

*IMAGO LIBRI.*

REPRÉSENTATIONS CAROLINGIENNES DU LIVRE

BIBLIOLOGIA  
ELEMENTA AD LIBRORVM STUDIA PERTINENTIA

Volume 47

*Comité de rédaction*

André Binggeli, CNRS, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris

Paola Degni, Alma Mater Università di Bologna

Michele C. Ferrari, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen

Françoise Fery-Hue, CNRS, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris

Xavier Hermand, Université de Namur

Marilena Maniaci, Università degli studi di Cassino e del Lazio meridionale

Donatella Nebbiai, CNRS, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris

Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris

Teresa Webber, Trinity College, Cambridge

*IMAGO LIBRI.*  
REPRÉSENTATIONS CAROLINGIENNES  
DU LIVRE

Sous la direction de  
CHARLOTTE DENOËL, ANNE-ORANGE POILPRÉ, SUMI SHIMAHARA

BREPOLS

## Remerciements

Cet ouvrage est financé par l'Institut universitaire de France.



Il est le fruit du colloque international « Les représentations du livre aux époques carolingienne et ottonienne », organisé par Mesdames Charlotte Denoël, Anne-Orange Poilpré et Sumi Shimahara, et tenu à Paris à l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art et à la Sorbonne du 15 au 17 octobre 2015. Le colloque a bénéficié du soutien de l'Institut universitaire de France, des universités Paris Sorbonne et Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, du soutien de l'HiCSA (Histoire Culturelle et Sociale de l'Art) - EA 4100, de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, du Centre Jean Mabillon, du LabEx *Écrire une histoire nouvelle de l'Europe*, du Centre Roland Mousnier, de l'École nationale des chartes et de l'ED 1 de l'université Paris Sorbonne.

Que tous soient ici remerciés de leur participation à la tenue de ce colloque et à la publication de ce livre.

Préparation du manuscrit et indexation : Pierre Bonnerue  
Exécution graphique : Daniel Viratelle

© 2018, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

ISBN 978-2-503-56767-9

ISSN 1375-9566

Printed on acid-free paper

## Representing the Gospels Beyond the Carolingian Center

Beatrice E. Kitzinger

The great theme of gospel illumination in the Carolingian period is not only Christ and the four evangelists, but how figuration represents them in the manuscript at hand. In other words, the essential subject of gospel illumination is the gospel book itself, and how it renders scripture materially present. Evangelist portraits that show the authors of scripture producing written versions of their testimony constitute the best-recognized convention in this self-reflexive vein : scribes-within-texts writing books-within-books figure the antecedents of the codex at hand (cf. ill. 19-21)<sup>1</sup>. Crafting painting to characterize the gospel genre itself, though, is not limited to depicting scribal practice. In this essay, I focus on elements of gospel books that are physical as well as pictorial, and less overtly self-reflexive than images of books and scribes. In view of the collection's theme, « représentations carolingiennes du livre », I wish primarily to raise the question of how processes of planning, execution, and destruction may count as acts of representation.

My remarks concern manuscripts outside the central corpus of Carolingian illumination. The manuscripts included here have been localized to Brittany and Neustria, to the west of the Carolingian heartland. Possibilities in compositional argument open by turning to these regions that have been less prominent in art historical discussion. My use of the term « compositional argument » refers partly to constructions of figure and form, which in Brittany and west Francia can prove genuinely alternate to those of central-Carolingian productions – the beast-headed evangelists common to Breton gospels are the best recognized of these creative iconographies<sup>2</sup> (cf. ill. 1). However, by « compositional argument » I also mean choices in how illumination relates to the body and the fabric of the codex. The composition of images and of visual programs more broadly each bear upon the ways illumination may represent manuscripts – self-reflexively confirming the gospel book in its status *as* a book, and affirming the centrality of processes like compilation, transmission, and facture to the core character of the genre.

The complex manuscript held in the *Fitzwilliam Museum*, CAMBRIDGE (MS 45-1980) is a good place to begin, because both its iconographic and its physical composition were conceived to frame the nature of the book the painting represents. With respect to its pictorial sources, the Fitzwilliam Gospels numbers among the west-Frankish, Breton-affiliated productions most closely tied to more familiar Carolingian monuments, but its makers' construal of traditional images sets the manuscript apart<sup>3</sup>.

---

1. B. Brenk, « Schriftlichkeit und Bildlichkeit in der Hofschule Karls des Grossen », in *Testo e immagine nell'alto Medioevo. 15-21 Aprile 1993. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 41/2, Spoleto, 1994, p. 631-682.

2. Studied most comprehensively by M. Besseyre, « Une iconographie sacerdotale du Christ et des évangelistes dans les manuscrits bretons du IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles », in J.-L. Deuffic (ed.), *La Bretagne carolingienne : entre influences insulaires et continentales*, éd. Pecia, 12 (2008), p. 7-26 ; and L. Lemoine, « Le scriptorium de Landévennec et les représentations de saint Marc », in D. Conso, N. Fick and B. Pouille (ed.), *Mélanges François Kerlouégan*, Besançon/Paris, 1994, p. 363-379. Jonathan Alexander characterized the Breton divergence from Carolingian style and iconography as protest against political and artistic hegemony : J. Alexander, « La résistance à la domination culturelle carolingienne dans l'art breton du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle : le témoignage de l'enluminure des manuscrits », in *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge*, Landévennec, 1986, p. 269-280.

3. F. Wormald, *An Early Breton Gospel Book : A Ninth-Century Manuscript from the Collection of H.L. Bradfer-Lawrence*, Cambridge, 1977.

In a pattern common to the Breton and Carolingian spheres, the Fitzwilliam manuscript begins with a *Maiestas domini*-type composition (ill. 2). The *Maiestas* fundamentally comments on two central subjects of the gospel genre – the person of Christ and the fourfold unity of the evangelists. The compositional argument of the Fitzwilliam example appears in the notable freedom with which the image type was handled, as compared to more familiar cases<sup>4</sup> (cf. ill. 31).

The Cambridge image is conceived as a *Maiestas* but the figure at the center complicates the type. In Christ's place appears an un-haloed, shod, and vested man in a fluid posture. Following Nordenfalk, I consider the figure best called Jerome, but it is critical to note that Christ is not absent from the image<sup>5</sup>. In instances such as the northern-Frankish gospel held in KÖLN, *Diözesan- und Dombibliothek*, cod. 14, Jerome is presented like one of the evangelists, in the act of composing his Latin text. Such an image introduces the factor of translation to that of transcription in a visual account of gospel book production, affiliating the clerical figure of Jerome with the apostolic/witness figures of the evangelists. Instead of writing, however, the Cambridge figure reaches out to touch the books of Mark and John. As he occupies Christ's compositional place, he excavates sacerdotal aspects of Christ's nature and presence in the gospels. But, as he does not unequivocally figure a priestly Christ himself, the half-dancing man also activates connotations of substitution for Christ's person from the ecclesiastical side – a tenet in which the gospel book itself participates.

In addition to the blend of Jerome and Christ staged in the central figure, a creative collapse of types appears among the Fitzwilliam evangelists : only John bears his scripture in the common fashion of evangelist symbols. The others address themselves to books on writing pulpits, as human evangelist figures might do. Together, the unconventional central figure and surrounding symbols create a statement of gospel harmony bound to the place of the Fitzwilliam Gospels itself within the Church. The symbol form of the evangelists contextualizes the presence of the book in view of Ezekiel and John's apocalyptic visions, while Jerome's gesture underscores the complete, physical quality of the evangelists' codices, drawing attention to the equivalent physical form of the book at hand.

The Fitzwilliam Gospels boasts a rich program concerned in various ways with representing the contents and significance of the gospels. I will not treat the details of further images here, but do wish to raise one vital structural point about the way the program is designed. The Fitzwilliam Gospels adds a major compositional possibility to our knowledge of ninth-tenth century gospel illumination in the conception of its program across the manuscript at large. The visual spine of the compendium is the Passion : a single narrative sequence is distributed across the four gospel accounts, with images positioned close to corresponding episodes in text. A page in Matthew is missing that would match the location of a Last Supper to partner the betrayal image preserved in Mark and a crucifixion in Luke<sup>6</sup>. The end of John's gospel is likewise missing, so it is impossible to say whether there might have been a resurrection scene. Given the pattern established by the sur-

4. I comment on the self-reflexive character of Tournonian *Maiestas* compositions in B. Kitzinger, « Graphic and Figural Representation in Tournonian Gospel Illumination », in M. Brown, I. Garipzanov and B. Tilghman (ed.), *Graphic Devices and the Early Decorated Book*, Woodbridge, 2017, p. 179–202.

5. F. Wormald, *An Early Breton...*, *op. cit.*, p. 8, n.1 : Wormald refers to a lecture given by Nordenfalk at Cambridge in 1973. For Nordenfalk's suggested localization of the manuscript to Fleury : Nordenfalk, Review, *An Early Breton Gospel Book*, *The Burlington Magazine* 120 (April, 1978), p. 243-244. I commented previously on the image in B. Kitzinger, « Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 960 : Approaches to Ninth-Tenth Century Breton Gospel Illumination », *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura*, 17 (2013), p. 29-42, at p. 35-36. I will discuss the manuscript fully elsewhere.

6. J. O'Reilly, « The Book of Kells and Two Breton Gospel Books », in C. Laurent and H. Davis (ed.), *Irlande et Bretagne, vingt siècles d'histoire*, Rennes, 1994, p. 217-223, at p. 220.

living paintings, however, it seems clear that the book was composed to have a Passion sequence running through it.

The distribution of illumination in the Fitzwilliam Gospels – a unique survival in the period<sup>7</sup> – itself constitutes an aspect of how painting frames the contents and genre of the book. While it comments on the importance of the Passion within the life of Christ and the gospel book's role in representing it, the continuous visual narrative also represents the nature of the collection itself as a plural unity<sup>8</sup>. The *Maiestas*-type composition first poses this theme. The narrative laced through the book then follows through on the frontispiece's premise. As a whole, the illumination presents the combined processes of textual transmission, manuscript production, and visual framing that represent Christ's history and teachings within a particular iteration of the gospel genre.

Key to the identity of the gospel genre is that it does not consist only in scripture. The Breton gospel held in BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8, which boasts a splendid set of beast-headed evangelists, demonstrates a different approach to representation of the identity and presence of the book at hand by focusing attention on the prologues. The portraits of Matthew, Mark and John occupy their prologue pages in a way that creates balanced reciprocity between the images of the evangelists and their prologue texts (ill. 58)<sup>9</sup>. Script and figures together occupy the regular area of the text block, its profile respected by Matthew's jutting elbow – like Mark's on f. 42r, and John's narrower stance on f. 95v – and broken only by the cloth draped over his left shoulder, which flutters into the margin. A pale blue wash – yellow for John, omitted at Mark – fills out the area, providing a background complete with corner – a consistency that underscores the page design. This design creates a give and take between word and image as the prologue text, including the first capital lines, flows around the evangelists' forms. The line of script even observes Matthew's slightly protruding left foot.

In its page design, the Boulogne Gospels offers a corollary to both the theological and the practical tradition that privileges text over image in both the ascribed value and the planning of the book<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, the design cements the prologues as a site of representation not only for the individual evangelist figures, but also for their place within the whole collection of verbal and visual material that makes up a gospel book<sup>11</sup>. The prologues provide personal information about the evangelists and

7. The closest parallel for the textual illumination of Fitzwilliam 45-1980 is the Book of Kells (assuming a missing crucifixion image in the Irish case). With the exception of a text-embedded crucifixion, the correspondence is limited to the simple presence of images within the text – neither the iconography nor the positioning of the Kells scenes matches Fitzwilliam. The liturgical logic for placing the Temptation of Christ, as discussed by Carol Farr, negates an overarching « harmony » function for the Kells images, as does the occurrence of both « Arrest » and (putative) crucifixion in Matthew. Jennifer O'Reilly has cited evidence deeming a direct connection between Kells and Fitzwilliam 45-1980 unlikely (see note 6). On Kells : C. Farr, *The Book of Kells : Its Function and Audience*, London/Toronto/Buffalo, 1997.

8. The theme of harmony is a staple of gospel program. See, e.g., L. Nees, *The Gundohinus Gospels*, Cambridge MA, 1987, p. 159 sq., especially p. 167 ; P. Underwood, « The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 5 (1950), p. 43-138.

9. Color images of all the portraits in BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8 are available at [www.enluminures.culture.fr](http://www.enluminures.culture.fr) (last accessed August 15, 2016). On Luke, whose portrait is configured differently, see B. Kitzinger, « Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 960... », *op. cit.*, p. 36.

10. On the Carolingian theology of text and image : L. Saurma-Jeltsch, « Das Bild in der Worttheologie Karls des Großen : zur Christologie in karolingischen Miniaturen », in R. Berndt (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794 : Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur*, Mainz, 1997, t. 2, p. 635-675.

11. John's portrait in Fitzwilliam 45-1980 appears as the headpiece for the prologue text (f. 128r). The other evangelist figures have full-page images proximate to the prologues : Matthew and Luke's appear on rectos with the prologue on the verso (f. 22r and 87r) ; Mark's follows the prologue on a verso, facing his text incipit (f. 63v).

the circumstances of their writing. They are supplements to scripture that became an expected part of a gospel book, defining the genre by its tradition of transmission and authorship as well as by its proximity to the person of Christ. In Boulogne, verbal and visual portraits of the evangelists fully supplement one another : drawing itself becomes part of the gospel apparatus, even as the apocalyptic characterization of the evangelists interprets their figures and the greater theological context of the book.

How and where the evangelists are depicted is generally a defining point in how any individual manuscript represents the gospel genre. The difficult case of REIMS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8 offers a crucible in which to evaluate book decoration as a process of representation, and to consider how acts of image selection and composition figure in visually establishing the nature of a manuscript.

Reims 8 was held by the Abbey of Saint-Thierry near Reims, at least from the late eleventh century<sup>12</sup>. It includes more elements to help with dating than most examples here : on f. 7v, the ample remaining space following the conclusion of Matthew's prologue is occupied by calendar entries annotated to describe the biblical events that occurred on the given date. Following these appears a poignant note from more recent history, referring to the Battle of Soissons on June 15, 923, part of the fraught period of Carolingian succession in the tenth century. Charles the Simple, endeavoring to retain control over western Francia, killed Count Robert of Neustria, who led a nobles' revolt. The entry in Reims 8 gives the exact date of the battle, noting the death of Robert « and many others<sup>13</sup> ».

Lawrence Nees remarked on Reims 8 in an essay on Carolingian collecting, and it is also essentially in the spirit of collecting that I wish to discuss the book. Nees focused on the drawing of a Tetrarchan coin that appears in the margin of f. 49r below Mark 4, beside a vignette depicting Christ's entombment (ill. 59). Both drawings, as Nees described, demonstrate the way a manuscript may become the repository for recording motifs gleaned from other contexts<sup>14</sup>. I would like to address this question relative to the gathering of figures that represent the four evangelists in Reims.

On folio 68v of Reims 8 appears an unorthodox cluster of figures that serve as the evangelist portraits (ill. 60). They have all been labeled, each name ensconced in a formal *tabula ansata*<sup>15</sup>. While the impulse

12. See Henri Loriquet's catalogue entry in the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, 38, Paris, 1904, p. 9-14, including ascription of the ownership inscriptions (f. 1r and 111r) and neumes to the eleventh century, p. 13 ; also M. de Lempis, *Trésors de la bibliothèque municipale de Reims*, t. 1 (*Manuscrits*), Reims, 1978, cat. n° 11, with the ownership inscriptions (and heavy marginal glosses) dated to the twelfth century ; J. Porcher, *L'Empire carolingien*, Paris, 1968, p. 199-201 ; F. Wormald, *An Early Breton...*, *op. cit.*, p. 13, n. 1. Reims 8 is dated 880-900 by Bonifatius Fischer : B. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, t. 1, Freiburg, 1988 (Reims 8 as Br). The manuscript's hybrid visual features include an elaborate *Chi-Rho* initial in the Matthean genealogy (f. 12v), in the Insular tradition ; and an L-I ligature at Matthew characteristic of Tours (f. 12r). On the textual elements : H. Simpson McKee, « Breton Manuscripts of Biblical and Hiberno-Latin Texts », in T. O'Loughlin (ed.), *The Scriptures and Early Medieval Ireland*, Turnhout, 1999, p. 275-290, at p. 290 ; L. Lemoine, « Contribution à la reconstitution des *scriptoria* Bretons », *Bulletin du Cange*, 59 (2001), p. 261-268.

13. *Anno dcccxxiii AB INCARNATIONE D[OMI]NI N[OST]RI IH[ES]U [CHRIST]I xvii kal iulii. In die dominica fuit bellum in pago suessionense inter karolu[m] regem [et] roth[er]tum rege[m] ibiq[ue] ipsa die interiit rotbertus rex [et] multi alii.* Loriquet considered the two additions to be the same hand and contemporary to the main script.

14. L. Nees, « Notes on Collecting in the First Millennium of the Common Era. Perspectives from West of China », in V. Rujivacharakul (ed.), *Collecting China : The World, China, and a Short History of Collecting*, Newark DE, 2011, p. 184-193, here p. 188-189.

15. Much more common in Breton/Loire examples is to label the evangelists within the plaques that they hold, as in the Leofric Gospels (OXFORD, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. D.2.16), or LONDON, *British Library*, Egerton 609 ; or in unframed form near their heads, as in the Harkness Gospels (NEW YORK, *Public Library*, MA 115). Within Carolingian gospel conventions, the *tabula ansata* form might derive from plaques labeling the canon tables, e.g., in the Harley Gospels (LONDON, *British Library*, Harley 2788, f. 9v and 10v).



verbally to fix the figures' identification as the evangelists seems to have been contemporary with the drawing, the clarification was also cemented at a later stage : the names were traced over – or, in at least one case, probably first rendered – in darker ink similar to that used for highlights in Matthew's face and pearls in his halo, as well as stippled into the entombment sketch<sup>16</sup>. Matthew appears as a seated, haloed human figure, cradling a closed codex in his left hand and raising his right hand as if blessing. John is an eagle holding a fish in its talons. Luke is a bull (not winged) and Mark's designation is afforded an un-haloed, barefoot man, dressed in working clothes, holding the horns of the bull with both hands.

Each of these motifs holds great interest in its implications for what the draftsman might have seen, and as evidence for evaluating how Reims 8 fits into a larger network of gospel books made in Brittany proper or the Loire region. To begin, as Nees noted, the entombment vignette links Reims 8 with one of the most complex images in a Breton-Loire manuscript : the Passion sequence in ANGERS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 24. This might suggest a concrete connection between these two books, keeping the source within the manuscript sphere, but it also might suggest a common source available to both draftsmen that need not have been book painting : wall painting is another possibility<sup>17</sup>. The coin, meanwhile, which boasts ridges around the edge and a notably detailed rendering of the Tetrarchan headpiece, suggests the presence of a Roman find to copy directly, in contrast to the conventions of coins or medallions included in Touronian manuscripts<sup>18</sup>. In other words, the possible sources for all the drawn elements in Reims 8 begin to lead outside of a closed circle of manuscripts, casting the book as a repository of other visual experiences<sup>19</sup>.

16. The *tabulae* were drawn first in the lighter brown ink and then traced over in the darker ink also used to highlight Mark's right hand, and Matthew's features and halo. The tracing is best visible to the left side of Luke's plaque. Matthew's lettering, and possibly Luke's, seems to have been rendered originally in the dark ink, while John and Mark's were retraced. An added text on f. 45v treating the grave of Adam and location of Calvary (close to Jerome's *Commentariorum in Matheum*, Book 4, commentary to 27, 33), also employs a darker ink, as does the musical addition on f. 67r, which both Meyer and Stäblein dated to the tenth century, the latter noting a differing opinion for tenth/eleventh century dating (see below). The Calvary text is written in a different hand from the main gospels' but Loriquet considered it contemporary. I thank David Ganz (Cambridge) for confirming Loriquet's judgment on the Calvary addition, and the probability of a date later than the main text's for the name inscriptions, up to c. 1100 (personal communication, August 26, 2016). While it is worth considering whether the drawing was also added later than the main text was written, the presence of the over-tracing on both f. 49r and 68v in darker ink suggests that the original drawing preexisted the late eleventh-century annotations to the manuscript at the latest, and the tenth-century additions at the earliest (all of which employ dark ink). Iconographic details of the entombment, along with Matthew and John as described below, all have analogues in Carolingian traditions that pose no difficulty in positing an early tenth-century date for the drawing. On the neumes : B. Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Leipzig, 1975 (Musikgeschichte in Bildern, 3), p. 188 ; and C. Meyer, *Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Âge. Collections de Champagne-Ardenne*, Turnhout, 2010 (Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Âge conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France, 2), p. 94.

17. For ANGERS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 24 : *La France romane au temps des premiers capétiens (987-1152)*, Paris, 2005, cat. n° 8, p. 59 ; B. Kitzinger, « The Liturgical Cross and the Space of the Passion : The Diptych of Angers MS 24 », in J. Mullins, J. Ni Ghrádaigh and R. Hawtree (ed.), *Envisioning Christ on the Cross : Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, Dublin, 2013, p. 141-159. The diptych layout of the Angers image, in which the crucifixion occupies a double register on the verso while the separate episodes of deposition and entombment appear stacked on the recto, matches the spatial prominence of the crucifixion among other narrative scenes in Old St. Peter's, along with later tenth-century monumental cases such as Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella in Rome.

18. These are generally rendered without the same attention to physical attributes of actual coins, and their content is often selected along principles that have little to do with numismatic history. See I. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751-877)*, Leiden/Boston, 2008.

19. On the use of drawing as a record of sight and experience : L. V. Geymonat, « Drawing, Memory, and Imagination in the Wolfenbüttel Musterbuch », in H. E. Grossman and A. Walker (ed.), *Mechanisms of Exchange : Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca. 1000-1500*, Leiden, 2013, p. 220-285.

Matthew and John's figuration falls mostly comfortably into gospel manuscript tradition, although it still evinces a number of choices that are not obvious, and so distances the figures from a scenario of slavish copying. The eagle with the fish, as Florentine Mutherich described, is an antique motif that had currency in Insular and Carolingian gospel illumination, sometimes specifically as John's symbol but generally more flexibly as a decorative component<sup>20</sup>. It is not what one would call common for John's symbol, and must therefore be counted as a particular choice – perhaps indicative more of Insular preferences than Carolingian ones<sup>21</sup>. For Matthew, the draftsman might have seen a composition derived from any number of central Carolingian manuscripts – beginning with the tradition of the Godescalc Evangelistary – PARIS, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, n. a. lat. 1203 (cf. ff. 1r, 2r). Comparison with the Godescalc figures along with later Tours productions offer possible parallels for the « blessing » hand's position, in these cases with poised pen – e.g., PARIS, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, lat. 261, f. 17v. This correspondence then suggests a pen either omitted in Reims, or actually subtracted in order to create a different kind of figure. Matthew's figure blends types between an evangelist with open book, writing, and either an evangelist with closed book, gesturing<sup>22</sup>, or perhaps a figure effecting transmission such as Peter in the St. Vaast gospels held in PRAHA, *Archiv Pražského hradu*, Cim 2, f. 82v. Broadly speaking, though, while the combination of a seated human Matthew and an eagle-with-fish for John mixes and matches among established ideas in evangelist representation, both exist within the realm of Continental book illumination.

By contrast, no ready source exists for the bull and the man that stand for Mark and Luke in Reims 8. The most plausible explanation is that they quote a variation of an antique bull-human group such as Herakles and the Cretan Bull, or a pastoral or sacrificial scene<sup>23</sup>. Whether such a scene was available in a villa mosaic or a sculptural survival is uncertain, but it should certainly not be assumed that the group derives from a manuscript source. While one could easily imagine a model gospel manuscript that rendered Luke's bull in the full-bodied, wingless form – once again like the Godescalc Evangelistary's –, the pair of such a bull with a figure like this « Mark »'s has no analogue known to me in a contemporary manuscript context. The postulate that we should not immediately assume a manuscript source at all is bolstered here by physical

20. F. Mutherich, « Der Adler mit dem Fisch », in H. Roth (ed.), *Zum Problem der Deutung frühmittelalterlicher Bildinhalte*, Sigmaringen, 1986, p. 317-340.

21. In the book of Armagh the eagle-with-fish is deployed twice, both times as John's evangelist symbol (DUBLIN, *Trinity College Library*, 52, f. 32v and 90r). The variant of the eagle and the snake is used for John in the Metz gospels held in Paris (*Bibliothèque nationale de France*, lat. 9388, f. 150v). In the Loire valley context, the eagle and fish creates the major initial to Luke's prologue in Fitzwilliam 45-1980 (f. 87v).

22. The Godescalc Evangelistary again compares well : Matthew cradles his open book, while Mark curls his left hand around an inkwell.

23. The greatest obstacle to a satisfactory match among the possibilities I have identified is the man's double-fisted hold on both the bull's horns. Second-century Herakles compositions such as the mosaics from Saint-Paul-lès-Romans in southern Gaul or from Liria in Spain consistently show the man's left hand on the horn and right hand on the nose. Sacrificial compositions such as a Tiberian altar relief held at the Vatican position men behind bulls (unlike the Herakles examples), but also limit the grip to a single horn. The five Provençale examples of Dares and Entellus (*Aeneid V*) give a stance with raised fists and a man behind a bull, but the poses are quite different from Reims. The tunic approximates attendant figures, as in the circus mosaic from Lyon, but the heroic scenes all work with nude figures. See, e.g., H. Lavagne, *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule [RGM]*, t. 3/3 (*Province de Narbonnaise*), Paris, 2000, n° 554, p. 85-90, pl. XIX ; and n° 857, p. 286-291, pl. XCV. H. Stern, *RGM*, t. 2/1 (*Province de Lyonnaise*), Paris, 1967, n° 73, p. 63-69, pl. LII. F. Fless, *Opferdiener und Kultmusiker auf stadtrömischen historischen Reliefs : Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie, Funktion und Benennung*, Mainz, 1995, cat. 18, p. 106, pl. 38.1. Other antique bull-man groups include the Punishment of Dirce, Theseus and the Minotaur, and Mithraeum scenes. Rope appears looped around both a goat's horns in the Stuttgart Psalter (STUTT GART, *Württembergische Landesbibliothek*, Cod. bibl. fol. 23), f. 75v.

evidence. The figures of John and Matthew were worked out first in confident drypoint that is clearly visible when backlit (ill. 61), which implies they may have actually been traced from a model – to which we must then attribute the muddy type of Matthew. By contrast, the bull-man group was rendered only in ink, a circumstance that would be consistent with translation from one medium to another<sup>24</sup>.

If the Mark-Luke group cannot derive from the context of an evangelist portrait, arguably it does not belong in this position at all. In Reims 8, though, the pair was given a place in a gospel context, with a clear function as two evangelist symbols ratified by the naming plaques. The bull-man group and the desire for evangelist figures seem to form a marriage of convenience<sup>25</sup>. One or two happy resonances could be cited : if the bull group is ultimately antique, as seems likely, it echoes the Tetrarchan coin as a Roman presence in the codex<sup>26</sup>. The combination of solutions for the four evangelist figures includes a balance between the human forms of Matthew and Mark and the symbol forms of Luke and John. The fact remains, though, that the evangelist representatives were cobbled together, as were the other drawings : no tightly developed program defines the visual side of Reims 8 as a whole. The coin and the entombment have nothing directly to do with the Marcan text at the juncture they appear ; they may best be understood as a cross-reference to the ‘Render unto Caesar’ parable of Mark 12, which includes a dead son<sup>27</sup>. The beautifully modeled acanthus leaf and the scrolling panel below recall ivory carving, even while the beast’s head sprouting vine scrolls in the lower right-hand corner is closer to motifs common in Breton gospel illumination<sup>28</sup>. Adding these latter components to an account of f. 68v, the Reims gospels gain still more the character of a collection, including motifs marshaled from different media and models.

24. To facilitate possible comparison with other extant compositions : the Matthew figure measures 8,5 x 8 cm and the John 6 x 5,5 cm. The bull-man group measures 9,5 x 10,2 cm.

25. Folio 68 is extremely lightly ruled – almost no horizontal ruling is visible, in fact. It is thus not impossible that the drawings pre-existed the use of the parchment for the gospel quire – especially the bull-man group, as this seems to have been set down before Matthew (whose seat intersects it). In view of the large space left beneath the text, one possible scenario has the bull-man group preexisting the drypoint drawing, which was added when the space was clearly free and the *desideratum* of evangelist figures was decided, with the name plaques added last to avoid any confusion. The acanthus and vine-scroll plaque may have been added to serve as a kind of groundline for the bull-man group. Ornamental panels appear beneath Luke’s portrait in CAMBRIDGE, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, 45-1980 (f. 87r), John’s in LONDON, *British Library*, Egerton 609 (f. 78v), and occasionally in the Tournonian tradition (e.g., the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura, f. 287v, beneath John).

26. This attention to the Church’s seat would, in turn, provide another resonance with ANGERS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 24, whose colophon links the book to Rome. On the Angers colophon, see Donatien de Bruyne, « Gaudiosus. Un vieux libraire romain », *Revue bénédictine*, 30 (1913), p. 343-345.

27. If an exegetical connection emerges through further study it is likely to be regional. Mark 4 did not attract intense patristic attention. Both Augustine and Bede focus on the meaning of the parable for the individual soul, Bede bringing in the division of the Jews into believers and non-believers and Augustine dwelling on the context of persecution. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Psalm 90, Sermo 1, 8, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1956 (CCSL, 39), p. 1260 ; Bede, *In Marci evangelium expositio* I, 4, ed. D. Hurst, Turnhout, 1960 (CCSL, 120), p. 479-488.

28. For the beast’s head, e.g., ANGERS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 24, f. 40r. A variation with sharper teeth and tongue appears in REIMS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8 itself, in the « B » initial of f. 3r. Ivory examples for rinceaux panels positioned specifically below figures include the ivories of the *Evangelium Longum* (SANKT GALLEN, *Stiftsbibliothek*, 53). Abundant parallels exist for the interlocking vines, also including animal forms. See, e.g., the covers of Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, lat. 9388 and lat. 9393 ; and the side panel of the *Tournus flabellum*. Adolph Goldschmidt (in conversation with Wilhelm Koehler) connected with Tours several examples of vine scrolls ending in beasts’ heads : A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser VIII.-XI. Jahrhundert*, t. 1, Berlin/Oxford, 1969, n° 179 and 180, pl. LXXXIII.

In the Fitzwilliam Gospels, the unconventional blending of types – and sophisticated painting technique – in the frontispiece creates a strong and coherent statement engaging such themes as the transmission of the gospels and the centrality of Christ's ecclesiastical surrogates. The Reims 8 harmony image cannot unequivocally be read as a similarly considered composition. Depending on the angle from which one approaches the book, however, the improvisatory nature of the drawing does not detract from its power of representation. The constitution of the manuscript may well not have been as its community ideally would have wished. In the upheaval around 923 there may not have been any coherent gospel models to hand, or any the bookmakers wished to copy. Then again, perhaps someone saw a virtue in maintaining diversity when depicting the evangelists. Someone certainly took the occasion to think with a pen: the lines along the bull's ribs and the seeming cross of Matthew's legs reveal a draftsman working through form. Seen overall as an act of creative constitution, the evangelists page has much in common with the Fitzwilliam Gospels, in that various types were combined to make a new, particular whole.

The manuscript's assemblage of motifs can be read as evidence of compositional process, communicating something about what the book meant to its community at various points in time. Because the visual elements of Reims 8 are constituted as they are, they open an avenue along which to consider surviving illumination as representation representative of the book itself as an entity, rather than just strictly as representation of the subjects depicted. Precisely because the Reims evangelists image is so eclectic and raw, it invites consideration of the decisions that generated it. Perhaps more essentially, it reveals the clarity of desire to have the evangelist figures be part of the book. Whether the drawings pre-existed the compilation of the gospel book or whether they were pulled together to fill this spot, someone recognized that even the most surprising motifs were appropriate *enough* to play the part of the four evangelists. Moreover, someone used them to exercise the principle that a full, fine gospel book wants a representation of its authors, if such an image can possibly be had.

Two further figures in Reims 8 prompt consideration of concept and desire in the constitution of a full gospel manuscript: another marginal drawing on f. 49r and one on f. 67r, both of which have been scratched out (ill. 59 and 62). Above the coin and entombment, a haloed, skirted figure in *orans* position was scratched out of the right-hand margin parallel to the parable of the Sower who scatters some seeds in fertile ground and others in stone (Mark 4, 3). Effaced as it is, this figure remains to a certain extent recognizable within a constellation of forms from manuscripts with related provenance: the low setting of the figure's arms recalls the crucified Christs in Breton productions TROYES, *Médiathèque du Grand Troyes*, ms. 960, and the Milizac Cross; along with the Christ in a *Maiestas* from another manuscript I will discuss below (cf. ill. 63)<sup>29</sup>. On f. 67r, in the margin of Mark 16, 6 – the angel's address to the Maries at the tomb –, appears a much less legible figure (ill. 62). He seems to have had a long striated skirt and a dropped wing. In the lower margin appears a neumed Alleluia chant for the first Sunday after Easter<sup>30</sup>.

In contrast to the coin and entombment in the *bas-de-page* on f. 49r, these two marginal drawings may relate directly to the texts beside them. Because the figure on f. 49r approximates that of Christ in other contexts, it is tempting to associate him with the speaker of the parable. The most logical reading of the figure on f. 67r, when its surviving contours are coupled with its position, is that of the angel

29. For reproductions of both TROYES, *Médiathèque du Grand Troyes*, ms. 960 and the Milizac Cross, see B. Kitzinger, « Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 960... », *op. cit.*

30. For the chant, see note 16. The striated skirt recalls Irish examples such as ST. GALL, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 60, p. 4; cf. Ill. 29.

speaking to the women. The possibility emerges of a pattern by which someone marked out notable moments of speech with a marginal sketch<sup>31</sup>. However paradoxically, the two additions most conceivable as visual commentary are the ones that were effaced – the figure on f. 49r markedly deliberately, with short gouging strokes that, luckily, left his silhouette still legible.

In its two ghostly figures, Reims 8 presents a context in which to think about how manuscript programs change by detraction, even as it also prompts reflection on gospel program as a product of sometimes-erratic compilation. It is not known who objected to the sketches and why. Some context exists for discussing the alteration of Breton manuscripts in England, as Louis Lemoine noted regarding the next example, but Reims 8 apparently never left the continent<sup>32</sup>. In the absence of evidence that could contribute to greater orientation of Reims 8 in specific social histories, it is still worth observing that, like the constitution of the evangelists page, the subtraction of the marginal designs remains an index of someone's priorities for how this one manuscript should represent the gospels<sup>33</sup>.

The *Maiestas* intended to introduce John in the ninth-century Breton Bodmin Gospels – LONDON, *British Library*, Add. 9381 – remains to us as an evocative nexus of creation and destruction (ill. 63). The Bodmin Gospels has been celebrated for its added manumissions but is not known for its decoration – probably in large part because while the elegant quincunx frame for the *Maiestas* survives, the meat of the image has been erased<sup>34</sup>. In its juxtaposition of roundels, the Bodmin *Maiestas* shares a base composition with the Breton Harkness Gospels in New York – *Public Library*, MA 115, ill. 1 –, and with the *Maiestas agni* in the somewhat later and unlocalized McClean MS 19 held at the Fitzwilliam Museum<sup>35</sup>. Because the figures were rubbed out, much of the argument about how

31. If it is a pattern, it is a short one : the only remaining sketch that might participate is a lumpy hand pointing away from the text at the transition from Luke 8 to Luke 9 (f. 82r). This addition is most worth noting because a parable of the sower appears also in Luke 8, 5-15.

32. Jonathan Alexander described the alteration of the Leofric Gospels by addition, the beast-headed portraits augmented in the eleventh century by more familiar writing evangelists : J. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*, New Haven/London, 1992, p. 77, 82 and 168, n. 34. Louis Lemoine commented on the defaced Bodmin Gospels (see below) as a probable shock to English sensibilities : L. Lemoine, « Contribution à la reconstitution... », *op. cit.*, p. 266.

33. Michael Camille reflects upon destruction as an act of representation in M. Camille, « Obscenity Under Erasure : Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts », in J. Ziolkowski (ed.), *Obscenity : Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, Leiden, 1998, p. 139-154, at p. 140.

34. H. Jenner, « The Manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels », *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 71 (1924), p. 235-260. To the corpus of Breton manuscripts with erasure should be added LONDON, *British Library*, Egerton 609, whose surviving portraits of Mark and John are mostly intact but both display damage (to Mark's figure broadly and John's face particularly, f. 45v and 78v) ; and PARIS, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, lat. 13169, which bears evidence both of planning and effacement in the Marcan beast's head partially executed below the prologue explicit (f. 51v). This manuscript, whose provenance includes Saint-Serge in Angers in the eleventh century and Notre-Dame in Mans in the twelfth, has an invocation of the Seven Sleepers in common with REIMS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8 (lat. 13169's added in a marginal note beside the first canon table, f. 8v ; Reims 8's in a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century colophon, f. 111r). The present account of LONDON, *British Library*, Add. 9381 corrects my characterization of the *Maiestas* as planned but not executed : B. Kitzinger, « Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 960... », *op. cit.*, p. 40, n. 19, which followed Bernhard Bischoff, noting Louis Lemoine's judgment of erasure : B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Wiesbaden, 2004, t. 2, n° 2357, p. 93. Unlike the *orans* figure of Reims 8, the erasure in Additional 9381 is so complete in the upper roundels that the parchment is polished smooth and moving toward translucence.

35. On the Harkness Gospels : C. R. Morey, E. K. Rand and C. H. Kraeling, « The Gospel-Book of Landévennec (The Harkness Gospels) in the New York Public Library », *Art Studies*, 8/2 (1931), p. 225-286 ; and Jonathan Alexander's catalogue entry in J. Alexander, J. Marrow and L. Freeman Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word : Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, New York, 2005, cat. n° 6, p. 45-50. On CAMBRIDGE, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, McClean

the Bodmin image was supposed to represent its subject is impaired, but a fair amount of information remains.

First of all, through its placement we can approach the issue of how the composition was meant to work within the gospel book. The Harkness *Maiestas* works like Fitzwilliam 45-1980's frontispiece, stating a premise of gospel harmony at the front of the codex. By delaying the image of harmony and authorship, the Bodmin program instead pulls John to the fore in a fashion unique among surviving ninth-century Breton examples<sup>36</sup>. Information about the conception of this image remains in the damaged surface as well. The lower two roundels in the quincunx were not as thoroughly effaced as the two upper ones. The trace of their figures affords the knowledge that the evangelists in the Bodmin Gospels were beast-headed after the Breton fashion. As in the Harkness Gospels and Boulogne 8, the Bodmin evangelist figures held tablets. Close attention reveals that the central figure in Bodmin had his hands outstretched in a position much like the small figure in Reims : the erasure of the long fingers where they overlapped the roundel is well visible ; the right thumb protruded upward. The shape of the figure's striped skirt parallels that of the Reims figure and the Harkness Christ. Examination under UV light confirms that he once wore a stole, as in the Harkness Gospels – where Christ is also shod –, with balls and tassels at the ends<sup>37</sup>. The argument of the image thus combined gospel harmony with an ecclesiological emphasis.

The clarity of Christ's sacerdotal figure in New York throws into relief the radical equivocation of the Fitzwilliam frontispiece, while revealing commonalities of conception between the two. Both demonstrate, through differing means, similar priorities of self-reflexive representation for the gospel book-as-book, its multiple accounts unified by Christ's person and story. While Fitzwilliam's emphasis fell on the Passion, Harkness' statement of gospel harmony appears in the inscriptions on the evangelists' plaques, which each proclaim Christ's resurrection (ill. 1). The priestly dress of all five figures in New York allies with the central figure in Cambridge in affiliating the ecclesiastical present with representatives of the Christian past and future. Also related to Cambridge, where the entire codex is drawn into a structural argument of gospel harmony, the self-reflexive strain in Harkness appears in a blend of figural and physical argument. While Matthew's Man faces forward, mirroring both Christ's human form and his posture, Mark, Luke and John face the beginning of the gospel text. This exercise of the manuscript opening carries the image's statement of unity and testimony over to the instance of the gospels at hand, integrating the codex's text and image by way of the book's very structure.

In the Bodmin Gospels, the lower roundels suggest that the attention of all the evangelist figures turned toward the center, making the image more self-contained than Harkness' *Maiestas*, which works across the gutter ; or Boulogne 8's prologues, where word and figure are integrated in the design of single pages. Another kind of self-reflexive pictorial representation appears, however, in the two small figures flanking the central roundel of the Bodmin *Maiestas*. These hold out their arms in a position

19 : L. Nees, « Between Carolingian and Romanesque in France : Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 19 and its Relatives », in S. Panayotova (ed.), *The Cambridge Illuminations : The Conference Papers*, London, 2007, p. 31-43.

36. The McClean image shares Bodmin's position before John, suggesting a tradition for the placement in Frankish lands, at least somewhat later. For Ottonian examples of this structure, see J. O'Driscoll, « Visual Vortex : An Epigraphic Image from an Ottonian Gospel Book », *Word and Image*, 27/3 (2011), p. 309-321.

37. The iconography of the priestly evangelists fitted with stoles is the central subject of Besseyre's discussion. It is not certain whether the evangelists also wore stoles in LONDON, *British Library*, Add. 9381. The vested figure of Christ himself in the Bodmin Gospels comes particularly close to the Lombard Ratchis altar in Cividale, which Besseyre discusses as a locus of visual reflection on Christ's priesthood. The motif of stoles suggested to Besseyre possible exchange between Breton and Visigothic or Lombard artists.

that mirrors the central figure's<sup>38</sup>. The two vignettes model attention to the gospels by people who are not embedded in the subject matter or the story of scriptural transmission – people who stand rather in a tradition of receiving the gospels and bearing witness to their meaning and presence within the Church. As the defacement of the page itself attests, such witness might at times take the form of violent correction to components of a book that so precisely embodied the wishes and aesthetic of one community as to spark repudiation in another.

The manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels represent the book in its evolving place and time no less than its *Maiestas* does : each addition testifies to the growing role of the manuscript as a repository of binding contracts that had especially profound effect on the lives of people around it<sup>39</sup>. Reims 8 is also a manuscript that demonstrates how fluid a space the gospel book could be, and how representative of a community in flux. By the twelfth century heavy exegetical glosses had been added to the book, including some that have been considered deeply tied to Saint-Thierry<sup>40</sup>. Song was added, likely quite shortly after the scribe finished the primary text, sketches were added and taken away ; a document of pressing current events was added. Each of these actions amounts to a process of representation, defining the character of this one gospel book as a whole and the way it was made to present scripture within its community.

One classic self-referential representation of a book exists in Reims 8 : the bound and ornamented codex cradled by Matthew. This detail participates in the long tradition of gospel illumination that makes a theme of honoring the entity of the book itself as the means of scriptural transmission and a focus of cult. However, the rest of the eclectic gathering of image and text throughout the manuscript also represents the entity of a gospel book – a site of thinking, of documentation, of remembering what has been seen, and integrating all these things into the codex that provides the gospels to its church. As such, the Reims example stands with the more programmatic Breton cases – and more luxurious traditions of illumination – in affirming that the gospel genre amounts to the concentration of the general into the particular. Each manuscript embodies the instantiation of a larger concept, the Gospel, as it was made available by and for communities through processes of design, compilation, and reaction that remain visible even when their historical circumstances elude us. In its surviving state the illuminated codex comes to represent those processes, which, in turn, become representations of the gospel genre itself.

---

38. In view of the known relationships between Brittany and the Insular world it is worth noting that the same orans posture occurs several times in the ninth-tenth century Scottish Book of Deer (CAMBRIDGE, *University Library*, Ii.6.32).

39. On the cultic and communal status of gospel books, see especially M. Brown, *The Book and the Transformation of Britain, c. 550-1050*, London, 2011, p. 44-56 and p. 85-98.

40. Michel de Lempis posited that William of Saint-Thierry wrote several annotations himself (*Trésors*). Broadly on the culture of commentary at Saint-Thierry : J. Leclercq, « Livres et lectures à Saint-Thierry au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle », in M. Bur (ed.), *Saint-Thierry, une abbaye du vie au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Saint-Thierry, 1979, p. 101-111.

## Table des matières

Charlotte Denoël, Anne-Orange Poilpré et Sumi Shimahara <b>Introduction</b> .....	5
 <b>Dire et figurer le livre</b>	
Charlotte Denoël L'Épiphanie du Verbe. Essai d'une typologie formelle des représentations du livre au premier Moyen Âge dans les portraits des évangélistes.....	15
Bruno Bon et Krzysztof Nowak Autour de <i>Liber</i> : étude (e-)lexicographique.....	27
Isabelle Marchesin Mise en voir mathématique et intermédialité du Verbe dans les Évangiles carolingiens. Genèse d'une tradition iconographique.....	39
Lawrence Nees Design, Default or Defect in Some Perplexing Represented Books.....	71
 <b>Livre, loi et autorité</b>	
Stefan Esders Deux <i>libri legum</i> au service des fonctionnaires du royaume d'Italie à l'époque carolingienne.....	79
Anne-Orange Poilpré <i>Dans et avec</i> le livre : Jérôme, David et les souverains carolingiens.....	85
François Bougard Le livre de l'autorité du siècle.....	99
Helmut Reimitz Livres d'histoire et histoire du livre à l'époque carolingienne.....	107
 <b>Livre et Bible</b>	
Yves Christe Un nouveau Sinaï pour Pierre et Paul.....	121



Sumi Shimahara Le livre dans le Livre : parcours exégétiques.....	131
Beatrice E. Kitzinger Representing the Gospels Beyond the Carolingian Center.....	151
Eliza Garrison Movement and Time in the Egbert Psalter.....	163
 <b>Livre et liturgie</b>	
Adam S. Cohen The Book and Monastic Reform.....	173
Cécile Voyer Mise en abyme. Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier et ses images.....	183
Jean-Pierre Caillet Le livre dans l'édifice cultuel aux temps carolingiens et ottoniens.....	193
Marie-Céline Isaïa Un simple objet ? Le livre dans l'hagiographie médiolatine (IX <sup>e</sup> -XI <sup>e</sup> siècle).....	205
 <b>Livre, signes, images littéraires</b>	
Francesco Stella Les représentations du livre dans les textes poétiques carolingiens et ottoniens. Naissance de la poésie paratextuelle.....	221
Fabrizio Crivello <i>Tabulae</i> et livres dans les tables des Canons de l'école de la cour de Charlemagne. Questions ouvertes.....	237
François Bougard Le livre dans tous ses états. Conclusions.....	243
Index des noms de personnes.....	249
Index des noms de lieux.....	255
Index des manuscrits.....	260
Liste des contributeurs.....	264

## Illustrations



III. 1. Évangiles de Harkness, NEW YORK, *New York Public Library*, MA 115, f. 13v.



III. 2. Évangiles de la collection Bradfer-Lawrence, CAMBRIDGE, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, 45-1980, f. 14v.



III. 58. Breton Gospels, BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8, f. 8r (cl. Bibliothèque des Annonciades de Boulogne-sur-Mer).

ens eos quincir cuitu ei sedebant. ait; Ecce mat̄ mea & fr̄s mei;  
 Qui enim fecerit uoluntate d̄i. hic fr̄s meus & soror mea & mat̄. ē;  
**E**t iterum coepit docere ad mare; et congregata ē. ad eū  
 turba multa. Itaut in nauem ascendens. seder. et in mari;  
 & om̄s turba circumare. sup̄ t̄ram erat. Et docebat  
 illos in parabolis multa. & dicebat illis in doctrina sua;  
 Audite; Ecce exiit seminans. ad seminandū; & dū seminat.  
 aliud cecidit circauiā. & uener̄ uolucres. & cōmeder̄ illud;  
 Aliud uero cecidit sup̄ & rosa ubi non habuit t̄ram multam.  
 et statim exortum. ē. q̄m non habebat alacudine t̄rae;  
 Et quando exortus. ē. sol. & aestuauit. & eo qd non habe  
 re & radicem exaruit; Et aliud cecidit in spinas. & as  
 cender̄ spine & suffocauerunt illud. & fructū n̄ dedit;  
 Et aliud cecidit in t̄ram bonā. & dabat fructū ascendente  
 & crescentem; Et afferebat unū triginta. & unū sexa  
 ginta. & unū centū; Et dicebat; Qui habet aures audi



Ill. 59. Saint-Thierry Gospels, REIMS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8, f. 49r (cl. author, by permission of the Bibliothèque municipale de Reims).



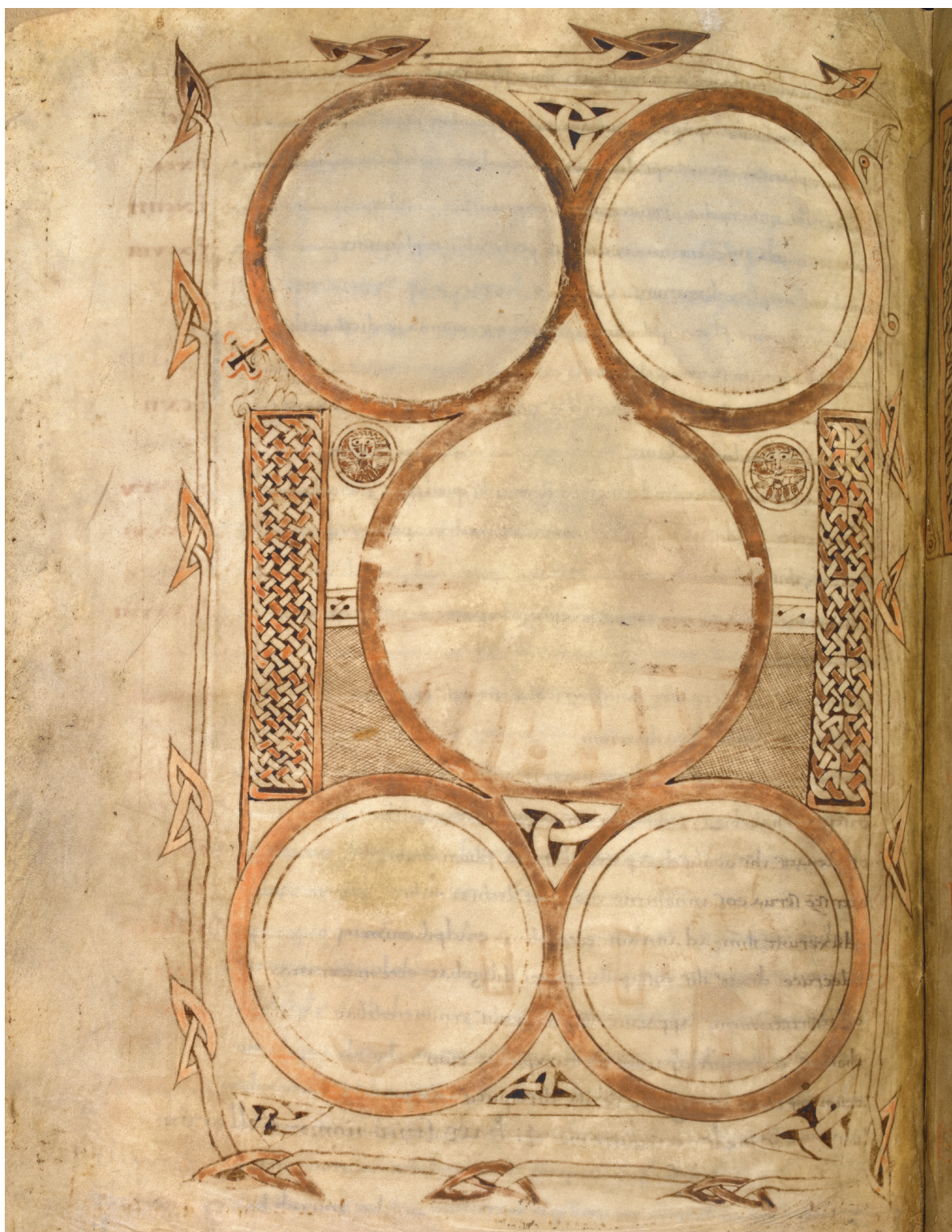
Ill. 60. Saint-Thierry Gospels, REIMS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8, f. 68v-69r (cl. author, by permission of the Bibliothèque municipale de Reims).



Ill. 61. Saint-Thierry Gospels, REIMS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8, f. 58v, detail (cl. author, by permission of the Bibliothèque municipale de Reims).

et fecit & cum cognouisset a centurione & donauit eam pi-  
 ioseph. **I**oseph autem mercatus sindone & deponens eum  
 in uoluit sindone; & posuit eum in monumento quod erat exci-  
 sum de petra; & aduoluit lapidem ad ostium monumenti.  
**M**ARIA AUTEM MAGDALENE. ITAURIA.  
 iacobi & maria ioseph. aspiciabant ubi pone-  
 retur; **E**t cum transisset sabbatum maria magdalene  
 & maria iacobi & salome. emerserunt aromata ut ueni-  
 entes unguerent eum; **E**t ualde mane una sabbato-  
 rum uenit ad monumentum ortuam sole; & dicebant ad inuicem; quis reuoluat nobis lapidem  
 ab ostium monumenti? **E**t respicientes uiderunt reuolu-  
 tum lapidem; & cruci per magnam ualde; & introeun-  
 tes in monumentum uiderunt iuuenem sedentem in dextris  
 coopertum stola candida; & obstupuerunt.  
**Q**uidam illis uoluit expauescere; ihm q. ritus nazarenus  
 crucifixum non est hic surrexit; ecce locus ubi posue-  
 runt eum; sedate diuine discipulis eius & patero. quia pce-  
 dit uos in galilaeam; ibi eum uidebitis sicut dixi uobis;  
**N**ec ille ex euntibus fugerunt demonum. & in uia serua-  
 erunt timentes enim; surgens autem mane prima  
 sabbati apparuit primo marie magdalene  
 de qua iecerat .vii. demonia; & illa uadens  
 nuntiavit his qui cum eo fuerant lugentibus; & flen-  
 tibus; & illi audientes quia uerba eius sunt  
 ab ea non crediderunt; **P**ost haec autem duobus  
 M. resurrexerunt me & dicit dominus  
 ce. dam uos in galilaeam.

Ill. 62. Saint-Thierry Gospels, REIMS, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 8, f. 67r (cl. author, by permission of the Bibliothèque municipale de Reims).



Ill. 63. Bodmin Gospels, LONDON, *British Library*, Add. 9381, f. 108v (cl. The British Library).



## Erratum

ens eos. qui in circuitu ei sedebant. ait; Ecce mēt mea & fr̄s mei.  
Qui enim fecerit uoluntate dī. hic fr̄s meus & soror mea & māter. ē.  
**E**t iterum coepit docere ad mare; et congregata ē. ad eū  
turba multa. ita ut in nauem ascendens. sederet in mari;  
& om̄s turba circum mare. sup̄ terram erat. Et docebat  
illos in parabolis multa. et dicebat illis in doctrina sua;  
Audite; Ecce exiit seminans ad seminandū; & dū seminat.  
aliud cecidit circa uia. & uener̄ uolucres. & comeder̄ illud;  
Aliud uero cecidit sup̄ saxa. ubi non habuit terrā multam.  
et statim exortum. ē. q̄m non habebat alacritudinē terrae;  
Et quando exortus. ē. sol. exstiuauit. & eo qd non habe  
re radicem exaruit; Et aliud cecidit in spinas. & as  
cender̄ spine & suffocauerunt illud. & fructū n̄ dedit;  
Et aliud cecidit in terrā bonā. & dabat fructū ascendente.  
& crescentem; Et afferebat unū triginta. & unū sexa  
ginta. & unū centū; Et dicebat; Qui habet aures audi

