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Tav. I. Paris, Bibliothèque
nationale de France,
Suppl. gr. 1085, *Nomocanon
XIV Titulorum*: f. 107v.

(vedi saggio A.A. Aletta)

Tav. II. Troyes, Bibliothèque
municipale (Médiathèque du
Grand Troyes), 960, Gospel
book: *Crucifix*, f. 1r.

(vedi saggio B. Kitzinger)

TROYES, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, 960. APPROACHES TO NINTH-TENTH CENTURY BRETON GOSPEL ILLUMINATION

Beatrice Kitzinger

The gospel codex MS 960 in the Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes represents a fixed point in the fluid field of manuscript attributions to ninth-tenth century Brittany[1]. The manuscript has received just recognition for two features: its two colophons, and its Evangelist portraits. The former appear on ff. 1r and 71r, one incorporated into the frontispiece (pl. II), and the other following Luke's prefatory matter. The first colophon dates the manuscript to 909; the second names the book's donor, Matian, his wife Digrenet, and the unknown church of Rosbeith to which they gave the codex[2]. The Evangelist portraits, of which only Mark, Luke and John survive, are of the celebrated Breton 'beast-headed' type, full-figure and standing[3] (figs. 1-3). Troyes 960 has been ascribed to the only established Breton scriptorium, at Landévennec – a reasonable, if not certain, attribution[4].

While attention has been focused on the Evangelists of Troyes 960, the manuscript's frontispiece has received scant notice. The frontispiece, however, is of great significance to Troyes 960's place in late-Carolingian era gospel illumination. Together with Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 24; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Lat. 26; and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 45-1980, the manuscript numbers among four Breton (or very closely Breton-affiliated) gospel manuscripts that include an image of Christ on the cross. The paucity of crucifixion imagery internal to gospel manuscripts from the early medieval period renders this concentration in the western French realm particularly striking: the Breton gospel crucifixes make up approximately half the surviving evidence, with the remaining images equally divided in provenance between the Continental and Insular worlds[5]. The significant variations among the Breton crucifixes in terms of their specific iconography and placement within the manuscripts is the subject for a longer study[6]. Focusing upon Troyes 960 introduces that study's major concerns and establishes the complexity of the manuscript's conception. I propose here a reading of the frontispiece and Evangelist portraits as two halves of a unified program, followed by observations on Troyes 960's participation in major intellectual trends of Breton gospel illumination. These communicate a fundamentally instrumental conception of the gospel book, in which images are used to position the manuscript and its reader within the sphere of the Church, and, in turn, to articulate the position of the Church between the Christian past and the end of time.

The Form of the Frontispiece
The frontispiece of Troyes 960 is badly damaged[7]. Christ on the cross appears in the central space of a figure-eight mandorla, in which two lateral bulges aligned with the transverse arm of the cross augment the frame. The mandorla was originally filled in pink-orange minim, now entirely abraded except for traces at the bottom and on the left. The same ink was used for inverted triangles marking Christ's cheeks, for the border of his halo, in the folds of his loincloth, and to inscribe three lines of text surrounding the crucifix: "I[HS] XP[S]" above the cross; "E[GO] / S[UM]" flanking the upper vertical; and "A / ET W" flanking the lower[8]. No nails are visible in Christ's hands, with their distinctly raised thumbs, or in his splayed feet. Christ is depicted beardless, with staring open eyes, short curly hair, a tightly woven loincloth wrapped around prominent hips, and arms that extend at a sharp angle below his shoulders[9]. Below the base, the cross extends in a thick thorn broken in the middle by two semi-

circular bulges. To either side of the lower part of the cross appears the badly damaged colophonic inscription in a hand closely comparable to that of the text[10].

The form of the mandorla is uncommon. It is a variation on the figure-eight form used for the *Maiestas Domini* in ninth-century Tours manuscripts such as the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1, f. 329v[11]). The mid-section bulges may ultimately derive from a case such as the cover of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000), in which the long cushion on Christ's throne extends horizontally between the lobes of the frame to create bumps between the upper and lower orbs. A Touronian case such as the incipit to Mark's gospel in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 63 (f. 87r) offers another possible source: there the text is framed by an even

quatrelobe that serves as the mandorla to a *Maiestas* through the depiction of the Living Creatures at the frame's four corners. The lobed figure-eight mandorla has been specifically adapted to the disposition of the cross in Troyes 960. This particular form of mandorla does not appear again in Breton gospel manuscripts; the clean figure-eight design, however, does recur in the Breton context (cf. fig. 9). Christ's stance is the half-crucifixion, half-*orans* type best known from the fifth-century wooden doors of Santa Sabina in Rome[12]. The low setting of the arms occurs also in the eighth-century Irish crucifixions from Durham and St. Gall (Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.17, f. 38v; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 51, p. 266). Two further Breton examples exist, of which the ivory cross held in Milizac (near Brest), ascribed possibly to Landévennec or, speculatively, to St.

demuliere adultera. Itis lum mundi esse se praedicat.
Hc interogatus principiu se esse respondit. quod omnis pec
cator seruisset. & quod itis ante abraham sit. caecu ex nati
uitate curat.

et ianua & ouili p p dicatione. deambulans in templo. se
& patre unum. ee. dicit. de lazarus resurrectione.
aria pedes itsu ungunt. & capillis sui extergit. ths super
asinum sedit. & uolentibus grecis uidere itsm loquitur. de
grano frumti quod interra mittatur. & uox decaelo ad itsm.

Et quod multa ex principibus credider in itsm. sed propter pha
risaeos non confitentur.

edes discipulos. lauat. deiudae traditione & p̄ trinegatio
ne p̄ dicit. & dedilectione fratru. & quod ipse inpatre & pat
inipso est. & deobseruandis mandatis paracletus sp̄s.

et inea & palmitibus. & dedilectione. & depromissione para
cleti. & omnia patris sua. ee. & cetera mandata.

Hc discipulos patri commendat: & iudas tradit. alloquu tio pilati adiudaeos. de itsu & debarraba.

assio itsu & sepultura & resurrectio eius.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULAE SCDM IOHANNEM.

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Matthew's at Finistère, offers the best comparison to Troyes 960[13] (figs. 4, 5). The comparison extends to the tight wrap of the loincloth, the long face and flat nose closely abutting wide-open eyes, and to the soft definition of the breasts; but the parallel ends there, as the forms of the heads are quite distinct and the hair of the two figures follows two different traditions, one short and curly and the other flowing down the back[14]. A second Breton instance of low-set *orans* arms appears as a blindpoint drawing scratched beside Mark 4:1 in Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 8 (f. 49r). Here, a haloed, beardless figure in a flaring tunic appears in *orans* position in the right-hand margin[15].

I know of no match in pictorial media for the particular form of the cross in Troyes 960. The thorned '*Steckkreuz*' form recurs in many early contexts (cf. fig. 6); notably for us in the two crosses that appear in the Breton (or closely Breton-affiliated) Angers 24[16]. The lateral bumps of the Troyes 960 cross represent an unusual modification of the iconography. These are both most logically and most significantly read as an admittedly clumsy frontal view of a sphere. A ball positioned beneath the lower terminus is a common feature of metalwork cross-objects. Most such spheres currently attached to medieval cross-objects are later additions, the original instal-lation apparatus having been lost. Ample pictorial evidence and some material evidence, however, exist to suggest that the configuration was common in the early middle ages[17]. The Troyes crucifix corresponds in form to a metalwork cross-object whose tang runs through its stabilizing ball and emerges on the other side – a point to which we shall return below.

The Ecclesiastical Evangelists and the Extended Maiestas

The three surviving Evangelist portraits in Troyes 960 belong to the type of beast-headed Evangelists common to a prominent subset of the Breton gospel corpus. Marianne Besseyre noted Troyes 960's participation in a further Breton trend: the representation of the Evangelists as clerics[18]. The surviving Troyes Evangelists each wear a long stola with tassels at the ends, and hold a small book in the right hand, gesturing to it with the left. Each is framed in a mandorla of the same shape as that of the crucifix, and each bears four wings, two draped across the shoulders and two erect behind.

The four wings identify the sacerdotal Evangelists specifically with the Living Creatures in the vision of Ezekiel (1:6). Visually linked together by the repetition of the unusual mandorla frame, the elements of a *Maiestas Domi-*
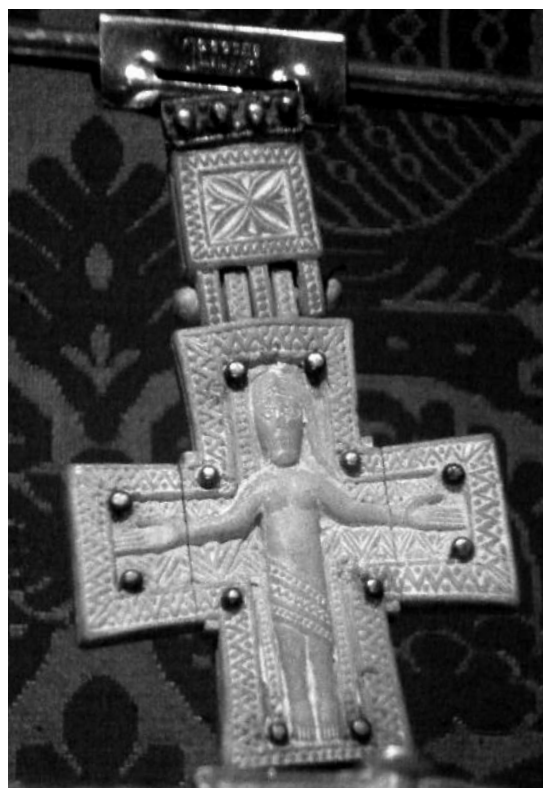
4. Milizac, Trésor de l'Église St-Pierre-et-St-Paul, Ivory cross, Obverse: *Crucifix*.

5. Milizac, Trésor de l'Église St-Pierre-et-St-Paul, Ivory cross, Reverse: *Lamb* and *Evangelist symbols*.

6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. lat. fol. 58, 'Psalter of Louis the German': Added *Crucifixion* image, f. 120r.
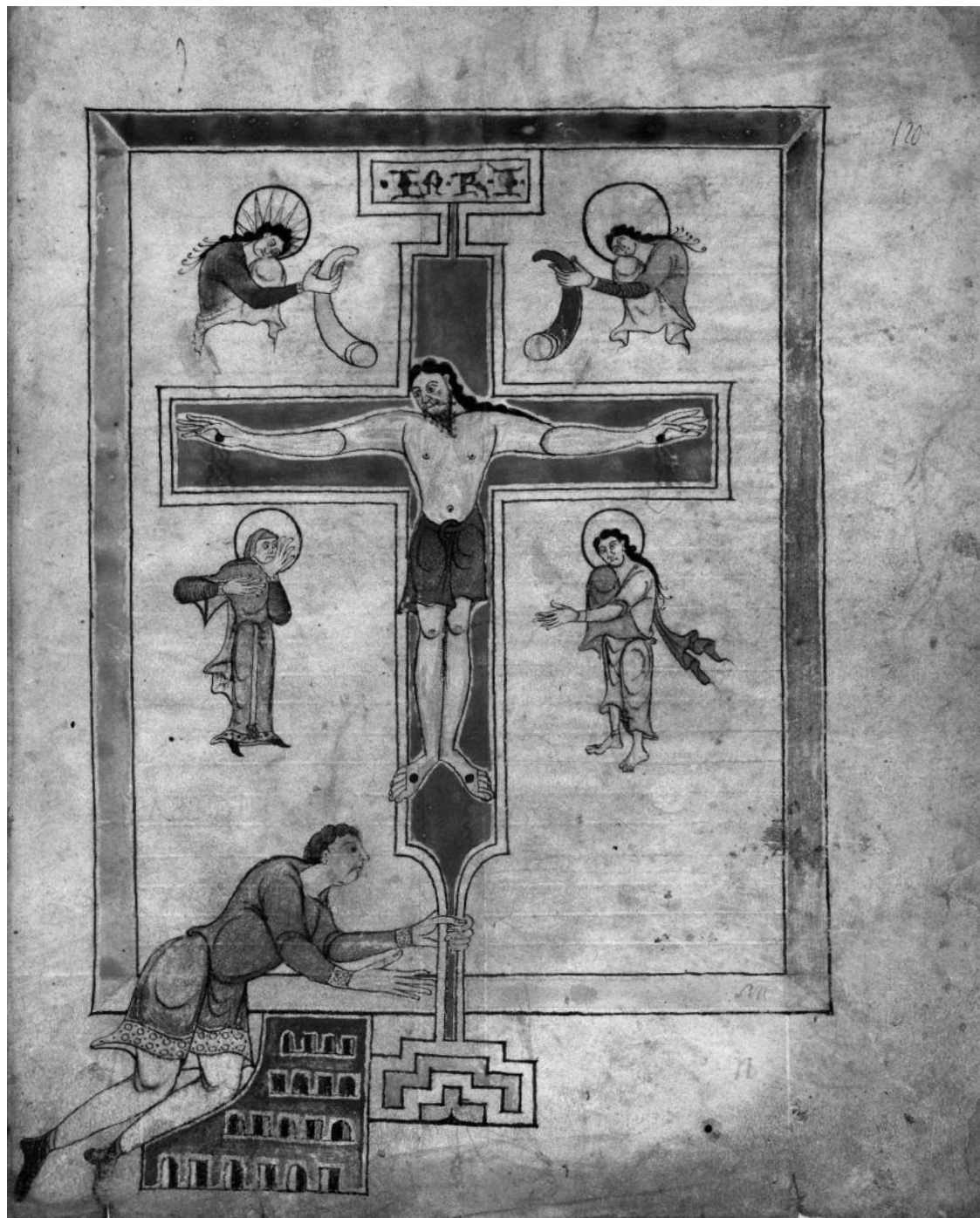
ni are effectively spread across the illuminated pages of Troyes 960[19]. The specifically apocalyptic nature of the Evangelists' form, moreover, ties into the eschatological emphasis expressed in the frontispiece through Christ's words: "Ego sum alpha et omega"[20] (Revelation 1:8). These words paired with the crucifix combine reference to Christ's first and second advents. Christ appears at the conceptual (if not the compositional) center of an extended *Maiestas* in a form that emphasizes the juridical context of the Second Coming, where his identity as Judge is predicated upon

his role as the Crucified[21]. The coherence of the illustrative program – a *Maiestas* unlaced and distributed throughout the codex – establishes the gospels' unity as a single entity active in this Judgment context: the repetition of the distinctive frame and the consistency of eschatological reference bind all the Evangelist portraits to the initial crucifix and create a statement of gospel harmony when the codex is considered as an entity.

The colophon preceding Luke, highlighted in yellow, articulates the importance of the manuscript as a unit in this apocalyptic light:

33

7. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Guelf. 16 Aug. 2°, Gospel book: decorated page at the beginning of Matthew, f. 5r.

H[A]E[C] LITERULE NARRANT QUOD DEDIT MATIAN ET / DIGRENET CONIUX SUA HOS LIBROS IIIIor EVANGEL/IORUM DO[NUM] PRO ANIMABUS SUIS ECCLESIAE ROS/BEITH. ET QUICUMQUE HOC EUANGELIUM UIM / FORTE DUXERIT EX IPSA ECCLESIA NISI DISCIPUL/US SCRIBERE AUT LEGERE ANATHEMA SIT. AM[EN].

The colophon names the donors of the manuscript and the church to which they gave it, anathematizing its removal with an intriguing exception for students' purposes of writing and reading[22]. Further, the colophon defines Matian and Digrenet's motive for the gift – "for their souls" – and describes what the codex contains, what it is properly called (*evangelium*) and what it is as an object: a portable book containing the inscription (*literule*). The repetition of definite pronouns underscores the specific force of the text. In the context of the general Judgment laid out in the frontispiece and reinforced at the opening of each gospel, Matian and Digrenet's book-

gift is designed as a particularized help for particular souls[23].

The first colophon, wrapping around the thorn of the cross on f. 1r, furthers the specificity of the volume by naming a year and, again, by emphasizing the presence of the book at hand, "hoc evangelium". Although we cannot glean more information from the damaged script, the position of the note at the base of the cross is worthy of remark. The text was deliberately written within the frame of the mandorla, hugging the lower terminus of the cross. Knowing that the manuscript has been cut down, we can be confident that there would have been room for the inscription at the top or the base of the page. Instead, the text was cramped around the foot of the cross: a charged position in the context of donation and supplication. Any individuals named or implied in the inscription – the makers of the manuscript, and possibly again its donors – have been placed in an established position of subordination and reverence towards the cross. The position beneath the cross evokes the actual practice of reverence before a cross that is explicitly depicted in images such as the late ninth-century Crucifixion added to the Psalter of Louis the German[24] (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. lat. fol. 58, f. 120r, fig. 6). Alternate traditions place a protagonist in a permanent position of subordination to the cross without being explicitly descriptive of reverential action toward it[25]: donor inscriptions on the tangs or lower arms of crosses offer one such instance[26]. Another example of this "iconography of position" appears in the ninth-century gospel book Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Guelf. 16 Aug. 2°, where a small roundel appears below the transverse of the cross formed by the interlaced *L* and *I* at the beginning of Matthew[27] (f. 5r, fig. 7). Within this frame appear the silhouettes of a genuflecting priest bringing a book to an enthroned archbishop. This act of offering – referring, perhaps, to the genesis of the book at hand – takes place in the shadow of the cross. That this cross was formed by the letters of the book creates a spiral of reference between the creation and the use of objects that present sacred signs, and the power of those signs to protect their makers and users. On this score, a great deal has been invested in Troyes 960. Matian and Digrenet's manuscript is designed to frame their donation in a clear eschatological context bound up in a

Church-centered spirituality that forms a leit-motif through many Breton gospel books. The clerical characterization of the Evangelists identified by Besseyre is a key component of this larger trend. Another is a pronounced emphasis on the gospel book-as-codex. The frontispiece to Fitzwilliam 45-1980 (fig. 8),

for example, participates in both these ideas. Here, a *Maiestas* has been modified to self-reflexive ends in the presentation of the gospel to follow. Shod, unhaloed, dressed in clerically-styled robes[28] and depicted in a sin-gular dynamic posture, reaching out to touch the books of Mark and John, the central figure

takes Christ's place within a *Maiestas* composition. Carl Nordenfalk proposed an identification as Jerome, by far the most satisfactory solution[29]. Especially read as Jerome, the central figure of the Cambridge frontispiece embodies an approach to gospel illumination deeply concerned with integrating the Christian past, present and future. Jerome's act of translation is the pre-condition for the activities of scribes, and his compilation of prologue texts set the terms for the exegesis of the gospel history as a unified entity. In the *Plures fuisse*, Jerome presents the gospels as the object of interpretive reflection, relative both to their unity and to their individual symbolism. His appearance among the four symbols in Cambridge amounts to a visual iteration of the prologue text, while his appearance as a cleric and his interaction with Mark and John's codices assert a characterization of the Gospel-as-gospel book: a tangible instrument of the Church with its source in the past and its utility oriented toward the end of time[30].

The form of the cross in Troyes 960 is part and parcel of the recurring Breton concerns with instrumentality and liturgical spirituality that I have posited here. The evocation of a metalwork object in the tang and ball of the *Maiestas* cross should not be ascribed simply to a provincial artist's odd conception or slavish reliance on a crucifix model to hand. Each of the four Breton crucifix images employs a variation on the theme of an articulated cross in a materialized form: Angers 24's two crosses bear tangs, while Fitzwilliam 45-1980 and Bodleian Laud Lat. 26 present, respectively, a gold-colored and a gemmed cross upon stepped bases. I elaborate upon the ramifications of this formal choice elsewhere. In brief, as in the Psalter of Louis the German, where the cross-tang is depicted as the eminently tangible means by which the cross mediates the kneeling Arnulf's prayer to the Crucified[31], the cross of Troyes 960 appears in a form that emphasizes the instrumentality of manufactured cross objects. No one handles the cross in Troyes 960, of course, but the inscription around its base integrates the cross with a context of supplication in view of the Second Coming verbalized later by the inscription naming Matian and Digrenet. The materialized form of the cross is one aspect of a recurring interest in the forms and figures of the Church in Breton manuscripts, which we have also seen in the priestly Evangelists and the

Cambridge Jerome. This ecclesiological emphasis ultimately applies to the gospel book itself. The codex is presented as an instrument on par with the manufactured cross-object and with ecclesiastical personnel: an entity proper to the present, with its roots in the Christian past and a direct connection to the anticipated era beyond that of the Church. A final aspect of this Church-centered approach to gospel illumination worth noting here is a certain emphasis on the figures of Mark and Luke in Breton programs. That extra attention should be given to Luke appears logical in the certain knowledge of Breton interest in incorporating the Crucified into the fabric of gospel illumination: established exegetical traditions equate Luke's bovine symbol with Christ's sacrifice, and Luke himself with the sacrificial priesthood[32]. Three Breton gospels exhibit a marked interest in Luke and his clerical attributes. These seem linked to Brittany's Insular-derived traditions rather than to central Carolingian conventions, where Luke's priesthood is most often asserted through Zacharias[33]. In Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, 8, Luke alone of the Evangelists appears as a full-page portrait (fig. 9): Matthew, Mark and John appear to the left side of their prologue texts, whose initials are small, and sparsely ornamented. Luke's portrait faces his prologue text, which begins with a large, generous *L*, and his is the only portrait given a figure-eight mandorla frame, backed in yellow. In Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 85, the Evangelists follow the same figure-type as in Boulogne but are more equitably distributed, each framed in a figure-eight border. Luke's halo, stola, and part of the book he carries, however, were painted with gold. In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.16, only Luke among the three surviving Evangelist portraits is standing and wearing a stola: the other two are seated, writing, and not dressed specifically as clerics.

The most singular Breton emphasis on Mark has yet to be satisfactorily explained: the iconography of his animal figure is remarkably flexible. Although Mark is labeled "Marcus Leo" in Troyes 960, his portrait does not correspond to traditional leonine forms. With its long nose, small pointed ears and bristly ridge of hair, the Troyes Mark corresponds better to a Breton trend in which Mark is represented with the head of a horse[34]. Jeanne
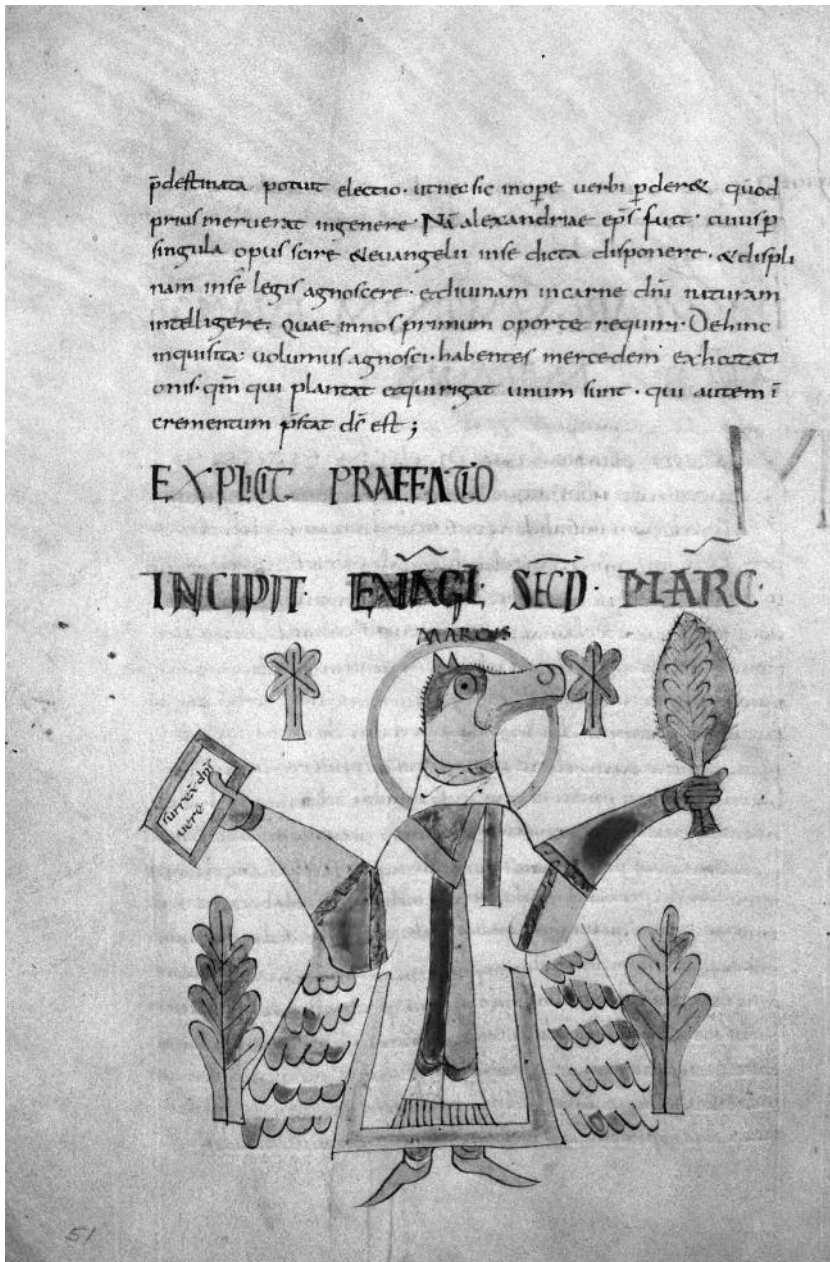
V CASSVR
VSAN TIO CHE
O SEN SIS.
AR TE ME DICVS DISCI
PVLVS APOSTOLORV
POSTEA PAV LV M SE
CVTVS
VSQVAE

ad passionem ei seruiens dño sinecriminae. Nam neq;
uxorem umquam habens neque filios. Lxxiiii. An
norū obit mbichi mam plenus spū scō. Quicum
tam scripta essent euangelia p̃macheum quidem
iniudea. p̃mar cum. Autem mitalia. scō instigantespū
Nachiae par tib; hoc scripsit euangelium. Signifi
cans etiam ipse mprincipio ante alia essedisscripta
cui extra eaq; ordo euangelicae dispositionis exposcit
ea maximae necessitas labour fuit; Ut primum grecae
fidelib; omi apphecationū uenturum mcar ñe d̃ixp̃i

Laurent first suggested the affinity of the name *Marcus* and the Old Breton word for horse, *Marc'h*, as the source of this idiosyncrasy[35]. Louis Lemoine expanded on the unconventionality of Breton Mark portraits, reading those of Troyes 960, Bodleian Auct. D.2.16, and the Milizac cross as dog-headed, rather than horse-headed, in their clear departure from standard forms[36].

Breton distinction for Mark is evident in other, varying manifestations. In Boulogne 8, Mark is the only Evangelist to hold his right hand in a Greek gesture of blessing, with thumb and ring finger joined[37]. In Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13169[38], Mark was the only Evangelist depicted in the manuscript. The portrait was planned in blind-point but never executed in ink, conceived to fill the space remaining below the Marcan prologue (f. 51v). The Evangelist was imagined in similar fashion to Troyes 960, with small, pointed ears and a long snout in profile[39]. In Angers 24 as well, Mark was the only Evangelist selected for representation. There he appears in human form, again placed in the half page remaining below the end of the chapter list. A comparable space could have hosted a portrait following Luke's chapter list (f. 61v) but was not so utilized; it is probable that no other Evangelist portraits were planned.

In New York Public Library, 115, the only gospel book firmly attributed to Landévennec, the beast-headed portraits of Mark, Luke and John are extant, and a *Maiestas* composition replaces a Matthew portrait[40]. Mark's portrait is the smallest, inserted below the *explicit* of his chapter list, in order to have it face the beginning of the Evangelist's text (fig. 10). While in this respect provisional, Mark's portrait is simultaneously the manuscript's most elaborated. Like the other Evangelists in New York Public Library 115, Mark holds a tablet proclaming the resurrection of the Lord, but alone among them, Mark also holds an upright palmette. An echo of this frond appears in a sprig held by Christ in the *Maiestas*. Mark's portrait is further distinguished by its setting between two trees at foot level, and between two signs framed in violet at

pdeſtinata ponit electio. urneeſic mope uerbi pderet. quod
priuſ meruerit ingenere · Ni alexandriae epſ fuit · auuſp
ſingula opuſ ſcire & euangelii inſe dicta diſponere · & duſpl
nam inſe legiſ agnoſcere · & diuinam incarne dñi nraturam
intelligere · quae innoſprimum oportet requiri · Dehinc
inquiſita uolumuſ agnoſci · habenteſ mercedem exhortati
oniſ · qñ qui plantat & qui rigat unum ſunt · qui autem i
crementum ptat dñ eſt ;

EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO

INCIPIT EVANGL SECD MARC

MARCUS

10. New York, New York Public Library, 115, Gospel book: *Mark portrait*, f. 51v.

head level[41]. These signs are otherwise unparalleled in the manuscript, and resemble a simplified version of the *Chi-Rho* monogram. The grounds for emphasis on either Mark or Luke in Brittany are not readily explained. No parallel has been found for the pericope listed for the Feast of St. Luke on October 18 (Luke 19:12) in New York 115, suggesting a locally-crafted liturgy for the day that departs from the generally-observed pattern of Roman and Insular-influenced readings in the Breton liturgical year[42]. Records show only a dedication to Matthew among the four Evangelists as the patron of a major Breton monastery in the Carolingian period[43]. In the particular case of New York 115, the most likely explanation for a special characterization of Mark may

relate to the inscriptions of the Evangelists' books: the monogram-like signs in combination with the palmette and the pair of trees indicates a strengthened identification of Mark as the harbinger of Christ's resurrection. This in turn reflects an interest in the Gregorian tradition of four-symbols exegesis that may also support a Lucan-related emphasis on the crucifixion[44].

In more general terms, a pattern of interest in Mark and Luke concurs with the emphasis on the priesthood and the Church evident in various aspects of the Breton gospels. In his commentary on Matthew, Jerome distinguished between the sources of the four gospels: Christ himself for Matthew and John; Peter and Paul for Mark and Luke[45]. Mark and Luke represent the apostolic tradition, the Evangelists working already within the Church[46]. It seems possible to understand the distinction given to Mark and Luke in the Breton examples in light of the more general involvement with the instruments and figures of the Church evident in other aspects of Breton gospel illumination, such as the priestly Evangelists, the materialized form of the cross, and the utility ascribed to the gospel codex.

Beyond the purview of gospel books, surviving Breton manuscripts reflect an ecclesiastical culture concerned with learning, and with both the practice and the theory of clerical offices[47]. Production included books designed for study and reflection on the ministry, the organization of the Church and its liturgy[48]. The prevalence of ecclesiastical emphasis that we see in Breton gospel illumination testifies to a culture that prized and cultivated the relationship of its Church to a larger ecclesiology, and drew celebratory attention to the actions and instruments of Church rite[49]. In a similar vein, Julia Smith has described a broad pattern of reverence in the region for the secondary relics of holy men – particularly their books, crosses, and bells[50]. A concurrent reverence appears for the apostolic, broadly conceived. The relics of Pope Marcellinus held at Brittany's Redon Abbey turned the region into a kind of Roman outpost and a stop along papally-ordered penitential tours[51]. Daoulas was a monastery devoted to Saint Jaoua, one of the companions of Paul; and a late ninth-century dedication to Saint Peter is known for a rich foundation near Redon[52]. The very prevalence of gospel book production in Brittany may be considered part of this larger

apostolic picture[53]. Troyes 960 offers a rich example of the way in which the visual program of Breton gospel books may illuminate the character of a religious community concerned with defining itself and its artistic productions within the sphere of the Church, as seen with a view toward the eschaton; and with crafting a distinctive visual language to do so[54].

1) The manuscript measures 260 x 170 mm, heavily cut down. *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, II, Paris 1855, pp. 394-395; *Les manuscrits à peintures en France du VIIe au XIIe siècle*, catalogue de l'exposition (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, juin-septembre 1954), edité par J. Porcher, Paris 1954, cat. 94, p. 40; J.Y. Veillard, *Celtes et Armorique*, catalogue de l'exposition (Rennes, 19 juillet-20 septembre 1971), Rennes 1971, cat. 264, p. 91; F. Bibolet – J. Cain, *Les richesses de la Bibliothèque de Troyes. Exposition du tricentenaire (1651-1951)*, catalogue de l'exposition (Troyes, 5 mai-31 juillet 1951), Bar-sur-Aube 1951, cat. 119, pp. 45-46. On the difficulties of fixing the Breton corpus: H. Simpson McKee, *Breton Manuscripts of Biblical and Hiberno-Latin Texts*, in *The Scriptures and Early Medieval Ireland*, edited by T. O'Loughlin, Turnhout 1999, pp. 275-290. Whether a book with mixed Carolingian and Insular characteristics is assigned definitively to Brittany in the absence of cues such as Breton neumes, saints or glosses is a crux of the problem. Fundamentally on the Insular-Continental stylistic blend: G.L. Micheli, *L'enluminure du haut Moyen Âge et les influences irlandaises*, Bruxelles 1939. The most generous list of Breton gospel production appears in L. Fleuriot, *Les évangéliaires du haut Moyen Âge*, in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique en Bretagne au Moyen Âge*, Actes du colloque (Rennes, Université de Haute Bretagne, 2-6 mai 1983), édité par X. Barral i Altet, Rennes 1983, pp. 103-105. See also F. Wormald, *An Early Breton Gospel Book: A Ninth-Century Manuscript from the Collection of H.L. Bradfer-Lawrence*, edited by J.J.G. Alexander, Cambridge 1977, pp. 13-23; and J.-L. Deuffic, *La production manuscrite des scriptoria bretons (VIIIe-XIe siècles)*, in *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge*, Actes du colloque du 15eme centenaire de l'abbaye de Landévennec (25-27 avril 1985), Landévennec 1986, pp. 289-321. Two further groupings appear in B. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, I-IV, Freiburg 1988-1991 (with Troyes 960 as Bn); and B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, I. *Aachen-Lambach*, Wiesbaden 1998; II. *Laon-Paderborn*, Wiesbaden 2004; III. forthcoming.
2) The dating colophon appears in C. Samaran – R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, V. *Est de la France*, Paris 1965, p. 489; L. Delisle, *Note sur trois manuscrits à date certaine*, 'Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes', 29 (1868), pp. 217-219; A. Wilmart, *Note sur les Evangiles datés de Troyes n. 960*, 'Revue biblique', 33 (1924), pp. 391-396; L. Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux manuscrits et les plus belles reliures de la Bibliothèque de Troyes*, Troyes 1935, pp. 50-51 (here mis-dated to 901). The designation "Ros-" in the second colophon occurs frequently among Breton

place-names, denoting a hamlet or church subordinate to a larger abbey. See J.-L. Deuffic, *Le 'monachisme breton' continental: ses origines et son intégration au modèle carolingien*, in *La Bretagne carolingienne. Entre influences insulaires et continentales*, édité par J.L. Deuffic, 'Pecia', 12 (2008), pp. 77-140: 92-96; and R. Largillière, *Les saints et l'organisation chrétienne primitive dans l'armorique Bretonne*, Rennes 1925, pp. 234 and 256. Deuffic also noted that "Ros-" often denotes a green hillock: *Questions d'Hagiographie bretonne*, 'Britannia Christiana', 1 (1981), p. 11.
3) It is probable that a Matthew portrait was included: medieval pagination begins at 'VII' on f. 11r (in a later hand than the text) after excision between ff. 10 and 11. The beast-headed Evangelists affiliate Troyes 960 with the firmly Landévennec gospels held at the New York Public Library (115), along with Breton gospels held at Oxford (Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.16), Bern (Burgerbibliothek, 85), and Boulogne-sur-Mer (Bibliothèque municipale, 8). On beast-headed Evangelists, see especially M. Besseyre, *Une iconographie sacerdotale du Christ et des évangélistes dans les manuscrits bretons du IXe et Xe siècles*, in *La Bretagne carolingienne* cit., pp. 7-26, with forerunning bibliography.
4) L. Lemoine, *Breton Early Medieval Manuscripts*, in *Celtic Culture. A Historic Encyclopedia*, edited by J. Koch, Santa Barbara 2006, pp. 254-259; and Idem, *Le scriptorium de Landévennec et les représentations de saint Marc*, in *Mélanges François Kerlouégan*, edited by D. Conso – N. Fick – B. Poulle, Besançon – Paris 1994, pp. 363-379: 366, with Bern 85 and Boulogne 8 also ascribed to Landévennec, pp. 366-367. See also Bibolet – Cain, *Les richesses* cit., p. 45; A. Chédeville – H. Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, V^e-Xe siècle*, Rennes 1984, p. 344. Fischer accepted the attribution (*Die lateinischen Evangelien* cit.). The features of Christ in Troyes 960 are wholly unlike his traits in New York 115. The tight wrapping of the loincloth in Troyes and articulation of Christ's breast bear good comparison to a man marginal to the canon tables in Bern 85 (f. 6v), suggesting an especially close or common origin for the two manuscripts, which must not be Landévennec itself. Inverted triangular marks articulate Christ's cheeks in Troyes 960, Matthew in Bern 85, and both figures in New York 115: a highly comparable particularity including the Landévennec book. The oldest firm provenance notice for Troyes 960 dates from 1721, when the codex was housed in the collection of Jean Bouhier. Wilmart counted Troyes 960 among the Bouhier manuscripts with provenance in Besançon (*Note sur les Evangiles* cit.). See also R. Étaix – B. de Vregille, *Les manuscrits de Besançon, Pierre-François Chifflet et la bibliothèque Bouhier*, 'Scriptorium', 24 (1970), pp. 27-39: 29. Bibolet – Cain reported that the humanist Pontus de Tyard was a prior owner of Troyes 960, and that it came to Tyard from the abbey of Ruis, near Vannes (*Les richesses* cit., p. 45). Étaix – de Vregille concur (*Les manuscrits de Besançon* cit., p. 39). The connection between the Tyard and Bouhier libraries is described in *Inventaire de la Bibliothèque de Pontus de Tyard*, publié par S.F. Baridon, Geneva 1950 (Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 2), pp. 8-9, but the inventory does not include our manuscript.
5) Seven known fully-realized internal gospel crucifixions datable to the eighth and ninth centuries survive: two Insular (Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.17 and St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 51), one from St-Amand (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 257), and our four from western France. Two more are supposed from the crucifixion pages probably original to Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, 14 (sometimes itself considered a Breton affiliate), and the Irish Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College, A.I.6 [58]). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

France, lat. 258 is a gospel attributed to tenth-century Fécamp that includes the added drawing of a crucifix before the canon tables and a resurrected Christ after them.

6) I refer the reader to my dissertation, *Cross and Book: Late-Carolingian Breton Gospel Illumination and the Instrumental Cross*, Harvard University 2012 (in preparation for publication).

7) Prior to the addition of Bouhier's *ex libris* on f. Ar, the first folio had been pasted down. The parchment is badly abraded and stained by the adhesive, and much of the colored ink is lost. A fine linen layer adheres to all the pages of Quire 1.

8) The inscription as published in SAMARAN – MARICHAL, *Catalogue des manuscrits* cit. omits the "Ego sum".

9) Upon close inspection, it is evident that the pupil of Christ's proper right eye is formed oblong and straight while the pupil of his proper left is set at a slant.

10) For a transcription of the partially illegible text, see the *Catalogue général* cit., pp. 394-395. The first line (broken at the cross) reads: "IN VI CVIIII / d cccc viiii". The editors conclude that the first number gives the date 6109, 909 years following the birth of Jesus in 5200, according to Eusebian calculation.

11) On the figure-eight mandorla: H. KESSLER, *'Hoc visibile imaginatum figurat illud invisibile verum'. Imagining God in Pictures of Christ*, in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Papers from *Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400-1000* (Utrecht, 11-13 December 2003), edited by G. de Nie – K.F. Morrison – M. Mostert, Turnhout 2005, pp. 291-325: 294-295.

12) Fundamentally on crucifix stances: R. HAUSSHERR, *Der tote Christus am Kreuz, zur Ikonographie des Gerokreuzes*, Bonn 1963, p. 203, briefly on the Santa Sabina doors.

13) R. BARRIÉ – Y.-P. CASTEL, *La croix d'ivoire de Milizac*, in *Landévennec et le monachisme breton* cit., pp. 155-166. The authors date the cross to the late eighth century. A ninth-tenth century date seems more probable, based on comparison of the crucifix with Troyes 960 and the Evangelist figures with Bern 85, New York 115, and Bodleian Auct. D.2.16; and also remarking the pearled border for the cross, which BARRIÉ – CASTEL acknowledged to be a Carolingian trait (p. 163).

14) These two traditions are evenly represented among the Breton 'crucifixion gospels': Angers 24 and Bodleian Laud Lat. 26 adopt the long-haired, bearded Christ, while Troyes 960 and Fitzwilliam 45-1980 depict the short-haired, beardless Christ.

15) In the lower margin of the page appear two further drawings in ink: a coin, and the figures of an Entombment scene. The Entombment bears important comparison to the illumination of Angers 24, as does one of its additional texts, helping knit together the corpus of western French manuscripts.

16) See B. KITZINGER, *The Liturgical Cross and the Space of the Passion: The Diptych of Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 24*, in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, edited by J. Mullins – J. Ní Ghrádaigh – R. Hawtree, Dublin 2013, pp. 141-159.

17) Christ holds a staff-cross with a ball on the front panel of the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan (c. 840). Another clear example appears in the tenth-century Chartres Gospels on a cross-staff held by the Lamb (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9386, f. 13v). The deep roots of the tradition are evident in the sixth-seventh century chalice from the Attarouthi Treasure held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1986.3.10).

18) This pattern appears in Bern 85, Boulogne-sur-Mer 8, New York 115, Bodleian Auct. D.2.16, and Troyes 960. See BESSEYRE, *Une iconographie sacerdotale* cit. Besseyre proposed the recurring motif as witness to exchange between Breton and Visigothic or Lombard artists, noting the occurrence of the rare design in Christ's stola on the altar of Ratchis in Cividale.

19) One might more properly invoke the *Maiestas crucis* tradition, as known from ninth-century French manuscript instances such as the Essen Gospels (Domschatzkammer, 1, f. 29v). Because of the importance of the Crucified in Troyes 960 and also the appearance of *Maiestas Domini* imagery in the broader Breton context, however, the latter term seems more appropriate. A *Maiestas Domini* proper appears in the Landévennec Gospels (New York 115); a composition of similar form was planned in drypoint in London, British Library, Additional 9381 (f. 108v). The central figure was not sketched; the Evangelist figures were slated to be beast-headed, as in New York 115. The planned miniature was noted by BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften* cit., II, no. 2357, p. 93; Lemoine considered it to have been erased: L. LEMOINE, *Contribution à la reconstitution des scriptoria bretons du haut Moyen Âge*, 'Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi', 59 (2001), pp. 261-268: 266. A variation on the *Maiestas Domini* also appears in Fitzwilliam 45-1980, as shall be discussed below.

20) For Insular examples of *A/Ω* flanking the cross, see J. O'REILLY, *'Know who and what he is': The Context and Inscriptions of the Durham Gospels Crucifixion Image*, in *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, Proceedings of the fifth International Conference on Insular Art (Dublin, Trinity College, 25-28 August 2005), edited by R. Moss, Dublin 2007, pp. 301-316: 306.

21) On the crucifixion as the theological background for Judgment: R. FULTON, *From Judgment to Passion. Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200*, New York 2002, pp. 78-106. Two Breton canon manuscripts (Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 221 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3182) include a short homily on the Second Coming following their colophons, setting the manuscripts themselves in a specifically apocalyptic context and stressing the same juxtaposition of Christ's first and second advents that appears in the Troyes frontispiece. See LEMOINE, *Contribution* cit., pp. 264-268.

22) The final quire of Troyes 960 includes evidence of diverse uses: a Roman *Capitulare Evangeliorum* (ff. 136v-148r) and additional texts in different hands (ff. 148v-151v, some post-medieval). On f. 148v, in a Carolingian hand, appears a fragmentary meteorological text. On f. 149r begins a set of dictionary entries from N-S, written around a short, neumed version of Christ's lament from the cross (the lament is also neumed in New York 115, f. 48r).

23) The colophon from the Breton gospels of St-Pern (Tongeren, Cathedral Treasury) functions similarly in its play between the specific and the universal, and its designation of the gospel gift as a bid toward salvation: the donor Gleuhitr orients himself within the ranks of God's servants, specifying his abbot, his home church, and his patron saint, and states that he gives the present gospel book not only for himself, but for the entire Christian community from Adam to the End of Days. See DEUFFIC, *La production manuscrite* cit., p. 319.

24) See, fundamentally, R. DESHMAN, *The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald*, 'Viator', 11 (1980), pp. 385-417.

25) Lawrence Nees argues analogously relative to the placement of the Lothar crystal on the Lothar Cross: L. NEES, *Aspects of Antiquarianism in the Art of Bernward and its Contemporary Analogues*, in *1000 Jahre St.*

Michael in Hildesheim. Kirche – Kunst – Stifter, inter-nationale Tagung (Hildesheim, St. Michael, 16.-18. September 2010), herausgegeben von G. Lutz – A. Weyer, Petersberg 2012, pp. 153-170: 160-163.

26) A particularly long trend in Byzantine context. See J. COTSONIS, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses*, catalog of the exhibition (Washington, D.C., 23 September 1994-29 January 1995), edited by S. Boyd – H. Maguire, Washington, D.C. 1994, e.g. pp. 16-18, 52-53, 88-89; pp. 112-113 for a surviving ball. For a corpus of dedicatory inscriptions: M. MUNDELL MANGO, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures*, Baltimore 1986, e.g., cat. 7, 65, and 76, pp. 87-89, 235, 249-250; and 4-6.

27) Fundamentally on the manuscript: W. KOEHLER, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, I.1. *Die Schule von Tours*. *Die Ornamentik*, Berlin 1930, pp. 187-194.

28) The garment seems best described as a form of chausible, corresponding to Joseph Braun's description of a Roman type with roots in late antiquity: J. BRAUN, *Die liturgische Paramente in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit: ein Handbuch der Paramentik*, Freiburg i. Br. 1924, p. 100. The under-robe is executed in mottled blue and yellow wash, with the over-robe in blue.

29) WORMALD, *An Early Breton Gospel Book* cit., p. 8, n. 1. Conceptual, if not formal, Touronian parallels appear in the Jerome frontispieces of the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1, f. 3v) and the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura (Roma, Biblio-teca della basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura, s.n., f. 2v). An author portrait of the writing Jerome introduces Cologne 14 (f. 1v).

30) The remaining program of Fitzwilliam 45-1980 represents one of the most extensive historical Passion sequences in gospels from the period: a Betrayal survives in Mark and a Crucifixion in Luke, while a missing page in Matthew corresponds to a probable Last Supper. A Resurrection in the fragmentary John seems highly likely: the distribution on the Passion scenes creates a Gospel Harmony. See J. O'REILLY, *The Book of Kells and Two Breton Gospel Books*, in *Irlande et Bretagne, vingt siècles d'histoire*, Actes du Colloque (Rennes, 29-31 mars 1993), édité par C. Laurent – H. Davis, Rennes 1994, pp. 217-223: 220. The dark color of the garment may be a noteworthy component in the program, as the Roman Ordo for Good Friday copied in the ninth century at Landévennec specifies black for Good Friday. M. ANDRIEU, *Les ordines romani du haut Moyen Âge*, III, Louvain 1956, p. 518: Ordo XXXII.7. Angers 24 also includes a distinct historical bent in combination with the liturgical and proleptic, depicting a Passion sequence from Crucifixion to Entombment (ff. 7v-8r).

31) F. CRIVELLO, *Ein Name für das Herrscherbild des Ludwigspsalters*, 'Kunstchronik', 60/6 (2007), pp. 216-219. Fundamentally on the manuscript: F. MÜTHERICH, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, VII.1. *Die frankosäch-sische Schule*, unter Mitarbeit von K. Bierbauer und F. Crivello, Redaktion M. Exner, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 63-65 and 279-297.

32) See, e.g., J. O'REILLY, *Patristic and Insular Traditions of the Evangelists. Exegesis and Iconography of the Four-Symbols Page*, in *Le isole britanniche e Roma in età romanobarbarica*, a cura di A.M. Luiselli Fadda – É. Ó Carragáin, Roma 1998, pp. 49-94. In Fitzwilliam 45-1980, the Lamb appears on Luke's portrait page (f. 87r) opposite the winged bull, the two flanking the arch framing the Evangelist. Luke's is the only prologue given a large figural initial, depicting an eagle grasping a fish. The ninth-century west-Frankish gospel Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, 13 similarly marks the beginning of Luke's gospel text with a snake-catching eagle in the bowl of the *Q* (f. 92r). The probable Breton gospels

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13169 and Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 21 integrate a cross into Luke's initial *Q*; this pattern occurs also in a likely-Breton manuscript from the Phillips collection currently dated to the mid-eleventh century. See J. GÜNTHER, *Jörn Günther Rare Books, Catalogue 10. Pagina Sacra: Bibles and Biblical Texts 1050-1511*, Sarnen 2011, pp. 16-25.

33) The Lamb of Luke's frontispiece in the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram is a critical but isolated exception. Jennifer O'Reilly has analyzed the sustained interest in the Lucan genealogy evident in Breton gospels and the Book of Kells: J. O'REILLY, *Exegesis and the Book of Kells: The Lucan Genealogy*, in *The Book of Kells*, Proceedings of a Conference (Dublin, Trinity College, 6-9 September 1992), edited by F. O'Mahoney, Aldershot – Hants – Brookfield 1994, pp. 344-397. Luke also appears linked to the instruments and actions of priesthood in the Insular St. Chad Gospels (Lichfield, Cathedral Library, 1) and the Book of Deer (Cambridge, University Library, Ii VI 32). Other Breton manuscripts could be counted here for their non-figural emphasis on Luke: in London, British Library, Royal 1 A XVIII a full page of highlighted majuscule text was written for Luke's incipit (f. 107r), while no more than a few lines of visual emphasis mark other opening texts. Royal 1 A XVIII additionally contains the Interpretation of Hebrew Names at Luke (ff. 106r-106v), as described by O'Reilly. In Reims 8, the space following Luke's prologue was used for an idiosyncratic drawing of all four evangelist symbols (f. 68v). Luke's symbol has the central position and the only complete name inscription.

34) Particularly evident in Boulogne-sur-Mer 8, Bern 85, and New York 115.

35) J. LAURENT, *Bretagne et Bretons*, Bellegarde 1974, p. 30. See also LEMOINE, *Le scriptorium de Landévennec* cit., at p. 368. Lemoine observes that the word *March* and its variants commonly appears in Medieval place names of southern Brittany, p. 372.

36) Lemoine based his argument on Breton lore and connections to the Celtic gods and divinized kings. While a highly local source for the iconographic variation seems imperative, the particulars of Lemoine's proposal are not conclusive.

37) The gesture in Boulogne 8 was noted by LAURENT, *Bretagne* cit., p. 31.

38) Lemoine has noted a convincing new reason to affiliate Paris. lat. 13169 with the Breton group: it employs the textual variation "mittes" or "mittis" for "mitis", as do many other Breton gospels, including Troyes 960, and the canon manuscripts cited in note 21. LEMOINE, *Contribution* cit., p. 267.

39) The half-length stance of his figure bears better comparison to the Mark of the *Maiestas* in New York 115.

40) See J.J.G. ALEXANDER – J. MARROW – L.F. SANDLER, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, catalog of the exhibition (New York, 21 October 2005-11 February 2006), New York 2005, cat. 6, pp. 45-50: 46-47.

41) Luke's halo is spangled with two stars, smaller and less formally placed than Mark's designs.

42) C.R. MOREY – E.K. RAND – C.H. KRAELING, *The Gospel-Book of Landévennec (The Harkness Gospels) in the New York Public Library*, 'Art Studies', 8/2 (1931), pp. 225-286: 285.

43) DEUFFIC, *Le 'monachisme breton'* cit., pp. 96-103: 100 for St-Mathieu de Fineterre.

44) O'REILLY, *Patristic and Insular Traditions of the Evangelists* cit., pp. 57-58. Besseyre stresses the priest-ly function of the New York Evangelists' emphasis on Christ's resurrection.

45) HIERONYMUS, *Praefatio*, in *Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV*, cura et studio D. Hurst – M. Adriaen,

Turnholti 1969 (Corpus Chistianorum, Series Latina, 77), p. 2.

46) The most important gospel book to take up this theme overtly is the late ninth-century St.-Vaast production, Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, Bibl. Hs. Cim 2: see R. KAHSNITZ, *'Matheus ex ore Christi scripsit': zum Bild der Berufung und Inspiration der Evangelisten*, in *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, edited by D. Mouiki, Princeton 1995, pp. 169-180. Mark and Luke are also treated as a pair distinguished from Matthew and John in the mid-ninth-century Saint-Amand gospel, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.862. Trees appear beside these two Evangelists, where Matthew's portrait contains no additional element and John alone is flanked by hanging crowns. A sprout of vegetation that eludes ready explanation in a similar fashion to New York 115's appears above the writing hand of Mark; a similar frond is given to Luke.

47) Gospel books make up the bulk of manuscripts ascribed to Brittany. Julia Smith has broken the remaining manuscript production into three useful groups: texts "of practical value for priests", medical manuscripts, and texts for study. J.M.H. SMITH, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*, Cambridge – New York 1992, p. 171.

48) Such volumes include the *Libellus sacerdotalis* of Liosmonoc, several copies of Amalarius' *Liber officialis*, Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum*, penitential and canonical material inherited from Ireland, and commentaries on the gospel readings of the liturgical year.

49) One might cite in this context the frontispiece to a Breton collection of canon law dated c. 800 (The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, 10 B 4, f. 1v), where a priest appears in splendid regalia in the act of consecration, the host already broken in three parts. See W. LEVISON, *Handschriften des Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum im Haag*, 'Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde', 38 (1913), pp. 503-524: 513-518.

50) J.M.H. SMITH, *Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250*, 'Speculum', 65/2 (1990), pp. 309-343.

51) SMITH, *Province and Empire* cit., p. 164; and EADEM, *Aedificatio sancti loci: The Making of a Ninth-Century Holy Place*, in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by M. de Jong – F. Theuws, Leiden 2001, pp. 361-396: 386-387.

52) DEUFFIC, *Le 'monachisme breton'* cit., pp. 100 and 109.

53) See C. JONES, *The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England*, 'Speculum', 73/3 (1998), pp. 659-702 on Breton exports to England in the context of English attention to the idea of the liturgy as manifested in Breton manuscripts.

54) J.J.G. ALEXANDER, *La résistance à la domination culturelle carolingienne dans l'art breton du IXe siècle: le témoignage de l'enluminure des manuscrits*, in *Landévennec et le monachisme breton* cit., pp. 269-280 describes the distinction of Breton illumination in a political light.

Abstract

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 960 e l'illustrazione dei Vangeli nella Bretagna del IX-X secolo
Il manoscritto 960 della Bibliothèque municipale di Troyes è noto soprattutto per il suo colophon, che lo data al 909, per i ritratti degli evangelisti, del tipo a testa di animale comune nei Vangeli bretoni del IX-X secolo, e per le stole di cui le figure degli evangelisti sono rivestite. In questa sede, il frontespizio del codice è analizzato quale componente integrale del programma visuale del manoscritto e vengono esaminate alcune tendenze comuni ai Vangeli bretoni, compreso quello in questione. Sono quindi affrontate le caratteristiche del crocefisso rappresentato sul frontespizio e il suo rapporto con i ritratti degli evangelisti, nonché la rilevanza accordata a Marco e Luca, e al crocefisso stesso, in numerosi Vangeli assegnabili alla Bretagna tardocarolingia. Viene sostenuta una concezione 'strumentale' dei Vangeli nella produzione bretone dei manoscritti, concezione che nel Troyes 960 è evidenziata dalla forma del frontespizio, dall'iconografia dei ritratti degli evangelisti e dal testo dei colophon.