

historiographischen Rang: Auch die Kulturkritik des Humanismus setzte zunächst bei Einzelaspekten an, um erst allmählich ein allumfassendes Erneuerungsbedürfnis auszubilden. (Vgl. Eu. Garin in: *Concetto, storia, miti e immagini del medio evo*, a cura di V. Branca, 1973, 199ss.) Wie aber ist eine solche prähumanistische Kunstkritik schon im 11. Jh. zu erklären? Die Parallele zum zeitgenössischen Ruf nach einer Reform der Kirche im Sinne der Urkirche drängt sich auf. (Vgl. zur Bedeutung dieses Ideals als eine der Grundlagen des späteren „Renaissancebewußtseins“ schon L. Varga, *Das Schlagwort vom „finsteren Mittelalter“*, 1932, 16ss.) Als Stimulus für die künstlerische Renovatio des 12. Jh. hat man der kirchlichen Reformbewegung immer wieder einen entscheidenden Platz eingeräumt, so daß die im kunsthistoriographischen Bereich verwendete Topik ebenfalls auf die religiöse Erneuerungsrhetorik zurückgreifen mag. Drängender noch wirkt aber die Frage, wie die Cassineser Quellen im Hinblick auf die Selbstaussagen der Renaissance und den von ihr postulierten Neubeginn durch Cimabue und Giotto zu bewerten sind. Kommentierten die Autoren des 11. und des 14. Jh. unabhängig voneinander zwei vergleichbare reale künstlerische Entwicklungen, oder griffen Boccaccio, Filippo Villani und Ghiberti auf eine schon im Mittelalter verbreitete Topik zurück? Die Texte von Alphanus und Leo von Ostia legen es nahe, auch der zweiten Alternative Rechnung zu tragen.

Ingo Herklotz

FRANÇOIS AVRIL, PATRICIA DANZ STIRNEMANN, *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine insulaire VIIe—XXe siècle*, Bibliothèque nationale. Département des manuscrits. Centre de Recherche sur les manuscrits enluminés. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1987.

(with two illustrations)

François Avril and his colleagues are to be congratulated on keeping up the momentum of their admirable series of catalogues of the illuminated manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale. Two volumes on Italian illuminated manuscripts as far as the thirteenth century have already been published in 1980 and 1984, and a third volume on the Spanish and Portuguese manuscripts appeared in 1983. Not only hard work and determination, but also considerable discipline are needed, for, as any editor will know, there tends to be a slippage on such projects with entries becoming more complex and research extending farther and farther afield.

The format adopted by Avril as editor-in-chief is admirable in this respect, giving essential information tabulated in an easily retrievable form. Among the two hundred and sixty manuscripts described here a number have been well-known for a considerable time, such as the Echternach Gospels (latin 9389, cat. 1), the 'third copy' of the Utrecht Psalter (latin 8846, cat. 76), the two thirteenth-century Apocalypses (fr. 403 and latin 10474, cats. 123 and 146), the Treatise on the Mass (fr. 13342, cat. 179) and the Fitzwarin Psalter (latin 765, cat. 202). Other important manuscripts have been recognised as English by Avril and published more recently by other scholars to whom he has generously communicated them. These include the Brunetto Latini made for

Edward III and Philippa of Hainault (fr. 571, cat. 187), the Bible by the artist of the Windmill Psalter (latin 15472, cat. 154) and the Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire moralisé* fr. 14969, cat 144). Even for these well-published manuscripts it is valuable to have thorough, authoritative descriptions and plates, including reproductions in colour. Dr Stirnemann has also summarised the state of knowledge on them with skill and understanding, and in addition made her own valuable contributions. For example she argues, as against Dr A. Heilmann's hypothesis of a lost, intermediary model, that the artist of latin 8846 depended mainly on the Eadwin Psalter (Trinity College, Cambridge), but made alterations at various points in line with the ninth-century original, the Utrecht Psalter. Her argument depends in part on correspondences with the mis-en-page and the minor initials of the Eadwin Psalter.

It is this sort of attention to detail of minor decoration, lay-out and minuter pieces of evidence as to the planning and execution of a manuscript which make the catalogue so valuable. This point needs stressing, since this catalogue can claim to be the first to note certain types of evidence for the making and planning of illumination, and certainly sets new standards of thoroughness in doing so in the paragraphs headed *Marques de production*. Dr Stirnemann has worked especially on the crucial period of transition from monastic to professional book production in the later twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries. The late Robert Branner first wrote about various marks in the margins which he thought might identify the artist responsible for initials in the Mannerius Bible. Dr Stirnemann was then able to show that the marks are likely to refer rather to payments and to calculations of the numbers and kinds of initials in a quire. Similarly once Leon Gilissen had alerted us to the existence of tiny dabs of colour placed in the margin to instruct the illuminator what colour to paint an initial, other scholars could be on the lookout for them, and Dr Stirnemann notes a number of new examples both of such marks and of letter marks denoting colour.

Of the manuscripts containing figure illumination of importance, perhaps the majority are known, but there remain a few which are not, perhaps most important being the Bible with a considerable number of miniatures dated by Stirnemann on stylistic grounds to the third quarter of the fourteenth century (fr. 1, cat. 198). This is a notable addition, since illuminated Bibles in either Latin or French are, for some reason, unusual in England at this period. The iconography of the scenes is stated by Dr Stirnemann to be quite original and based by the artist on his own reading of the text. Since the manuscript bears the arms of well-known families, Welles, Bardolf, Ros and Badlesmere, its secular patronage may be significant in this respect. Berger identified the owner as John de Welles who died in 1361. The Vernon manuscript of vernacular texts in the Bodleian Library (Ms. Eng. poet. a. 1), contains work by a number of artists, some of which show a comparable unsophisticated but vigorous narrative style.

The publication of illuminated manuscripts of second rank is constantly amplifying our knowledge of artists and groupings. Here the catalogue makes its greatest impact, for there are very many manuscripts which will be unknown even to specialists. The publication of more plates as here of the initials of the twelfth-century English monastic manuscripts, including of those initials which I have proposed to call 'arabesque' initials, will in time facilitate further identifications. Dr Stirnemann has here made an

addition to the known work of the Alexis Master of the St. Albans Psalter, convincingly attributing an initial in an Ivo of Chartres to him (latin 10341, cat. 35). The arabesque initial reproduced from a Bible (latin 11929, cat. 36) which is likely to be of the mid rather than the second quarter of the twelfth century, should be compared to initials in Durham manuscripts.

Here, however, I should signal a regrettable omission in the catalogue descriptions. Anyone working on the provenance of English monastic manuscripts will be aware of the ingenious system of identifying manuscripts in later medieval catalogues in England by giving the first couple of words on the recto of the second folio ("*secundo folio*"). It was this that enabled N. R. Ker to identify so many of the manuscripts included in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*. In the present catalogue, therefore, when Dr Stirnemann says, in my view quite correctly, that initials in latin 12204 (cat. 32) are related in style to manuscripts from Rochester and Canterbury, it is not clear whether she has checked M. R. James' catalogue of Canterbury manuscripts with the words on the "*secundo folio*" or not. This would enable checking of my Durham hypothesis for latin 10341 and of other guesses as to provenance made on stylistic grounds.

Even when we have a secure provenance, we cannot always safely deduce that the manuscript was made at as well as for a particular institution. An example is the Calendar and Computus (latin 15170, ff. 126—140, cat. 34) which has a note of the obit of Ralph Luffa, bishop of Chichester (1091—1123). The fine drawing showing a master teaching three pupils is related in style to Winchester manuscripts such as the St. Paul's Epistles, Bodleian Auct. D. 1.13, of the mid twelfth century. It thus raises again the difficult question of whether we have related artistic styles practiced in centres which are after all geographically quite near, or whether we have to think of the artists travelling to execute work where required. In the latter case they were perhaps more likely to be lay professionals, even at this early date, than monks or clerics. The miniature indicates the importance of the cathedral schools at this date.

Of the later manuscripts the thirteenth-century Lancelot (fr. 123, cat. 152) is important, since so few English illustrated Arthurian manuscripts are known, in spite of the interests of Edward I and his court. There are also three manuscripts in the so-called Milmete style. Dr Michael Michael has recently suggested in an important Ph D. thesis (see also his article in *Burlington Magazine*, 130 [1988], 107—115) that some of these artists may have been working in Oxford. The texts here too are scholastic, Duns Scotus and Durandus, *Speculum Judiciale* (cats. 181, 182, 184).

Finally two royal portraits are of interest, widely separated in date as they are. The first is the drawing added, probably at Canterbury, to the Anglo-Saxon Benedictinal of c. 970 (latin 987, fol. 111, cat 29, *Abb. 3*). Stirnemann, following C. R. Dodwell, proposes a date for this in the first half of the twelfth century. The drapery style has still a softness and pliancy that seems Anglo-Saxon rather than Romanesque, however, and the facial types of the flanking clergy with their round chins seem also to point to the later eleventh century. A similar style is also found in Normandy at this date, for example in Avranches, Ms. 58 from Mont St. Michel, an initial in which the later, crude inking over must be ignored (*Abb. 4*). The Benedictinal drawing follows the text of the Blessing of a King, and so this raises the intriguing question of who is represented. It

is notable how few portraits in manuscripts exist of the Anglo-Norman kings in contrast both to their Anglo-Saxon predecessors and to the kings and emperors of Germany of the tenth to the twelfth centuries. Perhaps it is significant of the often antagonistic relationships between church and state after the Conquest, as opposed to their close relations before. Since William Rufus is unlikely to have been portrayed at Canterbury in view of his constant quarrels with St. Anselm, we might have here a representation of William the Conqueror, made before his death in 1087. More work needs to be done on the iconography. The king carries the bird topped sceptre associated with the kings of England. In his right hand is a standard, which resembles that carried by Christ in the Psalter from Bury-St. Edmunds in the Vatican Library (Reg. Lat. 12, fol. 37v, Wormald, *English Drawings*, pl. 28 a) illuminated c. 1020, very probably also at Canterbury. The marginal drawing in the Psalter illustrates the words of Psalm 23, v. 10, '*Quis est iste rex gloriae*'. Perhaps we have a representation here of the liturgical acclamation, the *laudes regis*.

The second portrait was made some three hundred and fifty years later and added to the French Hours of Jeanne II de Navarre (N. a. l. 3145, fol. 3v, cat. 219). An unidentified English queen with the motto 'Mercy and Grace' is shown kneeling before the Trinity and the Virgin and Child. Members of the English royal house had a particular devotion to the 'Throne of Mercy' type of Trinity as seen here from the fourteenth century onwards. The English bird topped sceptre appears again in this miniature, being held by the Virgin. She is also shown holding it in a Psalter of c. 1325 where Edward III kneels before her (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 131). Of the three French princesses who, Stirnemann suggests, might have brought the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre to England, Catherine de Valois, wife of Henry V, is the most likely in my opinion. An English Hours made for her with miniatures in very similar style was sold recently at auction at Christie's in London and acquired by the British Library (Additional 65100).

J. J. G. Alexander

*Die romanischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart.* Teil 1 *Provenienz Zwiefalten*. Bearb. von SIGRID VON BORRIES-SCHULTEN. Mit einem paläographischen Beitrag von HERRAD SPILLING. (Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Band 2 = Denkmäler der Buchkunst, Band 7). Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann Verlag 1987. 155 S. Text, 1 Farbtafel u. 92 Schwarz-Weiß-Tafeln mit 336 Abb.

*Die romanischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart.* Teil 2 *Verschiedene Provenienzen*. Bearb. von ANNEGRET BUTZ. (Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Band 2 = Denkmäler der Buchkunst, Band 8). Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann Verlag 1987. 101 S. Text, 6 Farbtafeln u. 102 Schwarz-Weiß-Tafeln mit 370 Abb.

In Lib. I, Cap. XXI der Hirsauer *Consuetudines* (Migne, *PL* 150, Sp. 951—953) erläutert Abt Wilhelm (1069—1091) die Handzeichen, mit denen sich die Mönche über