

# A mounted evangelist in a twelfth century Gospel Book at Sées\*

by William M. Hinkle

What has generally been regarded as the only extant instance in medieval art of the four Evangelists mounted on their symbols occurs in an English Gospel Book composed in the first decade of the twelfth century, possibly at Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, and now in the Morgan Library (Figs. 1–4).<sup>1</sup> Another isolated example of a mounted Evangelist however can also be cited in the portrait of St. Mark in a little known and somewhat later Gospel Book which is preserved in the episcopal residence at Sées in Lower Normandy (Fig. 5).<sup>2</sup>

Whereas to the best of my knowledge a detailed investigation of this Norman manuscript has yet to be undertaken, the style of the miniatures and the character of the script both presuppose an approximate date for the Gospel Book no earlier than the latter part of the first half of the twelfth century. As indicated in the *Ex libris*, in the seventeenth century it was in the library of the abbey of Saint-Martin at Sées<sup>3</sup>. But links with earlier manuscripts stemming from the abbey of Préaux near Rouen which can be detected in the miniatures, as well as the exceptional quality of the artist's work, might also suggest one of the scriptoria in the region of the Rouennais as the place of origin of the Gospel Book, rather than Saint-Martin itself.

## The Portraits in the English Gospel Book

Although the portraits in the earlier Morgan manuscript have already been the subject of an extensive study by Dimitri Tselos, before turning to the St. Mark at Sées a brief re-examination of these mounted Evangelists in the English Gospel Book is nevertheless first necessary, both as a help in understanding their possible connections with the later portrait in the Norman manuscript and in order to appreciate as well the pictorial problems with which the English illuminator himself was

faced<sup>4</sup>. For in depicting the Evangelists on their animals he was committed to do so in such a way that they should appear, not as riders born along by their mounts, but more composedly seated as on a stable bench or chair. As authors moreover it would also be expected that they should be engaged in that time-honored occupation of the Evangelists who in their portraits are traditionally shown with pen in hand at work on the composition of their respective Gospels.

Fig. 1  
*Matthew. Gospels, New York, Morgan Lib., MS M. 777, fol. 3<sup>v</sup> (photo: Morgan Library)*



The complexities of the artist's problems were further compounded by the variety in the living forms of the symbols themselves. For he had to deal not only with Mark and Luke on their quadrupeds, but also with John mounted on the eagle and Matthew on the human figure of the angel.

In the case of Matthew in fact the English illuminator has resorted to a drastic compromise, in which no attempt has been made to depict the angel as the actual bearer of the author (Fig. 1). To do so indeed would inevitably have meant representing him on all fours, in the ignominious pose of the bridled Aristotle who in later Gothic art carries on his back the domineering Phyllis<sup>5</sup>. Rather the angel has assumed the role of a celestial author who with pen and scroll half reclines in the lower right area of the miniature<sup>6</sup>; while Matthew in turn is seated high above him. Ostensibly suspended in the air, he peers intently down at the angel in a direct inversion of the more usual type of the inspired author looking upward at his symbol in the sky. Only Matthew's feet resting gently on the left thigh of the

Fig. 2  
*John. Gospels, New York, Morgan Lib., MS M. 777, fol. 58<sup>v</sup> (photo: Morgan Library)*



Fig. 3  
*Luke. Gospels, New York, Morgan Lib., MS M. 777, fol. 37<sup>v</sup> (photo: Morgan Library)*

angel hints at the supporting role of his symbol below, while both are united to each other less through physical contact than through the intensity of their mutual gaze.

In the other portraits no such reticence on the part of the artist would seem to have been necessary in depicting the three animals as the bearers of the Evangelists. But here again Mark and John are placed high above the backs of their beasts, where they are seemingly perched on nothing more substantial than the uppermost pinions of the flaring wings of the lion and the eagle (Figs. 2 and 4); while Luke, sitting backwards on the very top of his impassive ox, appears to be resting precariously on the animal's left horn and ear (Fig. 3).

In all four images, moreover, the artist's insistence on retaining all the accessories of scrolls, ink containers, lecterns and books traditionally pertaining to the Evangelists in their portraits has led to some curious distortions. For in order to bring their writing material within reach of the aerial authors the stems of the inkstand of Matthew and the lectern of Mark have had to be inordinately lengthened

(Figs. 1 and 4); while in the portrait of Luke, in an effort to reduce the height of the lectern, the artist has irrationally placed the three-legged base of the stem some distance in the air above and in front of the rear hooves of the standing ox (Fig. 3).

Although all of these anomalies are also expressive of those arresting and ingenuous qualities characteristic of more conceptually conceived works of art – and in the St. John, it must be added, resulting in a strikingly effective design (Fig. 2), they also bear witness to the not yet fully realized and still experimental character of the images. Based, as Tselos has shown, on prototypes stemming from the Carolingian school of Reims, the figures of the authors, with seemingly little if any modifications in the postures of their models, appear indeed to have been arbitrarily superimposed upon and above their symbols, whose animal forms in turn are derived from quite different insular sources<sup>7</sup>. From all this too one can be reasonably certain that the theme of the mounted Evangelist was an original invention of the illuminator of the Morgan manuscript<sup>8</sup>.

Fig. 4  
Mark. Gospels, New York, Morgan Lib., MS M. 777,  
fol. 24<sup>v</sup> (photo: Morgan Library)



### The Saint Mark at Sées

The unresolved problems posed by the English Evangelists have received their impressive solution in the powerful image of the St. Mark at Sées<sup>9</sup>. As can be readily appreciated by comparing him with his earlier counterpart in the Morgan manuscript, through the elimination of the animal's wings the Evangelist is now able to sit firmly on the back of his massive lion (Figs. 4 and 5). Whereas the English St. Mark, oblivious of his mount and encumbered with pen, inkhorn and scroll, is absorbed in the text of his book which rests on the lofty lectern high above the head of the grinning lion, the Evangelist at Sées is harmoniously integrated with his symbol by the reduction of his writing accessories to a single tablet conveniently held for him in the lion's upturned jaws. With the author's pen and knife poised over it and already inscribed with the opening words of his Gospel, the writing tablet in fact has become the focal center of the entire image, toward which the heads of both the Evangelist and his lion are directed.

In the English St. Mark moreover both author and symbol turn toward the left, whereas in the St. Mark at Sées they are orientated toward the right, in that direction more usually assumed by the Evangelists in their portraits and which logically leads to the beginning of the author's Gospel on the ensuing page. The contrasts between the two images is further heightened by the marked dissimilarities in style and technique – the linearity of the portrait in the Morgan manuscript and the large areas of flat color symptomatic of that conservatism of the English illuminator which has been noted by Tselos<sup>10</sup>; while in the St. Mark at Sées the painterly modeling of the full-bodied lion and the inclusion of those cooler colors which was the particular legacy of Ottonian painting – the dark blue and purple of the Evangelist's tunic and the light bluish green and violet introduced into the borders and into the variegated coloring of the triple arcade, whose large central arch so enhances the monumentality of the whole design – all are signs of those new artistic currents, partly of Ottonian origin, but also merging with more recent Byzantine innovations, which had already determined the Romanesque character of Mosan illumination and had crossed the channel in the Saint Albans Psalter<sup>11</sup>.

In the St. Mark at Sées the Byzantine reminiscences can be particularly observed in the detailed shading

of the Evangelist's features with the pronounced V mark between the eyebrows, as well as in the drapery pattern of his tunic, its sinuous lines an echo of that Byzantine-inspired «clinging curvilinear style» which in a more astringent and pronounced form had been introduced into England in the 1130s in the Bury Bible<sup>12</sup>. A specific debt to older German illumination may be noted in the three-dimensional diamond motif of the wide frame<sup>13</sup>; while, in contrast to the vacant ground on which the mounted Evangelist hovers in the English portrait, the clear definition and careful adjustments in the various planes of the portrait at Sées – receding from the figure on the animal to the horizontal band behind the colonnade – are eloquent of that re-interpretation of Ottonian concepts of plane and space which had already been established in English and Mosan manuscript painting at the beginning of this High Romanesque period<sup>14</sup>.

In spite of these crucial differences in the two portraits, some elements of similarity can also be detected. In both instances the Evangelist, with his feet set close together, is placed sideways on his lion and therefore frontally in regard to the picture plane (Figs. 4 and 5). In both figures the arrangement of the garments over the lower part of the body also follows the same general scheme, in which the Evangelist's tunic, pulled upwards around the right knee, is framed on either side by the long falling edges of his cloak. As in all four of the English portraits, moreover, the name of the Evangelist in the portrait at Sées is inscribed in large handsome letters on a horizontal band, here placed behind the colonnade (Fig. 5), in the Morgan manuscript situated at the top of the miniatures (Figs. 1–4). The pearled border of the jeweled halo of the St. Mark at Sées would also seem to have been anticipated in the beaded circlets that frame the haloes of the English Mark and Luke (Figs. 3 and 4).



Fig. 5  
*Mark. Gospels, Sées,*  
*Evêché, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>*  
 (photo: author)

These points of comparison with the author portraits in the Morgan manuscript can only lead to the conclusion that the mounted Evangelist at Sées had indeed been derived, however indirectly, from the St. Mark in the English Gospel Book. That the Norman artist may well have had some acquaintance with earlier insular illumination is further suggested by the headband adorned with a central jewel which is worn by St. Mark and which is a recurring motif of the author portraits in several Anglo-Saxon Gospel Books<sup>15</sup>; while in the Evangelist at Sées the lower hem of his pale green undergarment flaring around his ankles, and which differs so markedly from his other heavier robes, would likewise seem to hark back to the livelier idiom of Anglo-Saxon calligraphy. Another Anglo-Saxon motif in the Gospel Book can be recognized in the historiated initial at the beginning of St. Matthew, where the shaft of the *L* is decorated with the familiar rosettes stemming from the eleventh century Winchester school<sup>16</sup>.

### The St. Matthew at Sées

The only other portrait in the manuscript at Sées, that of St. Matthew, can also be safely credited to the same gifted illuminator responsible for the St. Mark (Fig. 6). Here again he has included the band inscribed with the Evangelist's name derived from the portraits in the English manuscript, as well as the pearl-bordered halo. But in choosing to omit Matthew's symbol altogether he has completely bypassed the awkward circumventions indulged in by the English artist in his reluctance to depict the angel as the actual bearer of the author.

As in the frame of the St. Mark, in the portrait of Matthew the type of striped and beaded borders with palmette-like leaves in the mitres of the corners can also be traced back to German antecedents in the school of Cologne<sup>17</sup>. But in spite of the duplications in pose and features which can be observed in the two Evangelists (Figs. 5 and 6), for the drapery of the St. Matthew the artist has relied on a quite different Byzantinizing scheme, whose fainter and more rigid patterns are totally unrelated to the clinging curvilinear style of the Bury Bible.



Fig. 6  
*Matthew Gospels, Sées, Evêché, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>* (photo: author)

Fig. 7  
*Luke Gospels, London, Brit. Mus., MS Add. 11850, fol. 91<sup>v</sup>* (photo: Courtauld Institute)



Before turning to other aspects of the mounted Evangelists, a few links with earlier Norman illumination should likewise be noted in the portrait of Matthew, as well as in one of the decorated initials of the Gospel Book.

In the St. Matthew the unusual motif of the large curtains suspended from the slanting poles like sheets on the wash line had already been foreshadowed in the extravagant display of curtains hanging in a similar gabled form in the portrait of Luke in the Gospels from the abbey of Préaux near Rouen, a work which can be assigned to the last decades of the eleventh century (Figs. 6 and 7)<sup>18</sup>; while the general pose of the upper part of the body

Fig. 8  
*Mark. Gospels, London, Brit. Mus.,*  
*MS Add. 11850, fol. 61<sup>v</sup>*  
*(photo: Courtauld Institute)*



Fig. 9  
*Initial I. Gospels, Sées, Evêché, fol. 37 (photo: author)*



of the Préaux Evangelist, and more particularly the configurations of the hands holding the pen and knife over the open book, are noticeably reiterated in the St. Matthew at Sées and again less pronouncedly in the St. Mark (Fig. 5). In the Mark and John of the Préaux Gospels, moreover, the cloth which in

each instance covers the author's lectern, originally a peculiarity of Anglo-Saxon Evangelist portraits, also reappears in the St. Matthew, draped over the lectern in a similar series of vertical folds (Figs. 6 and 8)<sup>19</sup>.

Fig. 10

Initial I. Gregory, *Moralia*. Rouen, *Bibl. Mun.*, MS 498, fol. 174<sup>v</sup>



Of the two ornamental initials in the Gospel Book at Sées, that on the incipit page of Mark, in which three music-playing animals are framed in the rectangular panels of the stem of the *I*, in spite of the greater naturalism of the figures, would likewise seem to have evolved from a type of initial represented in another early manuscript from Préaux, where the more contorted forms of the three animals are again confined within the paneled framework of the letter (Figs. 9 and 10)<sup>20</sup>.

To summarize this analysis of the miniatures of the Gospel Book at Sées which I have attempted – one which, within the limitations of these notes, must necessarily remain incomplete and subject to emendation – the artist not only derived the idea of the mounted Evangelist from the English Gospel Book, but also seems to have had some acquaintance with still earlier Anglo-Saxon illumination, thus perpetuating well into the twelfth century those connections with Anglo-Saxon art which in the previous century had played such an important role in the products of the Norman scriptoria<sup>21</sup>. For other aspects of the Evangelist portraits and for the form of one of the decorated initials, however, he turned to the older manuscript illumination indigenous to Lower Normandy; while the style of the miniatures can be regarded as a local and fully matured expression of that new phase in manuscript painting which had made its appearance in England, first in the Saint Albans Psalter and then in the Bury Bible and its immediate successors. But from the lack of any close relationships which can be established between the work of the Norman illuminator and these insular manuscripts – above all from the quite different features and figure type of the Evangelists themselves – the miniatures of the Sées Gospel Book would seem to have been the result of a parallel and largely independent evolution, though ultimately derived in part from the same continental sources<sup>22</sup>.

Should these tentative conclusions in regard to the style of the miniatures prove justified, then the achievement of this artist would indeed be all the more noteworthy in view of the apparent dearth of works of comparable quality in Norman illumination in this latter part of the first half of the twelfth century<sup>23</sup>.



Fig. 11  
*Lothair. Psalter, London, Brit. Mus., MS Add. 37768, fol. 4 (photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)*

Fig. 12  
*Virgin and Child. Psalter, Amiens, Bibl. de la Ville, MS Lescalopier 2, fol. 19<sup>v</sup> recto (photo: author)*



## The Figures on the Lions

In dealing with the theme of the mounted Evangelists I have thus far had no occasion to discuss the question of the possible prototypes of these images in other works of art, but have confined myself to the St. Mark at Sées and to the portraits in the Morgan manuscript. Since, as has been seen, the St. Matthew peering down at the seated angel in the English Gospel Book can only be regarded as a mounted Evangelist by implication (Fig. 1), the visual expression of the theme itself can be further restricted to the representations of Mark, Luke and John on their respective symbols (Figs. 2, 3 and 4).

Various proposals have been made concerning the pictorial antecedents of these three mounted authors in other categories of subjects involving figures seated on animals. These have included Late Classical and Arabic works, as well as figures riding sidesaddle in East Christian art, and have even been extended to those representations which exist only in early thirteenth century examples<sup>24</sup>. But in none of the visual analogies which have been suggested have I found any convincing clues as to the actual nature of the works of art which the English illuminator might have drawn upon in creating his images. On the other hand, though I know of no earlier parallels to the St. John mounted sideways on the eagle, the Mark and Luke on their quadrupeds are nevertheless far from being isolated instances in later medieval art of Biblical figures seated on four-footed animals which act as the substitutes for a stable bench or chair<sup>25</sup>.

The most numerous of these representations are those in which the animals are derived from the leonine supports of the antique *sella* as depicted on the fifth and sixth century consular diptychs and as perpetuated in the early ninth century »Throne of Dagobert.«<sup>26</sup> Freed from their dependency on the structural forms of the chair, the lions in these later Romanesque images are sometimes imbued with an autonomous and often energetic life of their own, as can be graphically illustrated by comparing the ninth century portrait of Lothair in his London Psalter, where the *sella* on which the Carolingian emperor is seated was probably directly inspired by the Throne of Dagobert (Fig. 11),<sup>27</sup> and the culminating expression of this transformation in the flame-colored beasts savagely springing from either side of the seated Virgin and Child in the late eleventh century Psalter from Saint-Aubin, Angers (Fig. 12)<sup>28</sup>.



Other derivations from the addorsed foreparts of the lions on the antique sella can be observed in the twin lions on which the rulers are sometimes ensconced – from the imposing Antiochus in the Great Bible of Saint-Vaast, Arras, of the second quarter of the eleventh century<sup>29</sup>, to the Pharaoh receiving Joseph in the late eleventh century frescoes of Saint-Savin<sup>30</sup> and, on the Romanesque capitals, the crowned figures regally enthroned on double rampant lions in the ambulatory of Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers,<sup>31</sup> and in the nave of the cathedral at Vienne<sup>32</sup>.

Closer morphological parallels to the Evangelists on their quadrupeds are to be found in those very few representations which have survived from the Romanesque period of stationary figures each seated on a single lion.

In what appears to be the earliest extant example, the Solomon in an initial *C* in the Bible of Saint-Vaast, the parted curtains wound around the flanking columns and the pose of the king turning with raised arms in profile toward the right might at first lead one to suspect that the image had been directly inspired by a mounted Evangelist (Fig. 13)<sup>33</sup>. But in spite of the fact that the body of the lion has been clearly defined beneath the seated king, thus leaving no doubt as to the presence of a single

Fig. 13  
Solomon. Bible, Arras, *Bibl. de la Ville*, MS 559, I, fol. 170

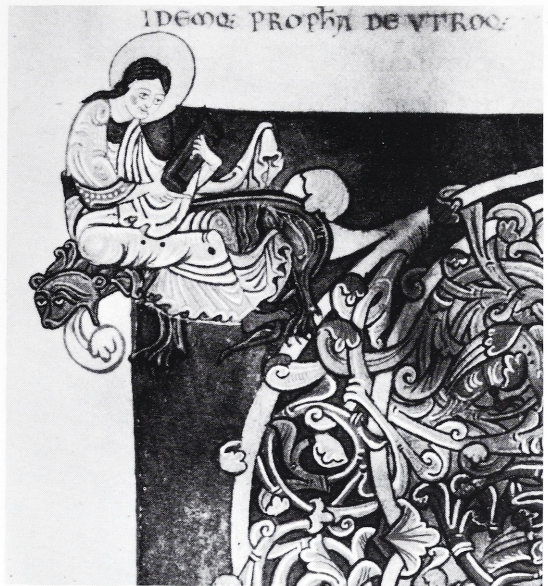


Fig. 14  
Initial *D*, detail. Bible, Sées, *Evêché*, vol. II, fol. 47  
(photo: author)

animal, the complete omission of the lion's hind quarters, as well as the disproportionate silhouette of his bulging chest, tiny head and stove-pipe neck, would all seem to indicate that the artist had simply adapted one of the foreparts of the twin lions derived from the antique sella to a seated Solomon based on a more conventional Evangelist portrait<sup>34</sup>.

In a somewhat later representation of the mounted figure, one which is of particular interest for its possible association with the St. Mark at Sées, all such awkward adaptations have vanished. In a late eleventh century Bible now in the episcopal residence at Sées and which, like the Gospel Book, also came from the library of Saint-Martin a youthful David, holding his book and facing in the same direction as the St. Mark, lolls at his ease on the shoulders of a little drooping lion, both forming the finial of a large decorated *D* at the beginning of Psalm 109 (Fig. 14)<sup>35</sup>.

Although the original provenance of the Bible has yet to be determined, the stylistic affinities of the initial with those in the Gospels from Préaux – a work which has already been mentioned as one of the sources of the miniatures in the Sées Gospel Book – would by no means rule out a common origin for both of these manuscripts which were once in the library of Saint-Martin and would thus further suggest a close connection between the David and the St. Mark at Sées<sup>36</sup>.

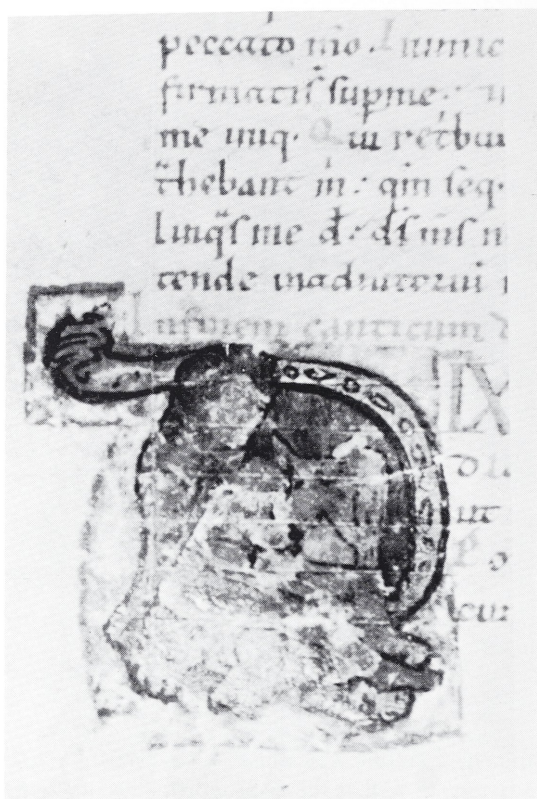


Fig. 15  
Initial D. Diurnal of Solignac, Brit. Mus.,  
MS Harley 2928, fol 36<sup>v</sup>  
(photo: Courtesy of Meyer Schapiro)

Fig. 16  
Reconstruction of Initial D, Diurnal of Solignac



In a Diurnal in the British Museum, which has been dated by Meyer Schapiro around 1100 and which he has assigned to the abbey of Solignac in the Limousin, another mounted figure has been included in one of the small historiated initials (Fig. 15)<sup>37</sup>. Although the surface has been badly rubbed, the salient features of the image can still be accurately deciphered. As can be more clearly seen in the drawing based on a tracing of the photograph of the initial and on a sketch by Professor Schapiro made from a firsthand examination of the manuscript (Fig. 16), an author or scribe with pen in hand is writing on a tablet while seated on a lion-like creature whom the artist has depicted in a crouching position as though flattened out by the weight of the writer's body<sup>38</sup>. However few and inconsequential they may be, these earlier examples of the personages seated on

Fig. 17  
Daniel. Left Embasura, Porch of Church at Ydes (Cantal)  
(photo: Foto Marburg)



the lions nevertheless provide the outlines of a development in the theme of the mounted figure which can be tentatively traced from its awkward beginnings in the Solomon of the Bible at Arras to the diminutive representations in the later initials and finally to the more fully evolved images in the larger works. Just as the freely rendered David at Sées was to lead to the impressive portrait of Mark in the Gospel Book, so in the region of south central France the little writer in the Diurnal of Solignac can be said to anticipate the imposing Daniel seated on one of his lions in the late Romanesque porches at Beaulieu and Ydes (Fig. 17)<sup>39</sup>.

Transcending these regional developments are those characteristics which are common to both groups of the mounted figures and which can be credited to a more general diffusion of the theme within the larger framework of French Romanesque art. Not only is the pose of the writer in the diurnal, with his right leg outstretched in profile over the body of the little lion, reminiscent of the Psalmist at Sées; with pen poised over the upright tablet he also foreshadows in a still more striking manner the mounted Evangelist in the Sées Gospel Book (Figs. 5 and 16). Like the drooping lion of the Sées Bible, moreover, the lions in the reliefs on the porches submissively bend their necks; while at Ydes Daniel is seated with knees apart and feet together in a frontal position similar to that of the St. Mark at Sées (Figs. 5 and 17), the stability of the figure further enhanced by the footstool which has been placed under his feet.

One more conclusion may likewise be drawn from these mounted figures. For since all of the examples known to me are of continental provenance, it is now more understandable too why the English illuminator of the Morgan manuscript, with presumably no insular precedents on which to rely, was unable to fashion a more convincing articulation between the Evangelists and the animals on whose backs they are presumed to be seated.

### The Trained Animals

As has already been noted, in producing a more coordinated relationship between Mark and his symbol the artist of the Sées Gospel Book also made use of the motif of the lion holding the tablet in his jaws. In a number of other portraits the animals, stationing themselves next to the authors, serve an analogous function by holding or supporting the tablets and inkhorns of the writers like

trained domestic pets. In the small images of the Evangelists in the corners of an ivory plaque carved at Liège sometime before 1050 the little symbols, perched on diminutive clouds and with their backs to the authors, engagingly bear the writing tablets on their wings in the manner of an eagle lectern (Fig. 18)<sup>40</sup>.

A variation on the same theme was introduced by a Norman illuminator into the scriptorium of Mont Saint-Michel. In a portrait of St. Augustine in a copy of his *De Genesi ad litteram* composed at the Mount toward the middle of the eleventh century the writer dips his pen into an inkhorn playfully held for him in the jaws of a little lion sitting bolt upright on a small column (Fig. 19)<sup>41</sup>. Since this portrait in turn was so obviously based on that of an Evangelist, it may well have been either the St. Augustine itself or its immediate model which had suggested to the artist of the Sées Gospel Book the motif of the lion grasping the tablet in his bared teeth (Fig. 5)<sup>42</sup>.

Fig. 18  
Ivory Plaque, Nativity, Crucifixion, Ascension. Brussels, Musées Royaux (copyright A. C. L. Brussels)

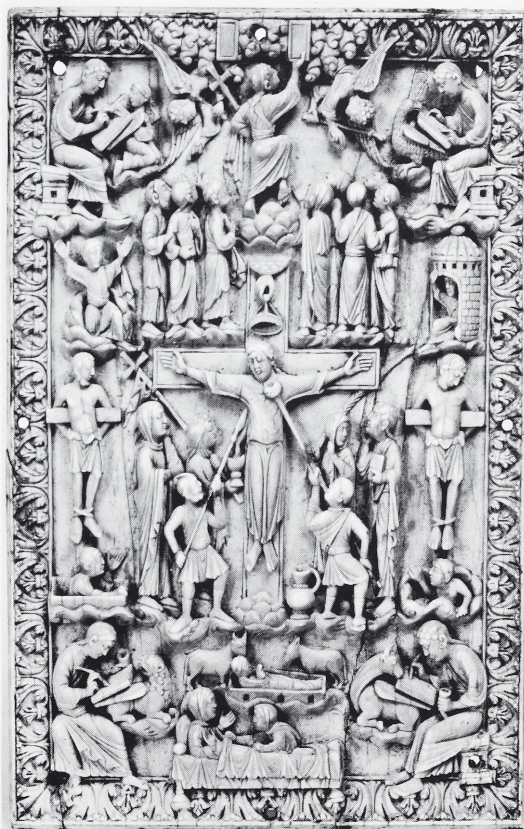




Fig. 19  
St. Augustine. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, Avranches,  
Bibl. Mun., MS 75, fol. A<sup>v</sup>

Although Augustine's little lion, like the symbols on the Liège ivory, still proffers his back to the author, in the later Evangelist portraits the trained animalia now face their masters in a more formalized treatment. In a twelfth century Mosan Gospel Book now in the Arsenal the lion and the ox, confronting the authors, dutifully hold the inkhorns between their front paws and hooves, while the eagle grasps it in his raised talons<sup>43</sup>. Though the artist has included Matthew's symbol, he has been even more reluctant to depict him in a subservient role than was the English illuminator of the Morgan manuscript and, instead of holding the inkhorn, he has chosen to depict the angel flying from behind a curtain, his outstretched arm and pointing finger energetically extended toward the head of the Evangelist<sup>44</sup>.

In concluding this review of the pictorial sources of the St. Mark at Sées it can now be seen that the Norman illuminator, in creating what may well be regarded as the definitive image of the mounted Evangelist, was not only dependent on the portraits in the Morgan Gospel Book. In touch with major artistic trends on the continent, he also recast the St. Mark in the more articulated idiom of

the stationary figures seated on the lions as they had evolved in French Romanesque art; while in integrating the Evangelist with his symbol he availed himself as well of the motif of the animal holding the author's writing material, an artistic conceit which had previously been introduced into Norman illumination, possibly through contacts with the art of the region of the Meuse<sup>45</sup>.

### The Evangelists and the Four Elements

Although within the limits of these notes I have had to omit many other less relevant ramifications in the evolution of the animal forms I have dealt with, one last problem concerning the mounted Evangelists themselves cannot be ignored – the vexatious question as to whether or not they were also intended to convey an allegorical or mystical meaning.

Tselos indeed had already proposed that the authors on their symbols in the English Gospel Book might represent an allegory of the Evangelists as the Four Elements. More recently this interpretation has also been applied to the Evangelists which once adorned the base of the pillar supporting Suger's great Cross at Saint-Denis. The seventeenth century description of these Evangelists has furthermore been construed as implying that they were riding their symbols in the manner of those in the Morgan manuscript; while the presence of the Four Elements at the very top of the pillar has been thought to confirm the proposals made by Tselos<sup>46</sup>.

But can one really be sure of this interpretation of the mounted Evangelists from the evidence given in either instance? In support of the theory that they were intended as an allegory of the Elements, Tselos has called attention to the early thirteenth century reliquary Cross at Engelberg, where on the reverse side of the terminals of the cross are depicted human personifications of the Four Elements on their animals, while on the obverse side of the terminals are the Evangelists with their symbols<sup>47</sup>.

One might indeed question whether the personifications on one face of the cross are to be correlated with the authors on the other<sup>48</sup>. But if one does accept the contention that the Four Elements are to be associated with the Evangelists, then the Engelberg Cross would seem to refute the claim that it is the mounted authors who are the allegories of the Elements, since in this instance they are

not seated on their symbols, anymore than they are on the cross-base from Saint-Bertin, in which the Elements are also present on the capital of the pillar<sup>49</sup>. And where the Evangelists are indeed in direct contact with one of the quaternaries, as on the base of the Cross at Chur, it is not on the animalia that they are seated, but on the zoomorphic representations of the quaternary itself, here in the form of lion heads which act as the water spouts for the Four Rivers of Paradise<sup>50</sup>.

Nor can one be at all certain that the Evangelists on the Cross at Saint-Denis were mounted on their symbols. Rather the animalia seem to have been placed at their feet, as is clearly stated in the only detailed account of the subject matter of the Cross, that contained in the 1634 inventory: »... quatre evangelistes, a leurs pieds laigle, le lyon, lange, et le boeuf ...«<sup>51</sup>. Just such a relationship between author and symbol can be cited in the Mark and Luke resting their feet on and immediately above their diminutive animals in a thirteenth century North German Gospel Book now in Copenhagen<sup>52</sup>.

Moreover since, as has been seen, of the two portraits in the Gospel Book at Sées only St. Mark is on his symbol, it would indeed be highly unlikely that any comprehensive meaning such as that derived from the quaternaries could have been attached to all four of the mounted Evangelists<sup>53</sup>. It must be borne in mind too that the author portraits in the Morgan manuscript had been created at a time when the revival of interest in typological and allegorical themes as subject matter for the artist had not yet materialized in the sources of its origin in Mosan art and at Saint-Denis and thus could hardly be expected to have reached other parts of Northern Europe<sup>54</sup>.

Though I can only be much indebted to the extensive research of those with whom I have entered into disagreement, in spite of their valiant efforts I am thus compelled to conclude that the theme of the mounted Evangelist as first established in the English Gospel Book was essentially a pictorial conceit – one of many manifestations of a highly unconventional and imaginative treatment of the animalia which by the twelfth century, as Hubert Schrade has noted, can be found everywhere<sup>55</sup>. Extracted from their more emblematic wrappings, which in the majority of portraits continue to separate them from the Evangelists, the symbols enter into a closer contact with the authors, in the earlier examples sometimes threatening or even clawing their human masters, but also learning

obedience and service by holding their writing paraphernalia and, in the case of the mounted Evangelists, by supporting the authors themselves<sup>56</sup>.

A similar transformation has already been noted in the living forms of the lions derived from the decorative motifs of the antique sella and which can be paralleled in a number of author portraits, where a variety of creatures are substituted for the functional supports of the furnishings – the long-necked waterfowl in the Anglo-Saxon Pembroke Gospels and the lively lion in the eleventh century Gospel Book from Le Cateau, both of whom bear the Evangelist's writing stand<sup>57</sup>, and the numerous creatures who play similar roles in the twelfth century South German Gospel Books<sup>58</sup>; while the small wormlike dragon who holds the inkhorn in his mouth in the St. Matthew of the mid-eleventh century Mosan Gospels of Gembloux (Fig. 20)<sup>59</sup> occurs again toward the very end of the century in the portrait of a scribe by the Norman illuminator Hugo Pictor, where he is balanced by another little sinuous dragon supporting the bookrest in his upturned jaws (Fig. 21)<sup>60</sup>.

Fig. 20  
Matthew. Gospels, Brussels, Bibl. Roy., MS 5573, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>  
(copyright: Bibl. Roy., Brussels)



Nor among the later images should I fail to mention what may well be regarded as a unique variant on the theme of the mounted Evangelist. In the mid-twelfth century Gospel Book from the abbey of Cysoing near Lille, the St. John is seated, not on his symbol, but on a hybrid creature holding in its jaws the author's inkwell (Fig. 22)<sup>61</sup>. With the tufted legs and paws of a lion and the head of an ox with golden horns, the animal can thus be recognized as combining the symbols of Mark and Luke in a representation which as far as I know is without parallel in medieval art. But from the evidence of a direct borrowing from earlier Norman illumination which can be documented in other miniatures of this manuscript executed by the same artist, there

Fig. 21  
Initial C, detail. Jerome, In Isaiam. Oxford, Bodleian Lib., MS Bodley 717, fol. 6<sup>v</sup> (photo: Courtauld Institute)



can be little doubt too of a close connection between the composite animal in the Cysoing portrait and the lion in the St. Mark at Sées (Fig. 5)<sup>62</sup>. It is here moreover in the Cysoing St. John supported by the combined symbols of the other two authors that a non-pictorial meaning can be discerned entering into the theme of the mounted Evangelist, a topic which however must be reserved for a future occasion.

Fig. 22  
John. Gospels, Lille, Bibl. Mun., MS 479 (33), fol. 87



## NOTES

\* I am much indebted to Professor Meyer Schapiro for calling my attention to many of the works of art and other references included in this study.

<sup>1</sup> New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 777, fol. 3<sup>v</sup> (Matthew), fol. 24<sup>v</sup> (Mark), fol. 37<sup>v</sup> (Luke), fol. 58<sup>v</sup> (John). For the proposed date and provenance of the manuscript, see D. Tselos, «Unique Portraits of the Evangelists in an English Gospel Book of the Twelfth Century», *Art Bulletin*, XXXIV, 1952, 258–277, esp. 277.

<sup>2</sup> I am most grateful to the Bishop of Sées for allowing me to examine the Gospel Book and other manuscripts in the possession of the Evêché and to the Abbé Pierre Marpaud for his very kind assistance.

<sup>3</sup> As can be gathered from the *Ex libris* at the bottom of fol. 2, the manuscript was in the library of Saint-Martin at Sées after that house had been taken over by the Congregation of Saint-Maur in 1636. L. Hommey, *Hist. génér., ecclésiastique et civile du diocèse de Sées*, II, Alençon, 1899, 398, with a detailed

- account of the earlier history of the abbey, refounded circa 1060. *Ibid.*, 86f.; 386ff.
- 4 Whereas Tselos («Portraits of the Evangelists») has dealt mainly with the art historical and iconographic aspects of the miniatures, he has not had occasion to discuss these more immediate problems of picture-making with which I am here chiefly concerned.
  - 5 For the iconography of Aristotle and Phyllis, see *Reallexicon zur deutschen Kunstgesch.*, I, cols. 1028ff.
  - 6 The similarities between the angel and Matthew extend to their features and stubbly beards. Busts of bearded angels can be cited in a Canon Table of the Saint-Bertin Gospels, executed by an English illuminator toward the end of the tenth century. Boulogne, Bibl. Mun., MS 11, fol. 3. C. R. Dodwell, *Painting in Europe: 800 to 1200* (The Pelican History of Art), 1971, 80; 220 ns. 39–41. The unusual position of the angel in the lower righthand corner of the miniature suggests a derivation from the type of «double portrait» in which the inspiring angel is standing or sitting next to Matthew. See J. Alexander and W. Cahn, «An Eleventh Century Gospel Book from Le Cateau», *Scriptorium*, XX, 1966, 248–264, esp. 252f.
  - 7 Tselos, «Portraits of the Evangelists», 260ff. and 272.
  - 8 As has been inferred by Tselos («Portraits of the Evangelists», 277).
  - 9 Fol. 36<sup>v</sup>. The other remaining illuminations include: the complete Canon Tables on 9 pages in simple colored arcades, with the exception of the last Table in a plain rectangular frame, fols. 3<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>; Portrait of Matthew, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>; historiated initial *L*, incipit of Matthew, fol. 11; initial *I*, incipit of Mark, fol. 37.
  - 10 Tselos, «Portraits of the Evangelists», 268. The repainting of portions of the miniatures, attributed by Tselos (*ibid.*, 258f.) to the sixteenth century owner of the manuscript, does not seem to have significantly altered their original appearance.
  - 11 The dominance of cool colors derived from Ottonian illumination in the miniatures of the Saint Albans Psalter of the early 1120s has been commented upon in O. Pächt, C. R. Dodwell and F. Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter*, London, 1960, 115. K. H. Usener's perceptive exposition of the Ottonian and Byzantine influences in the formation of Mosan illumination toward the end of the eleventh century is summarized in his article in *Rhein u. Maas: Kunst u. Kultur 800–1400*, Exhibition Cat., Cologne, 1972, 234ff. For a general survey of the same topic, see Dodwell, *Painting in Europe*, 1971, 160f.
  - 12 E. B. Garrison, *Studies in the Hist. of Medieval Italian Painting*, III, nos. 3–4, 1958, 208f. See also C. M. Kauffmann, «The Bury Bible», *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIX, 1966, 60–81.
  - 13 For frames with the same diamond motif see P. Bloch and H. Schnitzler, *Die ottonische Kölner Malerschule*, I, Düsseldorf, 1967, pl. p. 299; 360, pl. 14; Nativity scene, early 12 cent. Weingarten MS., Fulda, Landesbibl. Aa 35, fol. 54<sup>v</sup>.
  - 14 For the new treatment of planes in the Saint Albans Psalter and in Mosan illumination, see Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald, *St. Albans Psalter*, 116f.; K. H. Usener, «Das Breviar Clm. 23261 der Bayerischen Staatsbibl. u. die Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei in Lüttich», *Münchner Jb. der bildenden Kunst*, 3 folge, I 1950, 78–92, esp. 83f.
  - 15 Among these may be cited St. Matthew, Pembroke Gospels, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>; M. R. James, *A descriptive Cat. of MSS. in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, pl. after p. 264, and the Anglo-Saxon Evangelist portraits illustrated in E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS. from the Xth to the XIIth Century*, Paris-Brussels, 1926, pls. 14, 15–17, 30d; M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Pelican History of Art), 1954, pl. 36a.
  - 16 Although the jeweled headband, which does not seem to appear in earlier Norman manuscripts, might here imply a direct borrowing from Anglo-Saxon illumination, the same cannot be said of the motif of the Winchester rosette, which had already been introduced in the eleventh century into Normandy and elsewhere on the continent, and may thus represent an indigenous survival in the Sées initial.
  - 17 Compare particularly with the beaded frames featuring more developed palmettes in the corners on the decorative pages of the early eleventh century Hitda Codex. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Ottonische Malerschule*, I, pls. 114, 118, 138. But the leaves in the center of the borders of the St. Matthew do not occur in these Cologne manuscripts.
  - 18 London, Brit. Mus., MS Add. 11850, fol. 91<sup>v</sup>. For the provenance of this manuscript from Saint-Pierre, Préaux, see F. Avril, «Notes sur quelques mss. bénédictins normands», *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, LXXVII, 1965, 209–248, esp. 234. A date around 1100 has been proposed in F. Wormald, *The Survival of Anglo-Saxon Illumination after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1944, 6, n. 1: between 1070 and 1100 in Dodwell, *Painting in Europe*, 88, fig. 108, but here the manuscript is attributed, mistakenly I believe, to Saint Ouen, Rouen.
  - 19 Add. 11850, fol. 61<sup>v</sup> (Mark); A. Baker in *The Walpole Society*, XXXI, 1942–1943, London, 1946, pl. 8, fig. a. Fol. 138<sup>v</sup> (John); Dodwell, *Painting in Europe*, fig. 108.
  - 20 Gregory, *Moralia in Job*. Rouen, Bibl. Mun., MS 498, fol. 174<sup>v</sup>. See Avril, «Mss. bénédictins normands», 232. The initials of the *Moralia* are closely related to those in the Gospels of Préaux. C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, Cambridge, 1954, 118. Another «paneled» initial, the frames, as in the initial *I* of the Gospels of Sées, profusely decorated with beading, occurs in that outlandishly illuminated Gospel Book, Brit. Mus., MS 17739, fol. 100<sup>v</sup> (Photo: Courtauld Institute, 49/32(2) which Dodwell (*ibid.*) has attributed to the illuminator of a manuscript from Jumièges, but which he has also connected with the Gospel of Préaux. These paneled initials in turn can be seen as variants of those more openwork initials of the so-called «clambering style», popular both at Canterbury and in Norman illumination, in which the figures comport themselves more freely in and around the open trellis of the letter. See Dodwell, *ibid.*, 24ff.
  - 21 For the Anglo-Saxon characteristics of Norman illumination in the second half of the eleventh century, see J. J. G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel*, 966–1100, Oxford, 1970, 118ff.; 133ff.; Dodwell, *Painting in Europe*, 87.
  - 22 Certain analogies with this later phase of English illumination can nevertheless be observed in the architectural elements of the portrait of Mark at Sées (Fig. 5). The triple arcade featuring a larger central arch had already been used in the scene of the Mocking of Christ in the Saint Albans Psalter (Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald, *St. Albans Psalter*, pl. 27b); while the light dappling of the columns in the Sées portrait is paralleled

in the triple arcade of an historiated initial in a Bible from Rochester of circa 1130 (Kauffmann, »Bury Bible,« pl. 39c). But the same features can also be observed in earlier continental illumination. Similar dappled columns occur in the *Noli me tangere* miniature of an early twelfth century Mosan Breviary (Usener, »Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei,« 83, fig. 19); while the triple arcade can be traced back to the portrait of the Ottonian Emperor Henry II flanked by two bishops in his Bamberg Pontifical (P. E. Schramm and F. Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige u. Kaiser*, Munich, 1962, pl., p. 337), where the larger central arch, as in the St. Mark at Sées, frames the head of the principal figure – all of which not only substantiates the common sources shared by the Norman Gospel Book and these insular manuscripts, but in view of the wide dissemination of these forms in Romanesque illumination also illustrates the general unreliability of such architectural comparisons in establishing precise stylistic and morphological relationships between the products of different regional schools.

- <sup>23</sup> In the first half of the twelfth century a period of decadence ensued in the once flourishing scriptorium of Mont Saint-Michel. F. Avril in M. Bourgeois-Lechartier and F. Avril, *Le scriptorium du Mont Saint-Michel*, Paris, 1967, 39. The paucity of works and the general decline in quality of Norman illumination after the turn of the century has also been noted in Dodwell, *Painting in Europe*, 89.
- <sup>24</sup> Several of these suggestions have already been examined by Tselos (»Portraits of the Evangelists,« 272ff.). In rejecting them he has proposed a derivation of the mounted Evangelists from the representations of the Four Elements on their symbolic animals. But the earliest known examples, those on the early thirteenth century Engelberg Cross, postdate the Morgan Gospel Book by a century. See E. G. Grimme, »Das Heilige Kreuz von Engelberg,« *Aachener Kunstblätter*, XXXV, 1969, 21–105, esp. 21f.; pls. 20–24, pp. 94–98. The drawing of the Elements on their animals in an astrological manuscript from Prüfening, to which Tselos compares the images of the mounted Evangelists, is also about contemporary with the Cross, according to the date of 1210–1220 proposed by Grimme (*ibid.*, 64; fig. 57, p. 63). For Erwin Panofsky's suggestion of a derivation from Oriental astrological images, already dealt with by Tselos, see also Rickert, *Painting in Britain*, 76f., 102 n. 10, with biblio.
- <sup>25</sup> As prototype for the St. John in the Morgan manuscript, Grimme (»Kreuz von Engelberg,« 68f.; 69 n. 132) has suggested an antique representation of a figure on an eagle such as that depicted in the Apotheosis of Germanicus on the cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles, traditionally believed to have been given to Saint-Evre, Toul, in the eleventh century. Like the standing Jupiter with the eagle at his feet on an antique sardonyx donated in 1367 by Charles V to the cathedral of Chartres (*Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des médailles et antiques: les pierres gravées*, Paris, 1930, 80ff.; pl. 20), the Germanicus was identified with John the Evangelist. The youth borne by the eagle may have been thought to have represented the so-called assumption of St. John. The idea of his assumption in turn seems to have been based on the belief that after his burial his body disappeared from his tomb. See P. Perdrizet, *Le calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1933, 280, and the text on the Feast of St. John in a Saint Gall manuscript, *Analecta Bollandiana*, IV, 1885, 206, as well as the account of his entombment in one of the early texts of his legend in T. Schermann, *Propbeten-Apostellegenden nebst Jünger katalogen des Dorotheus u. verwandter Texte*, Leipzig, 1907, 258. This be-

lief may also have been associated with the metaphorical references to the Evangelist aspiring to the aerial regions on the wings of the eagle, such as those contained in a ninth century poem in the Gospels of Luxeuil (*MGH, Poet. lat. medii aevi*, V, 430f.) and in a passage in a Gospel Book from Trier quoted in H. Schrade, »Zur Ikonographie der Himmelfahrt Christi,« *Bibliothek Warburg, Vorträge, 1928–1929*, 1930, 66–190, esp. 161. For related aspects of St. John and his symbol, see M. Schapiro, »Two Romanesque Drawings in Auxerre and some Iconographic Problems,« *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, 331–349, esp. 334ff. That antique gems, a collection of which were kept at Saint Alban's abbey, were highly valued in England in the thirteenth century is documented in T. Wright, *Essays on Archaeological Subjects*, London, 1861, 276f., 280ff. It is therefore not impossible that the illuminator of the Morgan manuscript may have been acquainted with an apotheosis image similar to the Germanicus (Grimme, »Kreuz von Engelberg,« 68, fig. 67) or to those on two medals illustrated in E. Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, New York, 1916, pl. IX, fig. 2, as well as with figures on other animals represented on the gems. But if so, there is no evidence that he availed himself of the logical articulation between figure and animal which pervades these classically orientated works of art. These contrasts between classical perception and the more conceptual treatment of the English Evangelists can be appreciated in the comparison made by Tselos (»Portraits of the Evangelists,« 274; figs. 36, 37) between Cybele on her lion from an antique gem and the Mark on his lion in the Morgan manuscript, in spite of other similarities. Nor is it possible to determine, in the apparent absence of any medieval illustrations of the assumption of St. John on his eagle (see Schrade, »Himmelfahrt Christi,« 161), whether or not the Evangelist in the Morgan manuscript was also intended to represent this subject.

- <sup>26</sup> R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychon*, Berlin, 1929, pls. 9–11, 16–21, 32. For the Throne of Dagobert, once at Saint-Denis and now in the Cabinet des Médailles, see Schramm and Mutherich, *Denkmale*, 137 (no. 57); 266, pl. 57.
- <sup>27</sup> British Museum, MS Add. 37768, fol. 4. That the sella in Lothair's portrait may well have been directly inspired by the Throne of Dagobert can be deduced both by an Aachen provenance for the throne, based on the similarities in certain of its details with the bronze grillwork in the Aachen chapel, as had already been tentatively suggested in P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen u. Staatsymbolik*, I, Stuttgart, 1954, 329, and the attribution of the London Psalter to the court school at Aachen proposed by Florentine Mutherich in a lecture on the Psalter at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 19, 1971.
- <sup>28</sup> Amiens, Bibl. de la Ville, MS Lescalopier 2, fol. 19<sup>v</sup> recto. The miniature is ascribed to the second artist of the manuscript who was influenced by the Winchester school. J. Porcher, *Les mss. à peintures en France du VII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Exhibition Cat., Bibl. Nat., Paris, 1954, no. 220. See also V. Leroquais, *Les Psautiers mss. latins des bibl. publiques de France*, I, Macon, 1940–1941, 16ff.; pl. 28.
- <sup>29</sup> Arras Bibl. de la Ville, MS 559, fol. 81<sup>v</sup>. Beginning of the Passion of the Macchabees. A. Boutemy, »La Bible enluminée de Saint-Vaast à Arras,« *Scriptorium*, IV, 1950, 67–81; pl. 8. S. Schulten, »Die Buchmalerei des 11. Jhts. im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras,« *Münchener Jb. der bildenden Kunst*, 3 Folge, VII, 1956, 49–90, esp. 79ff.



- <sup>30</sup> The scene is that in which Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dream. G. Gaillard, *The Frescoes of Saint-Savin: The Nave*, New York-London, 1944, pl. 15. I have subscribed to the date given the nave frescoes in M. Schapiro, *The Parma Ildelfonsus (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, XI)* 1964, 71 n. 12. Other mostly later dates proposed for the frescoes are reviewed in P. Deschamps and M. Thibout, *La peinture murale en France: le haut Moyen Age et l'époque romane*, Paris 1951, 74.
- <sup>31</sup> A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, VII, fig. 910. Little is known of the chronology of the Romanesque structure of this church after its dedication in 1099. *Dict. des Églises de France* (ed. R. Laffond), III, Sud-Ouest, n. p., 1967, III-C, 136ff.
- <sup>32</sup> R. L. Bégule, *L'église Saint-Maurice, ancienne cathédrale de Vienne*, Paris, 1914, 116, fig. 136. The capital is dated circa 1140–1150 in R. Hamann, »Das Lazarusgrab in Autun,« *Marburger Jb. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, VIII–IX, 1936, 182–328, esp. 231, fig. 165.
- <sup>33</sup> Arras, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 559, I, fol. 107. The king, on the incipit page of Paralipomenon II, can be identified as Solomon by the opening words: *Confortatus est ergo Salomon filius David* . . . Boutemy, »Bible de Saint-Vaast,« 78f.; pl. 3. The illustration is among those which, like the Antiochus, was executed for the Bible in the second quarter of the eleventh century. Schulten, »Buchmalerei St. Vaast,« 80. Some of the crowned figures on double lions on the Romanesque capitals may also have been intended as Solomon. On a much worn capital in the north transept of the Crusader church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem a crowned and winged seated king, flanked by what may be the foreparts of two lions, has been identified as Solomon on the basis of analogies with a winged seated Solomon on a nave capital in Saint-Maurice, Vienne, in C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, Text, II, Paris, 1928, 157ff.; Atlas, I, Paris, 1926, pl. 96, fig. 293.
- <sup>34</sup> Evangelists seated on an antique sella in which only one of the leonine legs is visible can be cited in the Ebbo Gospels. A. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pls. 61–69. But the ungainly lion in the Arras Bible, with its small head, would seem to be more related to the forms of the lions on the chairs as depicted in the ivory diptychs. See especially the mid sixth century diptych in Berlin; W. F. Folbach, *Early Christian Art*, New York, 1962, figs. 224, 225.
- <sup>35</sup> Fol. 47 of volume II. Both volumes have been severely mutilated. The Bible is briefly mentioned as among the manuscripts from Saint-Martin preserved at the Evêché, Sées, in Henri Omont, *Cat. génér. des mss. des bibl. publiques de France*, II, Alençon, Paris, 1887, 6 n. 6. Another David seated on twin lions occurs on the left corbel of the Porte Miègeville, Saint-Sernin, Toulouse. A. Auriol and R. Rey, *La basilique Saint-Sernin de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1930, fig. p. 118.
- <sup>36</sup> The initial in the Bible bears particular comparison with the *Q* in the Gospels of Præaux. Brit. Mus., MS Add. 11850, fol. 92. Photo: Courtauld Institute, no. 18/32(19). See also note 18.
- <sup>37</sup> Initial *D*. MS Harley 2928, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>. Professor Schapiro, to whom I am indebted for his analysis of the manuscript, as well as for the photograph of the initial, has based his attribution of the Diurnal to Solignac on the inclusion in the Calendar (fols. 1–3<sup>v</sup>) of the feast of St. Théau (Tillo), a local saint of Solignac.
- <sup>38</sup> The crouching attitude of the animal seems to be the result of a predilection on the part of the illuminator for crouching and supine figures, as can be observed in two other initials, in one of which he has placed a prone man beneath the feet of a Christ in Majesty (fol. 74<sup>v</sup>), in the other a small crouching scribe bending over under the feet of a seated king (fol. 19<sup>v</sup>).
- <sup>39</sup> For the relief at Beaulieu en Corrèze (photo: Archives Photo.: no. MH 89890), see E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, »Beaulieu,« *Congrès archéol. Limoges*, LXXIV, 1921, 366–394, esp. 379; for Ydes (Cantal), see R. Rey, *La sculpt. romane languedocienne*, Toulouse-Paris, 1936, 275f.; 277, fig. 201. To the list of figures seated on single lions may be added the two women on the right corbel of the Porte Miègeville and their counterparts in the spandrel relief below St. James, interpreted as Personifications of Pride in A. M. Cetto, »Explications de la Porte Miègeville de Saint-Sernin à Toulouse,« *Actes du 17<sup>e</sup> Congrès Intern'l de l'Art, Amsterdam, 23–31 Juillet, 1952*, The Hague, 1955, 147–158, esp. 152, fig. 5.
- <sup>40</sup> Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Hist., inv. no. 1483. The analogy with a lectern is most evident in John's eagle perched, not on a cloud, but on a globe. A. von Euw in *Rhein u. Maas*, 222 (no. F 12) with fig.
- <sup>41</sup> Avranches, Bibl. Mun., MS 75, fol. A<sup>v</sup>. The manuscript is dated between 1040 and 1055 in Alexander, *Norman Illumination*, 110, 218; pl. 29a.
- <sup>42</sup> The ultimate prototype of the St. Augustine can be recognized in the St. Matthew in the Anglo-Saxon Trinity Gospels. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS B. 10. 4, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>. See Alexander, *Norman Illumination*, 110 and n. 3.
- <sup>43</sup> Paris, Bibl. de l' Arsenal, MS 591, fol. 75<sup>v</sup>, St. Mark (H. Martin, *Les peintures des mss. et la miniature en France*, Paris, 1909(?), 13; fig. 4); fol. 118<sup>v</sup>, St. Luke; fol. 185<sup>v</sup>, St. John (H. Martin and P. Lauer, *Les principaux mss. à peintures de la bibl. de l' Arsenal à Paris*, Paris, 1929, 13ff.; pl. 5). The symbols of Mark and Luke, seated on their haunches, can be compared to the winged lion sitting next to St. Mark in a Gospel Book of circa 1050, stemming probably from Le Cateau in the region of Cambrai. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 19, fol. 41. Alexander and Cahn, »Gospel Book from Le Cateau,« pl. 20.
- <sup>44</sup> MS 591, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>. Photo: Liebaert, 817. By the 1170s in the Gospel Book of Henry the Lion (Gmunden, Coll. of the Duke of Cumberland, fols. 21<sup>v</sup>, 75<sup>v</sup>, 113<sup>v</sup>, 172<sup>v</sup>) the theme of the animalia holding the author's writing materials becomes regularized, with each of the four symbols proffering the Evangelist his tablet, the angel in the attitude of a kneeling acolyte. F. Jansen, *Die Helmarshausener Buchmalerei zur Zeit Heinrichs des Löwen*, Hildesheim, 1933, 61ff.; figs. 17–22.
- <sup>45</sup> The motif had already been anticipated in a small animal head holding Matthew's inkhorn in a Gospel Book now at Amiens (Bibl. de la Ville, MS Lescaulier 5, fol. 11), assigned to the tenth century by A. Boutemy in *Scriptorium*, III, 1949, 114. An early Mosan example of this motif may be cited in the small dragon on the lectern who holds the inkhorn for Matthew in the mid eleventh century Gospels attributed, without substantiation, to the abbey of Gembloux. Brussels, Bibl. Roy., MS 5573, fol. 10<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 20). C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux mss. à peintures de la Bibl. Roy. de Belgique*, Paris, 1937, 49ff.

- 46 P. Verdier, »La Grande Croix de l'abbé Suger à Saint-Denis,« *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, XIII, 1970, 1–26, esp. 13ff., and Verdier's résumé of the article in »What do we know of the Great Cross of Suger in Saint-Denis,« *Gesta*, IX, 1970, 12–15, esp. 14.
- 47 Tselos, »Portraits of the Evangelists,« 274f. For details of the cross, see Grimme, »Kreuz von Engleberg,« pls. 7–11 (Evangelists), pls. 20–24 (Elements).
- 48 As Tselos (»Evangelist Portraits,« 276) has indicated, the Evangelists do not correspond in each instance to the same Elements with which they are equated in the literary source on which this allegorical interpretation is based. Grimme (»Kreuz von Engleberg,« 69) relates the Elements to the theme of the Crucifixion when at the moment of Christ's death the cross became the center of the universe. A connection with the Crucifixion would indeed seem applicable, since the Four Elements on the Saint-Denis Cross are described both by Suger and in the inscription on the pillar as filled with dismay and sorrow at the death of Christ. Verdier, *Gesta*, 14f.
- 49 For this famous Mosan work from Saint-Bertin, now in the Musée de la Ville, Saint-Omer, see D. Kötzsche in *Rhein u. Maas*, 254, (no. G 17), pl. p. 255, here dated between 1160 and 1170.
- 50 Both the Evangelists and the Rivers are identified by inscriptions. O. van Falke and E. Meyer, *Romanische Leuchter u. Gefässe: Giesgefäße der Gotik*, Berlin, 1935, no. 184; pls. 63–64, figs. 148 a–c. A similar cross base from Lüneburg is in the Kestner Museum, Hannover. *Ibid.*, no. 138; pl. 62, figs. 147 a–c. See also the Rivers of Paradise beneath the medallions framing the Evangelists in the Uta Codex, the symbols in a complementary position above the authors. P. Bloch and H. Schnitzler, *Die ottonische Kölner Malerschule*, II, Düsseldorf, 1970, figs. 402, 413, 429, 441 after p. 112.
- 51 R. B. Green, »Ex Ungue Leonem,« *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky (De Artibus Opuscula*, XI), New York, 1961, 157–169, esp. 165.
- 52 Copenhagen, Gl. Kongl. Saml., MS 11.20, fols. 43, 63. M. Mackeprang, *Greek and Latin Illuminated Mss. in Danish Collections*, Copenhagen-London, 1921, 24ff.; pls. 40, 41. The manuscript is dated circa 1250, from Saxony, in *Gylene Böcker: Illuminerade medeltida handskrifter i dansk och svensk ägo*, Exhibition Catalogue, National Museum, Stockholm, 1952, no. 31. Another instance of an Evangelist above his symbol may be cited in the margin of a canon table in the eleventh century Gospels from Saint-Vaast (Boulogne, Bibl. Mun., MS 9, fol. 12) where Mark is seated high above his lion, to whom he is joined by a long descending scroll. Alexander and Cahn (»Gospel Book from Le Cateau,« 253) have suggested that this image may in turn have been derived from an Evangelist Portrait in an Anglo-Saxon Gospel Book.
- 53 As an alternative approach, a separate meaning attached to each of the mounted Evangelists might be considered. But in my own survey of the medieval commentaries on the Evangelists the only literary references which might be applied to a mounted author which I have found are those related to St. John born upwards by his eagle. See note 25.
- 54 But the fountainhead of this theologically inspired art, it must be recalled, resides primarily in the illustrations of the early eleventh century Uta Codex, which includes as well a series of allegories based on the quaternaries. See note 50.
- 55 H. Schrade, *Die romanische Malerei: Ihre Maiestas*, Cologne, 1963, 32.
- 56 Among the more aggressive symbols may be noted the well-known barking lion hurtling toward St. Mark in the eleventh century Gospels of Corbie (Amiens, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 24, fol. 53; J. Porcher, *French Medieval Miniatures*, New York, 1960, pl. 22, but attributed to Cambrai in Dodwell, *Painting in Europe*, 85) and the haughty eagle grasping the head and eyes of St. John with his talons in the early twelfth century Bible of Stephen Harding (Dijon, Bibl. Mun., MS 15, fol. 56<sup>v</sup>; C. Oursel, *La miniature du 12<sup>e</sup> s. à l'abbaye de Cîteaux*, Dijon, 1926, pl. 17), cited by Schrade (*Romanische Malerei*, 32). Various phases in the relationship of the symbol to the Evangelist, from the emblematic type toward closer contact with the author, are well exemplified in the eleventh century portraits illustrated in Bloch and Schnitzler, *Ottomische Malerschule*, II, figs. 485–488, 578–589, 602–605 (emblematic type, separated from the author below by a horizontal transom), 590–597 (descending from above toward the author's head), 617–619 (leaping from the side toward the author), 622–626 (above the author, holding one end of the descending scroll on which he is writing), 598–601 (grasping the author's halo).
- 57 St. Matthew, Cambridge, Pembroke College Library, MS 301, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>. M. R. James, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Mss. in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, 263ff.; unnumbered pl. after p. 264; St. John, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McLean 19, fol. 91. Alexander and Cahn, »Gospel Book from Le Cateau,« pl. 22b.
- 58 G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1913, pl. 107, fig. 361; pl. 108, figs. 364, 365.
- 59 See note 42.
- 60 Initial C, St. Jerome, *In Isaïam*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 717, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>. Rickert, *Painting in Britain*, 57; pl. 56, fig. A, where the stylistic links with Norman illumination, also noted in Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, 117, would seem to indicate a Norman origin for the manuscript. The forms of the little dragons twisted around the frame of the initial may have originated in the serpent-like dragons twined around the stems of the lecterns in the eleventh century Bavarian Gospels Books, a motif seemingly invented circa 1030 by the founder of this prolific school. E. F. Bange, *Eine Bayerische Malerschule des XI. u. XII. Jhts.*, Munich, 1923, 19.
- 61 Lille, Bibl. Mun., MS 479(33), fol. 87. H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, (2nd ed.), Chicago-London, 1967, 53; pl. 84, fig. 196, where the manuscript is unexplainably dated circa 1050! See also Porcher, *Mss. à peintures en France*, no. 182. What may possibly be a later instance of a mounted Evangelist occurs on the south facade of the east transept of the cathedral at Trani in an isolated relief of two addorsed and seated barefooted men, one of whom is bearded and appears to be distortedly resting on an ox. Labeled Luke and John in Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, III, figs. 240, 241, the identity of these figures as Evangelist, in the absence of inscriptions, and without haloes or their customary books or scrolls, can only remain highly conjectural. The relief is ascribed to a follower of Antelami in A. Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, III, *L'Arte Romanica*, Milan, 1904, 663; 671, fig. 627. See also R. Toesca, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, I, *Il Medioevo*, II, Torino, 1927, 602, fig. 383.
- 62 I am preparing a study of the Cysoing Gospels and the sources of the miniatures.