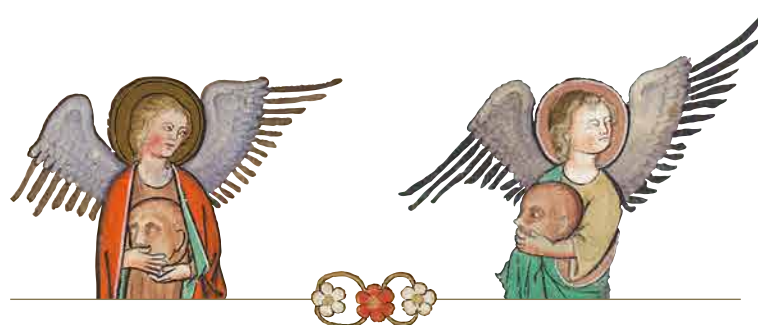




THE VAL-DIEU APOCALYPSE



Reims Cathedral
Lorraine Apocalypses

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c. 1250–c. 1350

REIMS CATHEDRAL – THE APOCALYPSE IN SCULPTURE

At approximately the same time as illustrated Apocalypses were gaining in popularity in England in the mid-thirteenth century, the only monumental Apocalypse cycle to be carved in stone was erected on the west façade of Notre-Dame cathedral in Reims, located in the Champagne region of France. This building claims an important place in the history of medieval art as the coronation site for French kings and for possessing one of the most influential architectural and sculptural programmes in the development of Gothic architecture.⁶⁷ The precise dating of the west façade of Reims cathedral is debated among specialists due to various halts in its construction which resulted in the west façade being redesigned three times after the decision to rebuild the previous cathedral was taken in 1207.⁶⁸ The south portal of the western façade of this cathedral features an extensive Apocalypse cycle and dates to around 1260–75, i.e. more than four decades after the first illustrated Bible moralisée was made in France and about three decades before the sudden burst of Apocalypse manuscript production in Lorraine.⁶⁹ Despite the popularity of such illustrated manuscripts throughout the

Middle Ages, fully developed Apocalypse cycles rarely appeared in monumental form. No other medieval building features an exterior Apocalypse cycle of this complexity.⁷⁰ Any Apocalypse motifs present in church buildings are usually truncated cycles or just key figures, such as the Twenty-Four Ancients or the Four Living Creatures, accompanying a representation of the Last Judgement, which usually follows the version in Matthew 25: 31–46, as was popular in twelfth- and thirteenth-century façade sculpture.⁷¹ At Reims a cycle of over 100 figures fills five rows of archivolt above the south portal of the west façade and continues onto the adjoining buttress. On the reverse façade, i.e. the interior, another short cycle appears in the voussoirs, the wedge-shaped stones forming archivolt. Finally, a cycle depicting the events of John's life and death covers the southern buttress, located around the corner from the southern portal of the west façade.

The uniqueness of the Reims cycle makes identifying sources or models rather difficult. Furthermore, the size and position of voussoir stones means that there is less opportunity for narrative details, necessary to identify the iconography

 South portal of the western façade, Reims cathedral

Reverse western
façade,
south portal
archivolt,
Reims cathedral

The souls of the
martyrs under
the altar

Detail of the
southern buttress,
Reims cathedral



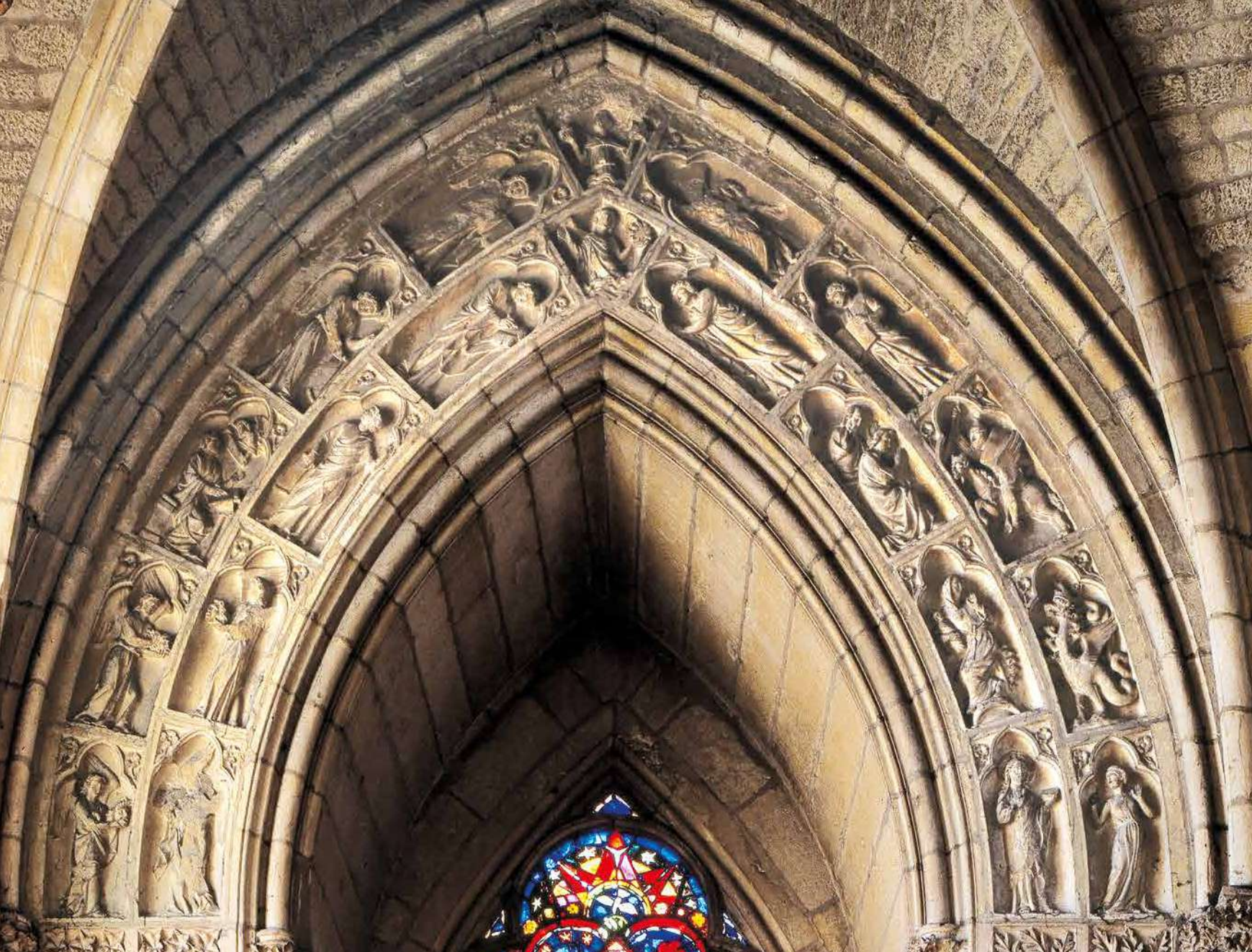
The fourth
horseman

Apoc. 5: 1–12;
Apoc. 6: 1–4

correctly. To compound matters, ten voussoirs were restored in the seventeenth century and the resulting sculptures feature generic figures, such as an angel or a bearded man with a scroll, which suggests that the restorers did not recognize the original iconography. Based on the single comprehensive study of the Reims cycle by Peter Kurmann and a new reassessment of the last few decades of Apocalypse scholarship, a full arrangement of a nearly complete Apocalypse cycle at Reims can be deciphered.⁷² The cycle begins on the left side at the lower left corner of the outer archivolt with the representation of John seated and writing and continues upwards toward the centre through chapter seven, depicting the Seven Churches of Asia, the Twenty-Four Ancients, the Four Angels holding Back the Winds, and the Souls of the Martyrs under the Altar. The right side of the archivolt depicts scenes from chapters nine through twenty,

including the Angels bound in the Euphrates, John receiving the Book from the Angel, Saint Michael fighting the Dragon, an angel emptying the vial of God's wrath, the Angel with the Millstone, the Destruction of Babylon, the Rider on the White Horse, the Birds summoned, and the Angel imprisoning the Dragon. This side of the portal has less cohesion than the left side, although the textual sequence similarly begins on the lower left voussoir and extends upwards towards the centre. Thus, apart from certain omissions, the southern portal depicts almost the entire book of the Apocalypse.

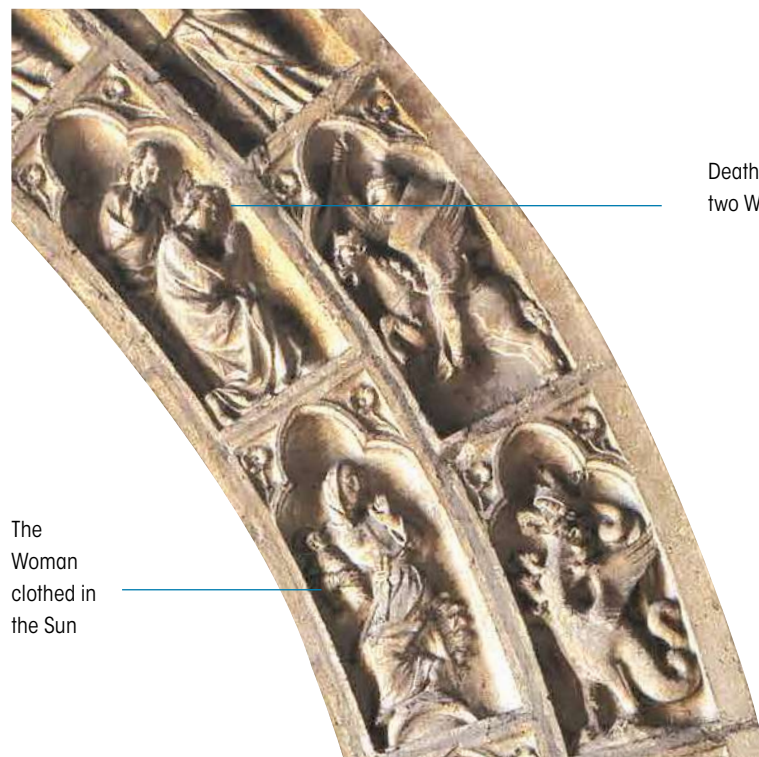
The southern buttress adjacent to this portal on the west façade also depicts nine Apocalypse scenes, but only from chapters five, six, and nine. The iconography in these scenes clearly corresponds to the biblical text but does not match any known Apocalypse cycles. Some of the sculptures fill in gaps in the iconographic



St John at
his desk



Death of the
two Witnesses



The
Woman
clothed in
the Sun

sequence on the portal. One scene on the portal, the Souls of the Martyrs under the Altar, is repeated here, though with considerable divergence from traditional Apocalypse imagery by showing souls kneeling before an altar on which a codex, a chalice, and the two Tablets of the Law are placed. The Fourth Horseman, Death, is also unusual and, as Yves Christe suggests, likely pertains not to the biblical text but to exegesis.⁷³ Here, a bare-breasted and blindfolded woman turns backwards on her horse and disembowels the man she carries behind her. Christe notes that a comparable figure can be found in the Last Judgment programmes at Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris and Amiens, and points to the Bible moralisée as the source for the exegetical imagery.⁷⁴ It must, however, be said that none of the other Apocalypse scenes at Reims appear to include references to the Apocalypse cycle in the Bible moralisée or to moralising imagery. The southern-facing buttress portrays the life of John in fourteen scenes. What is particularly interesting about this group of images is that contemporary English Apocalypse manuscripts frequently include scenes from the life of John, thereby supporting a possible correlation between these books and Reims. The selection of scenes for the Reims programme differs, though, from what is found in English Apocalypses.⁷⁵

On the reverse façade, that is a series of innovative archivolts with sculptural scenes that frame the three portals on the inside, there is yet another sequence of Apocalypse imagery. Here only a selection of scenes mostly from the first half of the Apocalypse (chapters one, seven, eight, ten, eleven, twelve as well as nineteen) are represented, some of which replicate imagery on the façade. As on the portal, pairs of voussoirs can go together, such as the Woman clothed in the Sun positioned with the Dragon of Apoc. 12: 1–6. This limited Apocalypse programme clearly derives from a *Liber Floridus*, as is best demonstrated by the Dragon from Apoc. 12.⁷⁶ Although the Dragon and the Death of the Two Witnesses by the Beast from the

Abyss are near matches in style and iconography to the Ms. lat. 8865 *Liber Floridus* (c. 1250–60) – almost exactly contemporary to Reims and likely made in nearby Hainault –, the inclusion of John writing at a desk does not correspond to any *Liber Floridus* and the woman's swaddled baby bears greater similarity to an earlier *Liber Floridus* from 1150–1200 (Cod. Guelf.1.Gud.Lat.2).⁷⁷

A few of the scenes depicted on the buttress and reverse façade supply imagery noticeably missing from the façade archivolts, such as the Lamb with the Book, the Four Horsemen, the Death of the Two Witnesses by the Beast from the Abyss, and the Woman and the Dragon. Nevertheless, there are still considerable omissions in all zones, especially from those concerning the second half of the text of the Apocalypse such as, for example, the Worship of the Dragon, the Worship of the Beast, the Vintage, the Great Harlot of Babylon, and the Heavenly Jerusalem. Therefore, it does not seem that the other zones were meant to supplement or correct omissions in the façade archivolts. It is likely that each zone was designed at different times and under the influence of different manuscript sources. The change in style from the façade and the reverse façade suggests at least different ateliers or sculptors, if not different times of production, or both. The problems surrounding the construction phases of the west façade and the various designs of the sculptural programmes support this likelihood of different sources for the four Apocalypse programmes corresponding to different phases of production.

The hundred or so scenes on the portal archivolts do not fully match any extant Apocalypse cycle or group of Apocalypse manuscripts. Although Kurmann and Klein propose a *Liber Floridus* manuscript, very likely Ms. lat. 8865, as the primary source for the Reims Apocalypse imagery, the content of the portal archivolts is only sparsely related to this cycle.⁷⁸ Kurmann traced the iconography to a variety of other manuscript sources, including an early English Apocalypse as well as some original iconography. The

connection Kurmann observed between Reims and English Apocalypses seems to be not via an actual English manuscript, but to a distantly related source that inspired the early English Apocalypse cycle which also relates to the *Liber Floridus* as well as the unique cycle of Apocalypse illustrations preceding Haimo's commentary in the *Haimo Apocalypse*.⁷⁹ This cycle, made in early twelfth-century Germany, is formed of registers of illustrations with inscriptions added throughout, and most importantly it features a few scenes, the Angel casting the Millstone into the Sea and the Birds summoned by the Angel, not shown in the *Liber Floridus* but on the Reims façade archivolts.

There are in addition a handful of scenes that correspond to a few other manuscripts, such as the Souls of the Martyrs under the Altar on the façade, which resemble the figures in the eleventh-century Spanish *Roda Bible* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6[vol. 4], f. 106r).⁸⁰ Another illustrated Apocalypse, unknown to Kurmann, can also be added to the list of manuscripts with imagery related to the Reims cycle: the *Apocalypse of 1313* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 13096), made in nearby Liège or northern France.⁸¹ A key figure of this Apocalypse is the image of John seated at a writing desk receiving the prophecy from an angel carrying a scroll that is first paired with the Vision of the Seven Candlesticks and then repeated throughout the manuscript. Additionally, the *Apocalypse of 1313* begins with a life of John cycle, which outside of this manuscript and Reims, only accompanies French Apocalypses deriving from English cycles.⁸²

Rather than several manuscripts that reflect various bits of iconography across the façade archivolts, it is more likely a single manuscript served as the model for the Reims cycle. This source corresponds to an iconographic cycle identified by Klein as Family III, which is a large and fairly diverse body of Apocalypse imagery in different media that splintered into various iconographic

versions, including the *Haimo Apocalypse* and the *Liber Floridus*.⁸³ Much like these Apocalypses, this programme was probably a series of illustrations shown in registers that would be easy to translate to monumental media. This Family III version may have also been paired with a life of John cycle. As this cycle was dispersed and copied, innumerable iterations modified its content resulting in the diversity of its members.

The Reims cycle demonstrates well how an exemplar can be modified, adapted, and reimagined resulting in an entirely new and original cycle. The greatest innovation at Reims is how designers and sculptors returned to the subject of the Apocalypse and made additional sequences on the buttresses and reverse façade. These additions add nuance to the eschatological message of the Apocalypse imagery at this important cathedral. For example, the reverse façade programme almost entirely illustrates scenes through chapter 12, which is fairly common in monumental cycles. According to Christie, this is to enhance an ecclesiastical message, that is the history of the present church, rather than convey a future eschatological message.⁸⁴ This interpretation would complement Jennifer Feltman's argument for the episcopal meaning underlying the life of John cycle on the southern buttress.⁸⁵

The sculpture on the façade buttress is the most divergent from traditional iconography and may have been inspired by the exegesis of a Bible moralisée, a type of manuscript designed for



St John at his desk, *Apocalypse of 1313*, f. 3v

the education and spiritual advisement of French kings. As one of the great Gothic façades it is unsurprising that Reims was also a site of innovation. The impetus for Apocalyptic emphasis, particularly the well-developed façade and reverse façade cycles, surely stems from the special role of the cathedral as the sacred coronation site of the kings of France – a primary theme of the extensive sculptural programmes across the monument.⁸⁶ Although there is speculation that the Gothic Apocalypse cycle follows an earlier precedent at Reims, namely that the twelfth-century façade may have featured Apocalyptic imagery retained from the Carolingian west façade, the Apocalypse plays a key role in the innovative symbolism of the Gothic building that proclaims both its royal role as the location of the coronation ceremony and its ecclesiastic authority.⁸⁷

Dedicating an entire portal to the Apocalypse gives prominence to John's Revelation alongside other key sculptural and stained glass programmes at Reims that glorify the French monarchy as part of the triumph of the Church and the history of salvation.⁸⁸ For example, in the archivolt of the central portal dedicated to the Virgin, the Ancients of the Apocalypse, crowned as kings and playing musical instruments, replace the tree of Jesse displaying the ancestors of Mary. Two angels carrying the sun and moon link Mary to the Woman clothed in the Sun with the moon underfoot from Apoc. 12 and gives an Apocalyptic tone to Reims' presentation of the Coronation of the Virgin.⁸⁹ Dorothy Gillerman concludes that the innovative Virgin portal "transcends traditional symbols of the Heavenly Jerusalem in order to set forth a more specific image of Ecclesia as the final Church, the Church of the future, the present and the past".⁹⁰ The gallery of kings high above the portal archivolt symbolizes the achievement of the French kings in helping to establish this Heavenly Jerusalem on Earth. This focus may explain why the Apocalypse sequence on the portal ends with Apoc. 20 rather than with John's vision of the Heavenly

Jerusalem. Being the site of the coronation of French kings, Reims proclaims the shared destiny of the French monarchy and the archbishopric of Reims in the establishment of the Heavenly Jerusalem on Earth. The sculptural scenes from the life of Paul on the north buttress and of John in the south buttress set the whole programme within a visionary perspective.

LORRAINE APOCALYPSES

Until the very end of the thirteenth century, Apocalypse art made in France adhered to continental iconographic families, as explained above. In the final decade of the thirteenth century, however, an English Apocalypse with excerpts from the biblical text and the commentary on the Apocalypse by Berengaudus in Latin was introduced to the Lorraine region east of the Kingdom of France. Ten extant manuscripts comprise the Lorraine Apocalypse group.⁹¹ Unlike other groups of Apocalypses, especially English groups, some of the manuscripts fit into this group on account of their iconography, and others because they share the same text, artist, or place of production.⁹² The earliest extant manuscript of this group is a series of cuttings that once formed the *Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse* (c. 1294–1300), which features a distinct version of English iconography⁹³ also found in three others: the *Laurenziana Apocalypse* (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms. Ashburnham 415, 1294–1310), a fragment (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 22493, c. 1300), and the *Arras Apocalypse* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 375, c. 1300).⁹⁴ This iconography also appears decades later in the Angers Apocalypse, a monumental tapestry commissioned by Louis I, the Duke of Anjou.⁹⁵

Within a few years this iconography was adapted to accompany an Old French translation of the Apocalypse and an Old French prose commentary.⁹⁶ The first of these manuscripts is the *Dresden Apocalypse* (Dresden, Sächsische

Landesbibliothek, Ms. Oc. 50, 1303–16) and the second is the *Liège Apocalypse* (Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Ms. Wittert 5, 1309–16).⁹⁷ Three more vernacular Apocalypses were executed by the painter Nicholaus within the first two decades of the fourteenth century (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Oc. 49; London, British Library, Add. Ms. 38118; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6883) using a new iconographic programme.⁹⁸ The tenth manuscript in the Lorraine group is the *Harley Apocalypse* (London, British Library, Harley Ms. 4972), which has its own highly creative image programme, but also features texts related to the *Arras Apocalypse* and select images that echo figures in the Nicholaus Apocalypses.

All ten of these manuscripts date to roughly a twenty-five-year period, starting around 1294 and ending before 1320. In addition to links between their text and iconography, these manuscripts are also related by their artists. All ten were probably made in the Metz area, one of the largest centres of manuscript production in France outside of Paris. The Burckhardt-Wildt and Laurenziana Apocalypses were made by one of the leading Messin artists. The British Library fragment and the *Dresden Apocalypse* were painted by one of the most sophisticated illuminators in Metz.⁹⁹ The Master of the Liège Apocalypse and Nicholaus were two of the more prolific Messin artists of this period. All these artists would frequently collaborate on projects, which may be one way the



The worship of the Beast and the Dragon, *Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse*, f. 5v

The False
Prophet
(Apoc. 13:
13-15), Arras
Apocalypse,
f. 9v



Apocalypse iconography was both modified and adapted to suit such a variety of manuscript types but also retained, linking the manuscripts to a single group.¹⁰⁰

The stylistic output of the Burckhardt-Wildt and Laurenziana artist dates these two manuscripts to the 1290s.¹⁰¹ It is, however, reasonable to suggest a date after 1294, which is when Eleanor Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward I of England, married Henri III, Count of Bar and quite probably brought with her the English illustrated Apocalypse on which the Burckhardt-Wildt manuscript was modelled.¹⁰² The County of Bar, situated in between the Kingdom of France, the Duchy of Lorraine, and the independent city of Metz, was a prominent feudal state in the Lorraine region, which became a duchy in 1354. Henri's brother Renaud was Bishop of Metz and an enthusiastic patron of illuminated manuscripts, including luxury manuscripts painted by the artist of the *Dresden Apocalypse*.¹⁰³ Eleanor may have been given an English Apocalypse as a wedding present, perhaps after seeing some deluxe examples in the royal collection, such as the stunning *Douce Apocalypse*.¹⁰⁴ Thus, it seems likely it was through the Bar family that the sudden burst of Apocalypse production began in Lorraine.

The Latin Apocalypses in the Lorraine group are the earliest, suggesting the English Apocalypse first brought to the region was quickly copied and inspired the trend for illustrated Apocalypses, first in Latin and then expanding into vernacular. The primary iconographic cycle of the Lorraine group is best represented by the *Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse*. This cycle is very similar to the English Metz-Lambeth and therefore also to the cycle in the Normandy manuscripts such as the *Val-Dieu Apocalypse*, but the Lorraine iconography exhibits enough variance to constitute a separate programme.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately the *Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse* was dismantled in the eighteenth century and its miniatures cut away from the text to form a scrapbook. In 1983 these cuttings were excised from the scrapbook and then sold as



The False Prophet orders that men should be marked, *Arras Apocalypse*, f. 10r

individual lots at auction and dispersed.¹⁰⁶ The four-folio British Library Add. Ms. 22493 fragment is a virtually identical copy of the corresponding Burckhardt-Wildt imagery and also follows the mise-en-page usually found in English Apocalypses such as the *Lambeth Apocalypse*, with a single large, episodic miniature covering the top half of the page with excerpts of the Latin biblical text and Berengaudus commentary below.

The *Laurenziana Apocalypse* follows a novel format that stretches the half-page rectangular miniatures to a full-page vertical orientation, creating a picture book with no text.¹⁰⁷

Iconographically, the *Arras Apocalypse* belongs to this Burckhardt-Wildt sub-group and is contemporary with the others in this group. It is one of the largest Anglo-French Apocalypse manuscripts and measures 38 x 31 cm. Breaking with the typical format of English Apocalypses, every folio has two miniatures each placed above a separate column of text (the biblical text and Berengaudus commentary in Latin), creating two complete visual and textual scenes per folio. In essence, the designer of this manuscript compressed two folios from a manuscript like the *Lambeth Apocalypse* into one page. This format is unlike any other extant illustrated Apocalypse in any century. The imagery is executed in a tinted

The fourth
horseman,
BL, Add.
Ms. 22493,
f. 3v



The fourth
horseman,
Gulbenkian
Apocalypse,
f. 10v



The fourth
horseman,
Val-Dieu
Apocalypse,
f. 7r



drawing technique in pale colours, mostly greens, browns, and blues, and like some of the Norman Apocalypses, lacks painted backgrounds.

The *Arras Apocalypse* forms the first section of a two-part compilation.¹⁰⁸ Bound along with the Latin illustrated Apocalypse are three unillustrated texts: a French prose commentary on the Apocalypse, a copy of which can be found in the *Harley Apocalypse*; *La prophétie de la Sibylle tiburtine*, also copied in the *Harley Apocalypse*; and *Les dits des philosophes*.¹⁰⁹ The second codicological unit in Ms. fr. 375 consists of unillustrated romance texts, including those by Chrétien de Troyes.¹¹⁰ Each grouping of texts is an original compilation, bound together after production.¹¹¹ Alison Stones localized the entire manuscript to Arras circa 1300 based on the figural style of the Apocalypse and pen-flourished initials in both codicological units.¹¹² More recently Stones grouped the *Arras Apocalypse* among the Norman Apocalypses.¹¹³ The basis for this grouping is stylistic, especially the colour wash technique and the empty backgrounds that are a defining feature of the Norman Apocalypses. Stones' own identification of the backward facing horse in the miniature showing the False Prophet ordering men to receive the mark of the Beast as a key figure painted in an Arrageois style is, however compelling (f. 10r). This figure is also present in the *Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse* (the corresponding folio is missing in the Laurenziana manuscript and the British Library fragment), albeit in a different style, and is an indicator of the Lorraine iconographic cycle. Furthermore, the style of the figures in the *Arras Apocalypse* does not tally with either the Norman or the Lorraine manuscripts. The Arras iconography, nevertheless, matches clearly the iconography in the Burckhardt-Wildt sub-group. The unillustrated texts bound with the *Arras Apocalypse* establish another link to Lorraine Apocalypses, thus there are connections with Lorraine that merit placing it in this larger Lorraine group of Apocalypses. Arras, located in northern France, is quite some distance from Metz in north-eastern France, but

considering the practice of itinerancy among illuminators, it seems reasonable to suppose that an artist trained in Arras might have worked in Metz, which was a leading centre of illumination from the late thirteenth century to the mid fourteenth century. The current location of the Apocalypse bound alongside another Arrageois compilation casts doubt over this prospect, but the shared Lorraine iconography and unillustrated texts at least situate the *Arras Apocalypse* within the orbit of the Lorraine book trade.

Examining all four manuscripts that feature the Lorraine iconography (Burckhardt-Wildt, Laurenziana, Add. 22493, and Arras) it is possible to reconstruct the original sequence of eighty-four iconographic scenes.¹¹⁴ Several figures feature iconography unique to the Lorraine cycle in contrast to English groups. The Fourth Horseman (Apoc. 6: 7–8) is one of the most characteristic figures in the Lorraine Apocalypses – both in Latin and the vernacular.¹¹⁵ The Lorraine figure of Death on a Pale Horse is rendered as a skeleton wielding a sword. This figure is shown in most English Apocalypse cycles using Latin texts as a man carrying an enflamed bowl or torch.¹¹⁶ The sword attribute is more common in extant Apocalypse manuscripts because of the biblical text (Apoc. 6: 8): “And power was given to him over the four parts of the earth, to kill with the sword, with famine, and with death and with beasts of the earth.” Interestingly, the *Crowland Apocalypse* (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Ms. 5), a later Apocalypse featuring a slightly different version of the Metz-Lambeth group, shows Death, though still carrying the torch, as skeletal (f. 5v), another obvious characteristic deriving from the text of Apoc. 6: 8: “And behold a pale horse, and he that sat upon him, his name was Death, and hell followed him.”¹¹⁷ The Fourth Rider in the Norman Apocalypses appears as a cloaked man and carries the enflamed bowl indicating its dependence on a Metz-Lambeth manuscript.

Another figure in the Lorraine cycle is the Woman seated in the wilderness positioned to the

right of the Temple in Heaven and the Woman clothed in the Sun handing her baby to an angel above with the Seven-Headed Dragon below (Apoc. 11: 19–12: 6). Although quite a similar figure appears in the Metz-Lambeth group, Norman group, and some of the Westminster group Apocalypses, none of these integrate the Woman in the wilderness into the correct scene. In the Lambeth manuscript she appears on the wrong folio next to the War in Heaven (f. 15v) and in the *Val-Dieu Apocalypse* she is on the right folio but in the margin and separated by a vertical frame (f. 19r).¹¹⁸ In the *Arras Apocalypse*, by contrast, this figure occupies nearly half of the composition and is fully integrated into the pictorial narrative (f. 7r).

Showing their adherence to the Lorraine iconography, the vernacular Dresden and Liège Apocalypses feature the same skeletal Fourth Horseman wielding a sword. Both Apocalypses also begin with the Lorraine version of John dreaming on Patmos, and even include the same boat and tower from the Burckhardt-Wildt and Arras Apocalypses (a miniature lacking in the Laurenziana and British Library fragment). The Lorraine iconography is difficult to discern in the Dresden and Liège manuscripts because the large-format, half-page miniatures from the Latin model were reduced in size to conform to the standard mise-en-page for secular, vernacular texts, which arranged texts into two columns per page with miniatures restricted to a single column and scattered throughout.¹¹⁹ The *Liège Apocalypse* follows this format precisely but the *Dresden Apocalypse* frequently extends the miniature across the two columns of text. Both the Dresden and Liège Apocalypses would have originally featured seventy-two miniatures. To fit the eighty-four miniatures of the Lorraine cycle into the different chapter divisions in the vernacular texts, some scenes were omitted, others combined, and even some new iconography was invented. The three Nicholas Apocalypses and the *Harley Apocalypse* also follow the mise-en-page for vernacular

The fourth
horseman,
Dresden
Apocalypse,
f. 14r



text which is most often employed in illustrated romances or other works of popular narrative literature. This format is another hallmark of the Lorraine group, and as Nigel Morgan reports, only these Lorraine vernacular Apocalypses conform to this type of mise-en-page, suggesting that these patrons preferred Apocalypse text to be presented in the manner of vernacular popular literature.¹²⁰

As in the case of *Val-Dieu Apocalypse*, the figures in the Dresden and Liège Apocalypses were given modern dress and the architecture was updated to show lancet windows and quatre-foil tracery. Other figures were embellished, adding drama and spectacle. The most striking example is the Dresden Fourth Horseman (f. 14r). As the horseman twists in his saddle, he exposes his skeletal frame no longer shielded by a shroud and brandishes a sword. His mouth hangs open as if yelling to the wagon full of sinners and devils hitched to his horse. This type of creative adaption is an important and key characteristic of vernacular Lorraine Apocalypses in which unique and expressive imagery often extends meaning beyond visual translations of the text. Different approaches to supplying new and relevant imagery in the extant Lorraine Apocalypses can highlight a biblical passage, visually extrapolate upon the commentary, or allude to other vernacular texts and aspects of popular culture, legend, or religion. The *Liège Apocalypse* demonstrates this in several instances. In the image of the Two Witnesses from Apoc. 11, they are depicted not as preachers dressed in generic cloaks or humble sack-cloths but as friars in white hooded robes carrying books (f. 19r). Christ stands opposite them holding a book in one hand and globe in the other. In between the witnesses and Christ are a pair of trees and a pair of candlesticks. This composition, though it eschews the passages traditionally illustrated in Anglo-French cycles, depicts Apoc. 11: 4 quite clearly: “These [witnesses] are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks, that stand before the Lord of the Earth.” The white garments



The two Witnesses,
Liège Apocalypse,
f. 19r

foreshadow their martyrdom by the Beast from the Abyss, who is the Antichrist according to both Latin and Old French commentaries. The robes also recall members of the contemporary preaching orders, likely the Dominicans who wear white habits under their black capps. The identification of the Two Witnesses as contemporary mendicants is made perfectly clear in the final miniature of the *Liège Apocalypse* in which John holds an open book and addresses these same witnesses in white habits. Standing directly beside them are two figures wearing Jews' caps who replicate John's preaching gesture but with the aid of a scroll. These are Enoch and Elijah from the Old Testament, which the vernacular commentary of Apoc. 11: 3–6 explains will be the witnesses who preach against the Antichrist.¹²¹ This culminating scene authenticates the designation of the contemporary mendicants as the Apocalyptic witnesses and their advocacy of John's message that Christ will soon return. A unifying theme of the new Liège imagery is that particular members of the Church – especially Franciscans and Dominicans – will aid the devout in their preparations for final judgment.

The Great
Harlot on the
Beast, BL, Add.
Ms. 38118,
f. 34r



The Nicholas Apocalypses feature an entirely original cycle. Two manuscripts, Dresden Oc. 49 and BL Add. Ms. 38118, are close copies of one another visually and textually. The third manuscript, known as *L'Image du monde* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. fr. 6883), is unfinished, but nevertheless features the same vernacular biblical text and prose commentary with spaces left for seventy miniatures throughout the two texts. The only Apocalypse miniature to feature in this manuscript is the one depicting the Beast from the Sea (f. 109r). Although it is quite damaged it still shows the hand of Nicholas, and the form of the beast is a key figure that links the Nicholas Apocalypses to the *Dresden Apocalypse*, which shows a very similar Beast from the Sea in lieu of the one from the Lorraine cycle. Interestingly, this Beast from the Sea echoes imagery from early medieval Apocalypses, which show a similarly leonine beast with small heads sprouting from its central neck in contrast to the typical Anglo-French, leopard-like beast with seven heads of equal size on long necks branching from the torso. Much of the imagery in the Nicholas Apocalypses appears simplified because it lacks

developed narrative content. However, this cycle includes various additional figures, such as Mary, the symbol of Ecclesia, paired with the Great Harlot of Babylon (Add. Ms. 38118, f. 34r) or a bishop and monk standing with John in the final miniature (Add. Ms. 38118, f. 43v), that support the agenda of the vernacular commentary and situate the text within the present-day concerns of the church.¹²²

Finally, the Lorraine Apocalypses also show innovation by adding supplementary text and images. Only a handful of thirteenth-century illustrated Apocalypses feature such additions, the best example being the *Lambeth Apocalypse*, which includes a suite of devotional illustrations in addition to a Life of John cycle.¹²³ The practice of binding an illustrated Apocalypse together with other texts, illustrated or unillustrated, became increasingly common in the fourteenth century.¹²⁴ Half of the extant Lorraine Apocalypses include additional content. In the Burckhardt-Wildt manuscript a series of five full-page miniatures precedes the Apocalypse. As Michael Camille argues, the first three images depict a bride being rescued by Christ her bridegroom – a visual interpretation of St Bernard's commentary on the Song of Songs.¹²⁵ The last two depict a tree of virtue and a tree of vice deriving from Hugh of St Victor's *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*.¹²⁶ This prefatory cycle as a whole suggests not just a female reader, but one who wanted to tailor this manuscript to suit her specific devotional needs and perhaps convey her identity as a pious and learned book owner. The *Liège Apocalypse* includes two unillustrated texts: the *Pater Noster* with commentary and the *Credo*. Nouv. acq. fr. 6883 is a didactic miscellany made of illustrated vernacular texts (*L'Image du monde*, *Les moralitez des philosophes en romanz*) and another Apocalypse commentary.

In many ways the *Harley Apocalypse* represents the network of connectivity between this group of Apocalypses as well as the spirit of innovation found in each. To begin with, this Apocalypse originally formed an eschatological compilation

comprised of the *Prophecy of the Tiburtine Sybil*, a popular prophecy on events leading up to the arrival of the Antichrist and Christ's Final Judgment, and the *Tournament of the Antichrist*, an allegorical romance.¹²⁷ The iconography is rudimentary at times, lacking narrative details. However, there is a sophisticated system of visual analogues that link the three texts, drawing attention to themes of virtue triumphing over vice as a method to win salvation.¹²⁸ A prominent visual theme is one of knights, both those who represent vices in the Revelation according to the commentary but also the romance-inspired or even Arthurian knights, who help Michael the Archangel thwart the Antichrist in the *Tournament of the Antichrist*. References to popular culture, such as mermaids symbolizing lust in a column-filler at Apoc. 11 (f. 20r), help to make John's complex prophecy relatable, if not entertaining. There are also a few visual links to other Lorraine Apocalypses. The Vision of the Son of Man in the *Harley Apocalypse* recalls both the composition of the figure and also the dress worn by Christ in the same miniature in Nicholas' Apocalypses (Add. Ms. 38118, f. 2v). The *Harley Apocalypse* also has texts in common with the Arras, Dresden, and Liège Apocalypses.

In spite of various commonalities that can be traced through all ten of these Apocalypses,

the Lorraine Apocalypses take individualistic approaches to textual and visual components. Variations to the Lorraine iconography, the creation of entirely original imagery, the diversity in mise-en-page, and the incorporation of supplementary materials demonstrate a production process specific to Lorraine Apocalypses and manuscript culture. The pattern of artist collaboration in Lorraine manuscripts made c. 1290–1320 indicates that artists worked often in teams with assigned pieces parcelled out to independent workers rather than in a workshop system. This was likely to have been the way the iconography was shared out, rather than by artists following a single exemplar, thereby leaving artists and patrons free to embellish and revise manuscripts according to their needs and desires.

THE APOCALYPSE OF 1313

Very much in the same spirit of innovation represented by the Lorraine group of Apocalypses is the *Apocalypse of 1313* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 13096). Its colophon declares that the book was completed "on the Saturday after St Denis's feast day" of 1313. Most remarkably, the next sentence of the colophon gives the name of the manuscript's designer and artist: "Colin Chadewe arranged and illuminated it."¹²⁹ Chadewe's Apocalypse is remarkable in its unique assemblage of texts and 184 images, making it one of the most expansive programmes of Apocalypse imagery in the Middle Ages.¹³⁰ The biblical text is a variant found in the *Bible historiale* and is illustrated with a full-size miniature on every recto and usually a smaller, framed miniature on the verso depicting John writing. An uncommon and unillustrated commentary follows, which is believed to be a French translation of the *Expositio Libri Apocalypsis*.¹³¹ Added in between these two texts are four vivid depictions of the tortures in hell. The dialect of the vernacular texts suggests a place of production in Picardy or north-eastern France.¹³² Marie-Thérèse Gousset localizes the painting



The locusts coming out of the pit, *Harley Apocalypse*, f. 16v