

CAROLINGIAN ART IN THE ABBEY OF ST. DENIS

BY A. M. FRIEND

AMONG the gifts sent by the eastern Emperor Michael the Stammerer to Louis the Debonnaire in A. D. 827 was a Greek manuscript of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. The embassy which brought it was received in regal state at the palace at Compiègne, but about 835 the precious manuscript was deposited in the abbey of St. Denis near Paris.¹ To the Carolingian mind nothing could have been more appropriate than this action of the Emperor Louis. Dionysius and St. Denis of Paris were already regarded as one and the same person and Louis revered the abbey as the shrine of the chief patron of his House. The manuscript was received with great rejoicing by the monks of St. Denis,² but, being written in a language beyond their power to read, it remained in the abbey treasury undisturbed save for the inadequate researches of Louis' friend, the abbot Hilduin, in his life of St. Denis undertaken at the Emperor's request. It remained for Charles the Bald, Louis the Debonnaire's son, inspired by his love of learning and his lifelong devotion to the abbey of St. Denis, to see the possibilities of a complete translation for the preservation of the text of the unique manuscript. At his request John the Scot undertook the translation of the works of Dionysius at St. Denis and seems to have dedicated the finished work to Charles in 858.³

This translation included not only the chief works of Dionysius but also the ten letters ascribed to him in the original manuscript. It is the book of the Celestial Hierarchy and the seventh of these letters, the one to Polycarp of Smyrna, which have left their mark on the art of the time. The influence of the Celestial Hierarchy is obvious enough. The great treatise on angel-lore in its Latin dress almost immediately caused the insertion of angelic figures in the scenes of Christian art, which never before had used them, and increased the number of them in the scenes which had. The result of the translation of the letter to Polycarp is much more interesting. Dionysius represents himself as writing to the bishop of Smyrna to defend himself against the charges of a sophist, Apollonphanes, and to explain his conversion to the new religion by reason of a miraculous eclipse of the sun which both had observed while in Egypt. The text of John the Scot for this passage follows:⁴

"Dic autem ei: Quid dicis de ipsa in salutari cruce facta eclipsi? Nam utrique tunc juxta solis civitatem simul advenientes et consistentes, mirabiliter soli lunam incidentem vidimus—non

¹H. Omont, *Manuscrit des Oeuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire en 827. Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 1904, p. 230 ff.

²Jacques Doublet, *Antiquitez et Recherches de l'Abbaye de S. Denys*, Livre IV, Chap. IV.

³Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, p. 325 ff.

⁴*Pat. Lat.* Tom. CXXII, col. 1180.

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enim erat coitus tempus—iterum autem ipsam a nona hora usque vespas, in solis diametrum supernaturaliter econtrario consistentem. Admone autem quiddam et alterum ipsum. Scit enim, quia et occasum ipsum ex Orientalibus videbamus inchoantem, et usque solarem summitatem venientem, deinde retrogradientem, et iterum non ex eadem et occasum et repurgationem, sed secundum diametrum econtrario factam.”

According to this account, the eclipse at the time of the Crucifixion was indeed miraculous, since the moon came up to the sun from the east and obscured it from the sixth to the ninth hour while Christ hung upon the cross. Then, instead of passing on to the west, it reversed and returned to the east.

In Christian art, the presence of the busts or symbols of the sun and moon in the scene of the Crucifixion is almost universal. In Carolingian times, at least until after the translation of John the Scot, the bust of the sun was placed over Christ's right hand and looks down upon him. The bust of the moon was over his left hand and faced the figure of the Saviour. Then suddenly this traditional arrangement was varied. The most important monument which shows the change is the front cover in beaten gold of the Ashburnham Jewelled Gospels, now in the Library of Mr. J. P. Morgan in New York (Fig. 49). In this representation of the Crucifixion we see the two busts over the head of Christ. The moon is crowned with her crescent and is placed over the bust of the sun who, quite without his usual rayed diadem, seems to be sound asleep. This is very obviously an attempt to represent the eclipse of the sun at the time of Christ's death. So far we have nothing more represented than can be inferred from the canonical Gospels. However on closer inspection we realize that both the busts are reversed. The sun faces the left, that is the west, while the moon will move towards the right or the east. Thus we see the moon “*ex Orientalibus usque solarem summitatem venientem, deinde retrogradientem.*” There can be no doubt that the artist is attempting to portray the eclipse described by Dionysius in his letter to Polycarp, and now made understandable by John the Scot's translation. This insistence on the actual form of the eclipse is to be expected only from the monks of St. Denis themselves or from their master Charles the Bald, who would see in the Crucifixion not only the sacrifice of their Lord and Saviour, but also the symbol of the conversion of their patron saint. No other artists would have had a reason strong enough to change the traditional iconography. The number of angels above the arms of the cross in the Ashburnham book cover is easily traceable to the influence of the translation of the *Celestial Hierarchy*. It would seem from the evidence of the eclipse and the angels alone that the golden cover was made in the abbey of St. Denis, presumably for Charles the Bald. But there is much besides that will confirm this attribution.

The cover of the Ashburnham Gospels is not the only work which shows the influence of Dionysius' story of the eclipse at the Crucifixion. A miniature from the Sacramentary of Metz in the Bibliothèque Nationale¹ (Lat. 1141)

¹Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne*, pl. CXXXII B.

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(Fig. 50) represents the figure of the Saviour on the cross. Above the cross the busts of the sun and moon are partly obscured by a lowering cloud to indicate the darkness. The sun is in his traditional pose but the moon is reversed and seems to be hurrying out of the picture. Again the artist is trying to show the moon returning to the East after the eclipse, just as Dionysius describes it.

On an ivory book cover in the State library at Munich¹ (Fig. 51) is carved a very complete Crucifixion, the richest iconographically in Carolingian art. The sun and moon are represented as little figures driving chariots and enclosed in wreaths. The sun drives his little chariot towards the center in the traditional direction, but the moon, on the other hand, drives her ox-chariot to the right, out of the picture, back to the East. Above the cross are three floating angels. The reversal of the moon's chariot and the presence of the angels are doubtless referable to the works believed to be by St. Denis.

There is one other Crucifixion scene in Carolingian art which shows the influence of John the Scot's translation. It is a carved rock crystal in the British Museum² (Fig. 52). Here the busts of the sun and moon are transposed. The sun is above St. John to Christ's left, while the moon is above the Virgin to his right. This gives them their proper directions at the end of the eclipse according to St. Denis. Above in the angles of the cross are two tiny angels who probably owe their existence to the popularity of the angelic treatise.

Besides their common iconography in the Crucifixion, these four monuments agree also in style and technique. A tradition of sprightly and accurate drawing underlies them all. It is a style best exemplified for us in the manuscripts of the school of Rheims, particularly the Utrecht Psalter. Yet in these four pieces it seems more ordered, more careful, more sophisticated than the usual run of the Rheims style. That is because it is here a borrowed style and confused with the stiffer tradition of Tours. It is singularly fortunate that each of the monuments we have studied is in a different material. Each one belongs to a group of works in that material, while all the groups together make up the remains of a very important school of art. The golden cover is a member of a collection of works in beaten gold which included the high altar of St. Denis. The manuscript miniature has always been grouped with the school of illumination known as the school of Corbie. The ivory is one of the so-called Liuthard group established by Goldschmidt. The gem is to be matched by several others in England and in France. I wish to examine briefly each of these categories separately and try to prove that they are all parts of a great school of art which flourished in the abbey of St. Denis under Charles the Bald.

The manuscripts, as is always the case in the study of early mediaeval art, are the most important because there are more of them and because we can

¹Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, erster Band, no. 41.

²Babelon, *Histoire de la Gravure sur Gemmes en France*, pl. III, 3.

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know more about them. The school of manuscripts that were first grouped together by Janitschek in his *Trierer Ada-Handschrift*,¹ and located by him at Corbie never had any real connection with that place. The only manuscript which could be put definitely at Corbie is the Sacramentary of Rodradus who was ordained a priest at Corbie in 853. This manuscript is far from being a typical example of Janitschek's school. On the other hand the Sacramentary of Metz which I have mentioned in connection with the eclipse of the sun and moon is, stylistically, the finest and most characteristic manuscript of the school. Two peculiarities which distinguish the school of Corbie seem most striking to me. The first is the number of manuscripts which are included in it that we definitely know to have been made for Charles the Bald or to have been his property. There are four of them all told, his Psalter in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Lat. 1152),² his Prayer Book in the Schatzkammer in Munich,³ his Bible in the monastery of St. Paul's f. l. m. in Rome⁴ and his Gospels in the State Library at Munich.⁵ The second peculiarity is the markedly eclectic character of the decoration of the manuscripts. It is a well assimilated combination of all the great Carolingian schools of illumination which had preceded it, whether Ada, Tours, Franco-Saxon or Rheims.

Before we can assign a new school of illumination to the abbey of St. Denis we must realize that Janitschek has already and with much reason centered a part of the Franco-Saxon School there.⁶ His attribution would best rest on the evidence of the Sacramentary of St. Denis (Bibl. Nat., Lat. 2290),⁷ a fine specimen of the Franco-Saxon style. The manuscript comes from the abbey of St. Denis through the collections of de Thou and Colbert to the Bibliothèque Nationale. In this manuscript besides the prayers for the mass of the day of St. Denis there are also the prayers and the preface of a mass entitled: *Missa in veneratione sanctorum martyrum Dyonisii, Rustici et Eleu(the)rii*.⁸ The names of the saints that are to be found in the calendar and other places in the manuscript include Sts. Cucuphat, Hippolitus, Innocent and Hilarus, all specially venerated at the abbey of St. Denis. Stylistically this manuscript most closely resembles the so-called Second Bible of Charles the Bald⁹ (Bibl. Nat., Lat. 2), the finest example, perhaps, of the Franco-Saxon school. This bible also came from the Abbey of St. Denis, probably being one of the volumes left to the abbey in the will of Charles the Bald. That this manuscript belonged to him we know from a poem at the beginning of the volume which shows that it was made for this prince.¹⁰ It also contains a reference to the death of Charles's

¹H. Janitschek, *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, pp. 72-107.

²Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. cxiii and cxiv.

³Von Schlosser, *Jb. Kunst. Samm. Bd. xiii*, p. 23, Fig. 38.

⁴Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. cxxi-cxxx.

⁵Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. cxv-cxx.

⁶Janitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁷Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. civ-A.

⁸Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie*, Denis (abbaye de Saint-), col. 634 and col. 635, and Delisle, "Anciens Sacramentaires," p. 104.

⁹Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. c-cii.

¹⁰S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 288.

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son, Charles, King of Aquitaine, as of recent occurrence. Charles of Aquitaine died September 29, 865. The manuscript therefore would date after 865, according to Beissel.¹

Now if we examine the first of the group of the manuscripts of the school of Corbie which were made for Charles the Bald, namely, his Psalter in the Bibliothèque Nationale, we find that evidence similar to that which showed manuscript 2290 to have been made in the abbey of St. Denis unquestionably locates this manuscript also in St. Denis. The litany contains the names of Sts. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius immediately after the first three successors of St. Peter and before even so great a martyr as St. Lawrence. The special but subsidiary saints venerated in St. Denis, such as St. Cucuphat, St. Peregrinus, St. Hippolitus, St. Eustachius, St. Firmin and St. Mauricius², are all to be found in the litany. In the litany, also, Queen Hermentrude, wife of Charles the Bald, is mentioned as still living. She died in 869.³ Unless we are willing to throw out the liturgical evidence for the St. Denis origin of the manuscripts in both cases, we must conclude that between 865 and 869 the style of illumination in the abbey of St. Denis completely changed.

This, to a limited extent, is exactly what happened. It is, therefore a fact of especial significance that when the abbot of St. Denis, Louis, died in 867, Charles the Bald retained the abbacy for himself.⁴ It was due to the new abbot that the change came. All the manuscripts that were made by his order date about this time. The Psalter dates before 869 as we have seen. The Bible of St. Paul's, which contains a picture of Hermentrude together with Charles who is seated on his throne holding a seal containing the cipher of both of them, must, therefore, also date before 869.⁵ The Gospels in Munich called the Gospels of St. Emmeran or the Codex Aureus is dated 870 by an inscription.⁶ The Prayer Book at the Schatzkammer is so close in style to the Psalter that it must be by the same hand, Liuthard, and at about the same time.

An analysis of this set of manuscripts reveals that the illumination is a combination of the styles of all the previous schools of Carolingian miniatures, as I have stated above. The basis of the new style, however, was quite naturally the old Franco-Saxon one which preceded it and which had produced the Sacramentary of St. Denis and the Second Bible. Many of the initial pages and ornate letters in manuscripts of the new style show the Franco-Saxon basis. Examples may be found particularly in the Bible of St. Paul's and in the Gospels of St. Emmeran.⁷ The initial H in the page from the Bible of St. Paul's⁸ (Fig. 53) is quite like the H taken from the Second Bible⁹ (Fig. 54). The

¹Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher*, p. 196.

²Delisle, *Mélanges de Paléographie et de Bibliographie*, p. 243 ff.

³Janitschek, *op. cit.*, note 3, p. 97.

⁴*Annales Bertiniani*, Ed. l'Abbé C. Dehaisnes, p. 164.

⁵Comte P. Durrieu, *Mélanges offerts à M. E. Chatelain*, p. 1 ff.

⁶Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁷Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. CXX, CXXIX, CXXX.

⁸Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. CXXX-A.

⁹*Bibl. Nat. Dépt. des MSS. Peintures et Initiales de la Seconde Bible de Charles le Chauve*, pl. 19.

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fact is that the whole initial system rests soundly on that of the Franco-Saxon school.

The influence from the school of Tours is particularly strong. Whole pages and scenes from the Vivien Bible (Bibl. Nat., Lat. 1), the chief manuscript of the school, are reproduced in the Gospels of St. Emmeran and the Bible of St. Paul's. The page of Christ in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, the Evangelists and the Prophets from the Bible of St. Paul's¹ (Fig. 55) can be seen to reproduce fairly closely the same sort of page² from the Vivien Bible (Fig. 56).

The influence from the Ada school is most striking in the Gospels of St. Emmeran. Four pages of the canon tables in this manuscript³ are literal reproductions of the canon tables of the Gospels of Soissons⁴ (Bibl. Nat., Lat. 8850), the *chef d'oeuvre* of the Ada school which Louis the Debonnaire offered to the abbey of St. Médard. A page of each manuscript is here reproduced (Fig. 57 and Fig. 58).

Numerous miniatures betray the dominant influence of the Rheims school. In fact the basis of both the style and technique of the figures used by the artists of St. Denis is the Rheims school. The agitated figures of the Evangelists in the gospels of St. Emmeran⁵ recall at once the Evangelists of the Gospels of Ebbo⁶ made at Hautvillers near Rheims. The page from the Bible of St. Paul's which shows the Ascension of Christ⁷ (Fig. 59) has an arrangement of the page and a figure style that are based on pages of the Utrecht Psalter, such as that for the 134th Psalm (Fig. 60).⁸ Furthermore, as we shall see, four ivories⁹ which were the covers of two of the four Corbie school manuscripts made for Charles the Bald copy scenes from the Utrecht Psalter.

We may ask ourselves the question: In what place could the artists of the eclectic school of Corbie get hold of and copy manuscripts of all the previous schools of Carolingian illumination? Where could they see and work with some of the very manuscripts we have seen them copying? Nowhere, it seems to me, save in the library of Charles the Bald, in the abbey of St. Denis. The Second Bible and the Vivien Bible were certainly a part of his library. He must have included these manuscripts if in 867 he moved his manuscripts into the abbey. In his will we know that he left one third of this library to the abbey.¹⁰ Either in Charles's collection of manuscripts or in the abbey treasury was the manuscript of the Gospels of St. Médard of Soissons. This is not improbable considering the close relations of Louis the Debonnaire with St. Denis and the

¹Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXV-B.

²Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII-B.

³Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CXVII A AND B.

⁴Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-B AND XX.

⁵Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CXVIII.

⁶Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVIII AND LXIX.

⁷Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXVIII-A.

⁸Facsimile of the Palaeographical Society.

⁹Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, Nos. 40 a and b, 42 and 43.

¹⁰Cabrol, *op. cit.*, "Charles le Chauve (*Manuscrits de*).", Col. 826.

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fact that his friend Hilduin was abbot both of St. Denis and St. Médard.¹ The presence of Rheims manuscripts is easily explained by the close connection existing at this time between Rheims and St. Denis. Hincmar, the archbishop of Rheims and the trusted advisor of Charles the Bald was brought up under Hilduin in the Parisian abbey.

If the miniaturists of the so called school of Corbie had access to the collection of diverse manuscripts in the library of Charles, then the questions of the origin of the eclectic style together with the predominance of the patronage of the same prince are answered. The seat of the school was in St. Denis,² which we have already inferred from the iconography of the Crucifixion and from the litany in the Psalter of Charles the Bald.

Now if we consider the second of our categories of material, the group of works in gold *repoussé*, other reasons for thinking St. Denis the place of origin for all these objects become apparent. In the first place we know that the abbey was famous for its goldsmithery under the abbot Louis, the predecessor of Charles the Bald. Lupus of Ferrières, in one of his letters to Louis,³ announces that he is sending up two of his monks to be trained with the workers of gold and silver in St. Denis who are famous far and wide as the most skilful. The group of objects we are considering consists of (1) the gold cover of the Ashburnham Gospels; (2) the gold cover of the Gospels of St. Emmeran,⁴ in the State Library at Munich; (3) the portable altar of Arnulf in the Schatzkammer in Munich;⁵ and (4) the old high altar of the abbey of St. Denis itself,⁶ which though destroyed in the French revolution is luckily preserved in style and design by an old Franco-Flemish painting, in the Collection of Mrs. Stuart MacKenzie, London. The first three have always been regarded as belonging to the same workshop if not made by the same hand. The second, the book cover in Munich, is the binding for the Gospels of St. Emmeran which we have discussed above. The manuscript was illuminated in St. Denis and the history of its travels is known from the time that Odo took it from the treasury of St. Denis⁷ and presented it to Arnulf.⁸ At that time it possessed its gold cover and there is no reason to suppose that the beaten gold plates which compose this cover were made anywhere else, particularly if the figure style of the gold work and the illuminations be compared. The high altar of St. Denis would probably have been made in the abbey itself. The gold plates with figures in relief given by Charles the Bald were used first as an antependium. Suger,

¹*Pat. Lat.*, Tomus CVI, Col. 9.

²Paper read before the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America at University of Pittsburgh, Dec. 20, 1919. *A. J. A.*, vol. XXIV, 1920, pp. 81-82.

³*Lettres de Servat Lupus*, Ed. G. Desdèvises du Dezert, pp. 89-90.

⁴Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, I, 2 partie, pl. xi.

⁵*Die reiche Kapelle in der Königlichen Residenz zu München*. Sonderdruck aus der Zeitschrift "Die christliche Kunst," X. Jahrgang, pp. 6 and 7.

⁶Sir Martin Conway, *The Burlington Magazine*, XXVI, 1914-15, p. 241, where he suggests a St. Denis origin for the altar and the cover of the Codex Aureus.

⁷Von Schlosser, *Schriftquel. Karol. Kunst*, No. 664b.

⁸Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reichs*, t. III, p. 478, and Favre, *Eudes*, p. 173.

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the great minister of Louis VII, completed the altar and placed a commemorative inscription on it.¹ Later as we see in the picture (Fig. 61) the gold reliefs of the time of Charles the Bald were used as a retable. A comparison of the style of the angels who hold the crowns with those above the cross on the Ashburnham cover is sufficient, allowing for modifications by the Flemish painter, to show that both works issued from the same atelier. The use of the seraphim under the arch above the figure of Christ recalls the effect the translation of the Celestial Hierarchy had upon the multiplication of angelic forms in the art of St. Denis. All the evidence for a definite provenance for this group of metal work points overwhelmingly to St. Denis.

The ivories which Adolph Goldschmidt has placed in his Liuthard group,² including the ivory crucifixion at Munich which I have discussed above, are intimately associated with the so-called Corbie school of manuscripts, in several cases being the actual or former covers thereof. Goldschmidt has intimated that the center of that school cannot be Corbie—"Corbie wie Janitschek vermutete, ist es voraussichtlich nicht." As we have seen, it is probably St. Denis, and all the Liuthard group of ivories were sculptured there or under the influence of the abbey. It seems to me that ivory carving in St. Denis did not cease at the death of Charles the Bald but continued even into Capetian times and that the so-called late Metz school of Goldschmidt's making is really the continuance of the St. Denis school. Homburger has shown that the Winchester school of illumination is closely connected with this late Metz school.³ If this be St. Denis instead of Metz, it is easier to understand how the influence penetrated to England. With the gifts that Hugh Capet, Duke of France and abbot of St. Denis, sent to Aethelstan in 939⁴ went a finger of St. Denis which I think was enclosed in the Brunswick casket.⁵ Aethelstan deposited the relic in the abbey of Abingdon which shortly after was ruled by Aethelwold, later the bishop of Winchester, whose Benedictionale significantly copies outright the scenes of the Brunswick casket, as Homburger shows.⁶

The fourth category for our consideration, that of carved rock crystal, nets us very little for proving the St. Denis origin of our school. The gems are rather the reflection of painting, and the iconographic point I mentioned above is the only significant feature. The other carved crystals⁷ show the general iconography of the late Metz school of ivories which I consider late St. Denis.

The Art of the abbey of St. Denis in Carolingian times may be divided into three periods. We begin with the period of the domination of the Franco-Saxon style, which lasted till about 867. In that year Charles the Bald became

¹A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, p. 197.

²Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff.

³Homburger, *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester im X. Jahrhundert*, p. 27.

⁴Stevenson, *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, vol. I, p. 88.

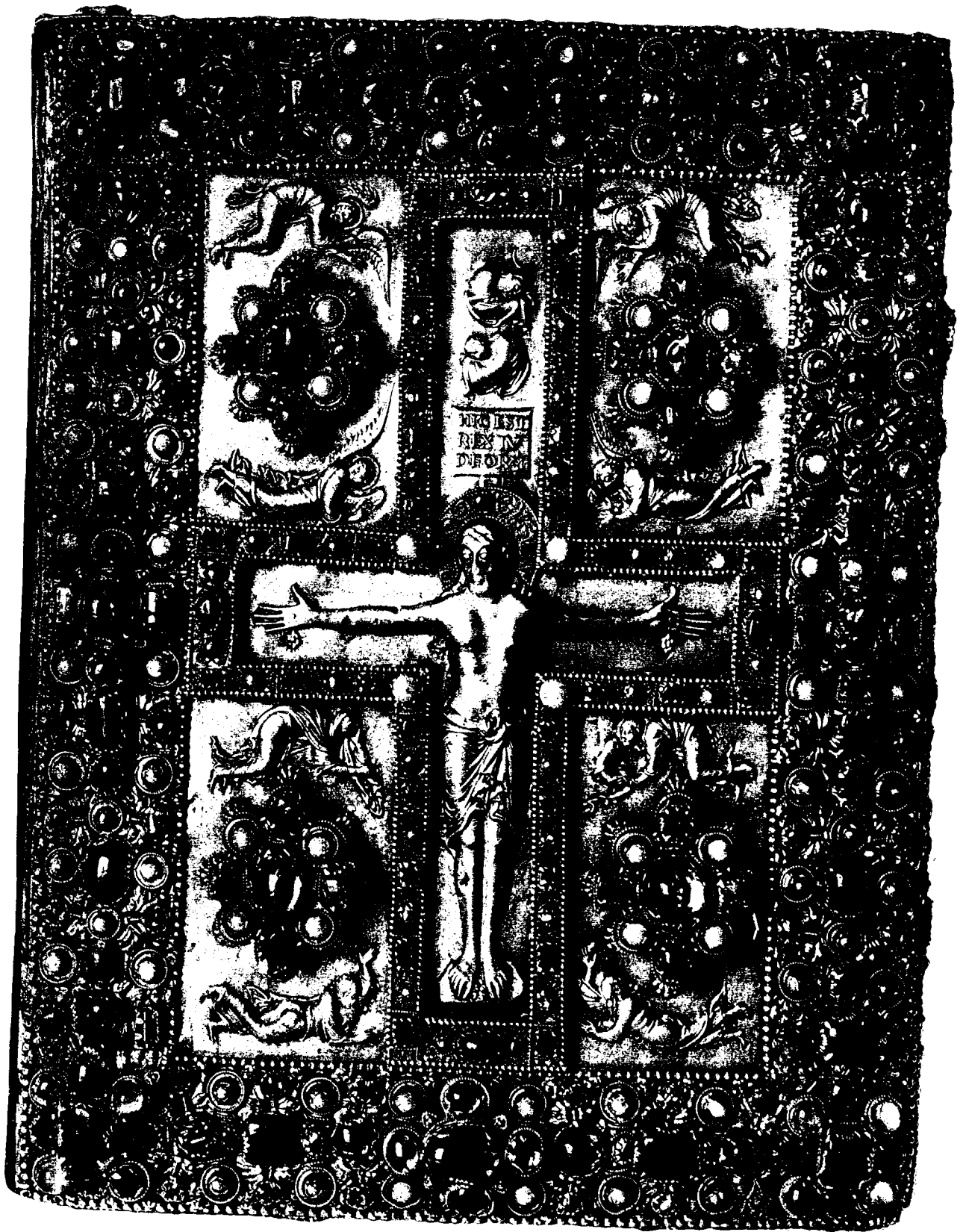
⁵Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, no. 96.

⁶Homburger, *op. cit.*, pls. II-V.

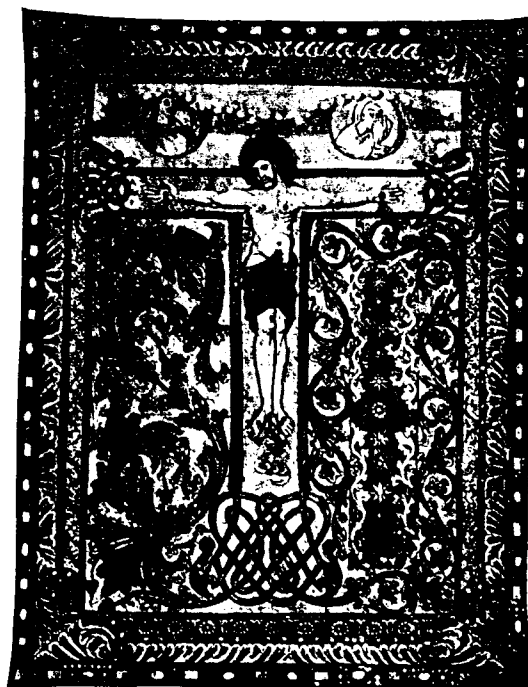
⁷Babelon, *op. cit.*, pls. II AND III.

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secular abbot of St. Denis and must have put his great library at the disposal of the St. Denis monks. From 867 till 877, the year of Charles's death, the abbey was the most fecund center of art in Europe, producing the group of manuscripts usually called the School of Corbie, the group of ivories which Goldschmidt calls the Liuthard group, and the great works in the precious metals together with carved crystal gems. The period of decline was long and important because of the influence the abbey exerted in England, Belgium and Germany. The art of Capetian France rests solidly on the achievements of the great period of the abbey of the Patron Saint of France, the reputed author of the *Celestial Hierarchy*.



49. Front Cover, Ashburnham Jewelled Gospels. Library of Mr. J. P. Morgan, New York. (St.-Denis School)



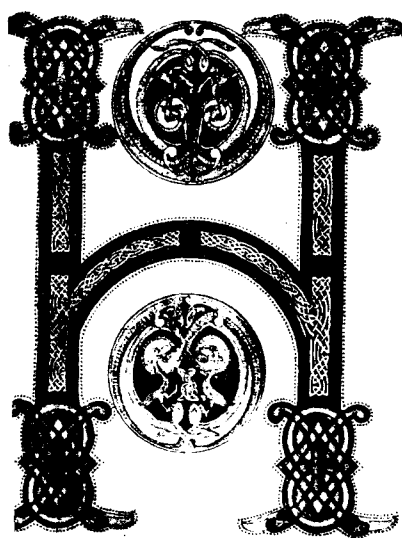
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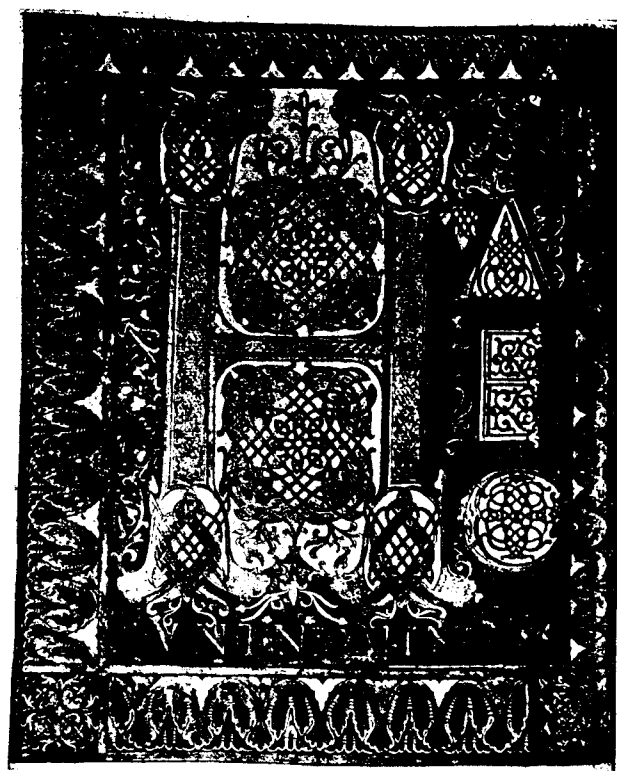
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50. Sacramentary of Metz, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1141. St.-Denis School.
 51. Ivory Cover of Cod. lat. 4452. State Library, Munich. St.-Denis School. Cut from Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeine Skulpturen*.
 52. Rock Crystal, British Museum. St.-Denis School.
 53. Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m., Rome. St.-Denis School.
 54. Second Bible of Charles the Bald. Bibl. Nat. lat. 2. Franco-Saxon School.



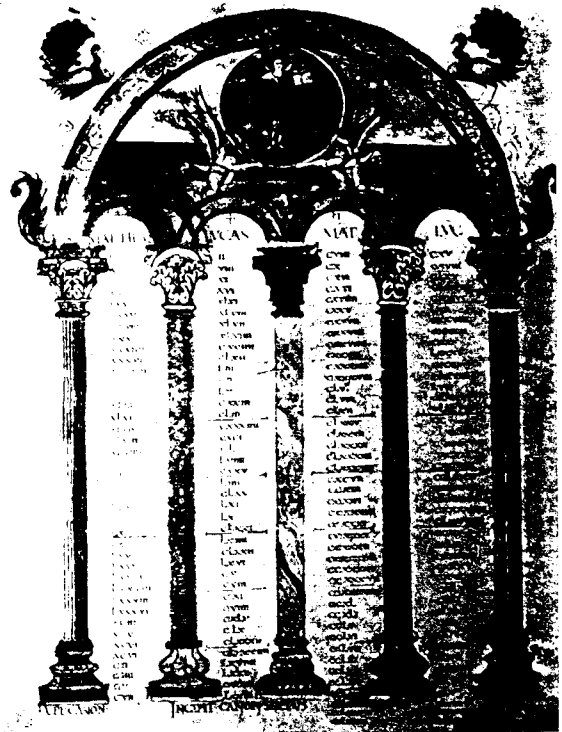
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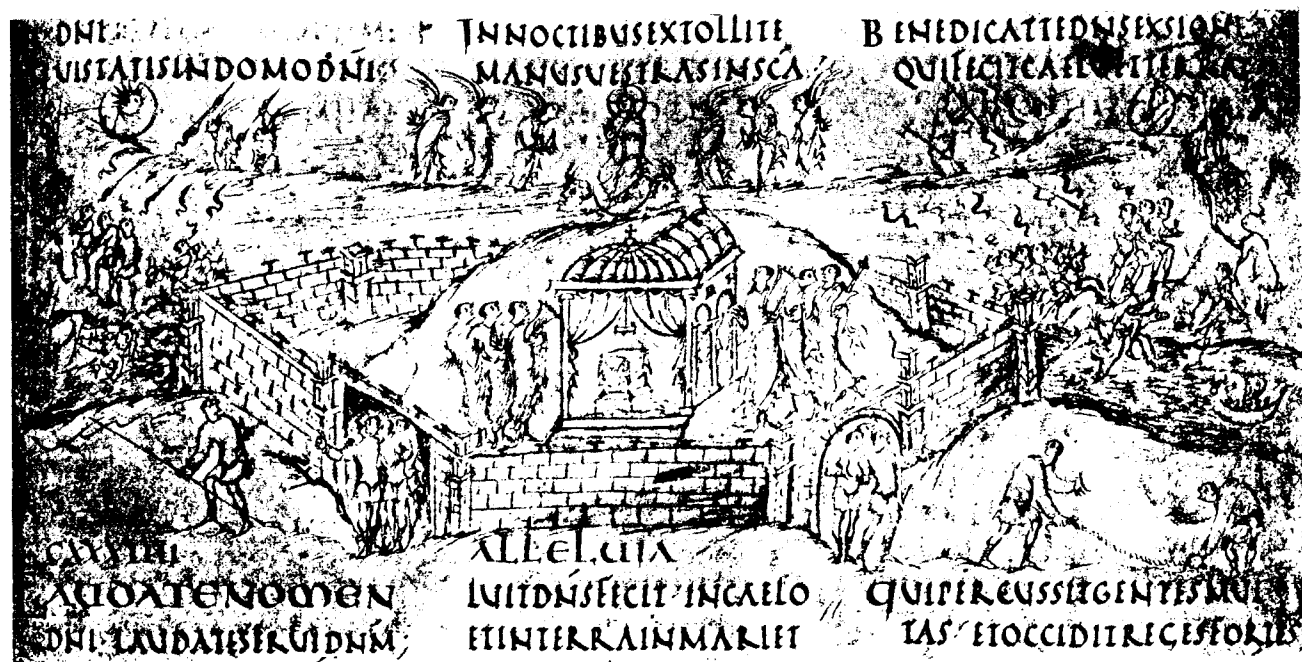


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55. Bible of St. Paul's f. 1. m., Rome. St.-Denis School.
 56. Vivien Bible. Bibl. Nat. lat. 1. School of Tours. Cut from Boinet.
 57. Gospels of St. Emmeran, "Codex Aureus." Munich State Library. St.-Denis School.
 58. Gospels of St. Médard of Soissons. Bibl. Nat. lat. 8850. Ada School. Cut from Boinet.



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59. Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m., Rome. St.-Denis School. Cut from Boinet.
 60. Utrecht Psalter, University Library, Utrecht. School of Rheims.
 61. Altar-Frontal of St.-Denis. From picture belonging to Mrs. Stuart MacKenzie, London. Cut from "Burlington Magazine."