

The Shrine of the Virgin in Tournai, I: Its Restorations and State of Conservation*

by Rebecca Price Gowen

The Shrine of the Virgin in the Treasury of Tournai Cathedral is a richly-decorated reliquary whose inscription informs us it was completed in the year 1205 by the master-goldsmith, Nicholas of Verdun¹. This hipped-roof shrine bears on its four sides fourteen silver gilt repoussé scenes from which the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 1) is singled out at the front² and the *Christ-Enthroned* (Fig. 13) at the rear of the shrine. An Infancy cycle begins in the arcaded niches of the right side (Fig. 17) and continues on the left (Fig. 33); scenes of the Passion and Resurrection fill the roundels in the roofs above busts of Prophets and Angels in the spandrels.

Within the past decade, this shrine has become a pivotal monument for the art of its time³, the stylistic era only recently defined as "Style 1200"⁴. Its elevation to this status accompanied the growing eminence of the pioneering spirit of "Style 1200", Nicholas of Verdun: the Shrine of the Virgin is believed to be the latest known signed work in the artist's oeuvre⁵. Paradoxically, the tenor of critical commentary on the shrine has remained uniformly uninformative. Evaluation of the shrine's overall stylistic character, for example, has become dependent on analysis of only two of its fourteen figured scenes⁶. This deviant methodology has been coerced by the prevailing uncertainty regarding the shrine's actual state of conservation. Belated recognition of this essential problem came in 1971, when Sauerländer admitted the futility of speculation concerning the shrine and its author, pending a modern, technical conservation report⁷. So prompted, mistrust of the shrine's present condition has recently extended even to the authenticity of its shape and inscription⁸, accentuating the problematic nature of the Shrine of the Virgin at the expense of its importance⁹.

Short of a full-scale demounting of the shrine's decoration and subsequent technical analysis of its components, the field for the investigation of the shrine's conservation indeed has been extraordinarily barren until recently. Restoration literature was limited to the reports on the 1889–90 restoration by Louis Cloquet¹⁰, its director, and Canon Léon Huguet¹¹, both of whom fail to provide the kind of detailed, accurate information demanded by modern art-historians. Nineteenth-century essays by local lovers of Tournaisien art¹² could be found to supplement the pre-restoration photographs of the shrine, published by Cloquet (Figs. 5, 15, 18)¹³ and elsewhere (Figs. 4, 16, 24, 34)¹⁴, but clarity is not a strong point in either text or photograph. A single primary document, the seventeenth-century copy of the shrine's inscriptions by Canon DuChambge, was known to exist¹⁵, but could contribute little to the central problem of the shrine's present state of conservation.

The discovery of documents on the subject of the 1889–90 restoration has radically altered this state of affairs. These, and others subsequently retrieved, have been summarily compiled and analyzed in the Appendix to this study (Docs. 1–45). They permit for the first time a reconstruction of the shrine's history of restorations (Part 1) and form the basis from which a firmer outline of the conservation of the shrine's figured imagery (Part 2) and ornament (Part 3) can be presented¹⁶. From this, certain conclusions regarding the shrine's formal composition (Part 4) can be drawn. Because this is a preliminary report, specific aspects of style and iconography will be sketched only as they relate to restoration data presented. Even so, sufficient evidence can be mustered here to re-affirm without qualification the shrine's primary significance in the career of Nicholas of Verdun.



Fig. 1
Adoration of the Magi, Shrine of the Virgin (Front), Tournai Cath., c. 1205 (Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

1. History of Restorations

There have been three restorations of the Shrine of the Virgin since its construction, and possibly as many as four. The first restoration, datable to 1350–75, can be substantiated by historical, stylistic,

and iconographical evidence. A second may have occurred in the seventeenth century (Doc. 2) although this is no longer subject to validation. Two restorations took place in the nineteenth century: a previously unsuspected campaign in 1812 (Docs. 3–6)¹⁷, and the restoration of 1889–90

(Docs. 7–45)¹⁸. Products of the three confirmed restorations remain on the shrine, making it living testimony to the differences between fourteenth- and nineteenth-century attitudes and approaches towards restoration.

The 1350–75 restoration, perhaps occasioned by damages inflicted c. 1340 or thereabouts¹⁹, was the most far-reaching prior to 1889. It apparently affected only the shrine's reliefs²⁰: the *Flagellation* in the roof was completely replaced; portions of the adjacent *Crucifixion* were repaired; the *Nativity* was reconstituted to conform to a new iconography; and all but one of the figures in the *Adoration of the Magi* niche were reconstructed. Seemingly conscious of the shrine's material and iconographic integrity – despite the revamping of the *Nativity* – the restorers employed only silver gilt repoussé in their renovations. They also refrained from the interpolation of scenes foreign to the shrine's original program, and even sought to preserve within the damaged reliefs those elements which had not sustained irreversible injury (cf. Figs. 2, 27).

Three centuries later, the Cathedral Chapter authorized a cleaning of the shrine in 1662 (Doc. 2). At that time, “to clean” (*mundare*) may have been understood in the broader sense of restoration²¹. Unfortunately, nothing beyond the document remains to confirm either restoration or cleaning in the latter half of the seventeenth century²².

The 1812 campaign of restoration (Docs. 3–6) was undoubtedly prompted by the shrine's deterioration as a consequence of some 500 years of stress and accumulated injuries²³. There is little, however, to indicate its actual condition when work commenced in July of 1812. Enamelwork and inscription bands missing by 1889 might have been lost as early as the fourteenth century, or possibly sometime after 1629–38²⁴. On the other hand, one cannot discount the unhappy possibility that such lacunae might have been thoughtlessly created in the course of that restoration. Brazen insensitivity to surviving decoration seems to have characterized these early nineteenth-century restorers. For example, they haphazardly reworked extant fragments of the *Incredulity of Thomas* into a *Noli me Tangere* pastiche, and then arbitrarily substituted for the former a relief depicting the *Crowning of Thorns* (cf. Figs. 18, 34).

A prime objective of the 1812 restoration was to disguise the shrine's dilapidation with a superficial mask of gilt paint²⁵. This attention to the uniformity

of the shrine's complexion, spurious though it was, did not extend to the employment of materials compatible with the shrine. Upon completion of the restoration, the shrine's original fabric had been supplemented by ornament and reliefs executed in wood, plaster, wax, and an assortment of metals²⁶. The goldsmith, painter/sculptor, and woodworker responsible for this motley assemblage not only sought inexpensive materials, but selected those which could be worked most expediently. In fact, the campaign was hastily concluded in little over six months, during which time the Shrine of St. Eleutherius, traditional pendant to the Shrine of the Virgin since c. 1247, was also restored²⁷!

The 1812 restoration certainly suffers by comparison with modern conservation methods – and even with what we know of the fourteenth-century restoration. Nevertheless, its effects were greeted with enthusiasm, the Cathedral Chapter and townspeople urging the return of both newly-restored shrines to the altar where they would serve “beaucoup à l'embellissement du chœur” (Doc. 6). In the course of the nineteenth century, approbation had evaporated²⁸, becoming bewilderment in the case of Louis Cloquet, director of the shrine's last restoration in 1889–90 (Docs. 7–45)²⁹. Assigning to the eighteenth century those reliefs added in 1812³⁰, he reveals how quickly memory of that earlier restoration had been buried in the intervening decades.

The completion of Cloquet's sweeping restoration met with congratulatory responses³¹, for critical reaction did not set in until 1923³². Today, over 80 years later, it remains as difficult to applaud Cloquet's accomplishment as it was for him to praise the efforts of his predecessors. Modern criticism should take into account, however, his practical and theoretical departures from the 1812 approach to restoration. Most of his work cannot be faulted in terms of material or motif³³. In addition, he was well aware of the art-historical significance even then attaching to Nicholas of Verdun – a perception unshared by previous restorers³⁴.

Nevertheless, Cloquet embraced the motivating principles of a nineteenth-century antiquarian³⁵. He directed his attention not towards the renewal of the shrine's authentic thirteenth-century condition, but rather towards its summary refurbishment as a physically complete monument: “l'important est de restituer l'aspect de l'ensemble”, he said regarding the restoration of ornament, “pour pouvoir mettre à découvert, sans lacune sensible, l'ouvrage

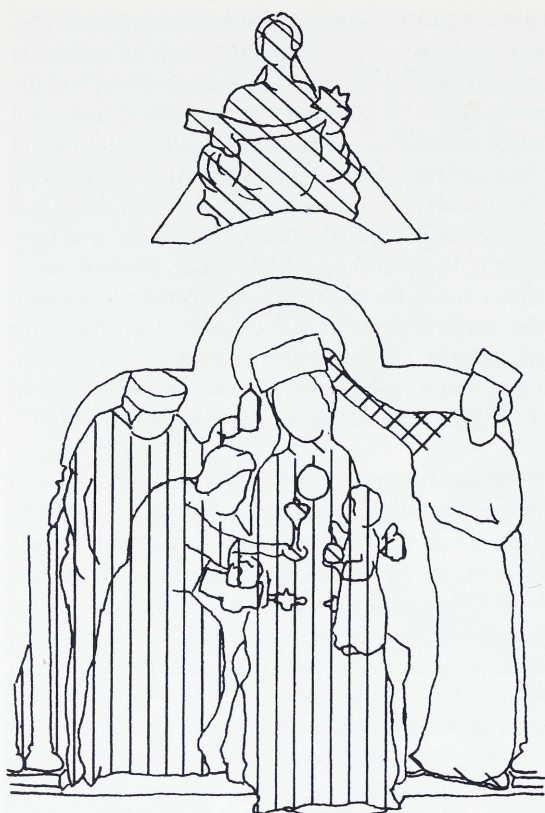


Fig. 2
Restorations of the Adoration of the Magi (Key: Fig. 3)

du fameux émailleur du moyen âge” (Doc. 14). Had Cloquet not filled those holes, the distinction between “old” and “new” might not be so blurred, nor the tangle of restoration shrouding the Shrine of the Virgin so difficult to unravel.

Cloquet’s determination to shape the shrine to his own vision of a medieval reliquary is evidenced by his initial impulses towards restoration which were later set aside. For example, he resolved at the outset to reconstitute those inscriptions absent from both the shrine and the seventeenth-century transcript (Doc. 1), although no evidence existed for their original content³⁶. In the end, such interpolation was limited to one word (*maculavit*) on the arch of the *Baptism* niche. Similarly, he proposed the creation of enamel grounds for the reliefs within the roof roundels³⁷. During the campaign, however, he apparently became convinced of the propriety of maintaining unadorned gilt grounds as exemplified in the intact *Maries at the Tomb* and *Descent into Limbo* reliefs. For his reconstruction of the *Christ-Enthroned*, on the other hand, Cloquet

searched diligently for proper precedents; unfortunately, his search ranged too far afield, with the result that the *Christ-Enthroned* today represents an iconography unheard of in the Middle Ages³⁸.

Not all his efforts need be rebuked. In technical execution of the shrine’s new ornamentation, Cloquet and his artists excelled in painstaking care – hardly the slap-dash treatment accorded in 1812. Conscious that “à faire les choses hâtivement, on

Fig. 3
Key to the Restoration Drawings.

1350–1375 Restoration	
1350–1375 Reworking	
1812 Restoration	
1889/90 Restoration	
1889/90 Reworking	

pourrait compromettre la bonne exécution” (Doc. 21), he planned to use the time-consuming process of mercury-gilding in restoration, a technique used during the Middle Ages³⁹. Both technical and artistic expertise combined to give the new colonnettes added during restoration an identity with the originals that renders them all but indistinguishable from their prototypes. Constrained by financial considerations from using genuine enamel, he ordered “false” *champlevé* and *cloisonné* enamels to be composed so that vitreous enamel could be substituted at a later date⁴⁰. Furthermore, their designs are entirely consistent with the ornamental vocabulary of the shrine, for Cloquet consciously employed preserved motifs, and sought among comparable shrines for those motifs not provided by surviving ornament⁴¹. On the other hand, the “cold” enamel repair of the surviving *champlevé* enamels in the spandrels and niches of the shrine’s left side has since deteriorated⁴², and so marks the single discordant note in an otherwise commendable restoration of the shrine’s ornamental frame.



CHÂSSE DE NOTRE-DAME DE TOURNAI.

Fig. 4
Adoration of the Magi, Condition in 1872
(Photo: after Liénard 1872, fig. on 114)

The shrine's reliefs were less successfully renovated. Most of the new work, whose models were conceived by Benoît Van Uytvanck, "imagier et menuisier" in Louvain, and successors in Ghent, reflects perceptive study of original relief forms⁴³. In contrast, the work assigned to François Mondo, Cloquet's master-goldsmith in Tournai, betrays his astonishing blindness – not to say near indifference – to the compositional integrity of groups such as the *Annunciation* and *Visitation*.

2. State of Conservation: The Figured Elements

Of the fourteen reliefs on the shrine, nine are substantially preserved: restoration has replaced the original reliefs of the *Flagellation* (1350–75) and *Noli me Tangere* (1890–90) and extensively affected the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Nativity* (both in 1350–75) as well as the *Incredulity of Thomas* (1889–90). The reliefs in the niches on the left side are far better preserved than are those in the other niches and in the roof medallions. After restoring the left side, Cloquet remarked that the remaining reliefs "soulèvent de multiples problèmes que j'espère pouvoir résoudre; ils sont dans un état beaucoup plus délabré que ceux qui sont déjà restaurés, mais

plus remarquables et singulièrement intéressants" (Doc. 21). Indeed, prior to 1889 the groups in the niches on the right side were in singular disarray (Figs. 18, 24)⁴⁴, and had thereby provoked the first acknowledgment that restoration of the shrine had occurred at some time in the past⁴⁵.

Adoration of the Magi (Figs. 1, 2)

All the figures presently in the scene of the *Adoration of the Magi* were found in situ in 1889, with the exception of the angel in the roof above (Figs. 4, 5). This angel, the product of the 1889–90 campaign⁴⁶, holds a shooting star invented by Cloquet to give meaning to the pointing arm of the King standing below at the right. Though he believed it to lend the angel its proper significance in this scene⁴⁷, the star was misplaced; it belongs in the angel's right hand if it is to correspond accurately to the King's gesture.

The King's extended arm was restored in 1889–90 (replacing the earlier plaster version) as were his

Fig. 5
Adoration of the Magi, Condition before Restoration in 1889–90
(Photo: after Cloquet 1892, fig. on 311)





Fig. 6
Virgin and Child, by the ›Master of the Mosan Madonnas
 in Marble‹, Antwerp, Mus. van den Bergh, c. 1350
 (Photo: after Cologne|Brussels 1972, I, no. 0–9, fig. on 381)

feet⁴⁸. The replacement of the latter was ill-considered, however. The new right foot juts forward to correctly complement the leg's bowed tension, but its opposite has been reconstructed too far to the left, causing the leg to acquire a rubbery curve incompatible with its originally taut, weight-bearing function. The resulting concavity is not offset by the King's thrusting upper torso. Consequently, the figure seems to depend, in effect if not in fact, on the capital of the adjoining colonnette. Proper restoration was perhaps restricted by the concurrent addition of a third colonnette to the shrine's corner, which appreciably reduced spatial freedom for the young King⁴⁹. Since the shrine's

original architectural design almost certainly included a triad of colonnettes at the corners (Part 4), it seems likely that the figure originally faced the central Virgin more directly; by so utilizing more of the given "stage" space in front of the wall, the connection between leg and foot would not have been necessarily so disjointed.

Restorations and repairs in 1889–90 to the seated Virgin and standing Child included a repair of the Virgin's neck⁵⁰ and the removal of the scepter found in her left hand⁵¹. (The cloisonné enamel medallion on her mantle was retained, for it was understood at that time to be of early Byzantine provenance⁵².) The Child's left hand was replaced⁵³ and the globe held in that hand added⁵⁴, as were the two stubby flat feet now protruding from beneath the Child's robes⁵⁵.

The *Adoration of the Magi* – particularly the central Virgin and Child – was formerly considered "ravisant au premier chef", the *pièce de résistance* of Nicholas of Verdun's artistry⁵⁶. It is now accepted that the pair constitutes a fourteenth-century reconstruction⁵⁷. Indeed, evidence suggests that not only were the Virgin and Child reconstructed in that century, but the two Magi at the left as well.

The Virgin provides the *terminus post quem*, c. 1350, for this fourteenth-century restoration campaign, as comparison with a mid-fourteenth century marble Virgin and Child in Antwerp indicates (Fig. 6)⁵⁸. Both females betray the same narrow chest and drooping shoulders; gentle but insistent folds rising over the slightly rounded stomach beneath the belt; plate-like layers of drapery across the chest and over the knees; heavy and deep "V"-folds between the knees; the right leg framed by two folds and the left hidden by a complex series of "S"-folds above the pointed shoe. The standing Child can also be dated 1350–75, for the figure's immobility and the rigidity of the drapery configuration complement the brittle body of the Virgin.

The Virgin's head apparently had not been damaged as irreparably as the body, and the fourteenth-century restorers chose to preserve it. This is borne out in comparison with the surviving head of the annunciate Virgin (Figs. 7–8). Both bear the features characteristic of most female heads on the shrine: heavily swelling underlids; smooth, weighty, almost pendulous cheeks, mouths clearly defined by a full underlip and a long, deeply-bowed upper lip⁵⁹. The repair effected in 1889–90 to the



Fig. 7
Virgin, det. of the Adoration of the Magi
(*Fig. 1; Photo: author*)



Fig. 9
Virgin, det. of the Nativity
(*Fig. 26; Photo: author*)

Fig. 8
Virgin, det. of the Annunciation
(*Fig. 19; Photo: author*)



Fig. 10
Det. of Maries as the Tomb
(*Fig. 46; Photo: author*)





Fig. 11
Two Magi, det. of the *Adoration of the Magi*
(Fig. 1; Photo: author)

Virgin's neck would therefore have been occasioned by deterioration of the fourteenth-century patch joining the preserved head to the reconstructed body⁶⁰.

Fig. 12
Joseph, det. of the *Flight into Egypt*
(Fig. 35; Photo: author)



The necks of both Magi at the left have also been repaired⁶¹. The obvious conclusion – that such decomposition signals the juncture of original heads⁶² with reconstructed bodies – can be easily substantiated. The heads of the Magi (Fig. 11) bear no resemblance to the cramped features of the centurions in the *Flagellation* of 1350–75 (Fig. 52), nor to the uncouth countenance of Christ in that relief, but instead share with the surviving head of Joseph in the *Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 12) an expressive facial mobility and a naturalistic flare of carefully-contrived beards that betray comparable conception, if not execution by one and the same hand⁶³.

Although specific fourteenth-century models for the reconstruction⁶⁴ of the bodies of these two Magi have not yet been identified, it can be shown that both date to the period 1350–75. The “modern” attire clothing the Magus at the far left – a short tunic, belted at the hip, with serrated hem, and a long cape thrown over the shoulders – is a feature appearing in fourteenth-century Adoration imagery⁶⁵; its employment to distinguish the one King from his companions is not at all common in twelfth- and thirteenth-century versions⁶⁶. The contrast was clearly sought in this instance, for the two Magi at the left can only have been fashioned at the same time: they form a closely-knit, completely interdependent pair whose relief is bound to the wall in a manner unparalleled in the treatment of the shrine's original reliefs⁶⁷. Their construction can be identified with that of the Virgin and Child, moreover, for the arm of the genuflecting King, one as rigid and severe as the Virgin's, extends from a sleeve bordered by engraved cross-hatching identical to banding on the Virgin's sleeve and mantle⁶⁸.

Christ-Enthroned (Figs. 13–14)

At the other end of the shrine, the three figures surrounding the enthroned Christ are all essentially preserved, although only Christ and the angel standing at the right were found in situ in 1889 (Figs. 15–16)⁶⁹. The subsequent return of the two displaced angels was determined by their common disposition with one hand veiled and the other exposed⁷⁰. Seeing the central seated figure as a “Christ souffrant”⁷¹, Cloquet decided to complete the scene by inserting Instruments and Relics of the Passion – the lance, sponge, four nails, cross,

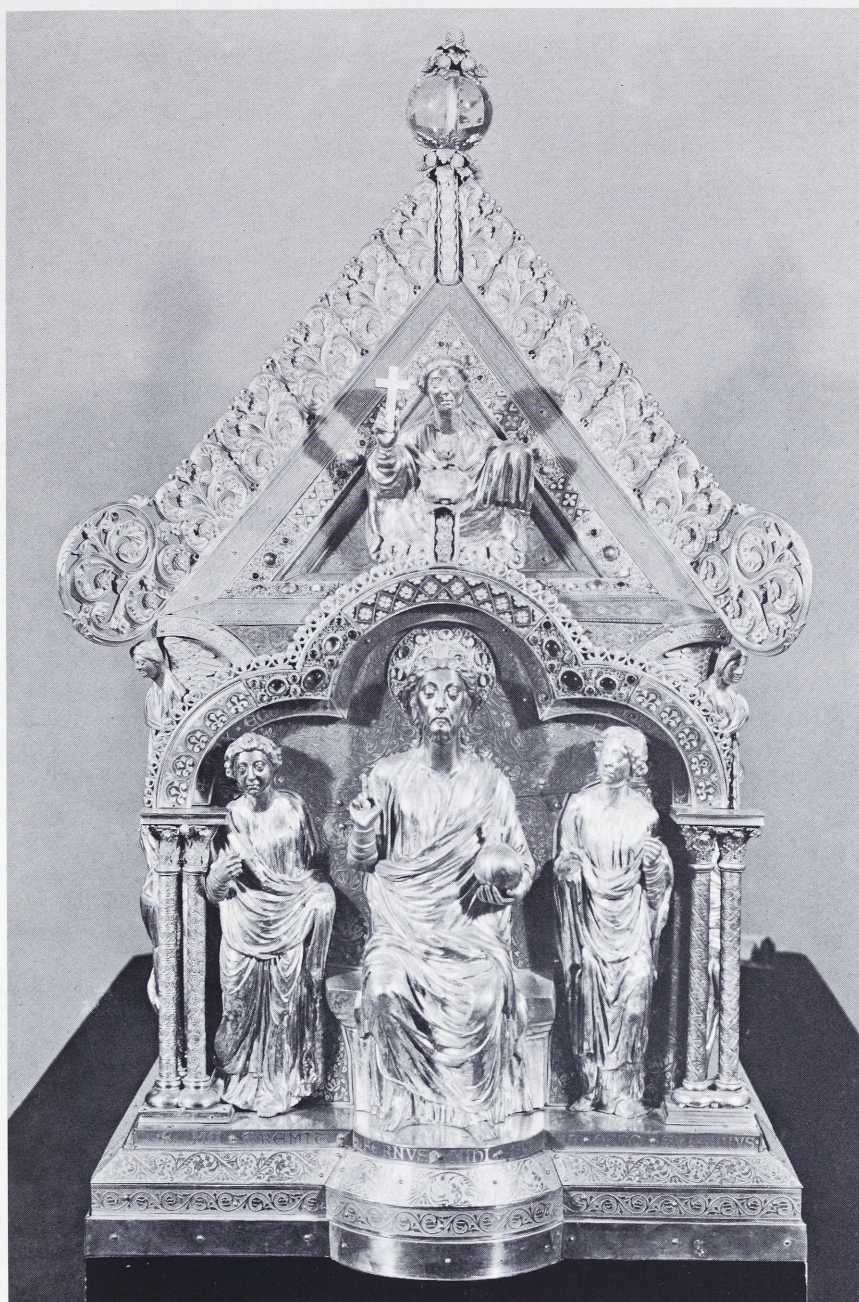


Fig. 13
Christ-Enthroned, Shrine of the Virgin (Rear), Tournai Cath., c. 1205
 (Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

and crown of thorns⁷² – theoretically chosen from Nicholas of Verdun's *Iudicium Sedit* scene on the Klosterneuberg altar⁷³.

Materially and iconographically, the enthroned Christ has suffered from extensive restoration. In

1812, paw-like plaster arms were appended and the upper torso was plastered over⁷⁴. These areas and Christ's feet were refashioned in 1889–90 as part of Cloquet's vision of a beneficent Lord, who raises his right arm in benediction while his left holds the cross-surmounted globe (also added in 1889–90).⁷⁵

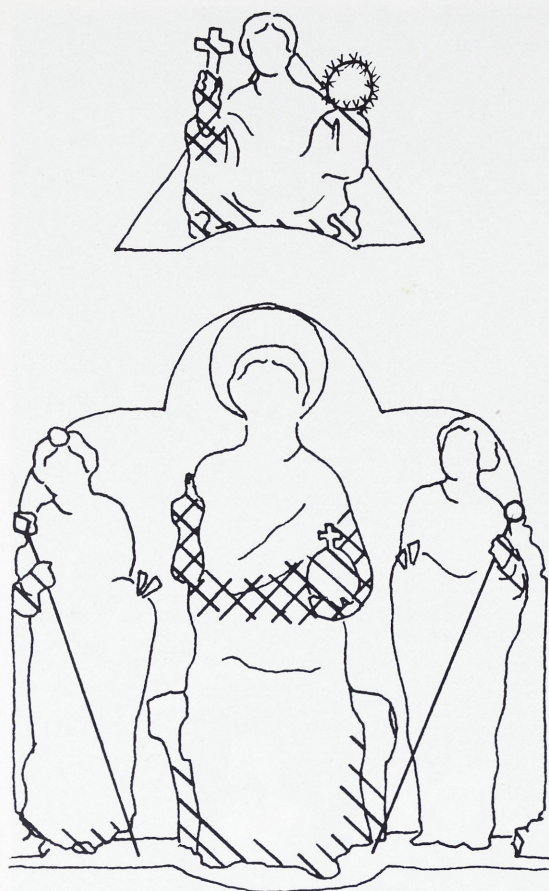


Fig. 14
Restorations of the *Christ-Enthroned*
(Key: Fig. 3)

Reflecting only Cloquet's curiously random choice of precedents⁷⁶, this scene's iconographical composition is untenable in terms of traditional imagery. Instead of the customary juxtaposition of angels bearing *arma Christi* with a Christ-Judge displaying the five wounds inflicted by the lance and nails⁷⁷, the scene depicts their confrontation with a *Majestas* of benevolently regal cast – hardly “souffrant”. This extraordinary pastiche has never raised art-historical eyebrows⁷⁸.

Annunciation (Figs. 19–20)

On the right side of the shrine (Fig. 17), the figures of Mary and Gabriel in the *Annunciation* have survived relatively intact. The scene had to be re-

trieved in 1889–90, for the pair had been separated in different niches (Figs. 18, 24); the insertion of the angel above – an 1889–90 copy of an 1812 bust found in the spandrel at the right of the *Visitation*⁷⁹ – was undoubtedly prompted by the *Ave Maria* engraved on its scroll, despite its gaze towards the wrong protagonist.

Restoration involved the straightforward replacement of the Virgin's hands and feet as well as Gabriel's right arm⁸⁰ and feet⁸¹. The latter restoration has done violence to the scene's composition and expressive force. Placement of the new feet on a plate angling upwards towards the back wall has fixed the angel's right foot above the niche floor. While intended to express Gabriel's imminent descent, this interpretation fails to take into account the fact that the angels in the *Christ-Enthroned* and *Baptism* niches are represented in absolutely down-to-earth terms⁸². In fact, rather than realizing the dynamism sought, the new construction has only weakened the figure by exaggerating the instability implicit in the flexed knees. The angel does not even hover, for balance has been destroyed in shifting the center of gravity too far to the right.

Fig. 15
Christ-Enthroned, Condition before
Restoration in 1889–90
(Photo: after Cloquet 1892, fig. on 313)





Fig. 16
Christ-Enthroned, Condition before Restoration in 1889–90
 (Photo: after Falke 1905, fig. 6)

Were the feet reconstructed to align properly with the ground (Fig. 21), Gabriel could re-assume the original role of dynamic messenger – but in forward motion, not descent. By re-infusing the figure with the momentum which creates the energetic swirl of draperies, the forceful immediacy of the momentous encounter between the Virgin and Gabriel is once again apparent⁸³.

Visitation (Figs. 22–3)

Evincing prior repair⁸⁴, the Virgin and Elizabeth were found in situ in 1889 in the company of the annunciate Virgin (Fig. 24). They were then subjected to one of the most perceptibly maladroite restorations of the 1889–90 campaign. Mondo's application of three incongruously large and

clumsy hands and the misconceived replacement of Elizabeth's left foot have patently distorted Elizabeth and the significance of the group in its entirety⁸⁵. Resting her weight on her right leg, Elizabeth turns with inordinate awkwardness towards Mary. Her graceless twist stems from the joining of her free leg, whose hip is raised in making the turn, to a foot placed unnaturalistically flat on the floor. Elizabeth's movement is all but identical to that of John the Baptist (Fig. 39), whose composition illuminates the organic dysfunction incurred by the restoration of Elizabeth's foot. Were the foot reconstructed so that its elevation leaves only the toes touching the floor, and the figure rebalanced on the right leg as the pre-restoration photograph indicated (Fig. 24), Elizabeth's torsion would again become organically intelligible.

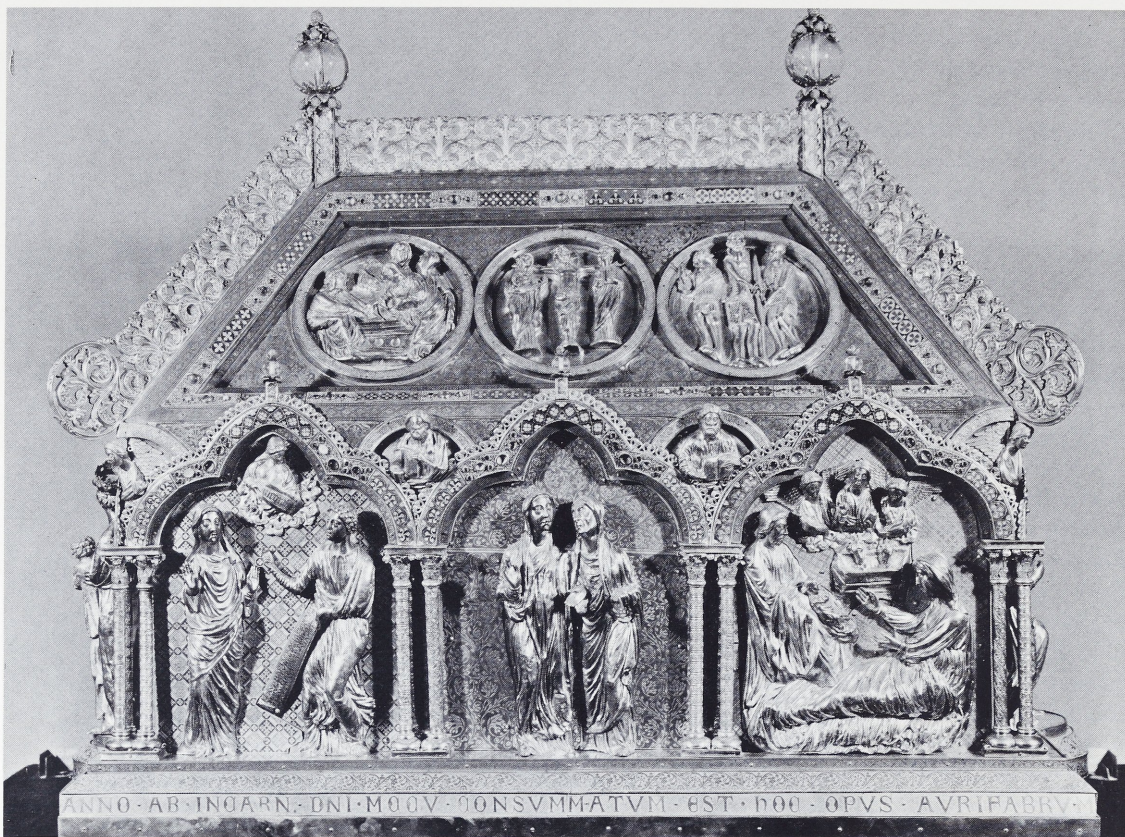


Fig. 17

Right Side, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath., c. 1205 (Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

Roof: Maries at the Tomb, Crucifixion, Flagellation; Niches: Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity

Fig. 18

Right Side, Condition before Restoration in 1889–90 (Photo: after Cloquet 1892, fig. on 317).

Roof: Maries at the Tomb, Crucifixion, Noli me Tangere; Niches: Annunciation with angel from Christ -Enthroned, Visitation with annunciate Virgin, Nativity

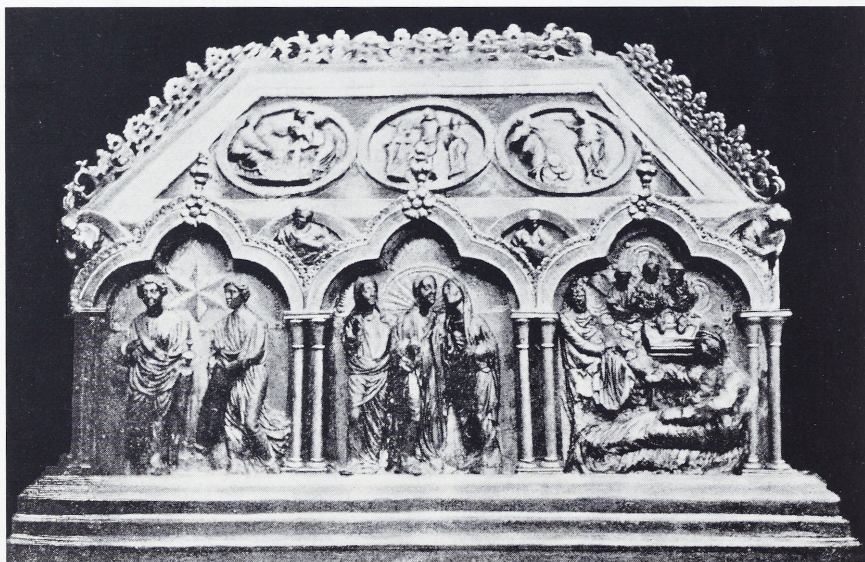




Fig. 19
Annunciation, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
 (Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

Mondo's indifference to surviving forms also marks his heedless distribution of the three disproportionate hands, which has confounded the appearance of the draperies. The Virgin's mantle now seems to terminate immediately beneath her right forearm, instead of winding up and over the arm. Elizabeth's mantle not only moves in a reverse

curve between body and arm to lie atop her left forearm, but it seemingly melts simultaneously into the fabric already cascading directly down from her shoulder. (Because the original disposition of the arms of these figures involves an examination of the scene's iconography, it will not be dealt with at this time.)



Fig. 20
Restorations of the Annunciation (Key: Fig. 3)



Fig. 21
Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Annunciation

Nativity (Figs. 26–7)

The depiction of the *Nativity* on the Shrine of the Virgin is decidedly unusual. Joseph stands at the left, proffering the swaddled Child to the reclining Virgin who holds out her hands to receive the Infant. In between these principal figures appears the empty manger with the heads of the ox and ass peering over; above, three of the celestial host emerge from a bank of rolling clouds, the central bust representing the Godhead with his right hand raised in blessing and his left holding the Book. This iconography is, in fact, crucial to the establishment of the 1350–75 restoration of the shrine, for it can be shown to represent a novel variant on the *Nativity* theme which was introduced only in that century.

Substantive evidence regarding restoration is limited to Cloquet's assertion that the group had been found "tout grossièrement replâtré"⁸⁶, and documentation that subsequent restoration in 1889–90 "y compris St. Joseph" (Doc. 38). The plaster, undoubtedly an 1812 contribution, ac-

counts at least for the elephantine left arm of the Virgin (Fig. 18) prior to its reconstruction, together with her right arm and bodice, in 1889–90⁸⁷. Nevertheless, the Virgin remains preserved for the most part, as attested by the abundance of *mouvementé* foldwork describing the lower torso⁸⁸, as well as by the characteristically full-featured face (Fig. 9; cf. Figs. 7–8, 10). Similarly, the manger and beasts, gently modelled as a unit, are certainly authentic elements of the original relief⁸⁹. As for the celestial group hovering above, consideration of their origin and restoration is reserved for the moment.

The standing figure which may be named the "Joseph-and-Child", accurately acknowledged a product of the 1889–90 restoration⁹⁰, is actually a copy effected at that time "dans un style en harmonie" with the silver-gilt relief found in situ⁹¹. While Cloquet attributed the creation of the latter to the sixteenth century⁹², its silver repoussé construction suggests fourteenth-century fabrication⁹³. This conjecture is strengthened by Cloquet's stylistic identification of the figure with the shrine's *Flagellation*, which in present form dates to 1350–75⁹⁴. It



Fig. 22
Visitation, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
 (Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

remains only to briefly scan the traditions governing *Nativity* images in order to fully substantiate the fourteenth-century origin of the unusual scene represented on the Shrine of the Virgin.

As reconstituted in 1889–90 copy, the Joseph-and-Child is an iconographical type unknown in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Standard *Nativity*

format at that time almost invariably comprised a reclining Virgin, the Child in the manger accompanied by the ox and ass, possibly one or more of the angelic host above – and a seated Joseph of minimal importance, whose inclusion long remained merely a concession to the imperatives of Infancy imagery⁹⁵. The Klosterneuburg *Nativity* illustrates Nicholas of Verdun's adherence (at least



Fig. 23
Restorations of the Visitation (Key: Fig. 3)

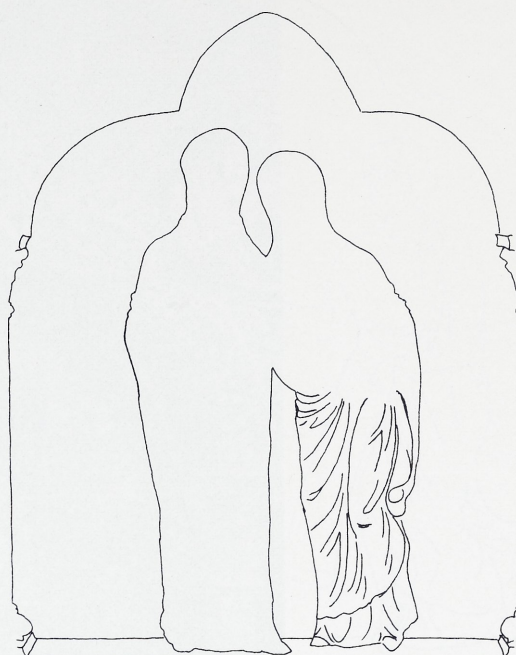


Fig. 25
Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Visitation

Fig. 24
Visitation (with annunciate Virgin),
Condition before Restoration in 1889–90
(Photo: after Falke 1905, fig. 4)



in his early career) to the customary formula: Joseph sits in glum isolation, a sleepy and entirely passive space-filler⁹⁶.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century, Joseph entered into a more active role. After c. 1250, he occasionally assumes guardianship of the Child to whom Mary extends her arms in a gesture half-requesting, half-acknowledging⁹⁷. Sometimes they together bear the Child upright between them, but do so in the sense of the Child's manifestation or display rather than His presentation to Mary as depicted on the Shrine of the Virgin⁹⁸. When the "presentation-Nativity", as it can be termed, was introduced c. 1305 in Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel in Padua, the Child is bestowed by the midwife or servant in her capacity as nurse⁹⁹. There, and in contemporary¹⁰⁰ and later versions¹⁰¹ of this variant *Nativity*, Joseph remains a static figure. By the end of the fourteenth century, he often becomes more involved in the event, but only in his occupation with familial tasks of a genre nature¹⁰².

Joseph's novel role in the presentation-*Nativity* depicted on the Shrine of the Virgin, in fact, is to be discovered only in a select group of fourteenth-century images. Three examples are so far known



Fig. 26
Nativity, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
 (Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

to me: an initial "P" of insular provenance, dated to c. 1400, in a Missal in Oxford¹⁰³; the left wing from a painted triptych of the same date, from Lower Saxony, today in Berlin (Fig. 28)¹⁰⁴, and the *Nativity* from Meister Bertram of Minden's Grabow Altar (*Petrialtar*) of 1379, now in Hamburg (Fig. 29)¹⁰⁵. Of these, not one surmounts the scene with a bust of God.

Indeed, the inclusion of this figure in the shrine's *Nativity* is also alien in traditional iconography¹⁰⁶, particularly since the Godhead appears as a participant in the event, albeit on the celestial plane. Prior to the late fourteenth century, christological figures were occasionally admitted to *Nativity* scenes, but only to those typological images as exemplified in the Stammheim Missal's gridlike

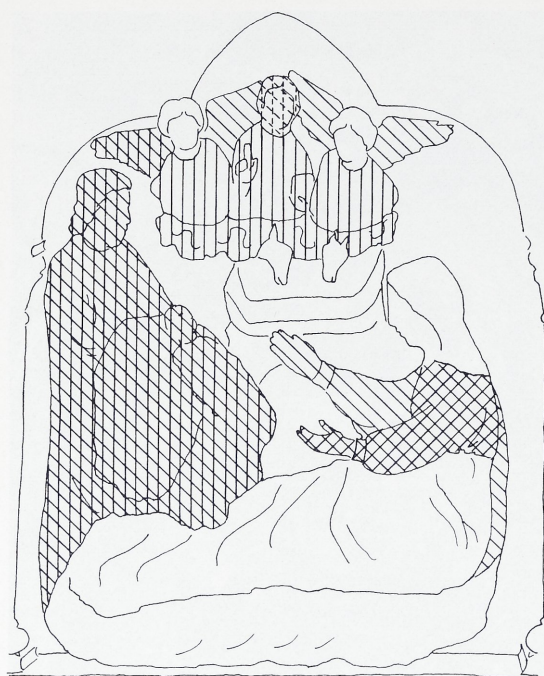


Fig. 27
Restorations of the Nativity (Key: Fig. 3)

Fig. 28
Nativity, Left Wing of Triptych,
Berlin, Staatl. Mus., c. 1400
(Photo: after Staatl. Mus. 1929, pl. 122)



Nativity of c. 1160–80¹⁰⁷: there, in the top center cell, God appears in the Burning Bush before Moses (Ex. 3:2), as one of the Old Testament “signs” for the virgin birth¹⁰⁸. In later *Biblia pauperum* versions, the figure’s segregation and typological reference is consistently maintained¹⁰⁹. Only at the very end of the fourteenth century is a benedictory Godhead integrated into the scene as a benevolent observer¹¹⁰, thereafter becoming a common feature¹¹¹.



Fig. 29
Nativity, Grabow Altar by Meister Bertram of Minden,
Hamburg, Kunsthalle, 1379
(Photo: after Portmann 1962, pl. 7)

Well before 1400, however, at least one *Nativity* survives in which the Godhead is associated with the presentation-*Nativity* focusing on Joseph’s tender bestowal of the Child upon Mary: this occurs in an initial “P” in the “Codex Gisle”, a



Fig. 30
Nativity (Initial >P<), >Codex Gisle< (Graduale),
Osnabrück, Gymnasium Carolinum Bibl.,
unnumbered and unfoliated ms., 1300–50
(Photo: after Wackernagel 1926, pl. 8)

Graduale probably of Flemish provenance dating to c. 1300–50, in Osnabrück (Fig. 30)¹¹². A cruciform-nimbed bust appears within a medallion at the top of the initial, and in formal terms seems to relate solely to the ornamental series of animated roundels flanking the initial. However, as it is the only medallion interrupting the frame of the initial, its inclusion implies more than decorative significance. Latent typological associations suggested by the figure's encapsulation are dispelled by the gesture of benediction and by the non-typological prophecy inscribed on the fluttering scroll in Christ's left hand: *Ego ipse qui loquebar, assum*¹¹³. This reference, in concert with the gospel texts borne by the angelic musicians in the adjacent medallions¹¹⁴, identifies the image as the Christ-Logos, or Godhead, and places Him in direct alliance with the event depicted inside the body of the initial.

The five extant presentation-*Nativities*, including the scene on the shrine in Tournai, are little more than superficially uniform in their treatment of the subject. In the Oxford, Hamburg, and Tournai versions, the presentation is made clearly explicit but in the Osnabrück and Berlin scenes it is expressed only implicitly by the inclination and gaze of the Child towards Mary as she accepts Him from Joseph. A shed appears in the Hamburg and Berlin scenes, which contrasts with the sturdy brick building in the “Codex Gisle” initial and the absence of architecture in the Oxford initial and the shrine’s relief. This variety in the focus and setting suggests that there was no single authority for the image. The iconographical derivation and literal significance of the presentation-*Nativity*, with or without the benignly omniscient deity, remains somewhat murky¹¹⁵. For the moment, it may be said to be neither Brigittine¹¹⁶ nor genre¹¹⁷ but rather one more expression of the general devotional spirit conditioning fourteenth-century art¹¹⁸.

Only the presentation-*Nativity* in the “Codex Gisle” and that on the Shrine of the Virgin include a Godhead between two angels. While the relief is hardly identical with the illuminated initial, there is much to implicate the “Codex Gisle” as the model for the transformation of the shrine’s *Nativity* in the fourteenth century. As the earliest known presentation-*Nativity*, its date in the first half of the fourteenth century suits the chronology of historical and art-historical factors previously introduced in favor of a 1350–75 restoration of the shrine, as does its probable Flemish provenance. The iconography of the “Codex Gisle” presentation-*Nativity* may have recommended itself precisely because restoration of the shrine’s scene was restricted by spatial limitations and an apparent concern (already demonstrated in the *Adoration of the Magi*) for the preservation of undamaged elements. Few changes in the scene would have been required to reach this more contemporary interpretation¹¹⁹. The manger and beasts as well as the reclining Virgin could be retained, and the Joseph-and-Child could well mirror an earlier Joseph standing at the left in the original scene. Another parallel might also have been drawn in creating the Godhead and angels, were a trio of angels part of the scene’s original composition. Here, however, the case for fourteenth-century restoration, while iconographically viable in terms of the Godhead, is complicated stylistically by possible 1889–90 restoration.

The “Père Éternel, apparaissant entre deux anges” in the niche (Figs. 18, 31) required, according to

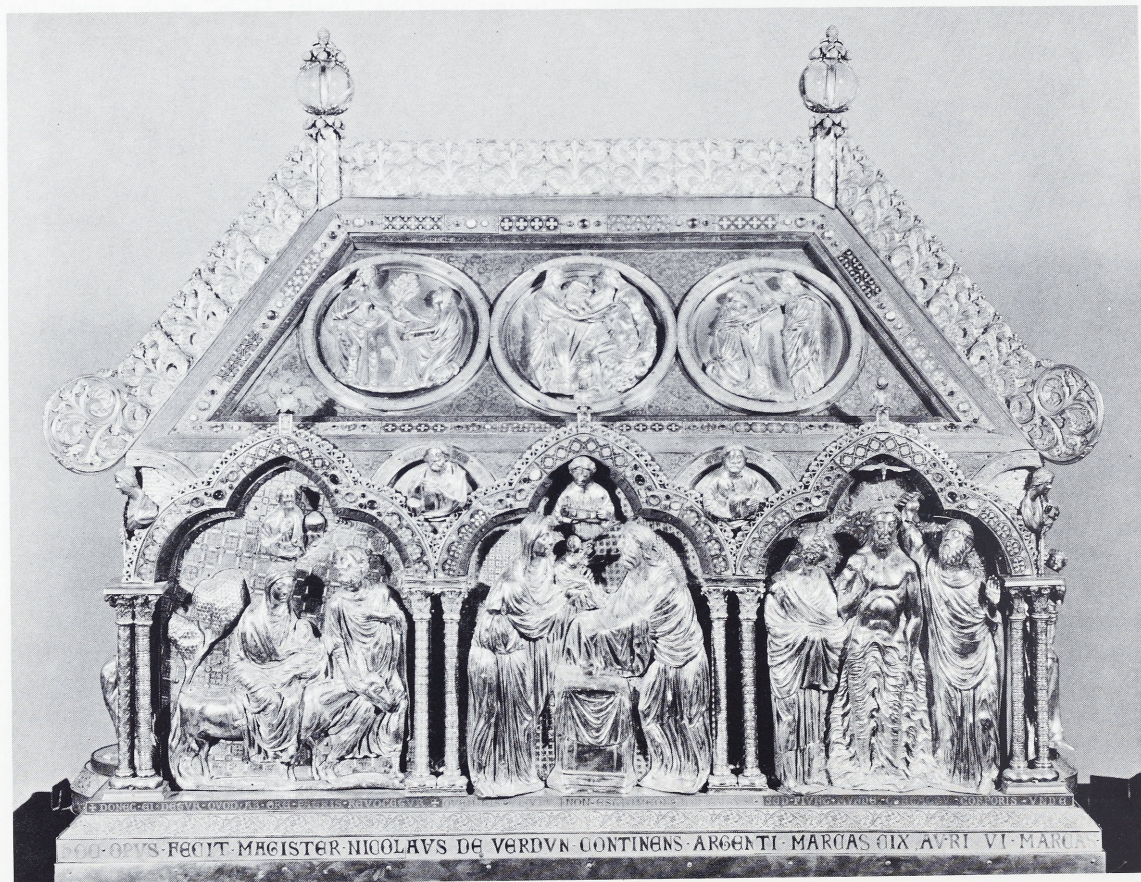


Fig. 31
Godhead and Angels, det. of the Nativity
(Fig. 26; Photo: author)



Fig. 32
Angel, det. of Christ-Enthroned
(Fig. 13; Photo: author)

Fig. 33
Left Side, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath., c. 1205
(Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)
Roof: Noli me Tangere, Descent into Limbo,
Incredulity of Thomas;
Niches: Flight into Egypt, Presentation, Baptism



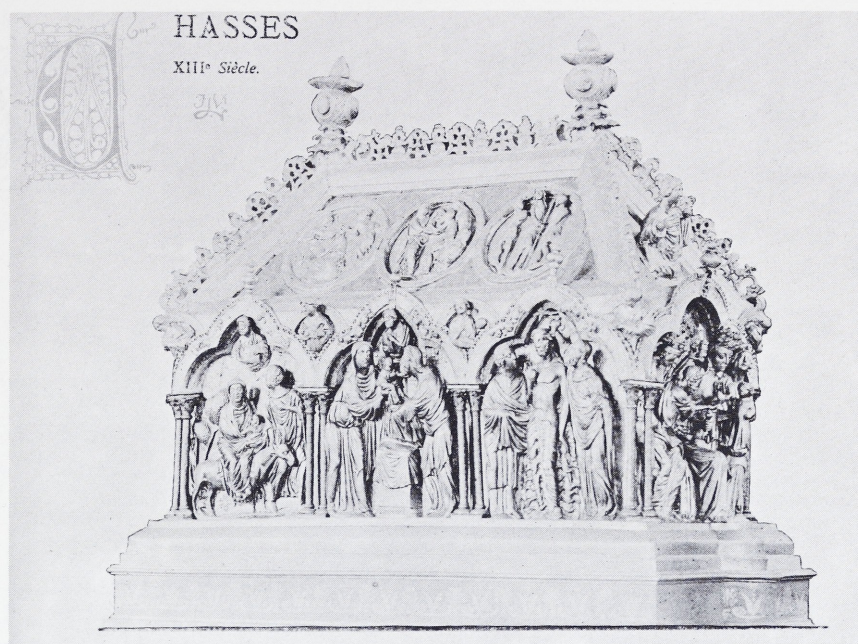


Fig. 34

Left Side, Condition before Restoration in 1889–90

(Photo: after Ysendyck 1886/7, *Chasses* pl. 6)

Roof: Crowning of Thorns, Descent into Limbo, Flagellation;

Niches: Flight into Egypt, Presentation, Baptism

Cloquet, only the addition of three wings¹²⁰. In fact, four wings were subsequently inserted¹²¹. This discrepancy in Cloquet's report, as well as documentary evidence that "petits anges" were dispatched to sculptors in Ghent (Doc. 38), suggests that much more restoration may have been undertaken beyond the inconsequential application of wings. It is even possible that the trio, in part or in whole, was simply replaced by a copy, a not unusual procedure in the 1889–90 restoration¹²².

In allowing this possibility, an explanation presents itself for the stylistic incompatibility of the Godhead with the fourteenth-century description of Christ in the *Flagellation* (Fig. 52). Had the Godhead created in 1350–75 borne the bony brow and overgrown jaw characterizing the *Flagellation* Christ, Cloquet's sensibilities might well have led him to order a replacement in imitation of one of the christological heads preserved on the shrine, e.g., the Christ in the *Descent into Limbo* (Fig. 57). Indeed, the head not only compares well with those of Christ executed in 1889–90 (cf. Fig. 55)¹²³, but the triangular saliency of the cheekbones and the formation of eyes and brow compare even more closely with the new spandrel angels (Fig. 42)¹²⁴.

The heads of the *Nativity* angels require less speculation regarding the sequence of their restoration. They appear to have been preserved from the original *Nativity* scene, for their character is certainly not fourteenth-century, nor are they as coolly impassive as the nineteenth-century spandrel angels. On the other hand, their relative weakness of facial structure and loss of expressive intensity in comparison with preserved angels (cf. Fig. 32) argues forcibly for the presence of a workshop in the creation of the shrine's reliefs.

The fourteenth-century restorers therefore re-employed these angelic heads as pendants to the newly-invented Godhead. In constructing the identity of the Godhead in terms of benediction and Book, however, they also completely reconstructed the "bodies" of the angels. Formed of amorphous folds, these unstructured masses – the angels are armless and the torso of the Godhead shapeless – are awkwardly tied to relatively definitive heads. It is difficult to credit this attitude towards form to the artist(s) responsible for the strength of definition characterizing preserved busts of angels and Prophets (Figs. 32, 37, 41). The latter are clearly articulated in terms of hands, arms,



Fig. 35
Flight into Egypt, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
 (Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

and torsos, and further described by intelligibly organized drapery. In fact, the apparent bulk and aimless direction of the folds defining the angels clearly recall the disposition of drapery across the King at the left of the Virgin in the *Adoration* (Fig. 1). Equally antithetical to the shrine's consistent evocation of a non-ethereal type of heavenly being is the bed of clouds from which the winged group emerges¹²⁵. These two aspects of the group's composition clearly represent a post-1205 restoration, probably in 1350–75¹²⁶.

In sum, then, the shrine's *Nativity* represents the formal and conceptual confluence of 1205, 1350–75, and 1889–90 artistic activity. In 1350–75, perhaps inspired by the "Codex Gisle", restoration introduced the presentation-*Nativity* with the creation of the Joseph-and-Child and the Godhead. This was followed in 1889–90 by reconstruction of the Joseph-and-Child and the head of God, and restoration of the Virgin. To the original scene is left portions of the Virgin, the manger and beasts, and two angelic heads.



Fig. 36
Restorations of the *Flight into Egypt*
(Key: Fig. 3)

Flight into Egypt, Presentation, Baptism (Figs. 35–40)

These three major repoussé reliefs on the left side of the shrine (Fig. 33) have suffered far less damage and rearrangement than any other part of the shrine. Prior to the 1889 campaign, the angels now part of the *Flight into Egypt* and *Presentation* scenes occupied positions in the spandrels, their place in the niches taken by busts of Prophets (Fig. 34)¹²⁷. Cloquet reversed this in 1889–90, fortuitously replacing the crown-bearing angel in the *Presentation* (cf. Doc. 1), but less wisely introducing the globe-bearing angel – dating back only to 1812 – into the *Flight into Egypt*¹²⁸.

The left hand of John the Baptist in the *Baptism* had apparently been repaired in 1812¹²⁹, the only such repair affecting these groups prior to 1889. It was again restored in 1889–90, as was the left arm and globe held by the angel in the *Flight into Egypt*¹³⁰. Remaining repairs made at that time are largely invisible today, for they comprised the painstaking work of patching innumerable small holes in the fabric of the reliefs¹³¹.

Spandrel Busts (Fig. 44)

The occupancy of the eight spandrel arches of the shrine prior to 1889 is difficult to determine. A tentative accounting, with the help of nineteenth-century evidence, results in a distribution including two original busts of Prophets (with two more inserted in niches), one original bust of an angel, and five angelic busts of assorted 1812 confection (Fig. 45a)¹³². Cloquet discarded three of the 1812 busts, inserted the remaining two into niches, replaced the four Prophets in the spandrels on the shrine's long sides, and manufactured four new angels for the spandrels at the shrine's corners (Fig. 45b)¹³³. These angels (Fig. 42) were apparently modelled on those in the *Nativity*. In contrast, the Prophets (Fig. 41) evidence the same firmness and breadth of modelling – though with a somewhat more mechanical expression – exemplified by original figures such as John the Baptist (Fig. 43). They also reveal a new facet of the shrine's program, for they are duplicated on the two sides of the shrine. This sort of unification in terms of the repetition of constituent elements has important implications not only for the principles of design operative in the shrine's construction but also for the workshop procedures involved in its decoration¹³⁴.

Maries at the Tomb (Figs. 46–7)

Of the six reliefs in the roof's roundels, only the *Maries at the Tomb* on the right roof and the *Descent into Limbo* on the left (Fig. 57) are generally assumed to be essentially preserved¹³⁵. However, evidence for the extent of “restauration du groupe des Ss. Femmes au tombeau” (Doc. 31) is only allusive: from amidst Cloquet's contradictions emerge indications that its conservation is less than total. In his reports, Cloquet reveals that the relief required a “laborieuse et délicate restauration” and links it with a footnote describing the patching of small holes in the shrine's reliefs¹³⁶. He states elsewhere, however, that the *Maries at the Tomb* “avait perdu également [i. e., to the *Crucifixion*, a relief substantially restored in 1889–90] plusieurs de ses parties” (Doc. 28). This suggests extensive damage, seemingly confirmed by Mondo's notation that he had “livré de grandes parties aux personnages” (Doc. 38) in this relief¹³⁷.

The distortions visible in the angel's right hand and foot, as well as the generally poor condition of the



Fig. 37
Presentation, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
 (Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

thigh and lower leg of the Mary in the foreground suggests that the relief must have been in far more deplorable condition prior to 1889, perhaps suffering skewing, compression, or flattening of the repoussé forms. If this is the case, any reconstitution in 1889–90 has not interfered with its essential style and composition, which seems entirely faith-

ful to Nicholas of Verdun¹³⁸. The heads of the three females (Fig. 10) correspond closely to others on the shrine (cf. Figs. 8–9). However, the angel's wing on the back plane of the relief, considered to be “verkümmert (z. T. auch schlecht erhalten)”¹³⁹, may be the product of overzealous restoration, for no other original angel on the shrine bears wings¹⁴⁰.



Fig. 38

Restorations of the Presentation (Key: Fig. 3)

Crucifixion (Figs. 48–9)

The *Crucifixion*, adjoining the *Maries at the Tomb* in the center right roof, has undergone a sequence of restoration which dates back to the fourteenth century. Cloquet discovered the relief to be “fortement altéré. À une époque récente on avait refait la tête et le buste du Christ. Nous restaurerons le buste primitif qui s’est retrouvé sous le nouveau” (Doc. 28). In his report, he specifically dates the restoration affecting both Christ and the Virgin to the sixteenth century¹⁴¹, and describes the “récent” overlay of Christ’s upper torso as a “rapplique d’argent doré¹⁴². On this basis, it seems safe to assume that these areas of restoration actually date back to 1350–75¹⁴³.

In 1889–90, the heads of both Christ and Mary were replaced, Christ’s upper torso repaired, and Mary’s upper torso reconstructed¹⁴⁴. The cross-nimbus behind Christ’s head, the only nimbus in relief attached to any of the shrine’s numerous christological figures¹⁴⁵, is apparently Cloquet’s invention. John the Evangelist at the right seems to be essentially intact. His head (Fig. 50) is com-

patible in form and expression to the attending angel in the *Baptism* (Fig. 51) and the raised tubular fold sweeping across the legs reappears on the annunciate Virgin (Fig. 19) and the angel at the tomb (Fig. 46)¹⁴⁶.

Flagellation (Figs. 52–3)

Upon discovering the *Flagellation* relief in 1889 on the left roof (Fig. 34), Cloquet uncharacteristically decided that “nous maintiendrons le médaillon de la *Flagellation*, qui est ancien, quoique plus récent que les autres” (Doc. 28). Believing it to date from the sixteenth century¹⁴⁷, he nevertheless did not replace it, as he had the *Joseph-and-Child* and portions of the *Crucifixion*, but simply moved it to the right roof¹⁴⁸ following minor restoration¹⁴⁹. Of conspicuously late Gothic construction¹⁵⁰, the *Flagellation* has only once been equated with the *Adoration of the Magi* as a fourteenth-century restoration¹⁵¹. The costumes of the two centurions – of ribbed fabric, buttoned down the front and belted low on the hips – substantiate this general conclusion, as does the figures’ overall composition¹⁵². The replacement of the group in 1350–75¹⁵³ can be verified by a decorative detail highlighting the images of Christ in both the *Flagellation* and the *Adoration of the Magi*. In the former, Christ’s loincloth (Fig. 54b) bears an engraved pattern of four-lobed flowers set into diamond-shaped areas on a cross-hatched ground; the robes of the Christ Child in the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 54a) are enriched by a comparable arrangement of confronted birds set within a more ornate floral decor upon a cross-hatched ground. The repetition of cross-hatching and basic decorative organization must signal the concurrent restoration of both reliefs.

Noli me Tangere, *Descent into Limbo*, *Incredulity of Thomas* (Figs. 55–60)

The *Descent into Limbo* in the center of the left roof is not “modern”¹⁵⁴, but is instead one of the best-preserved reliefs on the shrine¹⁵⁵. In fact, like the *Maries at the Tomb*, this relief seems very close to the art of Nicholas of Verdun: the stance of Christ as he braces Himself and turns back to pull Adam and Eve from the Mouth of Hell, as well as the disposition of folds falling in layered ripples from the center of his belted robe, finds a near parallel in the *Ascension of Enoch* on the Klosterneuburg altar¹⁵⁶.



Fig. 39
Baptism, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
 (Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

The adjoining reliefs, the *Noli me Tangere* and the *Incredulity of Thomas*, required extensive reconstruction in 1889–90, for a literal confusion between the two ensued at the hands of the 1812 restorers. In Cloquet's words, "l'un des médaillons du toit, celui qui représente le Couronnement d'épines [Fig. 34], était simplement fait de cire dorée et avait remplacé un autre sujet, savoir: l'Apparition

du Sauveur à la Magdeleine, comme le prouvent les anciennes inscriptions dont le texte [Doc. 1] nous a été conservé. Un autre médaillon figurait ci-devant précisément cette dernière scène [Fig. 18], mais la figure de la Magdeleine avait été sculptée en bois à une époque récente; quand tout fut nettoyé, il ne resta de la composition primitive que la tête et des menus fragments du corps du Christ,



Fig. 40
Restorations of the Baptism (Key: Fig. 3)

assez toutefois pour nous permettre de reconnaître que le sujet original avait été Notre-Seigneur montrant la plaie de son côté à St. Thomas. – Ces deux médaillons devront être refaits, l'un entièrement, l'autre presque totalement" (Doc. 28)¹⁵⁷. The *Noli me Tangere* was therefore completely reconstituted in 1889–90¹⁵⁸, and the *Crowning of Thorns* discarded¹⁵⁹.

The "near total" restoration of the *Incredulity of Thomas* relief required the replacement of Thomas and substantial reconstruction of Christ¹⁶⁰. The extent to which the figure of Christ is preserved is difficult to ascertain precisely. Cloquet indicates that he could recognize "sur la poitrine du Sauveur, la trace encore bien claire de la plaie du côté, et de la main gauche, montrant cette plaie de l'index étendu"¹⁶¹. Although the diminution of Christ's facial features, especially around the nose, suggests that some 1889–90 reworking may have occurred, the treatment of the upper torso, arms, and head is comparable to Christ in the *Descent into Limbo* (Fig. 57). The prominently exposed and detailed feet, on the other hand, certainly belong to the 1889–90 campaign; the lower torso would seem to have been formally modelled on John the Evangelist in the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 48).

Fig. 41
Spandrel Prophet, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Photo: author)



Fig. 42
Spandrel Angel, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Photo: author)





Fig. 43
John the Baptist, det. of the Baptism
(Fig. 39; Photo: author)

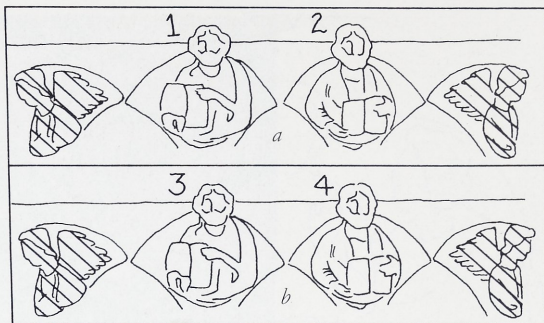


Fig. 44 a-b
Restorations of the Spandrel Busts
(Key: Fig. 3) a. Right Side, b. Left Side

Evangelist Symbols (Fig. 61a-d)

The champlévé enamel plaques bearing the gold-on-blue symbols of the four Evangelists amidst flowing rinceaux in the lower corners of the side roofs are of obviously original construction, as are the adjoining champlévé plaques ornamented solely by rinceaux¹⁶². Gold-on-blue enamel imagery –

Fig. 45 a-b
Location of Spandrel Busts, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Key: A = 1812 metal angel, A' = 1889-90 copy of A,
B = original angel, C = 1812 metal angel, D = 1812
wooden (?) angel, X = 1889-90 metal angel,
1-4 = original Prophet, Fig. 44 a-b)

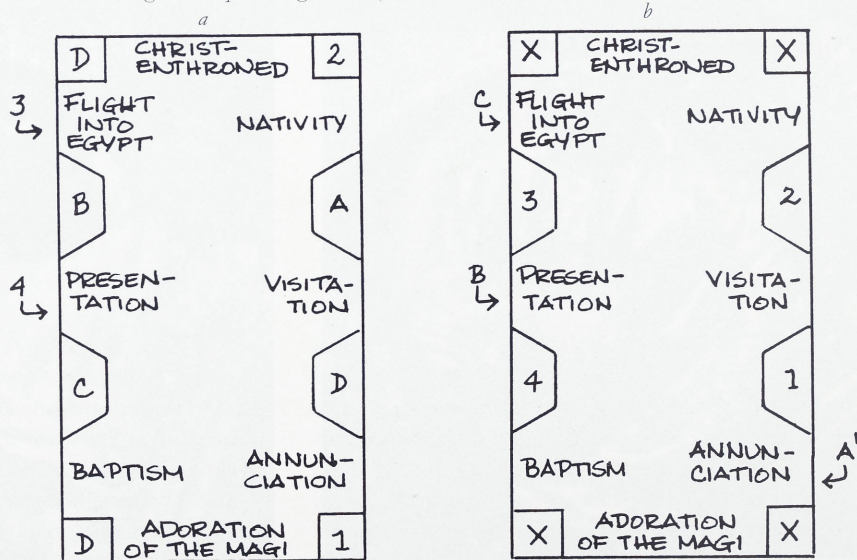




Fig. 46
Maries at the Tomb, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)



Fig. 48
Crucifixion, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)



Fig. 47
Restorations of the Maries at the Tomb (Key: Fig. 3)



Fig. 49
Restorations of the Crucifixion (Key: Fig. 3)

wherein gilt metal defines the figurative elements, with the darker enamel providing background and modelling – had been introduced by Nicholas of Verdun in 1181 on the Klosterneuburg altar as a means of reaching a more naturalistic description of the human body¹⁶³. The Evangelist symbols on

the shrine participate in the general loosening and relaxation of formal definition brought by this new technical approach. Indeed, the vitality emanating from them betrays as well as any of the more well-known reliefs the role of Nicholas of Verdun in the creation of the Shrine of the Virgin¹⁶⁴.



Fig. 50
John the Evangelist, det. of Fig. 48

3. State of Conservation: The Ornament

Very little original ornament has survived on the Shrine of the Virgin; what fragments remain are to be found primarily on the left side (Figs. 62a-d).

Fig. 51
Angel, det. of the Baptism (Fig. 39; Photo: author)

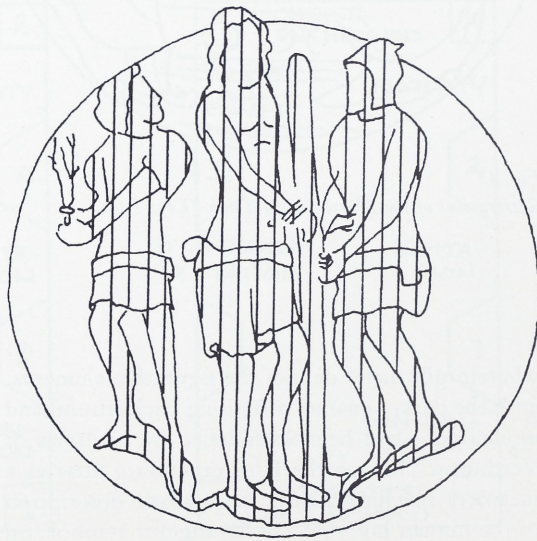


Fig. 52
Flagellation, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)

Elsewhere, missing ornament in many cases had been replaced by 1812 restorations¹⁶⁵. These were discarded in 1889-90, when Cloquet reconstituted the shrine's ornamental fabric.

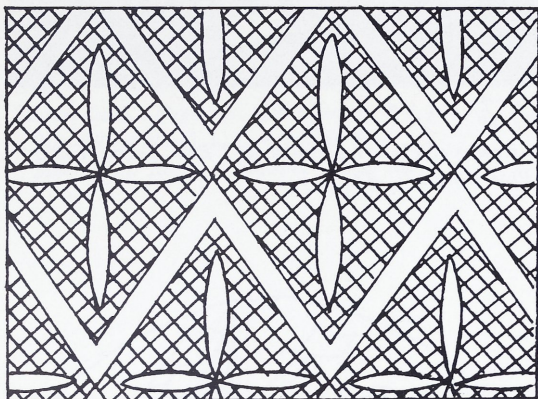
Examination reveals that the shrine was originally furnished with an ornamental program whose consistency in design and organization signifies a decisive break from traditional systems of shrine

Fig. 53
Restorations of the Flagellation (Key: Fig. 3)





a



b

Fig. 54a–b

Engraved Decoration, 1350–75, Shrine of the Virgin.

a. Det. of Child's Robes, Adoration of the Magi

(Drawing: after Cloquet 1892, fig. on 318)

b. Det. of Christ's Loincloth, Flagellation

Fig. 55

Noli me Tangere, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.

(Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)



ornamentation. Distinctive features are: the frequent repetition of selected motifs in different areas of the shrine; a pervasive regularity of form and array; and the studied disposition of the ornamental fields in a manner fostering their visual synthesis. As a system conceived in comprehensive terms, it complements the general coherence of the shrine's formal structure (Part 4). The marked absence of all animated ornament, excepting the Evangelist symbols, is itself the clearest signpost for the new direction exemplified by the shrine's non-figured decoration: its formality and integration anticipates later developments in shrine ornamentation.

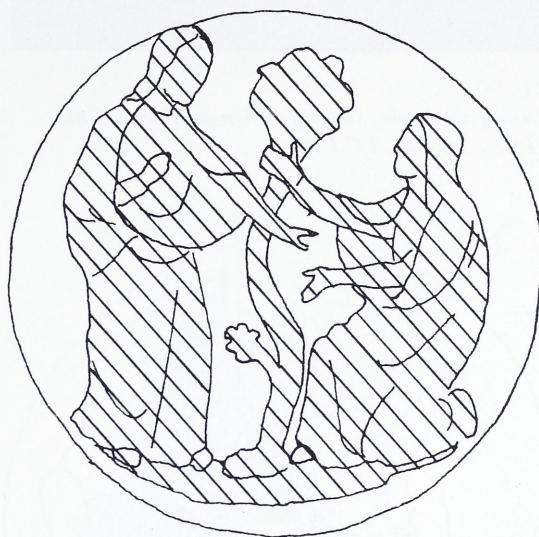


Fig. 56

Restorations of the Noli me Tangere (Key: Fig. 3)

Enamels (Figs. 63–6)

A substantial amount of original champlévé enamel decorates the three niche walls on the left side of the shrine (Figs. 63a–c). In contrast, the two end-niches had preserved by 1889 only fragments of their original enamels¹⁶⁶, whereas the niches on the right side had been filled in 1812 with gilt brass plaques embossed with a variety of designs (Fig. 18)¹⁶⁷. In 1889–90, the deterioration of the enamels in the left niches prompted their repair in “cold” enamel¹⁶⁸; the five remaining niches were restored with “false” champlévé enamel¹⁶⁹ in designs modelled after those preserved.



Fig. 57
Descent into Limbo, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)



Fig. 59
Incredulity of Thomas, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Photo: Brussels, A.C.L.)



Fig. 58
Restorations of the Descent into Limbo (Key: Fig. 3)



Fig. 60
Restorations of the Incredulity of Thomas (Key: Fig. 3)

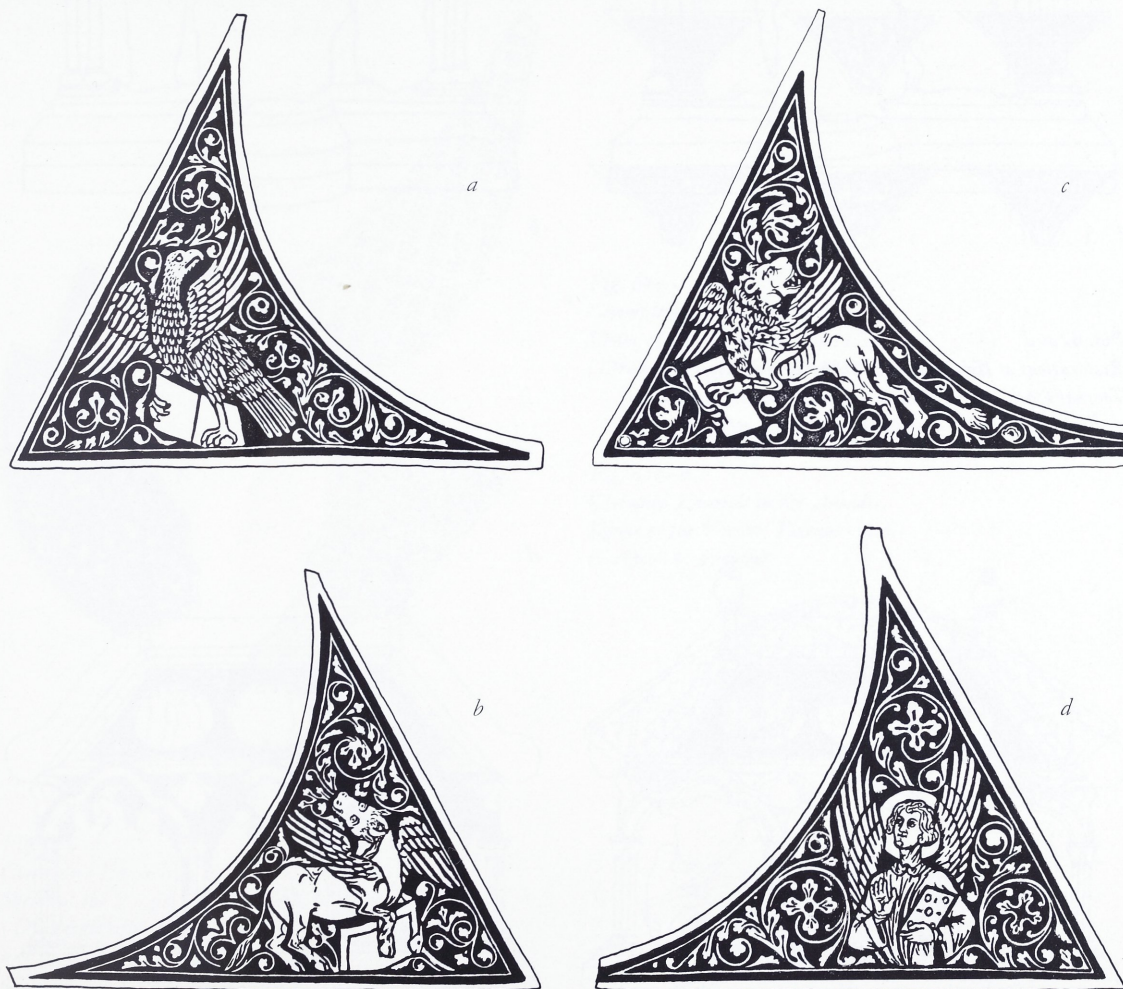
The gold-on-blue rinceaux in the *Baptism* niche (Fig. 63b) dominates the shrine's program of enamel ornament¹⁷⁰. It recurs in preserved form in the spandrels (Fig. 64) and on the side roofs, and was found in fragmentary condition in the two end-niches (since replaced in "false" enamel copy); it was also used for the *Visitation* niche and the two

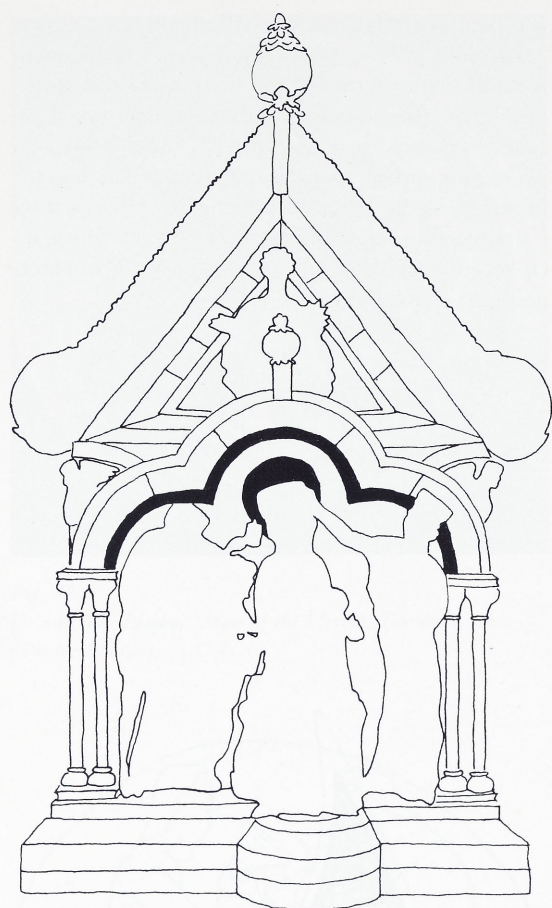
end-roofs¹⁷¹. An imitation of the simple and regularized gold-on-white rosette pattern surviving in the *Presentation* niche (Fig. 63a) is now found in the *Nativity* niche. The more complex but equally ordered gold-on-green/blue/white foliate-quatre-foil and rosette design backing the *Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 63c) now fills as well the *Annunciation* niche¹⁷².

Patterned ornamentation of a shrine's niches is generally not employed on shrines produced in the twelfth century¹⁷³. It was to become a fairly common decorative element in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but almost invariably taking the form of gilt stampwork rather than colored enamelwork¹⁷⁴. The dominance of color – blue, green, white – on the interior of the shrine's niches remains one of its distinguishing features, unparalleled in shrine-production as well as in contempor-

ary manuscript illumination¹⁷⁵. It serves to integrate niche interior with niche frame, for the architectural juxtaposition of gilt colonnette and enameled arch corresponds to the play of gilt relief against enamel ground within the niche proper¹⁷⁶. There, the enamel also acts to heighten the inherent plasticity of the gilt reliefs¹⁷⁷, thereby representing a unique translation of the general pictorial principle (gold against color) operating in the Klosterneuburg enamels¹⁷⁸.

Fig. 61 a–d
Evangelist Symbols (Enamel), Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath. (Drawings: after Cloquet 1892, pls. IX, X)
 a. John (Right Roof), b. Luke (Right Roof),
 c. Mark (Left Roof), d. Matthew (Right Roof)



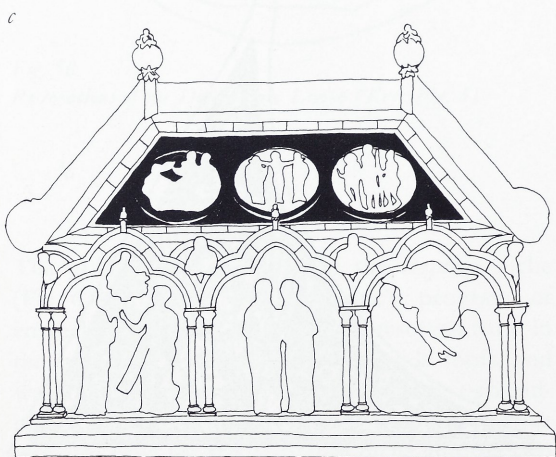


a

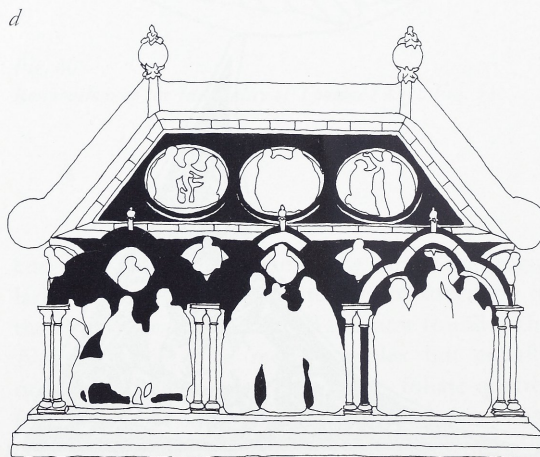


b

Fig. 62a-d
Restorations of the Ornament, Shrine of the Virgin,
Tournai Cath. (Key: ■ = original ornament preserved)
a. Front, b. Rear, c. Right Side, d. Left Side



c



d

Six triangular spandrel plaques of gold-on-blue champlevé rinceaux (Fig. 64a–f) were found on the shrine's left side beneath a gilt overlay. They were repaired in "cold" enamel and subsequently copied in "false" champlevé enamel for the new spandrels lining the other sides¹⁷⁹. All-enamel spandrels appear only rarely on twelfth-century chrines¹⁸⁰, for the majority carry spandrels combining ornamental relief and gemmed plaques¹⁸¹. In this case, the gold-on-blue rinceaux and the triangular shapes help to sustain ornamental coherence, for they partake in the pictorial formula introduced in the niches below and repeated in the side-roofs above: in all three fields, gilt reliefs are imposed upon enamelwork. The Prophets and angels set within arches in the spandrels and the scenes set within encircling frames in the side-roofs

are individual compositional units¹⁸² whose gilt relief is consistently accentuated by the surrounding gold-on-blue rinceaux. Beyond sharing motif, moreover, the spandrels and roofs are comparably described as a combination of triangles (enamels) and circles/semicircles (relief-frames). In this light, Cloquet's restoration of the triangular grounds of the two end-roofs with gold-on-blue rinceaux enamels¹⁸³ seems eminently reasonable, as it continues and completes this system in form, design, and principle.

Of the cloisonné enamels which now articulate the shrine's arcading (Fig. 56a–b), five are original, to be found today on the arches of the *Flight into Egypt* and *Presentation* niches (cf. Fig. 62d)¹⁸⁴; their repair was reserved to an expert in Paris¹⁸⁵. The



Fig. 63a–c
Champlevé Enamels in the Niches,
Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Drawings: after Cloquet 1892, pl. VIII)
a. Presentation niche, b. Baptism niche,
c. Flight into Egypt niche

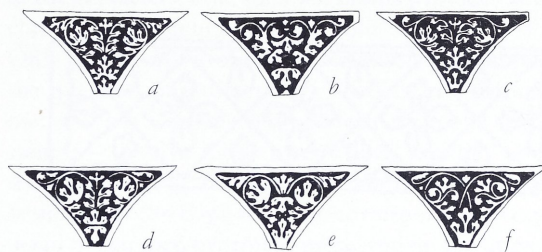
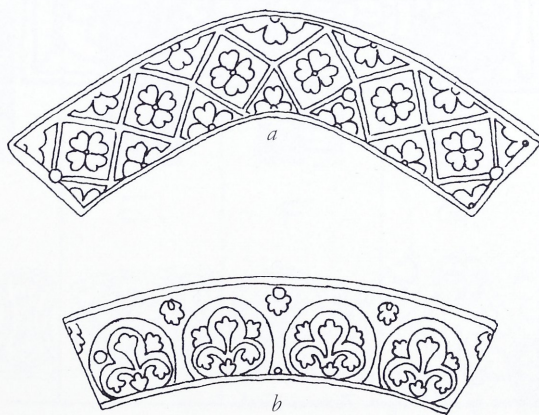


Fig. 64a–f
Champlevé Enamels in the Spandrels,
Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Drawings: after Cloquet 1892, pls. IX, X)

Fig. 65a–b
Cloisonné Enamels in the Arcades,
Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
a. Apex, b. Springer



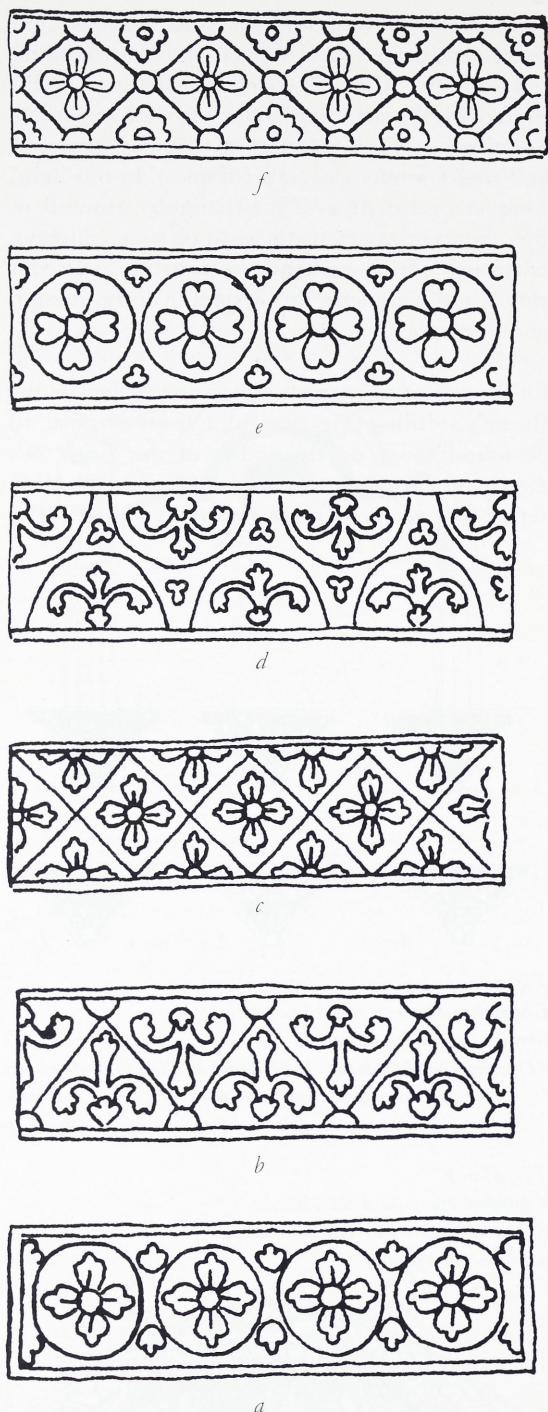


Fig. 66a-f
Cloisonné Enamels in the Roof Borders,
Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.

four-lobed rosette set within a diamond field, the motif of the apex enamel (Fig. 65a), is similar to the champlévé design in the *Presentation* niche (Fig. 63a)¹⁸⁶. The modified fleur-de-lys within a three-quarter circle characterizing the springer, (Fig. 65b), on the other hand, is not found within the shrine's ornamental repertory, but rather in certain original champlévé enamels on the arcades of the Shrine of the Three Kings¹⁸⁷.

As he had done elsewhere when given the opportunity, Cloquet had both designs copied in "false" cloisonné enamel for the decoration of the remaining arcades¹⁸⁸; these had been covered in 1812 by gilt brass bands decorated at the apex with bulky rosettes (Figs. 16, 18)¹⁸⁹. In ordering this restoration, Cloquet correctly surmised that the a-a¹-a organization of these enamels comprised (in alternation with filigrane-and-gem ornament) the original and sole articulating decoration of the shrine's arcades. The strict uniformity of this system is mitigated in the individual enamels by a broad spectrum of colors, including shades of blue, white, red, green and yellow enamel.

By 1889, and probably since 1812 or earlier, all of the border ornament on the four roof areas had disappeared, leaving visible only the original tripart division under the heavy gilt paint overlaid in 1812 (Figs. 18, 34). Cloquet re-established the narrow inner band as the field for restored inscriptions referring to the scenes in the roofs¹⁹⁰; for the outer band, he conceived of an engraved design (Fig. 72c); and he imposed on the central band a series of "false" cloisonné enamels (Fig. 66a-f) in alternation with filigrane-and-gem plaques¹⁹¹. The type of decoration represented by the center band is not only characteristic of roof borders ornamenting twelfth-century shrines¹⁹², but its new enamels were patterned after original designs surviving elsewhere on the shrine¹⁹³. By so adopting the principle of congruity in motif already evidenced in the shrine's original champlévé enamels, Cloquet seems to have successfully reconstituted, in this instance, ornament which may closely approximate the original.

Filigrane-and-Gem (Fig. 67)

The filigrane-and-gem plaques completing the central band of border ornament on the roofs (Fig. 67c) and the arcade decoration (Fig. 67a-b) carry a simple and regular array of gems. The plaques on the shrine's side arcades (Fig. 67a) were modelled

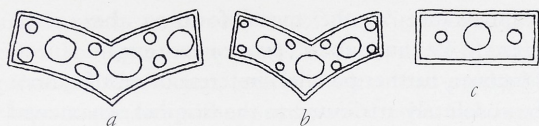


Fig. 67a-c
*Filigrane-and-Gem (not to scale),
 Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.*
 a. Side Arcades, b. End Arches, c. Roof Borders

in 1889–90 on the pattern established by four original pieces found on the left side arcade¹⁹⁴. Those articulating the arches at the ends of the shrine (Fig. 67b) are slightly different in composition, but may have been based on one of the preserved plaques¹⁹⁵.

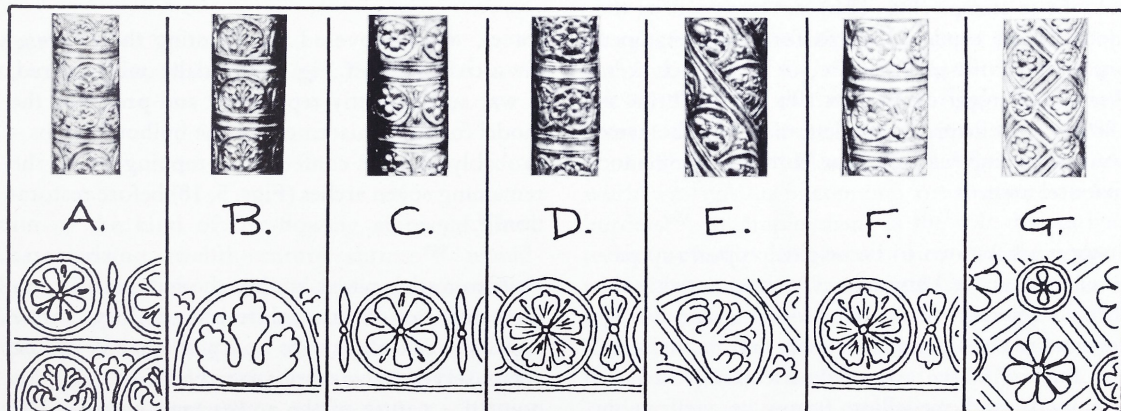
Earlier shrines of architectonic framework carry arches either unarticulated¹⁹⁶ or bearing inscription only¹⁹⁷. The undeviating regularity of the *a-b-a¹-b-a* system of alternating enamel and filigrane-and-gem articulation on the Shrine of the Virgin can be compared, however, to the *a-b-a-b-a* alternation of enamel and stampwork on the arches of the Klosterneuburg altar¹⁹⁸. The apparently novel combination of these two elements on the arcades was generally adopted in later shrine decoration as part of the broader tendency towards increasing elaboration¹⁹⁹.

Stampwork (Fig. 68)

All the shrines associated with Nicholas of Verdun are architectonically composed with arches carried by colonnettes colorfully enameled with a profusion of animated, geometric, and foliate motifs²⁰⁰. This accentuates the fact that the twenty colonnettes arrayed on the Shrine of the Virgin are uniformly gilt, faced with stamped motifs of minimal variety, and topped by acanthus capitals²⁰¹. Virtually unheralded²⁰², their consistency prefigures comparable schemes of later thirteenth-century shrines²⁰³.

In 1889, seventeen colonnettes remained on the shrine: ten original and seven, of gilt zinc or wood construction²⁰⁴, added in 1812 (Fig. 69a). Cloquet regilded the originals²⁰⁵, replaced the seven spurious supports with ten new colonnettes²⁰⁶, and distributed them in the sequence seen today (Fig. 69b)²⁰⁷. Unfortunately, the nineteenth-century imitations cannot be detected as such: among the twenty colonnettes, nothing in their surface appearance or in the character of the stamped motifs provides any clue to the distinction between “old” and “new”²⁰⁸. Only photographic or chemical analysis can resolve the question of authenticity. To date, the former method has conclusively proven that the two stamps – the five-lobed rosette-and-“bowtie” and the palmette (Fig. 68a) – decorating the colonnette at the left of the Baptism niche correspond in every detail to stamped ornament preserved on the upper roofs of the Shrine of the Three Kings²⁰⁹.

Fig. 68a-g
*Stampwork on the Colonnettes,
 Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.*
 (Photo montage taken from Brussels, A.C.L.)



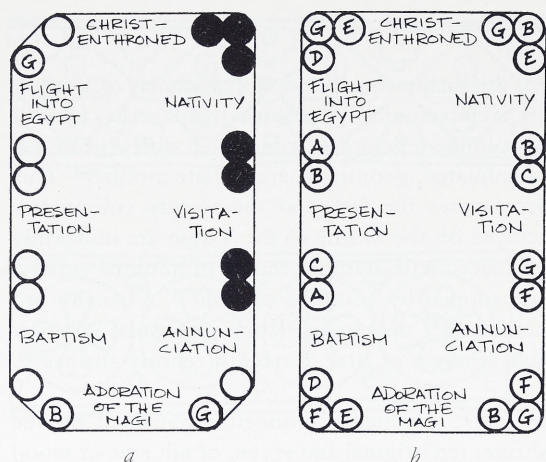


Fig. 69a-b
Plan of the Colonnets, Shrine of the Virgin,
Tournai Cath. (Key: ● = 1812 colonnette, A-G =
see Fig. 68a-g)
a. Before 1889, b. After 1889-90

Pending further scientific analysis, only a few remarks may be offered regarding the individual stamps. Four share variations on the five-lobed rosette-and-“bowtie” motif (Figs. 68a, c, d, f) and one displays upon a diamond field both four- and eight-lobed rosettes (Fig. 68g). The latter recalls the general composition of the enamels decorating the *Flight into Egypt* niche (Fig. 63c). The rosette per se recurs as a four-lobed motif in both champlevé and cloisonné enamels (Figs. 63a, c; 65a). The original palmette stamp (Fig. 68a) has been proven identical to the stamped palmettes decorating the surfaces of the medallions framing the roof reliefs²¹⁰. Its tool might also have been used to create the diagonal motif stamped on other colonnettes (Fig. 68e).

The acanthus appears only once in the repertory of colonnette stamps (Fig. 68b) but reappears as the motif of the capitals. It also forms the stamped ornament of the gilt spandrel arches, which were discovered intact on the left side of the shrine in 1889²¹¹. It remains to be determined if the same acanthus stamp was used for both colonnette and spandrel arch.

Stampwork known to be original appears to partake of the general homogeneity characterizing the shrine's overall ornamental program, i.e., the recurrence of rosette motif in stamp- and enamelwork and the use of the same palmette stamp in both colonnette and medallion frame (as well as its

reappearance as the motif forming the arcade crests). Beyond these proven correspondences, however, further parallels in terms of motif cannot be absolutely attributed to the original ornamental plan. Pending technical analysis of all the colonnettes, the possibility exists that some of the stamp motifs might have been conceived only in 1889-90, for Cloquet himself frequently based newly-invented ornament on original motifs.

Cast Crests (Figs. 70-1)

Original arcade crests (Fig. 70) have survived in situ on the left side of the shrine²¹², as well as on one of the end-arches²¹³. The remaining crests visible in the pre-restoration photographs were replaced in 1889-90²¹⁴. A single crystal knob, crowned by a pine cone and supported by a series of acanthus

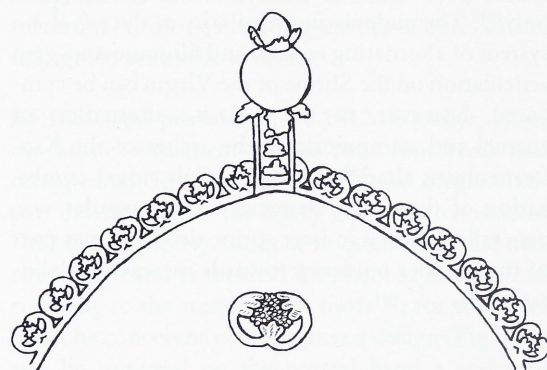


Fig. 70
Cast Crest and Crystal Knob of the Arcades,
Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.

leaves, was discovered surmounting the *Presentation* arch in 1889 (cf. Fig. 34). Initially only repaired, it was subsequently replaced²¹⁵ and provided the model for the replacement of the bulbous knobs – probably of 1812 confection – topping six of the remaining seven arches (Figs. 5, 18) before restoration²¹⁶.

Foliate cresting with a knob at the summit is a common feature of later thirteenth-century shrine arcades²¹⁷. In these, the spiky treatment of the crests serves to re-emphasize the “Gothic” – or pointed – nature of the arches (and gables). The

arcade crests on the Shrine of the Virgin, on the other hand, are composed of rounded, involuted palmettes which complement the less-than-pointed shape of the arches they surmount. In this fashion, then, the design of these crests emerges as an intermediate step in a development of arcade ornament oriented towards the expressive unification of arch and crest²¹⁸. Furthermore, the duplication of palmette motif on colonnette, arcade crest, and medallion frame once again illustrates the principle of integration defining the shrine's ornamental program.

The "crêtage en mauvais goût" which surmounted the shrine as a whole in 1889 (Fig. 34) was conceived in "style rococo" and fashioned from either gilt wood or cast metal²¹⁹, both style and substance indicating its probable manufacture in 1812. It was replaced in 1889–90 (Fig. 71)²²⁰ on the model of a portion of the crest on the Shrine of the Virgin in Aachen²²¹, a prototype whose selection evinces Cloquet's awareness of the nature of the ornamental program with which he was dealing. The imposi-



Fig. 71
Cast Main Crest, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.

tion of the kind of free-flowing animated crest characterizing twelfth-century shrines²²² would have disrupted the restraint clearly demonstrated in the rest of the shrine's ornamentation, whereas the formality of the new main crest harmonizes with the measured ordonnance typifying the overall decorative system²²³.

Cloquet identified the knobs surmounting the 1812 crest as an "imitation évidente des riches pommeaux en orfèvrerie émaillée et émaillée de l'époque"²²⁴. He planned to reconstitute them as such, but later substituted crystal knobs²²⁵. His second choice can be validated by the employment of crystal knobs on the shrine's original arcade crests as well as by the general prevalence of crystal ornamentation on shrines of the period²²⁶.



Fig. 72a–c
Engraved Work, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
a. Roof Borders (Drawing: after Cloquet 1889, pl. VII)
b. Pedestal Band at the Shrine's Ends
c. Pedestal Band (Drawing: after Cloquet 1889; pl. VII)

Engraving (Fig. 72)

The engraved bands lining the pedestal (Fig. 72a–b) and roof borders (Fig. 72c) were manufactured in 1889–90²²⁷. Two of the designs (Fig. 72a, c) represent direct copies of bands of émail brun found on the Shrine of St. Eleutherius²²⁸. While engraved work was not an uncommon ornament for roof borders²²⁹, its employment as the sole decorative technique in Cloquet's reconstruction of the pedestal is most unusual. This area of a shrine was normally composed of a band of alternating enamel/filigrane-and-gem plaques, sometimes in combination with a band of ornamental relief²³⁰. With no evidence regarding the original decoration of the

shrine's pedestal²³¹, then, neither the existing restoration (Fig. 73b) nor the one initially planned (Fig. 73a)²³² can be considered justifiable.

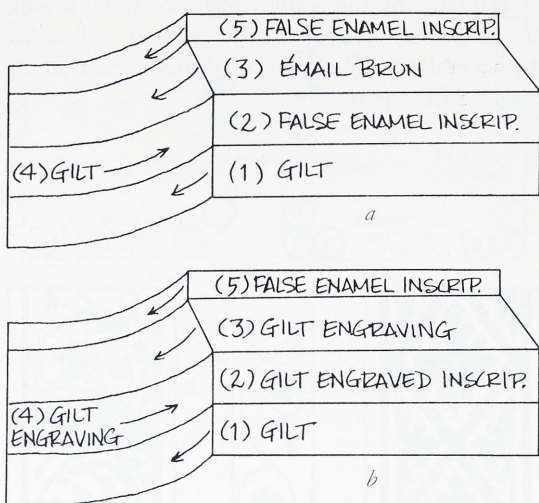
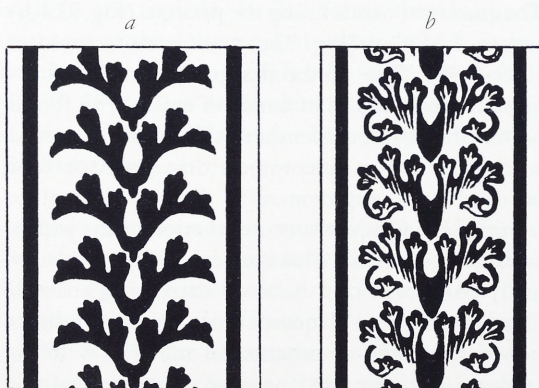


Fig. 73a-b
Pedestal Design, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Key: see n. 232)
a. Proposed in 1889, b. Executed in 1889-90

Email Brun (Fig. 74)

Email brun panels were inserted in 1889-90 behind the colonnettes flanking the *Visitation* (Fig. 74b) and *Presentation* (Fig. 74a)²³³. As he had done for the engraved work, Cloquet found the models for

Fig. 74a-b
Email Brun, Shrine of the Virgin, Tournai Cath.
(Drawings: after Cloquet 1889, pl. VII)
a. Left Side, b. Right Side



these florets on the Shrine of St. Eleutherius²³⁴. Although not extant before 1889, these panels are perfectly consistent with comparable ornament on other shrines²³⁵. That two different motifs were used on the two sides of the shrine marks a departure in Cloquet's systematic approach to restoration of ornament²³⁶, and does not seem to suit the general regularity displayed in the shrine's original ornamental program. At the outset, such email brun panels would probably have been of identical design.

4. Formal Program

The overall formal composition of the Shrine of the Virgin incorporates several features which identify it as a monument in the oeuvre of Nicholas of Verdun: the adherence to units of three in the organization of scenes²³⁷; the use of round roof medallions²³⁸; and the definition of the niches by a system of doubled colonnettes supporting trefoil arches²³⁹. Apart from the individual significance of these elements, the organization of the shrine is notable for its unified and regularized disposition, complementing the nature and distribution of the ornament. The niche-system, the shrine's primary organizational field, is the essential factor in the synthesis of the shrine's formal scheme. The uniform framing of each niche by doubled colonnettes provides the horizontal union of design. This is maintained for the end-niches by a grouping of three colonnettes at the corners (Fig. 69b)²⁴⁰, engendering a formal alliance between the sides and ends of a shrine which is novel in view of the conventional organization of a shrine²⁴¹. The vertical cohesion of wall and roof is dependent upon the trefoil arch of the niche unit. The shape of these arches, frequently described as pointed, has been said to herald the imminent arrival of the Gothic style in shrine-production²⁴². However, the "proto-Gothic" significance of these arches lies not in their physical shape but in their function within the formal program. This is demonstrated in the different treatments accorded the arches on the sides and the ends of the shrine. On the sides, the distinctly ovoid (not pointed) arches overlap the visual field of the side roofs; the summits and knobs of the arcade thereby become elements common to both fields. The arches at the ends of the shrine also unite wall and roof in the same manner described, but to do so they are merely rounded at the apex, for the increased width of these niches renders unnecessary the arch's vertical elongation. This to be sure, represents a certain disjunction within the formal

system allying side-niche with end-niche, but the more basic consolidation of wall and roof is sustained – so successfully, in fact, that the disparity in the shape of the arches on the Shrine of the Virgin is often overlooked.

The hipped roof also contributes to the formal integration of the shrine. Viewed from the sides (Figs. 17, 33), its diagonal recession serves to emphasize the plastic importance of the reliefs displayed in the three niches below as it balances them at the same time with a harmonious cluster of three smaller reliefs above. It achieves the same effect at the ends, augmented by the semi-circular extensions of the pedestal²⁴³. Nevertheless, this eccentric roof-shape has given rise to recent misgivings regarding its authenticity²⁴⁴, for its appearance on the Shrine of the Virgin is unique for the period²⁴⁵. The hipped roof is not a product of the 1889–90 restoration, as



Fig. 75
Grand Procession, West Front Frieze, Tournai Cath.,
c. 1589 (Photo: author)

has been suggested²⁴⁶, nor is it likely the result of the short-lived 1812 campaign²⁴⁷. Indeed, substantive evidence for the shape of the shrine dates back to the sixteenth-century, when it is depicted on the west front of Tournai Cathedral in a frieze of c. 1589 representing the “Grand Procession” (Fig. 75)²⁴⁸. There, the hipped-roof Shrine of the Virgin at the right is clearly distinguished from the conventional gable-end reliquary representing the Shrine of St. Eleutherius. Since the hipped-roof gained currency in shrine-production only after the mid-thirteenth century, one might be led to attribute its existence to the 1350–75 restoration²⁴⁹. This theory, too, can be discounted by hypothetically reconstructing the shrine as a gable-end reliquary (Fig. 76a–b).

Of the alternative plans proposed, neither can be sustained by elements preserved from the original shrine. The existence of a fourth relief to account for the expansion of each side roof in a gable-end frame (Fig. 76a) finds no justification in any surviving physical or documentary evidence. The scheme involving only the extant reliefs (Fig. 76b), on the other hand, raises problems for the shape and arrangement of the enamels flanking the medallions. The indubitably original enamels filling the lowermost corners of the side roofs today (Fig. 61 a–d) have not been cut down from right-angled shapes, for their compositions are designed specifically for their triangular shapes (as are the enamel rinceaux filling the remaining interstices between roundels and border). Whether the medallions were evenly aligned along the roof as pictured, or grouped closely towards the center, the existence of these uncut enamels within either arrangement

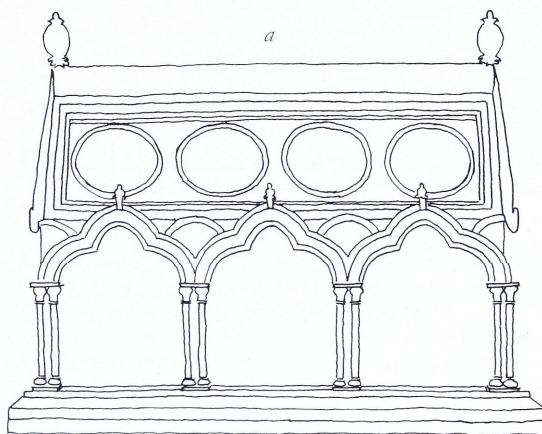
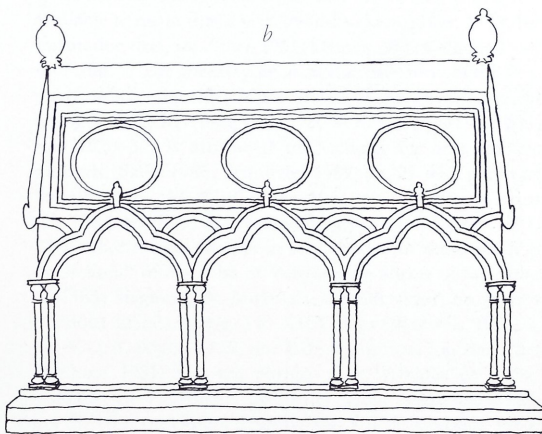


Fig. 76a–b
*Hypothetical Reconstructions of the Shrine of the Virgin
as a Gable-End Reliquary*

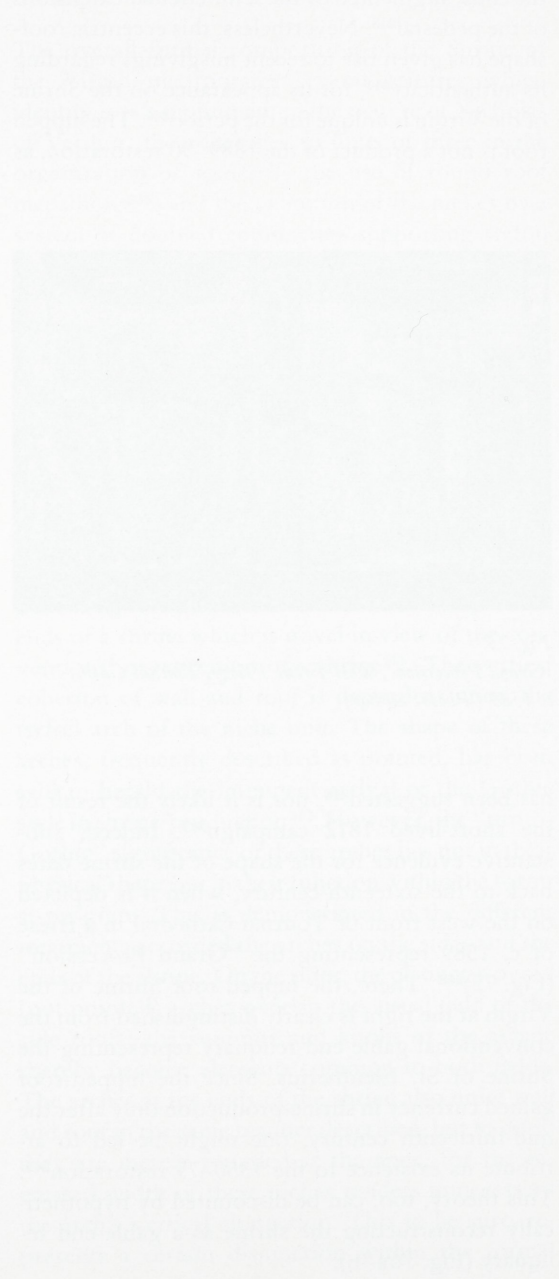


presupposes an inordinately haphazard composition since insertion of additional enamels would have been required to fill the remaining space of the enlarged field.

* * * * *

It cannot be denied that centuries of deterioration and multiple campaigns of restoration have left their mark on the Shrine of the Virgin in Tournai. Nonetheless, much of the shrine's essential sub-

stance has been preserved, to a degree that confirms its creation c. 1205²⁵⁰ under the direction of Nicholas of Verdun²⁵¹. His distinctive artistic personality is perceptible throughout the figured, ornamental, and formal programs of the shrine. Further investigation of those elements now known to be original will specify the precise extent of his role in both plan and execution. For the moment, the oft-repeated conclusion regarding the shrine's pre-eminent stature in the oeuvre of Nicholas of Verdun "despite" heavy restoration²⁵² may be re-asserted, but this time with the full weight of restoration data in its favor.



NOTES

* This is the first of a two-part study adapted from my doctoral dissertation of the same title, The Johns Hopkins University, 1975. The second part, dealing with aspects of style, workshop, iconography, and artist/patron collaboration in the creation of the Shrine of the Virgin, will be published in a later issue of the *Aachener Kunstblätter*. Of the many instrumental in the preparation of this study, I would especially like to thank Abbé Jean Dumoulin, Archivist of Tournai Cathedral, and Jacques Pycke, also of the Cathedral Archives; Canon Jean Cassart, Custodian of the Shrine of the Virgin; Dean Albert Milet, Professor and Librarian of the Tournai Séminaire; M. Van Overstraeten, Conservator of the Tournai Archives de l'État; Fr. Dr. Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, formerly of the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne; P. Dr. Walter Schulten, Director of the Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum, Cologne; Dr. Jean D'Amato of the University of Southern California Department of Classics; and my adviser at The Johns Hopkins University Department of the History of Art, Dr. Penelope C. Mayo. Financial support was generously provided by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the Mount Holyoke College Department of Art, The Johns Hopkins University Department of the History of Art, and the University of Southern California Department of Fine Arts.

N.B. A bibliography of all sources cited in the Notes and Appendix appears at the end of this article.

Abbreviations: A.C.T. = Archives du Chapitre Cathédrale, Tournai.

¹ For the inscription, see Document 1 in the Appendix. On Nicholas of Verdun in general, see Schnitzler 1964; Demus 1965; Lasko 1972, 242–53. For the current state-of-research, see Kötzsche 1973, 224–9.

² This end faced the viewers when the shrine was carried in procession (Dumoulin 1963, 16) or was placed on the altar (Voisin 1860, 113).

³ See Cologne 1964, no. 12; Paris 1968, no. 372; New York 1970, I, no. 100; Tournai 1971, no. 80; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. K-5; Rome/Milan 1973/74, no. 37.

⁴ New York 1970.

⁵ For the formative role of Nicholas of Verdun in "Style 1200", see Hoffmann 1970. His first signed and dated work is the enamelled altarpiece (formerly an ambo) of 1181 in Klosterneuburg: Röhrig 1955 (with previous literature); New York 1970, I, no. 179; Collon-Gevaert/*et al.* 1972, no. 51, fig. 8; Kötzsche 1973, figs. 59–61; most recently, see Buschhausen 1974 (I would like to thank Mrs. Helen Doyle of the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* for making this article available to me in time for its inclusion here); *idem.* 1975; for restoration data, see Zykan 1951; Demus 1951; Cologne 1964, no. 7, fig. 7. The general plan as well as execution of the Prophets on the long sides of the Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne Cathedral (long sides 1180's–90's; front 1198–1206; rear 1220–30) is attributed to Nicholas on firm stylistic grounds: Falke 1905; Schnitzler 1959, no. 29 with previous literature, pls. 104–27; Cologne 1964, no. 1; Cologne/Brussels 1972, no. K-1; for restoration data, see Schulten 1971. Two other shrines have been associated with the workshop or "school" of Nicholas of Verdun: the Shrine of St. Anno (c. 1183; Siegburg, St.-Michael's; Zehnder 1967, no. 1 with previous literature, pls. 148–63; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. K-3; Cologne 1975, no. E-1; for restoration data, see Treskow 1951) and the Shrine of St. Albinus (c. 1186; Cologne, St.-Pantaleon; Schnitzler 1939; Schnitzler 1959, no. 28 with previous literature, pls. 101–3; Cologne 1964,

- no. 16; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. K-2; Cologne 1975, no. E-4; for restoration data, see Kessler 1951). For the numerous other works attributed with greater or lesser reason to Nicholas of Verdun, see Kötzsche 1973, 224–5.
- ⁶ The style of the *Presentation* and *Baptism* groups, two of the best-preserved reliefs (cf. Figs. 37–40), has been used to characterize the shrine as an expression of the serene classicism (cf. Kitzinger 1966, 40; Wixom 1970, 96) stemming from Nicholas of Verdun's mature genius (cf. Collon-Gevaert *et al.* 1972, no. 55; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. K-5; Lasko 1972, 242–3). Of the remaining reliefs thereby excluded from critical consideration, only the *Maries at the Tomb* has been analytically appraised (Demus 1973a), but not in the context of the shrine as a whole.
- ⁷ Sauerländer 1971, 513; cf. also, Fillitz 1972, 329; *idem.* 1973, 279; Kötzsche 1973, 228; Kahsnitz 1973, 307.
- ⁸ For the hipped roof, see Sauerländer 1971, 513; for the inscription, see Kötzsche 1973, 224, 228.
- ⁹ “Das reichgeschmückte [Shrine of the Virgin] hat infolge seiner Beraubung und Ergänzung, vielleicht auch infolge der Beteiligung von Gehilfen nicht mehr den bedeutenden Charakter der früheren Arbeiten [by Nicholas of Verdun]” (Bauch 1973, 160).
- ¹⁰ Cloquet 1892; 1890–92. The two reports are nearly identical.
- ¹¹ Huguet 1890. This small booklet was funded by the Cathedral Chapter (see Document 42 in the Appendix).
- ¹² Le Maistre d'Anstaing 1842/43, I, 374–5; Voisin 1860; Dumortier 1862, 219–22; Liénard 1872, 107–35.
- ¹³ These photographs were deposited in the Cathedral Treasury after completion of the restoration (Huguet 1890, 12 n. 1) but must have been destroyed in the 1940 bombardment of Tournai, for they cannot be located today.
- ¹⁴ Liénard's drawing of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 4) was to have been submitted to “notre musée Verdunois” (Liénard 1972, 113); a communication from the Musée de la Princerie in Verdun informs me that it is not in its collection.
- ¹⁵ See the bibliography for Document 1 in the Appendix.
- ¹⁶ This study is not a technical report. It derives solely from documentary evidence and visual examination.
- ¹⁷ I am indebted to Professor Albert Milet for bringing the documents in question to my attention.
- ¹⁸ Following its exhibition in Rome and Milan in 1973 and 1974 (see n. 3), the shrine was cleaned by a team of conservators at the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels (I am indebted for this information to Canon Jean Cassart).
- ¹⁹ The shrine may have inadvertently become involved in an altercation which arose in 1340 during the “Grand Procession” (cf. Dumoulin 1963, 23–38), a ceremony in which the Shrine of the Virgin was traditionally carried by citizens of Ghent. Four *Gantois* clerics seeking this traditional privilege were turned away by Tournaisiens, who were disinclined to honor custom since they were under siege at that time by the Flemish. Fearing retaliation by the disgruntled *Gantois*, “la cotte & fierte de nostre Dame fut armoïée des armes du Roy de France: & pour éviter le danger des engins des ennemis...”, the procession took another route (Cousin 1619/20, IV, 140; 1868 ed., IV, 146). The event's description furnishes a setting in which the shrine's fragile fabric might have been damaged in piecemeal fashion, by careless deployment of weaponry or by efforts to prevent the shrine's displacement as it was hastily removed from the scene. Of course, other hypotheses might be advanced to explain the 1350–75 restoration; Cousin's account simply provides the lone documented event prior to this time from which damage to the shrine can be inferred.
- Apart from stylistic and iconographical evidence, to be introduced below, historical data also substantiate the chronology. From 1351 until 1378, Tournai's high ecclesiastical office was held by Bishop Philip d'Arbois, friend of Charles V and Philip the Good. He concerned himself with the embellishment of his Cathedral, renovating the choir in 1364 and bequeathing at his death many “ornements et argenteries” to the Treasury (Le Maistre d'Anstaing 1842/43, II, 77–9; cf. also, Cousin 1619/20, IV, Cap. 31). Subsequent events, such as the schismatic bishopric of 1378–89, probably halted subsequent attention to the Cathedral and Treasury. The quarter-century under Philip d'Arbois seems the likeliest period in which restoration to the shrine would have been successfully undertaken.
- ²⁰ See n. 26.
- ²¹ A comparable authorization in 1812 used the word “cleaning” (“netoyement”: Doc. 3) but the actual work undertaken was that of restoration.
- ²² By 1629–38, the inscriptions lining the three niches on the right side, the two end-roofs, and portions referring to the *Noli me Tangere* and *Christ-Enthroned* scenes had disappeared (cf. Doc. 1). When their loss occurred is not certain. Although the Cathedral's Treasury had been sacked in August 1566 – with damage subsequently requiring the services of a goldsmith (*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire del Évêque et de la cité de Tournay par Messire Nicolas duFief*, c. 1640–4; Brussels, Bibl. Roy., 13762–8, fol. 177^{r-v}; cf. Le Maistre d'Anstaing 1842/43, II, 245 n. 1; Dumortier 1862, 233) – the Shrine of the Virgin had already been safeguarded by its removal from the Cathedral (n. 23). It is possible that these inscriptions had disappeared earlier, perhaps before the 1350–75 restoration when three reliefs on the shrine's right side required extensive restoration.
- ²³ Presumably from the time of its creation, the Shrine of the Virgin was conventionally subjected to open-air exposure in processions, as was customary in the Middle Ages (see Legner 1973, 72–82). In addition to the “Grand Procession” (n. 19), the shrine annually peregrinated to all of Tournai's parish churches during Lent, and at Pentecost was displayed in the Grand-Place, the town square (*Livre des serments*, late 14c.; A.C.T., 359b, fols. 16^v–17^r). On at least one occasion, it journeyed as far afield as Bruges, where it partook in the celebrations connected with the Feast of the Most Precious Blood in 1311 (Cousin 1619/20, IV, 107; 1868 ed., IV, 111). At irregular intervals lasting through the seventeenth century, it was borne aloft in processions inspired by the need for alleviation of local troubles or thanksgiving at their cessation (*Acta capitularia*, 28 June and 6 July 1647; A.C.T.). Less orthodox perambulations doubtless also contributed to the shrine's decomposition, especially during the politico-

- religious upheavals in the sixteenth and late-eighteenth centuries. The shrine's salvation from the 1566 sack of the Cathedral involved precarious transport and protection: Cousin (1619/20, IV, 309; 1868 ed., IV, 312) relates that it was hidden in a casket and conveyed to Douai "en guise de marchandise" whilst duFief's *Mémoires* some twenty years later (fol. 176^v; n. 22) specify that the Shrine of the Virgin and its pendant (see n. 27) "furent cachées pendant les saccagemens à la grange de dismes, derrière les jarbes ou estreins attendant que la fureur fut passée". Whether encased in a box or shrouded by straw in a barn at this time, the shrine was again the subject of comparable clandestine treatment two centuries later: in the face of Napoleonic revolutionaries, it was spirited out of the Cathedral in the early morning hours of 4 December 1796 and spent the next eight years in the surreptitious possession of local citizenry (*Acta capitularia*, 23–24 November and 2 December 1796; A.C.T.; cf. also, *Châsse de Saint-Éleuthère 1804–1807*, procès-verbal, 11–12 September 1804; A.C.T., Mobilier, 3^e section, no. 2). In its nocturnal movements during this period, the shrine was protected only by a length of cloth and a mesh-like covering ("enveloppée de toile et de sarpillière": *Châsse de Saint-Éleuthère 1804–1807*, procès-verbal, 12 September 1804).
- ²⁴ Loss of the enamel grounds in the niches on the right side might have occurred in the fourteenth century (cf. n. 22); the inscriptions lining the two side-roofs, the foot of the niches on the left side and ends, and on the arch of the *Christ-Enthroned* niche still existed in 1629–38 (Doc. 1).
- ²⁵ "Dorures" (Doc. 4), later described as "repeints d'or à la feuille" and "peinture d'or" (Docs. 7, 21).
- ²⁶ In 1889, the shrine was "décapé ... des peintures d'or, des surcharges de cire, de plâtre et d'étain" (Doc. 28). See Doc. 4 for a itemized accounting. The wood, wax, and plaster used for reliefs repaired or introduced to the shrine before 1889 can be reasonably assigned to 1812. It is unlikely that perishable plaster and wax would have survived longer than the few decades between the 1812 and 1889–90 restorations. Furthermore, those reliefs identifiable as fourteenth-century are constructed solely of silver gilt repoussé; of those produced in 1812, only two were executed in metal relief (cf. Fig. 45). The same attribution may be made for the wood, bronze, zinc, and tin elements applied as ornament before 1889. Although no longer subject to proof, the reported disparity of material and the generally rude treatment of these elements as pictured in the pre-restoration photographs argues for their 1812 origin.
- ²⁷ For the Shrine of St. Eleutherius (c. 1247; Tournai Cath.), see Cloquet 1889; Braun 1922, II, pls. 92–6; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. M-11. For its restoration in 1812, see Doc. 4. By the seventeenth century, the Shrine of the Virgin had assumed in local eyes a secondary status, being termed the "fierté seconde" (Doc. 1) or simply "l'autre [shrine]" (*Mémoires ... du Fief*, fol. 176^v; n. 22). The comparison was sustained into the nineteenth century, when it was considered "moins décorée" than the "mieux ornée" Shrine of St. Eleutherius (*Châsse de Saint-Éleuthère 1804–1807*, procès-verbal, 11 September 1804; n. 23).
- ²⁸ The ravaged condition of the shrine subsequent to the 1812 restoration as well as continuing deterioration no doubt affected the more sensitive eyes of self-styled critics of the mid-nineteenth-century, who branded it "très-inférieure au point de vue de l'art à celle de St.-Éleuthère" (Dumortier 1862, 220) and identified its decoration as painted wood (Le Maistre d'Anstaing 1842/43, I, 375).
- ²⁹ Cloquet speculated if the gilt overlay were "le fait d'une main pieuse qui a voulu dérober ses beautés aux convoitises des calvinistes, ou l'inepte profanation d'un vandale dont la bêtise dépasse les limites connues jusqu'ici" (Doc. 7). Cf. Cloquet 1892, 315; 1890–92, 414.
- ³⁰ In referring to these products of the "siècle dernier", Cloquet repeatedly uses the terms "rococo", "l'art mou", and "style Louis XV" (Cloquet 1892, 319, 322, 310; 1890–92, 426, 409). His stylistic acuity is not at fault, for the 1812 reliefs remaining on the shrine (e.g., the angel in the *Flight into Egypt*; Fig. 35) express the simpering sweetness commonly associated with eighteenth-century art. No doubt the 1812 restorers were local craftsmen whose artistic ideals had been shaped in the preceding century.
- ³¹ Soil de Moriamé (1896, 171) believed the shrine had been "restaurée de la façon la plus heureuse et la plus consciencieuse" and Helbig (1906, 95) judged the restoration to have been "fidèle à l'esprit et aux intentions du maître [Nicholas of Verdun]"; cf. also, Huguet 1890, 5–6.
- ³² Creutz (1923, 139) was the first to find the monument a "stark beschädigte Schrein, dessen zahlreiche Ergänzungen höchst fragwürdiger Natur sind".
- ³³ Cf. the new enamels in the niches as well as the new colonnettes and arcade ornament (below, Part 3).
- ³⁴ For Cloquet (1892, 308), Nicholas of Verdun was "un des principaux orfèvres du XIII^e siècle", an opinion which diverges abruptly from that representing mid-nineteenth-century attitudes: "la manière de représenter les sujets [of the Shrine of the Virgin] n'a rien de particulier, et sous ce rapport, l'oeuvre de l'artiste est peu remarquable. En considérant le tout, on peut juger que maître Nicolas de Verdun était un ouvrier habile, mais on regrette que tout son travail n'ait pas été aussi soigné que le méritait la quantité énorme de métaux précieux qu'on avait mis à sa disposition" (Voisin 1860, 116).
- ³⁵ Beyond his professional activities as architect and engineer in Tournai and professor (capacity undefined) at the University of Ghent, Cloquet seems to have been sincerely committed to the arts, as secretary of the *Revue de l'art chrétien*, corresponding member of the Société des antiquaires de France, and titular member of the Société historique et littéraire de Tournai (Cassart 1974, 97). It seems reasonable to assume that his attitude towards conservation was not unique for his time.
- ³⁶ "Confection des inscriptions ... recherche des textes" (Doc. 22; cf. Doc. 1).
- ³⁷ "Livré 5 plaques en cuivre servant de fond ... au lieu de fonds émaillés" (Doc. 38).
- ³⁸ His insertion of an angel into the *Flight into Egypt* also fails analysis (n. 128).
- ³⁹ Cloquet explains that he "scrupule de laisser appliquer sur cette ancienne orfèvrerie la dorure ordinaire de nos orfèvres, qui est beaucoup plus riche que l'ancienne. Laquelle se faisait non pas au bain galvanique d'eau régale, mais à l'aide du mercure. Pour obtenir la dorure pâle qui convient, nous avons

trouvé le procédé et nous n'avons pas à recourir à des spécialistes étrangers, mais le bain particulier qu'il faut préparer exprès doit reposer une quinzaine de jours avant de pouvoir servir" (Doc. 14). A. E. Werner, Keeper at the Research Laboratory of the British Museum, informs me that he does not know what the "bain particulier" might have been. Technical analysis is required to determine if all the original metalwork on the shrine was regilded by this process (e.g., "dorés 3 grands groupes", referring to those in the niches on the left side: Doc. 17), or if it was used only for the one colonnette so documented (n. 205). In any case, it is this attention to technical details that explains Cloquet's definition of his restoration as "seulement une restitution au point de vue de l'aspect d'ensemble conçu par Nicolas de Verdun, en même temps qu'une consciencieuse réparation des précieux fragments de son oeuvre" (Cloquet 1892, 320; 1890-92, 422). On mercury gilding, see Theophilus, *De Diversis Artibus*, Bk. III, Cap. 38 (Dodwell 1961, 88-92); Collon-Gevaert *et al.* 1972, 66-7.

⁴⁰ See n. 169. All enamels not specifically identified as original should be understood as nineteenth-century counterfeits.

⁴¹ E.g., the Shrine of St. Eleutherius (n. 27) for émail brun motifs and the Shrine of the Virgin in Aachen (n. 174) for the model of the new main crest (below, Part 3).

⁴² See n. 168.

⁴³ They were apparently responsible for restorations of the *Adoration of the Magi*, *Christ-Enthroned*, *Nativity*, *Crucifixion*, *Incredulity of Thomas*, and *Maries at the Tomb*, as well as for the confection of the *Noli me Tangere* and the new spandrel angels. See Docs. 28, 31, 36, 38.

⁴⁴ The rearrangement may have been effected in 1812, given the casual approach adopted in that restoration. It certainly confused nineteenth-century identification of the subjects depicted in the niches: cf. Liénard (1872, 121), who reported them as the *Incredulity of Thomas*, *Noli me Tangere*, and *Descent into Limbo*.

⁴⁵ "Le flanc gauche de la fierté . . . a éprouvé une détérioration considérable par suite de laquelle ce côté dût être entièrement réparé; l'ouvrier chargé de ce soin n'eut pas du moins la bonne pensée de tirer parti des débris qui pouvaient être conservés, ni celle d'adopter le style du modèle qu'il avait sous les yeux; il . . . refit le tout à nouveau, sans conserver aux groupes qu'il remplaçait leur signification première . . . ; il substitua aux groupes de maître Nicolas des personnages sans caractère et tout fait incompréhensibles" (Liénard 1872, 120). Although the thesis of restoration has been here taken to an extreme, Liénard's recognition of the stylistic disparity existing among the reliefs brings to the fore the question of workshop contributions in the shrine's creation; cf. nn. 9, 63, 134.

⁴⁶ "1 ange du pignon à refaire" (Doc. 22); "livré 2 anges pour le pignon dont un a été supprimé par Monsieur Cloquet" (Doc. 38). The restoration involved the removal of the thirteenth-century angel found above the *Adoration of the Magi* to the roof of the *Christ-Enthroned* (n. 70) and the consequent replacement of the "figurine efféminée" (Cloquet 1892, 322; 1890-92, 426) found in the latter position with the bust presently surmounting the *Adoration*.

⁴⁷ "Le groupe de l'Adoration des Mages doit nécessairement être surmonté dans le toit d'un ange faisant pendant à l'autre . . . il doit porter l'étoile. Un des mages, a une main levée, qui, présentement, porte gauchement la couronne sur la tête de la Vierge; m'est avis que cette main doit être levée vers le ciel et montrer l'étoile miraculeuse" (Doc. 28); cf. Cloquet 1892, 323; 1890-92, 429. In the nineteenth century, the angel standing at the right of the Virgin and Child in the *Adoration* tympanum at Laon (left door, 1195-1205) was also restored holding the star: Sauerländer 1972, 425, pls. 69b, 71.

⁴⁸ Cloquet 1892, 312; 1890-92, 411-12. "Exécution en orfèvrerie d'une main de Mage . . . 2 pieds de Mage (Doc. 22); "expédié à Monsieur Van Uytvanck . . . un Roi Mage" (Doc. 38). Cloquet (1892, 311 n. 1; 1890-92, 411 n. 1) implies that the King's crown was also restored at this time, indicating that only two of the gems are "ancienne".

⁴⁹ Only two colonnettes stood at this corner prior to 1889 (Figs. 5, 69a; n. 240).

⁵⁰ "Cou de la Ste. Vierge: . . . exécution à orfèvrerie" (Doc. 22); "la tête de la Vierge ne tenait plus au tronc, et une lacune existait à l'endroit du cou" (Doc. 28); "expédié à Monsieur Van Uytvanck la Ste. Vierge" (Doc. 38).

⁵¹ Cloquet (1892, 310; 1890-92, 409) termed the scepter a "recent" addition, hence probably of 1812 origin. That the hand is cupped, however, suggests that it is designed to hold a scepter or similar object.

⁵² Cloquet (1892, 325; 1890-92, 431) and Huguet (1890, 12) believed that Nicholas of Verdun had worked into the Virgin's bodice this translucent medallion, which they verified as early Byzantine (sixth- to tenth-century) with reference to an identical medallion in the center of a Byzantine cross-staurothèque in Tournai's Cathedral Treasury (de Linas 1887; Tournai 1971, no. 72, pl. 47). In fact, the cross had not entered Tournai until c. 1225 (cf. Tournai 1971, no. 72); moreover, its enamel centerpiece is not contemporary with the body of the cross but is instead a later insertion (de Linas 1887, 421; Rolland 1933, 171), whereas its identical mate on the shrine's Virgin reveals "aucune trace de refaçon. La place de l'émail a bien été réservée, dès l'origine, sur le manteau de la Vierge" (Rolland 1933, 171). Because the Virgin dates to 1350-75, as will be shown, the problem remains whether the medallion also dates to that period or to c. 1300, as a comparable quatrefoil enamel in the Cleveland Museum of Art suggests (Cleveland 1964, no. 12). The latter conclusion may be substantiated with reference to the translucent enamel contained in the belt girdling the Virgin. Although both Cloquet (1892, 325) and Rolland (1933, 171) thought this a "naïve" and "timid" imitation by Nicholas of Verdun of the "Byzantine" enamel above, the belt per se can only have been created at the same time as the Virgin. The stylistic disparity between the medallion and the enamel in the belt argues against their concurrent execution by one hand. The finer enamel on the Virgin's bodice was therefore probably created c. 1300 and was simply appropriated for the later restoration of the Virgin.

⁵³ "Adoration des Mages . . . Enfant Jésus, un bras" (Doc. 22). Both hands were apparently extant in 1889 (cf. Fig. 4), the left holding an object which Liénard (1872, 115) does not describe.

- ⁵⁴ Cf. Fig. 4. This signifies Cloquet's attempt to unify the iconography of the shrine's two ends, for he also added a globe to the *Christ-Enthroned* scene (n. 76).
- ⁵⁵ The Child's feet are not discernible in the pre-restoration photographs and Liénard (1872, 115) describes the robes as "enveloping" the feet; only the notation "expédié à Monsieur Van Uytvanck . . . l'Enfant Jésus" in the company of other reliefs from the *Adoration* scene (nn. 48, 50; Doc. 38) documents their reconstruction.
- ⁵⁶ Huguet 1890, 11; cf. also, Voisin 1860, 115–16; Liénard 1872, 114–16.
- ⁵⁷ Cologne 1964, no. 12; New York 1970, I, no. 100; Lasko 1972, 242.
- ⁵⁸ Attributed to the "Master of the Mosan Madonnas in Marble"; Antwerp, Mus. Mayer van den Bergh; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. 0–9 with previous literature.
- ⁵⁹ Schnitzler (1934, 65) has suggested that the facial smoothness characterizing many of these heads is actually the result of restoration. Although technical and stylistic analysis is precluded here, it should be pointed out that such surface unification is, in fact, the exclusive province of the shrine's female heads. Original masculine faces (Figs. 12, 43) are more thoroughly explored in terms of expressive configuration. The face of Elizabeth in the *Visitation* remains a notable – and iconographically intriguing – exception.
- ⁶⁰ Cloquet (1892, 310 n. 1; 1890–92, 409 n. 1) considered the crown "ancienne", citing as preserved gems "2 améthystes carrées au dessus du front, 1 petite améthyste ronde, 2 petits grenats et 2 petites émeraudes rondes, le grand grenat ovale à tailles concaves au dessus de l'oreille droite"; he apparently added "fausses" gems to these.
- ⁶¹ "Exécution en orfèvrerie . . . le cou d'un Mage" (Doc. 22); the repair to the neck of the second King is undocumented but visually evident.
- ⁶² Cloquet (1892, 312 n. 1; 1890–92, 412 n. 1) considered the gems in the crowns of both Magi "toutes anciennes".
- ⁶³ The difficulty heretofore experienced in the determination of original versus restored parts of the shrine has confined recent commentary regarding purported workshop hands to generalizations: cf. Hamann-MacLean 1973, 6 (I would like to thank the author for kindly providing me with the German typescript of his article, to which pagination I refer); cf. also, n. 134.
- ⁶⁴ The search for direct stylistic parallels is impeded by the fact that this restoration was not accomplished by first-rate artists. Though sensitive to the complexion and content of the Shrine of the Virgin, their work is somewhat ungainly (cf. the *Flagellation*; Fig. 52). They were probably provincial artists seeking to imitate contemporary masters, as the comparison between the Virgin and the marble Virgin and Child reveals: the former embodies nothing of the sensuous and elongated elegance of the latter, but in fact represents the de-animation of the model's tautly refined description.
- ⁶⁵ Cf. the *Adoration of the Magi* from the Grabow Altar of 1379 by Meister Bertram of Minden (n. 105; Portmann 1962, pl. 10). Cf. also, Kehrer 1904, 113–14; Kehrer 1908, figs. 204–5, 208, 231; Stange 1969, I, figs. 79, 200. The costume per se was subject to minor variations in detail, but when clothing the hour-glass figure – especially evident in the shrine's *Flagellation* – it becomes an archetype of northern imagery in the fourteenth century.
- ⁶⁶ Magi were traditionally distinguished only in the length or absence of beards; usually, they were costumed alike in short robes belted at the waist or in long robes (see Kehrer 1904, 105, 113). For the latter attire, cf. Nicholas of Verdun's *Adoration of the Magi* on the Klosterneuburg altar (n. 5; Röhrig 1955, pl. 12) or the same scene in relief at the front of the Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5; Schnitzler 1959, p. 112).
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Figs. 35, 37, 39. Despite the fact of their relief, original figures appear as if "on stage", for they stand with their feet upon the floor. In contrast, the two Magi could not exist without a retaining wall: their downpointing feet are non-functional except in terms of ballet. Neither physically occupies the given "stage" space, as does the original King at the right, but hangs from the wall. The elastic attenuation of the leg and foot of the King at the far left only further contributes to the floating instability engendered by the relief.
- ⁶⁸ The accessory vessels in which the offerings to the Child are contained date from different centuries. The pyxis held by the Magus at the far left may be fourteenth-century, for it was extant before 1889 (cf. Figs. 4–5) and represents a type common at that time though not indigenous to the period (Kehrer 1904, 112; cf. Musper 1961, fig. 19; Kehrer 1908, fig. 208). In Fig. 1, his companion is shown holding the foot of a tall ciborium (seen in entirety in New York 1970, I, no. 100, fig. on 93; Warichez 1934/35, I, fig. 135), the product of the 1889–90 restoration ("exécution en orfèvrerie . . . un vase": Doc. 22). Before 1889, this King held a lamp-like object (cf. Fig. 4), described as a "coupe d'or" (Liénard 1872, 115; Cloquet 1890–92, 412), which may have dated from the fourteenth century. The King at the right still carries his original pyxis; its mutilation probably occurred when the King's arm was damaged, necessitating plaster reconstruction in 1812.
- ⁶⁹ The angel at the left had replaced the Virgin in the *Annunciation* (Fig. 18) and the angel in the roof surmounted the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 5). Substitutes for both were created in 1812 (cf. n. 46), the standing angel at the left constructed in plaster and evidently modelled on the original angel in the *Baptism* (Fig. 39; Cloquet 1892, 314; 1890–92, 414).
- ⁷⁰ "Tous trois ont une main nue . . . ils ont chacun l'autre main recouverte d'un pli de la draperie" (Doc. 28); "expédié à Monsieur Van Uytvanck . . . 2 anges qui accompagnent Notre-Seigneur" (Doc. 38). "Groupe de Notre-Seigneur . . . refait 2 bras, 2 pieds d'anges" (Doc. 22) refers to restoration of the exposed hands of the two standing angels and the feet of the angel at the left. "La restauration de l'ange du pignon" (Doc. 38) included both hands, its right having been previously restored, possibly in metal relief (cf. Fig. 34): "fait une monture à une couronne d'épines tenue par un ange . . . refait un second bras pour l'ange tenant la couronne d'épines, le premier ayant supprimé par Monsieur Cloquet" (Doc. 38).
- ⁷¹ Cloquet 1892, 322; 1890–92, 427.
- ⁷² These accessories are eminently movable: for Cloquet's arrangement, based on his post-restoration photograph (Cloquet 1892, fig. on 314; 1890–92, fig. on 415), see Fig. 14.

- ⁷³ Cloquet 1892, 323; 1890–92, 427 n. 1. His use of the *Iudicium Sedit* (n. 5; Röhrig 1955, pl. 51) was inconsistent, for he adopted its cross only as a later substitute for his first choice of pincers and hammer, and rejected the three nails depicted in favor of four: “à l’ange du dessus, je compte faire tenir la couronne d’épines (relique), et, d’autre part, la pince et le marteau (instruments). – Aux deux autres, dans la main nue, je mettrai le lance et le bâton porte-éponge; les mains drapées tiendront . . . chacune deux clous. Ce qui me sauve, dans cette circonstance, c’est que l’archéologie enseigne que précisément jusqu’à l’époque de notre châsse, on a figuré la Sauveur attaché à la Croix par quatre clous” (Doc. 28). His attempted parallel between the number of nails in *Crucifixion* scenes and the number used as *arma Christi* is not justified in his declared model: the Klosterneuburg *Crucifixion* (Röhrig 1955, p. 27) departs from the *Iudicium Sedit* insofar as the Corpus is fastened by four nails (as is Christ in the shrine’s *Crucifixion*; Fig. 48). A requisite number of nails had not been determined for *arma Christi* of that period: Berliner 1955, 42.
- ⁷⁴ Cloquet 1892, 314; *idem.* 1890–92, 414; Falke 1905, 179 n. 21. “Du tronc du Christ, qui avait perdu les deux bras, il ne restait qu’un fragment de la partie antérieure de la robe”: Doc. 22.
- ⁷⁵ “Refaire une partie du manteau et 2 bras de Notre-Seigneur, etc.” (Doc. 22); for the globe, see n. 76; for the restoration of the feet and widening of the throne, cf. Figs. 13, 16.
- ⁷⁶ Cloquet (1892, 322 n. 1) initially cites cathedral tympana representing the *Last Judgment* (Paris, Chartres, Bordeaux), then declares that “dans une châsse en cuivre émaillé plus ancienne que la nôtre, appartenant à la comtesse Dzialynska, et publiée par l’*Art pour tous*, le Christ, assis, bénit de la droite, et tient de la gauche un livre ouvert (un globe nous paraît mieux en situation ici [!]); à la main gauche les deux anges qui l’accostent tiennent dans leurs mains, drapées comme dans notre châsse, une croix et une église”.
- ⁷⁷ Mâle 1958, 366, 368–70, fig. 172; Morgan 1973, 264 n. 37.
- ⁷⁸ Cf. Berliner 1955, 42; Schramm (1958, 67 n. 2) has noted the unusual inclusion of the cross-surmounted globe in this context.
- ⁷⁹ Cf. Fig. 45a–b; n. 132. It was probably of metal relief construction, for it was initially to have been retained in the restoration and only later was copied: “nettoyage et réparation d’un ange (avec banderole gothique)” (Doc. 22); “livré au lieu de nettoyer un ange avec fond cuivre doré” (Doc. 38).
- ⁸⁰ “Groupe de l’Annonciation” livré le buste avec les deux mains et bas de la robe à la Ste. Vierge et livré le buste et bras de la robe à l’ange” (Doc. 38); Cloquet (1892, 319; 1890–92, 420) only reports the replacement of the Virgin’s left hand. The “buste” per se of Gabriel has not been indicated in Fig. 20 as restored, for the treatment of the folds differs sharply from the restored bust of the Virgin, suggesting that Mondo has erred in his specification (particularly likely since he neglected to mention the restoration of Gabriel’s feet).
- ⁸¹ This restoration is undocumented, but confirmed by the similarity of these hard-edged feet to others documented in 1889–90 (e. g., the *Noli me Tangere*; Fig. 55). Feet of original figures (e. g., those in the niches on the left side; Fig. 33) are soft and shapeless elements, almost vestigial in structure (cf. Fig. 39), which never comprise the finely-detailed toes distinguishing Gabriel’s feet.
- ⁸² Cloquet 1892, 319; 1890–92, 420. See n. 140.
- ⁸³ The weakly beckoning gesture of Gabriel’s restored arm seems strangely ineffectual, especially when the figure is re-oriented in terms of balance. Perhaps the arm was originally outstretched towards the Virgin, creating a psychological impact comparable to the gesture focusing Nicholas of Verdun’s Klosterneuburg *Annunciation* (n. 5; Röhrig 1955, pl. 3).
- ⁸⁴ The shapeless metal patch uniting the two figures from shoulder to waist was extant before 1889 (Fig. 24); the area was probably renewed in 1889–90 since Elizabeth no longer leans as fully against Mary.
- ⁸⁵ “Groupe de ‘la Visitation’ livré 3 mains et 2 bas de robe”: Doc. 38.
- ⁸⁶ Cloquet 1892, 318; 1890–92, 419.
- ⁸⁷ Cloquet (1890–92, 421) reports only that “on a du remplacer ce bras [gauche de Marie]”. The addition of a band of metal, now running the length of Mary’s back, probably accounts for the new angle at which her head now rests.
- ⁸⁸ Cf. the Klosterneuburg *Nativity* (n. 5; Röhrig 1955, pl. 6); the Laon *Nativity* (left door lintel, 1195–1205; Sauerländer 1972, pl. 69c).
- ⁸⁹ Unification of forms in relief characterizes the treatment of original figures, who are bonded by this continuity into a coherent whole; cf. esp., the modelling of feet from the band forming the compositional “ground” (Figs. 35, 37, 39).
- ⁹⁰ Cologne 1964, no. 12; New York 1970, I, no. 100; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, n. K-5.
- ⁹¹ Cloquet 1892, 318; 1890–92, 419.
- ⁹² Cloquet 1892, 318; 1890–92, 419.
- ⁹³ See n. 26.
- ⁹⁴ See n. 147. The pre-1889 Joseph seems to have been garbed in a short tunic belted at the hips which is reminiscent of the centurions in the *Flagellation* (Fig. 52), as well as the leftmost King in the *Adoration* (Fig. 1). Cloquet consistently attributed to the sixteenth century restorations which can be identified as fourteenth-century. His failure to do so with regard to the *Adoration of the Magi* is perhaps due to the misleading presence of original heads in that scene.
- ⁹⁵ For a survey of *Nativity* iconography and previous literature on the subject, see “Geburt Christi”, *LCI*, 86–118; cf. also, Schiller 1971, I, pls. 150–81.
- ⁹⁶ See n. 88; Demus 1973. Cf. the comparable treatment of Joseph in the *Nativity* relief on the roof of the Shrine of St. Albinus (n. 5; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. K-2, fig. on 320). For the various interpretations given Joseph’s presence, see Dinkler-von Schubert 1964, 15–20; Frauenfelder 1939, 25–6; Schiller 1971, I, 72–3.

- ⁹⁷ In late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscript illumination, cf. the so-called "Ci nous dit" (Brussels, Bibl. roy., II.7831, fol. 22^r; Lyna 1946–47, pl. 9; Panofsky 1958, II, pl. 67, fig. 143); the *Meditationes* by Johannes de Caulibus (Paris, Bibl. nat., ital. 115; Raguso/Green 1961, fig. 43). In comparable ivories, cf. Koechlin (1968, no. 142, pl. 38; no. 154, pl. 39; no. 155, pl. 40; no. 172, pl. 43; no. 176, pl. 44; no. 218, pl. 55) who remarks in reference to the atelier responsible for a group of ivories (no. 55, pl. 21) that Joseph's custodial care of the Child was a "formule familière". It probably developed as a parallel to the more frequent image in which the Virgin holds (and/or suckles) the Child; see n. 115.
- ⁹⁸ Cf. esp., the *Speculum humanae salvationis*: e.g., Munich, Staatsbibl., clm. 146, fol. 10^v (Lutz/Perdrizet 1907, II, pl. 15); London, Brit. Mus., Add. 38119, fol. 28^v (Brit. Mus. 1912, pl. 6). The text of the *Speculum* provides the rationale for this hieratic emphasis: *Ostende Filium tuum* (Cap. 8; Lutz/Perdrizet 1907, I, 18; cf. also, Breitenbach 1930, 121–2).
- ⁹⁹ Stubblebine 1969, figs. 25–6; Schnell 1948/49, 152.
- ¹⁰⁰ Cf. a Sacramentary of c. 1305 (Barcelona, Archiv. de la Corona de Aragon, Sign. S. Cugat 24, fol. 12^v; Delclaux 1973, pl. 231); a Psalter at Princeton University (early 14c.; Garrett 35, fol. 2^r; Egbert 1942, 126); the contemporary "Tiptoft" Missal (New York, P. Morgan Lib., M.107, fol. 23^r; James 1906, I, no. 8, pl. opp. 13); and a comparably dated ivory polyptych (London, Victoria and Albert Mus.; Koechlin 1968, no. 171, pl. 42).
- ¹⁰¹ Cf. Meiss 1967, II, figs. 131, 259. The Virgin sometimes hands the Child to the midwife in the latter part of the fourteenth century, but within the context of the apocryphal *Bath of the Child*, rather than as the focus of a curious presentation-Nativity in reverse: cf. Meiss 1967, II, fig. 630; Stange 1969, II, fig. 85.
- ¹⁰² Cf. the numerous examples cited in "Geburt Christi", *LCI*, 109–11.
- ¹⁰³ Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce d.19, fol. 5a, initial 'P'; Pächt/Alexander 1973, no. 774, pl. 74. Against a gold-scroll ground, the Virgin lies on a canopied bed at the right, extending her hands slightly towards Joseph at the left, who appears to be holding the Child horizontally out towards the Virgin, in the presence of the ox and ass in the background. The radiating rays of light surrounding the Child make the gesture difficult to decipher precisely.
- ¹⁰⁴ From Flöz, near Magdeburg; Berlin, Staatl. Mus.; Staatl. Mus. 1929, no. 1878, pl. 122; Stange 1969, II, 75–7, fig. 90.
- ¹⁰⁵ Hamburg, Kunsthalle; Portmann 1962, pls. 7–8; Portmann 1963, 145, pl. 20; Stange 1969, II, 132–42, fig. 167.
- ¹⁰⁶ Braun (1940, 627) admits that the presence of the Godhead in the scene is "die einzigen Beispiele, die mir auf mittelalterlichen Reliquiaren begegnet sind".
- ¹⁰⁷ Stammheim, Coll. Fürstenburg, fol. 92^r; Schiller 1971, I, 71–2, fig. 171. Cf. also, the Gospelbook of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (1011–14; Hildesheim, Cath. Treas., cod. 18, fol. 174^r; Schiller 1971, I, fig. 8).
- ¹⁰⁸ Mâle 1958, 146–7; Morgan 1973, 263 n. 14. Despite Nicholas of Verdun's well-known connection with typological concordance (the Klosterneuburg altar: n. 5; Röhrig 1955, 51–60; Réau 1953), the appearance of the benedictory Godhead in the shrine's *Nativity* cannot be construed as a typological symbol in the absence of the other constituent elements, i.e., Moses and the Burning Bush. The Shrine of the Virgin itself is bare of typological references: the Prophets in the spandrels are definitely non-specific in this respect.
- ¹⁰⁹ E.g., Munich, Staatsbibl., clm. 23245, fol. 1^r; Cornell 1925, pl. 20a. The remaining images of the *Nativity* in these manuscripts illustrated in Cornell conform to this basic pattern, with the exception of one in which the cross-nimbed head of Christ, completely disassociated from *Moses and the Burning Bush* at the left, appears within the enclosing arch of the scene (c. 1350; Munich, Staatsbibl., clm. 19414, fol. 154^r; Cornell 1925, pl. 59).
- ¹¹⁰ E.g., a painted panel from the Rhine-Meuse region (c. 1390–1400; Antwerp, Mus. Mayer van den Bergh; Panofsky 1958, II, pl. 54, fig. 108c).
- ¹¹¹ Cf. Frauenfelder 1939, pl. 15; Aust 1953, figs. 17–18; Schiller 1971, I, figs. 193, 196–9.
- ¹¹² Osnabrück, Gymnasium Carolinum Bibl., unnumbered and unfoliated ms.; Wackernagel 1926, 18–19, pl. 8. A specific date for the manuscript within the given half-century remains problematic, as does its provenance (Wackernagel 1926, 33, initially proposed the Flemish origin, countered by the rhish parallel drawn by Stange 1969, I, 104–5) and original destination (possibly commissioned for a nunnery in Rulle north of Osnabrück): see Beer (1965, 152–3) for a critical summary and previous literature.
- ¹¹³ Cf. Is. 52:6: "Therefore my people shall know my name; therefore they shall know in that day that *I am he that doth speak*". The choice of text may have been inspired by the fact that the initial opens the third Christmas mass, whose *Introitus* is taken from Is. 9:5: *Puer natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis cuius imperium super humerum eius et vocabitur nomen eius magni consilii angelus* (cf. "Unto us a child is born and unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called great counselor of angels").
- ¹¹⁴ At the left, *Liber gl[ori]e n[ost]re acionis IHU XPI fili[us]* (Matt. 1:1); at the right, *In principio erat v[erbum]* (John 1:1).
- ¹¹⁵ Portmann (1963, 145) proposes Giotto's *Nativity* (n. 99) as the generic source for Meister Bertram's version, citing the *Nativity* by the Hohenfurt Master (c. 1350; Prague, Nat. Gall.; Aust 1953, fig. 13) as one of the iconographic mediators. However, Giotto's *Nativity* represents the Child's presentation by an attendant, not Joseph, and the Hohenfurt Master pictures the Virgin holding the Child, a type inconsistent with the presentation-Nativity and far more common following its mid-thirteenth-century invention: cf. Aust 1953, figs. 10b, 11; Schiller 1971, I, figs. 179–80; Koechlin 1968, no. 263 (pl. 68); Stange 1969, I, figs. 35, 55, 86, 107; *idem*, II, figs. 160, 163–4, 199; Musper 1961, fig. 138.
- ¹¹⁶ Wackernagel (1926, 18–19) suggests the textual source is St. Bridget's *Revelationes* (Bk. 7, Cap. 21): *Tunc autem surrexit ipsa, habens puerum in ulnis suis, et simul ambo, scilicet ipsa et Ioseph posuerunt eum in presepio et flexis genibus adorabant eum cum gaudio et immensa leticia* (Bergh 1967, 189–90); cf. "But then she stood up carrying the Child in her arms and together the two, that is she and Joseph, put Him into the manger, and on

their knees they worshipped Him with immense joy and happiness" (Cornell 1924, 13). Only by stretching this text to an extreme can a presentation of the Child by Joseph be evoked. Indeed, the Brigittine connection sought by Wackernagel seems unjustifiable both historically and art-historically. The *Revelationes* themselves date only to the years around 1360–70 (Panofsky 1958, I, 46). When the vision was popularized at the end of the fourteenth century, artists seized upon St. Bridget's description of the cave and the illumination of the Child being adored by Joseph and Mary. In those images, Joseph functioned as the passive purveyor of earthly candlelight whose glow was extinguished by the Child's heavenly radiance (see Cornell 1924; Panofsky 1958, I, 125–7; *idem.*, II, pl. 15, fig. 38; Meiss 1967, I, 236; *idem.*, II, figs. 752, 755–6).

¹¹⁷ "Bei Meister Bertram reicht Joseph der Gottesmutter das Kind, um sich um die Suppe, die schon auf dem Feuer steht, zu kümmern" ("Geburt Christi", *LCI*, 110). This interpretation of the Hamburg *Nativity* not only reverses the direction in which the Child is being offered, but is solely applicable in this instance: of the five presentation-*Nativities*, it alone includes the domestic details establishing a genre atmosphere.

¹¹⁸ For a general survey of devotional literature affecting *Nativity* imagery, see Frauenfelder 1939, 32–50; cf. also, the *Legenda aurea* (Ryan/Ripperger 1941, I, 46–51); the *Meditationes* by Johannes de Caulibus (Raguso/Green 1961, 32–3); the *Speculum humane salutis* (n. 98). In discussion of the fourteenth-century motif of the Virgin adoring the Child in the *Nativity*, Panofsky (1958, I, 46 n. 3) cites its appearance in another initial "P" in the "Codex Gisle" (Wackernagel 1926, pl. 6) as one of several occurring apparently independently of literary description, e.g., in the *Meditationes*. Illustrating the first of the three Christmas masses, its page is inscribed, however, with the antiphon sung in the liturgy of the Presentation: *Ipsam quem genuit adoravit*. Having identified the rationale for the adoration motif, Panofsky concludes that it is "a noteworthy example of the fact that texts familiar to everyone for many centuries yet failed to produce a visual image until the temper of the times demanded it". From this viewpoint, the same impulse might be credited for the depiction of the presentation-*Nativity* in the "Codex Gisle", as its text includes: *filius datus est*. Whether a possibly spontaneous invention of the presentation-*Nativity* in the "Codex Gisle" can then be held directly responsible for the introduction of the later versions, remains moot (although less so in the case of the shrine): little seems to link the extant examples except for an apparent localization of three (the "Codex Gisle", the Tournai shrine, and Meister Bertram's painting) to the general Flemish-Westphalian region.

¹¹⁹ Neither the *Adoration of the Magi* nor the *Flagellation* were iconographically affected by the 1350–75 restoration, undoubtedly because neither image was so subject to significant iconographical fluctuation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as was the *Nativity* (cf. n. 153). By 1350, the shrine's *Nativity* may well have appeared somewhat passé to contemporary viewers.

¹²⁰ Cloquet 1892, 319; 1890–92, 421. Cf. also, the notation "payé à la réception [presumably, from *Gantois* sculptors] du Groupe 'la Nativité'" (Doc. 38).

¹²¹ Their identical formation forces this conclusion. One wing was found in situ at the left of the group (Fig. 18) but apparently required replacement during restoration. Cf. n. 125.

¹²² E.g., the Joseph-and-Child; the angelic bust in the *Annunciation* (n. 79).

¹²³ See n. 158.

¹²⁴ See n. 133.

¹²⁵ The clouds underlying the angel above the *Christ-Enthroned* are an 1889–90 restoration, probably based on the forms still visible beneath the *Nativity* angels prior to restoration (Fig. 18; cf. Fig. 34). The wing extant in 1889 (n. 121) also represents an interpretation alien to the shrine's original angels. See n. 140.

¹²⁶ Because the formal reconstruction is so intimately tied to the new iconography, it is difficult to attribute it to the 1812 restoration, or indeed to any time after the fourteenth century.

¹²⁷ See n. 132; Fig. 45a.

¹²⁸ "Montés 2 sujet sur fond et les dorés" (Doc. 17). The frivolous expression of the angel in the *Flight into Egypt* speaks sufficiently for its 1812 creation. The viability of its insertion is dubious, at least in terms of Cloquet's chosen exemplar: the enamel roundel representing *Fides* from the destroyed twelfth-century retablo of St. Remaclus in Stavelot (Cloquet 1892, 316 and 316 n. 1; *idem.* 1890–92, 416; Collon-Gevaert / *et al.* 1972, no. 19), a model which in no way is connected with the *Flight into Egypt*.

¹²⁹ Liénard (1872, 119) reports that it had been "cassé et refait d'une manière inhabile".

¹³⁰ "Réparé 4 petits sujets et un groupe représentant le baptême de Notre-Seigneur; livrés . . . un bras mis au petit sujet et groupe" (Doc. 10). The angel's globe must have been replaced at the same time, for it no longer resembles its pre-restoration form (Fig. 34). Cloquet (1892, 316 n. 1; 1890–92, 417 n. 1) indicates that the gems in the crown of the *Presentation* angel are "toutes anciennes".

¹³¹ "La travail le plus long est la réfection des groupes en argent repoussé. Par une cause que je n'ai pas encore expliquer, le métal était criblé d'une multitude de trous qu'il a fallu boucher à l'aide des pièces d'argent rapportées, soudées, et ensuite martelées à l'instar de l'ancien ouvrage. Le premier groupe qui est fini [i.e., the *Baptism*; Doc. 10] a reçu environ 200 pièces de ce genre" (Doc. 9). It is this kind of restoration which no doubt explains the notation, "réparé le groupe représentant la Présentation" (Doc. 17). It was undertaken for all the reliefs on the shrine: "nettoyage des groupes, réparations des petites places dues aux corrosions, 5 groupes" (in the niches of the front, rear, and right sides; Doc. 38); "décapage, menues réparations des 5 sujets [excluding the new *Noli me Tangere*; n. 158] des médaillons y compris les fonds" (Doc. 38). Cf. Cloquet 1892, 322 n. 1; 1890–92, 426 n. 1.

¹³² Despite disparate information provided by Cloquet (1890–92, 409) and Liénard (1872, 114), it can be determined that prior to 1889 at least one Prophet remained in the spandrel area, as well as the globe- and crown-bearing angels (Fig. 34) and the angel later copied and placed in the *Annunciation* niche. Granting the presence of another original Prophet somewhere in the spandrels (as indicated in Fig. 45a), three figurines of wood (Cloquet 1890–92, 409) or wood and plaster (Huguet 1890, 9) had been applied to the spandrels in 1812.

- ¹³³ "Livré 5 petits anges cuivre ciselé et doré (Doc. 38; the reference to a fifth angel remains inexplicable); "expédié à Gand 4 anges platinés" (Doc. 38). These notations are among the most confusing in the documents. Nevertheless, the spandrel angels are assuredly of 1889–90 fabrication.
- ¹³⁴ Fäthke (B., *Die Meister des Klosterneuburger Altars*, unpubl. diss., Marburg, 1972; as quoted by Kötzsche 1973, 228) deprecates the Shrine of the Virgin as a "ganz typischen Werkstattarbeit", failing to appreciate the novelty embodied in the "mass-production" of the Prophets. Cf. the spandrel figures on both the Klosterneuburg altar and the Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5), which represent a wide variety in type and expression.
- ¹³⁵ Cologne 1964, no. 12; Cologne/Brussels 1972, no. K-5; Demus 1973a, 142.
- ¹³⁶ Cloquet 1892, 322; 1890–92, 426 (cf. n. 131). "Quoique très détérioré [the *Maries at the Tomb*] a pu être restauré d'une manière intégrale" (Cloquet 1890–92, 423; slightly reworded in 1892, 320–21).
- ¹³⁷ The cost of this relief's restoration (260 francs) exceeded all others (Doc. 38), with the notable exception of the *Noli me Tangere* (300 francs) which was executed completely anew (n. 158).
- ¹³⁸ Cf. Demus 1973a, 141–5.
- ¹³⁹ Demus 1973a, 144.
- ¹⁴⁰ With the exception of the enamel angel representing the Evangelist *Matthew* (Fig. 61d), the six remaining angels preserved on the shrine are wingless: all three framing the *Christ-Enthroned*, the annunciate and baptismal angels, and the bust in the *Presentation* niche. There is no evidence that wings have been lost, nor is it conceivable that technical difficulties prevented their fabrication (Wylie 1945, 65). The authenticity of the angel's wing in the *Maries at the Tomb* must therefore remain highly suspect.
- ¹⁴¹ "Le buste primitif du Christ ainsi que la tête de la Vierge-Mère, de l'oeuvre originelle, avaient fait place à des réfections en métal, d'un style plus récent, probablement du XVI^e siècle" (Cloquet 1890–92, 423; slightly reworded, 1892, 320).
- ¹⁴² Cloquet 1892, 322.
- ¹⁴³ Cf. nn. 26, 94.
- ¹⁴⁴ "Expédié à Monsieur Van Uytvanck le groupe 'le Crucifiement'" (Doc. 38). Cloquet's original plan for restoration apparently included only one figure: "l à restaurer (Crucifiement)" (Doc. 22). There seems to be very little of the Virgin's upper torso visible in the pre-restoration photograph (Fig. 18). The "S"-fold of her mantle at the side might be a copy of the comparable form characterizing Elizabeth's drapery in the *Visitation*; in contrast, the arrangement of drapery across her legs, and especially its cling to her free leg, resembles the treatment of the lower torso of John the Evangelist on the opposite side of the roundel as well as that of the annunciate Gabriel.
- ¹⁴⁵ A nimbus in filigrane-and-gem was added to the niche wall behind Christ in the *Christ-Enthroned* in 1889–90 ("livré un nimbe pour Notre-Seigneur": Doc. 38), to form a pendant for that which had survived behind the Virgin in the *Adoration of the Magi*. Cloquet (1892, 313; 1890–92, 412 n. 1) indicates that all but three of the gems are "ancienne" in the Virgin's nimbus, which was restored in 1889–90: "refait une toute nouvelle monture au grand nimbe qui se trouve derrière la tête de la Ste. Vierge" (Doc. 38).
- ¹⁴⁶ Cf. also, the vestigial character of the feet (n. 81).
- ¹⁴⁷ "Il paraît contemporain du saint Joseph au groupe de la Nativité" (Cloquet 1892, 320).
- ¹⁴⁸ "Les médaillons devront être placés dans l'ordre qu'ils affectaient à l'origine, et qui était différent de celui qui existait au dernier lieu" (Doc. 28).
- ¹⁴⁹ See n. 155.
- ¹⁵⁰ Borchgrave d'Altena (1946, 33) has dated it to c. 1205, and Demus (1965, 636) to 1889–90.
- ¹⁵¹ New York 1970, I, no. 100.
- ¹⁵² Cf. the costume worn by John the Baptist in a funerary monument of c. 1345–50 (Würzburg, Mainfränkisches Mus.; *PK*, pl. 251) and that of St. Severus in a relief dating to c. 1362 (Erfurt, Sts.-Paul-and-Severus; *PK*, pl. 253). Cf. n. 65.
- ¹⁵³ The *Flagellation* must have sustained far more complete damage than had the other reliefs restored in 1350–75. To propose that the great flood of flagellants who poured through Tournai in 1349 might have inspired, by their zeal, the re-doing of the relief as a sort of contemporary expression of fervor, is perhaps reading too much into the Flagellant movement itself, though the coincidence remains intriguing: cf. Southern 1970, 307–8; n. 119.
- ¹⁵⁴ New York 1970, I, no. 100.
- ¹⁵⁵ The nebulous notation, "médaillon de 'Notre-Seigneur aux Limbes' et de 'la Flagellation'" (Doc. 38) must refer to restoration of minimal effects (cf. n. 131).
- ¹⁵⁶ See n. 5; Röhrig 1955, pl. 41.
- ¹⁵⁷ Cloquet (1892, 321; 1890–92, 424) reports that the former *Noli me Tangere* also incorporated gilt wax relief.
- ¹⁵⁸ "Modèle de groupe entièrement neuf représentant l'apparition de Notre-Seigneur à Marie Magdeleine" (Doc. 31).
- ¹⁵⁹ The *Crowning of Thorns* had no place in the shrine's original iconographic program, as no inscription referring to it was preserved in the seventeenth century (Doc. 1).
- ¹⁶⁰ "Médaillon 'St. Thomas touchant les plaies de Notre-Seigneur' restauré Notre-Seigneur et fait St. Thomas entièrement neuf" (Doc. 38).
- ¹⁶¹ Cloquet 1892, 321; 1890–92, 424.
- ¹⁶² The rinceaux enamels were not "stark ergänzt oder völlig erneuert" (Creutz 1923, 140) in 1889–90, but were restored in "cold" enamel (cf. n. 168): "les anciens émaux si dégradés, qui occupaient le fond des grands versants, seront entièrement restaurés" (Doc. 28; cf. Doc. 26). Their deterioration

prior to 1889 had led to identification as niello-work (Voisin 1860, 114; cf. Cassart 1974, 99).

¹⁶³ Buschhausen (1974, 1–9; 1975, 120–21) has succeeded in documenting the formal and technical influence of monumental inlaid engraved reliefs in both Esztergom and St.-Omer on the Klosterneuburg altar. A direct precedent – in technical but not formal terms – for the reversal of the traditional role of enamel in pictorial imagery may be found within the mainstream of Mosan enamelwork: cf. the Stavelot Portable Altar (c. 1165; Brussels, Mus. roy. d'art et d'hist.; Collon-Gevaert/*et al.* 1972, nos. 31–2) and the related fragments from a portable altar (c. 1165; Florence, Bargello; Collon-Gevaert/*et al.* 1972, no. 33), wherein some figures (cf. esp., the *Crucifixion* on the lid of the Stavelot Altar) are depicted in gilt and modelled in enamel.

¹⁶⁴ For Evangelist *Matthew*, cf. the spandrel angel adjoining *Moses Fleeing into Egypt* on the Klosterneuburg altar: n. 5; Röhrig 1955, pl. 17.

¹⁶⁵ See n. 26.

¹⁶⁶ The Christ-Enthroned niche wall was covered in 1812 by gilt paint: Liénard 1972, 116, 117; Cloquet 1892, 313, 315; *idem.* 1890–92, 412, 414.

¹⁶⁷ Cloquet 1892, 318; 1890–92, 419. Before 1889, these niches as well as the *Christ-Enthroned* niche also displayed decorative beadwork lining the juncture of niche wall and arch (Figs. 16, 18, 24). This may well have been the product of 1812 handicraft, for the Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5) is also marked by the absence of this otherwise common feature: cf. the Shrine of St. Viktor (long sides c. 1129; Xanten Cath.; Kötzsche 1973, 196–7 with previous literature; Lasko 1972, 174–5, fig. 184); the Shrine of St. Heribert (c. 1155–75; Cologne-Deutz, St.-Heribert; Schnitzler 1959, no. 26 with previous literature, pls. 84–5); the Shrine of St. Maurinus (c. 1170; Cologne, St.-Pantaleon; Schnitzler 1959, no. 27 with previous literature, pl. 100; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. H-18); the Shrines of St. Anno and St. Albinus (n. 5).

¹⁶⁸ With regard to “les précieux émaux que nous avons découverts dans les fonds et aux archivoltes des arcades” (for the latter, see n. 185), Cloquet indicates that “les émaux enlevés par places ne peuvent être refaits à la manière ordinaire; il faudrait cuire les émaux nouveaux et on risquerait de brûler les anciens. Mais je pense que nous trouverons une sorte d'émail à employer à froid qui nous permette de restaurer les pièces en question sans danger et à peu de frais” (Doc. 9). Cf. Cloquet 1892, 320; 1890–92, 422. The technique whereby ancient enamels could be restored with the application of new enamel fired at a lower temperature had apparently not yet been discovered, or Cloquet was simply unfamiliar with the process. His repair probably involved the application of a paste of suitable pigment in a binding medium to the damaged areas of the plaques. Their dull appearance today is likely the result of deterioration in this binding material and perhaps also of decay of the clear resin which might have been applied as a final coat over the repairs. Of course, microchemical analysis would identify precisely the nature of the materials used in these repairs. (For the technical information presented here and in n. 169, I am indebted to A. E. Werner, Keeper at the Research Laboratory of the British Museum, and to S. M. Edmunds in the Miniature Conservation Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum.) Not all of the enamels in these three niches had been preserved (Cloquet

1892, 324). A total of twelve new “false” enamels (n. 169) were added (inaccurately diagrammed by Cloquet 1892, fig. on 324; 1890–92, fig. on 410): “livrés 3 plaques de fond pour les groupes représentant la fuite en Egypte la Présentation et le baptême de Notre-Seigneur . . . livrés des faux émaux pour encadrer les dits groupes” (Doc. 17).

¹⁶⁹ “Gravé et couvert de fac-simile d'émail le fond de la grande arcade du Christ . . . de la S. Vierge . . . de l'arcade de la nativité . . . de la visitation . . . de la présentation” (Doc. 40; the latter reference is obviously erroneous, signifying the *Annunciation* niche); “livré confection des fonds des groupes, imitation d'émaux chamlevés cuivre, dorure 5 compartiments” (Doc. 38). “Ja'ai eu la chance de pouvoir,” says Cloquet, “à l'aide de mes dessinateurs et graveurs, refaire en cuivre (au lieu d'argent) des facsimile des nombreux émaux qui manquent, tant chamlevés que cloisonnés. Ils seront dorés par Monsieur Mondo; puis ils ne seront pas émaillés (ce qui serait long et très coûteux), mais une peinture spéciale faite dans les creux, donnera le fac-simile des émaux. . . . Les choses seront faites, d'ailleurs, de manière que l'on pourrait plus tard remplacer la peinture par de l'émail véritable, sans rien perdre du travail fait” (Doc. 14). Only here does Cloquet explicitly describe the exact nature of the new enamels (cf. Cloquet 1892, 310; *idem.* 1890–92, 409; Cassart 1974, 106, 107), previously identified as “false” only by Kahsnitz (1973, 307). The process was essentially similar to the “cold” repair of surviving enamels. It probably involved the application of a frit (a type of colored powdered glass), converted into a paste by means of a binding medium, which was allowed to set before polishing. With the aid of certain solvents, the removal of the paste and its replacement with genuine enamel is indeed feasible.

¹⁷⁰ These slender gilt vine-scrolls which swirl with seeming abandon against the blue ground can also be found in the decorative enamel borders of the Klosterneuburg altar (n. 5; Röhrig 1955, pls. 34, 46). It is distinctively different from the lushly multicolored foliate ornament prevailing in rhinish enamelwork in the twelfth century: cf. the Shrine of St. Maurinus (n. 167); the Shrine of St. Aetherius (c. 1170; Cologne, St.-Ursula; Cologne 1964, no. 15; Lasko 1972, 220, fig. 251); the Shrines of St. Anno and St. Albinus (n. 5).

¹⁷¹ “Réfection des petits versants cuivre et dorure des deux” (Doc. 38); “gravé et couvert de fac-simile d'émail . . . les fonds de [2] triangle de toit” (Doc. 40). The grounds had been replaced in 1812 by copper plaques: Voisin 1860, 116; Liénard 1872, 121–2.

¹⁷² A foliate-quatrefoil set within a diamond appears in some of the Klosterneuburg altar ornamentation: n. 5; Röhrig 1955, pls. 10, 46.

¹⁷³ Cf. the plain gilt walls – some with stamped inscriptions – of the niches on the Shrine of St. Viktor (n. 167); the Shrine of St. Hadelin (c. 1130–50; Visé, St.-Martin; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. G-4 with previous literature; Lasko 1972, 181–4, figs 195–7); the Shrine of St. Servatius (c. 1165; Maastricht, St.-Servatius; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. G-8 with previous literature; Lasko 1972, 193–4, figs. 201, 209; Braun 1922, I, figs. 45–7); the Shrine of St. Heribert (n. 167); among others.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. the Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5); the Shrine of Charlemagne (1200–14; Aachen Cath.; Schnitzler 1959, no. 11 with previous literature, pls. 27–33; Stephany 1965); the Shrine

- of the Virgin in Aachen (1220–38; Aachen Cath.; Schnitzler 1959, no. 14 with previous literature, pls. 50–61; Aachen 1972, no. 48, pls. 59–62); the Shrine of St. Suitbertus (1264; Kaiserswerth, St.-Suitbertus; Stephany 1959, xvii, figs. 18–9; Braun 1922, II, figs. 48–50; among others.
- ¹⁷⁵ Cf. the Ingeborg Psalter (1193–1213; Mus. Condé, 1695; Deuchler 1967), in which four illuminated scenes bear stamped gold grounds. What Frinta (1975) terms the “ornate quatrefoil”, which appears in the Psalter’s *Visitation* (fol. 15^v; Frinta 1975, figs. 2–3), seems to resemble the foliate-quatrefoil in the *Flight into Egypt* niche (Fig. 63c), although the shrine’s motif is more loosely structured and organized around a central square instead of a circle. Noteworthy exceptions to the standard gilt grounds in shrine niches are the ornamental enamels facing the niches of the ivory-decorated cupola reliquaries of c. 1170–90 in London (Victoria and Albert Mus.; New York I, no. 339) and Berlin (Kunstgewerbemus.; Cologne/Brussels 1972, II, colorpl. III; Kötzsche 1973, 220, figs. 43–4).
- ¹⁷⁶ Cf. the Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5), for example, where the interior of the niche is a gilt unit (relief plus ground) distinct from the colored (enamelled) colonnettes and arch defining it.
- ¹⁷⁷ Schnitzler 1934, 57.
- ¹⁷⁸ The comparison can be taken no further: whereas the profundity of solid blue ground in the majority of Klosterneuburg enamels acts visually to suggest undefined depths of space behind the figures, the patterns in the shrine’s niches firmly deny even an allusion to spatial expansion.
- ¹⁷⁹ “Dorés 6 triangles émaux” (Doc. 17) indicates regilding following “cold” enamel repair of the original pieces; “nous avons fini d’exécuter en véritable émail les plaques garnissant les écoinçons entre les arcades à la base du toit” (Doc. 28); “tracé en dessin, gravure sur pierre, report sur cuivre et gravure sur cuivre . . . dix triangles d’écoinçons des arcades” (Doc. 27) represents confection of the remaining ten plaques requiring replacement. Cf. Doc. 26.
- ¹⁸⁰ They survive on the Shrines of St. Maurinus (n. 167) and St. Aetherius (n. 170).
- ¹⁸¹ E. g., the Shrine of St. Godehard (1150–75; Hildesheim Cath.; Braun 1922, II, fig. 3; Lasko 1972, 197–8); the Shrines of St. Anno and St. Albinus (n. 5); among others. On the Shrine of St. Servatius (n. 173), the spandrels are decorated by stamped rosettes and émail brun rinceaux. The Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5) carries champlevé enamel medallions (said to be from the destroyed Shrine of St. Agilof, formerly in Cologne’s St.-Maria-ad-Gradus; Mutherich 1941, 43) and gilt stampwork in the spandrels of its lower sides.
- ¹⁸² Cf. esp., the reliefs of the *Maries at the Tomb* and the *Descent into Limbo*, whose compositions swell out against the circular limits.
- ¹⁸³ See n. 171.
- ¹⁸⁴ They had been covered by gilt paint in 1812 (cf. Fig. 34). Cloquet’s schema of original cloisonné enamels surviving on the shrine’s left side (n. 168) does not represent their position today, but rather their location when found: two springers on the *Presentation* arch and all three on the *Baptism* arch (Cloquet 1892, 324; 1890–92, 430 n. 1).
- ¹⁸⁵ “Le plus délicat [ouvrage] était . . . la réparation des précieux émaux cloisonnés décorant les archivoltes des arcades. J’ai cru devoir la confier à un artiste de premier ordre. J’ai été à Paris le mois dernier; j’ai vu Monsieur E. Molinier, conservateur du Louvre que je connaissais d’avance qui a la garde des joyaux d’orfèvrerie du Louvre, qui a donné cet hiver des conférences publiques sur l’émaillerie, et dont la compétence en cette matière est reconnue. C’est à lui que je me suis adressé et il m’a indiqué l’homme voulu pour cette affaire, Monsieur E. André, membre de l’Institut, archéologue distingué, s’occupant spécialement de restaurations archéologiques. Celui-ci a entrepris de refaire les parties manquantes de nos émaux cloisonnés” (Doc. 11). Only three of the five enamels required repair: “réparation de trois pièces émail cloisonné” (Doc. 12; Cloquet 1892, 324; 1890–92, 430 n. 1, indicates that this includes one of the preserved pieces found on the *Baptism* arch). Cassart (1974, 103) assumes that the three repaired were in addition to the five Cloquet mentions, but there are no more than five original enamels in the arcades.
- ¹⁸⁶ Cf. an ornamental enamel on the Klosterneuburg altar: n. 5; Röhrig 1955, pl. 34.
- ¹⁸⁷ Cf. the arch above Apostle *Simon* (formerly, *Jacob Major*: Schnitzler 1959, pl. 100; n. 5) and repeated in the arches surmounting the Apostles *Andrew*, *Judas*, and *Philip*. Mutherich (1941, 48–9) perceived this similarity and used it as an indication that the decoration lining the upper sides of the Shrine of the Three Kings stems from a somewhat later period than that on the lower sides. Cloisonné enamelwork is used only on the front end of this shrine (Schulten 1971, 18; for its general enamel and filigree decoration, see Schilling 1950, 81–8) and forms only a minor part of the Klosterneuburg altar enamels (Röhrig 1955, 32). No cloisonné appears on either the Shrine of St. Albinus or the Shrine of St. Anno (n. 5). For general analysis of the ornament of these four monuments, see Mutherich 1941, 39–70.
- ¹⁸⁸ “Livrés 4 plaques pour faux émaux des arcades” (Doc. 17; for the left side); “gravé et reproduit en fac simile 15 émaux des arcades” (Doc. 40; for the remaining sides).
- ¹⁸⁹ “Une bande en tôle mince de laiton doré”: Cloquet 1892, 310; 1890–92, 409. The gilt band covering the arch of the *Adoration* niche had been decorated with fleur-de-lys reliefs and a square plaque at the apex bearing the design of a vine branch with three clusters of grapes (Fig. 4; Liénard 1872, 114).
- ¹⁹⁰ See Doc. 1.
- ¹⁹¹ “Un ouvrage important consiste dans le rétablissement, complètement à nouveau, de trois bandes ornementales qui encadrent les quatre versants du toit. L’une de ces bandes est formée de plaques filigranées et gemmées alternant avec des plaques émaillées. . . . La seconde bande est un étroit listel, portant en or, sur fond émaillé en bleu, des inscriptions dont nous connaissons heureusement le texte [Doc. 1]. . . . La troisième bande . . . sera traitée plus simplement” (Doc. 28); cf. Cloquet 1892, 321; 1890–92, 426.
- ¹⁹² Examples are legion; suffice it to cite the Shrines of St. Anno and St. Albinus, as well as the Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5).
- ¹⁹³ “J’ai composé les dessins de toute une collection variée d’émaux dans le style de la Châsse” (Doc. 28); “d’après les modèles retrouvés sur les trilobes des arcades” (Cloquet 1892, 321; 1890–92, 426). For models from the arcades, cf. Fig.

- 66b, d, e, with Fig. 65a–b. A four-lobed flower with terminal protrusions on the petals (Fig. 66a, c) also appears in the enamel symbol of *Matthew* (Fig. 61d). Only Fig. 66f appears to have no direct model within surviving ornamentation, seeming instead to be a free variation on the design of Fig. 66a/c and 66e.
- ¹⁹⁴ On the *Flight into Egypt* and *Presentation* arches: Cloquet 1892, fig. on 324; 1890–92, fig. on 410. Cloquet numbered them 1–4 (left to right) and explained that “Le filigrane no. 1 garde une grande et six petites pierres anciennes. Les pierres anciennes qui restent sur les trois autres sont respectivement, pour le no. 2, une grande et quatre petites, pour le no. 3, quatre petites, pour le no. 4, trois petites” (Cloquet 1892, 324 n. 1; 1890–92, 431 n. 1). These were repaired: “réparé et livré diverses pierres à 4 filigrammes” (Doc. 38). On the *Baptism* arch, filigrane-and-gem had been also preserved (cf. Figs. 34, 62d), but in such condition that they ultimately required replacement, for Mondo “livré 12 filigrammes au lieu de 10” required for the remaining arches (Doc. 38); “une grande et une petite pierre, anciennes . . . ont été utilisées dans sa réfection” (Cloquet 1892, 324 n. 1; 1890–92, 431 n. 1).
- ¹⁹⁵ Cf. the surviving plaque on the right side of the *Flight into Egypt* arch (Fig. 35), in which eight small stones flank three larger gems.
- ¹⁹⁶ Cf. the Shrine of St. Maurinus (n. 167); the Shrine of St. Servatius (n. 173); among others.
- ¹⁹⁷ Cf. the Shrines of St. Anno and St. Albinus (n. 5); the Shrine of Sts. Mauritius and Innocentius (c. 1185; Siegburg, St.-Servatius; Zehnder 1967, no. 2 with previous literature, pls. 166–7; Cologne 1975, no. E-5); the Shrine of St. Benignus (c. 1190–1200; Siegburg, St.-Servatius; Zehnder 1967, no. 3 with previous literature, pls. 168–71; Cologne 1975, no. E-7); the Shrine of St. Honoratus (c. 1230; Siegburg, St.-Servatius; Zehnder 1967, no. 4 with previous literature, pls. 172–3; Cologne 1975, no. E-8). Simple articulation in enamel or in filigrane-and-gem also appears (cf. the Shrine of the Three Kings; n. 5) and was occasionally adopted in later shrines: cf. the Shrines of Charlemagne and St. Suitbertus (n. 174); the Shrine of St. Elizabeth (1235–49; Marburg, St.-Elizabeth; Dinkler-von Schubert 1964).
- ¹⁹⁸ Kötzsche 1973, figs. 59–61; Collon-Gevaert *et al.* 1972, fig. 8. The arcades are decorated uniformly within each of the three levels.
- ¹⁹⁹ Cf. the Shrine of the Virgin in Aachen (n. 174); the Shrine of St. Eleutherius (n. 27). It is also employed on the Shrine of St. Elizabeth (n. 197) to distinguish the arches on the ends and transepts from those on the long sides.
- ²⁰⁰ See n. 5; cf. also, New York 1970, I, no. 187.
- ²⁰¹ Only the Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5) carries uniform capitals, but these are figured (angels); the capitals on the Shrines of St. Anno and St. Albinus (n. 5) are formed of a great variety of animated motifs (cf. Swarzenski 1967, figs. 529–30).
- ²⁰² A uniform program of colonnette and capital appears on the Klosterneuburg altar (n. 198) but the gilt colonnettes are there unornamented.
- ²⁰³ Cf. the Shrine of St. Suitbertus and that of the Virgin in Aachen (n. 174); the Shrine of St. Eleutherius (n. 27); the Shrines of St. Elizabeth and St. Honoratus (n. 197).
- ²⁰⁴ Huguet 1890, 9.
- ²⁰⁵ “Dorés 9 colonnes avec chapiteaux et bases; réparé une colonne qui était cassé en deux” (Doc. 17). This single colonnette was then mercury-gilded: “doré une petite colonne . . . Mon doreur . . . a doré cette pièce à la pile et il m’écrit qu’il l’a fait à une forte épaisseur et qu’il s’est efforcé d’attraper la teinte de la dorure au mercure” (Doc. 15).
- ²⁰⁶ “Monsieur Mondo a fondu et ciselé les colonnes, ainsi que leurs bases, et confectionné les chapiteaux, très délicatement ouvragés” (Doc. 28). Inexplicably, although ten colonnettes required fabrication, only nine are mentioned in the work of restoration: “livré 9 colonnes avec chapiteaux et bases en cuivre doré” (Doc. 38). The matter deserves technical analysis.
- ²⁰⁷ See n. 210.
- ²⁰⁸ The colonnettes on the right side of the shrine, theoretically those produced in 1889–90 to replace the 1812 confections, evidence rubbed, worn stampwork suggestive of greater antiquity. This increases the probability that Cloquet did not return the ten original colonnettes to their former positions after regilding, but simply redistributed all twenty in indiscriminate fashion. The three colonnettes labelled in Fig. 69a represent the only ones identifiable from pre-restoration photographs: their positions have since been taken by other colonnettes. Additionally, Figs. 4–5 indicate that the colonnette at the left of the *Adoration of the Magi* carried a horizontal stamp prior to 1889 (probably that represented by Fig. 68b); today, however, that position is held by a colonnette represented by Fig. 68e. Confusing the issue is the fact that the colonnette at the far left of the *Christ-Enthroned* has been situated upside-down.
- ²⁰⁹ Schulten 1972, 318 (including enlarged reproductions of both stamps; I would like to thank Dr. Schulten for identifying for me the location of the colonnette from which he made his photographic analysis). Because of this lack of substantive evidence, Fig. 62a–d must be considered incomplete since only one colonnette can be identified as original.
- ²¹⁰ Schulten 1972, 318. Dr. Schulten informs me that his photographic examination was based on the frame enclosing the *Flagellation*. Although Cloquet indicates that “les encadrements circulaires des médaillons sont restaurés” (Doc. 28), he probably means that the surfaces were cleaned; actual restoration involved the supporting sides of these frames (“restauration des cadres des médaillons du toit, livré double cercle cuivre doré”: Doc. 38). Some form of decorative beading lined the interior of the *Flagellation* and *Descent into Limbo* roundels prior to 1889 (cf. Fig. 34); it may be assumed to have been of 1812 origin, which no doubt prompted its removal by Cloquet.
- ²¹¹ They were copied in the reconstitution of spandrel arches on the remaining sides of the shrine: “livré 6 courbes d’écoinçon cuivre fondu et doré” (Doc. 38). Those on the left side are visible in pre-restoration photographs; no mention of their restoration is made in the documents.

- ²¹² "Dorés et réparé 10 galeries" (Doc. 17). The ten "galeries" probably signify the individual pieces forming the arcade crests on the left side. In the first part of the restoration, these original crests were remounted only temporarily, as Mondo later explains: "[l']ouvrage d'orfèvrerie à dorer [for which he has billed: Doc. 38] sont la restauration nouvelle et la dorure des anciens petits crêtages. . . . Ces petits crêtages avait été dorée pour être monter provisoirement lors de la première restauration mais quand la grande restauration a été décider [cf. the introduction to Docs. 7–45] il a fallu que je soude ces petits crêtages qui étaient en 3 pièces en une seule pièce afin d'avoir un montage solide et régulier et il fallu par conséquent tout redorés toutes ces pièces anciennes" (Doc. 43).
- ²¹³ "Livré crétage d'une grande arcade (restaurée)": Doc. 38.
- ²¹⁴ "Livré 4 crêtages cuivre doré": Doc. 38 (cf. Doc. 28).
- ²¹⁵ The knob had been covered by gilt paint in 1812: Cloquet 1892, 324. "Doré et réparé un clocheton" (Doc. 17); "refait la pièce triangulaire soutenant la pomme de pin" (Doc. 38).
- ²¹⁶ "Livré 2 clochetons dorés avec gland cristal" (Doc. 17); "livré 5 pomeaux des arcades" (Doc. 38; cf. Doc. 28).
- ²¹⁷ Cf. the Shrines of St. Eleutherius (n. 27) and St. Elizabeth (n. 197); among others.
- ²¹⁸ The Shrines of St. Anno and St. Albinus (n. 5) do not bear arcade crests. The arches on the Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5) carry stylized "dart-and-pierced-heart" crests lying very close to the arch proper (cf. New York 1970, I, no. 93).
- ²¹⁹ Huguet 1890, 9; Cloquet 1892, 319.
- ²²⁰ "Notre premier soin a été d'étudier un beau crétage dans le style; les modèles en sont faits et même, on a, à titre d'essai, fondu un premier des fleurons qui le composent" (Doc. 28); "nouveau modèle de Crétage avec Contrepantie" (Doc. 31); "livré 1 crétage en cuivre ciselé et doré" (Doc. 38).
- ²²¹ See n. 174. Both Creutz (1923, 143) and Schnitzler (1934, 56) believed that the crest on the Tournai shrine was the original which was later copied by the Aachen shrine.
- ²²² Cf. the Shrines of St. Anno and St. Albinus (n. 5; Swarzenski 1967, nos. 531, 528); cf. also, the crest fragment from the Victoria and Albert Museum (New York 1970, I, no. 113).
- ²²³ Cf. also, the crests on the Shrine of St. Eleutherius (Cloquet 1889, figs. II, IV) and the Shrine of St. Elizabeth (Dinkler-von Schubert 1964, figs. 174–5).
- ²²⁴ Cloquet 1892, 319. Cf. the knobs mounted on shrines cited in n. 223; New York 1970, I, no. 193.
- ²²⁵ "Pommeaux en orfèvrerie riche" (Doc. 22); "livré 2 cristaux pour pomme de pin" (Doc. 38); "... 2 pommeaux qu'on pensait d'abord faire tout en orfèvrerie ... ont été faits en cristal par économie" (Doc. 39).
- ²²⁶ See Hahnloser 1973; New York 1970, I, no. 117.
- ²²⁷ For the roof borders: "bandes gravées et dorées tenant aux émaux et filligrammes" (Doc. 38); for the pedestal, see n. 232, Fig. 73a–b.
- ²²⁸ See n. 27; Cloquet 1889, pl. VII.
- ²²⁹ Cf. the Shrine of St. Anno (n. 5); the Shrines of Charlemagne and of the Virgin in Aachen (n. 174); among others.
- ²³⁰ See n. 192.
- ²³¹ The inscription bands at the foot of all the niches as well as the entire pedestal were overpainted, probably in 1812, the latter with a fleur-de-lys design: cf. Doc. 1; Liénard 1872, 110, 111–12; Cloquet 1892, 310, 310 nn. 1–2.
- ²³² During the first part of restoration, Mondo "livrés une base en cuivre dorés se composant de 5 longues bandes dont 4 gravées et émaillées" (Doc. 17; the fifth band is that carried at the shrine's ends at the level occupied on the sides by the main inscription). The content and substance of these five bands as originally planned (Fig. 73a) is specified in Cloquet's estimate of work to be executed (Doc. 22): "[1] bande de cuivre doré uni, au bas du soubassement ... [2] bande à inscription du soubassement, en cuivre doré sur fond peint en imitation d'émail ... [3] une bande d'émaux bruns sur cuivre rouge doré formant chamfrein du soubassement ... [4] une bande de cuivre doré bruni sur le plat ... [5] 1 bande de cuivre doré, émaillée à froid, avec inscription au pied des niches". This plan for substantial decoration with "false" enamel and émail brun, was later altered (Fig. 73b), as Mondo's description of nos. 2–3 indicates: "[1] livré une bande doré unie au bas du soubassement de la châsse ... [2] bandes à inscriptions du soubassement en cuivre doré tout doré au lieu d'être peint ... [3] bandes gravées au lieu d'émaux bruns en cuivre doré ... [4] bandes cuivre doré et bruni sur le plat ... [5] Bandes cuivre doré, gravées, émaillées à froid". Even so, Mondo does not completely state the extent of alteration, for no. 4 today is not the burnished gilt copper band originally planned, but rather carries gilt engraving (Fig. 72b). For the placement of the main inscription per se in this restoration, see Doc. 1.
- ²³³ "Livrés 2 plaques dorés pour derrière les colonnes" (referring to the émail brun flanking the *Presentation*: Doc. 17); "livré 2 plaques dorées, émaux bruns" (referring to the two flanking the *Visitation*: Doc. 38). See n. 236.
- ²³⁴ See n. 27; Cloquet 1889, pl. VII.
- ²³⁵ Cf. the Shrine of the Three Kings (n. 5); the Shrines of Charlemagne and of the Virgin in Aachen (n. 174). Neither the Shrine of St. Albinus nor that of St. Anno include émail brun ornament.
- ²³⁶ The émail brun flanking the *Visitation* was "faites 2 fois; procédé nouveau essayé sur les indications de Monsieur Cloquet" (Doc. 39; cf. Doc. 40); this, nevertheless, does not explain the disparity in motif.
- ²³⁷ Cf. the vertical triadic arrangement of the Klosterneuburg altar (nn. 5, 198); the triplication of roof reliefs on the Three Kings (n. 5; Rode 1969).
- ²³⁸ The lower reliefs on the Shrine of the Three Kings were originally enclosed by round médaillons (n. 5; since reconstituted: see Schulten 1971, 40; Rode 1969). This was a characteristic feature of Mosan shrine-production in the twelfth century: cf. the Shrines of St. Domitian and St. Mengold (c. 1150; Huy, Notre-Dame; Ronig 1966, figs. 3–4); the Shrine of St. Servatius (n. 173).

- ²³⁹ See n. 5. Kahsnitz (1973, 307) has doubted "wieweit die Architektur des Untergeschosses ursprünglich ist", but the niche system itself is clearly original.
- ²⁴⁰ The present triad of colonnettes at the shrine's corners would appear to be an invention of the 1812 restoration – as implied by the group of three wood (or zinc) colonnettes at the left of the *Christ-Enthroned* (Figs. 15–16, 69a) – which was later adopted by Cloquet in his reconstitution of the niche system. Evidence indicates, however, that this restoration is faithful to the original. The Shrine of St. Eleutherius (n. 27), bearing several marks of the earlier shrine's influence such as its semi-circular pedestal projections (n. 243) and its wingless angels (n. 140), also groups a trio of colonnettes at its corners in the continuation of its doubled-colonnette niche structure. Given the reasoned plan underlying the ornament and formal organization of the Shrine of the Virgin, one must question the rationale by which such continuity would have been deliberately interrupted by the reduction of the end-niche to a single-colonnette frame.
- ²⁴¹ Ends were usually distinguished from sides by square piers at the corners (e.g., the Shrines of St. Albinus and St. Anno; n. 5) or by one or more taller colonnettes in this position: cf. the Shrine of St. Amandus from the abbey of St.-Amand d'Elon (c. 1180 with 13 c. additions; Baltimore, Walters Art. Gall.; Ross 1936, figs. 1–4); the Shrine of St. Firmin (1230–60; Amiens Cath.; Borchgrave d'Altena 1926, figs. opp. 154); the Shrine of Sts. Ode and George (1230–45; Amay, Ch.; Borchgrave d'Altena 1926, figs. on 155). Emphasis on the ends was also achieved by carrying the crest all the way down the gable-ends: cf. the Shrine of St. Servatius (n. 172); the Shrine of the Three Kings as originally planned (Hoster 1965, figs. 4–9).
- ²⁴² Collon-Gevaert/*et al.* 1972, no. 55.
- ²⁴³ Extant before 1889 (cf. Figs. 5, 15), these are authentic elements of the shrine's framework (cf. Schnitzler 1934, 57); cf. the identical disposition on the Shrine of St. Firmin (n. 241) and the multiplication of the projecting semicircles around the entire pedestal on the Shrine of St. Eleutherius (n. 27) and that of St. Elizabeth (n. 197). In 1889–90, the pedestal shape was only regularized: cf. Doc. 44.
- ²⁴⁴ See n. 8.
- ²⁴⁵ "Die einzige große romanische Schrein mit abgewalmtem Deckel": Braun 1940, 169. Cf. also, Lasko 1972, 242; Stephany 1959, xii.
- ²⁴⁶ Braun 1922, I, 18; Kashnitz 1973, 307. Restoration of the wood core was indeed undertaken in 1889–90 ("restauré une chaise en chêne et livré morceaux de chêne . . . 40 heures de travail": Doc. 25), but this comprised the more mundane repairs of existing holes, such as in the pedestal to the right of the *Christ-Enthroned* and in the wall of that niche (Figs. 15–16). Pre-restoration photographs show shrine to have a hipped-roof.
- ²⁴⁷ Although copper plates were applied in 1812 to the end-roofs (n. 171) as well as a main crest (n. 219), the campaign's brevity and the fact that the restorers were apparently concerned with expediency precludes the extensive work involved with cutting-back the roofs.
- ²⁴⁸ Genicot 1970, 21–2. For the "Grand Procession", see n. 19.
- ²⁴⁹ Cf. the lengthy list of hipped-roof shrines in Braun 1940, 169–71, who remarks upon the popularity of this shape in fourteenth-century shrine-production.
- ²⁵⁰ Cf. *XVIII processiones, preter accidentales pro fructibus et archa* (*Cartulary*, fol. XL^v, c. 1205; A.C.T., Cart. B). Rolland (1933, 171 n. 1) has identified the phrase, a notation within a liturgical calendar, with comparable script including the date "1205" found on fol. XXXIX^r of the same manuscript. So dated, then, the *archa* must refer specifically to the Shrine of the Virgin, being some forty years premature for reference to the Shrine of St. Eleutherius (n. 27). One can infer that the shrine was close to completion: Rolland suggests that the processions were occasioned by the need for additional money with which to finish the shrine. Cf. Doc. 1.
- ²⁵¹ Cf. "Bourgeois: Colars de Verdun, vairiers, XXV sous, iij^e jours en novembre" (*Registre de la Loi*, fol. 59^r, 1318; formerly Tournai, Archives de l'Etat, 360a). This is the famous "document of 1217", casually introduced into art-historical lore by Dumortier (1862, 219 n. 3), which theoretically identified Nicholas of Verdun – or his son – as a glass-painter and citizen in Tournai, leading many to assume that he lived in Tournai near the end of his life: cf. Didron 1862, 201–2; Dehaisnes 1886, I, 116; de Linas 1887, 420; de la Grange/Cloquet 1888, 302; "Nouvelles" 1888, 544; Cloquet 1892, 325; *idem.*, 1890–92, 431; Molinier 1902, 164–5; Braun 1931, 452; Rolland 1933, 165–6 and 166 n. 1; Warichez 1934/35, I, pl. 64; Schnitzler 1964, 7; Demus 1965, 634; New York 1970, I, no. 100; Wixom 1970, 97; Kötzsche 1972, 314; Lasko 1972, 242). Before the document's destruction in 1940, however, Hocquet (1936) had published a corrected transcript and photograph of the document, which proved to be a notation enrolling "Colars" (diminutive of "Nicholas") of Verdun, a furrier, as a citizen of Tournai in 1318. Hence, neither Tournai nor the date of 1217 has any significance for the late residence or life-span of Nicholas of Verdun.
- ²⁵² Cf. New York 1970, I, no. 100; Collon-Gevaert/*et al.* 1972, 96–7; Lasko 1972, 242–3; Cologne/Brussels 1972, I, no. K-5; Rome/Milan 1973/74, no. 37.

APPENDIX

N.B. Abbreviations: A.C.T. = Archives du Chapitre Cathédrale, Tournai.

To aid readability, I have expanded most abbreviated words to their full form, except where the abbreviation itself becomes important for interpretive purposes. For the documents written in French, I have tried to correct any and all omissions of accent marks. For none of the documents, however, have I corrected grammatical or spelling errors contained in the original. (For his time and patience in helping to compile and proof these documents, I am most sincerely grateful to Abbé Jean Dumoulin.)

Doc. 1. Miscellanea du Chanoine DuChambge, 1629–38; A.C.T., Reg. 53, fols. 5^r–v.

“Escrip-teaux qui se trouvent sur la fierté seconde de la [cathédrale]: [1. *Descent into Limbo*] *Pastor ovem reserat pastor bonus ut leo fortis | Quem sibi subdiderat leo qui rugit leo mortis*; [2. *Noli me Tangere*] *Necdum astra poli subij me tangere noli*; [3. *Incredulity of Thomas*] *Thoma junge meo digitum lateri manibusque | Nunc scio nunc video meus est Dominusque Deusque*; [4. *Flight into Egypt*] *Tendit in Aegiptum puer implens ordine scriptum | Donec ei detur quod ab ore patris revocetur*; [5. *Presentation*] *Labe puer purus mater ara futurus | Quem nisi visurus non est Simeon moriturus*; [6. *Baptism*] . . . | *Sed fiam mundae contactu corporis undae*; [7. *Adoration of the Magi*] *Hi tres non sine re Domino tria dona dedere | Vindicat hoc munus trinum sibi trinus et unus*; [8. Main Inscription] *Hoc opus fecit Magister Nicolaus de Verdum continens argenti marcas C.IX. auri VI. marcas*; [9. Main Inscription] *Anno ab Incarnatiō Dni M.C.C.V. consummatum est hoc opus aurifabrum*; [10. *Christ-Enthroned*] *Rex ego sum . . . | Me tremit infernus mihi supplex ordo supernus*; [11. *Flagellation*] *Vinctus non victus velamine carnis amictus | Judex districtus cisuras sensit et ictus*; [12. *Crucifixion*] *In cruce pro servo dignum cruce libero servum | Vita hominis morior ne moriatur homo*; [13. *Maries at the Tomb*] *Ecce resurrexit quem quaeritis ite relatum | Fratribus et Petro iam vivere cum patre natum.*”

Published: Voisin 1860, 111–13; Liénard 1872, 109–10; Huguet 1890, 7–8; Cloquet 1892, 309. The shrine’s main inscription has been published innumerable times, most recently by Hamann-MacLean 1974, 178 (I am grateful to Fr. Dr. Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen for bringing this article to my attention).

The majority of verses on the shrine today were placed there on the basis of Canon DuChambge’s seventeenth-century transcript: “Une description manuscrite de la chässe faite par du Cambge et conservée à la Bibliothèque de la Ville, fait connaître les distiques tracés dans des bandes d’émail bleu au pourtour de toutes les niches, le second vers de chacun de ces distiques, qui figurait au bas des niches, a entièrement disparu. Grâce à la transcription de du Cambge, transcription incorrecte que Monseigneur Voisin a rectifiée, j’ai pu rétablir matériellement la partie complémentaire des distiques, à sa place et dans la technique ancienne. Il en est de même pour la signature de Nicolas de Verdun, qui était gravée dans le soubassement de la chässe” (Doc. 14). The “technique ancienne” by which Cloquet reconstituted the lost verses – or filled the bands with rinceaux when no verse had been recorded by DuChambge – was actually “false” enamelwork: “Inscription: – dans les versants . . . émail à froid” (Doc. 22); the same is true of the rinceaux substituted for missing inscriptions on the arches of the right side niches and on that of the *Christ-Enthroned* (“Confection des . . . inscriptions . . . 4 arcades”: Doc. 22), and for the inscriptions and rinceaux running along the foot of the niches (n. 232; Fig. 73a–b; Doc. 23); cf. n. 169.

DuChambge’s reliability as an archivist can be ascertained in a number of ways. Firstly, his version of the shrine’s main inscription (nos. 8–9) corresponds very closely to the slightly earlier record by Cousin (1619/20; see below). Secondly, the inscriptions which survive today on the shrine (nos. 4–5, 7) are essentially identical to DuChambge’s copy. Thirdly, his transcript is remarkable for the care taken to indicate absent words or phrases, using either ellipses (nos. 6, 10) or leaving an empty space to indicate the missing word(s) (no. 5). As DuChambge did not record any inscriptions for the scenes on the right side or for the end-roofs, it can therefore be assumed that these inscriptions were no longer extant in 1629–38. – Within the limits of the present study, only problematic verses and those subjected to changes in their reconstitution in 1889–90 will be discussed.

2. *Noli me Tangere* (cf. John 20:17). DuChambge recorded only the first verse for this scene; it was reconstituted in that form on the shrine with the minor substitution of *subii* for DuChambge’s *subij* (the latter being, however, the more proper medieval form). The missing second verse was, in theory, to have been added in 1889–90 (n. 36) and so Cloquet (1892, 321; 1890–92, 425) implies, his version to have read: *Mortuus et tumulatus homo deus ecce resurgo*. This, however, provoked a critic’s objection (see Cloquet 1892a, 493), engendering an alternative version claimed to be more in keeping with the gospels: *Ad fratresque, cito, patri aiens vadere me, ito*. Debate on the relative merits of the two versions remains academic, since neither was finally reconstituted.

3. *Incredulity of Thomas* (cf. John 20:27). The second verse was restored with the omission of the *que* following *dominus*: there was not enough room to include this superfluous *que* within the length of the band, although the word is not repetitive in terms of meter. The physical disposition of these two verses seems curious precisely because of this spatial problem, for the first verse (in restored form) has more than enough room on the inscription band and is terminated by a short rinceaux to account for the additional space.

4. *Flight into Egypt* (cf. Matt. 2:13–14). The first verse is one of the three found in situ on the arches of the left side niches; along with the verses surviving on the *Presentation* and *Baptism* arches, it was repaired in 1889–90 (“Décapés 8 inscription émaillées”: Doc. 17, referring to the six sections preserved on the *Flight into Egypt* and *Presentation* arches, and the two sections, left and middle, preserved on the *Baptism* arch). DuChambge’s copy is essentially accurate, his only discrepancy being the substitution of *Aegiptum* for the *egiptum* preserved on the arch.

5. *Presentation* (cf. Luke 2:26). DuChambge recorded the first verse of this inscription with a visible space between the words *purus* and *mater*, indicating his knowledge the something was missing from the arch’s inscription. When the band was cleaned in 1889, the missing word was discovered to be *are* and DuChambge was proved to have mis-recorded *mater*: *Labe puer purus are datur ara futurus*. His omission and mis-reading can probably be explained by the presence of the angel-bust now above the Child in the niche: the head of the angel intrudes upon the inscription band and effectively hides the word *are*. This signifies that the angel had occupied this position in the seventeenth century and is probably an original member of the *Presentation* group.

6. *Baptism* (cf. Matt. 3:13–17). Considering the ellipses employed by DuChambge in place of the first verse, it may be assumed that this had already been effaced by some sort of overlay by the seventeenth century. This apparently began to flake away in the suc-

ceeding centuries, allowing Liénard (1872, 120) to recover the arch's first three words: *Mundus ab immundo* In 1889–90, Cloquet (1892, 317; 1890–92, 418) recovered all but the last word following the arch's cleaning: *Mundus ab immundis hiis se non* In the single instance of 1889–90 interpolation, Cloquet completed the verse (“Décapés 8 inscription . . . et en livré une”: Doc. 17) by adding the last word: *Mundus ab immundis hiis se non maculavit*. The choice of the last word was criticized at the time (cf. Cloquet 1892a, 492–493) and an alternate ending, directed towards maintaining the internal rhyme, was suggested: *Mundus ab immundis hiis se non abluit undis*. What the critic had failed to note, however, was that the letter *m* had been preserved on the inscription band following the *non*; it was undoubtedly this that prompted Cloquet's choice of *maculavit*. The replacement of the second verse at the foot of the niche involved some changes from DuChambge's version. Liénard (1872, 120) suggested that the proper reading of the verse be: *Sed fiunt munda contactu corporis undae*. Despite the subject-change that Liénard's version assumes, it was this which was reconstituted on the shrine with the omission of the diphthongs at the ends of words: *Sed fiunt munde contactu corporis unde*.

7. *Adoration of the Magi* (cf. Matt. 2:11). The first verse was found in situ on the arch in 1889 and was subsequently repaired (“restauration d'une inscription dans un pignon”: Doc. 38). It reads: *Hii tres non sine re Domino tria dona dedere*. This tends to reaffirm DuChambge's general accuracy, for his copy shows that he errs only in recording *Hi* instead of *Hii*. The second verse's replacement in 1889–90 incorporated a change from DuChambge's version of the first word: *Vindicat hoc munus trinum sibi trinus et unus*. The similarity of these verses to that inscribed on the *Adoration of the Magi* on the Klosterneuburg altar of 1181 (*Mistica dona deo dant reges tres tria vero*: Röhrig 1955, pl. 12) is obvious; this, and its close relation to the gospel text, has already been noted by Buschhausen (1974, 27 n. 90).

8–9. *Main Inscription*. The shrine's inscription was probably lost or removed shortly after DuChambge made his transcript, perhaps by 1647 (see Doc. 2). The two-part division of the inscription as restored on the pedestal in 1889–90 (n. 232; Fig. 73a–b) is probably valid. Although some shrines carried their primary inscription on the roof borders (e. g., the Shrine of St. Amandus; n. 241), others employed the pedestal area (e. g., the now-lost Shrine of St. Vitonus, 1143–6; formerly Verdun, St.-Vanne; Ronig 1966). Certainly no area on the Shrine of the Virgin other than the pedestal allows room for this lengthy text. – The second half (no. 9) was changed only slightly in Cloquet's reconstitution, for he merely shortened DuChambge's abbreviation for *incarnatione*: *Anno ab incarn Dni MCCV consummatum est hoc opus aurifabrum*. The first half (no. 8) has been altered to a greater extent: instead of using DuChambge's clearly-written version of the artist's name, *Nicholaus de Verdum*, Cloquet chose to substitute *Nicolaus de Verdun*: *Hoc opus fecit Magister Nicolaus de Verdun continens argenti marcas CIX auri VI marcas*. The reading of *Verdum* is recorded in other transcriptions only by Dumortier (1862, 219) and de Linas (1887, 420); it has important implications, however, for the attempt recently made by Hamann-MacLean (1974, 177–8) to explain how *Verdun* came to be transcribed as *Verda* in inscriptions on now-lost works in Worms. DuChambge's version of the artist's name would seem to be accurate, for Cousin (1619/20, IV, 13; 1868 ed., IV, 13) also records *Verdum*: “En ladicte année 1205 fut achevée la fierte de nostre Dame de l'Église de Tournay, tesmoing l'escriit qui est à l'un des costés de ceste fierte en ces termes: *Anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1205 consummatum est hoc opus aurifabrum*: & à l'autre costé: *Hoc opus fecit Magister Nicolaus de Verdum continens argenti marcas 109 auri*

sex marcas.” The two copies of the inscription are actually quite similar, for DuChambge merely uses Roman numerals in place of Cousin's Arabic, and implies the two-part division explicitly described by Cousin. – The concordance between the DuChambge and Cousin versions should serve to lay to rest doubts regarding the inscription's authenticity. These had been raised soon after the 1889–90 restoration, as when Molinier (1902, 164) asserted that: “on peut . . . supposer une erreur dans la lecture de la date [1205]: la dernière partie de l'inscription [*Anno . . . aurifabrum*] est d'un latin médiéval plus que médiocre, ce qui laisse le champ libre à bien des hypothèses. Les mots: *consummatum est opus aurifabrum* doivent être des équivalents quelconques, introduits par l'ancien transcritteur, aussi incapable de lire correctement l'inscription au point de vue de la date qu'au point de vue du texte même.” More recently, Kötzsche (1973, 224) termed the inscription a “Formulierung eines Rechnungseintrages der Kirchenfabrik.” Molinier's criticism of the quality of the Latin cannot be dealt with at this time. With regard to Kötzsche's statement, it should be pointed out that few commemorative inscriptions of the period provide either the format or the information which would remove them from the class of “account-book entries”. The inscription on the Klosterneuburg altar (Röhrig 1955, 17) is exceptional, for it records not only the patron and dedication but also the artist's name and date of the monument. The union of these four essential elements was rarely achieved: in reference solely to renaissance monuments, only three commemorative inscriptions include a date (cf. Kraus 1894, nos. 1, 340, 380), only two include the artist's name (Kraus 1894, nos. 210, 381), and only three include both artist's name and date of the monument (Kraus 1894, nos. 239, 494, 621). Certainly the information offered by the main inscription of the Shrine of the Virgin cannot be disputed. The shrine's stylistic, iconographic and formal ties with other monuments attributed to Nicholas of Verdun are too numerous to permit speculation regarding either artist or date. Nor is the inscription's attention to the fact that the shrine is an *opus aurifabrum* composed of 109 units of silver and 6 units of gold the unimaginative sign of an account-ledger: instead, it mirrors more directly the typically medieval pleasure in rich and preciously-decorated monuments. Cf. also, n. 250.

10. *Christ-Enthroned* (cf. John 18:37). Only three words of the first verse had survived into the seventeenth century, and by 1889–90 these had disappeared completely. The verse was restored to the arch of the niche in DuChambge's incomplete form, despite two proposals for a new ending: *Rex ego sum mundi celum terramque creavi* (Cloquet 1892, 315); *Rex ego sum regum, sicut lex mea, legum* (Cloquet 1892a, 493). The second verse for the scene was reconstituted with a change in a verb tense: *Me tremat infernus mihi supplicat ordo supernus*.

13. *Maries at the Tomb* (cf. Mark 16:6–7). Several changes from DuChambge's copy were made in the first verse's replacement on the shrine in 1889–90. Now reading *Ecce resurrexit quem queritis iste relatum*, the omission of the diphthong in DuChambge's *quaeritis* is probably correct for medieval usage of Latin, but the substitution of *iste* for *ite* is inaccurate.

Doc. 2. *Acta capitularia*, 29 March 1662; A.C.T. *Domini requisiverunt domnum Zuallart ut velit mundare feretra Sancti Eleutherii et undecim millium Virginum in maiori altari huius ecclesie existentia, permittentes vero ea ad eum finem ad ipsius aedes deferantur*.

Published: Voisin 1872, 335 (summary only).

Sometime between 1619–20, when the shrine was still recorded as “la fierte de nostre Dame” (Cousin 1619/20, IV, 13; 1868 ed., IV, 13), and 1647, the shrine inexplicably became known as the

feretrum undecim millium virginum (*Acta capitularia*, 6 July 1647; A.C.T.). This was perhaps the result of the translation into the shrine of new relics of the 11,000 Virgins following their acquisition in 1583 (cf. Dumoulin 1963, 49). (These were not identifiable among the numerous anonymous relics found in the shrine at its openings in 1856 and 1888: Huguet 1890, 14–17.) The erroneous identification of the shrine as the shrine of the 11,000 Virgins or the shrine of St. Ursula and companions continued unchecked until the nineteenth century (Voisin, 1860, 109). – The 1662 Act represents the first indication of the Chapter's concern for the appearance of the shrine, as well as the fact that the shrine was in need of cleaning – if not also repair – by this time. Pierre-Marie Zuallart, the ecclesiastic entrusted with the project, has since been described as an “amateur d'art [qui] s'occupa de la restauration des châsses de Saint-Eleuthère et de Notre-Dame (1662)” (Pasture 1939, 557). Whether damage already extant (n. 22) was indeed to have been rectified by Zuallart, or if the cleaning was actually undertaken, is not known.

Doc. 3. Registre aux délibérations du Conseil de Fabrique de la Cathédrale, 30 June 1812; A.C.T., 1^e section, no. 6, p. 24.

“A l'assemblée du 30 juin 1812, il a été Délibéré . . . de faire remettre à neuf Les Châsses de St. Eleuthère et de Ste. Ursule. . . . Le nettoyage de les Châsses a été accordé au Sieur Courtois orfèvre . . .”

Unpublished.

Doc. 4. Châsse de Saint Éleuthère 1804–1807, “Note des États . . .”, 18 June 1812–3 January 1813; A.C.T., Mobilier, 3^e section, no. 2. “Note des États pour le rétablissement des châsses de St. Eleuthère et de Ste. Ursule . . . 1812 . . . décembre 2: payé au Sieur Courtois orfèvre pour avoir nettoyé et mis à neuf les châsses de St. Eleuthère etc. 272.10 [francs]; audit item pour raccomodages 32.19 [francs]. 1813, janvier 7: au Sieur Gaudry pour réparations dorures & faites aux dites châsses 278.58 [francs] . . . [Undated]: au Sieur Gaudry il a été payé pour dorures réparations & faites aux deux châsses 550 [francs] . . . [Undated]: au Sieur Bossut pour bois et travail aux 2 châsses 48.62 [francs] . . . Relevé de ce qui a été payé par la fabrique pour les châsses de St. Eleuthère et de Ste. Ursule . . .”

Unpublished.

The restoration's authorization (Doc. 3) had directed that the goldsmith Courtois undertake the cleaning of the Shrine of the Virgin, called the Shrine of St. Ursula (see Doc. 2); he was later joined, as this document indicates, by the woodworker Bossut, and Gaudry, who is elsewhere in the document described as a “peintre et sculpteur”. The following is a list of the work attributable to their restoration of the Shrine of the Virgin in 1812.

Plaster: the right arm of the King standing at the left in the *Adoration* niche (n. 48); the arms and chest of Christ in the *Christ-Enthroned* niche (n. 74); the angel at the right in the *Christ-Enthroned* niche (n. 69); the left arm of the *Nativity* Virgin (n. 87).

Metal: the brass band covering the arches on the right side, the arches of the *Christ-Enthroned* and *Adoration* niches (n. 189); the gilt copper plaques covering the two end-roofs (n. 171); the gilt brass embossed plaques covering the walls of the niches on the right side (n. 167); the angel in the spandrel at the right of the *Presentation* niche (n. 128).

Probable Metal Construction: seven gilt zinc (possibly wood) colonnettes along the right side and at the left of the *Christ-Enthroned* niche (n. 204); the angel in the spandrel at the right of the *Visitation* niche (n. 79); the right hand of the angel found in

the roof above the *Adoration* (Fig. 5, n. 70); the left hand of John the Baptist in the *Baptism* (n. 129); the main crest (possibly of wooden construction: n. 219).

Wood: three busts placed in the spandrels (some possibly plaster; n. 132).

Wax: gilt reliefs representing the *Crowning of Thorns* and the *Noli me Tangere* (the latter also incorporating wood; n. 157).

Undefined Materials: knobs and mounts atop the arches of the *Adoration of the Magi*, *Flight into Egypt*, *Baptism*, and the niches on the right side (Figs. 5, 18, 34); the angel surmounting the *Christ-Enthroned* niche (n. 46); the beadwork in the *Christ-Enthroned* niche, in the niches on the right side, and inside the *Flagellation* and *Descent into Limbo* medallions (nn. 167, 210); the gilt knobs surmounting the main crest (n. 229); the scepter held by the *Adoration* Virgin (n. 51).

Gilt Paint: covering fragments of the *Christ-Enthroned* niche wall (n. 166); covering the surviving crystal knob on the *Presentation* arch (n. 215); covering the arches on the left side (nn. 25, 184); covering the inscription bands at the foot of all the niches and the entire pedestal (n. 231); covering the borders of the four roof areas (Figs. 5, 16, 19, 34). – The restorers concentrated their efforts on the Shrine of the Virgin. An examination of the Shrine of St. Eleutherius, and reference to Cloquet (1889), reveals that little more than cleaning could have occurred in 1812. Cloquet (1889, 195), reports finding an “ignoble couche de dorure à la feuille” covering the main crest. This can only be the work of the 1812 restorers, for it figures largely in their restoration of the Shrine of the Virgin (n. 25). This overlay was removed during a cleaning of the Shrine of St. Eleutherius in 1889, a fact which Cloquet (1889, Fig. IV, no. 6) mentions only in a caption. Other items which he considered the work of an earlier restoration included: the banner “de la Rédemption” held by the seated Christ in the *Majestas* scene at the end of the shrine; the hammer held by the angel above the *Majestas*: lacrimial vases held by two angels adjoining the *Majestas* in the spandrels; the small cross held by the angel above Saint Eleutherius at the other end of the shrine; and the palm frond held by the angel at the left of that saint (Cloquet 1889, 196, 196 n. 2, 198; all of these, with the exception of the palm frond and the lacrimial vases, were probably removed in 1889–90). Cloquet (1889, 195 n. 1) also mentions the “bandes à rinceaux et à émaux du pignon [of the *Majestas* niche, which] ont été coulées sur des surmoulages en laiton doré faits sur les ouvrages originaux du pignon opposé”; comparable gilt brass pieces were added in 1812 to the Shrine of the Virgin (n. 189). The effects of this restoration of the Shrine of St. Eleutherius, therefore, remain very minor in comparison with the egregious treatment of the Shrine of the Virgin at this time.

Doc. 5. Châsse de Saint Éleuthère 1804–1807, “Mémoire des Châsses . . .”, 2 December 1812/5 January 1813; A.C.T., Mobilier, 3^e section, no. 2.

“Mémoire des Châsses de St. Eleuthère et de Ste. Ursule . . . par T. Courtois orfèvre . . . Prix convenu pour ces deux châsses 150 florins . . . pour causes ci-dessus 2 Décembre 1812 . . . francs 272–10 Reçu . . . le 5 janvier 1813 Courtois orfèvre”.

Unpublished.

Doc. 6. Registre aux délibérations du Conseil de Fabrique de la Cathédrale, 24 June 1813; A.C.T., 1^e section, no. 6, pp. 34–35.

Resolution dated 24 June 1813, introduced by the parishioners of the Cathedral and adopted by the Cathedral administration “de faire une collecte pour subvenir aux frais nécessaires tant

n. 216); repair of a knob (on the *Presentation* arch: n. 215); repair of "10 galleries" (indicating the arcade crestings on the left side: n. 212); two subjects mounted and gilded (the angels in the *Flight into Egypt* and *Presentation* niches: n. 128); spandrel enamels gilded (on the left side: n. 179); eight lengths of inscription cleaned and one replaced (see Doc. 1); three reliefs gilded (in the niches on the left side: n. 39); two émail brun plaques (set behind the colonnettes flanking the *Presentation*: n. 233); nine colonnettes regilded, one repaired and regilded (n. 205); "Livré une large plaque cuivre doré servant de base aux groupes" (the floor of the left side niches); "Ajuster les pièces et les monter sur la dite châsse"; totalling 543.25 francs.

This bill represents the basic work of the first campaign of restoration, i.e., restoration of the three niches on the left side of the shrine, both reliefs and ornament.

Doc. 18 (36). Undated "Note d'honoraires" from Cloquet, for disbursements represented by Docs. 17, 12, 15, 16 and 23; packing and shipping costs of 2.50 francs; purchase of two crystals for 5 francs (mounted on the *Flight into Egypt* and *Baptism* arches: Doc. 17; n. 216); Cloquet's services for 200 francs (see Doc. 19); totalling 1,074 francs.

This document should be dated c. 11–14 September 1889, in view of the fact that charges were paid on 14 September.

Doc. 19 (10). Undated "Note d'honoraires" (received 19 September 1889) from Cloquet, for: disbursements made in the course of travels to Paris and Brussels regarding the restoration of enamels, and to Ghent for the enamelled inscriptions; his "études, recherches, direction et surveillance" of the restoration; totalling 200 francs.

The document probably dates between 14 and 17 September 1889, for the 200 francs claimed represents the "frais de l'architecture" in Doc. 18.

Doc. 20 (11). Receipt dated 19 September by Cloquet to Vicar-General Leroy, for: 350.75 francs.

This represents payment for some of Cloquet's disbursements listed in Doc. 18 (20 francs due Cloquet for Doc. 12; disbursements on Docs. 15, 16, 23; shipping costs and purchase of crystals).

Doc. 21 (12). Letter dated 20 September 1889 from Cloquet to Vicar-General Leroy, reporting: the shrine had been moved to Mondo's atelier; photographs "des quatre faces" of the shrine had been taken, "pour justifier, dans l'avenir, les importantes restaurations que nous aurons à faire aux groupes, en même temps que pour faciliter ce travail délicat"; condition of the de-mounted groups far worse than those already restored but that "les figures offrent une expression intense" beneath the gilt overlay (n. 25); enclosure of "un devis approximatif [Doc. 22] des travaux à faire pour achever la restauration commencée. Il monte à 9000 francs. Nous attendrons confirmation de vos ordres avant de mettre la main à l'oeuvre"; termination of work not expected by the new year because of care needed in execution.

This is the initial document for the second campaign, which deals with the remaining areas of the shrine. Of the "pre-restoration" photographs taken at this time (cf. n. 13), that of the shrine's left side (Cloquet 1892, fig. on 315), of course, represents the result of restoration effected during the first campaign.

Doc. 22 (1). Undated estimate subtitled "Suite [the word was later crossed-out, hence its position in the dossier] de la restauration de la Châsse de Notre-Dame", totalling 9,000 francs.

This was submitted c. 20 September 1889 (cf. Doc. 21) as an outline of costs and specific restoration to be undertaken during the second campaign. Although many items appearing here were omitted or changed in the course of restoration, it does represent Cloquet's initial plans and frequently serves to elucidate the more summary references to restoration contained in the primary bill for this campaign (Doc. 38). Those items not paralleled by the later bill include references to: the first design of the pedestal (n. 232); confection of "false" enamel inscriptions on the arches and plans for researching their texts (see Doc. 1; n. 36); cleaning the angel bust now in the *Annunciation* niche (n. 79); "false" enamel inscriptions in the roofs (see Doc. 1); restoration of the *Adoration of the Magi* (nn. 46, 48, 50, 53, 61, 68); restoration of the group in the *Christ-Enthroned* niche (nn. 70, 75); and restoration of the *Crucifixion* (n. 144).

Doc. 23 (13). Bill dated 23 September 1889 from "Michielsens-Lobert, Orfèvre, Bijoutier et Joaillier" in Ghent to Cloquet, for: "émailée 17", totalling 24 francs.

This laconic statement refers to work accomplished during the first campaign of restoration. It signifies the seventeen sections of enamel inscription for the left side niches (arcade and foot). Though Cloquet identifies it as the "restauration des émaux des inscriptions" (Doc. 18), the "restauration" per se involved only the eight original sections of arcade inscription previously cleaned (Doc. 17; cf. Doc. 1). The remaining nine sections comprise the length of inscription band at the foot of the niches and were executed in "false" enamel.

Doc. 24 (14). Letter dated 5 October 1889 from Cloquet to Vicar-General Leroy, enclosing photographs of the shrine "avant son démontage, pour vous permettre de mieux en raisonner avec Messieurs du Chapitre . . ."

Apparently confirmation for the financing of the second campaign had not yet been received.

Doc. 25 (17). Bill received 5 December 1889 from "F. Riche-lieu ébéniste" in Tournai to Mondo, for: restoration of the shrine's wood core (n. 246), totalling 17 francs.

Doc. 26 (18). Bill dated 13 December 1889 from Michielsens-Lobert to unnamed person(s), for: "émail en feu 10 pièces . . . à froid 4 triangles . . . 8 grandes triangles et 4 petites triangles", totalling 48.50 francs.

Although "en feu" certainly indicates the use of genuine enamel in the confection of the new spandrels, their dull nonvitreous appearance confirms Cloquet's later statement that they were composed of "véritable" enamel (Doc. 28; cf. n. 179). The reference to "cold" enamel indicates repair of the four triangular enamels carrying the Evangelist symbols (Fig. 61a–d) and the remaining twelve rinceaux enamels in the two side-roofs.

Doc. 27 (19). Bill dated 18 December 1889 (received 21 December 1889) from the Société de St. Augustin to the Cathedral Chapter, for engraving: "inscriptions des centres de quatre arcades laterales (i.e., those on the right side and the *Christ-Enthroned*; cf. Doc. 1); "ornements des fonds des deux versants d'about" (cf. n. 171) and ten spandrel triangles (n. 179); enamel plaques and inscription bands of the roof borders (cf. n. 179; Doc. 1); totalling 291 francs.

Doc. 28 (20b). Undated letter from Cloquet to Vicar-General Leroy, reporting: deteriorations apparent after removal of the wax, plaster and tin overlays (n. 26); conflation of the *Noli me Tangere* and the *Incredulity of Thomas* reliefs and the existence of a wax *Crowning of Thorns*; evidence of prior restoration of the *Crucifixion*, as well as the condition of the *Maries at the Tomb* and the *Flagellation* reliefs; “nous maintiendrons . . . Notre-Seigneur aux Limbes”; rearrangement to be effected among the roof reliefs (n. 148); condition of the Virgin in the *Adoration of the Magi* (n. 50) and that of Christ in the *Christ-Enthroned* (n. 74); addition of Instruments and Relics of the Passion to the *Christ-Enthroned* scene (nn. 70, 73); invention of the star held by the angel above the *Adoration of the Magi* (n. 47); work-to-date on the new main crest (n. 220); that Mondo “est parvenu à trouver un joaillier qui a pu lui fournir des boules en cristal de roche pour les pommeaux” (Doc. 32; cf. n. 225); re-establishment of the three bands bordering the roofs (nn. 191, 193); achievement of “un modèle réussi . . . de filigranes” (cf. n. 194); derivation of designs from preserved ornament (referring to the enamels in the roof borders; n. 193); restoration of the medallion frames (n. 210); restoration of the enamels in the two side-roofs (n. 162); completion of “false” enamels for the spandrels (n. 179); that “on a fait aux groupes des arcades les premières réparations nécessaires pour leur consolidation”; manufacture of new colonnettes (n. 206); that Mondo “a découpé et ajusté toutes les plaques des fonds des arcades” (cf. n. 169) and “a fondu tous les petits crétages garnissant l’extrados des arcades et refait les pommes de pin qui les terminent” (cf. nn. 214, 216). – Cloquet further reports: Mondo’s expenses approximate 1800 francs to date; disbursement of 431.34 francs billed by Van Uytvanck (Doc. 31), Michielsens-Lobert (Doc. 26), and the Société de St.-Augustin (Doc. 27; cf. Cassart 1974, 108–9); his services to date amount to 200 francs; enclosure of a table of work-in-progress by the aforementioned artists (Doc. 29); enclosure of a bill for photographs (Doc. 30) amounting to 36 francs. – Following Cloquet’s signature are three receipts by Cloquet: the first dated 21 December 1889 for reimbursement of the 697.34 francs entered in the letter; the second, undated, for 300 francs supplementing Cloquet’s “honoraires 17 September 1890”; the third, dated 17 August 1890, for reimbursement of 459.23 francs paid to Van Uytvanck, Rooms, Michielsens-Lobert, de Beule, Pauwels, and Fierlefin.

This letter may be dated to c. 19 December, as Cloquet encloses a table of work-in-progress so dated (Doc. 29). The 1890 date on the second receipt must be almost certainly an inadvertent error, for the “honoraires” of 17 September is probably that of 1889 (Doc. 18). The third receipt, attached separately, represents undocumented work in 1890 by the artists cited. Apart from Van Uytvanck and Michielsens-Lobert, the other “divers artistes” might represent those *Gantois* artists called in to replace Van Uytvanck in March 1890 (Doc. 36).

Doc. 29 (20). A table dated 19 December 1889 “des Dépenses prévues et effectuées pour les travaux de la seconde série exécutés”, citing bills submitted totalling 431.34 francs for: engraving arcade inscriptions (Doc. 27; cf. Doc. 1); engraving and enamelling new spandrels (Docs. 27, 26; cf. n. 179); new model of main crest (Doc. 31; cf. n. 220); restoration of the enamels on the side-roofs (Doc. 26; cf. n. 162); engraving of plaques for the end-roofs (Doc. 27; cf. n. 171); engraving of plaques for the roof borders (i.e., the cloisonné enamels: Doc. 27; cf. n. 191); engraving inscriptions for the roofs (Doc. 27; cf. Doc. 1); “restauration des médaillons” (i.e., the reliefs, in part: Doc. 31).

Doc. 30 (24). Bill dated 21 December 1889 (receipted same day) from Société de St.-Augustin in Tournai to the Cathedral Chap-

ter, for: photographs of the shrine (cf. Docs. 21, 28), totalling 36 francs.

Doc. 31 (25). Bill dated 2 January 1890 from Benoît Van Uytvanck, sculptor and woodworker in Louvain, to Cloquet, for: new model of the crest (n. 220); restoration of the *Maries at the Tomb*; new model of the *Noli me Tangere* (n. 158); totalling 91.84 francs.

The *Maries at the Tomb* was only one of two reliefs sent to Van Uytvanck by Mondo on 14 September 1889 (Doc. 38). The other relief was probably the *Incredulity of Thomas*: this needed more restoration than either the *Flagellation* or the *Descent into Limbo* (cf. Doc. 28), while the *Crucifixion* was not sent to Van Uytvanck until 4 December 1889 (Doc. 38; n. 144).

Doc. 32 (26). Bill dated 2 January 1890 from Eugène Taman, “Pierres Fines”, in Bruxelles to Cloquet, for: 61 dozen (“dz”) “pierres cabochons” of assorted sizes, purchased between 5 September 1889 and 4 November 1889; two crystals purchased 22 November 1889; totalling 165.55 francs.

These gems were to be used in the confection of the filigrane-and-gem plaques bordering the roofs and arcades, for the nimbus added to the *Christ-Enthroned* niche and restoration of that in the *Adoration of the Magi* (cf. n. 145), and for restoration of two crowns in the *Adoration of the Magi* and one in the *Presentation* (cf. nn. 48, 60, 130). Of the 732 gems apparently purchased, only 236 gems now appear in the plaques lining the roof borders and arcades.

Doc. 33 (27). Letter dated 8 January 1890 from Cloquet to Sacristan Crowet, reporting “le résultat de l’examen que vous m’avez prié de faire, du compte de Monsieur Mondo”, which has greatly exceeded expected cost; and enclosing “facture de Monsieur Mondo et analyse”.

See Doc. 35.

Doc. 34 (21). “Travaux faits du 14 Septembre au 21 Décembre 1889 à la chässe de Notre-Dame, par Monsieur Mondo”, undated.

See Doc. 35.

Doc. 35 (22). “Chässe de Notre-Dame: Examen du compte de Monsieur F. Mondo; Travaux fait du 14 Sept au 21 decem 1889”, undated.

Docs. 34–35 may be dated c. 8 January 1890 on the basis of Cloquet’s letter (Doc. 33). Cassart (1974, 108, 108 n. 3) believes that Doc. 34 represents Mondo’s “facture” which was enclosed in that letter together with Cloquet’s analysis of it (Doc. 35). In fact, Doc. 34 can only represent some sort of rough-draft of the more structured analysis represented by Doc. 35. Doc. 34 not only omits a column of itemized costs and fails to provide a total amount due, but its contents cite Mondo by name while critically questioning some of his charges (e.g., “couper juste? – et la dorure?”) and exclaiming at others (e.g., “ici déjà 80 francs pour les 2 éléments types sans dorures!”). Doc. 35 includes some of the same commentary, but within a format which correlates the item numbers contained in Mondo’s “facture” and the entries contained in Cloquet’s earlier estimate (Doc. 22). – Although Mondo’s bill submitted at this time is therefore not represented among the documents, it can be ascertained that it was an interim

bill, whose unexpected charges shocked Cloquet and led him to make his critical analysis. For this reason, and because the bill was not itemized in the sequence established by Cloquet's estimate, Cloquet must have requested Mondo to submit a finalized bill containing all his work for the second campaign and corresponding to the estimate: this resulted in Doc. 38, submitted c. 22 August 1890. In the meantime, Mondo received a sum of 3,450 francs (final entry, Doc. 38).

Doc. 36 (28). Letter dated 5 March 1890 from Cloquet to Sacristan Crowet, reporting: the sculptor in Louvain (Van Uytvanck) has stopped work; a two-week delay occasioned in retrieving the work from the sculptor and sending it on to two sculptors in Ghent (cf. Doc. 28); termination of restoration not to be expected by Easter.

The unidentified reliefs under discussion were received in Tournai on 1 March 1890 and sent that day to the Ghent sculptors (Doc. 38).

Doc. 37 (29). Letter dated 22 August 1890 from Mondo to Vicar-General Leroy, reporting: the submission of "le compte exacte de ce que coûte la restauration de la châsse" (Doc. 38) whose "augmentation sur le prix approximatif" (Doc. 22) was the result "de mon côté d'énormes sacrifices et si pareil travail se représentait je ne voudrais plus l'entreprendre à moins de quinze mille francs."

Doc. 38 (33). Undated bill (received 8 December 1890) from Mondo to the Cathedral Chapter, for "Restaurée la châsse de Notre-Dame dans les travaux ont été commencés le 18 Sept 1889 et achevés le 20 Août 1890", including: the final manufacture and mounting of the pedestal ornament (n. 232); "large tôle en cuivre formant le sol des groupes"; cleaning of the five reliefs in the niches being restored (n. 131); "dorure de 5 groupes"; "false" enamels for the 5 niches (n. 169); restoration of an arch inscription (see Doc. 1); "confection des autres inscriptions, 4 arcades" (cf. Docs. 1, 22); "15 émaux cloisonnées" (cf. n. 188); twelve new filigrane-and-gem plaques and repair of four (n. 194); "petits triangles d'écoinçon" and "dorure" (cf. n. 179); confection of an angel (n. 79); six spandrel arches (n. 211); restoration of the crest on one end-arch (n. 213); four arch crests (n. 214); five arcade knobs (n. 216) "y compris les frais de modèle des 2 pomeaux des pignons"; one crest (n. 220) "y compris les garnitures des pommes de pin qui n'ont pas été prévues dans le devis" (cf. n. 225); remaking the support for one arch knob (n. 213); restoration of the medallion frames (n. 210); patching the reliefs in the roofs (n. 131); "restauration des émaux chamlevés des grands versants y compris la dorure" (cf. n. 162); execution of the enamels of the end-roofs (n. 171); "bande de filligramme alternant avec des émaux au pourtour des versants du toit, filligrammes et des émaux" (cf. n. 191); "bandes émaillées à froid avec inscription et rinceaux avec double équerre, soudé le tout, doré et émaillé à froid . . ." (cf. Doc. 1); engraved bands bordering the roofs (n. 227); two émail brun plaques (flanking the *Visitation* niche; n. 233); new colonnettes (n. 206); "16 fonds sous les parties cintrées, cuivre et dorure"; "ouvrage d'orfèvrerie à dorer" (Doc. 43; n. 212); "livré le groupe 'l'Adoration des Rois Mages' . . ."; restoration of an angel in the end-roof (n. 70); five small angels (n. 133); "livré le groupe de Notre-Seigneur"; the Passion instruments (n. 68); restoration of the nimbus of the Virgin and confection of Christ's nimbus (in the end-niches; n. 146); redoing an angel in the end-roof (n. 46); restoration of the *Annunciation* (n. 80); restoration of the *Visitation* (n. 85); "groupe de 'la Nativité'"; "livré le premier médaillon" (representing the *Noli me Tangere*); "restauré et livré diverses parties

des personnages"; restoration of the *Incredulity of Thomas* (n. 160); restoration of the *Maries at the Tomb*; restoration of the *Descent into Limbo* and the *Flagellation* (n. 155); "Médaillon 'du Crucifiement'" (cf. n. 144); restoration of the grounds of the roof reliefs (n. 37); for a subtotal of 10,262.94 francs. – Mondo also bills for disbursements, for: restoration of the wood core (Doc. 25; cf. n. 246) and "petits cristaux" (cf. n. 216). – He further bills for shipping and packing charges for: two crystals (n. 225); "retourné à Monsieur Van Uytvanck sculpteur à Louvain le modèle crêtage"; "expédié à Monsieur Van Uytvanck 2 médaillons"; "retour du crêtage"; sending the Crucifixion (n. 144) "et Notre-Seigneur" to Van Uytvanck; sending to Van Uytvanck the Virgin, Child, and one King from the *Adoration of the Magi* (nn. 48, 50, 53) and two angels from the *Christ-Enthroned* (n. 70); "payé pour la caisse en retour"; "expédier à Gand la dite Caisse" (cf. Doc. 36); "reçu un grand ange du sculpteur de Gand"; reception of the *Nativity* (n. 120); "expédié des petits anges platinés à Gand"; "à Gand l'Enfant Jésus"; sending four angels to Ghent (n. 133); "le retour de l'Enfant Jésus"; for a subtotal of 88.65 francs. – The grand total is 10,351.59 francs, from which Mondo's previous payment of 3,450 francs (cf. Doc. 35) is subtracted, giving a final total of 6,901.59 francs.

The date of this bill should be c. 22 August 1890 (cf. Doc. 37).

Doc. 39 (22). "Observations sur la note des travaux de Monsieur Mondo à la châsse de Notre-Dame", undated.

This is essentially a critical dialogue on the subject of Mondo's bill (Doc. 38); presumably Cloquet wrote the critical remarks shortly after c. 22 August, and Mondo wrote the explanations. See nn. 225, 236; Doc. 44.

Doc. 40 (30). Bill dated August 1890 (received 12 February 1891) from Société de St. Augustin to the Cathedral Chapter, for: engraving and "false" enamels for the five niche walls under restoration (n. 169), the two end-roofs (n. 171), and fifteen arcade enamels (n. 188); "gravé les bandes à inscriptions du toit . . . des arcades . . . sous les arcades; gravé les grandes inscriptions du soubassement [see Doc. 1]; gravé les grands chamfreins du soubassement" (cf. n. 232); "fait quatre plaques à vernis brun" (cf. n. 236); totalling 546 francs.

Doc. 41 (31). Letter dated 9 September 1890 from Cloquet to Vicar-General Leroy, reporting: his plan for new "enveloppes vitrées qui entourent les châsses de la cathédral", with a drawing of the proposed cases.

Doc. 42 (32). Bill dated 25 October 1890 (received 19 November 1890) from Decallonne-Liagre in Tournai to Vicar-General Leroy, for: "100 Brochures in 8° Restauration de la Châsse de Notre Dame à la Cathédrale, 24 pp. avec couvertures"; totalling 35 francs.

Cassart (1974, 97 and 97 n. 1) has already pointed out that this represents the cost of publishing Huguet's report (1890).

Doc. 43 (33b). Letter dated 2 November 1890 from Mondo to "Monsieur l'Abbé", explaining: a charge of 200 francs (n. 212) on his bill (Doc. 38).

Doc. 44 (34). Bill dated 2 November 1890 (received 8 December 1890) from Mondo to the Cathedral Chapter, totalling 61.50 francs for: "payer à l'Ébéniste pour la transformation de base de la châsse"; "payer pour la peinture et la dorure"; bronzing the table and case for the shrine; "changer 2 médaillons" (referring

to the transposition of the *Flagellation and Incredulity of Thomas* reliefs; cf. Figs. 17–18, 33–4).

The shrine's pedestal was highly irregular in shape prior to 1889 (cf. Figs. 5, 15, 18, 34) and its realignment is undoubtedly referred to here, perhaps with specific reference to the socle area immediately beneath the *Adoration of the Magi* niche ("une partie du côté des Mages a dû être refaite, en demi cercle": Doc. 39).

Doc. 45 (35). Bill dated 31 December 1890 (received 29 April 1891) from Edouard Wicard, "Constructeur-Électricien", in Tournai to the Cathedral Chapter, totalling 30 francs for: photographs of the shrine taken 14 September 1890.

These are the "post-restoration" photographs published by Cloquet (1892, figs. on 312, 314; 1890–92, figs. on 415, 428).

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NOTE

As this article went to press, I learned of a recent dissertation entitled *The Iconography of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (New York, Institute of Fine Arts, 1975), by Dr. Sheila Schwartz, who briefly discusses the iconography of Joseph’s “presentation” of the Child to the Virgin in Meister Bertram of Minden’s *Nativity* (Fig. 29). Dr. Schwartz proposes that the novel “presentation-Nativity” type represented there bespeaks a new emphasis on Joseph’s descent from the House of David: “Among the reasons given by theologians for the Virgin’s marriage to Joseph, one of the commonest was that only such a marriage would enable Christ’s generation to be traced to the House of David since, under Jewish law, a child’s genealogy was traced through the father. The lineage recounted in Matthew’s *Liber generationis* ends with the selection of Joseph as Christ’s fosterfather – the last

patriarch in a chain of forty-two generations before the birth of Christ. Peter John Olivi (d. 1298), a Franciscan who did much to advance the cult of Joseph, writes in his commentary on Matthew that Joseph ‘is the key of the Old Testament, in whom the dignity of the patriarchs and prophets attains its promised fruit. . . . He alone possessed bodily what the divine condescension had promised to them.’ Thus, Joseph’s presentation of the Child to the Virgin in the Grabower *Nativity* can be understood as a visualization of his role in the redemptive scheme” (Schwartz 1975, 47–48). This argument is carefully documented (Schwartz 1975, 48 nn. 16–17) and seems to provide a reasonable explanation for the new role assumed by Joseph in those rare *Nativity* images exemplified by the scene which appears today on the Shrine of the Virgin.