fig. 66), further ranks of the earthly Church are presented to Christ, who sits enthroned surrounded by choirs of angels.

Like the illustration of the Song of Solomon in the Saint-Vaast Bible, the Bamberg Commentaries image on fol. 5 is ordered by the circular form of the letter "O", in this case serving as the initial to the text incipit, *Osculetur.* Both the Arras and the Bamberg illustrations include Christ and Ecclesia as the focus of the images. The overall layout of the illustrations, however, and their meanings, are different.[31] The Saint-Vaast illuminator does not seem to have drawn on an Ottonian model. Instead, he may have turned to a Carolingian source which provided an alternative means of representing the relationship between Christ and Ecclesia.

The combination of elements found in the Saint-Vaast image can be explained in part by reference to an illustration, not for a commentary on the Song of Solomon, but for Rabanus Maurus's *De Universo.*[32] An early

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[31]Another series of illuminations with a related composition may also have provided an indirect inspiration for the Arras Bible image. The Lorsch Gospels, Alba Julia, Biblioteca Batthyáneum, fol. 36, have an image of Christ enthroned within a circle embellished with medallions of the evangelist symbols and inset angels, similar in its format and placement of Christ to the Arras image. The composition remained popular in the Ottonian period, when it was copied into the Gero Codex, Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, MS 1948, fol. 5, and the Petershausen Sacramentary, Heidelberg, University Library, MS Sal.IX.b, fol. 41. In this example, an image of Ecclesia enthroned within a matching circle is found opposite, on folio 40v, thereby joining the circular composition with the idea of the meeting of Christ and Ecclesia, as found in the Saint-Vaast Bible.

[32]Sigrid Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras im 11 Jahrhundert," Ph.D Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1954, p. 196, instead compared the Song of Solomon illumination to a similar image in a manuscript of Ptolomy, Rome, Vat. MS gr. 1291, fol. 9. The fact that Rabanus Maurus's *De Universo,* where the meaning of the text was Christianized, was available in the Saint-Vaast library in Latin,

eleventh-century copy of *De Universo* from Montecassino, probably based on a Carolingian model, illustrates Book Nine with personifications of the sun and moon as busts of a man and woman shown side by side within a zodiac circle (fig. 67).[33] According to Diane le Berrurier, the *De Universo* image only loosely interprets Book Nine's description of the heavens, which does not specifically mention the zodiac.[34] The Montecassino artist, or the artist of his model, was most likely inspired to add the zodiac to his illustration of the text by an image originally designed for Aratus of Soloi's *Phaenomena*, for which a similar illustration survives in Vat. gr. 1087.[35] The Saint-Vaast artists must have been exposed to such an illustrated Carolingian version of *De Universo* or one of its descendants, for in transferring this image into the Arras Bible, they adapted it even more closely to the text.

The artist of the Arras Bible has adopted the composition of the zodiac circle containing figures found in the *De Universo* image. By Christianizing the astronomical symbols, however, the Song of Solomon image in the Arras Bible illustrates Rabanus Maurus's interpretations more explicitly. Instead of representing busts with the attributes of the sun and moon on their heads, the artist has shown full length figures, the male clearly identifiable as Christ from his cross-nimbus (fig. 68). Book Nine of *De Universo* provides a variety of allegorical interpretations for the bodies of the heavens, some of them Christian in meaning.[36] These interpretations would have been well known to the monks of Saint-Vaast,

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and that illustrated versions of it exist, makes it a much more likely source.

[33]Montecassino, cod. casinensis MS 132, fol. 118.

[34]Diane O. Le Berrurier, *The Pictorial Sources of Mythological and Scientific Illustrations in Hrabanus Maurus' De rerum naturis*, (New York, 1978), 60–62. PL 111:263-264.

[35]Le Berrurier, 64-65.

[36]*De Universo Libri XXII*. PL 111:13-614.

as the twelfth-century catalogue of their library records that they possessed

a copy of *De Universo*, listed as "Rabanus ethimologicon," which survives

today as the eleventh-century manuscript in Arras, BM MS 832(506).[37]

Predictably, according to Rabanus Maurus, the sun may symbolize Christ,

with its counterpart the moon therefore interpreted as Ecclesia.[38] The

zodiac can be interpreted as representing the twelve apostles or perhaps

obliquely as the different orders of the earthly church.[39] Rabanus

Maurus's *De Laudibus Sancti Crucis* provides an even more direct

explanation for the arrangement of the image. After comparing the

number of zodiac signs to the number of winds, months and hours with

sun, as well as patriarchs and tribes of Israel, Rabanus describes the home

of Christ and Ecclesia in the celestial Jerusalem as a bejewelled city with

twelve sacraments, twelve gates and twelve foundations.[40]

[37]Philip Grierson, "La bibliothèque de Saint-Vaast d'Arras au XIIe siècle," *Revue Bénédictine*, LII (1940), 132.

[38]PL 111:267. *Igitur sol in Scriptura sacra aliquando significat Dominum Salvatorem.*
PL 111:269. *Lunam autem figurare Ecclesiam ostendit ille versus: Fecit lunam in tempore, sol cognovit occasum suum. Luna Ecclesia est, quam in temporibus factam aliquando minui contingit, aliquando crescere...Solem vero in hoc loco merito accipimus Dominum Salvatorem.*

[39]PL 111:301, *Menses duodecim eiusdem numeri sunt Apostoli.*
PL 111:272, *Lunam (ut jam diximus) Ecclesiam debemus accipere; stellas, diversos eius ordines sanctitate pollentes, ut sunt episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, et caeteri, qui velut stellae, coelesti noscuntur conversatione radiare.* Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 196, suggests that they may also represent the twelve apostles.

[40]PL 107:181, *Unde et ipse Salvator carnem suscipere, et inter homines nasci dignatus est: qui lux in hunc mundum veniens, duodecim apostolos, quos ex ipsa gente elegit sol justitiae...Et in aedificio coelestis Hierusalem eiusdem numeri sacramentum multipliciter insinuatur, quod Apocalypsis quidem ostendi, ubi ita scriptum est "Et ostendit mihi civitatem sanctam Hierusalem, descendentem de coelo, a Deo habentem claritatem Dei...et habebat murum magnum et altum, habens portas duodecim, et in portis angelos duodecim, et nomina scripta, quae sunt nomina duodecim tribuum filiorum Israel...et murus civitatis habens fundamenta duodecim, et in ipsis duodecim nomina duodecim Apostolorum et agni." Sancta enim Ecclesia in hoc aedificio spirituali significatur, quae est coelestis videlicet Hierusalem...* Also found in *Rabani Mauri in honorem sanctae Crucis*, ed. Michel Perrin, CCCM C (Turnholt, 1997), 77-79.

Zodiac symbols abounded in art from the pre-Christian era.[41]
Zodiac circles were often represented in Jewish contexts in the late antique
era, and were easily integrated into Carolingian manuscript painting,
where examples are found in the Utrecht Psalter and the Vivian Bible.[42]
The zodiac circle which surrounds the two figures in the Saint-Vaast
Bible's Song of Solomon image is, however, unusual because it is not
arranged in strict chronological order. The symbols run counter-clockwise
around the inner scene, with the ram, for Aries and March, above the
standing woman, and the bull, for Taurus and April, to the left above the
Christ-logos. Immediately to the left of the bull, however, one finds a
woman holding scales, the symbol for Libra, which was associated with
September. Although the counter-clockwise ordering of the symbols, and
the location of the ram and the bull near the top of the circle are not at all
unusual, the re-ordering of the symbols is.[43]

The use of astrology to predict the future was not accepted by the
Early Christian church. The symbols of the zodiac, however, were
embraced by the Fathers as having biblical meanings.[44] The signs of the
zodiac could represent the twelve apostles, and individual signs signified
various aspects of the incarnation, the Virgin Mary, or the dangers and

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[41]*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, IV, 574-577.

[42]See for example, the zodiac circle of the Beth Alpha Synagogue, Grace C. Grossman,
Jewish Art (New York, 1995), 30. For the Vivian Bible, Paris BN MS lat. 1, fol. 8, Wilhelm
Köhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, 7 vols. (Berlin, 1930-1971), I, pl. 79. For the
Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht Bibl. Universiteit MS 484, fol. 36, Suzy Dufrenne, *Les illustrations
du Psautier d'Utrecht. Sources et apport carolingien* (Paris, 1978), pl. 3.

[43]Aries is typically found at the top of a zodiac circle. Examples of zodiacs with a similar
placement of Aries and Taurus include the clockwise arrangement forming the letter D in
Jerome's preface to Desiderius in the Vivian Bible, Paris BN MS lat. 1, fol. 8, and the
counter-clockwise circle illustrating Psalm LXIV in the Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht Bibl.
Universiteit MS 484, fol. 36.

[44]Wolfgang Hübner, *Zodiacus Christianus. Jüdische-christliche Adaptionen des
Tierkreises von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, CXLIV
(Hain, 1983), 11.

sins of the physical world.[45] Interestingly, the two zodiacal symbols immediately above Christ and Ecclesia were not only associated with the months of March and April, the season of the Passion and Resurrection, but were also, according to Zeno of Verona, the two symbols of the zodiac representing Christ, as the Lamb, and the calf who gathers the harvest of righteous souls to heaven.[46] The symbol for Libra, the woman holding scales, found immediately to the left of Aries in the Saint-Vaast Bible, was interpreted by Zeno as symbolizing the justice with which Christ lit the world after his incarnation through the Virgin Mary.[47] Perhaps this meaning justified the rearrangement of the symbols, as these three signs of the incarnation thus formed a trio at the top of the image over Christ and Ecclesia.

The type of Song of Solomon illustration in the Arras Bible, with the relationship of Christ and Ecclesia as its centerpiece, has long been recognized as the visual expression of the traditional patristic interpretation of the Song of Solomon, which transforms what is essentially a series of Hellenistic love poems into an allegory of the relationship between Christ and his heavenly bride, the Church.[48] Called a Sponsus-Sponsa, or husband and wife image, we see here the heavenly

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[45]Hübner, 37-43, 63-64. Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, ed. Robert P. Casey (London, 1934), #25, 58-59, and Zeno of Verona *Ad neophytos post baptisma IV. De XII signis*, II, PL 11:494-496, are examples of such interpretations.

[46]PL 11:494-495.

[47]PL 11:495.

[48]Commentators who developed this meaning include Origen, Ambrose, and Jerome. Perhaps the most influential of such commentaries in the post-patristic era was that by Bede, *In Cantica canticorum allegorica expositio*, PL 91:1065-1236. On the history of the interpretation of the Song of Solomon through the Carolingian era, see Friedrich Ohly, *Hohelied-Studien. Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Hoheliedauslegung des Abendlandes bis um 1200* (Wiesbaden, 1958), 13-91, and Helmut Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit de Kirche in den lateinischen Hohelied Kommentaren des Mittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters: Text und Untersuchungen, XXXVIII/3 (Münster Westfalen, 1958), 18-97.

husband and wife joined together before the celestial city, surrounded by a symbol of the eternity of their union, the zodiac.[49] Although the visual forms found in the picture may have been inspired by the text and imagery of Rabanus Maurus' *De Universo*, and the Christological interpretation of the book is certainly based on contemporary exegesis, within the text of the Bible manuscript itself, one can find an even more immediate inspiration for the image.

Chrysogonus Waddell was the first to draw attention to the fact that in the Romanesque Giant Bibles, the text of the Song of Solomon and its illustration were often accompanied by a series of rubrics inserted either in the margins or into spaces left between the verses in the text.[50] These inscriptions essentially transform the text into a conversation between many characters. Christ, Ecclesia, Synagoga, and even the Apostles can appear as participants in the dialogue constructed from the Song of Solomon text. Waddell at the same time noted that a late twelfth-century Cistercian manuscript from the abbey of Vauclair includes a passage instructing the reader on how to read the Bible in the refectory.[51] It directs: "In the Canticle of Canticles, 'The Voice of Christ' and 'The Voice of the Church' shall be said." In other words, the monk responsible for reading the Scriptures at table was to undertake a one-man performance of the text of the Song of Solomon, supplying an identifying label before each section of text so that the listener could identify which part he was playing at any particular moment. Surprisingly, these inscriptions are rarely

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[49]On the origins of the Sponsus-Sponsa illustration, see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I, 318–324.

[50]"The Song of Songs in the Stephen Harding Bible," *Liturgy*, XVIII/2 (1984), 29.

[51]Waddell, 27. Laon, BM MS 471, fol. 101v. Waddell's transcription: *In lamentationibus Ieremie, et quando legitur Mulierem Fortem quis inveniet, non dicitur ad mensam Aleph, Beth, Gimel, etc. In canticis vero Canticorum, dicetur Vox christi, Vox aecclesie.*

edited along with the biblical text, and are also almost never mentioned in discussions of the illustration of the Song of Solomon.

The Arras Bible was no exception to the practice of including rubrics in the text of the Song of Solomon. Before many of the verses, there are red inscriptions contemporary with the creation of the Bible which ascribe the text to a series of different voices (Appendix 3). Donatien De Bruyne, in his 1914 study of the division and rubrication of the Latin Bible, identified at least six different sets of marginal rubrics which could be found accompanying the Song of Solomon.[52] The version used in the Arras Bible, De Bruyne's variant A, is one of the simplest, and perhaps the oldest. Variant A rubrics appeared already in the Codex Amiatinus, a Bible copied at the monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow in Northumbria in the early eighth century, today Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Amiatinus 1.[53] Variant A rubrics were also copied into two of the surviving illustrated ninth-century Tours Bibles, the Moutier-Grandval Bible and the Vivian Bible.[54] Although the Arras Bible's text does not include all of the rubrics found in the Tours Bibles, it does include many inscriptions from the same series.

In the Arras Bible, the conversation between Christ and the Church begins in chapter one, verse five. The monks listening to the reading in the refectory would have heard: "[Voice of the Church] - Shew me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou liest in the midday, lest I begin to wander after the flocks of my companions. [Voice

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[52]*Sommaires, Divisions et Rubriques de la Bible Latine* (Namur, 1914), 558-561.

[53]DeBruyne, *Sommaires*, 559, sign "am" in the textual apparatus.

[54]London, BL MS Add. 10546, fol. 260v, and Paris, BN MS lat. 1, fol. 243v. See *Die Bibel von Moutier-Grandval, British Museum ADD. MS. 10546* (Bern, 1971), fig. 20.3. Unfortunately, the most recent critical edition of the Vulgate, the *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ad codicum fidem*, ed. Henri Quentin et al, 18 vols. (Rome, 1926-1995), XI, makes no mention of these rubrics.

of Christ] - If thou know not thyself, O fairest among women, go forth, and follow after the steps of the flocks, and feed thy kids beside the tents of the shepherds." Although in other Bibles which include Variant A rubrics the voices of Mary Magdalene and the Synagogue are soon heard, in the Arras Bible, these characters have been left out. In the first four chapters only Christ and the Church speak. Their conversation is pictured at the beginning of the text, where Christ is enthroned in front of his kingdom, and the Church addresses him.

Peter Brieger saw this illustration as a defence of the institutional church on earth, which was at that time being attacked by reform and heretical movements.[55] Basing his interpretation on Bede's commentary on the Song of Solomon, Brieger read the image as the church raised up to the heavenly Jerusalem, "leaving behind the crowds of schismatics."[56] Viewed within the context of the pictorial cycle of the Arras Bible, however, and taking into account the inscriptions that accompany the image, a more compelling interpretation of the illumination may be that its emphasis is on the ideal marriage between Christ and the Church, and that it was meant to instruct a contemporary queen about her role in office.

In choosing the mystical marriage of Christ and his Church as a prototype of the ideal marriage of the contemporary king and queen, the programmer of the Saint-Vaast Bible was, once again, not breaking new ground. Already in the Carolingian period, the marriage between the

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[55]Peter Brieger, "Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform," *Studies in Church History*, II (1965), 156-157.

[56]Brieger, 157. Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum Allegorica Expositio*, PL 91:1183. *Cui nimirum matri ac genitrici una colomba Christi ac perfecta electa est, quia nimirum relictis schismaticorum turbis omnibus, solam, quam in unitate catholicae pacis nunc alit et custodit, tunc ad gaudia coelestis patriae Ecclesiam gratia spiritualis sublevat.*

monarch and his consort was thought by religious observers to embody that of Christ and Ecclesia. Sedulius Scotus wrote in his *De rectoribus christianis* of the perfect union between king and queen:

> As Christ united the Church to him with chaste love,
> so a wife should cleave to her husband;
> in her heart gentle simplicity like the beauty of a dove should always abound.
> Piety, prudence and sacred authority should adorn her,
> just as gracious Esther shone.
> A king and queen should cherish the bonds of peace;
> in both there should be agreement and concord.[57]

Further, between 851 and 855 Angelomus of Luxeuil dedicated his commentary on the Song of Solomon to the Emperor Lothar, explaining in the dedication and epilogue that he intended his commentary on the "union of Christ and the Church," to be a source of consolation to the Emperor, who has lost his own holy union with Empress Ermingard through her death.[58]

In the Cologne Pontifical's *ordo* for the consecration of a Queen, moreover, the queen's reward for the successful performance of her duties is shown to be a heavenly marriage with the prototypical husband. The prayer after the coronation takes up once more the imagery of Esther crossing the inner court of King Ahasuerus, saying, "After the setting of this world, may you merit to enter with the wise virgins through the door

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[57]Sedulius Scottus, *On Christian Rulers and the Poems*, trans. Edward G. Doyle, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, XVII (Binghamton, 1983), 61.

[58]Ohly, 77-78. PL 115:551. *Sed post spiritualia coelestis vitae colloquia, et suffragia orationum placuit imperando, imo intenando imperare, ut styli officio juxta sensum antiquorum patrum, et frugalitatem ingenioli mei opusculum in Cantica canticorum Salomonis, ubi Christi et Ecclesiae conjunctio, allegoriarumque mysteria prae caeteris Veteris Testamenti* toix bibliox *contineri probantur, digererem et ut ita dicam exponere non abnuerem, atque praesentiae culminis vestri ostendere non omitterem, quo haberet crebro post dispositionem reipublicae frequentata, auribusque lectione relata solertia vestra, in contemplatione se extendens a tumultu causarum imperii atque potissimum de amissione sanctissimae conjugis Deo annuente, ut credimus, collegio sanctarum allectae, alboque beatitudinis inscriptae, consolationis gratia legendo theorica...*

of the royal court into the kingdom of heaven, to the perpetual husband, our Lord Jesus Christ, having been assisted by the same our Lord Jesus Christ."[59]

Thus the Song of Solomon image in the Arras Bible once again makes apparent one of the key roles of the contemporary Capetian queen. In the earlier Esther image, the queen was admonished to defend the interests of the holy Church to her husband, following the example set by the Old Testament prototype Esther. In the Song of Solomon illustration, the artist or programmer borrowed from Carolingian written and pictorial sources to create a second instructional image, once again based on the celestial union of Christ and the Church. Here, the queen is instructed of her second role, to be a wise, pious and virtuous wife to her husband, and as such an ornament to his reign.

The Passion of the Maccabees

The third and final image in this programme prefaces a book which was not part of the canonical version of the western Bible. The Passion of the Maccabees, or *Passio Machabeorum*, is essentially a Christianized Latin paraphrase of the Greek Fourth Book of the Maccabees, sometimes called "On the Sovereignty of Reason," which was part of the Septuagint.[60] The Greek work was written in the first century, probably under Caligula, as a defence of Jewish orthodoxy and an argument in favour of Reason over human passions.[61] In it, the author recounts the story of the martyrdom

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[59]Jackson, 216. ...*post occasum huius seculi cum prudentibus virginibus sponso perenni domino nostro Iesu Christo, digne et laudabiliter occurrens, regiam caelestis aulae merearis ingredi ianuam, auxiliante eodem domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum.* See Nelson, 309, on the origin of this concept in the *ordo* written for Charles the Bald's daughter, Judith.

[60]Moses Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* (New York, 1953), 136.

[61]*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, ed. Robert H. Charles, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913), II, 653-654, and Hadas, 96.

of the priest Eleazar, the seven brothers of the Maccabaeus family, and
their mother at the hands of King Antiochus IV of Syria. The original
author used as his main source the canonical Second Book of Maccabees,
but elaborated it with further details and eulogies for the martyrs.[62] The
Latin translation of the book was produced during the fourth century in
the Roman province of Gaul, and was later included in around forty
manuscripts beginning in the eighth century, possibly as part of the
Carolingian textual reform movement.[63] Two variants of the text exist,
one only half as long as the other and missing all of the philosophical and
most of the rhetorical material. According to the text's editor, Heinrich
Dörrie, it is the shorter form that appears in biblical manuscripts,
including the Arras Bible and the other related Northern French Bibles,
whereas the longer form appears only in legend manuscripts.[64]

The Arras Bible's version of the Passion of the Maccabees, like all
surviving biblical manuscripts containing this book, has a lacuna between
the end of chapter one, verse five, and the beginning of chapter five,
meaning that the text jumps straight from a cursory introduction to a
description of the martyrdom of the main characters.[65] The text begins on
folio 81 of volume three with little fanfare, illustrated with a small
decorative initial. The first chapter concludes on this folio. On the verso,
the text continues with the beginning of chapter five, and is accompanied

[62]Hadas, 91-95. On the sources of IV Maccabees, see Hans-Josef Klauck, 4 *Makkabäerbuch*. Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, III/6 (Gütersloh, 1989), 654-657.

[63]Heinrich Dörrie, *Passio SS. Machabaeorum, die antike lateinische Übersetzung des IV. Makkabäerbuches*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Series 3 n. 33 (Göttingen, 1938), 8-10, 13-14 and 36-39. The date of the original composition is estimated based on textual analysis, rather than on any surviving examples. See also Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1949), I, no. 102, 1, for a list of relevant manuscripts.

[64]Dörrie, 10. On the North French group of Bibles connected with the reform of Richard of Saint-Vannes, see chapter two.

[65]Dörrie, 10, and edition, 66-73.

by an elaborate frame and figural illustration (fig. 18). Unlike any other textual illustrations in the Arras Bible, therefore, the image for the *Passio Machabeorum* interrupts the text so that it is placed close to the passage it pictures, rather than at the beginning of the book.

The text and illustration are surrounded by a complex double frame. The lower half of the framed space is filled with a single column of text. Above this, figures crowd the remaining space. To the left, a crowned king holding a lily sceptre in his right hand sits enthroned on a cushioned, backless lion-throne, his feet on a *suppedaneum*. With his left hand he gestures towards the facing group of nine figures. Foremost among this group, and the only figures shown in their entirety, are a man with a flowing beard wearing a skull-cap and diadem, and a veiled woman with wide sleeves. From behind these two figures peeks one bearded man and the heads of six others.

Two of these figures are characters described in the text immediately following the illustration. To the left King Antiochus is seated in glory as explained by the first words found below.[66] To the right the elderly priest Eleazar, whom the king commanded to eat pork from a temple sacrifice, explains his refusal to obey. Chapters five and six describe the trial, flagellation and death by fire of Eleazar. The rest of the *Passio* is dedicated to the examination of the seven Maccabaeus brothers, the spirited exhortations of their mother to maintain their faith at the cost of their lives, a graphic description of their scourging, flaying, scalping, torture on the wheel and death, and the eventual suicide of their mother. The illustration, in fact, conflates the series of events narrated in the text by

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[66]"Igitur Antiochus sedens in excelsiore videndus hominibus loco." *Hominibus* is a corruption of the original *omnibus*. Dörrie, 73.

showing all of the characters brought before Antiochus together. There is

no implication, either in the *Passio* or in its source, the canonical 2

Maccabees, that the Maccabaeus family and the priest Eleazar ever met,

although in the *Passio* the brothers speak of Eleazar as an example of true

faith.[67]

The martyrdom of Eleazar, the seven Maccabaeus brothers, and

their mother was not a popular subject for illustration in the West.[68] Only

one earlier western image of the Maccabaeus brothers survives, the now

fragmentary seventh or eighth-century mural in the nave of Santa Maria

Antiqua in Rome, and that shows only a series of standing, frontal

figures.[69] The martyrdom of the Maccabees was popular, however, in

Byzantine manuscript illustration, where scenes of Eleazar and the seven

brothers before Antiochus can be found illustrating eleventh and twelfth

century manuscripts of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. Paris, BN

Coislin MS gr. 239; Florence Bibl. Laurenziana Plut. VII.32; and Rome, Vat.

MS gr. 1974 all include scenes of the seven brothers and Eleazar before

Antiochus.[70] These scenes are not drawn from the text of the homily they

illustrate because it is too general to have inspired the specifics of the

scenes. Rather, they are images which were inspired by more fully

illustrated versions of the four Books of the Maccabees, probably as part of

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[67]The martrydom of Eleazar and the seven brothers is described in II Macc. 6-7. See the *Passio* 9:5-6 for Eleazar as an *exemplum*.

[68]For a general history of Maccabees illustration, see Robert L. McGrath, "The Romance of the Maccabees in Medieval Art and Literature," Ph.D. Diss. (Princeton, 1963).

[69]Pietro Romanelli, *Santa Maria Antiqua* (Rome, 1964), colourplate II. On the controversy surrounding its date, see Romanelli, 53.

[70]Paris, BN Coislin MS gr. 239, fols. 38, 40, and 41v show scenes of Eleazar and the seven brothers brought separately before Antiochus. See George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969), figs. 207, 209, 210. In Florence, Laur. Plut. VII.32, fol. 40, and Rome, Vat. MS gr. 1974, fol. 30, Eleazar and the mother have been added to the right of a scene of the seven brothers before the king. See Galavaris, figs. 126 and 264.

the Septuagint.[71] Such scenes were also used in Byzantine marginal Psalters, such as the Paleologan Hamilton Psalter, which illustrates Eleazar and the seven Maccabaeus brothers brought separately before King Antiochus.[72]

Only one such illustration survives attached to its textual source in an Eastern biblical manuscript. The tenth-century Bible of Leo Sacellarios, Rome, Vat. Reg. MS gr. 1, contains on fol. 450v a full-page framed image prefacing the fourth Book of Maccabees which is strikingly similar to the Arras Bible's *Passio Machabeorum* illustration (fig. 69).[73] As in the Saint-Vaast image, Antiochus sits enthroned to the left in front of a small crown of bodyguards, and gestures towards the facing, bearded figure of the priest Eleazar, who gestures in return. To the right of Eleazar stand two young men, while behind them stand a stacked group of heads representing the rest of the seven Maccabaeus brothers. The head of the mother is placed highest, to the right. The figures are shown in an architectural setting.

Suzy Dufrenne and Paul Canart describe the composition of this scene as belonging to a genre inspired by icon painting, because it is a unified image of a homogeneous group of people.[74] They also believe that the image was originally an illustration for the epilogue to the description of the martyrdoms in IV Macc. 17, where Eleazar, the seven brothers and

[71]Galavaris, 111-112. Galavaris suggests that the scenes reached the Gregory Nazianzus manuscripts through the intermediary of a menologion. On the origins of Maccabees illustration see also, Robert L. McGrath, "The Martyrdom of the Maccabees on the Brescia Casket," *Art Bulletin*, XLVII (1965), 257-261.

[72]Berlin, Kupferstich-Kabinett 78.A.9. See Christine Havice, "The Hamilton Psalter in Berlin, Kupferstich-Kabinett 78.A.9," Ph.D. Dissertation, Penn. State, 1978.

[73]*Die Bibel des Patricius Leo: Codex Reginensis graecus 1B*, ed. Suzy Dufrenne and Paul Canart, 2 vols. (Zurich, 1988), estimate a rough date for the Bible of c. 940-950, II, 66. See also Cyril Mango, "The date of Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1 and the Macedonian Renaissance," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium*, IV (1969), 124-125.

[74]Dufrenne and Canart, 13. See also Kurt Weitzmann, "The Illustration of the Septuagint," *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago, 1971), 49-51, on the Leo Bible as a pastiche of selections from earlier pictorial cycles.

the mother are discussed together as exempla and an inscription for their tomb is suggested.[75] This could explain the conflation in the image which brings together characters who, according to the narrative in the text, never met in life. The likelihood, however, of artists in both the East and the West separately inventing the same conflation of narrative events to illustrate a non-narrative passage from Greek and Latin versions of the same book is small. As the evidence for a tradition of illustrating the Fourth Book of the Maccabees is strong in the East, but almost nonexistent in the West, it is more likely that this conflation developed over time in Byzantine manuscript versions of the Fourth Book of Maccabees. The artists of the Gregory Nazianzus manuscripts and the Leo Bible borrowed from these to illustrate their own texts.[76] Somehow the conflated image found its way to the West, either illustrating a Greek version of IV Maccabees or a devotional text, or in a free-standing painting, and was adapted by the Arras artist to the Saint-Vaast Bible's programme.

Nonetheless, in adapting this image for his own use the Arras illuminator made some significant changes to its appearance and meaning. The artist simplified the illustration by removing the architectural background and replacing it with a simple colour-washed backdrop, consistent with many of the other miniatures in the Bible. He also removed the crowd of body-guards who in the Leo Bible version stood behind Antiochus. Most strikingly, the mother of the Maccabees has been moved from the very back of the group of figures to the front. In the Saint-Vaast Bible illustration, she is one of only three figures shown in their entirety.

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[75]Dufrenne and Canart, 46. See Charles, II, 683, IV Macc.17:8-13. This passage is also found at the same point in the *Passio Machabeorum*, Dörrie, 102.

[76]Galavaris, 111-112, and McGrath, "The Romance of the Maccabees," 124.

Although the Books of the Maccabees did not excite considerable commentary during the patristic period, in the Carolingian era there was more interest in the canonical I and II Maccabees, when Rabanus Maurus composed commentaries on these books, giving them a Christian gloss.[77]

Rabanus comments in detail on the martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven brothers, as part of his exegesis of II Maccabees.[78] He begins by explaining the Christian allegorical meaning of the events. Antiochus, in Rabanus's interpretation, prefigured the coming of the Antichrist in his persecution of the protomartyrs. "Because as the Saviour sent in advance Solomon and the rest of the holies as a type of his advent, so the Antichrist correctly is to be believed to have had his type in the most evil King Antiochus who persecuted the saints and violated the temple."[79] Eleazar, according to Rabanus, should be seen as a type of the faithful Christian people, who will be tempted at the end of time by the snares of the Antichrist.[80] The most elevating interpretation is reserved for the mother of the Maccabees. She is interpreted, not surprisingly, in connection with Ecclesia. "What is depicted through this mother of seven sons unless the fecundity of Mother Church, who through the grace of the sevenfold spirit of God the Father generates adoptive sons?"[81] Finally, he

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[77]J. Dunbabin, "The Maccabees as Exemplars in the tenth and eleventh centuries," in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia (1985), 31-32.

[78]*Commentaria in libros machabaeorum*, PL 109:1125-1256.

[79]PL 109:1234. *Quia sicut Salvator praemisit Salomonem et caeteros sanctos in typum adventus sui, sic Antichristus pessimum regem Antiochum, qui sanctos persecutus est templumque violavit, recte typum sui habuisse credendus est.*

[80]PL 109:1236. *Eleazarus hic, quem Antiochi crudelissimi regis impietas porcinam carnem in senectute sua edere cogebat, significat populum Christianum, quem Antichristi saevitia ante finem mundi ad idolatriam atque spurcitiam vitae sataget.*

[81]PL 109:1236. *Quid per hanc matrem septem filiorum, nisi matris Ecclesiae fecunditas, quae per septiformis Spiritus gratiam adoptivos Deo Patris filios generat, designatur?*

explains the eventual suicide of the mother of the Maccabees on the funeral pyre of her sons.

> That, however, after the son also the mother was consumed, demonstrates that after the triumphs of each of the sons of the Church over whatever enemies, winning free souls they will enter eternal repose. Last of all, the Mother herself of all the faithful will be consumed at the end of the world, and siezing the trophy of glory from all her enemies, she will possess eternal reign.[82]

The mother of the Maccabees is glorified not just for giving birth to such righteous sons, but for encouraging them to resist the temptation to depart from the faith. After the trials and ordeals of the first six brothers, rather than bemoaning their fate, their mother admonishes the seventh to uphold religious doctrine and follow his brothers in martyrdom.[83] Afterwards, the text extolls her wisdom and fortitude at length, and describes her as a "truly an example for all women."[84] Thus she becomes a role model for a mother's lasting vocation to educate her sons in their duties to the church.

All three of the women featured in the three illuminations which make up this programme, Esther in the image prefacing the Book of Esther, the Sponsa in the illustration before the Song of Solomon, and the mother of the Maccabees in the *Passio Machabeorum*, have in common that they have been described in biblical exegesis as types of Ecclesia. More important is that each of these women epitomizes one of the roles

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[82]PL 109:1236-1237. *Quod autem post filio et mater consumpta est, demonstrat quod post triumphos singulorum filiorum Ecclesiae quibus hostes vincentes liberis animabus requiem intrabunt aeternam. Novissime ipsa mater fidelium omnium in fine mundi consummabitur, et tropaeum gloriae de omnibus inimicis suis capiens regnum possidebit perpetuum.*
[83]Dörrie, 94-95.
[84]Dörrie, 99-102. On p. 102, *O septem triumphorum mater, superatrix tyranni, magistra iustitiae, filios comitata victores, exemplum patientiae non mulieribus solum, sed viris futura, veneranda praesentibus, colenda posteris, admirationi non genti nostrae solum futura sed saeculo.*

prescribed for the queen in writings about her role, and in the ceremony for consecration found in the Cologne Pontifical. The first, the image of Esther, depicts the queen as the defender of the faith. In the illustrated text this means the Jewish faith, but implied is the contemporary Christian faith. The second image, the Sponsus-Sponsa composition illustrating the Song of Solomon, emphasizes the queen's position as ideal wife of the earthly sovereign, who is, after all, a type of the heavenly sovereign. Finally, the mother of the Maccabees demonstrates the queen's duty to be the mother of the heirs to the realm, to educate them in the Christian faith, and to instill in her offspring the Christian virtues which will be necessary to them as rulers.

The Arras Bible and the Early Capetian Queen

Scholarly interest in the roles of the early medieval queen has blossomed in the past decade. The numerous studies and conference proceedings published recently have vastly expanded our knowledge of the actions of queens in the Anglo-Saxon, Ottonian and Capetian realms.[85] Speculation on the power of the queen has also gradually moved beyond the overriding belief in systematic oppression to a search for instances when queens actually did exercise influence, and to differentiate this from the sometimes misogynistic assessments of the reigns of historical queens provided by their clerical contemporaries.[86]

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[85]See, for instance, Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, and two collections, *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York, 1993), and *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London, 1997).

[86]The fullest sources on the Capetian queens of the early eleventh century discuss only Constance, third wife of Robert the Pious. An active queen by any account, she was criticized by her contemporaries almost to the exclusion of all other comment, making a reconstruction of conceptions of her duties difficult. Two such sources are: Aimon and André de Fleury, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, ed. E. de Certain, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1858) repr. 1968, and Radolfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. Neithard

No *vitae* survive for any early Capetian queens. Evidence from other sources, however, indicates that, although a queen's functions were not explicitly defined, queens were often active in advising the king as well as managing the household. Marion Facinger has pointed out that the loose definition of the early Capetian realm and the monarchy's royal powers may, in fact, have increased the ability of the queen to influence affairs of state and to participate in the government of the royal household, and by extension, the state.[87] The Capetian monarchy of the early eleventh century had no permanent capital. Instead, the government moved with the peripatetic rulers. Because the court was centred in the familial residence of the king and queen, the queen was present for discussions of the administration of the state, and was often a member of the *curia regis*, witnessing documents and arguing on behalf of petitioners to the court.[88] This was made possible by the weakness of the Capetian monarchy in the early eleventh century, and the lack of a developed bureaucracy.[89] In this period of monarchical decline, the king's family members and the minor nobles who surrounded the court served by necessity as the court's officials.[90] In addition, the preference of the queen as to succession often created stumbling blocks for the smooth transition from the king to his heir.[91]

Bulst, trans. John France and Paul Reynolds (Oxford, 1989).

[87]Facinger, 24.

[88]Facinger, 26-27.

[89]Facinger, 41.

[90]Jean F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernment royale aux premiers temps capétiens (987-1108)* (Paris, 1965), 75-76. See also Joanne McNamara and Suzanne F. Wemple, "The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe, 500-1100," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, Ga., 1988), 92-93, and John Carmi Parsons' overview "Family, Sex and Power: the Rhythms of Medieval Queenship," in *Medieval Queenship*, 2-3.

[91]Facinger, 28, n. 81, on the participation of the queen in succession contests, facilitated by the tradition of her participation in government.

The actual functions of the queen in the early Capetian era, however, are less important for the interpretation of the Saint-Vaast Bible's pictorial programme than the way in which queenship was perceived and described. This was probably based less on contemporary circumstances than on traditions inherited from the preceding Carolingian era. By adapting for their own use the Carolingian *ordine* used to create queens, the Capetians modelled their conceptions of the duties of the queen on those outlined in the ninth century for Carolingian queens such as Ermentrude.

Several documents of the Carolingian era express the ideal role of the queen. Hincmar of Reims was one of the foremost codifiers of the Carolingian idea of queenship. In his often-quoted *De Ordine Palatii*, he described the duty of the queen to oversee the smooth administration of the palace, which in turn was extended to cover the diplomatic functions of the state.[92] He also explained that both the king and queen must follow in the footsteps of the Emperor Constantine in taking responsibility for the spiritual well-being of the state. "First, in arrangement, the palace of the king was so ordered in distinction of all palaces: by giving preference therefore, it was governed at all times by the king and the queen with their most noble offspring as much in spiritual as also in worldly and bodily things...."[93] The concerns of the Church were brought before both the king and queen, and the queen was described by the Church as an intermediary and defender of their interests. Pope John VIII in 876 compared the role as

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[92]J. Hyam, "Ermentrude and Richildis," *Charles the Bald. Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson, 2nd revised edition (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1990), 161-162. Hincmarus, *De Ordine Palatii* editio altera, MGH, Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui, III (Hanover, 1980), chap. 22, pp. 72-73.

[93]MGH Fontes III, ch. 13, pp. 56-57. *In prima igitur dispositione regis palatium in ornamento totius palatii ita ordinatum est: Anteposito ergo rege et regina cum nobilissima prole sua tam in spiritualibus quamque et in saecularibus atque corporalibus rebus...*

an advocate of Queen Richildis, the second wife of Charles the Bald, to that of Esther.

> Whence we rejoice greatly in you hearing so many
> commendations and we are confident in the Lord, because
> you will lighten with the application of your shoulder the
> burdens which we bear as much from pagans as from the
> worst Christians, and you will be for the Church of Christ to
> the pious spouse like that holy Esther for the people of Israel
> to the husband. Because truly often we send to your most
> Christian always majestic spouse through various needs
> either missives or letters, of this we ask and beg, be for us
> mouth, tongue and hands, or rather be all for us, performing
> the offices of advocate, and always do all for us in
> everything...[94]

Pope John VIII, along with Hincmar of Reims, clearly saw one of the primary offices of the queen as that of an agent of the Church within the palace, a consecrated defender of the Christian faith.

In the early Capetian era, the queen was still expected to fulfill the role of protector and benefactor of the Church. The only time in the whole of Helgaud of Fleury's otherwise highly critical Life of Robert of the Pious that Queen Constance is praised is when, after Robert's death, she makes a donation for the upkeep of the church of St. Anian, originally built by Robert.[95] That the queen actually did fulfill the function of

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[94]*Epistola XXVII*, MGH Epistolarum VII, Epistolae Karolini Aevi Tomus V, ed. E. Caspar (Berlin, 1928), 25-26. *Unde magnopere gratulamur de vobis tot audientes praeconia et confidimus in Domino, quia onera, quae portamus tam a paganis quam a pessimis Christianis, vestri studii humeris alleviabitis et eritis pro ecclesia Christi apud pium coniugem more sanctae illius Hesther pro Israhelitica plebe apud maritum. Quia vero saepe ad Christianissimum coniugem vestrum semper augustum diversis pro necessitatibus sive missos sive apices mittimus, ex hoc iam obsecramus et petimus, vos estote pro nobis ostium, lingua et manus, immo totum pro nobis sitis, advocatoris fungentes officiis, et omnia pro nobis in omnibus facite...*

[95]Helgaud de Fleury, *Vie de Robert le Pieux. EpitomaVitae Regis Rotberti Pii*, ed. Robert H. Bautier and Gillette Labory, Sources d'histoire médiévale, I (Paris, 1965), 108. *Tabulam ad altare sancti Petri in cuius honore exstat locus, auro bono totam cooperuit de qua Constancia nobilis regina, eius conjux gloriosa, post mortem viri sui sanctissimi, Deo et sancto atribuit Aniano summam, scilicet librarium septem ipsius metalli in meliorandis a se monasterii facti tectis; quibus ad imis ad superiora apertis, caelum melius cerneretur quam terra.*

advocate of the Church is amply documented in surviving charters from the era, which repeatedly name the queen as an intercessor before her husband in favour of various religious institutions.[96] This is clearly the role signalled in the Arras Bible's image of Queen Esther.

Sedulius Scottus, in his *speculum principis* "On Christian Rulers," underlined that the queen in herself serves as an ornament to the king as his wife if she displays the correct virtues.

> A ruler, therefore, should perspicaciously endeavor to have a wife who is not only noble, beautiful and wealthy, but also chaste, prudent, and compliant in holy virtues...Not only unbelieving but also pious and orthodox princes often ponder and give heed to the marvelous prudence in their wives, not reflecting on their fragile sex, but, rather, plucking the fruit of their good counsels.[97]

In Sedulius Scotus's eyes, therefore, the queen had a duty to benefit the king simply by being a pious and virtuous wife. Earlier in the same chapter, as we have already seen, Sedulius compared this ideal union to that of Christ and the Church. This role is alluded to by the Bible's image of mystical union prefacing the Song of Solomon.

Finally, Carolingian *ordine* themselves explained the perceived duties of the queen. The purpose of the consecration of Charles the Bald's wife Ermentrude has been the subject of much speculation. It is probable that the sudden desire to consecrate his wife as queen after over twenty years of marriage sprang from Charles's desire for a male heir.[98] Not only did the consecration and coronation of his wife consolidate the royal and sacred nature of his rule, but the unction included in the ceremony was

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[96]William M. Newman, *Catalogue des actes de Robert II, roi de France* (Paris, 1937), acts 9, 13, 19, 78, and 91, show not only Robert's wife, Queen Constance, but also his mother, Queen Adelaide, interceding in favour of churches and monasteries of the realm.
[97]Sedulius Scottus, *On Christian Rulers and the Poems*, 59-60.
[98]Hyam, 158-160.

probably intended to serve, at least in part, as a form of fertility rite, enhancing that most important role of the queen, motherhood.[99] The *ordo* for the consecration of Ermentrude states explicitly that the blessing of the queen is meant to elicit from God the gift of a male heir. It also refers to Sarah and Rebekah, both of whom gave birth miraculously late in life.[100]

Although the Ordo of Ermentrude was not adapted for use in the early Capetian era, the idea of motherhood encapsulated in its mention of these particular Old Testament prototypes found its way into the Cologne Pontifical's *ordo ad benedicendam reginam* through the Ordo of Eleven Forms, and was made even more specific. For instance, Rebekah, who was not mentioned by name in the Ordo of Ermentrude, but only introduced obliquely as the agent of the blessing given to Isaac, is here named with Sarah as an *exemplum*.[101] Clearly, the concept of the queen's duty as a mother still had a special resonance. Furthermore, this role is signalled visually in the Arras Bible by the image of virtuous motherhood prefacing the *Passio Machabeorum*.

In the Carolingian period, noble women had been given the task of maintaining Christian education and practice in their households. The

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[99]This aspect of the consecration of Ermentrude was recognized long ago. Most recently, Franz-Reiner Erkens, "*Sicut Esther Regina*. Die westfränkische Königin als *consors regni*," *Francia*, XX (1993), 26-36, and Jackson, 80. See also Ernst Kantorowicz, "The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paulo fuori le mura," *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, New York, 1965), 82-95, for a visual manifestation of this same desire.

[100]Hyam, 159, and Erkins, 29-30. Jackson, 83, Ordo of Ermentrude. *Propterea petit benedictionem episcopalem super uxorem suam venire, ut talem sobolem ei Dominus de illa dignetur donare...Et de hoc in sanctis scripturis habemus auctoritatem, quia sicut Dominus ad Abraham dixit: "In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes,": cui iam centenario de nonagenaria uxore Isaac filium dedit: ita et ipsum Isaac uxorem sterilem accipere fecit, ut et in hoc, sicut in multis solet facere, misericordiae suae largitatem ostenderet...Et cum iam essent moribus in legitima coniunctione maturi, et provectae aetatis, Abraham et Sarra.*

[101]Jackson, 214. *...et una cum Sara atque Rebecca, Lia et Rachel, beatis reverendisque feminis, fructu uteris sui fecundari seu gratulari mereatur ad decorem totius regni statumque sanctae Dei regendum neconon protegendum...* See also the Ordo of Eleven Forms, p. 165.

Council of Meaux-Paris in 845 and 846 had reinforced that the wife was responsible for teaching the household both the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.[102] The mother of the Maccabees in the Saint-Vaast Bible embodies this role, for in the text of the *Passio Machabeorum* she is praised for exhorting her children to follow the rules of the Faith against the will of the evil ruler Antiochus. She thus acts as a model of Christian education.

The three images of women in the Saint-Vaast Bible which conceptualize early Capetian queenship sought to elevate the queen by representing *exempla* of the traits of the ideal queen and her relationship to the Church. All three of the prototypes chosen, Esther, the Sponsa of the Song of Solomon, and the mother of the Maccabees, had been interpreted in exegesis as Ecclesia. By creating the queen as a type of Ecclesia, the programmer of the Saint-Vaast Bible was able to construct a suitable partner for the king, who is consistently interpreted in the Bible as a type of Christ, also using the agency of Old Testament prototypes. Through this double programme, the Capetian king and queen together embody the celestial rulers who rule the kingdom of heaven, just as they ruled the Capetian kingdom on earth.

The two related pictorial programmes in the Arras Bible which seem intended to define the Christological nature of the offices of king and bishop are paralleled in the writings surrounding the life of Gerard of Cambrai, the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* and the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*. One finds no mention of queenship in these works,

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[102]MGH Concilia, III (Hanover, 1984), ed. Wilfried Hartmann, Act LXXVII, p. 124. *Provideant viri pontentes et maxime pontentes feminae, ut in suis domibus adulteria et luxuriae concubinaticae et incesta adulteria non vigeant. Et suos presbyteros, qui cum eis in capella vadunt, huiusmodi virtutem habere faciant, quatinus omnia vitia in domibus suis resecent; et orationem dominicam ac symbolum cunctos tenere et frequentare compellant, quia parrochiani presbyteri et episcoporum ministri de minoribus et vilioribus personis hoc providere studebunt.*

however, to help explain the Bible's series of images focused on the attributes of the ideal queen. Nonetheless, it is not surprising that the programmer of the Bible added to his reexamination of the role of the king and bishop an exegesis of the nature of queenship, thereby defining what were, in the early eleventh century, probably the three most powerful offices in the Capetian kingdom. Neither the programmer nor the patron of the manuscript can be identified. There is no surviving evidence that members of the royal family visited Arras during the tenure of Gerard of Cambrai, in the era when the Bible was produced. Thus any attempt to connect these programmes to a specific person must remain speculative. The surviving commentaries on the actions of Queen Constance of Arles from the early eleventh century, and the description of the office of the queen contained in the Cologne Pontifical from the mid-eleventh-century, however, both suggest that the nature of queenship was a living issue in the first half of the eleventh century, contemporary with the production of the Saint-Vaast Bible.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Several narrative miniatures in the Saint-Vaast Bible have not been discussed as part of the Bible's programme of secular and ecclesiastical leadership in this study, although they may nonetheless reinforce the meaning underlying the pictorial cycle. They are the miniatures prefacing IV Kings, Ezekiel, II Maccabees, I Peter and I John. For the most part these are relatively straightforward images of the transmission of the text itself. In the miniature for Ezekiel, God transmits the content of the text to Ezekiel through divine inspiration (fig. 9). In the images prefacing II Maccabees (fig. 17) and I Peter (fig. 21), the text is transmitted by the respective authors to the recipients, the brothers in Egypt and the elect in Pontus, Galatia, Cappodocia, Asia and Bithynia. Within the initial beginning I John, a bowing scribe presents a volume to the enthroned Christ (fig. 23). This series of images complements one of the themes discussed above, that of the divine origin of the text of the Bible, and the authority of its transmission. Only the drawing added to the remainder of a mostly blank folio before the incipit page of IV Kings presents a historical narrative (fig. 6). Here, one sees a combination of moments from IV Kings, including the often depicted Prophecy and Ascension of Elijah, and the more unusual Battle of the Kings of Israel, Juda and Edom against the King of Moab. It is not immediately apparent what role this combination of scenes would play in the larger programme of the Bible, and because it has not been integrated within the initial and its framework, but was apparently added as an afterthought to a nearly empty folio, it may not have been forseen as part of the Bible's original programme.

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Some time between twenty and fifty years after the artists of Saint-Vaast planned and executed their exploration of the biblical origins of ecclesiastical and secular governance in the Arras Bible, they returned to the manuscript to fill several lacunae in its pictorial programme.[1] A total of five figural illuminations and many decorative details were added to all three volumes of the Bible in a style that is clearly different from the style employed by the artists of Saint-Vaast earlier in the century. A quick examination of the figural illuminations added in this campaign, namely those prefacing the biblical prologue to the Book of Genesis, Frater Ambrosius, (fig. 1) in volume one, the two minor prophets Nahum and Habakkuk (figs. 10 and 11) in volume two, and the Wisdom book of Ecclesiasticus (fig. 14), and Paul's Epistle to the Colossians (fig. 19) in volume three, reveals that they have been carried out in opaque paints by an artist interested in lending his figures and objects an aura of three-dimensionality.[2] This contrasts strongly with the colour washes and excited linear effects sought by the Arras artists of the early eleventh century. The later style accords with that found in other manuscripts executed in the Saint-Vaast scriptorium beginning in the middle of the eleventh century, a group that Sigrid Schulten, in her study of Saint-Vaast manuscripts, termed the "Spätstufe," and dated ca. 1040-1090.[3] In particular, the figures added to the Saint-Vaast Bible, with their ringed eyes, heavily outlined chins and noses, black hair, and spidery white

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[1] Each of the illuminations added in the later phase of decoration was inserted into a space left on the original early eleventh-century folio and surrounded by script copied by the original scribes. A thorough examination of the illuminations with the naked eye and using raking light and light shone through the folio behind reveals that the illuminations do not cover earlier images, nor is there any evidence that previous illustrations have been scraped off.

[2] See also above, chapter one.

[3] "Die Buchmalerei im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, VII (1956), 64-77.

highlights, can be compared to those in a Sacramentary today found in Paris, BN MS lat. 9436.[4] Once localised to Saint-Denis because of its illustration of Saint Dionysius taking communion, Schulten convincingly argued based both on the manuscript's calendar of feasts and its style that the Paris Sacramentary originated in the Saint-Vaast scriptorium, perhaps as a gift for the abbey of Saint-Denis.[5] Although neither the Sacramentary nor the additions to the Bible are internally dateable, Schulten speculated that the Sacramentary could have been produced to coincide with the opening of the shrine of Saint-Denis in 1050, a date that accords well with the stylistic development observed in other Saint-Vaast manuscripts.[6]

Four of the illuminations added to the Bible in this final campaign are very straightforward. The frame on the incipit page of *Frater Ambrosius*, volume one folio two, contains four corner medallions, each ornamented with a seated or crouching author. Scholars have long noted that the artist seems to have copied this composition directly from a Franco-Saxon manuscript illuminated at Saint-Vaast in the Carolingian era, and still in its possession.[7] The decoration of the Saint-Vaast Lectionary, Arras BM MS 1045 (233), begins on folio 8 (fig. 70) with a framed text page. The interlace frame is ornamented with four corner squares containing tiny depictions of evangelists writing at lecterns. The

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[4]See fig. 15v, God in a mandorla flanked by cherubim and twelve angels, fol. 71v, the stoning of Saint Stephen, fol. 106v, the communion of Saint Dionysius and his followers, and fol. 129, Mary with angels.

[5]"Die Buchmalerei ," 66-70. The calendar contains a number of feasts for Saint Vedastus, and has the saint's name written in gold not only in the calendar, but in the saint's day mass. Autbertus and Vindicianus, two other local saints, also appear. Despite Schulten's localisation, C. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800-1200* (New Haven, 1993), 211, favours an origin at St. Denis.

[6]Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 77.

[7]André Boutemy, "La Bible enluminée de Saint-Vaast à Arras (Ms. 559)," *Scriptorium*, IV (1950), 71, *L'Art du moyen âge en Artois* (Arras, 1951), 53, and Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei," 51.

eleventh-century artist copied the frame into the Saint-Vaast Bible, except for its decorative lobes, and removed the lecterns, leaving the two lower figures oddly contorted. Otherwise, the composition is remarkably similar.

The next two illuminations are found within initials prefacing the Books of Nahum and Habakkuk (figs. 10 and 11). Unlike the illustration for *Frater Ambrosius*, which continued the scriptorium's early eleventh-century practice of drawing heavily on its Franco-Saxon heritage, these two single figure illuminations herald the development at Saint-Vaast of a full-blown Romanesque tradition. The vast majority of the figural illustrations from the earlier campaign are found not only within, but around the initials beginning the biblical books. The two exceptions to this practice are the author portrait of Paul prefacing his Epistle to Philemon (fig. 20), and the image of a haloed figure presenting a book to an enthroned Christ in the initial for the First Epistle of John (fig. 23), both found near the end of volume three and thus among the last illuminations completed in the first campaign.[8] Both can be defined as historiated initials, yet both of these images are found within initials that spread out over the page, and are surrounded with an extensive decorative framework. The illuminations to Nahum and Habakkuk are instead self-contained and confined to the space within the initial or its immediate border.[9] No longer does a network of tendril or interlace

[8]Paul's epistle to Philemon, Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 126, and the First Epistle of John, Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 136v.

[9]Interestingly, the nearby scriptorium of St. Bertin in St. Omer had already begun to make extensive use of this type of historiated initial at the turn of the century under Abbot Odbert. See Claire Kelleher, "Illumination at Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer under the Abbacy of Odbert," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1968, 199-210, and Francis Wormald, "The Development of English Illumination in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., VIII (1943), 31-49, reprinted in *Collected Writings*, 2 vols., ed. J. J. G. Alexander, T. J. Brown and Joan Gibbs (London, 1988), II, 21-42,

spring from the ends and midpoints of the initial to work its way around the text. Rather, the framework of the initial now predominates. The figural illustration is, in both cases, completely contained within the loop of the initial.

Both of these initials contain a single figure. The historiated initial prefacing Nahum (fig. 10) illustrates the first few words of the Book of Nahum, which predict the destruction of the city of Nineveh, "The Lord is a jealous God, and a revenger." Appropriately, the artist has depicted a standing Christ-logos brandishing a sword in his right hand. The Book of Habakkuk (fig. 11) is instead illustrated with an author portrait. A haloed Habakkuk stands against a swirling backdrop of green and yellow waves with a furled scroll in his left hand. Neither illumination significantly adds to the Bible's overall pictorial programme.

The illumination prefacing the Wisdom book of Ecclesiasticus is, however, of an entirely different character. Once again, there is no evidence that this illumination replaced an earlier image. All indications are that the artists of the first campaign left at least three-quarters of folio 1v of volume three blank (fig. 14). The artist of the second campaign added not only a very colourful foliate-filled initial O for the beginning of the text, but also probably the most complex figural illumination in the Saint-Vaast Bible.

The Ecclesiasticus illumination has inspired more discussion than any other part of the Bible's pictorial programme.[10] The illustration is organized around a jewelled circle in the top half of the folio that, like the zodiac-inhabited circle before the Song of Solomon in the second volume

on a parallel development in English manuscript illumination.

[10]Most recently, Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination; an Historical Study*, 2 vols. (New York, 1991), II, 176-178.

(fig. 12), echoes the shape of the first letter of the text. Once again, Christ-logos sits enthroned in the middle of the circle. The rest of the composition is very different. Here, Christ-logos is shown not as the Sponsus in conversation with his heavenly bride, but rather as the avenging world ruler. The figure holds a cross-orb of dominion and a spear. Although his throne is not visible, his footstool is made of the heads of two crouching men. Behind him is a seven-columned temple with a frieze of female heads on its entablature. Surrounding this circle is a three-storey high series of arcades. The top two contain labelled personifications of the four Cardinal Virtues. The bottom level contains four seated writing evangelists and a fifth curtained arch.

Because the Book of Ecclesiasticus, like the Song of Solomon, does not narrate a series of historical events, it does not provide any obvious subjects for illustration. Rather, it is comprised of a series of moral exhortations on wisdom and good conduct, many of them first person statements delivered by Wisdom itself.[11] Earlier illuminators therefore drew on this aspect of the text and illustrated the initial prefacing the book with either a personification of Wisdom, or a reference to wisdom incarnate, Christ.[12] For instance, the historiated initial prefacing the Book of Ecclesiasticus in the Carolingian Grandval Bible holds a hand gripping a cross-staff with Alpha and Omega pendants, and a chalice, symbol of the

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[11]B. Botte, "La Sagesse dans les livres sapientiaux," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* XIX (1930), 85.

[12]*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, 8 vols. (Basel, 1968-1976), IV, 39-43. The literature on various depictions of Wisdom is vast. See, for instance, André Grabar, "Iconographie de la Sagesse Divine," *Cahiers Archéologiques,* VIII (1956), 254-261, and W. Hormann, "Probleme einer Aldersbacher Handschrift, Clm 2599," in *Buch und Welt. Festschrift für G. Hofmann,* (Weisbaden, 1965), 335-389, F. Ronig, "Der thronende Christus mit Kelch und Hostie zwischen Ecclesia und Synagoge," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte,* XV (1963), 391-403, and for the east, J. Meyersdorff, "L'iconographie de la Sagesse divine dans la tradition byzantine," *Cahiers Archéologiques,* X (1959), 259-277.

incarnation (fig. 71).[13] This iconography refers to the first words of the text, "All wisdom comes from God." In chapter nine of the Book of Proverbs, Wisdom herself says "And to the unwise she said: Come, eat my bread, and drink the wine which I have mingled for you. Forsake childishness and live." Using this statement, Wisdom is often interpreted by commentators eucharistically as God incarnate in Christ.[14] In the Carolingian Bamberg Bible, the initial O beginning the text of Ecclesiasticus houses an enthroned female personification of Wisdom holding an open codex and palm, labelled *Sophia Sancta* (fig. 72).[15] The designer of the Saint-Vaast Bible, with or without some Carolingian pictorial model, drew on both of these ideas, combining an enthroned personification of Holy Wisdom within a circle with an interpretation of wisdom as Christ incarnate.[16]

The Saint-Vaast Bible's illustrator elaborated on the ideas found in the Carolingian illuminations, however, by adding a variety of other motifs. First, he stressed Christ's identity with Holy Wisdom by placing him in front of the house of Wisdom, the Temple, with pillars topped with female heads probably meant to represent the Liberal Arts, inspired by the beginning of chapter nine of the Book of Proverbs, "Wisdom hath built herself a house, she hath hewn her out seven pillars."[17] Then,

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[13]London, BL MS Add 10546, fol. 269.

[14]Marie Thérèse D'Alverny, "Le symbolisme de la Sagesse et le Christ de Saint Dunstan," *Bodleian Library Record*, V (1956), 234, on the interpretations of St. Cyprian

[15]Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Bibl. 1, fol. 260v.

[16]Once again, the Saint-Vaast Bible's image is echoed in part by that in the near contemporary Catalan Ripoll Bible, Rome, Bibl. Vat. Lat. 5729, fol. 299. Here, the Book of Ecclesiasticus is prefaced by an image of an enthroned Christ-logos in conversation with two companions bearing books and wearing phrygian caps, or according to Neuß, monks' cowls. Neuß, Wilhelm. *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn, 1922), 83 and fig. 193.

[17]Marie Thérèse D'Alverny, "La Sagesse et ses sept filles, " in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, I (Paris, 1946), 245, and Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illustration* (Ithaca, 1982), 114. Visual sources for this motif abound, particularly in

drawing on the composition traditionally employed for Carolingian Maiestas Domini illustrations, the artist surrounded Christ not only with the predictable seated writing evangelists, implying the reliance of the Gospels on Divine Wisdom, but also added to this constellation of seated figures the four Cardinal Virtues.[18] In this way, he complemented the attributes of rule, such as the orb, spear and diadem, already assigned to Christ, for the use of flanking Cardinal Virtues is reminiscent of ruler portraits, especially the portrait of a Carolingian ruler in the Cambrai Gospel book, Cambrai, BM MS 327, fol. 16v (fig. 73), where the ruler and the Cardinal Virtues all hold the same attributes as the figures in the Saint-Vaast Ecclesiasticus image.[19]

Finally, the artist emphasized Christ's triumph over his earthly enemies by picturing the two cowering figures whose necks are crushed under his feet. The visual motif of figures crushed under Christ's feet was probably originally inspired by the text of Psalm 109:1, "The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footstool." In the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter illustration for Psalm 109, God the Father and God the Son are shown sitting enthroned over

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Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Prudentius' Psychomachia. See, for instance, Leyden, Bibl. der Universiteit, Burm Q.3, fol. 148v, or London, BL MS Cotton Cleopatra C. VIII, fol. 33 , H. Woodruff, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius," *Art Studies: Medieval, Renaissance and Modern,* VII (1929), 33-79.

[18]On the Cardinal Virtues, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* IV, 364-380, and Adolph Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art,* (London, 1939).

[19]Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories,* 31. It is entirely possible that Cambrai Gospel book was in nearby Cambrai in the eleventh century and seen by the Saint-Vaast artists. Fol. 17 of the Cambrai Gospels, with its bust-length evangelist symbol for Matthew springing from a cloudy base and surrounded by a circular frame, seems to have been copied wholesale into the Saint-Vaast Gospel book, Boulogne BM MS 9, fol. 15. The Cambrai Gospels ruler portrait was, of course, not the only example to include such iconography. The ruler portrait in the San Paolo Bible also included virtues. William J. Diebold, "The Ruler Portrait of Charles the Bald in the San Paolo Bible, " *Art Bulletin,* LXXVI (1994), 6-18.

crushed figures.[20] This composition was echoed in the early eleventh century by the artist of the New Minster prayerbook (fig. 74).[21] Here, in addition to a number of other changes, the artist has labelled the figures flanking the hellmouth under Christ's feet as Arius and Judas, inspired by Jerome's glosses on Psalm 109, where he refutes the Arian heresy.[22] The equating of the "enemies" of Christ specifically with heretics may shed some light on how the Saint-Vaast Bible's version of this motif should be interpreted.

As Peter Brieger pointed out in his discussion of the Ecclesiasticus illumination, the precedent for combining many of the elements found in this miniature had already been set in the writings of Alcuin on the study of the Liberal Arts.[23] In his *De grammatica*, Alcuin described the seven columns of the Temple of Wisdom as symbolising the seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, but also the seven Liberal Arts.[24] The seven heads surmounting the columns of the Temple in the Saint-Vaast image are thus interpreted as personifying the Liberal Arts.[25] Furthermore, in *De*

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[20]Utrecht, Univ. Lib. 32, fol. 64v.

[21]London, BL MS Cotton Titus D. XXVI and XXVII, fol. 75v.

[22]Ernst Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," *Art Bulletin*, XXIX (1947), 80-81.

[23]"Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform," *Studies in Church History*, II (1965),158.

[24]Alcuin, *De Grammatica*, PL 101:853. *Legimus, Salomone dicente, per quem ipsa se cecinit [Sapientia]: Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, excidit columas septem* (Prov. IX:1). *Quae sententia licet ad divinam pertineat sapientiam, quae sibi in utero virginali domum, id est corpus, aedificavit, hanc et septem donis sancti spiritus confirmavit; vel Ecclesiam, quae est domus Dei, eisdem donis illuminavit; tamen sapientia liberalium litterarum septem columnis confirmatur; nec aliter ad perfectam quem libet deducit scientiam, nisi his septem columnis vel etiam gradibus exaltetur.*

[25]D'Alverny, "Le symbolisme de la Sagesse," 243, and Brieger, 158. On the representations of the seven Liberal Arts, see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, II, 703-713, Jutta Tezmen-Siegel, *Die Darstellung der septem artes liberales in der bildenen Kunst als rezeption der Lehrplangeschichte*, (Munich, 1985), especially 144 on the Arras miniature, Adolph Katzenellenbogen, "The Representation of the Seven Liberal Arts," *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, (Madison, Wisconson, 1961), 39-58, M. Masi, "Boethius and the Iconography of the Liberal Arts," *Latomus*, XXXIII (1974), 57-75 and Elisabeth Klemm, "Artes Liberales und antike Autoren in der Aldersbacher Sammelhandschrift, Clm 2599," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XLI (1978), 1-15.

rhetorica et virtutibus, Alcuin promoted the four Cardinal Virtues as a means to understand the divine by making them part of Philosophia, the love of wisdom, under *Ethica,* one of the three divisions containing the Liberal Arts.[26]

The combination of the Liberal Arts with the Cardinal Virtues as an expression of Wisdom and a means towards the understanding of the divine was a common topos in Carolingian literature. The Ecclesiasticus illustration of the Saint-Vaast Bible is the first surviving illustration of this system.[27] Its iconography cannot entirely be explained with reference to this scheme, however, since the four writing evangelists, the hanging curtain, the royal motifs, and the cowering figures below Christ are not related to these writings.

The artist probably turned to another authoritative work more closely connected with the Book of Ecclesiasticus for inspiration. Rabanus Maurus's commentary on Ecclesiasticus may have proved a more compelling source than the more tangentially related writings on wisdom by Alcuin specifically because of its concentration on the dangers of heresy and the sins of heretics.[28] Throughout the commentary, Rabanus repeatedly returns to the theme of the threat posed by heretics and

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[26]Alcuin, *Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus,* PL 101:945-950. In connecting the liberal arts with the four Cardinal Virtues in his scheme, Alcuin echoed the system described by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiarum,* PL 83:141. *Philosophia est rerum humanarum divinarumque cognitio...Ethicam socrates primus ad corrigendos componendosque mores instituit, atque mone studium eius ad bene vivendi disputationem perduxit, dividens eam in quatuor virtutes animae, id est, prudentiam, justitiam, fortitudinem, et temperentiam.* Rabanus Maurus also picked up on this, and included it in his *De Universo,* PL 111:414-148.

[27]Brieger, 158-159, compared this composition with the seventeenth-century description of the now destroyed floor mosaic of Saint-Remi at Reims. Unfortunately, there is no firm evidence for the date of the mosaic, which may have been created as late as 1170. Henri Stern, *Recueil général des mosaiques de la Gaule,* I. Province de Belgique, 1. Partie Ouest (Paris, 1957), 91 and Émile Mâle, *Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France,* (1922), 318-319. Later encyclopedic schemes like this abound. See, for instance, Francis Wormald, "The Throne of Wisdom and St. Edward's Chair," *De Artibus Opuscula XL* (1961), I, 532-539.

[28]Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Ecclesiasticum,* PL 109:763-1126.

schismatics to both Church and individual. Also, Rabanus's work provides an explanation for the combination of motifs found in the Saint-Vaast Bible's Ecclesiasticus illumination, for the first time connecting them specifically with the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

Commenting on Ecclesiasticus 10:4, "The power of the earth is in the hand of God, and in his time he will raise up a profitable ruler over it," Rabanus recalls the statement of Psalm 73, "God is our King before the ages: he hath wrought salvation in the midst of the earth..." He then elaborates, "All the power in heaven and earth has been given to him, and there is no one who is able to resist his will. It is fitting that he reigns while he may subjugate all his enemies under his feet."[29] Clearly, this passage casts light on the designer's addition of the crossed-orb and diadem to Christ, as well as his enthronement over the cowering figures.

Rabanus glosses chapter 24:35-37, "Who filleth up wisdom as the Phison, and as the Tigris in the days of the new fruits. Who maketh understanding to abound as the Euphrates, who multiplieth it as the Jordan in the time of harvest. Who sendeth knowledge as the light, and riseth up as Gehon in the time of the vintage," with this interpretation: "The four rivers of Paradise flowing from one source imitate the wisdom of the King, who descended from David, meaning, the four Gospels flow out from our Lord Jesus Christ, the true son of God, also the true son of Man, that is, David, because from his seed he was born into flesh."[30] The evangelists in the Saint-Vaast image are arrayed below Christ's feet like

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[29]PL 109:826. ...data est illi omnis potestas in coelo et in terra, et non est qui possit resistere voluntati eius. Oportet enim eum regnare donec subjiciat omnes inimicos eius sub pedibus suis.

[30]PL 109:942. Quod autem quatuor flumina paradisi ex uno fonte procedentia assimilat sapientia regi, qui ex David ortus est, significat ex Domino nostro Jesu Christo vero Filio Dei, nec non et vero filio hominis, hoc est David, quia ex eius semine secundum carnem natus est, quatuor Evangelia procedere...

the four rivers of paradise flowing from their source, supporting the superstructure of Holy Wisdom above, but at the same time the product of its inspiration.

Rabanus's commentary sets up a dichotomy between the heterodox and the orthodox, between those who disregard the doctrines of the holy fathers and misinterpret the sense of holy scripture, and those who wisely follow the teachings of the Gospels and the doctrines of the Church, who commend virtue while persecuting vice, and who follow the sacraments. In many cases, he interprets the admonitions of Ecclesiasticus as directed specifically against heretics. Most tellingly, Rabanus emphasizes the gulf between heretics as those who, because of their actions, are denied the insights of Divine Wisdom, and the true faithful, who alone may benefit from the understanding of wisdom.

Commenting on Ecclesiasticus 14:10, "An evil eye is towards evil things: and he shall not have his fill of bread, but shall be needy and pensive at his own table," Rabanus states, "The eye of heretics, because it is always intent on following errors, does not merit the heavenly bread, that is, the understanding of Divine Wisdom."[31] Glossing Ecclesiasticus 15:7, "But foolish men shall not obtain her [Wisdom], and wise men shall meet her, foolish men shall not see her: for she is far from pride and deceit," he defines the errors of heretics as the misinterpretation of the scriptures.

> Heretics are those who corrupt the integrity of the holy scriptures through their errors, and men who deceive men with false doctrine. They all, therefore, do not take hold of wisdom, because the Holy Spirit flees from falsehood, and wisdom will not enter into a malicious spirit. To the contrary, however, intelligent men, that is, religious and orthodox men, resist them, because in thinking, discourse

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[31]PL 109:857. *Mystice autem haereticorum oculus, quia semper ad errores sequendos intentus est, panem coelestem, hoc est intellectum divinae sapientiae non meretur...*

and likewise in works, they resolve to obey the wishes of the divine.[32]

Brieger saw the inclusion of the evangelists and the curtain, which he interpreted as a reference to the Temple of the Old Testament, as an expression of the desire of contemporary clerics to defend the unity of the scriptures against the attacks of Sapientia's enemies, the heretics.[33] Although Brieger derived his hypothesis from the visual evidence alone, his interpretation is reinforced by a reading of Rabanus's commentary. Glossing Ecclesiasticus 11:10, Rabanus says, "It is the custom to say one book of the scriptures, however many books, if among themselves they do not disagree, and they are written about the same thing."[34] The unity of the Old and New Testaments is further reinforced by their common origin. Commenting on chapter 24:38-39, Rabanus says, "Truly in fact our Lord is author of spiritual knowledge and beneficial doctrine, because he established the first law through Moses, he inspired the prophets, he taught the apostles, he appointed the evangelists and the eulogists of the New Testament..."[35] These statements about the unity of the two testaments have been made visual by aligning the veil of the temple of the Old Covenant with the four evangelists of the New.

The concerns elaborated by Rabanus in his commentary on Ecclesiasticus are strikingly similar to those expressed by Gerard in his *Acta*

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[32]PL 109:861. *Sunt etiam et haeretici, qui sinceritatem sacrarum Scripturarum suis erroribus corrumpunt, et homines falsis doctrinis decipiunt. Hi ergo omnes non apprehendent sapientiam, quia Spiritus sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum; et in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia. E contrario autem homines sensati, hoc est, homines catholici et religiosi, hi obviant illi, quia cogitatione, sermone, simul et opere divinae decernunt obtemperare voluntati.*

[33]Brieger, 158-159.

[34]PL 109:841. *Moris est Scripturarum, quamvis plures libros, si inter se non discrepent, et de eadem re scribant, unum volumen dicere.*

[35]PL 109:943. *Vere enim Dominus noster auctor est scientiae spiritalis et salubris doctrinae, quia ipse per Moysen primum condidit legem, ipse inspiravit prophetas, ipse docuit apostolos, ipse ordinavit evangelistas, et praedictores Novi Testamenti...*

Synodi Atrebatensis, inspired by the Synod of Arras in 1025.[36] In listing

the transgressions of the defendants, Gerard reported first that the Italian

heretic Gundulf had taught his followers to reject the entire Bible with the

exception of the Gospels and the writings of the Apostles.[37] Throughout

the *Acts*, Gerard defends the unity of the scriptures by pointing out

repeatedly the origins of Church practices and beliefs in the Old

Testament. He defends the study of the Old Testament by pointing out the

references to it in the same scriptures that were considered acceptable by

the heretics. Gerard states, for instance, "But also Paul, who always teaches

us to pass over from the old to the new, writes over much from Moses,

the prophets and the psalms in his own writings, as it is in Genesis, 'The

first man Adam was made into a living spirit (I Cor. 15:45).'"[38]

The monks at Saint-Vaast who contributed the new miniatures to

the Bible in the middle of the eleventh century most likely were familiar

with the events of 1024 and 1025, or with the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*.

They may have been drawn to Rabanus Maurus's commentary on

Ecclesiasticus as a source of inspiration for the Ecclesiasticus image

specifically because it resonated with the concerns which had been made

vividly real during the heresy. In illustrating the Book of Ecclesiasticus in

the Saint-Vaast Bible with this pictorial expression of the unity of the two

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[36]See chapter three.

[37]PL 151:1271. *At illi referunt se esse auditores Gundulfi, cuiusdam ab Italiae partibus viri, et ab eo evangelicis mandatis et apostolicis informatos, nullamque praeter hanc scripturam se recipere, sed hanc verbo et opere tenere.*

[38]PL 151:1288-1289. *Sed et Paulus, qui semper a veteribus nos docet transire ad nova, multa de Moyse et prophetis et psalmis, suis scriptis inscrit, ut est illud in Genesi: Factus est primus homo Adam in animam viventem.* Gerard continues with a further example, *Quid igitur? Nunquid Vetus Testamentum reprobasse dicendus est, qui in Epistola ad Hebraeos ita scribit: Tabernaculum factum est primum, in quo erant candelabra, et mensa, et propositio panum, quod dicitur sancta; post velamentum autem secundum tabernaculum, quo dicitur Sancta sanctorum, aureum habens thuribulum, et arcam testamenti circumtectam omni ex parte auro (Hebr. 9), et caetera, quae in eadem Epistola de Veteri Testamento prosequitur.*

testaments, the artists could not have chosen a better setting to express their beliefs. As one of the first illustrated Giant Bibles of the Romanesque era, the manuscript in itself represented how important the Old Testament remained for monastic practice.[39] In addition, the portrayal of Christ as the conquering ruler, although it uses the format and attributes of a Carolingian ruler portrait rather than those found in the other images of kings in the Bible, nonetheless completes the Bible's pictorial cycle of ruler images.[40] Christ-logos is shown as the heavenly ruler, of which all earthly rulers were types, enthroned before the Temple of Wisdom, the very virtue which was God's gift to worthy rulers such as David and Solomon, enabling them to rule justly. The Ecclesiasticus illumination therefore forms a fitting culmination of the Bible's earlier programme, although it was added as much as fifty years later and by a different artist.

It is not surprising that the artists in the Saint-Vaast scriptorium would have returned to the Bible to complete the unfinished pictorial programme so long after it was begun. The Bible was clearly heavily used throughout its history, as is obvious from the numerous sets of chapter markings in both Roman and Arabic numerals, the replacement of lost folios in later Gothic script, and the network of lection marks and neums written throughout the text. As the Bible was intended for day to day use in the choir and the refectory, the monks would have been constantly reminded of the Bible's unfinished state, as well as the content of its original figurative decoration.

Although the complexity of the Saint-Vaast Bible's Ecclesiasticus illustration was never replicated, twelfth-century Romanesque Bibles take

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[39]See chapter two on the intended use of the Saint-Vaast Bible and other North French Giant Bibles.

[40]See chapter four on the kingship cycle in the Saint-Vaast Bible.

up many of the iconographic motifs used first at Arras. The unfinished

Winchester Bible illustration for this Wisdom book, for instance, pictures

a crowned female personification of Wisdom holding a cross-orb,

emphasizing the royal nature of Divine Wisdom as described in

Rabanus's commentary on Ecclesiasticus.[41] The Sawalo Bible shows Christ

enthroned as Wisdom incarnate.[42] The Bible of St. Thierry pictures

Philosophia surrounded by the three divisions of the Liberal Arts and

virtues outlined by Alcuin in *De rhetorica et virtutibus*.[43] The most

striking example must be the illustration of Ecclesiasticus in a Bible from

Western England, which includes the crowned female personification

enthroned in front of a seven columned temple of Wisdom, crushing a

lion and a serpent beneath her feet.[44]

The illustration for Ecclesiasticus was not the only image from

Saint-Vaast Bible that is echoed in later Romanesque Bibles. In fact, the

Arras Bible contains the first surviving examples of many Bible

illustrations which would later make up the standard repertoire of

Romanesque Bible imagery. As in the illustration prefacing the Book of

Joshua in the Saint-Vaast Bible, God's charge to Joshua is found before this

book in several later Bibles, including two twelfth-century French Bibles,

the Second Bible of St. Martial of Limoges,[45] and a Bible from Languedoc

now in London, the Mosan Stavelot Bible, and an Italian Bible now in

Parma.[46] Images of David and Abishag also appear before III Kings in

several later Bibles. In both the Pantheon Bible and the Lyon Bible, David

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[41]Winchester, Cathedral Library, vol. III, fol. 278v.

[42]Valenciennes, BM MS 4, fol. 131v.

[43]Reims, BM MS 22-23, vol. II, fol. 25.

[44]Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 752, fol. 265v.

[45]Paris, BN MS lat. 8, vol. I, fol. 82, and London, BL MS Harley 4772, fol. 99.

[46]London, BL MS Add 28106, fol. 75v, and Parma, Bibliotheca Palatina, Palat. MS 386, fol. 58v.

is shown actually being warmed by Abishag,[47] while in the Saint-Yrieix Bible, as in the Saint-Vaast Bible, the moment of introduction is shown.[48] Only in the Winchester Bible, however, has this been combined with an image of David's last charge to Solomon.[49] As noted in chapter three, the Saint-Vaast illustration of the Book of Ezra showing both Ezra and King Cyrus is also paralleled in the Winchester Bible.[50] There are similar illustrations in a Bible from Marchiennes now in Douai, in a Bible from Champagne or Northern Burgundy, and the Parisian Manerius Bible.[51]

The image of Esther's audience with Ahasuerus became one of the most popular illustrations for the Book of Esther. Examples can be found in the Bible of Souvigny, the Bible of Saint-Thierry, the Lyons Bible, and a twelfth-century Bible from the Chartres region.[52] The image with the greatest number of parallels, however, is undeniably that for the Song of Solomon. Representations of Christ and Ecclesia abound in Romanesque manuscripts, though their relationship was depicted with various degrees of explicitness. A few of these are the twelfth-century Chambre des Députés Bible, a Bible from Western England now in Oxford, the Bible of Souvigny, the Frowinus Bible, the Sawalo Bible, and the Bible of Saint-Remi.[53]

In spite of these individual similarities to other Bibles, however, the pictorial programme of the Saint-Vaast Bible was never copied in its

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[47]Rome, Vat. Lat. 12958, vol. I, fol. 98, and Lyon, BM MS 410-411, fol. 132v.

[48]Saint-Yrieix, BM, Bible, fol. 93v.

[49]Winchester, Cathedral Library, vol. I, fol. 109.

[50]Winchester, Cathedral Library, vol. III, fol. 342.

[51]Douai, BM MS 3a, fol. 93v, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MSS 8-10, vol. III, fol. 47, and Paris, BN MSS lat. 11534-11535, vol. II, fol. 138.

[52]Moulins, BM, fol. 284, Reims, BM MS 22-23, vol. II, fol. 69v, Lyon, BM MS 410-411, vol. II, fol. 23, and Paris, BN MS lat. 116, fol. 65.

[53]Paris, Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, MS 2, fol. 195v, Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 752, fol. 258v, Moulins, BM, fol. 235, Engelberg, Stiftbibl. , MS 3-5, vol. II, fol. 69v, Valenciennes, BM MS 1-5, vol. III, fol. 137v, and Reims, BM MS 16-18, vol. III, fol. 149r.

entirety, or even strongly echoed in a later Bible. Many of the scenes in the Bible are almost unique in Romanesque Bible illumination, including the images prefacing Jeremiah, II Maccabees, the *Passio Machabeorum* and the Book of Acts. Also, while many later Bibles have images of Moses communicating with God illustrating the Pentateuch, in no case is the scene found before Deuteronomy.[54] In addition, although later artists tended to concentrate a great deal of biblical decoration at the beginning of the Bible illustrating the Book of Genesis, the Saint-Vaast Bible's Genesis page has no figural illustration and very little decoration of any sort.

One is led inevitably towards the conclusion that the choice of which books to illustrate, along with the way in which they were illustrated, was guided by programmatic imperatives specific to early eleventh-century Arras. The historical circumstances surrounding the creation of the Bible, the political uncertainties besetting the Capetian realm, the rise of feudalism, and the reform movement with its threat to the traditional ecclesiastical hierarchy all contributed to mold the Bible's pictorial programme. At the same time, the monastic reform movement itself, with its emphasis on the importance of the reading of scripture and its rejuvenation of local monasteries and their scriptoria, provided the opportunity for these ideas to be expressed in this lavish format. While later Romanesque artists expanded the system of Bible illustration to include many more books, and seemingly more consistent cycles of imagery, the Saint-Vaast Bible remains an invaluable record of the genesis of Romanesque Bible illustration by documenting the concerns which

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[54] In several cases one does find Moses speaking with the Israelites before Deuteronomy, including Oxford Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 752, fol. 64v, and Florence, Laurenziana, S. Cr. Plut. V, dex. 1, fol. 61, and the Stavelot Bible, London, BL MS Add. 28106, fol. 62v

gave rise to one of the most important artistic movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The Saint-Vaast Bible also provides in interesting example of the method of work of a scriptorium just rebuilding itself after at least a century's lapse in manuscript production. The monastery of Saint-Vaast, recovering from the Norman raids that had swept the region during the tenth century, and flowering anew under the leadership of the reforming abbot Richard of Saint-Vanne, set itself the task of creating a monumental three-volume Bible as one of its very first artistic projects of the eleventh-century. The monks' desire to create such a mammoth work probably reflects the renewed monastic practice of daily choir and refectory reading from the Bible instituted by Richard of Saint-Vanne after he reformed the monastery in 1018, for the Saint-Vaast Bible was, as discussed above, only the first of a series of Giant Bibles associated with monasteries reformed by Richard or his followers.

Faced with this marathon task, the artists turned to a number of different sources, both visual and written, as resources for their pictorial program. Although the scriptorium still had examples of manuscripts from its own Franco-Saxon tradition in its collection, the monks did not feel compelled to employ only this decorative vocabulary. Instead, they mined earlier and contemporary manuscripts from England and the Continent for decorative and figurative motifs in order to construct their pictorial cycle.   Drawing on their Carolingian heritage, the artists adopted Franco-Saxon interlace frames and initials as the framework for their miniatures. They then added to this the restless tendrils, acanthus and animal interlace of contemporary Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Earlier Saint-Vaast manuscripts, however, apparently provided very few models

for figural illustration. As has become clear from a survey of the

illuminations in the Arras Bible, the Saint-Vaast monks drew their

inspiration from a variety of pictorial sources, nonetheless rarely copying

any model outright. While they may have had an illustrated Carolingian

Tours Bible in their possession, it is likely that such a manuscript was

sparingly illustrated with a few narrative or symbolic scenes, as is, for

instance, the Bamberg Bible,[55] because there seem to be few instances when

the illustration of the Tours Bibles and the Saint-Vaast Bible coincide.

Generally, the same books were not chosen for illustration. Only one

subject found in the Touronian Bible narrative miniatures is even

vaguely paralleled in the Saint-Vaast Bible, where the setting, the moment

and the text illustrated are all different.[56]

The artists at Saint-Vaast may still have had access to some

Carolingian pictorial models, such as those accompanying the writings of

Rabanus Maurus.[57] That they did not rely exclusively on Carolingian

sources, however, is made clear by the series of illuminations seemingly

copied from or inspired by Byzantine models.[58] In addition, after mining

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[55]Bamberg, Staatsbib. Misc. class. Bibl. 1.

[56]This is the scene of Moses receiving the Law and passing it on to the Israelites. Although the Saint-Vaast illustrations for Deuteronomy, introduced in chapter three, present the same type of subject matter, the transmission of the dictates of God, the setting is now not Mt. Sinai but the plains of Moab, the moment is now immediately before Moses' death, and the text illustrated is now Deuteronomy instead of Exodus or Leviticus (figs. 2 and 3).

[57]For instance, as discussed in chapter four, one of the only illustrations in the Bible which closely mirrors an identifiable prototype, the illustration for the Song of Solomon with Christ and Ecclesia seated within a zodiac circle, may have been inspired by an illustrated Carolingian manuscript of Rabanus Maurus (fig. 12).

[58]The other illumination in the Saint-Vaast Bible with a close parallel is the illustration of Eleazar, the seven Maccabean brothers and their mother for the Passion of the Maccabees, discussed in chapter four (fig. 18). This miniature was clearly inspired by either a Byzantine illustration from IV Maccabees, or some work copied from a Byzantine source. Two other miniatures may also be more loosely related to Byzantine sources. The illustration prefacing Acts, discussed in chapter three, may be based on a Byzantine model which provided an image of Luke preaching to Theophilus in combination with Christ preaching to the Apostles (fig. 24), while the scene of David and Abishag and David's charge to Solomon in the upper register of III Kings, also discussed in chapter four, may

Anglo-saxon manuscripts for decorative motifs, they may have returned
to them for narrative material.[59] There are no strong parallels in the Arras
Bible with Ottonian narrative imagery, probably because Ottonian artists
concentrated their efforts on creating cycles of images from the New
Testament rather than the Old Testament. For the majority of images in
the Saint-Vaast Bible, however, no clear visual source can be found. Some
appear to be ad-hoc creations, combining a variety of different motifs into
compositions invented for this occasion by the artists.[60] Others find
parallels in either the extensive miniature cycles of the Catalonian
Bibles,[61] or in a series of later Romanesque Bibles, indicating that all may
mirror early miniature cycles which have now been lost.[62]

Although the artists or programmers of the Saint-Vaast Bible
appear to have relied on a wide variety of pictorial sources when creating
the illustrative cycle, in choosing their written sources they were much
more consistent. The monks of Saint-Vaast were obviously steeped in the
ideas of Richard of Saint-Vanne and Gerard of Cambrai, either from the
series of writings connected with the best known events of early eleventh-
century Arras, including the Peace of God and the heretical incident of
1025, or from hearing the same issues debated in sermons or in the chapter
during the visits of these two popular leaders.[63] The writings and

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combine two separate moments from a Byzantine cycle of images (fig. 5).

[59]The illustration of Moses Preaching to the Israelites prefacing Deuteronomy (fig. 3) may
have been inspired by an image of Moses Blessing the Israelites such as that in the Aelfric
Hexateuch.

[60]The illustrations for Jeremiah (fig. 8), Wisdom (fig. 13), and possibly II Chronicles (fig. 7)
fall into this catagory.

[61]The Roda Bible, Paris, BN MS lat. 6, and the Ripoll Bible, Rome, Vat. MS lat. 5729.

[62]This may be true of the illustrations for the lower register of III Kings (fig. 5), as well as
the Books of Joshua (fig. 4), Ezra (fig. 15), and Esther (fig. 16).

[63]The Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium and the Acta Synodi Atrebatensis were probably
first written down in the scriptorium of the Cathedral of Cambrai, instead of the
Cathedral of Arras, but undoubtedly copies of both works found their way to Arras. Arras
BM MS 398 (666), is a fifteenth-century copy of a now lost original of the Gesta from the

chronicle associated with the episcopate of Gerard of Cambrai provided interpretations of many biblical stories which found their way into the Saint-Vaast Bible's program. The artists fleshed out these interpretations with references to Carolingian commentators on the Bible. In particular, the Arras Bible's pictorial cycle appears to be a veritable encyclopedia of the biblical commentaries of Rabanus Maurus. This is hardly surprising, as the library of Saint-Vaast owned several biblical commentaries by Rabanus in the eleventh century, and more have probably been lost.[64] Finally, the artists also must have been familiar with contemporary liturgy for the consecration of rulers. Although the surviving written version of these liturgies in the Cologne Pontifical was composed at Saint-Vaast only in the middle of the eleventh century, the two main sources used by the composer, and perhaps the composer himself, were probably at Saint-Vaast a few years earlier when the project of illustrating the Bible was begun.[65]

From these disparate written and pictorial sources, the artists and programmers constructed a complex programme which simultaneously reinforced a traditional interpretation of the rights and responsibilities of kings and queens, and located the origin of their rule in the divine law of the Old and New Testaments. Using biblical prototypes of kings and queens, the artists sketched a description of Christological kingship, and the ideal union of the king and queen, which was to mirror that of Christ

Cathedral of Arras.

[64]Grierson, "La bibliothèque," 132.

[65]The king's *ordo* in Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 is a combination of the Ratold *ordo* and the Mainz *ordo*. An eleventh-century copy of the Ratold *ordo* originally from Trier, now Paris, BN MS lat. 13313, was adapted to the use of Cambrai perhaps as early as the eleventh century. Victor Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937), II, 175-179. The *ordo* for the consecration of an abbot shares the same pledge of loyalty to the church of Cambrai as the two *ordine* connected with Arras (see chapter two).

and Ecclesia in heaven. The artists also supported the role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, headed by the bishop, and the biblical precedents for cooperation between Church and state. By pairing with imagery of Christological kingship with a depiction of the divinely-inspired nature of the of the office of bishop, they underlined the cooperation they believed was necessary between the king and bishop for a just and stable society.

Appendix 1

Catalogue of the Saint-Vaast Bible

Size

All three volumes are roughly equal in overall dimensions. Volume one is slightly smaller than the other two, with measurements of 48 x 35 cm. Volumes two and three measure 50-51 cm x 33.5-35 cm. All three volumes were trimmed when rebound, which could account for minor variations in size.

Ruling

Ruling is consistent throughout the three volumes. Pricking is usually not visible except on a few outside edges, where it looks like efforts to trim it off were unsuccessful, although it appears somewhat more in volume two. The ruling itself was carried out in dry-point, with three vertical lines in each outer margin and four lines in the central gutter, leaving two columns for text. There are two horizontal lines in each of the upper and lower margins. The text block encloses 45 lines ruled for text in volume one, and 43 lines for text in volumes two and three, averaging between 0.8 and 0.9 cm apart. The writing area on each of these folios is therefore 38 x 25.5 in volume one, and 35.5 x 24-24.5 cm in volumes two and three. A section of volume two (fols. 110-132) has been ruled for only 35 lines, with lines 1.1 cm apart, and a writing area of 35 x 25 cm.

Binding

The Bible was rebound with undyed leather over pasteboard held together with raised cords in the seventeenth century. This modern binding is so tight that it is virtually impossible to examine the quire structure of the manuscript. In addition, the endbands at the head and tail of the backbone of the book obscure the spine. Stubs visible throughout the manuscript provide evidence of the considerable loss of folios that took place, according to the records of the period, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[1] It is easy to

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[1] The damage to so many of the manuscripts preserved in the Mediathèque at Arras is believed to have taken place under the librarian P.J. Caron between 1814 and 1816. According to Philip Grierson ("La bibliothèque de St. Vaast d'Arras au XIIe siècle," *Revue Bénédictine*, LII (1940), 120) the succeeding librarian documented that in his survey of 779 manuscripts, 734 had parts removed. By his estimate, at least 40,000 folios were cut out and sold. André Boutemy, in "Une Bible enluminée de Saint-Vaast à Arras (Ms. 559)" *Scriptorium*, IV (1950), 68-69, surmised that between a quarter and a third of the original folios in the Bible had been removed. He observed that the quire marks in the Bible are placed at the end of each quire, and run consecutively through all three volumes, for a total of 78. Assuming that each quire held eight folios, he suggested that originally the marked part of the manuscript contained 624 folios. Of

identify these stubs as the remnants of cut out folios, instead of signs of tipped in folios, because cut marks often carry over onto flanking folios. Volume one has 181 surviving folios, volume two has 149 (numbered to 150 folios, of which three are later additions, and fol. 121 was lost after numeration), and volume three has surviving 156 folios.

Volume 1

fol. 1

12th century calendar

Genesis

fol. 1v

Prol., *Quidquid ab hebraeo stilus atticus atque latinus*[2]
Theodulph of Orleans' preface to Genesis
(*Préfaces* 9-14,[3] B. #9,[4] Steg. #298[5])
Initial F in full page rectangular frame, with both foliate and interlace decoration.

fol. 2 (fig. 1)

Ownership inscription in bottom margin: *Bibliothecae Monasterii Sancti Vedasti Atrebatensis 1628 A*
Prol., *Frater ambrosius tua mihi munuscula perferens*
Jerome's epistle 53 to Paulinus
(*Préfaces* 1-7, B. #1, Steg. #284)
Initial F in full page rectangular frame, with both foliate and interlace decoration.

Evangelist portraits
Medallions in the corners of the frame contain seated male figures holding books.

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this hypothetical total, only 451 folios survive. One must add to this the 32 folios at the end of volume three that had no quire marks, but show ample evidence of having been pillaged for parchment like the rest of the manuscript, with lacunae detectible after 15 folios (Boutemy, 69). The parchment thief seems to have systematically worked through the manuscript, removing folios one at a time or in small groups, not in entire books. Remarkably, most of the illustrations seem to have survived this assault.

[2]Orthography of all prologues has been standardized according to Donatien De Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible Latine* (Namur, 1920).

[3]*Préfaces* = De Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible Latine.*

[4]B. = Samuel Berger, "Les Préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* 1st ser., XI/2 (Paris, 1902), 1-78.

[5]Steg. = Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi,* 11 vols., (Madrid, 1950-1961), I.

fol. 3

> Prol., *Desiderii mei desideratas accepi epistulas*
> Jerome's preface to Desiderius for the Pentateuch
> (*Préfaces* 7-8, B. #2, Steg. #285)
> Initial D in full page rectangular frame, interlace decoration with foliate infill in corners of frame.

fols. 4-4v

> Chapter list for Genesis
> (BSi Series L, forma a or b,[6] *Sommaires* group A[7])

fols. 5v-6

> Double-framed opening, with initial I in full page rectangular frame on fol. 5v, predominantly interlace with some foliate infill, and matching framed text page on fol. 6.

fols. 16-16v

> After 2 stubs of cut out pages between fols. 15 and 16, text starts in middle of chapter list for Exodus.
> (BSi Series L, forma a, *Sommaires* group A)

Exodus

fol. 17

> Initial H in full page rectangular frame, both interlace and foliate decoration.

Leviticus

fol. 29-29v

> Chapter list for Leviticus
> (BSi Series L, forma a, *Sommaires* group A)
> Initial V, interlace and foliate decoration.

Numbers

fol. 39

> Preceding folios lost. Numbers begins here in midst of chapter 1.

Deuteronomy

fols. 52-53

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[6]BSi = *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ad codicum fidem ...*, ed. Henri Quentin et al., 18 vols. (Rome, 1926-1995).

[7]*Sommaires* = Donatien De Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible Latine* (Namur, 1914).

Chapter list for Deuteronomy
(BSi Series L, forma a, *Sommaires* group A)

fol. 53v-54 (figs. 2-3)
Double-framed opening.

The Transference of the Law

On fol. 53v, the interlace and foliate initial H is framed by a rectangular foliate and interlace frame with semicircular lobes at both the top and the bottom. Inside the frame, to the left of the initial a male figure wearing a tunic and cloak plays a horn, while above and to the right two birds battle a snake. Outside the frame in the upper spandrels, to the left a bearded Christ-logos with a cross inscribed PAX as his nimbus, is seated on an architectural throne with his feet resting on a foliate hemisphere. He gestures with his right hand towards the opposite spandrel, where a nimbed Moses on a faldstool returns the gesture with his right hand. Between them an enframed inscription describes the action: *Dominus ad Moysen loquitur*.

On the facing page, a matching frame encloses text. In the spandrels above, to the left a standing nimbed Moses holding a cross-staff in his left makes a speaking gesture with his right. In the opposite spandrel two men and a woman bow in obeisance. An enframed inscription between them explains *Moyses ad filios israel loquitur*. In the lower spandrels are two lions.

fol. 54v
Text page in rectangular frame with quarter-circles excised in corners.

Joshua

fol. 71
Prol., *Tandem finita pentateucho moysi velut grandi*
Jerome's preface to Joshua, Judges and Ruth
(*Préfaces* 22-23, B. #22, Steg. #311)

fol. 71v
Chapter list for Joshua
(BSi Series L, forma a, *Sommaires* group A)

fol. 72 (fig. 4)
Initial F with full page rectangular frame, both foliate and interlace decoration.

The Lord Transfers the Mission to Joshua

Entangled in the foliage sprouting from the initial are both an eagle, and a nude man whose throat is pierced by a piece of tendril. All four corners of the frame have medallions. In the lower two are smaller rampant eagles. In the upper two are the fragments of a narrative scene. To the left, a bust-

length, cross-nimbed and bearded Christ-logos holding a staff in his right hand makes a speech gesture with his left. Opposite him is a bust-length bearded man holding a book in his left hand, presumably Joshua, returns the gesture with his right. Above the frame is an inscription reading *Dominus Josue monet ut confortetur ad docendum filios israel.*

Judges

fol. 81v

> Eleventh or early twelfth century replacement folio with unframed initial P beginning Judges.

Ruth

fol. 93v

> Prol., *Ruth moabitis isaiae explet vaticinum dicentis*
> Jerome's preface to Ruth
> (B. #27, Steg. #315)

fol. 94v

> Eleventh or early twelfth century replacement folio.
> Unframed initial R in column, initial for repetition of same prologue as above.
> Unframed initial I in column.

I Kings

fol. 96-97

> Prol., *Viginti et duas esse litteras apud hebreos*
> Jerome's preface to Kings
> (*Préfaces* 24-26, B. #30, Steg. #323)

fol. 97v

> Initial F with full page rectangular frame, both interlace and foliate.

> Two crouching nude atlas figures in the lower corners purport to hold up the two vertical bars of the frame. Their genitals have been defaced.

II Kings

fol. 113v

> Initial F in column.

III Kings

fol. 128v-129 (fig. 5)

Double framed opening. 128v has full-page image in two registers, rectangular frame of interlace with foliate tendril corners and centre half-rosettes. Facing folio has matching frame with initials ET. Interlace and foliate decoration.

David with Abishag and the Dream of Solomon at Gibeon

In the upper register of folio 128v, to the left a bearded man lies on an animal-footed bed shrouded in blankets to his midriff. Above him, curtains frame the bed and a central votive crown dangles from the meeting point of the curtains in the middle. The man makes a blessing gesture with his left hand that overlaps the face of a vieled woman standing behind him. At the foot of the bed stand two men. The tunic-wearing bearded man to the left holds a foliate scepter in his right hand. Behind him to the right a beardless man holds a sword. An inscription above the frame identifies the scene: *Hic David calefit ab adolescentula et salomon ante eum quem monet ut confortetur in mandatis et in .... viis domini.*

In the lower register the same composition is repeated, differing only in details. Once again a bearded man lies on a heavily draped animal-footed bed. The bed curtains are missing, and the votive crown is now suspended over his head. Above him, a bearded Christ-logos holding a cross-staff in his left hand and blessing with his right descends, along with two angels, from a multi-coloured glory in the upper right-hand corner of the screen. Below the glory and a further arch, six men in tunics stand at the foot of the bed. Once again the action is described by an inscription, this time contained in the coloured bands between the two registers: *Post mortem David apparuit dominus salomoni per somnium dicens postula quod uis ut dem tibi...*

In the facing folio, two clothed, seated atlas figures have been inserted into the mid-point of the vertical bars of the frame.

fol. 129v

Framed text page. Bottomless frame with vertical column-like bars and semi-circle on top.

IV Kings

fol. 144v (fig. 6)

End of text, third book of Kings, upper left hand column. Rest of page, unframed narrative scenes.

The Sharing of the Double Spirit, the Ascension of Elijah, and the Battle of the Kings of Israel, Juda and Edom against the King of Moab

The available space is essentially divided into two registers, implied by the dark-coloured background behind most of the upper scenes, distinquishing it from the neutral background behind the lower scenes. In the upper register, to the left, a cross-nimbed, unbearded figure with his hands outstretched in an orant-type posture faces a bearded, nimbed man

gesturing towards him with both hands. These are presumably Elisha with his mentor, Elijah. To the right, Elisha, this time with a simple nimbus, reaches out with both hands to grasp the cloak that falls from the four-wheeled cart drawn by two horses carrying Elijah heavenwards towards a multi-coloured glory.

In the lower register, two armed cavalries confront each other with spears upraised. The army to the left is led by two crowned figures, while that to the right has one crowned, bearded king. Below the horsemen various foot soldiers are scattered, either with spears raised in combat, or recumbent on the ground, pierced by swords or spears.

fol. 145

Initial P with quatrilobed full page frame. Interlace and foliate decoration.

While the space behind the initial and text is left neutral, that in the lobes and to the left of the vertical bar of the initial are dark. Silouetted against the dark area to the left is a single standing soldier carrying a spear.

I Chronicles

fol. 157-157v

Prol., *Si septuaginta interpretum pura et, ut ab eis* Jerome's preface to the two books of Chronicles. (*Préfaces* 30-31, B. #36, Steg. #328)

fol. 158

Initial A framed by arch on two columns, interlace and foliate decoration.

II Chronicles

fol. 170 (fig. 7)

Initial C inside quatrifoil frame, interlace decoration.

The Dream of Solomon at Gibeon

In the spandrels above the frame are found to the left a twisting bird and to the right a twisted lion and two smaller birds. In the spandrels below are two facing soldiers wearing tunics and carrying spears and shields, while sheathed swords hang by their sides. Inside the frame a narrative takes place on two levels. A king, wearing a lily-crown and holding a foliate scepter, is enthroned in profile on an animal throne. The throne is flanked by curtains wound around columns. Above him in the uppermost lobe of the frame, a cross-nimbed beardless Christ-logos is frontally enthroned, flanked by two kneeling angels. He holds a book in his left hand and blesses with his right.

Perched above this tableau at the top of the frame is a closed wooden door with elaborate hinges and a lock.

Volume 2

Isaiah

fol. 1-2

Thirteenth century additions to manuscript, including prologue and Chapter lists.

Inscription of ownership in top margin of fol. 1: *Bibliothecae monasterii sancti vedasti atrebaten. 1628 A*

In right margin, list of contents added at that time:

In hoc volumino Isaias Jeremias Ezechiel Daniel Osee Joel amos abdias Jonas Micheas nahum abadiah sophanias aggeus sacharias malachias job parabolae solomonis ecclesiastes cantica canticorum sapientiae

fol. 3

After several stubs of missing folios, book of Isaiah picks up in mid-text.

Jeremiah

fol. 13-13v

Prol., *Hieremias propheta, cui hic prologus scribitur*
Jerome's preface to Jeremiah
(*Préfaces* 124, B. #155, Steg. #487)

fol. 13v-14v

Chapter lists for Jeremiah
(BSi Series A forma a, *Sommaires* group A)

fol. 15 (fig. 8)

Initial U in full page frame with straight sides separated from semi-circular tops and bottoms by griffon bases and capitals. Interlace decoration.

The entire page, both inside and outside the frame is integrated into a narrative scene of some complexity. The spandrels below and above the frame hold angels. In the lower spandrels they are seated on monumental throne with cushions and make speaking gestures, while the angel to the right holds a book in his draped left hand. The upper spandrels also house angels, this time floating upright. The angel to the right this time holds what looks to be a furled scroll.

Inside the frame more angels flank a cross-nimbed Lamb of the Apocalypse blessed by a divine hand, contained in a quatrifoil. Below this a

single male figure is inserted into the trough of the initial. He is wearing a short-fronted chasuble ornamented with Y-shaped orfreys over an alb, and holds a crozier in his left hand and a book in his right. He is entirely enclosed within a full body mandorla.

Ezekiel

fol. 40v-41

> Prol., *Hiezechiel propheta cum ioachim rege iudae*
> Jerome's preface to Ezekiel
> (*Préfaces* 124-125, B. #162, Steg. #492)

fol. 41-42

> Chapter lists for Ezekiel
> (*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 42v (fig. 9)

> Initial E with full page rectangular frame, interlace decoration.

> Ezekiel Inspired by the Lord
> Squeezed into the top corners of the frame are two darkened areas containing figures. To the left, a nimbed male figure seated in a throne before a lectern holds a book open and looks across to the figure opposite. Here, a beardless, cross-nimbed Christ-logos stands in an arched opening. In his draped left hand he holds a book, while with his right he gestures back towards the figure opposite him.

Daniel

fol. 75-76

> Prol., *Danihelem prophetam iuxta septuaginta interpretes*
> Jerome's preface to Daniel
> (*Préfaces* 125, B. #166, Steg. #494)

fol. 76

> Chapter lists for Daniel
> (*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 77

> Initial A in full page rectangular frame, interlace and tendril decoration.

Hosea

fol. 90v

> Prol., *Non idem ordo est duodecim prophetarum apud*

Jerome's preface to the Minor Prophets
(*Préfaces* 135, B. #170, Steg. #500)

fol. 91

Folio missing between fols. 90 and 91 may have held other prefatory matter. Next prologue begins mid-text.
Prol., *Temporibus oziae et ioathae, achaz et ezechiae*
Pseudo-Jerome
(*Préfaces* 136-137, B. #174, Steg. #507)

fol. 91v

Initial V

Joel

fol. 95v-96

Prol., *Sanctus iohel apud hebreos post osee ponitur*
Pseudo-Jerome
(*Préfaces* 137, B. #180, Steg. #511)

fol. 96

Initial V

Amos

fol. 98-98v

Prol., *Ozias rex cum dei religionem sollicite*
Pseudo-Jerome
(*Préfaces* 137-8, B. #184, Steg. #515)

fol. 98v

Initial V

Obadiah

fol. 100v-101

Prol., *Iacob patriarcha fratrem habuit esau*
Pseudo-Jerome
(*Préfaces* 138, Steg. #519)

fol. 101

Initial V

Jonah

fol. 101v-102

Prol., *Ionam sanctum hebrei adfirmant filium mulieris*
Pseudo-Jerome
(*Préfaces* 138-9, Steg. #524)

fol. 102
Initial E

Micah

fol. 103v
Prol., *Temporibus ioatham achaz et ezechiae regum iuda*
Pseudo-Jerome
(*Préfaces* 139, Steg. #526)

fol. 104
Initial V

Nahum

fol. 106-106v
Prol., *Naum prophetam ante adventum regis assyriorum*
Pseudo-Jerome
(*Préfaces* 139, Steg. #528)

fol. 106v (fig. 10)
Initials DS

The Vengeful Lord
The initial contains one standing figure, a cross-nimbed, bearded
Christ-logos holding an upturned sword, against a dark background.

Habakkuk

fol. 107-108
Prol., *Quattuor prophetae in duodecim prophetarum*
Pseudo-Jerome
(*Préfaces* 140-141, Steg. #531)

fol. 108 (fig. 11)
Initial O on purple ground.

Author Portrait
The initial contains an author portrait of a bearded man holding a
furled scroll standing against a background of swirling stars and clouds.

Zephaniah

fol. 109v-110

> Prol., *Tradunt hebrei cuiuscunque porphe pater aut avus*
> Pseudo-Jerome
> (*Préfaces* 141-142, Steg. #534)

fol. 110v

> Initial V

Zechariah

fol. 112

> Many folios missing between fols. 111-112, including the book of
> Haggai. Only the explicit for Haggai survives on fol. 112.
> Prol., *Zacharias, memor domini sui, multiplex*
> Jerome's epistle 53 to Paulinus
> (*Préfaces* 5, Steg. #540)
> Initial I

Malachi

fol. 117v-118

> Prol., *Deus per moysen populo israhel praeceperat*
> Pseudo-Jerome
> (*Préfaces* 143-144, Steg. #543)

fol. 118

> Initial O

Job

fol. 119v-120

> Chapter lists for Job
> (BSi Series A, *Sommaires* group A)

fol. 120v

> Prol., *Cogor per singulos scripturae divinae libros*
> Jerome's preface to Job
> (*Préfaces* 38, B. #55, Steg. #344)
> Fol. 121 missing, along with any introductory decoration for book.

Proverbs ·

fol. 132v

> Prol., *Iungat epistula quos iungit sacerdotium, immo*

Jerome's preface to the Wisdom books *Chromatio et Heliodoro episcopus*
(*Préfaces* 118, B. #129, Steg. #457)
Prol., *Tres libros salomonis id est proverbia,*
Jerome's preface to the Wisdom books from the Septuagint
(*Préfaces* 118-119, B. #131, Steg. #455)

fol. 133

Folio missing between fols. 132 and 133, so have lost end of *Tres libros* prologue and beginning of Chapter list.
End of Chapter list.
(BSi Series A, forma b, *Sommaires* group A)
Initial P

fol. 135

Initial F, Proverbs 10:1

fol. 137

Initial G, Proverbs 25:1

Ecclesiastes

fol. 138v

Chapter list for Ecclesiastes
(BSi Series A, forma b, *Sommaires* group A)

fol. 139

Initial V in full page frame. Combination of interlace, foliate and tendril decoration. Surviving corner medallions hold birds and beasts.

Song of Solomon

fol. 141v (fig. 12)

3/4 page illustration inside rectangular full-page frame

Sponsus and Sponsa
The O initial of the beginning of the text seems to have inspired the shape of the illustration above. A contiuous looping white band encloses the twelve symbols of the zodiac in circles, with the bull at the top, and the scorpian at the bottom. In between the circles white tendrils sprout outwards to wrap around an outside, darker circle.

Inside the zodiac circle is a cityscape constructed of roofs, towers and doorways. The Christ-logos with a cross nimbus is seated in front of this background. His right hand is raised and his left holds an open book, while his feet are placed on a small footstool within a white band forming a circle.

To his left stands a veiled woman who gazes at the Christ-logos with her left hand raised.

Wisdom

fol. 143v
> Chapter list for Wisdom
> (BSi Series A, forma a, *Sommaires* group A)

fol. 144 (fig. 13)
> Initial D in rectangular full-page frame. Predominantly interlace decoration, with foliate infill in bow of letter.

> Author Portrait
> The corner medallions of the frame hold tunic-wearing hornblowers, the two on left side accompanied by busts of dogs, the two on right each grasping the hilt of the sword at his waist. Inside the initial a bearded King Solomon sits on a bench-throne. He wears a lily crown with dangling *infulae* and carries a delicate foliate scepter in his left hand, while his right is raised. Behind him is a two-part mandorla, with an oval behind his body and a circle behind his head.

Volume 3

Ecclesiasticus

fol. 1 (fig. 14)
> Folio has decayed completely around all edges, meaning that it has probably lost at least a quarter of its original area. It has been removed from volume at some point and glued to a piece of paper of the same type pasted to the inside of the binding. The paper has been cut so that the illumination of recto side shows through, and edges appear on verso side. Verso holds the chapter lists, and recto has illumination, including beginning of text. To follow the program of the rest of the book, recto with illumination was probably originally the verso.

> Half page illumination above.
> Initial O below, interlace and foliate with busts of four winds in outside corners.

> Allegory of the Wisdom of the Lord Punishing Heretics
> This illumination is the most complex in the manuscript. At the centre, a beardless, diademed Christ-logos is enthroned before a seven-columned temple front with a head above each column on the entablature. The Christ-logos holds a cross-orb and a long spear that reaches down to touch two men who crouch beneath his feet. These elements of the scene are

contained within a jeweled circle which sets them off from the rest of the image. Above the circle are the rooftops of a cityscape. Around the circle are grouped two sets of figures. In the two arches found on either side of the circle, four personfications of the cardinal virtues sit, each holding an attribute and labelled with white ink: *Justitia, Fortitudo, Prudentia* and *Temperantia*. Below the circle are five more arches. In the four to the right, four figures, probably the evangelists, busily write in books. At the far left, the one remaining arch is closed with a dangling white curtain. The entire composition is unframed.

fol. 1v

> Chapter list for Ecclesiasticus
> (BSi Series A, forma a, *Sommaires* group A)

fol. 2

> Inscription of ownership of 1628 *Bibliothecae monasterii sancti vedastii atrebatensis 1628 A*, added here, implying that the first folio was loose already in seventeenth century. Also list of contents added at that time:
> *in hoc volumino primus Ecclesiasticus Tobias Judith Esdras Esther Machabeorum libri II Passio Machabeorum Epistoli Pauli ad Romanos corinthios ii galatios ephesios philippiensos coloss. Laoudicensis thessalonicensos Timothy Johann Philemonen hebreus Jacobi Petri...dna Johannis Judae Actus Apostolorum Apocalypsin*

Tobit

fol 16v-17

> Prol., *Mirari non desino exactionis vestrae instantiam*
> Jerome's preface to Tobit
> (*Préfaces* 35, B. #45, Steg. #332)

fol. 17

> Chapter list for Tobit
> (*Sommaires* group Am[Fr])

fol. 17v

> Initial T in rectangular frame with interlace and tendril decoration.

> Author Portrait
> Entangled within the tendril decoration at the bottom of the initial are
birds, animals, and a bearded, nude man. A medallion embedded in the bottom horizontal bar of the frame holds a bust portrait of the author, shown as a short-haired, beardless man.

Judith

fol. 22

> Prol., *Apud hebraeos liber iudith inter apocrypha*
> Jerome's preface to Judith
> (*Préfaces* 35, B. #48, Steg. #335)

fol. 22-22v

> Chapter list for Judith
> (*Sommaires* series Am[Fr])

fol. 23

> Initial A in full-page rectangular frame, interlace and tendril
> decoration.

Five of the six original frame medallions survive. The two in the
bottom corners hold tendril decoration. The two at the mid-point of the
vertical bars hold bust portraits of beardless men, each with a scale balanced
on his head. The one surviving medallion at the top of the folio shows a
crouching man holding a shield and spear.

Ezra

fol. 28-28v

> Prol., *Utrum difficilius sit, facere quod poscitis*
> Jerome's preface to Ezra
> (*Préfaces* 33, B. #42, Steg. #330)

fol. 29 (fig. 15)

> Initial I in full page frame with straight sides and semicircular top and
> bottom. Interlace and foliate decoration.

Artaxerxes Sends Ezra to Preach the Law (7:14, 25)

Two medallions embedded into either side of the frame within the
vertical bars combine to create a two-part scene. In the left-side medallion, a
bearded nimbed man in a long robe stands in profile on a small hillock and
gazes heavenward. He holds an open book in outstretched hands draped
with a maniple. Opposite him stands a bearded man in a tunic.

In the right-side medallion a king wearing a lily crown and holding a
scepter sits on an animal throne with his feet on a *suppedaneum* in a draped
enclosure. He is regarding the scene to the left and gesturing towards it with
his open right hand.

Esther

fol. 43-43v

> Prol., *Librum esther variis translatoribus constat esse*

Jerome's preface to Esther
(*Préfaces* 36, B. #51, Steg. #341)

fol. 43v

Chapter lists for Esther
(*Sommaires* group Am[Fr])

fol. 44 (fig. 16)

Initial I in full-page rectangular frame, with scenes in top third.

Ahasuerus Receives the Petition of Esther

To the right, a bearded king wearing a lily crown sits enthroned in a draped enclosure, his feet on a footstool. To his right are three tiny floating courtiers. In his left hand, the king holds a short rod. In his right, he holds a longs staff which he stretches out towards the left. Opposite him, a queen, wearing her own outsized lily crown, stands in front of a male and a female attendant. She raises draped hands to grasp the staff which is held up to her mouth. Between them, an inscription can barely be distinguished against the dark background of the scene: *Quid petis Hester oro o rex si tibi placet dona mihi animam meam pro qua rogo et populum meum pro quo obsecro.*

I Maccabees

fol. 52

Chapter list for I Maccabees
(*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 52v

Initials ET in full-page rectangular frame, interlace and tendril decoration.

II Maccabees

fol. 69v-70

Chapter list for II Maccabees
(*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 70v (fig. 17)

Initial F in full page frame with small lobes on top and bottom horizontal bars. Tendril and foliate decoration.

Inside the frame is a two-layer illustration. On the top, a bearded man with a diademed cap sits on a folding camp stool to the left, and gestures towards two men seated on a bench to the right, who gesture in return. In the level below, eight men and two women sit on an architectural bench scattered with cushions, and gaze and gesture towards the scene above.

Passion of the Maccabees

fol. 81

Beginning of Passion of the Maccabees marked by red initial P.

fol. 81v (fig. 18)

Initial I in complex full-page frame of rectangle with corner lobes intertwined with diamond-shaped frame with upper and lower lobes. All in interlace and tendril decoration.

The Trial of Eleazar, the Seven Maccabean Brothers and their Mother before Antiochus

To the left, a king in a solid, pill-box style crown with three foliate projections, holding a foliate scepter, sits enthroned on a cushioned lion throne, and gestures toward the crowd to the right. There, a bearded man with a diademed cap gestures in return. Beside him, a veiled woman in a flamboyantly sleeved dalmatic stands before a grape-cluster of one man and seven other beardless male heads.

Paul's Epistle to the Romans

fol. 85v-86

Prol., *Epistolae pauli ad romanos causa haec est.*
Pelagius
(*Préfaces* 217-218, B. #254, Steg. #651)

fol. 86-87

Prol., *Primum quaeritur quare post evangelia*
Pelagian preface to the Epistles
(*Préfaces* 213-215, B. #253, Steg. #670)

fol. 87-87v

Prol., *Romani sunt qui ex iudeis gentibus crediderunt*
Pelagian preface to Romans
(*Préfaces* 215-217, B. #255, Steg. #674)

fol. 87v-88

Prol., *Iam dudum saulus procerum praecepta secutus*
Poem by Pope Damasus
(*Préfaces* 234, B. #273, Steg. #654)

fol. 88

Chapter list for Paul's Epistle to the Romans
(*Sommaires* group M)
Prol., *Paulus apostolus quattuordecim epistolis*

Isidore
(*Préfaces* 219-220, Steg. #661)
Prol., *In primis romanae plebis fidem collaudat*
Isidore
(B. #260, Steg. #655)
Prol., *Romani sunt in partibus italiae*
(*Préfaces* 235, B. #280A, Steg. #677)
Marcion

fol. 88v

Initial P in full-page rectangular frame, interlace and tendril decoration.

Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians

fol. 95v

Prol., *Corinthii sunt achaei. Et hi similiter*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 235, B. #280B, Steg. #684)

fol. 95v-96

Chapter list for Paul's epistle to the Corinthians
(*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 96v

Initial P in full-page rectangular frame

Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians

fol. 103v

Prol., *Post actam paenitentiam consolatoriam scribit*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 235-6, B. #280C, Steg. #700)
Prol., *(Secundam epistolam apostolus scribit corinthiis) Cum haec principalis est causa, quoniam in prima pro*
Pelagius
(*Préfaces* 236, B. #281, Steg. #704)
Chapter list for II Corinthians
(*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 104

Initial P, interlace and tendril decoration

Paul's Epistle to the Galatians

fol. 108v

Prol., *Galatae sunt graeci. Hi verbum veritatis*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 236, B. #280D, Steg. #707)
Chapter lists for Paul's Epistle to the Galatians
(*Sommaires* group A)
Initial P
At least one folio missing between 108-109.
End of Galatians, beginning of Ephesians missing.

Paul's Epistle to the Philippians

fol. 111
Prol., *Philippenses sunt machedones. Hi accepto*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 236, Steg. #728)
Prol., *In Actibus apostolorum legimus, quod ipso*
Pelagius
(*Préfaces* 237, Steg. #726)
Chapter lists for Paul's Epistle to the Philippians
(*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 111v
Initial P, bottomless house-shaped frame over three-quarters of page
encloses initial.

Paul's Epistle to the Colossians

fol. 113v
Prol., *Colosenses et hi sicut laudicenses sunt asiam.*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 236, Steg. #736)
Prol., *Colosenses quorum auditam fidem in principiis*
Pelagius
(*Préfaces* 237, Steg. #737)
Chapter lists for Paul's Epistle to the Colossians
(*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 114 (fig. 19)
Initial P, tri-lobed bottomless frame on vertical column-like bars
encloses initial and top two-thirds of page. Predominantly interlace
and tendril decoration.

The top lobe of the frame holds bust-length images of a group of five
men and one woman, all of whom look to the space to the left of the initial
below. This area has been excised, along with the descender of the initial P. It

may once have held an image of Paul, making this a depiction of Paul preaching or writing to the Colossians.

Paul's Epistle to the Laudicians

fol. 116

Initial P

Paul's First Epistle to the Thessalonians

fol. 116v

Initial T, tendril and interlace decoration
Prol., *Thessalonicenses sunt machedones, qui accepto*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 237, Steg. #747)
Prol., *Non solum ipsi in omnibus perfectu erant*
Pelagius
(*Préfaces* 237, Steg. #746)
Chapter list for I Thessalonians
(*Sommaires* group A)
Chapter list for II Thessalonians
(*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 117

Initial P in bottomless full page frame with column-like vertical bars with lion capitals and semicircular top. Interlace and tendril decoration.

Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians

fol. 119

Prol., *Ad Thessalonicenses secundam scribit*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 237, Steg. #752)
Chapter list for II Thessalonians
(*Sommaires* group A)
Initial P

Paul's First Epistle to Timothy

fol. 120

Prol., *Timotheum instruit et docet de ordinatione*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 237, Steg. #765)

fol. 120-120v

Prol., *Hic episcopus fuit, discipulus pauli apostoli*
Pelagius
(*Préfaces* 238, Steg. #760)

fol. 120v
Chapter list for Paul's First Epistle to Timothy
(*Sommaires* group A)
Initial P, interlace and tendril.

Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy

fol. 123
Prol., *Item timotheo scribit de exhortatione martyrii*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 238, Steg. #772)
Prol., *Cum esset romae in vinculis constitutus scribit*
Pelagius
(*Préfaces* 238, Steg. #770)
Chapter lists for Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy
(*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 123v
Initial P in three-quarter page bottomless frame with verticals, and
horse-shoe lobe on top horizontal. Interlace, foliate and tendril
decoration.

Paul's Epistle to Titus

fol. 125
Prol., *Titum commonefacit et instruit de constitutione*
Marcion
(*Préfaces* 238, Steg. #780)

fol. 125v
Prol., *Ad titam, discipulum suum, episcopum, quem*
Pelagius
(*Préfaces* 238, Steg. #6366)
Chapter list for Paul's Epistle to Titus
(*Sommaires* group A)
Initial P

Paul's Epistle to Philemon

fol. 126 (fig. 20)
Folios missing between fols. 125 and 126. Therefore, end of II Timothy,
introductory material for Philemon lost.

Initial P, interlace and tendril decoration

<u>Paul Composing the Epistle</u>
Inside the bow of the initial P, a bearded balding man sits on a cushioned bench throne, holds an unfurled scroll with his left and writes on it with his right.

Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews

fol. 126v

> Prol., *In primis dicendum est, cur apostolus paulus*
> Pelagius
> (*Préfaces* 253-4, B. #283, Steg. #793)
> Prol., *Argumentum epistolae praefertur ad hebreos quid non eiusdem apostoli creditur propter stili*
> (B. #287, Steg. #787)

fol. 126v-127

> Chapter lists for Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews
> (*Sommaires* group H)

fol. 127

> Initial M

Epistle of St. James the Apostle (Jacob)

fol. 131

> Folios lost between fols. 130 and 131, means text jumps from Hebrews to James 1:5

First Epistle of Peter

fol. 133

> Prol., *(Symon petrus, iohannis filius provinciae galilieae a vico bethsaida, frater andreae apostoli) discipulos salvatoris invicti toto orbe diffusos*
> (*Préfaces* 256, B. #301, Steg. #816)
> Chapter list for Peter's first epistle.
> (*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 133v (fig. 21)

> Initial P in full-page bottomless frame with column-like verticals and a semi-circular top. Interlace and tendril decoration.

<u>Peter Preaching to the Elect</u>

The elements of a scene are squeezed around the initial. On top of the bow of the P, Peter himself appears, beardless and bust length, with his arms stretched out like an orant. Below the bow of the P and to the right of the descender, a crowd of three women and six men stand in the midst of a debate, some observing and some making hand gestures.

The Second Epistle of Peter

fol. 135
> Prol., *Symon petrus per fidem huic mundo sapientes*
> (*Préfaces* 256, B. #303, Steg. #818)
> Chapter list for Second Epistle of Peter
> (*Sommaires* group A)

fol. 135v (fig. 22)
> Initial S of white tendril inside full-page rectangular frame.

> Author Portrait
> In the bottom left-hand column of the folio, a nimbed, tonsured Peter stands holding a pair of keys in his right hand and a book in his draped left hand.

First Epistle of John

fol. 136v (fig. 23)
> Chapter list for First Epistle of John
> (*Sommaires* group A)
> Initial Q, right-hand column, interlace, foliate and tendril.

Inside the bow of the Q is a scene resembling a dedication. A centre column divides the scene. To the left, Christ is seated on a bench-throne, and gestures with his left hand towards the man approaching him from the right. This nimbed man bows and profers a book across the column towards Christ.

Second Epistle of John

fol. 138
> Chapter list for Second Epistle of John
> (*Sommaires* group A)
> Initial S

Third Epistle of John

fol. 138v
> Chapter list for Third Epistle of John
> (*Sommaires* group A)

Initial S

Epistle of Jude

fol. 139

>   Folios missing between 138 and 139 include Third Epistle of John.
>   Chapter list for Epistle of Jude
>   (*Sommaires* group A)
>   Initial I

Acts of the Apostles

fol. 141 (fig. 24)

>   Folios cut out between fols. 140 and 141 included end of Epistle of Jude
>   and all prefatory material for Acts.
>   Initial P in full-page rectangular frame.

Luke Preaching to Theophilus and Christ Preaching to the Apostles

Once again, this is a two-layered image worked into the space around and within the initial. In the bow of the P, a nimbed beardless Luke to the left gestures towards a tunic-wearing, bearded, bust-length man to the right. Below them is the substance of the scene he is describing. A cross-nimbed, bearded Christ sits on a bench with his feet on a *suppedaneum*. He gestures with both hands. On benches to either side are the twelve apostles, who strain forward with eager gestures to hear what he preaches.

Revelations

fol. 153v

>   Prol., *Johannes apostolus et evangelista a domino*
>   Pseudo-Isidore
>   (*Préfaces* 261, B. #310, Steg. #835)
>   Chapter list for Revelations
>   (*Sommaires* group A)

Appendix 2

Instructions for Daily Monastic Reading[1]

1. Reims, BM MS 1, fol. 104v[2]

Quo ordine libri divini in ecclesia legantur per anni circulum. In primis, in Septuagesima Paschae, Eptaticum, usque XVo die ante Pascha; ibi etiam legendus est Ruth. In quarto decimo die, ponunt Jheremiam prophetam usque in Cena Domini, feria Va. Cena Domini, legantur lectiones III de Lamentatione Jheremiae prophetae, ab eo loco, ubi dicitur: *Quomodo sedet sola civitas*, usque ad id, ubi dicitur: *Cogitavit Dominus dissipare murum filie Sion*; III de tractato (sic) sancti Augustini in psalmo: *Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam, cum tribulor*; III de Apostolo, ubi ait ad Corinthios: *Ego accepi a Domino quod et tradidi vobis*; VIIII psalm., VIIII lect., VIIII respons. omnia complenda sunt. Sequitur matutinum; matutino completo, non dicamus; *Kyrie eleyson*, nec: *Et ne nos inducas in temptationem*; in eadem die non dicimus introitum nec: *Dominus vobiscum*; legitur lectio de Apostolo et cantatur responsum, neque antiphona ad communionem: *Osculantes per se invicem, orent fratres*; post, missa completa, non clamet diaconus: *Ite, missa est*, sed inclinantes, tacite exeant. In Parasceve, similiter lect. III de Lamentatione Jheremiae prophetae, ab eo loco, ubi dicitur: *Cogitavit Dominus dissipare murum filie Sion*, usque: *Miserationes Domini multe*; III de tractato (sic) sancti Augustini in Psalmo LXVIII, id est: *Deus, in adjutorium meum intende*; III de Apostolo, ubi ait ad Hebreos: *Festinemus ergo ingredi ad illam requiem*; deinde sequitur matutinum. In sabbato, III lect. de Lamentatione Jheremiae prophetae, ab eo loco, ubi dicitur: *Misericordie Domini multe*, usque ad finem. Deinde leguntur omeliae sanctorum Patrum ad ipsum diem pertinentes; in psalmis, in lectionibus, in responsis similiter omnia complenda sunt, sicut supra diximus; et si fuerint sermones proprii, leguntur. In Pascha, ponitur Actuum Apostolorum; secuntur septem Epistolae canonicae, deinde sequitur Apocalipsis usque in octavas Pentecosten. In octabas Pentecosten, ponunt Regum et Paralipomenon, usque in dominica prima mensis augusti. In dominica prima mensis augusti, ponunt Salomonem usque in kalendas septembris, id est prima dominica mensis septembris. In dominica prima mensis septembris, ponunt Iob, Tobiam, Judith, Hester, Esdra, usque kalendas octobris. In dominica prima mensis octobris, ponunt Machabeorum usque kalendas

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[1]For comparison, Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense; études et documents, fasc. 11, 23-24, 28-29, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931-1961), II, 467-526, Ordo XIIIA-D, edits similar lists found in 27 manuscripts, but does not include any of those transcribed here.

[2]Henri Loriquet, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Départements, XXXVIII: Reims (Paris, 1904), 1-2.

novembris. In dominica prima mensis novembris, ponunt Ezechielem et Danielem et minores prophetas XII usque in natale sancti Andreae, id est usque kalendas decembris. Im dominica prima mensis decembris, id est prima dominica de Adventu Domini, ponunt Esaiam prophetam usque in Natale Domini.

2. Reims, BM MS 22, fol. 270[3]

Hoc in monasterio, horis matutinis, lectiones hoc leguntur ordine; Ebdomada prima post octavas Pasche, legitur Actibus Apostolorum. Secunda et tertia ebdomada, legitur de Apocalipsi. Abhinc, ceteris privatis diebus, epistole Iacobi et Petri, usque in Ascentionem Domini, leguntur. A quo die usque ad Pentecostem, leguntur Actus Apostolorum. A kalendis novembris ad Domini usque Adventum, legitur Ihezechiel propheta. Ab Adventu Domini usque ad Nativitatem, legitur Esayas propheta. Ante Natalis Domini diem, lectiones legimus sanctum Moisen. A Nativitate Domini usque ad Septuagesimam, Pauli apostoli leguntur epistole. A Septuagesima usque ad Quadragesima, legitur de Genesi. A Quadragesima usque dominicam in Passione, leguntur sermones divi Augustini super cantica graduum. A Passione Domini usque Ramos palmarum, legitur Jheremias. A dominica in Ramis usque in Cenam Domini legitur Baruch, tribus diebus.

3. Lanfranc of Canterbury, Monastic Constitutions.[4]

3. (October) From the first Sunday of the month the books of the Maccabees shall be chanted and read until the feast of All Saints.

6. If the first of November fall on a Sunday, the feast of All Saints shall be kept with solemnity, and on the ferial days that follow the responses *Vidi Dominum* and the rest, and the long lessons from the Prophets shall be read.

9. (Advent) The lessons until Christmas shall be taken from the prophet Isaias.

15. On the day after the Circumcision they shall begin to read the epistles of St. Paul.

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[3]Loriquet, *Catalogue général*, XXXVIII, 29-30. He describes this as a sixteenth-century addition.
[4]*The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, trans. David Knowles (London, 1951). Instructions for reading are interspersed throughout the customary. Numbers will refer to pages where specific instructions are found in this edition.

17. (Septuagesima Sunday) The Pentateuch, and the books of Josue, Judges and Ruth shall be set to be read on Sundays and other days of twelve lessons until Easter.

22. (Saturday before Passion Sunday) During this season Jeremias shall be read until Easter.

48. (Octave of Easter) On the Monday following the Acts of the Apostles shall be begun and continued till the following Sunday;

48. On the first Sunday after the octave of Easter the Apocalypse shall be read and the lesson sung *Dignus es Domine*, for two weeks.

54. (First Sunday after the octave of Pentecost) At Matins the lessons from Kings and Paralippomenon are read until the first Sunday of August, with the sung responsory *Deus omnium*.

54. On the first Sunday of August the books of Solomon begin and continue till the first Sunday of September, with the responsories *In principio*, etc.

54. On the first Sunday of September begins the Book of Job, which, with Tobias, Judith, Esther and Esdras, continues till the first Sunday of October.

4. Udalricus of Cluny, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*[5]

Ut incipiam de librorum omnium antiquissimo, id est Octateucho, hic liber, ut mos est generalis, et in aliis Ecclesiis et Septuagesima ponitur ad legendum. In ipsa Dominica fiunt lectiones satis breves, praeter ad primam lectionem, prologus ille *Desiderii mei* expenditur totus. Per sequentes noctes ita protegatur, et in ecclesia tantum. In Sexagesima *Exodus* inchoatur, et simul cum aliis voluminibus quae leguntur, legitur utrumque et in ecclesia, et in refectorio, ita ut ubi lectionis terminus fuerit lectae, ibi semper initium fiat legendae die sequenti, et si non ante, tamen intrante Quadragesima ex toto perlegitur Octateuchus; ex quo tamen ad Dominicas sunt lectiones exceptae. In aliis noctibus Quadragesimae legitur expositio S. Augustini super Psalterium, et maxime super cantica graduum; et sicut noctes tunc magis ad magis corripiuntur, ita quoque lectiones. Cavendum tamen est ne aliquando fiant ita breves ut ille frater, qui circam facit cum absconsa, non possit per totum chorum et extra circuisse, exploraturus scilicet si quis forte obdormierit intes legendum. In Passione Domini legitur *Jeremias* propheta, cuius rursus prologus erit ad primam lectionem. Legitur autem in ecclesia tantum, et ita ut ante Coenam Domini finiatur usque ad *Lamentationes*. In octavis Paschae

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legentur *Actus apostolorum*, et tantum per unam septimanam, de quibus pro noctium brevitate fieri non potest ut multum legatur. Postea per duas septimanas *Apocalypsis* et *Epistolae canonicae* usque ad Ascensionem Domini. Ponuntur iterum Actus apostolorum, iterumque leguntur quasi non amplius inchoati a capite usque ad Pentecosten. Non minus tamen haec ipsa volumina ex toto continuatim in refectorio leguntur; sicut etiam tempore suo liber Regum, liber Salomonis, liber Job, Tobiae, Judith, Esther, Esdrae, et liber Machabaeorum; qui leguntur omnes in refectorio tantum, in ecclesia minime, nisi quantum de eis ad quamlibet Dominicam est breviter excerptum. A Kalendis Novembris repetuntur ad privatas noctes lectiones. Ponitur Ezechiel propheta, in ecclesia tantum legendus, et finitur ex more ante festivitatem S. Martini; cuius etsi octavas cantu, et aliis solemnibus celebramus, tamen propheticae lectiones non mutantur, nec etiam in aliis octavis, nisi fiant duodecim lectiones. Ponitur Daniel propheta, et duodecim prophetae, et non sufficiunt nisi novissimo adjungatur de homiliis beatis Gregorii papae super Ezechielem. In Adventu Domini propheta ponitur Isaias; de quo dum quaererem et ad certum scire vellem quot noctibus et ipse perlegeretur ex more, non potui audire ab aliquo, nisi dicam quod meipsum vidisse memini et audisse; me quidem audiente aliquando sex privatis noctibus perlegebatur. Quem sequuntur epistolae Leonis papae de incarnatione Domini, et alii sermones sanctorum Patrum, et maxime sancti Augustini. Apostolus ponitur in illa Dominica quae prima occurrit post Natale Innocentium; si tamen in ipsa non est Circumcisio Domini; vel Depositio domini Odilonis. De quo idipsum dicere possum quod et supra de propheta; nam diversi diversa sentiunt; sed ut ego rursus hoc perhibeam quod et ipse vidi, talis Epistola qualis est ad Romanos, in duabus privatis noctibus tota legebatur. Et cum quidam frater, qui lectiones terminaverat, terminasset breviores, prohibitus est in capitulo a senioribus nostris. Si autem contigerit ut finiatur Apostolus ante Septuagesimam, legitur expositio Joannis Chrysostomi super Epistolam ad Hebraeos. Ecce circulum anni quodammodo circuivi; si placet, ultra promoveamus.

5. Liber Tramitis Aevi Odilonis Abbatis[6]

DE DOMINICA PRIMA ADVENTUS DOMINI
10. lectio de Esaia
OCTAVA SANCTI STEPHANI
32. Diebus namque illis qui restant post Octavam Domini usque in Epyphaniam omnia agant ex Domini Natalico praeter lectiones quae legantur de apostolo.
DE THEOPHANIA DOMINI
34. Lectiones epistolarum Pauli

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[6]*Liber Tramitis Aevi Odilonis Abbatis*, ed. Peter Dinter, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum (Siegburg, 1980), 9-194.

SABBATO SEPTUAGESIMA

45. lectiones octo de In principio, prima prologus Desiderii mei

47. Liber Genesis legatur ad officium nocturnale tandiu quousque sit expletus

SEXAGESIMA SABBATO

48. Lectiones octo ex veteri testamento.

SABBATO IN PASSIONE

66. Lectiones octo legantur de Hieremiae prophaetia.

CENA DOMINI QUINTA FERIA ANTE NOCTURNOS

72. Prime tres lectiones de Lamentationibus Hiaeremie legantur.

OCTAVIS RESURRECTIONIS

93. lectiones sanctorum vel ex patribus seu Actus apostolorum: Primus quidem.

DOMINICA PRIMA POST OCTABAS PASCHAE

96. Lectiones de revelatione beati Iohannis evangelistae,

DE ROGATIONUM DIEBUS

102. In Rogationum diebus ad matutinale obsequium legant Epistolas Canonicas.

PER EBDOMADAM ASCENSIONIS DOMINI

109. Lectiones ad nocturnale obsequium de Actibus apostolorum: Primum quidem

DOMINICA TERTIA POST PENTECOSTES

121. Lectiones octo legant de Regum,

DOMINICA PRIMA MENSIS AUGUSTI

145. De Salomon legantur tam in ecclesia quam ad refectionem usque mensis septembris.

DOMINICA PRIMA MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS

160. Legantur tam dominicis diebus, in vigiliis quam cotidianis refectionis horis libri Job, Tobias, Iudith et Hester et Ezdra et ex earum commentationibus quousque octobris mensis praesto sit.

DE DOMINICA PRIMA MENSIS OCTOBRIS

176. legatur hystoria Machabeorum

KALENDE NOVEMBRIS

188. Lectiones longe ex Ezechihelis prophaetia legantur in primis...dein Danihel. Duodecim prophetiae..

6. St. Omer BM MS 2, fol. 1[7]

Ordo Librorum ad legendum.

In primis in LXX^{ima} ponunt pentateuchum usque in XV^{ima} die ante pascha.

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[7]From my own transcription. I have left orthography, capitalization and punctuation, as well as the apparent confusion between the accusative and ablative uses of "in," as they are found in the manuscript.

In XV die ante pascha ponunt hieremiam prophetam usque in pascha.

In pascha ponunt actus apostolorum sequuntur VII epistolae canonicae. Deinde sequitur apocalipsis usque in octabo pentcostes.

In octabo pentecostes ponunt regum et paralipomenon usque in dominica prima mensis augusti.

In dominica I^{ima} mensis augusti ponunt salomonem usque in dominica prima mensis septembre.

In dominica I^{ima} mensis septembris ponunt iob, tobiam, iudith, esther, esdra usque in kalendis octobre id est usque in dominica prima octobre.

In dominica prima octobris ponunt machiaborum usque kalendis novembrum.

In dominica prima novembrum ponunt ezechielem et danielem, II et X minores propheta usque ad missam sanctum Andreae I usque in kalendis decembris.

In dominica prima decembri in dominica de adventu domini ponunt esaiam prophetam usque in natale domini.

In vigilia natalis domini leguntur primum de esaia lectiones III *In primo tempore allevata est terra zabulon* (ch. 9) II *consolamini consolamini* III *consurge consurge* et ceterae III lectiones non inanantur sed sicut volunt priores. Deinde leguntur omeliae catholicorum patrum ad ipsum die pertinentes.

In natale sancti Iohannis evangelistae legitur apocalipsis et sermones convenientes.

In natale innocentum eidem apocalypsis cum aperuisset sigulum quintum et sermones de natale ipsorum

In octabo domini easdem lectiones quas in natale domini et sermones si fuerint proprii.

In Teophania similiter lectiones de esaia propheta. *Omnes sicientes* (ch.55). *Surge illuminare* (ch. 60). *Gaudens gaudebo* (ch. 61). Deinde leguntur sermones augustini. ambrosii. gregorii et cetera

In octabo teophaniae lectiones quas in teophania.

A natale domini ponunt epistolae pauli usque in LXX.

In natale sancti petri leguntur lectiones de actibus apostolorum.

In natale sancti pauli leguntur sancti augustini episcopi sermones.

7. Arras, BM MS 230 (907), fols. 36r-v.[8]

HEC SUNT QUE DEBENT LEGI AD MENSAM PER ANNI CIRCUITUM

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[8]*The Monastic Ordinale of St. Vedast's Abbey Arras*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 86 and 87, ed. Louis Brou, 2 vols. (Bedford, 1957), II, 184-185.

In aduentu domini leguntur yzaias. sermones de aduentu domini. de ieiunio. de unitate trinitatis. et incarnatione filii. Omelie et sanctorum hystorie in diebus suis.

In natali domni et per octauas leguntur omelie. sermones de natali domini. de natali sancti stephani. de sancto iohanne euua[n]gelista. de innocentibus. hystorie sanctorum que tunc euenerint.

A circumcisione domini usque ad septuagesimam leguntur epistole pauli. sermones de circumcisione. de epyphania. de baptismo domini. de sancta agnete, et sanctorum hystorie temporibus suis.

A septuagesima usque [ad] dominicam in passione leguntur genesis. exodus. leuiticus. liber numerorum. deuteronomium. sermones de ieiunio domini. de septuagesima. de sexagesima. de quinquagesima. de quadragesima. de iacob. de esau. de ioseph. de moyse. omelie. et sanctorum hystorie in diebus suis.

A dominica in passione usque in pascha leguntur iheremias. baruch. sermones de passione domini. omelie et sanctorum hystorie in diebus suis.

A die sancto pasche et per octauas, leguntur omelie. sermones de resurrectione domini cum sanctorum hystoriis in diebus suis.

Ab octauis pasche usque penthecostes leguntur actus apostolorum. epistole canonice. apocalypsis. sermones de cena domini. Expositiones super apocalypsim. homelie. et sanctorum hystorie in diebus suis.

In die penthecostes et usque ad octauas trinitatis leguntur omelie. sermones paschasii de spiritu sancto. Iosue. Iudecum. Ruth. et sanctorum hystorie in diebus suis.

Ab octauis trinitatis usque ad augustum leguntur quatuor libri regum. paralipomenon. esdras. neemias. omelie et sanctorum historie in diebus suis.

A principio augusti usque ad dominicam primam septembris leguntur parabole salomonis. ecclesiastes. cantica canticorum. liber sapientie. ecclesiasticus. cum omeliis et sanctorum hystoriis.

A prima dominica mensis septembris usque ad dominicam qua cantatur *Adaperiat* leguntur iob. thobias. iudith. hester. moralis iob. omelie et sanctorum historie in diebus suis.

A dominica qua cantatur *Adaperiat* usque *Vidi dominum* leguntur libri machabeorum. duodecim prophete. omelie et sanctorum hystorie in diebus suis.

A festo omnium sanctorum usque ad aduentum domini leguntur ezechias, danyel. omelie et sanctorum hystorie.

Appendix 3

Rubrication of Song of Solomon

Six variations of the rubrication of the wisdom book of Song of Solomon have been edited by De Bruyne.[1] All of them interpret the words of the book as a conversation between two or more characters, most importantly, Christ and his bride, the Church. Other participants can include Synagogue, heretics, the Faithful, or Mary Magdalene. The set of rubrics found in Arras 559 is among the earliest and most simple. Because so much of the text is missing, including chapters five and six and the better part of chapters four and seven, it is impossible to develop a complete picture of the intentions of the rubricator. The rubrics, as they survive, include only Christ, Ecclesia and Synagogue.

The Arras 559 rubrics are closest in form to De Bruyne's group A, which is found in the Codex Amiatinus in Florence (7th century), Salzburg IX 16 (8th century?), Bern A 9 (10th century), Munich Clm 18036 (9th century?) and Zurich Cantonsbibl. C 1, (9th century). Group A as listed by De Bruyne includes 42 rubrics. Twenty-six of the rubricated verses survive in Arras 559, and of those, only four of the group A rubrics are missing[2], one is different[3], and one has been added[4].

fol. 142

1:6	Indica mihi, quem diligit anima mea *Vox Ecclesiae*
1:7	Si ignoras te, o pulcherrima inter mulieres, *Vox Christi*
1:11	Dum esset rex in accubitu suo, *Vox Ecclesiae*
1:14	Ecce tu pulchra es, amica mea! *Vox Christi*
1:15	Ecce tu pulcher es, dilecte mi, *Vox Ecclesiae*
2:1	Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium. *Vox Christi*
2:3	Sicut malus inter ligna silvarum,

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[1]Donatien De Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible Latine* (Namur, 1914), 558-561.

[2]Rubrics for verses 1:1, and 3:1,5 and 6 are missing: 1:1-Vox synagogae, 3:1-Vox Mariae Magdalenae ad Ecclesiam, 3:5-Vox Christi and 3:6-Vox Synagogae. See De Bruyne, 559. He notes that Salzbourg and Zurich also omit the rubric for 3:5.

[3]The rubric for 8:6 is "Ecclesia de Christo dicit" in group A, but is "Ecclesia de Synagoga dicit" in Arras 559. See De Bruyne, 561.

[4]At 3:11 the rubricator has added "Vox Ecclesia de Christo dicit". This is a rubric found in De Bruyne's group B for the same verse. See De Bruyne, 558.

	Vox Ecclesiae
2:7	Adiuro vos, filiae Ierusalem,
	Vox Christi
2:8	Vox dilecti mei; ecce iste venit,
	Vox Ecclesiae
2:10	Surge, propera, amica mea,
	Vox Christi[5]
2:13	Surge, amica mea, speciosa mea, et veni;
	Vox Christi

fol. 142v

2:15	Capite nobis vulpes parvulas
	Vox adhereses[6]
2:15	Nam vinea nostra floruit. .
	Vox Ecclesiae
3:10	Columnas eius fecit argenteas,
	De Christo dicit
3:11	Egredimini et videte, filiae Sion,
	Ecclesia de Christo dicit
4:1	Quam pulchra es, amica mea!
	Christus Ecclesiae dicit

One folio is missing between folios 142 and 143. The text breaks off at the bottom of fol. 142v with verse 4:8, and begins again at the top of fol. 143 with verse 7:6.

fol. 143

7:9	Dignum dilecto meo ad potandum,
	De Christo dicit[7]
8:4	Adiuro vos, filiae Ierusalem,
	Ecclesia de Synagoga dixit
8:5	Quae est ista quae ascendit de deserto,
	Respondit Synagoga ad Ecclesiam
8:6	Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum,
	Ecclesia ad Christum dicit[8]
8:10	Ego murus, et ubera mea sicut turris,

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[5] De Bruyne notes, 559, that this rubric is found in group A only in Codex Amiatinus and in G.

[6] This appears as "Vox adversus hereses" in the edited version, De Bruyne, 559.

[7] Although the edited standard version of this rubric is "Ecclesia de Synagoga dicit", De Bruyne notes that the Codex Amiatinus uses "Ecclesia de Christo dicit" instead, 561. This, again, is the rubric found in De Bruyne's group B for this verse.

[8] The standard edited rubric for 8:6 in group A is "Ecclesia de Christo dicit." Once again, the Arras 559 rubricator has followed the version found in the Codex Amiatinus, and given this verse the rubric "Ecclesia ad Christum dicit" also found in De Bruyne's group B.

	Respondit Ecclesia
8:11	Vinea fuit pacifico in ea quae habet populos;
	Synagoga Ecclesiam dicit
8:12	Vinea mea coram me est.
	Christus dicit
8:13	Quae habitas in hortis, amici auscultant;
	Ecclesia Christo dicit

Rubrics from group A which may once have been found on the missing folio between folios 142 and 143 follow.[9]

4:16	Surge, aquilo; et veni, auster;
	Christus gentes convocat
5:1	Veniat delictus meus in hortum suum,
	Ecclesia de Christo dicit
5:1	Veni in hortum meum, soror mea, sponsa;
	Christus dicit
5:1	Comedite, amici, et bibite;
	Christus ad apostolos dicit
5:2	Vox dilecti mei pulsantis:
	Ecclesia dicit
5:3	Expoliavi me tunica mea, quomodo induar illa?
	Vox Ecclesiae
5:4	Dilectus meus misit manum suam per foramen,
	Vox Ecclesiae ad Christum
5:9	Qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto,
	Vox Synagogae
5:10	Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus;
	Vox Ecclesiae de Christo
5:17	Quo abiit dilectus tuus, o pulcherrima mulierum?
	Vox Synagogae ad Ecclesiam
6:1	Dilectus meus descendit in hortum suum
	Vox Ecclesiae
6:3	Pulchra est, amica mea, suavis,
	Vox Christi ad Ecclesiam
6:8	Una est columba mea, perfecta mea,
	Vox Christi ad Ecclesiam
6:12	Revertere, revertere, Sulamitis!
	Synagogae dicit
7:1	Quid videbis in Sulamite, nisi choros castrorum?
	Vox Christi ad Synagogam
7:1	Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui in calceamentis,
	Vox Christi ad Ecclesiam

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[9]From De Bruyne, 559 and 561.

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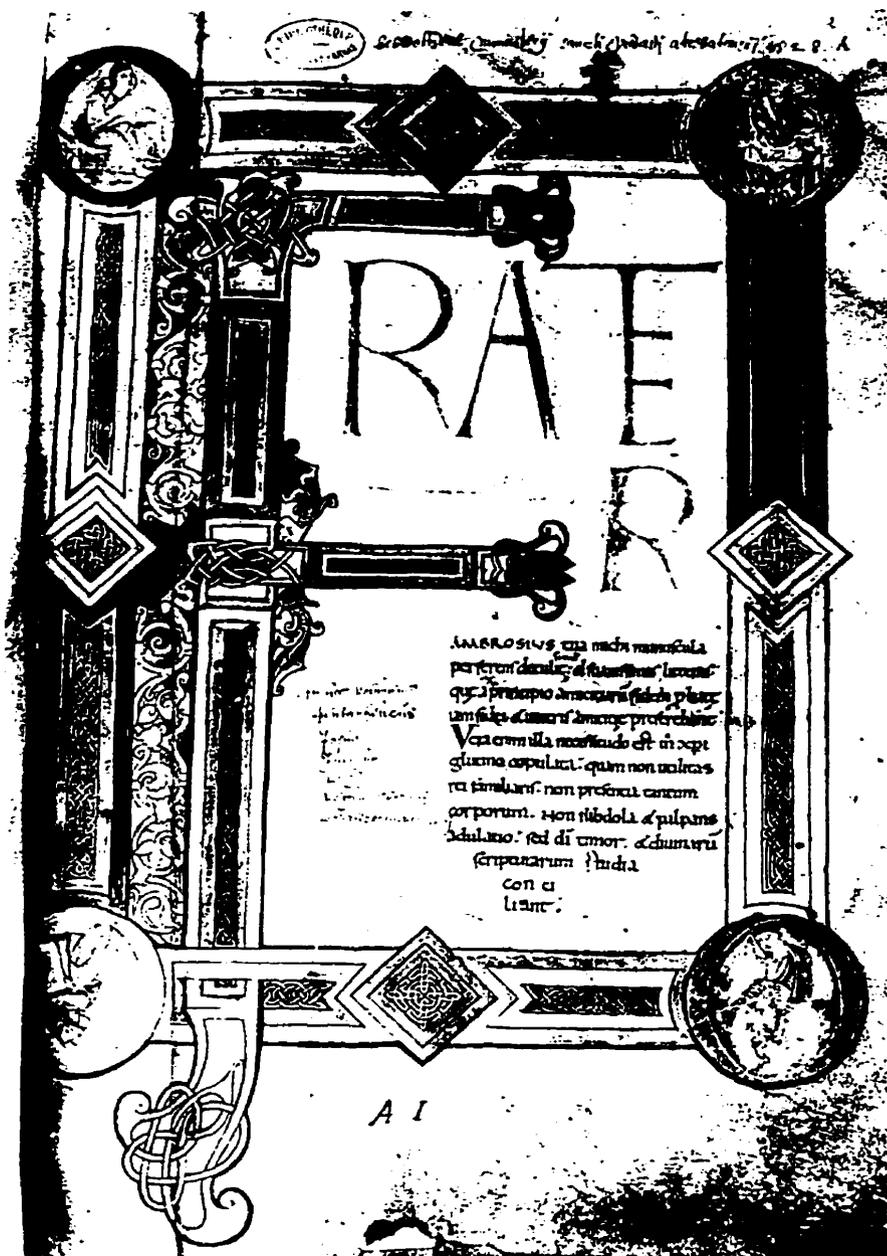
Fig. 1. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. I, fol. 2, Saint-Vaast Bible,
Frater Ambrosius

Fig. 2. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. I, fol. 53v, Saint-Vaast Bible,
Deuteronomy

Fig. 3. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. I, fol. 54, Saint-Vaast Bible, Deuteronomy

Fig. 4. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. I, fol. 72, Saint-Vaast Bible, Joshua

Fig. 5. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. I, fol. 128v, Saint-Vaast Bible, III Kings

Fig. 6. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. I, fol. 144v, Saint-Vaast Bible, IV Kings

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Fig. 7. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. I, fol. 170, Saint-Vaast Bible, II Chronicles

Fig. 8. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. II, fol. 15, Saint-Vaast Bible, Jeremiah

Fig. 9. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. II, fol. 42v, Saint-Vaast Bible, Ezekiel

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Fig. 10. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. II, fol. 106v, Saint-Vaast Bible, Nahum

Fig. 11. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. II, fol. 108, Saint-Vaast Bible, Habakkuk

Fig. 12. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. II, fol. 141v, Saint-Vaast Bible,
Song of Solomon
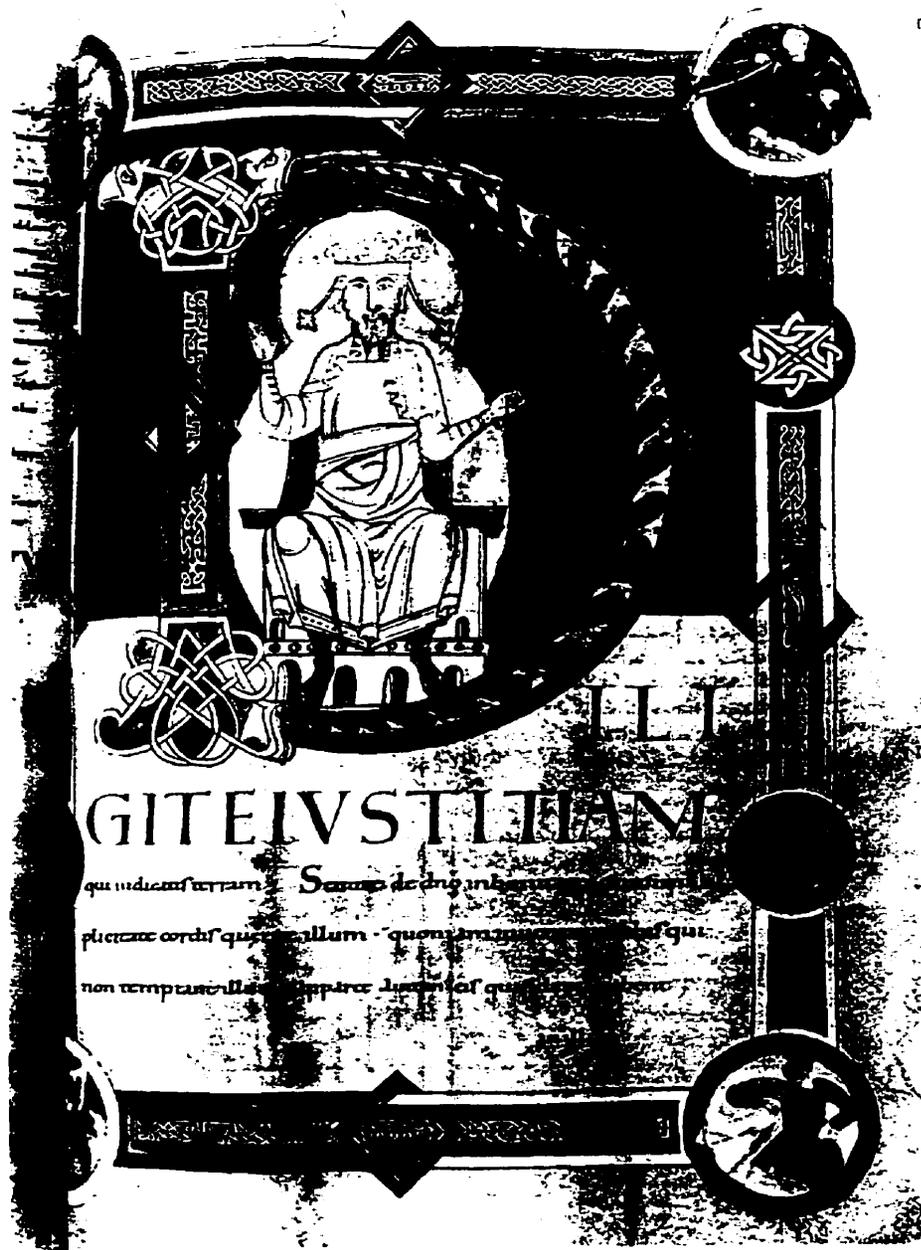
Fig. 13. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. II, fol. 144, Saint-Vaast Bible, Wisdom

Fig. 14. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 1, Saint-Vaast Bible, Ecclesiasticus
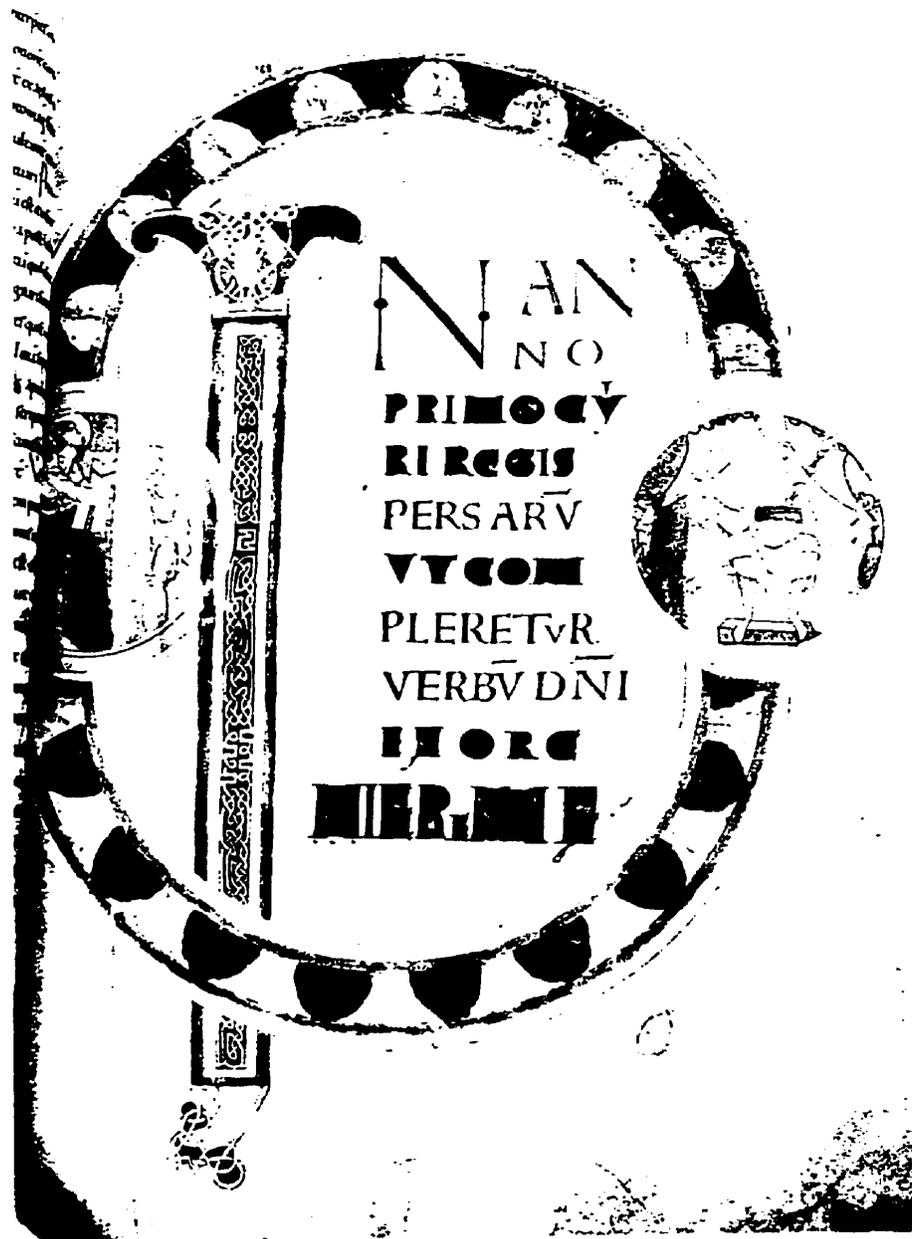
Fig. 15. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 29, Saint-Vaast Bible, Ezra
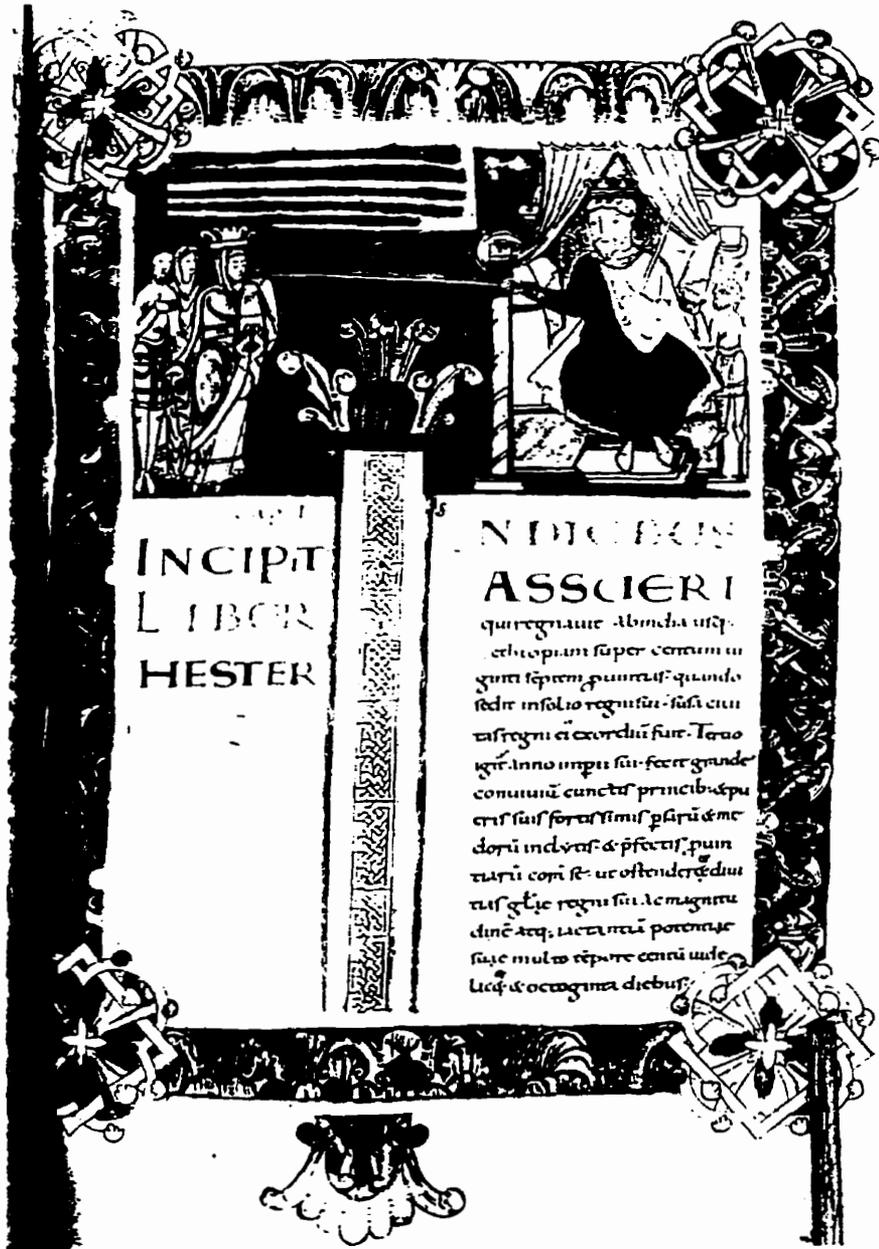
Fig. 16. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 44, Saint-Vaast Bible, Esther
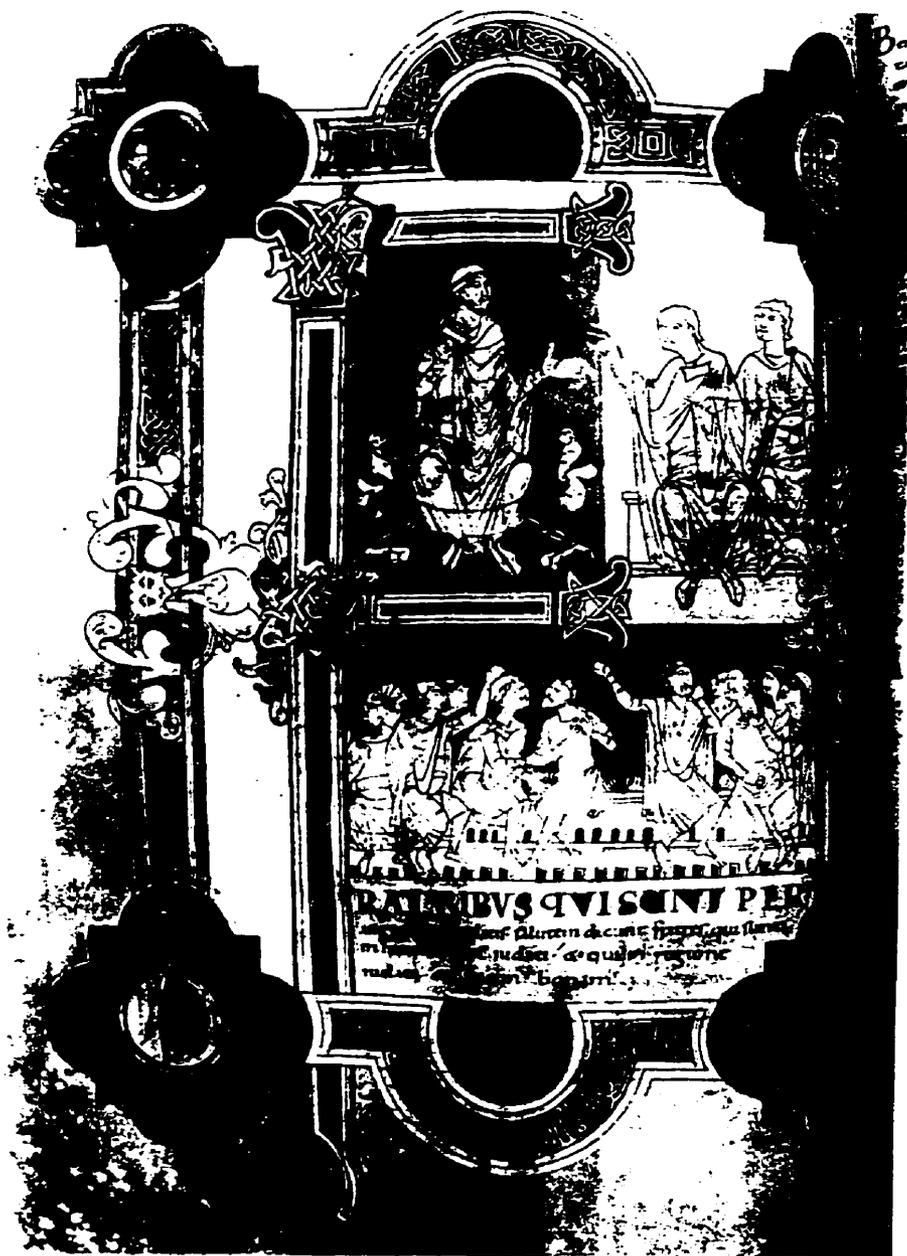
Fig. 17. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 70v, Saint-Vaast Bible,
II Maccabees

Fig. 18. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 81v, Saint-Vaast Bible,
Passion of the Maccabees

Fig. 19. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 114, Saint-Vaast Bible,
Paul's Épistle to the Colosians
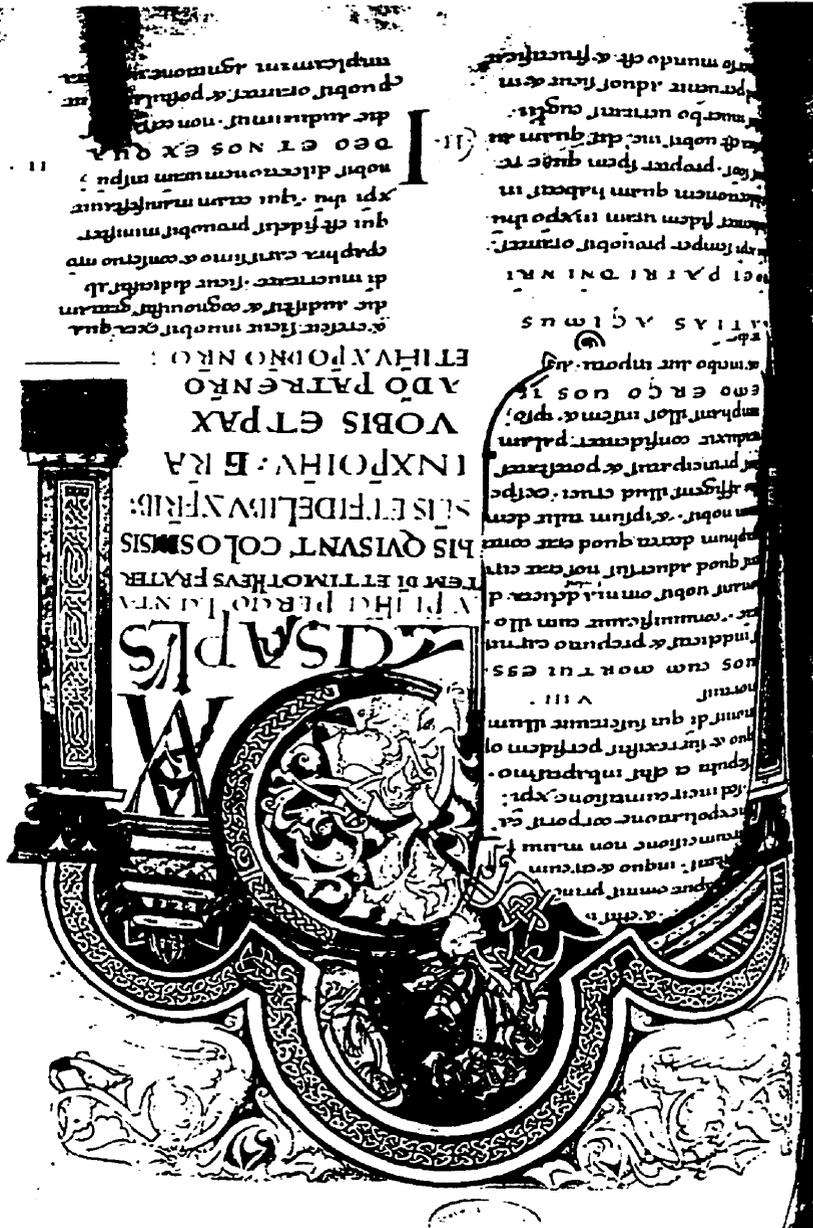
Fig. 20. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 126, Saint-Vaast Bible, Paul's Epistle to Philemon
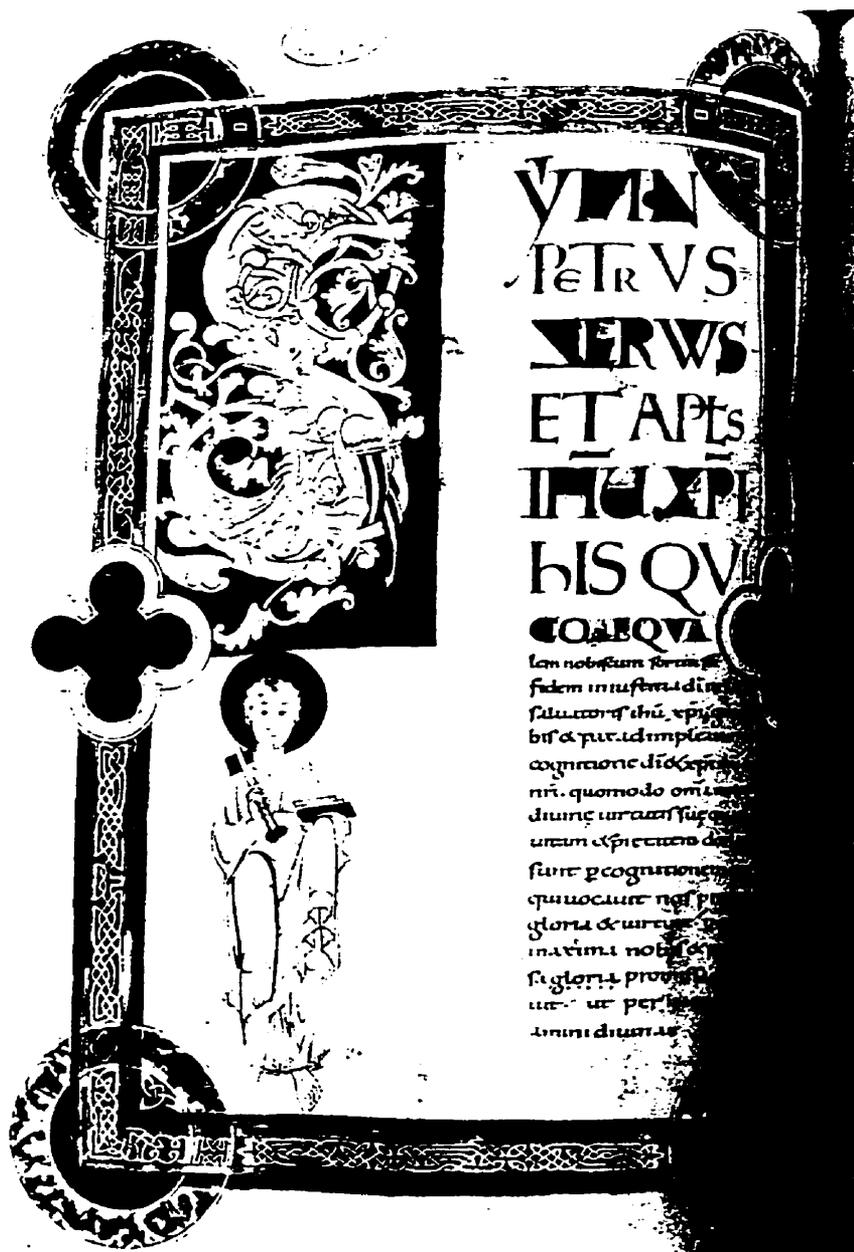
Fig. 22. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 135v, Saint-Vaast Bible, II Peter

Fig. 23. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 136v, Saint-Vaast Bible, I John

Fig. 24. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. III, fol. 141, Saint-Vaast Bible, Acts

Fig. 25. Boulogne, BM MS 9, fol. 1, Arras, Saint-Vaast, Gospel Book,
Dedication

Fig. 26. Paris, BN MS lat. 943, fol. 5b, Sherborne Pontifical
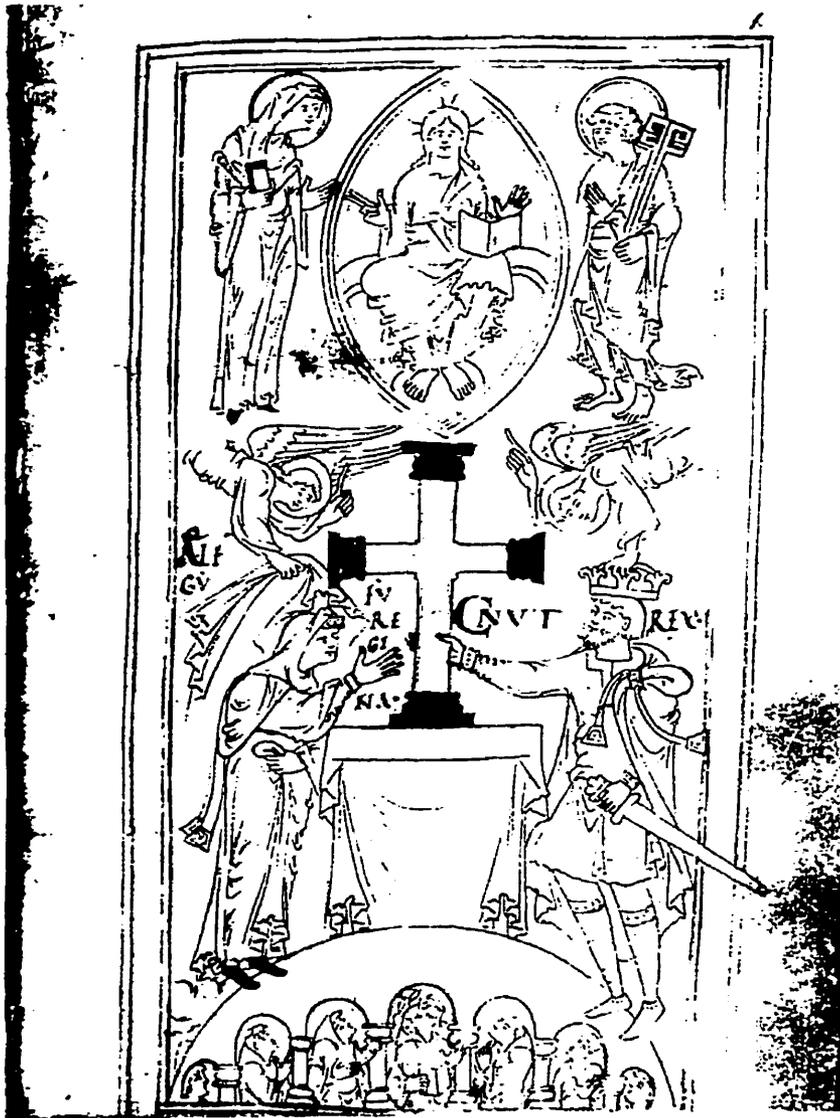
Fig. 27. London, BL Stowe MS 944, fol. 6, Winchester,
New Minster Liber Vitae

Fig. 28. Arras, BM MS 1045 (233), fol. 43, Saint Vaast, Lectionary

Fig. 29. Douai, BM MS 1, fol. CCXXV, Marchiennes, Bible, Ecclesiasticus

Fig. 30. Douai, BM MS 3a, fol. 50v, Marchiennes, Bible, Ecclesiasticus

Fig. 31. Douai, BM MS 3a, fol. 93v, Marchiennes, Bible, Ezra

Fig. 32. Douai, BM MS 3b, fol. 168v bis, Marchiennes, Bible, Ecclesiasticus

Fig. 33. Valenciennes, BM MS 10, fol. 113, Saint-Amand, Bible,
Song of Solomon

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Fig. 34. Valenciennes, BM MS 10, fol. 123, Saint-Amand, Bible, Ecclesiasticus

Fig. 35. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. 1, fol. 29v, Saint-Vaast Bible, Leviticus

Fig. 36. Boulogne, BM MS 9, fol. 112v, Saint-Vaast, Gospel Book, John

Fig. 37. Arras, BM MS 903 (589), fol. 110, Saint-Vaast, Augustine, *De trinitate*, Lord Inspiring Augustine

Fig. 38. Boulogne, BM MS 11, fol. 10, Saint-Bertin, Gospel Book,
Christ Enthroned

Fig. 39. Boulogne, BM MS 11, fol. 56, Saint-Bertin, Gospel Book, Incipit Mark

Fig. 40. Boulogne, BM MS 11, fol. 107v, Saint-Bertin, Gospel Book,
Incipit John
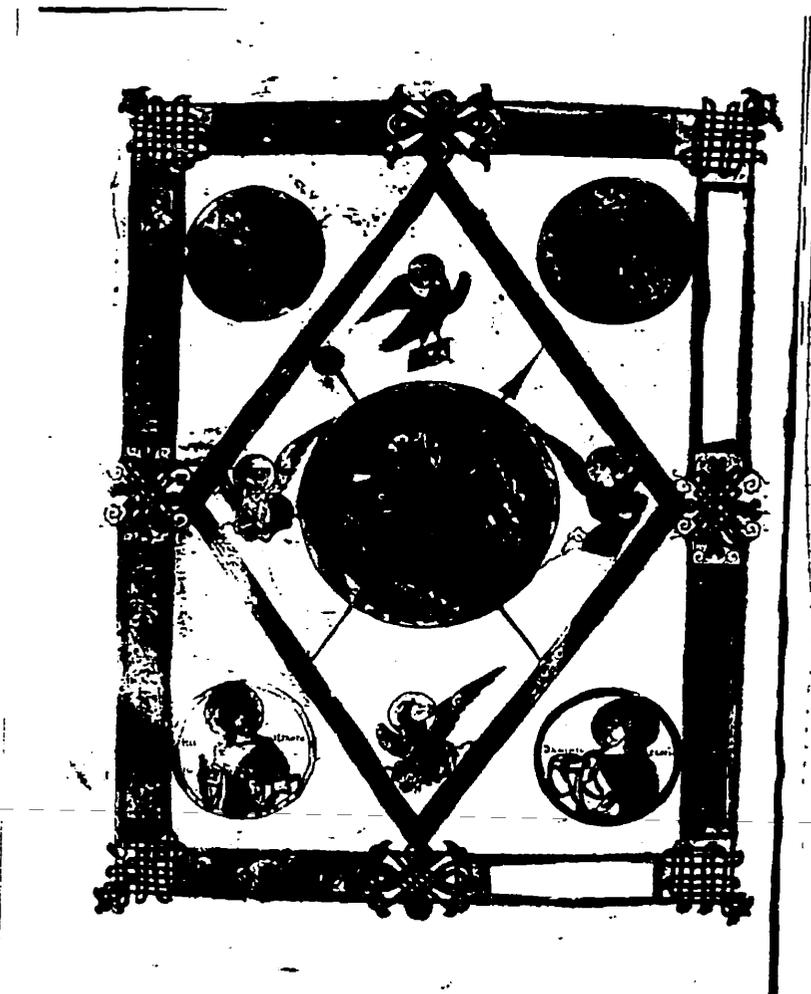
Fig. 41. Bamberg, Staatsbib. Misc. class. Bibl. 1, fol. 339v, Tours,
Bamberg Bible
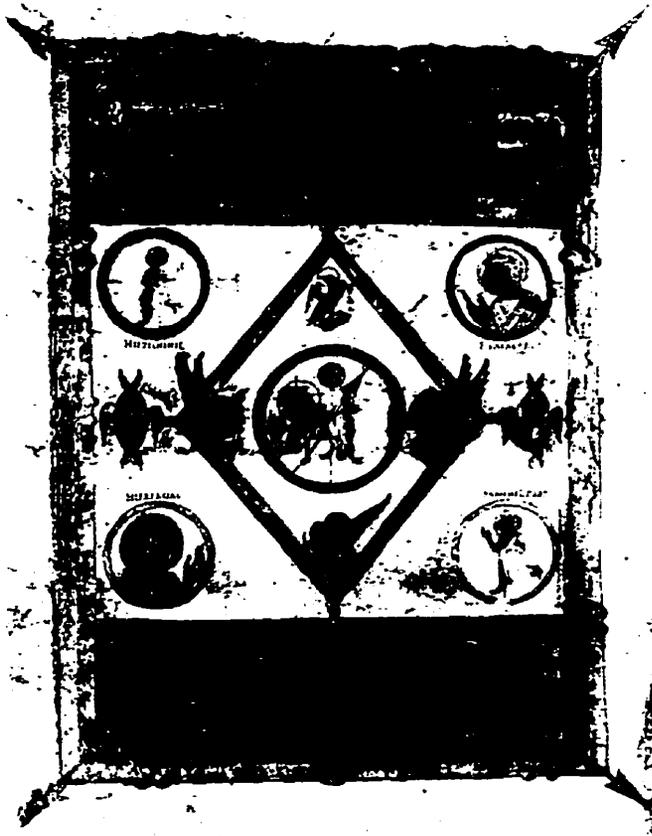
Fig. 42. Nancy, Cathedral Treasury, Gospel Book, fol. 3v

Fig. 43. Boulogne, BM MS 107, fol. 6v, Saint-Bertin, *Vitae Sanctorum,*
Dedication

Fig. 44. Boulogne, BM MS 107, fol. 7, Saint-Bertin, *Vitae Sanctorum,*
Dedication

Fig. 45. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. II, fol. 15, Saint-Vaast Bible,
Jeremiah, detail

Fig. 46. Arras, BM MS 616 (548), fol. 1v, Saint-Vaast, Augustine, *Confessiones*,
Dedication
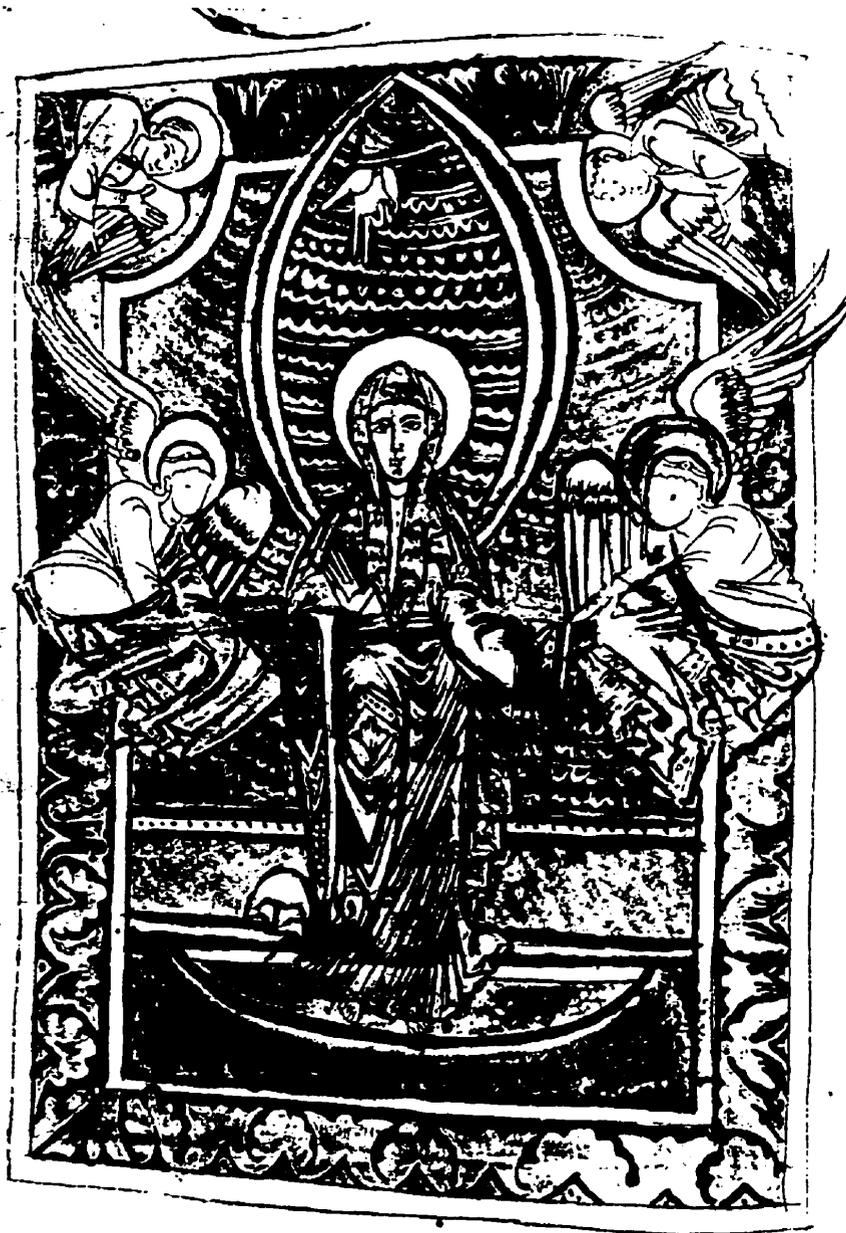
Fig. 47. Arras, BM MS 732 (684), fol. 2v, Saint-Vaast, Compilation,
Assumption of the Virgin
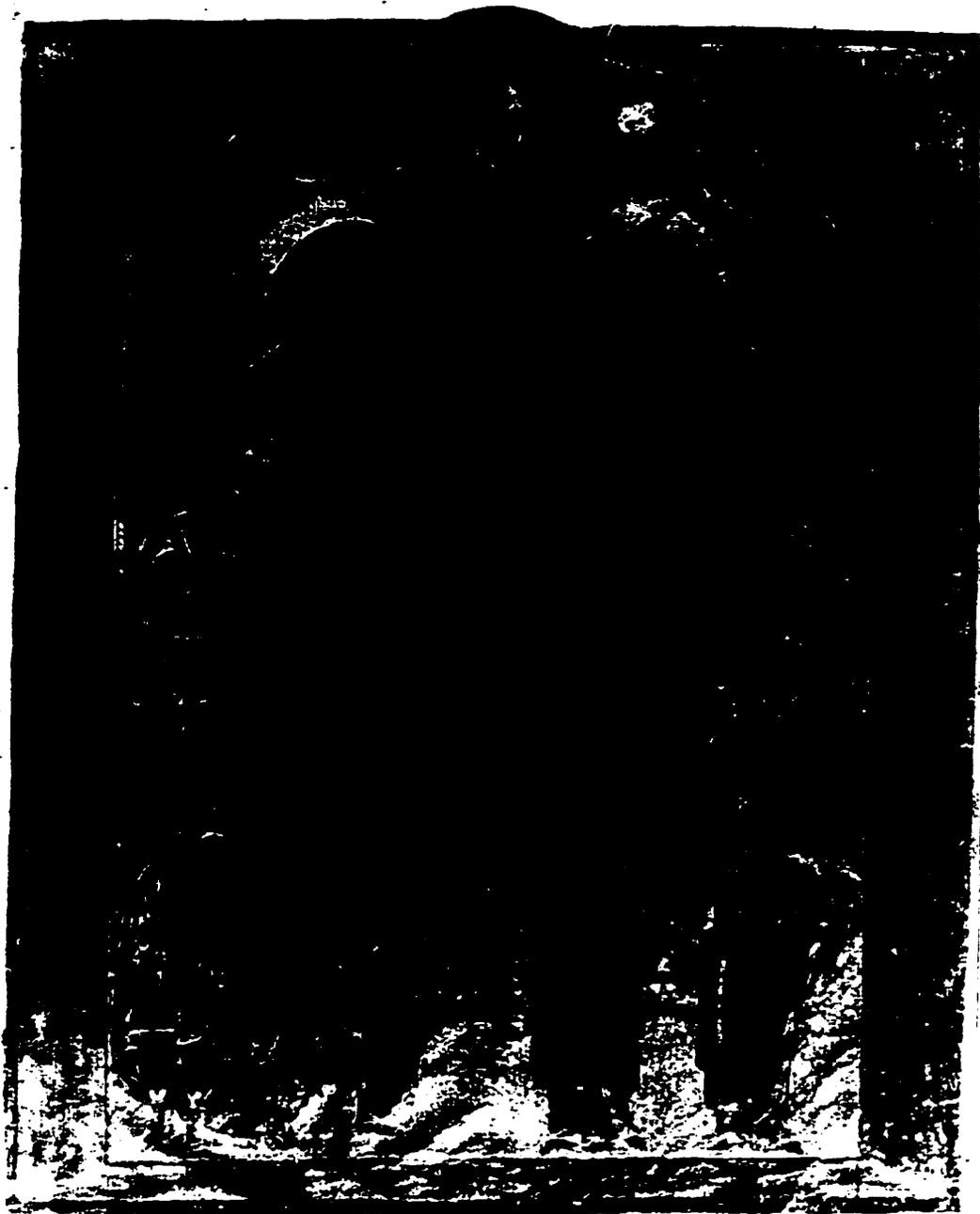
Fig. 48. Aachen, Cathedral Treasury, fol. 16, Gospel Book, Otto III

Fig. 49. Paris, BN MS lat. 1, fol. 329v, Tours, Vivian Bible, Maiestas Domini

Fig. 50. Paris, BN MS lat. 1, fol. 215v, Tours, Vivian Bible, Psalter
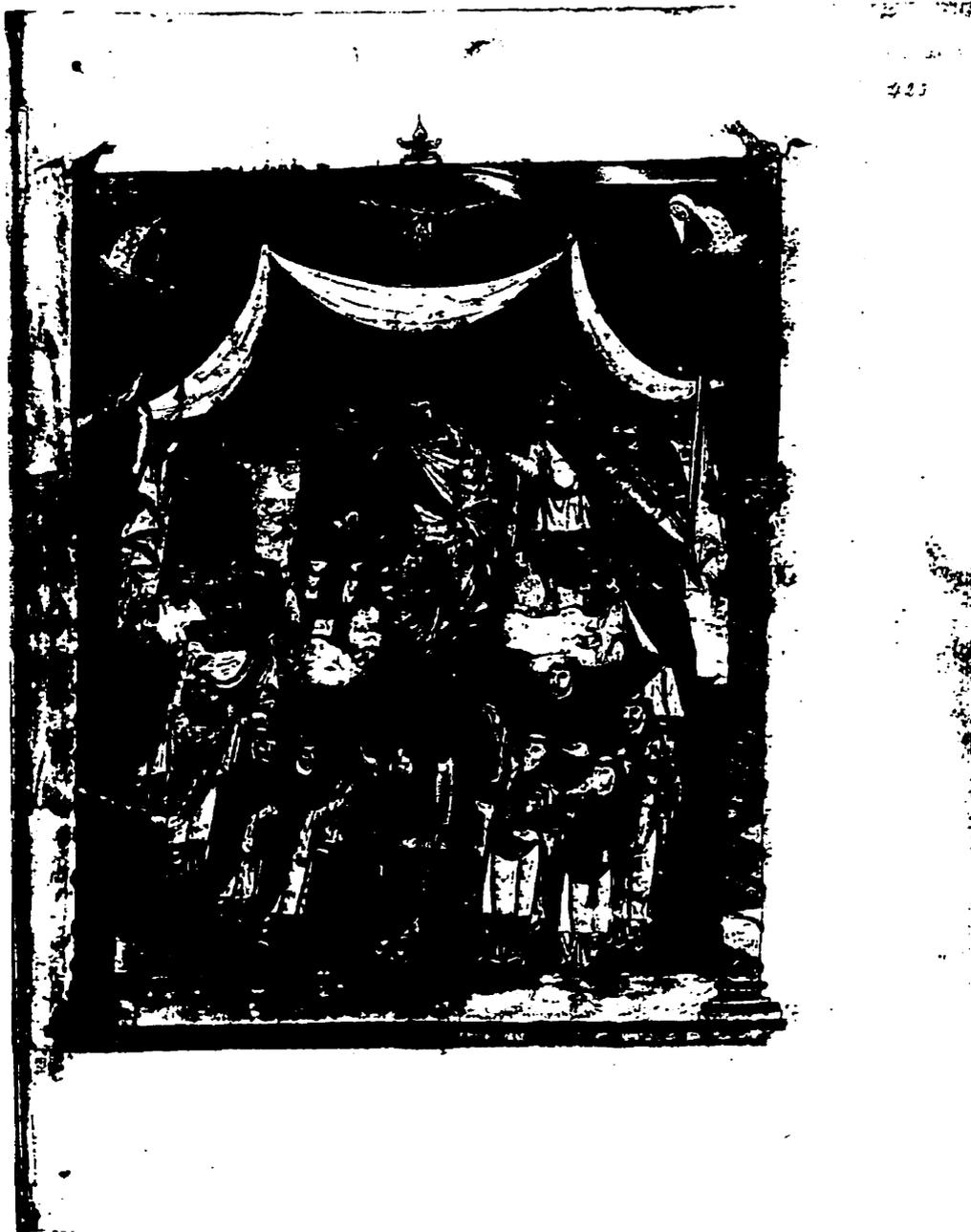
Fig. 51. Paris, BN MS lat. 1, fol. 423, Tours, Vivian Bible, Dedication
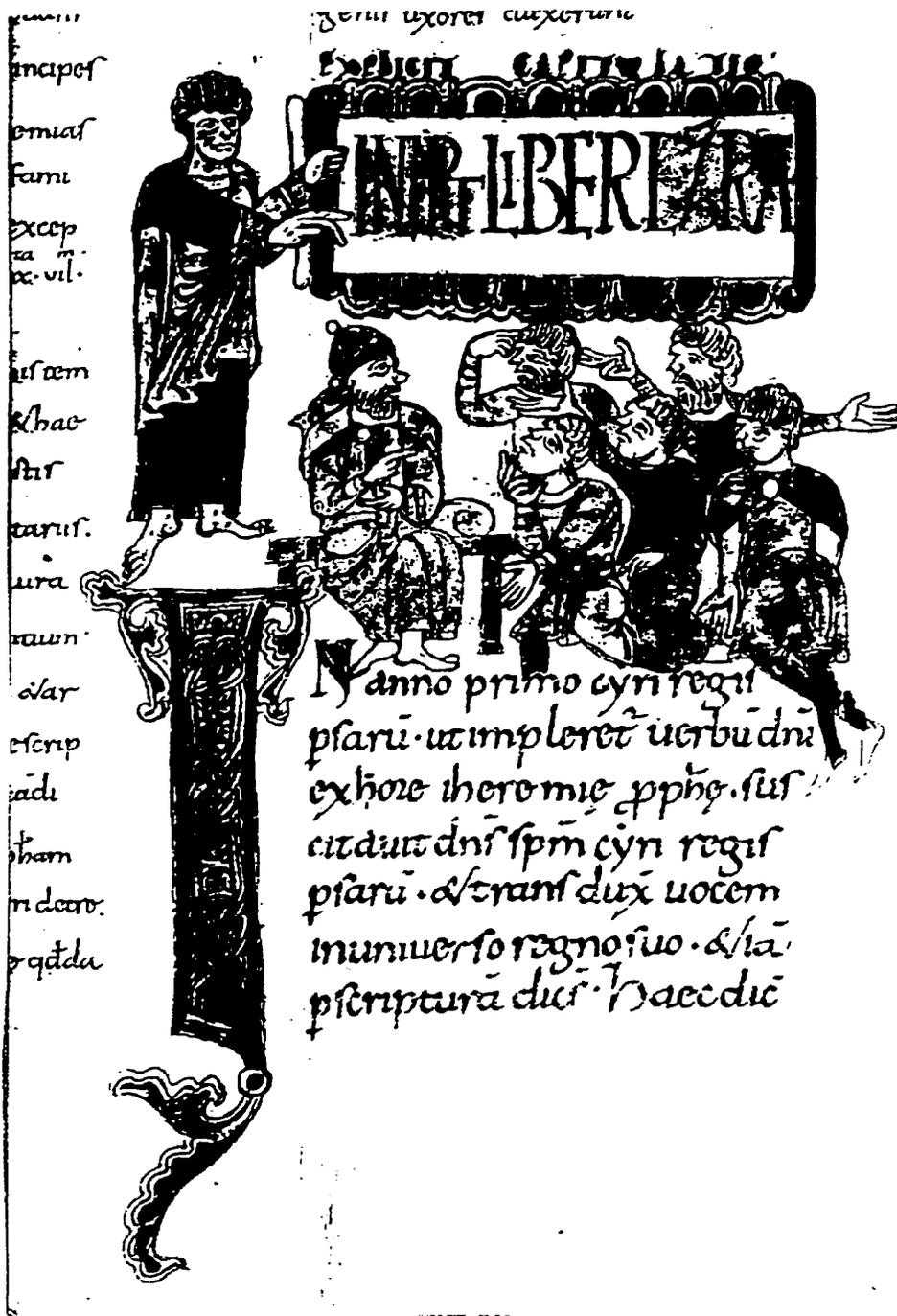
Fig. 52. Rome, Vatican Bibliotheca Apostolica Lat. 5729, fol. 312, Ripoll Bible, Ezra

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Fig. 53. Winchester, Cathedral Library, Bible, fol. 342, Ezra
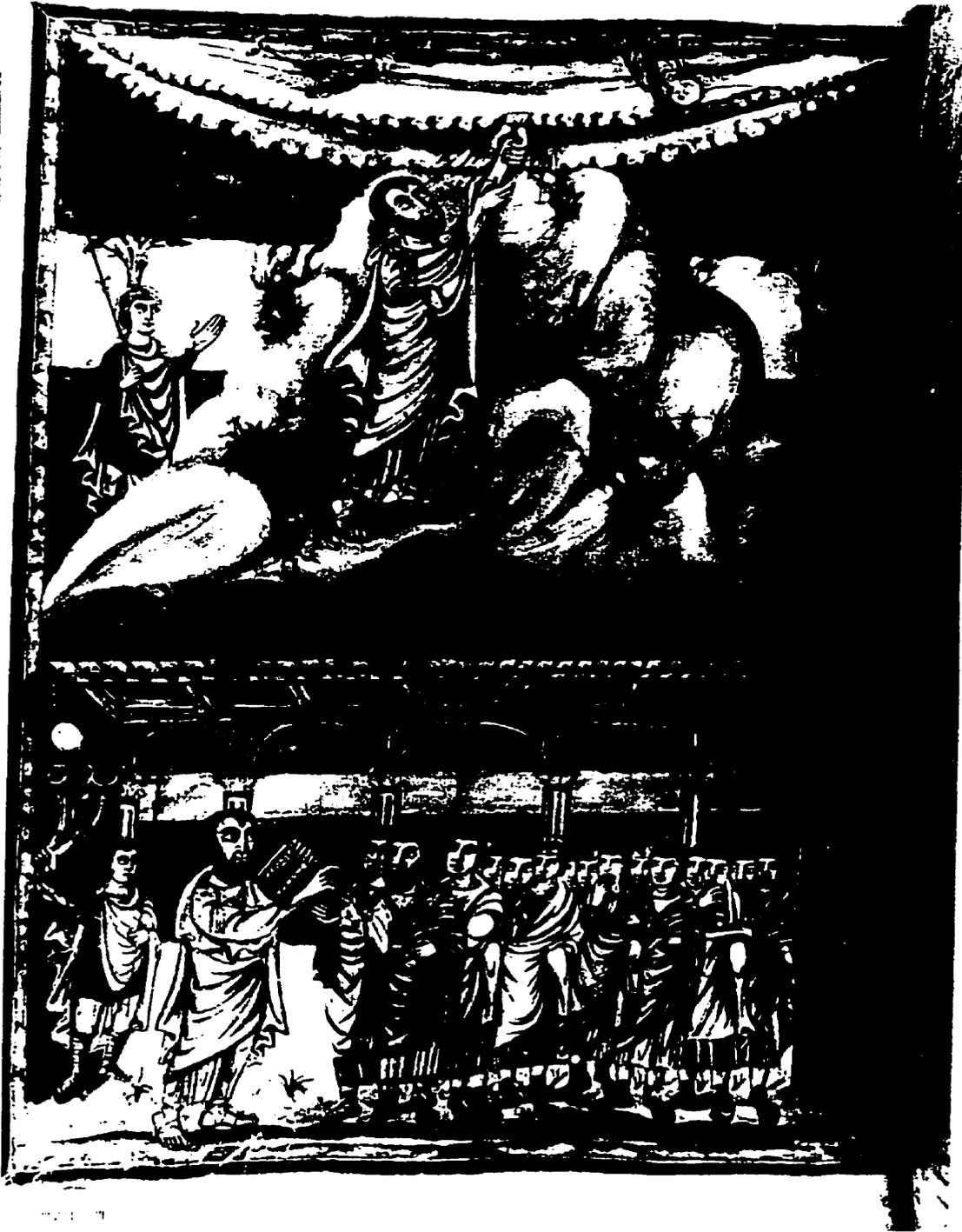
Fig. 54. London, BL Add. MS 10546, fol. 25v, Tours, Grandval Bible, Exodus

Fig. 55. Munich, Residenz, Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, fol. 38v, Charles
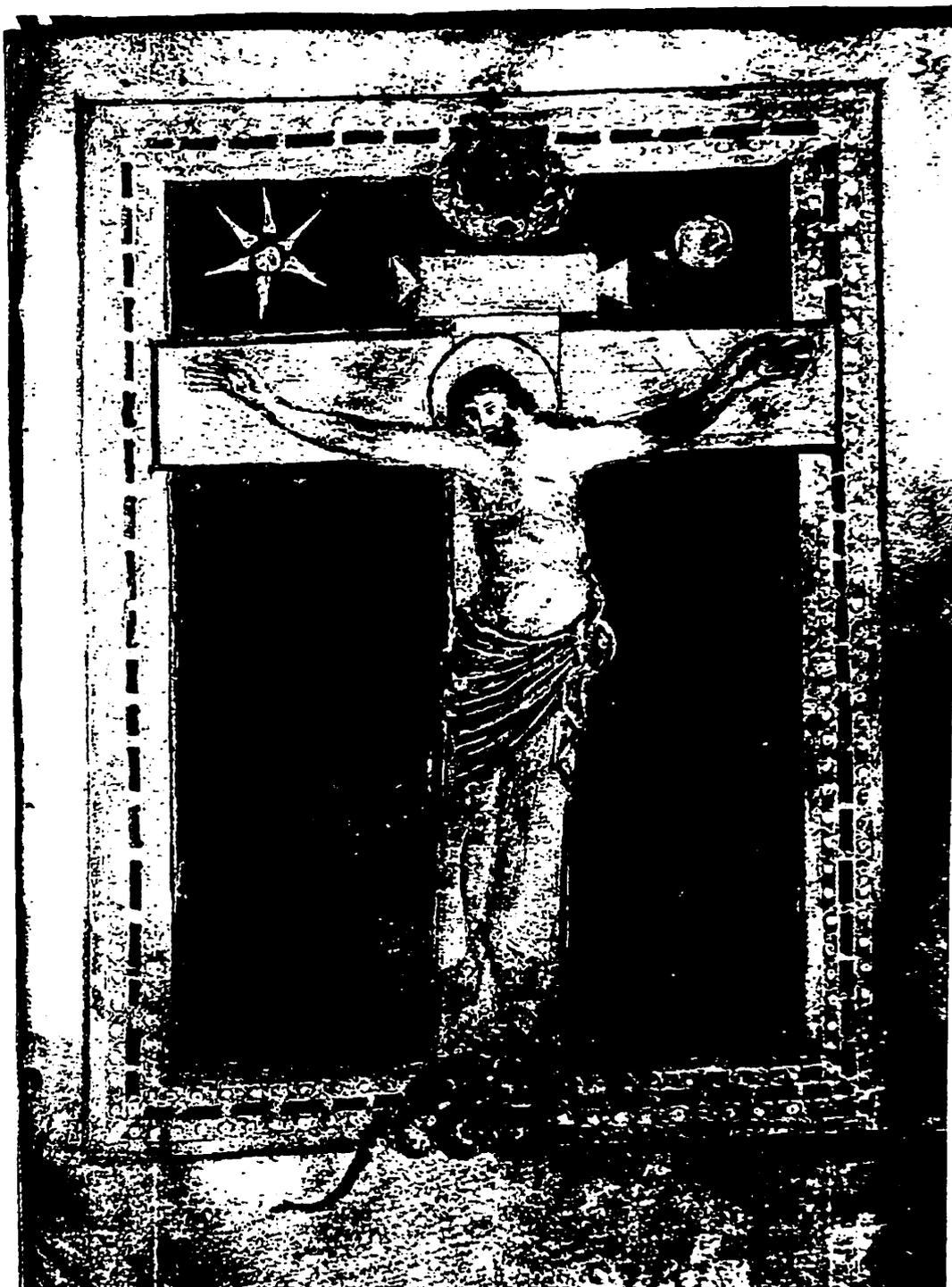
Fig. 56. Munich, Residenz, Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, fol. 39, Crucifixion

Fig. 57. Ivrea, Bibl. Capitolare MS LXXXVI, fol. 2, Warmund Sacramentary, Consecration of a King
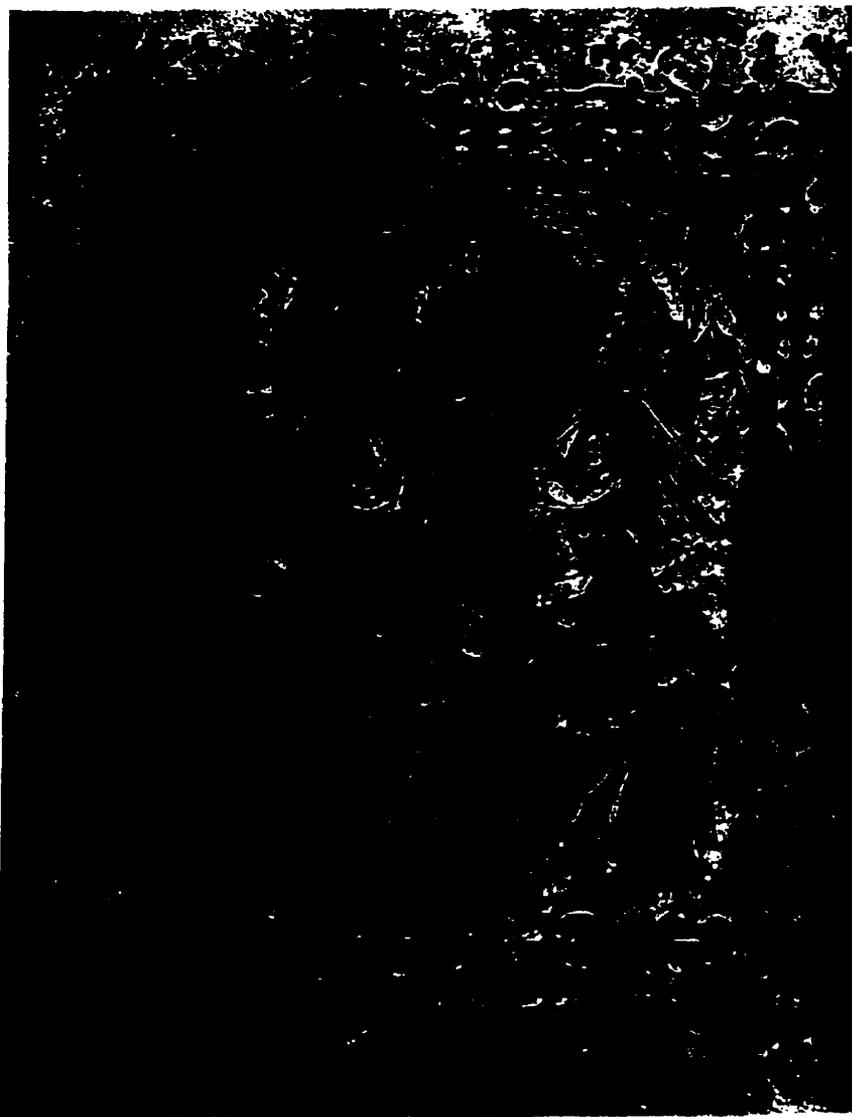
Fig. 58. London, BL Cotton Vespasian MS A.VIII, fol. 2b, Winchester, New Minster Charter

Fig. 59. London, BL Cotton Tiberias MS A.III, fol. 2v, Christ Church
Canterbury, *Regularis Concordia*

Fig. 60. Paris, Bib. Arsenal 5211, fol. 183v, Bible, Kings III
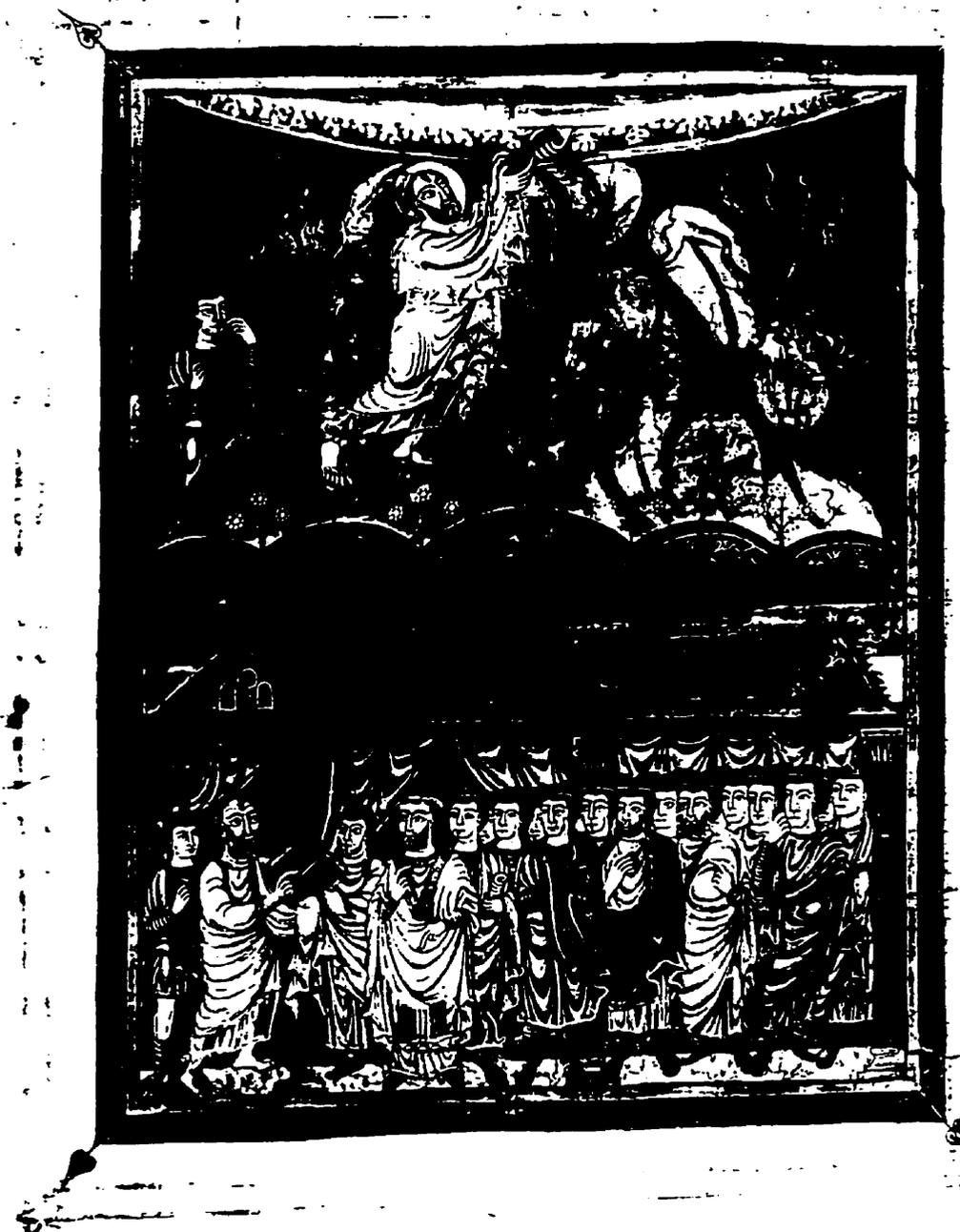
Fig. 61. Paris, BN MS lat. 1, fol. 27v, Vivian Bible, Exodus

Fig. 62. London, BL Cotton Claudius MS B IV, fol. 139v, Aelfric Hexateuch,
Moses Blessing the Israelites

Fig. 63. Paris, BN MS gr. 74, fol. 19v, Gospel Book,
Christ Preaching to the Apostles
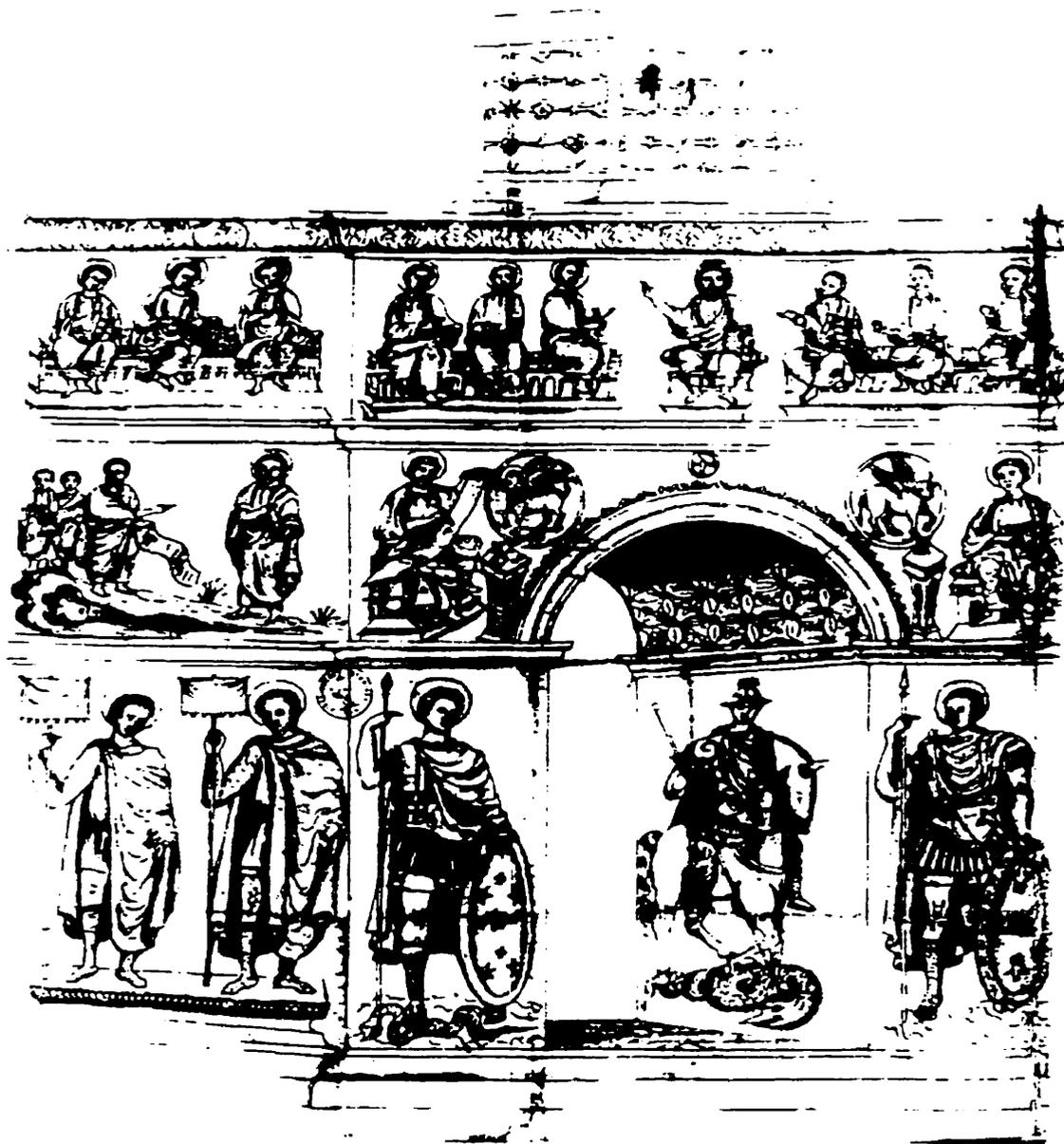
Fig. 64. Paris, BN MS fr. 10 440, Drawing of Einhard Arch
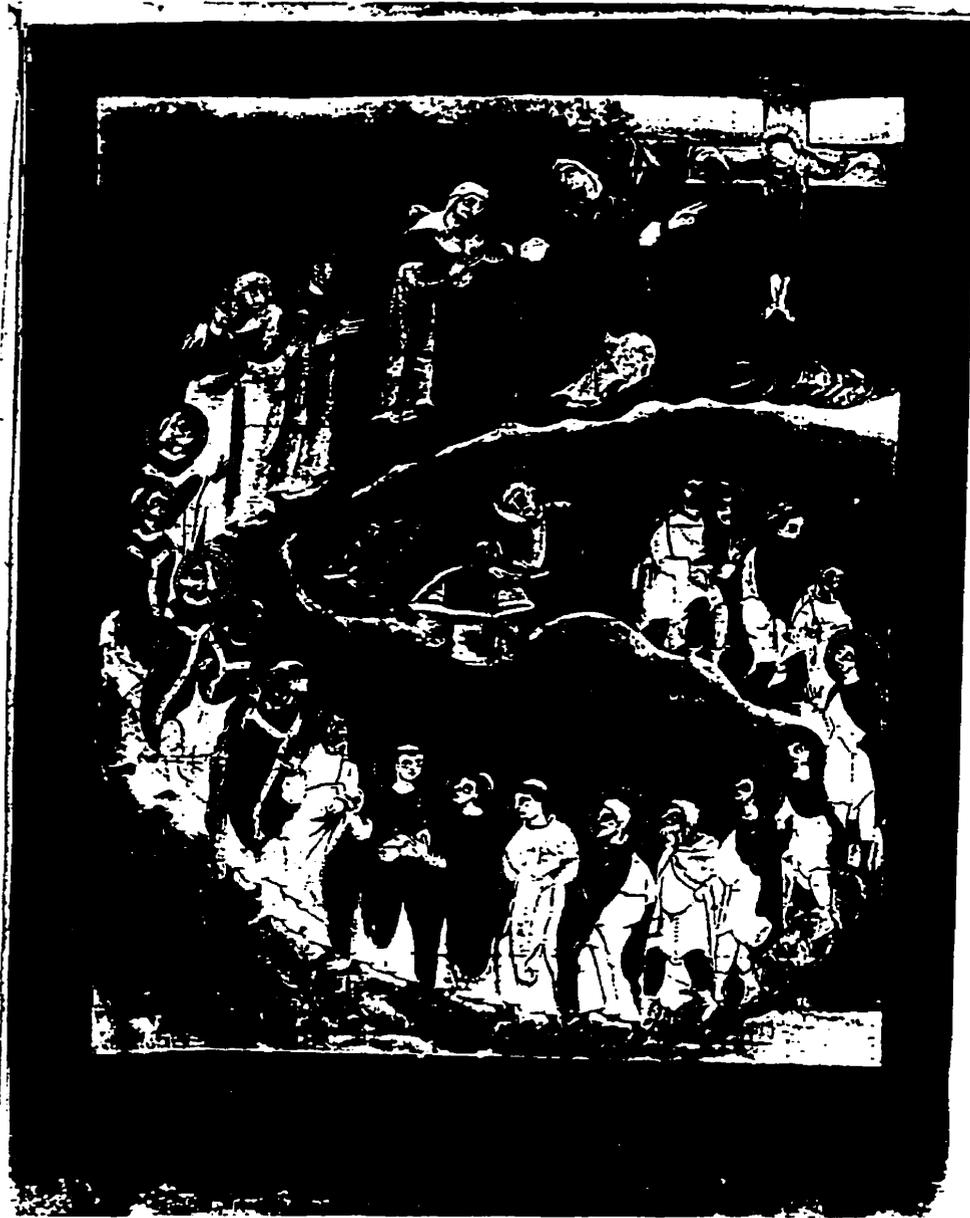
Fig. 65. Bamberg, Staatsbibl., MS Bibl. 22, fol. 4v, Bamberg Commentaries, Ecclesia

Fig. 66. Bamberg, Staatsbibl., MS Bibl. 22, fol. 5, Bamberg Commentaries, Christ

Fig. 67. Montecassino, cod. casinensis 132, fol. 118, Rabanus Maurus,
De Universo, Sol and Luna in Zodiac

Fig. 68. Arras, BM MS 559 (435), vol. II, fol. 141v, Saint-Vaast Bible, Song of Solomon, detail

Fig. 69. Rome, Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol. 450v, Bible of Leo Sacellarios, IV Maccabees
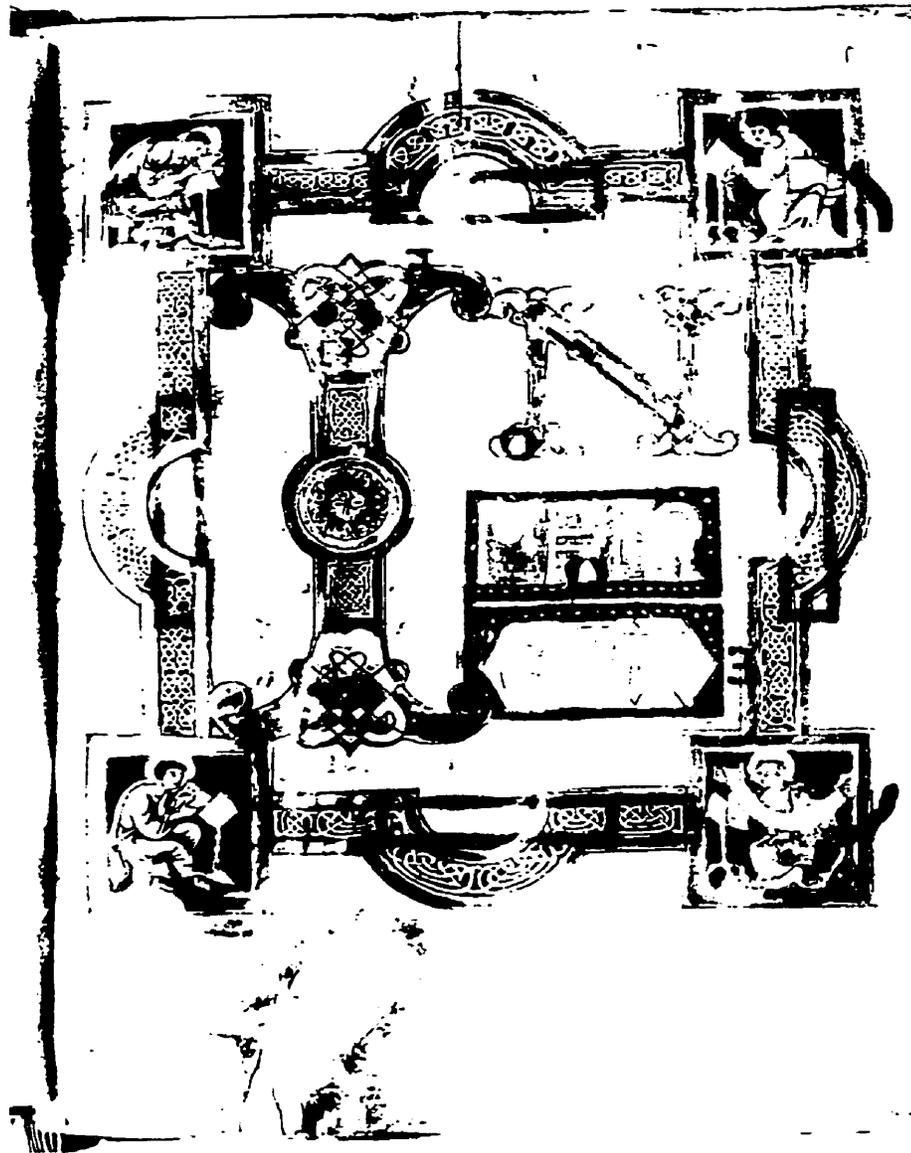
Fig. 70. Arras, BM MS 1045 (233), fol. 8, Saint-Vaast, Lectionary,
Four Evangelists

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Fig. 71. London, BL Add. MS 10546, fol. 269, Tours, Grandval Bible,
Ecclesiasticus

Fig. 72. Bamberg, Staatsbib. Misc. class. Bibl. 1, fol. 260v, Tours, Bamberg Bible, Ecclesiasticus

Fig. 73. Cambrai, BM MS 327, fol. 16v, Cambrai Gospel book, Ruler Portrait

Fig. 74. London, BL Cotton Titus MSS D. XXVI and XXVII, fol. 75v, New Minster Prayerbook