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The illustrations of the *Song of Songs* in
the Bible moralisée de Saint Louis,

Toledo, Spain, Cathedral Treasury, Ms. 1 and
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 11560.

Jean-Michel Tuchscherer

Department of Art History,
McGill University, Montreal

Spring 1996

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Jean-Michel Tuchscherer, 1996



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ABSTRACT

Among the considerable manuscript production of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Bible moralisée stands out by the number of miniatures and by the conception of the manuscript itself. The composition and many iconographical themes recall stained glass windows of contemporary cathedrals, such as Chartres, Sens, Bourges, or Canterbury in England.

The manuscript of the Bible moralisée to which this study is partly dedicated, is located in the Treasury of the Toledo cathedral chapter in Spain. This study deals also with the duplicate copy which was realized soon afterwards. The interpretation and the illustrations of the verses vary in number according to the books of the Bible. Though being one of the smallest biblical books, the *Song of Solomon* is given outstanding consideration, more than any other book in the Bible. The central theme – the espousal of the Bride and the Bridegroom, Christ and Ecclesia being its allegory – enjoyed a considerable success in medieval theology. It corresponded to the courtly love atmosphere of its time. Abundant commentary literature and the development of mariology made this book even more popular. About a quarter of the commentary illustrations are dedicated to the theme Christus–Ecclesia. Ecclesia, always crowned, holds the chalice which confirms her sacramental significance. In no other known iconographical medieval programme has Ecclesia such a position.

The question raised by the problematic around this *Bible* is the eventual intention being at the origin of this order which, without any doubt, emanates from French royalty. Has it been produced to enhance the prestige of royalty? Is it a pedagogical work intended for the education of the royal children? Was it meant to be a royal political gift? The Ecclesia theme in the Bible is the exaltation of, or an homage to the Church, spiritual or temporal, by the French royalty of the thirteenth century.

RESUME

Parmi la production considérable de manuscrits des XIIe et XIIIe siècles, la Bible moralisée occupe une place à part, tant par la quantité des miniatures que par la conception du manuscrit lui-même. Par sa composition et par beaucoup de ses thèmes, ce manuscrit rappelle certaines verrières des cathédrales contemporaines: Chartres, Sens, Bourges ou même Cantorbéry en Angleterre.

La Bible moralisée à laquelle cette étude est en partie dédiée, est celle se trouvant au Trésor du Chapitre de la cathédrale de Tolède, en Espagne, ainsi qu'à la copie qui en fut effectuée peu après. Tous les livres de la Bible sont commentés et illustrés avec une plus ou moins égale fidélité aux textes. Bien qu'un des plus petits livres, le *Cantique des Cantiques* tient une place de choix dans le canon biblique. Son thème central, les épousailles de l'Epoux et de l'Epouse, dont l'allégorie Christ et Eglise connaît dans la théologie du Moyen Age un succès considérable, correspondait sans doute à l'esprit contemporain de l'amour courtois. Une littérature exégétique abondante et le développement de la mariologie rendaient ce livre encore plus populaire.

Environ le quart des illustrations commentées est dédié au thème Christ-Eglise. L'Eglise, toujours couronnée, porte le calice, confirmant ainsi sa dimension sacramentelle.

Aucun autre programme iconographique connu au Moyen Age n'accorde une telle place à l'Eglise, alors qu'à cette époque la Vierge Marie est la figure religieuse la plus populaire. La question qui se pose est de connaître l'intention ayant présidé à cette commande dont tout laisse à penser qu'elle émane du milieu royal français. S'agit-il d'une commande de prestige destinée à rejoindre les régalias? S'agit-il d'un ouvrage pédagogique destiné à l'éducation des enfants royaux? S'agirait-il même d'un éventuel cadeau pour une autre cour royale? Il s'agit sans aucun doute d'un hommage, d'une exaltation de l'Eglise, spirituelle ou temporelle, par la royauté française du XIIIe siècle.

INTRODUCTION

The *Song of Solomon*, also known as the *Song of Songs*, has always been considered a special book of the Bible. In the twelfth century, but especially at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the *Song*, one of the shortest books in the Bible, caught the attention of commentators and artists. This focus is evident in the systematic illustration of the *Song* in the Toledo and Oxford Bibles,¹ the two manuscripts which are the subject of this study: the *Song of Songs* is the most completely illustrated book in both these early thirteenth-century manuscripts.

The interpretative iconography of the Bible moralisée and of the *Song*, which is for the most part literal, descriptive and allegorical, contains an important theme, the interpretation of Sponsus – Sponsa as Christus – Ecclesia. Of the *Song of Solomon* commentary illustrations, a quarter are dedicated to the allegorical theme of Christus – Ecclesia, one of the major iconographical themes of the Bible moralisée and the Middle Ages, evident in all Bibles moralisées until the fifteenth century.

The following introduction explains some of the reasons why this allegorical interpretation of the couple in the *Song of Solomon* enjoyed such exceptional popularity throughout the Middle Ages, and especially during the thirteenth century. Before discussing the Sponsus – Sponsa allegory, in the first chapter I shall introduce the Bible moralisée itself.

¹ Appendix 1 and 2, pp. 180–182; Appendix 3, pp. 182–183.

The second chapter analyzes all the medallions of the *Song of Solomon* which iconographically deal with the theme Christus – Ecclesia. The Latin texts, the guidelines of the images, are transcribed and translated. The images themselves are described. Finally, an interpretation is drawn between the meaning of each couple of roundels. These images belong to a vast context (Paris as one of the most important European art centers of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries) and a study of their style will show connections with other media and other cultural areas. Indeed these Bibles constitute an enormous work of art which could only spring out of a large and a rich cultural background.

The theme of Ecclesia is almost omnipresent in the *Song of Solomon* as well as in other books of the Bible. The last chapter will try to circumscribe this theme, its historical, symbolical, allegorical significance. Whom does the Bible moralisée glorify: Ecclesia the Church of Rome, Ecclesia the Christianity, the *Christianitas*, the eschatological and celestial Ecclesia, or royalty in its widest sense and French royalty in particular? Or is the Bible and the *Song* a true apology of the spiritual relationship between Christ and the faithful who compose the Church, without any temporal connotations?

1. 1. the Bible moralisée

The Bibles moralisées were identified as a homogenous group of manuscripts in the nineteenth century. Gustav Heider, studying the two Vienna Bible moralisée fragments in the *Jahrbuch der kaiserlichen und königlichen Central-Commission* of 1861, was the first historian to recognize these manuscripts as belonging to a single group dating to the early thirteenth century.² More than thirty years later, Léopold Delisle

² Gustav Heider, "Beiträge zur christlichen Typologien aus Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters", *Jahrbuch der KK Central-Commission* 5 (Wien, 1861): 34. These two

identified more Bible moralisée exemplars. He described the genre in detail in the 1893 issue of *L'histoire littéraire de la France*.³ Impressed by the quality of the thirteenth century manuscripts, especially Vienna ONB cod. 1179⁴, Arthur Haseloff examined their relationship. A later study of impressive scope was undertaken by Comte Alexandre de Laborde who published the manuscript now split between Oxford, Paris, and London, known as the "Oxford Bible".⁵ De Laborde called this triple codex "le manuscrit type", the source for all of the Bible moralisée manuscripts. Unfortunately, de Laborde ignored the Toledo Bible, which he had never seen. In 1935, the two Vienna manuscripts were systematically described in the catalogue of the ONB by Hermann Julius Hermann.⁶ More recently, in 1973, after having published material on the various Bibles moralisées, including the Toledo Bible, Reiner Haussherr issued a facsimile with a transcription and a translation of the Bible text of

"Bibles" are fragments of manuscripts, Ms. ONB 1179 in Latin, and Ms. ONB 2554 in ancient French. Their high quality is indicative of royal or princely patronage. They are dated around 1215 to 1225. See: Hans-Walter Storck, *Bible moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek; Transkription und Uebersetzung*, in: *Saarbrücker Hochschulschriften, Kunstgeschichte*, 2 vol. (St. Ingbert, Germany: Werner J. Roehrig Verlag, 1988 and 1992) and Reiner Haussherr, *Bible moralisée, Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, and Paris: Club du Livre, 1973).

³ Léopold Delisle, "Livres d'images destinés à l'instruction religieuse et aux exercices de piété des laïques", in: *L'histoire littéraire de la France* 31 (1893): 218-285.

⁴ ONB stands for Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, i.e. National Library of Austria in Vienna.

⁵ Alexandre de Laborde, *Etude sur la Bible moralisée illustrée* (Paris: Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 1921-1927), 5 vols.

⁶ Hermann Julius Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gotik und der Renaissance. Vol. 1. Englische und französische Handschriften des XIII. Jahrh.* (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl W. Hersemann, 1935), pp. 29-47.

Vienna ONB cod. 2554.⁷ In 1977, the late Robert Branner published the first attempt of a style synthesis of all known Bibles moralisées of the thirteenth century within their Parisian cultural environment.⁸

The name "Bible moralisée" originated in the XVth century. It was given to a group of manuscripts first appearing in the early thirteenth century which consist of an illustrated paraphrase of the Bible accompanied by an illustrated commentary.⁹ The composition of the folios of these Bibles was new, although it was inspired by existing patterns. Each page is composed of two rows of four text excerpts and four illuminated roundels, resulting in eight roundels per page. The texts and roundels are arranged in pairs, the upper element of each pair being the biblical paraphrase and illustration, with the accompanying textual and visual interpretation below. Throughout this study, the convention developed by previous art historians for describing the page layout of the Toledo and Oxford Bibles will be followed:

Biblical text A	Biblical text C
Commentary a	Commentary c
Biblical text B	Biblical text D
Commentary b	Commentary d

The Toledo Bible moralisée and its Oxford copy are the most complete of all known Bibles moralisées of the thirteenth century. Although they are both composed of three volumes, they are different in quality: neither the calligraphy nor the rendering of the

⁷ Reiner Hausscherr, *Bible moralisée, Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, and Paris: Club du Livre, 1973).

⁸ Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977).

⁹ Sara Gillian Lipton, *Jews in the commentary text and illustrations of the early thirteenth century Bibles moralisées* (Ph.D Dissertation, New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1991), pp. 1-2.

images is the same. While the three volumes of the Toledo Bible have been kept together,¹⁰ those of the copy are split between Oxford (vol. I, Bodleian Library, Ms.270b), Paris (vol. II, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 11560), and London (vol. III a+b, British Library, Ms. Harley 1526 + 1527). The Toledo version continued to be copied until the fifteenth century, with several replicas ending up in various European libraries.¹¹ The Oxford Bible, however, is from the thirteenth century; it was probably produced fifteen years after Toledo I and III.

The Bible moralisée is one of the largest types of projects ever undertaken by a single manuscript atelier of the Middle Ages. Both the Toledo and Oxford Bibles each have over 600 folios resulting in more than 5000 roundels. Nearly all the books of the Bible are excerpted and commented upon, a labour which Robert Branner described as one of "the most impressive creations of the Middle Ages in sheer size".¹²

The purpose of the commission, supposedly a French royal commission, has never been seriously addressed. The Paris manuscript was brought to attention by Leopold Delisle as the "Bible moralisée de Saint Louis" in his catalogue of the manuscripts of

¹⁰ Until now, all art historians have agreed that the Bible manuscript at the Toledo Cathedral has been there since the thirteenth century. For an unknown reason, the last eight folios of vol. III of the Toledo *Bible*, ff. 191–198, were removed and are at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Morgan 240) since 1906.

¹¹ The exemplars to be mentioned are the two splendid manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fr. 166 (fifteenth century) and Ms. fr. 167 (mid fifteenth century), the Biblia de Osuna, Ms. 10232, B.N., Madrid (late thirteenth century), which were executed after the same pattern than the Toledo *Bible*. Two other copies of French *Bibles moralisées* are in the British Museum, Ms. add. 18719 and 15246 (early fourteenth century).

¹² Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, p. 32.

the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.¹³ Delisle's attribution, which necessarily reflects upon the Toledo Bible, suggests that either the manuscript had been commissioned by Saint Louis himself, or it was commissioned for him. Robert Branner believed that Blanche de Castille, the Spanish mother of Saint Louis, was the patron of this important art work. He based his attribution on Queen Blanche's great interest in illuminated manuscripts, which is documented by several contemporary royal inventories.¹⁴

The young Saint Louis himself owned several illuminated manuscripts, as stated in royal inventories.¹⁵ However, he was not a methodical collector and there is no evidence to suggest that he would have had a reason for commissioning a work of such scope. In a recent discussion, William Voelke proposed an interesting hypothesis which follows and which, until now, has seemed to be the most likely.

The very last folio of the Toledo *Bible*, attached to a folio of the Apocalypse, was long considered to be a frontispiece. In fact, it is a kind of colophon. The plate is horizontally divided in two fields, each field subdivided into two trefoiled arches. In the upper left arch is a crowned queen seated on a throne and in the upper right a young beardless crowned king holding the royal sceptre in his right hand and himself seated on a throne. The Queen has been identified as Blanche de Castille while the young king is supposed to be Saint Louis who ascended the throne of France in 1226, at the age of 12. Being too young and inexperienced to reign, his mother, Blanche de

¹³ See Appendix 3, vol. 2; Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1868-1881), 3 vols. Other studies of the Parisian manuscript include: Alexandre de Ladorde, *Bible moralisée* (1911-1927), II and III, pl. 225-446 and V, pp. 31-34, and Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 49-57, 171-174.

¹⁴ Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵ Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 4-5.

Castille, according to the will of her late husband king Louis VIII, became Regent of the kingdom until Louis came of age in 1234.

The attribution to Blanche de Castille has proven to be right. In the summer of 1993, on one of my trips to Toledo I discovered on the shields of medallion 15(XIIId) the French royal coat of arms, the golden fleur-de-lis on blue background, and the Spanish-Castilian royal coat of arms, the castle with three towers on dark red background. The paired shields suggest a royal marital union between France and Spain-Castille. The only royal couple to fulfill this condition is the French king Louis VIII who married the Spanish princess Blanche de Castille. The same paired coats of arms can be seen in the Chartres rose window in the north transept, and in several stained glass windows at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.

The lower field of the last folio contains two trefoiled arches. On the right, a scribe is leaning over a folio on which the outlines of eight medallions from the manuscript of the Bible moralisée are sketched. In front of him a tonsured theologian-monk, the general supervisor, is giving scriptural advice. The meaning of the representation can be understood if one considers the historical environment of the Parisian court at the time.

The personal manner in which Queen Blanche oversaw the education of her ten children, and in particular that of young Louis, the future king Louis IX of France, whom his contemporaries admired as the ideal Christian knight, has been stressed many times by contemporaries such as Joinville.¹⁷ The young prince's education included acts of charity and piety, as well as military exercises. Like other sons of

¹⁷ Jean de Joinville (1224–1317) was Saint Louis' friend during the seventh crusade in 1248. At the end of the century, he wrote his famous *Memoires*, better known as *Histoire de Saint Louis* (the exact date of the manuscript is unknown).

nobility or royalty, Louis learned to read from the Psalters, Missals and other liturgical books, the Bible then being the foundation of education. Joinville states that Saint Louis could just as easily lead an army as take part in a theological discussion, having an excellent knowledge of Latin. Given this educational environment, William Voelkle thinks that the Bible moralisée should be understood as a royal pedagogical tool, a kind of luxurious study book of the early thirteenth century, ordered by Queen Blanche for the training of her young son, and eventually of his brothers and sisters as well.¹⁸ The colophon thus represents the Queen Mother as the perfect pedagogue.

The composition of the image-colophon is similar to some parisian seals of the same time. The University of Paris used a seal with a central element composed of two main registers: the upper level composed of one trefoiled arch with the crowned Virgin seated in it and holding the infant Jesus on her lap, a fleur-de-lis sceptre in her right hand. She can be considered an iconographical synthesis of both Queen Blanche and the young king Saint Louis from the Toledo Bible colophon. Underneath, a double trefoiled arch with two University professors, confronted and seated in their cathedrae, teaching from a pulpit in front of them. A stylized architecture tops the composition. Unfortunately it is not known when this seal composition appeared.¹⁹

If this commission theory is proven to be correct and the Toledo Bible being ordered for pedagogical reasons, the Bible moralisée of Saint Louis would then belong to the

¹⁸ "Blanche de Castille", in: *Encyclopaedia Universalis* (Paris, 1974), Thesaurus, vol. 18, p. 223; Jean Favier, "Saint Louis", in: *Encyclopaedia Universalis* (Paris, 1972), vol. 14, p. 615-616; Régine Pernoud, *La Reine Blanche* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1972), pp. 184-188; and Robert Branner, "Saint Louis et l'enluminure parisienne au XIII^e siècle", in: *Septième centenaire de la mort de Saint Louis. Actes des Colloques de Royaumont et de Paris, 21-27 mai 1970* (Paris: Editions "Les Belles Lettres", 1976), pp. 69-84.

¹⁹ A similar seal is represented in: Henri-Paul Eydoux, *Saint Louis et son temps* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1971), p. 141.

category of princely or royal pedagogical writings known as *Mirror of Princes*. This tradition has been rich in treatises since Carolingian times; Charlemagne indeed had always been considered the "perfect prince" and the one who elevated the status of pedagogy.²⁰ The tradition continued during the thirteenth century. There are many treatises dealing with princely education around the time of the Bible moralisée, including the *Enseignements de Louis IX*, the *De Eruditione Filiorum Regalium* (or: *Nobilium*) of Vincent de Beauvais (1190–1264), the *Policraticus* by John of Salisbury (+1180), the famous treatise by Gilbert of Tournay (+1284?) *Eruditio Regum et Principum*, and finally the many works by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and Gilles of Rome (1243–1316). The model for all of these treatises was the *De Regimine Principum*, although of an unknown author.²¹ These works are all theoretical treatises settling out pedagogical guidelines for the upbringing of a future king. The Bible moralisée, on the other hand, is only a tool which might have been used in the application of one of these theories, in which the young prince would learn Latin, then the biblical text and how it should be understood.

This theory about the patronage of the Toledo Bible was proven during my trip to Toledo in the summer of 1993, when I discovered several tiny shields hanging from the two floors of the tower of medallion 14(XIIIA), in front of which Sponsus and Sponsa are standing. The shields, of two kinds, bore on one side the coat of arms of France (the three golden fleur-de-lis on azure background) and on the other the coat

²⁰ Charlemagne asked indeed erudites such as Alcuin (735–804), Peter of Pisa (+799), Saint Paulin of Aquileia (730–802), Paul Diacre (720–799) to teach at the school of Aix-la-Chapelle. See Dora M. Bell, *L'idéal éthique de la royauté en France au Moyen Age* (Genève: Librairie E. Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard, 1962), p. 9.

²¹ Dora E. Bell, *Ethique de la Royauté*, pp. 13, 29–60. The large iconographical system was supposed to help him memorize his lessons. Further information on the medieval pedagogical theoreticians is given in Wolfgang Buchwald, Armin Hohlweg, and Otto Prinz, *Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Bruxelles: Brepols, 1991).

of arms of Castille (the stylized small castle on dark red background), thereby erasing all doubt in regard to the patron, who must have been a member of the French royalty, either King Louis VIII or King Louis IX, and a Spanish personality, Queen Blanche de Castille. The principle of using the double royal coats of arms appears again in the rose window at the north transept at Chartres, and at the Sainte-Chapelle. The presence of the Castilian crest, next to the French, underlines the importance of Blanche de Castille's role as a royal patron.²²

Unfortunately, although these coats of arms determine the patron, they do not shed light on the date, since Blanche de Castille stamped her arms until her death in 1252. The only element helping to give a precise date is the image-colophon of the last leaf at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, representing Queen Blanche and the young king Saint Louis. The king is shown beardless, meaning he is legally still a minor, which was the case until 1234, the official final year of Queen Blanche's regency. The commission of the Toledo Bible should therefore be dated before 1234.²³ The realization, as it will be mentioned later, will extend until 1240.

With its three volumes and numerous medallions, the Toledo Bible was truly a major undertaking. One wonders how and where such an ambitious project could have been

²² Patrons putting their coat of arms on medieval works of art is already a common fact in the early thirteenth century. Chartres cathedral mentioned for the French royal armcrests, shows in its stained glass windows the coat of arms of several other noble persons or families: Pierre Mauclerc and his wife Alix de Thouars; Thibault VI count of Chartres; a king of Castille; chancellor Robert de Bérou; Philippe count of Boulogne; Mahaut countess of Boulogne; Jeanne, daughter of Philippe of Boulogne; the families of Dreux-Bretagne, de Bouchard de Marly, de Beaumont, de Courtenay, and many others. See: Yves Delaporte, *La cathédrale de Chartres*, pl. XLIV, XLVIII, colour pl. IX, CXC VII, CXC VIII, XCV, CXXXIII, CXLIX, CL, CLII.

²³ Henri-Paul Eydoux, *Saint Louis et son temps* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1971), p. 141.

realized. Which scriptorium accomplished such a colossal enterprise? Who was the master-coordinator? How and with whom did he work? It is accepted today that this enormous work could not have been realized in a monastic scriptorium,²⁴ but was probably the product of one of the new private secular workshops founded around the University of Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth century to serve both professors and students, and the rich clientele with refined taste who always evolved around these ateliers. A monastic workshop might have been able to conceive and realize the text of the Bible moralisée, biblical texts not presenting any difficulties to theologians, however, they would have encountered problems organizing the illumination of the medallions.

Of the 117 verses in the *Song of Solomon*, which is the subject of this study, 110 were retained and illustrated. The seven verses left out were duplicates. The *Song of Solomon* is therefore the most heavily illustrated book of the Bible moralisée, in both the Toledo and Oxford manuscripts. Indeed, composed only of eight chapters, the *Song of Songs* is illustrated by 220 medallions, eight more than the book of Genesis which has fifty one chapters (or 1525 verses). For further comparison, the book of Exodus has 264 medallions for forty chapters (or 1208 verses), the first two books of Samuel have respectively 128 and 88 medallions for thirty and twenty-four chapters. This privileged treatment of the *Song* corresponds to the favorable cultural environment of the time.

²⁴ Monastic scriptoria were run by a few scribes, the largest number being between four to six. According to Robert Branner's study, the Toledo Bible was illuminated by about twenty one "hands", or artists, a number with which no monastery could compete. An undertaking such as this Bible also needed a division of labour which could not exist in a monastic scriptorium: there were specialists for the general layout, for the heads, others for the folds and the costumes, others again for architectural details, and another for ornamental details inbetween the medallions. See Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 156-177 and Christopher de Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen. Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum, 1992), pp. 4-5.

1. 2. Paris, the cultural environment of the Bible moralisée

The city of Paris, where this manuscript was realized, was a dynamic centre in politics, finance, sciences, and in ecclesiastical matters. It was already a blossoming art center at the time of King Philippe II Auguste (1165–1223, reigned: 1180–1223). As an important milestone, Notre-Dame cathedral's choir was completed in 1177. Paris was also the centre of a rich and refined royal, aristocratic and bourgeois society which was strongly supportive of the arts. The city had numerous workshops producing illuminated manuscripts, ivories, embroideries, tapestries, jewelry and liturgical utensils, even cameos and gems engraved *all' antico*.²⁵ It could also boast of being home to an important Renaissance of ancient Latin and Greek studies at this time.

At the end of the twelfth century, Paris had a dense network of famous cathedral and monastic schools, making the city famous throughout Europe. It became even more important after the foundation of the University around 1210. The numerous episcopal schools then located on the Ile de la Cité were being challenged by new institutions which established themselves in the neighbourhood of famous abbeys on the left bank, such as the abbeys of Saint-Victor and Sainte-Geneviève. The new University was also established on the left bank, adding to the intense activity in this commercial sector of the city which was later to become the intellectual centre of Paris. Soon, as never before, there was a dense population of professors and students in this part of the city which was known as the "Quartier Latin".

²⁵ Robert Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1965, 1985), p. 5 – *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris: XIIIe siècle. Le livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau*. Publ. by René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879).

The intellectual agglomeration attracted new monasteries and abbeys in an increasing number at the beginning of the thirteenth century, in particular the recent foundations of the Jacobins (Dominicans) and the Cordeliers (Franciscans). Thanks to the many teaching institutions, including the University, Paris reached such intellectual fame that it became fashionable for the European intelligentsia to meet there, or at least to send their sons there to study. Teachers of theology such as Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus and William of Saint-Amour, attracted large crowds of students from every corner of the continent.²⁵

The intellectual activity in Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth century was intense, with the brightest professors teaching there. Of all the university faculties, theology was the most renowned.²⁶ Text criticism, translations, exegesis, philosophy, especially neo-platonism, comparative studies between ancient Greek philosophy and biblical philosophy, among other fields, were the preoccupations of these intellectuals. The University of Paris also published a new version of the Bible at this time,²⁷ confirming the interest in biblical matters.

²⁵ Robert Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style*, p. 5. On the religious and intellectual life in Paris in the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, see: "La vie religieuse et intellectuelle" in: Jacques Boussard, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris. De la fin du siècle de 885-886 à la mort de Philippe Auguste* (Paris: Diffusion Hachette, 1976), pp. 197-225.

²⁶ Among the most brilliant teachers in theology, we should mention Robert de Courson (1160-1219), Pierre le Chantre (-1197), Alexander of Neckham (1157-1217), Stephen Langton (1150-1228), Petrus Comestor (1100-1179), Robert Grosseteste (ca.1168-1253), Amaury de Bène (-1206), John of Salisbury (1110-1180), Albertus Magnus (1206-1280). See John J. Dalaney and James Edward Tobin, *Dictionary of Catholic Biography*, London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1962.

²⁷ Boussard, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris*, pp. 335-355 and Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 2-3.

The growth of the intellectual community is significant because it created an ever increasing need for books for both students and professors, resulting in an unprecedented growth of scriptoria. While the previous workshops were all monastic, or belonged to Notre-Dame Cathedral, the new ones were private ateliers or were run by the University. More than any other centre, Paris also was well equipped theologically to write accurate commentary texts thanks to its unique and extremely rich religious and theological infrastructure.

Paris was becoming the cradle of new artistic trends, architectural and pictorial as well, some of them being truly revolutionary. The Bible moralisée belongs to these "nouveauautés" and must be considered as one of the Parisian masterpieces of the time, at least one of those Summa typical of the scholastic Middle Ages.

1. 3. the Song of Solomon

The unprecedented scale of the Bible moralisée should be viewed within the wider cultural context of Paris in the early thirteenth century, when theology was the most important science, and within the intellectual environment of the University. Furthermore, the increasing interest in the *Song of Solomon* within the European, and especially the Parisian, spiritual and cultural spheres corresponds to changes in lifestyle, to the emphasis on new theological concepts, and to the impact of new literary movements. At the time of the Bible moralisée, the *Song of Songs* enjoyed a very special status as the only biblical book capturing the interest of the secular world.²⁹

²⁹ Ohly, *Hohelied Studium*, p. 296.

The *Song of Solomon* has been included in the biblical canon since the Hebraic Bible. It was classified among the Sapiential Books and has always been considered one of the Solomonian books.³⁰ A work of profane love literature, without the slightest mention of God, its presence in the scriptural canon has been questioned since early times. The book is based on alternating poems and verses, without a rigorous plan or a precise theological meaning. It is a collection of songs and poems, some of them composed by skilled poets³¹ for the use of wedding celebrations and therefore of pure human origin. The *Song* illustrates the love celebration of a couple, a man and a woman, the Beloved and the Bride, who, throughout the eight chapters of the book, are searching for and finding each other, losing each other and coming together again.

This type of love poem or song does not exist as such anywhere else, although it cannot have been a new form since the Bible itself gives indications of marriage celebrations in which songs must have had an important role. For example, when Jacob took Lea and Rachel for his wives, the celebration lasted a week³² and when Samson married the daughter of the Philistines, the wedding again took a week.³³ Love poems must have been written for these celebrations.

The title of the poem, *Shir-haShirim*, the best *Song* of all, proves that before being put together as a biblical book, some parts of the text must have had a function

³⁰ *The Bible de Jerusalem. Introduction au Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961), p. 856.

³¹ Siegfried Schott, *Les chants d'amour de l'Egypte ancienne*, translated from the German by Paule Krieger (Paris: Librairie A. Maisonneuve, 1956); Michael V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the ancient Egyptian love songs* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

³² Gen. 29:16–28

³³ Judges 14:10–18

outside of the biblical canon and the ritual of the Temple of Jerusalem. Similar ritual songs are recorded in the book of the Psalms. The only biblical text which refers to a nuptial festivity in which the bridegroom is a true prince, is Psalm 45, also known as the *Royal Epithalamium*. This beautiful text can only be the work of a refined poet.³³

The interpretation of the Song varies considerably among different exegetes. Some theologians, such as Theodor of Mopsuestia (350–428), or centuries later Ernest Renan (1823–1892), both of whom the Church judged to be heretical, saw this biblical book as entirely worldly, a purely human and a passionate love poem included by mistake in the biblical canon.³⁴ For these writers, the Song's intrinsic symbolism and formal beauty is the only reason it was added in the Bible; the allegorical justifications came much later when the Synagogue and the Church had lost their humane dimension.³⁵

The main characters in the *Song* are two lovers, a man and a woman, who seek each other ardently and who passionately declare their love for each other. They come together and are separated again before a final ordeal in which the Bride triumphs, leading in to the final mutual possession. All interpretations in both Jewish and Christian traditions gravitate around this couple, the focal point of the present research.

From the earliest times, since the composition of the *Song* in the sixth or the fifth centuries B.C., the poem has been the pretext for many interpretations. In the original Jewish tradition, the love between the Bride and the Bridegroom was understood as a

³³ " Le Cantique des Cantiques", in: *Introduction à la Bible*, I, Edition André Robert and André Feuillet (Tournai, Belgique: Desclée & Co.), pp. 656–657.

³⁴ Ernest Renan, *Le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris: Editions Aléa, 1990), pp. 92–114.

³⁵ Blaise Arminjon, *La Cantate de l'Amour. Lecture suivie du Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, Bellarmin, 1983), pp. 30–31 and J.P. Sandoz, "Cantique des Cantiques", in: *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, 3 (Paris, 1968), pp. 887–888.

religious reality, as the love between God and Israel, or God and the human soul.³⁷ Yahwe-God was the Sponsus or Bridegroom loving Sponsa-Israel. The *Song* has never been seen as a frivolous pastoral love story or a simple matrimonial union: its interpretation could only be spiritual.

The Christian interpretation is deeply rooted in the Jewish tradition, although there is no formal quotation from the *Song* in the New Testament. For the young Christian communities, the Hebrew literature was at the same time their Christian literature. They saw themselves as both the Church of Christ and as Israel, although they were the Israel of the new covenant. The Jewish and Christian matrimonial tradition is best seen in Paul's description of the love between Christ and the Church which is an allegory of the love between a husband and his wife.³⁸

Origen (ca. 185 – ca. 252/254), the creator of Christian allegory, which he based on his interpretation of the *Song*, simply used Paul's interpretation and made it an integral part of the Christian exegetical tradition which continued through the nineteenth century until today.³⁹ In Origen's interpretation, the two partners of this mystical matrimony are no longer God and Israel, but Christ and the Church, or Christ and the human soul.⁴⁰ Through Christianity, the *Song* entered into a new exegetic life with an unprecedented impact on visual arts and literature.

³⁷ Arminjon, *La Cantate de l'Amour*, p. 34; André Chouraqui, *Introduction au Poème des Poèmes* (Paris: La Bible, DDB, 1975), p. 27.

³⁸ Eph. 5:21–33 is the fundamental text on which all of the later interpretations and allegories are based.

³⁹ Origène, *Homélie sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, Introduction, traduction et notes de Dom Olivier Rousseau, o.s.b. (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1966), pp. 10–13.

⁴⁰ André Robert and André Feuillet, *Introduction à la Bible*, I, p. 659; Philippe Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, pp. 91–92.

Origen and several other Church Fathers established the Christian conception of the allegory of Sponsus-Sponsa in the Song which evolved as a literary and theological concept within the Western Church and its civilization. Until the thirteenth century, many of the Latin theologians who studied and interpreted the *Song* followed in the footsteps of Origen. The Carolingian Renaissance, for example, produced several excellent commentators.⁴¹ However, it was during the Carolingian period that the interpretation of the Song adopted a definite ecclesiological point of view,⁴² which is still dominant in the Bible moralisée, especially under the influence of Beda Venerabilis.

The textual interpretation of the Bible was elaborated during the third century A.D. in Alexandria, then a city of rich Jewish culture combined with an equally fertile Hellenistic culture. From early Christianity until the Middle Ages the biblical text was understood on two levels, the *sensus literalis*, and the *sensus spiritualis*, which together form the allegory.⁴³ Origen, although not the first Church Father to have studied the *Song*, was deeply involved in establishing a broader and a more complete interpretation system of the Old Testament, especially for the *Song*. Origen, surely referring to an existing tradition, saw a triple sense in the Scriptures: the *literal sense*,

⁴¹ Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604), the last Church Father or the first medieval theologian, Isidore of Seville (died 636), one of the authors of the famous "Glossa Ordinaria", Walafrid Strabo (died 849), an even more important co-author of the "Glossa", Beda Venerabilis (died 735) were some of the prominent followers of the Church Fathers in the interpretation of the Song. See Ohly, *Hohelied Studium*, pp. 66–68.

⁴² Philippe Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, p. 92; Edgar de Bruyne, *Etudes d'esthétique médiévale. III. Livre IV, Le XIIIe siècle*, Bruges: "De Tempel", 1946, pp. 30–71.

⁴³ Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Ecriture* (Paris, 1959–1964).

the *moral sense* and the *mystical sense*.⁴³ The first sense is the literal interpretation, which is what the reader directly understands from the text. It is sometimes called the historical interpretation. The second is the tropological or, in modern understanding, the moral interpretation: what the text morally means to the faith of the reader. The tropological sense is one of the most common aspects, especially in the Bible moralisée but also in medieval art in general. The third is the allegorical, typological, or moralized interpretation: what the text "figures" or "prefigures", especially referring to the relationship between the Old Testament and its prefiguration of the New.

Origen thus laid the foundations for the interpretation of essential theological concepts such as "Christ and Ecclesia", the "Bride and the Bridegroom", the "Word and the Soul", all figures belonging to the *Song* or to its interpretation⁴⁴ and is thus considered the founder of Christian allegory.

While Origen's interpretation is limited to the three senses described above, other commentators describe four. However, Origen's theory remains the most important. In the present study of the Bible moralisée, the fourth sense should also be included. It is the anagogical, or mystical interpretation. It explains how the faithful must live and behave according to the teaching of the text, and what spiritual lesson he should draw from it to enter Paradise, hence the name "Bible moralisée".

These four interpretative senses are mentioned for the first time in the introduction of a French XVth century Bible moralisée manuscript, now in Vienna:

⁴³ Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France. Etude sur l'iconographie du Moyen Age et ses sources d'inspiration* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1948. Livre de Poche Reprint, 1988), p. 272.

⁴⁴ Origène, *Homélie sur le Cantique des Cantique*, pp. 10–13 (see also note 38).

Comment la sainte escripture se peut exposer en quatre manières. La Sainte escripture se peut par quatre manières exposer, premierement selon la lettre et selon l'histoire. Secondement selon lalegorie cest adire selon la foy et selon les choses que nous devons croire. Tiercement selon lanagogie cest adire en appliquant la sainte escripture aux biens de paradis lesquels nous attendonz et desquels nous devons avoir esperance. La quatrieme maniere si est selon la tropologie cest adire quant la sainte escripture est appliquee aux bonnes meurs a linstruction de bonne vie et selon cestes IIII manieres entent le translateur de ce present livre proceder cest assavoir de raconter en brieuves parolles toutes les hystoires que sont contenues en la bible et sur chascune mettre assez brieves moralitez concordans aux hystoires procedans selon les docteurs de la sainte escripture et theologie en la noble universite de Paris.⁴⁵

A well known medieval Latin distich, mentioned by Emile Mâle, better summarizes this common theory:

*Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.*⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Hans-Walter Storck, *Die Wiener französische Bible moralisée Codex 2554 der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (St. Ingbert: Werner J. Roehrig Verlag, 1992), pp. 24–25; London, British Library, Add. 15248, ff. 1v–2r:

"How the Holy Scripture can be interpreted in four manners. The Holy Scripture can be interpreted in four manners, first according to the letter and to the history. Secondly according to the allegory, that is to say according to the faith and the things we should believe. Third, according to the anagogy, that is to say that the Holy Scripture has to be applied to the things relied to the paradise which we await and from which comes our hope. The fourth manner is according to the tropology, that is to say that the Holy Scripture should be applied to the good morals, to the instruction of a good life, and to charity and to the manners. The translator (or the scribe) can follow these four manners of interpretation. That is to say he should know to tell in few words all the stories of the Holy Scripture, and the same he should know how to draw a short moralization according to these stories. He should proceed in accordance with the Doctors and the Holy Scripture and the Theologians of the noble University of Paris".

⁴⁶ Emile Mâle, *l'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, p. 338 note 28. Trans.: the letter teaches what has happened, the allegory what to believe, the moral sense what to do, the anagogy what to long for.

These interpretation principles survive without any changes until the thirteenth century. Bonaventura (1217–1274) confirms and clarifies in his treatise *De reductione artium ad theologiam* what the Church Fathers had established:

*All biblical books, next to the literal sense, contain three more senses: the allegorical sense which teaches what should be believed about God and humanity; the moral sense which teaches us how to behave in our life; and the anagogical sense which teaches us how to reach and to belong to God.*⁴⁷

The following table, with the example of Jerusalem and Sponsa, will try to explain in the clearest way possible the principle of medieval biblical interpretation:

. literal sense:

Jerusalem is the city in Palestine, capital of the state of Israel.

Sponsa is the Bride of the Song of Solomon.

. allegorical sense:

Jerusalem prefigures Ecclesia militans.

Sponsa is Christ's Bride, Ecclesia.

. tropological sense:

the human soul is Jerusalem, the city loved by God.

the human soul becomes part of Sponsa–Ecclesia.

. anagogical sense:

the celestial, or the eschatological Jerusalem where the faithful should enter.

the human soul enters the heavenly Sponsa–Ecclesia.

1. 4. the *Song of Solomon* in the medieval context

The *Song of Solomon* was indeed the most popular book of the Bible during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Some of the reasons lay within the Church, its

⁴⁷ Storck, *Bible moralisée*, (1992), pp. 5–6.

theology and its text interpretations, however, its popularity was primarily the result of the spirit of the time. The elite literary circles and the upper class were smitten with the spirit and acts of chivalry, courtly love and gallantry. The position of women in society was also a preoccupation within these circles, according to Regine Pernoud's many studies on women in medieval times.⁴⁸ There is an abundance of literature which illustrates the unprecedented respect granted to the woman in the role of Muse.

Besides the numerous love songs and the poems of the troubadours, the two prominent literary monuments are Tristan and Yseut,⁴⁹ and the Roman de la Rose,⁵⁰ both basic texts of the courtly love tradition in Western Europe and especially in France. The theme of the *Song* with its focus on love could easily fit in the courtly love spirit of the twelfth century.⁵¹

On the theological level, love is again the most prominent motif during the twelfth century; Christ's affection for the human soul and Ecclesia, and God's endearment for the young Virgin Mary. Love becomes a pattern which is found in literature, theology and the arts; the *Song* and its spirit embraced and enhanced this new cultural ambience.

⁴⁸ Régine Pernoud, *La femme au temps des cathédrales* (Paris: Editions Stock, 1980); *Aliénor d'Aquitaine* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1966); *La Reine Blanche* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1972) and *Héloïse et Abélard* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1970).

⁴⁹ A celtic love legend originating in Brittany and one of the most important literary cycles of the Middle Ages. The first known texts date from the late twelfth century.

⁵⁰ The Roman de la Rose is considered the medieval monument of love allegory. Although composed between 1230 and 1275, its sources are much earlier.

⁵¹ Ohly, *Hohelied Studium*, pp. 294–296.

The twelfth century proved to be the most prolific period for the *Song's* interpretation, in both quantity and quality. Though of variable quality, more interpretations of the *Song* were written in this century than in the previous thousand years.⁵² The twelfth century was also a time of renewed approach to the understanding and exegesis of the *Song*. Indeed, although the mariological dimension had been latent since Saint Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (340–397), no commentary gave it serious credit before the twelfth century. During that century more than thirty interpretations were written; those by Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1070 – 1129)⁵³ and Hugh of Saint-Victor (late 11th century – 1141) in particular renewed the conception of the *Song* by orienting it towards mariology.⁵⁴

Honorius Augustodunensis (ca. 1090 – ca. 1156), also known as Honorius of Regensburg, is another theologian whose commentary on the *Song* cannot be ignored: his speculations about Mary the Bride were already famous in his own time.⁵⁵ Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) did not compose a commentary as such, but interpreted the *Song of Solomon* in eighty six sermons.⁵⁶ For Bernard the *Song* was a book of spiritual love, the Bride being the human soul, or the Ecclesia. The Virgin Mary as the Bride appeared in his monastic liturgy but rarely in his textual interpretations.

⁵² Ohly, *Hohelied Studium*, p. 7.

⁵³ Rupert of Deutz' commentary of the *Song* is structured in seven books known under the title *De incarnatione Domini*. See Ohly, *Hohelied Studium*, pp. 125–134.

⁵⁴ Ohly, *ibid*, pp. 217–220.

⁵⁵ Ohly, *ibid*, pp. 251–256.

⁵⁶ Ohly, *ibid*, pp. 136–154.

These three exegeses have a common characteristic in their mariological orientation which is entirely typical of the twelfth century. The Virgin Mary is, or becomes the *Sponsa Dei*, or the *Sponsa Christi*.⁵⁷ Most surprisingly, the Bible moralisée totally ignores this aspect, which was so prominent in contemporary theology: it does not appear once in either the commentary texts of the *Song* or in the iconography.

The thirteenth century, however, did use what the previous centuries had created, as several *Mirrors of Princes* attest. Vincent of Beauvais (1190–1264), for example, in his *De Eruditione Filiorum Regaliorum* mentioned that the *Song of Solomon* deserves the greatest care possible in heightening its allegorical interpretation for the perfect understanding of the student, since the student is only allowed to read the book as an allegorical interpretation:

"Let her (the girl student) learn first the Psalter and let her take some time off with these songs and let her learn of life in the Proverbs of Solomon.... When she has made the storehouse of her mind rich with these pleasures, let her commit to memory Prophets, Heptateuch, book of Kings and Chronicles, and rolls of Ezra and Esther as that finally she may read the *Song of Songs* without danger. If she read it at the start, she might be harmed by not realizing that it was a wedding song expressed in carnal language".⁵⁸

Vincent de Beauvais addressed his treatise to the sons and daughters of the highest nobility. Some declare that it had been written for the young king Saint Louis at the

⁵⁷ Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, p. 144.

⁵⁸ Rosemary Barton Tobin, *Vincent of Beauvais' "De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium", The Education of Women* (New York, Berne, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 1984), pp. 53–57.

abbey of Royaumont near Paris, or at the king's request. There is no other justification needed for the *Song's* preeminence in the early XIIIth century.

This active tradition of commenting on the *Song of Solomon* ceased almost completely around 1200. The exegetical tradition appears to be interrupted although the book's influence on medieval art, especially in the thirteenth century, continues unabated. Indeed, biblical text interpretation had a considerable influence in medieval art, especially the allegorical interpretation also known as "typology". The art historian Karl Künstle has given one of the best definitions of typology:

As a type, or a prefiguration, in an art historical concept, we should understand a person, an object or an event of the Old Testament which prefigures Christ and His Redemption through the understanding of the New Testament, or of later exegetes and Church Fathers. It is mandatory that the (iconographical) type from the Old Testament be placed next to its New Testament counterpart.⁵⁹

However, typology was not exclusively limited to biblical texts: Homer, Virgil and Ovid were also interpreted in the allegorical sense.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1: *Allgemeine Ikongraphie* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1928), p. 83; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikongraphie*, 4, col. 395; Hans Martin von Erffa, *Ikongologie der Genesis: die christliche Bildthemen aus dem Alten Testament und ihre Quellen* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1989); Hartmut Freytag, *Die Theorie der allegorischen Schriftdeutung und die Allegorie in deutschen Texten, besonders des 11. und 12. Jahrh.* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1982); Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965) and Jon Whitman, *Allegory: the dynamics of an ancient and medieval technique* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

⁶⁰ P. Heinisch, "Der Einfluss Philos auf die älteste christliche Exegese (Barnabas, Justin und Clemens von Alexandria). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der allegorisch-mystischen Schriftauslegung im christlichen Altertum", in: *Alttestamentlichen Abhandlungen*, Heft 1/2, (Münster, 1908).

The principle of typology in the visual arts has strong roots in the Middle Ages. Abbot Suger, of Saint-Denis, created several typological art works which are among the predecessors of the Bible moralisée: his "anagogical stained glass window", and the monumental cross (realized in 1144) are only two illustrations of this theological system applied to the arts.⁶²

The Altar by Nicholas of Verdun in the abbey church of Klosterneuburg near Vienna, Austria, dated 1181, is an exceptional major art work illustrating the use of the typological system before the thirteenth century. The organization of this unique ensemble is based on Saint Augustine's division of the history of the Redemption into the time before the Law, *ante legem*, the time after the Law, *sub lege*, and the time of God's grace through the birth of Jesus Christ, *sub gratia*.

The Altar includes one scene related to the *Song of Solomon*; the Queen of Sheba visiting King Solomon. The scene is completed by two pendants, Abraham and Melchizedek, and the three Magi, corresponding to the previous triple historical subdivision. Melchizedek, the king-priest, is another prefiguration of Christ in the Old Testament, as is King Solomon. Abraham grants adoration to Christ through his offerings, and at the same time is the symbol of Ecclesia. The Magi parallel Abraham; they too grant offerings to Christ. Finally, the Queen of Sheba is a type of the Magi since she grants offerings to King Solomon, the prefiguration of Christ. The Magi and the Queen of Sheba are also types of Ecclesia, *Ecclesia ex gentibus*.⁶³ The Queen of

⁶² Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger, on the Abbey church of Saint-Denis and its art treasures*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979, pl. 23. See also Louis Grodecki, "Les Vitraux allégoriques de Saint-Denis", in: *Art de France* 1, 1961.

⁶³ Floridus Roehrig, *Der Verduner Altar* (Klosterneuburg: Stift Klosterneuburg, 1955), pp. 66-68, fig. I/4, II/4, III/4.

Sheba has indeed always been seen as an allegory of Sponsa, and, by extension, of Ecclesia.⁶⁴ Thus the three levels of typological interpretation appear as follows:

- . *ante legem*: Abraham and Melchizedek
- . *sub lege*: Solomon and the Queen of Sheba
- . *sub gratia*: the three Magi before the infant Christ

The manuscripts of the Bible moralisée are the first to utilise visual and textual typological representations in richly illuminated codices. The only precedent manuscript is the *Pictor in carmine*, a kind of model book from around 1200 which was written for painters who decorated churches with biblical scenes. From the 440 themes, or tituli, recorded, 138 are dedicated to the New Testament. A concordance lists the types in the Old Testament and places them in parallel with corresponding events of the New.⁶⁵

Closer in date to the Bible moralisée, the chalice from Freiburg-im-Breisgau, dating around 1235, at the Cloisters at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, has four typological relief medallions adorning its foot: Moses and the burning bush, Aaron's budding rod, Noah's ark, and the serpent of Brass. Each scene was provided with an inscription referring to the corresponding New Testament scene: the Annunciation to Mary, the birth of Christ, and the baptism and crucifixion.

It should be noted that not all texts allowed for a triple interpretation. Origen, for example, frequently refused the literal interpretation, the *sensus literalis*. For Origen, as for many of the Church Fathers who followed after him, the substance of God's

⁶⁴ Ursula Mielke, "Saba, Königin von", in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col. 1-3.

⁶⁵ James Montague Rhodes, "Pictor in Carmine", in: *Archaeologia* (94, London, 1951), pp. 141-166.

word, the "spiritual food", is hidden behind the written word. The written word is a pretext to allegory, anagogy, or tropology. The same rule counts for the images of the *Song of Solomon*.

Theologically, the Bible moralisée corresponds entirely to Origen's interpretation in both texts and images. It is the best and most complete illustration of medieval iconographical typology, since the compilers of the Bible moralisée used typology as an indispensable tool for gathering and composing images. In their work the compilers conformed strictly to the principle of typology and adhered to the rules defined centuries ago by the Church Fathers. Thus, for example, Christ's crucifixion and the following entombment have several prefigurations in the Old Testament: Jonah in the belly of the whale; Daniel in the lion's den; the three young men in the burning furnace; Noah in his ark and Isaac on the sacrificial altar. The task of the Bible moralisée compilers was to find and match, as closely as possible, texts to images. They could refer to the many monumental texts of the Christian tradition, as far back as Antiquity,⁶⁶ or better they still could use the *Concordantiae veteris et novi testamenti*.⁶⁷

The Bible moralisée not only needs a scriptorial deciphering, but also an iconographical decrypting. The purpose of this study is to decipher some of these mysteries, the relationship of Christ and Ecclesia being only one among many.

⁶⁶ Peter Bloch, "Typologie", in: *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col. 396; Hans-Walter Storck, *Bible moralisée*, (1992), p. 8; E. Stommel, "Beitraege zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik", *Theophaneia*, 10, (Berlin, 1954); André Grabar, *Le Premier Art Chrétien*, 200-395, coll. *l'Univers des Formes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), pp. 239-278; and Beda Venerabilis, *Vita beatorum abbatum Voremuthensium et Givernensium*, Migne, PL 94, 720.

⁶⁷ Ernst Guldán, *Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz, Köln: Verlag Hermann Boehlaus Nachf., 1966), pp. 47, 176.

1. 5. Ecclesia-Sponsa in the *Song of Solomon*.

The medieval iconography of the *Song of Solomon* referred to three symbolical or allegorical Sponsa interpretations, Ecclesia-Sponsa, Maria-Sponsa and Anima-Sponsa, based on the commentary tradition as previously analyzed. Ecclesia-Sponsa was by far the most popular iconographical theme in the medieval theology and in the Bible moralisée. The reason for the dominance in the *Song of Solomon* and in the Bible moralisée lies with the expanding tradition of the medieval Church, then -- at the beginning of the thirteenth century -- firmly entrenched in the old structure of the Roman Empire, using the same pomp and surrounding herself with elaborate symbolism, allegories, texts, literature, music and architecture to make the Church more visible and glorious.⁶⁷

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the allegory of love between Sponsus and Sponsa, the Bride and the Bridegroom of the Song, was interpreted as the mystical wedding between Christ and Ecclesia, or the human soul, as first established by Hippolyte of Rome and later Origen. In the Bible moralisée, Ecclesia is more than ever the allegory of the Bride, however, her symbolical meaning has changed since Carolingian times. From a humble woman invested with a liturgical and a sacramental function of the gathering of the blood of the crucified Christ, she became a proud queen, crowned and triumphant. The concept of the royal Ecclesia apparently took

⁶⁷ The reasons for Ecclesia's omnipresence in many of the interpretations of the XIIth and XIIIth century are numerous, one of them being the importance of the Church of Rome as the only true Church existing on earth. At that time, she reached her first apogee in temporal power and in spiritual, intellectual and artistic radiation. The Investiture Struggle between the Pope and the German Emperor, ending with the Concordate of Worms in 1122, further emphasized the power of the Roman Church. (Thérel, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 118-119).

over from mariological interpretations of the *Song* going back to Carolingian times,⁶⁸ however, the commentators of the 12th century usually transferred Ecclesia's characteristics to Mary. At that time, both concepts became parallel in their theological significance and allegorical interpretation. Nonetheless, another reason of royal Ecclesia's frequent presence and preeminence in both the *Song* and the Bible moralisée might be the unprecedented importance and power of the French royalty during the thirteenth century. Just as the façade of Notre Dame cathedral in Paris, the stained glass windows of Chartres cathedral, or the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, the Bible moralisée can be understood as an iconographical homage to French royalty. As the kings of Judah on Notre-Dame cathedral's façade in Paris prefigure French royalty, likewise Ecclesia could be an allegory of French royalty.

The French king paid homage to the Church as an institution and as a theological concept, for example at the coronation at Reims. Knowing the obedience and the devotion of French royalty, especially of Blanche de Castille and Saint Louis, to the Pope, the Bible moralisée seems more to be an exaltation of the Church of Rome, rather than of Ecclesia and of the Virgin Mary. The French king and French royalty are *intra Ecclesiam*, in the Church. The French king's royalty is an image of Christ's royalty. The king is invested with royalty, which is also spiritual, through the Church.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Paschase Radbert (ca.790–ca.865), in his sermon *Cogitis me* on the Song, describes Mary's triumph as a bride admitted to be seated on the throne next to her royal bridegroom. He cites especially Ct. 2:11; 3:6; 4:12,15; 5:17; 6:9. See Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 140–141, note 392.

⁶⁹ Yves Congar, "L'Eglise et l'Etat sous le règne de Saint Louis", in: *Actes des Colloques de Royaumont et de Paris*, pp. 257–271.

2. *Sponsus-Sponsa* in the *Song of Solomon* of the Bible Moralisée

Comparative study of miniatures and texts

This chapter analyses the iconography of the biblical and the commentary medallions, specifically those roundels representing Christus-Ecclesia as a couple. The text of the Oxford Bible is used here, since systematic photographing of the Toledo Bible has not been allowed since 1936.¹ The much more recent photographs of the Parisian Bible moralisée were easily available. They proved to be excellent working documents.

In the Bible moralisée text and image are a conceptual unit. Such a systematic combination of text and image is uncommon in medieval art. It is therefore essential to transcribe and translate the biblical and interpretative texts.

The analysis begins with a description of each medallion. Whenever possible, the original context of each representation will be indicated and studied. The study is not exhaustive being limited to the theme of the couple Sponsus-Sponsa and Christus-Ecclesia: the systematic analysis of all 220 miniatures of the *Song* would have distracted attention from the chosen theme. The focus on "Sponsus-Sponsa/Christus-Ecclesia" limits the study to twenty-seven pairs, or fifty-four medallions, a fourth of the interpretation medallions. This number of images is sufficient to allow thorough research and comparison with other motifs of the same iconographical tradition such as stained glass windows, other miniatures, enamels and sculptural programmes.

The material in this chapter is presented in the form of a catalogue, with one entry for each pair of texts and roundels to be analysed. The first line of each entry gives the

¹ A complete set of black and white photos of the Toledo Bible moralisée from 1936 exists at Columbia University, New York. They were gathered by the late Robert Branner and hidden away after his death in a storage room in the attic of the University. I only discovered them a year and a half ago.

title of the type (the theme of the medallion illustrating the Ancient Testament text) and of the anti-type (the allegorical theme of the medallion illustrating the commentary text), to provide an overview of the theme.

Next, the Latin text of the Bible is transcribed and translated, followed by a description of the corresponding medallion. Then, the Latin text of the commentary is transcribed and translated, followed by a description of its medallion.

Finally, an iconographical interpretation, or a kind of concordance, stresses the typology of the two medallions and explains the textual and the iconographical relationship between each pair. This relationship is commonly based on the allegory principle.

2.1. Descriptions and interpretations of miniatures.

The Toledo and the Oxford Bibles are the only manuscripts of the thirteenth-century Bibles moralisées to include the *Song of Solomon*. The *Song* is found in the second volume of each Bible, folios 66 to 93. Each volume, Toledo II and Oxford-Paris, is composed of the biblical books of Job to Malachi, according to the Vulgata version.

The page, or the folio organization has already been explained in the introduction. The numbering, however, starts with the first folio of the *Song*, therefore folio 66 is plate I as indicated. The biblical texts and the corresponding medallions for each plate are indicated at the beginning of each selected pair.

"I: f. 66 – Ct. 1:3" is a reference to Plate I, folio 66 of the Bible, which illustrates the third verse in chapter one of the *Song*, and a way to make clear that

1 (IDd): 1 refers to plate 1, the numbering of which corresponds to the plates studied within the thesis; plate I corresponds to the numbering of all the plates of the *Song* in both Bibles, Toledo and Oxford; medallion pair Dd is the lowest pair of the right row.

1 (I): f.66 – Ct.1:3

Sponsa loved by her friends/predication to Ecclesia's friends.

I D: Ideo adolescentulae dilexerunt te, amica mea, sponsa mea.

Therefore the virgins love you, my friend, my spouse.

Description:

Sponsus, seated in the center of the medallion in a space enclosed by a crenellated wall, is not nimbed. He is barefoot in Toledo II, but not in Oxford–Paris. He is turning toward Sponsa who is seated on the right and wearing a white veil kept in place by a coronal. On the left are the "adolescentulae", the virgin friends of Sponsa. The veil is the symbol of virginity.² The scene is surmounted by architectural elements.

I d: Quia dulcedo nostri Christi praedicatur per totum mundum, ideo animae fidelium sunt adolescentes et non sunt in vetustate per culpam immo iuvenes per gratiam.

The souls of the faithful are like adolescents, because the gentleness of our Christ is preached all over the world. The souls are not of decaying age because of sin, but on the contrary they are young by grace.

Description:

The medallion is split in two horizontally: on the upper level, Christ in heaven raises his right hand in a teaching attitude, while holding a large cross in his left. His nimbus is cruciform in both Bible versions. On the left side of the lower section, a monk stands in front of a crowd of believers. He holds the Gospel in both hands as he preaches. The crowd, represented by six people, are the young souls mentioned in the commentary. On the right are two women, nimbed, crowned, veiled, and each

² Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1948, Reprint Livre de Poche), p. 31 – On the symbolism of the veil, see Hannelore Sachs, "Jungfrauen, Kluge und Törichte", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2, col. 458–463.

holding a chalice, both of whom symbolize Ecclesia, the Church. They are receiving the grace of the Holy Spirit in form of two doves flying from above. In Toledo II, the crowns of the Ecclesiae figures have been erased.

Iconographical interpretation:

The erasing of the halo in the Toledo Bible might signify that the figures are supposed to have a new and different allegorical meaning, perhaps as virtues or virgins. Sponsus is depicted barefoot in almost all the representations of the *Song*. Sometimes, the illuminator made the mistake of painting his feet and making him wear black socks, however, the rule is that Sponsus is barefoot. The illuminator anticipates the interpretation of the biblical text of the *Song*, wanting to teach either that Sponsus, prefiguring Christ, is of divine nature or that he is involved with a divine mission, as were the apostles.³ In these examples, the images anticipate the biblical text and its allegorical interpretation.

The one side of the commentary medallion depicts the adolescent souls: the crowd kneeling in front of the monk symbolizes *Christianitas*, the Church of the world. The two Ecclesiae allegorize the souls who are young by grace, which is made visible by the doves of the Holy Spirit.

Amédée de Lausanne (ca. 1110–1159), in his commentary of Song 1:3⁴ and in one of his homilies,⁵ saw in the "adolescentulae" the virgins who expect to attend the nuptial festivities of the true Sponsus in the celestial wedding room. Therefore,

³ Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux au XIIIe siècle en France*, p. 30 – "Fuss, Fussbekleidung", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2, col. 66–67.

⁴ P.L. CLXXXIII, col. 432C–D to 433A.

⁵ Amédée de Lausanne, *Huit Homélies Mariales*, Introductions et notes par le Chanoine G. Bavaud, Paris, 1960, Hom. VIII, pp. 186–199; See also P.L. CLXXXVIII, col. 1303–1346; Verdier, *Le couronnement de la Vierge*, pp. 167–171.

Sponsa wears the coronal. According to Amédée de Lausanne, the scene is an anticipation of the Virgin Mary's coronation. In both commentary and homily, he often mentions the Virgin Mary and Ecclesia on an equal basis. In the same way, Honorius Augustodunensis identified the virgins with Ecclesia, the Bride who will share Christ's reign and glory⁵.

2 (II): f.67 – Ct.1:4

Sponsa drawn after Sponsus/Ecclesia drawn after Christ.

II A: Trahe me post te, curremus in odore unguentorum tuorum.

Draw me after thee; we will run in the fragrance of your perfumes.

Description:

This scene is depicted on one level only. It takes place under an arcade, topped by architectural elements: the shape of the roof is found in contemporary and later medallions, especially in polylobes of the 14th century. Sponsa, the Bride, standing in the center of the medallion, turns toward Sponsus, a nimbed young man who is holding her right hand. The holding of hands is a new and an unusual gesture in biblical iconography. The two veiled women on the left are Sponsa's virgin friends. They hold their arms up toward Sponsus, as does Sponsa.

IIa: Haec est vox Ecclesiae quae venit ad fidem, petit incarnationem et rogat

Christum ut trahat eam post se quia bene scit ipsum ascendisse in coelum qui diceret non possum ascendere per me et opera tua et exemplum tuum et conversatio tua et miracula quae fecisti trahunt me post te.

These are the words of Ecclesia, the Church, coming to faith. She searches for the incarnation and asks Christ to draw her after Him. She knows indeed that He has

⁵ *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*, Tractatus primus, PL, CLXXII, col. 359; Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, p. 83.

risen to heaven, He who said "I am not able to rise on my own." And your work, and your example, and your life with others and the miracle you did, draw me after you.

Description:

The five small, naked and crowned figures at the top of the medallions are in heaven, as indicated by the clouds. They are the souls of the elect symbolizing Ecclesia drawn to heaven by Christ. The composition is exactly the same as in the previous medallion. The figures have the same position, but a different meaning. Ecclesia, crowned and nimbed, stands upright in the center with the chalice in her right hand, holding Christ's right hand. Christ, barefoot and with a cruciform nimbus, stands on the right. This scene illustrates the commentary phrase: "She, Ecclesia, searches for the incarnation and asks Christ to draw her after Him". The praying nun and the monk on the left symbolize the instituted Church on earth coming to faith. They hold their hands up, gesturing towards the Christus-Ecclesia "couple", meaning that they have the same quest as Ecclesia, to ask Christ to draw them after Him, into heaven among the crowned elect.

Iconographical interpretation:

In the Toledo Bible, Christ and Ecclesia don't touch each other, although in the previous medallion illustrating the biblical text, Sponsus and Sponsa shake hands. Their hands are held closely together, but they do not touch. The illuminator of the Oxford Bible misinterpreted the closeness of the hands, however, these details do not have an impact on the real meaning of the text and its illustration.

The handshake between Christ and Ecclesia is a new gesture in western medieval iconography, full of symbolism, which seems to be the result of the courtly love spirit of the time. In twelfth century representations, the "couple" begins to touch each other very lightly. In the mosaics of the apse of Santa Maria del Trastevere, Rome, (mid twelfth century) Christ puts his right arm over Ecclesia's shoulders. The

same gesture appears in the depiction of Sponsus-Sponsa from Honorius Augustodunensis' commentary of the Song in the München Staatsbibliothek.⁷ In both cases, Christ and Ecclesia are seated next to each other and Christ initiates the gesture, however, there are many examples of contemporary images in which the gesture between Christ and Ecclesia is more intense and loving.⁸

The holding hands between Christ and Ecclesia, or Sponsus and Sponsa, is common in other medallions, such as IIB, XIIa, XXB, XXb and XXVa. Anton Mayer describes the Christus-Ecclesia "couple" in the Frowin-Bible, from the Benedictine abbey of Engelberg, Switzerland, as a solemn liturgical ceremony in which Sponsus and Sponsa face each other with a slight bow. Both are sumptuously dressed, especially Ecclesia. From her unusually shaped crown hang the two infulae, typical of a bishop's mitre, which confirm the liturgical and spiritual character of the scene.⁹

This new behaviour had already appeared in the middle of the 12th century.¹⁰ It is

⁷ Marie-Louise Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 74-76, pl. XVI fig. 29-30.

⁸ Hans Wentzel, "Die ikonographischen Voraussetzungen der Christus-Johannes-Gruppe und das Sponsus-Sponsa-Bild des Hohenliedes", in *Heilige Kunst* (Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag AG, 1952), p. 10 fig. 4+5, p. 11 fig. 6, p. 12 fig. 7, p. 13 fig. 8, p. 15 fig. 10 a+b and Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pl. XLIV fig. 87+88.

⁹ The title of this representation is generally known as "the engagement between Christ and Ecclesia." The miniature is part of the Engelberger Frowinbible of the mid twelfth century, Engelberg, Switzerland, Abbey Library, Cod. 4, vol. 2 (of 3), fol. 64v, from the Song of Solomon. See Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, p. 25, pl. 13, p. 130 note 13 and O. Gillen, "Bräutigam und Braut", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, fig. 1 col. 318.

¹⁰ See the Ratman sacramentary in Hildesheim, dated 1159, where Sponsus and Sponsa, as a king and a queen, are embracing and hugging each other. In the Ellwangen lectionary dating mid XIIth century (Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Bibl. fol.55, 180v), the illustration to Cant.1:1 represents the nimbed Christ in a warm embrace with Ecclesia while holding her hand. By the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the loving behaviour between Christ and Ecclesia becomes the rule in iconography (Hans Wentzel, *Christus-Johannes-Gruppe*, pp. 11-12).

without any doubt the result of the influence of the profane love lyric and the courtly love environment. "Tristan and Yseut", "le Chevalier au Lion" from Chrétien de Troyes (ca.1135–1185), and the "Roman de la Rose" from Guillaume de Lorris (around 1230) and Jean de Meun (around 1275) are a few examples of this new profane spirit which rejuvenated the European lifestyle and arts.¹⁰

Furthermore, gestures are playing an exceedingly important role in chivalry. Another element, perhaps the most important of all, is the mysticism of which Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) was the key figure.¹¹ In almost all his sermons on the *Song of Solomon*, which are considered the cornerstone of his theology, the founder of the Cistercian movement used a new and unusual language, the nuptial language of lovers mystically transposed.¹²

¹⁰ This new way of life appeared during the 12th century in Southern France, in opposition to the rough life style of feudal times, partly as the result of the crusades, partly as the result of literature, antique poetry and music. The main characteristic of this new trend is the emphasis on the woman, the "Dame" who became the object of extreme devotion. The "troubadours", the "trouvères", the "Minnesänger", all of them poets or musicians, are the main actors of what came to be called "courtly love". By the end of the twelfth century, the movement had a religious mystical orientation in which the "Dame" is replaced by the Virgin Mary. An elaborate code -- values, gestures and vocabulary -- presided over this lifestyle ruled by the two basic notions of "cortezia" and "mezura". Poets like Chrétien de Troyes (1135–1185) in France, Walter von der Vogelweide (1170–1230) or Wolfram von Eschenbach (1170–1220) in Germany, Thibaut d'Amiens and Adam de la Halle (1235–1285) song of their devotion to the Virgin Mary. See Jean Dufournet, *Anthologie de la poésie lyrique française des 12e et 13e siècles* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), pp. 1–37, 200–209, 292–295; Paul Zumthor, "Courtoisie", in *Encyclopaedia universalis*, Paris, 5, 1970, p. 45c–49b and J. Porte, "Troubadours et trouvères", in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, Paris, 16, 1973, pp. 348b–349c.

¹¹ Hans Wentzel, *Christus-Johannes-Gruppe*, pp. 14–16.

¹² The general theme of these sermons is the covenant between God and his people, the wedding celebration with humanity, the soul becoming *Sponsa Christi* and *Sponsa Dei*. Sermones Canticum Canticorum, 7:2–3

3 (II): f.67 – Ct.1:4

Sponsa in Sponsus' cellar/Ecclesia and Christ in glory.

IIB: Introduxit me rex in cellaria sua.

The King introduced me in his cellars.

Description:

The King's cellars are represented by a row of barrels on the right of the medallion. The loving couple is standing in front of the barrels. Sponsus -- the King of the text -- is nimbed and barefoot, and Sponsa is veiled and holding Sponsus' right hand, a gesture which exists in both Bibles. Sponsa's two virgin friends are standing on the left.

Iib: Cellaria regis aeterni sunt gaudia regni coelestis in quod Ecclesia introducitur per fidem et introducitur in tempore futuro per bona opera.

The cellars of the eternal King are the joys of the heavenly kingdom where Ecclesia will enter by faith and where in the future she shall enter because of her good works.

Description:

This composition is one of the great iconographical themes of the Middle Ages parallel to depictions of the Coronation of the Virgin. The scene, of eschatological

Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth (Cant.1,1)

The soul longs for God. Asking to be kissed means she wants to be loved. The love between God and the soul is the same than husband and wife. The bridegroom leaves his mother and his father to become attached to his bride.

Sermones Canticum Canticorum, 12:11

This sermon is more a prayer in which Bernard thanks Jesus to have united the soul in Him through the beloved Ecclesia. The soul thus becomes Christ's bride and has part in his chaste, joyous and eternal embraces.

Sermones Cant. Cantic., 15:5-6

Should you be sad ? Rise towards Christ who will touch your heart and from there He will rush to your mouth.

in Soeur Agnès Lemaire, *Saint Bernard et le mystère du Christ* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Editions Anne Sigier, 1991), pp. 35, 84, 86.

meaning, takes place in heaven, as indicated by the clouds. The royal Ecclesia, crowned and nimbed, the chalice in her right hand, is sitting in the center of the medallion. Christ, the heavenly King, is wearing the crown for the first time, along with the cruciform nimbus. He sits on Ecclesia's right side, addressing her. With her left hand, Ecclesia addresses the two young women, who are in an attitude of adoration. Both are crowned and nimbed in the Oxford Bible; in Toledo II the crowns were erased.

Iconographical interpretation:

The scene is a representation of Christ and Ecclesia in glory, in heaven. It is a parallel representation to scenes of the Virgin crowned by God—Christ which are visible in medieval cathedrals and churches.¹³ As Philippe Verdier has stated regarding the coronation scenes, it can also be understood as a combination of the *Majestas Domini* with the *Ecclesiae coronatae*, instead of *Mariae coronatae*.¹⁴

According to the accompanying text, heaven is the allegory of the king's cellars, the secret place where he keeps his treasures and where only those whom he wants to treat well are allowed to enter. The cellar, sometimes translated as "the chambers", symbolizes the most intimate and personal part of the royal palace to which very few have access. Heaven symbolizes an eschatological event, an event taking place at the end of the time. It may also symbolize the celestial Jerusalem. Christ and

¹³ For a complete study on the coronation of the Virgin Mary, see Philippe Verdier, *Le couronnement de la Vierge. Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique* (Montréal: Institut d'études médiévales Albert-le-Grand; Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1980).

¹⁴ Verdier, *Le couronnement de la Vierge*, pp. 9–10.

Ecclesia sit next to each other in an equal position. Only at the end of the time does Ecclesia reach her full spiritual and royal statute, where she will sit in royal glory, sharing reign and power with Christ, her Bridegroom, as seen in the medallion.

There is, however, a slight difference between this medallion and contemporary representations. Ecclesia should normally be seated on Christ's right side,¹⁵ leaving the central position to Christ, unless the purpose of the iconography is to insist on the central role of the Church in Salvation. In that case, Ecclesia is the mediator between Christ and the virtuous human souls who are coming to heaven in her steps. In this image, the shape and color of her crown is different from Christ's and those of the two crowned virgins on the right. The color of Ecclesia's crown is white, an unusual detail which symbolizes purity and eternity. The normal color of Ecclesia's crowns in the Bible is a yellowish imitation of gold.

The two crowned figures on the right can be seen as personifications of the virtues, emphasizing Ecclesia's perfection and holiness. In medieval iconography, virtues are indeed represented by young crowned virgins, as it is the case on the jambs of the north portal at the west facade of Strasbourg cathedral.¹⁶ In some cases, though,

¹⁵ In all known representations of Christ and Ecclesia, or Christ and the Virgin Mary who, theologically, has often exactly the same meaning as Ecclesia, the female figure is depicted on Christ's right side. See for example: Christ and Ecclesia, mosaics at the apse of Santa Maria del Trastevere, Rome, illustrated in Verdier, *Le Couronnement*, fig. 43, and in Thérel, *La Vierge-Eglise*, pl. II fig. 2 and pl. XVI fig. 29; See also all the Virgin's coronation scenes, such as the sculptures at the Coronation portal at Chartres (Verdier, fig. 18), at the main portal at Senlis cathedral (Verdier, fig. 9+10), at the coronation portal of Notre-Dame at Paris (Verdier, fig. 21), and the already analyzed miniature of Sponsus and Sponsa illustrating Honorius Augustodunensis commentary of the Song (Verdier, fig. 76b).

¹⁶ Hans Reinhardt, *la Cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Paris: Ed. B. Arthaud, 1972), fig. 120+121 and Michael W. Evans, "Tugenden", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col. 364-380.

there are only two virgins represented, such as in the fresco of the nuns' choir at the west end of the abbey church at Gurk, Austria. The two crowned virgins depicted there symbolize Caritas (charity) and Castitas (chastity), meaning love of God.¹⁸ The virtues in the medallions do not carry any attributes, so this interpretation is only a hypothesis. Should we accept this hypothesis, these two virgins would then personify the most important gift Ecclesia and the human soul have been granted: the love of God and the love of Christ. Ecclesia, seated in the middle of the roundel, is then the mediator of this love and its symbol together.

The crowns of the two previously analyzed figures have been erased by overpainting in Toledo II, a change which intended to alter the status of the two young women.¹⁹

Another detail should be noted: although Christ and Ecclesia are seated, neither is sitting on a throne, at least not a visible throne as is normal. The throne, an important attribute of royalty, will appear infrequently in some of the later medallions.

¹⁸ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1, p.24, The abbey church at Gurk dates from the second half of the thirteenth century; see Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei* (München: Hirmer Verlag, Reprint 1992), pp. 20, 25, 28f., 41, 46, 50, 102f, 212ff, 216, fig. C, CI, 241–247. Demus refers to the Dom at Gurk while Schiller calls it the abbey church.

¹⁹ These corrections were common in ancient manuscripts such as the Bible moralisée. Jonathan J.G. Alexander mentions several examples concerning Harley 1527 (British Library, London) which is vol. 3 of the Toledo replica. Folio 9A depicts the journey to Bethlehem where Joseph and Mary travelled in order to be taxed. The artist represented Mary with her baby on a donkey as on the flight into Egypt. A French hand written note in the margin says: "L'enfant qe la da(me) porte deffaciez. El(le) ne doit point porter ici". (Erase the baby whom the lady carries, she should not carry it here). Many other and similar examples exist in the Bible. See: Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval illuminators and their methods of work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 62 and p. 166 note 52.

This composition leads us to the core of the theological interpretation in medieval iconography: here Christ and Ecclesia are the pure allegory of Sponsus and Sponsa. In the present case, they have reached the final union which Sponsa had longed for in the first verse of the *Song*: "Osculetur me osculo oris sui." Ecclesia is represented in her full glory, seated next to Christ in heaven, her crown the prominent sign of her dignity and election. The chalice is Ecclesia's main attribute; it distinguishes her from the Virgin who is presented in identical compositions. Mariology was in big favor at the time of the Bible moralisée; this depiction (and several others, such as IVb: Ecclesia lamenting the dead Christ, or XIIIa: Ecclesia crowning Christ) ought to be understood in conjunction with contemporary coronation scenes of the Virgin Mary, although the theological meanings of the representations might be different. Earlier, in the fifth to eighth centuries Church, Mary and Ecclesia were conceived identically: they were both mothers, the Virgin the mother of Christ through the Incarnation, Ecclesia the spiritual mother of the faithful. Mary incarnated the Son of God, Ecclesia preaches the Word of God. This symbolism remains identical for Mary and Ecclesia at least until the thirteenth century. However, the royal symbolism, which is the main characteristic in the roundel, belonged since Roman times to the theological meaning of the Virgin and to her image. From the twelfth century on, the coronation of Mary became a popular iconographical theme in Western art: it can be seen on several main entrances to French cathedrals. The images of crowned Ecclesia never surpassed those of Mary, though some of them, such as Strasbourg, are of the highest importance. Nonetheless, the Bible moralisée seems to be one of the major medieval "monuments", where the royal or crowned Ecclesia has such importance.

In the representations of the Bible moralisée, Ecclesia carries a double symbolism which might give her an advantage over the Virgin Mary: her sacramental significance is illustrated by the chalice and her royal significance by the crown. During the twelfth century, the images of Ecclesia crowned and seated on a throne

like a queen became more monumental. The Church of Rome is then becoming the most powerful entity in the world. Typical is the Ecclesia from Prüfening, near Regensburg. Marie-Louise Thérél interprets these images as an exaltation of the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁹

Ecclesia's iconographical pre-eminence in the Bible moralisée may be the result of the theological supervision, perhaps by a cleric from the University of Paris, which was known for its opposition, or at least its hesitant position on mariology,²⁰ which it considered an irrational movement based on feelings and sensitivity. In contrast with the more popular mariology, the theme of the crowned Christ-Ecclesia was of much more solid biblical ground, having the same iconographical sources as the coronation of the Virgin. These sources go as far back as the 12th century.²¹

4 (III): f.68 – Ct.1:5

Sponsa speaks to king Solomon/Ecclesia addresses herself to Christ.

IIIA: Nigra sum sed formosa, filiae Jerusalem; sicut tabernacula Cedar, sicut pelles Salomonis.

I am black but comely, daughters of Jerusalem; as the tents of Kedar, as the flags of Solomon.

Description:

Sponsa, dressed in dark clothes and sitting on the left, addresses a crowned king, standing on the right. He is Solomon, as mentioned in the verse. Between them are two seated women, the daughters of Jerusalem, the one in the back dressed in white.

¹⁹ Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 212–224, 231–240.

²⁰ H. Roux, "Marie", in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, 10, 1971, p. 526a.

²¹ Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, fig. 76a, 76b, 78c, 79a, 80a, 80b, and Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pl. III fig. 4, pl. XL fig. 79, pl. XLIII fig. 85, pl. LIV fig. 110, pl. LV fig. 111.

**IIIa: Vox Sponsae puellis suis. Ecclesia conqueritur se esse nigram per
adversitatem tormentorum sed gloriatur quod decora est et formosa decora
virtutum puellae quibus loquitur sunt animae imbutae coelestibus sacramentis.**

Words from Sponsa to her daughters. The conquering Ecclesia complains to be black because of the adversity of worldly torments, but she is proud to be beautiful and adorned by the beauty of virtues. The young girls to whom she speaks are the souls full of celestial sacraments.

Description:

God-Christ in heaven, with a cruciform nimbus, blesses Ecclesia on earth. Ecclesia, crowned and nimbed, the chalice in her right hand, lifts up her left arm; she is communicating with Christ in heaven from whom she received the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, represented by the seven doves around her head in the Toledo Bible, a detail which is missing from the Oxford Bible. In front of Ecclesia stands a "tonsured clerk", in the Oxford Bible, or a merchant holding a big purse in Toledo II. Further to the right, a tonsured monk embraces a woman. The tonsured monk embracing the woman and the merchant are both symbols of the adversities of worldly torments. They are the reasons for Ecclesia's blackness as mentioned in the commentary.

Iconographical interpretation:

There are two crowned figures in the present pair of medallions. The first medallion, illustrating the biblical text of Cant. 1:5, depicts Sponsa from the *Song* sitting on the left, while on the right the crowned king Solomon stands for one aspect of the comparison: "I am black as the tents of Kedar, as the flags of Solomon", tents and flags made of skin which apparently turned black under the sun. The symbolism of the colour "black" means sin and sadness,²³ hardship, dishonor,

²³ Saint Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XI, 23, in: *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, Vienna, 1866, 40/1, p. 545 and *Lexikon der christliche Ikonographie*, 2, col. 10.

disgrace, pain. The following commentary explains why Sponsa-Ecclesia considers herself black: it is because of the adversity of worldly torments.

The idea of Sponsa being a foreign woman, a Shulamite, a girl from the country, or an Egyptian princess has its source in Sponsa's dark skin. Kedar, on the other side, is the name of an Arabian tribe known for its numerous flocks. Its tents made of goats' hair, such as those of the nomads from Syria and Palestine, are black. The Hebrew meaning of "Kedar" is black.²³

The torments are symbolized by the "tonsured clerk" and the merchant with the big purse, and by the couple on the right, the monk embracing a woman, symbol of fleshly lust and of the blackness of Ecclesia as mentioned in the commentary. According to medieval moral codes, the worst sin was fornication by people who had entered the vow of chastity. These people were accused of weakening and dishonoring the Church in her mission. The other weakening, or blackening element, is the merchant dressed in black and holding the purse (in the Toledo Bible). Money, symbolized by the purse, is in this case a symbol of the vice "Avaritia".

Despite the trouble and the disgrace Ecclesia has to face, she is still represented in her royal dignity, nimbed and crowned. The dignity is given to her because of the beauty of her virtues on one side, because of the grace, symbolized by the seven doves, she receives through the blessing Christ in heaven.

The vertical movement between Ecclesia standing up and lifting her left arm toward Christ in heaven underlines the Christ-Ecclesia relationship and the gift of grace.

²³ A. Robert, and R. Tournay, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, p. 70.

5 (III): f. 68 – Ct. 1:6

Sponsa's dark complexion/St. Stephen's martyrdom.

IIIB: Nolite considerare me quod fusca sim, quia decoloravit me sol.

Do not pay any attention to my dark complexion; the sun tarnished its color.

Description:

Sponsa, sitting on the left and still dressed in dark clothes, holds up her arms while speaking to the two women sitting in front of her. They may be the daughters of Jerusalem. Sponsa raises her left index to the solar discus, attributing the cause of her dark complexion to the sun. Here again there are differences between the two Bibles: in Toledo II, Sponsa wears a short white veil, in the Oxford Bible the veil is coloured.

IIb: Sicut sol urit et illuminat, ita Christus qui est sol justitiae, urit a foris amicos suos caloribus temptationem sed illuminat eos donandos vires resistendi viciis.

Like the sun burning and shining, the same Christ, the sun of justice, burns His friends from the outside through the heat of the temptations, but He illuminates them in giving them the strength to resist the vices.

Description:

The medallion illustrates a martyrdom scene. A nimbed monk, raising his praying hands towards Christ in heaven, is being stoned by two men, serfs dressed in medieval attire. The man on the left wears the typical peasant cap and carries a bag with stones. Ecclesia, crowned and nimbed, is standing on the right, extending her right hand towards the martyr in a sign of comfort. The scene is the stoning of Saint Stephen, who is always depicted as a young tonsured deacon, wearing the dalmatica and the stole.²⁵

²⁵ Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien*, III, 1, article: "Etienne", pp. 444–456.

Iconographical interpretation:

The presence of Ecclesia in Saint Stephen's martyrdom scene has theological and historical significance, as he is the Church's first martyr. Saint Augustine called him *primicerius martyrum*, the martyr of highest rank who is the foundation of the Church.

The medallion illustrates once again the relation of Christ and Ecclesia. Christ, the sun of justice in heaven, is looking down on earth and comforting Saint Stephen. His blessing right hand is over the head of the saint as if He were crowning him, the crown being the reward of martyrs.²⁶

The Christus-Ecclesia iconography in this medallion is illustrated on three levels, in the form of a triangle. Christus-Sponsus, the son of God with the Book in his left hand, dispenses his love through the teaching of the Gospel, the Book in his left hand. Ecclesia-Sponsa, Christ's "representative" on earth, incarnates the body of those believers who give up their life for their love of Christ. Saint Stephen, resisting the vices by his martyrdom, the *viciis* in the Latin text, represents the faithful without whom the Church would not be able to exist. The crown worn by Ecclesia is the saint's crown.

As the first martyr, Saint Stephen has a pre-eminent position in the Church: all over Europe, cathedrals and churches are dedicated to him. For the same reason, his representations are placed in strategic positions, such as his statues on the pier of the central west portal at Sens cathedral (a masterpiece of French early thirteenth-century sculpture)²⁷ and another on the same location at Meaux cathedral.²⁸

²⁶ The crown as a spiritual reward is mentioned in Rev. 2:10 and 1 Cor. 9:25.

²⁷ Willibald Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulpturen in Frankreich*, pp. 37, 99–102. The statue is dated around 1200.

6 (III): f. 68 – Ct. 1:6

Sponsa is a shepherdess/Ecclesia responsible for her flock.

IIID: Posuerunt me custodem in vineis, vineam meam non custodivi.

They made me the keeper of the vineyards, and my own vineyard I have not kept.

Description:

Sponsa, standing in the center of the medallion, follows a flock of sheep. She turns over to the nimbed Sponsus seated on the right of the medallion, in an attitude of humility. A young man, turning to the people on the left, points to Sponsus seated on the right between him and Sponsa. On the left are two serfs representing "my mother's sons". One of them is wearing the medieval serf's hood and is speaking to Sponsa. The solar discus is a reminder of the bride's black complexion.

IIId: Vox primitivae Ecclesiae ac si aperte diceret hoc consecuta sum a persecutione filiorum matris meae, i.e. synagogae qua facta sum custos multarum vinearum i.e. multarum ecclesiarum in gentibus.

These are the words of the early Ecclesia, as if she would clearly say what follows: I have been persecuted by my mother's sons, i.e. the Jews of the Synagogue, through whom I became the guardian of many vineyards, i.e. many churches among the nations.

Description:

Christ in heaven points to the nimbed prelate standing in the centre of the medallion, who is wearing a mitre and a pluviale. In his left hand, the prelate holds an open book, the Holy Scriptures, and raises his right arm pointing the index finger towards the two men on the left. Both men are bearded, veiled and also carry an open book; they are Jewish doctors as represented in 7 (IVB) or in 22 (XXIIa). On the right, next to the prelate, Ecclesia stands in adoration in front of a church building, raising her praying hands towards Christ in heaven.

²⁸ Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulpturen*, p. 103

Iconographical interpretation:

The main theme in both the Latin commentary text and the medallion deals with Ecclesia's persecution by the Synagogue, symbolized by the two Jewish theologians -- the doctors on the left -- who represent the Synagogue as the established religious institution in opposition to Ecclesia.

As in the previous medallion of the martyrdom of Saint Stephen, an analysis of the iconography shows three positions of Ecclesia's perception. Christ in heaven, the source of the Church's teaching, gives directions to the adoring Ecclesia. The teaching is secured by the saint bishop, the instituted Church, standing in the center of the medallion. The bishop, in his turn, receives his orders from Christ, directly depicted over him.

7 (IV): f. 69 – Ct. 1:10

Sponsa as beautiful as a dove/Ecclesia as faithful as a dove.

IVB: Pulchrae sunt genae tuae sicut turturis.

Thy cheeks are comely like turtle-doves.

Description:

In both Bibles, Sponsus and Sponsa are sitting in the centre of the medallion holding hands. Sponsus is nimbed and holds a turtle-dove in his left hand. In the Oxford Bible, there are two men on each side: on the right, Sponsus' friends; on the left, two Jewish doctors, or two heretics, as they already appeared in 6(IIId). In the Toledo Bible, the two Jewish doctors are replaced by two women, Sponsa's friends.

IVb: Vox sponsi. Talis est mos turturis quod eum amiserit patrem suum numquam recipiet alium immo semper gemit pro defectu illius. Eodem modo facit Ecclesia quasi esset vidua per mortem sui sponsi semper habet illum in memoria itaque nullo modo reciperet consortium alterius.

The voice of Sponsa, the Bride. This is the turtle-dove's custom: when she loses her father, she will not look for another one, and she mourns her loss. Ecclesia behaves the same, as if she were a widow by the death of her spouse. She will always be faithful to his memory and she cannot accept the company of another one.

Description:

This important scene represents the dead Christ laying naked on a flagstone, his hips covered with a loincloth. Behind Him, the nimbed and crowned Ecclesia is mourning, draped and veiled in a dark coat. She stands under a ciborium and grieves. She is a widow by the death of her spouse. On the left is the symbol of lust, a monk kissing a woman with long hair. Lust symbolizes the seven capital sins which are the cause of Christ's death.²⁹

Iconographical interpretation:

The Christ-Ecclesia couple is rarely depicted in this position in medieval iconography. The two doctors of the law are one of the causes of Christ's death, as depicted in the previous medallion, 7(IVB). The two figures, symbolizing Synagogue and the law, are commentary figures and therefore should be represented in the commentary roundel. The illuminator surely included them in this medallion for a practical reason, to balance the two figures of Sponsus' friends. Theologically however, their place would be next to the dead Christ. Indeed, according to the apostle Paul, the origin of sin lies in the knowledge of the law, and through sin death came into the world.³⁰ The death of Christ is due to the sins of humanity, sin being symbolized by the embracing couple.

The textual allegory of the *Song* centres on the image of the turtle dove which,

²⁹ Erwin Panofsky, Essais d'iconologie. Les thèmes humanistes dans l'art de la Renaissance, Traduit de l'allemand (Paris: Gallimard, 1967), p. 268-269.

³⁰ Rom. 2:19-20

according to the commentary text, is "eternally" faithful. So is Ecclesia. The cause of Christ's death is symbolized by another couple, the unfaithful and sinful couple contrasting with Christ and Ecclesia, the holy and perfect couple.

In medieval iconography, the scene relates to the Lamentation of Christ, one of several scenes from the Passion cycle, in which the mourners are normally depicted standing around the dead body of Christ.³¹ In the present medallion, the mourners are replaced by Ecclesia alone, symbolizing the entirety of Christianity.

It is through Christ's death that Ecclesia has been confirmed in her true dignity as Christ's Bride. She now inherits the mission of spreading the Gospel, which confirms her royal dignity. The mission is emphasized by the ciborium, the architectural element under which Ecclesia stands and which is also a symbol of the Church. The ciborium, however, may also be seen as a symbol of the celestial vault or dome.

In early Christian churches, the ciborium was a canopy over the altar where the mystery of the mass was celebrated. Very early, the ciborium gained a special significance, first spiritual, later temporal. The spiritual and also the sacramental aspect is made visible by the ciboria built over the church altars, such as at San Ambrogio, Milan.³² Furthermore, since Carolingian times, the ciborium has symbolized the royal and the imperial throne, political power therefore being holy and spiritual, even sacramental. King and emperor then have a spiritual dimension, their power received by delegation from God. The best illustrations of this concept

³¹ The Entombment of Christ is mentioned in all four Gospels with more or less details: Mat. 27:55-61 - Mark 15:42-47 - Luke 23:50-55 - John 19:38-42.

³² *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen*, Exh. cat. (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1978), pl. 35.

are the ciboria over the thrones of Carolingian and Ottonian kings and emperors.³² The baptisteries of the early Church were also covered in the same way by a dome or ciborium highlighting the sacramental act, the mystery of regeneration, or the new creation through Christ's sacrifice and death.³³

8 (V): f. 70 – Ct. 1:13

Sponsus, a bundle of myrrh/Christ embalmed with myrrh.

V B: Fasciculus mirre dilectus meus mihi.

A bundle of myrrh is my well-beloved unto me.

Description:

Sponsus is half-reclining in a bed, his head supported by a pillow. He is not nimbed. Behind him stands Sponsa, holding a vase with myrrh. She raises her right hand, addressing herself to the two young men, Sponsus' friends standing at the foot of the bed.

V b: Vox sponsae. Christus fuit fasciculus myrrhae quando depositus fuit de cruce et conditus myrrha et aloe unum. Dicit Ecclesia: fasciculus i.e. mors amici quam passus est erit semper in memoria mea.

Words of Sponsa. Christ was a bundle of myrrh when he has been taken down from the cross and embalmed with myrrh and aloe. Ecclesia says: the bundle is the death

³² Horst Fuhrmann and Florentine Mutherich, *Das Evangelium Heinrichs des Löwen und das mittelalterliche Herrscherbild* (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1986), pp. 37–38, pl. 3: King Charles the Bald is sitting under a similar ciborium – p. 5, pl. 12: Emperor Otto III's throne is placed under a ciborium similar to the one in the church of Porec (Parenzo) in Venetia (Thérel, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pl. XXIII fig. 44), pp. 44–45, pl. 18: King Heinrich II on his throne placed under a ciborium.

³³ More information on the ciborium, see Smith, E. Baldwin, *The Dome, a study in the history of ideas* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 8, 54, 55, 68, 76, 107.

endured by my friend whom I always will keep in my memory.

Description:

The scene represents the preparing of Christ's body. Christ, nimbed and wearing a loincloth, is laying on a flagstone reminiscent of an altar. Indeed, Honorius Augustodunensis (1080–ca.1150)³⁵ and Rupert of Deutz (1075–ca.1130),³⁶ among other medieval theologians, see in the altar a symbol of Christ. Next to Christ, at His head, are four Jews with vases containing balms.³⁷ Ecclesia is standing at His feet, nimbed and crowned, and holding the chalice in her left hand. A column separates her from the Jews. The scene can also be called the Anointing of Christ's body.

Iconographical interpretation:

A parallel should be drawn between medallions A and B (illustrating the biblical texts) which have almost the same representation and composition. Their meaning is the same. In both, Sponsa, standing in the centre, brings perfume -- nard and myrrh -- to her Beloved who is half reclining in a bed, his head resting on a pillow. In medieval mysticism, Christ's body is often identified with myrrh, resting between the breasts of His Bride of the *Song of Solomon*. The Bride can be identified with the Virgin Mary.³⁸

The repetition of identical movements, or rhythms, is a constant throughout the medallions of the Bible moralisée. In the present examples, the parallel movements emphasize the typological role of the different figures, Sponsus–Christus and Sponsa–Ecclesia.

³⁵ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sacramentum* 10, in: PL 172, col. 145.

³⁶ Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, V, 30, in: PL 170, col. 150.

³⁷ John 19:38–42

³⁸ Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, p. 101 note 102.

Christus-Sponsus lays on a flagstone, almost in the same position as in the previous commentary medallion 7(IVb), except that he is in the reverse position. Ecclesia, holding her chalice, is standing at His feet, her right hand extended in sign of suffering and sadness.

The scene depicts the preparation, or the anointing of the body of Jesus.³⁹ The corresponding Latin text compares Christ taken down from the cross to a bundle of myrrh, the symbol of Christ's pain and suffering.⁴⁰ It also mentions that He has been prepared with myrrh, symbolized by the flasks in the medallion. Myrrh, as a plant, an aromatic substance and a medication, plays a certain role in the Bible as it did in almost all mediterranean civilisations. It was always associated with Christ's passion and it is neither mentioned nor connected to the scenes of the Magi, the Crucifixion and the Anointing of Christ's body. Other mentions of myrrh are made, where it is associated with refined pleasures and happiness.⁴¹ Indeed, in addition to its medical and cosmetic qualities, myrrh was also used to make myrrh

³⁹ According to Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien*, II, 2, p. 522, the iconography of the entombment of Christ's body, common until the 13th century in Western art, is from Byzantine tradition. The stone is still shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In more elaborate iconographies, which is not the case here, two disciples hold the ends of the shroud while a third one pours a flask on the Lord's breast. The theme of the entombment, visible in the sculpture of many medieval churches, and its related representations had its last great flourishing in the 16th century, especially in the French school: the Entombment by Ligier Richier at Saint-Mihiel (Meuse), église Saint-Etienne; or the well known Descent from the Cross by Jean Goujon, formerly on the screen in the church Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois at Paris, now at the Musée du Louvre. See also: Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, pp. 172-173.

⁴⁰ "Myrrhe, Myrrhenbaum", in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 3, col. 301-302

⁴¹ Song 4:6: "Until the day break, and the shadows flee away, I will get me to the mountain of myrrh, and to the hill of frankincense" – Song 4:14: "Spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices" and Song 5,1: "I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse: I have gathered my myrrh with my spice; I have eaten my honeycomb with my honey; I have drunk my wine with my milk: eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved."

wine, famous in antiquity for its refined taste. The resin was meant to protect against intoxication.⁴² Christ was offered myrrh wine, when He was crucified, which he refused.⁴³

The scene depicting the preparation of Christ's body corresponds to the text of Saint John's Gospel. According to Jewish tradition, the body ought to be prepared with spices before clothed in a shroud and then laid in the sepulchre. This procedure was fulfilled by Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus among others. In the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke,⁴⁴ the women had all planned to come to the tomb with balms and spices to prepare the body before the sabbath, but they came too late to fulfill their duty, Christ already having been resurrected. The anointment of Christ belongs to an ancient Christian tradition: Christ is anointed like a king for His future celestial kingdom.⁴⁵

9 (V): f. 70 – Ct. 1:14

Sponsus and the resurrected Christ compared to Cyprus raisin.

V C: Botrus Cyprii, dilectus meus mihi, vox ecclesiae.

My beloved is unto me a cluster of Cyprus raisin, says Ecclesia.

Description:

An interlacing vine bearing grapes and a serpent as in representations of the tree of Jesse, separates the medallion in two. The serpent over Sponsus' head only exists in

⁴² "Myrrhe", in *Brockhaus-Enzyklopaedie* (Wiesbaden: F.A. Brockhaus, 13, 1971), p. 139.

⁴³ Mk. 15:23

⁴⁴ Mt. 27:56 – Mk. 16:1-2 – Lk. 23:56 – 24:1-2

⁴⁵ Reported to me by Pastor Eric Dyck from Saint-John Lutheran Church in Montreal. cf. also David's anointment in 1 King 5:3.

the Oxford Bible, it is absent in Toledo II. On the right stands Sponsa, extending her right arm toward the beloved and barefoot Sponsus on the left. She speaks to two young men, Sponsus' friends.

V c: Vox sponsae. Ille qui fuit mihi fasciculus mirrae in amaritudine passionis factus est botrus Cypri in dulcedine resurrectionis; quam myrrha offendit vinum laetificat.

Words of Sponsa. He who has been a bundle of myrrh unto me, in the bitterness of the Passion, became a cluster of Cyprus raisins in the sweetness of the resurrection. Wine makes those joyful who are saddened by myrrh.

Description:

The two biblical scenes of the Crucifixion and Resurrection are depicted simultaneously in this medallion. Ecclesia, nimbed and crowned, stands next to the crucified Christ, in the main theme of the medallion. Christ, nimbed and girded with a loincloth, turns His head to his right, towards the Resurrection. The cross, as the symbol of new life and of the tree of life,⁴⁵ is depicted in green, as are all the crosses in the Bible moralisée. It stands on a crumpled ground. Ecclesia, next to the cross, points to the crucifix with one hand, to the resurrection with the other.

⁴⁵ The cross as symbol of the tree of life is an ancient theme in Christian art. It has always been represented in opposition to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen.2:17), which is the tree through which sin came into the world. The other tree through which Redemption has been given to humanity is Christ's cross. It is the tree of life, of new spiritual and eternal life. Therefore the cross is represented in green, the color of hope and life. Erich Dinkler; Erika Dinkler – von Schubert, "Kreuz", I and George Galavaris, "Kreuz", II, in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 5, 1991); Johanna Flemming, "Baum, Bäume", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 264–265 and Wilhelm Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1968), p. 65 no. 410, pp. 192–195.

Already in the 12th century the cross in stained glass windows is depicted in either green or red. At the Passion window at Chartres cathedral, Christ is nailed on a green cross, the colour being related to the antiphon "O crux, viride lignum". See: Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II, 2, p. 485.

On the left, Christ comes out of a sarcophagus. In one hand, He holds the closed book of the Gospel while He has His other hand on His breast. The group of people watching between the two scenes is another symbol of Ecclesia, the Ecclesia on earth. The first figure of the group, a monk, is raising his arms in sign of surprise.

Iconographical interpretation:

As with the previous image of the Anointment [8(VB and b)] and Ecclesia lamenting over Christ [7(IVb)], the present scenes of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, belong to the Passion cycle. Myrrh is again mentioned in the accompanying text, as a symbol of the Passion; the bitter tasting myrrh represents the suffering on the cross. The Resurrection brings new life and a new meaning to humanity, it symbolizes joy, in the same manner as wine rejoices those who are saddened by the bitterness of myrrh.

The Latin text is a monologue spoken by Sponsa-Ecclesia. The medallion illustrates the text faithfully. As in the previous medallion, Ecclesia as Sponsa points to Sponsus, the crucified Christ, and compares Him to a bundle of myrrh, symbolizing the suffering of the Passion. The serpent, though it exists only in the Oxford Bible, relates to the Crucifixion, or the death of Christ. The serpent is the symbol of sin.⁴⁶ Christ died to save humanity from its sins. Ecclesia also points to the resurrection of Christ on the left. The resurrection means joy, being the redemption from sins. This theme of myrrh, of suffering and death, was initiated in the previous text and corresponding medallion. The two medallions share a similar composition: Sponsa-Ecclesia stand on the right side next to the crucified Christ/vine, or the cluster of Cyprus raisins which is a symbol of joy. On the left, Sponsus stands in the same

⁴⁶ Wolfgang Kemp, "Schlange, Schlangen", in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col. 75-81.

position as the resurrecting Christ; even their attitudes are identical. There is again a parallel of rhythms and composition.

10 (VII): f. 72 – Ct. 2:3

Sponsus as sweet as fruit/Ecclesia and Christ are delectable food.

VIIb: Sub umbra illius quem desideraveram sedi et fructus eius dulcis guturi meo.

I sat down under his desired shadow, and his fruit was sweet to my throat.

Description:

Sponsa is sitting in the centre of the medallion under an arch which supports a structure, perhaps a tower. She points her right index finger toward the nimbed Sponsus standing on the right. Two of her friends, the girls of Jerusalem, are seated at the left.

VIIb: Hoc significat quod Christus refrigerat electos suos calore viciorum et pascit eos delectatione virtutum et inde gaudet ecclesia et laudat dominum.

This means that Christ refreshes His chosen ones from the heat of their vices and He feeds them the delectable food of the virtues. Therefore Ecclesia rejoices and praises the Lord.

Description:

Ecclesia, always symbolized by the crowned and nimbed woman, is praising Christ the Lord in heaven. She stands in front of a church. Before her are two praying monks, one of them dressed in white. Behind them are two young women, one holding a bag or a purse. Both women hold a disc, or a mirror, in their hand. They represent the heat of the vices and symbolize lust with some suggestion of avarice referred to by the purse. The Toledo Bible is slightly different: one of the women carries a purse, as a symbol of "avaritia", while the other holds a small disc.

Iconographical interpretation:

The commentary medallion is an exact illustration of the text. The elect walk towards Ecclesia on the right, her joined hands lifted up towards Christ in a gesture of adoration. Ecclesia's movement, while not the same, parallels Sponsa pointing her right index finger to Sponsus. Ecclesia is standing under a building recognizable as a church by the two towers. This architectural element can be considered an attribute of Ecclesia, as it often appears in medieval images.⁴⁸ This element is a pendant to the previous structure under which Sponsa is seated, clearly a tower, a familiar image in the *Song*.⁴⁹ The two female figures on the left represent the vices. One of them carries a purse which symbolizes greed or avarice. They eat delectable food, perhaps symbolized by the small disc.

11 (VIII): f. 73 – Ct. 2:9

Sponsus behind the window/Christ shines through the window.

VIIID: En ipse stat post parietem nostrum, respiciens per fenestras propiciens per cancellos.

Behold, it is he who is standing behind our wall. He looks forth at the windows, watching through the lattice.

Description:

Sponsa and her two friends are sitting inside a stylized house represented by a

⁴⁸ Ecclesia as the allegory of the Church, celestial or terrestrial, is often depicted with an additional attribute, a church building underneath which she stands or sometimes holds in her hands. The Bible moralisée mostly uses the first attribute. The church building is connected to the representation of Ecclesia and exists in other roundels: 11(VIIIDd), 17(XVAa) + 17(XVCc).

⁴⁹ Indeed, the tower is mentioned in Song 4:4: Thy neck is like the tower of David built for an armoury [See also medallion 15(XIIID)] illustrating this verse) and Song 7:4: Thy neck is as a tower of ivory;... thy nose is as the tower of Lebanon. For further information, see "Turm", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col. 393–394.

peaked roof supported by three arches. On the other end, Sponsus looks through an open window with shutters.

VIIIId: Sicut sol intrans per fenestras illuminat domum, ita Christus exemplo et monitione apostolorum nos illuminavit et sicut parvulum intra per parva foramina ita obscura cognitio ad nos introivit per prophetas.

As the sun shining through the windows illuminates the house, so Christ illuminates us by the example and the words of the apostles; and as little light came through small openings, so a confused knowledge came to us by the prophets.

Description:

Ecclesia, nimbed and crowned, holding the chalice, is seated on a throne under an arcade which is integrated into a church building. The nimbed barefoot saint standing in front of her is an apostle referring to the apostles who illuminated us by the example and the word of Christ. He might be Saint Peter, the founder of the Church. Next to him is Moses with his horns of wisdom, accompanied by a doctor of the Synagogue carrying a scroll. Both symbolize the old law, or the Old Testament and the prophets. The Toledo Bible adds the representation of Christ in heaven, the sun next to Him.

Iconographical interpretation:

Ecclesia is the main figure in this medallion. She incarnates the royal Ecclesia and is Christ's glorious counterpart at the end of the time. It is through her that the shining sun illuminates the house, i.e. the Church, Christ being the sun and the apostles (one of them standing in front of Ecclesia) the rays. The confused knowledge is symbolized by Moses and the prophet or doctor of the Synagogue with the scroll.

As in medallion 7(IVb), where Ecclesia stands under a ciborium, another symbol of the Church, her ecclesiastical dignity and symbolism are here underlined by the

church building and the cushion-covered bench placed under an arch. The present medallion is the first instance in the *Song* representing Ecclesia seated alone on a throne, in the dignity of a queen in confirmation of her royalty. In medieval iconography, Ecclesia as a queen is a common representation. For example, Ecclesia sits on Christ's own throne on a capital from Saint-Etienne church of Toulouse, now at the Musée des Augustins.⁵⁰

There is also the well known figure of Ecclesia-Queen on a throne from the Passau Saint Nicolas Lectionary, now at the National Bibliothek at Munich.⁵¹ Ecclesia sits under an arch on a richly ornate throne, crowned and holding her triumphal banner. Her vestments, her shoes, her banner and her throne are of such richness that she incarnates not only Christ's royalty, but both the terrestrial and the celestial Jerusalem. A similar imperial representation exists in the choir vault of the Prufening church, near Regensburg, Germany⁵² (already referred to).

Ecclesia is also represented on a throne in the miniature of the celestial city in the *Hortus Deliciarum*⁵³ from around 1180 although this representation is not of the same imperial splendor since the queen does not carry the chalice, the attribute *par excellence* of her ecclesiastical significance. Thus, the door is left open for a wider interpretation which appears quite early in the commentaries of the *Song*: is she the queen Ecclesia, or is she the Virgin? The presence of the apostles, the prelates and the monks on both sides seem to orient the interpretation towards Ecclesia.

⁵⁰ Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, p. 223 and pl. XXXVI fig. 70.

⁵¹ Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, p. 223 and pl. LII fig. 106 and Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, p. 35, fig. 22, p. 131 note 22.

⁵² Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, pp. 35, 131 no. 21 and pl. 21 and Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, pp. 187-188.

⁵³ See Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 223-224, pl. XXXIX fig. 77.

When on a throne, Ecclesia normally sits next to Christ, sharing his royalty, she seldom sits alone.⁵⁴

Ecclesia depicted alone on a throne is a relatively recent representation. In early centuries, it was Christ who was first depicted sitting alone on a throne. He was then followed by the Virgin Mary, declared the Mother of God at the third ecumenical council of Ephesos in 431. This important theological decision was illustrated almost spontaneously on the mosaics of the apse and the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, dating c. 440.⁵⁵ The Virgin, then, participates in Christ's and God's divinity. The iconographical theme of Virgin Mary as Mother of God, or as Theotokos, continued as a strong tradition, at least until the thirteenth century. At that time, Mary and Ecclesia were granted a parallel significance.⁵⁶ Indeed, in the thirteenth century Ecclesia was often called "mater Ecclesia".⁵⁷

In the introductory initial O (from Osculetur) of the Song in a Parisian manuscript, Christ and Sponsa-Ecclesia are embracing each other.⁵⁸ The richly dressed and crowned female figure is identified as Ecclesia by the small church model she is

⁵⁴ Compare to medallions 3(IIb), 14(XIIIa), 19(XVd).

⁵⁵ André Grabar, *L'Age d'Or de Justinien. De la Mort de Théodose à l'Islam* (Coll. L'Univers des Formes, Paris: Gallimard, 1966), pl. 155-162.

⁵⁶ Thomas von Bogyay, "Thron", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col. 304-305.

⁵⁷ When Pope Innocent IV thanked king Saint Louis for his dedication to the Church, and for defending her, "defensio Ecclesiae", and that he did not hesitate to assist mother Ecclesia not only in helping her, but he (the Pope) also values him (the king) personally, "*ad succursum matris Ecclesiae non solum substantiam, sed deputare personam*". Yves Congar, "L'Eglise et l'Etat sous Saint Louis", in *Actes des Colloques de Royaumont et de Paris. 21-27 mai 1970*, p. 263 - See also note 56.

⁵⁸ B.N., Paris, Ms. lat. 16745 fol. 112v. See Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, p. 26, fig. 14, p. 130 no. 14,

holding in her right arm as her ecclesiastical attribute (as is the stylized church in the roundel).

In the present commentary medallion, Ecclesia corresponds to Sponsa from the biblical illustration. She is seated inside a building symbolizing the Church, awaiting Sponsus who stands outside and watches through the lattice. The only other example of the Song with Ecclesia seated alone on a throne is in medallion 22(XXIIa), which will be analyzed later.

The crowned Ecclesia, seated under a trefoiled arch, becomes an important theme in the arts during the thirteenth century, as a result of its relationship with contemporary Virgin Mary iconography.⁵⁸ Ecclesia's normal position until then was an upright stance. She only appears seated at the beginning of the thirteenth century and after that was replaced by the "Theotokos", or the seated Virgin with the infant Jesus on her lap. The two themes overlapped for several decades around 1200.

The identities of these two themes of Ecclesia and the Virgin Mary seated on a throne are linked to the interpretation of the *Song* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There are three authors in particular who see in the Sponsa of the *Song* a prefigure of Ecclesia and of the Virgin Mary: Anselme of Laon, Honorius Augustodunensis and Rupert of Deutz.⁵⁹ Although this exegesis became the

⁵⁸ Similar trefoiled arches exist at Amiens cathedral, at the Coronation portal, over the sculptural representation of the ark of the covenant. See Philippe Verdier, *Le couronnement de la Vierge*, pl. 35. Christ crowning the Virgin Mary are seated under a trefoiled arch at Chartres cathedral, at the Coronation portal. See Anne Prache, *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 100-101.

⁵⁹ Anselme of Laon, in *Enarrationes in Cantica Canticorum* (P.L., 162, col. 1199-1228) remains traditional, i.e. ecclesia in his interpretation. Sponsa is the prefigure of Ecclesia the Church. Only very occasionally is there a reference to the Virgin. Rupert of Deutz, on the other hand, is more original and audacious. In his Commentary of the Song, *In Cantica Canticorum*, (ed. R. Haacke, C.C.C.M., XXVI, 1974), he is the first to apply to the Virgin Mary all the verses

prevailing interpretation of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, it seems difficult to establish if it really had some influence on the creation of our two themes, Ecclesia and the Virgin-Theotokos seated on a throne. It is also generally believed that Saint Bernard, through his "Sermones", contributed significantly to the role of the Virgin in exegetical literature and the arts.⁶⁰

Another iconography, also very successful in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is related to the previous two, and especially to the enthroned Ecclesia of this medallion. It is the *Sedes Sapientiae*, or throne of Wisdom, the Wisdom naturally being one of God's major attribute, or God's Word itself.⁶¹ In some images, such as in the Admont manuscript of Rupert of Deutz' commentary to the Song, Sapientia could easily be mistaken for Ecclesia, if it were not for the Latin texts preventing

in the Song concerning Sponsa. In his *De Glorificatione Trinitatis et profectione Sancti Spiriti* (P.L., 169, col.155A-D), he confirms the previous statement:

"...edidimus olim opusculum de islis canticorum Canticis distinctum septem libellis ad honorem Dominae nostrae sanctae Mariae perpetuae Virginis quae vera Sponsa principaliter amici est aeterni, scilicet Dei Patris, sponsa nihilominus et mater Filii ejusdem Dei Patris, templum proprium charitatis, id est, Spiritus sancti, de cujus operatione illum concepit" (Ibid., col.155D).

In the same text, he further states that he transfers to Mary what applied to Ecclesia in the traditional interpretations:

"...adunando et congregando voces tam magni tamque diffusi corporis Ecclesiae in unam animam singularis et unicae dilectae Christi Mariae".

Honorius Augustodunensis, in the Prologue of his *Sigillum Beatae Mariae* (P.L., 172, col. 495-518), lays the final stone to this marial-ecclesial interpretation system: "Gloriosa Virgo Maria typum Ecclesiae gerit, quae virgo et mater exstitit", or: the glorious Virgin Mary is the type of Ecclesia who is virgin and mother together.

⁶⁰ See especially the four Sermones "*De laudibus Virginis Mariae*", P.L. 183, 55-88; his homilies to several mariological feastdays, P.L. 183, 365-448. Bernard's mariological conceptions are further developed in P.L. 182, 332-336; 183, 436-437.

⁶¹ Ilene H. Forsyth, *The throne of wisdom: wood sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972).

confusion.⁶² The text following indicates that, as Solomon, the Virgin Mary shares the *thronus Dei*. Elected by God, she becomes the seat, the house of God's Word. The Incarnation makes her God's Sponsa. Rupert of Deutz is the first medieval theologian to state the Virgin's status with such clarity, making her equal to Ecclesia. This new interpretation of the *Song's* Sponsa explains the presence of the Theotokos iconography at the beginning of the *Song of Solomon* in several thirteenth century manuscripts.⁶³

The Theotokos–Virgin Mary carries the infant Jesus, the Word incarnate, the new born Saviour and Redeemer while Ecclesia holds the chalice, the symbol of the sacrificed Redeemer. Both sit on the throne and are crowned. Though the representation of the crowned Ecclesia on a throne is rather uncommon, the Virgin with the Child is found all over Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁶⁴ A parallel should also be drawn between this theme and the coronation of the Virgin, in which the Virgin as prefigure of Ecclesia is seen as the Bride of God–Christ.

⁶² Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 8, fol. 4 (second half twelfth century). See P. Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark*, I, (Leipzig: die Stiftsbibliothek zu Admont und Vorau, 1911).

⁶³ The Virgin with the Child appears at the beginning of the *Song* in the following manuscripts: London, Brit. Libr. Royal 1 D I, fol. 272; Royal 3 D IV, fol. 73; ms. Add. 41751, fol. 18; Reims, B.m., ms. 25, fol. 155; Orléans, France, B.m., ms. 13, fol. 95v.

⁶⁴ The representation of the enthroned Virgin with the child Jesus on her knees is found in Europe since the early twelfth century in sculptures, miniatures, wall frescos and church jewellery. It is one of the classical iconographies of Notre Dame, the central iconography of the thirteenth century. See *Marienbild in Rheinland und Westfalen*, Exh. cat., June–September 1968, (Essen: Villa Hugel, 1968), cat.no. 2, 7, 17, 18, 21, 22; *La Vierge dans l'Art Français*, Exh. cat., Petit Palais, (Paris, 1950), cat. no. 1, 139, 140, 142, 217, 221.

12 (XII): f. 77 – Ct. 3:4

Sponsus in Sponsa's mother house/Christ introduced to the Jews.

XII A: Tenui eum nec dimittam donec introducam illum in domum matris meae.

I held him, and I would not let him go until I had brought him into my mother's house.

Description:

This five-person scene takes place behind a bed, a rare piece of furniture in medieval representation. Sponsa is standing in the centre of the medallion, in front of a column supporting the roof of the house. She holds the nimbed Sponsus' right hand. Next to Sponsus are Sponsa's two girl friends. On the right side is Sponsa's mother, wearing the typical medieval coif of the early thirteenth century. The illustration anticipates the end of the verse not mentioned here: "... into the chamber of her that conceived me", since the bed is the place of conception.

XII a: Hoc significat quod ecclesia quae de gentibus congregata est promittit se permansuram in fide Christi usque ad finem saeculi nec defecturam praedicando donec per praedicationem introducat Christum ad Iudaeos et ipse agnoscatur et timeatur ab eis.

This indicates that Ecclesia, who is composed of the assembled nations, promises to remain faithful to Christ until the end of the world and not to abandon preaching until, by the predication, she introduces Christ to the Jews who will know Him and fear Him.

Description:

The personified Ecclesia, nimbed, crowned and holding the chalice, is leading the resurrected Christ from left to right. Christ is naked but draped and in the Oxford Bible he is holding the pastoral cross. In the Oxford Bible, a praying monk is listening to an arguing Jew on the right, while in Toledo II the monk is engaged in a discussion. The monk is fully dressed in white, wearing a hooded cape.

Iconographical interpretation:

In the commentary medallion, Christ and Ecclesia are depicted as a couple.

As an iconographical theme, however, they are not related to a tradition, no such representation existing in previous programmes. Ecclesia, crowned and holding the chalice in her left hand, corresponds to the traditional representation. Christ, draped only with the mantle or pallium thrown over his left shoulder, and carrying the pastoral cross, is the triumphant Christ of the Resurrection. Ecclesia, holding his hand, a gesture not used in the twelfth century, where symmetry and static representations were the rule, leads Him towards the Jew who symbolizes the Jewish people, or the Synagogue. Christ and Ecclesia are figures of the celestial reign, while the monk and the Jew belong to the terrestrial world. The preaching monk represents "Ecclesia... quae per praedicationem introducat Christum ad Iudaeos".

Christ-Ecclesia is prefigured by the couple Sponsus-Sponsa in the previous medallion, the physical reality of the couple being emphasized by the bed. In the present case, the bed is not the couple's bed, but the mother's or Synagogue's bed. Ecclesia is Synagogue's child, her mission is to introduce her brothers and sisters, the Jews conceived by the same mother in the same bed, to Christ's message, or into Ecclesia.

The position of the two couples in the two medallions is almost identical, both women holding their Bridegrooms by the hand. Sponsa leads Sponsus into her mother's chamber where she has been conceived, and where, on her turn, she plans to consummate her union. The bed, *lectulus* in the text, has a very important role in the iconography of the Song, as it represents the ideal place of love. Physical love prefigures spiritual love, the place of total happiness, i.e. Ecclesia or the celestial Jerusalem. The text and medallion C of the same plate refer to Solomon's bed which, according to the commentary, means the eternal beatitude, the total happiness in God. It means also the company of the saints (*bona conversatio sanctorum in qua*

Christus requiescit) which is actually a metaphor for Ecclesia. Sixty valiant men, soldiers or knights, keep watch over Solomon while he lays in bed. It should be noticed that in the ceremony of knighthood in the Middle Ages there was a part in which the knight, after having taken a bath and cleaned himself, then lays in a large bed, which is a symbol of eternal beatitude.⁶⁶ The gesture of holding hands should be compared to that in medallion 2(IIa), to which it is identical.

The monk dressed in white in the commentary roundel might be a Dominican, the preaching order of the thirteenth century, or a Cistercian. The frequent insistence on preaching and predication appears in several places in this Bible, especially in the present commentary medallion. It has been the reason that the conception and supervision, if not the execution of this work has been attributed erroneously to the Dominican monastic order.

13 (XII): f. 77 – Ct. 3:6

Sponsa coming out of the wilderness/Christ in glory.

XII B: Quae est ista quam ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus mirre et thuris et universi pulveris pigmentarii.

Who is she who comes out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all the powders of the perfume merchants.

Description:

Sponsus, nimbed and barefoot, is standing on a hill, emulating the pillars of smoke. On his left are two friends. The heads of all three men encroach on the frame of the medallion. On Sponsus' right, Sponsa stands beneath with her two friends, each of whom holds a censer symbolizing the perfume of myrrh and frankincense.

⁶⁶ Pierre Girard-Augry, *Dissertations sur l'ancienne Chevalerie* (Puisseaux: Editions Pardès, 1990), p. 214.

XII b: Iudaei qui videbunt gentes converti et recipi in amorem sponsi non invidendo sed quasi mirando et gaudendo de consortio fratrum quaerit a domino si salus sicut promissa gentibus.

The Jews, seeing the nations being converted and entering into Sponsus' love, admiring and rejoicing together in the fraternal community, ask the Lord if salvation has been promised to all nations, which had been questioned several times.

Description:

The medallion represents heaven, the dwelling-place of the redeemed souls. Christ the King is nimbed, crowned and clad in tunica and pallium. He sits on a hill, His heavenly throne. His right hand is raised in blessing and the Gospel rests on His knee. He is looking toward Ecclesia who stands in adoration in front of Him on a lower level. To the left and right are the saved souls. The naked figures on the left are the true redeemed souls while the nimbed figures on the right represent saints. On the upper part of the composition are two cherubs with censers. The Oxford and the Toledo Bible medallions are the same except for a difference in the head movement of Christ: in Oxford He looks down to Ecclesia, while in Toledo He looks straight in front of Him, with the result that the Toledo composition is more static.

Iconographical interpretation:

The representations in medallions 13(XIIb) and 3(IIb), though different, depict scenes taking place in heaven at the end of the time. Ecclesia is no longer in an equal position as in medallion 3(IIb) nor does she occupy the center of the medallion, which is devoted to Christ. The movement and the composition of the main figures in both medallions -- Sponsus-Sponsa/Christus-Ecclesia -- is identical.

According to the Latin text of the Song in the Vulgata, *Quae est ista quae ascendit...*, the question has a feminine subject and a feminine object, *quae* and

ista being feminine. For centuries, the text has been translated in the feminine. However, the present interpretation of the biblical verse, both commentary and iconography, does not insist on Ecclesia, the type of Sponsa, but on Sponsus and Christ. Ecclesia, although illustrated in the medallion, is referred to by the nations in the commentary text, in which the nations are another allegory of Sponsa and Ecclesia. In short, the image in the medallion does not correspond literally with the text. The nimbed Sponsus is seated on the top of the hill in the center of the medallion illustrating the Song's text. Sponsa stands on a lower level, in an attitude of astonishment and admiration. In the commentary medallion, Ecclesia has the same attitude.

Were the tradition respected, Sponsa and Ecclesia would be the central figures; instead, Christ occupies the main position. The theme is the teaching Christ, in the French tradition known as the "Maître de Vérité", a direct descendant of Greco-Roman statues of philosophers and teachers. Christ the Master wears the teaching robe of philosophers in the late twelfth century. The theme of the seated Christ is still in the archaic tradition of the *Majestas Domini*⁶⁶, *Rex Glorïae* or *Christus regnans*.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ The Christ of the Oxford and the Toledo Bibles could be a replica of the *Majestas Domini*, of the Grandval-Bible, Brit. Libr., Add. 10546 f. 352v, 1st half 9th century. The same *Majestas Domini* is later found on the tympanon of the main south-portal of Saint-Pierre de Moissac, ca. 1110; on the frescoes of the apse conch of the Cluny chapel at Berzé-la-Ville, Château des Moines, ca. 1125. Heinz Skrobucha, "Christus, Christusbild", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 412-419; Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, pp. 136-137, fig. 84-86, pl. XL. For the *Majestas Domini*, see also: F. Van der Meer, *Majestas Domini, Théophanies de l'apocalypse dans l'art chrétien*, Rome, 1938; George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*, Vienna, 1979, pp. 73ff; and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated bibles from Tours*, Princeton, 1977.

⁶⁷ Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien*, II, 2, pp. 41-45.

Ecclesia, though considered as Sponsa entering into Sponsus' love, *in amorem sponsi*, has a different position. Representing the nations, and eventually the Jews not illustrated in the medallion, she asks Christ the Lord if salvation has really been promised to the nations, visible as naked human figures on the left, and not only to the Jews. This text refers to the famous controversy started by the Jews of Jerusalem around the circumcised, the Jews themselves, and the uncircumcised, the pagans.⁶⁹ The answer is that, should the pagans believe in Christ, they too have access to salvation. This is the message conferred to Ecclesia as she stands at Christ's feet in an almost begging position. Christ gives His central message of Salvation and Redemption, which explains His representation as the teaching Christ, in a position as if He were teaching *ex cathedra*.

14 (XIII): f. 78 – Ct. 3:11

Solomon crowned by his mother/Christ crowned by Ecclesia.

XIII A: Egredimini et videte filiae Syon regem Salomonem in dyadema de quo coronavit eum mater sua in die desponsationis illis et in die leticie cordis eius.
Go forth and see, daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him on the day of his espousals, on the day of the gladness of his heart.

Description:

This medallion represents the coronation of King Solomon who is seated on his throne. On the right his mother Bathsheba, wearing the typical coif of the early thirteenth century, places the crown on his head.⁷⁰ Solomon reaches out his right

⁶⁹ Acts 11:1–18

⁷⁰ About the costume of the time of Saint Louis, in which the coif is analyzed, see: Yvonne Deslandres, "Le costume du roi Saint Louis, étude iconographique et technique", in *Actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (21–27 mai 1970)*, pp. 105–114.

hand toward a young woman standing on the left, one of the daughters of Zion. Between them stands a monk, a counselor to the King.

XIII a: Vox sponsae. In annuntiatione quae fuit initium caritatis nostrae fuit desponsata ecclesia Christo vel deitati unum. Ecclesia de gentibus conversa ad fidem praedicat Judaeis ut egrediantur de cecitate infidelitatis suae et cognoscant Christum verum deum.

Words of Sponsa. At the announcement of the beginning of our charity, Ecclesia has been betrothed to Christ, or to the one deity. Ecclesia, coming out of the nations converted to faith, is preaching to the Jews telling them to leave the blindness of their disbelief and to recognize Christ as true God.

Description:

This scene, based on one of the most important of medieval iconographic themes, represents the espousal of Christ and Ecclesia, here seated next to each other. Ecclesia, crowned and nimbed, places the crown on Christ's head while He is holding the terrestrial globe divided in two parts.⁷⁰

A woman is standing on either side. On the left is the nimbed Ecclesia before her glorification, without the crown but holding the Gospel. She is inspired by the Holy

⁷⁰ The globe is separated in two parts, see "Erde", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 657 – According to Panofsky, *Essais d'iconologie* (Paris: Ed. Gallimard, 1967), p. 307, the terrestrial sphere separated by a line, recalls the situation of the human soul situated between a deceitful and unreal life on earth (the lower part of the globe), and the heavenly kingdom (the upper part of the globe). However, in this medallion the disc separated in two alludes to the Earth, the upper part, and to the Sea, the lower part which is one of the classical medieval representations. However, the separated parts also could be Heaven, the upper part, and Earth, the lower part. – In regard to the coronation scene, Ecclesia crowning Christ is a very unusual representation. The most familiar medieval coronation scenes are Christ crowning the Virgin Mary. There are however many iconographies with Christ crowning Ecclesia. Nigel Morgan, *Early gothic manuscripts (I), 1190–1250* (Oxford: Harvey Miller Publishers, Oxford University Press, 1982), fig. 134, Psalm 109, Coronation of Ecclesia, in: Psalter, ca. 1220–1230, London, British Library, Ms. Lansdowne 431.

Spirit, a dove coming down to her, and she gets her directions from an angel pointing down to her from heaven. She symbolizes Ecclesia engaged to the deity and perhaps also the Virgin Mary, although the figure of Ecclesia makes more sense as a pendant to the Synagogue who stands on the opposite side of the medallion. Synagogue holds the Tables of the Law in her hands and turns away from the main scene, as she does in the Crucifixion scenes.

Iconographical interpretation:

The composition of this nuptial iconography of the crowned couple Christ and Ecclesia sitting next to each other is similar to that of medallion 3(IIb). While in general Christ crowns Ecclesia (or the Virgin Mary), the situation in this roundel is reversed: Ecclesia crowns Christ holding the terrestrial globe separated in two by a horizontal line. In the Toledo Bible, and in the Viennese French Bible,⁷¹ the globe is represented containing fire. The globe or disc handed over to Christ by Ecclesia symbolizes Christ's power over the earth, above the earth and under the earth, through Ecclesia's preaching. The horizontal line on the globe means the separation between the two worlds: light and darkness, light being on the top, or the separation between sea and earth.⁷²

⁷¹ Vienna, ONB 2554, illustrations to Genesis 1, the creation of heaven and earth.

⁷² Medallion IIA, Vienna, ONB, Cod. 2554: This roundel, the first of this Viennese codex, depicts God the Creator standing and holding the globe separated in two by a horizontal line. The upper part is clear, the lower part is dark. The accompanying text gives the explanation: "Ici depart Dex le jor de la nuit" (Here, God separates the day from the night). Three sun rays are shining from the upper part of the globe upon the two cherubs and Ecclesia of the commentary roundel – Medallion 12(XIIAa), Vienna, ONB, Cod. 2554. See Stork, *Die Wiener französische Bible moralisée* (1992), pp. 283–284. This representation of the globe seems to be particular to the Bible moralisée, the meaning being either separation of light and darkness, or creation of day (light) and night (darkness). "The light of the day (from the upper part of the globe), signifies the light of the angels and of Ecclesia".

The commentary text mentions the espousal of Christ and Ecclesia in relationship with the coronation, *In annuntiatione....fuit desponsata Ecclesia Christo vel deitati unum*, making therefore betrothal and coronation theologically equivalent, at least in the conception of the early thirteenth century and in the Bible moralisée. Engagement to Christ means sharing His glory. In the present case, however, Ecclesia's primary role is to be Mother rather than Bride. There is a parallel to be drawn between Christ and Ecclesia in this roundel and king Solomon and his mother Bathsheba in the previous medallion, Solomon and Bathsheba being prefigures of Christ and Ecclesia.⁷³ In the Toledo Bible, this parallel is emphasized by Solomon's bare feet, meaning that he already belongs to the highest saintliness,⁷⁴ a type of representation which is unusual in medieval iconography.⁷⁵ As mother, Ecclesia is both responsible for Christ, her son, and for the world. She gives the royalty over to Christ the only God and she commends the world to His care. Ecclesia recognizes Christ as the true God and she asks the Jews to do the same, as the gentiles already did: *Ecclesia de gentibus.... praedicat Judaeis ut... cognoscant Christum verum deum*.

The scene of Christ's coronation has its source in the previous medallion. Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, sits next to her son, the king. She puts the crown on Solomon's head as indicated in the biblical text.⁷⁶ Bathsheba is also mentioned in

⁷³ The biblical source to this iconography is to be found in 1 Kings 2,19. The influential role of queen mothers over their son – king is attested very far back in civilizations. The Virgin Mary's role is linked to this ancient tradition. See Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 224–229.

⁷⁴ Emile Mâle, *l'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, p. 30.

⁷⁵ Bernhard Kerber, "Salomo" in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col. 20 gives only one mention: Bathseba als Kroenende: Turin–Mailänder Stundenbuch, fol. 27v.

⁷⁶ 1 Kings 2,19: "Bathsheba therefore went unto king Solomon, to speak unto him for Adonijah. And the king rose up to meet her, and bowed himself unto her, and sat down on his throne, and caused a seat to be set for the king's mother; and she sat on his right hand". The last detail is not respected in both medallions, Bathsheba and her allegory, Ecclesia, being seated on

Christ's genealogy and therefore is considered being one of His mothers⁷⁷ and a prefigure of Ecclesia as well. According to the allegorical system which presides over medieval iconography, Ecclesia acts as mother of Christ and hands over to Him the attribute of His royalty, the crown, and the terrestrial globe to confirm His power and authority over the world. Indeed, Hebrew interpretation had already seen in this text a messianic enthronement, the mother of the king being the nation. The acclamations of the nation are the necessary prelude to the king taking office. This messianic accession to the throne was always seen as the mystical marriage of Yahwe God and his people, or of Christ and Ecclesia.⁷⁸

This interpretation is a variant to the traditional iconography of Christ crowning Ecclesia or the Virgin Mary. Ecclesia is rarely allegorised as mother of Christ, Christ's true mother being the Virgin Mary.⁷⁹

A last detail is about the Virgin carrying the book: she is in the position of Ecclesia of whom the commentary text says that "she is preaching to the Jews telling them to leave the blindness of their disbelief and to recognize Christ as true God".⁸⁰ The parallel between Ecclesia and the Virgin Mary becomes obvious. As is already known, mariology had been the central theme of medieval theology since the early

the left side. Neither text mentions Bathsheba crowning Solomon. Only the Song of Solomon (3:11), which is poetical literature, refers to the crowning of Solomon by his mother.

⁷⁷ Mt.1,6: "...and David the king begat Solomon of her that had been the wife of Urias".

⁷⁸ *La "Bible de Jérusalem". Le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961), p. 861 note a.

⁷⁹ Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien*, II, 1, p. 288, mentions a scene with Bathsheba seated next to king Solomon and prefiguring the coronation of the Virgin by Christ.

⁸⁰ "*Ecclesia de gentibus conversa ad fidem praedicat judaeis ut egrediantur de cecitate infidelitatis suae et cognoscant Christum verum deum*".

The representation of the couple Christus–Ecclesia is both a coronation and a nuptial scene, as previously stated. Ecclesia is the official new bride, the Virgin Mary later holding this position previously held by the Synagogue. In fact, all three Christ's brides are depicted in this medallion: Synagogue, Ecclesia and the Virgin Mary. The common representation of Synagogue is blindfolded, a broken lance or triumphal rod in her hand and the tables of the Law falling down. In the medallion Synagogue, turning away from the central scene, is standing and holding the tables which are slightly leaning and not falling down. Synagogue is neither veiled nor losing her crown. Contrary to traditional representations where Synagogue is the rejected bride, she seems to think of her situation and eventually return to Ecclesia and to Christ. Therefore the artist–illuminator put her in a go-between situation.⁸²

Although this iconography is not the traditional representation, its roots go far back in history. In early Assyrian, Hittite and especially pharaonic Antiquity, the king's mother plays a predominant role.⁸³ With the exception of Solomon, the same is true in the Old Testament, where Isaiah mentions an oracle to king Achaz: it is the prophecy of the Messiah's birth. The Messiah will consolidate the throne of king David⁸⁴ and he will be of his lineage. The glory of giving birth to the Messiah will all go to the Virgin, the "biological" mother, which confirms her presence in the medallion.

⁸² Bernard Blumenkrantz, "la Représentation de Synagoga dans les Bibles Moralises francaises du XIIIe au XVe siècle", in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, V 2, (1970), pp. 79–91.

⁸³ H. Cazelles, "La Mère du Roi–Messie dans l'Ancien Testament", in *Maria et Ecclesia*, V, pp. 41–48.

⁸⁴ Is. 7:14 – 9:6 – 11:1.

Another element, less visible in this medallion, is the throne on which Christ and Ecclesia are seated. The throne appears in more explicit views in other roundels [13(XIIB), XIIDd, 15(XVd), and 22(XXIIa)], however, it seems appropriate to deal with the throne here, where the seating of Christ and Ecclesia next to each other gives them their fullest meaning. It is the first time in these commentary illustrations of the Song that the nuptial representation of Sponsus–Sponsa is rendered so clearly by Christ and Ecclesia. However, the representation of Sponsus and Sponsa, as a couple, standing or seated next to each other, already appears in previous roundels as a basic leitmotiv.⁸⁴

It is tempting to see in the throne, which in most cases is only suggested, a replica of Solomon's throne of which there are detailed descriptions.⁸⁵ Solomon's throne has always been seen as the throne of wisdom, the "Sedes Sapientiae" as mentioned in the *Hortus Deliciarum*,⁸⁶ *regnum et sacerdotium in Ecclesia sedem veri Salomonis tenentia*, the kingdom of God, as the true Solomon, in its double temporal and spiritual aspect. It is interesting to notice that in early interpretations, like the *Glossa Ordinaria* in this case, the double symbolism of the throne of Solomon, temporal and spiritual, is already seen as a theological reality.

Solomon's seat, in the present interpretation, is also the location of the Wisdom of God the very High, or Christ incarnated in the Virgin's–Ecclesia's womb. Already in the eleventh century, western theologians loved to see in Solomon's throne an

⁸⁴ These roundels are: IA, IB+b, 2(IIA), IID, IVA, VD, VIA+B+C, VIID, IXB+C+D, XA+B+D, XIA+D, 13(XIIB).

⁸⁵ 1 Kings 10:18–20 – 2 Chr. 17–19

⁸⁶ Gérard Cames, *Allégories et symboles dans l'Hortus Deliciarum* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), pp. 81–83.

image of the Virgin Mary as "Sedes Sapientiae", God's eternal wisdom staying in her womb, the most prestigious of all thrones. Since early twelfth century, the Virgin and Child on the throne, and not Ecclesia, have been identified with the Sedes Sapientiae. In the Hortus Deliciarum, this complex symbolism inspired the miniature depicting the rest of Christ-Solomon protected by the Virgin Mary-Ecclesia, they both symbolizing the throne and the state bed.⁸⁷ This last iconographical theme, the state bed, is dealt with more explicitly in medallions 12(XIIA) and XIIC.

The *Sedes Sapientiae*, Solomon's throne, is usually depicted by one seat as is the case in the previous roundel, 14(XIIIA). Bathsheba, the mother of the king sits separately to the side of the throne. The roundel corresponding to the interpretation shows Christ and Ecclesia equally taking place on the same seat, a kind of bench on which Christ sits even in His Majestas Domini of medallion XIIId. In fact, there are at least two overlapping meanings in this roundel: a Christ-Ecclesia coronation scene which integrates the symbolism of the *Sedes Sapientiae*. In medieval iconography of eleventh and twelfth centuries, the crowned Ecclesia with a scepter in her hand was a common image of her divine wisdom.⁸⁸

Since this same folio contains the medallion 15(XIIID) with the French and Castilian royal coats of arms on the tower, it is also tempting to see in Solomon's throne of

⁸⁷ The *unio mystica* between Ecclesia and the Bridegroom, in this case Christ-Solomon, is well analyzed in Gérard Came's excellent study, *Allégories et symboles dans l'Hortus Deliciarum*. The theme of the throne, Sedes Sapientiae, is dealt with on pp. 81-83.

⁸⁸ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1, p. 23. Compare the present nuptial scene of Christ and Ecclesia to the coronation scene of Christ and the Virgin Mary on the tympanum of the Church of Moûtiers, now at The Cloisters, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Although reversed -- Christ sitting on the right side and crowning the Virgin seated on the left -- the composition is identical. In His left hand, Christ is holding the disc symbolizing the world, the "mappa mundi", or the "sphaira" subdivided in three: the upper part is a half, the lower part in two quarters. See Philippe Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, pp. 173-176, fig. 31.

14(XIIIA) a prefigure of the French royal throne. Indeed, a French manuscript from around 1260, the *Speculum historiale* from Vincent of Beauvais, depicts in an inhabited initial king Louis IX sitting on a throne similar to those represented in roundels XIID, 14(XIIIA) and 22(XXIIa).⁸⁹ Although Saint Louis' attitude is not as frontal as in the Bible, he still wears the same crown, the royal mantle, and the sceptre, making an obvious parallel.

15 (XII): f. 78 - Ct. 4:4

Sponsa's neck is David's tower/preachers are Ecclesia's neck.

XIII D: Sicut turris David collum tuum qui aedificata est cum propugnaculis.

Mille clipei pendent ex ea omnis armatura fortium.

Thy neck is like the tower of David built for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men.

Description:

Sponsus, nimbed and barefoot, guides Sponsa in front of a crenellated tower of several floors. In the Oxford Bible, plain shields hang down from the two rows of crenels. In Toledo II, the shields are stamped with both the French and Castilian coat of arms. On the top right, encroaching on the frame of the medallion, a man is pointing toward a shield hanging from a tower. In the Toledo Bible, this man is a crowned king.

XIII d: Per collum intelliguntur praedicatores quibus mediantibus Christus copulatur Ecclesiae. Hii sunt quasi turris aedificata cum propugnaculis quia inimici sunt auctoritatibus quos possint obicere illis qui pugnant contra fidem. Per mille clipeos designatur perfectio auctoritatum quae est omnis armatura praedicatorum.

⁸⁹ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 568, see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 7, col. 428 fig. 1.

The neck means the preachers through whom Christ is bound to Ecclesia. They are like a tower built with defensive works to oppose those who are the enemies of the authorities and who fight against faith. The thousand shields are the perfection of the authorities which are all the weapon of the preachers.

Description:

The couple Christ-Ecclesia occupies the centre of the medallion; they are standing and talking very close to each other under a gabled arch. Ecclesia is holding the chalice, her primary attribute. A tonsured monk is preaching on the left. He is dressed in white and wearing a hooded black cape, a book in his left hand. The bearded figure on the right has his head covered and holds a small animal in his arm (a fox?). He symbolizes the enemies of the authorities, or the heretics, Jews or Albigenses⁹⁰ [see 6(IIId) and Xd].

Iconographical interpretation:

Christ points His hand towards Ecclesia's neck, thus illustrating the commentary text and the biblical text as well. Sponsa's neck is compared to the tower of David, while Ecclesia's neck symbolizes the preachers, the source of the voice which announces the message of the Gospel.

The tower in the corresponding Toledo roundel, of much better quality in its design, has its shields alternately stamped with the French royal coat of arms, the golden fleurs de lys on blue background, and the Spanish Castilian royal coat of arms, the castle with three towers, on dark red background. This detail, never noticed before by the few art historians who have studied the Bible, might be a clue to a new re-attribution, or to confirm an attribution. All the heraldic details are well designed

⁹⁰ The Albigenses are various Christians sects living in Provence in the XIIth century against whom Innocent III preached a crusade on the ground of heresy.

and perfectly legible. A crowned king is on top of the tower.⁹¹ The paired shields with the French and Spanish coats of arms represent the French royal couple, king Louis VIII and Queen Blanche de Castille who, without doubt, are the patrons of this considerable order. This detail is of importance in the attribution of the manuscript, and even more to the interpretation of the image's meaning.

In the Song (Ct.7:5), the ivory tower symbolizes the beauty and the purity of Sponsa the Bride. Ivory, among the most impeccable and stainless of materials, has long been compared to Sponsa's chastity and purity. The same is true of David's tower hung with shields in the biblical text: the shields are allegories of Sponsa's virtues. In later commentaries, these elements are transferred and become types of Ecclesia and of the Virgin Mary. The tower is the symbol of the engagement between Mary and Joseph, especially in the "Speculum humanae salvationis". Since the time of the Church Fathers, the tower has also been an allegory of Ecclesia.⁹² The same theme exists in the Hortus deliciarum, fol. 225v, where the tower is an allegory of the celestial Jerusalem and the shields the spiritual protection against the attacks from Babylon.⁹³ The shields hanging on the tower of David, i.e. Ecclesia's neck, are the rampart which protects her against Babylon's offensive. Further, the shields are also

⁹¹ The same paired coats of arms, France-Castille, can be seen in the Chartres rose window in the north transept, and in several stained glass windows at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. See Introduction, p. 13.

⁹² "Turm", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col. 393-394.

⁹³ Gérard Cames, *Allégories et symboles dans l'Hortus deliciarum*, p. 47, pl. LII fig. 89, fol. 225v in the Hortus. Ecclesia is seated on a throne, under an arch, in an architecture filled with people and symbolizing the celestial Jerusalem.

seen as the sixty soldiers.⁹⁵

The pair of roundels give in fact a dual typology of Sponsa: Sponsa the tower and Sponsa-Ecclesia represented by the preachers. The presence of the coats of arms on the shields identifies first the patrons, without any doubt the French king Louis VIII and his Spanish wife Blanche de Castille. Louis VIII was only king of France for three years, from 1223 to 1226. Blanche was the Regent Queen from 1226 until 1234, but stayed involved in politics until her death in 1252. The present manuscript must have been ordered within this time span.

The tower with the coats of arms on the shields has not been analysed before. It could be an architectural element of the royal palace in Paris, the Palais de la Cité, especially since it is surmounted by a crowned king. The tower is also an allegory of Ecclesia. Especially in the Bible moralisée, where ecclesiological allegory is of prime importance, the coats of arms might signify the Church being protected by the French royalty, king Louis VIII and his wife Blanche de Castille. At his coronation ceremony, the French king did indeed make the vow to protect the Church against all evils, especially heresies which might be harmful to the Church's mission. In making this vow, the king is first among the feudal knights, he is the head of the *milites ecclesiae*, the defenders of the greater Church.⁹⁶ According to Nicolas de Brai,⁹⁷ in his *Gesta Ludovici Octavi*, the French king is at all times the shield of

⁹⁵ Gérard Cames, *Allégories et symboles dans l'Hortus Deliciarum*, p. 75.

⁹⁶ About the Church and its role and position in medieval feudality, see Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Mutation féodale. Xe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), pp. 177-183.

⁹⁷ Nicolas de Brai (ca. 1160-ca. 1230). Poet writing in Latin verses. Nothing is known of his life. Is supposed to have been the dean of the collegiate chapter of Brai in Champagne. He is mostly known for his Poem "Gesta Ludovici VIII". See *Historiens de France*, XVII which gives the complete edition of the Gesta. Also *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XVIII, p. 80 and *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris: Firmin Didot, 1863, col. 986.

the holy Church.⁹⁷ It could also mean that the French kingdom is spiritually protected by the Church, both the Church of Rome and the spiritual Church.

Ecclesia is in a rather proud and static attitude, without movement, almost a haughty bearing. She is focused on Christ's speech and her hands grasp the chalice which is the gravity center of her upright body. Her posture resembles to gothic statues of the same period, such as Sainte Modeste from the north porch of Chartres cathedral and the Ecclesia statue from the south porch of Strasbourg cathedral,⁹⁸ although the costumes of these statues are different.

In her hieratic and stiff bearing, Ecclesia is similar to the cathedral trumeau figures of the early thirteenth century. She is also reminiscent of several statues of the crowned Virgin Mary from the time around 1220–30, with the same bearing but different attributes. The Virgin Mary with child from the Virgin's coronation portal on the west façade of Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris, although too hieratic, comes nonetheless very close to Ecclesia in the medallion. One should bear in mind that in the conception of the theologians of the Middle Ages, Mary was not only seen as the mother of Jesus, but she was also the symbol of Ecclesia. Mary is the figure of Ecclesia.⁹⁹ However, the theological meaning of the representation of the Virgin Mary holding the child symbolizes God's incarnation in humanity, while Ecclesia holding the chalice symbolizes the blood of Christ through which came the Redemption of humanity. The comparison with the Virgin Mary is confirmed by the

⁹⁷ Henri-Paul Eydoux, *Saint Louis et son temps* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1971), p. 46.

⁹⁸ Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg*, fig. 98 and 101.

⁹⁹ Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle*, p. 367 and Thérel, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 186–193.

previously mentioned illustration, the tower of David carrying allegories of the virtues of Mary.¹⁰⁰ The neck, or the throat, is the seat of the voice which announces Christ's message. The voice needs to be protected by spiritual shields, the virtues, against the negative influence of the heretics. This image could then mean that Ecclesia is protected by France, the shields representing French royalty.

The textual interpretation, in keeping with most of the interpretations in the Bible moralisée, is strictly ecclesiological. There are very few clear and obvious mariological interpretations. In the present case, however, the iconography allows a double, or even a wider exegesis than that contained in the text itself.

In the same way, Christ in his attitude can be compared to his statues on the trumeaux of the early 13th century cathedrals. In the medallion, Christ is in a teaching position, the typical position of the early thirteenth century. In this case however he is standing and not sitting, as in medallion 13(XIIb). He is reminiscent of the "Beau Dieu" of Amiens, although He does not have the same static posture, or the preaching Christ from Reims cathedral.¹⁰¹ In these cathedrals, the statue of Christ or the Virgin is situated at the center of the portals, sometimes at the center of the façades, to illustrate that Christ is the center of the cosmos, of history, of the

¹⁰⁰ Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I, p. 54 and "Turm", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col. 393-394. Both publications also refer to the ivory tower mentioned in Ct. 7:5 which symbolizes Sponsa's beauty and purity. This qualification applies to Ecclesia and to the Virgin Mary as well.

¹⁰¹ From the central pillar of the main portal of Amiens cathedral, ca.1220-30 (Willibald Sauerländer, *Le monde gothique*, pp. 213-214). The preaching Christ stands on the central pillar of the Last Judgement portal at Reims cathedral, ca. 1230 (Sauerländer, *Le monde gothique*, p. 220 fig. 217).

Bible and of the teaching of the Church.¹⁰² Through Him, Ecclesia the Bride reaches the same universal dimension.

16 (XIV): f. 79 – Ct. 4:7

Sponsa is immaculate/Ecclesia is clean through Christ's blood.

XIV B: Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te.

Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee.

Description:

The couple Sponsus-Sponsa is sitting in the centre of the medallion reaching out to one another. The friends are on either side. The scene takes place under an arch system topped by architectural forms.

XIV b: Totum corpus Christi rigatum fuit sanguine Christi ut Ecclesia Christi liberatur ab omni macula. Caput eius rigatum fuit per coronam spineam collum et aliae partes per vulnera pedum et manuum et lateris per verbera per sudorem per circumcisionem.

The whole body of Christ has been sprinkled with Christ's blood so that Christ's Ecclesia will be freed from all stains. His head has been sprinkled by the blood of the crown of thorns; His neck and the rest of His body by the wounds of His feet, His hands and His side, by the cuts of the whip, the sweat and the circumcision.

Description:

Ecclesia, nimbed and holding the chalice, stands in the centre of the medallion. She turns to the risen Christ on the left, raising her right hand. Christ, nimbed and draped in His mantle, holds the pastoral cross which is missing in Toledo II. On the right, two mitred bishops wear the pluviale and make the sign of blessing.

¹⁰² Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, pp. 349–350.

Iconographical interpretation:

Ecclesia, with her traditional attributes, the chalice and the crown, is standing in the centre of the medallion, meaning that she is the centre of universal spiritual power, between the risen Christ who, with His triumphal cross, confirmed His power over sin and death, and the spiritual power on earth represented by the two bishops. The iconography needs to be compared to medallion 12(XIIa) to which it is very close in composition, though different in gesture. It is Ecclesia with her chalice who incarnates the centre of Christ's message, which is confirmed by the central position of the chalice.

Christ in the medallion is *Christus triumphans*. His triumph is emphasized by the pastoral cross which sometimes carries a pennon. As in the preceding biblical medallion where Sponsus and Sponsa are confronted in a serious discussion about the beauty of the bride, Christ and Ecclesia discuss similar matters, though on a different level: the beauty of Ecclesia means her being free of all stains, of all sins, "*liberatur ab omni macula*".

Christus triumphans means that Christ defeated Satan, evil, sin and death which, in 13th century iconography, are represented by the Dragon, the asp and the basilisk.¹⁰⁴ The victory of Christ at the Parousia -- the second coming of Christ at the end of the time -- in the present case is highlighted only by the pastoral cross and the triumphant Ecclesia. Although the text mentions the stains, "*omni macula*" and Christ's wounds, "*vulnera*", the emphasis is put on the couple Christ and

¹⁰⁴ Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux au XIII^e siècle*, pp. 100–101 fig. 16, 17, 18, p. 349; Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I, pp. 29, 136 – II, pp. 9, 104, 153, 162; Elisabeth Lucchesi Palli, "Drache", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 516–524; Liselotte Wehrhahn–Stauch, "Aspis", in: idem, 1, col. 191–193 and Liselotte Wehrhahn–Stauch, "Basilisk", in: idem, 1, col. 251–253. For *Christus triumphans* and the lion as allegory, see Peter Bloch, "Löwe", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 3, col. 112–119.

Ecclesia, Christ the Bridegroom having suffered and died for the beauty and the redemption of His bride Ecclesia.

17 (XV): f. 80 – Ct. 4:13

The couple in the orchard/Ecclesia in the orchard.

XV A: Eius siones tuae paradisus malorum punicorum cum pomorum fructibus.

Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits.

Description:

The medallion is divided in two horizontally. The lower part represents the orchard of pomegranates by a row of trees. In the upper part, the nimbed Sponsus points his left index finger while he speaks to Sponsa standing on his left side. His two friends are on His right.

XV a: Vox sponsae. Per mala punica quae a foris rubore vestitate sunt et virtus candore praesumus, intelligite martyres, per fructus pomorum confessores. Qui ergo non possunt esse martyres sint in ecclesia confessores.

Words of Sponsa. By the pomegranates which are red outside and, we think, white inside, you should understand the martyrs. The fruit of the trees are the confessors.

Those in the Church who cannot be martyrs, should be confessors.

Description:

The personified Ecclesia stands in the central section of the Church in a majestic representation. She is nimbed and crowned, and holds the chalice in her left hand and the pastoral cross in her right (absent in Toledo II). On the left, a nimbed saint holds his skull-cap: he is Saint Nicaise, bishop of Reims.¹⁰⁵ An unidentified

¹⁰⁵ Günter Zehnder, *Altkölner Malerei* (Wallraf-Richartz Museum Koeln, Exh. cat., Ed. Stadt Köln, 1990), p. 292–302, fig. 198–202 and Georg Hartwagner, "Nikasius von Reims", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8, col. 38–39. The presence of Saint Nicaise in the Bible moralisée in general, and in the Song in

bishop stands on the right, holding a book and raising his hand in blessing. Saint Nicaise is the martyr and the unidentified bishop is the confessor as mentioned in the commentary text.

Iconographical interpretation:

In the preceding medallion 16(XIVb), the risen Christ carries the pastoral cross as the symbol of triumph (an attribute only existing in the Oxford Bible). In this medallion, Ecclesia carries the same cross and thus also symbolizes triumph. She is Ecclesia Triumphans endowed with the risen Christ's spiritual mission and power. However, in the Toledo Bible, Ecclesia is depicted without the pastoral cross. In the Oxford Bible she is depicted in a strictly frontal position, emphasized by her standing in what can be considered the central nave of a church building. Ecclesia is depicted in her ideal iconography of the early thirteenth century when the Church was in her first full bloom of temporal and spiritual power.

The frontal position of Ecclesia, here the central figure, is a traditional representation of important figures. In the twelfth century in particular symmetry was directly linked to frontality. In romanesque and early gothic art, frontality is one of the most important characteristic of authority, majesty and glory.¹⁰⁶ The nuptial relationship

particular, is surprising. What could be the reason for his depiction next to Ecclesia? Before I came to this attribution, I thought the saint was Saint Denis. Saint Nicaise was an archbishop of Reims and thus had a connection with French royalty, Reims being the coronation center for all French kings. Since the sixth century, his relics were worshipped in Saint Nicaise abbey church at Reims. Part of the saint's relics were also kept in the cathedral where, like Saint Denis, he is depicted beheaded and holding his head in his hands, on the Calixt portal on the North transept from the early thirteenth century. Thus he can be considered a saint close to French royalty. His representation in the Bible moralisée, a French royal order, might thus be clarified.

¹⁰⁶ See the main portals of the Basilicas of Vezelay and Autun/Burgundy, the south portal of Bourges cathedral. All these monuments date from the second half of the twelfth century. See also medallion XIId.

with Christ makes Ecclesia equal to Christ, thus she is depicted frontally. Similar figures which come instantly to mind are Christ in Majesty as *Rex Gloriae*, or the Madonna of Majesty.¹⁰⁶

The figure of Ecclesia should also be compared to the representations of other medieval figures in similar positions, such as the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus from the northern portal of Notre Dame de Paris, or the Vierge Dorée from Amiens cathedral. These two statues, though in a triumphant attitude, are no longer hieratic. They are more humane and down to earth than Ecclesia. Nonetheless, because of their central position, they incarnate a symbolism similar to Ecclesia, especially since the Virgin was taking over Ecclesia's symbolism during the thirteenth century.

In medallion 17(XVa), Sponsa-Ecclesia is the allegory of the pomegranates from the biblical text. The pomegranates symbolize also the martyrs represented by Saint Nicaise on the left holding his skull cap. The pleasant fruits symbolize the confessors represented by the bishop saint on the right. In medallion 17(XVA), Sponsus compares Sponsa to the orchard of pomegranates¹⁰⁷ and the pleasant fruits, *pomorum fructibus*, in the lower part. The orchard, or the garden, is the

¹⁰⁶ Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien*, II, 2, p. 45 for Christ in Glory sitting in Majesty; p. 93 for the Madonna of Majesty.

¹⁰⁷ The theme of the garden, or the orchard, is an ancient biblical theme which has its roots far back in the Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions. The garden is first the symbol of the paradise as seen in mosaics of Roman catacombs. In the Middle Ages and the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, mariology had an increasingly stronger influence on the interpretation, especially through the literature inspired by the *Song*. The garden then became the symbol of the Virgin Mary. This interpretation reached an apogee in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. From the twelfth century onwards, commentaries on the *Song* mention the garden as the ideal symbol of Sponsa, the human soul and its virtues. Eva Boersch-Supan, "Garten", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2, col. 77-81.

prefiguration of Ecclesia and is a common theme in the *Song*.¹⁰⁹ It also ties into the theme of the *hortus conclusus*, a classical medieval iconography present in the Song of the Bible.¹¹⁰ Ecclesia is the garden of Christ where His seeds, the Gospel, bring good works.

18 (XV): f. 80 – Ct. 4:16

Sponsus enters the garden/Christ joins Ecclesia, the garden.

XV C: Veniat dilectus meus in ortum suum ut comedat fructum pomorum suorum.

Let my beloved come into his garden and eat his pleasant fruits.

Description:

Sponsa, standing between two trees, raises her arms in a gesture of welcome toward the nimbed Sponsus on the left who by accident has footwear.¹¹¹ She is inviting him to come into his garden. On the right, Sponsa's friends are picking fruit from the trees or off the ground.

XV c: Sic orat sponsa sponsum suum ut veniat in ecclesiam et delectetur in bonis operibus fidelium suorum vel possumus hoc intelligere de beata virgine quae ita orat ut Christus veniat in uterum suum et comedat et delectetur in operibus sanctorum.

These are Sponsa's prayers to Sponsus asking him to join her in the Church and to

¹⁰⁹ See Song 1:12; 2:3; 4:12,16; 5:1; 6:2,11; 7:1,13 and 8:13.

¹¹⁰ In medallion XIVD, the enclosed garden is supposed to be Ecclesia producing the seeds of good works, the sacrifice of the martyrs being the utmost good works. It is also seen as the blessed Virgin who is like a garden because of her fecundity.

¹¹¹ Barefeet are a sign through which God, Christ, the angels and the apostles are recognized. In medieval iconography, the Virgin Mary, for example, will never be represented barefoot. In this medallion as in many others, Sponsus bears the nimbus and thus makes himself the anti-type of the allegory of Christ. Wearing footwear would therefore be a mistake. See Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, Reprint Livre de Poche, p. 30.

delight himself with the good works of his faithful. We can also understand that the Blessed Virgin invites Christ to come back into her womb where he can feed and delight from the works of the saints.

Description:

The scene takes place in front of a church building topped by a small tower. Ecclesia, nimbed and crowned, blesses two monks on the right who are distributing alms to the poor. Christ stands on the left of the medallion, barefoot and with the cruciform nimbus. Ecclesia and Christ are both represented in the same position as the loving couple in the previous medallion, only Ecclesia's movement is different.

Iconographical interpretation:

The present image is not the illustration of a major iconographical theme, it is rather the literal explanation of the corresponding text: Ecclesia the Bride invites her Bridegroom, Christ, to join her in the garden of delights, or of good works. Both Christ and Ecclesia admire two monks for their good works, the allegory of the garden of delights.

As in medallion 17(XVa), Ecclesia's symbolic position is emphasized by the architecture which she is standing beneath. As an allegory of the celestial or the terrestrial Church, she is often depicted with the additional attribute of a symbolic church building which she stands beneath or which she holds in her hands.¹¹² The Bible moralisée mostly uses the former. The church building connected with the representation of Ecclesia exists in other roundels [8(VIIIDd, 17(XVAa) + 18(XVCc)]. It is not a new theme. Indeed, in the Gospel book illuminated for the German Emperor and King Heinrich III (1017–1056), the Virgin Mary is represented

¹¹² For the church model held in Ecclesia's hands, see Wolfgang Greisenegger, "Ecclesia", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 563, 565–566 fig. 3.

as the *Sedes Sapientiae*, under a triple arch topped by a romanesque basilica rendered in full details. The Virgin Mary is the equivalent of Ecclesia in this symbolic representation.¹¹³ In 7(IVb), Ecclesia stands under a ciborium which emphasizes her position, although in a more sacramental symbolism.¹¹⁴

The interesting point in the present allegorical interpretation is the comparison of Ecclesia with a garden, although there is no direct parallel in the iconography. The mention of Ecclesia being compared to a garden is common in medieval theology as can be seen in the present *Song of Solomon*.¹¹⁵ The comparison is more commonly known in reference to the Virgin Mary, especially in the paintings of the Rhine valley in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. Since the twelfth century, especially in the commentaries of the *Song of Solomon* and later in the *Speculum*

¹¹³ Codex Vitrinas 17, at the Escorial, Spain. Also known as the "Evangeliar aus Speyer". See P.E. Schramm, *Die deutsche Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751-1190*, Herausgegeben von Florentine Mutherich (München, 1983), p. 232, fig. 157; Horst Fuhrmann and Florentine Mutherich, *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen und das mittelalterliche Herrscherbild* (München: Prestel Verlag, 1986), p. 27, fig. 2 and Wolfgang Braunfels, "Maria, Marienbild", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 3, col. 183+194.

¹¹⁴ See note 34, p. 28 for medallion 7(IVb).

¹¹⁵ Medallion XIVD compares Sponsa to an enclosed garden, the "*hortus conclusus*" which refers to the Virgin Mary in late medieval times, i.e. the fifteenth century. Medallion 17(XVA) mentions an orchard as the symbol of Sponsa. The interpretation sees Ecclesia in the image of the orchard. Further, medallion 18(XVC) depicts the scene in a garden, the Bridegroom's garden, the Church into which all are invited to come. Medallion 19(XVD) again refers to a garden, the heavenly garden of delights or the celestial Church in which Christ the Bridegroom has His delights. These are some of the main occurrences of gardens in the *Song of the Bible moralisée*.

Virginum,¹¹⁵ the garden and the *hortus conclusus* symbolism refers to Ecclesia-Maria on one side and to the human soul on the other. It applies especially to members of the different monastic orders, which might be the reason why two monks are represented in the commentary medallion 18(XVc). This tradition again reached its full flowering during the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries.¹¹⁶

All the medallions illustrating gardens in the texts of the *Song*, are represented by schematic trees. In the iconography of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the tree had an important role as the tree of virtues, or "*Arbor bona*". Virtues were represented as spiritual qualifications of Ecclesia; the three most important ones, the theological virtues of *Caritas* (Charity), *Spes* (Faith) and *Castitas* (Chastity) were integrated in the trunk of the tree. These virtues are symbolized by the two monks on the left in the medallion. The tree was also the allegory both of the first paradise, the garden of Eden, and later the allegory of the garden in general as in the present text of the *Song*.¹¹⁷ Above all, it was the allegory of Ecclesia the Church.

19 (XV): f. 80 – Ct. 5:1

Sponsus in his garden/Christ in glory, with Ecclesia.

XV D: Veni in ortum meum soror mea sponsa messui mirram meam cum
aromatibus meis.

¹¹⁵ Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pl. XXXV, fig. 69 and M. Bernards, *Speculum Virginum* (Köln, 1955).

¹¹⁶ Eva Boersch-Supan, "Garten", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2, col. 77–81.

¹¹⁷ Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, p. 30, fig. 17, p. 131.

I came in my garden, my sister, my spouse: I have gathered my myrrh with my spice.

Description:

Sponsus turns towards Sponsa on the left. He is nimbed and standing in the centre of the medallion in a garden represented by schematic trees, turns towards Sponsa on the left. The two women holding large dishes loaded with fruit illustrate the myrrh and the spice mentioned in the previous verse.

XV d: Vox sponsi. Haec dicit Christus ecclesiae exauditi sunt sermones tui quia assumpsi carnem in orto meo i.e. in coelo ubi est hortus deliciarum messui myrrham cum aromatibus qui jam ascendi et messui illos qui amare vixerunt. Sponsus' words. Christ says the following to Ecclesia: your words have been fulfilled because I took my flesh into my garden, which means in heaven where there is the garden of delights. I harvested the myrrh with the spices, and since then I rose into heaven, and I harvested those who lived in bitterness.

Description:

The representation takes place in heaven, which is indicated by waving lines. Christ and Ecclesia are in the centre of the upper medallion. Christ, on the left, with the cruciform nimbus, is sitting on the throne, holding the Gospel and blessing. Ecclesia, nimbed, crowned, and holding the chalice, is standing next to Him in an attitude of reverence. Nimbed angels lift up the redeemed souls from either side and from beneath the couple.

Iconographical interpretation:

This pair of medallions refers again to the symbolism of the garden mentioned in the biblical text; the garden is represented by the stylized trees and their fruit, myrrh and spice. The garden of the *Song* corresponds to the heavenly garden, the *hortus deliciarum*, or the heavenly paradise, illustrated in the second medallion by the

iconography of Christ, seated on the throne, and Ecclesia standing next to him in heaven.

This iconography ought to be viewed in concert with similar representations in previous medallions: 3(IIb), 13(XIIb), 14(XIIIa), and the closest, 13(XIIb). Unusually, Ecclesia stands next to Christ's left side instead of sitting, as occurs in the related iconographies from the same time, such as the coronation scenes of the Virgin Mary, or the depiction of Christ and Ecclesia in medallions 3(IIb) and 14(XIIIa). In spite of Ecclesia's standing posture, this scene is another illustration of the nuptial relationship of Sponsus-Sponsa/Christus-Ecclesia.

Most of the medallions illustrating the biblical text represent Sponsus and Sponsa in various positions. The same is true with the commentary medallions: very few conform to the traditional iconography of the spiritual couple, the ideal couple then being Christ-Virgin Mary. One of the main characteristic of the theme is to be depicted frontally, close to each other and often in a majesty position as in roundels 3(IIb) and 19(XVd).

The representation of Ecclesia standing next to the seated Christ belongs to an iconographical tradition. Indeed, the illustration of Psalm 45,10 (44 in the ancient version), shows a queen sumptuously dressed and standing at the right hand of the King to whom she presents gifts. The same image is used to illustrate Esther and Ahasuerus' relationship, another allegory of Christ and Ecclesia.¹¹⁸ Normally, the queen stands at the right side of Christ or the king which, in biblical symbolism, is the most privileged position, the *dextera Domini*.

¹¹⁸ See Hamilton Psalter. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Ms. 78 A 5, fol. 41v, in Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 105, 134-136, 182-186, pl. XLII, fig. 83.

In the mariological interpretation of the twelfth century, which became even more important due to the liturgy, the theme takes on another meaning: Ecclesia is replaced by the Virgin Mary, Christ's new bride.¹¹⁹

Christ on His heavenly throne relates to the *Majestas Domini* theme, or to the Christ in Majesty sources, although interpreted here with less pomp and symbolism. Medallion 19(XVD) shows clearly Christ's throne which is a simple seat, a kind of bench. The nuptial symbolism in this medallion is of a different nature: Christ and Ecclesia are not on the same level.

The explanation of the difference of positions between Christ and Ecclesia lay in the interpretation of the Latin text: *quia assumpsi carnem in orto meo i.e. in coelo ubi est hortus deliciarum.....* Christ says that He is in His garden of delights where He reigns as the Son of God, as a King seated on His throne. The standing Ecclesia does not yet rest in the garden, despite her being in heaven. She still seems to be on her mission and therefore cannot yet be in glory. Another interpretation is that Ecclesia, or the Virgin, has just been introduced to Christ for the heavenly wedding. The standing position has always been considered to be a dynamic one, while the seated position means heavenly and spiritual rest, glory, majesty, plenitude.¹²⁰

20 (XX): f. 85 – Ct. 6:4

Sponsa and Ecclesia compared to the beauty of Jerusalem.

XX B: Pulchra es amica mea suavis et decora sicut Jerusalem terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata.

¹¹⁹ Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 184–185.

¹²⁰ Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 184–186.

You are beautiful, o my love, pleasant and comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners.

Description:

Sponsus, nimbed and barefoot, speaks to his beloved Sponsa on the left, showing her the fortress, or the fortified city -- Jerusalem -- on the right. He hugs her by holding his right arm over her shoulders. In the same way, he compares her to the army represented by three knights dressed in their military apparel, each coat of mail covered by a tunic, helmet and sword, the typical military equipment of the early thirteenth century.

XX b: Vox sponsi ad sponsam. Hoc significat quod Christus commendat ecclesiam eo quod est pulchra voluntate, suavis conversatione, decora ostensione bonorum operum sicut Jerusalem i.e. sicut ecclesia patriarcham et prophetarum et est terribilis haereticis propter praedicationem.

This means that Christ recommends Ecclesia the Church to appear beautiful in her will power, to be of pleasant company, noble in showing her good works, as Jerusalem i.e. as Ecclesia the Church of the patriarchs and the prophets, and to be terrible to the heretics through the predication.

Description:

Christ and Ecclesia are standing hand in hand under a gabled arch in the centre of the medallion. Over them, in the background, is a city: the celestial Jerusalem as it appears on many medallions. In his left hand, Christ holds a kind of oliphant, a detail not present in Toledo II. It may also be a cornett which had such an important role during the medieval mass.¹²¹ The bishop on the right, with his miter, crozier,

¹²¹ Geneviève Thibault; Jean Jenkins and Josiane Bran-Ricci, *Eighteenth Century Musical Instruments: France and Britain* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1973), pp. 162-164

and pluviale, makes the sign of benediction. The tonsured monk on the left watches the central scene with Christ and Ecclesia.

Iconographical interpretation:

The present representation of the couple Christ-Ecclesia standing under a gabled arch is similar to the representations in medallions 2(IIa), 12(XIIa), 15(XIIIId). In roundels 2(IIa) and 12(XIIa), Christ and Ecclesia are holding their hands, a gesture always seen as an engagement sign between two partners in medieval iconography as it already appears in the well known Frowin-Bible from the Engelberg abbey in Switzerland.¹²³ This gesture replicates the handsome gesture of Sponsus laying his arm around Sponsa's shoulders in the preceding roundel. While the Swiss miniature shows the Bride and Bridegroom in an almost liturgical position, i.e. rather hieratic and dignified, the medallion depicts a couple much more "relaxed" and in a more natural attitude, in opposition to the 12th century spirit.¹²⁴

Both texts, Bible and commentary, compare the Bride and Ecclesia to Jerusalem, the celestial Jerusalem, the heavenly city where Christ will be in glory and where He will be joined by Ecclesia herself. *Pulchra es amica mea.... sicut Jerusalem. Or: Christus commendat ecclesiam eo quod est pulchra.... sicut Jerusalem.*

In the biblical medallion, Jerusalem is illustrated by a fortified city surrounded by walls and guarded by an army. The commentary medallion depicts the celestial city

¹²³ The Frowin Bible of the Engelberg benedictine monastery, mid twelfth century, shows a similar representation of Christ and Ecclesia holding their hands. The Bible is in the monastic library of Engelberg, Canton Obwalden, Cod. 4, second vol. of the three, fol. 64v. The image referred to is an illustration of the *Song of Solomon* in the same bible. See Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, p. 25, fig. 13.

¹²⁴ See Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, p. 25, fig. 13, p. 130 no. 13 and Otto Gillen, "Bräutigam, Braut", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 318.

as buildings resting on top of a roof. Underneath the roof a monk stands to the left, Christ and Ecclesia at the center, and a mitred bishop to the right. Jerusalem is the prefigure of Ecclesia, and as such the knights who protect and defend the city are the prefigure of the preachers, in this case the monk and the bishop.

The present scene can be considered as the "Heavenly wedding" of Christ and Ecclesia, as it is mentioned in Rev. 19:7, despite the presence of the mystical lamb as the Bridegroom in the biblical text. Witnesses are generally present in all the wedding scenes. In this medallion, they are a monk and a bishop, also called the *paranymphe sponsi et sponsae*.¹²⁵

21 (XXI): f. 86 – Ct. 6:10

Sponsa's and Ecclesia's beauty.

XXI A: Quae est ista que progreditur qui aurora consurgens pulchra ut luna electa ut sol.

Who is she that looks forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun.

Description:

Sponsus, nimbed and barefoot, sits on top of a hill, in an attitude of admiration in the upper centre of the medallion. The crescent of the moon is next to him, on the upper right; on the upper left, a small cloud symbolizes dawn or morning, a fraction of the sun poking through it. Sponsa appears on the left. This is the first occurrence of a crowned Sponsa in a biblical medallion, looking up to Sponsus. A couple is

¹²⁵ "Es sind nach Honorius Augustodunensis (PL 172, 354–379) als Vertreter der vorchristlichen Zeit Propheten, Könige, Patriarchen (die "*internuntii nuptiarum*"), im Neuen Testament Apostel, Märtyrer, Bischöfe, Bekenner, Jungfrauen ("*paranymphe sponsi et sponsae*"), Otto Gillen, "Bräutigam, Braut", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 323.

standing on the right, the woman wearing the string bonnet and pointing to Sponsa, questioning her companion about the apparition.

XXI a: Vox synagogae. Hoc significat quod Judaei mirantes eo quod Christiani ita propiciunt ut salventur et ipsi sicut viles et despecti licet primus fuerunt populus, peculiaris domino et oves pascuae eius, per invidiam voce synagogae dicunt: quae est ista?

Words of the Synagogue. This means that the Jews are astonished that the Christians succeeded in being redeemed, while they are discredited and despised, although they were the first people belonging to God and the lambs of his pasture. In envy they say through the mouth of the Synagogue: who is that one?

Description:

The medallion represents the *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, or the opposition between Ecclesia and Synagogue. The general composition is identical to that in the previous roundel. The blessing Christ in half figure is in heaven, surrounded by two adoring angels. He is looking down to Ecclesia, nimbed and crowned, who is adoring Him in turn. She is followed by the souls of the redeemed Christians symbolized by the naked human figures behind her. They all are in heaven, which is suggested by the clouds. On the right side stands the veiled Synagogue, her crown falling off her head. She addresses two Jews, one holding a small book, the other a scroll. They might be a doctor of the law and a prophet.

Iconographical interpretation:

Although the biblical text is of great importance,¹²⁶ the iconography of the

¹²⁶ The image of the radiating woman mentioned in the present verse appears also in the famous text of Rev. 12:1: "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars".

crowned queen, a prefiguration of Ecclesia often associated with the Queen of Sheba,¹²⁶ has not yet reached the scope it will take later with the baroque representation of the Virgin Mary which has always been considered as the epitome of feminine glorification.¹²⁷ To the traditional representation of Ecclesia and Synagogue belongs the representation of the sun and the moon as already found in the Drogo sacramentary¹²⁸ where the sun and the moon are each connected with an angel. In the present case, sun and moon are depicted in one medallion while the angels appear in the second medallion.

The allegory of Queen-Sponsa is Ecclesia, standing in heaven, adoring Christ and drawing a small crowd of elect behind her. The composition and disposition of the figures are the same in both medallions, the parallel movements thus underlining the allegorical relationship. Ecclesia seems to be in the position similar to that at the foot of the cross where she collects Christ's blood in the chalice. However, Christ is not hanging on the cross but He is in heaven, blessing. Opposite to her is Synagogue, the Sponsa of the Old Covenant. Losing her crown, she points towards Ecclesia, the Sponsa of the New Covenant, from whom she turns away.¹²⁹ This

¹²⁶ André Chastel, "La rencontre de Salomon et de la Reine de Saba dans l'iconographie médiévale", in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 35, (1949), pp. 99-114 and Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, II, 1, p. 295.

¹²⁷ The Virgin then is depicted crowned, with twelve stars around her head, standing on the moon crescent and crushing the snake under her feet. The textual source for this image is both the present verse of the Song and Rev. 12:1.

¹²⁸ Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, p. 151 and pl. XXIX, fig. 55, and The Drogo sacramentary is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. lat. 9428.

¹²⁹ The crown falling from Synagogue's head is the sign of Israel losing her royalty, also her kingdom and, worse, of losing Jerusalem. See Bernard Blumenkranz, "La représentation de 'Synagoga' dans les Bibles Moralises françaises du XIIIe au XVe siècle", in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* (May 1970).

image corresponds to the *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae* which, as already mentioned, played an important role both in interpretation and in iconography for centuries.¹³⁰

22 (XXII): f. 87 – Ct. 7:1

Sponsa and Ecclesia compared to the imprisoned Shulamite.

XXII A: Quid videbis in Sunamite nisi choros castrorum.

What will you see in the Shulamite as if she were a dancing choir in a fortified castle?

Description:

Sponsus, nimbed and barefoot, stands on the right with two of his companions, listening to Sponsa in the centre of the medallion. On the left is a group of soldiers without their helmets but wearing the chain armour with a tunic. One of them, on the far left, wears the bonnet which was worn under the helmet by many soldiers at that time.

XXII a: Sunamitis idem est quae captiva et significat ecclesiam quae olim fuit captiva et neglecta nunc autem laudat deum et pugnat contra haereticos.

The same Shulamite is the one imprisoned and she signifies Ecclesia the Church who formerly was held captive and was neglected. But now she praises God and fights the heretics.

Description:

Ecclesia, symbolizing the Church, is sitting on a majestic throne ornamented by small columns on each corner. Her situation on the upper part of the medallion,

¹³⁰ See Wolfgang Greisenegger, "Ecclesia und Synagoge", in *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 570–572.

between the two archways each capped by a building, signifies that she is in heaven, seated on the throne of Solomon, or the throne of Wisdom. Beneath her, on earth, are two conversing bishops, each of them holding a book, the sign of their religious authority. On the left are several Jews, a prophet with the scroll and veiled doctors of the Law. One of the doctors holds an open book. Both groups are engaged in a lively discussion.

Iconographical interpretation:

Ecclesia seated on the throne as a nimbed queen and holding the chalice is another major iconographical theme which ought to be placed within its medieval context. She could easily be identified with the images of Mary, Queen of Heaven, or *Regina Coeli* as she is depicted in the sculptural programs of several French cathedrals.

According to Gertrud Schiller, the theme of the Madonna sitting on the Throne of Solomon appears around the year 1200.¹³¹ There are, however, much earlier examples, such as the Portail Royal at Chartres, or the North Portal at Bourges cathedral. The biblical source for Solomon's throne is 1 Kings 10,18–20, the text following the description of the temple of Jerusalem and all the other riches. Solomon was universally famous for his Wisdom. His throne, the symbol of his judgement, symbolizes his wisdom. He then became the personification of eternal Wisdom and thus the type for Christ.

Christ, prefigured by Solomon, inherited Solomon's royal qualities, especially his Wisdom. Given the allegory of love between Christ and Ecclesia, Christ's Wisdom has been further transferred to Ecclesia, which explains the emphatic throne on which Ecclesia is seated. It should be noted that Ecclesia's throne, a hexagonal seat, is almost exactly similar to the throne of the young king Saint Louis, on the

¹³¹ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I, pp. 23–25.

image-colophon of the Toledo Bible moralisée.¹³³ Does this mean that the Church is as sovereign as the king, that *regnum* and *sacerdotium* are equal, or that *sacerdotium* is superior? One of the most impressive throne representations is Ecclesia Imperatrix from Prufening, dating from around 1150, where the crowned Ecclesia holds the terrestrial globe, and the bannered cross or the *vexillum*.¹³⁴ Instead, in this roundel she only holds the chalice and she is far from the majestic attitude of the Prufening Ecclesia who seems to be influenced by Byzantine patterns. In this medallion, Ecclesia is not in a symmetrical position; she is more human and she looks as if she were suffering. Her sad attitude might relate to the text mentioning that Ecclesia had been captivated and neglected: *Sunamitis idem est quae captiva et significat ecclesiam quae olim fuit captiva et neglecta....*

Ecclesia depicted in the *disputatio*, or better the *Altercatio* in roundel 21(XXIa), between the Jews and the Christian bishops means that she is the celestial Ecclesia in the celestial Jerusalem who triumphed of the *disputatio*. Several specialists saw in the present medallion another interpretation of the *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae* so typical in Crucifixion scenes.¹³⁵

Ecclesia's throne is the *Sedes Sapientiae*, the throne of Wisdom. As such, it is one of the main attributes of Solomon, personifying eternal Wisdom,¹³⁶ as seen on the

¹³³ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 240, Fol. 8.

¹³⁴ Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, p. 35, fig. 21, p. 31 note 21 and Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, pp. 17, 22, 25, 94, 179, 187, 188 fig. 50.

¹³⁵ Hans-Walter Storck, *Die Wiener französische Bible moralisée, Codex 2554 der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, in *Saarbrücker Hochschulschriften, Kunstgeschichte* (St. Ingbert: Werner J. Roehrig Verlag, 1992), p. 290–292 and *Altercatio Ecclesia contra Synagoga*, Text published for the first time by Bernard Blumenkranz, in *Revue du Moyen Age latin* (1954), vol. 10, pp. 5–159.

¹³⁶ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I, p. 23.

main façade of the Strasbourg cathedral from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. During the twelfth century, the representations of Ecclesia crowned and seated as sovereign on a throne become increasingly monumental, as in the Evangeliiar of Saint-Nicolas of Passau¹³⁶ where she is especially majestic. Several commentators interpreted Ecclesia as the terrestrial or the celestial Jerusalem, or God's dwelling place on earth.

The *Sedes Sapientiae* symbolizes Christ's sovereignty over the world, or Ecclesia's sovereignty as in this example. Sometimes, a purple cushion replaces the throne. Indeed, many throne representations show a cushion laying on the seat.¹³⁷ According to André Grabar,¹³⁸ the throne representation has an ancient source: the early Roman Empire where it was the symbol of the imperial Victory.

The most important figure to be seated on the throne next to Solomon, Christ and Ecclesia, is the Virgin Mary, who gradually takes over Ecclesia's theological and artistic prerogatives. It is on the *Sedes Sapientiae* that the Logos revealed in the flesh was enthroned. Another ideal representation of this theme is the seated Virgin with Child, the Theotokos, one of the most typical of them in Western art being depicted on the right tympanum of the Portail Royal at Chartres' cathedral of mid twelfth century.¹³⁹ A similar iconography is found on the tympanum of the Sainte-Anne portal at Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris.

¹³⁶ Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 16002, fol. 39v. Dates from the third quarter twelfth century; comes from the Augustine monastery in Passau. See Thérél, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pp. 223-224

¹³⁷ Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I, pp. 102, 134.

¹³⁸ André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Strasbourg, 1936 and London: Variorum Reprints, 1971, pp. 24-26.

¹³⁹ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The sculptural programs of Chartres cathedral. Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (New York: The Norton Library, 1964), pp. 15-22, fig. 2 and 9.

The throne represents majesty and royalty in many civilizations. Wisdom is a slightly different case. In the first centuries of Christianity, the cross on the Calvary was seen as the cosmic throne from where the Redeemer regenerates the world in integrating it in His mystery.¹⁴¹

This mystic dimension of the throne is found in an expressive way in the splendid representations of the Carolingian Emperors and Kings from the eighth and ninth centuries, and in Ottonian imperial representations from the tenth to twelfth centuries.¹⁴² They are the forerunners of the throne iconography of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the symbolism then being much more elaborate.

23 (XXIV): f. 89 – Ct. 7:7–8

Sponsa and Ecclesia compared to a palm tree.

XXIV A: Quam pulchra es et quam decora carissima in deliciis. Statura tua assimilata est palmae et ubera tua botris.

How fair and how pleasant are you, o love, for delights. This thy stature is like a palm tree, and thy breasts like clusters of grapes.

Description:

A palm tree bearing fruit grows over the frame of the medallion. Sponsus and Sponsa are standing on either side of the tree. They are both engaged in a lively discussion.

¹⁴¹ Gérard de Champeaux and Dom Sébastien Sterckx, *Symboles*, p. 382.

¹⁴² Horst Fuhrmann and Florentine Mütterich, *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen*, pp. 37–38, fig. 3, pp. 41–42, fig. 11–14, pp. 44–45, fig. 18, p. 49, fig. 25 and Gérard de Champeaux and Dom Sébastien Sterckx, *Symboles*, pp. 376–389.

XXIV a: Palma est aspera inferius sed pulchra superius et fructum affert. Ita ecclesia labores multos sustinet in terra sed sperat in coelo se praemia recepturam.

The palm tree has gnarled bark on its foot, but its top is beautiful and bears fruit. The same, Ecclesia suffers much on earth, but she hopes to receive rewards in heaven.

Description:

Christ and Ecclesia are in the same position as Sponsus and Sponsa in the previous medallion, facing each other. Ecclesia pushes a central group of barefoot monks toward Christ, from whom they will receive rewards.

Iconographical interpretation:

The general composition of the two medallions is almost identical: Christ and Sponsus, and Ecclesia and Sponsa are standing in the same position, on either side of a palm tree, or on either side of a group of monks. Inevitably, a parallel is drawn between the tree and the group of monks. The palm tree's crown reaches heaven, or the paradise, and bears fruits while the lower part of its foot is still on earth, i.e. the place of suffering. This image of the tree corresponds to the monks who are to be identified with the suffering Church on earth, suggested by the gnarled bark of the commentary text. Before reaching heaven, the heavenly paradise illustrated by the cluster of buildings above the roof at the top of the medallion, the monks must suffer on earth through severe fasts and contrition. In the medallion with the palm tree, the movement of the two figures converges on the tree in the centre. In the commentary medallion, the movement is toward the left, toward Christ.

The palm tree has strong biblical connotations; it is mentioned in both in the Old

and the New Testament.¹⁴² In the Christian tradition, the palm is the symbol of victory and of life, referring to the tree of Life in the book of Genesis, although no palm tree is mentioned in this book.¹⁴³ It is also a symbol of the Paradise and as such is mentioned by several Church fathers.

The comparison of the bride to the palm tree corresponds to the Christian symbolism in which Ecclesia is compared to the same tree. On earth she has a gnarled bark, but in heaven she bears fruit, which is to say that she has many saints.¹⁴⁴

The tree of life, or the palm tree, is also seen as the figure of the cross. Through His crucifixion, Christ brought life -- Salvation or Redemption -- into the sinful world. This is the reason why the cross is represented as green, the colour of hope and of life, in almost all medieval iconographies. The cross is the tree of life which bears fruit, the fruit being the Christians redeemed by Christ's blood, who turn to God, a symbolism which is confirmed by the next group of medallions (XXIVBb). Sponsus and Sponsa stand around the palm tree whose fruit they eat. In the commentary medallion the palm tree corresponds to the cross painted in green. Just as Christ's

¹⁴² It is indeed mentioned in several Old Testament Books such as Ex. 15,27; Nm. 33,9; Jg. 4,5; Joel 1,12; 1 Kings 6,29-35; 7,36; Ez. 40,16; 41,18-26; Ps. 92,13. The theme exists in the New Testament too: the palms play especially an important role in Christ's entrance into Jerusalem (John 12:13). In Rev. 7:9 the palms are attributes of the people clothed in white and adoring the Lamb.

¹⁴³ Wilhelm Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1968), p. 111 no. 808 and Johanna Flemming, "Baum, Bäume", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 258-268.

¹⁴⁴ Johanna Flemming, "Palme", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 3, col. 364-365.

crucifixion generates the conversion and the baptism of the Christians, the cross generates the Church.

24 (XXIV): f. 89 – Ct. 7:13

The couple in the vineyards/Ecclesia is the vineyard.

XXIV D: Videamus si floruit vinea, si flores fructus parturiunt, si floruerunt mala punica; ibi dabo tibi ubera mea.

Let us see if the vine flourishes, whether the tender grape appears, and the pomegrates bud forth: there I will give thee my breast.

Description:

The scene takes place in the fields, suggested by the vineyard on the left and the pomegranate trees in the centre and on the right. Sponsa offers her uncovered breasts to Sponsus.

XXIV d: Per campum intelliguntur Christiani, per villas gentiles, per vineas ecclesia, per flores fides, per fructum virtus, per mala punica martyrium in quo hoc istorum quaerit sponsa praesentiam amici.

By the field we should understand the Christians; the villages are the gentiles; the vineyards Ecclesia; the flowers the faithful; the fruit is the virtues; the pomegranates the martyrdom where Sponsa is looking for the presence of her beloved friend.

Description:

Christ on the left blesses the saints standing on the right. They are martyrs introduced to Him by Ecclesia. The nimbed saint standing in front of the group on the right, holding his skull-cap in his hand, is either Saint Nicaise, bishop of Reims, or Saint Denis.¹⁴⁶ The nimbed saint behind him is a martyr too. A mitred bishop

¹⁴⁶ Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, p. 561 and above p. 52 fn. 91. Since the twelfth century, Saint Denis is considered to be the spiritual foundation of French royalty. The textual base to this theory is found in Hincmar of Reims and abbot Hilduin. Parallels exist in Saint James, spiritual founder of Spanish royalty and

stands on the right. Saint Nicaise and the bishop are clothed liturgically with the pluviale, tunica and alba.¹⁴⁶ Ecclesia, holding a palm leaf, symbol of martyrdom and of victory, stands between the group of saints and Christ.

Iconographical interpretation:

In three of the four biblical medallions of this folio, a tree divides each medallion in two vertically, with Sponsus and Sponsa on either side. In medallions 23(XXIVA) and XXIV B, the tree is a palm tree. In roundel XXIVb, illustrating a commentary, the tree is the cross with Christ crucified. In the present medallion 24(XXIVD), according to the biblical text, the tree is a pomegranate bearing fruits, a vine growing on the left side behind the nimbed Sponsus. The commentary text explains that the pomegranate is an allegory of martyrdom as it is illustrated by the martyr Saint Nicaise.

In the *Song*, however, the pomegranate symbolizes love, especially as Sponsa offers her breast, meaning her body or her sex, to Sponsus. The text alludes without any afterthought to a total union. This union can be understood as a union between God

the three Magi, spiritual foundation of German royalty. The abbey of Saint-Denis is also the pantheon of the French kings and the place where the regalia were kept. This idea would support the other thesis of the Bible moralisée as a royal order. Saint Denis is generally depicted with his two companions, saint Eleutherius of Paris and Saint Rustikus, both martyrs. See Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale. Xe-XIIIe siècles*, pp. 464-466.

¹⁴⁶ Until the 16th century, bishops are represented in their pontifical vestments, which means the chasuble or the pluviale covering the tunica and the alba, and the miter, less often the crozier. These vestments suggest the celebration of the mass, or the sacrifice of Christ. In the present medallion, in addition to Christ, the sacrifice is also suggested by Saint Nicaise, the martyr. See Alfred A. Strnad, "Bischof", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 301-303.

and Israel, Christ and Ecclesia, or God/Christ and the human soul. In this case, it is the union of the saints with Christ through Ecclesia who, gathering all the martyrs, is a martyr too.¹⁴⁷ The ultimate martyr is Christ.

The main theme of the Song is the love between a man and a woman. The tree -- palm tree, pomegranate or cross -- standing between Sponsus and Sponsa symbolizes this love. The allegory of love and of the tree symbolizing it, is the cross, the tree of life, of new life, of regeneration and Redemption, however only through suffering and death. The last medallion depicts the aspect of highest love to Christ, through martyrdom and death.

25 (XXV): f. 90 – Ct. 7:14

The couple enjoys delicious fruits/fruits are Ecclesia's virtues.

XXV A: Mandragorae dederunt odorem suum in partis nostris omnia poma nova et vetera, dilecte mi, servavi tibi.

The mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits, new and old, which I have laid up for you, o my beloved.

Description:

On the right, underneath a portico surmounted by buildings, Sponsa is standing behind a table with a lot of fruit supposed to be mandrakes, and three beautiful vessels, a ciborium and two ewers. Sponsus, nimbed and standing in front of the table, is speaking to Sponsa. His friends are on the left.

¹⁴⁷ Ecclesia carries a palm leaf, meaning that she too suffered until death because of her love for Christ. The palm leaf is the figure of triumph and martyrdom, while the tree symbolizes life, and the paradise as victory over chaos, as the place where God's chosen ones dwell. Through the entire Christianity, the palm leaf is the symbol of all the martyred saints. See Johanna Flemming, "Palme", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 3, col. 364–365.

XXV a: Mandragorae significant fervorem virtutum quem Christus dedit ecclesiae, faciunt etiam homini quod non sentit aliquem lesionem. Similiter virtutes diminiunt poenas temporales. Unde carbones ardentes erant martyribus quasi rosae.

The mandrakes mean the fervour of the virtues that Christ gave to Ecclesia. Thanks to them, men do not feel any wounds. In the same way, the virtues reduce worldly pains hence the reason for which live coals are like roses to the martyrs.

Description:

A group of monks and bishops in the centre of the medallion proceed toward Ecclesia standing on the right. Ecclesia is nimbed, crowned and holding the chalice. All the group is wearing liturgical vestments. On the left stand two apostles, nimbed and barefoot. One of them lays his hand on the shoulder of a bishop. According to their physiognomy, they are St. Paul and St. Peter.

Iconographica interpretation:

Both medallions are based on similar compositions which emphasize the relation of their allegorical meaning: the position of the figures and the tripartite vault and pediment system topped by miniature buildings symbolizes the celestial Jerusalem. Ecclesia and Sponsa have the same position, both of them depicted on the right. The mandrakes with the rich vessels laid out on a table in front of Sponsa correspond to the fruit standing for the virtues symbolized by Ecclesia's chalice and by Ecclesia herself.

Ecclesia exhorts the monks and the bishops in front of her by holding their hands. They represent those in the Church who receive the virtues so they do not feel any wounds nor worldly pains, as they are in the forefront of the Church responsibilities. Saint Peter and Saint Paul on the left exhort the central group too, giving this representation a historical dimension: there is Ecclesia of the time of Christ, Ecclesia

of the time of the Bible moralisée, and finally the symbolical and celestial Ecclesia, the eternal Ecclesia triumphans.

The text mentions two plants, first the mandrake, a root which always intrigued the theologians and which, since the time of the Bible and the *Song*, was believed to excite love and enhance fecundity. The gift Sponsa is giving to Sponsus is love and fecundity, as it is stated in the *Song* since the beginning. The first and necessary mission of Ecclesia is to be fecund, to bear fruit, this fruit being the increasing number of Church members, who inherit Christ's virtues and who get wounded for Him. These fruits correspond to "all manner of pleasant fruits, new and old" from the biblical text (*suum in partibus nostris omnia poma nova et vetera*).¹⁴⁹

The other plant mentioned is the rose. The rose does not appear in representations in a systematic manner until the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries, as art becomes more realistic. As with mandrake, the rose is first a symbol of love. It also suggests the paradise, in which case it symbolizes Christ's blood of suffering and the passion. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux sees in the roses of multiple colours the symbol of the many spiritual virtues.¹⁵⁰

26 (XXV): f. 90 – Ct. 8:4

Sponsa resting/Ecclesia should not be disturbed.

**XXV D: Adiuro vos, filiae Jerusalem. Ne suscitatis nequem evigilare faciatis
dilectam meam donec ipsa velit.**

¹⁴⁹ Arminjon, *La Cantate de l'amour*, p. 325 corresponding to Song 7:14.

¹⁵⁰ Renate Schumacher-Wolfgarten, "Rose", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 3, col. 563–568.

I charge you, o daughters of Jerusalem, that you do not stir up, nor awake my love, until she please.

Description:

The scene takes place in a garden symbolized by stylized trees. Sponsus, nimbed and standing in the centre, turns himself toward Sponsa on the right. She is supporting her head, which means that she is waking up. On the left side are Sponsus' two friends.

XXV d: Hoc significat quod praedicatores videntes multos turbare illos quos ecclesia genuit hortantur illos ne deficient in tribulationibus.

This means that the preachers see many people disturbing those who have been generated by Ecclesia the Church. They exhort them not to weaken in the tribulations.

Description:

Ecclesia, nimbed and crowned, is speaking to a kneeling and praying man wearing the string bonnet. She takes his coat off while pointing to the baptismal font on the right, telling him to get baptised. Ecclesia teaches him the Gospel and that regeneration resides in the baptismal water. Taking the coat off means also to get free from sins. A monk, dressed in white and holding an open book, baptizes a group of people in a baptismal font. The baptism illustrates those generated by the Church. Several Jews are standing in the background, wearing the pointed hat and raising their arms in a gesture of astonishment: they are the people disturbing the newly-baptised.

Iconographical interpretation:

According to different traditions, the person saying the present verse of the biblical text of the *Song* can either be Sponsus or Sponsa. As Sponsa seems to wake up, it makes sense that it is Sponsus who is speaking. He exhorts Sponsa's girl friends not to wake her up unless she is ready. The daughters of Jerusalem are those who,

in the commentary, disturb Ecclesia's members. In the interpretation, they are represented by the arguing central group of Jews in front of the baptismal fonts.

The baptismal font depicted in this medallion may be compared to the chalice held by Ecclesia of which it seem to be a replica, or it can be compared to a blooming flower. It is the door through which the faithful enter into spiritual life, into Ecclesia who, as in many representations, is depicted as a caring mother. Ecclesia is exhorting a converted Christian kneeling in front of her to come to Christ through baptism. Through baptism, the faithful are in contact with God's power in Jesus Christ, the same as Jesus' divinity had been recognized and confirmed at His baptism.¹⁵⁰ The Jews try to disturb these future members of the Church in preventing them from becoming Christ's followers. However, Ecclesia exhorts them to the baptismal font visible on the left of the medallion. This image is a perfect illustration of the role of the new monastic orders such as the dominicans and franciscans whose first mission was to preach the Word of God to the people in order to convert them back to Roman Catholicism. Successful predication led necessarily to baptism; both are sacraments of the Church.¹⁵¹

27 (XXVII): f. 92 – Ct. 8:10

Sponsa's and Ecclesia's breasts compared to towers and the apostles' doctrine.

**XXVII B: Ubra mea quasi turris ex quo facta sum coram eo quasi pacem
reperiens.**

My breasts are like towers, and before him I am like one who found peace.

¹⁵⁰ Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, p. 355 – Mt. 3:13–16.

¹⁵¹ For the iconographical symbolism of baptism and the role of baptismal font in the medieval Church, see Gérard de Champeaux and Dom Sébastien Sterckx, *Symboles*, pp. 229–237.

Description:

Sponsus, nimbed and barefoot, and Sponsa are sitting next to each other on the left of the medallion. They hold their right hands on Sponsa's breast while she is pointing her left index to the architecture above her, representing a tower and a fortified castle. On the right are Sponsa's girlfriends, the daughters of Jerusalem.

XXVII b: Vox Sponsae. Per ubera significatur doctrina apostolorum quae usque in finem mundi defendet ecclesiam contra haereticos.

Sponsa's words. The breasts mean the apostles' doctrine which will be defended by Ecclesia until the end of the world.

Description:

The medallion is subdivided by a triple-arch system in which three figures are seated: on the left Ecclesia, nimbed and crowned, holding the chalice; in the centre, Saint Peter, nimbed and barefoot, is involved in an active discussion with a heretic Jewish doctor on the right. The doctor is bearded, wears a head veil and carries a fox on his shoulder, the symbol of his error.

Iconographical interpretation:

The daughters of Jerusalem appear in many illuminated medallions of the *Song*.¹⁵³ In the standard interpretation, they are Sponsa's friends. An ancient Church interpretation of the *Song*, however, sees them as friends who are not necessarily favourable to Sponsus. All of the commentaries on the *Song* deal with them. Saint Bernard sees in the "filiae Jerusalem" sinners who fight against Sponsus, though they

¹⁵³ See medallions IA+B+D, IIA+B+C, IIIA+B, IVC+D, VD, VIA+C, VIIA+B+C+D, VIIIA+B+C+D, IXA+B+D, XB+C, XIA+B+D, XIIA+B, XIII B+C, XIVB, XVC+D, XVIC+D, XVIIA+B+C+D, XVIII A+B+C+D, XIXA+B+C+D, XXA+C, XXIB+D, XXIIC+D, XXIIIA, XXVB+C, XXVIB, XXVII B+D, XXVIII A.

are still part of Ecclesia as they receive Ecclesia's spiritual food.¹⁵³ In the iconographical interpretation of the second medallion, the heretic Jewish doctor is the allegory of the daughters of Jerusalem, since he is considered an enemy of the Church. The antinomy between heresy and Ecclesia is rendered by the opposition of the two allegories, each of them sitting on either side of Saint Peter.

In medallion 27(XXVIIB), illustrating the biblical text of the *Song*, Sponsa seems to be engaged in a lively discussion with her friends. So also is Sponsus, who is seated next to her. The composition is similar to that of the commentary medallion, where Saint Peter is in discussion with the heretic doctor: Sponsus corresponds to Ecclesia while Sponsa has the position of Saint Peter who could be identified with the catholic Church of Rome. We are at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when many heretical religious groups exist all over Europe. The Cathars, of manicheistic orientation, spread over the south of France and were a serious concern to the Church of Rome. Then there was the sect of the Vaudois, a type of fundamentalist movement which interpreted the Bible literally. Further, there were many individual preachers opposing the increasing temporal power of Rome. The medallion can be understood as a clear illustration of this serious problem of the early thirteenth century.

Both texts refer to Sponsa's and Ecclesia's breasts. In the *Song*, they are allegorized by towers, which means a defense system. In the commentary text, they are the symbol of the apostles' doctrine, the spiritual food which will be defended by Ecclesia. The doctrine seems to be the teaching and the theology of the Roman Catholic Church of which Saint Peter was the founder. Ecclesia and the Catholic Church are here two different identities, although both are nimbed and therefore holy. Nonetheless, Ecclesia has superiority over Saint Peter.

¹⁵³ Yves Congar, *L'Eglise de Saint Augustin à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1970), pp. 126-127.

3. The style of the miniatures of the Bible Moralisée

Robert Branner, in his study of the Bibles moralisées illuminated in Paris at the beginning of the 13th century, termed the style of these miniatures the "Moralized Bible style", or he used the German word "Muldenfaltenstil", as defined by art historians such as Otto Homburger and Hans R. Hahnloser.¹ In his study of psalter illustration of the 13th century, Günter Haseloff devised the concept "Bible moralisée-Stil" which was also taken over by Robert Branner.² By the end of the 12th century, this style had spread across Europe. Its figures are based on a limited number of models or patterns, the drapery conforming to the shapes of the figures, tends to be striated, with shadows made of black pen lines or dark, painted colours, or, in more elegant cases, it is made in long folds with ends often resembling hairpin loops.³ Otto Homburger, and later Louis Grodecki, insisted on the influence of Antiquity on the draperies, especially antique sculptures. Draperies are soft; they stick to the body and mould it; the proportions elongate, the attitudes become more noble. The antique features sometimes appear clearly in the faces and the heads. The

¹ Otto Homburger, "Zur Stilbestimmung der figürlichen Kunst Deutschlands und des westlichen Europas im Zeitraum zwischen 1190 und 1250", in: *Formositas Romanica. Festschrift Josef Gantner* (Frauenfeld, 1958), pp. 29-45 – Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt. Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches Ms.fr.19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek* (Graz, 1972), p. 216.

² Günter Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden* (1938), p. 31.

³ Robert Branner, *Manuscript painting*, pp. 22-23; Hans-Walter Storck, *Die Wiener französische Bible moralisée*, p. 71; Otto Homburger, "Stilbestimmung der figürlichen Kunst Deutschlands", in *Formositas Romanica*, pp. 29-45 and Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt*, p. 216.

individual character is emphasized over conventional stylization.⁴ This definition is best applied to the Ingeborg Psalter,⁵ which is the source for all Parisian miniatures of the early thirteenth century. The definition is applicable into the 1230's, the date of the Visitation statues at the main portal of Reims cathedral. Many art historians have stressed the influence of Antiquity on these statues.⁶ However, they cannot be described as "Muldenfaltenstil". As tempting as it might be to apply this to the Oxford and Toledo Bibles, it is not helpful because it does not indicate date or geographical location.

The style can be traced back to around 1170, in the Mosan book illumination. In spite of this derivation, Nicolas of Verdun is considered the creator of the "Muldenfaltenstil". In his work, the body of the figures is enhanced through their costumes. The costume as cloth becomes more important than the drapery motif. In Nicolas of Verdun's works, the early folds are very fine, as if the costumes were made of very soft silks.⁷ This theory of Nicolas of Verdun being at the source of this new style proves to be even more plausible when we remember that two of his masterpieces, after his altar at Klosterneuburg, Austria, are the Saint Mary reliquary at Tournai, Notre-Dame cathedral, dated 1205, and the Magi reliquary at Cologne cathedral, from between 1191 and 1206. His style might well have influenced book illuminations such as the Ingeborg psalter (ca. 1200) or Villard de Honnecourt's

⁴ Louis Grodecki, "Les problèmes de l'origine de la peinture gothique et le `maître de Saint Chéron` de la cathédrale de Chartres", in *Revue de l'Art*, 40-41, 1978, p. 47.

⁵ Grodecki, "le Maître de saint Chéron", pp. 46-47

⁶ Sauerländer, *Le Monde gothique*, p. 100 fig. 92.

⁷ Storck, *Die Wiener französische Bible moralisée*, p. 71 – Carl Nordenfalk, "Die romanische Buchmalerei", in *Die grossen Jahrhunderte der Malerei. Die romanische Malerei vom elften bis zum dreizehnten Jahrhundert* (Geneva, 1958), p. 198.

notebook (ca. 1240), both manuscripts realized in the area of northeastern France.⁸

The development of the "Muldenfaltenstil" can be traced through some of the most important monuments, including the statues of the north porch at Chartres cathedral and the Saint John figure in the Last Judgement portal at Reims cathedral. The sculptures from the ateliers of the west portal at Reims cathedral and those from the portals of the south transept at Strasbourg cathedral are late examples of the same style.⁹ The same observations can be drawn for stained glass windows or manuscripts, as will be seen later.

In miniatures, this style does seem to have taken root in the group of Bibles moralisées manuscripts. According to Branner, who was inspired by the theories of Arthur Haseloff and Georg Graf Vitzthum,¹⁰ the Parisian atelier of the two Vienna Moralized Bibles¹¹ introduced the "Muldenfaltenstil" on a large scale, although several other ateliers were already practicing it. Indeed, Branner demonstrates that

⁸ Branner, *Manuscript painting*, p. 22 and Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*.

⁹ Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Antike und gotische Skulptur in Frankreich um 1200", in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 35, (1973), pp. 83–110.

¹⁰ Georg Graf Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Westeuropa* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 9; and Arthur Haseloff, "La miniature dans les pays cisalpins depuis le commencement du 12e siècle jusqu'au milieu du 14e siècle", in André Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, 1, (Paris, n.d.), p. 84 and Storck, *Die Wiener französische Bible moralisée*, p. 75.

¹¹ ONB cod. 1179 and ONB cod. 2554.

the international style was in fashion in Parisian ateliers such as the Almagest atelier, the Alexander atelier, and the Blanche atelier.¹²

Reiner Hausscherr, in his thorough stylistic analysis of all existing Bibles moralisées, concluded that volume III of the Toledo Bible shows the best synthesis of the evolution of the "Muldenfaltenstil" in these Bibles, although in the *Kunstchronik* of 1968 he changed his mind.¹³ Folios 1–24 are the earliest compositions. They show an elaborate and refined "Muldenfaltenstil", with small heavy faces and very fluid draperies, which can be compared to the figures in the rose of the west façade of Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris, or to those in the tympanum of the death of the Virgin Mary at Strasbourg cathedral. Hausscherr dates these pages to around 1220. The second part of the Gospel cycle in the Toledo Bible¹⁴ is rendered in a more slender and detailed "Muldenfaltenstil", in which the faces are flat and not modelled. Folios 33–80 are dated to the end of the 1220's. The two Vienna manuscripts might have been illuminated between the two previous cycles, i.e. in the 1220's. The core of the Toledo manuscript was produced after 1230. The style of folios 25–32 of

¹² Branner, *Manuscript painting*, pp. 22–41. The name of the Almagest atelier derives from the key work, Ptolemy's "Almagest", or the "Prince" (Paris, B.N., Ms.lat. 16200) copied in 1213 from an exemplar kept in St-Victor abbey. The Alexander atelier took its name from the inscription in burnished gold at the top of an early Bible (Paris, B.N., Ms.lat. 11930–11931). It existed as early as the "Almagest" shop. The Blanche atelier is named after the famous psalter probably owned by Blanche de Castille (Paris, Arsenal, 1186). The origin of the workshop seems to be in north-eastern France. This atelier worked with the Alexander and the Almagest workshops.

¹³ Reiner Hausscherr, "Rezension über: Willibald Sauerländer, Von Sens bis Strassburg. Ein Beitrag zur kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung der Strassburger Querhausskulpturen", in *Kunstchronik*, 10, (1968), pp. 302–321.

¹⁴ The Gospel cycle in both Toledo and Paris Bibles moralisées is a synthesis of the four Gospels of the Vulgata, in order to avoid a repetition of texts and consequently of medallions.

volume III of the Toledo manuscript is much more modern, being closer to the Sainte Chapelle style and should therefore be dated even later.¹⁵

Haussherr's approach is a synthetic overview and is meant as a guideline for the other volumes of the Bible. Branner completed the research using the established scale. The fair, roundish faces in this medallion recall the ones in the Apocalypse moralization. Since the drapery is similar, falling in long, striated folds with a restrained use of loops, it seems likely that volume II was the last one to be painted by this particular artist. The sequence for this master would then have been volumes I, III, and finally II.¹⁶

According to the studies by both Branner and Haussherr, Toledo III was painted by five artists while the two Harvey manuscripts in London which were copied from it were painted by nine artists. Toledo II, containing the *Song of Solomon*, was put together by only two painters.¹⁷

The preceding summary of stylistic analysis indicates that the second volume of the Toledo Bible (Toledo II) and the Oxford Bible were almost contemporary: they were probably both illuminated around 1240, Toledo I being dated before 1234 as already stated. A closer stylistic study of both manuscripts will confirm whether or not this dating is accurate.¹⁸

¹⁵ Haussherr, "Christus-Johannes-Gruppen in der Bible moralisée", in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 27, (1964), pp. 133-152.

¹⁶ Branner, *Manuscript painting*, p. 51.

¹⁷ Branner, *ibid*, p. 52.

¹⁸ Branner, *ibid*, pp. 50-51.

Branner's statement that both the Toledo and the Oxford Bibles were "largely painted by members of one atelier" appears to be true, but the work seems to have been spread over a longer time span. Furthermore, this statement does not imply that the various artists had been determined by the same style.

A stylistic analysis of the *Song of Solomon* in Toledo II and the Oxford Bible will surely shed new light on this problem. It is generally admitted that the Toledo Bible was painted with greater care than its counterpart, the Oxford Bible. Branner sees a close relationship in style between the Toledo and the Oxford Bibles which I do not accept. Indeed, the style of the *Song* of the Paris volume of the Bible is very different from what has previously been called the "Muldenfaltenstil"; the draperies in the Oxford *Song* are loose, rendered in a wide and voluminous style, and similar to those of the apostle statues in the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, dated 1241-1248, though not as theatrical, or to those on the west facade at Reims cathedral, especially the Joseph and the servant statues of the Presentation in the Temple from the central portal, dated close to 1255. Examples from both Bibles show that the drapery conception in these examples is completely different from the "Muldenfaltenstil"; here drapery is conceived as volume and no longer as a calligraphic style.¹⁹

The compositional framework of the first pair of roundels IAa, "Osculetur me osculo", is identical, however there is an essential difference in the style, and especially in the style of the draperies. In Toledo II, the coat and dresses, or tunicas, of Sponsa and her friends are pure examples of the "Muldenfaltenstil"; the folds are fluid like running water and mould the bodies. The calligraphic effect of draperies and folds is easy discernable. This applies also to the head veils. In the Oxford Bible, the style is very different. The draperies of all the human figures are treated

¹⁹ Sauerländer, *Le monde gothique*, p. 257 fig. 249 and 267 fig. 258

in a broad manner, staying away from the bodies which are treated as pretexts for large and loose drapery styles. The draperies of the Oxford Bible fill the space, as do those of the apostles of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. The volume of the draperies in the Oxford Bible appears to have expanded.

In many cases, such as 4(IIIa and b) in the Toledo Bible, the fine folds parallel the figure, suggesting a realistic body. Especially in the couple of "fleshly lust" 4(IIIa), and in the representation of kneeling Saint Stephen 5(IIIb), the fold system seems to be inspired by the statuary of Greek antiquity, as companions with some details of the Parthenon frieze of the middle fifth century B.C. can show.²⁰ It seems obvious that there could not have been a direct connection between Athens and Paris at that time, so the influence must have had other sources.

An important detail which helps to date and to locate the Toledo Bible stylistically is the presence of the coats of arms of France and Castille in roundel 15(XIIID).²¹ These arms, in reality the shields of France and of Castille, are those of king Louis VIII and his wife Blanche de Castille who reigned from 1223 to 1226.²² Louis VIII is also depicted as a royal prince on a stained glass window of Chartres cathedral; he is on horseback, holding the royal banner stamped with the royal fleurs

²⁰ Jean Charbonneaux, *la Sculpture grecque classique*, Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1943, fig. 41, 68, 82, 83, 84.

²¹ See description of roundel 15(XIIID) and the corresponding note 90, pp. 86–88.

²² For more detailed information on the French coats of arms in general, see J. Meurgey de Tupigny, "Héraldique", in *Encyclopaedia Universalis* 8, 1970, pp. 348–350 and Y. Metman, "Sigillographie", in *Encyclopaedia Universalis* 14, 1972, col. 1004c–1008b. On French "Fleurs de lis", see "Lis, fleurs de", in *Encyclopaedia Universalis* 19, 1975, col. 1132b–c. Apparently, the golden fleurs de lis, three in number, correspond to the Trinity and were accepted as the ultimate royal distinctive sign under king Louis VIII.

de-lis,²³ with Emperor Constantine and Emperor Charlemagne.

The window dates from about 1220. After the death of her husband in 1226, Queen Blanche became Regent of the French kingdom until 1234. The execution of Toledo I and III necessarily falls within her regency. These coats of arms are absent in the Oxford Bible, the style of which, previously analyzed, is dated much later, around 1240. By that time the political situation in France was completely different. King Louis IX and his wife Marguerite de Provence were the new rulers, therefore the French and the Castillian arms had no reason to figure anymore in the manuscript (although they figure in the stained glass windows at the Sainte Chapelle, and in the Saint Louis psalter as a dynastic manifestation²⁴).

From the beginning to the end, the *Song* in Toledo II shows great cohesiveness and care in regard to style. The "Muldenfaltenstil" is homogeneous throughout, although the folds are too parallel, and sometimes too calligraphic. The draperies are fluid and striated. The forms of the bodies are suggested by fast and nervously drawn drapery folds in the style of the Strasbourg Ecclesia and Synagogue. Many of the interesting costume details, such as bands, bordures or textile patterns²⁵ do not exist in the Oxford Bible.

²³ Anne Prache, *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, p. 88.

²⁴ Branner, *Manuscript painting*, p. 133 - Saint Louis' Psalter, or Psautier de Saint Louis, Paris, B.N., Ms. lat. 10525

²⁵ See for example roundel ICc where a bordure adorns the tunique of the baptizing monk. This bordure does not exist in the corresponding Parisian medallion. Idem for roundels IXAa and XIVDd.

The physical features such as heads, hands, hair, gestures, even face expressions are delicately rendered in the Toledo Bible while the Oxford Bible deals with these details in a much rougher and more superficial manner. Neither the faces nor the hands are drawn in a realistic style, they are simply shown in outline. Similarly, the bodies in Toledo are thinner and more slender. The scenes are generally sharper and more nervously drawn in Toledo.

The heads in the Toledo Bible, especially those of the apostles or the prophets [for example 1 (Ia), 1 (Ib), 2 (IIc), 4 (IIIc+d), and 8 (Vb)] have typical features recalling those of contemporary sculptures. The faces are similarly elongated, with a heavier lower part and with curly beards and long wavy hair. Faces such as those in medallion Ia in Toledo II have a strong individuality, even though they are miniatures. In each face, the artist tried to render the third dimension, sometimes even an expression, whereas in the Oxford Bible, all the physical features are flat, with no relief: the hair is calligraphic, although well drawn in parallel lines, the faces are without expression, and the general impression of the style of the Oxford Bible is one of simplification and flatness in comparison to Toledo.²⁶

The same distinction between the Toledo and Oxford Bible applies to the gestures and other details, which are much more precise and accurate in Toledo II. The first verse and medallion exemplifies the style: Sponsa puts her index on her mouth, illustrating the verse: "Osculetur me osculo" in Toledo II while in Oxford, the gesture is imprecise, her finger showing her eyes or her face. In 4(IIIa), Ecclesia complains about her blackness due to her worldly torments symbolized by fleshly lust and avarice, pains which are counterbalanced by the beauty of the virtues illustrated here by seven doves coming down from heaven, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. This detail is missing from the Oxford Bible. In several medallions in

²⁶ For a more thorough analysis see the section "Stylistic comparisons".

Oxford [12 (XIIa), 16 (XIVb), 18 (XVa)], the resurrected Christ and sometimes Ecclesia carry a pastoral cross, the sign of triumph over death. This attribute is absent from the corresponding Toledo medallions.

Architectural and floral details show the same type of differences in both manuscripts. For example, in roundel Xd the stylized architecture over Christ and the two bishops clearly indicates a church building, symbolizing Ecclesia. Toledo shows details such as steeples which, in Oxford, can hardly be distinguished. Similarly in medallion XIIIc, the church building suggested on top of the scene is much more recognizable in Toledo. The medallion underneath, 15 (XIIID), is also a typical case since the shields with the French and Castilian coats of arms are missing in Oxford. In many other cases, such as roundels XXIIIB and C, the details are more explicit in Toledo: in this medallion, the two towers are depicted with crenels and loopholes which exist only partly in Oxford. In XXIIIA (Ct.7:3), Sponsus compares Sponsa's belly to a heap of wheat surrounded by lilies. Toledo illustrates the detail very realistically, while the miniaturist in Oxford completely missed the meaning: he represents Sponsus holding a bouquet of lilies and sitting in front of a misshaped form.

Since the Bible moralisée is a narrative, a pedagogical enterprise and a picture book as well, the main focus rests on the image. Within the image, or the roundel, the emphasis is put on the illustration of the biblical or interpretative texts. Details such as flowers, trees, architectural motifs, or even genre scenes, although secondary to the text, do have significance. Among these details, the most important ones are the various architectural representations, which are all stylized and of great simplicity. Their main role is to underline the illustration, or to fill the space over the arches.

Most of these architectural motifs top the scenes in the roundels in the same way as canopies top the statues at Chartres cathedral, for example. The role of these

ornaments is even more obvious in scenes such as the Coronation of the Virgin Mary, at the tympanum of the north transept at Chartres, or the voussure scenes at the main portal of the south transept at Chartres.²⁷ These compositions exist at several other cathedrals, such as Laon, Strasbourg, Paris, Amiens, Reims, in the sculptures and the stained glass windows. In architectural history, this element existed approximately from 1150 to 1230. The architectural canopies may have a decorative purpose, however, their main function ties them to the *Civitate Dei* of Saint Augustine as symbols of the heavenly palace or celestial Jerusalem.²⁸ In most cases, these elements have only a symbolic function, even when they depict a ciborium as in roundel 7 (IVb), or in roundels 10 (VIIb), 11 (VIIIId), 17 (XVa+c), XVIId, XXc they refer to a church and are therefore another allegorical representation of Ecclesia. Very rarely do these elements interfere with the illustration itself, unless they emphasize the role of Ecclesia, for example, or they are specially mentioned in the text, such as 15 (XIIID) where the tower of David is part of the biblical text. Also, in 20 (XXB) the tower and city walls illustrate the historical Jerusalem.²⁹

Given the texts they illustrate, many of the scenes could be rendered more realistically, or with more details. Instead, emphasis is placed on the human figure, since the typology of the Bible moralisée is based on the figures rather than on details such as furniture, trees, flowers and other accessories. Any objects depicted

²⁷ Sauerländer, *Le Monde Gothique*, p. 197 fig. 197, p. 198 fig. 198.

²⁸ Heinz Skrobucha, "Jerusalem, himmlisches", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2, col. 398–399; A. Stange, *Basiliken, Kuppelkirchen, Kathedralen. Das himmlische Jerusalem in der Sicht der Jahrhunderte*, 1964 and Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The sculptural programs of Chartres cathedral*, p. 97.

²⁹ On architectural elements, see Jusgis Baltrusaitis, "Villes sur arcatures", in *Urbanisme et architecture, études écrites et publiées en l'honneur de Pierre Lavedan*, Paris: 1954, pp. 31–40, and Eva Frodl-Kraft, "Architektur im Abbild: ihre Spiegelung in der Glasmalerei", in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, XVII (XXI) (1956)*, pp. 7–13.

usually relate directly to the text, or are part of a symbol. Roundel 3 (IIB) ³⁰ mentions the king's cellar, so the cellar is rendered by a row of barrels; the barrels, symbolizing the cellar, belong to the text.

Although early thirteenth century interiors were still simply decorated, furniture did exist in some variations and quantities. Scenes such as VA+ 8(VB) ³¹, showing Sponsus lying on his bed, could have added one or two more elements to fill the scene and make it more picturesque. The few roundels with details apparently not pertaining to the text are very rare; like VIId, they are themselves an interpretation of the text, in this case the commentary. Here *Praesens vita et bona temporalia*, the worldly goods for the present life, are illustrated by a richly dressed table and a money changer. Roundel XIa also uses the example of a dressed table, in this example covered with a white linen cloth to illustrate the passage *qui pascitur inter lilia*. In the interpretation, it corresponds to *Christus inter lilia quia delectatur in castitate animarum*, the purity being prefigured by the white table cloth. The theme of the dressed table covered with a white linen cloth reappears in medallion XVIB where Sponsus invites his friends to a feast.

The *tribulationes* and the *mundi sollicitudine*, the worldly adversities and sollicitations of roundel XIb are depicted by a merchant holding a scale and selling goods to a buyer next to him. Another interesting and profane detail is the lathe in roundel XIXA which represents a jeweller cutting the precious stones quoted in the biblical text. This is a rare example of an illustration which, though extremely interesting, oversteps the text.

Apart from these few examples, the majority of other details or attributes belong organically to the images, which are almost all limited to human figures.

³⁰ See p. 45 and pl. 2.

³¹ See pp. 58–59, pl. 5.

Surprisingly, none of the medallions contain furniture illustrations, since the baptismal font is not considered furniture. Many scenes represent seated figures or seated couples. These could have been pretexts for an interesting seat or for the representation of an interesting rich throne as was the case in Carolingian miniatures for example. Unfortunately, almost no seats are visible. The only two examples where thrones are rendered in some detail, are roundel XIID (Solomon on his throne) and roundel 22 (XXIIa) (Ecclesia sitting on the Sedes Sapientiae).³¹

3.1. Stylistic comparisons between Toledo II and Oxford Bible.

The difference in style between the two manuscripts corresponds to a difference in attitudes, degree of naturalism and animation of the figures. The *Song* in Toledo II definitely shows more flexible and realistic postures; at least, the movements are generally represented in a more natural way, since the draperies neither cover nor hide the figures. The expressions of the faces tend to be more realistic, three dimensional, and shaded, with strongly marked features. Many of the male faces are reminiscent of those of the apostles surrounding the dead Virgin on the tympanum of the south portal of Strasbourg cathedral, or of the statues of the north portals at Chartres. Interestingly, the French royal couple, king Louis VIII and Blanche de Castille, were involved in this transept through the donation of the rose window and the five windows below it; their coats of arms are present in the lower corners of the rose. The faces and postures of the Strasbourg sculptures are, however, more expressive and closer to the figures of Toledo II and the *Song* than those of Chartres. Their bodies are flexible and dynamic, sometimes twisted. The painter of these medallions had an almost theatrical sense of three-dimensionality particularly in the

³¹ In the other cases (pls. IA, 3(IIB)+IIIC+6(IIID), 3(IIB)+IIC, 4(IIIA)+5(IIIB), 7(IVB)+IVC+IVD, VD, VIA+C+D, VIIA+7(VIIB)+VIID, 11(VIIID), 14(XIIa)+XIIIB+XIIC, 16(XIVB), XVIA+C, XVIIA+B, XVIII A+B+C+D, XIXA+D, XXA+D, XXIIB+C+D, XXIIIA+B+D, XXVIA+B+C and XXVIIIA+27(XXVIIIB) the seats are invisible or vaguely suggested.

faces of the apostles and of bearded men in general, which show the greatest resemblance to those of Strasbourg and Chartres. The Strasbourg bas-relief of the death of the Virgin raised many interests through the animation and the intricacy of its round composition, comparable to the roundels of the Bibles moralisées.

Although not as complex, a similar spirit can be noticed in the composition of many roundels of the *Song*. The Strasbourg tympanum is ruled by a horizontal line, the dead body of the Virgin and a central vertical line, the standing Christ. A radiating effect is caused by the placement of the apostles' heads. Similar constructions and compositions occur in the medallions of the *Song*, including the Anointing of Christ in medallion Vb, Sponsus and Sponsa sitting on a dressed table in XIA, and Solomon laying in bed in XIIC.

The images in the *Song* of the Oxford Bible are very different in style as has already been stated. The compositional frameworks are stiffer and lack the fluidity of those in Toledo II. Furthermore, the postures are more rigid, in part because the draperies no longer follow the Muldenfaltenstil. In their outline, the faces look like those of Toledo. However, they are flat, calligraphic and without expression. The hair is also lacking the curly sculptural effect. The Oxford-Parisian roundels seem to be frescoes, while the Toledo medallions are more sculptural.

The compositions in both bibles are a major contribution to medieval painting, in both variety and originality. In most cases, they are emphasized by an elaborate rhythm which did not exist in previous paintings or other representations. I mentioned the example of the Virgin's death bas-relief at the tympanum of the south portal of Strasbourg cathedral. Not only the style, but also the spirit of this composition seems to be very close to those of the *Song* in Toledo II. One new compositional technique is the use of "sequences", or groups of figures, which correspond to the ideas formulated in the text. They are narrative compositions, a

development of medieval art and iconography, a pedagogical transformation of art into a text to be read. Without exception, these compositions whether in the *Song of Solomon*, the Bible moralisée, or medieval art in general, are always linear, the "sequences" are placed next to each other rather than behind each other.³²

For example, in roundel Ia a horizontal line, symbolizing the sky, separates the medallion in two parts. Christ occupies the centre of the upper part and marks the top of a pyramidal composition. The bottom of the pyramid is formed by the four human figures on the lower part of the medallion. Their disposition produces an ascending movement, emphasized by the raised arms and the raised faces which turn to heaven towards the downward-looking Christ. This ascending movement represents the wish of reconciliation, or kiss of the incarnation from the commentary text.

Roundel 4(IIIa) is similar in composition to roundel Ia. The medallion is separated in two by a horizontal cloud line above which is the blessing Christ. Although less obvious, there is still a pyramidal composition formed by the four figures on earth. The composition is underlined by the ascending movement of Ecclesia's raised left hand and Christ's gaze down on her. This dialogue of movement is frequent in many of the other medallions. In the present roundel, there are three sequences organized within the composition: Ecclesia, the worldly torments depicted by the monk-woman couple on the right, and an undefined male figure in the centre. These three elements are emphasized in response to the commentary text.

The iconographical interpretation of the same medallion IIIa in Toledo II is somewhat different. The composition remains the same; as does the embracing monk-woman couple on the right symbolizing fleshly lust. The central figure in

³² Georg Graf Vitzthum, and W. Fritz Vollbach, *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters in Italien* (Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1924), p. 5.

Oxford–Paris becomes a merchant, or a usurer holding his purse in Toledo II, representing the worldly torments. Ecclesia, qualified as conquering, *conqueritur*, receives the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. The *Song* in Oxford–Paris is a reduction of Toledo II.

Other medallions, such as 7(IVB) have a centered composition. This scene focuses on Sponsus and Sponsa holding hands, the ultimate sign of their love. The centre is further accentuated by the action of the two partners inclining their heads towards each other. Two figures on both sides, two heretics and two friends of Sponsus, emphasize the composition. Apart from the style, the scene is exactly the same as in Toledo II.

The composition of roundel VIIa is axial, or vertical. The axis is formed by the blessing Christ standing in the middle of the roundel. Above Christ, the horizontal cloud line separates heaven from earth. God the Father, blessing and holding the terrestrial globe, is Christ's heavenly counterpart. The Holy Ghost in form of the dove marks the link between heaven and earth. On either side of Christ are three saints and three apostles. The composition is reminiscent of cathedral portals where Christ stands on the central pier with the saints and apostles on the lateral jambs, such as the southern central portal of Chartres.

The comparison of these two medallions VIIAa highlights the parallel in both composition and themes. The apple tree occupies the centre of roundel VIIA and illustrates the biblical text precisely, *sicut malus inter ligna silvarum*,³³ the apple tree being the most important of all the trees in the woods. Sponsus, sitting under this tree, is the major symbolic element. Christ corresponds to Sponsus, but His

³³ "Such as the apple tree among the trees in the woods".

central position also relates Him to the tree, the *arbor bona* or the *arbor vitae*. Just as the apple tree surpasses all the trees in the woods by sight and by taste, Christ surpasses all the saints, *Christus preacellit omnes sanctos*.

Roundels 13(XIIBb) and 14(XIIIAa) are almost similar in composition. In the first group 12(XIIAa), Sponsus is standing on the top of a hill, his friends next to him. Sponsa is on the bottom with her friends as thurifer. In the commentary medallion 12(XIIB), Christ sits on His elevated throne, the saints on one side and Ecclesia standing on the bottom with the redeemed souls behind her. A thurifer angel above her shakes the incense burners, as in the previous medallion 12(XIIB). It is not simply the composition, but all of the different elements which are parallel: the saints correspond to Sponsus' friends, the souls to Sponsa's.

Medallions 14(XIIIAa) represent the coronation of Solomon 14(XIIIA) by his mother Bathsheba and its allegorical interpretation, the coronation of Christ by Ecclesia. Although the compositions are slightly different, the framework is generally similar. Solomon sits in the centre on his throne, Bathsheba next to him while in the commentary medallion, Christ and Ecclesia are equal and seated next to each other on the same throne. Both of the compositions are dynamic, they are organized around a focal point, or a focal axis. The postures of the different figures underline the compositions and converge on the same point or line. The dimension of perspective is still missing here. The scenes are rendered in two dimensions similar to stained glass windows or frescoes.

3.2. Colours

Colours play an exceedingly important role in medieval art in general, and even more so in illuminations. They are almost the most essential if not the most visible aspect of these roundels. The presence of the colours is sometimes so bright and dominant that they seem to overpower the narrative language of the medallion. The

colours used in the Bible moralisée do not carry the symbolic meanings they develop in later centuries, they are more or less realistic and descriptive: human flesh is rendered in pink-red, the ground is brown, the houses brown and yellowish, trees and plants green, sun and moon yellow, and costumes are mostly in red, blue and green, with few variations. The colours are disposed in flat, static surfaces, with no light or shade effects. Volume is suggested by folds or pleats drawn in ink with a pen, but never based on a coloristic chiaroscuro.

Glancing through the Toledo Bible moralisée, the eye is impressed most by the three basic bright colours of blue, red and gold.³⁴ Given the importance of medieval colour symbolism, one would expect that the same figures would always be dressed in the same colours, such as the blue mantle and red dress of fifteenth century descriptions of the Virgin Mary.

In reality, there is no strict rule in this regard at the beginning of the XIIIth century, at least not at the time of the Bible moralisée. The gold background of each medallion is the only constant from the beginning to the end of the Bible; otherwise the choice of colours and the colour combinations in the illuminations seem to have been left up to the painter. Each atelier has its dominant colour scheme, especially in Parisian painting during the first half of the 13th century.³⁵ As an example, the

³⁴ Arthur Haseloff states that a major change occurred in the colour conception at the beginning 13th century: "La peinture sur verre est, à proprement parler, l'art de la couleur; elle veut non pas représenter la réalité dans sa variété, mais créer une mosaïque de verre, une tenture translucide.... Le rouge rubis foncé et le bleu dominant, le brun et le vert, les autres couleurs ensuite y font leur apparition, mais de manière accessoire. Est-ce le fait du hasard si, dans la miniature française du 13e siècle la gamme de couleurs est à ce point réduite, si la tonalité pourpre entre le rose et le brun, se partage la prépondérance avec le bleu, ne laissant aux autres couleurs qu'un rôle secondaire?" Arthur Haseloff, "La miniature dans les pays cisalpins depuis le commencement du 12e siècle jusqu'au milieu du 14e siècle", in: André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, t. II, 1ère partie, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, p. 331.

³⁵ Branner, *Manuscript painting*, pp. 54-55

colours of Ecclesia's dress change in almost every roundel, both in the Toledo Bible and in the Oxford Bible. Branner gives a general overview of the different hands in regard to colours in the Oxford Bible.³⁶

In all of the manuscripts studied, the only invariable detail is the golden background of the medallions. Although each colour has a symbolic significance, gold always had a strong meaning. During the Middle Ages, many theologians transcribed the spiritual symbolism of colours and of gold. One of the most important in this regard was Rupertus of Deutz:

Gold first symbolizes divinity. Its stability means eternity and its brilliancy means mysticism. Fine gold (*aurum optimum*) symbolizes Christ's divinity (*Christi divinitas*). Fine gold does not only stand for divinity, but it also represents Heaven or the spiritual paradise (Transl.).³⁷

Rupert sees a parallel between gold and transparent glass, and therefore draws a parallel with stained-glass windows. In his commentary to Revelation 21, he says:

Any supernatural homeland is referred to by gold and glass, which applies also to all the saints whose hearts radiate of clarity and who are transparent of purity. The purest gold (*aurum obrizum*) is a reference to the purest clarity of the angels. Transparent glass refers to the intangibility of everything supraterrrestrial.³⁸

There is indeed a stylistic parallel to be drawn between stained-glass windows and miniatures. The purpose of the golden background of illuminations was to create an

³⁶ Branner, *ibid*, pp. 54–55.

³⁷ Egid Beitz, *Rupertus von Deutz. Seine Werke und die bildende Kunst* (Köln: Verlag des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins e.v., 1930), p. 42.

³⁸ Beitz, *Rupertus von Deutz*, pp. 42–43.

illusion of light which, indeed, can only be obtained by glass. The colours of illuminated manuscripts, especially in the thirteenth century, reach a chromatic contrast and exaltation as only stained-glass could produce. According to Louis Grodecki, stained-glass windows became the aesthetic norm of painting during the thirteenth century.³⁹

In his commentary on the *Song*, Rupert uses some of the qualities attributed to gold and transparent glass to describe the Virgin Mary, who replaces Ecclesia in the traditional interpretations: the Virgin is the most beautiful radiance of all Christian confessions.⁴⁰

3.3. Influence of stained-glass windows on the Bible moralisée

a. the composition

The comparison between the Bible moralisée of Saint Louis and stained-glass windows seems even more obvious since Blanche de Castille was involved with the order of both the Bible and Chartres' stained-glass rose and windows of the same time, in the north transept of the cathedral. Indeed, as already mentioned, the same coats of arms exist in the Bible moralisée (roundel 15 XIID) and on the lower corner-blocks of the rose in the north transept of Chartres. The rose is dedicated to the theme of Mary-Ecclesia. Under the rose are five lancet windows representing some of the pre-figures of Christ: David, Melchisedek, Solomon and Aaron. There seems to be a connection in the selection of the themes.⁴¹ Furthermore, Blanche

³⁹ Louis Grodecki and Catherine Brisac, *Le vitrail gothique au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Editions Vilo, and Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1984), p. 28.

⁴⁰ Egid Beitz, *Rupertus von Deutz*, p. 109.

⁴¹ Grodecki and Brisac, *Le vitrail gothique au XIIIe siècle*, pp. 24–28 and Anne Prache, *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 89–92.

might have been involved in the order of the stained-glass windows at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, since her coat of arms also appears there.

In his excellent study of the origins of gothic painting and its connection with the Saint Chéron stained-glass window at Chartres, Louis Grodecki demonstrates the parallel evolution of stained-glass windows, sculptures and miniatures.⁴² He stresses the colour and the composition aspects of windows and illuminations in particular, and also quotes Arthur Haseloff as one of the first to see the relationship between the two fields, particularly the influence of stained-glass windows on miniatures.

The roundel composition.

Compositionally, the Bible moralisée is most original in the use of superposed roundels, four in each of the two columns. This system had already existed at Saint-Denis since 1140-1145, at Châlons-sur-Marne around 1150-1155, and later at Canterbury around 1180. It then appeared on a large scale at Chartres, Bourges, and Canterbury, finally disappearing around the middle of the thirteenth century. The Bible moralisée falls directly within this period. A relationship between the two composition systems seems obvious. Recently, many art historians have agreed to an influence from stained-glass windows on the miniatures of the first half of the thirteenth century.⁴³

The principle of superposed roundels in stained-glass windows, according to the same composition system than the Bible moralisée, exists among many churches or cathedrals including Saint-Denis (ca.1145-1150), Chalons-sur-Marne (ca.1147-1155), Bourges (before 1214), Chartres (ca.1150 for west façade, ca.1210 other

⁴² Grodecki, "Les problèmes de l'origine de la peinture gothique et 'le maître de saint Chéron' de la cathédrale de Chartres", in: *Revue de l'Art*, 40-41, 1978, pp. 43-64.

⁴³ Grodecki, "le maître de saint Chéron", p. 44.

windows), Sens (ca.1210–1220), Canterbury (ca.1210), and Freiburg–im–Breisgau (before 1218).⁴⁴ The principle was already widespread by the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century and it can be traced down through many other cathedrals, such as Angers, Poitiers, Le Mans, Strasbourg, Lausanne.⁴⁵

This compositional system is also found in many other French and European cathedrals of the early thirteenth century. Chartres has by far the largest number of these medallion windows, although most of them are more complex, they are nonetheless based on the roundel principle. The same is true of Canterbury cathedral: of the twenty nine stained glass windows in the choir, transepts and presbytery, twenty four use the roundel principle.⁴⁶

The Toledo Bible moralisée of Saint Louis, its copy the Oxford Bible, the Psautier de Blanche de Castille, the two Vienna Bibles moralisées are all structured on the same principle of superposed roundels on a mosaic background. The system is even used as ornament on liturgical objects, tabernacles and reliquaries covered and lined with enamel plaques. Indeed, Marie–Madeleine Gauthier studied several of these objects dating from the same time as the Bibles moralisées.⁴⁷ The "tabernacle de Cherves", now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, shows three superposed roundels filled with biblical scenes on the inside of its two doors lined with Limoges enamel plaques. The reliquary from Notre–Dame cathedral in Tournai, by Nicolas

⁴⁴ Louis Grodecki, *Le vitrail roman* (Fribourg/Switzerland: Office du Livre, 1977), pp. 22–23.

⁴⁵ Grodecki, *Le vitrail roman*, pp. 61, 62, 65, 75, 81, 83, 97, 110, 169, 198.

⁴⁶ Madeline Harrison Caviness, *The early stained glass windows of Canterbury cathedral* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 159

⁴⁷ Marie–Madeleine Gauthier, "Du tabernacle au retable. Une innovation limousine vers 1230", in *Revue de l'art*, 40–41, 1978, pp. 23–42.

of Verdun, makes use of the same principle, the roundels being filled with bronze relief figures.

Romanesque Bible illumination had already been dedicated to this roundel principle since the twelfth century. Walter Cahn, in his study on illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth century,⁴⁹ mentions an endless number of such examples, some of them in well-known manuscripts such as the Stavelot Bible,⁵⁰ the Winchester Bible,⁵¹ the Pontigny Bible⁵² or the Lambeth Bible.⁵³

The same system is to be found in paintings, although only a very few have survived. Otto Demus, in his renowned study on European romanesque paintings,⁵⁴ records a few examples, most of which are located in Italy. The apse of the church Santa Maria della Libera, in Foro Claudio, Italy, from around 1200, has a plinth painted with tangent medallions composed by pairs inhabited with facing animals, each of them carrying a tower on their back.⁵⁵ The wall paintings of Santi Quattro

⁴⁹ Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 133 fig. 88, p. 175 fig. 136, p. 176 fig. 137, p. 188 fig. 147, p. 193 fig. 151.

⁵⁰ London, British Library, Add. 28106, fol. 6.

⁵¹ Winchester cathedral, vol. 1, fol. 5.

⁵² Paris, B.N., Ms.lat. 8823, fol. 1.

⁵³ London, Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 3, fol. 198.

⁵⁴ Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei* (München: Hirmer Verlag, 1968).

⁵⁵ Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, fig. 34+35. It is significant that as early as 1968, Demus was thinking of an oriental textile influence (p. 118). "Besonders reizvoll ist der Sockeldekoration mit orientalischem Textilmuster in Grün, aus verknöteten Kreisen (rotae sericae), die mit turmtragenden Elefanten gefüllt sind".

Coronati (ca.1240), a church in Rome, relate the history of the early Christian church and its relationship to the emperor Constantine. In all the painted scenes, Constantine's dress is made of a cloth decorated with superposed tangent roundels.⁵⁵ The vault of the crypt of Aquileia cathedral in Italy, is covered with paintings from late twelfth to early thirteenth century. The scenes depicted are the history of Saint Martial, who wears a chasuble of staggered tangent roundels.⁵⁶ There are a few more examples in the paintings of the church of San Pedro de Sorpe, now in the Museo de Arte de Cataluna in Barcelona, Spain, or in the Bischofskapelle of the former Benediktinerinnen-Stift in Goess, Austria. The Dom in Braunschweig, Germany has the iconography of the Tree of Jesse on the vault of its choir. The branches of the Tree all carry roundels with crowned kings seated on thrones, Christ's ancestors.⁵⁷

The question of the origin of this composition system has never been raised. Neither Grodecki, nor anybody else, has attempted to give an answer. It is, however, well known that at the time of the Bible moralisée, even during the twelfth century and before, Byzantine and oriental silks were imported to western Europe in large quantities. Several museums both in Europe and in North America and many church treasuries such as those of Auxerre and Sens in France, Liège in Belgium, Brixen in the Italian Tyrol, Aachen, Cologne (Saint Kunibert church) and Xanten in Germany and the Vatican, have Byzantine silks in their collections. The ornament of many of

⁵⁵ Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, figs. 56, 57.

⁵⁶ Demus, *ibid*, fig. 63.

⁵⁷ Demus, *ibid*, fig. 221. These paintings are dated from the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

these textiles from the ninth to the thirteenth century is based on a repetitive roundel system, some of these roundels being nearly as large as one meter in diameter. This idea never came up in any study on stained-glass windows or miniatures.⁵⁸ Almost all of the Byzantine silk roundels are adjacent to each other; a small discus sometimes marks the touching point, as in the medallions of the Bibles moralisées. Most of these roundels are decorated with symmetrical imperial hunting scenes.⁵⁹ Others are decorated with facing animals.⁶⁰

Workshops in Constantinople or Syria produced elaborate medallion silks decorated with asymmetrical biblical scenes, in the eighth century. These documents are very rare; only two fragments are known with the scenes of the Annunciation and the Nativity on a red background.⁶¹

⁵⁸ To my knowledge, Otto Demus is the only author to draw a relationship between these roundels and the oriental textiles. See note 43, where he describes the plinth ornamentation of the Foro Claudio church as being of "orientalischen Textilmuster in Grün, aus verknoteten Kreisen: rotae sericae", i.e. silk roundels.

⁵⁹ Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissus, Emperors hunting, Constantinople, mid eighth-tenth century; Berlin, formerly staatliche Museen, Emperors hunting, Constantinople, late eighth-ninth century and a charioteer, Constantinople, late eighth century, Paris, Musée de Cluny. See: John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979, pp. 172-175.

⁶⁰ Leonie von Wilckens, *Die textilen Künste. Von der Spätantike bis um 1500* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1991), pp. 36-81; p. 45 fig. 40: pairs of facing lions, Sogdian, eighth century, Sens, cathedral treasury; p. 46 fig. 41: pairs of facing lions, East Persia, eighth-ninth century, Nancy, Musée Lorrain; p. 47 fig. 42: pairs of facing lions, East Persia, ca. 800, from the Capella Sancta Sanctorum, Rome, Vatican, Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie; p. 53 fig. 49: "Elefantenstoff", facing elephants, Constantinople, ca.1000, from an imperial weaving workshop, Im Karlsschrein, Aachen, Domschatz.

⁶¹ John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, pp. 176-177 fig. 147 and 148; Leonie von Wilckens, *Die textilen Künste*, p. 38 fig. 33, p. 39 fig. 34, both silks are from Constantinople, or Syria, eighth century, from the Cappella Sancta Sanctorum (Rome, Vatican, Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie).

The conception of figurative scenes framed by roundels is an early one. James Trilling analyzes this theme, but based his study on mosaics. There are also early examples found on silver plates or dishes, a very early one being the silver dish commemorating the Decennalia in 388 in Madrid, Academia de la Historia.⁶² Another example is the Stuma Paten, of silver, from the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, representing the communion of the apostles.⁶³ The ornaments of ovolos and flowers on the edge of the paten are similar to details from silk roundels. The principle can be researched as far back as Roman times. The Arch of Constantine, in Rome, (begun c. AD 90) has two pairs of illustrated roundels over the two side arches on its north and south sides, which date from the early fourth century.⁶⁴

An important document from the tenth century (972), emphasizes the importance of Byzantine influence on western art. The "Heiratsurkunde", or marriage contract, of the Princess, later Empress Theophano of Byzanz (- 991) with the German Emperor Otto II (955-983)⁶⁵ is composed of two aligned rows of eight medallions each. It is close to the stained glass windows of the twelfth and the thirteenth century, and to the illuminated folios of the Bibles moralisées.

⁶² Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 77 fig. 60.

⁶³ Beckwith, *idem*, p. 99 fig. 82. From Constantinople, between 565 and 578.

⁶⁴ *Apollo*, July 1995, vol. CXLII, no. 401, pp. 20-23.

⁶⁵ The document, 144,5 x 39,5 cm, is of fine parchment. It is dyed in purple, as many official imperial Byzantine documents. Later, it has been painted in blue with two parallel rows of roundels, each pair of roundels ornamented with animals back to back: lions, bulls, griffons, stags. The text, in gold, has been added at the very end. The document is in the Staatsarchiv, 6 Urk 11, Wolfenbüttel, Germany. See *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, II, Exh. cat., Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991, pp. 135-191.

James Trilling, in his excellent study on the *Medallion Style*, analyzes the evolution of the medallion from Roman mosaics to Byzantine silks.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, he limits his research exclusively to the Byzantine world; he never studied the Western world where Byzantine silks were introduced in large quantities.⁶⁷

From early times the roundel has played an important role in art, especially in the compositions of Roman and Byzantine civilization. Many medieval artists depicted God creating the world with a pair of compasses in His hands, indicating that the circle has a divine meaning. This representation appears in both the Toledo and one of the Vienna Bibles moralisées.⁶⁸ According to biblical tradition, the circle is the perfect form of God's creation: God is the architect of the universe and "He organized everything according to measure, number and weight".⁶⁹ "When He prepared the heavens, I was there: when He set a compass upon the face of the depth".⁷⁰ The compass has always been considered as the symbol of this most perfect form, the circle or globe. Had not Plato (427–347 B.C.) taught that the world had been created according to this system of perfection?

During the Middle Ages, the compass was the basic tool of the architect and the mason. It was also the basic tool of the scribe and the manuscript illuminator, used to organize and compose the page. From earliest times the compass was indispensable in introducing rhythm and measure in the arts.

⁶⁶ James Trilling, *The Medallion Style. A Study in the Origins of Byzantine Taste* (New York, N.Y. and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985).

⁶⁷ Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, 2 vols., (Berlin, 1913). This study, still accurate in regard to ancient textiles, gives a short account on Byzantine silks in the West.

⁶⁸ Biblia de San Luis, Toledo, I, fol. 1v and Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 2554, fol. 1v.

⁶⁹ Book of Wisdom 11,20. It is only to be found in the Catholic version of the Bible.

⁷⁰ Proverbs 8:27

b. the style

The question of stylistic preeminence has been raised by many art historians. Were the illuminations "avant garde", or were they dependant on other art forms such as sculptures or stained glass windows? Arthur Haseloff, in his 1906 study,⁷² thinks that stained glass windows were a determinant source, especially since at the beginning of the thirteenth century so many workshops existed to decorate the windows of the cathedrals: Chartres, Sens, Bourges, Laon, Soissons, Rouen, Paris, Reims, Strasbourg.... By sheer number, these centres imposed their stylistic conceptions. Illuminators added the use of gold leaf in an imitation of light.

As already mentioned, the style of the Toledo Bible and of the *Song* in the same Bible corresponds to the "Muldenfaltenstil", also called the "style 1200" (the style of the year 1200), which is a direct emanation of Romanesque art. The question raised by Grodecki and others,⁷³ is why was this old-fashioned style of illumination still popular in the Paris of 1220-1230, when Paris was a leading city in the arts. The surprise is even greater considering that the Bibles moralisées were all royal or princely orders and should therefore have been produced in the most up-to-date fashion and taste. It is true that the style of the windows of Chartres, Bourges and Sens, dating around 1220-1230, is still the "Muldenfaltenstil". The first and greatest influence on miniatures from stained glass windows is the roundel composition; the influence of these window compositions, which later became even more complex, can be noticed in manuscripts such as the Crawford Psalter or Blanche de Castille's Psalter.⁷⁴

⁷² Arthur Haseloff, "La miniature dans les pays cisalpins".

⁷³ Grodecki, "le Maître de saint Chéron", pp. 44-46.

⁷⁴ The Crawford Psalter in Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin 22; the Blanche de Castille Psalter, in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1186.

Apart from the influence on the composition, the images in stained glass windows played a considerable role in leading iconographic and stylistic innovations as they existed during the first half of the thirteenth century, the time during which the Toledo and Oxford Bibles moralisées de Saint Louis were illuminated.

With its grandiose stained-glass window programme, Chartres has been seen as a leading centre for the arts from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Emile Mâle was the first to have created the concept of an "école de Chartres"⁷⁴ which supplanted all other schools, especially Paris, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Although there might have been three (or more) workshops at Chartres cathedral, there is a homogeneous style which can be followed through the Charlemagne window, the Saint Julien window, the Saint Lubin, Saint Nicolas and the Good Samaritan windows.⁷⁵ The style of the *Song* medallions in Toledo II, as most of the Toledo manuscript, is linked to these stained-glass productions. Unfortunately, as only a few photographic documents are available, the comparative study must be limited to few examples.

The before-mentioned windows were created between the very end of the twelfth century and 1220. They correspond to the period of the "style 1200" or Muldenfaltenstil described at the beginning of this chapter. There is, for example, the window in the apse of Chartres cathedral of the thurifer angel balancing an incense burner dating ca 1220. The figure has an elegant twisted movement, indicating a sense of three dimensions as can be observed in many roundels of the *Song* in Toledo II. However, the most interesting aspect is the draperies, which are fluid,

⁷⁴ Emile Mâle, in A. Michel, *Histoire générale de l'art*, vol. I-II, pp. 374-392.

⁷⁵ These windows carry the following Corpus Vitrearum Medieaevi numbers: Charlemagne (XXXVIII), saint Julien (XLV), saint Lubin (LXIII), saint Nicolas (LX), le Bon Samaritain (VI). See: Grodecki, "le Maître de saint Chéron", p. 51.

parallel and very systematic in their design. Though the folds in the *Song* of Toledo II are still in the style of the Muldenfaltenstil, they are not as graphic. The balanced incense burner is worth mentioning; part of it is in the same direction as the folds of the angel's dress, while the lower part is in opposition to the design of the draperies.

One of the critics of the Muldenfaltenstil, is its dependance on the romanesque style. Indeed, there is a stiffness in the attitudes and the draperies of the figures of stained glass windows; the bodies are frequently elongated in the manner of the twelfth century and the draperies are sometimes very graphic, without relief. The window of the Glorification of the Virgin shows these characteristics, especially in the roundels of the death of the Virgin and Christ crowning the Virgin. The apostles' faces in the death of the Virgin medallion don't correspond to a stereotype. The painter has tried to individualize and show each person their pain. An interesting aspect of these two medallions is the determination of the composition by a circular frame, as in the Bible moralisée. Both compositions respect the space allotted to them, although here and there an angel's wing or a nimbus overlaps the roundel. In this regard, the situation in the Bible is similar, although in many cases a leg of Christ or the apostles, or a drapery protrudes over the frame. In general, the images in stained glass are more rigid and stylized, however this is surely due to the technique of stained glass.⁷⁵

The style of the Saint Lubin window seems to be closer to Toledo II, though it dates from around 1200–1210. The proportions of the figures are more realistic and less elongated, and the simple draperies are more independent from the romanesque tradition, although some triangulations are still visible. However, the trees are still

⁷⁵ Prache, *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 94–95 and Sauerländer, *Le monde gothique*, p. 121 fig. 118.

treated in the ancient style: they are mushroom-like, their undulating stems have few leaves or flowers on the top. Architectural elements fill the background of several medallions, some of which are subdivided into two or three sections by an elegant and light arch system. Finally, the element most similar to the Bible moralisée is the use of the roundel as a compositional device. The entire window is based on medallions, used individually in quatrefoils. These features probably date from about twenty years before Toledo II and the *Song*. They re-appear in the Bible moralisée.⁷⁶

3.4. Stylistic relationships between miniatures and sculptures.

If there is a connection between stained glass windows and miniatures, a parallel should also be drawn between miniatures and sculptures. The similarity of style between the *Song* in Toledo II and the Death of the Virgin in the tympanum on the South portal of Strasbourg cathedral has already been mentioned. The draperies are fluid, with many thin deep folds accentuating the relief in the miniatures and sculptures. The same details can be observed on the two statues of Ecclesia and Synagogue on the same South transept portal, although the sculptural effect is not as sharp. The waist line of the figures, with or without belt, is similar if not identical to many in the medallions and sculptures.

Comparing the draperies of the Virgin's death bed and the beds in the *Song* of Toledo II, especially roundels VA, VIIIA, IXA, XIB and XVIIID, reveals an obvious resemblance. The draperies can be compared to those of the evangelists and angels of the Angels pillar in the South transept of Strasbourg. The same fluidity and calligraphy, though with lesser relief, exists in these statues. Finally, Chartres cathedral, with the statues on the North transept portal, offers several examples for

⁷⁶ Sauerländer, *le Monde Gothique*, p. 226 fig. 224.

comparison, notably the statues of Sainte Modeste and of Beatitudo. All of these draperies have the same folds reaching the floor, like water pouring down.

On the other hand, the Oxford Bible, although a copy of Toledo, lost almost all of its fine and striated pleats, which were replaced with a volumetric and simple rendering. These folds, reaching the floor, break and do not have the elegant and supple movement of the previous miniatures and sculptures. As already mentioned, the present drapery system should be seen in relation to statues such as the "Vierge dorée" at the South transept of Amiens cathedral,⁷⁸ dating around 1250, or the statues from the "Presentation in the Temple" at the central portal at Reims cathedral from around 1233. The style of the figures in the Oxford Bible is closer to the Reims statues than the Amiens Virgin and even closer to the apostles from the Sainte-Chapelle. The Reims statues are more reserved; they illustrate the start of the new style which superseded the Muldenfaltenstil, before it became too loose, volumetric and full of movement.

3.5. Toledo II and Oxford-Paris in the context of Parisian manuscript illumination

As most of the specialists of the Parisian school of illumination have already stated, at the time of the Bible Moralisée Paris was without any doubt the leading centre in Europe.⁷⁹ The existence of Parisian monastic scriptoria has been documented back

⁷⁸ Illustration in Sauerländer, *le Monde Gothique*, p. 262 fig. 254.

⁷⁹ Among these specialists the first to be mentioned should be Léopold Delisle, "Livres d'images destinés à l'instruction religieuse et aux exercices de piété des laïques", in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 31, (Paris, 1893); Comte Alexandre de Laborde, *La Bible moralisée conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres. Reproduction intégrale du manuscrit du 13e siècle accompagné de planches tirées des bibles similaires et d'une notice*, vol. 1-4, (Paris, 1911-1927), *Etude sur la Bible moralisée illustrée*, vol. 5, (Paris, 1927); Georg, Graf Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des Hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Westeuropa* (Leipzig, 1907); Arthur Haseloff, "La miniature dans les pays cisalpins depuis le commencement du 12e jusqu'au milieu du 14e siècle", in: André Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, 1, (Paris, 1906); Günther Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert. Studien*

into the ninth century.⁸⁰ The creation of the University by King Philippe Auguste in 1209 changed the artistic landscape by introducing non-clerical miniature workshops which became potential competitors.

Robert Branner's statement is probably the best up-to-date description of the Parisian miniature world of the early thirteenth century:

Perhaps the most important aspect of Parisian painting of this time was its cosmopolitan character, the existence of a number of distinct styles, or ateliers, literally side by side, each with its own traditions and aims and its own rate of development. This is probably the best description of the "transition" from Romanesque to Gothic in Paris, one of the few cities in northern Europe able to support more than one productive atelier at a time.⁸¹

One of Branner's goals was to classify the various workshops from the time of Saint Louis and earlier. Several earlier researchers had previously expressed the same wish, beginning with Georg, Graf Vitzthum's publication in 1907,⁸² but the problem

zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden (1938); Reiner Hausscherr and his many publications; Robert Branner, *Manuscript painting in Paris during the reign of Saint Louis. A Study of Styles* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1977); François Avril, "A quand remontent les premiers ateliers d'enlumineurs laïcs à Paris?", in *Les dossiers de l'archéologie*, 16 (1976) and "L'atelier du Psautier d'Ingeburge: problèmes de localisation et de datation", in *Art, objets d'art, collections: Hommage à Hubert Landais* (Paris, 1987)

⁸⁰ Yves Deslandres, *La décoration des manuscrits de la région parisienne du 9e au début du 13e siècle. Thèse de l'école des Chartes* (Paris, 1950).

⁸¹ Branner, *The Year 1200. A Symposium*, p. 174.

⁸² Georg, Graf Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1907.

was always the enormous number of existing manuscripts, too large in quantity to study globally.

Until the twelfth century, production and trade of manuscripts was still in the hands of monasteries. The creation of the university increased the need and interest for books of various content, especially by members of the court and high aristocracy. The new activity was established around the university, on the left bank of the Seine river.⁸² There were numerous illumination workshops, some of the new non-clerical workshops and their bookbinding and parchment suppliers.

In his extensive research, Branner tried to demonstrate "that a style of painting constituted the tradition of an atelier",⁸³ or that a specific style could identify a workshop. Though, at first this seems obvious, it is, however, extremely difficult to define styles and workshops, given the quantity of manuscripts from the early 13th century still in existence. Branner faced great difficulties in distinguishing between "style", "workshop" and "group", since the illuminators were often interchangeable. Nonetheless, he carefully tried to come up with characteristics of workshops, or of individual illuminators, by analyzing details of human figures like hands, heads or noses.

Soon after the publication of the study, Ellen J. Beer criticized Branner's method, which she judged too restrictive and not accurate enough in light of the number of documents.⁸⁴ Human features are not reliable enough, especially at a time when

⁸² Branner, *Manuscript painting*, p. 156.

⁸³ Branner, *ibid*, p. 11.

⁸⁴ Ellen J. Beer, "Pariser Buchmalerei in der Zeit Ludwigs des Heiligen und im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts. Bericht zur Forschungslage", in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 44, (1981), p. 64.

ornamentation was becoming an important aspect of the arts. Beer thinks that background motifs or other specific ornaments, the design of initials, the repetition of certain patterns, the depiction of images, and even the layout, are more successful elements in which to identify changes. These different points, in their variety, might provide a much sharper judgement than simply the features of human figures. According to Beer, this method could be adapted to all the manuscripts of the Bible moralisée.

Until now, Branner has been the only art historian to undertake a systematic study of the thirteenth century Bibles moralisées, having studied the two Viennese, the Toledo and the Oxford Bibles. The results of his analyses were the only complete ones available. Branner supposed that around 1220 three major illumination workshops existed in Paris: the Almagest atelier, the Magister Alexander atelier and the Blanche atelier,⁸⁵ while Avril thought that there was an earlier atelier, before the three afore mentioned workshops.⁸⁶ The Alexander atelier is the only workshop with its name mentioned in a manuscript, next to a Genesis initial of the Bible: *Magister Alexander me fecit*.⁸⁷

To these three ateliers should be added the workshop(s) in which the Vienna Bibles moralisées (ONB cod. 1179 and ONB cod. 2554) were illuminated, by far the most outstanding Bibles and surely the first of their kind. The two volumes are of folio size. As with the Toledo and the Oxford Bibles, these two manuscripts, among the most impressive creations of the Middle Ages, were made for the king or for

⁸⁵ For information on these three workshops, see note 11.

⁸⁶ François Avril, "A quand remontent les premiers ateliers d'enlumineurs laïques à Paris?", in: *Dossiers de l'Archéologie*, 16, mai-juin 1976, pp. 36-44.

⁸⁷ Paris, B.N., Ms.lat. 11930-11931, also called the Alexander Bible. Branner, *Manuscript painting*, pp. 29, 31, 260.

members of his court. The principles of composition, texts and illustrations, are similar to those of Toledo and Oxford. It is now admitted that the same workshop illuminated the Vienna Bibles and part of Toledo III. This workshop could have been a monastic one, perhaps Saint-Victor or Saint-Germain-des-Prés abbey, or for practical reasons of space and number of painters, one of the new non-clerical ateliers.⁸⁸

3.6. The Toledo and Oxford Bibles moralisées and their ateliers

Branner's statement that "the Oxford Bible was a fairly literal copy of the Toledo Bible, done in a quick and rather careless manner",⁸⁹ sets up a direct relationship between the two Bibles. Complete as it may be, Toledo was not created ex nihilo. Branner investigates at length the inter-connections of the painters working in the three previously mentioned workshops with the ateliers of the Vienna Bibles, and finally with the five workshops of the Toledo Bible. The ateliers being insufficiently staffed, they needed to hire additional labor outside from "the corps of illuminators available in the city at large and brought into the cloister where they were instructed what to paint".⁹⁰ Yet Branner is convinced that one workshop only created both the Toledo and the Oxford Bibles.

The many changes occurring between the Vienna Bibles and Toledo reveal that, although atelier connections may have existed, production was separate. The main reason for such a workshop could have been the patronage of Blanche de Castille, a strong willed personality well-versed in both doctrine and the arts.

⁸⁸ Branner, *Manuscript painting*, pp. 32-37.

⁸⁹ Branner, *ibid*, p. 49.

⁹⁰ Branner, *ibid*.

In his study of the composition of the Toledo manuscripts, Branner still maintains that vol. III was undertaken first and vol. II was most recent. According to his analysis, the drapery style of Toledo II is no longer the pure Muldenfaltenstil, but too systematically striated with calligraphic folds which seem to have been realized with some speed. Branner recognizes that some of the same painters worked on all the Bibles -- Vienna, Toledo and Oxford -- and therefore must have moved from one workshop to the other, carrying with them their style and their specific features. Significantly, the later Toledo folios are similar to the earlier ones of Oxford, the draperies still being striated; however, the draperies of the roundels in the *Song* of Oxford are totally different, as already stated. The latter corresponds to a volumetric treatment which can be either the result of a new hand, or of a general evolution in style.⁹²

The Bibles moralisées workshop also painted other manuscripts, although not of the same scope in regard to illuminations. One of these works, the Crawford psalter,⁹³ cannot be ignored because its composition system is too close to the spirit of the Bibles' composition. The five folios have the same layout: two rows of four roundels, the upper and lower four medallions each being connected by a central lozenge on a mosaic background. The page is framed by a border on its four sides. This compositional principle is similar to the Franciscan psalter⁹⁴ and to stained-glass

⁹² Branner, *ibid*, pp. 49-54.

⁹³ The Crawford psalter is in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Latin 22). It dates around 1218 and has five full-page miniatures. See Branner, *Manuscript painting*, p. 206. The composition of these miniatures is identical to the stained-glass windows of Sens, such as the Good Samaritan.

⁹⁴ This psalter is better known as "Douce 48", Bodleian Library, Oxford. See Branner, *Manuscript painting*, pp. 226 and 257.

windows like the Saint Lubin window from Chartres,⁹⁵ or the Last Judgement window at Saint Etienne cathedral, Bourges, or the Good Samaritan window at Sens cathedral.⁹⁶

In all of his analyses, Branner never drew a parallel between page composition and other contemporary works of art, such as stained-glass windows, yet there is clearly a relationship between the two fields of manuscript folios and stained glass windows. Both are surface or plane compositions, therefore depending on the same system, although their functions are different. The use of gold in miniatures to translate the transparent glass of the windows confirms this connection. The other and more relevant connection is the use of the same compositional principle: the roundel, an archaic system. The previous demonstration showed how ancient this system is, and how foreign to the Western medieval world it was. The presence of the roundel in the art of the thirteenth century proves that Gothic art was not yet fully liberated from Romanesque and Byzantine conceptions.

Previously, I mentioned the imports to the West of Byzantine silks decorated with roundels.⁹⁷ Small fragments of these fabrics were used for wrapping relics, larger pieces, such as the "Elephantenstoff" from Aachen, or the Vatican silk panel with facing lions⁹⁸ were usually imperial gifts to Western political or ecclesiastical dignitaries. Given the origin of these textiles, their symbolic and venal value was considerable. No silk of that quality was being produced in the West; these

⁹⁵ Prache, *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 80–81.

⁹⁶ Sauerländer, *Le Monde gothique*, p. 233 fig. 229 and G. Graf Vitzthum and W. F. Volbach, *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters in Italien*, Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1924, p. 8 fig. 3.

⁹⁷ See above pp. 30–33.

⁹⁸ von Wilckens, *Die textilen Künste*, p. 47 fig. 42 and p. 53 fig. 49.

Byzantine, or Persian silks and their patterns could only have deeply impressed the minds of Western artists.

The roundel and the circle, as symbols of perfection, of infinity and of God, were easily drawn with compasses, especially on parchment. The roundel is more difficult to make in stained glass windows. The frequency of the form can only be explained through its symbolism.⁹⁸

3.7. The *Song of Solomon*: the artists in Toledo II and Oxford-Paris.

In both Toledo II and the Oxford Bible, the numbering of leaves of the *Song of Solomon* goes from folio 66 to folio 93. According to Branner's analysis, only two teams worked on Toledo II: A and B. In the case of the *Song*, the two teams are limited to two "hands", or artists. For the distribution of the folios between the two hands, Branner publishes detailed diagrams indicating which artist painted which folio.⁹⁹ Two teams also worked on the *Song* at the Oxford Bible, however only from folios 66 to 90. Folio 91 was apparently realized by a painter from the so-called Assisi Shop,¹⁰⁰ while folios 92 and 93 are ascribed to the "Potocki Shop".¹⁰¹ For the distribution of the folios between the two artists, Branner is again the best reference.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Gérard de Champeaux and Dom Sébastien Sterckx, o.s.b., *Introduction au monde des symboles*, La Pierre-qui-Vire/Yonne, France: Zodiaque, 1966, pp. 24-25.

⁹⁹ Distribution of the folios between the two hands A and B. See Branner, *Manuscript painting*, pp. 164-165.

¹⁰⁰ Named after a glossed psalter in the Biblioteca Communale, Assisi, Italy (Assisi, B.C. 7).

¹⁰¹ Named after a psalter (the Potocki psalter) in the Biblioteca Narodowa, Warsaw, Poland (B.N. 8003)

¹⁰² Branner, *Manuscript painting*, p. 172.

The four painters supposedly belong to the same workshop. They were subordinate to a discipline which was strict in Toledo II and much looser in the Oxford Bible. Toledo II shows a series of pattern figures with standard poses and fixed gestures. "Muldenfalten" is still present in the drapery but shortly gives way to striations, perhaps under the pressure of constant repetition. The Oxford Bible used the "Muldenfalten" too at the beginning as "a fine and distinguished way of painting", but gave it up later.¹⁰³ The *Song* in Oxford is treated with less care, as is the Bible in general.

3.8. The style of the Oxford Bible

Whatever Robert Branner's statements about the style of the Oxford Bible might be, the style of the figures of the *Song* is definitely far removed, or at least very different, from the *Song* in Toledo II. While the drapery style of the *Song* in Toledo II might from time to time reveal reminiscences of the "Muldenfaltenstil", its striated and nervous folds are too systematic and do not have the fluidity of the "Muldenfalten" of the late XIIIth century. Toledo II, as suggested by Branner, might have been the last volume of that Bible to be illuminated; however, stylistically it cannot be a contemporary of the Oxford Bible.

The faces of the figures in Oxford are flat and lifeless, a result of the careless execution of this copy of the Toledo Bible, as has been stressed so many times. The style of the draperies, however, does not mold the human bodies nor are they as supple or fluid as those in the *Song* of Toledo II. The drapery system of the *Song* in Oxford is simplified, sometimes rigid. Large coats loosely folded, with a volumetric and a sculptural rendering. This confirms a later date for the realization of that Bible, by about 10 to 15 years. Although not contemporary with the Sainte-

¹⁰³ Branner, *ibid*, p. 53.

Chapelle style, the chapel was constructed from 1241 to 1248, the *Song* of the Oxford Bible nonetheless comes close to that new conception. A comparison with the three apostle statues still in situ at the Sainte-Chapelle and the four in the Musée de Cluny confirms a stylistic relationship, at least between the draperies.

A more accurate comparison can be drawn between some statues from Reims cathedral, especially that of the king standing in a tabernacle on the south transept, which dates from around 1230.¹⁰⁶ The coat, with its ample folds, is close to those in the roundels of the *Song*. The four statues from the Presentation to the Temple at Reims cathedral might be an even better comparison, especially since two of them – the Virgin and Simeon in the center – date before 1233¹⁰⁷ and the two others – Joseph and a servant – date close to 1250. The date of 1233 can be seen as an eventual *terminus a quo*, while 1250 is a distant *terminus ad quem*. A date of 1240 would be more realistic for the Oxford Bible. The Virgin and Simeon, of rather stiff, constrained but calm attitudes, with faces like masks, are the *ante quam* stage of the *Song* in the Oxford Bible. Joseph and the servant are the *post quam* stage. The statues of the new style, at Amiens cathedral, Reims cathedral, or the Sainte-Chapelle all have a cheerful expression in their faces and their attitudes are gracious. This is not the case with the *Song* in the Oxford Bible.

A similar comparison can be made with the "Vierge dorée" from Amiens cathedral,

¹⁰⁶ Sauerländer, *Le Monde gothique*, p. 221 fig. 218.

¹⁰⁷ The sculptural programme of the west façade of Reims cathedral was started much earlier than the building of the façade itself, i.e. ca. 1230. The Virgin Mary with the child Jesus and Simeon belong to that stage. When the façade was completed, the figures of Joseph and the servant were added. Their style, of more than 20 years difference, is dynamic, with fine proportions, cheerful faces and lively movements. See Sauerländer, *Le Monde Gothique*, pp. 266–269.

dating around 1250.¹⁰⁷ The drapery style in this example is almost identical to that of the statues in the Sainte Chapelle. On the basis of the style of the pleats, the *Song* of the Oxford–Paris Bible dates earlier, approximately to the late 1230's.

The Saint Louis Psalter, dating from about 1260 and realized for Saint Louis himself, can be considered part of the *post quam* works of art framing the Oxford *Song* in its most recent dates. Compared to the Oxford *Song*, there are important differences such as a new framing system adapted to the contemporary gothic architecture. The figures are dressed in contemporary costumes of their time and no longer in ancient ones. As with the statues of Joseph and the servant (ca.1260) from Reims cathedral, the attitudes in the Saint Louis Psalter are full of elegance and grace, the figures are elongated, the faces are expressive and the hair is curly.

¹⁰⁷ Sauerländer, *Le Monde Gothique*, p. 262 fig. 254.

4. The theme Sponsus-Sponsa/Christ-Ecclesia.

4.1. The Royal Ecclesia

The Bible moralisée was probably a royal commission. The interpretation of the *Song of Solomon* stresses the concept of royalty at length, especially in the images, reflecting a context where the king had almost absolute authority, participating in divine authority: "The consecrated king was The Lord's Anointed, the sacral ruler whose election by his people had received the blessing of God the Almighty transmitted to him by the Vice-regent of God on earth".¹ There was, however, another king, an even more spiritual king who was thought superior to all temporal kings, the Pope of Rome.

This study of the special iconography of Sponsus-Sponsa/Christus-Ecclesia in the medallions of the *Song of Solomon* of the Toledo and Oxford Bibles moralisées has noted that Ecclesia, the Sponsa, is systematically represented as a crowned queen. According to these images, royalty is the first and most important attribute of Ecclesia. Christ bears the cruciform nimbus which means both divinity and spiritual royalty.

As has been stated, the Bible was illuminated at the beginning of the thirteenth century, at a time when the cult of Mary became almost equal to the cult of God and Christ in France and in Paris. From the twelfth century on, mariology was the most popular religious movement in the western catholic church.

Mary and Ecclesia have been linked since the beginning of Christianity. Their respective theological concepts grew in parallel until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: however, Ecclesia had an obvious priority. As mother of the baptized she

¹ Lord Twining, *European regalia* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1967), p. 71.

is a worldly body and, as such, she depended upon political situations. The evolution of the Roman empire, later the Carolingian empire, had a deep influence on her and changed the structures of the Church. Ecclesia is the *Civitate Dei*, the "City of God", but at the same time she is also the *Civitate mundi*, the "City of the world". She is both the priest and the prince, the spiritual and the temporal power. The Concordat of Worms in 1122, ending the Investiture struggle, made the church of Rome a politically independent entity with its own legal system. Yet, Ecclesia is still a theological concept, born out of the Scriptures.

Ecclesia's theological origins also derive from another idea: the celestial Jerusalem of Revelations (21:1-8) which confirms the eternal covenant between God and the faithful. Ecclesia-Jerusalem is God's elect and has therefore the right to bear the royal crown.

And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband (Rev.21,2).

Ecclesia's iconography was not clearly shaped until Carolingian times, during the ninth and tenth centuries.² The Virgin in the Crucifixions mentioned in Goldschmitt and in Seiferth, or in other images of the same time,³ is veiled but does not wear a crown. Suger seems to have confirmed the iconography of the crowned Ecclesia in the stained-glass window in the choir of Saint-Denis' basilica.⁴

² The earliest examples of the crowned Ecclesia are mentioned in A. Goldschmitt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII-XI. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1914-1926), t. 1, pl. L, fig. 114 and W.S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two symbols in Art and Literature* (New York, 1970), fig. 7.

³ Thérel, *la Vierge-Eglise*, pl. XXVII fig. 53 and 54, pl. XXXI fig. 61, pl. XXXII fig. 63, pl. XXXIII fig. 65.

⁴ Louis Grodecki, "Les vitraux allégoriques de Saint-Denis", in *Art de France*, 1, 1961, pp. 32-35.

Ecclesia, as depicted in the Bible moralisée, is a proud crowned queen, holding the chalice in her hands and sometimes also the pastoral cross. Her image is the result of both a theological and a historico-political evolution.

How did the illuminators of the *Song* of the Bible moralisée render such a complex concept?

4.2. Ecclesia in the commentary texts of the *Song*

4.2.1. Definition of Ecclesia

Ecclesia is beautiful because of her virtues, which were given to her by the Holy Spirit through Jesus Christ. The gift is depicted in roundel IIIa, of Toledo II, by the seven doves surrounding Ecclesia's head. She is of pleasant company and noble in her good works 20(XXb). Ecclesia is beautiful and delightful when she bears fruit, i.e. when she does good works and baptizes Christians 23(XXIVa).⁵

Despite her beauty, Ecclesia suffers on earth from worldly torments, from the sins and the bad works of her members 4(IIIa). Just as the turtle-dove, she stays faithful to the memory of *her dead spouse, Christ* 7(IVb). Until the Resurrection, through the Passion and the Crucifixion, she mourns the dead Christ 8(Vb) + 9(Vc). Christ sends Ecclesia His sun which is shining through the windows. The sun is the Holy Ghost; in this text the sun is symbolized by the words of the apostles 11(VIII d). *Ecclesia is betrothed to Christ; she is Christ's spouse* 14(XIIIa). Christ's sacrifice and death cleansed Ecclesia and made her beautiful and spotless 16(XIVb). Christ

⁵ This commentary, as several others, might refer to the historical situation. Ecclesia is beautiful, flourishes and bears fruit: "because the King of France, a man of simple nature, is devoted to the Church of God, and benevolent towards the apostolic See,... with kingship and priesthood in harmony, the world is well ruled and the Church flourishes and bears fruit. But if they disagree, not only small things cannot grow but also large things collapse miserably". See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, p. 33.

is present in Ecclesia and rejoices from her good works 18(XVc). Being Christ's Spouse, He took her with him in the garden of delights, in His glory 19(XVd).

As in Isaiah (5,1-7), Ecclesia is compared to the vineyards. Christians are the field; the faithful are the flowers, and the fruits are the virtues represented by the bishops and Church authority. Bishops and Church dignitaries are further witnesses of faith 17(XVa). The pomegranates are the saint martyrs depicted by Saint Nicaise 23(XXIVa) and Saint Stephen (IIIb). In the same way, the mandrakes are the allegory of the virtues given to Ecclesia by Christ. Apostles, bishops, and monks are bearers of virtues 25(XXVa).

4.2.2. Who is the body of Ecclesia?

Ecclesia is composed of young adolescent souls, i.e. the recently converted who are pure and simple Christians educated by preachers 1(Id). These Christians are friends of Christ burned by temptations. Christ strengthens them to resist vices 5(IIIb). Ecclesia is constituted by those who are cleansed of their vices by Christ. He feeds them with the food of the virtues 10(VIIb). The nations form the body of Ecclesia 12(XIIa).

4.2.3. Ecclesia in her historical context

Ecclesia was persecuted by her mother's sons, the Jews from the Synagogue. She then dedicated herself to her real mission, to become keeper of many nations 6(IIId). She was held captive and neglected 22(XXIIa). *Ecclesia is like Jerusalem*, like the "Church" of the patriarchs and the prophets; she is in the tradition of God's representatives in the Old Testament 20(XXb).

4.2.4. Ecclesia's mission

Ecclesia's primary mission is to preach: the predication and the preachers are the

link, or the neck, between her and Christ. The preachers, and therefore Ecclesia, are protected by the perfect authorities, i.e. French royalty, which is represented on the tower of David by the coats of arms 15(XIIIId). Ecclesia asks the Jews to recognize Christ and to join her. The Jews are the *Sponsa* of the old covenant, or the Synagogue 14(XIIIa). Ecclesia does good works, and she is then drawn into heaven by Christ 2(IIa). Because of her good works, *she partakes with Christ in His glory and she shares His heavenly kingdom* 3(IIb). Ecclesia will continue to introduce Christ to the Jews until the Synagogue joins Ecclesia 12(XIIa). She has a worldly mission: to introduce Christ's love to the nations 13(XIIb); she is the keeper of the nations 6(IIIId). She fights the heretics 22(XXIIa). Through her preachers, Ecclesia exhorts the baptized, who have been disturbed, not to weaken 26(XXVd). Christians will be redeemed through Ecclesia 21(XXIa). She defends the apostles' doctrine against the heretics (XXVIIId). The apostles' doctrine is the basic food dispensed by Ecclesia 27(XXVIIIb).

No single element in any of the commentary texts of the *Song* constitutes an explanation sufficient to justify the iconography of Ecclesia's royalty. From the beginning to the end of the medallions of the *Song*, there is an implicit statement: Ecclesia does not exist without Christ. She is an intimate part of Christ. Without exception, the roundels depicting Ecclesia depict Christ at the same time. This means that Ecclesia systematically and wholly participates in Christ's reality, royalty being one of His most important realities. According to the theology of several Church Fathers, only Christ and Ecclesia together can form the new body of Christ. This is the mystery of their unity which is directly and indirectly mentioned through paulinian images such as the vine and the grape, the head and the body, the husband and the wife, the latter being the most famous image. All the images of the *Song's* roundels elucidate this mysterious relationship between Christ and Ecclesia, which is clearly underlined at the very beginning of the Bible moralisée in the medallion illustrating God creating Eve, the woman. Ecclesia-Eve, already crowned, is taken

out of Christ-Adam's side.⁶ The allegory is well known and has also a long theological tradition.⁷

Taking Ecclesia out of Christ's side identifies her with the mystery of the sacrament. Ecclesia is the sacrament herself. She is also the blood and water coming out of Christ's wound. Therefore, she stands under the cross to collect Christ's blood in the chalice, the chalice in the Bible moralisée being an identification of Ecclesia. With the chalice, Ecclesia transmits Christ's blood, the *mysterium fidei*, to the faithful who are her body and who thus participate in Christ's royalty. Before sharing in the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, however, the faithful must be baptised and baptism is another important iconographical theme in the Bible moralisée.

As an iconographic artistic theme, the symbolic figure of Ecclesia is rooted in the Gospel, in Saint Paul's epistles and in Revelations. The concept was given shape by the Church Fathers: Ecclesia is the eternal woman, the eternal Bride of Christ, the Mother of the faithful, the receptacle of God's incarnation and the mediatrix of the salvation mystery.⁸ Her image appears in Roman catacombs of the third century, and later in early fifth century Roman mosaics at the church of San Sabina in Rome. There Ecclesia is represented as a simple matron wearing a long dress and a veil over her head. Sometimes she holds the Gospel book and makes the sign of blessing with her right hand. Never is she depicted with a crown or with any other royal attributes.

⁶ Toledo I, f. 2, roundel IICc. The same theme exists in Vienna, ONB cod. 2554, f. 1v, roundel Bb.

⁷ Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, pp. 15-16; Saint Augustine, Sermo 336 (PL 38, 474): "De isto latere facta est ecclesia, quae nos pariendo vivificaret" and Herbert Schade, "Adam und Eva", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 41-70.

⁸ Anton Mayer, *ibid*, p. 17.

Most of the interpretations in the Bible moralisée, and in the *Song*, were taken from the *Glossa ordinaria*⁹ dating from Carolingian times, the eighth and ninth centuries. At that time, Ecclesia's iconography had not yet been systematically influenced by the concept of royalty as it would be later in the eleventh, twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The content of these texts remains on the allegorical, moral, theological, and anagogical levels. The image of the royal Ecclesia as used in the roundels of the *Song* reached its peak as an iconographical theme in the thirteenth century. At the same time, the high-water mark of Papal authority was reached during the first years of the thirteenth century during the Pontificate of Innocent III who, resurrecting and making good the claims of his predecessors, was the real arbiter of Europe exercising authority as suzerain over a number of the national kings. In papal theory, kingly authority could derive only from God through the agency of the Pope.¹⁰ The Bible moralisée used the iconography of Ecclesia on a large scale; however, it did not contribute to the elaboration of the image. It simply took over a concept which was the result of a several centuries old elaboration.

Although no synthesis of an ecclesiology could be written based on these commentaries, there are indications of why the assumed master theologian supervising the work might have used the iconographical theme of the royal Ecclesia. The core of the interpretation of the *Song* has always been the nuptial relationship between Sponsus and Sponsa, between Christ and Ecclesia, it is the stress placed on the royal aspect which is new here. Royalty is not present neither in the biblical texts or in their illustrations, excepting medallion 14(XIILA), which

⁹ Beryl Smalley, "La Glose ordinaire. Quelques prédécesseurs d'Anselme de Laon", in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 9, 1937; idem, "Glossa ordinaria", in *Theologische Realenzykopaedie*, 7, 1983, pp. 452-457.

¹⁰ Lord Twining, *European regalia*, p. XIV.

includes the royal idea, illustrated in the corresponding roundel. The corresponding commentary continues the royal idea with roundel XIIIa.

The biblical text mentions the coronation of Solomon by his mother, Queen Bathsheba. Solomon sits on his throne, the crown being placed on his head by his mother who is seated next to him. The representation of Ecclesia, crowned, seated next to Christ and putting the crown on his head. The commentary text continues: *In annuntiatione quae fuit initium caritatis nostrae fuit desponsata Ecclesia Christo vel deitati unum* (At the announcement of the beginning of our charity, Ecclesia has been betrothed to Christ, the one deity). The text underlines both Ecclesia's royalty and, by participation with Christ, *deitati unum*, the one divine. Her first mission is to convert the Jews, to make them conscientious of their blindness and their disbelief so they can recognize Christ as true God. Ecclesia's second mission is to convert the nations to faith, to bring them under Christ's royalty and divinity. As the basic mission given by Christ to His disciples in Matthew,¹¹ there is a dimension of universality in this commentary text. In the present case, Solomon is already the allegory of Sponsus within the text of the *Song*. Solomon, as known, is one of the prefigures of Christ in the Old Testament.

A similar parallel appears in roundels 21(XXIAa). For the first time in a biblical text illustration from the Bible moralisée, Sponsa is depicted as a crowned queen, when the biblical text does not even allude to any royalty. The text (Ct.6:10), a question, asks who the beautiful woman might be. Since patristic times, the commentators have always seen the queen of Sheba in the woman "that looks forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun". For that reason, Sponsa is already represented as a queen in the medallion of the biblical text. Her allegory is necessarily Ecclesia, crowned, drawing after her the redeemed souls whom she introduces to Christ.

¹¹ Mat. 28:18-20.

Similarly, the Queen of Sheba is often depicted as Ecclesia followed by human souls. In the Oxford codex of the Oxford Bible moralisée,¹² Ecclesia–Queen of Sheba is greeted by Christ–Solomon and she is followed by two monks holding two souls. The royal parallel is thus reconfirmed.

4.3. The theme of royalty at the time of the Bible moralisée

The central theme of the *Song's* interpretation is the bridal relationship of Christ and Ecclesia. Another theme, equally important although on another level, is Christ's and Ecclesia's royalty. In the visual arts, Ecclesia as a royal figure is a rather new concept; she appears only in the tenth century. One of the first depictions of Ecclesia crowned like a queen can be seen on an ivory plaque in the Bargello Museum in Florence, from the tenth century.¹³

The theme of Ecclesia's royalty reached its peak during the thirteenth century, under the reign of king Saint Louis (1226–1270), at the time of the Bible moralisée. At that time, the French king "was considered by some to be the perfect combination of the just ruler, the holy man and the chivalrous knight".¹⁴ Parisian "objets de luxe" concerning the king had about them an ineffable aura. Saint Louis was called

¹² Oxford, Bodleian Library 270b, Bible moralisée, I, f.164: The medallion shows Christ greeting Ecclesia and holding her hand. She is followed by two monks each holding a soul. The scene is the allegorical illustration to the Queen of Sheba coming to Solomon. See: Ursula Mielke, "Saba, Königin von", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, col.1–3.

¹³ Adolph Goldschmitt and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen des X – XIII Jahrhunderts*, 1, pl. L, note 114 and W.S. Seiferth, *Synagoge und Kirche im Mittelalter*, München: Koesel Verlag, 1964, fig. 7.

¹⁴ Robert Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style in gothic Architecture* (London, A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1985), p. 1.

the "king of earthly kings, both because of his heavenly anointment and because of his power and his military prominence".¹⁵

Another distinctive point was the unction of the French king during the coronation rite. "No other European king could point to such an unusual symbol of divine selection.... it was the consecration of the French king with celestial chrism that made him appear to be most worthy (*dignissimus*).¹⁶ The coronation was considered a divine selection by God. Through it, the king received a special charisma. According to a medieval legend, the French king received his kingdom from Saint Denis, the saint representing God.¹⁷

This forceful conception of French royalty seems to have influenced the iconography of the time and imposed the theme of royalty as a favorite representation. In the *Song* of Toledo II and Oxford-Paris, Ecclesia as queen illustrates 27 biblical verses, out of 110, which represents a quarter of the medallions.

A similar comparison can be made with the stained glass windows at the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, another royal order of almost the same time, which might also have benefited from the influence of Blanche de Castille.¹⁸ The medallions of one window describe the history of the relics of Christ's Passion and the translation of the crown of thorns to Paris. Almost all of the other stained glass windows illustrate

¹⁵ Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard (Chronicles and Memorials), vol. 5, p. 480.

¹⁶ Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, p. 606.

¹⁷ Jean-Pierre Poly, and Eric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale. Xe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), pp. 287, 293.

¹⁸ Blanche de Castille, the Queen-mother, was involved in governmental affairs until her death in 1252. See above pp. 12-13.

biblical themes, mostly from the Old Testament. The coronation scenes are especially numerous.¹⁹ In his excellent study of the Sainte Chapelle, published in 1975, Louis Grodecki had mentioned the importance of the theme of royal coronation in the stained glass window programs. Crowned Christ has a privileged position in the Passion window; however, the Number window, third north, shows twenty coronation scenes, the largest number of all the windows. Anticipating the biblical text, the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel are crowned, as are Moses, Aaron and Joshua. In opposition to the biblical text, Gideon is crowned king in the Judges window. The history of king David, of Queen Esther crowned by Ahasuerus, is illustrated at length. The second component of this program is without doubt the glorification of the Crown of Thorns, the relic bought by Saint Louis from the Byzantine emperor which was considered the prefigure of the French royal crown.

The crown was the main element of French regalia. One tradition ascribed it to Charlemagne. The shape of crown in fashion at the time of the Bible moralisée was that of the style favoured at the time of Philip II Augustus, supposed to go as far back as Charles the Bald. It was formed by four gold plates, hinged together with pins, each plate surmounted by a large fleur-de-lis. The massive gold crown Saint Louis presented to Saint Denis abbey was cast in one piece and similarly displayed four great fleur-de-lis as an integral part of the circlet.²⁰ This crown is the model of the one appearing on Ecclesia's and Christ's heads in the Bible moralisée. The deposition of his own crown at Saint Denis abbey was understood to be a religious

¹⁹ The Numbers window is the third window north in the nave of the Sainte Chapelle. Twenty of the 97 pictorial panels represent the coronations of the rulers of Israel. 70 of these panels are original. The third window south depicts the history of Saint Louis and has several coronation scenes too. See: Yves Bottineau, *Notre-Dame de Paris and the Sainte-Chapelle* (New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1967), pp. 82-83.

²⁰ Lord Twining, *European regalia*, p. 38.

act on the part of the king. Indeed, at that time the French king had a strong spiritual dimension and was seen as the heir of biblical royalty. This preoccupation with spiritual royalty is confirmed by Christ's genealogy in the Tree of Jesse window at the Sainte Chapelle in Paris which unusually insists on His royal antecedents by the fourteen crowned figures.²¹

Another *regalia* appearing in few medallions of the *Song* is the pastoral cross which can be seen as the sceptre or the rod of ancient royalty. In roundels 12(XIIa), 16(XIVb) and 17(XVa), both Christ and Ecclesia carry this element. The pastoral cross is only depicted in the early roundels of the Oxford Bible and not in Toledo II. It is difficult to define this regal element with precision because at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and since early twelfth century, the stem of the sceptre had become longer, more of a cross between the sceptre and the rod: "At the same time, the staff is lengthened so that it rests on the ground and not upon the throne, and the knob which had previously surmounted it is replaced by a fleur-de-lis".²² The length of the stem of the sceptre changed frequently. The pastoral cross carried by Christ and Ecclesia in the present case corresponds more to the rod which, in ancient civilizations, was the symbol of priestly power. Borne by kings and judges of Israel, it was a sign of honour. Unfortunately, the royal rod surmounted by the cross was not part of any *regalia* at the time of the Bible moralisée. The supervisor of the work, or the miniaturist himself might have decided, in the Oxford Bible, to emphasize Christ and Ecclesia's authority with the sceptre surmounted by the cross, which was created by Constantine the Great after he became Christian.²³ This

²¹ Louis Grodecki, *La Sainte Chapelle* (Paris: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, 1975), p. 52.

²² Lord Twining, *European regalia*, p. 178.

²³ The shape of the pastoral cross is close to the sceptre adopted by Constantine the Great when he became a Christian. He added the cross to what had previously been a simple wand topped by a symbol of pagan origin. The cruciform sceptre later became the attribute of the Byzantine Emperors. Sceptres with long stems, as in the present images, have a very ancient

emphasis might also testify to the real power of the catholic Church, the "Ecclesia triumphans" as illustrated in the fresco of the abbey church in Prüfening,²⁴ or the Ecclesia from the south portal of Strasbourg cathedral.²⁵

It seems obvious that Saint Louis, King of France, (and possibly Blanche de Castille) allegorized as a new Solomon and builder of this precious temple dedicated to the crown of our Lord, wanted to be surrounded by biblical kings in his palatial chapel. In 1244, Pope Innocent IV wrote to the French king: "It is you that the Lord crowned with His crown of thorns". French royalty was then on best terms with Rome. In contrast, the German Emperor Frederick II had been called "the destructor of the Christian doctrine, corrupter of clerics, perverter of the Faith".²⁶

This interest in the Church, in ecclesiastical affairs, in the Bible and in the Christian doctrine is illustrated by the numerous donations that both Blanche de Castille and her son, King Saint Louis, made to many churches and abbeys in and around Paris.²⁷ This interest is also emphasized by the construction of the Sainte-Chapelle

tradition. Pharaoh Amenhotep I (ruled from 1557-1541 B.C.) is depicted with a rod some five feet long. According to the Old Testament, the Hebrew kings used a staff about the height of a man. Much later, when the Revolutionaries opened the tombs of French kings buried at Saint-Denis, they found sceptres up to five and seven feet long, especially from the 14th century. Louis XIV and Napoleon I both had a coronation sceptre of six feet long. See Lord Twining, *European regalia*, pp. 171-179, 306.

²⁴ Anton Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, fig.21.

²⁵ Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg*, fig. 101 and Wolfgang Greisenegger, "Ecclesia", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, col. 567.

²⁶ Sauerländer, *Le Monde gothique*, p. 256.

²⁷ Régine Pernoud, *La Reine Blanche* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1972), pp. 120, 342.

and other buildings, such as the Cistercian abbeys of Royaumont and Maubuisson near Paris, and by the two crusades of 1248 and 1265 in which the King took part. The presence of the French and Castilian royal coat of arms in the miniatures of the Bible moralisée confirm, if it is necessary, the royal dedication to the catholic doctrine and faith, and to the Bible. All of these various elements reveal an intimate relationship between royalty and Church, between *regnum et sacerdotium*. This intimate interference between the two worlds, temporal and spiritual, had an influence on the significance and on the frequent depiction of crowned Ecclesia herself.

4.4. The concept of royalty at the time of the Bible moralisée

The French political situation, in which royalty played a crucial role, left a strong mark on the content of the Bible moralisée, as well as on the general perception of the Bible. At the beginning of the 13th century, France was governed by several strong royal figures, notably Philippe II Auguste (king: 1180–1223), Louis VIII the Lion (1223–1226) and especially his wife Queen Blanche de Castille (1188–1252, Regent of the kingdom after the death of her husband until the majority of her son in 1234) and King Louis IX, or Saint Louis (king: 1226–1270). Several of these royal personalities were especially dedicated to the Church. Another important figure should also be mentioned, although earlier and not of royal lineage: Abbot Suger (1081–1151) from the royal abbey of Saint-Denis, whose spiritual position and role as counsellor to Kings Louis VI and Louis VII made him a prominent figure in the consolidation of the Capetian dynasty. The position and role of Abbot Suger show how intricate the links between church and royalty were by the middle of the 12th century. The situation remained the same, at least for more than a century.

This intricacy of the two powers is easily observed in the arts, especially in the

stained glass windows as already analyzed, and in the sculptural programmes of some of the cathedrals under royal patronage around Paris, including Chartres, Saint-Denis, Senlis, Notre-Dame of Paris and Etampes. The iconographical programmes of these churches, mostly evident in their sculptures, insist on royalty first, secondly only on priesthood. The general theme is best known under the description *regnum* versus *sacerdotium*. Fundamentally, the issue was whether anyone other than the pope was empowered to invest a bishop in his sacerdotal function.

Thanks to Bishop Ivo of Chartres, the greatest authority in matters of Church law and Church politics in France in his time, the kingdom of France stayed out of this struggle, which mostly concerned the German Emperor. In the same vein, Abbot Suger had already stressed the harmony of kingship and priesthood in a letter to the archbishop of Reims.²⁸ In a charter given to the Church of Paris in 1143, Louis VII points out the similarity of the spiritual status of kings and priests based on the authority of the Old Testament: "kings and priests are consecrated through the unction with the holy oil, and therefore have an identical mission: to rule people for their salvation."²⁹ Related ideas might have been carved in stone on the façade of Saint-Denis, and at Reims, the main church of French royalty. Both were in many ways the prototype for French medieval iconography: Old Testament statues were supposed to prefigure *regnum* and *sacerdotium* which, in mutual harmony, protect the entrances to the church. Though the Saint-Denis statues no longer exist,

²⁸ Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres sculptural programs*, p. 33: "That the glory of Christ's body, that is the Church of God, consists in the indissoluble unity of kingship and priesthood is perfectly clear, because he who provides for the other helps him. It is therefore obvious to everyone who can discern that the temporal kingdom becomes stable through the Church of God, and the Church of God progresses through the temporal kingdom" (Letter 238, P.L. CLXII, col. 246).

²⁹ Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres sculptural programs*, p. 33.

they initially represented Old Testament prefigurations of French kings and queens at the main portal.

The interdependence between Church and State, or royalty, is again stressed at the coronation of each French king who, at that time, made a solemn pledge and promised to defend the Church. The royal sceptre was the symbol of this duty. Several other regalia, such as the royal rings, confirmed this almost liturgical and spiritual mission.

The façade of Saint-Denis was one of the most typical illustrations of royalty as it symbolized French kingship. David, Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, the kings of Judah, Patriarchs and early Leaders of the Jews, and Jewish Kings succeeding Solomon, whom the Old Testament calls good and pious, were all part of an extensive iconographical programme as prototypes of the French *regnum*.³⁰ Another major monument highlighting royalty through Old Testament figures is the Royal Portal at Chartres cathedral, although it was not as vast as the Saint-Denis programme.

The right tympanum at the west façade of Notre-Dame in Paris is another example confirming the intricate relationship between Church and royalty. The scene depicted shows king Louis VII and Bishop Maurice de Sully on either sides of the Virgin Mary, Notre-Dame, to whom the cathedral is dedicated. The king is giving a privilege to the Virgin; Bishop Maurice de Sully thanks him for it. The scene surrounds the Virgin who is represented as Theotokos: she is crowned, with her Child on her lap, and sitting under a ciborium. *Regnum* and *sacerdotium* again

³⁰ Katzenellenbogen, *ibid*, p. 31.

are represented in full harmony with the Church, the ultimate authority guaranteeing all royal acts.³¹

Royalty was part of French religious iconography until the end of the thirteenth century. An unusual example of this conception is the group of Kings in the gallery underneath the western rose window of Notre-Dame in Paris.³² Similar groups exist at Amiens and at Reims cathedrals.³³

The symbolic meaning of these statues is theological: they symbolize the foundation of the Old Testament and as such they prefigure the New Testament where Christ incarnates the ideal King. Ecclesia, Christ's bride, later substituted by the Virgin Mary, depicts the ideal Queen. The cathedral itself is a figure of the Church, the symbol of the royal Ecclesia.

The impact of the Capetian dynasty on the arts of their time is well known. Their influence is as significant on the Parisian cultural life. They could only have a considerable influence on an order such as the Bible moralisée. The royal couple represented on the image-colophon of the third volume of the manuscript is without any doubt young King Saint Louis and Queen Blanche de Castille.³⁴ Their presence is a devotional statement, in the same way that donors are depicted at the bottom of a painting. Given the spirit of the time, and knowing the dedication to the Church and to Christian faith of both Queen Blanche de Castille and king Saint Louis, the

³¹ Katzenellenbogen, *ibid*, p. 35.

³² The French Revolution of 1789 saw in these kings representatives of the French monarchy and therefore condemned the whole group to be destroyed.

³³ Statues of kings from the Old Testament can be seen on many other French cathedrals such as Le Mans (four kings on the south portal), Bourges (two kings and two queens on the south door), and Notre-Dame of Paris (four kings and two queens at the Sainte-Anne portal).

³⁴ See pl. XXIX, f. 8, p. 255.

presence of the couple has probably a theological meaning, especially since the king is consecrated by the Church. With his mother, the Queen Regent, he is the protector of true biblical teaching. Above all, he is protector of the catholic Christian faith, at a time when half of France was endangered by the Cathar heresy. More than ever, the king was needed as protector of the Church. The position of both figures, each sitting on a throne, crowned and looking at each other, further reminds us of Sponsus and Sponsa in the *Song of Solomon*. The Bible moralisée is not the first example, in book illumination, where the depiction of kings and queens relate to this biblical theme.³⁴

Another important institution of the time which sometimes opposed French royalty, and definitely opposed the German Empire, was the Church of Rome, specifically the Pope. The Pope was invested with the two powers: the temporal and the spiritual, the *regnum* and the *sacerdotum*. He was both king and priest. Through his spiritual authority, the Pope "made" the Emperor, as he made the king of France. The Pope had authority over the Emperor and over the King. This relationship was a significant factor in medieval history and was the cornerstone of a long fight between Rome and the Emperor, the fight for the investiture of bishops who were both spiritual dignitaries and imperial officials. Rome won the battle, becoming politically independent of the Emperor. The result was the creation of a Church body exclusively sacerdotal in power, a pure theocracy. As in the ancient Roman Empire, of which he was the direct heir, the Pope integrated both temporal and spiritual powers, gradually overruling emperors and kings.

³⁴ Horst Fuhrmann and Florentine Mutherich, *Das Evangelium Heinrich des Löwen und das mittelalterliche Herrscherbild* (München: Prestel Verlag, 1986), pl. 28, 29 where Latin inscriptions from the *Song*, and representations of Sponsus and Sponsa as kings and queens confirm the previous statement.

From the 13th century, the Pope was the *plenitudo potestatis*,³⁵ the perfect incarnation of the powerful royal-imperial Church on earth. The Pope, as "Vicarius Christi", or representative of Christ on earth, participates in Christ's royalty. Therefore, the Pope has the right to wear the crown, the "tiara". At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Rome reached its first apogee of power, imposing her will over the rulers of the world.

The identification of Church and temporal power on one side, and royalty and spiritual responsibility on the other, might have created an environment favourable for the theological concept of the royal Ecclesia as she is represented in the Bible moralisée. As in the Sainte-Chapelle at Paris, where royal signs are numerous in the stained glass windows, the frequency of Ecclesia's royal depictions, to which the representation of the royal coats of arms should be added, is another strong allusion to French royalty seeking an identification with divine royalty. As with the Sainte-Chapelle, the Bible moralisée, intended to educate the future king, might be a monument of the will to sacralize the French monarchy, as underlined by Pope Innocent IV by his previously mentioned letter to Saint Louis of 1244: "It is You that the Lord crowned with His crown of thorns".³⁶

Conclusion

The present research reveals the general importance and originality of the Bible moralisée in the field of medieval manuscripts, painting, iconography, and biblical text interpretation. As a "spiritual and religious monument" of the thirteenth century, it compares in complexity, scope and conception to many other iconographical and "religious monuments" of the time, such as the cathedrals. Though of elaborate

³⁵ Yves Congar, *L'Eglise de Saint Augustin à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1970), pp. 102-112, 176-197, 215-219.

³⁶ See note 16.

architectural structure, cathedrals were also conceived as expanded educational programmes. The several iconographical programmes, such as sculptures or stained glass windows, were, according to Emile Mâle,³⁸ encyclopedias, theologies of art and sacred writing. The Bible moralisée, in the same way, is a vast programme dedicated to Church teaching through texts and images. It parallels the cathedrals, or some of the theological and philosophical treatises of the time, as a *Summa*, a global approach to the Bible and the biblical understanding of the time.

Historically, the Bible moralisée belongs to the period of Gothic art. Is it a truly Gothic work of art? One of the first questions to be raised concerns the structural aspect of the manuscript's folio composition: why did the roundel system succeed so well at the beginning of the thirteenth century with the Bibles moralisées and onto the 1240's with the Oxford Bible, when at the same time so many other shapes and forms, more avant garde and more Gothic, existed in the field of flat ornamentation, such as stained glass windows, sculpture and miniatures? Why did the master supervisor of this considerable undertaking keep to a composition system which was already old fashioned, belonging to the Romanesque style and spirit? Despite its old-fashioned format, the manuscript seems to have enjoyed great prestige, the Bible continued to be copied until the fifteenth century, though with changes in the style, in the shape of the medallions, and sometimes of the texts.³⁹

The purpose of the creation of the Toledo Bible moralisée remains an open and unanswered question. What was the purpose of the French king, or the Queen, of ordering such a complex work of art? Was it really dedicated to the education of princes and of young Saint Louis? What was the reason for making a contemporary

³⁸ Emile Mâle, "Introduction", in *l'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, pp. 29–58.

³⁹ See Introduction, note 11.

copy of the manuscript? Why did it not stay in France, in the French royal treasury at Saint-Denis, in the treasury of the Sainte-Chapelle, or in the *Capella regis*? How could such an important royal "monument", if it was one, not be part of the French *regalia*, as the German "Reichsevangeliar" on which the German emperors took their coronation oath, or as the Evangeliary of Heinrich des Löwen?⁴⁰

Compared to other Bibles of the time, intended for pedagogical use, the Bible moralisée is a difficult "book" for a boy adolescent to handle and read. Could the Bible have been a prestigious commission, only being shown on special occasions, as Harvey Stahl has suggested in a recent discussion? The Vienna Bible, ONB Codex 2554, is in ancient French and was surely not intended as a pedagogical "book". The language – ancient French – was too difficult to be read and no prince was educated in French at that time. Nonetheless, according to recent discussions with several Professors in Pedagogy from the Université de Montréal and the Université du Québec à Montréal, medieval royal princesses were apparently taught in the vernacular language while their counterparts, the male princes were educated in Latin!⁴¹

The emphasis on Ecclesia and her nuptial relationship with Christ in the *Song of Solomon* also raises several questions. The Bible moralisée was not a theological treatise. Its commentary texts and corresponding images, though dealing largely with biblical texts, reflect a general mentality, an official point of view. However, in the present case, this point of view is partial as it almost systematically ignores the existence of the iconographical and exegetical reality of the Virgin Mary, then one of the most popular themes.

⁴⁰ Friedrich Merzbacher, "Reich", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 3, col. 522–531; Herrmann Fillitz, "Reichsinsignien und Reichskleinodien", *ibid*, col. 531–533; Fuhrmann and Mutherich, *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen*, München, 1986.

⁴¹ Several discussions with Prof. Jean Caravolas, from the Education Department, Université du Québec à Montréal.

Ecclesia the Bride, in the Bible moralisée, though royal, is primarily a theological and a spiritual concept in which the whole conception of the medieval "Sponsa", in its widest sense, is concentrated. She is Saint Augustine's *Civitate Dei*, and she is also the celestial Jerusalem. She is the human soul and she can even be seen as the Virgin Mary. The frequency of her depiction in the *Song* and in the Bible moralisée, and presence of the French king as the Bible's patron raises the question of the eventual similarity and identification between the two parameters, Ecclesia and French royalty. A few decades earlier, German Emperors and kings had identified themselves with the representative of God on earth as clearly depicted in Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures. Although the situation in France was different from that in the Holy Roman Empire, the French king, through his unction at the coronation ceremony, inherited a spiritual dimension which might relate him to the crowned Ecclesia. Being anointed, the French king is the representative of God and Christ on earth. Therefore, did the king have a share in Ecclesia's royal dignity, or is his dignity of a different kind? Is he the Church's servant, as often stated? Given the historical context of the relations between French royalty of the early thirteenth century and the Church of Rome, the symbolical meaning of Ecclesia in the *Song of Solomon*, and in the Bible moralisée, can be interpreted as one of supremacy; the Church of Rome, and by extension the Pope, are symbolized by Ecclesia which, as mentioned, incarnates above all the eschatological Ecclesia, the Bride married to Christ in this time, but whose full significance will only be revealed in the time to come, in heaven. Ecclesia, in the French conception, has a transcendental and spiritual significance while in the Holy Roman Empire the Emperor, or the reigning prince, and Ecclesia are one and equal, with the emphasis on the temporal and political aspect.

The conception of the Bible moralisée, though new in its scope and in the extent of the enterprise, is still a transition work of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. It therefore carries meanings, symbols, images and compositions relating to both centuries. The Toledo and Oxford Bibles moralisées cannot be approached

without knowing of their two Viennese "predecessors" from which they are different, but at the same time very close. There are many elements belonging to the twelfth century which are carried on into the thirteenth century such as the composition system of roundels and the pleat system of the figures' clothing. Some iconographical themes are pure reminders of romanesque art, such as the *Majestas Domini*. The principle of Christ and Ecclesia, especially Ecclesia crowned and holding the chalice, is, however, a new or at least an updated scheme since Ecclesia and Christ were never depicted as a couple in the official or "public" iconography. Nonetheless, the images of Christ and the Virgin Mary, as *conjugium*, occupied eminent positions in several contemporary cathedral programmes.

Ecclesia is so closely and frequently associated with Christ. This relationship has a wider symbolical significance than the nuptial relationship of the *Song of Solomon*. In several illustrations of the *Song* in the Bible moralisée, especially in those showing the couple Christ and Ecclesia seated next to each other on the throne, Ecclesia seems to be placed in the Virgin Mary's position of the early thirteenth century coronation scenes. The drawing from Munich illustrating the couple Sponsus and Sponsa in Honorius Augustodunensis' commentary of the *Song*,⁴¹ is still ambiguous, for none of the visible inscriptions gives an indication whether Sponsa is Ecclesia, or the Virgin Mary. The general layout of the image allows to see in the royal couple the nuptial relationship of Christ and Ecclesia, the content of Honorius' commentary being primarily ecclesiogical.

The interpretation of the *Song of Solomon* in the twelfth century was both ecclesiogical and mariological. The couple Sponsus-Sponsa illustrating Honorius'

⁴¹ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4550, f. 1v; See *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen, 1125–1235*, Exh. cat., Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, 1995, München: Hirmer Verlag, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 76–77 cat. n. B8.

commentary to the *Song* is most typical. According to Honorius' interpretation, the Bride, Sponsa, is allegorized by Ecclesia. In his *Sigillum Beatae Mariae*,⁴² the theologian insists on the Bride as the Virgin Mary. He concludes his commentary on the *Song*, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*, by referring to the famous formula of the Glossa ordinaria, *Omnia quae de Ecclesia dicta sunt possunt etiam de Virgine sponsa et matre sponsi intelligi*.⁴³ A similar statement, and more to the point, is the inscription in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, *Haec regina est Ecclesia quae dicitur virgo mater*.⁴⁴ This statement concludes best the *Song* of the Bible moralisée: although not formally or iconographically mariological, its interpretation is mariological by similarity between Ecclesia and the Virgin Mary. In medieval theology, both concepts are interchangeable: Ecclesia as the Bride is identical to the Virgin Mary, and the Virgin Mary as mother is identical to Ecclesia. This ambiguity, or better this duality is especially well translated in the scenes of Christ-Ecclesia seated next to each other, being identical to the coronation scenes. The text is transparent to various symbolical meanings, and so are the images. Ecclesia being parallel, or identical, to the Virgin Mary in contemporary exegesis, there was no need to be more explicit and to introduce a double language in the Bible moralisée: Ecclesia is also the Virgin Mary.

Stylistically, the Bible moralisée, and the *Song* in particular, is a transition work from romanesque to gothic art. The theme of Ecclesia and Christ on the throne, the

⁴² *Sigillum Beatae Mariae ubi exponuntur Cantica Canticorum*, PL, CLXXII, col. 399D; Philippe Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, pp. 92–93.

⁴³ Everything which has been said about Ecclesia the Church should be understood as concerning the Virgin, the Bride and the mother of the Bridegroom. See *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*, P.L., 172, col. 494; Thérel, *la Vierge-Eglise*, p. 76.

⁴⁴ *Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 225vo showing Ecclesia over the "adolescentulae" from the *Song*, in the centre of the Temple of Jerusalem. See A. Straub and G. Keller, *Herrade de Landsberg. Hortus Deliciarum*, Strasbourg, 1899, pl. LIX; Philippe Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, p. 88 note 34.

the synthronos, corresponds to the coronation scenes of the Virgin Mary which appear around 1180 in Senlis, France, on the tympanum of the central portal of the cathedral. It is a transitional theme between Romanesque to Gothic. As later at Chartres, Strasbourg, Laon or Notre-Dame in Paris, the coronation still remains of Romanesque conception, both in composition and in the rendering of the figures. It is in this spirit that this theme is found in the Bible moralisée, confirming the theory of a transitional work. However, the principle of a simultaneous illustration of biblical and commentary texts is new. The interest in the *Song of Solomon* might be a reminder of the previous century, the *Song* as a literary work belonging to the courtly love tradition. Further, the *Song* being commented and illustrated in such a systematic way, confirms and continues the twelfth century tradition and interest in the book.

A question can still be raised: the essence of Ecclesia's royalty. Is this royalty an homage paid to the royalty of the Roman Catholic Church? Is the frequency of the royal Ecclesia in the medallions of the Bible moralisée not due to the commission of a royal source? Could there be a parallel, eventually a similarity, between the symbolical significance of French royalty and the symbolism of the German Emperor: both are anointed as representatives of Christ on earth and therefore could participate in Ecclesia's dignity? An excellent example of the divine dimension of temporal power is in several miniatures of the Evangeliary of Heinrichs des Löwen where the reigning couple of Heinrich and Mathilda are both crowned by Christ⁴⁶ after having been presented to the Virgin Mary.⁴⁷ The Evangeliary was surely dedicated to the altar of the Virgin Mary in the Braunschweig Stiftskirche, another order of Duke Heinrich

⁴⁶ *Evangeliary Heinrichs des Löwen*, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 105 Noviss. 2 and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30055, fol. 171v; Fuhrmann and Mütterich, *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen*, pl. 29; *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit*, Exh. cat., pp. 206-210.

⁴⁷ Fuhrmann and Mütterich, idem, pl. 28; *Heinrich der Löwe*, Exh. cat., idem, p. 207.

and his wife Duchess Mathilda. On the other hand, only speculations surround the purpose of the commission of the Toledo Bible moralisée. In both manuscripts, the Evangelary being earlier by about fifty years, the *Song of Solomon* has a privileged position. In the German Evangelary, there is an obvious parallel between Sponsus, Sponsa and the reigning couple, Duke Heinrich der Löwe and Duchess Mathilda. The complex symbolism of several miniatures of the Evangelary further involves the Virgin and Christ who dispenses royalty to Heinrich and Mathilda. German royalty is a sacred state; according to these miniatures, it is participation in Christ's royalty.

The miniatures of the *Song of Solomon* in the Toledo Bible don't allow one to draw the same easy parallel between Christ's royalty and the French king's royalty. Nonetheless, can the repetition of royal Ecclesia, the Bride from the *Song*, and the depiction of Queen Blanche and young King Saint Louis in the image-colophon, not be seen as an indirect allusion to worldly royalty participating in spiritual royalty? Can the representation of Queen Blanche and young Saint Louis not be an allegory of the French king's royalty participating in Christ's royalty? The concept between German and French royalty should not be too distant, Duchess Mathilda being the daughter of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of the English King Henry II Plantagenet, who was also the grand-mother of Blanche de Castille.

APPENDIX

1. The Toledo Bible moralisée

Three volumes, parchment.

Vol.I: 1 fly-leaf, 192 folios, 1 fly-leaf,

522 x 305 mm; frame: 295 x 210 mm,

Vol.II: 1 fly-leaf, 224 folios,

422 x 305 mm; frame: 300 x 215 mm

Vol.III: 3 fly-leaves, 190 folios, 3 fly-leaves

430 x 305 mm; frame: 293 x 207 mm

Binding, 17th century Spanish red ciselé velvet. Originally, the cover was white vellum of which parts still remain.

Contents:

I: ff.1-29, Genesis; 30-51, Exodus; 51-60, Leviticus; 60-75, Numbers; 76-79, Deuteronomy; 80-84, Joshua; 84-93, Judges; 93-96, Ruth; 97-115, I Samuel; 115-128, II Samuel; 129-141, I Kings; 141-151, II Kings; 152, Chronicles; 153, Ezra; 154-155, II Ezra; 156-165, Tobie; 165-168, Judith; 168-172, Esther; 172-192, Job.

II: ff.1-2, Job; 2-39, Psalms; 40-61, Proverbs; 62-65, Ecclesiastes; 66-93, Song of Solomon; 93-96, Siracide; 97-129, Isaiah; 130-155, Jeremiah; 156-182, Lamentations; 183-203, Ezekiel; 204-213, Daniel; 214-224, the 12 Prophets.

III: ff.1-79, the Gospels; 80-126, The Acts; 127-129, Epistle to Romans; 129-130, I Corinthians; 13-131, II Corinthians; 132-133, Galatians; 134-135, Ephesians; 135-137, Philippians; 137-139, I Thessalonians; 139-141, II Thessalonians; 141-143, Colossians; 143-146, I Timothy; 146-148, II Timothy; 148-149, Titus; 149-150, Philemon; 150-152, To the Hebrews; 153-154, Epistle of James; 154-156, I Peter; 156, II Peter; 156-158, I John; 158, Jude; 159-190, Revelation.

2. The eight leaves of the Toledo Bible moralisée

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Morgan 240. 8 leaves, originally fols. 191–198 of the 3rd volume of the Toledo Bible moralisée.

385 x 274 mm

They are bound in a French XVIth century brown stamped morroco leather case lettered: "The Apocalypse – Illuminated manuscript – 13th century".

The texts and miniatures of the 7 last leaves correspond to Apoc. XX,4–XXII,17. Folio 7 contains a full page miniature horizontally subdivided in two halves. The upper half again is composed of two arches. The left arch represents a queen seated on a throne under a trilobed arch. In front of her, on the right, also seated on a throne under a trilobed arch is young king Saint Louis holding a scepter in his right hand, a small globe in his left. The gold background of the king is engraved with a scroll motif.

The lower half also is subdivided in two trilobed arches. On the left, is a tonsured monk sitting in front of a desk and adresssing himself to the scribe on the right. He has a book on his desk, maybe the guideline for the manuscript. The gold background is also engraved, with a geometric motif. The scribe under the arch on the right is seated on a desk on which lays a page of the Bible moralisée outlined with 8 medalions.

History: The main part of the manuscript is in Spain. The Pierpont Morgan fragment seems to have been removed before 1539. Its absence is recorded in an inventory of the Cathedral Treasury of Toledo of that date as proven by the Osuna Bible (Madrid, B.N. 10232), a late XIIIth century copy of the Toledo Bible, which lacks the last 8 folios of its model.

According to several early XIXth century French publications, the present binding,

dating from c.1500, was on the folios when they were in the library of the Seigneur des Granges et de la Majorie whose name appears on f.1 with his arms "d'azur à la bande d'or". These arms were born in 1593 by François de la Majorie when he married Anne de Turenne. In the XVIIIth century, it passed to a member of the Anton family; in 1838 to Aloïs de Chièvres (1828–1904), then to his son-in-law, Vicomte Georges-Marie-Louis de Hillerin (1842–1892); then to Otto Weiner, Bourdariat. The Pierpont Morgan purchased it in 1906 from Ludovic Badin, a Parisian dealer.

(see, Aubert, Abbé, Notice sur un manuscrit latin du XIIIe siècle, in: Mémoire de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, V (1838), p.157–168, pl.VII).

3. The Oxford Bible moralisée

Vol.1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, cod. Bodley 270b

225 folios, parchment, 1785 miniatures

450 x 315 mm

Binding, stamped red leather sides, XVIIth century

Content as vol.I of the Toledo Bible

Vol.2: Paris, B.N., Ms.lat.11560

222 folios, parchment, 1792 miniatures

415 x 300 mm

Modern maroon leather binding

Content identical to vol.II of the Toledo Bible.

History of the manuscript:

In the 17th century, belonged to the Chancelier Séguier, then to Henri du Cambout, duc de Coislin, Evêque de Metz. Before the Revolution of 1789, was in the Library of the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés which, in 1795, was

deposited to the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Bible moralisée remained there until now.

Vol.3: London, British Library, Mss. Harley 1526 and 1527

in two parts. First part, Harley 1526: 31 folios; second part, Harley 1527: 153 folios, parchment

Harley 1526: 395 x 275 mm; Harley 1527: 395 x 280 mm; frame: 295 x 210 mm
both covers of both volumes are identical: brown leather with gold armcrest of Harley on all 4 covers.

Device beneath the armcrest: Virtute et Fide.

On the back of the binding of Ms. Harley 1526, Latin inscription: LIBRI
MACCHABAEORUM, FIGG. DEPICT., ILLUSTRATI.

On the back of the binding of Ms. Harley 1527, Latin inscription: NOVUM
TESTAMENTUM, FIGURIS DEPICTIS ILLUSTRATUM.

On the 5th fly-leaf of Ms. Harley 1526 there is a paper bill glued:

to Mr. John KEMP June 30, 1711

Liber Maccabeo + Novum Testamentum

Vol. folio: 40:00 L

Rec. June 30, 1711 of Mr. John KEMP

the sum of forty Pound in full

for the books above written.

Signed: INNYS

The two manuscripts were collected by Robert Harley (d.1724) and Edward Harley (d.1741), 1st and 2nd Earls of Oxford. They were sold to the Parliament by the Countess of Oxford and her daughter, the Duchess of Portland, in 1753 ¹.

¹ Nickson, M.A.E., Guide to the catalogues and indexes of the Department of Manuscripts, London: the British Library, 1978, 1982, p. 5.

Content of Ms. Harley 1526:

31 folios: the book of Maccabees

Content of Ms. Harley 1527:

ff. 4–65, the Gospel; 66–95, The Acts; 96–115, the Epistles; 116–153, Revelation.

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List of plates and medallion pairs

TOLEDO BIBLE AND OXFORD BIBLE

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pl. 1(I), f. 66

IDD: Sponsus and Sponsa with virgin friends/a monk preaching in front of Christ and two Ecclesiae.

pl. 2+3(II), f. 67

IIAa: Sponsus draws Sponsa after him followed by her two friends/Christ draws Ecclesia after Him followed by a nun and a monk.

IIBb: Sponsus takes Sponsa in his cellar/Christ and Ecclesia are in heaven in their Glory.

pl. 4-6(III), f. 68

IIIAa: Sponsa addresses herself to king Solomon/Ecclesia addresses herself to Christ in heaven.

IIIBb: Sponsa's dark complexion/Christ burns his friends through martyrdom (St. Stephen's martyrdom).

IIIDd: Sponsa is a shepherdess/Ecclesia is responsible of her flock and of the Synagogue.

pl. 7(IV), f. 69

IVBb: Sponsa as beautiful as a turtle-dove/Ecclesia, faithful as a turtle-dove, in front of the dead Christ.

pl. 8+9(V), f. 70

VBb: Sponsus compared to a bundle of myrrh/the dead Christ embalmed with myrrh.

VCc: Sponsus compared to a cluster of Cyprus raisin/the resurrection of Christ a sweet cluster of Cyprus raisins.

pl. VI, f. 71

pl. 10(VII), f. 72

VIBb: Sponsus as agreeable as sweet fruit/through Ecclesia, Christ feeds His chosen ones with delectable food.

pl. 11(VIII), f. 73

VIIIDd: Sponsus watches through the windows/Christ's knowledge illuminates us through small openings.

pl. IX, f. 74

pl. X, f. 75

pl. XI, f. 76

pl. 12+13(XII), f. 77

XIIAa: Sponsus in Sponsa's mother's house/Christ introduced to the Jews

XIIBb: Sponsus comes out of the wilderness/Christ in Glory promises salvation to all nations

pl. 14+15(XIII), f. 78

XIIIAa: King Solomon crowned by his mother/Christ crowned by Ecclesia in presence of the Virgin Mary and the Synagogue.

XIIIDd: Sponsa's neck is like the tower of David/the preachers are Ecclesia's neck.

pl. 16(XIV), f. 79

XIVBb: Sponsa is immaculate/Ecclesia is freed from all stains through Christ's blood.

pl. 17-19(XV), f. 80

XVAa: Sponsus and Sponsa in an orchard/Ecclesia is the orchard with martyrs and confessors.

XVCc: Sponsus enters the garden/Christ enters the garden which is Ecclesia.

XVDd: Sponsus is in his garden/Christ in Glory is in heaven, his garden of delights.

pl. XVI, f. 81

pl. XVII, f. 82

pl. XVIII, f. 83

pl. XIX, f. 84

pl. 20(XX), f. 85

XXBb: Sponsa as beautiful as Jerusalem/Ecclesia beautiful through the good works of the patriarchs and the prophets.

pl. 21(XXI), f. 86

XXIAa: Sponsa as beautiful as the moon and the sun/Ecclesia is beautiful because of the Redemption.

pl. 22(XXII), f. 87

XXIIAa: Sponsa-Shulamite compared to a dancing choir/Ecclesia-Shulamite fights heretics Jews.

pl. XXIII, f. 88

pl. 23-24(XXIV), f. 89

XXIVAa: Sponsa compared to a palm tree/Ecclesia is a beautiful tree represented by those who suffer on earth.

XXIVDd: Sponsa is the fruitful vine/Ecclesia, with the saints. is like blossoming vineyards.

pl. 25-26(XXV), f. 90

XXVAa: Sponsus and Sponsa enjoy delicious fruit/Ecclesia and many saints symbolized by the mandrakes.

XXVDd: Resting Sponsa/Ecclesia's members are disturbed.

pl. XXVI, f. 91

pl. 27(XXV'I), f. 92

XXVIIIBb: Sponsa's breasts compared to towers/the apostles are Ecclesia's breasts.

pl. XXVIII, f. 93

pl. XXIX, f. 8

image-colophon, Toledo Bible Moralisée, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York,
Morgan 240.

scu
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fui die
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vma
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Trahe me prae te cur remus in odore un guentorum tuorum.		Quoniam gaude amus et letabimur in te mem ores ubere tuorum sup er unum.	
Dice est uox eccle siae quod uenit ad fidei prae m instrationem et rogat christum ut trahat eum post se quod bene scit ipsum ascen disse in coe lum quod dicit si possum as cendere prae me a opera tua exemplum tuum et ocula tio tua et miracula quod fecisti et huc me p er.		Per h omo nem quod in celum extolli pro domus pae pas sine quod bene uimus exultamus super misericordiam et recolamus quia pietate atque firmitate et quod licet uo lueris in rigare di ticia legis per gratiam fi dei.	
Introducit me in cellaria sua.		Recit dile ctum meum in cellaria sua.	
Cellaria regis intra sunt ga dia regni celestis in quod ecclesia introducitur per fidem in tempore sub opprobrio perit.		Quia nunc fretum nunc nunc et nunc celestia reo ti si si cap am modo frendo tre na erigere et hunc celestia a ut fias terribilis quod di	

ligas tecum qui recto corde se deum diligunt. se ora.

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mte. i. mte
mte: mte
gemb.



Ubi in atri tu suo nat dus mea dedit ad rem suu.		10.72 vpm dile meus mi chi. we. ccc	
Uox sp se. to foda let sponsi du xpc re quiescit i beatus dicit secreti sui. uere suos ministrat nob meta stam ma gni odori qui qm n uident illu que qm canto aco dunt des dio ipius.		Uox sp se. illu q fuer michi fateri culis mirre i amaru dine passio nis facit e bortu i apu m dulcedine resurrection q: mirra offe dit unu lau ficat.	
Pascu cul mir re dilecti meus m.		Ecce tu plen es am ca tu ei ecce tu pulera et oculi tu i colubis.	
Uox sp se. f fuer fasciculu mirre qm deposuit su se de cruce. q condit mirra i ab e. vñ dicit ela. fascic i. nio: ami ci q: passus e erit sepe i memorat		Uox sp si ad sp sam. Bis die ea ee puleta q: q he amore di i pccm du pule he pl ctitudme na eius ocu li similes st ocul colum bar cu ge mit in tpo. talib: capu ad etna resi	

mod.

deria. i. auctorit i simplicitate sensus suos.

ecce nisi clares di ecce nu decorus		ecce nisi clares di ecce nu decorus	
Lorsus se. qd dicit pulcher os decorus. fugiat uim q. natura xpo q. dilige tib. se plebe e. i. humanu tuta mder tate sui ma sta rep hnt st. lu em aia sumur ip su p. eluden y obumisa t. trena i. p. etior efficit		lor e agat q. flo ret suet tura hois e. berna uir gus e. flos e. xpe tuus em e. q. xpe flos campi q. e. filius uiginitis q. e. filius d. na turalis q. na tus fuit de humilib. p. entib. q. n. appam it i. mundo ostendit se focum hu milu i. no supbo.	
Lectus nost fiori dus.		Lectus nost fiori dus.	
Lectus in quo dicit re quiescit se claustra monasteria i. quib. cessa mus a solu tationib. feli. a. appe tibus uim tes quib. co uicatio fin		Lectus in quo dicit re quiescit se claustra monasteria i. quib. cessa mus a solu tationib. feli. a. appe tibus uim tes quib. co uicatio fin	

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itaque fil
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re languo



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a implere
bit me.



Dox sim
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tempore furto
qn glificabit



elesta q laudat dominu.

nos i tempore retribuam.

Diu rouo filie icrim pca prens cer uos cy ad poz ne fu lactatu ni augulare fariatis dilectam mea conet ipa uelut		mir di lect nis capre e hynulo q: cenioz	
Cor spo li si sub diti pcam eo q: magi stri qz co gunt fur ge ampu e oteplati onit si tm peroit seg pimantio pinqum tice magi stroz suop		Vpe comp par capree m assumpti one carni ti hynulu tate tua necate uo uratum a maacloy topat hyn nulo	
Cor di lecti mei ecce istos nec salies i montibz tristitibz col les		En ipe stat pos picce nrm respiciens p fenestras picipiet p cancellis	
Cor spo le pu ellul fuit salu ent tito f e q: qdam laue fco. i do celo un uim. deu to i pscpi u de pscpi o i tunc de cruce i scpi m de sepe		Sicut sol i mas p fenestras illumiat do mū ita xpc exemplo ce monione aploy nos il luminant i sic puū lum mra p parua fo tampna m obica agm uo ad nos i trouat per psohas	

Cum p ma inca mea colita me a formosa mea tuc m.		Cemp pita tenu ad uenit.	
Flor sp si. h fige q. vte die ecce sur ge in eam intimere et em pla tione a la ba: ut ar trahat il los terno porcet pe dicare q et q. scia ia in te op q. recipiat eos ad q nulla es.		Cemp pita noit nir ad uenit. qui relinquit nuis conu pitione car nis qe stult q. nocua ut possim ad fructu ani me pueni re.	
Iam eni hyemis transit ymber abue i re cessit flos apparuer in tra ma.		Flor t tutis audoi ta e in tra nostia ve m ppta a mica mea.	
Per hy eme intel lige duri ciam legis ymber. i. ad solatio pro missionis p phaz. i. re cessit. flos apparuer i reon. i. u tus euange		Flor tur pitis fuor a plos. i. p dicato: qui dit in tra q sap et mo dus in tra q alt. i. v. t q. fige reat su hyemis aduenuit ue ris designat eos q. scia te q. n. o. u. bra legis re cessit. i. d. i. i. t. u. t. e. u. a. g. i. y. a. c. c. e. s. s. i. t. u. r. v. t. u. r. i. q. p. r. o. c. a. m. p. m. i. t. g. e. n. t. i. a. s. p. o. n. e. r. a. d. u. l. l. o. s. q. g. e. n. t. i. a. s. p. r. o. d. e. n. o. c. e. l. e. s. t. i. s. p. r. i. e. u. l. p. p. r. c. a. n. i. s. s. u. e.	

In manifestavit dei cordis secretum.

Erat p
talis
q' flos
suis vinee
florescentes
decedit odor
rem fuit.

Mulla
uocem
curi
i. p'ouant
b. aplis sic
i. synagoga
prulit g'ros
sos suos. i.
deit' manu
tu intelle
ctu p'cepto
tu legis. vi
net flores
decedit odor
qm in oem
ter' eruit
sonus cor.

Sorge
ap'ia
am
ta mea spe
tiosa mea
7 ueni colu
ba mea in
foramie pe
tre in cau
na matie.

Ioc est
p' d'ur
i. uat
eccliam in
se ip'o fuda
ta ut ueni
ad ad cau
na macer
e h' ead' fide
angeloz q'
p' sup'iam
corruerunt
q' remanse
runt iacue
re debet rep
len hoibz q'
uult lapidari



Ostendit
tu fa
ciem
tua soner
uor tua in
auribz m'is.
Vox tua
dulcis 7 fa
cies tua de
cora.

Facies
ostendit
dicit
deo faciendo
bona opa.
sonus uocis
ostendit
p'dicando sa
lutē aie ce
tic fit uor
dulcis qm i
iurat p'ri
mū ad bene
agendū. fac
es decora q'le
cale ostendit
q' met uide
facit dei.

Caput
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uulpe
p'uulaz q' de
molunt in
neal nā in
nea nā flo
runt.

Ioc spō
si so
dali
bz suis. qui
a n' sufficere
uone alijs
uicā uicini
exemplū q'
dicunt n' ex
a corrigunt
errantes ideo
recte p'par
bis q' p'paga
m i formos qui
fit in ecclia ab
hereticorū in
sionis quoz
separat eccliam
a deo q' bñ di



Dilectus
in te
go illi q pa
scit ut li
lia doli af
piter dicit
q melius
f umbre.



Uox p
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a signat
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paleat x
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delectatur
i castitate
ammar.



In lectulo
meo p
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eclesia.



Uox p
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a signat
a nime q
fuit r
dore car
tal redol
prouis op
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paleat x
m lila q
delectatur
i castitate
ammar.



Amen
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Paulu
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ros inueni
q dilige
ma mea.



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Tunc cum h. de interi con mro d. c. i. illi romu mats mce		Est loc nili falo monit. ex. for tes amb. ut ex totit. uni tlet q. se om nei tenetes glorios. rad bella dicit fina. viciat amut. enis. sup. fem. sui p. amores nocent. nos.	
Occidit que gentib. agrig. m. e. p. m. an. su ta. m. fice. usq. ad. h. n. feli. n. i. fice tura. p. di. ando. co. a. p. p. d. i. c. a. t. o. one. m. d. u. cur. x. p. m. ad. iudeos. r. ip. se. ag. n. o. s. t. a. t. r. u. n. c. a. t. a. b. e. r. g.		Est loc nili falo monit. ex. for tes amb. ut ex totit. uni tlet q. se om nei tenetes glorios. rad bella dicit fina. viciat amut. enis. sup. fem. sui p. amores nocent. nos.	
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Idem q. u debuit. fr conueri t. r. e. c. i. p. i. t. a. m. o. r. e. s. p. o. s. i. n. m. u. n. d. u. c. o. s. i. q. i. m. i. t. a. n. d. o. r. g. a. d. e. n. d. o. d. e. c. o. n. f. o. r. m. o. f. r. a. n. g. q. u. e. a. d. o. n. o. s. i. c. u. l. u. s. s. i. c. p. o. m. i. s. s. a. s. i. n. t. u. b. r.		Est loc nili falo monit. ex. for tes amb. ut ex totit. uni tlet q. se om nei tenetes glorios. rad bella dicit fina. viciat amut. enis. sup. fem. sui p. amores nocent. nos.	

Quo pul- crum fuit duo hy- muli capite gemelli q pascuntur in silis do- nece aspi- rit dies q inclinat f umbre.		dam ad me tem nunt ad collem chu- ris.	
Ivo puler ta plati deu troq ppo oñi q fū dūe pui lit let doc- trine. Jū fē fecit pzer. i. qm q subreli- ter dūcer mū ea q debemus facere:		de fige qd rpo actur statis mō tib: i. illis q fē i fūm tate unu q uocant mū ta p carnis mortificati- onē q ut q fē i collib: rhu- us. i. ut qui pmit bonū odorē pōdes p bona ope- ra.	
Uora pul- chra ad amica q macula n est mte.		Cecus oculu fuis. fons signa- t fozor me- a sponsa:	
Corū corp i. n garit fūm fanguie x uo eccla x libaret ab ō macula capit eis rigati fū it p corōa spīca col- lū ralie p tes p uulna prou rma- nū rlatif		Ecclia fōrē q pro die gmina bonoz oym q ē xelufus curat dē am- nū custodia angeloz r et fāt signat q i ecclā ē fōz bapt signat figno crucis. ut h rēh ur gū pōt mte lūg q ē oñ fū aluate. fons fignat mte	

Genui
sicut
rue
pudus ma
to: punito
rui ai pome
ni fructu.



Au sp
se. p
a mala
punita q
afous rub
lore uellu
te a maut
canore p
sum mel
lice anes
p fructus
pomoz d
fellores.
Qui ergo
a possit ce
mtes sur
icera afel
lor.



Suige
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a ue
m auster
pfla ortu
meum a
fluat au
mata illi.



Cox spo
si pa
q lone
figeat oyo
bol q i sur
gr te fructu
deprado co
p auster ipe
te q effund
rore gto su
e donato ui
restituendi re
prouisibz p
uati fideles
qui mti per



Emit
diles
mciu
morte su
u ut dome
dit fructu
pomoz su
ou.



Sacozar
spda
spostu
uo ueniat
in eccliam
i delectet i
uonfopibi
fidelu suoz
vi possunt
hoc intelligi
de ha uirgie
q m ozat u
pae ueniat
i uocoz suu
i comitatu
i delectetur
i opibz suoz



Ueni
i oz
cu
mciu soroz
mea sponsa
messu me
ra mci cu
aromatibz
meis.



Cox spo
si hoc
dicit
ex ecclie ex
audm se ser
mact cu que
a assupsi car
ne in orto na
i mcelo ubi
corus deli
ciat. messu
ramia cu a
romatibz ep
ia in ascendi
i messu illo
i gmatu mte



Et aquilo operatio aucti resistito. ut si cadit et non

Domine
di fa
mili
ni melle mo
bibi unū
mēū cū lac
te meo.

pc co
meto
fauu

qm̄ m̄tate
predicatoris
cū melle. i.
cū illi qui se
bone gūlam
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uinū qm̄
delectat̄ i
ill̄ q̄ aspe
rā uitam
drunt. cū
lacte. i. cū
delectat̄ q̄
se m̄tā q̄
aspe uiuet
n̄ possunt.

Come
dite
ami
et habite
et inebria
manu huius

Ore spō
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dalis
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liba xpi q
notatur a
plōs ug de
cedent t p
xpi sū
in ebriē
illū qui
tūc erit
ne sobriy.

unū iugulat
 vor dilecti
 mei iusta
 tū apud in so
 re: mea co
 lūba mea
 maclata
 mea q: ap
 mei pleni
 t rore tū
 cui mī gur
 tis uocatum

O x spō
se qñ
pccōr
dormit in p
cato. cor suū
pccō uigila
qñ pñl sar: dñe
exinge de re
necbrs pccō
qñ pñl mch
qñ munda cō
scām ut in
pñl mch

Non
aut m
tunc
mea quō m
dicit illa
laui pedes
meos quō
mignabo il
los

Hec sunt
fructus
ecclesie
I plos alim
bū multos
q̄ uile reli
ti adcur
feli. vñ dñ
expolant
me solari
lati petea
uoluerit m
quo ē rñm
I plicato me
m ex. nñ. dñ
flemo mili

nas du ipucat se tatus pogo cas.

manu sua p foras uenit et quoniam in cremura ad cactu erit		Facient me custod dei q est Actu cui tunc pcullet me i uulne rauerit me tallunt pal liti me cu flores muros	
Ioc qd clia 7 quilibet fidel letu e qm dno mactat ip scm ad pl saud cor da nra p foameti p mra ctu ad e m ctu uenit cremura q uider i me lign se f dmu mactat pccis		Ioc qd clia 7 quilibet fidel letu e qm dno mactat ip scm ad pl saud cor da nra p foameti p mra ctu ad e m ctu uenit cremura q uider i me lign se f dmu mactat pccis	
Su ri u re alio nro ma si mactat laure m ra 7 digm m plem mura pro bactilina		Aduro uos fue terim si uie fros dilem meu ut en nucien ex q amore langued	
Der fili as uer fugam 7 miferio q se mcca quos sub aoc horam ut qtar f dmu q quod qre a ph uenerit cu alli ue lang amore dei p defubio ip laur conp		Der fili as uer fugam 7 miferio q se mcca quos sub aoc horam ut qtar f dmu q quod qre a ph uenerit cu alli ue lang amore dei p defubio ip laur conp	

Quod dicitur
ex dilectione
ad faciem
suam.

Cor pu
cellas
ad sp
sunt hae sig
nificat qd si
plures qd sunt
ecclesia petra
a maiori bi
sunt ut osten
dant eis illu
pquo debet
trena orep
nare qd pe
mū inde la
buntur sit.

Electus
mis ca
didus
et rubicund
electus ex m
libi.

Cor sp
se hoc
figt qd
plati instr
unt subdome
in fide dūen
tes qd ē fūr
candidus
indemate ru
bicomd i pal
sione elect
fuit in mul
te quia nūq
fuit ydone
ad redimēdū
genitū hūa
nū adeo ut
saluato: m
di.



Quod dicitur
ex dilectione
ad faciem
suam.

Cone se
mote
vanti
a i pietas sal
uatoz q m
ipō solo res
plenduit q
a apparenti
carne pascit
bat pletas
et accubabat
deficientes.
modestia et
dulcore doc
ne. pignora
se aph qalli
iūa et mores
hōrdi uoce
descripserit.

Labia
cuius
labia
distillant
mirtum p
man.

Labia
scilicet
ba doo
rime xpi qu
lis q graua
patiunt pro
munt elar
tate regni ce
lestis q distil
lat mirtū qd
prouocat conu



plene radi-
ant.

er ma
 nus
 signu
 ficantur
 op i xpi
 q de libo co
 aut opere
 op lant co
 natiles uo
 erant qd
 regulas i
 tate pme
 hant. aure
 e q: uirtu
 tes qd fecit
 i homine
 ppter p glo
 ria diuini
 tatis.

Uent
ent
ebur
uent dultie
tus laphi
179.

Per uerbum
fignata
est fragilitas
hanc humani
tatis & pe
ccati carnalis
que xpi liber
fuit ab omni
peccato. sapientia
autem fignat sub
stantialitatem cele
stium fuit &
pri sapientia
autem pri eto
ernis in pri



ne mairno
re q̄ r̄ma
re s̄ super
lūci aine
af.

Per m
iam
telli
guntur
a p^{ri} qui
aurant per
mundum
p^{re}dicando
ne colump
ne q^{ue} sunt
in ecclia
marmor
q^{ue} decora
co^{lo}re et
basil aut
se duo. x. ple
na sapia.

 species
eius
tunc ly.
hinc electus
ut recte gur
tur eius su
auum.

Sicut
libam
altari
dum et amp
titudine ira
te pulcritu
me excedit
s trencs qz
pectusul for
na p filius to
minu gittur
lus suauilli
nii qz qnto
lus gustat
apoz uboz
anto plus ap

Dilecti
mei
celos
dit in oratu
sui ad are
olam aroma
ti ut ibi par
atur in or
tis et lilia col
ligat.

Uox sps
se hoc
figurat
qd ope deus
dit in mente
hois munda
ta a peccat p
penitencia
ut delectet
in hois opi
bz ipius.

Dilecti
es a
mua
ma suauis
et decora se
terram tribu
lis ut castro
ni acies ordi
nata.

Uox sps
si ad
spem
sani. hoc fige
qd e amdar
ecclesiam eo q
e pulchra uo
luntate sua
uis gulari de
cora ostendit
one bonou o
pere sub ierba
i sic eccla p
arela: et pro
plura et tunc



Ame quia
ipsi me auo
lare fecerit.

Hoc sig
nifi
cat q
d dñi p
cipit eccle
ur n in qu
rat de om
a eius iude
maiestate
ne mardar
in heredes
si semp desi
der cognos
cere ipm si
aut e.

Sexagi
ta se
regie
et lxxv. con
cubine et ad
olefentula
tu n est nū.

Regine
et qm
ecum
regni celestis
secum dicit
na et cubine
illi q pro amo
re tremoris
annuntiant
ip. ad olef
mule se nudo
i nouit pna
ti q non se
apm ad pda
du si obtem
perat huius
pceptis eccle.



Quocumque
progrederis
in auro
surgens
pulchra ut
luna electa
ut sol.

Ox sy
nago
ge h
suscipit quod
iudei mis
res eo qd e
am in pro
ficiat ut
saluamur.
7 ipi sic ui
leg 7 desce
ra licet pri
fuerit ipis
periculatis
dno 7 omne
pascue et
p mundiam
voco firma
et dno qd e
ista.

Dilecti
no
runt
meu ut ui
des poma
dualium li
stipendiis si
stipendiis
uine 7 gor
minasteno
mala pum
ca.

Ox sp
se h
ligat
qd dnt de
ctoris mu
tes uirga
nisi ut inde
er fructu
uie dntano
misi 7 si aliq
posset mu
nny q uellet



Anima
mea
conu
batur me
pp spugnat
ammadab.

Ox sy
nago
ge du
dope pdeat
synagogas
inmanit labo
re euanglii
ostendit se tra
lle diu ca p
phime acci
tatis. Ami
nadab q in
dps uolu
tanti sigd
iplm qd u
ge se un e
uangeliste.

Reuer
te rei
te su
pamit. re
tore muer
te ut muer
amur te.

Ox sp
stao li
nago
quat dit re
uertere qui
n uen ubi
q dnt pti fuit
p quon m
di partes co
uerent i tne



Vidua
debet
in su
namur ne
si choros
autros

Suma
mitti
idem
et q captiva
et fign orcia
q olim fuit
captiva ne
gloria nunc
aut laudar
deu et pug
nat cont he
nicos

Quam
pul
am
se gressu
tuo in calci
amici filia p
cipis

Primo
lauda
et conf
tancia ope
ru p gressu
ad bona o
pa. Mox
cano uolun
tati refusa
do deabolo p
penam et
follione



Iuncture
femora m
oy sicut
monilia
q fabricata
se manu ar
tificis

Per hoc
tum
dum
femora lau
dar q p p
ducatores ef
fice una s
uictio ppli
credentis
p monilia
lae septa
p qm peca
tores ad fi
de conuincit
ant

Ambu
lanti
ul sit
traxer totu
natulit nu
qm indigne
poculis

Ambu
lanti
ul sit
ter qm exp
ri sumus in
firmatatem
nostra inob
et laboramus
ad hoc ut ab
i agnoscam
se p nos



Uerit tunc accidit tunc nulla tunc lilius.		Pastus sicut autum liba ni q respice t damascu.	
Omnis nunc acer ii dicit qm dani clam memores singula as nre t uallat lili is qm omia q amnes fa cipius. fan m p gta u centi clare tate etia. p hoc ual lani intro tū cordis no fieri cont lo dē insidiam tem.		Per na sum figu ficant sapi entissimi discretores boni t ma li q se quasi trif. q subli me loci tenē in ecclā t res picit mda masci qui a semp u tate mudi as demonu ut heretici.	
Oculi tunc piscine in elebon que se t portu fili multa rudinis.		Caput tunc u car melat t co me caput tu sic pur pura regis munda cana bili.	
Oculi se p dica tores q res picit se creta ii pos sit in apu loq t sic p ena hfidat aquis t au tate elebon ita munda hidant ppo aqua mron tus celestis uol. t bn vi cant ad q poca quia		Canale q ten pune colore pur puru tuc orda fidelu qm reducit ad memori a passionē bat purpu ta reungit at ut inde fuit uelut no regi.	

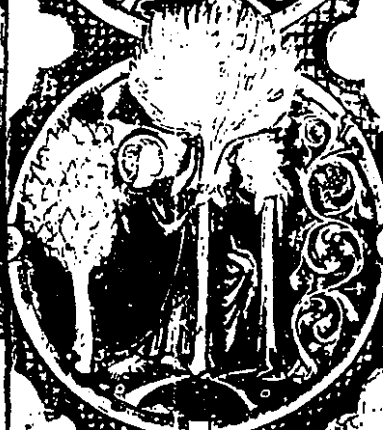
nemo pot nuntare altam n pus. aq bapi sic irrigat.

Vam
pui
dya
es 7 qm deo
na carissima
medicis. Sa
crua tua al
familiara est
palea 7 uili
tua totis.

Alma
aspera
miseri
si pulcra supi
supul 7 fru
ctum affert
ita ecclesia la
bores multos
sustinet int
ra si sperat i
celo se pma
recepturam.

Al
fenda
7 palu
7 appheni
fructu eius
7 erit ubera
tua sic bot
uinet 7 odor
eius tui sic
odor maloz.

Der pal
mam
nietel
figunt cap
eius fruc
tus e salus
mundi vbi
sunt qd bori
q nulla doc
na p fecisse
n xpc cruce
ascendit et
vni ipe ait
Ei exaltat
fido a tra om
nia thia om



amur magr
omoz emur
mullt ma
ne fugam
ad vineam.

Uox spo
se. Ec
clesia
petit ueniam
7 auxilium
7 nos simili
debemus pr
tere uelle
qui pro no
b humani
tate assum
ptus 7 omni
celu tulit
nos uisitare
p plenaria
diuine gra
tie possumus
sem ubi dei
spange ma
gro mudi.

Item
si flo
rur
umta si flo
rel fructus
parit. si
floruerunt
mala puni
ta ibi dabo
ulera mea.

Oer ca
pum
nietel
figunt xpi
ani pui
las gnales
p vineas ec
clesia p flore
fides p fru
ctu uirtus
p mala pu
nica muni



inquit hoc itoz qre sponsa plenaria omni.

Ubi
boze
male
suscitauit re
ibi corrupta
e mat tua
ibi uolara
e genitrix tua

Uox sps
si. iux
fuge q
ecclia susci
tata e a per
cato yolar
e p fide passi
onus a syna
goga uola
ta e i desti
ta a tyro et
i cipatiano.
eo qd filij ei
clamaueru
sanguis eu
sup nos i su
p filios nos.

Quoniam
ut sig
nati
sup cor
tenu ut sig
nati sup b
chui tuum
q fortis e us
mors dilectio
dura sic me
mus emulan

Uer sig
naru
lum
sup cor signa
e fides p sign
tulu sup bra
chia bda opa
p hoc horat
xpe eccliam
ut sic mem
tbulatoni
e supe passus
e pro illa.



Am
pides
cui
L ampidet
ignus atq
flammati

Am
e rez
hom
ni iufide
lis in quo e
oleu frei lo
men fidei
doz carum
ignus dicit
pp lum mei
f. f. ocliam
flammati
pp lum xpi
us lampas
ista n exti
guir mao
uentu spon
fi.

Aque
mul
te fi
poterit qd
dicit car
tatem si su
mna obeu
ent illam.

Quod est
quod pau
lus q neq
mors m tu
ta poterit
separare aca
ritate xpi



Sicut
in
pau
la et ubera
non habet.

Unde
ad sy
nago
gam xpo
lo
quid aplis
qui erant
ex iudeis di
cent uos uis
sicutis ad o
uerendas
se non im
ponis eis bo
nera graua
ut seruare
possint pre
cepta euan
gelica.

Ubera
mea
quia
si curis ex
quo facta su
coram eo qua
si pace repe
rent.

Unde
se per
ubera
signat dicit
na aplorum
usque in fine
mundi de se
det ecclesiam
et hereticos.



Unde
fuit
par
ficio mea q
habet populos
didit ea tu
sto dicit. Au
nea mea co
ram me.

Hoc sig
nifi
cat
ipse tradit
ecclesiam petro
custodiendam
eiusque succel
soribus. et q
dicit pie res
pie q fructu
quilibet fac
et eam ut red
dit unicuique se
cundu opus suu.

Unde
pro fru
ctu ei
mille argen
teos.

Per mul
te sig
nifica
tur perfectio
argenti
um
res eterne. De
bemus ergo
perfecti dimit
tere res ete
nas ut acqui
ramus uitam
eternam.



Cor spo
si ad
spon
sam. fac me
audire vo
cem tuam.
amica me
a.



Hoc fige
qd ten
debem
intuere ut
quicquid a
domino pe
tierimus ta
le sit qd de
beatiss a do
mino exau
dit.



Eunge
dilec
te mi
a. Simulare
capree hyn
loq. certior
sup montes
anomatum.



Cor spo
se hoc
fige q
tre la mili
tans pmit
te xpo s a
tentione qd
expectabit
aduentum
ei. et erit fir
tis in fide.
facietis ei
a. q. alq. et.



Illi
re ui
stra
q ui
dicitis tra.
S. citate de do
mino in boni
tate et in san
plicitate cor
dis q. tate illu



Ille iudicat
cia qui re
dece utam
lib. arbi
trio. Ille u
sticia amao
q. cogit car
ne seruire
spui. Ille se
rit de dno in
bonitate qui
plogit et scel
ligit. Sacram
scriptum.



Quoniam
muc
tuc
ab his q non
tempat u
lum. apparer
ait hui q fi
dem hinc in
illum.



Hoc fige
qd dnt
n dar
gram suam
fenerationib
noce fieriat
s. fidelib.

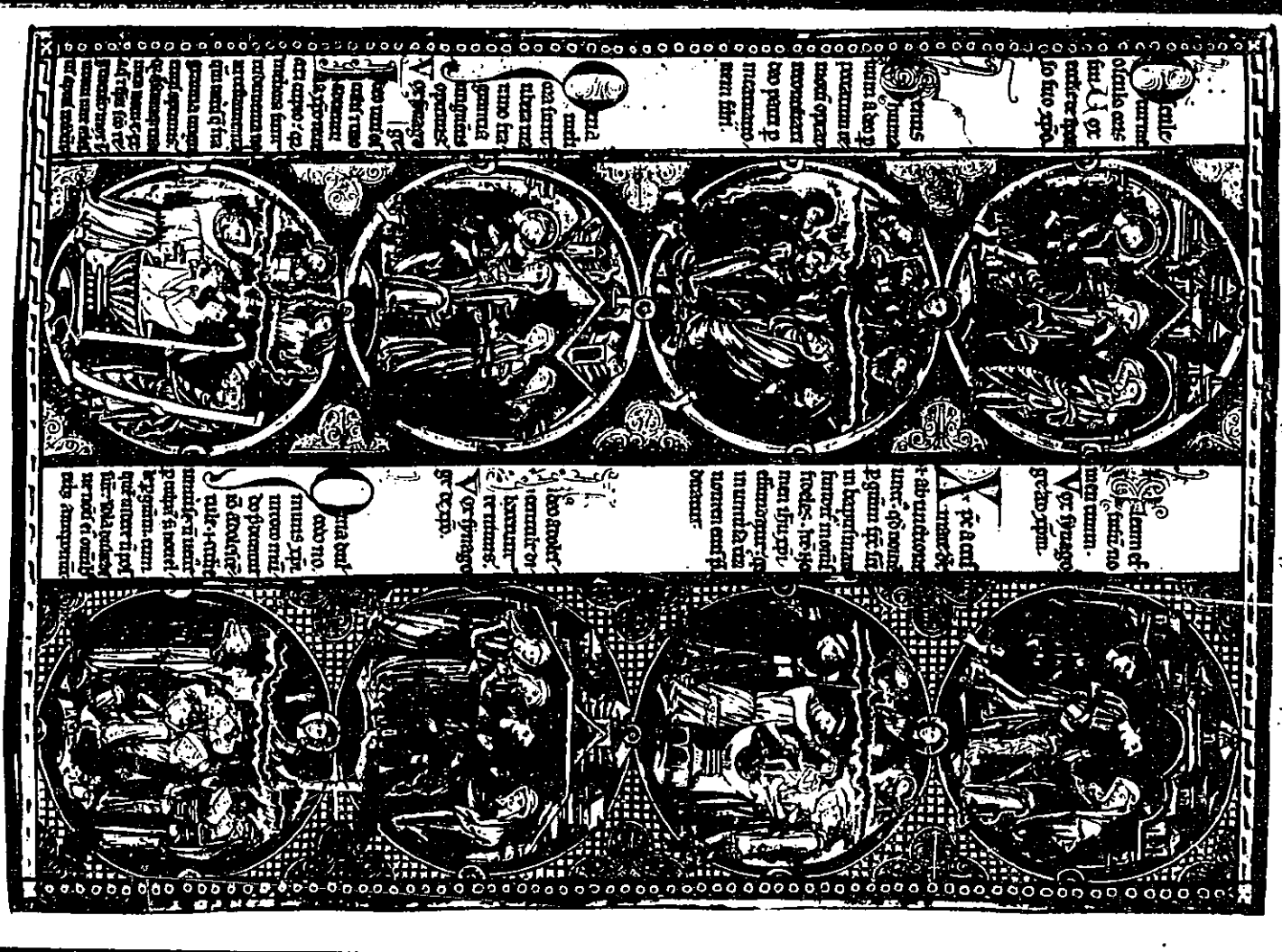


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 "Biblia de San Luis"
 French, 13th century
 Vol. II, fol. 66: Canticum Canticorum I: 1, 2
 Mas C-79525

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I

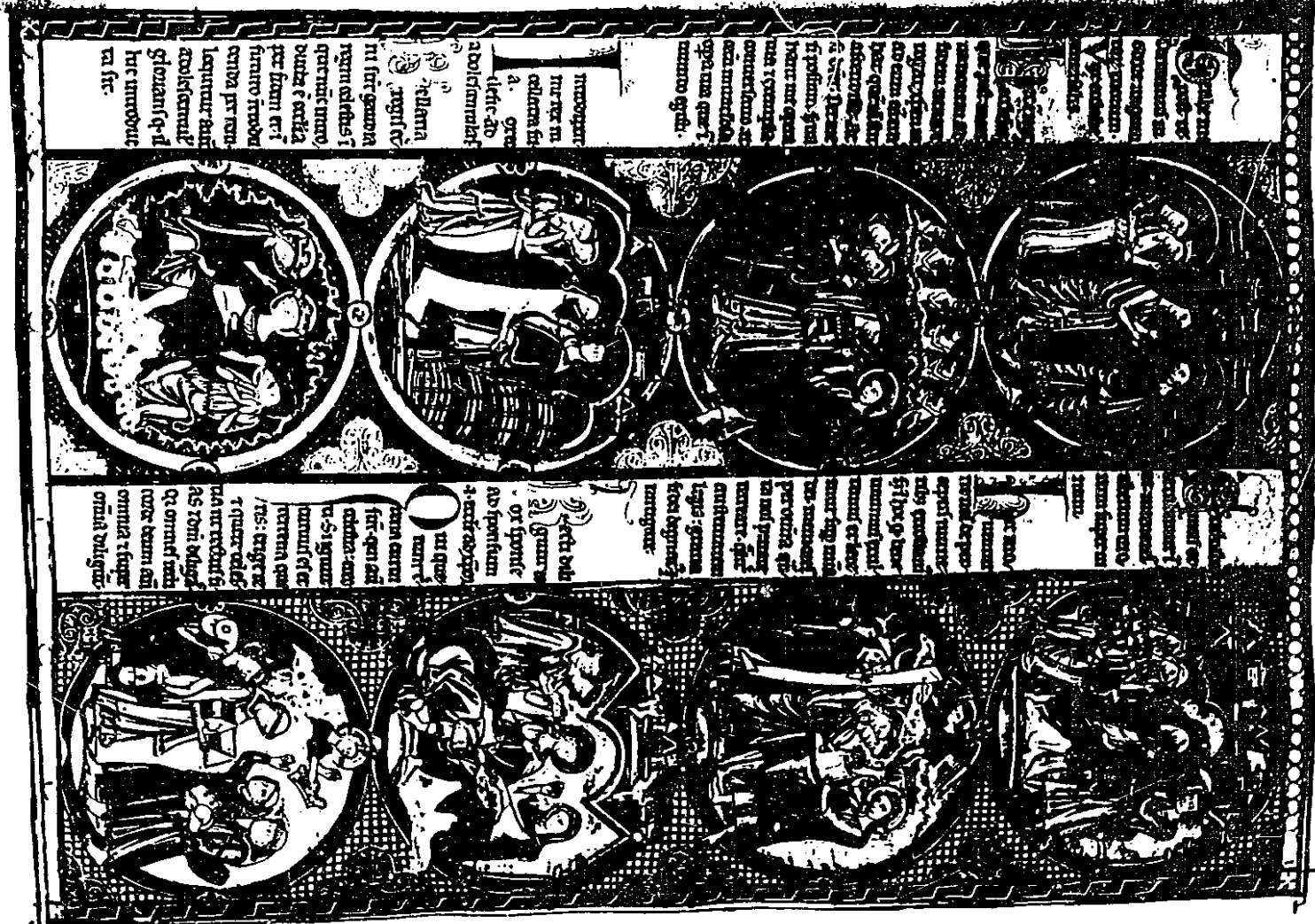


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II



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III

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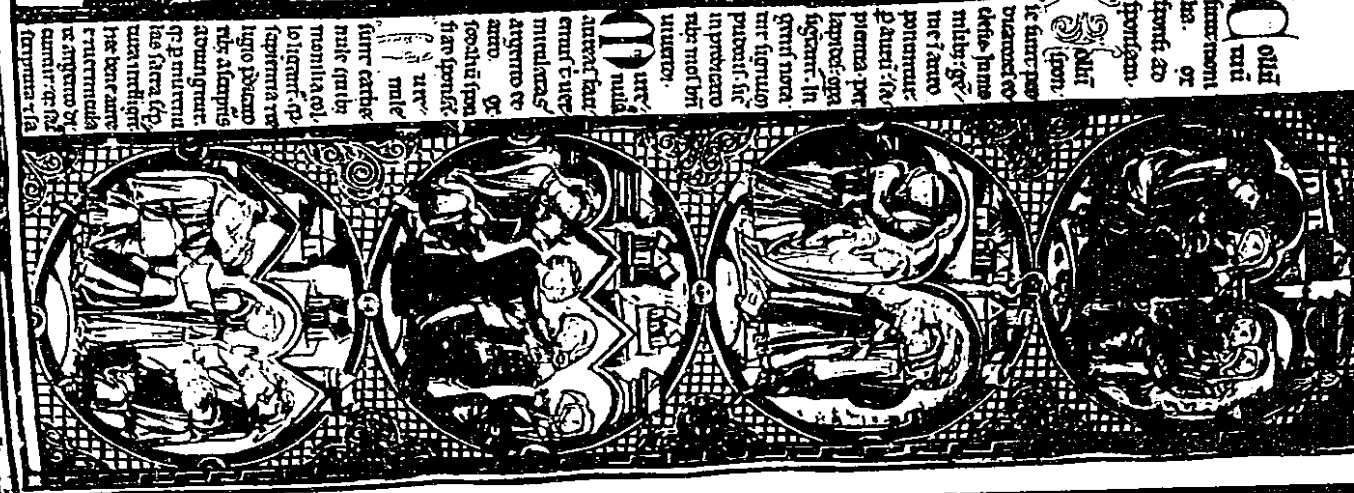
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IV

fieri aliter potest figurare

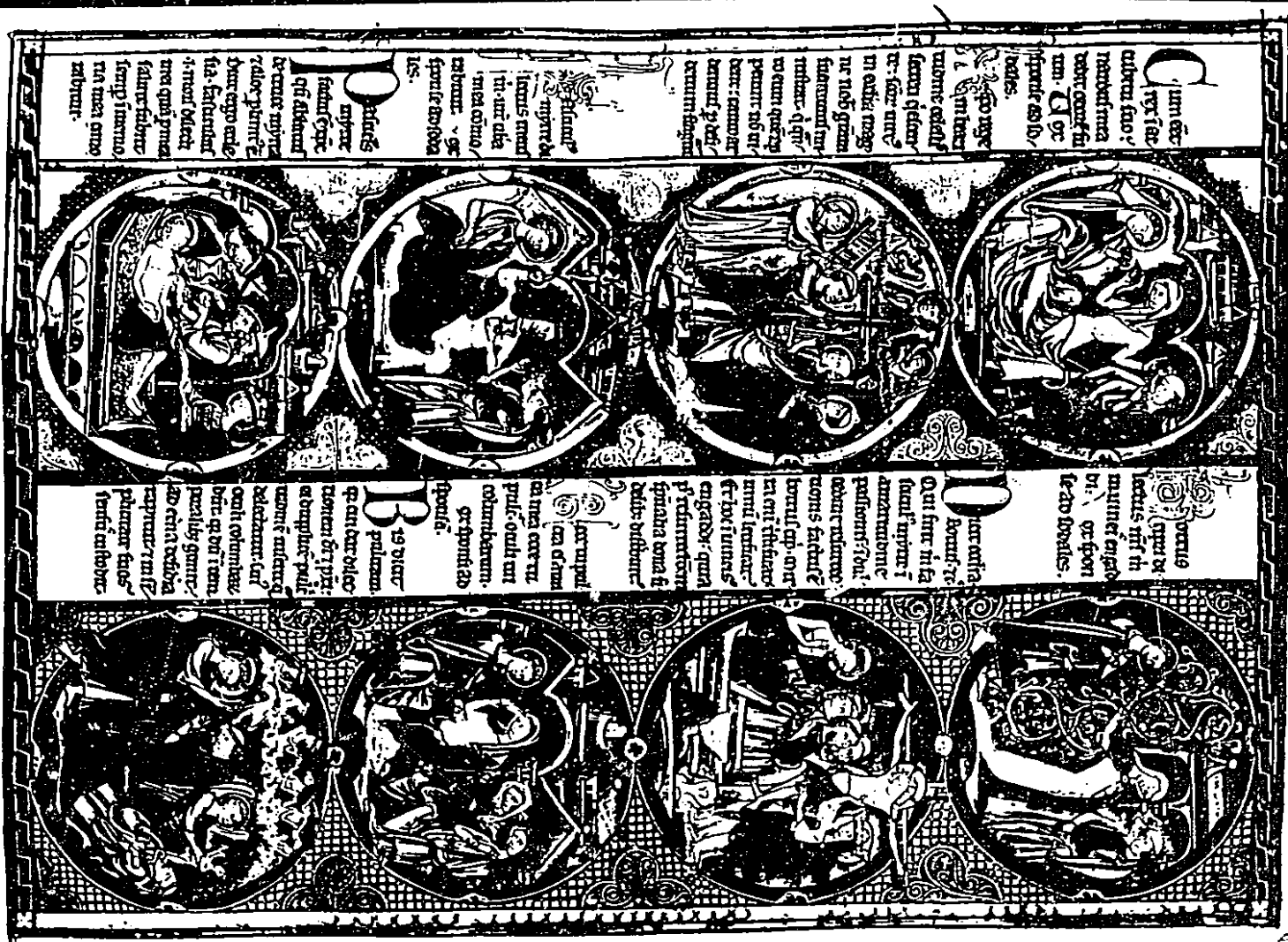


prouta fideret quare dicitur et fideret prouta dicitur quare dicitur

TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
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 Vol. II, fol. 70: Canticum Canticorum I: 11.-14
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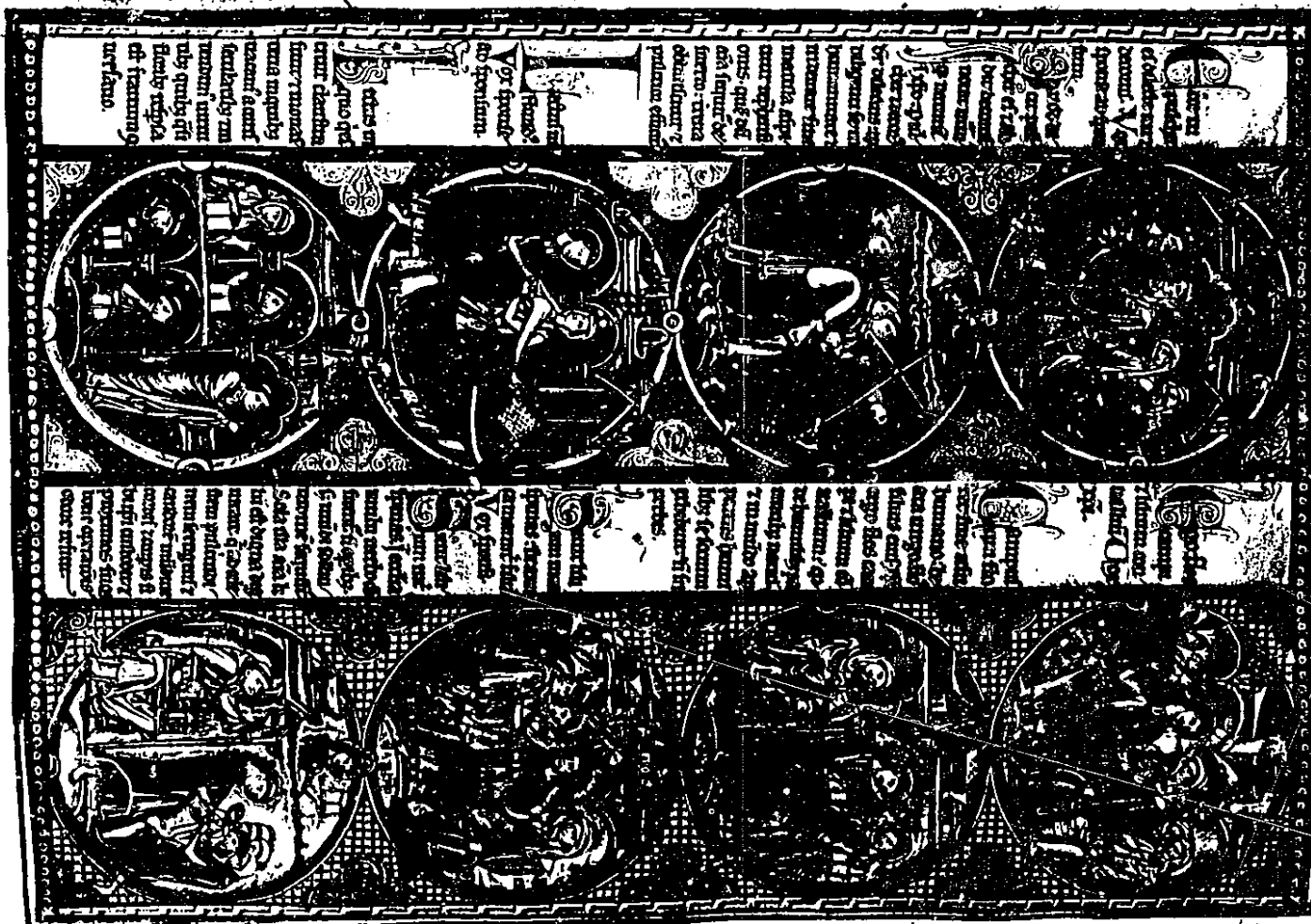


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 French, 13th century
 fol. II, fol. 71: Canticum Canticorum I: 15; II: 1, 2
 Mas C-79530

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VI



TOLEDO CATHEDRAL

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French, 13th century

Vol. II, fol. 72: Canticum Canticorum II: 3, 5, 6

Mas CF79531

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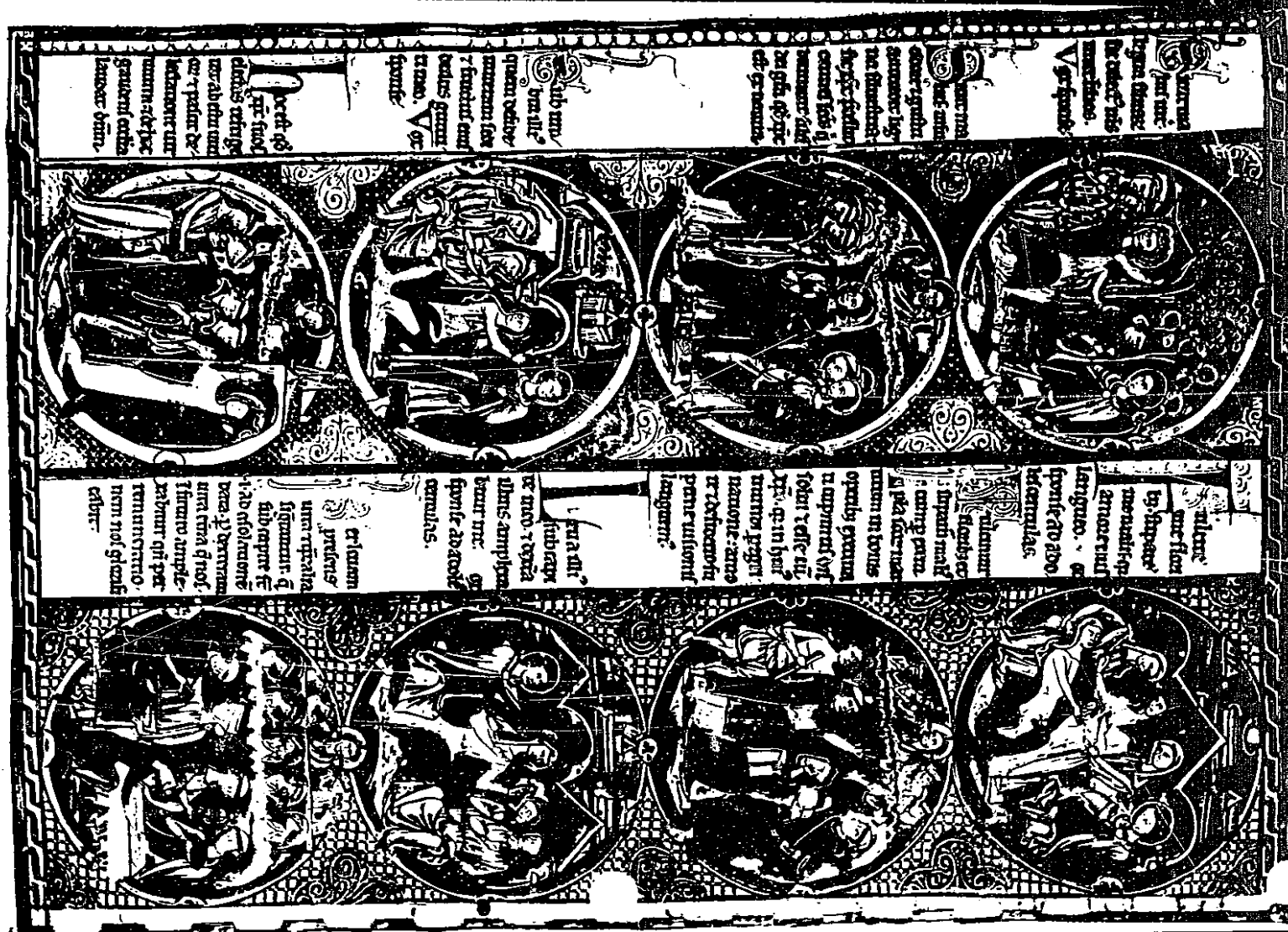
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VII



Month 700les-1-5up food rain rainoz qm m1n2oz; 2thurb1es

Aduro
not fide
reputat
et caput
not q
nam ne
auat temp
uigilare
et oblati
am dicit
met. **V**
fuerit ad
admiras.



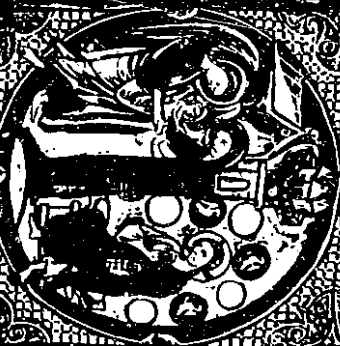
Similes
est dicitur
aut tunc



1. *Thibetum*
 2. *Thibetum*
 3. *Thibetum*
 4. *Thibetum*
 5. *Thibetum*
 6. *Thibetum*
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 95. *Thibetum*
 96. *Thibetum*
 97. *Thibetum*
 98. *Thibetum*
 99. *Thibetum*
 100. *Thibetum*



Xpc ias
fump
not



or dilect
 in fide.
 cor illu
 minant
 saltem
 moribus.
 unificans col
 orpon
 ad aboliten
 as.



Perfectus est
in omni re
et in omni
virtute.



alantif
 refo q
 faliens
 lum fac
 do m ur
 m utun
 to i pref
 fpi i cur
 ur i fepul
 de fepul
 dir m red
 q dclant
 omnes



exemplo e de
inveniente a
poshoiz nos
siluam itauit
e fiau per cent
colos + per par
a focamira
amira hui int
fit obfara cog
ntuo per pro
phtas.



TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
"Biblia de San Luis"

French, 13th century

Vol. II, fol. 74: Canticum Canticorum II: 10, 11, 12

Mas C-79533

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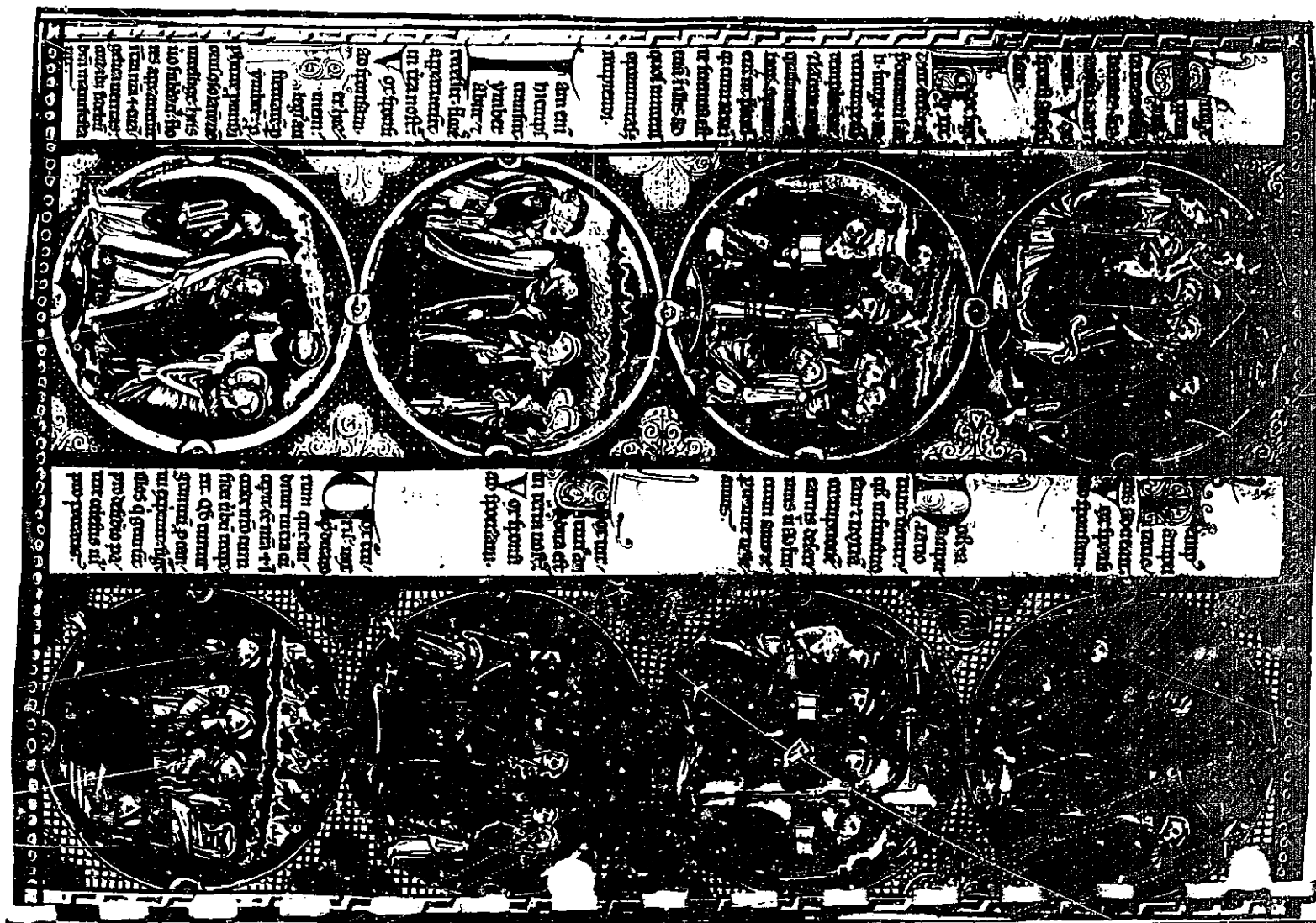
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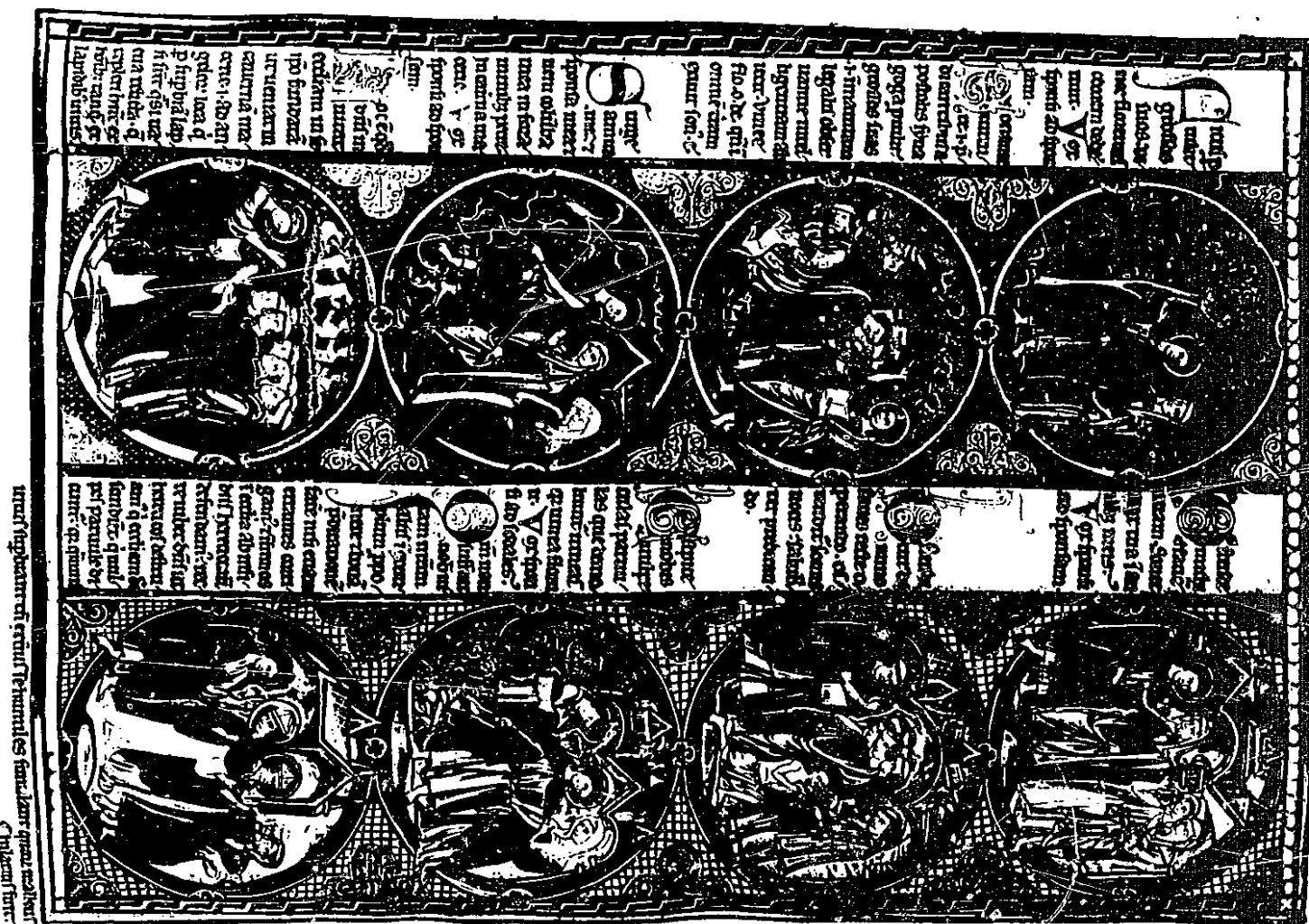


TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
 "Biblia de San Luis"
 French, 13th century
 Vol. II, fol. 75: Canticum Canticorum II: 13, 14, 15
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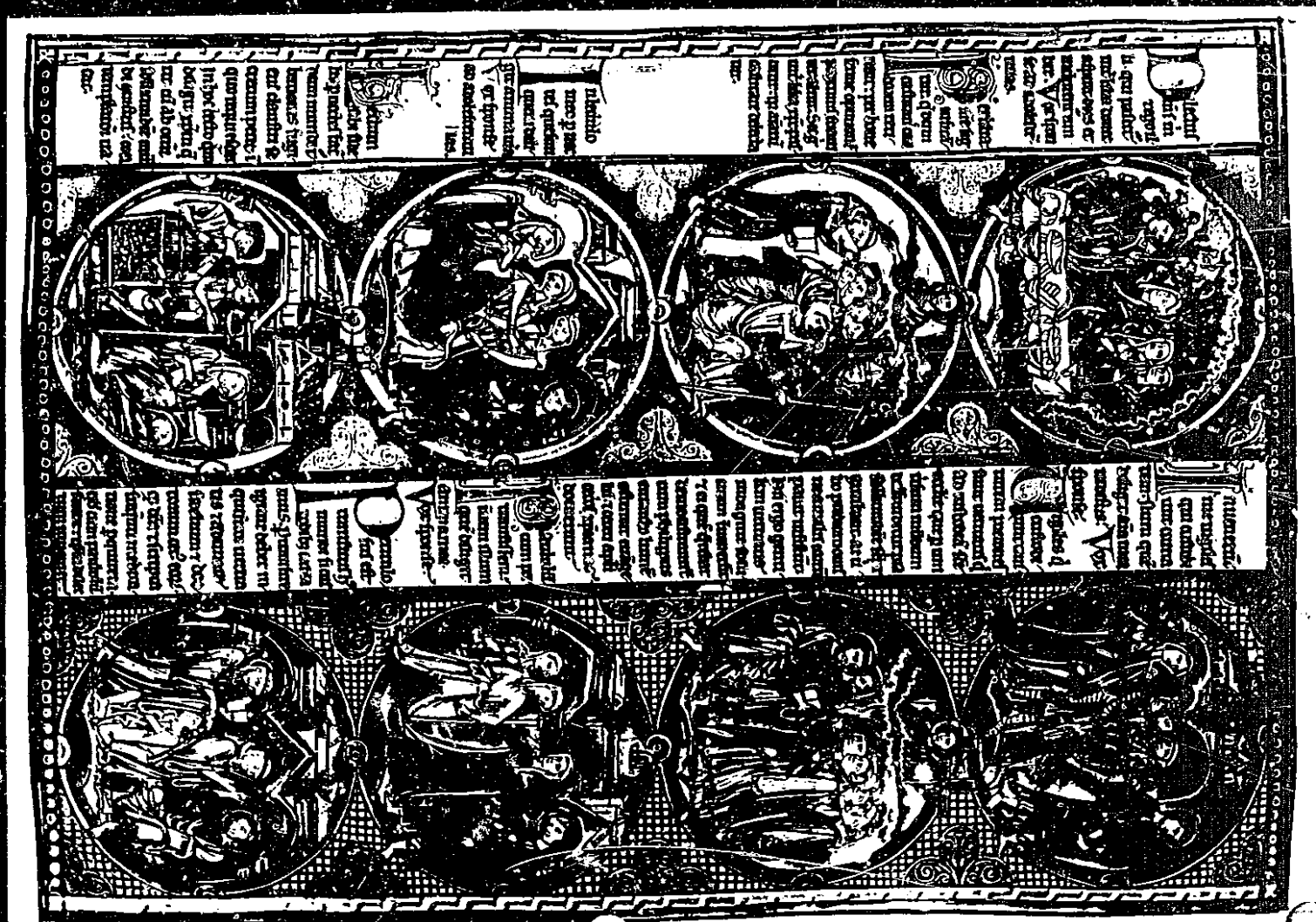


TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
 "Biblia de San Luis"
 French, 13th century
 Vol. II, fol. 76: Canticum Canticorum II: 16, 17; III:1, 3, 4
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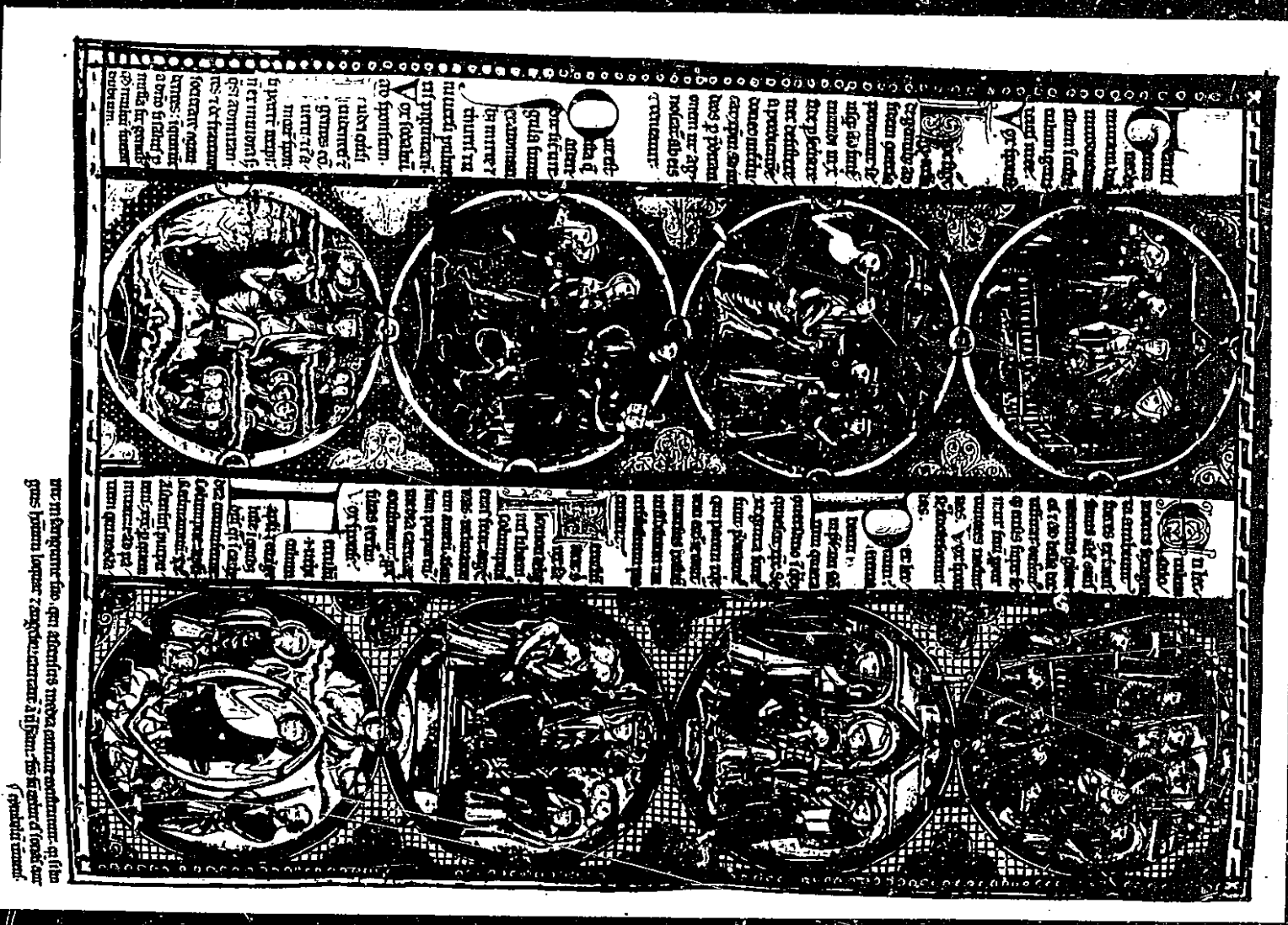


TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
 "Biblia de San Luis"
 French, 13th century
 Vol. II, fol. 77: Canticum Canticorum III: 4, 6-10
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TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
"Biblia de San Luis"

French, 13th century

Vol. II, fol. 78: Canticum Canticorum III: 11; IV: 9, 34
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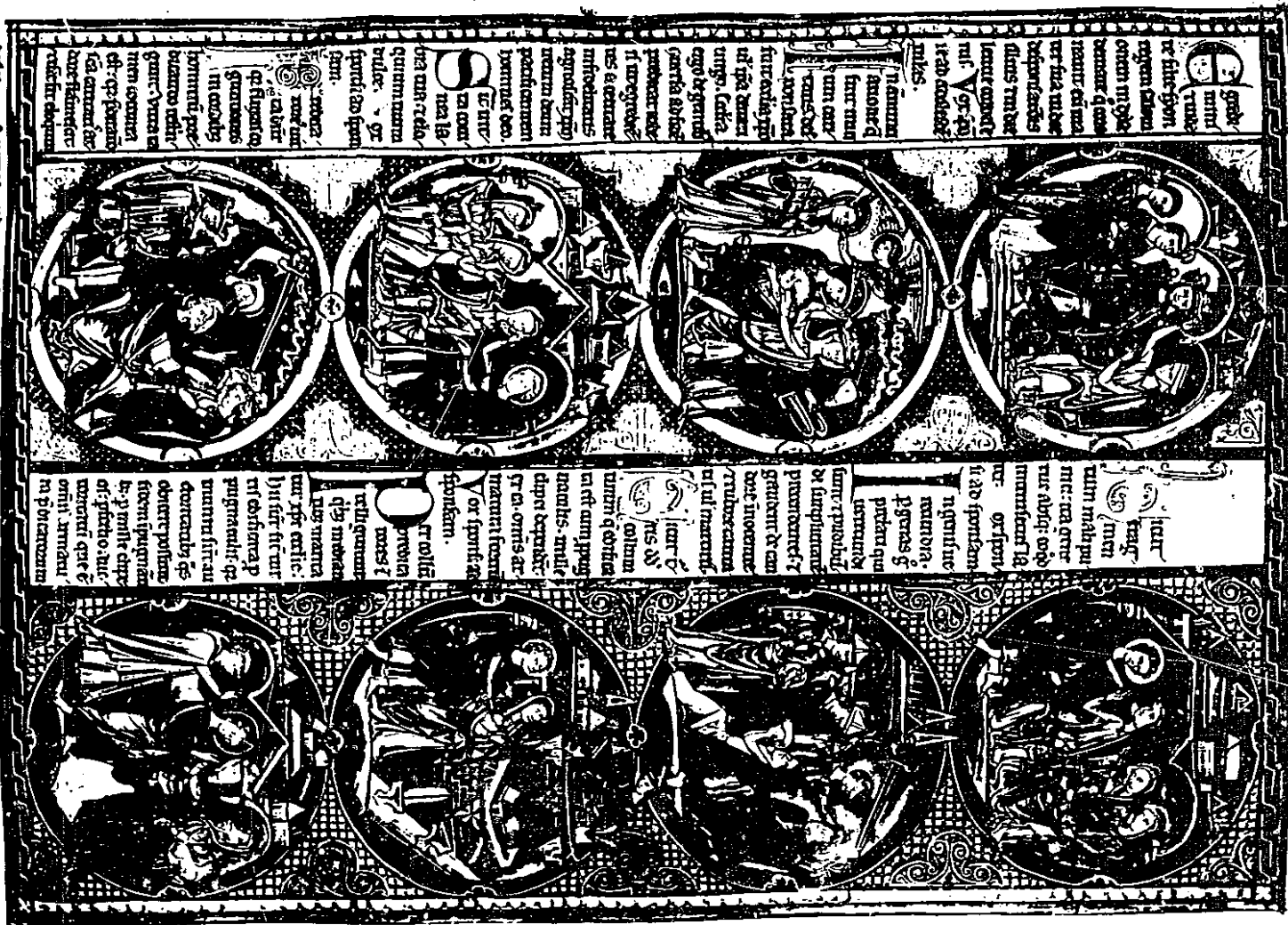
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videtur: cum facientes que dicuntur ordinata sunt homines et sapientia
et cetera apponitur

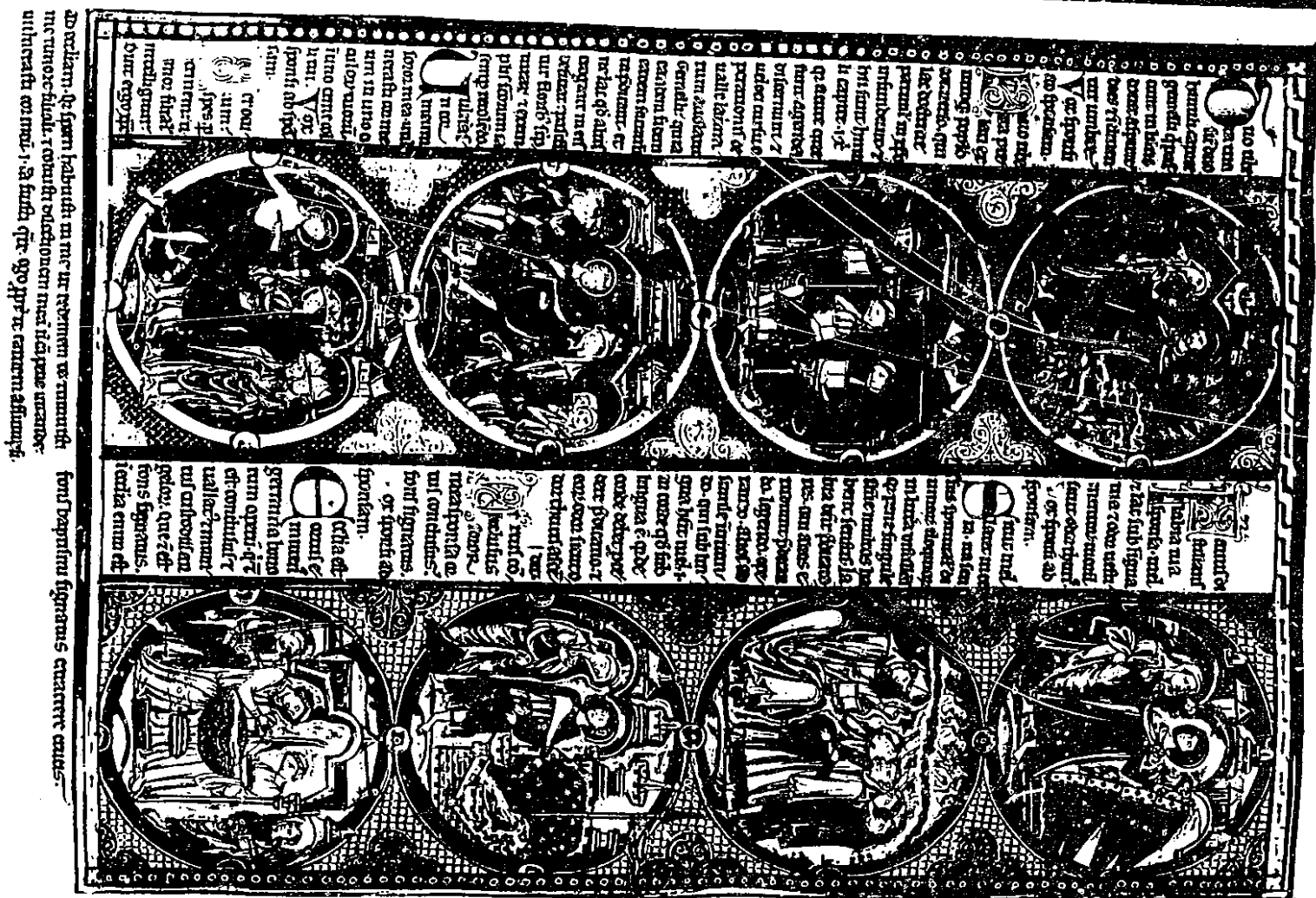


TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
 "Biblia de San Luis"
 French, 13th century
 Vol. II, fol. 79: Canticum Canticorum IV: 5, 6, 7, 12
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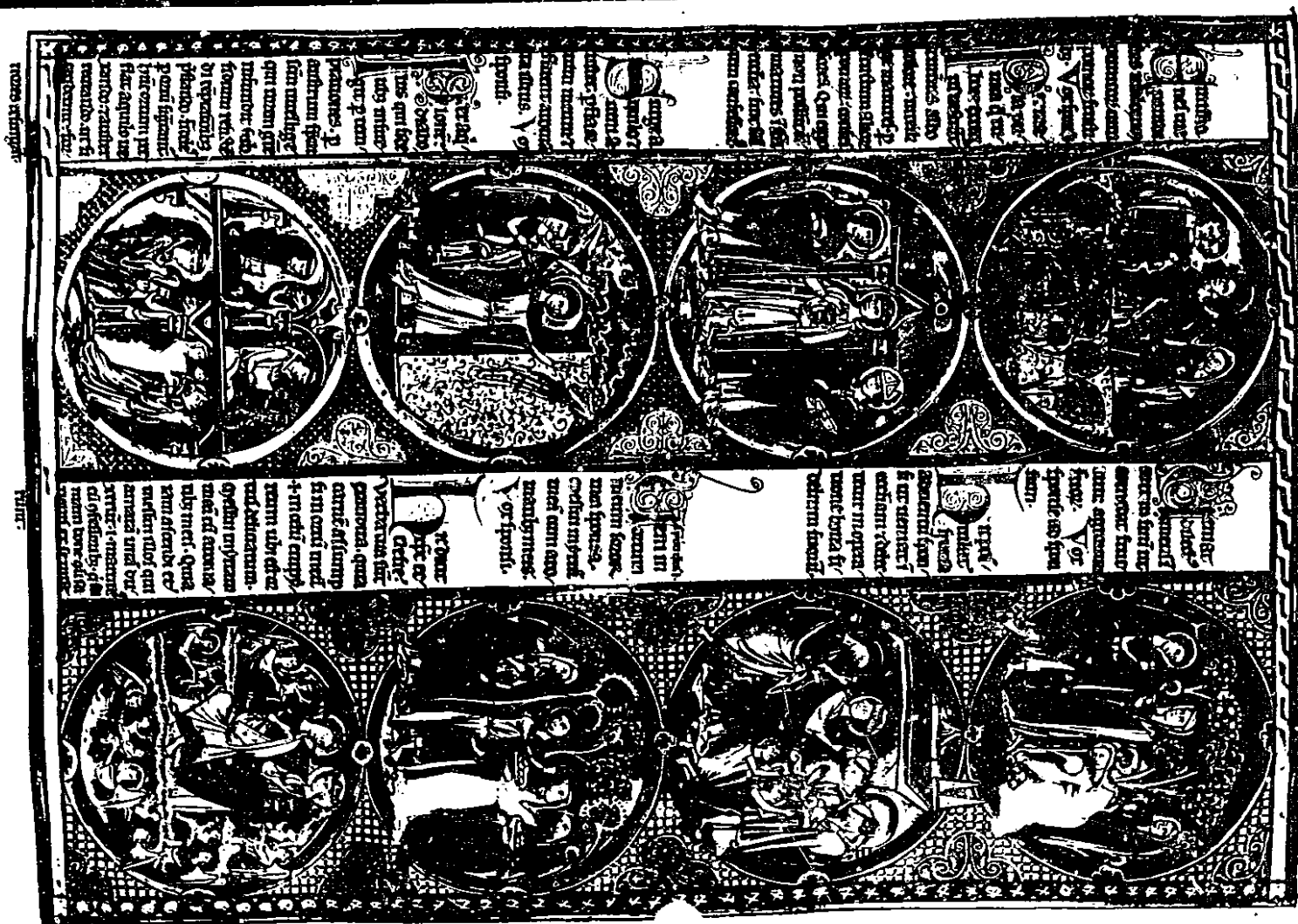


TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
 "Biblia de San Luis"
 French, 13th century
 Vol. II, fol. 80: Canticum Canticorum IV: 13, 16; V: 1
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XVI

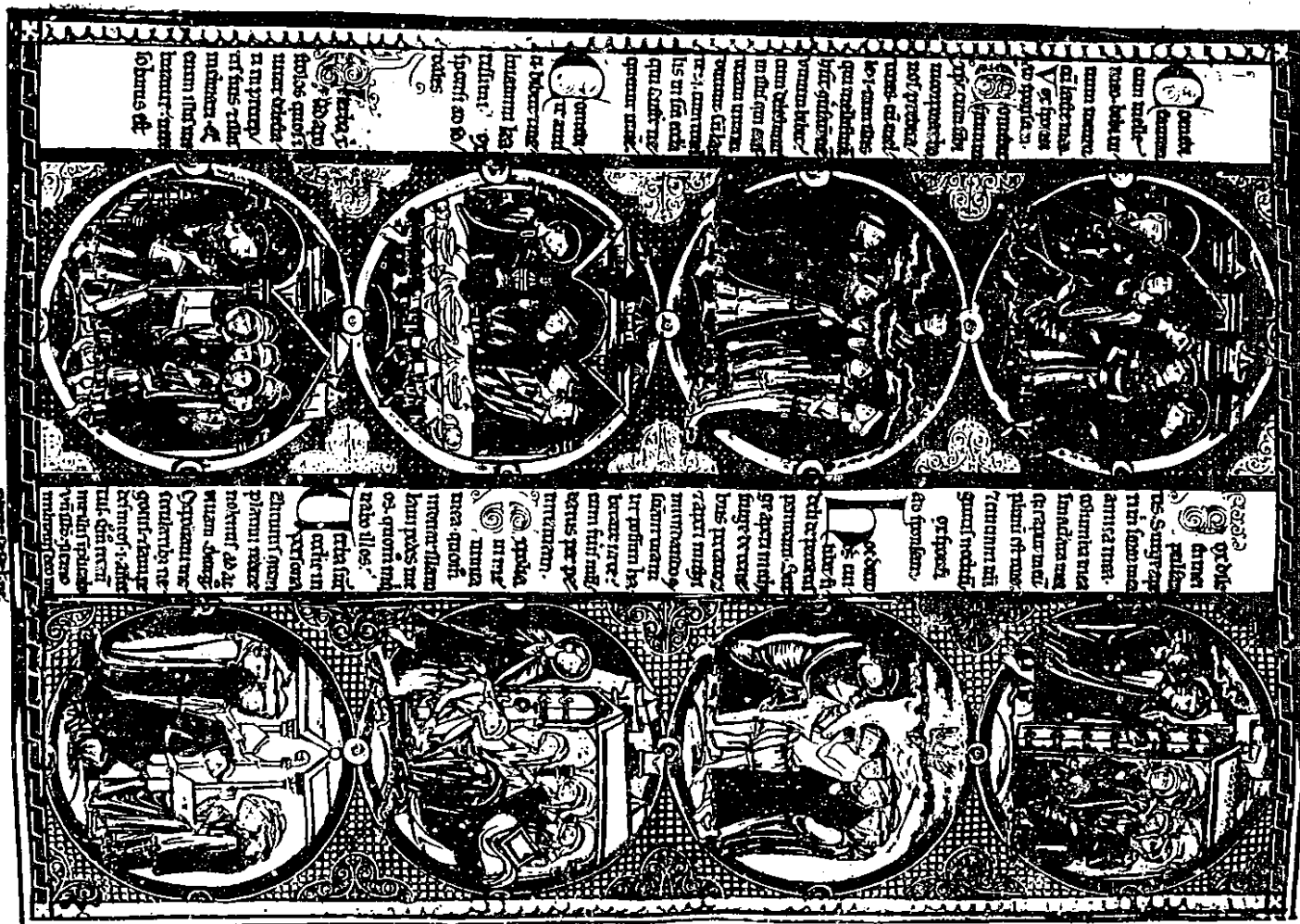
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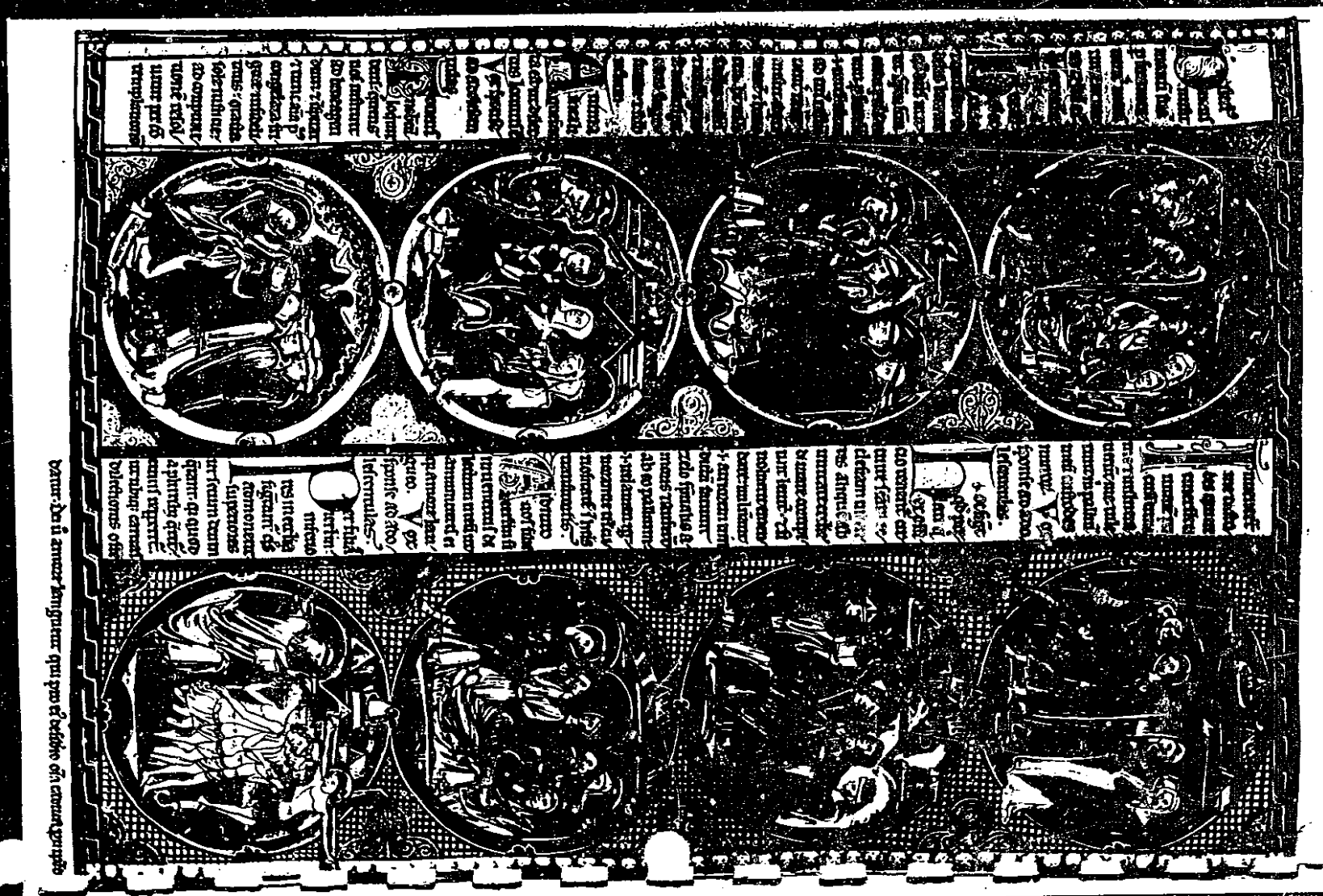


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 blia de San Luis"
 nch, 13th century
 . II, fol. 82: Canticum Canticorum V: 4, 5, 7, 8
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XVII

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TOLEDO CATHEDRAL

"Biblia de San Luis"

French, 13th century

Vol. II, fol. 83: Canticum Canticorum Vi 9, 10, 13

Mas C-79542

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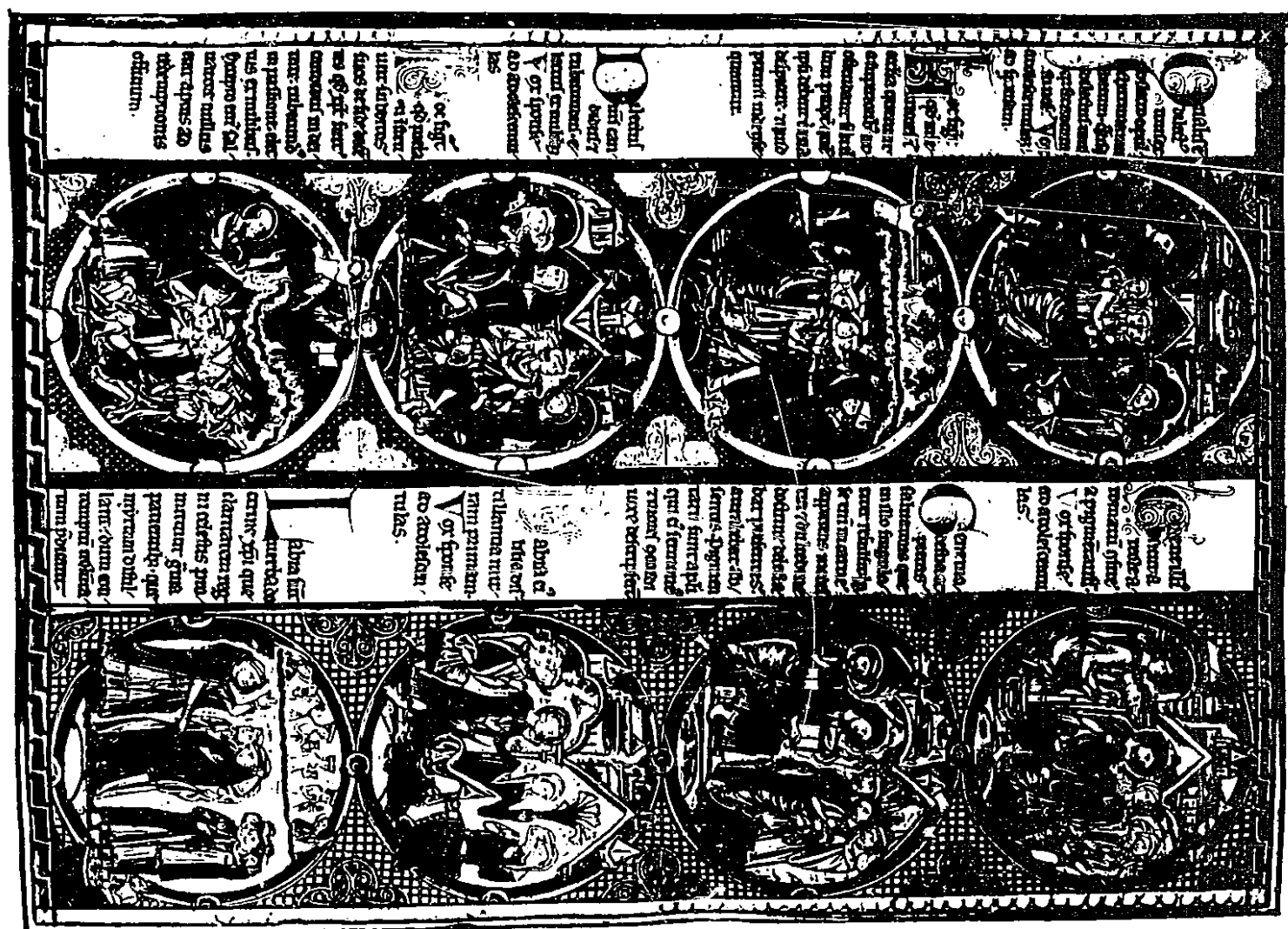
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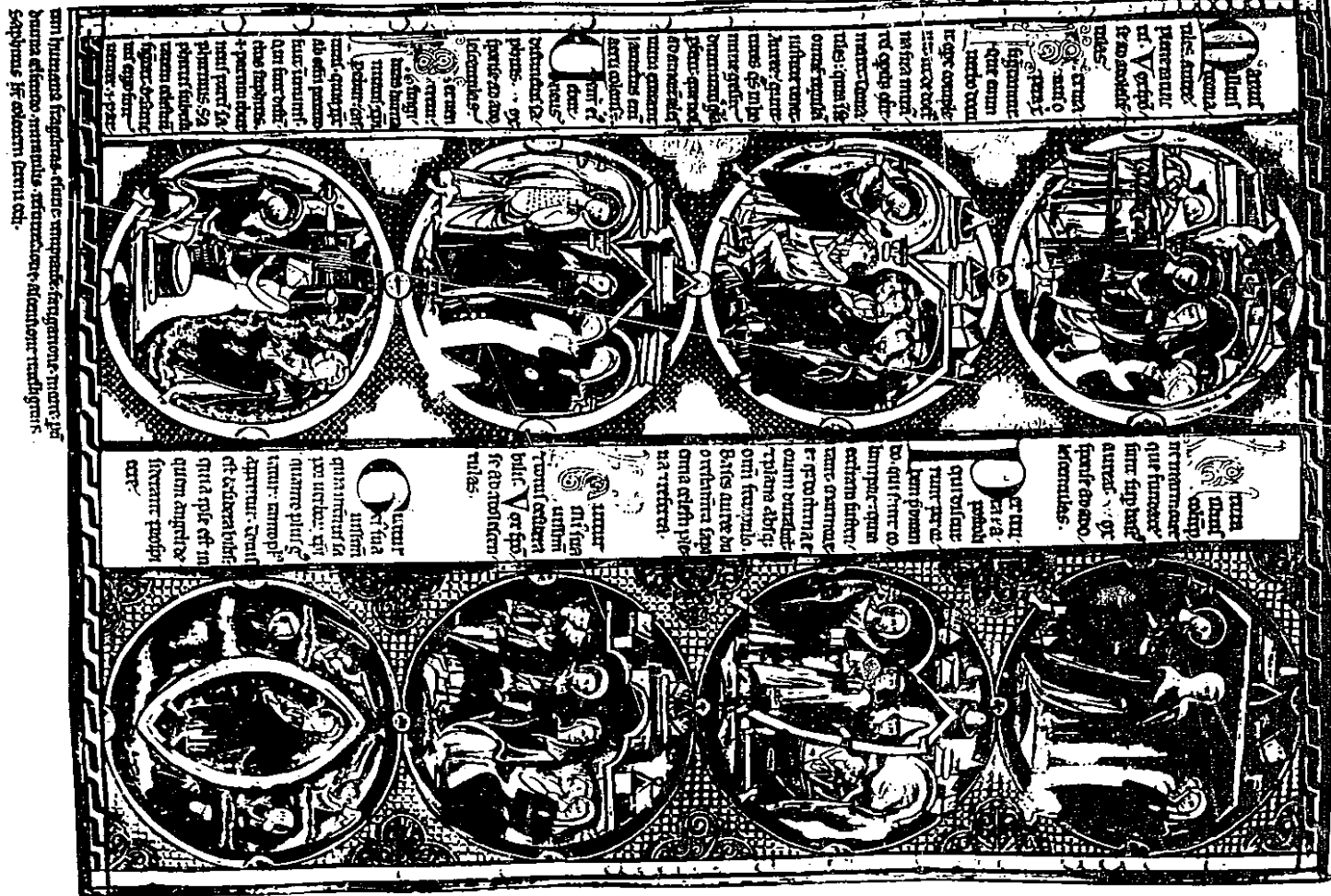
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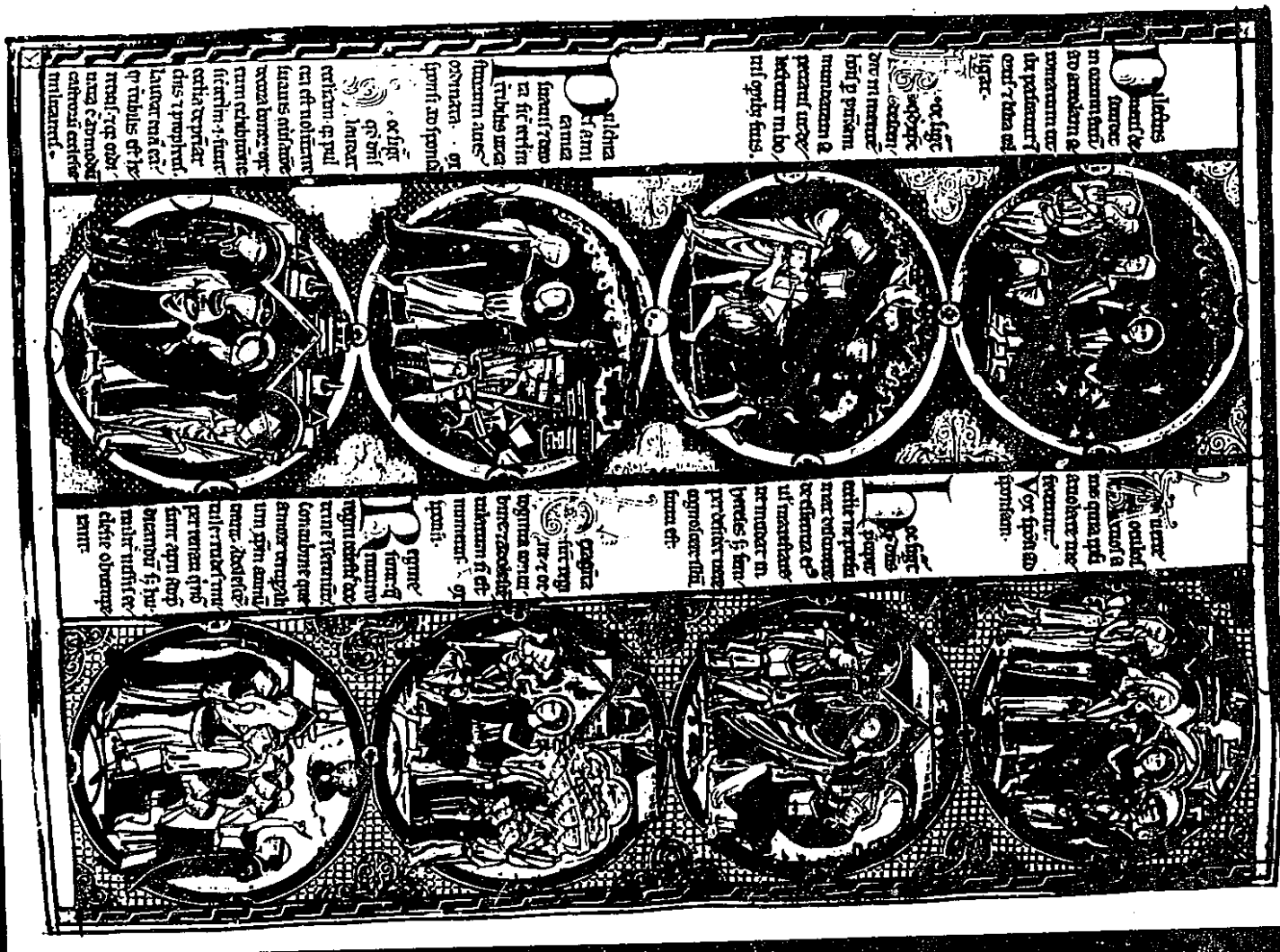
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TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
 "Biblia de San Luis"
 French, 13th century
 Vol. II, fol. 86: Canticum Canticorum VI: 9-12
 Mas C-79545

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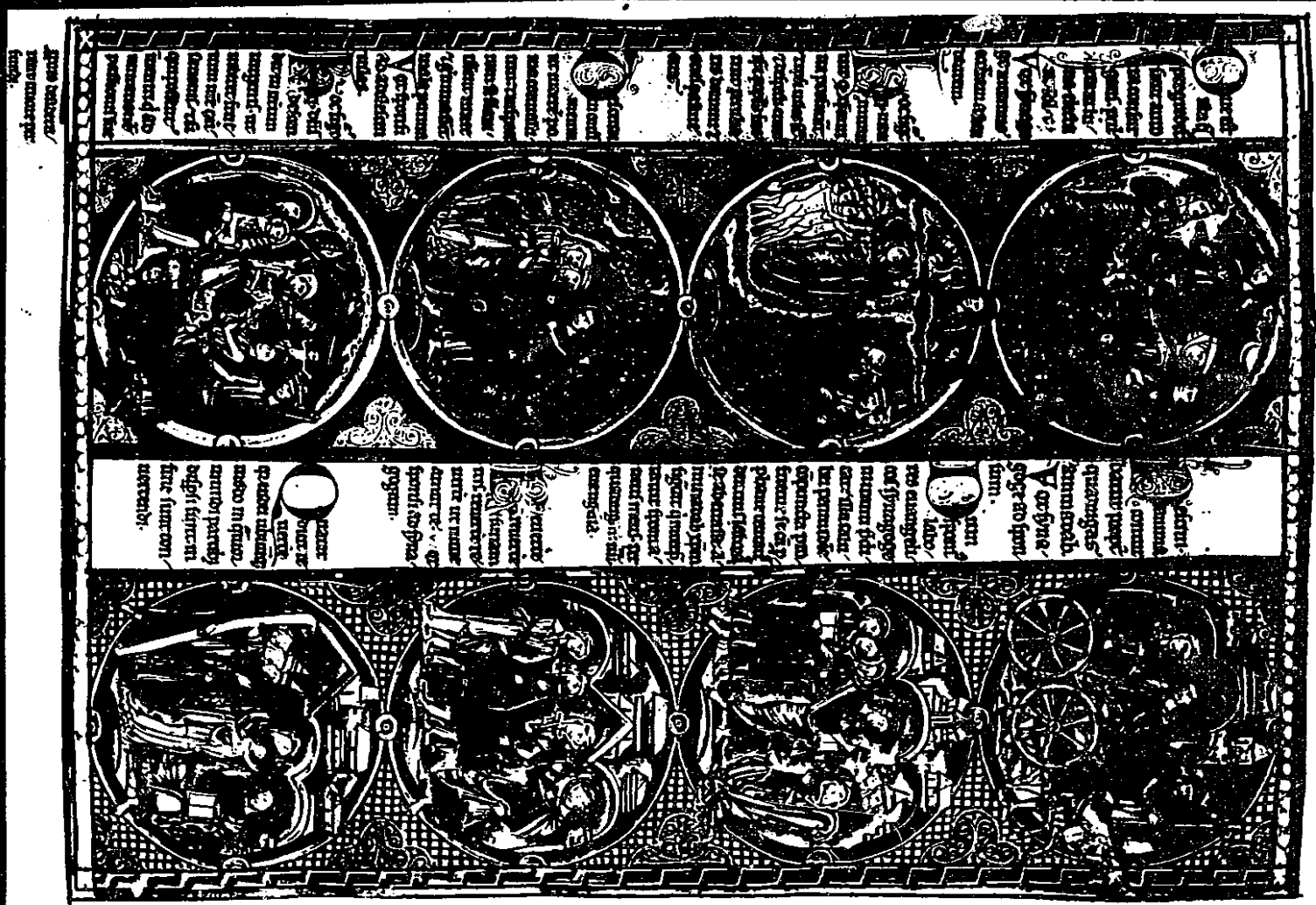
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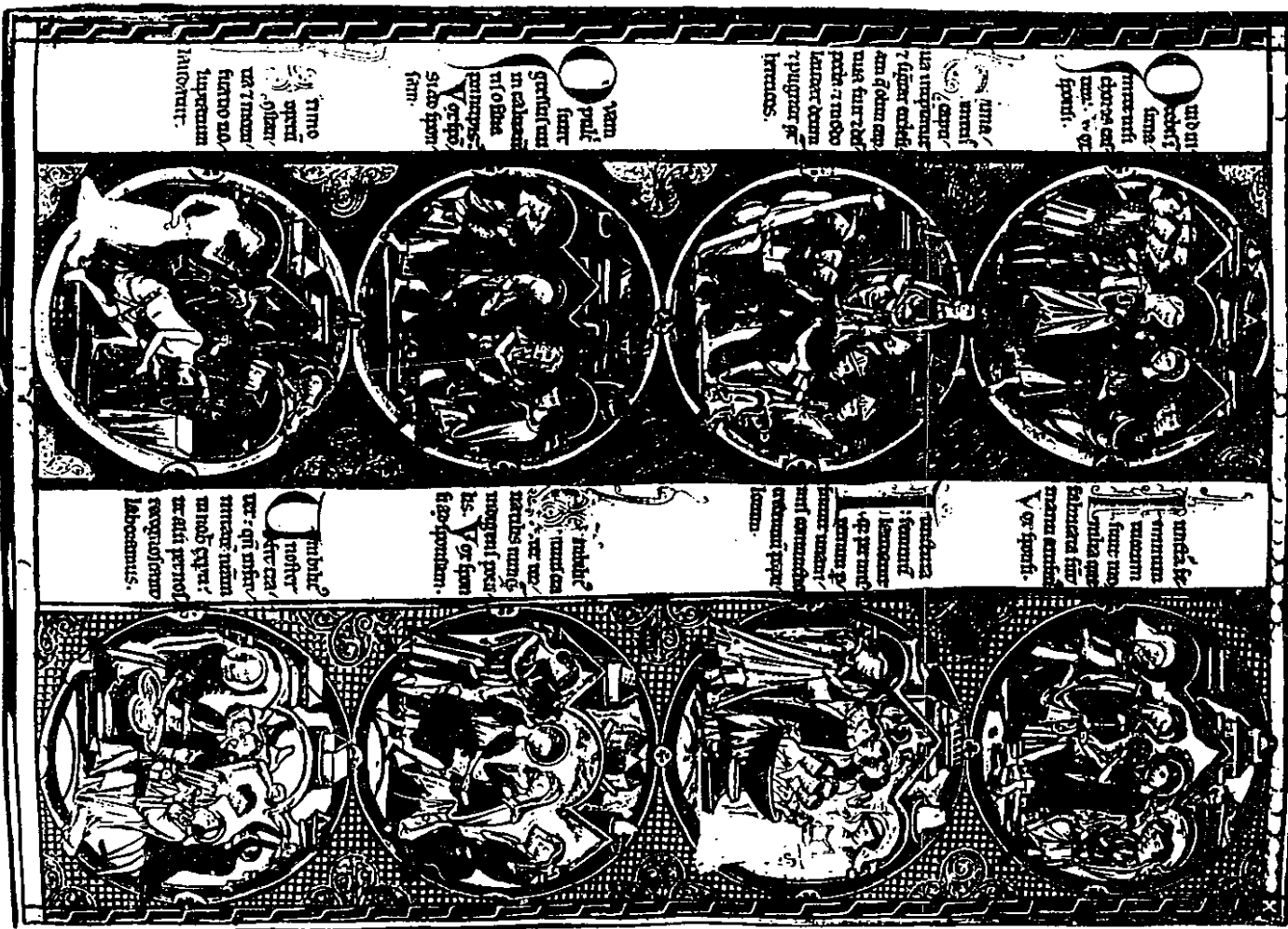


TOLEDO MEDRAL
Biblia de San Luis"
rench, 13th century
ol. II, fol. 87: Canticum Canticorum VII: 1, 2
las C-79546

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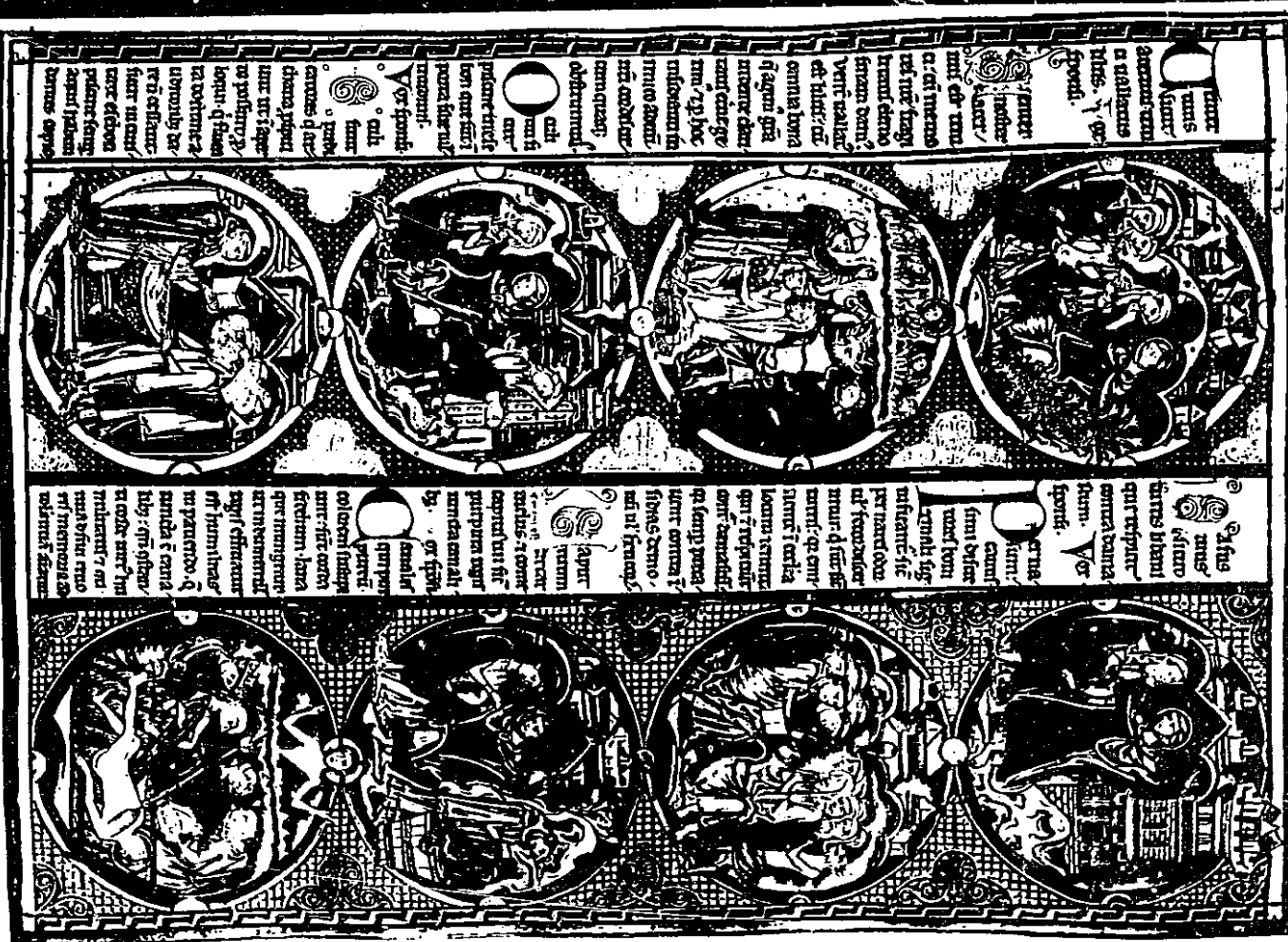
TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
 "Biblia de San Lúis"
 French, 13th century
 Vol. II, fol. 88: Canticum Canticorum VII: 2, 4, 5
 Mas C-79547

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II IX

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In populo in unum speciem carnis et agni manifestantur: ubi
 dicitur agne et in populo manifestantur: quod unum populi eadem
 regem non per obsequium sit aqua videtur et regnum.

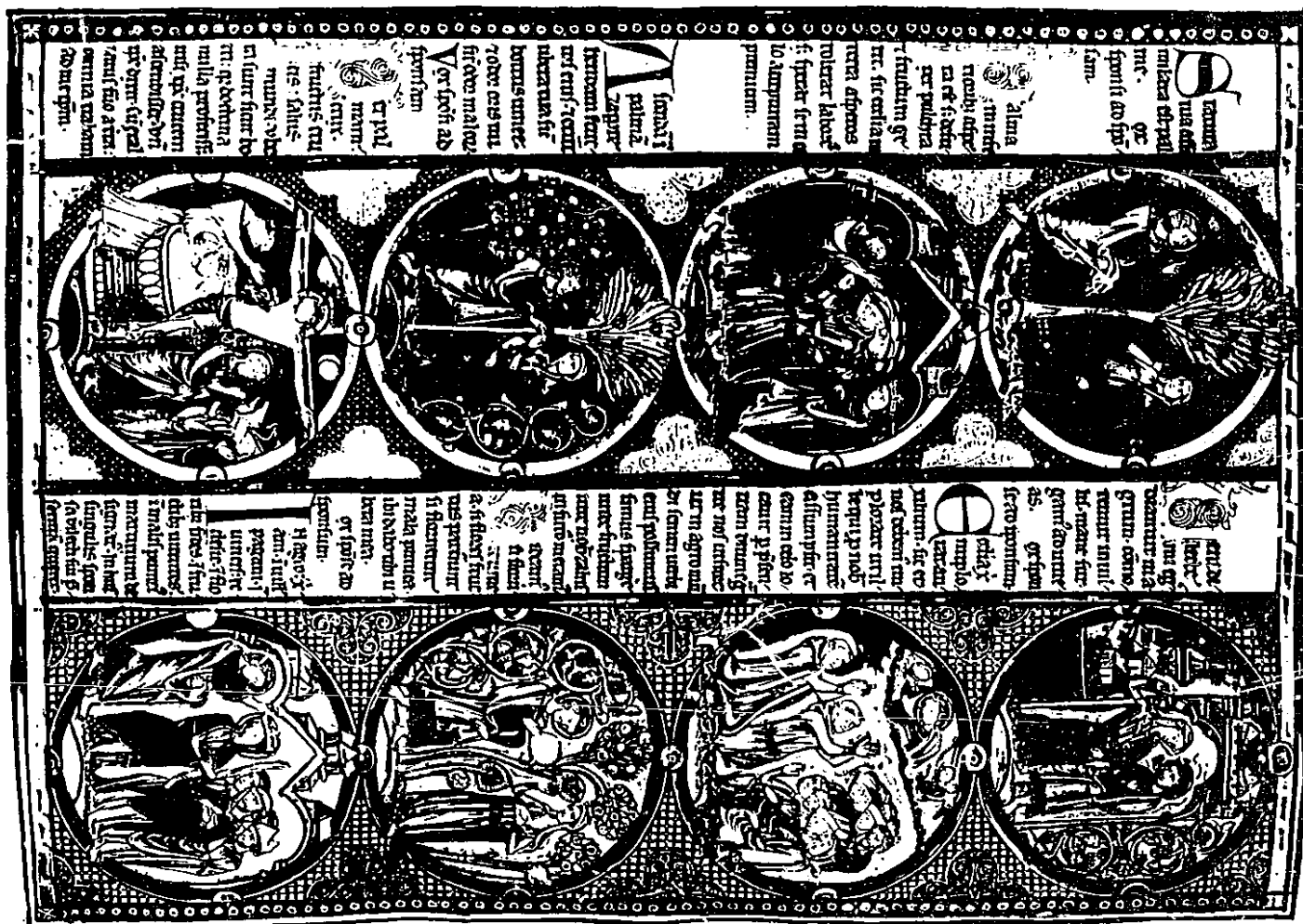


TOLEDO: CATHEDRAL
 "Biblia de San Luis"
 French, 13th century
 Vol. II, fol. 89: Canticum Canticorum VII: 6-8, 11, 12
 Mas C-79548

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TOLEDAN CATHEDRAL

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"Biblia de San Luis:

French, 13th century

Vol. II, fol. 91: Canticum Canticorum VIII: 5, 6, 7

Mas C-79550

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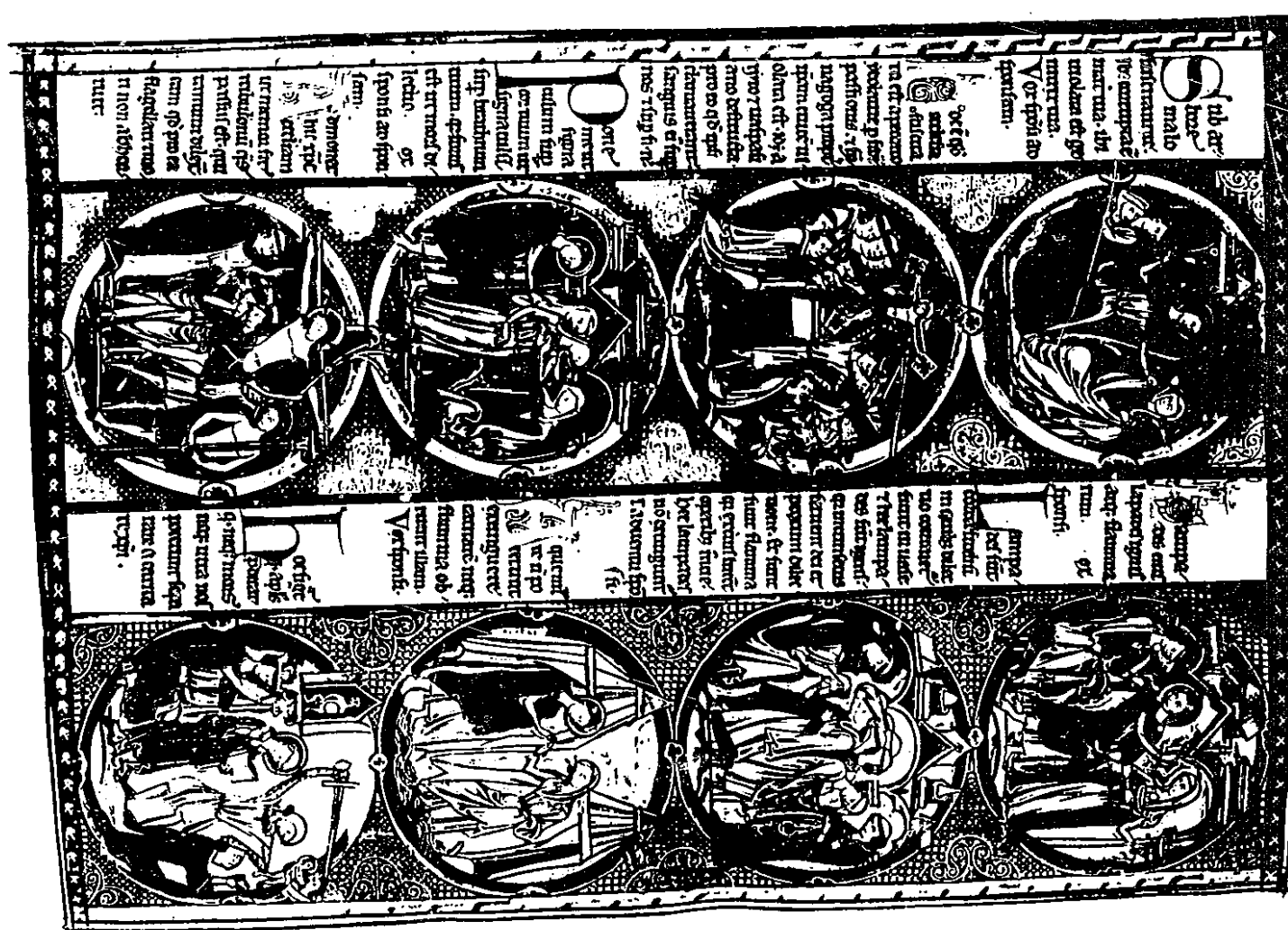
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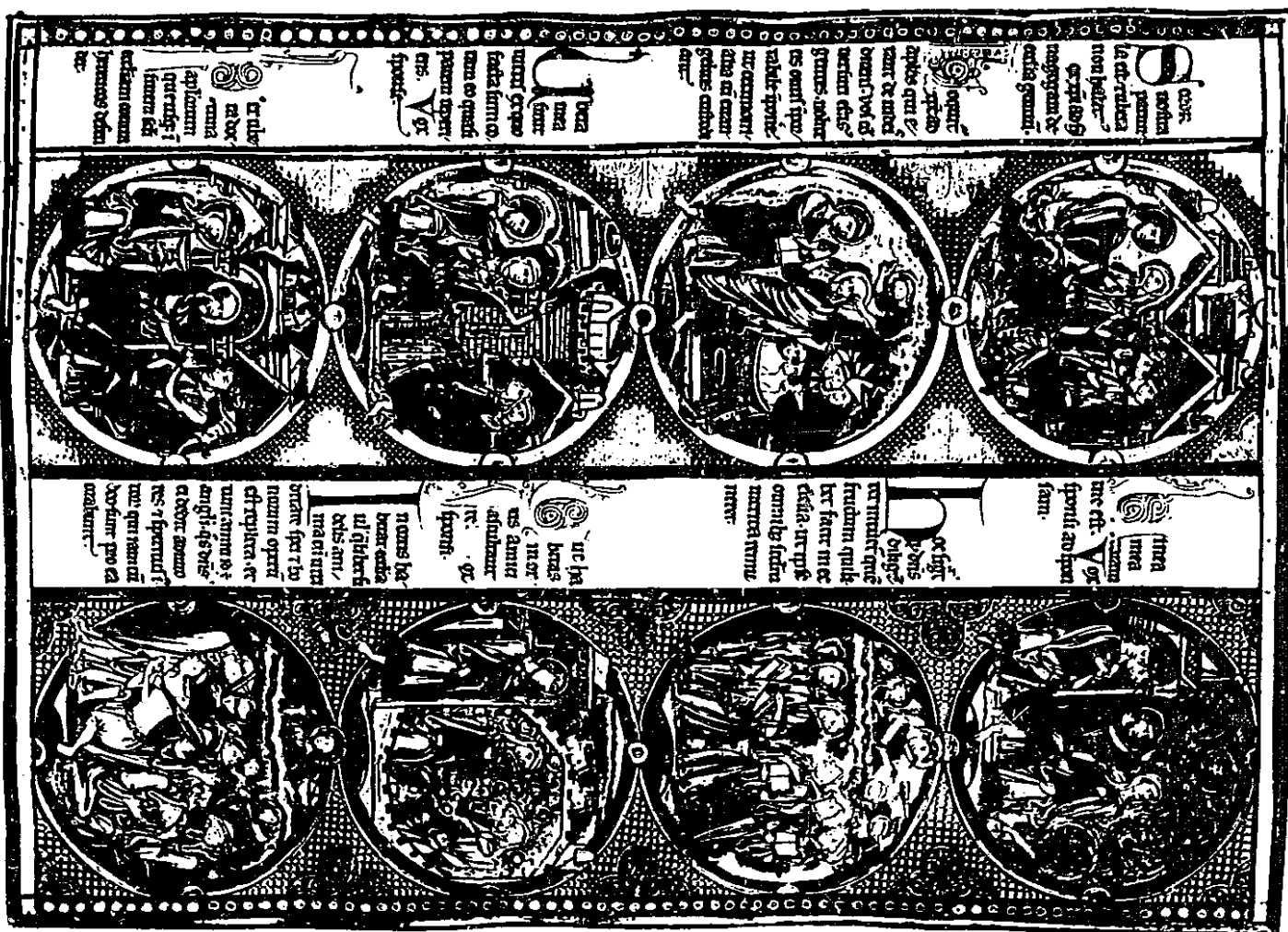
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XXVII

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