AN ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE

LIBER FLORIDUS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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* * * * *

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INTRODUCTION

During the early years of the twelfth century Lambert, a secular canon of the church of Notre Dame in Saint-Omer, compiled an illustrated, encyclopedic manuscript which he entitled the Liber Floridus.\(^1\) The autograph manuscript is now in the library of the University of Ghent, catalogued with the pressmark 92.\(^2\) We do not know how many years Lambert devoted to this project, but we are certain that the date of completion was 1120.\(^3\) The manuscript comprises an immense and complicated collection of entries that concern all aspects of knowledge, both sacred and profane. Most of the entries are quotations or abstracts of passages derived from earlier medieval texts. The Liber Floridus is lavishly illustrated and includes a number of highly complex and original images. Since the holdings of the libraries in the town of Saint-Omer and in nearby monasteries were extensive, Lambert was able to draw upon the verbal and visual sources of a wide selection of manuscripts.\(^4\)

Lambert wrote a prologue to his manuscript, explaining that "it is fitting for us to be willing to scrutinize diligently His great works and wonders and, in scrutinizing these things, to commend them to the ears of
the faithful so that creation may glow in love for Him as it recognizes that He has ineffably constructed even more marvelous and even unheard of things." Lambert laments that we no longer have the energy to consume all the learned writings of the holy Fathers that faithfully describe God's work, but suggests that we should at least try to acquaint ourselves with a few extracts. Lambert claims to have gathered such extracts together like "a bouquet of flowers from the celestial meadow" so that we, "like little bees," may draw the honey from them. 6

The Liber Floridus has been of great interest to medievalists in several different fields of scholarly endeavor. However, in spite of the widespread attention that it has attracted, the manuscript's purpose has not yet been clearly defined. My own interest in the Liber Floridus began with an investigation of the meanings of some of its schematic illustrations. I became aware that these images were closely associated with the composition of the manuscript as a whole; this led me to an examination of the underlying structure and motivation of the work.

The publication in 1967 of Albert Derolez's edited text of Imabert's Liber Floridus has facilitated the study of the manuscript, making it more readily accessible to scholarly analysis. 7 Derolez has included facsimile
reproductions of many of the folios and has transcribed all the folios in modern type, which greatly simplifies our reading of the text. The introduction to this edition, prepared by Derolez and E. I. Stubbe, provides valuable historical and codicological information about the manuscript. Not having had the opportunity to examine the original Liber Floridus in Ghent, my own dependence upon the edited text has been extensive. I have, for the purposes of this study, translated the edited text and summarized and analyzed its contents.

Prior to the publication of Derolez's text, the most comprehensive study of the Liber Floridus was that which Leopold Delisle published in 1906. Delisle described the Ghent Liber Floridus, as well as the nine later versions of it, and compiled a synoptic table of its contents. Most other studies of the Liber Floridus have been confined to specific aspects of the work, such as its historical texts or the iconography of particular miniatures. The symposium held in Ghent in 1973 to celebrate the publication of Derolez's edition of the Liber Floridus included studies on various topics concerning the manuscript. It has comprised a major contribution to our knowledge of the Liber Floridus.

The major obstacle to modern understanding of the Liber Floridus has been the seemingly random way in which
Lambert arranged its verbal and pictorial contents. The *Liber Floridus*, as we shall see, has generally been characterized as a chaotic miscellany. In the following study, I will be primarily interested in the problem of Lambert's method of organizing his material, including the placement of his illustrations. I will attempt to demonstrate the underlying structure that I have detected in my study of the manuscript and, further, to suggest that Lambert's use of this particular structural design was occasioned by his fascination with the Apocalypse.

In Part One of this study, I will describe the manuscript, discuss its historical background, and summarize pertinent scholarship. The format of Part Two has been determined by the structure that I perceive operating within the *Liber Floridus*. I believe that Lambert's text is made up of twelve sections; Part Two will therefore be divided into twelve chapters to discuss each section, providing both an analytical summary and a commentary on the contents of each. Since I propose that the illustrations play a major role in this twelve-part structure, special attention will be given to the arrangement of the imagery in relation to the textual passages. Finally, in Part Three, I will try to clarify the implications of the formal organization of the manuscript as a whole.
Clearly, the methodology that I attribute to Lambert is unusual. I believe, however, that the greatest historical and cultural significance of the Liber Floridus is found in relation to the meaning of its implicit structure, that it is the compositional form of the work, rather than the individual parts considered separately, that carries the most profound content.
FOOTNOTES

1The town of Saint-Omer is in the Pas-de-Calais, approximately fifteen miles from the coast of the North Sea. It is part of the diocese of Therouanne and the archdiocese of Reims. Lambert's church of Notre-Dame—rebuilt between ca. 1052 and 1152, after being destroyed by a fire in 1033—was burned in the late twelfth century. The present structure dates mainly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For a complete outline of its history, see Pierre Heliot, Les Eglises du Moyen Age dans le Pas-de-Calais, Arras, 1953, 419-420. The monastery of Saint-Bertin is also located in the town of Saint-Omer. The church of Notre-Dame, with a small congregation of monks, was originally a dependency of the monastery of Saint-Bertin. The two were separated in the ninth century and the congregation of monks was replaced by a chapter of secular canons. Saint-Bertin and the church of Notre-Dame soon became unfriendly rivals. Concerning these events, see A. Giry, Histoire de la Ville de Saint-Omer et des ses Institutions, Paris, 1877, 1-40, and George Espinas, Les Origines du Capitalisme, III, Paris, 1946, 1-45.

2Penelope Mayo discusses the confusion that has existed concerning the pressmark number, "The Crusaders Under the Palm," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XXVII, 1973, 31, n. 1.

3This has been determined by Leopold Delisle, "Notices sur les manuscrits du 'Liber Floridus' compose en 1120 par Lambert, chanoine de Saint-Omer," Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques publiées par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XXXVIII, 2, 1906, 585-587. The internal evidence for the date includes the following: the most recent ecclesiastical and secular rules who Lambert lists are Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124), Emperor Henry V (1106-1125), King Henry I of England (1100-1135), Charles the Good, Count of Flanders (1119-1127), and Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem (1118-1125); there is a reference to the death of Baldwin VII of Flanders in 1119, and to the death of William, son of Henry I of England, in 1120; there is a computation of the exact number of years that had elapsed between the death of Adam and the year 1120.
4 Concerning the libraries available to Lambert, see Hanns Swarzenski, "Comments on the Figural Illustrations," Liber Floridus Colloquium, ed. Albert Derolez, Ghent, 1973, 24-25. By the year 1000, the library of the monastery of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer was already famous for its "innumerable books" (Espinas, Les Origines du Capitalisme, III, 24).

5 The prologue is on folio 3v: "pertinent eius magnalia operaque mirabilia diligenter perscrutari nos velle, et perscrutando ea fidelium auribus commendare, ut eo amplius creatura in creatoris sui amorem exardescat, quo eum mirabilia et magis inaudita ineffabiliter condigit esse cognoverit." I am grateful to Professor Carl Schlamm for assisting me in the translation of the prologue.

6 "ego Lambertus filius Onulfi, canonicus Sancti Audomari, libellum istum de diversorum auctorum floribus Deo sanctoque Audomaro, pio patrono nostro, contexui, ut tanquam de celesti prato, flore diverso coadunato, fideles apicile ad humc confluenter saporisque celestis inde dulcidentem haurirent."


8 Derolez, Liber Floridus, vii-xxvii.


PART ONE
Lambert's *Liber Floridus* is a large manuscript. Originally, it was even larger than its present 370x20mm. but rebindings have somewhat diminished its size.\(^1\) Lambert used poor quality parchment for his work. Many of the folios have holes in them and a number are reused leaves from which he erased the original text. He frequently resorted to sewing several pieces of parchment together in order to make up a folio of the proper size. The manner in which Lambert assembled his quires is also irregular. There are presently twenty-three quires in the manuscript which vary greatly in their number of folios. They range from two to five—and sometimes more than five—folios. It seems that Lambert was not adverse to the practice of gluing extra folios into quires.\(^2\)

There are now 289 folios in the Ghent manuscript. According to Delisle and Derolez, approximately twenty-three folios are now missing; the lost folios include both single leaves and whole quires.\(^3\) Some of the remaining folios and quires have been relocated within the manuscript.\(^4\) The order in which the folios appear in the facsimile reflects the original order, as reconstructed by Albert Derolez. The folios were renumbered sequentially in their existing order in the nineteenth century, without attention to the lacunae or rearrangements of the folios.\(^5\) For the purposes of this study, we have felt it necessary
to renumber the folios according to Derolez's reconstruction of their original order by including in our pagination those that are missing or relocated. The numbers in our text represent this process of renumbering. Both sides of every folio are numbered sequentially as pages. Folio 1r and 1v are, for example, numbered 1 and 2. These numbers are followed by the nineteenth century numbers which are given in parentheses. For example: 1 and 2 (1r and 1v).

We know little of the location of the *Liber Floridus* during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By the late thirteenth century it had traveled from Saint-Omer to the abbey of Saint-Bavo in Ghent, though we do not know exactly when or for what reason. It is possible that Abbot Simon of Saint-Bertin brought it there as early as 1136. It was copied for the first time in the third quarter of the twelfth century, possibly in the abbey of Marchiennes. Frequent use and the inferior quality of materials used soon caused the text to become illegible; by the fifteenth century the script of many of the pages was retraced. In the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the Abbey of Saint-Bavo was secularized and the *Liber Floridus* found its way into the Cathedral Library at Ghent. In the early nineteenth century it was transferred to the town's municipal library. Shortly thereafter, the municipal library was incorporated into the library of
the University of Ghent, where the *Liber Floridus* is still housed.

The popularity of the *Liber Floridus* throughout the Middle Ages is attested to by the fact that nine later versions of it still survive, ranging in date from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The earliest, in Wolfenbüttel, is catalogued as Ms. Gud. Lat. 201 (4305). The next surviving version was made around 1260. It is in Paris today, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8865. Another version is dated ca. 1300: Leiden, Ms. Voss. Lat. fol. 31. There are two fourteenth century manuscripts of the *Liber Floridus*, one in Genoa, Library of Marchese Durazzo Pallavicini, Ms. B IX 9, and the other in Chantilly, Musée Conde, Ms. 724. Three fifteenth century versions still exist; The Hague, Royal Library, ms. 72A23; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 9675; and Douai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 796. The final manuscript, dated 1512, is also in The Hague, Ms. 128C4.

Delisle has determined that the text of the *Liber Floridus* must have been inscribed by either Lambert himself or a secretary working closely under his direction. There were a number of important changes made in the text during its composition. Words and whole passages were erased and added. These changes could hardly have been made by anyone but the author himself as he attempted to perfect his work.
Derolez characterizes the scribe of the Liber Floridus as "neither a trained nor an experienced copyist." The size of his words varies from one to another; even letters within a single word are sometimes of a different size. He was clearly inept at calculating the amount of space that he would need for his passages. Realizing that he might not have enough room to finish a text on a particular folio, he occasionally would change to his smallest writing, trying to squeeze the last words onto the bottom of the page. If this technique would not suffice, he would sometimes resort to sewing an additional piece of parchment onto the edge of the folio. On other occasions, he would start with his smallest writing only to discover midway through the page that he now had too much space, which he would have to fill by changing to much larger script. All this seems to "justify the assumption that the scribe was no other than the author, Lambert."  

Lambert also seems to have served as his own illustrator. One indication of this is the fact that the inscriptions, which are integral parts of many of the miniatures, were written by the same hand that wrote the text. Even more significant is the complexity of the miniatures and their close association with the texts. Surely these highly inventive miniatures, which command such a magnificent position within the manuscript, could only have been
devised by the author himself. Finally, as Hanns Swarenski has pointed out, the figural illustrations were copied and compiled in the same manner as the texts; that is, the same copyist's mentality is revealed in both the literary and figural aspects of the work.15

According to Delisle, there were originally eighty-four full-page miniatures in the Liber Floridus, including schematic diagrams, maps, and figural compositions.16 In addition to the miniatures, initials and marginal decoration appear on almost every folio.17 Unfortunately, the splendid full-page miniatures seem to have been the chief motive for plundering the manuscript. Copies of most of the miniatures survive in the later versions of the Liber Floridus which provide us with some knowledge of their appearance in the original manuscript. Among the lost folios is an eight-folio section near the beginning of the manuscript that contained sixteen full-page miniatures of the Revelations of Saint John, entitled Apocalypse Depictus (figs. 1-16). These two folios that preceded the Apocalypse Depictus have also been removed. They were illustrated with a sedes sapientia (fig. 17), a miniature of "Solomon Enthroned" and a celestial diagram (fig. 19).18 Another pair of lost folios contained a diagram of the Holy Sepulchre (fig. 19) and a map of the city of Jerusalem (fig. 20).19
Swarzenski has made the only systematic study of the style of the miniatures in the Liber Floridus. He has traced their stylistic sources and broadly categorized them. Since the style of the miniatures is of secondary importance for our study, it will suffice to summarize Swarzenski's study without attempting to elaborate upon it. Swarzenski states at the beginning of his study that certain of the texts and illustrations in the Liber Floridus "are probably the first mediaeval monuments in which the classical content is completely divorced from its original form;" Lambert, in other words, uses late-classical motifs from earlier compendia, such as Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae, but he applies them to totally different purposes appropriate to his own, twelfth-century mentality. The importance of Lambert's manuscript during the Middle Ages is indicated not only by the nine later versions of it but also by a number of works of art, cited by Swarzenski, derived from the iconography of Lambert's miniatures.

As Swarzenski acknowledges, the style of the illustrations is extremely varied. Lambert, it seems, copied the style as well as the content of his sources. Confronted with this stylistic diversity, Swarzenski has divided the illustrations into three general groups. Swarzenski discusses the first group as part of the "stylistic tradition of the scriptoria of Saint-Omer and Saint-Bertin as it was
established by Abbot Odberht (987-1007) and managed to survive into Lambert's own time." This stylistic group is characterized by angular, geometric drapery folds creating abstract, ornamental designs typical of the Byzantinizing style that prevailed in this part of Europe in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Swarzenski cites as comparative works the miniatures of the Stavelot and Coblenz Bibles (fig. 21) and the Paderborn engravings of Roger Helmarshausen. He comments, quite justifiably, that this style in the Liber Floridus is often deliberately conservative and even antiquarian. Referring to the standing portrait of Saint Omer on page 581 (260r) (fig. 22), Swarzenski observes that one might almost mistake it for an insert from a late Ottonian manuscript produced in the region of Flanders. He then compares the anatomy, drapery, and "frozen" movements of Lambert's miniature of the seated Saint Omer (fig. 23), Antichrist (fig. 24), Christ Among the Elements (fig. 25), the Emperor Augustus (fig. 26), Saint Peter Over Rome (fig. 27), Charles the Bald (fig. 28), and the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar (fig. 29), to the eleventh-century style of Liege and Saint-Omer.

Swarzenski's second group of miniatures primarily consists of the fascinating array of animals and plants in the Liber Floridus. He compares these miniatures to motifs in early Spanish illustrated manuscripts which had
an equal abundance of such creatures in their miniatures. Swarzenski suggests that Lambert had at his disposal illus-
trated manuscripts of Isidore's Etymologiae and Beatus of Liebana's commentary on the Revelations of Saint John. He
compares Lambert's extensive use of schemata and maps to
Isidore's inclusion of such imagery in his Etymologiae and
remarks that Lambert specifically credits Isidore as a
source of information for his bestiary. Swarzenski also
compares Lambert's miniature of a cross on a plain, yellow
background (fig. 30) to the type of frontispiece found in
early Italian and Spanish manuscripts and conjectures that
the edition of the Etymologiae that Lambert used was pos-
sessed of such a frontispiece. Swarzenski also notes a
specific relationship between Lambert's images of "The
Virgin Enthroned with the Child on Her Lap" (fig. 17) and
the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar (fig. 29) to miniatures in
manuscripts of the Beatus Apocalypse.

The third group of miniatures, according to
Swarzenski's scheme, was comprised of the Apocalypse
Depictus. Since these miniatures are lost from the auto-
graph manuscript, Swarzenski is basing his study of this
group of illustrations on the copies in later manuscripts. The Apocalypse miniatures were apparently not accompanied
by text. Swarzenski saw no clear correspondence between
these Apocalypse illustrations and those of any other family
of Apocalypse illustrations. Although there are some
minor points of similarity these would not, he says, prove
a connection with other cycles. On the basis of icono-
graphic and stylistic observations, Swarzenski concludes
that Lambert's miniatures reflect "Anglo-Italian and
Gallo-Italian art of the late 7th and 8th centuries" and
perhaps, more specifically, the lost Apocalypse murals of
Benedict Biscop. However, in a recent article Peter Kline
has suggested a specific correspondence between Lambert's
Apocalypse Depictus and one of the groups of medieval
Apocalypse cycles.28

Swarzenski's three groups are only broad categori-
zations of style; they do not apply with equal facility to
every sequence of miniatures in the manuscript. Within
the scope of his presentation he does not refer to all of
Lambert's illustrations. There is clearly a need for fur-
ther study of the source of the style of Lambert's mini-
tures.

The iconography of Lambert's miniatures has
attracted the most attention, especially the miniatures of
plants and trees. Adolf Katzenellenbogen examines Lambert's
Good Tree and Evil Tree (figs. 31 and 32) as an early
example of this motif in medieval programs depicting the
virtues and vices.29 He notes that the genealogies of the
virtues and vices presented in Lambert's trees are not as
"subtly differentiated" as those in some later twelfth century programs. He mentions that the virtues and vices, as well as Beatitudes and gifts of the Holy Spirit, appear in other plant miniatures in the Liber Floridus.  

Lottlisa Behling discusses the symbolic meanings of Lambert's plant illustrations. She interprets the "Lily Among the Thorns" (fig. 33), the Palm on Mount Zion (fig. 34) and the Good Tree (fig. 31) as symbols of the Church and the Virgin. The iconography of Lambert's plant miniatures, she further concludes, is related to the writings of Honorius of Autun and Hildegard of Bingen. Penelope Mayo offers much fuller and more precise analysis of Lambert's Palm (fig. 34), Trees of Good and Evil (figs. 31 and 32), the "Lily Among the Thorns" (fig. 33), and the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar (fig. 29), indicating that these miniatures have complex, multi-level symbolic meanings that must be understood in relation to the texts with which they appear. 

We will make frequent reference to this work in the course of our own study.

The content of the Liber Floridus is essentially the same as that of earlier encyclopedias, presenting a comprehensive view of the medieval universe. And yet there are distinct differences. One difference is the "personalized" nature of the view that Lambert presents: we are constantly aware of his presence as the narrating persona.
This is partly because we find his self-portrait (fig. 35) and information about his family among the more standard encyclopedic fare, and partly because he did not hesitate to give unusual emphasis to certain topics that were of special interest to him. Local history was one of Lambert's great interests. The ample information about Flanders and Saint-Omer is important in establishing the idiosyncratic viewpoint of the Liber Floridus. The first crusade and the Apocalypse were two other topics of special concern. Lambert represents these two latter subjects as interrelated, as we shall presently see. We shall also see that these subjects were connected, through the counts of Flanders, to local history and to Lambert himself.

Lambert perceived a series of widely ramifying connections between himself and the world around him, which contributed greatly to the "personalization" of the image of the world in the Liber Floridus. The first connection is to the town of Saint-Omer. Lambert clearly identified with the local church and secular institutions of his community. Toward the end of the manuscript, in close proximity to the miniature of the church of Saint-Omer, he traced the genealogy of his mother's family (fig. 36). This genealogy indicates that his ancestors were part of the local ecclesiastical and civil hierarchy. His father, Onulf, was a secular canon and his great-grandfather,
Hemeric, was a deacon. Hemeric, who as a deacon played an important role in both church and secular affairs, is emphasized by his central placement in Lambert's genealogy. The genealogy also establishes a connection with strictly civil officials. His great-great grandmother's sister, Helesuit, was the mother of "Rotbertus Vicecomes." The vicecomes of Saint-Omer was a very important and powerful individual. He was the vassal of the count of Flanders and held in fief the village of Saint-Omer, the surrounding lands, and the monastery of Saint Bertin. The castellum of Saint-Omer was also under his direction. Lambert was clearly proud of his relationship to Robert. This connection seems, in fact, to have been his motive for so laboriously tracing that particular branch of his genealogy. In his self-portrait, Lambert represents himself in front of the castellum of Saint-Omer (fig. 35).

Lambert's involvement with the local church and civil authorities leads to an indirect association with the counts of Flanders. Not only were the counts the feudal lords of the vicecomes, their authority extended into Saint-Omer's ecclesiastical establishments as well. Count Baldwin II, through some rather brutal machinations, became lay abbot of Saint-Bertin in the ninth century. A series of what Lambert calls "comes et abbas" followed
Baldwin, securing the link between the local church and the counts.\(^4\)

Lambert was thus naturally concerned with the activities of the counts of Flanders and may even have felt that he had a certain involvement with them. This feeling of involvement would have been very exciting indeed during the period of the first crusade. The crusade was, as we have mentioned, one of Lambert's consuming interests. Count Robert of Normandy and his cousin-by-marriage Count Stephen of Blois, had led one of the crusader armies that had helped capture Jerusalem in 1099.\(^5\) Count Robert's neighbor, Godfrey of Bouillon, led another of the armies and became reconquered Jerusalem's first secular governor, the Aduocatus Sancti Sepulchri.\(^6\) Both Count Robert and Godfrey claimed descent from Charlemagne.\(^7\)

During the early twelfth century, an enthusiastic interest in the crusade was often accompanied by a sure anticipation of the impending Apocalypse. Medieval Christians believed that there was a typological connection between earthly Jerusalem, the Church, and Heavenly Jerusalem.\(^8\) References to the earthly city appeared in texts that described the events leading to the Last Judgment and advent of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Lambert's transcription of such a text, the well-known Epistola Methodii de Anti-christo, in conjunction with his Gesta Christianorum
Hierusalem, reveals his understanding of the significance of the crusade.\textsuperscript{46} According to the Epistola, the Antichrist would appear and begin his three-and-a-half year reign of terror as soon as a descendant of Charlemagne had re-established Christian dominion over earthly Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{47} Lambert and his contemporaries had obvious reasons for believing that the recent liberation of Jerusalem and the accession of Godfrey as Advocatus signalled the fulfillment of the Millennium.\textsuperscript{48} The great attention paid by the Liber Floridus to eschatological matters and the crusade is clearly the result of Lambert's belief that the parousia was imminent.

Perhaps the personalized quality of the Liber Floridus that distinguishes it from earlier compendia should be understood within the context of the millenial expectations of the early twelfth century. The belief that individuals were worthy to interpret visions of the universe gains greater emphasis during this period.\textsuperscript{49} It can be found in a number of contemporary texts and works of art that have apocalyptic themes.\textsuperscript{50} A new recognition of individuality and self-awareness is, in fact, one of the defining features of the "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century."\textsuperscript{51}

Another distinctive feature of the Liber Floridus, the aspect of the manuscript that this study will undertake
analyze, is Lambert's system of organization. Earlier medieval encyclopedias were generally organized quite simply. Isidore and Rabanus Maurus grouped chapters on related subjects into separate books. 52 Chapters describing the divisions of time, for example, would be confined to one book, bodies of water to another, and stones and precious metals to yet another. This arrangement has obvious logical advantages, so obvious, in fact, that any variation would have to be justified by some greater didactic principle.

The Liber Floridus confounds all our expectations in regard to the orderly arrangement of topics. Although Lambert divides his manuscript into one hundred and ninety chapters, these chapters are not grouped by subject. To cite just one example of the prevailing cacophony of subjects, between pages 154 and 170 (67v and 75v), which include chapters LVI-LVIII, Lambert expounds first upon the life of Christ, culminating in His washing of the apostles' feet, then upon the history of the English dukes and kings, and finally upon the hebdomada. Even within individual chapters the collection of information sometimes seems uncoordinated. Chapter LX, pages 171 to 172, includes the genealogy of the counts of Normandy and a full-page miniature of a plum tree (fig. 34); chapter CLXXIII, pages 545 to 547, lists herbal remedies for such ailments as cancers,
toothaches, and baldness, and then presents the Hymn to Saint Omer. Lambert provides no obvious clue to explain this juxtaposition of unrelated subjects. Another of Lambert's rather bewildering deviations from the encyclopedists' norm is his unapologetic repetitiveness. The six ages of the world are recounted no less than twelve times; the Flood no fewer than four. It is no wonder that scholars have been perplexed by Lambert's apparent lack of order.

Delisle was the first scholar to characterize Lambert's work as "bizarre" and "disorganized." He notes with some satisfaction that the nine copyists of the Liber Floridus did not feel compelled to follow the "pêle-mêle" order of the original manuscript. Adolf Goldschmidt, in his article on early medieval illustrated encyclopedias, makes unfavorable comparisons of the structure of the Liber Floridus first to Isidore's Etymologiae and Rabanus Maurus' De Universo and then to Herrad of Landsberg's Hortus Deliciarum. Herrad arranges her material according to the six epochs of history, a scheme that is didactically appropriate for the twelfth century's great concern to perceive the overall shape of universal history as the temporal manifestation of God's plan of salvation. Comparisons to Herrad's manuscript have seemed particularly devastating to the Liber Floridus. Fritz Saxl writes that the Liber Floridus has "no architecture," that it should be thought of as
a preliminary effort preparing the way for such truly accomplished works as the *Hortus Deliciarum.*\(^{58}\) Carl Nordenfalk compares the organization of the *Hortus Deliciarum* to that of a logically arranged Moralized Bible, while describing the *Liber Floridus* as a "bouquet of flowers plucked at random."\(^{59}\) C. R. Dodwell calls the *Hortus Deliciarum* a "vast cathedral of knowledge, extensive and integrated, mystic and visionary, human and divine;" he dismisses the *Liber Floridus* as a "rudimentary" compilation.\(^{60}\)

In a study of the historical texts in the *Liber Floridus*, Eva Matthews Sanford also considers the format of the manuscript.\(^{61}\) She concludes that the *Liber Floridus* was compiled "as an encyclopedic reference work for the historian and for students of sacred and secular history."\(^{62}\) Much of the other material in the *Liber Floridus*, such as astronomy, astrology, and geography, was provided as background information to the historical texts.\(^{63}\) Sanford also discusses some of Lambert's sources and suggests that his choice of subjects should be understood in relation to the early twelfth-century's intense interest in the first crusade.\(^{64}\)

The Ghent symposium on the *Liber Floridus* included a presentation by Jules Lefevre which discusses the *Liber Floridus* as part of the genre of medieval encyclopedic
Lefevre is more generous to Lambert than most other twentieth century critics have been. According to Lefevre, Lambert's purpose was merely to gather interesting facts about the world; he was not, therefore, obliged to approach his work in a methodical manner. Lefevre claims that the Liber Floridus should not be thought of as a pedant's manual or a pedagogue's textbook but as a "vitrine d'un collectionneur." Lefevre also compares the Liber Floridus to Herrad's encyclopedia. The compositions of both, he decides, are unique. The Liber Floridus, Lefevre says, may not have an overall, logical plan for presenting its materials, as the Hortus Deliciarum does, but one can see that there are certain sections devoted to particular subjects. Digressions appear, however, even within these fairly consistent sequences. Lefevre concludes by complimenting Lambert for avoiding the confinement of a restrictive framework and for creating instead an "image vivant" of the medieval spirit.

The presentation made by J.-M. De Smet at the Ghent symposium addressed the problem of Lambert's choice of material for the Liber Floridus. De Smet proposes that Lambert's mentality and hence his choice of materials, was conditioned by pervading theological modes of thought in the Middle Ages. De Smet interprets Lambert's incessant
calculation of universal time as revealing his concern for
the approaching completion of the millenium. He also re-
marks on Lambert's interest in the events that will occur
in association with the parousia. De Smet claims, in
brief, that the Liber Floridus is not merely an objective
encyclopedia; it also provides insight into a "personal
eschatological vision." This, in turn, explains Lambert's
inclusion of texts discussing the first crusade, anti-
semitic diatribes, and passages on the Antichrist. De Smet
further suggests that the hexameral tradition exerted a
profound influence upon Lambert's selection of topics. He
sees this influence in Lambert's preference for history
organized into six ages to correspond to the six days of
creation and for cosmological information that was custom-
arily included in the hexamerae.

Mayo, in her study of Lambert's plant images, has
also shown that a systematic organization does in fact
underlie some of Lambert's apparently bizarre concatenations
of subjects. The placement of certain texts and illus-
trations indicates that Lambert was deliberately synthe-
sizing distinct passages to achieve a higher level of
meaning. Mayo is eager to prove that these combined
meanings are directly relevant to the history of the first
crusade and the anticipated advent of the Antichrist.
Harry Bober presented a study at the Ghent symposium which confronted the problem of Lambert's method of organization. Unfortunately, Bober's study has only been printed as a brief abstract which does not specifically explain his theory. From the abstract we may, however, surmise that his theory is developed around the presence of the schematic illustrations and the significance of the first crusade in universal history.

To summarize, then, recent scholarship has begun to suggest that there is an organizational principle at work in the Liber Floridus. De Smet contends that the recognition of prevailing motifs, particularly that of the impending Doomsday, brings into a thematic focus texts and illustrations that might otherwise have appeared disconnected. De Smet does not, however, attempt to relate his observations on the general, encompassing theme of the manuscript to the precise arrangements of texts and miniatures in relation to each other. Mayo, on the contrary, has concentrated her efforts on an exacting analysis of particular parts of the manuscript and has discovered that in these places the texts and illustrations are clearly and meaningfully interrelated. One would yet hope to discover a compositional scheme that could both be applied to the manuscript as a whole and account for the placement of its individual parts.
The purpose of the present study is to identify such a broad yet precisely applicable scheme. It will endeavor to show that Lambert organized the Libri Floridus as a whole according to a twelve-part structure, a structure that is, however, "disguised" rather than readily apparent. Most importantly, our study will attempt to demonstrate that the twelve-part structure of the Libri Floridus imitates the form of an earlier medieval work: Beatus of Liebana's twelve-book Commentary on the Apocalypse of Saint John. Since our analysis requires frequent reference to the Beatus Apocalypse, we will complete our introductory remarks by briefly considering the history and organization of this manuscript.\textsuperscript{73}

Beatus was a Spanish monk whose opposition to the Adoptionist heresy had forced him to flee Spain. He composed his commentary on Revelations during the last quarter of the eighth century.\textsuperscript{74} In the course of his work he assumes a strongly militant stance against heresy and the enemies of the Church. The Book of Revelations has twenty-two chapters in which Saint John narrates his vision of the end of time. The narration is not in chronological order, however; there are several repetitions of the basic theme of the persecution and deliverance of the Church. The vision itself consists of seven parts. Following this, most medieval commentaries on Revelations are divided into
seven books. The Beatus Apocalypse is unique among early medieval Apocalypse commentaries on Revelations in having twelve books. Number symbolism plays a great role in Revelations; Beatus, on several occasions, presents elaborate evidence that the number twelve represents the Church. In each of his twelve books Beatus describes the tribulations and triumph of the Church. It is possible that Beatus derived from Saint Augustine the idea of describing in twelve books the persecution and final triumph of the Church; the last twelve books of Augustine's City of God relate the history of the Church existing in conjunction with the wicked but eventually rising in victory at the end of time.

Like much of medieval exegesis, Beatus' commentary is largely made up of excerpts from the Church Fathers, including Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and Isidore. These excerpts are applied to the interpretation of the awesome and frequently enigmatic language of the Apocalypse. We are not surprised that Beatus finds it appropriate to discuss a broad range of topics in the course of his explication of the Biblical text; medieval readers believed that the Bible pertained to all subjects. As Beryl Smalley explains: "The book of mysteries was also an encyclopedia which contained all knowledge useful to man both sacred and profane." Therefore, the Beatus Apocalypse may be
characterized, like the *Liber Floridus*, as a compilation of passages from diverse authors on an encyclopedic variety of subjects.

The *Beatus Apocalypse* was very well known and frequently copied during the Middle Ages. Most of the twenty Beatus manuscripts survive today were produced in Spain, though some were later carried across the Pyrenees, where they seem to have attracted the attention of northern European artists. Émile Mâle has demonstrated, for example, that the illustrations in the *Beatus Apocalypse* exerted a formative influence upon the development of the iconography of early Romanesque sculpture in southern France. We have seen that Swarzenski, in his study of the illustrations in the *Liber Floridus*, has suggested that the sphere of Beatus' influence in the early twelfth century actually extended as far north as Saint-Omer, where Lambert clearly seems to have had access to early Spanish manuscripts. We will now propose that the *Beatus Apocalypse* so commanded the attention of Lambert that he chose to organize his encyclopedic manuscript according to Beatus' scheme.
FOOTNOTES

1 Leopold Delisle, "Notices sur les manuscrits du 'Liber Floridus' compose en 1120 par Lambert, Chanoine de Saint-Omer," Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autre bibliothèques publiées par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 38, 2, 1906, 581; Albert Derolez, Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber Floridus, codex autographus bibliothecae Universitatis Gandavensis, Ghent, 1968, ix. The Liber Floridus is presently in an eighteenth century binding; no records survive describing the earlier bindings (see Derolez, Liber Floridus, xvii). For the following observations I have depended upon the information in the introduction to the facsimile of the manuscript.

2 Derolez, Liber Floridus, x.

3 Delisle, Notices et extraits, 1906, 581-582.

4 Derolez, Liber Floridus, x-xi.

5 Ibid., ix.

6 Ibid., viii.

7 Ibid., viii.


9 Derolez, Liber Floridus, viii.

10 Ibid., ix.

11 Delisle describes each of these manuscripts and, in his synoptic table, names the location of each entry in the copies: Notices et extraits, 1906, 588-746. Two codological studies of the Liber Floridus were prepared for the Ghent symposium: J. P. Gumbert, "Recherches sur le Stemma des Copies du Liber Floridus," Liber Floridus Colloquium, 37-50; Gerard I. Lieftinck, "Observations Codicologiques sur le Group W des manuscrits du Liber Floridus," Liber Floridus Colloquium, 31-36.
12Delisle, Notices et extraits, 1906, 584-584.
13Derolez, Liber Floridus, xi-xiv.
14Ibid., xii.
15Swarzenski, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 20.
16Only sixty survive; see Delisle, Notices et Extraits, 1906, 582-583, and Derolez, Liber Floridus, xvi-xvii.
17Derolez, Liber Floridus, xv-xvi.
18These illustrations are of great importance in understanding the structure of the manuscript. They appeared on pages 47 and 48.
19These are also crucial in the manuscript's composition. They were in the lacuna of pages 249-256.
20Swarzenski, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 21-30.
21Ibid., 21.
22Concerning this concept of the use of classical forms in the twelfth century, see Erwin Panofsky, Renaissance and Renasances in Western Art, New York, 1969, 82-100.
23Swarzenski, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 22.
25Ibid., 26-27: "it is only in the Mozarabic and other early Spanish Bibles and Beatus' Commentaries on Revelation that beasts, monsters, trees and plants are depicted so abundantly and with comparable inventiveness of design."
26Ibid., 28-29.
27Ibid., 27-30. He mainly uses the Wolfenbüttel illustrations, though these are also incomplete. He also uses illustrations from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8865, The Hague, Ms. 128C4, and Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 724. Concerning the relationship of Lambert's
Apocalypse Depictus to other medieval Apocalypse cycles. Swarzenski writes: "In its iconographical program and compositional lay-out, Lambert's cycle stands apart from the known families of mediaeval Apocalypses: the Carolingian cycles of Valenciennes-Paris and Trier-Cambray; the Commentaries of Beatus of Liebana and Haimo of Auxerre (10th and 11th century), the Reichenau Apocalypse in Bamberg (ca. 1000); the Apocalypse of Trinity College, Cambridge, and those of the so-called Anglo-French group (13th century)."

28Kline describes four groups of medieval Apocalypse cycles and shows convincing evidence for assigning Lambert's miniatures to the group that also includes the Carolingian manuscripts of Paris and Valenciennes, the Ottonian Bamberg Apocalypse, the Rhoda Bible, and an early twelfth century manuscript of Haimo of Auxerre's commentary on Revelations (Peter K. Kline, "Der Apokalypse-Zyklus der Rhoda-Bibel und seine Stellung in der Ikonographischen Tradition," Archivo Espanol de Arqueologia, 45-47, 1972-1974, 267-333. I am grateful to Ms. Shelly Wolfe for bringing this article to my attention).


30Ibid., 68.


32Behling, Pflanzewelt, 48-49.


34His self-portrait is on folio 13r. He gives the date of the death of his father, Onulf, in the calendar; January 27, 1077. Three other names appear in the calendar, Robert, Eustace, and Elizabeth, with their birth or death dates noted. Wormald believes it possible that these were other members of Lambert's family (Francis Wormald, "The Calendar in the Liber Floridus," Liber Floridus Colloquium, 16).
35 Concerning some of Lambert's special interest, see J.-M. De Smet, "La Mentalite Religieuse de Chanoine Lambert," Liber Floridus Colloquium, 11-12.

36 The folio containing the genealogy was originally number 311, but was moved in the thirteenth century to become number 154. Derolez has restored the original order. See Derolez, Liber Floridus, x. I am grateful to Professor Christian Zacher for having informed me that this is an unusually early example of a genealogy drawn from a private individual.

37 A deacon handled the secular duties of the parish, often involving the church's financial obligations.

38 A. Giry, Histoire de la Ville de Saint-Omer et ses Institutions, Paris, 1877, 91-116; idem, "Les Chatelains de Saint-Omer (1042-1386)," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 36, 1875, 91-117.

39 Giry, Saint-Omer, 91; George Espinas, Les Origines du Capitalisme, III, Paris, 1946, 54. Giry explains that the miniature of the castellum in the Liber Floridus, folio 3r, is a "representation symbolique" (Giry, Saint-Omer, 20).

40 In the middle of the ninth century, Baldwin Iron Arm, Count of Flanders, administered several Flemish pagi. Subsequent counts of Flanders established their power in this region by providing the towns protection from the Norse invaders. Baldwin II was particularly successful in this role. He apparently is responsible for the town of Saint-Omer's fortifications. He was not only the count of Flanders, but became the lay abbot of Saint-Bertin as well. In the year 900, he arranged the murder of Folquer, the Archbishop of Reims and abbot of Saint-Bertin. He received the then-vacant abbacy from the French king, Charles the Simple (Giry, Saint-Omer, 26-29; Espinas, Capitalisme, 46-54).

41 Folio 293r (271r).


43 Ibid., I, 339.

45 The typological understanding of Jerusalem and its relevance for the first crusade is examined by Johan Chydenius, The Typological Problem in Dante, A Study in the History of Medieval Ideas, Helsingfors, 1958, 51-85. See also, Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium, Oxford, 1974, 64-65.

46 The Epistola is a seventh-century text by Pseudo-Methodius. Lambert transcribed it between folios 120v-122r (108v-110r); the Gesta is between 122v and 144r (110v-128r). Concerning the Pseudo-Methodius text, see Cohn, Millenium, 31-32 and Mayo, "Crusaders Under the Palm," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, xxvii, 1973, 45, n. 51.

47 "Quidam vero doctorum dicunt quod unus de regibus Francorum Romanum ex integro reget imperium, qui in novissimo imperator erit maximus et omnium regum ultimus. Qui, postquam regnum feliciter gubernaverit, ad ultimum Hierosoliam veniet et in monte Oliveti sceptrum et coronam Christianorumque obtinebit imperium; Statim quae secundum Pauli sententiam Antichristium dicunt venturum, perditionis filium, in quo erunt omnes thesauri malitie et iniquitatis absconditi," folio 121v (109v). For a twelfth-century Christian, a Frankish king would mean, of course, a descendant of Charlemagne.

48 Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied one of the armies of the first crusade, reported that Psalms of David, such as "All the nations whom Thou has made shall come and worship before Thee, O Lord" (Psalm 85:9) were considered appropriate to describe the crusader army. He also points out that the Christians entered the city on the day in which Christ redeemed the world on the Cross (Fulcher of Chartres, A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, trans. Francis Rita Ryan, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1969, 73 and 121). Robert the Monk was the most explicit in comparing heavenly and earthly Jerusalem: "Pro his et huiusmodi figurativis actionibus, forma est et mysticum sacramentum illius Jerusalem coelestis, de qua dicitur: 'Urbs fortitudinis nostrae Sion Salvator, ponetur in ea murus et antemurale'" (Quoted from Chydenius, Typological Problem in Dante, 81). Chydenius discusses the eschatological significance of the crusade, 75-86.

Nolan believes that twelfth century writers of Apocalypse commentaries had a greater interest both in the persona of Saint John and in the possibility that individual readers might themselves attain such mystical insight (The Gothic Visionary Perspective, 30-34). Outside the sphere of Apocalypse commentaries, such visionaries and encyclopedists as Hildegard of Bingen and Herrad of Landsberg may be seen as part of the development toward a moer personalized interpretation of the universe. Gislebertus, the sculptor who carved his name beneath the twelfth-century Last Judgment tympanum of Autun, obviously was not loath to assert his identity.

Colin Morris has studied the rise of individualism during the twelfth century. He concludes that this period is a new point of departure in the history of Christian piety, during which new patterns of expression developed and, in general, a new self-awareness by individuals. Evidence of this increased self-awareness appears in the new interest in autobiography. Abelard and Guibert of Nogent are perhaps the best-known writers in this genre of the early twelfth century. Another manifestation of this tendency toward individualism may be found in the Jerusalem hymns of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Morris demonstrates that there was a significant difference in the hymns after the year 1050. Before this date there were relatively few Jerusalem hymns and these were developed around the image of the new Jerusalem descending from heaven described in Revelations. Later in the century, the Jerusalem hymns of Peter Damian (d. 1072) describe the union of the heavenly city and the individual not as Jerusalem's descent but as the "upward struggle of the soul."

Later in the twelfth century, Morris remarks, such hymns seem to interpret salvation as a kind of "personal escape." (Colin Morris, The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200, New York, 1972).

Suger of Saint-Denis seems rather like Lambert in regard to his individualized, or even egotistical, view of the world around him. Both Suger and Lambert lived in great centers of history writing, which may explain their propensity for viewing contemporary events—and themselves—in a broad historical perspective. As Saint-Omer was closely allied with the ruling house of Flanders, Saint-Denis represented the French monarchy and served as its place of entombment. The counts of Flanders were the vassals of the kings of France. Lambert placed his self-portrait and the genealogy of his mother's family in strategic places in his manuscript. Suger, whom Panofsky
characterizes as "enormously vain," had four of five portraits of himself included in the decoration of Saint-Denis and at least thirteen verses that mention his name inscribed on various parts of the church and its ornaments (Erwin Panofsky, Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures, Princeton, 1946, 29-31). And yet this vanity was combined with a strong sense of personal alliance with his church and temporal rules. Panofsky discusses this aspect of Suger's character in such a way that we are reminded of Lambert and his loyalty to Saint-Omer and the counts of Flanders. Suger, Panofsky concludes, was a particular type of egoist, one who "asserted his personality centrifugally" and "projected his ego into the world that surrounded him until his whole self had been absorbed by his environment." (Panofsky, Abbot Suger, 29). He expanded his personality until he felt that he was in some way identical with both Saint-Denis and France. This absorption of himself into his environment was the basis of Suger's—and perhaps Lambert's—tremendous devotion to the institutions that he believed fostered him. Panofsky describes this process of "self-affirmation through self-effacement" as leading to "a violent and almost mystical nationalism" which, we believe, might also describe Lambert's feeling of patriotism.


53Delisle, Notices et extraits, 1906, 579.

54Delisle, Notices et extraits, 1906, 580. In spite of their efforts, however, the copyists were not able to achieve any greater order (Eva Matthews Sanford, "The Liber Floridus," The Catholic Historical Review, XXVI, 1940-1941, 474.


60 C. R. Dodwell, Painting in Europe, 800-1200, New York, 1971, 171-172. Dodwell did not pay the most careful attention to the Liber Floridus. He gives the wrong press-mark number (as noticed by Mayo, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 1973, 31, n. 1) and states that the Apocalypse miniatures appear at the end of the manuscript. They are, in fact, near the beginning.


62 Sanford, Catholic Historical Review, 1940-1941, 473.

63 Ibid., 477-478. Several more recent studies on the sources of the historical information in the Liber Floridus were part of the Ghent symposium. Raoul C. van Caenegem's research on the sources for such entries as the "Lamberti Audomariensis Chronic" and the "Chronicon de Gestis Normannorum" led to his discovery of some interesting passages in the manuscript that had previously passed unnoticed. These passages clarify such problems as the date of the fortifications of Saint-Omer and the medieval belief that the counts of Flanders were descended from the legendary Lidric of Harlebeke (Raoul C. van Caenegem, "The Sources of Flemish History in the Liber Floridus," Liber Floridus Colloquium, 71-83). Rene Deroze discuses the question of the sources for the British history in the Liber Floridus. She deals with Lambert's use of such texts as the Historia Brittonum and the Anglo Saxon Chronicle (Rene Deroze, "British and English History in the Liber Floridus," Liber Floridus Colloquium, 59-70). Francis Wormald's study concerns the calendar in the Liber Floridus which, he believes, was Lambert's own creation. The calendar contains hagiographical, compotistical, and historical information as well as references to contemporary events. Wormald concluded that "Like encyclopedias it could not cover everything completely, but had a good try at embracing them all." (Francis Wormald, "The Calendar of the Liber Floridus," Liber Floridus Colloquium, 12-17).

64 Sanford, Catholic Historical Review, 1940-1941, 477.
65 Lefevre, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 1-9.
66 Ibid., 9.
67 Ibid., 7-8.
68 Ibid., 8.
69 Ibid., 9.
70 De Smet, Liber Floribus Colloquium, 11-12.
73 For this study, we have used the 1930 text of Henry A. Sanders, "Transcription of the Latin Text of Beato," American Academy of Rome, republished as volume II of Beati in Apocalypsin Libri Duodecim, Madrid, 1975, 259-903 (hereafter, Sanders, Beati in Apocalypsin). Volume I of this edition is a facsimile of the Gerona Apocalypse.
74 For a concise summary of information about Beatus and his commentary, see Dodwell, Painting in Europe, 800-1200, 96-105.
76 The Apocalypsim Joannis Apostoli Commentariorum of Rupert of Deutz (written between 1117 and 1126) is also made up of twelve books.
77 Sanders, Beati in Apocalypsin, 270-272; 364-366; 396; 624-628; 645.
78 There was, in fact, a tradition extending back at least as far as Virgil's Aeneid of dividing literary and cosmological works into twelve parts. I am grateful to Professors Carl Schlam and Christian Zacher for bringing this to my attention. See Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, New York, 1963, 501-509. For further consideration of the meaning of the number
twelve as the basis of the structure of the Liber Floridus, see below,


82 Swarzenski, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 26-27.
PART TWO
The Liber Floridus consists, we believe, of twelve sections. The content of each of these sections has a prevailing theme or, in some cases, a combined theme of two or more interrelated subjects. The first section, for example, has a prevailing theme of universal history and the second section, of geography; the third section includes both a bestiary and a lapidary. The size of the sections varies greatly. Section Five, for example, has only twenty-five pages and eighteen chapters while Section Twelve has one hundred and three pages and twenty chapters. In each section there is an allegorical image of the Church that serves as the focal point of the texts and illustrations around it. The images of the Church appear on approximately the central pages of their sections and in approximately the central chapters. For example, in Section One, into which we group pages 1 to 111 and chapters I to XXIII, a sedes sapientia is illustrated on page 48, chapter XII (fig. 17); in Section Two, pages 112 to 131 and chapters XXV to XLIII, Paradise is depicted on page 123, chapter XXXIII (fig 59); in Section Three, pages 132 to 153 and chapters XLV to LV, Celestial Jerusalem appears on page 149, chapter LIII (fig. 66); Section Four, pages 154 to 188 and chapters LVI to LXVI, a miniature of a Palm on Mount Zion is found on page 172, chapter LX (fig. 34). Considering the
difficulty Lambert had in fitting texts onto specific folios, causing him to resort to changing the size of his handwriting, adding extra leaves to his quires, and sewing on supplementary pieces of parchment, it is not surprising that the centers of his sections are occasionally somewhat off their axes.

It is often the page number of the image of the Church, rather than its chapter number, that indicates its central position in its section. In Section Ten, pages 412 to 471 and chapters CXXXVII to CLVI, a miniature of Noah's Ark is on page 448 (fig. 92), which is reasonably near the center of the series of pages. The miniature is, however, in chapter CXXXVIII, which is only the second chapter in a series of nine. Furthermore, the chapters that contain the allegorical images of the Church sometimes include many other pages as well. In Section Seven, pages 226 to 287 and Chapters CXIII to CXX, the now-lost miniatures of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre (figs. 19 and 20) were part of the forty-three page chapter CXX, the last chapter in that section. The central position of the miniatures in relation to the rest of the section is not, therefore, indicated by their chapter number. However, they appeared in the lacuna of pages 249 to 256, which is precisely the center of the sequence of this section's pages. In Section Nine, pages 336 to 411 and chapters CXXXII to CXXXVI, the
miniature of Saint Peter and Rome (fig. 27) is on the first page of Chapter CXXXVI, which occupies the last seventy pages of the section. Again, therefore, the chapter number of the miniature is not significant in relation to its placement in the section. Its page number is: it is on page 367, which is near the center of the pages that comprise Section Nine. Since page numbers seem more significant than chapter numbers in determining the placement of the focal images of the twelve sections of the Liber Floridus, our analytical summaries of these sections will be charted by page numbers.

This part of our study is divided into twelve chapters in order to discuss separately each of the twelve sections of the Liber Floridus. Each chapter will begin with an analytical summary of the contents of every page in the section to which it pertains. Following this, there will be a commentary on that section. The commentary will begin by describing the theme that is cumulatively expressed by the various verbal and pictorial entries in the section. Next, there will be a comparison of that section to the corresponding book of the Beatus Apocalypse. This comparison will be made in reference to the two works' themes, culminating images of the Church, and individual entries. The frequency of concordances between Lambert's sections and Beatus' book will become evident in our
analysis and is, we believe, sufficient to prove that Lambert has selected and arranged the texts and illustrations in his manuscript to conform to the content of Beatus' commentary.
CHAPTER ONE

I. Analytical Summary of Section One, pages 1 to 111 (1r-47r)

1 (1r) On the first page of the Liber Floridus we find a series of words with no obvious association to each other, over which Lambert has added notes or glosses. For example: over the word Albicantes he wrote capillus cane; over Scaturrigo, fons. There was an inscription at the bottom of the page, but it has been almost entirely effaced. Derolez has been able to decipher the following words: "... tempore ... Hierosolimis ... incolis ... Arabum ... gustare ... XV diebus ab omni cybo ... cyborum ... 1

2 (1v) A list of important historical figures, from Cain to Robert of Flanders, which notes their significant achievements. The list begins telling us that Cain founded the first city; Tubal, his son, invented the musical arts; Obal, son of Lamech, invented metal working; Ionitus, son of Noah, was the first astronomer. The list goes on to include Julius Caesar, the Donation of Constantine, and Saint Helena's Invention of the True Cross.
Eventually, we reach Faramundus, the son of Priam of Troy, who became the first king of the Franks. Lidricus Harlebec, "first count of Flanders," is next on the list. He is followed by Baldwin Iron Arm, called the fourth count of Flanders, who married the daughter of Charles the Bald, thus linking the counts of Flanders to the Frankish kings and, ultimately, to the Trojans. The last two entries concern reconquered Jerusalem: Godfrey of Bologne took the city; Robert, "quartvs Xmus comes Flandrie," was the second King of Jerusalem.

In the course of this list, Lambert shows great interest in alphabets. He includes the "Egyptian" alphabet, the Greek alphabet—twice, the Hebrew alphabet, and the Latin alphabet—also twice.

3 (2r) There are several passages on this folio. First, Lambert writes about the history of the wood of the cross, beginning with Seth's attempt to save his father, Adam, with a branch of the tree. Seth planted the branch, which then grew until it was felled by the builders of the Temple of Solomon. Eventually the wood was used for the cross upon which Christ redeemed the world.
The next two short passages are about the Flood and the mountains that were not covered by it. Then we read a description of the city of Babylon, built by Neboah the giant. A genealogy from Abraham to Moses follows. The last entry describes the events that have occurred, or will occur, on the eighth kalends of April: the creation of Adam; the sacrifice of Isaac; the Israelites crossing the Red Sea; the Annunciation; the Passion; the Archangel Michael's victory over the Dragon.

4 (2v) This folio also comprises a number of short entries. First, Christ's family is described with particular attention to the various Marias. Then, the date of the birth of Christ in relation to the reign of Augustus, to the creation of the world, to the date of the foundation of Rome, and to the reign of Herod. After listing the names of Herod's five sons, Lambert lists the Jewish heretics, the seven liberal arts, and the names of philosophers and heretics. Measurement of distances is the next topic, culminating in a notation of the distance from Saint-Omer to Rome. Lambert then informs us of the numbers of soldiers that made up various Roman military units. Next, the annus mundanus
is defined. According to the theory of the "world year," when the universe was created, all heavenly bodies were in a particular spatial relationship to each other. When time began they started to move, at different speeds. They will not enter into their original spatial relationship with each other for 15000 years and at that time the world will end. 4 The last paragraph on folio 2v speaks of the departure of the crusaders for Jerusalem and the occurrence of an eclipse.

5 (3r) This folio presents lists of kings: Babylonians; Persians; Latins; Romans; Byzantines; Franks. The list begins with Beli, first king of the Babylonians, and ends with Philip, the most recent Frankish king.

6 (3v) Lambert's prologue appears on this folio. 5

7-9 (4r-5r) Lambert has chosen to place his table of contents here, rather than on the first or last folio of the manuscript. 6 In this table he lists his chapters, some of which are comprised of several topics.

9-23 (5r-6r) Three debates between Christians and Jews. The first, pages 9-17 (4r-9r), between Odo the Bishop and Leo the Jew, is mainly concerned with the
necessity of the Incarnation for the redemption of mankind; the Law alone will not suffice. The second, pages 17-18 (9r-9v), involves Gislebertus the Abbot and a nameless "Iudeus." This debate concerns Christian interpretation of the Old Testament prophecies of the Incarnation. In the third debate, pages 18-23 (10v-6r), Malchus the Jew asks Hiesus the presbyter a series of short theological questions. Hiesus' answers allow him to expound upon the Faith. The last question and answer, for example—Malchus: What are the most harmonious unities in which discord never arises? Hiesus: The chorus of blessed angels, members of the human body, congregations of perfect monks in a monastery, and above all, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

The last paragraph on page 23 (6r), following the debates, expresses the fervent belief that our end is in Christ, in an eternal Sabbath of praise.

24 (6v) The first illustration in the manuscript is on this folio (fig. 23). "Glorious Pontifex Audomarus," the glorious priest Omer, is portrayed on the lower part of the page, seated on a blue rainbow. He wears a green chasuble and holds a crosier in his left hand while blessing with his right. A solid
red halo appears behind his head. An inscription to the left of the figure states that Saint Omer was made a bishop in 668 and that he sat for thirty years; it also lists the names of the popes that held office during Saint Omer's incumbency. To the right, we read that Saint Omer departed happily from this life in 697; we also learn who the pope, emperor, and king of the Franks were at that time. Lambert inscribed the top half of the page with a poem celebrating Saint Omer.

Lambert's self portrait faces Saint Omer from this folio (fig. 35). The background is architectural and labeled "Sithiu villa, id est sancti Audomari castrum." In front of the castrum, or castellum, Lambert is hard at work at his desk. He has labeled himself "L" and shows himself inscribing a note that in the year 1052 the relics of Saint Omer were displayed to the people. Around the sides of the page, he lists the abbc’z of "Sithiu."

Here Lambert writes first of Old Testament history: Moses conquered Ethiopia, from which region the Queen of Sheba later came to visit Solomon and praise his wisdom. Three thousand seven hundred and thirty years passed from Creation to the
conquest of Ethiopia, and from the Queen of Sheba to Christ, one thousand nine hundred. The passage turns next to the subject of the Incarnation: the portents of Christ's birth; the Tybertine sybil; Isaiah's prophecies of the Virgin Birth and the Tree of Jesse.

27-32 (14r-16v)
These pages, which comprise Lambert's first chapter, discuss the concordances of the four Evangelists. Pages 27 and 28 (14r and 14v) show the canons of the gospels on the incidents of the life of Christ. On pages 29 to 32 (15r to 16v), Lambert drew a diagram and wrote about systems of noting concordances. After this, he again described the family, or consanguinity, of Christ, carefully distinguishing the various Maries from each other.

33-36 (17r-18v)
Chapter II is entitled "Fretulfus de Iudeorum Iudicibus et Regibus." This is a fairly extended narration of historical events from Adam to Christ. Lambert has painstakingly aligned Old Testament and ancient, secular history. In the first part, he measures time from the departure of the Jews from Egypt. For example, three hundred and fifty two years after the Jews left
Egypt, Carthage was built. Next, time is measured from the building of the Temple of Solomon: 226 years after the Temple, the Assyrians were defeated and the Persians ruled. The rebuilding of the Temple under Darius is the next point of departure. The history ends with the succession of Herod.

37 (19r) Chapter III is a "T-0" map of the world—a circular map partitioned by a T—illustrating the medieval conception of the tripartite division of the earth (fig. 37). The upper half of the circle is Asia, in which Lambert lists the names of the assorted "gentes" of that continent. The lower half is divided between Europe and Africa. The names of the peoples who live there are also listed. Above and below the "map," texts describe the locations of the three continents according to bodies of water or other natural boundaries.

38 (19v) The circular diagram on page 38 (19v), chapter IV, represents the Ages of the World (fig. 38). The circle is divided into six triangular segments. Around the rim of the circle, Lambert labeled each segment to correspond to one of the
ages. Inside each segment he listed the names of that age's principle figures—Adam to Noah in the first, Noah to Abraham in the second, and so forth. In the sixth age Lambert ends the list with the Frankish kings. He seems to have run out of space after Dagobert and ended with: "et multi alii." A narrative account of the history of the world from the Creation of Adam to the advent of the Antichrist is written below.

39 (20r) The Labyrinth with the Minotaur inside it is represented on page 39 (fig. 39), chapter V. Below the Labyrinth, Lambert tells the story of Dedalus and Icarus.

40 (20v) Lambert returns to the Ages of the World on page 40 (20v), chapter VI. This diagram, entitled "Mundi Etates usque ad Godefriendum Regem," is made up of six overlapping semi-circles (fig. 40). In the center, a small circle is decorated with a face.13 The six sections of the diagram tell the duration of each of the ages. The sixth age ends: "In hac anno Domini MXCIX Godefrius dux cepit Jerusalem, indictione VII." At the top of the page Lambert quotes Isidore of Seville, saying that it is impossible to predict
exactly when the end of the world will occur. In the lower part of the page he describes the ages of man from infancy to decrepitude.

41-42 (21r-21v) This folio, making up chapter VII, first presents the genealogy of the first two ages of the world. There were, we read, ten generations in the first age, which ends with the Flood. The descendants of the sons of Noah and a description of where they settled follows. We are quickly brought through the eras of Assyrians, Babyloans, Persians, and Romans. The history ends by noting that Christ was born during the reign of Augustus.

42-44 (21v-22v) The next history, chapter VIII, is primarily concerned with the succession of Old Testament kings and priests. Toward the end of the passage, Lambert's interest focuses upon the measurement of time between the Incarnation and a series of Old Testament events: the rebuilding of the Temple of Solomon; the original construction of the Temple; the Israelites flight from Egypt; the time of Abraham; and Adam. A final paragraph summarizes this information by noting the number of kings from Moses
to Solomon, the duration of Solomon's reign, the year in which the Temple was completed, and the number of kings from Solomon to Christ.

The next passage, beginning chapter IX, describes Solomon's remarkable talent for exorcising demons through the nose, which caused everyone to regard him with wonder. The last sentence tells how many workmen Solomon hired to build the Temple.

45 (23r) "Quid in Principio Deus Sex Diebus Fecit." This begins with a full account of the seven levels of Heaven and the angels that inhabit the upper realms. Lambert lists the rivers of the earth for the third day of Creation, the celestial bodies and their sizes "secundum Bedam" for the fourth day, the names of all the fishes and all the animals and birds for the fifth and sixth days.

46 (23v) This folio compiles several subjects. First, the durations of time between various Old Testament figures and the building of Solomon's Temple. Then, how many years the Temple stood. The Babylonian captivity and the reconstruction of the Temple are mentioned. Lambert then draws
a comparison between the length of time in which Christ was formed in the Virgin's womb and the time needed to construct the Temple.

The Ages of Man is the next subject, followed by an alignment of the ages of the world with the metals, hours of the day, and ages of man that correspond to them. At the end of the folio Lambert repeats the fourth age and takes special note of Solomon, the Temple, and the Babylonian Captivity.

This folio marks the beginning of the first lacuna in the manuscript. It included chapter X, "De Salomone et eius glorio," and chapter XI, "Spera mensium XII et elementorum." The image that appeared on this folio is preserved on folio 8v of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript (fig. 18). At the top of this page, Solomon is enthroned inside a circle, holding a sword in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Around the rim of the circle, a text identifies him as Solomon, the peaceful and magnificent king of whom there was no equal in the world. Outside the circle, Lambert quotes I Kings 10:18-21 and 14-17, describing the
throne and the riches of Solomon. Below
Solomon there is a diagram of interlocking
circles. Four circles linked to a central ring
are labeled with the names of the four seasons
and their atmospheric qualities: "summer, hot;
winter, cold; spring, wet; autumn, dry." The
word annus is spelled across the season circles.
Around these inner circles we read "aer, ignis,
aqua, ventus." Two more rows of linked circles,
forming the outer part of the schema, represent
the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the twelve
months of the year.

There is a narrative description of the heavenly
spheres on the top of the facing folio. A short
paragraph, comprised of excerpts from Bede's
De Natura Rerum, briefly explains the arrange-
ment of the upper and lower heavens. It then
describes the location of the angels and the
waters above the firmament and names the stars
that are situated between heaven and earth.
This text was chapter XII, "De circulo superioris
celi". It is followed by a text that celebrates
the Assumption of the Virgin.
The Virgin and Child enthroned with the Angel Gabriel to the left appears on the lower half of this page (fig. 17). The figure of the Virgin and Child follows the standard form of the *sedes sapientia*. The *sedes sapientia* was a well-known image of the Church in the Middle Ages. This miniature is the first in the series of allegorical images of the Church that appear near the center of each section of the *Liber Floridus*. The crowned Virgin, as the bearer of Wisdom, is majestic and aloof; the Child, as Wisdom Incarnate, is mature and imperious. Seated frontally on his mother's lap, he holds a book in one hand and blesses with the other. The Angel Gabriel to the left of the Virgin and Child may seem somewhat out of context in a *sedes sapientia*, however. He holds out his hands and says: "Ave Maria gratia plena," the salutation he delivered at the Annunciation. His presence has led Swarzenski to suggest that the Child on the Virgin's lap is merely an anachronism. However, both the close correspondence of the image to the traditional form of the *sedes sapientia* and the fact that the appearance of the angel Gabriel in association with the
sedes sapientia was actually not unprecedented in medieval art, argue against this identification.

The sixteen glossed miniatures of chapter XIII, the Apocalypse Depictus once occupied these folios. For the following description, we have followed Swarzenski in using the miniatures of the Wolfenbüttel, Paris and Hague manuscript.

The first miniature in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript illustrates Revelations 1-3 (fig. 1). Saint John writes in his book at the left of the top register. In the center of this register he falls prostrate at the feet of Christ, who stands among seven candlesticks. In the two lower registers, seven angels appear above the seven churches of Asia.

The second miniature presents the heavenly vision of Revelations 4: Christ in a mandorla with seven burning lamps above him and the four Apocalyptic beasts around him (fig. 2). Martyrs appear below Christ's throne. John stands to the left and another figure to the right. The Lamb of God and the Lion of Christ are shown in circular mandorlas next to Christ.
The Adoration of the Lord and of the Lamb by the four-and-twenty Elders (Revelations 5:8) is the subject of the third and fourth miniatures (figs. 3 and 4).

The fifth illustration consists of four registers (fig. 5). The four horsemen of the Apocalypse (Revelations 6:2-8) occupy the two upper registers. Below, we see the four winds held back by four angels (Revelations 7:1), and small pictographs of the various destructions that will be wrought upon the earth. In the lower register we see another angel who first censes at the altar and then casts his censer upon the earth (Revelations 8:6-11).

The first three trumpeting angels, surrounded by the catastrophes that they signal, are depicted in the three registers of the following miniature (fig. 6).

The next illustration has two registers (fig. 7). On top, the fourth angel sounds his trumpet and causes one third of the sun, moon, and stars to darken (Revelations 8:12-13). Below, the scorpions brought to earth by the sound of the fifth
trumpet attack men who do not have the seal of God.

The top register of the eighth miniature illustrates Revelation 9:13-15—the sixth trumpeter releasing the four destroying angels—and below, Revelation 9:16-19—the army on horseback that destroys one third of mankind (fig. 8).

Revelation 10 is the subject of the upper half of the next illustration (fig. 9). The powerful angel with the small scroll, standing with one foot on the sea and one foot on the land, announces that "the time of waiting is over." The angel, to the right, devours his book. The lower part of this miniature shows Saint John being given the rod and told to measure the temple of God. The two witnesses, Enoch and Elijah, stand to the right of the temple (Revelations 11:1, and 11:3-13).

The slaying of the witnesses and their resurrection (Revelations 11:7-12) is portrayed in the top register of the tenth miniature (fig. 10). This is followed by the sounding of the seventh trumpet, the resurrection of the dead, and the appearance of the Judge (Revelations 11:15-18).
The next two miniatures illustrate the episode of the Apocalyptic woman and the dragon (Revelations 12:1-9 (figs. 11 and 12).

The last miniature in the Wolfenbüttel cycle completes the story of the Apocalyptic woman (Revelations 12:13-17) and illustrates Revelations 13: the emergence of the seven-headed, ten-horned beast, his glorification by the world, and the emergence of the second beast who "had two horns like a lamb, but made a noise like a dragon" (fig. 13).

The illustration of Revelation 14 in the manuscript from the Hague is composed of two registers (fig. 14). At the top, the Lamb is adored on Mount Zion (Revelations 14:1-5). Below, angels announce the second coming and the fall of Babylon, while the "harvesting of the earth" takes place to the right (Revelations 14:6-20).

Revelations 16 and 17 is illustrated in a three-register miniature in the Paris manuscript (fig. 15). The angels pour forth vials of wrath onto the earth and onto the throne of the Beast (Revelations 16:1-16); the Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet each vomit a frog
(Revelations 16:13); and the Whore of Babylon with her army battle with the Lamb (Revelations 17).

The final miniature in the Apocalypse Depictvs illustrates Revelations 19-22 (fig. 16). In the top register, an angel tenders an invitation to the Marriage of the Lamb, the damned are cast into Hell, Satan is bound, and the One appears upon his throne. The large, center register portrays the vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem described in Revelations 21. The last register shows the River of Life flowing from the throne of the Lamb and, beneath the river, the Tree of Life.

Immediately following the Apocalypse Depictvs, Lambert presents a diagram entitled "Ordo Ventorum XII Natura Ipsorum" which shows twelve wind-faces, with dark clouds between them, blowing upon a "T-O" map of the earth (fig. 41). Above, the winds are defined. Below, Lambert was inscribed a passage from Bede's De Natura Rerum that explains lightening, thunder, and earthquakes. This is the first half of chapter
XIII, "Sperae due ventorum et zonarum, completed on the next page.

66 (24v) The "Spera Macrobius de Vqve Zonis" shows the daily path of the sun in a diagonal line across a Macrobian map of the world (fig. 42). Above and below the map Lambert wrote brief descriptions of the two habitable zones of the earth, *Septentrionalis* and *Australis*. He explains that the other three zones are either too hot or too cold for humans to bear.

67 (25r) On this folio Lambert illustrates the "Cursus Solis Solstitialis et Eqvinoctalis," a circular diagram that charts the movements of the sun (fig. 43). At the bottom of the page he explains the solar year. This is the first half of chapter XV, "Sperae due solis et lune," again completed on the next page.

68 (25v) The lunar year is described in the circular diagram on page 68 (fig. 44). *Annus* is written at the center of the schema, with the names of the four elements and the four seasons around it. The four interlocking qualities of the seasons and the elements are written on the circle
around the center. The thirty phases of the moon form the outer part of the diagram.

69 (26r) The "Spera Apulei Vite et Mortis," chapter XVI, is a chart with which one can determine whether an illness will or will not be fatal according to the day of the week in which the fever began and the number of the phase of the moon (fig. 45). A Chi-Rho sign dominates the center of the circle.

70-81 (26v-32r) Lambert's calendar occupies a large portion of this section of the manuscript. It is chapter XVII, entitled "Martyrologium." Wormald comments that this calendar reveals Lambert's great concern for history. Although it is ostensibly a liturgical calendar, it refers to many non-liturgical events as well. For example, on the eighth kalends of April, Lambert repeats the list given on page 3 of incidents in sacred history that occurred on that day of the year. On the third kalends of that month Lambert notes Bohemond's visit to Saint-Omer. He also marks the death of Count Baldwin and his burial at Saint-Bertin on the fifteenth kalends of
of July in 1118, and the death of Onulf, his own father, on January 27, 1085.

82 (32v) The first entry on this folio, chapter XVIII, "Chronica Ysidi de Vrque Etatibus," tells the numbers of years from the Creation of the world to a series of Old Testament events, for example: the death of Adam; the Flood; the flight of the Israelites from Egypt; Solomon's construction of the Temple. It also lists important incidents in ancient secular history: the capture of Troy; the construction of Carthage; the foundation of Rome; the reign of Julius Caesar. The list ends with the Incarnation: "Anni ab orbe conditio usque ad Christum vcc[x]xvii[ ]."

The next passage tells numbers of years between significant occurrences within each of the ages of the world: "Tercia etas./ Ab Abraham usque ad Moysen sunt anni DXLII./ A Moyse usque ad eversionem Troie sunt anni CCC./ Ab eversione Troie usque ad David sunt anni CXXX;" "VI etas. /Summa annorum ab Adam usque ad Christum VCC(/ LVII)." This is chapter XIX, "De VI Mundi Etatibus."
There are three paragraphs on this page, chapter XX, that define the terms Aetas, Seculum, and Mundus. Lambert again explains the Ages of the World in the Aetas paragraph. Seculum, we learn, means all six ages together: past, present, and future time. The etymological derivation of the world mundus is traced from both munditia and motu.

Lambert's most extensive catalogue of the Ages of the World, chapter XXI, occupies the last twenty-eight pages of this section of the manuscript. It starts with a short description of the six days of Creation and God's rest on the seventh day. A detailed account of each of the first five ages follows. The ages are defined in terms of their most significant persons and events as well as the lengths of time that each spanned. Lambert used the Annals of Saint-Omer for his description of the sixth age, chapter XXII. The Annals are followed by a list of the Roman emperors, apostels, and popes of the sixth age, chapters XXIII and XXIII.
II. Commentary on Section One

We can see that Lambert, in his first section, is attempting to schematize universal time with lists, genealogies, and narrative passages that connect persons and events from the entire span of Biblical and world history. He frequently coordinates sacred and secular history in his entries by cataloging series of cross-references: A Moyse usque ad eversionem Troie sunt anni CCC./ Ab eversione Troie usque ad David sunt anni CXXX."28 Most of the large time-structures in this section culminate in the Incarnation, though some end with reference to the first crusade or the end of time. Citations of the numbers of years that transpire from one person or event to the next often serve as the connecting medium in Lambert's historical catena. As always, Lambert is conscious of his own place and that of Saint-Omer within the cosmic scheme. The lists of names and dates on the facing illustrations of Saint Omer and Lambert's self portrait in front of the castellum (figs. 23 and 35) serve to fit the town of Saint-Omer and its patron saint into the complex of universal history. The motivation for this schematization of universal time seems to be the manifestation of the temporal process of Salvation; God's will toward man may be revealed in the underlying design that unifies all of human history.
Lambert obviously found the framework of the Ages of the World the most expedient and appropriate device for organizing history into a meaningful form. The orderly division of human time into fixed ages demonstrates that history is not a chance series of occurrences; it is the "artifact of God" whose complete form was ordained before the beginning of time. The schematization of the Ages also emphasizes the eschatological nature of history, moving irrevocably through a predetermined sequence toward its final goal: the Last Judgment and release from the fetters of time. More than one third of the folios in the first section of the Liber Floridus refer to the Ages of the World. This would include the twenty-eight page catalogue at the end of the section as well as shorter accounts like those on page 41 and 42 (21r and 21v), and 83 (33r). The fact that history, when disposed in six ages, could readily be plotted in a circular diagram obviously had great appeal for Lambert. He includes two such diagrams in this section (figs. 38 and 40).

While Lambert most often relies upon the Ages of the World to represent time as a coherent entity, he occasionally uses other means of temporal organization. The repeated list of events occurring on the eighth kalends of April attests to his great delight in discovering symmetries and concordances of time. His calendar on
pages 70 to 81 (26v to 32r) also orchestrates disparate articles of time, both historical and liturgical, within the schema of the year. The astronomical diagrams in the first section may also be considered in this context since, as Charles W. Jones has said, "the early Middle Ages conceived of astronomical and historical time as a unit." Superlunary and terrestrial time moved together like meshed gears of a universal clock, inexorably measuring off the interval of human existence. The annus mundanus, defined on page 4, is certainly the quintessential statement of this belief.

The focal image of the Church in this section, the sedes sapientia on page 48 (fig. 17), must be understood in relation to medieval typology, a system of historical symbolism. Christ enthroned on the lap of the Virgin is foreshadowed or announced by the Old Testament image of Solomon enthroned. Solomon, the wise king, prefigures Christ, Wisdom Incarnate; Solomon's throne is an Old Testament figure of the Virgin. Peter Damian explains this two-fold relationship: "Our Solomon (i.e., Christ), not only wise but indeed the Wisdom of the Father... has prepared a throne, manifestly the womb of the chaste Virgin." Lambert's inclusion of the miniature of Solomon Enthroned (fig. 18) on the same folio as the sedes sapientia
makes even more explicit the typological connection of the Old Testament king to Christ.

References to Solomon and his temple recur throughout the first section. He is an important link in the historical succession from Adam to Christ, a figure of great significance from whom units of time may be measured. Two variations on the typological connection between Solomon and Christ are made in close association with the central image of this section. The placement of a celestial diagram beneath the depiction of Solomon Enthroned suggests a typological link between Solomon, the builder of the Temple of God, and Christ, the Divine Architect of the Universe. Solomon's temple, like the cosmos, was known for its perfect, harmonious proportions; its ideal harmony was understood to correspond to that of Celestial Jerusalem and the heavenly spheres. On the preceding folio, Lambert draws a rather singular comparison of Christ's formation in the Virgin's womb to the construction of Solomon's temple.

The opening section of the Liber Floridus is thus characterized by a prevailing theme of universal history, mainly schematized as the Ages of the World, and a focal image of the Church that refers to the typological relation of Christ to Solomon. There is another work of medieval literature possessed of a first book which has both these defining characteristics in common with Lambert's first
section: Beatus' commentary on the Apocalypse. In his first book, Beatus interprets the imagery of Revelations 1:1-18. This is the opening of Saint John's vision on the Island of Patmos in which he sees the Lord who identifies himself as Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last. There is a prologue to Book One consisting of a condensed version of Saint Jerome's commentary on the Apocalypse. In thirteen of the surviving Beatus manuscripts, there is a pictorial preface preceding this textual prologue. Since the theme of the first book of the commentary extends through the introductory preface and prologue, we will also consider these pages in comparison to the first part of the Liber Floridus.

In Revelations 1:11, Saint John is instructed to write down all that he is about to see in a book and to send that book to the seven churches of Asia. Expounding upon the symbolic meaning of the number seven, Beatus states that this number represents the ages of universal history progressing toward their consummation in the Last Judgment. Henceforth, Beatus interprets all the seven-fold entities that appear to John in the first part of Revelations as symbols of the seven-part, universal history of the Church. References to the Ages of the World thus appear throughout the first book of the commentary, as, for example, in his interpretation of the
climatic, mystical vision of the first book. This vision is described in Revelations 1:12-16: "I saw seven golden lamp-stands, and surrounded by them, a figure like a Son of man . . . In his right hand he was holding seven stars, out of his mouth came a sharp sword . . . ". Beatus explains that both the seven lamp-stands and the seven stars are symbols of the Church that exists through the seven ages of time and eternity: "The seven lamp-stands are the one, true Church in the seven ages of this world;" the seven stars represent the congregation of saints from the beginning to the end of the world, that is, the spiritual Church."

The same interest in universal history characterizes the pictorial preface of the first book of the Beatus Apocalypse. Although the number of pages and the content of the pictorial preface vary from one manuscript to the next, most copies include an extensive genealogical chart. This chart consists of a chain of small, inscribed roundels connected by lines (fig. 46). There are also several small illustrations and some longer inscriptions framed by colored bands forming either arches or geometrical shapes. These pages represent the great span of history from the Creation of Adam to Christ and are thus comparable to the general content of the historical passages in Lambert's first section. The Beatus genealogy,
like Lambert's histories, ties its personages together by citing the numbers of years that each lived. It occasionally totals its litany of names and years to determine the length of and Age of the World: "Hic finit prima etas ab adam usque ad dilubium. \( \text{III} \) ccxii."\(^{45}\)

Like Lambert's first section, the Beatus genealogy aligns sacred and secular history. On the last page of the preface completely devoted to the genealogy, there is a large rectangle sub-divided into a square and a circle (fig. 47).\(^{46}\) Inside the square, an inscription relates the history of the Latin kings from Romulus and Remus to Tarquin. The inscription in the circle narrates the history of the foundation of the city of Rome. Above the rectangle, eight roundels are inscribed with the names of ancient Persian kings and Roman emperors, from Cyrus to Tyberius.

The first book of the Beatus' commentary culminates in an interpretation of the climactic vision of Revelations I:12-16, the epiphany of the Son of man with a sharp sword coming from his mouth—Beatus compares Christ the Judge, who is Wisdom Incarnate, to Solomon, the wise judge of the Old Testament. The sword of the Son of man represents the Word and the Law of God, Beatus says, the divine judgment that separates the saved from the damned. Beatus compares this to the judgment and sword of Solomon, described in
I Kings, 3:16-28. This passage tells of two women who claimed the same child. Solomon threatened to cut the child in half with his sword in order to satisfy both claimants. By means of this threat, the wise judge was able to determine the child's true mother, as Christ, on Judgment Day, will determine which of us are children of the Church and which children of Satan.\(^\text{47}\) Beatus' explication of the main vision in Book One thus involves the typological association of Solomon and Christ, corresponding to the meaning of the image at the center of the first section of the Liber Floridus (fig. 17).

The association between Solomon and Christ can also be found in the Beatus prefatory pages. Several of the Beatus manuscripts include a Christological cycle in their pictorial preface.\(^\text{48}\) The Gerona Apocalypse has the most complete cycle of any surviving manuscript.\(^\text{49}\) The Old Testament genealogy extends onto the first page of the Life of Christ scenes (fig. 48). Texts written inside the two large roundels on this page declare that Christ is descended from Solomon: "... the Evangelist Matthew showed that his line was traced through Solomon to Joseph ..."; "... He is the lion from Solomon ...".\(^\text{50}\)

Specific parts of the Beatus prefatory pages may be reflected in passages in Lambert's first section, passages which are not related to the first section's general theme.
of universal history. The appearance of these seemingly superfluous passages in the first part of the Liber Floridus would not be readily accountable were it not for their connection with images in the preface of Beatus' first book. The map of heaven, which appears on folios 3v-4r of the Gerona Apocalypse (fig. 49), is the first item in the Beatus prefatory pages that seems to be reflected in Lambert's first section.51 This map consists of seven concentric circles illustrating the seven spheres of heaven. The circles contain images of the various kinds of angels and celestial bodies that inhabit each sphere. The information reappears on pages 45 (23r) and 47 and 48 (24r and 24v) of the Liber Floridus. The eight folios in the Beatus preface that follow the map of heaven are illuminated with eight miniatures that represent the four Evangelists, two pages allotted to each (figs. 50 and 51).52 Perhaps Lambert's passages on the concordances of the four Evangelists, pages 27 to 32 (14r to 16v), reflect the emphatic presence of the Evangelists in Beatus' preface.

Further items in Beatus' prefatory genealogy seem to have parallels in the first section of the Liber Floridus. On the third and fourth pages of the genealogy, inscriptions within arch-framed columns tell the history of Babylon, built by Neboah the Giant;53 the description of Babylon on page 3 (2r) of the Liber Floridus may relate to
this. On the fifth page of the genealogy, there is a "T-O" map (fig. 52), recalling that on page 37 (19r) of the Liber Floridus.

The Life of Christ cycle in the Gerona Apocalypse consists of five pages. The first shows the Annunciation and the Nativity (fig. 48). The second is divided into three registers and illustrates, on top, the Adoration and, in the center, the Flight into Egypt (fig. 53). Half the center register is consigned to a depiction of Herod on a horse, pursuing the Holy Family. The fallen figure below the horse's hooves also represents Herod. Two scenes are illustrated in this image: Herod's pursuit and the divinely-ordained accident which befell him during the chase. These scenes and the entire lower register, which is devoted to a scene of Herod's death, illustrate an apocraphy story of Herod and the Holy Family. The next page show Christ before Caiaphas, the Mocking of Christ, and the three denials of Peter (fig. 54). A miniature of the Crucifixion follows (fig. 55). The base of the cross is covered with foliage, clearly suggesting a tree. The cross-tree grows above the tomb of Adam. Scenes of the resurrection appear on the next three folios. The first page includes four episodes: the suicide of Judas; the Entombment, with two women to the right labeled "Maria Magdalene et altera Maria"; a conflated scene of the Women
at the Empty Tomb and the Appearance of Christ to the Two Women (fig. 56). The two final pages in the Life of Christ cycle are illustrations of Christ's Descent into Limbo and the Blessed Rejoicing in Heaven (fig. 57).

Herod and the Maries are afforded a rather unusual amount of attention and space in this very brief history of the life of Christ, recalling the great interest that Lambert shows in Herod and the Maries in his first section. The legend of the wood of the Cross, told on page 2 (lv) of the Liber Floridus, may be understood as a narrative interpretation of the crucifixion in the Beatus manuscript (fig. 55).

A final parallel may be drawn between the Beatus introductory pages and the first section of the Liber Floridus. Beatus' textual prologue, as we have mentioned, is a condensed version of Saint Jerome's commentary on Revelations. With this prologue, the entire Apocalyptic vision is included within the opening part of Beatus' first book. Lambert's inclusion in his first section of Apocalypse Depictus, which also represents the entire Apocalyptic vision, may be intended to serve as the equivalent of Beatus' textual prologue.

Thus, the correspondence between the opening section of the Liber Floridus and Book One of the Beatus Apocalypse are numerous. The basic themes are the same;
the typological subject of the focal image of the Church in Lambert's first section is comparable to that which appears at the culmination of Beatus' first book. There is, furthermore, a series of parallels between specific items in the contents of the two works. It would appear that Lambert has selected the entries for the first fifty-six folios of his manuscript to create an analogue to the beginning of Beatus' commentary.
FOOTNOTES

1 Derolez, Liber Floridus, 3. The words are arranged in twenty lines. There are five words in the first line and six in the last; seven or eight words appear in all the other lines. Perhaps this is a kind of word-game. There is a general likeness to the configuration of letters making up dedicatory pages at the opening of some early Spanish manuscripts, including copies of the Beatus Apocalypse. See: John Williams, Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination, New York, 1977, 50-51; Neuss, Die Apokalypse de Hl. Johannes, I, 112-113, and II, fig. 2.

2 The descent of the Franks and Flemings from the Trojans is very important to Lambert; see below.


4 For a more complete explanation of the annus mundanus, see: Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, trans. with introduction and notes by William Harris Stahl, New York, 1952, 220-222, and n. 3, p. 221.

5 See above, p. 2.

6 There is no apparent explanation for the fact that the table of contents is on this folio rather than at the beginning of the manuscript.

7 Page 14: "Ergo Christus noster mundo nimis necessarius est, sine quo non potest homo vinere nec uenire ad gloriam pro quo a] facut est. Non sufficiet in Lege peccati remissio, nisi satisfactio Christi sequatur in Evangelio. Ideo, quamuis peccata dismissa sunt antiquis patribus et prophetis, tamen in gloria non fuerunt donec impleteretur satisfactio per passionem Christi."

8 Page 17 (10r): "Vos, Christiani, multa profertis de Lege et Prophetes, que non sunt scripta in Lege et Prophetis."
9 We will gain salvation through Christ: "Finis noster Christus est perfeciens nos." We will live in the eternal sabbath of praise that was brought about by the resurrection of Christ. We will rest and behold, behold and love, love and praise without end.

10 The Life of Saint Omer and the early history of his ecclesiastical foundations are discussed below, 325, n. 31.


13 Mayo decides that the face represents the Anti-christ ("Crusaders Under the Palm," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XXVII, 1973, 65-66), but there is really no support for this speculation, especially since the face is labeled mundus.

14 "Die secundo Deus celos VII condidit. Celum inferius primum, iacincto simile, terris est proximum . . . Celum quartum continet angelos et archangelos, qui in terris munitando mittuntur . . . Celum VII°°°° continet Deum . . . ".

15 "Etas prima aurea, hora prima et infantia, ab Adam usque Noe . . . ".

16 Henceforth, numbers representing missing folios will be marked with an asterisk.

17 Concerning the reading of similar text in the Mass for Assumption Day, see Adolf Ketzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral, Baltimore, 1959, 58 and 126-127, n. 14. Perhaps we may account for the presence of this text in connection with the image below of the sedes sapientia by referring to another part of the liturgy that was read on Assumption Day at Saint-Omer. The following text, which praises Wisdom, and was understood in the Middle Ages to symbolically refer to the Virgin, was included in this service: "It [meaning: Divine Wisdom as diffused in the Universal Church and embodied in the Virgin Mary] more beautiful than the sun
and above the whole order of the stars . . ." (quoted from: Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, I, 148; see also: 428).


19Forsyth, Throne of Wisdom, 23-25.


21In the Adoration scene of the eleventh century Gerona Apocalypse, for example, an angel standing to the left of the Virgin's throne is clearly identified by an inscription as Gabriel (fig. 48). Another reference to Gabriel appears in Peter Damian's sermon for the Epiphany. Damian praises the Virgin and her worthiness to hear the archangel's salutation, "Ave, gratia plena" (In Epiphania Domini, P.L. CXLIV, 510-511). The presence of the angel Gabriel glorifying the sedes sapientia in Lambert's miniature is, therefore, clearly within the medieval tradition for representations of this image. For a discussion of the presence of Gabriel in the Gerona Apocalypse miniature of the Adoration, see: Marcia Carole Cohn Growdon, The Narrative Sequence in the Preface to the Gerona Commentaries of Beatus on the Apocalypse, dis., Stanford, 1976, 39-43. I am grateful to Ms. Shelly Wolfe for bringing this dissertation to my attention.

22The fact that this image appears on the same folio as the miniature of Solomon Enthroned, also indicates that it is a sedes sapientia, since the sedes sapientia is the typological parallel of Solomon Enthroned.

23Wolfenbüttel, MS. Gud. lat. I; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 8865; The Hague, Royal Library MS. 128C4. We have relied upon the miniatures reproduced by Swarzenski, Liber Floridus Colloquium, figs. 3 to 21.

24Winds, lightening, thunder, and earthquakes are mentioned throughout Revelations as the instruments of earthly destruction. Perhaps this diagram follows the "Apocalypse Depictus" in order to serve as a "scientific" explanation of these forces of destruction.

25For a description of the Macrobian five-zone map, see Beazley, Dawn of Modern Geography, II, 573-573.
26 Wormald, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 13.

27 Van Caenegem, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 73-74.

28 Page 82.


31 This list appears on pages 3 and 54.


33 Hugh of Saint Victor explains this as follows: "... they called that superior world 'time' because of the course and movement of the heavenly bodies in it, and the inferior world they called 'temporal' because it is moved in accordance with the movements of the superior," Didascalicon, trans. Jerome Taylor, New York, 1968, 54. The source of the medieval association of the time with heavenly bodies is, of course, Plato's Timaeus; see Plato's Timaeus, trans. Francis M. Cornford, New York, 1959, 29-32.

34 Concerning medieval typology, see: Chydenius, Typological Problem in Dante, Helsingfors, 1958, 11-41; Kolve, Play Called Corpus Christi, 63-65; Eric Auerbach, "Figura," trans. Ralph Manheim, Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, Glouchester, Massachusetts, 1973, 11-76.

35 Quoted from Forsyth, Throne of Wisdom, 25.

36 Pages 3, 26, 36, 44, 46, 47, and 82 (32v)


38 There are several varying recensions of Beatus' text. For this study we follow that printed in Henry A. Sanders, "Transcription of the Latin text of Beato," Beati in Apocalypsin Libri Duodecim, II, Madrid, 1975, 259-903; Book One: 302-359.
39 Ibid., II, 258-301.

40 Concerning the pictorial preface, see: Neuss, Die Apokalypse de Hl. Johannes, in der Altspanischen Bibel-Illustraten, I, Münster, 1931, 112-135; and Growdon, The Narrative Sequence in the Preface to the Gerona Commentaries, 6-10.

41 Sanders, Beati in Apocalypsin, II, 305: "hebdomades haec igitur praesentis seculi signat statum ... universis seculus usque ad consummatiorem futuris ...".

42 Ibid., II, 345: "septem candelabra unam et veram ecclesiam in helodomada mundi istius constituta ...".

43 Ibid., II, 334: "septem steilas ... significant ... sancti, qui a prima origine mundi usque ad mortis consummatiorem ... haec est spirituali ecclesia."

The pictorial preface in the Gerona Apocalypse is the most extensive of any surviving manuscript. We may assume that there were other manuscripts with this more extensive preface, though none have survived. The Turin Apocalypse copies the Gerona Apocalypse, but it abbreviates and alters the pictorial preface. Concerning the copies of the Gerona Apocalypse, see Growdon, The Narrative Sequence in the Preface to the Gerona Commentaries, 16-17, n. 2.

A number of the relationships that we will detect between the Beatus preface and the first section of the Liber Floridus can only be made with the Gerona Apocalypse. Although we will not make detailed speculations concerning the recension of Lambert's Beatus' manuscript, it seems clear that it was related to the Gerona Apocalypse and included a similar pictorial preface.

44 Gerona Apocalypse, folio 9r.

45 Gerona Apocalypse, folio 14r.

46 Sanders, Beati in Apocalypsin, II, 336-338.

47 Five of the surviving manuscripts have Life of Christ scenes, see Neuss, De Apokalypse de Hl. Johannes, I, 125-133.

48 Gerona Apocalypse, folios 15r-18r. These pages are discussed by Growdon, The Narrative Sequence in the Preface to the Gerona Commentaries.
Quoted from Growdon, *The Narrative Sequence in the Preface to the Gerona Commentaries*, 61, nn. 5 and 6.


The precise meaning of these portraits is still being questioned, see, Shelly Wolfe, *Christus Traditor: the Traditions on the Evangelist pages of the Beatus of St. Sever*, M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1972; and Growdon, *The Narrative Sequence in the Preface to the Gerona Commentaries*, 20, n. 29.

*Gerona Apocalypse*, folios 9v and 10r.

Identified as Herod by the accompanying inscription; see: Growdon, *The Narrative Sequence in the Preface to the Gerona Commentaries*, 46–47.


Discussed by Growdon, *ibid.*, 75–91.

This crucifixion image as the Tree of Life is discussed by Growdon, *ibid.*, 96–106.

This complex image is described by Growdon, *ibid.*, 133–156.

For an analysis of these images, see: Growdon, *ibid.*, 156–176.

Herod is mentioned on pages 4, 27, 35, and 43. The consanguinity of Christ, with special attention to the Maries, is found on folios 4 and 32.

Page 3.
CHAPTER TWO

I. Analytic Summary of Section Two, pages 112-131 (47v-56r)

112 (47v) The first article in Section Two is "De Gentibus Vocabulis," Chapter XXV. Lambert traces the descendants of the three sons of Noah, Sem, Cham, and Iapheth, and tells where each settled; for example: "Filii Cham IIIIor: Chus a quo Ethiopes, Mesraim a quo Egyptii, Futh a quo Lybii, Chanann a quo Chananii, Filii Chus VI: Saba a quo Arabes . . .".

The next entry lists the archbishoprics and bishoprics of Europe: "Archiepiscopatus Prouinciarum Europe et nomine ciuitatum episcopatum sicut in Gestis Francorum habetur." This is chapter XXVI.

113* Lambert's table of contents announces that there will be a mappa uel oresta mundi--a map or "delineation" of the world--on this folio, chapter XXVII. The folio has, however, been removed from the Ghent Liber Floridus. While the words mappa and oresta imply that there will be a map, the copies of the manuscript
present instead two circular diagrams illustrating the correspondence of the macrocosm and the microcosm. In the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, these diagrams appear on folio 31r (fig. 58). The macrocosm is illustrated in the diagram at the top of the page. Inside the circle at the center of this diagram a bearded man, personifying mundus maius, is seated with four small circles labeled night, day, month, and year. An inscription on the rim of the circle describes the six days of creation. The semi-circles contain expositions on the six ages of the world. Next to the circle, texts are inscribed that Lambert attributes to Augustine. These texts refer to the Trinity's creation of all things, and the angels' knowledge of all things, before the beginning of time. The microcosm, mundus minor, is the subject of the lower diagram. At the middle of this schema, a figure stands with circles representing the four elements, air, fire, earth, and water. Around him, the ages of man are enumerated in the six semi-circles. The etymological explanation of the word mundus is given in the rim around this circular diagram.
To either side, Lambert quotes Augustine on the nature of the four elements.

114*

The next topic, according to the table of contents, is "De Famosis Ciuitatibus," chapter XXVIII. Delisle quotes the following excerpt of this passage from the copies: "Babylonia antiqua a Nembroth gygante . . . Babylonia altera, id est Menifis, super ripam Nili . . . Bactanim ciuitatem magnam . . . Ninuem ciuitatem . . . Roma in quarta etate mundi . . .".

On the same folio, "De Mundi Provinciis" begins: "India ab Indo fluuiio nomen acceptit . . .".

115-117
(48r-49r)

"De Mundi Provinciis," chapter XXVIII, is continued on page 117 and 118 (48r and 48v) and is completed on page 118 (49r). This passage explains the etymological derivation of the names of parts of the world. Albania, for example, is so called because its people have white (albus) hair.

"Gentes Asia, Europe, et Africe" begins on page 117 (49r) and ends on 118 (49v). This entry is also concerned with etymology, telling
us, for example: "Indi ab Indo. Elamite ab Elam. Assyrii ab Assur . . .".

The following passage, chapter XXX, lists the cities of the world and names their founders: "Roman Romulus condidit . . . Alexandriam Alexander Magnus condidit . . .".

"Marcianus Felix Capella de Gentibus Diuersis et Monstris" comprises Chapter XXXI. This passage discusses the monstrosities that inhabit the various parts of the earth, such as Amazons, Satyrs, and Troglomites in Asia and Africa, Pigmies and Cenocephalii in India, and Camelopardi in Arabia.

The entry inscribed on the lower part of this folio, chapter XXXII, tells the cities of Asia whose names have changed since antiquity. For example, Reblatha is now known as either Antioch or Eplyphonia.

The next passage, entitled "De Insulis," chapter XXXIII, begins by stating that Paradise is an island in the Eastern Ocean. After this, Lambert names the locations of the other islands in the world: "Malacum insula contra
Indiam in Oceano. Chrisoroas in Oceano contra Arabiam sita . . .".

The next entry begins chapter XXXIII, "De Paradisi fluminibus." It is mainly about the Four Rivers of Paradise, Geon, Pison, Tygris, and Euphrates. It explains where each flows:
"Geon fluuiis de paradyso emergens Ethyopiam irrigat, quem Nilum usitato nomine apellant."
The final sentence discusses the Rivers Ior and Dan, which flow from Mount Lybano. This chapter also includes the miniature on the next page.

A representation of Paradise appears on this page, at approximately the center of Section Two (fig. 59). The Tree of Life is surrounded by circular, crenelated walls with two gates in front. Outside the walls of Paradise, there is a stylized depiction of a mountain composed of colored clumps of earth. Rising above the walls are seven towers which may represent ecclesiastical architecture; a cross hovers above the central dome. PARADYSUS is inscribed across the top of the page.
The fanciful arrangement of the architectural motifs, the tree, and the mountain of earth creates a splendid and colorful design. This design typifies the strong compositional effects that Lambert achieves in some of his miniatures. The strong, highly colored forms dominate the page with great confidence, sweeping from side to side and soaring upward from the triangular mass of earth to the pointed towers that fill the sky. The meagre frame fails to restrain the outward thrust of the great, crenelated wall or the angles of the two side towers.

The meaning of this image of Paradise must be understood in the context of medieval typology.\textsuperscript{4} In the literal sense, Paradise was the earthly Garden planed by God for man's delectation, from which we are perpetually banned by Original Sin. The actual, corporeal existence of Paradise was never doubted during the Middle Ages; it was somewhere in the Eastern Ocean, though its precise location was unknown. All the waters of the earth were believed to originate in Paradise. The four rivers that flowed from the Garden branched in every direction and
ultimately irrigated the entire world. The idea of the Garden as a place of perfect happiness led to the development of a second, non-literal understanding of Paradise: the joyful abode of the righteous after death. Allusions to heavenly Paradise are found in both the Old and New Testaments. There were, then, two Paradises existing simultaneously, one literally on earth and the other anagogically in heaven.

Medieval exegesis developed a third, intermediate level of meaning for Paradise, deciding that it was also an allegorical image of the Church. This allegorical meaning appears throughout medieval exegesis and encyclopedic literature. Both the Garden in Genesis and the "hortus conclusus" of the Song of Solomon are interpreted as Old Testament prefigurations of ecclesia. The book devoted to geography in Rabanus Maurus' De Universo includes a passage on Paradise; Rabanus states, quite unequivocally, that "Paradise, that is the garden of delights, is a mystical symbol of the present Church."
The information on the waters of the earth, which began on folio 61v, continues here with chapter XXXV, telling which rivers flow into the East, West, North, and Mediterranean Oceans. Next, Lambert describes the locations of the three continents and the bodies of water that define them.

A poem entitled "De Vluuis et Fontibus et Lacis is found on this folio. This poem briefly reports on the rivers, springs, and lakes of all parts of the earth; it tells us, for example, that a spring called Ciceronis in Italy cures eye disease, while another in Africa is known to make the voice clear.

"De Creaturis Diversis," a chapter discussing the monstrous races of the earth, fills most of the remaining space on this folio. A short passage at its conclusion, quoted from Augustine's City of God, admonishes us to remember that all men are descended from one "protoplast". 8

A lost list of Christ's names in Greek and Latin begins on this page: comprising chapter XXXVII:


"Eucherius de Nominum Interpretationibus," chapter XXXVIII, begins after the Hebrew names for God. We learn, for example, that Gabriel means fortitude of God; Raphael, medicine of God; Melchisedek, righteous king; Maria, star of the sea. The sub-heading "Prophet" appears toward the end of the passage.

The meaning of the Apostles' names are set forth: "Symon: obediens; Petrus: agnoscens . . .".

"De Gradibus et Ministris Ecclesiasticus atque Officiis," chapter XXXVIII, defines the words apostle, prophet, martyr, and various ecclesiastical terms. A final passage on this folio defines precious metals as well as illegitimate and "base-born" children.
130 (55v) Lambert discusses the idols and gods worshipped by different pagans in chapter XL: Bel by the Babylonians, Adrameleth by the Assyrians, and so forth.

An explication of various weights and measures follows in chapters XLI and XLII: "... sixty minas in a talent, three scribula in a dramma...".

131 (56r) The last page in Section Two presents three entries on the sybils. The first, chapter XLIII, tells where each of the ten sybils lived: the first in Persia; the second in Lybia; and so forth. The two other entries are poems, chapter XLIII, attributed to the Cumean sybil, entitled "Carmen Eiusdem de Christo" and "Item Symmachia de Christo."
II. Commentary on Section Two

The predominance of passages related to geography between pages 112 and 131 (47v and 56r) clearly marks this as a second topical section. Lambert writes about the great cities of the earth, who founded them, and how their names have changed in the course of time. He also writes of cities as the basis of what one might call ecclesiastical geography, the system of bishoprics and archbishoprics. In several entries, covering about four pages, he laboriously records the etymological origin of the names of places and groups of people. Two passages are devoted to discussing the fantastic creatures and monstrous races of the earth, cataloguing them according to the places that they inhabit. The subject of rivers and other bodies of water occupies three pages around the central illustration of Paradise.

The miniature of Paradise on page 123 (52r) is a most fitting image for the center of this section devoted to geography; Paradise is both a well-known symbol of the Church and, to the medieval mind, an actual site that exists somewhere on the earth. The miniature of Paradise may, in fact, be part of an allegorical scheme encompassing the entire section. The Rivers of Paradise, which were diffused through the waters of the earth, were symbols of the four Evangelists who carried the Word of God and
salvation through the Church to the four corners of the earth: "allegorically, the four rivers of Paradise are the four Evangelists sent on their mission to all peoples." By arranging the passages about the Four Rivers of Paradise and the waters of the earth around the miniature of Paradise at the center of his geographical section, Lambert has composed a textual structure whose form evokes the concept of the universal Church being carried forth to all parts of the earth.

The major theme of the second book of the Beatus Apocalypse is the same as that of the second section of the Liber Floridus: the presence of the universal Church in all parts of the earth. In this book, Beatus discusses the second and third chapters of Revelations, in which the letters to the seven churches of Asia are dictated to Saint John. The seven churches are said to represent the universal Church pervaded by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. The opening of the prologue to Book Two clearly states this theme:

Ecclesia is a Greek word which, translated into Latin, means 'convocation': calling all unto itself. 'Catholic' means universal . . . or including all. The Catholic Church is certainly not like the heretical sects that are confined to isolated regions; it is extended through the whole world . . . Why would John have written to seven churches, unless they represented a unified, though seven-fold, Church . . . .
Beatus continues the theme of the seven-fold, universal Church throughout his second book. One motif that he uses repeatedly to express this concept is a comparison of the macrocosmic, universal Church with its seven parts to the microcosmic human body that is also made up of seven members—a motif which may relate to the mundus maior/mundus minor diagrams in the Liber Floridus. "They are called seven churches" Beatus explains, "Although it is one diffused through the whole globe ... For just as a human body is one and its members are seven ... so also the body of the Church is one." ¹⁵

Another means that Beatus uses to express this concept is a comparison of the seven-part Church to Noah's Ark, inhabited by the seven souls saved from the Flood to regenerate the earth. ¹⁶ The Ark seemed such an appropriate symbol of the universal Church that Beatus added an excursion at the end of Book Two to elaborate upon the idea. ¹⁷ The importance of Noah and his sons in this book may relate to the first passage in Lambert's second section, a catalogue of where the descendants of Noah's sons settled. ¹⁸

It is significant, in regard to the appearance of Paradise in the second section of the Liber Floridus, that the only reference to Paradise in the book of Revelations is in the part explicated by Beatus' second book. Furthermore, the Tree of Life figures as prominently in the
reference to Paradise in Revelations 2:7 as it does in Lambert's miniature: "To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the Tree of Life which is in the midst of the Paradise of God." In his interpretation of this verse, Beatus explicitly states that Paradise is the prefiguration of the Church.\textsuperscript{19} He also writes that the River of Life in Paradise symbolizes the Word of God and Baptism.\textsuperscript{20}

Thirteen of the surviving copies of the Beatus Apocalypse include a double-folio map of the world in the prologue to Book Two.\textsuperscript{21} Of these thirteen maps, that in the Saint-Sever Apocalypse, dated to the mid-eleventh century, is the most complete and probably closest to the original version (fig. 60).\textsuperscript{22} We will find that a number of the entires in the second section of the Liber Floridus can be directly compared to the pictorial details and inscriptions on this map.

The most prominent feature of these maps is an enlarged detail of Paradise that appears at the top; a feature that offers a very suggestive parallel to the central image of Lambert's second section. Although most versions show Adam and Eve with the Tree of Life and the serpent inside Paradise, two copies show just the four rivers flowing out from the center of Paradise.\textsuperscript{23} Rivers and other bodies of water appear as prominently in the Beatus maps as they do in Section Two of the Liber Floridus.
Inscriptions not only name the rivers but identify their sources and explain how they divide the lands. The more important rivers are discussed in some detail, as they were in Lambert's text. The Nile, we are told, rises from the sands of the desert, flows into a lake, then runs through Ethiopia into the Eastern Ocean.

The Beatus map gives special attention to the islands of the world, just as Lambert did near the center of his second section. Most of the Mediterranean Ocean is shown filled with islands, each of which is carefully labeled. Islands also occupy a great portion of the other seas of the earth.

The mountains and church building depicted on the Beatus map also finds reflections in Lambert's second edition. Mountain ranges and individual peaks are marked by Beatus. In most copies of the map, the mountains look like piles of earth composed of lumps; they clearly resemble the mountain that Lambert placed in front of his Paradise. The Saint-Sever Paradise is also shown surrounded by mountains. Little buildings are scattered across the Beatus map. Some of these represent towns, but others are obviously churches with crosses above them. This interest in "ecclesiastical geography" may be reflected in the passages on page 112 (45v) of the Liber Floridus.
A reading of the numerous legends inscribed on the Beatus maps suggests that Lambert's fascination with etymologies and fantastic creatures, as well as his less pronounced interest in precious metals, may have developed from his acquaintance with these mappamundi. The Beatus legends explain, for example, that Albania is named for the whiteness of its peoples' hair and that Saba is named for the son of Chus. The monstrous races and creatures of India, Ethiopia, and other places are named. On two of the maps, an illustration of a skiapod decorates the antipodes. The legends also make note of the places where precious metals and jewels are to be found. Beatus' mappamundus thus seems to have had a great influence upon the image of the world represented in Lambert's second section.

Further influence was apparently derived from the "Prologus Ecclesia et Synagoga" that precedes Book Two of the Apocalypse commentary. A large portion of this prologue is devoted to a discussion of the meanings of names: Christ's names in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; the significance of the Angels', Prophets', and Apostles' names; and the meaning of ecclesiastic terms. The correspondence to the subjects on pages 126-129 (53v-55r) of the Liber Floridus is obvious.

In summary, the main subject of the second section of the Liber Floridus, geography evoking an image of the
universality of the Church, corresponds to that of the second book of the Beatus Apocalypse. Paradise, the subject of Lambert's focal miniature, also appears both as a figure of the Church in Beatus' commentary and as a major pictorial motif on his mappamundus. In addition, there are many specific parallels in the two works, too numerous to be a mere coincidence. It seems clear that Lambert has constructed his second section as an analogue to Beatus' second book with its mappamundus.
FOOTNOTES


6. Ibid., 101-103.


106

14 Ibid., II, 360: "Ecclesia Graecum est, quod in Latinum vertitur convocatio, propter quod omnes ad se vocet. catholica, id est universalis, aitut to ea taon, id est secundum totum. non enim sicut conventicula hereticorum in aliqibus regionum partibus coartatur, sed per totum terrarum orbem dilata diffunditur . . . cur autem, ecclesia cum una sit, a Johanne septem scribuntur, nisi una catholica septiformi plena spiritu designetur?"

15 Ibid., II, 514: ". . . septem dicantur ecclesiae, cum una sit in universo orbe diffuso . . . sicut enim corpus unum est, et septem sunt membra . . . ita et unum est corpus ecclesiae . . . "

16 Ibid., II, 414: "arca Noae tipus ecclesiae fuit."

17 Ibid., II, 513-521.

18 Page 112 (47v).

19 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 428: "Paradisus enim ecclesia figura est."

20 Ibid., II, 431: "ex utraque parte fluminis, vel duo duo testamenta legis et evangelii intellege, vel undam baptismi."


23 The Osma map, which is illustrated in Neuss, Die Apokalypse de Hl. Johannes, II, fig. 71, and the "Paris II" map, illustrated in Joachim G. Leithauser, Mappae Mundi, Berlin, 1958, 69. These two maps are closely related to the Saint-Sever map; the three form one of the three branches of maps as categorized by the historian of maps, Konrad Miller, Mappamundi, Die Altesten Weltkarten, I, I, Stuttgart, 1895, 24-27.

24 Compare to the passage on page 124 of the Liber Floridus.
25 Compare to the passage on folio 61v of the Liber Floridus. The legends are illegible in the photographs of most of the maps. Miller transcribes them in his volume on Beatus' maps: Mappaemundi, I, i, 30-61.

26 Folio 122 (51v)

27 Compare to the statements on pages 115 (48r) and 112 (47v) of the Liber Floridus.

28 Again, the Osma and "Paris ii" maps (see above, n. 24).

29 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 361-364.

30 Ibid., II, 364-367.

31 Ibid., II, 370-371.

32 Ibid., II, 371-372.

33 Ibid., II, 373-384.
CHAPTER THREE

I. Analytical Summary of Section Three, pages 132-153

132 (56v) Section Three opens with chapter XLV and a charming illustration of "Leo rex bestiarum" and "Porcus," a big, grinning lion with his little friend, the porcupine (fig. 61).¹ The inscriptions around Leo inform us that the lion is afraid of both fire and the sound of wheels; that he sleeps with his eyes open; that unless wounded, he is not given to viciousness toward humans; and that he allows the captives he meets to return to their homelands. Every year, we read, he is stricken with a fever, but playing with porcupines and kittens drives the fever away. Newly-born lion cubs sleep for three days and three nights and then are awakened by their father's roar. A lion carefully covers his tracks with his tail, presumably using it like a broom, to prevent hunters from finding him. Another inscription, between the lion's legs, compares the lion's capability of sleeping with his eyes
open in order to awaken whenever he deems necessary to Christ's ability to render his soul unto the grave and then resurrect it again.

The first textual passage in this section begins on page 133 (67r) facing the miniature of the lion. Lambert calls this passage "Isidorus Spalensis Episcopus de Naturis Bestiarum." The first item in this bestiary is not, however, from Isidore. It is about lions and presents the standard, moralizing information about lions found in medieval bestiaries and in Rabanus Maurus' De Universo.² The lion covering his tracks with his tail symbolizes the "lion of the tribe of Judah" covering all traces of his divinity from the Devil. The lion cubs awakened on the third day by their father symbolize Christ resurrected by God the father after three days of death. When the lion is hungry, he draws a circle on the earth with his tail and then pulls out from inside it whatever he wants to eat; this signifies Christ striking the abyss and pulling out those whom he wishes to save. Lions kill
people who attack them but allow pilgrims to return home; Christ destroys the proud but lets poor pilgrims reenter Paradise.

The following items in the "Isidore" bestiary are indeed condensed versions of the descriptions of animals in Isidore's Etymologiae. They include tigers, panthers, unicorns, wolves, and ants. They are not moralized.3

On this attached piece of parchment, Lambert records excerpts from Physiologus, "De Leone Ceterisque Bestiis." These excerpts are all moralized.4 The lion is again first on the list. Lambert repeats the information about lions covering their tracks and the sacred significance of this act. He also tells us that our knowledge that lions sleep with their eyes open should remind us of this verse from Canticles: "I sleep but my heart watches,"5 which also describes the way in which Christ "slept" upon the cross. Panthers and unicorns also symbolize Christ, though the wild ass is a figure of Satan. The beaver is a model for Christian behavior, hyenas represent hypocrites, and the hydra is another symbol of Christ
since it slays the crocodile who is a symbol of the Devil.

"Physiologus on Birds," chapter XLVI, begins with a miniature of a griffin holding a man in its beak, which illustrates the first item in this passage (fig. 62). The griffin, we learn, is a winged quadruped with the body of a lion and the beak, wings, and claws of an eagle. He is very cruel and tears people into pieces. After this, Lambert briefly describes the eagle, the phoenix, and other birds.

"De Dracone et Serpentibus et Columbris," chapter XLVII, begins with an illustration of a dragon, a creature who is born in Ethiopia and lives in the Nile (fig. 63). He is the largest animal on the earth. The next serpent, the balisk, is called the king of serpents; he kills with his foul odor. Other serpents follow, including vipers, aspes, salamanders, and scorpions.

Fish and other aquatic animals are the subject of the next chapter. This text begins with the crocodile, a twenty-cubit long quadruped
that also lives in the Nile. He has tremendous teeth and claws and a human face. His mouth differs from a human mouth, though: the upper rather than the lower jaw moves. Crocodiles eat dolphins but the dolphins' sharp fins cause terminal indigestion. The accompanying depiction of a crocodile with a humanoid face is an apt illustration of this passage (fig. 64) Amphibians, creatures that are born in the water but walk on the dry land, are discussed next, beginning with the hippopotamus.

With the Amphibians, on pages 143 and 144 (62r and 62v), Lambert presents large miniatures of the Devil riding Behemoth (fig. 65) and Antichrist on the Leviathan (fig. 24), chapters XLIII and L. These creatures are not standard bestiary subjects. A precedent for Lambert's discussion of them in conjunction with the other animals in his bestiary can be found in the book of Job, which is, in fact, the ultimate source for these two beasts. In Job 38:36-39:30, the Lord boasts of his mastery over all the animals of the earth: "... Who makes provision for the raven . . . Who gave
the wild donkey his freedom . . .". At the culmination of a long account of all the earth's creatures whom He controls, the Lord describes the Behemoth and the Leviathan.\textsuperscript{7}

Lambert's reliance upon Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job is obvious in the inscriptions associated with the miniatures; the greatest part of these inscriptions is derived from the Moralia rather than the text of Job.\textsuperscript{8}

The Devil is a rather comical figure with a basically human form (fig. 65). He has, however, a green face, bears' paws for feet, a tail, pointed ears, and horns. His teeth are clenched and his great, clawed hands grasp Behemoth's reins. The blue-skinned Behemoth bears a certain resemblance to an ox.\textsuperscript{9}

Lambert's inscription explains that Behemoth is a monster (belua),\textsuperscript{10} an animal,\textsuperscript{11} and a quadruped.\textsuperscript{12} His tongue hangs out,\textsuperscript{13} he has rams' horns,\textsuperscript{14} and crossed testicles.\textsuperscript{15} His tail is long, dragon-like,\textsuperscript{16} and knotted.\textsuperscript{17} He has teeth that wound\textsuperscript{18} and he sleeps in secret, swampy places.\textsuperscript{19} Behemoth was created at the beginning of time;\textsuperscript{20} he is Satan, the fallen
angel, and Antichrist, the son of Perdition who will come at the end of time.

The miniature on the verso side of this folio, "Antichristus sedens super Leviathan Serpentem Diabolum Signantem, Bestiam Cruudelem in Fine," shows a physically attractive man, the Anti-christ, seated upon the Leviathan, a four-footed sea monster who breathes red fire (fig. 24). Antichrist holds a sword in his right hand and blesses with his left. He wears bright red stockings, a blue robe, and tan cloak. The inscription inside the circle drawn by the Leviathan's tail tells us that Antichrist will be born in Corozaim of the tribe of Dan, raised in Bethsaida, and will reign in Caphar-naum. He will enter Jerusalem and sit in the temple of God as if he were God. After a measure of time has elapsed, the Lord will kill him by the spirit of his mouth. Then Judea, "the 144,000 from the tribes of the sons of Israel," will be converted to the Lord.

Another text, under the figures, tells of the Leviathan. The Leviathan is a sea-serpent, rather like a whale, with teeth like Behemoth
and a scaly body. He has a very long tongue and a tail like a snake. His head shakes as he sneezes blasts of smoke from his nostrils. The smoke rises from his nostrils and hurts his eyes. Leviathan is the Devil, Behemoth, and the Antichrist.

More sea creatures follow in chapter LI: sea horses; whales; and dolphins that sing concerts together. Ordinary fishes and shell fish are also included.

The "Wonders of Britain," Chapter LII, is next. These wonders include strange waters and springs that are saline, medicinal, and otherwise wonderous; miraculous saints lives; and the most popular matter of Braint, tales of King Arthur.

For chapter LVIII, Celestial Jerusalem is illustrated on page 149 (65r) (fig. 66). The image of Celestial Jerusalem follows the elliptical form of the miniature of Paradise in Section Two. It is also striking in design, but somewhat more restrained in color. Rather than the bright, primary colors of Paradise, Celestial Jerusalem
appears in subdued shades of blue and green. The earth does not heave upward from beneath it and its towers are not so aggressively forcing their way toward the top of the miniature. The greater amount of space around the towers has doubtless been provided for inscriptions.

Lambert's depiction of Celestial Jerusalem follows the medieval convention for representing cities: combining two views, a plan and an elevation. There are twelve towers, nine of which appear to be rising over the top half of the circular walls and three over the bottom half. The nine towers on the upper part of the structure have crosses. The central tower is the largest; over it a larger cross appears with "Ihesus Cristus" written above. Around each of the twelve towers, Lambert wrote the name of a precious stone and an apostle:

"Agates, Mathias; Ametéstus, Bartolomeus; Carbunculus, Thomas; Sardius, Jacobus frater Domini; Topazion, Johannes Evangelista et Apostolus; Smaragdus, Jacobus Alfei; Saphirus, Philippus; Iaspis, Simon; Ligurius, Iudas;
Onichinus, Matheus; Petrus, Christolitus; Adreas, berillus."

Beneath the figure of Heavenly Jerusalem, a short text begins "Decreuit rex Solomon edificare domum Domini et palatinum sibi ...". Part of this text, summarizing II Chronicles 2:16-17, tells us that Solomon hired 70,000 workmen to carry loads, 80,000 to work in the quarry, and 3,600 prefects, and that he sent workers to Lebanon to harvest timber. By adding this text to the miniature of Heavenly Jerusalem, Lambert has made clear his intention that this image should be interpreted typologically. Celestial Jerusalem is the heavenly counterpart of the temple of Solomon and the earthly city of the Jews, as well as their New Testament fulfillment, the Church. The word "Jerusalem" in the Bible was consistently interpreted by the Church Fathers as symbolic of the spiritual City of God brought into existence by the Incarnation of Christ. This spiritual City exists simultaneously as the earthly Church, peregrinating through time, and as the eternal, Celestial Jerusalem. Saint Augustine's City of God is, of course,
the primary exponent of this doctrine in the Middle Ages. Since Celestial Jerusalem is the anagogical correspondent of the Church, and since the Temple of Solomon is its Old Testament prefiguration, the content of page 149 (65r) clearly represents a third image in the Liber Floridus that can be allegorically interpreted as a figure of the Church.

Lambert sewed an extra leaf of parchment onto the edge of page 149 (65). On the recto side of this leaf he continues writing about Solomon's temple: the measurement of the building, its furnishings, and its dedication. The verso side begins the second major topic in this section, a catalogue of precious and semi-precious stones. The first passage discusses the powers of each of the twelve precious stones to perform such feats as driving away phantasms, restoring memory, making soldiers brave, and replacing avarice with charity and stupidity with wisdom. The three lines of the "Carmen de XII Lapidis" that follow speak of the "Ciues celestis."
Along the left margin of this page, Lambert listed the names of the twelve precious stones. This begins chapter LIII. The main text on this page is a poem called "De Lapidibus." This poem describes each of the previous stones in two lines, telling its appearance and its allegorical significance. Each of the stones symbolizes a virtue, the foundation of Heavenly Jerusalem. Sapphires, for example, represent the perfect hope of simple hearts; emeralds, sound faith which never shrinks from pious works; and topaz, the contemplative spirit.

"Isidorus Spalensis Episcopus de Lapidibus" is the first entry on this folio, describing the physical properties of the twelve stones. The next entry describes non-precious and semi-precious stones, such as onyx, coral, and ligurius, the stone found in the urine of lynxes.

Some miscellaneous information on stones, such as the etytes, which is found in eagles' nests, is inscribed at the top of page 152, chapter LV. After this, Lambert classifies stones as "margaritis albis," "nigris," "varies," and
"chrystallis," describing various stones according to those categories. The final passage on page 153 (67r) is an explanation of Saint Augustine's theory of why the number eight signifies consummate perfection and eternity.
II. Commentary on Section Three

The third section of the Liber Floridus, pages 132-153 (56v-67r), is comprised of a bestiary and a lapidary linked by a vision of Celestial Jerusalem (fig. 66). Lambert derived the material for this section from earlier encyclopedic works and natural histories, such as those of Pliny, Physiologus, and Isidore.\textsuperscript{34} He is interested in both the natural "facts" concerning the beasts and stones and their allegorical meanings. Bestiaries and lapidaries are standard parts of medieval and late antique encyclopedias; to appreciate why Lambert chose to record them in his third section, in conjunction with each other and the miniature of Celestial Jerusalem, let us consider the content of the third book of the Beatus Apocalypse.

The third book of the Beatus Apocalypse explicates Revelations 4 and 5.\textsuperscript{35} Saint John sees a door open in heaven. A throne appears which looks like diamonds and rubies. There is a rainbow as bright as an emerald around the throne and a sea of glass like crystal in front of it. Twenty-four enthroned elders circle the throne. Four creatures are also around the throne: the first like a lion; the second like an ox; the third like a man; and the fourth like an eagle. The elders and creatures constantly worship the One who sits on the throne and they rejoice when the "Lion from the tribe of Judah," the
"Lamb with the marks of slaughter," is deemed worthy to open the book with seven seals. John then hears all the creatures in the heavens, on the earth, under the earth, and in the sea praise the Lord.

Beatus interprets the vision of the throne with the elders and creatures around it as a symbol of the Heavenly Church: It shows the creatures and elders are the Church when they say 'you have redeemed us with your blood'; it shows what heaven they are in when they say 'you made us a kingdom and prophets for our God and we will reign above the earth'. It is important to note that this vision is, according to Beatus' commentary, John's first sight of the Heavenly City; the placement of Lambert's miniature of Celestial Jerusalem in the third section of the Liber Floridus thus corresponds to John's first vision of the Celestial Church in the third book of the Beatus Apocalypse.

The preface to Beatus' third book sets forth the theme of the Heavenly Church and its relationship to the Church on earth. Beatus calls the door that John sees opening in heaven Christ Incarnate, who is the "entrance," and he equates heaven with the Church. Beatus declares that it is fitting for the Church to be called "Heavenly" since it is the dwelling-place of God. Sometimes, he continues, the Church is called both heavenly and earthly:
as we say that man is both body and soul, so we say both "heavenly Church" and "earthly Church." 39

A description of the unity of the celestial and earthly Church also appears in the text of Beatus' commentary. Discussing the twenty-four elders, Beatus says that there are twenty-four hours in a day and that twelve of these hours are dark, signifying the Old Testament, and twelve are light, signifying the New Testament. The twelve hours of daylight are the twelve Apostles, who are represented in the ruling body of the Church; in this ruling body all Christians are united. Thus the Celestial Jerusalem descends from God to Christ, from Christ to the Apostles, and from the Apostles through the hierarchy of the Church to the earth, only to reascend to heaven through a reversal of the same process. 40

The twelve Apostles, then, figure in Beatus' description of the Heavenly Church just as they do in Lambert's miniature. Precious and semi-precious stones--diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and crystal--are also part of the vision. Beatus, like Lambert, expounds upon the spiritual meanings of the stones. Diamonds, for example, are as brilliant as lightening and represent the human flesh of Christ that is not stained by the touch of sin, divine virtue glowing from its human habitation and becoming brighter by the strength of its constant purity. 41
Rubies are red stones that are less shiny than diamonds; as you would recognize chastity of pure flesh from modesty, and from humility, the Virgin. Furthermore, the two means by which God destroys the earth. The chrysolite sea represents baptism and penance.

The lapidary in the third section of the Liber Floridus thus corresponds to the discussion of stones in Beatus' third book. Lambert's bestiary also reflects the content of this part of the Apocalypse commentary. Beatus is most interested in the symbolic meanings of the four beasts that surround the throne, explaining that they signify not only the four Evangelists but various aspects of the Church and Christ. Mark, the lion, is Christian fortitude; Luke, the ox, is the fortitude of the Church to endure persecution; Matthew, the man, is Christian humility; John, the eagle, is otherworldliness. Symbolizing Christ, Matthew, the man, is his human birth; Luke, the ox, is his sacrifice; Mark, the lion, is his vigilance; and John, the eagle, his resurrection. The final line from Revelations 5 that Beatus quotes speaks of all creatures, those in the air, on land, underground, and in the sea, praising God. These categories of animals correspond to the types of beasts in Lambert's bestiary: birds; animals; serpents; sea creatures.
To conclude, then, there is clearly an alignment between the third book of the *Beatus Apocalypse* and Section Three of the *Liber Floridus*. This relationship is marked by the appearance of Lambert's miniature of Celestial Jerusalem in conjunction with Beatus' discussion of John's first vision of the Heavenly City. It is also apparent in the presence of Lambert's lapidary and bestiary in concurrence with *Beatus' excursus* on the allegorical meanings of the stones and beasts.
FOOTNOTES

1Swarzenski points out the influence of this miniature upon Villard de Honnecourt: "Comments on the Figural Illustrations," Liber Floridus Colloquium, ed., Albert Derolez, Ghent, 1973, 22-23; he also reproduces this miniature in Monuments of Romanesque Art, Chicago, 1953, fig. 260.

2P.L. CXI, 217-257.

3P.L. LXXXII, 425-471. Isidore is, characteristically, not interested in the allegorical meanings of the matters he discusses in his encyclopedia.

4Bestiaries are especially interested in the beasts' allegorical significances, see: Florence McCulloch, Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1962.

5Canticles, 5:2.

6Swarzenski reproduces this miniature in Monuments of Romanesque Art, fig. 263.


8Jessie Poesch, author of an iconographic study of these two miniatures (Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 1970, 41-51), does not seem to have recognized the extent of Lambert's reliance upon Gregory's Moralia. Poesch says that the inscriptions under the miniatures are largely "summaries" of the Biblical text of Job (43). He believes that the Moralia is "the most probable source" for only the final sentences in the two inscriptions (45). Poesch sees only two minor correspondences between Lambert's and Gregory's descriptions of the Beasts--Leviathan's serpent-like tail (46) and Behemoth's lambs' horns (47). As the citations below (nn. 10-22, 25-27, and 30) indicate, Lambert's reliance upon Gregory was extensive. Instead of citing these correspondences, Poesch quotes a number of passages from Gregory's text that do not appear in Lambert's text (45-47).

Mayo has also failed to recognize that the inscriptions are extracts from the Moralia; she suggests that one
should look "elsewhere in the Liber Floridus" for evidence that Lambert was familiar with Gregory's text ("Crusaders Under the Palm," \textit{Dumbarton Oaks Papers}, XXVII, 1973, 32, n. 7).

\footnote{Job 40:15.}

\footnote{This is derived from Gregory's Moralia; see Saint Gregory the Great, \textit{Moralia on the Book of Job}, Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, trans. James Bliss, Oxford, 1844-1850, III, 584.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 552.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 584.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 536.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 610.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 533-534, 538-539.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 530-531.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 536-537.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 536.}

\footnote{Job, 41:13.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 552.}

\footnote{Cf.: Gregory, \textit{Moralia}, III, 585.}

\footnote{Job, 41:13.}

\footnote{Mayo suggests that Poesch misquoted Lambert when he says that the inscription states that Antichrist was born in Corazim: "Whereas Poesch states that Lambert places the birth of Antichrist in Corazim, rather than in Babylon (op. cit., 45, note 17), he quite clearly writes that Antichrist in Babylon \textit{in civitate Bethsaida et Corazim n a s c e t u r} (emphasis mine)." (\textit{Dumbarton Oaks Papers}, 1973, 45, n. 51). Lambert indeed states the facts of Antichrist's life according to Mayo's citation in another passage in the Liber Floridus ("Epistola Methodii de Antichristo," page 240 (108v)); however, in the inscription below the Antichrist on Behemoth—the text which Poesch paraphrases—Lambert does say that}
Antichrist was born in Corazim and raised in Bethsaida. It would appear, then, that Mayo rather than Poesch has confused the text.

24 Poesch cites Hippolytus' Christ and Antichrist as Lambert's source for this statement (Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 1970, 45); it also appears, however, in the Moralia (Gregory, Morals, III, 531-532).


26 Cf.: Ibid., III, 584.

27 Cf.: Ibid., III, 572-573.

28 Job, 41:7-9.

29 Cf.: Gregory, Morals, III, 608.

30 Cf.: Ibid., III, 612.


32 Chydenius, Typological Problem in Dante, 58-67.

33 Ibid., 58-67.


36 Ibid., II, 588: "Ostendit animalia et seniores ecclesiam esse, dum dicunt 'redemisti nos in sanguine tuo'; ostendit in quo caelo sint ista animalia et seniores, dum dicit 'fecisti nos Deo nostro regum et sacerdotes et regnabimus super terram'."

37 Ibid., II, 522: "ostium apertum Christum dicit natum et passum, qui est ianua. caelum ecclesiam dicit . . . ."


40. *Ibid.*, II, 529-530: "... dies viginti quattuor horarum in die et nocte spatiiis terminatur, et unus dies nuncupatur, ita lex ante adventum solum in patriarchis et prophetis fulgebatur; in ceteris vero nox erat. Novum vero testamentum, quod Christus in carne ostendit, eius manifesto lux et dies est appellata . . . horas diei duodecim apostolos elegit . . . et in hos duodecim apostolos omne corpus episcoporum solidavit. et in omne corpore episcoporum coniunxit omnem populum Christianum . . . Sic invenimus in descriptione civitatis Ierusalem de caelo descendentis . . . de Deo in homine Christo, de Christo in apostolis, de apostolis in episcopos . . . in ceteros popolos. per hos grados civitas Ierusalem descendit ad terram; per ipsos cotidie ascendit ad caelos."


42. *Ibid.*, II, 526: "sardonix autem lapis est rubicundus, sed quodam obscuritate sublucens, ut intellegas integritatem intercuretae carnis ex verecunda et humili adsumptam virginitem recognoscas."

43. *Ibid.*, II, 526: "iaspis color aquae est, sardis ignis . . . diluvio per aquam, aliud consummabitur per ignem."


46. *Ibid.*, II, 540: "vitulo . . . haec est enim fortitudo ecclesia victimari".
Ibid., II, 540: "humilitatem dixit ecclesiae".

Ibid., II, 541: ". . . in aquila nihil de terrena nominavit".

Ibid., II, 543-544: "leo vero apertis oculis dormire perhibetur, quia in ipsa morte in qua ex humanitate redemptor noster dormire potuit, ex divinitate sua inmortalis permamento vigilavit. ipse etiam post resurrectionem suam ascendens ad caelos in superioribus elevatur ut aquila. totum ergo simul nobis est, et nascendo homo, et moriendo vitulus, et resurgendo leo, et ad caelos ascendendo aquila factus est."

Ibid., II, 589.
CHAPTER FOUR

I. Analytical Summary of Section Four, pages 154-188 (67v-84v)

154 (67v) Chapter LVI, a text entitled "De Nativitate Christi" begins Section Four. Most of the passage is a narration of the infancy of Christ. Christ's baptism and temptation and the raising of Lazarus are then briefly mentioned. The text culminates in a fuller account of Christ's washing the Apostles' feet, and a reference to Mary Magdalene's anointing the Lord's head and feet with oil.

155 (68r) A four-column list of the kings and dukes of Britain fills most of page 155 (68r), beginning chapter LVII.¹ The list includes Pictish kings, Roman emperors, British kings, Saxons, and Danes. William II and Henry are the last two kings mentioned.

156-165 (68v-73r) Chapter LVII continues with "Incipit Historia Anglorum a Beato Beda Venerabili Presbitero Composita." According to Renee Derolez's study, this is actually a "pruned and reshaped"
version of the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius.\textsuperscript{2} This history begins with the arrival of the Sythians in the British Isles and the period of Roman domination. It makes note of the mission of Saint Germanius among the Britons and the later conversions and baptisms by Saint Augustine and Saint Patrick. King Arthur appears in the history with an asterisk and note (RETRO), that directs our attention back to the "Wonders of Britain" in Section Three for the complete story of Arthur's twelve battles against the Saxons.\textsuperscript{3}

"Chronica Bede de regibus Anglorum," which is actually derived from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,\textsuperscript{4} comprises a series of short paragraphs, each beginning "Anno Domini . . .". Lambert mainly selected events that concerned popes, the mission to the Anglo Saxons, and the English kings for his Chronicle.\textsuperscript{5} The text ends with an account of the marriages of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, first to King Aehelwulf of England, and later to Baldwin Iron Arm of Flanders. These marriages are significant, as they extend the Frankish line of
descent into the ruling houses of England and Flanders.

On a narrow piece of parchment glued to folio 86, Lambert completes the history of Britain in chapter LVII, ending with Henry I, whose brother Robert participated in the first crusade. Toward the end of this passage, in reference to William the Conqueror, Lambert alludes to his forthcoming genealogy of the counts of Normandy.

170 (75v) For chapter LVIII Lambert records a passage from Bede on hebdomada, defining seven kinds of temporal units of seven, such as the seven days of Creation, the week, and the seven Ages of the World. After this, in chapter LIX, Lambert lists seven sages and their aphorisms, for example: "Plymon Spartanus: Who is rich? He who desires nothing. Who is poor? He who is avaricious." 6

171 (76r) Chapter LX, the genealogy of the Counts of Normandy, tells the history of this house from its first count, Robert, to its most recent, Henry I. Lambert shows particular interest in the three sons of William the Conqueror and
Matilda, daughter of Count Baldwin of Flanders; King William II; Henry I; and Robert, Count of Normandy. He is careful to note that Robert participated in the first crusade: "Rodberto autem, urbe Iherusalem capta . . .". There is a list in the margin of the page telling the descent of the Norman Counts from the Goths: "Reges Gothorum: Gunderi[ ] Transimu[ ] Atanar[ ] . . . Willel[ ] Willel[ ] Rober[ ] Henr[ ]."

On this page, at the center of Section Four and as part of chapter LX, we find a miniature of the Palm Tree on Mount Zion (fig. 34), which Lambert has labeled "Ecclesia." The Palm, grows on a hill labeled "Mons Syon, Terra Iuda." It proudly spreads its inflexible branches the full width of the page, creating a semi-circular form that echoes the shape of Mount Zion below. The two curved forms are joined by the rough, columnar trunk that terminates in a circular shape at the base of the branches. No part of the page is left unfilled; inscriptions appear to the sides and above the tree and even between its branches.
At the top of the page, Lambert wrote an abbreviated version of Ecclesiasticus 24:13-17 "Like a cedar in Lebanon, a cypress on Mount Zion, a plam on Cades, a rose in Jerico, an olive in the field, a plane tree by the water, a terebinth tree, and a vine giving forth sweet odors."7 He repeats an expanded version of two parts of this inscription in a semi-circular band around the branches of the tree: "Like a Palm I am exalted on Cades and like a cypress on Mount Zion."8 These verses from Ecclesiasticus comprise part of Wisdom's discourse upon her glory; the trees were understood in the Middle Ages to signify allegorically the triumph of the Church.9 Among the trees of Wisdom, Lambert has selected the Palm to visually represent the Church.10 The fact that he has located the Palm on Mount Zion, Terra Iuda, rather than on Cades, clearly relates to the recent reestablishment of the Church in Jerusalem.

In his inscription from Ecclesiasticus at the top of the page, Lambert omits several trees that appear in the Biblical text: cinnamon and balsam; myrrah; and gabanum, onycha, and
pectate. According to Rabanus Maurus' interpretation of this text, these particular trees symbolize such passive attributes as poverty of spirit, temperance, and spiritual healing.11

The trees that Lambert did list represent more active pursuits—pursuits more useful for crusading—such as fighting heresy, spreading the faith, and suffering persecution and martyrdom.12

A list of twenty-two virtues appears between the branches of the Palm.13 The virtues are thus shown gathered into the fold of the Church. The names of the vices are written outside the tree, on the other side of the band inscribed with the text from Ecclesiasticus.14 An opposition or psychomachia between the virtues and the vices is implied by the fact that they are paired like combatants.15

There are two more inscriptions on the page, one to each side of the Palm's trunk. These inscriptions may relate to the "privileged people" among whom Wisdom, or Ecclesia, has "taken root" according to the verse in Ecclesiasticus that precedes the list of trees

Lambert's Arbor Palmorum thus embodies the concept of Ecclesia triumphant on Mount Zion in Jerusalem. Ecclesia gathers the virtues unto herself and excludes the vices. The contemporary Christian triumph in Jerusalem is proclaimed in the two inscriptions beside the tree with lists of the Elect who rule in the Holy City. Penelope Mayo has noticed a similarity between Lambert's pictorial image of the Palm and Gregory the Great's allegorical explanation of palm trees in his Moralia.18 Gregory writes
that on the palm, like the Church, the part close to the earth is narrow and rough and difficult to scale. Above, however, it is wide and beautiful and bears fruit. Mayo concludes that the image as a whole represents the Church of Jerusalem reconquered and that the virtues associated with the Palm were intended to provide a "focal point for the crusaders underneath the tree."\(^\text{19}\)

Chapter LXI, which contains excerpts from the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, begins here with a condensed version of the fourth book of the Dialogues.\(^\text{20}\) The opening paragraph appears to be Lambert's own work, telling us that the home of the elect is the Eternal Kingdom and that God gives saints and prophets special powers to work various kinds of miracles. After this, Lambert first paraphrases the opening chapter of Book Four of the Dialogues and then compiles excerpts from the rest of the book. In this, we learn that Faith, the belief in things unseen, distinguishes the righteous from the unfaithful. The souls of the righteous are received in Heaven while the damned are eternally tormented in Hell.
Lambert next records an abbreviated version of Books One through Three of the Dialogues, "Miracula santorum patrum." These books tell miraculous stories of the saintly popes, the Elect. We read, for example, of the blessed abbot Honorius who, while at a party when he was a boy, would not partake in the eating of meat. A servant, on going to a well, miraculously found a fish for Honorius to eat. When he grew up, Honorius was the abbot of two hundred monks. By making the sign of the cross, he fixed on a mountain a huge boulder that was threatening destruction. All of Chapter Two of the Dialogues is devoted to the miracles of Saint Benedict. The first miracle that Benedict performed took place when he was yet a boy. He made whole a broken bowl for which his nurse wept.

Gregory's Moralia is the source of the first three paragraphs on this page, comprising chapter LXII. The first paragraph summarizes the eighty-eighth chapter of Book Thirty One of the Moralia, which describes the proliferation of vice: "from vain glory proceed disobedience, boasting, hypocrisy, contentiousness,
obstinance, discord, and taking novelties for granted." The next paragraph juxtaposes each of the vices with the virtue through which it may be overcome: ". . . pride through humility, gluttony through abstinence . . . ". The third paragraph describes the four cardinal virtues.

The fourth paragraph, chapter LXIII, tells of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman army of Titus. Lambert claims that all the surviving male Jews were castrated and from that time, therefore, the Jews were no longer descended from Abraham.23

The vision of a paterfamilias of Northumbria is recounted at some length in chapter LXIII.24 The righteous paterfamilias died one night but was restored to life the next morning. He then gave all that he possessed to the poor and accepted tonsure at a monastery, where he lived in penance for the rest of his life. He said that he had been led by a guiding spirit on a tour of Heaven and Hell during his brief experience of death. His guide, a shining light, brought him to an immense valley. On one side of the valley was freezing cold and
the other side was burning hot. It was filled with wretched souls who could stand neither the heat nor the cold and thus continually threw themselves from one side to the other. _Paterfamilias_ thought that this must be Hell, but Guiding Light read his thoughts and said that it was not. They then proceeded farther into the valley, into great darkness. Here _Paterfamilias_ saw balls of fire filled with souls that rose up from an abyss and then fell back again. Suddenly, behind him, he heard a dreadful sound of miserable souls wailing and he turned to see more wretched souls being dragged along by laughing demons. Guiding Light then saved _Paterfamilias_ from demons who wanted to grab him with their forceps. They then departed from Hell, over an immense wall.

On the other side of the wall, they entered a broad meadow that was splendid, fragrant, filled with flowers and brilliantly lighted. In this meadow, he saw innumerable men dressed in white robes, rejoicing together. He thought that this must be Heaven, but Guiding Light, again having read his thoughts, explained that it was not. They then proceeded father across
the field until Paterfamilias perceived an even more beautiful light and sweeter fragrance and the sound of wonderful voices singing. At this point, however, Guiding Light stopped and led Paterfamilias back, explaining to him all that he had seen and telling him that he would return to mortal life so that he could henceforth conduct himself in such a manner as to win eternal bliss.

When he was restored to human existence, Paterfamilias repaired at once to an Irish monastery, where he lived ever after on bread and water and in complete solitude. One way in which he was pleased to mortify his flesh was by immersing himself—up to the waist and sometimes to the neck—in icy water, while singing psalms and praying. When his fellow monks marveled at his hardihood, he merely said that he had witnessed worse cold and suffering!

185 (83r) The seven virtues of the Dove are the subject of chapter LXV, a paragraph at the bottom of page 185 (83r). This passage explains that the Dove is saved from vice by its virtues: "the Dove is free from bitter malice, which protects
it from wrath. Neither its beak nor its claws are hurtful, which shows its innocence. It does not attack smaller birds or eat the worms by which other birds and their chicks are nourished; thus it is protected from theft. . .".25

186 (83v) Two poems appear in chapter LXVI. The first is about the being or essence of God and Creation, which exists through God. The second poem explains the doctrine of the Trinity.

187 (84r) Two more poems, attributed to Petrus Pictor, continue chapter LXVI, "De Natale Domini," with the refrain "gaudeat omnis homo," and "De Denario," a satirical poem about money. The final entry on this page is a list of mountains.

188 (84v) Lambert completes chapter LXVI with excerpts from the 1092 "Peace of God" of Soissons.36
II. Commentary on Section Four

The theme of the fourth section of the Liber Floridus is concisely expressed by the interrelated figure and texts of its central, allegorical image: Old Testament Wisdom typologically fulfilled as Ecclesia in the context of the first crusade (fig. 34). The Church stands triumphant on Mount Zion in Jerusalem, among a "privileged people." The virtues are separated from the vices, the former being gathered into the fold of the Church and the latter excluded.

The first crusade and the juxtaposition of the virtues and vices are the subjects of two sets of inscriptions associated with the palm. These two subjects are discussed again to either side of the central image. Immediately before the "Palm of Zion," we read the genealogy of the counts of Normandy, which explains the descent of Robert of Normandy, an important participant in the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. Since Robert was the son of William the Conqueror, King of England, and the brother of William II and Henry I, also kings of England, the preceding Historia Anglorum and Chronica regibus Anglorum are appropriate and of interest in this context. This is especially the case since the Historia and Chronica tell of the Christianization of this "privileged people" and explain the connection between the Franks and the ruling
houses of England, Normandy, and Flanders. This connection, we know, was very meaningful in medieval prophecies of the millenium.²⁹

The folios that follow the "Palm on Mount Zion" continue its portrayal of the separation of righteousness from iniquity. The first part of Lambert's excerpts from Gregory's Dialogues explains one way in which the righteous are distinguished from the iniquitous, that is, by faith.³⁰ It also states that the elect will dwell in celestial mansions while the souls of the damned, although incorporeal, will be tortured by the fires of Hell. The miracula sanctorum then recounts stories of the earthly lives of this corps of elect.³¹ The topical sequence in which Lambert arranges the three entries from the Moralia on page 181 (81r)--proliferation of vice; vices conquered by virtues; virtues--again sets forth the virtues' successful opposition to the vices. Paterfamilias' vision gives a compelling, personal account of the eternal fates of the elect and the damned, separated into white-robed, rejoicing multitudes and wretched, tormented masses.³² The passages about the Dove were doubtless included in order to further demonstrate the saving value of the virtues in the battle against vice.³³

The fourth book of the Beatus Apocalypse includes the same major themes and minor topics that are found in
the fourth section of the Liber Floridus, with the exception, of course, of the first crusade. This suggests again that Lambert has emulated Beatus' text in the arrangement of his work. 34 This part of Beatus' commentary discusses Revelations 6 and 7, which begins with the opening of the first six seals. Beatus explains the the first horseman unleashed by the opening of the seals is Christ, whose word is carried throughout the world. 35 The second stands for the Devil and his followers within the Church who spill the blood of martyrs but ultimately cause their own spiritual demise. 36 The black horse of the third seal is the spiritual famine that occurs during the reign of the Antichrist, which will not harm the righteous, great or small, who are redeemed by the "coin of virtue." 37 The fourth horseman, Death, represents the hypocrites within the Church who are pursued by Hell, their fate after death. 38 With the opening of the fifth seal the martyrs under the altar of God are assured of their eventual triumph. 39 The sun, moon, and stars fall or are darkened by the opening of the sixth seal, and people try to hide from the wrath of God inside and underneath mountains. 40 The mountains in which people seek shelter signify the Church.

Beatus' interpretation of Revelations 6 and 7 continually emphasizes the distinction between the elect and the iniquitous: "the world is divided into two parts, the
people of God and the people of the Devil." It is, in fact, the seventh book of Revelations that first describes the ultimate separation of the saved from the damned: as disaster threatens the earth with four angels ready to let loose the four winds of destruction, another "angel"—whom Beatus identifies as the Church—rises from the east and halts the impending calamities until he can "set the seal of God upon the foreheads of His servants," who number 144,000. These 144,000 servants, Beatus tells us, represent the Church. They appear to John as a white-robed multitude holding palm branches, celebrating the victory of the Lamb; they come "from every nation" and "have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

Beatus' explication of this particular scene and one of the miniatures that accompanies his explication are significant in regard to Lambert's "Palm Tree on Mount Zion." First of all, Beatus says that the Lamb is victorious over the Beast is on Mount Zion, that is, in the vision of the Church, where the Lamb gathers "grasses of virtues." Secondly, the fourth book of the Beatus Apocalypse closes with a full-page illustration of a palm tree that two souls are diligently endeavoring to climb (fig. 34). This miniature illustrates Gregory's moralized explanation of palm trees which Beatus excerpts as part of his commentary.
on the celebration of the victory of the Lamb. This is, of course, the same passage from the Moralia that Mayo has observed to bear a strong resemblance to Lambert's palm.

We have, therefore, in the fourth book of the Beatus Apocalypse, a full-page miniature of a palm tree associated with the victory of the Lamb in the vision of the Church on Mount Zion, where it is said to gather up virtues. There is an unmistakable correspondence between this miniature and Lambert's "Palm on Mount Zion," with its verses from Ecclesiasticus celebrating the triumph of the Church, and with the cycle of virtues held between its branches.

The theme of the demarcation and separation of the righteous from the wicked is, as we have noted, as prevalent in Beatus' fourth book as it is in Lambert's fourth section. The minor topics in Lambert's work also seem to reflect passages in the corresponding book of Beatus' commentary. Lambert, as we recall, begins Section Four with a history of the life of Christ culminating in the washing of the Apostles' feet. Beatus finds it appropriate to discuss Christ's washing of the Apostles' feet in reference to the purification of the 144,000. Lambert's entry on hebdomada may also have been inspired by Beatus' text. John's description of the 144,000 is met in the commentary by a rather long discourse on hebdomada, the six ages of
the world, the six days of creation, six thousand years of history.52 This discourse ends in an account of the termina-
tion, or "night", of the Jews which may have motivated
Lambert's anti-semitic passage on page 181 (81r).53 The
poems on the Trinity and the Catholic belief in the existence of all creatures through God on page 186 of the Liber
Floridus may respond to passages on the same topics in
Beatus' text.55 The satirical poem on "Denario"54 con-
trasts with Beatus' description of the true denarius, or
"coin of virtue," that saves true believers from the
spiritual famine in the time of Antichrist.56 The list of
mountains on page 187 (84r) may have been occasioned by
Beatus' discussion of mountains as symbols of the Church.57
And finally, the "Peace of God" may reflect a reference in
Beatus to Christ as "pax nostra."58

The close resemblance of the "Palm on Mount Zion"
(fig. 34), the focal image in Lambert's fourth section, and
the miniature of the palm associated with the culminating
vision in Beatus' fourth book (fig. 67), as well as the
congruence of the two works' major and minor themes can
hardly be fortuitous. Lambert clearly designed his fourth
section to coincide with the content of Book Two of the
Beatus Apocalypse.

2 Ibid., 61.

3 Pages 146-148 (63v-64v).

4 See R. Derolez, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 64-70.

5 Ibid., 68.


7 "Quasi cedrus Lybano et cypress in monte Syon et palma in Cades et plantatio rose in Hericho et oliva in campis et plananus iuxta aquam et terebyntus et vitus dedi suavitatem odoris."

8 "Quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades et quasi cypressus in monte Syon."


10 Mayo believes that the Palm was selected because of its traditional association with victory (Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 1973, 36).


12 Cedar and cypress: ". . . arbores sunt altitudinis eximialis, et odoris praecipui . . . ded et hoc quod odor cedri serpentes intermere et fugare solet . . . eisdem sanctis doctoribus congruerent aptatur, qui
virtute verbi coelestis solent venenata haereticorum dog-
mata repellere . . . "(929). Palm: "aspera est palm iuxta
terram quia persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam
electi" (930). Rose: "Rosa specie floris nuncupata quod
rutilanti colore rubeat. Haec martyrii significat san-
guinem" (930). Olive: "Oliva . . . arbor pacis insig-
nis . . . in campus totius mundi transplantata" (931).
Plane tree: "platanus . . . in toto orbe in membris suis
dilatatur" (931). Terebinth: "Et quid terebinthum nisi
Ecclesia status figuratur, quaer per totum orbem terranem
eextendit ramos suos?" (938). Vine: "Haec vitis fructifi-
cat suavitatem odoris, quando per totum orbem fama spar-
gitur evangelicae praedicationis" (939).


13Sobrietas, gaudium, spes, castitas, mansuetudo,
pacientia, continentia, longanimitas, fides vera,
temperentia, fortitudo, iusticia, prudentia, karitas, pax,
modestia, bonitas, humilitas, abstinentia, leticia, timor
Dei, constantia.

14The names of some of the vices have been par-
tially effaced: [ ]rili[ ]s; [ ]xa; [ ] spe[ ]io; [ ]ni
[ ][jio; [ ]u[ ]or[ ]tis; rancor, ira, luxuria, instabili-
tas; simulatio; cupiditas; odium; invidia; homocidium;
avaritia; discordia; inguvia; fraus; superbia; gula;
tristicia; vana gloria; accidia.

15For example, cupidity next to temperance;
avarice next to charity; pride next to humility.

16"Reges Hierusalem. Expeditio Christianorum post
concilium Urbani pape anno MCXVII, et anno post tercio
Iherusalem capta est anno Domini MXCVIII. Godefridus
filius comitis Eustachii. Balduinus frater eius Flandren-
sis. Balduinus de Burgo Francigena."

17"Urbanus tunc papa Rome. Celebratum est expedi-
tionis Iherusalem concilium a CCCta Xque patribus apud
Claram Montem XIII kal. Decembris. Patriarche in Hieru-
salem: Daimbertus Pisanus episcopus primus. Evermarus
Flandrensis. Arnulfus Flandrensis. Wormundus Ambianensis."


19Ibid., 38.

20Mayo discusses pages 179-180 (77r-80v): ibid.,
39-40.
21 "Beatus abbas Honoratus puer in convivo carnem spernens, mancipium de fonte veniens piscem invenit in situla. Honoratus Ctorum monachorum signo crucis saxum magnum ruinam minantem in monte fixit."

22 "Venedictus puer capisterium fractum nutrici sue flenti reddidit integrum et sanum."

23 Mayo discusses this passage at some length (Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 1973, 40-47). She believes that the basis of Lambert's selection of materials on the folios around the Arbor Palmarum is a medieval theory concerning the symbolic meaning of the history of Jerusalem. According to this theory, Jerusalem will be engaged in seven major battles by the end of time. The first was Nebuchadnezzar's conquest, the sixth was Titus' destruction of the city, and the seventh will be the future battle between Christians and the Antichrist (44-47). However, not only does Lambert not refer to this theory in the Liber Floridus, he only mentions two of the six historical battles--those of Nebuchadnezzar and Titus--and these are in entirely different contexts, at some remove from each other. Furthermore, such a major battle as the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 would have to be counted by Lambert as the seventh battle, which would mean that the "anticipated battle of the Apocalypse" (47) would be an eighth battle.


25 'Columbia a malitia fellis est aliena, in quo prohibemur ab ira. Nullum ore vel unguibus ledit, in quo notatur innocentia. Non minimas aviculas nec vernuculus invadit, quibus alie aves se et pullos suos nutriunt, in quo prohibetur rapina."

26 Concerning this entry, see Raoul C. van Caenegem, "Sources of Flemish History in the Liber Floridus," Liber Floridus Colloquium, 75.


28 William II, the second eldest son, was King of England from 1087 to 1100, when he died in a hunting accident. Henry, the third son, immediately seized power and reigned from 1100 to 1135. He waged war against Robert, the eldest son, and won control of Normandy in 1106.
(Carl Stephenson, Mediaeval History, edited and revised by Bryce Lyon, New York, 1962, 377).

29 King Aethelbald of England and, after Aethelbald's death, Baldwin Iron Arm of Flanders, were married to Judith, great-granddaughter of Charlemagne. Robert of Normandy, and William II and Henry of England were sons of Matilda, daughter of Count Baldwin Insulanum of Flanders (see: Liber Floridus, pages 169 (75r) and 171 (76r)). Concerning the millenial prophecies and the Franks, see above, 21.

30 Pages 173 and 174 (77 and 77v).

31 Pages 175-180 (78r-80v).

32 Pages 182-185 (81v-83r).

33 Page 185 (83r).


35 Ibid., II,592: "ergo equus albus verbum est praedicationis cum spiritu sancto in orbem missum."

36 Ibid., II, 593: "quia illi, qui sub nomine religionis ecclesiam se simulat, semper contra ecclesiam pungunt. hi in equo roseo sedent; contra victricem in equo albo vincentemque ecclesiam exuunt et pungunt contra eam, quia cum eis scribuntur, qui aperte sanguinem innocentem fundunt . . . sed ille suo sanguine est rubeus . . . spiritualiter unus alterum per exemplum mortis occidet."

37 Ibid., II, 594-595: "Equus niger famem signifi- cat intra ecclesiam spiritualem . . . antichristi tempore, quando grandis famis est futura . . . si enim pusilli sunt et magni, quod merito in sanctitate unus praecellat alterum, utreque uno denario, id est, perfecto pretio redempti sunt."

38 Ibid., II, 596-600: "In quarto equo describit simulationem et hypocrisin manifestatam . . . falsi tamen fratres hypocritaee nominantur, sed neque ipsa aperte ecclesiam devastat, sed sancti videntur esse et sancti non sunt . . . hos ergo sequitur infernus, quo eos expectat post huius operis consummationem."

Revelations 6:12-17.

Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 596: "duae partes sunt in mundo, populus Dei et populus diaboli." Beatus then further divides the Devil's people into two parts: pagans and hypocritical heretics within the Church (596,ff.).

Ibid., II, 620: "alium angelum eandem ecclesiam dicit."

"ob ortu solis."

Revelations 7:3-4.

Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 620: "centum quadraginta quattuor millia omnis omnino ecclesia est."

Revelations, 7:9 and 7:14.

Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 636: "iste agnus est, qui in montem Syon, id est, in speculatione ecclesiae virtutum herbas decerpit, a quo bestia cotidie superatur et capta tenetur."

Ibid., II, 658: "nec inmerito iustorum vita palmae comparatur, quia scilicet palma, inferius tactu aspera est, et quasi aridis coritcibus obvoluta, superius vero et visu et fructibus pulcra. Inferius c提质cium suarum involutionibus angustatur, sed superius amplitudine pul- crae viriditatis, sed superius amplitudine pul- crae viriditatis expandiditur. sic quippe est electorum vita, despecta inferius, superius pulcra. iuxta terra ista, id est, in ima quasi multis corticibus obvolvitur, dum innumeris tribulationibus angustatur, in summa vero illa aeternitate quasi pulcrae viriditatis folis amplitudine retributionis expanditur. habet quidem alium palma, quod omnium arborum generibus differt. omnis namque arbor in quo robore iuxta terra vasta substitut. sed crescendo superius angustatur, et quantum paulisper sublimior tantum in alium subtilior redditur. palma vero minoris amplitudinis iuxta terra incohata, et iuxta ramos ac fructus ampliori robore exurgit. et quae tenuis ab imis proficit, vastior ab summa succrescit."

See above, 7.

Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 653-654.

Page 170 (75v).
52 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 625-633: "genus hominum, quem sexta aetate saeculi a captivitate diaboli Dominus liberabit, quia sex dies, in quibus operatus est Dominus, hebdomada est; it sex milium annorum figuram ostendunt, quae hebdomada nuncupatur."

53 Ibid., II, 633: "habuit vesperam peccatum populi Iudaeorum, quando excaecati sunt, ut etiam Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum non possint agnoscere."

54 Ibid., II, 637-638: vivunt igitur in Deo sine initio atque Inmutabiliter omnis creatura ac per hoc plus videtur ab angelis sanctis in verbo Dei, ubi sunt vita quam in se ipsa. absit hoc a catholica fide et omnia, quae facta sunt, sive in caelo sive in terra, sancta trinitas fecit, id est, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus."

55 Page 183 (84r).

56 See above, 14.

57 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 612: "caelum et montes et insulae, hoc totum unam ecclesiam dixit."

58 Ibid., II, 647.
CHAPTER FIVE

I. Analytical Summary of Section Five, pages 188-203 (84v-96r)

188 (84v) At the bottom of this page, Lambert composes a chart that he entitled "Grecorum littere numero XXVII." This is chapter LXVII. The chart consists of twenty-seven squares: three horizontal rows with nine squares in each. Lambert drew a Greek letter and a Roman numeral in each square. The numbers in the first row are one through nine, the letters are alpha through theta; the second row proceeds in sequence of tens, from ten to ninety, and depicts the letters iota through kopphe; the third row proceeds in hundreds, from one hundred to nine hundred, and shows the letters po through karactii. This entry is derived from either Bede's De Temporum Ratione, chapter I,1 or Rabanus' Liber de Computo, chapter VII.2 In Bede's work it is part of a chapter on calculating with one's fingers, "De Computo uel Loquela Digitorum"
189 (85r) This elaborate chart, "Littere Grecorum que numeros apud eos faciunt," seems to be Lambert's own creation. It is an expanded version of the type of chart on the previous folio, with the Greek and Latin alphabets, Roman numerals, and the Greek words for numbers all arranged in columns. It is chapter LXVIII.

190 (85v) Chapter LXVIII is a passage on the use of characters in calculating measurement of time. This information is also found in chapter IV of Bede's De Temporum Ratione and chapter VII of Rabanus' De Computo. These words or characters, Lambert warns us, are suitable for measuring time but not money.

The next entry, chapter LXX, is "De Generibus numerorum in ratiocinatione," from Rabanus, chapter III. Cardinal number, ordinal numbers, adverbiaal numbers, and other kinds of numbers are exemplified.

Numbers "in sensibus," according to Augustine, follows: "progressores in actu . . . recordabiles in memoria . . .".
The date on which the four seasons of the year begin and their respective number of days is recorded in the last paragraph on this folio.

The most peculiar passage in this section, apparently another of Lambert's own creations, makes up chapter LXXI. It begins by telling how many seasons, months, weeks, days, hours, quarter hours, minutes, "partes", moments, and "ostentas" are in a solar year. Then it explains how many months, weeks, days, hours, and so forth, are in each season. Taking each successively smaller unit of time, Lambert lists what quantity of every lesser division of time it comprises, until he reaches the smallest of all, an atom of time! From the indivisible atom, he proceeds gradually to increase, telling how many atoms are in an "ostenta", how many "ostentas" and atoms are in a moment, how many moments, "ostentas", and atoms are in a minute, and so forth. He ends by announcing that there are exactly 918,400 atoms, 518,440 "ostentas", 345,600 moments, 129,600 "partes", 86,400 minutes, 43,200 quarter hours, and so forth, in one zodiacal year.
This extravagant, if slightly mad, exercise in minutiae is followed by a perfectly commonplace explanation of the supernumerary days, which is partly derived from Bede. 7

Chapters LXXII and LXXIII are missing from the Ghent Liber Floridus. Their titles are listed in the Table of Contents on page 7 (4r) as "De diversitate annorum" and "De diversitate numeri". According to Delisle, these chapters appeared on a supplementary piece of parchment sewn onto folio 86. 8

A temporary respite from the ratiocination of time is offered in chapters LXXIII and LXXV with excerpts from Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and Ecclesiastes: "PROVERBS OF SOLOMON. Do not say to your friend: go away and come back tomorrow and I will give it to you . . . He who walks with wise people becomes wise, a friend of stupid people becomes like them . . . Death and life are in the power of the tongue . . . Who closes his ears to the cries of the poor will not be heard when he cries . . . Do not raise your eyes to wealth which you cannot have. Do not eat with an envious man and do not covet
his food... There are four small things on
the earth which are wiser than the wisest man:
ants who prepare their food during the harvest,
rabbits who live in stone holes, locusts who
go forth in crowds, and lizards who crawl on
their hands but dwell in the buildings of
kings... ECCLESIASTES... Better a poor
child than a wise man grown foolish in age who
does not know to provide for the future. The
avaricious man is never satisfied and he who
loves wealth does not enjoy it. Sorrow is in
the hearts of wise men, joy in the hearts of
fools... ECCLESIASTICUS... To the degree
that you are great, humble yourself in all
things and the grace of God will enter your
heart... Do not speak long with a fool and
do not visit the insane... Do nothing with¬
out counsel and later you will not regret it.
Those who fear God do not fall into evil, in
temptation God will preserve and liberate them.
AMEN."^9

194 (87v) In chapter LXXVI, Lambert returns to subjects
related to time, condensing a number of chap¬
ters from Rabanus' De Computo.10 The first
passage defines atoms of time, moments, minutes, points of time, hours, quarters, days, nights, weeks, months, and years. The next passage tells the length of time that the sun and the moon take to traverse the signs. This is followed by an entry about solar and lunar eclipses. The last item on this page, chapter LXXVII, concerns the "waters over the firmament" and the four elements. Lambert has compiled this short passage by combining excerpts from three chapters of Bede's De Natura Rerum.\textsuperscript{11}

The central image of the fifth section of the Liber Floridus appears as part of chapter LXXVIII (fig. 25).\textsuperscript{12} It is a complex illustration, centered around an Apocalyptic Christ over the "Altare Dei." Four circles around the figure of Christ represent the four elements.\textsuperscript{13} The names "John" and "Matthew" are written next to air and fire. The semi-circle between Christ and the altar is inscribed with the word \textit{annus} and the names of ten kinds of years.\textsuperscript{14} The semi-circle below the altar is labeled \textit{abyssus}. A quotation from Revelations 6:9-10 is written around the rim of the abyss:
"From under the Altar of God the martyrs cry out, revenge our blood, Lord God."\textsuperscript{15} Inside the semi-circular abyss we find Rabanus Maurus' definition of the abyss from \textit{De Universo}: "The abyss is the impenetrable depths of water, according to the prophet David. He said: Abyss calls unto abyss in the voice of your cataracts."\textsuperscript{16}

The next on the left side of the page is chapter two of Bede's \textit{De Natura Rerum}.\textsuperscript{17} It begins with a simple summary of the account of Creation in the book of Genesis. Beginning with "In the beginning, heaven, earth, the angels, air, and water were made from nothing,"\textsuperscript{18} it goes on to describe the works of God during the first six days. The passage ends with an explanation of God's rest on the seventh day that is derived from Saint Augustine; God rests, we are told, not from the governance of His creatures, but from making anything new.\textsuperscript{19} Everything that would ever exist was thus formed by the sixth day.

Chapter one from \textit{De Natura Rerum}, which defines the "Four Modes of Creation," is inscribed on
the right side of the page. These four modes are not before or after each other in time but only in source, like sound and speech. The first creation was in the Word of God: "not physically created but eternal," and it took place before time. The totality of creation was ordered and contained within the Word or Wisdom as principles of being. The second mode of creation was in the elements, which "He who lives in eternity created simultaneously." At this stage everything that would ever exist was created at once as unformed matter. In the third creation, the unformed matter of the preceding creation was formed into all things: "This time, not simultaneously but in the course of the first six days." The fourth mode of creation is by the dynamic potentiality in seeds or primal causes: "By seeds or primal causes, everything is brought into being in the natural course of time." The principles of being that were created simultaneously in the word of God are brought into literal existence by the force of time. The potentialities of all things have always existed, the motion of time brings them into being.
One unusual aspect of this illustration is the appearance of the four elements rather than the Four Evangelists around the Apocalyptic Christ. The quaternities were frequently correlated in the Middle Ages and the Evangelists were occasionally aligned with the four elements. However, while this tradition may indicate that such a substitution of elements for Evangelists was iconographically possible, it does not explain its appearance in this context.

The role of the four elements in the creation of the world is explained in the passage describing the second mode of creation on the right side of the page. The elements, however, were also essential in medieval explanations of the fate of the universe after the Last Judgment. The substance or elements of the material world, having been purified by fire, would be used to form the New Heaven and New Earth. The purification of the four elements at the end of time is visually represented in Hildegard of Bingen's illustrations of her visions of the Last Judgment and the New Heaven and New Earth in the _Liber Scivias_. In the
first part of vision XII, Book III, the four elements are shown being purged (fig. 68); in the second part of this vision they are shown purified and distinct from each other, in the lowest circle of the image (fig. 69). This final state of the elements is also represented in an illustration from Herrad of Landsberg's Hortus Deliciarum²⁸ (fig. 70). The material universe is shown after the Last Judgment with the four elements purified and separated from each other, each occupying a particular level according to its weight. By comparison to Hildegard's and Herrad's miniatures, we may conclude that Lambert's image of the Apocalyptic Christ accompanied by the four elements rather than the Four Evangelists illustrates the purified elements of the material universe at the end of time, ready to serve as the components of the eternal City of God.²⁹

But what is the meaning of the annus circle above the altar? In the Middle Ages, the year was often taken as a metaphor for temporality, the perpetual, revolving motion that propels the material universe and human history.³⁰ A personification of annus appears in
this role in a circle beneath the feet of the Creating Christ in the twelfth-century Bible of Saint Castor's of Coblenz (fig. 21). Dies, another, though less common, metaphor for temporality is personified in the circle beside annus. The entire span of time from Creation to Doomsday was represented by the year, as, for example, in the theory of the annus mundanus, which Lambert illustrates and defines on page 206 (92v) of this section. The presence of the annus circle in the center of page 195, then, characterizes the nature of the material universe from the beginning of time, which is described on the sides of the page, to the end, which is illustrated above.

The altar and abyssus semi-circle on the lower part of the page relate to the text inscribed around the rim of the abyss, describing the martyrs under the altar of God who long for the final judgment and release from time. Augustine, in the City of God, explains that the voices of the martyrs cited in this passage represent the voice of the whole Church that reigns with Christ during this temporal era: "The Church, then, begins its reign with Christ
now in the living and dead . . . he [Saint John, in Revelations] mentions the souls of the martyrs only . . . but, taking the part for the whole, we understand the words of all others who belong to the Church."  

The inscription inside the abyss is, as we have mentioned, an excerpt from Rabanus' De Universo. The second part of this inscription is Rabanus' quotation of Psalm 47:7: "Abyss calls unto abyss . . ."", which he interprets as the Old Testament calling forth or prefiguring the new.  

According to medieval exegesis, the City of God, or the Church, originated under the Old Covenant, and, more specifically, with Abel.  

By including this excerpt from Rabanus within a figure that represents the Church, Lambert maintains that the Church includes members from both the Old and New Covenants.

To summarize, the lower section of page 195 represents the Kingdom of Christ that exists with the temporal Church and longs for fulfillment in eternity. This Church, we learn, consists of the righteous from the time of the Old Covenant as well as the New. The image of
Christ with the four elements above the Altar of God illustrates the moment at the end of time when the purified elements of this heaven and earth are about to become the New Heaven and New Earth. While the end of time is thus figured at the top of the page, the beginning is described in the creation texts at the sides. The year circle in the center of the page represents the concept of temporality, the moving force of creation that will no longer exist after the material universe has been transformed into the eternal New Heaven and New Earth.

196 (88v) The second image in chapter LXXVIII represents the Zodiacal year (fig. 71). Twelve rectangles around the four sides of the page are inscribed with short descriptions of the twelve signs of the Zodiac: "Aquarius is in January. Its nights last sixteen hours and its days, eight hours. The name 'January' is derived from either the name of the god Janus or the word iauus, which means beginning." The sun on his chariot is figured in the center of the page, inside a circle. Around the circle are
five stars labeled **Iouis**, **Saturnus**, **Mars**, **Lucifer**, and **Mercurius**, and a crescent moon, **Luna**. George Hanfmann has shown that since the early Christian period, the sun driving his chariot was understood as a symbolic representation of Christ directing the movement of time.\(^{37}\) This image, then, demonstrates the medieval concept of time as the "artifact" of God, the means by which the divine plan is brought into existence.

"De Ordine et Positione Signorum" consists of five and a half pages with illustrations of the constellations and inscriptions describing the stars that comprise them (figs. 72 to 77). This entry begins chapter LXXVIII which continues to page 209. Delisle has demonstrated that Lambert derived this entry from Bede's commentary on Aratus.\(^{38}\) Swarzenski states that the original manuscript from which Lambert copied the miniatures was probably from the ninth or tenth century and followed the traditional, classical iconography of the constellations.\(^{39}\)
The constellations appear in the following order: page 197 (fig. 72): *ursa maior* and *ursa minor*; *serpens*; Hercules with *serpens* twisted around him; the eight-star crown; Boetes Artophilax; and *Scorpio*. Page 198 (fig. 73): Virgo holding scales; the twins of Gemini; Cancer, the crab; the Charioteer; and Taurus. Page 199 (fig. 74): Cepheus, with arms outstretched; Casseopaea enthroned; Andromeda; Pegasus; Aries; the Triangle; Perseus; and Pisces. Page 200 (fig. 75): the Lyre; Gignus; Aquarius; Capricorn; the Eagle; Sagittarius; Delphinus; Orion; the Dog; and the Rabbit. Page 201 (fig. 76): the Sea Monster; the Boat; the River Heridanus; the Great Fish; the Altar; Hydra. Page 202 (fig. 77): the Centaur; the Crow; the Crater; and "Antidog." 40

"De Cursu Solis et Luna per Signa XII," on the lower half of this page, tells when the sun enters and leaves each of the Zodiacal signs. For example: "The sun enters Aries in mid-March and leaves in mid-April." 41 The last two sentences in this passage explain that the
sun passes through the entire Zodiac in three hundred and sixty-five days and eight hours; it takes the sun thirty days and ten hours to pass through each individual sign, and the moon two days and six hours.

Macrobius' Commentary on the Dream of Scipio is the source of the astronomical information within and around the diagram on this page (fig. 78). The figure consists of a wide, circular band divided into horizontal lines to accommodate a text. This text tells the diameter of the sun. Since the sun is twice the diameter of the earth, the sun is altogether eight times as large as the earth. It also informs us that while the stars are illuminated by their location in the purest ether, whose nature is light, the moon is lower than the sun and must, therefore, derive its light from the sun. The earth is at the center of the universe and therefore it alone remains immobile and stable.

Inside the circle, more texts tell us the circumference and diameter of the earth and its distance from the sun, as well as the diameter
and circumference of the orbit of the sun around the earth.

A circle representing the earth lies in the center of the diagram. The sun, like a red-centered daisy, is located at the top, and the moon at the bottom. Inscriptions at the four corners discuss the dimensions of the sun, the movements of the sun and moon, the measurement of the earth's shadow, which causes the darkness of night, and the determination of the sun's diameter by the distance it covers in one hour during the equinox. 43

Lambert's "Globus Terrae" covers two folios (fig. 79). It is a Macrobian zone-map of the type that illustrated the geographical chapters in Macrobius' Commentary on the Dream of Scipio 44. The earth is divided into five climate zones: zona septentrionalis frigido and zona australis frigido, which are too cold for human habitation; a central, torrid zone of unbearable heat; and two temperate zones, zona septentrionalis temperata habitabilis nostro and the Antipodes, zona australis temperata filiis Ade incognitae. The
illustration of our northern, temperate zone includes a few place names, such as Europa, Roma, Africa, and Libya. In accordance with the description in Macrobius' text, a "slanting" band cuts across the central torrid zone, marking the equinoctial path of the sun, under which the Zodiac turns. The twelve signs of the Zodiac are noted around the outer band of the map; the orbits of the seven planets are shown by colored bands around the circumference of the earth.

An explanatory text accompanies the map, which Lambert appears to have condensed from the geographical chapters in Macrobius' work. This inscription is on the back of the leaf and therefore does not appear directly with the map. It is significant to note Macrobius' statement that the passage from Cicero's Dream of Scipio which his geographical information explicates, was intended to dissuade men from worldly pursuits: "His reason for emphasizing the earth's minuteness was that worthy men might realize that the quest for fame should be considered unimportant since it could not be great in so small a sphere."
Another inscription, one which we believe is crucial in understanding the purpose of this map, appears around the lower edges of the Terrae Globus. It begins: "We do not believe that the elements of the world, that is, heaven and earth, will be consumed by figure but transformed into a superior state. The figure of the world, that is, its appearance, will be changed but not its substance." This passage epitomizes part of chapter 14, Book XX, of Saint Augustine's City of God, in which Augustine describes the events which will occur after the Last Judgment. This heaven and earth, he tells us, will not be destroyed but transformed into a new heaven and a new earth. It is significant, however, that the "elementa mundi" at the beginning of the inscription are not mentioned by Augustine in this passage. Lambert thus seems to have expanded Augustine's account of the nature of this non-destructive transformation by combining it with Macrobius' explanation of the intrinsic eternality of the universe. This is appropriate, since this is a Macrobian map. "It is unquestionably true," Macrobius says, "that within the living universe
nothing perishes; but of those things that seem to perish only the appearance is changed, and that which has ceased to be as it formerly was returns to its original state and its component parts . . . [quoting Plotinus] 'The elements, though they pass out of union, are never themselves dissolved, since they do not pass off anywhere.' . . . so in this universe no part is mortal according to sound reason." 49

The text under Lambert's map continues with a description of the heavens, telling us which heavenly bodies, angels, and elements are found in each of the celestial spheres. 50

The inscription around the Macrobian Terrae Globus, indicates we suggest, that this map is included in Section Five of the Liber Floridus in connection with the theme of the central image on page 195: this heaven and this earth will be purified and transformed into the New Heaven and New Earth after the Last Judgment.

The text inside the colorful diagram on this page presents Macrobius' definition of the world year or annus mundanus (fig. 80). 51 The earth is represented at the center of this
diagram. Five images of the moon in different phases encircle the earth. The rising sun is at the top of the circle and the setting sun at the bottom. According to Macrobius, the world year lasts for 15,000 solar years. This is the length of time that it takes for all the stars and constellations to leave a particular position and then return to it. Following Cicero, Macrobius says that the present world year began with the eclipse that occurred at Romulus' death. This theory of the world year is presented in the Dream of Scipio as evidence that since the world's time is finite, we should not seek earthly glory but instead be concerned with eternal glory, or virtue.

"De Astrologia Secundum Bedam" (fig. 81) illustrates the locations of the constellations of the northern sky. A large circle with a red band marking its circumference is inscribed with the circular orbits of the various constellations. The serpent, ursa maior, and ursa minor are in the center. Lyra, Hercules, the Crown, Cefeus, Casseopaea, Boetes, and Orion circle around them, beyond the orbit of the
moon. The other constellations are located outside this sphere.

When Labert calls this entry "secundum Bedam," he must be referring to the diagram, since the inscriptions were clearly derived from Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*. The texts at the top of the page tell us that the stars are illuminated by the sun and that they are immobile themselves but fixed to the heavenly spheres which are in perpetual motion. The stars are larger than the earth, "Tullio testante," and they move with miraculous swiftness on their spherical globes. Next we learn which stars are on which globe, and that everything above the moon is eternal and everything below, mortal. The next at the bottom of the page says that there are two axes in the universe, north and south. We can always see the stars in one hemisphere and never see those in the other. Those which we can see are illustrated in the diagram.

The information presented in the astronomical plan on this page, "Circuli VIItem and Cursusque VIItem Planetarum," is also derived
from Macrobius' Commentary on the Dream of Scipio (fig. 82). It posits a "T-O" map of the earth at the center of a series of concentric rings. Each ring is inscribed, telling us the length of time that each planet requires to complete its orbit around the earth, the distance of that orbit, and how far it is from the next planet beyond it. In the upper left corner of the page, we read about the nine levels of heaven and God's presence around the outside of these levels. In the text at the right corner, we learn that the seven planets move in the opposite direction of the heavenly spheres. The text below the diagram describes the natures of the seven planets: "Saturn, white and frosty; Jove, clear and temperate; Mars, burning and red . . .".

Chapter LXXX, "De Astrologia Excerptum," describes the relative locations of the constellations: "Serpent with its tail encircles Helicen, that is ursa maior, and also curves around Cynosuram, that is ursa minor . . .". This passage and the one that follows, "De XII Signis," relate to the information in book I, chapter xviii, of Macrobius' commentary.
"De Signis XII," chapter LXXXI, presents more information about the constellations: "In January, in the sign of Aquarius, Pegasus the Horse rises in the east . . . In April, in the sign of Taurus, Cetus rises in the east and the left foot of Orion . . .".56

This page is now missing from the original manuscript. According to Delisle's survey, the copies include chapter LXXXII, entitled, "Item de Astrologia," which was illustrated by a celestial diagram with the Lord depicted above it, blessing and holding a cross.57

In the copies, chapter LXXXIII on thunder and lightning appears in this place. This chapter seems to have been derived from Bede's De Natura Rerum, chapters XXVIII and XXIX.58

After thunder and lightning, Lambert writes in chapter LXXXIII, other kinds of weather conditions: hail, clouds, snow, and earthquakes. These definitions seem to have come from chapters XXXI-XXXV and XLIX of De Natura Rerum.59

The last line of the passage on weather conditions is completed on this folio.
Chapter LXXXV, "De Tempestate et Serenitate," condenses chapter XXXVI of *De Natura Rerum*, tells various means of predicting the weather. For example, when the rising sun appears to be spotted, a storm is coming. If paleness appears among black clouds to the north, there will be gales. The final passage makes note of the greatest storm of all, Noah's flood. It also mentions lesser floods in the time of Jacob and Moses. These final passages on storms and deluges may relate to Macrobius' admonition, in the Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, that seeking earthly glory is futile since regular deluges waste the earth and foil man's efforts for eternal fame.
II. Commentary on Section Five

Pages 188 (84v) to 213 (97r) of the Liber Floridus comprise a fifth distinct section containing entries on the interrelated subjects of time and astronomy.63 This section is organized around an extremely complex miniature whose main figure is Christ above the Altar of God (fig. 25).64 This image illustrates both the beginning and end of time; it also represents the Church of the Old and New Covenants, longing for release from time, in conjunction with the commencement of the eternal City of God, the four purified elements ready to become the New Heaven and New Earth.

We have discovered that Lambert drew most of his information for the first part of this section from Rabanus Maurus' Liber de Computo and its source, Bede's De Temporum Ratione. For the second part, he relied mainly upon Macrobius' Commentary on the Dream of Scipio. Recognizing the reasons for Lambert's dependence upon these particular works, especially those of Rabanus and Macrobius, helps clarify the theme of his fifth section. These works were selected, we suggest, because they have moralizing themes that correspond to the ideas that Lambert wished to convey in this part of his manuscript.

Let us begin by considering the prologue and first chapter of Rabanus' Liber de Computo, in which the author
explains the importance of the study of numbers and computation. Rabanus begins his Prologue with a quotation from the book of Proverbs: "Wisdom is better than the most precious things; among all that one might desire, wisdom is incomparable." Rabanus' explication of this verse in his commentary on the book of Proverbs explains that the true happiness of man is in the perception of eternal Wisdom; in this life we must comprehend the will of God so that in the next life we may enjoy the fruit of wisdom, which is the vision of God. Following this, in the first chapter of De Computo, Rabanus claims that the study of numbers and computation is the greatest of all disciplines because it elucidates so many of the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures. It is not without reason, Rabanus says, that we praise God by saying: "all things in measure, number, and weight." Lambert, as we have seen, also quotes the book of Proverbs, as well as Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus, among his collected entries on numbers and time. This suggests that he too believes that studying the measurement of time reaps moral benefits, perhaps for calculating the amount of time remaining to complete the millenium as well as for interpreting the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures. Through this knowledge, one may prepare one's soul for the perception of divine Wisdom in eternity.
Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* describes the vision of Scipio Africanus, in which he meets with his deceased grandfather. His grandfather, who dwells in the eternal, heavenly realm, allows Scipio to view the universe from this celestial perspective. By doing this, he hopes to show Scipio that earthly fame is meaningless, that wisdom and virtue alone are worth cultivating. He also informs Scipio that those souls who have detached themselves from worldly concerns during their earthly tenure and contemplated "what is beyond" will rise most swiftly to their heavenly abode after death.

Macrobius' commentary elaborates upon the references to astronomy and geography in Cicero's *Dream*, using it as the framework for a cosmological encyclopedia. It is not, however, an ordinary cosmology; it has a moralizing theme in response to Cicero's injunctions concerning this world and the next. Throughout his commentary, in connection with his statement that we can only see half the stars in the universe, and with his admonition that the world is periodically destroyed, Macrobius reminds us that earthly life is insignificant compared to the eternal afterlife. Macrobius tells us that the contemplation of "what is beyond," which Cicero admonishes us to undertake for the benefit of our souls, is achieved through the study of philosophy, or wisdom. The *Dream of Scipio*, with its
moral advice, cosmology, and discourse on immortality, is, according to Macrobius, the most comprehensive work on philosophy. This lends a sacred, moralizing dimension to the Dream, and to its commentary, rather like that of Rabanus' Liber de Computo. The pursuit of wisdom carries the soul from its earthly, temporal prison to eternal glory.

Lambert's fifth section refers to precisely those parts of Rabanus' and Macrobius' works that concern the relationship of time to eternity: Rabanus' quotation of Proverbs to describe the sacred, eternal value of computation; Macrobius' repeated demonstrations, sub specie aeternitatis, that earthly time and space are finite. By recognizing the meaning of these references in their original sources, we begin to see that their incorporation in the fifth section of the Liber Floridus indicates that the theme of this part of Lambert's work is the transmutation of time into eternity. This theme is clearly set forth in the mappamundi on pages 204-205 (92v-93r) (fig. 80), with its inscription discussing the metamorphosis of this heaven and earth into the New Heaven and New Earth. It is most profoundly expressed in the culminating image on page 195 (88r) (fig. 25): the earthly, temporal Church becoming the heavenly, eternal Church.

The fifth book of the Beatus Apocalypse interprets Revelations 8 through 11:18, which tell of the opening of
seventh seal. When this final seal is opened, seven angels are given seven trumpets while another angel appears standing above the Altar of God. When the angel over the altar throws a censer onto the earth there are peals of thunder and flashes of lightning. Six of the angels then blow their trumpets, wreaking various catastrophes upon the earth. When the seventh angel sounds his trumpet, time ends and the Eternal Kingdom begins.

The end of the world is described metaphorically in several different ways in the various parts of Revelations: as the harvest of the earth; as the fall of Babylon; as the chaining of the Beast after the great battles. The part of Revelations included in Beatus' fifth book emphasizes that it is the end of time and beginning of eternity. Revelations 8-11:18 contains, in fact, most of the references to time and measures of time that occur in John's vision. The stinging locusts torment their victims for five months; the angels who are let loose from the Euphrates have been prepared for this hour, day, and month of this year; the angel with one foot on the sea and one on the land states that time will be no more; the Gentiles tread the Holy City under foot for forty-two months; God's two witnesses prophesize for two thousand, two hundred and sixty days; the corpses of the two witnesses are left exposed
for three and a half days;\textsuperscript{87} in the hour that the two witnesses are resurrected there is a great earthquake.\textsuperscript{88}

Beatus begins his interpretation of this vision by stating that the seven trumpet-blowing angels are prophets, that the angel who appears over the Altar of God is Christ, and that the Altar itself is the Church.\textsuperscript{89} Beatus takes special notice of the fact that the appearance of the prophets and of Christ is simultaneous, not in a temporal sequence.\textsuperscript{90} This, he explains, indicates that the Church exists both in the time of the Old and the New Covenants, that it is one, unified City of God peregrinating toward its fulfillment in the Eternal, Heavenly City.\textsuperscript{90} The angel who announces that time is about to end, Beatus tells us, is Christ, who created this heaven, earth, and sea and all that are in them.\textsuperscript{92} The sounding of the seventh trumpet, which signals the end of the era of the temporal Church and the beginning of the eternal Kingdom of Christ, is the climactic event in which the fifth book of the Beatus Apocalyp\begin{flushleft}

This part of John's vision, as interpreted by Beatus, includes all the components of the focal image of the fifth section of the Liber Floridus (fig. 25): Christ appears above the Altar of God, which is the Church of the Old and New Covenants; this is the moment of the end of

\textsuperscript{93}
time and commencement of eternity; and reference is made to the creation of the heavens and earth at the beginning of time. In his interpretation of Revelations 6:9, in which the martyrs cry out from beneath the Altar of God, Beatus writes that "sub ara" means "sub terra." This, it seems, would explain Lambert's confinement of the martyrs in the subterranean abyss.

Since measures of time are frequently mentioned in Revelations 8-11:18, Beatus becomes involved in the discussion of temporality in his fifth book. His calculations, based upon the references to time in Revelations, are mainly directed toward discovering the amount of time remaining before the parousia. The forty-two months during which the Gentiles tread upon the City of God, and the two thousand, two hundred and sixty days that the witnesses prophesy, as well as the three and a half days that the witnesses' bodies are left exposed, all signify the length of time from the Incarnation to the advent of the Antichrist.

Thus, the main subject and the theme of Lambert's fifth section, time and the transmutation of time into eternity, clearly relate to the content of the fifth book of Beatus' commentary. Furthermore, the central image of the earthly Church being fulfilled as the eternal Church, reflects the culminating motif of Book Five of the Beatus Apocalypse. It seems that Lambert has again
organized his work in reference to the corresponding part of Beatus' work.
FOOTNOTES

1 Bedae, Opera de Temporibus, ed. Charles W. Jones, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943, 179-18. Since Lambert's sources are particularly relevant in this section, citation of them will be made in our text.

2 Rabanus Maurus, Liber de Computo, P.L. CVII, 675. Rabanus' work is based upon Bede's.

3 Bedae, Opera, 184-86.

4 Rabanus, De Computo, 675-676.

5 Ibid., 672.

6 "Cardinales sunt numeri, ut Ius, IIo, IIIes, IIIor, quae . . . .

7 Chapter 54 of Rabanus, De Computo, 698-699, and chapter 39 of De Temporum Ratione, Bedae, Opera, 252-253.


9 "PROVERBIA SOLOMONIS. Non dicas amico tuo: uade et reuertere et cras dabo tibi . . . Qui cum sapientibus graditur, sapiens erit; amicus stultorum efficiertur similis . . . Mors et uita in manu lingue . . . Qui obturat aurem suam ad clamorem pauperis et ipse clamabit et non exaudietur . . . Non erigas oculos tuos as opes quas habere non potes. Ne comedas cum homine inuido et ne desideres cibos eius . . . Quattuor sunt minima terre et ipsa sunt sapientiora sapientibus: formice que preparant in messe cibum sibi, lepusculus qui collocat in petra cubile suum, locusta per turmas egrediens, stelio qui manibus nititur et morantur in edibus regum . . . ECCLESIASTES . . . Melior est puer pauper et sapiens sene stulto qui nescit prouiderre in posterum. Auarus non implebitur pecunia et qui amat diuicias fructus non capiet ex eis. Cor sapientum ubi tristicia est et cor stultorum ubi leticia . . .

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ECCLESIASTICUM . . . Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omni-
bus et coram Deo inuenies gratiam . . . Cum stulto ne
multum loquaris et cum insensato ne abieris . . . Sine
consilio nichil facias, et post factum non penitebit.
Timenti Dominum non occurrent mala, sed in temptatione
Deus illum conservabit et liberabit a malis. AMEN."

10Chapters 11-35 and 40-41; 677-688 and 691-692.

11Chapters 19, 19, and 4, Bede, De Natura Rerum,
ed., J. A. Giles, Venerabilis Bedae, Opera que Supersunt

12This miniature is mentioned, in connection with
Honorius of Autun's theory of the elements, by M.-Th.
D'Alvernay, "Le Cosmos Symbolique de XIIème Siecle,"
Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Litteraire du Moyen Age, XX,
1953, 78, n. 5.

13The texts inside the four circles describe the
four elements: "Ignis serenus summum locum tenet
etherus, naturalem sui sedem querens super aera, crassior
quam celestis; Aer humidus et calidus terre sociatur aride,
uaporaliter aquam de imis et ignem de superioribus trahens;
Terra grauissima a ceteris omnibus ambitur manems immobiles
et ima sede semper heret complexa medium mundi locum; Aqua
terle levior et aere grauior firmamento imposita ad ignem
syderum temperandum multi affirmauit."

At least part of this information is taken from
Bede's De Natura Rerum. For example, the first part of
the sentence defining aqua seems to be condensed from the
following sentence in Chapter 4 of De Natura Rerum: "Aqua
uero quanto leuior terra, tanto est aere grauior." The
second part of the sentence is similarly condensed from
Bede's chapter 8. Lambert used only the first and last
words of the long sentence that makes up this chapter:
"Aquas firmamento impositas . . . ad ignem siderum tempe-
randum suspensas affirmavit."

14"Annum X modis dictur: annus ciuils, annus
naturalis, annus iubileus et lustralis et byssestitlis et
Olympiadis et era et solaris et communis et embolisimalis
et breuis."

15"Sub altare Dei innocentes clamant: uindica
sanguinem nostrum, Domine Deus."

Bede, De Natura Rerum, 100-101.

"In ipso guidem principio conitionis facta sunt coelum, terra, angeli, aer et aqua de nihilo."


Bede, De Natura Rerum, 100. Bede has derived this from Augustine's description of the four creations in De Genesi ad Litteram, 468-470. To these four creations, Honorius of Autun, a contemporary of Lambert's added a fifth: the creation of the New Heaven and New Earth (De Imagine Mundi, P.L. CLXXII, 121.

Augustine, De Genesi ad Litteram, 120. See also, Frank Egleston Robbins, The Hexaemeral Literature, dis., Chicago, 1912, 67.

"non facta, sed aeterna sunt."

"qui uiuit in aeternum creavit omnia simul."

"non iam simul sed distinctione sex primorum dierum."


The general theory of interchangeable quarters is presented by Rabanus Maurus in De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis, P.L. CVIII, 133-294. The elements and Evangelists are compared in the following works: Christianus Druthmarus, Eposito in Mattheus Evangelista, P.L. CVI, 1265; Rupert of Deutz, De Trinitate et operibus eius (reference in Phillipe Verdier, "La Grande Croix de l'abbe Suger a Saint-Denis," Cahiers de Civilization Medievale, XIII, 1, 1970, 16, n. 57); Raoul Glaber, Historiarum Libri Quinque, ed. Maurice Prou, Paris, 1888,
3-4; Saint Jerome, Commentaria in Ezeckiel, P.L. XXV, 19-24 (see also, Wilhelm Neuss, Das Buch Ezeckiel in Theologie und Kunst, Munster, 1912, 65-75).

The best-known example of this correlation of Evangelists and elements in medieval art was on the lost Cross of Abbot Suger, of which a small imitation survives, the Cross of St.-Bertin. On the iconography of these two crosses, and especially on the four elements, see Verdier, Cahiers de Civilization Medievale, 1970, 1-31. Other instances of interchangeable elements and Evangelists would include: the twelfth century cross of Henry van Wartenbach in the Benedictine Monastery of Engelberg, Switzerland (described by Dmitri Tselos in "Unique Portraits of the Evangelists in an English Gospel Book of the XII Century," Art Bulletin, XXXVIII, 1952, 275-276); the frontispiece of the Brussels Bible, Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique, MS. II. 1639 (see Harry Bober, "In Principio. Creation Before Time," De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. Millard Meiss, I, New York, 1961, 13-28); the illustration to the prologue of the Gospel of Saint John in the Gospel Book in the Staatsbibliothek of Bamberg, Ms. Bibl. 94, folio 154v (Peter Block and Herman Schnitzler, Die Ottonische Kolner Malerschule, vol. 1, Dusseldorf, 1967, 328 and 83).


28 The original manuscript was destroyed in 1870. Drawings of the miniatures by the Count de Bastard are reproduced in Herrad of Landsberg, Hortus Deliciarum, commentary and notes by A. Straub and J. Keller, ed. and trans. by Aristides D. Crartzas, New York, 1977.

29 The theory of the transformation of the elements at the end of time, presented in Hildegard's and Herrard's illustrations, may be derived from the writings of Macrobius and Saint Augustine. Macrobius states that the elements are indestructible in a discussion of the immortality of the universe in his Commentary on the Dream of Scipio. Augustine also states that the "heavens and earth"--which the medievals believed consisted of the four elements--would not be destroyed at the end of time but merely transformed in their qualities. Lambert refers directly to Augustine's theory and indirectly to Macrobius' on a subsequent folio in this section (see below, pp. 17-18).
For example: "Annus est circuitus solis ac reditus per duodecim menses. Cuius quidem nomen figurate significat omne tempus utal huiss" (Isidore of Seville, De Natura Rerum, ed. Jacques Fountaine, Bordeaux, 1960, 193).


Our forthcoming analysis of the fifth book of the Beatus Apocalypse will attempt to explain why the martyrs under the altar are in the abyss, or under the earth, rather than in heaven. See below,

Augustine, City of God, 726-727.

Rabanus, De Universo, P.L. CXI, 315.

Augustine, City of God, 482-483.

"Aquarius in Ianuario, cuius nox horas XVI, dies uero VIII. Ianuarius a Iano idolo nomen accepit uel ab eo quod sit anni ianua, hoc est principium."


Bede explains the Antidog: "Anticanus vocatur, eo quod contrarius sit cani" (quoted from Delisle, Notices et extraits des manuscrits, 1906, 655.)

"Sol Arietem ingreditur in medio Martio et finitur medio Aprili."


Ibid., 171 and 173.
Ibid., 200-219.

Ibid., 212-213.

Ibid., 216.

"AUGUSTINUS. Elementa mundi, id est celum et terram, non credamus abolenda per ignem sed in melius commutanda, figuram mundi, id est imaginem, non substantiam transituram."

Augustine, City of God, 732-733.

Macrobius, Commentary, 224-225.

"Celum sperioris circuli Seum uirutesque continet angelicas, quod Deus glacialibus aquis solidauit. . . .".

Macrobius, Commentary, 219-222.

See above, 43.

Macrobius, Commentary, 153-155. Concerning the use of schemata from one author to illustrate the text of another, see Harry Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book of Bede's De Natura Rerum," The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, XIX-XX, 1956-1957, 69, 74, and 78. The Bede manuscripts were not originally illustrated with diagrams, but by the ninth century they were being combined with schemata from other scientific works. Describing a ninth-century manuscript produced at Fleury, Bober writes: "It contains selected Bede chapters, several from the De Temporibus and the De Temporum Ratione, intermingled with Isidore excerpts, rotae, and other material" (78). Perhaps one of Lambert's Bede manuscripts included an additional illustration of the constellations which served as the model for the diagram on folio 104r (94r) of the Liber Floridus and thus occasioned the title "Secundum Bedam" for the entire entry.

Macrobius, Commentary, xix, 158-168.

Ibid., 160-162.

"In Ianuario Aquario oriente oritur Equa Pegasi . . . In Aprili Tauri signo oriente oritur cetus et sinister pes Orionis . . . ."

Delisle, Notices et extraits des manuscrits, 1906, 657.
58 Bede, De Natura Rerum, 113. I have made this judgment on the basis of the quotations from the copies in Delisle, Notices et extraits des manuscrits, 657-658.

59 Bede, De Natura Rerum, 114-115 and 121. Again, based upon Delisle's excerpts.

60 Ibid., 116.

61 "Sol in ortu suo maculosus . . . tempestuosum denuntiat diem . . . Si pallidus in nigris nubes ad Aquilem occidat, ventum presagit."

62 Macrobius, Commentary, 216-217.

63 Concerning the study of astronomy as a form of the study of time, see above, 61-62.

64 This image is analyzed above, 5-11.

65 Rabanus Maurus, De Computo, 669: "Legimus scriptum in Proverbiis: 'Melior est sapientia cunctis pretiosissimis, et omne desiderable ei non potest comparari.'"

66 Rabanus Maurus, Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis, P.L. CXI, 694: " . . . beatitudo estuera hominis non aduersis carere in praesenti, sed aeternae sapientiae perceptione laetari. Quod est hoc uitâ Domini voluntatem cognoscere, laetari. Quod est hoc uitâ Domini voluntatem cognoscere, et in futuro eius uisione perfrui . . . radix sapientiae est timere Deum, fructus sapientiae, qui sunt, nisi uidere Deum?"

67 Rabanus, De Computo, 671: "huius disciplinae . . . omnium disciplinarum esse magistram . . . quia in multis sanctorum Scripturarum locis quantum mysterium habet elucet."

68 Ibid., 671.

69 Pages 192-193 (86v-87r).

70 The Dream of Scipio is the last chapter of Cicero's De Republica.

71 Macrobius, Commentary, 216.

72 Ibid., 219.
73 Ibid., 1953.
74 Ibid., 216-217.
75 Ibid., 244-245.
76 Ibid., 246.


78 Revelations 14:14-20.
79 Revelations 18:1-3.
80 Revelations 20:1-3.
81 Revelations 10:7, "The time of waiting is over."
82 Revelations 9:5.
83 Revelations 9:15.
84 Revelations 10:7.
85 Revelations 11:3.
86 Revelations 11:3.
87 Revelations 11:9.
88 Revelations 11:13.

89 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 665-666: "... septem anglos, qui acceperunt septem tubas, id est, perfectam praedicationem ... alius algelus uenit et stetit super aram. iste angelus Christus est, qui stat super ecclesiam suam ... aram uero ecclesiam."

90 Ibid., II, 666: "Johannes uero uno tempore hoc [angelus Christus est] uidit et angelo ueniente illi septem tubas acceperunt, id est, per omnem mundum Christum adnuntiauerunt."

91 Beatus makes this point again, in connection with God's sending his two witnesses (Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 703).
92 Iibid., II, 699: "qui creauit caelum et quae in eo, et terram et quae in ea, et mare et quae in eo, quoniam tempus iam non erit."

93 Ibid., II, 713.

94 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 601.

95 Ibid., II, 603, "haec omne tempus est a passione Domini usque ad antichristum."

96 Ibid., II, 608: "id est, tribus annis et sex mensibus, quod sunt anni trecenti quinginta, quos supra diximus a passione Domini usque ad antichristum."
CHAPTER SIX

I. Analytical Summary of Section Six, pages 203 and 255 (96r - 102r)

203 (96r) "Hieronimus de Samuele et Saul et Phetonissa," chapter LXXXVI, begins with the admonition that Satan's powers of deception cause the downfall of many people.¹ Lambert cites II Corinthians 11:14, which warns us that Satan can transform his appearance into that of an angel of light: "Ipse Satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis." He then paraphrases I Samuel 28, describing Satan's deception of Saul. God had ceased to communicate with Saul and so Saul employed a medium to raise the spirit of the deceased Samuel to advise him in his war against the Philistines. Lambert declares that the spirit was a fraud. The true spirit of Samuel would not have said to Saul "You will be with me tomorrow"² since the righteous Samuel could not have been in Hell, which is where Saul would surely be the next day. The spirit must, therefore, have been Satan pretending to be Samuel. Lambert concludes by warning that

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Satan often appears in such disguises in order to deceive his victims.

The penance of Solomon is the subject that Lambert addresses in chapter LXXXVII. According to the Jews, he says, Solomon composed the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as an expression of his penance. While the Scriptures tell us that Solomon had worshipped idols in his old age, they also tell us that he rested with his righteous ancestors after death. Lambert concludes that Solomon could only have been worthy of grace because of his penance.

Chapter LXXXVIII is entitled "De Alexandro Rege Iudeorum Ultimo et Herode." It begins by explaining that Alexander, king of the Jews, had two sons, Aristobolus and Hyrcanus, and that Hyrcanus succeeded him as king. Herod murdered Hyrcanus and seized the kingship. When he was called before the Roman senate, accused of murder, he tricked them by removing his vestments and showing them his scars. The Romans, moved by his display into believing that Herod was a true patriot,
dismissed their charges against him and made him king of the Jews. Herod returned to Judea. He ordered the Massacre of the Innocents, who are the first martyrs and the sons of Leah who will have eternal life.⁵ Archeaus and Herod the Tetrarch, two of Herod's sons, follow him in persecuting saints. Archelaus was responsible for the death of Jacob, brother of John the Evangelist, and Herod the Tetrarch had the Baptist decapitated.

216 (97v) A passage that Lambert attributes to Augustine, concerning the thirty-six hours of Christ's death, appears as the beginning of chapter LXXXVIII on this page.⁶ Twelve hours of this death were during the day and twenty-four hours were at night. The twenty-four hours of night signify our double death, the twelve hours of day, Christ's single death.

The next passage describes the burial of Christ by Joseph of Arimathaea, the guard installed at the tomb, Christ's resurrection, and the guards' lies after the Resurrection.
After this account of Christ's Resurrection, we read that Pilate was reprimanded by the Roman senate for having condemned Christ without first consulting them. This passage ends informing us that Pilate, Herod, and Nero all committed suicide: Pilate with an arrow; Herod with a knife; and Nero with a sword.

The Dormition of John on Ephesus is next, discussed in chapter XC, followed by a list in chapter XCI of the twelve apostles that tells where each of them preached and by whose orders each was slain. For example: "Simon Peter preached in Rome and was crucified by order of Nero . . . Jacob, brother of the Lord, preached in Samaria and was slain by Herod's son Archelaus. John the Evangelist preached in Ephesus and under order of Domitian was boiled in oil."7

217 (98r) "The names of the days according to the Hebrews, Romans, and Gentiles" is Lambert's title for chapter XCII. It consists of three lists. In the first list Lambert presents his notion of the Hebrew names for the days of the week: "Prima sabbati, Secunda sabbati, Tertia
sabbati . . . ". The second list presents the "Roman" days: "feria prima I, feria secunda II, feria tertia III." The third list names the days of the week according to the gentiles: "hoc est dies Solis, hoc est dies Lune, hoc est dies Martis . . . ".

The ten plagues of Egypt, which finally convinced the Pharaoh to free the Israelites, are listed in chapter XCIII. According to the book of Exodus, God discriminated between the Egyptians and the Israelites in delivering these plagues: only the Egyptians' livestock perished; the hail stones did not fall on the land of Goshen, where the Hebrews lived; God passed over the Israelites' homes when he killed the first born.

Chapter XCIII lists the patriarchs who had both "elect" and "reprobate" sons. For example: "Adam had two sons, one elect and one reprobate . . . Isaac had two sons, one elect and one reprobate; Jacob had twelve sons, one elect and eleven reprobate." This list is completed with Christ, who chose twelve disciples, one reprobate and the others elect.
Chapter XCV lists the Ten Commandments, returning us to the book of Exodus and the Israelites' journey from Egypt to Jerusalem.

"Ex Concilio Laodice Capitulo LX de Libris Recipiendis," chapter XCVI, tells us that it is not fitting for uncanonical books to be read in church. It then lists the books of the Old and New Testaments that are considered to be canonical.\(^{13}\)

"Pelagius Para Galliarum Episcopis de Prefationibus," chapter XCVII, names nine feast days of the year whose prefaces to the Mass are of the greatest antiquity.\(^{14}\)

Chapter XCVIII, "Quando et quo Tempore Veteris et Novi Testamenti Libri Legendi Sunt in Ecclesia per Anni Circulum," tells the Scriptural readings and homilies that are part of the church services on certain feast days during the year. It begins: "In the vigil of the nativity of the Lord, they set down three readings from Isaiah: You are comforted, arise, then sermons and homilies appropriate for the day. On the birthday of Saint Stephen, readings and homilies appropriate for the day . . . "\(^{15}\)
After this, Lambert calculates the number of years from Creation to the fall of Troy, from the fall of Troy to the foundation of Rome, from the foundation of Rome to Christ, and finally concludes that 5,258 years elapsed between Creation and the Incarnation.

220 (99v) In chapter XCVIII Lambert lists the Apocryphal books of the Bible and the names of notorious magicians and heretics.16

221 (100r) A series of short passages that Lambert attributes to Saint Augustine comprise chapters C to CIII. First we read that there are two Paradises, one from which the first man was driven, the other in heaven, where the souls of the blessed await the reception of their bodies. Next, we learn that there are also two infernos, one above the earth and one beneath. Souls that are sent into Hell remain here forever. The resurrection at the end of time is discussed next, followed by the statement that while everyone will see the human nature of Christ at the Last Judgment, only the elect will see his divine nature afterward. Furthermore, although we do not know who the
elect are during this life, their souls will arise after death. When bodies and souls are rejoined after Judgment, there will be no deformities.

Chapter CIII, which extends from page 221-222, concerns powers of prophecy. First it discusses the different ways in which God communicates with his prophets—through voices, angels, and visions. Lambert is particularly expansive in describing David's inspiration through the spirit of the Lord. King David practiced hymnology at night, composing the Psalms. David, he says, played the psalter, a curved, wooden instrument that produces a most pleasant cantilena, or old song, when a pick plucks its strings.17

Seven ways to achieve the remission of sin, according to Jerome, are listed in chapter CV. The final means is through penance.18

The history of the establishment of the Easter cycle is briefly recorded in chapter CVI: "Paschalem cyclum Ypolitus espicopus tempori-bus Alexandri imperatoris primus conscripsit . . . .".19
The four fasts of the four seasons are named in chapter CVII, followed by the twelve vigils of the year in chapter CVIII. Chapter CVIII concerns the end of the passage on the vigils, we learn that Pope Telesphorus, seventh pope after Peter, established a tradition that two Masses should be sung on Christmas Eve: "vigila Natalis Domini, in cuius noctis vigilia constituit Thelesphorus post beatum Petrum papa VII mus duas cantare missas . . . ".

223 (101r) The appropriate changes to make in one's diet during the twelve months of the year, along with some dietary cures, is the subject of chapter CVIII. As the external elements, or the weather, change in the course of the year, the internal elements of the body should be adjusted, by means of diet, in order to maintain a healthy balance. Therefore, in the hot and dry months, cold, we food and drink are recommended, while in the winter months, rich, warm dishes and wine are to be consumed.  

224-225 (101v-102r) For chapters CX and CXI Lambert has written the Pater Noster and the Credo in Greek and Latin.
He has also inscribed the ten Hebrew names for God. 23

225 (102r) The names of the mountains that were not covered by the Flood, according to Nicolaus Damascenus and Marcianus Felix Capella, comprise chapter CXII.

In chapter CXIII Lambert traces the genealogy of Job from Abraham and tells how long Job lived, when he was relieved of his suffering, and how many years he lived afterward.

The final passage in chapter CXIII tells that in the year 846 the Danes ravaged Flanders and people from surrounding cities fled to Saint-Omer, carrying relics, to find shelter behind its strong walls.
II. Commentary on Section Six

The entries in this section of the Liber Floridus deal with a number of different subjects, making it somewhat more difficult to characterize than the previous sections. Several of these articles discuss the contrast between true and false prophecy and visions: Satan, we learn, is capable of great tricks in deceiving men; false scriptures and prophets abound in our world. Penance is another recurring subject on these folios. Lambert writes of Solomon's salvation through penance and quotes Jerome's statement that penance serves in the remission of sin.

The separation of the elect and the reprobate is described several times: in God's distinction between the Egyptians and the Israelites; as the elect and reprobate sons and apostles; and in the excerpts from Saint Augustine on Judgment and eternal rewards.

The subject in which Lambert seems most interested, though, is liturgy and the liturgical year. He names the four fasts and the twelve vigils of the year, he mentions the history of the Easter cycle, and he writes the Pater Noster and the Credo in Greek and Latin. On the central folios of this section, he lists the books of the Old and New Testaments that are canonical and thus appropriate to be read in the Mass, he names the nine feasts whose Masses have the oldest Prefaces, and he tells which Scriptural
readings from the Old and New Testaments are part of the Masses of the year.\textsuperscript{34}

The liturgy is the \textit{cantus ecclesia}, the song that symbolizes the congregation of the Church.\textsuperscript{35} During the early Middle Ages, music had become increasingly important in the liturgy and most of the Mass was sung.\textsuperscript{36} Lambert, as we have seen, writes of "singing" the two Masses of the Christmas vigil.\textsuperscript{37} He also writes of singing Psalms and of the musical instruments used in the Psalms on the same folio that he writes about the Easter cycle and the fasts and vigils of the year. The parts of the divine service that he refers to in this section of the \textit{Liber Floridus}, the Prefaces, the Scriptural readings, the \textit{Pater Noster} and the \textit{Credo}, are sung or cantillated.\textsuperscript{38}

Unlike the other sections in the \textit{Liber Floridus} that we have examined, Section Six does not have a miniature of the Church at its center.\textsuperscript{39} Instead, it has a verbal image: the liturgy or \textit{cantus ecclesia}. The passages on pages 220-221 naming the Old and New Testament readings that are part of the liturgy, are particularly appropriate representations of the Song of the Church since, according to Saint Augustine, this song, sung by the 144,000 on Mount Zion, is the Old and New Testaments.\textsuperscript{40}
Lambert's reason for bringing together this particularly diverse content in his sixth section can be understood by reference to the sixth book of the *Beatus Apocalypse*.\(^{41}\) This book explicates Revelations 11:19-14:6. It begins by interpreting the story of the Apocalyptic Woman giving birth to the Child. According to Beatus, the Woman is the Church, who bears Christ in great travail.\(^{42}\) A dragon tries to devour the Child at his birth. This dragon, Beatus says, is Herod, a prefiguration of the Antichrist.\(^{43}\) Unable to destroy Christ, the Antichrist must then content himself with persecuting the Church.\(^{44}\)

Two Beasts emerge, the first from the sea and the second from the land. They continue the Antichrist's persecutions. The first Beast seems to have a deadly wound that has healed, a fraudulent imitation of Christ's resurrection, Beatus tells us, that deceives people into believing that he is the Messiah.\(^{45}\) He blasphemes God, which, Beatus says, means he spreads heresy;\(^{46}\) he persecutes the Church for forty-two months. And yet, we are told, whoever kills with the sword will be killed by the sword.\(^{47}\)

The second Beast is a false prophet who serves the first Beast by working false miracles. Beatus admonishes us against such deception, quoting II Corinthians 11:14: "... for Satan himself is transfigured into an angel of light."\(^{48}\) The second Beast compels all the followers of
Beast to be branded with his seal. Beatus suggests that the Beast is prefigured by Nero.\textsuperscript{49}

The sixth book of the Beatus Apocalypse ends with John's vision of the Church as the 144,000 followers of the Lamb who bear His seal. They stand on Mount Zion, playing harps and singing a song that only they can know. They are perfectly virtuous and speak no falsehood. Beatus tells us that these followers of the Lamb were not always faultless, but their sins were cleansed because they practiced penance.\textsuperscript{50}

The parallels between Lambert's and Beatus' texts are clear. In response to the description of the Beast's false prophecy and miracles in Beatus' sixth book, Lambert develops his theme of false prophecy and Satan's deception. In this context Lambert, like Beatus, quotes II Corinthians 11:14.\textsuperscript{51} Beatus' 144,000 were redeemed by penance and so Lambert writes of the efficacy of penance in his sixth section. The followers of the Beast receive his seal and the followers of the Lamb are marked with the seal of God. The demarcation of the elect and the reprobate is also one of Lambert's subjects. Both Beatus' and Lambert's texts culminate in the Song of the Church.

Further comparisons can be drawn. In Revelations, the Antichrist persecutes the saints and is followed by his two Beasts. In Lambert's text Herod, the prefiguration
of the Antichrist, persecutes the saints and is followed by his two sons. In Revelations, the Beast deceives people by displaying a wound that has healed. In the *Liber Floridus*, Herod deceives the Romans by displaying his scars. Revelations states that those who kill by the sword will be killed by the sword. Lambert notes that Herod, Pilate, and Nero all commit suicide.
FOOTNOTES

1"Est prestigium Satane quo ut plurimos fallat et bonos in potestate se habere confingit."

2I Samuel 28:19.

3"Veniam autem ipsam nisi penitentia promierer imperii non potuit."

4"scidit uestamenta sua ostendens cicatrices in corpore."

5"Fili autem Lie in Primeuis annis in Salvatoris causa occisi sunt, unde eorum cause planctum non uult adscribi, quid et innocentes occisi sunt et propter Deum, a quo sine dubio mercedis gratia eterna uita donata sunt."

6It is entitled "Augustinus in questionorum libro," with "Orosii" inscribed over "questionorum."


8Exodus 7:17-11:10.

9Exodus 9:4.


11Exodus 11:7.

12"Adam duo filios habuit, unus electus et unus reprobatus . . . Isaac duo filios habuit, unus electus et unus reprobatus. Jacob XII filios habuit, unus electus et XI reprobati."

13"Que autem oportet legi et in auctoritatem recipi hec sunt: liber Gensis, liber Exodus . . . LIBRI NOVI TESTAMENT: Evangelium Johannis, Evangelium Mathei . . .".

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15. "In uigilia Natalis Domini ponunt primum de Esaia lectiones tres primo tempore: Consolamini, Consurge, consurge, deinde sermones et omelias ad ipsum diem pertinent. In natali sancti Stephani lectiones et omelias ad ipsum diem pertinentes . . . ."


17. "Psalterium quippe genus est musicorum de ligno formatum . . . plectro percussa suauissimam reddunt cantilenam."

18. The other six ways: baptism; martyrdom; almsgiving; forgiving others' sins; conversion of others from sinful lives; charity.


20. The fasts are: Lent; the week of Pentecost; twelfth calends of October; the week before Christmas. The twelve vigils: Easter; Ascension; Pentecost; birth of John the Baptist; Peter and Paul; Jacob; Lawrence; Assumption; Simon and Jude; All Saints; Andrew; Christmas.


22. The "Greek" version is written in Latin rather than Greek letters.


24. Page 113 (96r).

Pages 113-114 (96r-96v).

Pages 222 (110v).

Page 217 (98r).

Page 217 (98r).

Page 221 (100r).

Page 222 (100v).

Page 222 (100v).

Page 224 (101v).

Pages 218-219 (98v-99r).


Gelineau, The Study of Liturgy, 441 and 447-488.

Page 222 (100v).


Leopold Delisle notes that one or two entries appear at this place in the copies that are not in the original Ghent manuscript, though he is uncertain whether these entries ever were in the original. ("Notices sur les manuscrits du 'Liber Floridus' compose en 1120 par Lambert, chanoine de Saint-Omer," Notices et extraits des manuscrits publies par l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 38, 2, 1906, 662). These additional articles appear in conjunction with the texts that are inscribed in the original manuscript, at the center of section six. It is possible, therefore, that a folio has been removed from the center of the sixth section, precisely where we might have expected to have found an allegorical miniature of the Church. Most other lacunae in the manuscript do, in fact, include miniatures. Delisle did not find a miniature among the additional articles in the copies that he examined, but he was not able to examine the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, the earliest copy of the Liber Floridus. I, too, have not had the opportunity to see the Wolfenbüttel manuscript and so I do not know if it includes an illustration along with the additional entries. However, since there is presently not sufficient evidence to prove that a folio is missing,
we will only concern ourselves with the existing materials and assume that the center of this section is intact.


42 Ibid., II, 718: "semper enim haec mulier etiam ante adventum Domini parturiebat in doloribus suis, quae est antiqua ecclesia patrum et propheterum et sanctorum, quae gemitus et tormenta desiderii sui habuit, usquequro fructum ex plebi sua secundum carnem olim promis-sum sibi uideret Christum ex ipsa genti corpus sumpsisse."

43 Ibid., II, 772: "quia est Herodes nisi diabolus, qui in uilitis regnat?"

44 Ibid., II, 725: "potestatem namque pugnandi cum semine mul-"teris, id est, cum sanctis."

45 Ibid., II, 734: "hunc caput dicit quasi occisum in morte, et plaga mortis eius curata, id est, quasi Christum crucifixum sequantur."

46 Ibid., II, 736: "non aperto ore blasphemabat ecclesiam, sed nomine sanctitatis in mysterio facinoris."

47 Revelation 13:10.


49 Ibid., II, 756: "Nero dicit, qui antichristum praefiguravit."

50 Ibid., II, 769: "numquid pueri qui putantur aut uirgines, Christum tantum sequuntur in quocumque duxerit? sed omnes, quos ad penitentiam vocauerit."

51 Page 113 (96r).

52 Page 115 (97r).

53 Page 115 (97r).

54 Page 116 (97v).
CHAPTER SEVEN

I. Analytical Summary of Section Seven, pages 226-287

226 (102v) This chapter begins with a genealogy tree in chapter CXIII: "Genealogia per Gradus Consanguinitas Descripta" (fig. 83). The tree is composed of curving, vine-like branches with the various grades of consanguinity written among them.

227 (103r) Chapter CXV, a versified passage on consanguinity, appears on the upper part of this page, explaining the titles of different family relations: "I am the grandchild of my father's father . . . my mother's sister is my aunt, I am the son or daughter of her sister . . . ".

In the margin of the page, Lambert drew another tree, with the names of family relations written on its horizontal branches (fig. 84). Next to the tree, Lambert again defines the family relationships.
The latter part of chapter CXVI is missing. It consists of excerpts from papal decrees concerning the degrees of family relation that prohibit marriage.

Delisle states that the "double feuillet" that is missing here included for chapter CXVII a representation of a plainisphere. The left side showed Europe, Asia, and Africa; the right side contained a text describing the zona australis. A text around the two sides of the planisphere discussed the kingdoms of the world, the course of the zodiac, and the dimensions of the earth.²

Chapter CXVII contained entries entitled "Comitatus et urbes et abbatie Flandrensis," "Sanctorum reliquie in comitatibus Flandrie," and "Nomina comitum Flandrie," which are also missing from the original manuscript.³

Chapter CXVII continues as the Genealogy of the Counts of Flanders. According to Raoul C. van Caenegem, this genealogy is probably an original composition by Lambert.⁴ It begins: "In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 792, while Charlemagne was king of the
Franks, Lidric Harlebec, seeing that Flanders was unoccupied, uncivilized, and forested, took control of it. He was succeeded by his son Count Ingelram. Audacer was the son of Ingelram and the father of Baldwin the Iron Arm. Baldwin the Bald was the son of Baldwin Iron Arm and Judith, widow of King Adelbald of England, and daughter of Charles the Bald, king of the Franks . . .". The narrative history of Flanders and its ruling house until 1120 ends with a list of the sixteen counts of Flanders. Lambert sewed an extra piece of parchment onto the edge of folio 117 to complete his history of the Flemish counts.

On the verso side of this added sheet, he wrote the "Genealogia Regum Francorum Comitatum que Flandre." This text, another of Lambert's compositions, begins by stating that the Franks and the Flemings are descended from Priam of Troy. It then traces the descent of the Franks to Charles the Bald and his daughter Judith. The genealogy then changes from the Franks to the Flemings. Judith, as we read earlier, married Baldwin Iron Arm and they were succeeded by their son Baldwin the Bald.
The line is traced to the most recent count of Flanders, Charles. The genealogy culminates in the statement that the counts of Flanders are the descendents of Charlemagne.  

Chapter CXVIII describes the conflict between the Emperor Henry V and Pope Pascal II over the investiture of bishops, a controversy that had begun a generation earlier between Henry IV and Pope Urban. The passage begins by relating the events surrounding the Concordat of Sutri, which eventually led to Henry's arrest of Pascal. It then tells of the concessions that Pascal made to Henry in order to be released after two months of imprisonment. He yielded the right of investiture, promised not to excommunicate Henry, and agreed to crown him Emperor. Eventually, as Lambert reports, Henry was condemned and excommunicated by the Council of Vienna and his authority of investiture removed.

Lambert summarizes the "Epistola Methodius de Antichristo" in chapter CXVIII. Antichrist, we read, will be born of the Jewish people, in the tribe of Dan. He will be a serpent in
our path. He will be born in Babylon and raised in Corozaim. He will repair the temple of Solomon and declare himself the son of God. Kings and princes and ordinary people will be converted by him and his apostles will be sent throughout the world. He will perform miracles such as calling fire from the sky, causing trees to flower, and the sea to rage and then be still. He will also persecute the Christians and all the elect by various means for three and a half years.

We can see, Methodius writes, that the course of empire is moving westward. Dominion has passed from the Persians to the Greeks, and from the Greeks to the Romans. The center of political power within the Roman empire has again shifted westward to the Franks. Some day, a Frankish king, having favorably ruled his kingdom, will journey to Jerusalem and on the Mount of Olives he will establish the sceptre and crown of Christian authority. The Antichrist will then come to sit in the Temple of God and convince the Jews that he is the Messiah. Amidst the persecution of the Christians, Enoch and Elijah will return to
earth and lead the army of the faithful. The Beast will emerge from the Abyss and murder them. Their bodies will be left unburied and after three days they will be resurrected. Antichrist's persecutions will continue until the judgment of God comes upon him and he is slain by the spirit of the mouth of God. He will die on the Mount of Olives and descend into Hell from the same place that Christ ascended into Heaven. The Jews will finally be converted and baptized and nothing further will need to be accomplished before Judgment.

The "Epistola" ends by saying that no one knows on what day or hour judgment will begin. Lambert, however, cannot resist adding a description of the fifteen portents that will occur on the fifteen days preceding Judgment, according to Saint Jerome. The sea will rise and fall forty cubits, trees and plants will drip blood, and so forth.

In chapter XCC, Lambert writes the "Gesta Francorum Hierusalem Expugnatiumque Polcherus Cartnoensis Sancto Dictante Spiritu Dictavit." This text is actually a condensed version of
the part of Fulcher's *Historia Hieroslymitana* that was completed by 1106.11 The author of this condensed text is the so-called Barolf of Nangis.12 The same text is found in another manuscript in the library of Saint-Omer.13

The history begins with a description of the political situation of Europe in the year 1095: Henry was emperor in Germany; Philip, King of France; Alexius, Emperor of Byzantium; and William King of England. Pope Urban perceived evil multiplying throughout Europe. In response to this and to the Turkish invasions in the East, he called a council at Clermont where he encouraged those assembled to make war against the evil-doings of the Devil. He promised, by the power vested in him by God, the remission of sin for all those who perished in the crusade.14 Some crusaders set out in the following March and some later in the spring and summer. Fulcher names the leaders: Hugh the Great, brother of the King of France; Bohemond; Godfrey, duke of Lorraine; Raymond of Provenance; Peter the Hermit. The contingent that Fulcher himself accompanied set

After reaching Constantinople, they rested for fifteen days. Fulcher was clearly impressed by the magnificence of the city. The armies then set forth to Nicaea, which capitulated after five weeks of siege. The Franks next marched to Antioch, and laid siege to that city. Here they suffered terribly from famine but finally, after eight months, Antioch was taken. Once inside the city, the Franks themselves were besieged by the Turks. However, they managed to defeat the Turks in battle and the enemy fled.

Eventually, the Franks reached the city of Jerusalem. After strengthening themselves for six days with water and food, they attacked on the seventh day with scaling ladders. Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders attacked the walls at the Gate of Saint Stephen, Godfrey attacked from the valley of Josaphat, Tancred toward the tower of David, and Raymond from Mount Zion. The first assault was
unsuccessful since the scaling-ladders were too few. They then built siege machines, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Tancred battered the walls by the gate of Saint Stephen, while Raymond battered the walls elsewhere, and Godfrey and his soldiers set fire to the enemy towers with flaming torches.

Finally, the enemy fled from the burning towers and the Franks were able to enter the city, crying "God helped! God willed it!" Some of the enemy sought refuge in the temple of the Lord and the temple of Solomon but they were shot. The Franks' feet were soaked in blood, nearly as high as the calves of their legs. They spared no one, not even women and children, since King Saul had incurred the wrath of God by sparing Agag.15 "The holy city of Jerusalem was conquered from the infidel that day, to the praise and glory and honor of Him whose Sepulchre is there glorified, who, by the admirable power and predestination of his grace, led his faithful followers there through the peril of sea and land."16
Fulcher ends the chapter by describing the conquest with some lines of verse, celebrating the date of the Ides of July, the year 1100 minus one from the Incarnation, "when the Franks captured the city by virtue of their strength/ And sang a new song of praise to the One enthroned above the stars."^17

As soon as the city was taken, Fulcher reports, everyone gathered with offerings and burning candles at the Holy Sepulchre and sang their praise and thanks in a voice of exultation. "The people of God and the sheep of His pasture" visited the holy sites, shedding tears and giving utterance to their joy by singing hymns and psalms.^18 Godfrey was unanimously chosen king or prince of the city of Jerusalem. Canons were assigned to the Lord's sepulchre, and Arnulf was made Patriarch. Then a piece of the True Cross was discovered by a Syrian. From ancient times it had been conserved from the enemy by being hidden in a secret place. When it was found, everyone rejoiced.

The "Gesta Francorum Hierusalem Expugnatium" text includes a narrative description of
Jerusalem and a map of the city. These are, unfortunately, missing in Lambert's original Liber Floridus. The map, preserved in the Leiden copy and in Bibliotheque Nationale, MS. Lat. 8865, is circular, illustrating the most important sites within the city (fig. 20).

Lambert's manuscript also included a plan of the Holy Sepulchre, accompanied by explanatory texts (fig. 19). Copies of this miniature are preserved in the same manuscripts that have the Jerusalem map. The first part of the text tells of Christ's burial by Joseph of Arimathea, His Resurrection, and the lies of the soldiers who had guarded the tomb. The second part of the text describes the Sepulchre: "The Sepulchre of the Lord was made in this way. There was in the garden a huge rock of variegated purple marble, brilliantly shining in color. A tomb was cut in its side big enough to hold nine people and so high that one's hand could touch the top. The Lord's tomb was cut on the north side of this, seven feet long and three and a half hands wide. The opening of the vault is to the east, so that the Lord's head faced to the
west, His feet to the east, His right hand to
the south, and His left to the north. After
His Ascension, the Christians built a round
church in this place, paved with white marble,
roofed with sheets of gold and decoated inside
with gold encrustations. In this miraculous
work the prophecy of Isaiah is fulfilled: 'In
that day the root of Jesse will ascend as a
sign and a salutation to the people; the people
will pray at it and it will be His glorious
sepulchre.'"20

Jerusalem, as we have already discussed, was
the earthly figure of Heavenly Jerusalem in
the medieval imagination.21 The pilgrimages
to the Holy City and the crusade symbolized
the heavenly aspirations of their participants.
Within the city, of all its holy sites, the
Holy Sepulchre was the most sacred monument
and, it seems, a symbol of the city itself.
Urban's pleas to the Christians to take up
the cross had referred to the goal of the
expedition as the liberation of the Sepulchre.22
The title that Godfrey chose to assume was
"Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri" rather than King
of Jerusalem.22 As Fulcher carefully noted,
the Holy Sepulchre was the place where the triumphant crusaders gathered to sing praise and thanks to God.24 The city of Jerusalem was a typological figure of the City of God, or the Church, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the most sacred church on earth.

Lambert's map of Jerusalem and the plan of the Sepulchre appeared at the center of his seventh section (figs. 19 and 20). As the city and the Sepulchre were the focal points of the crusade, these illustrations, which typologically represent the Church, are the focus of this section of the Liber Floridus.

The king of the "Babylonians"25 sent an army to attack the Christians when he heard that they had captured Jerusalem. The Franks left the city and marched toward Ascalon, where they met and defeated the Babylonians and put them to flight. In November, Baldwin, Bohemond, and the new Patriarch, Daimbert, started their journey from Edessa and Antioch to join the others in Jerusalem. All celebrated Christmas together in Bethlehem. Baldwin and Bohemond then left Jerusalem to return to Edessa and
Antioch. Bohemond was captured by the Saracen amir Danisman.

In August, Godfrey died and his brother, Baldwin, became King of Jerusalem. He set off for Jerusalem with two hundred knights and seven hundred footmen, passing through hostile territory. They were ambushed by the enemy not far from Beirut. With God's help they were saved and proceeded on to Jerusalem. After a few days of rest, Baldwin set out for Ascalon, passing the sepulchres of Old Testament patriarchs and the Dead Sea along the way.

They returned to Jerusalem in December and on Christmas day Baldwin was crowned King by Daimbert the Patriarch. He then marched to Caesarea, laid siege for fifteen days, and defeated the city by scaling the walls with ladders. Further battles were fought with the Babylonians, at Ascalon and at Ramla. The Franks suffered a great defeat by Soliman in Romania and many Franks, including Hugh the Great, were slain. Another defeat was met at Ramla and, though Baldwin narrowly escaped,
Stephen of Blois, Stephen of Burgundy, Hugh of Lianiansis, and Godfrey of Vendom were killed. Hugo of Tyberius arrived at Arsuf, Baldwin's place of refuge, with reinforcements, and together they finally managed to defeat the Babylonians.

Bohemond's release from captivity, the disension between Daimbert and the clergy, and the accession of Evermar as Patriarch follow. Finally, a great force of Babylonians prepared to attack Jerusalem and drive the Christians from Judea. The Christians gathered in the Holy Sepulchre, they prayed and fasted and gave alms. Evermar took up the True Cross and the Franks marched into battle crying "Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ rules." With the help of the Cross, they defeated the Babylonians.

The "Gesta" ends by describing an earthquake that occurred on Christmas Eve, 1105 and a comet that appeared a few months later. The author of the "Gesta" had written about the lance of Longinus, which was found in Antioch, in the context of his narration of the capture
of that city. Lambert, instead, writes of the Lance at the end of his history. The discovery was taken at first as a sign of victory. Some doubted its authenticity, though, and the discoverer of the Lance underwent an ordeal by fire. He was proven dishonest when he died of burns twelve days later. The people ceased to venerate the Lance.
II. Commentary on Section Seven

The subject of the seventh section of the Liber Floridus is, quite obviously the first crusade. Lambert expands his history of the crusade with the Pseudo-Methodius' Epistola de Antichristo and his own genealogy of the counts of Flanders. The addition of the Epistola indicates that Lambert believes that the crusade is part of the Last Events, that it is the conquest of Jerusalem by the Franks foretold by Methodius. Lambert's genealogy of the Flemish counts was clearly added to prove that the leaders of the crusade, and specifically the count of Flanders, were descended from Charlemagne and are thus suitable candidates to fulfill the prophecy of Pseudo-Methodius.

This section's theme of military conquest and the defeat of the Infidel by the Elect coincides with the theme of the seventh book of the Beatus Apocalypse. This part of Beatus' commentary discusses Revelation 14:15:8. Saint John hears angels announce that Babylon has fallen, that all who worshipped the Beast must now drink the wine of God's wrath. Beatus explains that the Church is hostile to the City of the Devil: "As the City of God is the Church, this Jerusalem is opposed to the City of the Devil, which above we called Babylon." A voice from
heaven instructs John to write: "Blessed are those who die in the Lord. Blessed indeed, the Spirit says, for they may rest from their labor since their good works follow them."\(^{30}\)

Next, John sees "one like the Son of man" sitting on a cloud, with a gold crown on his head and a sickle in his hand.\(^{31}\) An angel cries out that it is time to harvest the earth. The harvest of the earth is gathered and put into the winepress of God's anger; blood flows from the press to the height of a horse's bridle.\(^{32}\)

Beatus imparts an extremely militaristic character to this particular passage in John's vision. He compares it to the harvest described in Joel 3:9-17:

Proclaim this to the nations: Declare war, awaken the warriors, let all combatants gather near. Beat your plowshares into swords and your sickles into spears, Whoever is weak, let him say, I am strong. Whoever is gentle, let him be bellicose. Arouse and assemble all nations in the Valley of Josaphat . . . which, Beatus interpolates, is the Church,

. . . put forth your sickles for the harvest, the winepress is full . . . the heavens and earth will shake, but the Lord will spare his people . . .".\(^{33}\)

Finally, John sees a sea of glass and fire in heaven and, standing on it, "those who had fought the Beast and won."\(^{34}\) The sea, Beatus tells us, is both glass and fire because it is meant to remind us that there are two means of baptism: by water and by death.\(^{35}\)
on the sea, who are, of course, the Church, sing the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb: "Great and wonderful are your works, almighty God; righteous and true are your ways, king of nations. Who will not fear and glorify your name, you who alone are holy. Now all nations will come and worship you, since your judgments are manifest." 36

Lambert must have been especially gratified by the similarity of Fulcher's account of the first crusade and Beatus' explication of the fall of Babylon as a military combat between the Church and the Babylonians. Beatus' description of the hostility of the City of the Devil and the City of God corresponds quite nicely to the twelfth-century concept of the crusade. The angel's proclamation that those who die in the Lord will be blessed, as well as Beatus' reaffirmation that we may be baptized, washed clean of sin, by both death and water, compares with Pope Urban's promise of the remission of sin for all those who perish in the crusade. The blood of the slaughtered Saracens in Jerusalem ran as high as the Franks' ankles; this may not be so high as a horse's bridle, but is reminiscent, none-theless, of the blood that ran from the winepress of God in Revelations.

As in the previous sections of the Liber Floridus, the focal images of this section, Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre (figs. 19 and 20), relate to the culminating
motif in the corresponding book of the Beatus Apocalypse: the gathering of the triumphant crusaders at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Lambert's placement of his crusading section and his miniatures of the Holy Sepulchre and Jerusalem in this part of his manuscript is clearly the result of his wish to relate the crusade to the defeat of the Beast and the Fall of Babylon in Revelations 14:6-15:8. We may conclude, therefore, that Lambert has modeled his seventh section on the seventh book of Beatus' commentary.
FOOTNOTES

1"Patris mei pater mechi auus, ego ille nepos aut neptis . . . Matris mee soror michi matertera, ego illi sororis filius aut filia."


3Ibid., 1906, 668-669.


6Van Caenegem, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 73.

7"Francorum Flandrensiuque principium nobilium Priamus dux Troianus extitit exordium."

8"Qui sic ortus de regali Karolus progenie heres regni factus est atque comes Flandrie."

9The entire Epistola is published in Corpus Christianorum, 45, ed. D. Verheist, Turnholti, 1976.

10". . . unus de regibus Francorum Romanum ex integro reget imperium, qui in novissimo imperator erit maximus et omnium regum ultimus. Qui, postquam regnum feliciter gubernauerit, ad ultimum Hierosolimam ueniet et in monte Oluieti sceptrum et coronam Christianorumque obtinebit imperium."

12 Ibid., 21.

13 Ms. 776: Delisle, Notices et extraits, 1906, 675.

14 Page 245 (lllv): "... siue gradiendo siue dimicando uel mortis periculo periclitando peccaminum remissio a semper aderit presens. Quod ituris annuo dono tanto inuestitus a Deo."


16 Page 260 (lllv): "Expugnata est ciuitas sancta Iherusalem ab infidelibus ea die ad laudem et gloriam et honorem illus, cuius sepulchrum intra gloriosum est, qui admirabile potencia et preestimatione sua fideles suos illuc usque per marium terramque paricula sui gratia direxerat."

17 Page 260 (lllv): "Iulius efferaens ter quina luce calebat/ Idibus inque suis iter ad medium faciebat,/ Anno milleno centeno sed minus uno/ Virginis a partu peperit que audia mundo,/ Urbem cum Franci capiunt uirtute potenti,/ Atque nouas redidunt laudis super astra sedenti."

18 Page 260 (lllv): "... cum hymnis et canticis psallentis emiserunt: O tempus Domini desideratum, o tempus acceptabile, o factum factis omnibus memorabile. ...".

19 They are described in Delisle, Notices et extraits, 1906, 674.

20 The inscription is printed in ibid., Notices et extraits, 675-676: "De sepulchro Domini quomodo factum fuerit. Erat enim lapis magnus in orto, guttulis purpureis intermixtus, colore candido refulgens, in cuius latere erat sepulcrum excisum, tante magnitudinis ut quisque manu culmen pertingere posset, in cuius aquilonari parte sepulcrum Domini excisum est septemque pedes habens longitudinis et tres palmas et medium latitudinis. Ostium uero spelunce patulum est ad orientem, ita ut capud Domini ad occidentem et pedes illium ad orientem repicerent; dextra quoque manus ad meridiem, sinistra quoque ad aquilonem. Post Ascensionem uero eius, Christiani ecclesiam in eodem loco.
rotundam edificantes, pavimentum ex marmore albo straverunt
tectumque laminis aureis desuper et interiora crustulos
aureis ornauerunt. In tantum tamque mirabile factum est ut
Isaia propheta impleretur dicens: 'In die illa radix
Jesse ascendet in signum et saluten populorum; ipsum gentes
deprecabuntur, et erit sepulcrum eius gloriosum.'

21 See above, 22-23.

22 Frederic Duncalf, "The Councils of Piacenza and
Clermont," A History of the Crusades, I, ed. Kenneth M.


24 In the Liber Floridus, page 260 (114v).

25 Fulcher seems to have identified the Egyptians as
the Babylonians. Concerning this confusion, see Sheila
O'Meara, The Facade of Saint-Gilles-du-Garde, New York,
1977, 106.

26 Pages 240-243 (108v-110r) and 231-233 (104r-105r).

27 Henry A. Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, Libri
Duodecim, II, 772-288.

28 Revelations, 14:8-10.

29 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 773: "nam
sicut ciuitas Dei ecclesia est, ita e contrario ciuitas
diaboli ista Ierusalem est, quem supra diximus, et Babilon."

30 Revelations 14:13.

31 Revelations 14:14.

32 Revelations 14:20.

33 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 780-781/

34 Revelations 15:2.

35 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 784: "mare
uitreum permixtum igne," id est, baptismum ... quia non
solum in aqua sed et in vorte ipsius baptizare praecipimur."
36 Revelations 15:4.

37 Concerning Fulcher naming the Moslems "Babylonians", see above, 209. n. 25.
CHAPTER EIGHT

I. Analytical Summary of Section Eight, pages 228-335
(128v-152r)

228-303
(128v-136r)

In chapter CXXI, Lambert copied extensive and complicated tables and diagrams for computing time, entries that are ultimately directed toward the proper calculation of the date of Easter. The first three pages, pages 228-290 (128v-129v), include a lunar calendar consisting of columns for each month of the year, computational notes are written below the charts (fig. 85).

A circular table appears on page 291 (130r) (fig. 86). The right part of the diagram is missing. The names of the months are inscribed in a column at the upper part of the diagram, inside the circle. In the center of the circle, Lambert wrote the dates of the solstices and equinoxes. Two small circles are drawn in the two surviving corners of the diagram. The upper circle is labeled Ver, or spring, which the inscription tells us is warm and moist and lasts from the sixth ides of February to the

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ides of May. Hiemps, or winter, the other circle tells us, is cold and wet and lasts from the fifth ides of November to the sixth ides of February.

More computational tables and texts appear on the next six folios. These are mainly based upon lunar time; some are drawn from the works of Bede. ¹ Again, they serve to calculate the date of Easter. On pages 302-303, chapter CXXII, the following passages are written:

"De Luna et Termino Paschali," "Item de eodem," and "Item de Termino Paschali."

301 (136r) Chapter CXXIII, the final passage on this folio, is about the four Mariæ who visited the tomb of Christ on Easter morning² and the five appearances of Christ on the day of His Resurrection.³

304-309 (136v-139r) In chapter CXIII Lambert writes the "Genealogia Mundi," a universal genealogy, divided into six ages. The first age begins, of course, with Adam and Eve: "Adam and Eve were the parents of Cain and Abel and Seth. Cain was the father of Enoch . . . Seth, the second son of Adam, was the father of Enos."⁴
The second age begins with Noah: "Noah was the father of Sem, Cham, and Iapheth;" the third age with Abraham: "Abraham was the father of Ishmael and Isaac;" and the fourth with David: "David, son of Jesse, was the father of Solomon." Following the Biblical genealogy of the fourth age, Lambert writes the genealogy of the descendants of Aeneas, to the foundation of Rome and to the six kings who succeeded Romulus: "In this age Silvius, grandson of Aeneas and son of Aschanius, was the father of Latinus . . . Ilia was the mother of Remus and Romulus. Romulus built Rome 328 years after the fall of Troy. The six kings who ruled after Romulus: Numa Pompilius, Iulius Hostilis . . . Lucius Tarquinius. At the time of this reign, Rome was 240 years old."8

The fifth age is mainly secular history. It begins: "After the transmigration from Babylon, Hieconias was the father of Salathiel." Lambert then lists the Jewish kings, ending with Herod. The history of Rome is next, beginning with a list of the Roman consuls from Brutus, "who ruled 244 years after the
foundation of Rome,"\textsuperscript{10} to Julius Caesar. Lambert ends with a summary of the number of years between significant events and persons from Creation to the birth of Christ: "From Creation to Romulus, 3,5[ ]1 years; from Romulus to Brutus, the first consul, 240 years; from Brutus to Octavius and the birth of Christ, 51[ ] years.\textsuperscript{11}

A narrative history follows, mentioning Cyrus, the Persian king who returned the Jews to Judea and rebuilt the temple of Solomon. Lambert notes that 447 years elapsed between the first and second constructions of the Temple. We also read of Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Caesar's Gallic wars, the conquest of Britain, the assassination of Caesar, and the succession of Octavian.

The history of the fifth age culminates in a circular miniature portraying Caesar Augustus on the lower part of page 308 (138v) (fig. 26). Caesar is enthroned, holding a sword in his right hand and a "T-O" globe of the world in his left. Around the rim of the medallion, Lambert quotes Luke 2:1: "there went forth a
decree from Caesar Augustus that a census should be taken of all the world."\textsuperscript{12} The medallion is enclosed in a square, with an inscription bearing the following information: "Octavius Augustus closed the doors of Janus on the eighth ides of January."\textsuperscript{13}

The history of the sixth age appears on page 309 (139r). In this narrative we read of Octavian's reign, including the signs announcing the birth of Christ, the birth of Christ, and the Massacre of the Innocents. Lambert then refers to the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ and the persecution of the Christians. The history ends by stating that there are definite signs that this world is coming to an end, that the three and a half year reign of the Antichrist is about to begin.

On the facing pages at the center of this section, for chapter CXXV, Lambert illustrates eight trees from Ecclesiasticus 24:13-17 which, we know, symbolize the Church triumphant (figs. 87 and 88).\textsuperscript{14} Inscriptions above each of the trees refer to the eight beatitudes, from Matthew 5:3-10, and the seven gifts of the
Holy Spirit. The inscriptions begin with the words vox ecclesie, emphasizing that this is an image of the Church. Each of the eight, individual compositions is filled with Lambert's irrepressible energy which makes the trees' trunks and branches seem to writhe and turn in all directions.

The first tree is the cedar and its inscription reads: "Voice of the Church: like a cedar I am exalted in Lebanon by humility, through which the poor in spirit are blessed. First beatitude and virtue."  

The second tree is the cypress: "Voice of the Church: like a cypress on Mount Zion, by piety, through which the meek are blessed since they will possess this. Second beatitude and virtue."  

The third tree is the palm: "Voice of the Church, I am exalted like a palm on Mount Cades, by knowledge, through which those who mourn will be consoled. Third beatitude and virtue."
The fourth tree is the rose: "Voice of the Church: like a rose planted in Jericho, by fortitude, through which those who hunger and thirst after justice are blessed. Fourth beatitude and virtue."\textsuperscript{19}

The fifth tree is the olive: "Voice of the Church: like a specimen olive in the field, through counsel, by which the merciful are blessed since they are merciful. Fifth beatitude and virtue."\textsuperscript{20}

The sixth tree is the plane: "Voice [of the Church]: like a plan tree I am exalted by the waters, by understanding, through which the pure of heart are blessed since they will see God. Sixth beatitude and virtue."\textsuperscript{21}

The seventh tree is the terebrinth: "Voice of the Church: like a terebinth tree I spread my branches, through wisdom, through which the peacemakers are blessed, since they are the sons of God. Seventh beatitude and virtue."\textsuperscript{22}

The eighth tree is the vine: "Voice [of the Church]: like a vine I produce sweet odors,
by perfection, through which those who bear persecution are blessed. Eighth beatitude and virtue."  

Clearly wishing to make his illustrations of the trees correspond to the inscriptions, Lambert shows the cedar, the cypress, and the palm on top of little mountains that are labeled Lybanus, Syon, and Cades. The rose bushes of Jericho are growing inside pictographic city walls labeled Hiericho. The olive grows on a flat field covered with flowers. Springs emerge beside the plane tree that is "exalted by the waters." The terebinth spreads its lower branches rather aggressively over its frame.

The combination of the trees from Ecclesiasticus with beatitudes and gifts of the Holy Spirit seem to have been Lambert's own idea. The pairing of beatitudes with gifts of the Holy Spirit is, however, derived from Saint Augustine's Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount. Augustine claims that the first seven beatitudes coincide with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.  

The first beatitude,
"Blessed are the poor in spirit," is the equivalent of the first gift of the Holy Spirit, fear of God and humility. Meekness is piety, because the meek are pious in their reading of the Holy Scriptures. Knowledge is associated with mournfulness, since knowledge shows that the supreme good has been lost by clinging to worldly goods. The fourth beatitude, hungering and thirsting after justice, requires the fourth gift, fortitude. Mercifulness coincides with counsel, since "no one is capable of extricating himself from the entanglements of such great miseries unless he is aided by one who is more powerful." 25 Purity of heart is the sixth beatitude, which allows one to partake of the sixth spiritual gift, understanding. The peacemakers enjoy the gift of wisdom because "with peacemakers all things are in proper order, and no passion is in rebellion against reason." 26 Augustine believes that Matthew 5:10. "Blessed are those who suffer persecution for justice's sake," does not actually present another beatitude but, instead, "perfection," a summary of the
previous seven beatitudes: "it presents and
approves something consummate and perfect." 27

The actual number of the beatitudes is thus
effectively reduced from eight to seven. This
allows for a direct correlation of the beati-
tudes and gifts of the Holy Spirit. Together,
they might be called the seven spiritual
blessings.

Lambert apparently thought that the chapter
following the illustrations of the trees would
be the most suitable place to describe the
vegetation of the earth. On these two pages
he inscribes a long list of 490 species of
trees and plants. It begins with trees:
cedar, cypress, palm, rose, and so forth.
Then the aromatic trees and herbs and other
types of fragrant plants are listed: "Thus,
Myrrha, Storax . . . Nardus, Costum,
Crocam . . . Caulis, Cima, Malua napo . . .
Appium, Petrosilinum, Yposileon . . . Sancicula,
Sannina, Piscopania."

Extracts from Josephus' history of Moses com-
prise chapter CXXVII, "Josephus in Libro IIđo
de Moses duce Hebreorum." This text describes the childhood of Moses and his role in the Egyptians' war with the Ethiopians. It ends with Moses' flight from Egypt and his conversation with God on Mount Zion, when he is told to return to Egypt and deliver the sons of Israel. After this, Lambert cites various ancient authors including Ptolemy and Orosius, on the subject of the suffering of the Israelites under the sovereignty of the Pharaoh, the ten plagues with which God smote the Egyptians, and the Israelites' flight from Egypt.

The final passage on page 316 (142v) is entitled "Qui tempore Moysi regnauerunt." Without doubt, we read, Moses and Cycrops, first king of the Athenians, were contemporaries. A short history of the Greeks, mentioning the Greek gods, poets, and philosophers, follows. This ends with Lambert's calculation that 3,730 years passed from Creation to the death of Moses.

317 (143r) The following chapter is made up of excerpts from Josephus on the Passion and Resurrection
of Christ and the execution of John the Baptist by Herod the Tetrarch. Bede's homily on
the beheading of the Baptist follows. This homily ends with a description of the dis-
covery of the Baptist's bones in Samaria and their translation to the Church in Alexandria
that is named in his honor.

For chapter CXX, Lambert inscribed two pas-
sages about angels, one from Gregory, "Excerp-
tum de Omelia Beati Pape Gregorii de Angelorum
Ordinibus et Electorum Gradibus," and the
other from Dionysus the Areopagit, "Item de
Angelis." Gregory's homily states that the
Greek word for angel is nuncii, or messenger,
because they make announcements. Gregory then
explains the duties of the various ranks of
angels, for example: "Virtues are those
spirits who frequently perform signs and
miracles."28

The passage from Dionysus states that the mul-
titudes of angels are sent forth to perform
certain visible or invisible services. Angels
and archangels bring messages to us.
On the last eight folios of this section, chapter CXXXI, Lambert summarizes Anselm's Cur Deus Homo, which was written just ten years before the completion of the Liber Floridus. This work is one of the quintessential medieval discussions of the Incarnation. The basic question to which Anselm directs his attention is, why would God submit to the humiliation and suffering of the Incarnation and Passion? The answer, Anselm tells us, is that our original sin of disobedience to God was so grievous that no act of human atonement could suffice to save us. Only the suffering and sacrifice of one who is both God and man could possibly gain salvation and future blessedness for mankind.
II. Commentary on Section Eight

The illustrations on pages 310-311 (139v-140r) (figs. 87 and 88) epitomize the theme of the eighth section of the Liber Floridus: the Church is triumphant in its spiritual blessings. These spiritual blessings are associated with sacrifice and suffering in this life and eternal rewards in the next. The other entries in this part of Lambert's manuscript are conjoined in the expression of this idea.

The passion and Resurrection of Christ are, of course, the archetypal example of this process of suffering followed by glorification. Easter, the celebration of Christ's ascension from death, is the subject of the first sixteen pages of this section.29 Lambert carefully describes the means of calculating the date of this celebration; he also discusses the events which occurred on that day, the appearances of the resurrected Christ. The last sixteen pages, on which the Cur Deus Homo is inscribed, concern the necessity of Christ's sacrifice for the deliverance of humanity.30 Again, on page 317 (143r), Lambert excerpted Josephus the Historian's account of Christ's suffering, death, and resurrection.

The other passages in this section that are derived from Josephus also involve descriptions of persecution followed by salvation and glory. Josephus' narration of
the death of John the Baptist, augmented by Bede's homily, traces the destiny of the Baptist from execution to eternal triumph.\textsuperscript{31} We also read of the plight of the Jews under the dominion of the pharaoh, the plagues that smote the Egyptian oppressors, and the deliverance of the sons of Israel.\textsuperscript{32}

Lambert's genealogy of the world ends with the depiction of the persecution of the righteous and the promise of salvation.\textsuperscript{33} The history of the first five ages culminates in the miniature of Caesar Augustus with the inscription from Luke 2:1 that describes the convergence of sacred and secular history at the time of the Incarnation (fig. 26). This is continued in the sixth age with accounts of the martyrdom of the faithful. The ultimate persecution of the Church, the three and a half year reign of the Antichrist, is alluded to at the end of the "Genealogia." This time of suffering will end in the final triumph of the Elect.

In the eighth book of his commentary, Beatus interprets Revelation 15:8-16:21.\textsuperscript{34} Seven angels pour forth vials containing the wrath of God upon the earth, causing seven plagues: people are afflicted with boils;\textsuperscript{35} the sea turns to blood;\textsuperscript{36} the other waters of the earth turn to blood;\textsuperscript{37} the sun scorches the earth;\textsuperscript{38} the earth is enveloped in darkness;\textsuperscript{39} frogs emerge from the mouths of the
dragon, the beast, and the false prophet; a terrible hail storm and earthquake destroy the earth. Beatus interprets these scourges as figures of spiritual plagues. They must be spiritual plagues, he reasons, since the enemies of the Church are protected during the reign of the Antichrist from the bodily suffering.

Beatus characterizes the spiritual plagues as vices. The plague of boils, for example, is spiritual putrefication caused by wantonness. The sea turning to blood reminds Beatus of a storm of persecutions and hearts of evil men rising and swelling with arrogance and pride. The waters of the fountains and rivers which turn to blood symbolize the maliciousness of the ungodly who shed the blood of their brothers. This coldness and lack of compassion is the ultimate spiritual plague. When the damned are scorched by the sun they blaspheme God. This blasphemy, Beatus says, occurs when men luxuriate in sin while pretending to be sons of God. The fifth plague causes darkness, and the wicked gnaw their own tongues. According to Beatus, this indicates that the wicked are doomed to fight among themselves and never to know peace. The frogs that emerge from the mouths of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet, prove that hypocrites prefer to live in fetid waters and filth. The final plague, hail, is the wrath of God which spiritually devastates
sinners who believed that they would live for a long time, and yet suddenly find themselves withdrawn from the light and facing unknown torments.\textsuperscript{50}

The seven spiritual plagues in the eighth book of the \textit{Beatus Apocalypse} are clearly the antitheses of the seven spiritual blessings with which Lambert concerns himself in the eighth section of the \textit{Liber Floridus}. The wicked are tormented by their own vices as the righteous are blessed by their virtue. The plagues of Revelations 16 bear an obvious resemblance to the plagues that strike the Egyptians in Exodus 7-11. Both Lambert and Beatus refer to these plagues in the eighth parts of their works.\textsuperscript{51}

Other parts of Lambert's work find counterparts in Beatus' eighth book. For example, the passage from Luke 2:1 that is quoted around the medallion portrait of Caesar Augustus (fig. 26) also figures in Beatus' commentary. He compares the angels with the vials emerging from the sanctuary in Heaven, fulfilling the command of God, to the edict sent forth by Caesar Augustus: "Exiit edictum a Caesar Augusto censeri omnem Judaeam."\textsuperscript{52} Lambert's description of the angels as messengers who announce God's will on earth coincides with their role in the eighth book of the \textit{Beatus Apocalypse}. Beatus explains that the angels pour forth God's word to the people.\textsuperscript{53}
The eighth section of the Liber Floridus relates, then, most clearly to the eighth book of the Beatus Apocalypse. Lambert's spiritual blessings, characterized in his Beatitude Trees, are the reversed mirror-image of Beatus' spiritual plagues. The theme of earthly suffering followed by heavenly reward in the Liber Floridus confronts Beatus' earthly indulgence rewarded with eternal torment.
FOOTNOTES

1For example, the "Horologium Secundum Bedam Presibterum" on page 302 (135v).

2Lambert identifies the four Mariæ: Christ's mother; his aunt, Mary Cleophilus; Mary, the mother of Jacob and Joseph; and Mary Magdeline.

3To Mary Magdelen, to the two disciplines on the road, at Emaus, to Peter, and to the disciples.

4"Adam et Eva genuerunt Caim et Abel et Seth. Caim genuit Enoch . . . Seth Istius Adam genuit Enos."

5"Noe genuit Sem, Cham, et Iapheth."

6"Abraham genuit Ismahelem et Isaac."

7"David, filius Isse genuit Salomonem."

8"In hac etate nepos Enee, filius Aschanii, nomine Siluis, genuit Latinum . . . Ilia genuit Remum et Romulum. Romulum post eussionem Troie anno CCCXXXIII Roman edifi-
care cepit. Sex reges qui post Romulum regnerunt: Numa Pompiliua, Iulius Hostilis . . . Lucius Tarquinius. Ab his regnatum est Rome annis CCXL."

9"Post transmigrationem Hieconias genuit Salathiel."

10"Anno post Urbem conditam CCXLIII regnavit."

11"ab orbe condito usque ad Romulum anni III D[II] et a Romulo usque ad Brutum primum consulem anni CCXL et a Bruto usque ad Octauianum Augustum Christo nato DX[II]."

12"Exiit editum a Cesare Augusto ut describeretur uniuersus orbis."

13"Octauianus Augustus VIII ID. Ianuarii clausit portas Iani."

14See above, 136.
15 Lottlisa Behling discusses these miniatures, Die Pflanzenwelt in der Mittelalterlichen Kathedralen, Cologne, 1964, 49.

16 "Vox ecclesie: Quasi cypressus in monte Syon pietate, per quam beati mites quoniam ipsi possidebunt. Beatitudo uirtusque seconda."

18 "Vox ecclesie: Quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades scientia, per quam beati qui lugent quia consola-buntur. Beatitudo uirtusque tercia.

19 "Vox ecclesie: Quasi plantatio rose in Hiericho fortitudine, per quam beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iusticiam. Beatitudo uirtusque quarta."

20 "Vox ecclesie: Quasi oliva spetiosa in campis consilio, per quod beati misericordes quoniam misericordiam. Beatitudo uirtusque quinta."

21 "Vox: Quasi platanus exaltata sum iuxta quam intelligentia, per quam beati mundo corde quoniam Deum uidebunt. Beatitudo uirtusque sexta."

22 "Vox ecclesie: Quasi terebintus extendi ramos meos sapientia, per quam beati pacifici quoniam Filii Dei. Beatitudo uirtusque septima."

23 "Vox: Quasi vitis fructificaui suauitatem odoris perfectione, per quam beati qui persecutionem patuintur. Beatitudo uirtusque octaua."


26 Ibid., 28.

27 Ibid., 26.

28 "Virtutes etenim vocantur illi spiritus, per quoas signa et miracula frequentius fiunt."

29 Pages 228-303 (128v-136r).

30 Pages 320-335 (144v-152r).
Revelations 16:2.
Revelations 16:3.
Revelations 16:4.
Revelations 16:8.
Revelations 16:10.
Revelations 16:13
Revelations 16:13
Revelations 16:17-21.

Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 793: "omnes istae plagae spirituales sunt, nam ipso tempore Antichristi inlaesus erit omnis populus impius ab omni plaga corporis, quasi qui acceperit totam mali faciendi potestatem contra ecclesiam."

Ibid., II, 793-794: "factum est ulcus malum," id est, vulner saevum et putredo in eo, sed spiritualiter, eo quod voluptatibus suis sit traditus, et faciat, quidquid uolerit, voluntaria et mortalia peccata."

Ibid., II, 794: "Quid enim appellacione maris, nisi tempestas persecutionum, et corda malorum tumidis et superbis cogitationibus fluctuosa."

Ibid., II, 795-796: "... de die in diem in malita crassatur. putat de Deo sacrificare fratri caede perfusum, cum in eo non simplicitas sed malitia uidetur."

Ibid., II, 800: "nomen Dei blasphemant, cum in hoc saeculo in peccatis luxuriantur, et filios Dei se vocant."
48. Ibid., II, 801: "inuicem sibi nocebant, quia, cum sint mālī, et unum corpus diaboli sint, inter se inuicem pacem non habent."

49. Ibid., II, 804: "in ipsis aquis sordibus et caeno uoluntatur. sic hypocritae et pseudoprophetae non in aqua limpidissima . . . sed in ipsi populo, qui membra diaboli esse creduntur."

50. Ibid., II, 812: "plaga grandinis, id est ab ira Dei, spiritualiter deuastantur. quum quite se et longo tempore in hoc mundo uiuere credunt, repente ab hac luce subtrahuntur, et ignorant ad qua pena uel supplicia ducanatur."

51. Lambert: pages 315-316 (142r-142v); Beatus Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 811.

52. Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 778.

53. Ibid., II, 795: "omnibus enim angelis in terram fundere mandatum est, hoc est, in populis praedicari."
CHAPTER NINE

I. Analytical Summary of Section Nine, pages 336-411
(153v-190r)

This section begins with an illustration of Alexander the Great riding Bucephalus (fig. 89). Alexander is crowned and brandishing a sword. In agreement with the inscription in the upper right corner, he has curled, yellow hair like a lion's mane. This inscription also states that he is handsome in face and form and has eyes of great beauty, the right one black, the left blue-grey.¹ Elsewhere on the page we read of the fear he inspired in the kingdoms of the earth.² There is a large decorative margin on three sides of the miniature; a foliate motif alternates with roundels containing fantastic beasts biting their tails. The ornate border suggests that Lambert copied this miniature from a lavishly decorated volume. The elaborate initial S on the facing folio is comprised of two winged dragons. (fig. 90).
The life of Alexander is summarized on a piece of parchment sewn onto page 338. The major part of Lambert's chapter on Alexander consists of Alexander's letter to his tutor, Aristotle, describing the marvels of the East. Alexander reports on the strange beasts that his army encountered on their journey through India, and on other marvels, such as the bitter river and his encounter with the talking tree.

In chapter CXXXIII, Lambert inscribed poems attributed to Petrus Pictor that express a contemptus mundi attitude. The first begins: "Temporal honor passes away, earthly things are unstable./ All labor of this life is repudiated as vanity by the prudent./ The lofty fall, the base rise, the ancient crumble,:
People seek novelties./ Virtue is rare in the world, goodness rarely appears . . .". The next poem tells of the fall of "Roma potens," of Caesar, and, at greatest length, of the noble Cato who was driven to suicide. The two following poems condemn the practice of simony, particularly in Rome: "Here
pontificates are sold for money. ...". 4 The last two poems are about the evils associated with poverty, hunger, and thirst and about mental poverty and spiritual famine and thirst.

A collection of misogynistic poems are presented in chapter CXXXIII. Typical of their genre, these poems equate women with wild, ravenous beasts, 5 "never subdued nor vanquished by reason." 6 Women are the principle of disorder in the world and the death of souls. 7 These verses also provide exempla of men destroyed by evil women.

The "Chronica Orosii" in chapter CXXXV consists of a list of information about the great rulers and cities of the earth. Each entry in the list is accompanied by a notation of how many years had passed from the creation of the world to the date of that entry. For example: "In the year of the world 3,184, Ninus reigned as king of the Assyrians. Abraham was born at that time. . . . In the year of the world 3,506, Romulus and Remus undertook the building of Rome. . . . The year of the world 5,146, Rome was disturbed by its first civil war,
between Marius and Sillas. The year of the world 5,217, Julius Caesar was assassinated and Octavian took command. The year of the world 5,525, Diocletian the impius persecutor assumed his realm twenty years. The year of the world, 5,602, Valentinian ruled eleven years. The year of the world, 5,820. Heracleus began his rule of twenty-five years."^8

363 (168r) To begin chapter CXXXVI, Lambert portrays Saint Peter enthroned within the walls of Rome (fig. 27). An inscription above the miniature tells us that the church of Saint Peter in Rome is two hundred feet wide and five hundred ten feet long and that there are eighty altars in the church. We also read that 4,506 years passed from the time of Adam to the foundation of Rome, and another 752 years to the birth of Christ. Inside the city, another inscription reveals that in the year of the Lord 45, during the reign of Claudius, Saint Peter journeyed to Rome, ordained Linus and Cletus, and tutored Clement; he sat on the apostolic throne for twenty-five years and two months;
and he was martyred by Nero thirty-eight years after the Passion of the Lord.\textsuperscript{11} The martial strength of the capital of Christendom is powerfully expressed in the imposing forms of the architectural motifs as well as in Saint Peter's decidedly autocratic posture.

This image of Rome, with Saint Peter steadfastly ensconced upon it, is clearly meant to represent the See of Saint Peter, the center of universal ecclesiastical authority. Like the other images of the Church in the \textit{Liber Floridus}--Paradise, Celestial Jerusalem, earthly Jerusalem, and the Holy Sepulchre--it is a circular miniature. Appearing at the center of Section Nine, it serves as the focal point for this part of the manuscript and introduces the chapter on the popes of Rome.

The "Gesta Romanorum Pontificum," an abridgment of the \textit{Liber Pontificalis},\textsuperscript{12} occupies forty pages of this section. Each pope, from Peter to Calixtus, is mentioned and his most significant achievements described. For example:
"Saint Peter, apostle and prince of the apostles ... came to Rome during the reign of Nero and was enthroned twenty-five years, two months, and three days ... He ordained two bishops, Linus and Cletus, in Rome. Here he had many disputations with Simon Magus before Nero ...";13

"Thelesphorus was of Greek nationality, an Anchorite, and he was incumbent for eleven years, three months, at the time of Antony and Mark. He established that there should be a fast of seven weeks prior to Easter, that Mass should be sung on Christmas eve, and that before communion the angelic hymn 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo' should be sung. This pope, crowned by martyrdom, was buried next to Saint Peter on the third nones of January ...";14

"Gregory was a Roman ... his tenure was thirteen years, six months, ten days. He wrote forty homilies on the Evangelists, Pastoral Care, and exegesis on Job, Ezekiel, and many others. Gregory sent Mellitus, Augustine, John, and many others as servants of God to convert the people of England to
the Lord Jesus Christ . . . For Saint Peter's he made four columns of pure silver . . . He was buried in the basilica of Saint Peter on the third ides of March . . . ";¹⁵

Leo reigned twenty years, five months, seventeen days. He sent the standard of the city of Rome to the ruler Charlemagne. In the year 800 . . . celebrating the Christmas mass in Rome . . . he put the crown on Charlemagne's head and all the Romans cried: "Charlemagne by God crowned, great and pacific, long life and victory!"¹⁶

The last three pages of the "Gesta Romanorum Pontificum" chapter discuss Constantine and Pope Sylvester. The first paragraph describes the ten basilicas that Constantine constructed. The next paragraph computes time: from Creation to the Incarnation; from the Incarnation to Peter's journey to Rome; to Paul's crucifixion. In the year 310, it tells us, Constantine, son of Helena, whom Sylvester had baptized, became emperor. At this time, his mother, Helena, found the True Cross. Constantine saw Christ with his Cross in a dream and heard him say "in hoc vince."
Pages 409-411 tell us about Pope Sylvester curing Constantine of leprosy and about Constantine's bestowal of privileges upon the Church after his baptism.
II. Commentary on Section Nine

The main topic of Section Nine of the Liber Floridus is the great cities and rulers of history. Since no medieval work on this subject could possibly have been complete without mention of Alexander the Great, Lambert includes a long account of Alexander and his Eastern adventures at the beginning of this section.¹⁷ The contemptus mundi poems on pages 356-359 discuss the fall of Rome, Caesar, and Cato as illustrations of the transient nature of worldly authority. The Chronical of Orosius¹⁸ is primarily concerned with cities and secular rules while the "Gesta Romanorum Pontificum"¹⁹ tells us about the sacred domain. It is most appropriate that a miniature of Rome, the greatest city of the world, former site of pagan imperial power and presently the seat of Christian authority, appears as the central image of the Church in this section (fig. 27). In the last folios of Section Nine, Lambert writes of the transformation of the Roman Empire from pagan to Christian rule and of Constantine's donation of jurisdiction over the Empire to the Church.

The misogynistic poems on pages 359 to 363 are the only entries that do not appear to be directly related to the central topic of this section. The association of these poems with the subject of cities and rulers will be
explained, however, by our analysis of Book Nine of the
*Beatus Apocalypse*

In his ninth book, Beatus discusses the seventeenth chapter of Revelations. An angel shows John the Whore of Babylon. She sits on a scarlet beast with seven heads and ten horns and with blasphemies written all over it. She wears purple and scarlet, bejeweled robes and carries a golden chalice. On her forehead is written: "Babylon the Great, the mother of all the prostitutes and filthy practices on the earth." The angel explains this vision to John. The beast is the Beast who was and is not and will be again, "the seven heads are the seven hills, and the woman is sitting upon them." The seven heads also represent seven emperors, five of whom have already been, one who is now, and one who is to come for a short while. The ten horns symbolize ten kings who will temporarily have royal authority with the Beast; they will fight against the Lamb but be defeated by Him. The Whore of Babylon, the angel says, is the great city which has authority over all rulers of the earth. When the time comes for God's word to be fulfilled, she will be destroyed by the ten kings.

Since Revelations 17 mentions kings and kingdoms several times, Beatus' commentary includes some discussion of these worldly powers. He characterizes them as
representative of sinful indulgence and vice. Beatus explains that the Whore of Babylon symbolizes all work of evil abomination and feminine guilt. The Beast with seven heads, upon whom the Whore of Babylon sits, represents both the city of Rome and the first seven Roman emperors.

The main subject of Lambert's ninth section clearly relates both to the general references to kings and kingdoms in Revelations 17 and Beatus' ninth book and, most specifically, to Beatus' description of the first seven Roman emperors. The information in Beatus' passage on the kings resembles that in Lambert's "Chronica Orosii." Julius Caesar, Beatus notes, was the first Roman to become emperor. The second emperor, Octavius, was the son of Caesar's sister; Christ was born in the forty-first year of his reign. The third emperor was Tiberius, during whose reign Christ was baptized and crucified. Beatus names Claudius as the fourth emperor, Galba as the fifth, and Nero as the sixth. Nero, Beatus tells us, was the first Roman king after the Passion of Christ to martyr Christians; he was responsible for the deaths of Saint Peter and Saint Paul and he was the prefiguration of the Antichrist.

Beatus' interpretation of the Whore of Babylon as the female personification of wickedness obviously relates to the anti-feminist verses in Lambert's ninth section.
The Whore of Babylon sits upon pagan Rome of the ancient emperors. Lambert offers a perfect contrast to this image in his illustration of Saint Peter, "prince of the apostles," sitting on Christian Rome (fig. 27). The "gesta Romanorum Pontificum" that follows Peter augments this depiction of papal Rome as the city of the Church, which opposes the city of the Devil. Beatus discusses the opposition of the two cities, the city of the Devil and the city of God, at the end of his ninth book: "one desires to rule in this world, the other wants to flee this world . . . one scourges, the other is scourged; one kills, the other is killed."32

The main subject of Lambert's ninth section, rulers and cities, its focal image of the city of Rome, and its secondary themes of anti-feminism all relate to the content of the ninth book of the Beatus Apocalypse. Once again, it seems certain that Lambert selected the materials for this part of his manuscript to coincide with the content of the corresponding book of Beatus' commentary.
FOOTNOTES

1 Alexander rex, uultu et forma pulcherrimus, subcrispa et flaescente cesarie et coma Leonina, oculis egregii decoris, dextro nigro, levo glauco."

2 "Tantus timor regis orbis terrarum inuasit, ut inde peregrinam cerneris toto mundo legationem quo uix crederes peruenisse rumorem."

3 "Transit honor temporalis, labat rerum firmitas,/ Omnis labor huilae uitae reputatur uanitas Prudentibus./ Celsa cadunt, ima surgunt, interit antiquitas,/ Nouus homo noua querit, placet omnis nouitas ingentibus./ Rare uitus in hoc mundo, rara paret bonitas . . .".

4 "Hic pro denario donatur pontificatus."

5 Page 362: "Femina terribilis draco trux lupa . . .".

6 Page 360: "Nunquam pacatur, nulla ratione domatur."

7 Page 360: "Femina terrarum confusio, mors animarum."


9 "Beati Petri latitudo CC pedum mensuram habet et longitudo DX continet. Sunt in ecclesia altaria LXXX."

10 "Ab Adam usque ad Urbem conditam anni IIII D et VI computantur secundum Genesim et ab Urbe usque ad Christum anni DCCLII computantur. Hoc sunt V CCLVI I."

11 "Anno Domini XLV regnante imperatore Claudio Petrus apostolus Roman venit et Linum et Cletum in urbe Roma ordinavit et Clementem docuit et in cathedra apostolica
annis XXV et menses IIIOs sedit et post passionem Domini
anno XXXCIII Nerone iubente crucifigitur."

12 Delisle, "Notices sur les manuscrits du 'Liber
Floridus' compose en 1120 par Lambert, chanoine de Saint-
Omer," Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque
Nationale et autres bibliotèques publies par l'Academic
des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 38, 2, 1906, 689.

13 "Beatus Petrus apostolus et princeps apostrolo-
rum'. . . Hic ingressus est Roman Nerone Cesare regnante
ibique sedit annos XXV, mensis IIIOs dies III . . . Hic
ordinavit duos episcopos, Linum et Cletum, in urbe Roma.
Hic cum Symone Mago multas disputationes habuit ante
Neronem . . .".

14 "Thelesphorus natione Grecus, anchora, sedit
annis XI, menses III. Fuit autem temporibus Antonii et
Marci. Hic constituit ut VII ebdomadas ante Pascha
ieiunium celebraretur et Natale Domine noctu missa
cantarentur et ante sacrificium humnas dicetur angelicus,
hoc est Gloria in excelsis Deo. Hic coronatus martyrio
sepultus est iuxta beatum Petrum IIII non. Ianuari . . ."

15 "Gregorius natione Romanus, de patre Gordiano,
sedit annos XIII, mensis VI, dies X. Hic exposuit Omelias
Evangeliorum XL et Iob et Execheilem et Pastoralem et
multa alia. Hic Gregorius misit seruos Dei Mellitum,
Augustinum et Iohannem et alios plures cum eis monachos in
predicationem ad gentem Algolorum, ut conuerterentur ad
Dominum Ihesum Christum."

16 "Leo sedit annos XX, menses V, dies XVII. Hic
misit uxillum Romani ubei imperatorii Karolo. Anno vero
Domini DCCC . . . celebrait Natale Domini Rome. Ipso autem
die Leo papa coronam capiti eius imposuit et a cuncto
Romanorum populo adclamatum est: Karolo Augusto a Deo
coronato, magno et pacifico, uita et victoria!"

17 Pages 336-355 (153v-163r).

18 Pages 364-366 (166v-167v).

19 Pages 368-407 (168v-188r).

20 Henry A. Sanders, "Transcription of the Latin
text of Beato," Beati in Apocalipsin, Libro Duodecim, II,
Madrid, 1975, 813-833.


23. Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin II, 813 and 823: "reges terrae sunt, qui corpora sua non regunt, sed in voluptatibus suis ambulare delectantur;" "... omnes reges, id est, omnes superbi ...".

24. Ibid., II, 882: "Omnium operum malorum inmunditia et effeminata conscientia una mulier esse dicatur."

25. Ibid., II, 822: "septem montes, in quibus mulier meretrix sedet, id est, ciuitas Romana."

26. Ibid., II, 823: "usque in tempus, quo haec Ioanni revelata sunt, quinque reges cediderunt, sextus fuit Nero, sub quo haec uidit in exilio."

27. Ibid., II, 823: "Gaius Iulius Caesar. primus apud Romanos singulare obtinuit imperium."

28. Ibid., II, 823: "secundus Caesar fuit filius sororis Iulii Octauianus nomine, qui etiam Augustus nominatus est. sub quo natus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus anno regni sui quadragesimo primo."

29. Ibid., II, 823: "tertius Tiberius, sub quo passus est Dominus. anno imperii eius quinto decimo in quo anno etiam ad baptismum uenit ... ."

30. Ibid., II, 823: "quartus Claudius ... quintus Galba, qui regnauit annos tres et menses sex. sextus Nero ... ."

31. Ibid., II, 823: "nam primus de Romanorum reges Nero fecit martyria post passionem Domini in Petro et Paulo apostolis; qui etiam Nero antichristum praefiguravit ... ."

32. Ibid., II, 831-832: "ecce duas ciuitas, unam Dei et unam diaboli ... una in hoc mundo regnum cupit tenere, et una ab hoc mundo fugire ... una flagellat, altera flagellatur; una occidit, altera occiditur."
CHAPTER TEN

I. Analytical Summary of Section Ten, pages 412-471
(190v-220r)

Chapter CXXXVII, a long catalogue of emperors from Julius Caesar to Henry V, begins the tenth section of the Liber Floridus. On pages 412 to 423 (190v to 196v), we find a series of entries describing the reigns of each of the pagan Roman emperors. On pages 424 to 415 (196v-1974r), Lambert writes about Constantine, his vision of the cross before the battle of the Milvian bridge, and the beginning of the Christian empire. From pages 416 to 442 (196v-203r), Lambert follows the succession of Byzantine emperors from Constantine's son Constantius to Constantine VI, whose later reign coincided with that of Charlemagne, as Lambert is careful to note: "Constantius iste Augustus usque ad Karole Magni tempora regnauit et anno Domini DCCLXXI obiit." Here Lambert's interest in the Byzantine emperors ceases; he begins instead to follow the descent of the Holy Roman Emperors and the kings of

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the Franks, culminating with Henry V on page 444.

Page 445 (207r) is enframed by a decorative foliate border (fig. 28). A decorated initial E begins its text. In the upper right corner, Lambert painted a small portrait of Charles the Bald, crowned, enthroned, and holding a sceptre. Around the portrait, an inscription identifies him as "Charles the Bald, son of Louis, grandson of Charlemagne, emperor and king of the Franks;" it also tells of his death by poison in Mantua.¹

On these folios, Lambert records the vision of Charles the Bald. Charles describes a voice calling his spirit away one night for a trip through Hell and Heaven. On tour, he observes the torments suffered in Hell by the souls of evil and violent potentates. He sees his own father, Louis the Pious, standing in a vat of boiling water up to his thighs.² Louis tells his son that on alternate days he is allowed to stand in a vat of cool water, in appreciation of the prayers of the royally-patronized church of Saint-Remi. He asks Charles to have
masses sung and acts of charity performed in
his name in order to speed the liberation of
his soul from the tortures of Hell. Charles' 
brother, Lothair, and his nephew, Louis II,
after all, were exempted from punishment and
led directly to the joys of Heaven by the 
intercession of Saint Peter and Saint Remi.
Louis then shows Charles the vats that are 
already prepared for his discomfiture after
death.

Charles is then led into Heaven. Here he sees
his brother Lothair sitting on a topaz rock
with his son Louis II beside him, wearing a
crown. Lothair upbraids Charles, telling him
that the empire that he usurped should, by the
law of heredity, have gone to his grandson
Louis. Lothair foretells Charles' loss of power. The vision ends, but
Lambert goes on to tell of the death of
Charles, which, he remarks, occurred on the
same year that Baldwin Irion Arm died and was
buried in Saint-Omer, and that the Norsemen
burned and pillaged Flemish monasteries.
A full-page illustration of Noah's Ark (fig. 91) begins chapter CXXXVIII at approximately the center of Section Ten. The miniature is labeled below: "The Flood of the World and Noah's Ark." The inscription above the ark tells us that Noah began the ark 2,142 years after Creation and that another 100 years passed before he finished it. The second Age of the World begins with the Flood. The waters of the Flood were 15 cubits higher than the mountains and the ark rested above a mountain in Armenia. Noah was 600 years old at the time of the Flood and he lived for 350 years after it. The ark, as the vessel to which God sent his Elect for salvation from the punishment of the rest of the world, was a well-known symbol of the Church in the Middle Ages. Beatus, we recall, discusses the symbolic meaning of the ark at the end of his second book.

Lambert has greatly exaggerated the curve of the ship's body, creating a decidedly circular vessel; it would appear that he deliberately molded his ark into this circular form so that it could resemble the other focal images of
the Church in the Liber Floridus. This is, indeed, one of the most dramatic miniatures in the Liber Floridus, rivaling Paradise (fig. 34) in the compelling force of its composition and the brilliance of its color. The ark, drawn into an impossibly tight bow, bursts its frame on both sides of the page. Strongly colored shapes are piled on deck and a dragon's head leers forward from the prow. A violently color-banded wave hurls the ship upward, splitting its inscription into two halves.

Facing the miniature of the Ark, a text entitled "Egesippus de Archa Noe" describes the dimensions and accommodations of the Ark. There were, it tells us, five stories. The lowest provided storage for the manure produced on board. The next held the animals' fodder. The third housed the serpents and fierce beasts, the fourth, gentle animals, and the fifth, birds and humans. While afloat, everyone ate fruit, apples, and nuts. The passage ends in a description of the Great Year, the Annus Mundanus, which Lambert has discussed
in Section One, page 2, and Section Five, page 206.

Excerpts from the "Chronicis Marcellini Comitidis in Gesta Francorum" appear as chapter CXXXVIII. Some of these excerpts tell of miraculous portents--flaming columns in heaven and comets--but most tell of earthly disasters. They mention earthquakes, famines, famine-incited riots, floods, hail-stores, barbarian invasions, hoards of locusts, and the burning of cities.\(^8\)

In chapter CXL, Lambert epitomizes Josephus' account of the various signs and portents--supernatural lights and voices--that God showed to the Jews prior to Titus' destruction of Jerusalem.

Short, annalistic entries, mainly culled from the Annals of the Lorsch and the Annals of Saint-Bertin, appear as chapter CXL\(^{-}\)CLII.\(^9\) Again, we are regaled with stories of miraculous, celestial portents and, best of all, accounts such as that of the year 845 of two armies of wolves, one marching in close
formation through Aquitaine and the other through famine-stricken lower Gaul, audaciously devouring humans en route. More canine wonders are reported for the years 856 and 858: in the year 856, amidst a diabolical storm that raged inside a church, a dog, enormous beyond measure, appeared, ran around the altar, and ran off suddenly into an opening in the earth; in 858, during Sunday mass in the church of Saint Pocrarie, a wolf ran into the church, terrified the congregation, and then escaped—this time among the women. Little girls undertaking fasts of prodigious length, such as ten months and three years, are also noted in these entries.

The annalistic passages entitled "In Gestis Francorum de Nortmannis" are derived from the Annals of Saint-Bertin and the Annals of Saint-Vaast. They describe the almost yearly invasions of the Norsemen and the devastation of Flanders, Aquitaine, and Britain. The first invasion that Lambert records occurred in 823, during the reign of Louis the Pious.
The entry for the year 845 tells us that the Norsemen sacked and burned the monastery in Saint-Omer and then repaired to their ships laden with plunder. However, divine judgment overtook them and struck all but a few blind or mad. Their leader, King Orichus, sent peace offerings to Louis the Pious and made reparations.  

In the year 881, on the seventh kalends of January, an immense multitude of Norsemen invaded the town of Saint-Omer. They burned and sacked everything in town except, "Dei providentia," the church on the hill which, as we know from other passages in the Liber Floridus, was fortified by the year 846.

More miraculous visions from the Annals of Saint-Bertin are described in chapter CLIII.  

In addition to the more ordinary, astral phenomena, a rather unique vision is reported by an English presbyter. On Christmas night, he says, a spirit led him away to a strange realm where he observed various wonderful buildings. Among these buildings was a church. Inside, he saw a multitude of little boys
writing in books with alternating lines of black ink and blood; the lines of blood, he was told, record sins of Christians.\textsuperscript{17} The little boys are actually the souls of saints who intercede to make erring Christians deplore their sins and ultimately to come to penance.\textsuperscript{18} If the Christians do not quickly turn to penance, they will soon be in grave and intolerable danger: a great, dense cloud will cover the earth for three days and three nights; an immense naval hoard of barbarians will then descend upon the earth, devastating everything by fire and sword.\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{464 (216v)} In chapter CLV Lambert describes the division of Charlemagne's empire into three parts, among the sons of Louis the Pious. The first paragraph describes the part retained by Lothair, the eldest son: the central portion of the empire. The second paragraph explains that Louis the German received the eastern part of the empire. Charles the Bald, the third paragraph tells us, controlled the western portion.\textsuperscript{20}
Lambert inscribes the "Liber Methodius," a universal history, in chapter CLVI. Beginning with Creation and the Original Sin, the text goes on to relate the sins of the sons of Cain that eventually led to Noah's Flood. After the Flood, mankind returned to sin and was punished by the devastating invasions of the sons of Ishmael, barbarian hoards who drank milk mixed with blood and who ravaged the entire earth with their atrocities. God will finally deliver repentant Christians from the hands of their oppressors. A Christian king will defeat the sons of Ishmael and peace will reign again throughout Christendom. Peace will lead, however, to renewed licentiousness and men will become as evil as they had been in the days of Noah. With this transgression, the final drama of the world will begin. Peace will end with the advent of Gog and Magog and the Antichrist. Enoch and Elijah, God's two witnesses, will then appear. They will be slain, and the Last Judgment will begin.
To complete chapter CLVI, Lambert lists the tribes of Israel from whom 144,000 will be saved, as reported in Revelation 7:5-8: "Ex tribu Juda XII cim milia; Ex tribu Ruben XII cim milia . . .". Lambert then gathers excerpts from Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, and Isidore that describe the signs preceding Doomsday and the resurrection of the dead.
II. Commentary on Section Ten

In the first half of this section, Lambert again discusses the emperors and kings of the earth, a topic which had prevailed in the previous section. The first sixteen folios present a comprehensive catalogue of rulers from Julius Caesar to Henry V. This vision of Charles the Bald, appearing at the end of this catalogue, indicates that the division of Charlemagne's empire among the three sons of Louis the Pious marked the beginning of internal strife within the empire. The three-part partitioning among Lothair, Louis the German, and Charles the Bald is subsequently set forth on page 464.

The second half of Section Ten primarily deals with earthly disasters and signs and portents. Every form of devastation is included. We read about earthquakes, floods, famines, and, most of all, about barbarian invasions. Among the accounts of these miseries, Lambert records the appearance of strange, astral phenomena and miracles that, for the medievals, would betoken the advent of some momentous event.

It is significant that all the earthly destructions and portents that we find in this part of the manuscript, with the exception of Noah's Flood, occur during the sixth and final age of the world. Noah's Flood, the central image of Section Ten (fig. 91), typologically prefigures
the Doom that will overcome the earth at the end of the sixth age. As the focal point of this section, it both warns of the impending destruction and indicates that as God once saved Noah and his family, who symbolize the congregation of the Church, he will save His faithful from the final devastation of the world.

The Apocalyptic theme underlying the description of earthly disasters in this section is further revealed by Lambert's inclusion of the vision of the Presbyter\textsuperscript{26} and the Pseudo-Methodius history.\textsuperscript{27} In both, we are told that Doomsday is preceded by barbarian invasions. The Presbyter's barbarians arrive on ships, like the Norsemen described in the annalistic entries on pages 455 to 462; the Pseudo-Methodius' barbarians are the sons of Ishmael, or the Saracens, like the pagans whom the crusaders had recently defeated.

Lambert's belief that the final events are imminent, and that we should therefore be watchful for signs announcing Doomsday, is manifest in his "appendices" to the Pseudo-Methodius text: the description of the marking of the 144,000 who will be preserved from God's wrath and the collection of passages from the Fathers that tell of the signs preceding the second Advent and of the experience of Resurrection.\textsuperscript{28}
The tenth book of the Bestus Apocalypse interprets Revelations 18:1 to 19:10. In the eighteenth chapter of Revelations, John hears an angel cry: "Babylon the great is fallen, fallen; a voice from Heaven calls God's people away from the city of the earth which is about to be destroyed by disease, famine, and fire. The beginning of chapter 19 tells of the celebration that takes place in Heaven among the saved as the smoke rises from the burning Babylon.

Bestus begins his explication of this part of John's vision by referring back to his ninth book, defining Babylon as the Whore, the beast, and the kings of the earth. This may account for Lambert's return to the theme of the kings of the earth at the beginning of his tenth section. Bestus also tells us that Babylon is, in fact, the whole world, that both the people of God and the people of the Devil presently dwell within Babylon and will only be separated from each other at the Last Judgment. Further, the fall of Babylon is actually occurring daily, at the present time.

Since Babylon is the whole world, not just the city of evil, and since its destruction is taking place around us all the time, Lambert's representation of the world suffering recurrent destruction during the present age provides an apt illustration of the fall of Babylon, an
apt counterpart to Beatus' tenth book. Earlier, in Revelations 16:19, Saint John saw Babylon divided into three parts, "and the cities of the nations fell." Perhaps Lambert responds to this by referring to the three-part division of Charlemagne's empire in the context of his depiction of the fall of Babylon. Lambert's central miniature of Noah's Ark is a typological figure of the refuge that God will offer the Elect at the end of time, corresponding to the voice calling the saved away from the general Doom, in Revelations 18:4.

It seems evident that Lambert's placement of texts describing the kings of the earth and worldly destructions around a central miniature of Noah's Ark was intended to create an analogue of the tenth book of the Beatus Apocalypse which discusses the destruction of Babylon as the devastation of the world, even at the present time, from which the Church is spared.
FOOTNOTES

1"Karolus Caluus, filius Lodoici, nepos Karoli Magni, Augustus et Francorum rex. Hic a Iudeo Sedechia medico in Mantua pocionatus obiit."
2"Vidi dolio in quo erat ferunes aqua genitorem meum Lodoicum usque ad femora."
3"Romanorum iiperium, quod haecetus tenuisti, iure hereditario debet habere Ludiiocus filius filie mee."
4See above, 287. Charles became emperor when Louis died in 875.
5"Diluuum mundi et Archa Noe."
6"Transactis a mundi exordio annis duobus milibus Ctm que XIta duobus et anno uite Noe dmo archam ipse edificare cepit et anno eam consummauit, mundi etate prima expleta annorum IIOrum milium CCtorum XLIIOrum; a etate mundi Irde uenit diluuum. Montes excelsos orbis super- creuerant aquæ XV cubitis. Quarto kal. Maii diluuiio cessante requieuit archa supra montes Armenje. Et egresso Noe de archa uixit post diluuum annis CCCtisL. Quibus sex Ctante diluuum additi fiunt DCCCCtita. Quod fuit Noe uita."


8For example: "A sign like a flaming column was seen in the sky for 30 days in the time of the emperor Theodosius; an earthquake shook the ground for many days;" ("Signum in celo quasi columna pendens ardensque per dies XXXta apparuit tempore Tehodosii imperatoris et terre motus per dies plurimos fuit").

l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XXXVIII, 2, 1906, 694.

10 "Anno Domini DCCCL V fames valida Gallie inferiora consumpsit . . . Luporum incursio inferiorum partium homines audentissime deorabant. Sed et in partibus Aquitanie lupi in modum exercitus usque ad CCCtos ferme conglobati et per uiam facto agmine . . . ".

11 "Anno Domini DCCCLVI . . . in ecclesia stante nubes tertility superincumbens, tonitruis fulminibusque ecclesiam territans turrim campanarum sonantium comminuit tantaque tenebrositate ecclesiam impleruit, ut vix alterutrum sese ualerent agnoscere. Visus est canis nime emormitatis in circuitu altaris discurrere subito hiatu terre."

12 "Anno Domini eodem [DCCCLVIII] in page Senonico in ecclesia sancte Pocare die dominico celebrante missa presbitero lupus subito introiens plebemque admisit teniendo perturbans, tandem inter feminas ueniens disparuit."

13 Delisle, Notices et extraits des manuscrits, 697.

14 "Deindi, cum a quodam monasterio nomine Sithui direpto incensoque oneratis naibus rependarent, ita diuino iudicio uel tenebris cecati uel insanis sunt percussi, ut uix perpauci euaderent, qui Dei omnipotentis iram ceteris nuntiarent. Unde commotus animo rex eorum Orichus ad Ludoicum regem legatos pacis gratia destinauit captivi-tatem absoluisse arsurosque paratus prouit restituere."

15 "Anno Dominice Incarnationis DCCCLXXXI VII kal. Ianuarii Normanni Sithiu opidum ingressi cum infinita multitudo ipsum oppidum cum ecclesis igne cremauerunt excepta Sancti Otmar ecclesia, que Dei prouidentia bene erat munita." Concerning the date of the fortification of the church on the hill, see van Caenegem, Liber Floridus Colloquium, 76-77.

16 Delisle, Notices et extraits des manuscrits, 1906, 699.

17 " . . . plurimus pueros legentes uidit . . . una linea nigris et altera sanguineis . . . Linee sanguine, quas in libris conspicis, diuersa Christianorum peccata sunt . . . ". 
18"Pueri . . . anime sanctorum sunt, qui cotidie Christianorum peccata et facinora deplorant et pro illis intercedunt, ut tandem aliquando ad penitentiam conuerantur."

19"Quod si cito Christiani de peccatis suis et facinoribus eorum penitentiam non egerint . . . mature super eos maximum et intolerabile pericum ueniet, uidelicet tribus diebus et tribus noctibus super terram illorum nebula densissima expandetur. Deinde pagani cum inmensa nauium multitudine super illos ueniet et igno ferroque deuastabunt.

20This text, according to Delisle (Notices et extraits des manuscrits, 1906, 700), combines references to the 839 division by Louis the Pious between Lothair and Charles the Bald, and the 871 partitioning of Lotharingia between Louis the German and Charles the Bald, the treaty of Mersen, which deprived the rightful heir, Louis II, son of Lothair, of all but his imperial title and his kingdom in Italy.


21"Tunc uero primitus exierunt Sarraceni filli hismanhelis de heremo et introierunt regna gentium . . . ceperuntque pugnare contra Orientalem terram et Meridianam ceperuntque desolari urbes et fecerunt sibi nauigia et uenerunt usque in regiones Occidentales prope Roman et dominati sunt terris eo tempore. Hii corpora edebant et carnes calebolorum et beebant sanguinem iumentorum mixto lacte . . .".

22"Tunc recordabitur Deus misericordie sue magne, quam repromisit diligentibus se, et liberabit eos de manu Sarracenorum sic: . . . Surget autem rex Christianorum . . . Et descendent filli Hismahelis in gladium et tribulationem et afflictionem, et reddet Deus illis mala que ipsi aliis fecerunt, et irruet super eos malicia eorum septuplum."

23"Erunt in diebus illis homines sicut fuerunt in diebus Noe, edentes et bibentes, letantes, nubentes, et non erit in corde eorum timor."
"Et erit aduentus God et Magog . . . Et tunc apperebit filius perdonitionis, que dicitur Antichristus."

"Past hec mittet Dominus famulos suos . . . Enoch et Heliam . . .".

Page 463.

Page 465-470.

Pages 470 to 471.


Revelations 18:2; the same words are called out in Revelations 14:8.

Revelations 18:4.

Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 836: "ciuitatem Babilon ipsa est, quam supra diximus mulieram et bestiam et reges terrae . . .".


Ibid., II, 838: ". . . euersa Babilonia hodie intellegendi sunt, id est, de praesenti tempore."
CHAPTER ELEVEN

I. Analytical Summary of Section Eleven, pages 472-518
   (220v-241v)

472-475
(220v-222r)

"Calcidus super Platonem de quinque Mundi Religionibus," chapter CLVII, explains the various levels or regions of the universe. It describes both the superterrestrial, eternal beings that inhabit the four zones and man, who lives in the lowest and smallest realm. Man, though he possesses an immortal soul is suppressed in mortality as a slave to his passions. This text culminates in two diagrams. The first (fig. 92) is a circular plan, "De supradictis mundi regionibus spera Platonis," consisting of five horizontal sections with texts in each that summarize the supradictum. The second miniature (fig. 93) is a lambda diagram of the World-Soul. The series of odd and even numbers progressing along two sides of the diagram, from one to twenty-seven, expresses the divine outpouring from the World-Soul into creation.¹

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In chapter CLVIII, Lambert copied Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, which we have already encountered with Macrobius' commentary in Section Five. In a dream, Scipio Africanus Minor met his adopted grandfather, Scipio Africanus Major. He was led to the starry realms and learned that his father, his grandfather and others whom were thought of as dead were actually alive: "'Of course these men are alive,' he [Scipio Major] said, 'who have flown from the bonds of their bodies as from a prison; indeed that life of yours; as it is called, is really death.'" Scipio's grandfather warned him to "'Cherish justice and your obligations to duty,'" because a virtuous life would allow him to join the other immortal souls who after death dwell in the Milky Way. Scipio could not resist looking down from his celestial vantage point unto the earth. His grandfather reprove him for this interest in the earth, telling him that everything below the level of the moon is mortal, except for human souls, while everything above the moon is immortal: "'why not fix your attention upon the heavens and contemn what is
mortal?' Earthly fame and glory are not worth pursuing since only a small portion of the earth is inhabited by humans that could have contact with the Romans and thus know of the fame of a particular Roman. Fame cannot be permanent even within this circumscribed region, since the earth is periodically destroyed. Furthermore, according to the theory of the World Year, the greatest period of time in which a may enjoy earthly fame is limited to a fraction of a "great year," an insignificant amount of time. Therefore, "'Let Virtue, as is fitting, draw you with her own attractions to the true glory.'" The final part of the grandfather's discourse concerned the immortality of God, the Primal Mover, and the immortality of the human soul, which is also self-moving. Immortal souls that are exercised in the noblest efforts will rise without delay to the heavenly abode after death, "'and this flight will be even swifter if the soul, while it is shut up in the body, will rise above it, detach itself as much as possible from the body.'" Souls that are debased and enslaved by the passions, however, will "'however close
to the earth, and return to this region only after long ages of torment."^8

Lambert follows the text of The Dream of Scipio with a series of astronomical diagrams glossed with excerpts that are derived almost entirely from Macrobius' commentary on the Dream. Like the schemata in Section Five, these diagrams are very brightly colored and rather fanciful in their design.

The diagram on page 481 (225r) consists of a highly schematic Macrobian map showing the five zones of the earth (fig. 94). The map is circular, surrounded first by the ocean, then by the course of the moon, and finally by the orbits of Mercury and Venus. Outside those orbits, Lambert has drawn a large sun with flower-like petals labeled sol. Above the sun he has written Mars, Saturnus, and Iupiter. In the four corners around the terrestrial-celestial map are texts derived from Macrobius' commentary. The first discusses the two-fold ocean that flows from an unknown source into the central, torrid zone of the earth and from there, to the north and south where the waters
all collide. Following this information on oceans, Lambert refers briefly to the weather above the firmament. Finally, he summarizes a passage from Macrobius on the cycle of the mmon.

On page 482 (225v), we find a particularly attractive set of diagrams entitled "Circuli VII Planetarum VII" (fig. 95). The upper part of the page illustrates the courses of the seven planets around the earth. Each of the colored bands that partially encircle the "T-O" map of the earth is illustrated with a small image, labeled with the name of a planet, including the sun and the moon. The text inside this diagram is an excerpt from Macrobius' Commentary on the Dream of Scipio. The first part tells us that night is caused by the shadow of the earth, falling on our hemisphere when the sun has passed to the lower hemisphere. This shadow is sixty times the diameter of the earth. The earth is at the middle of the sun's orbit and the diameter of this orbit is 9,600,000 stades.
Five smaller diagrams appear on the lower part of the page. In the center, a blue and white-petaled, semi-circular motif that is labeled "Hemisperium" on the top and "stilus" below, illustrates the text inscribed above and below it. This text, which is also an extract from Macrobius' commentary, explains the means of discovering the diameter of the sun with a hemispherical vessel that is marked with twelve lines and has a stylus inside. The circular schema to the upper left of the hemisphere illustrates the fact that the moon receives its light from the sun. Below, the eclipse of the sun is portrayed, and to the lower right, the eclipse of the moon. The circular diagram on the upper right is marked with letters, A through G and L and M, but its purpose is not clear.

For page 481 (226r), Lambert used an oversized, folded piece of parchment. The diagram on the recto side of this folio (fig. 96) resembles that which illustrated Book I, chapter xxi of the Commentary on the Dream of Scipio. It is, however, embellished with additional information, some of which has been drawn from other
parts of the commentary. Essentially, this diagram represents the orbits of the seven planets around a "T-O" map of the world. Around the outer rim, we find the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac. The planetary orbits are delineated below. In the path of each planet Lambert has noted the number of years that planet requires to complete its orbit. He also associates each orbit with a level of heaven. In the outermost orbit, he was written, for example: "Candidus Saturnus annis XXX 
continet Deum et cherubin seraphinique. Hoc Deus glacialibus aquis tempera." Lambert follows Cicero rather than Macrobius in locating the sun between Mercury and Venus. He also indicates the seasonal changes of the sun's position. The earth he labels, "In medio terra nona quasi insula." In the corners of the page, Lambert tells us various non-Latin words for numero, sole, luna, die, ebdomada, and mense.

On the left of the verso side of this leaf, we again read of the orbits of the planets and the hierarchy of heavens. Then Lambert
presents a synopsis of information gleaned from different parts of the Commentary on the Dream of Scipio. This information includes the measure of the diameter of the sun, the source of the moon's light, the course of the moon, the light and the movement of the fixed stars, the character of the seven planets, the nature of the four elements and their indestructability, and yet another definition of the World Year. The text to the right of this folded leaf describes divisions and subdivisions of time.

A graph-like diagram appears on page 485 (227r) indicating the paths of the seven planets under the sphere of the zodiac (fig. 97). Each of the planets is figured at the top of the page; the sun and the moon are considerably larger than the others. From each planet, a line is drawn in a "zig-zag" path through the grid below, which represents the course of the zodiac. The names of the twelve signs of the zodiac are written at the top of the grid. Turning the diagram on its side, we read a text written along the right and left sides of
page which tells the number of years that each planet takes to complete its orbit and the distance between each planet and the earth.

The next figure, on page 486 (227v), is a map of the zones of the heavens and the earth, corresponding with that in Macrobius’ commentary, Book II, chapter vii (fig. 98). The five zones of the earth are labeled, as in the other zone maps, "Zona terre Septentrionalis frigida inhabitabilis," and so forth. The five zones of the heavens are labeled "Zona celi extrema frigida," "Zona celi Septentrionalis temperata," "Zona celi perusta Occidentis et Orientis[ ]," "Zone celi Australis temperata," "Zona celi Australis frigida." Within each of the heavenly zones Lambert has included the names of constellations. In the northern, frigid zone, for example, he has written "cetus" and "canis." The names of the planets and two zodiacal signs appear on a diagonal line across the center of the map. Below the figure we read about the natures of the planets: "Saturnus candidus natura gelidus est . . .". Then Lambert reports that while
Bede claims that the sun is four times as large as the earth, Hilperico and Macrobius say that it is eight times as large. The inscription in the margin says that the earth is divided into two parts, north and south, and that we in the northern zone will never see the southern half because the torrid zone between is too hot to be crossed.

The next diagram on page 487 (228r), also combines a map of the earth and a celestial chart (fig. 99). The map of the earth is another Macrobian zone map, with a few place names inscribed in the northern zone and in the oceans encircling it. Around the map, Lambert drew seven colored bands showing the order of the seven planets. Again, Lambert has placed the sun between Venus and Mars. A final double-band represents the celestial sphere with the attached stars, labeled with the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac. The text above explains the diagram. Below, Lambert writes about the measurement of the earth and, again, of the separation of the northern and southern zones of the earth.
The schema on page 448 (228v) demonstrates the interlocking, double qualities of the four elements, seasons, and humors (fig. 100). A small circle labeled *Homo* is situated at the center. The four cardinal directions of the earth are written around this circle. Four arms extend from the *Homo* circle; starting from the lower, right corner, the first is inscribed "malancholia," the second "colera," the third "sanguis," and the fourth "humor." At the ends of these arms are four circles. The first circle is earth and autumn; it also represents old age and black choler. The second circle is fire and summer, as well as youth and red choler. The third circle is air and spring, and adolescence and blood. The fourth circle is water and winter, decrepitude and phlegm. In the band that encircles the diagram, Lambert wrote the names of the four elements and their double qualities, for example: "siccatus terre, frigiditus terre." There are two texts about elements written inside the schema. The first, which begins on the left side and is completed on the right, is mainly concerned with the relative weights
as positions of the four elements. The text in the lower part of the circle repeats the assurance, given with the mappamundus in Section Five, that the elements are indestructible, that they will not be destroyed in the fire at the end of time but be transformed into something better. In the four corners of this page Lambert wrote about four great historical figures who devised calendars or made contributions to the organization of time: King Ptolemy Philadelphus; Romulus; Numa Pompilius; and Julius Caesar.

Chapter CLVIII begins on the upper part of this page. It includes a series of short passages about law: laws concerning marriage; divine and human law; law and custom; and natural law.

Continuing chapter CLVIII, Lambert repeats the information on the twelve precious stones that he set forth in Section Three in association with Celestial Jerusalem. We read, for example, that jasper means "green stone" in Greek; it is like an emerald but more crudely colored; while people say that it brings both
great esteem and protection, this is mere superstition. Rubies are the most firey gems; they glow in the dark, glimmering like flames.

Chapter CLV begins on this page with excerpts from Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, and Julian of Toledo, discussing the resurrection of souls and their existence after death. The first passage is from Jerome's letter to Marcella in response to her questions concerning the nature of the transformed corporeality or substance of the saints when they are resurrected before the Lord at the end of time. The soul, Jerome says, is not separate from the body but, dwelling in the body, makes glorious that which previously was inglorious. He then refers to the return of Enoch and Elijah at the end of time, prior to the final conversion of the Jews, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the ceremonies performed there by strangers.

The following texts briefly discuss related topics. Everyone, we read, will be resurrected at the end of time but only the righteous will
be transformed and glorified by eternal life. An excerpt from Augustine reports that Paradise is in the third level of heaven, where Paul was taken and where the souls of the blessed dwell without their bodies. Gregory informs us that some of the saved will be delayed in entering Paradise because they were somewhat less righteous than others. Then we find an extract from Julian of Toledo claiming that the prayers of the Church atone for the souls of those who were neither perfect enough to enter Paradise after departing from their bodies nor wicked enough to be sent to Hell; through the intercession of the Church, these souls will be allowed to partake in blessed immortality in the heavenly kingdom. We next learn about the righteous and unrighteous being aware of each other's final rewards and about the impossibility of our accurately predicting the time of the Last Judgment.

492 (230v) The "Lily Among the Thorns," one of the most splendid illustrations in the Liber Floridus, appears on this page as part of chapter CLX, at approximately the center of Section Eleven (fig. 33). Above the miniature, Lambert has
inscribed the text of the Song of Solomon 2:2: "Sicut Lycium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias." The lily's leaves stand militantly in a diagonal direction from the stem. They decrease in size from bottom to top, creating a triangular shape that points insistently upward. This vertical movement is expanded into the arrow-shaped, dark blue background that barely manages to suppress the outward force of the thriving, white flowers.

There are three lists on this page, one to each side of the lily and one in the left margin. The list to the right of the lily begins "SANCTUS SPIRITUS septem dona eius." Lambert then lists seven virtues: "Karitas; Simplicitas; Mansuetudo; Patientia; Innocentia; Abstinencia; Compunctio." He then lists twelve trees. The first eight are the trees from Ecclesiasticus 24:13-17 that Lambert associates with the eight Beatitudes and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in the focal images of Section Eight (figs. 87 and 88). To these, he adds the laurel, pine, fir, and box trees. These twelve trees were also the
first twelve trees in Lambert's extended list of trees and plants on pages 312-313 (140v-141r), except that Lambert has substituted the box tree for the fig. His reason for eliminating the fig tree from a list accompanying virtues is obvious: the fig tree was cursed by Christ and became a symbol of the damned. Lambert used the fig for his illustration of the tree of vices on page 495 (232r) (fig. 32). The box tree was a suitable substitute for the fig since it was twice mentioned, along with the pine and the fir trees, in the prophecies of Isaiah, first in Isaiah 41:19: "I will set in the desert the fir tree, and the pine and the box tree together"; and later in Isaiah 60:13 ". . . the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary." The list on the right side of the lily begins: "Phylosophia Septem Artes: Grammatica; Dialectica; Rhetorica; Geometria; Arithmetica; Astrologia; Musica." After this, Lambert adds the names of twelve aromatic trees and plants, all of which appear near the beginnings of the lists of aromatic plants on page 312 (240v).
The third list, in the left margin, names the bishops of Therouanne. The third bishop on the list is Saint Omer, the saint and churchman to whom Lambert felt his greatest loyalty.

In chapter CLXI, Lambert names and briefly describes the seven wonders of the world. The list begins with the building of Rome, the harbor of Alexandria, and the Colossus of Rhodes and ends with the temple of Diana.

Beginning chapter CLXII, Lambert's Good Tree and Evil Tree extend across these two pages (figs. 31 and 32). Both trees grow from the point where the pages meet, with part of their roots exposed. Charity is at the root of the Good Tree and cupidity at the root of the Evil Tree. This, of course, follows the medieval belief that "cupidity is the root of every evil, and charity is the root of every good."23

The Good Tree, on page 494, is labeled "ARBOR BONA. Ecclesia fidelis." Blue and gold medallions grow like fruit on the tree and hold lively, gesturing personifications of virtues. This virtue cycle is essentially
Pauline in origin. As Katzenellenbogen points out, this catalogue of virtues corresponds to that in Galatians 5:22. Further, Lambert gives special emphasis in his composition to Paul's three theological virtues: charity; hope; and faith. We find a medallion with a bust personification of karitas at the root of the tree. Midway up the trunk, Lambert has drawn a medallion with spes personified within. This medallion is larger than the others; both its greater size and its position on the trunk, on a direct axis with karitas, illustrate its importance among the virtues. The significance of fide, the third theological virtue, is indicated both by her position at the top of the miniature and by the fact that she alone among the virtues is crowned.

The trunk divides into three branches above the spes medallion. Each branch has a virtue-medallion with a miniature tree growing from it: patientia, cedrus; castitas, oliva; gaudium, cypress.

A four-branched limb grows from the right side of the trunk, with a medallion on each side of
the branches personifying a virtue and sprouting a tree: continentia, rosa; fide, pinus; longanimitas, terebintus; mansuetudo, buxus.

Four more branches with virtues and trees grow from a limb on the left of the trunk: sobrietas, abies; pax, platanus; bonitas, cynamomum; modestia, balsamum.

There are altogether thirteen virtues on the eleven-branched Good Tree. Karitas is portrayed as the "root" of the other twelve. Spes grows on the trunk, directly above karitas. Eleven more virtues appear on the eleven branches of the tree.

In addition to the eleven virtuous branches, Lambert has drawn three pairs of flowers growing from the trunk. Two hysopus flowers sprout from the base of the trunk, two roses from above the two side limbs, and two lilies from the top of the trunk, between the three upper branches.

In the upper, right corner of this page, we read a series of short excerpts from the Old
and New Testaments that includes references to the divine fruit of virtue and wisdom. In the lower, left corner, Lambert explains the importance of karitas: "As from one root of a tree many branches grow, many virtues are generated from one charity." The inscription in the lower, right corner is written in red, marking it as the most important text on the page. It reads, "The good tree, the queen to the right of God, surrounded by variety; that is, the Church of the faithful surrounded by a variety of virtues." The words "queen to the right of God surrounded by variety" paraphrases Psalm 45:9: "The queen stood upon Thy right hand in golden vestments, surrounded by variety." Medieval exegetes identified Psalm 45 as the song of the sacred Marriage-feast of the Bridegroom and Bride in the Song of Solomon. The Bridegroom is, we know, Christ and the Bride, the Church. Frequent cross-references are made to the Song of Solomon in medieval commentaries to this psalm. Augustine and Cassiodorus, for example, compare the "queen
to the right of God" in Psalm 45 to the Bride in Song of Solomon 8:5 who "cometh up made white." This suggests a connection between Lambert's Tree of God and his Lily Among the Thorns, which directly quotes Song of Solomon, on the preceding folio.

Cassiodorus begins his description of the queen by saying that "to the divine right side she is enthroned, ornamented with precious virtues." Both Cassiodorus and Bede tell us that the queen's golden vestments are charity, the foremost virtue, and that the "variety" surrounding her is the profusion of "the other virtues that are brought into appearance by the grace of charity."

Lambert, in his inscription in the lower, right corner, describing the queen as the Church of the Faithful, follows Augustine's interpretation of Psalm 45 in the City of God. Augustine explains that the image of God with the queen to his right is "Christ above the Christians. For these are his fellows, out of the unity of concord of whom in all nations that queen is formed, as it is said of her in another psalm:
'The city of the great king.' "34 Augustine then states that the queen is also a spiritual metaphor for Jerusalem and that her enemy is Babylon, "Israelites only in the flesh and not by faith." "35 He also describes the queen as the city of Christians existing in the midst of the ungodly until she is "set free by regeneration." "36 Subsequently, Augustine undertakes a complete description of the co-existence of the Church and the wicked during the Millenium. He compares this co-existence to the wheat and tares growing together until the harvest, when "reapers shall gather out the tares." "37

Augustine again alludes to the conjunction of the Church and the City of the Devil at the beginning of his commentary on Psalm 45:9

"'Upon Thy right hand did stand the Queen.' She who stands to the left is no Queen. For there will be no one standing 'on the left' also, to whom it will be said, 'Go into everlasting fire.' "38 Bede repeats in his commentary Augustine's allusion to "she who stands to the left," who is not a queen; he
further compares her to Hagar who, for the Middle Ages, symbolized the synagogue.\textsuperscript{39}

We may thus conclude that Lambert's Good Tree and the texts inscribed around it relate unmistakably to medieval exegesis on Psalm 45.\textsuperscript{40} The Evil Tree on the opposite page is its obvious counterpart.

The \textit{ARBOR MALA. Synagoga}, with its roots, like the tares, about to be chopped out, provides an appropriate image of she who, according to Augustine and Bede, "stands to the left" (fig. 32). To correspond with \textit{karitas}, the root of all virtues on the \textit{Arbor Bona}, Lambert has placed at the root of the \textit{Arbor Mala} a medallion containing a verbal description of \textit{cupiditas} and the vices that proliferate from it.\textsuperscript{41} Twelve more vice-medallions on the \textit{Arbor Mala} mirror the arrangement of the twelve virtue-medallions on the \textit{Arbor Bona}. Instead of portraits, however, they contain verbal descriptions of the principle and dependent vices.\textsuperscript{42} Furthermore, instead of a variety of trees, all eleven vice-trees are labeled \textit{ficulnea}, fig
The treeless vice on the trunk, opposite spes, is desperatio. The inscriptions around the tree, again derived from the Old and New Testaments, refer to the fruitlessness of the tree and the fact that it is being chopped down. 44

On this page, completing chapter CLXII, Lambert illustrates the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar (fig. 29). The image actually conflates two of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, as the inscription to the lower, left side of the page explains: "The Dream of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldeans, as interpreted by the prophet Daniel during the Babylonian Captivity, concerning the status and the tree, at the end of the fourth age of the world." 45

In his first dream, Nebuchadnezzar saw a gigantic statue. 46 Its head was made of gold, its chest and arms of silver, its belly and thighs of bronze, its legs of iron, and its feet of clay and iron. A stone struck the statue and shattered its feet. The entire figure then broke into small pieces and blew away. The stone that struck the statue then
grew into a mountain that filled the earth. Daniel interpreted the dream for Nebuchadnezzar, explaining that the golden head of the statue was Nebuchadnezzar himself. After his reign, a series of successively weaker kingdoms would follow, only to be destroyed and replaced by the kingdom of God.

In his second dream, Nebuchadnezzar was a tree that grew as tall as the sky and provided food and protection for all creatures.⁴⁷ A voice from heaven commanded that the tree be cut down and that its stump and roots be bound to the ground with iron chains for "seven times". During the period that it was to be chained, it would be kept moist with dew. Daniel explained that the tree represented both Nebuchadnezzar and his kingdom which reached to the sky and extended across the earth. God ordering the tree to be cut down meant that Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom would be lost. The loss would not be permanent, though, after an interval of time, Nebuchadnezzar would return to power.
It is the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar that provides the major pictorial motif in Lambert's miniature. A figure labeled "Nebuchadnezzar rex dormit" lies at the lower right of the miniature, with a tree growing above him: "arbor usque ad celum pertingents." A crowned figure, with red stains on his robe over his right thigh, chops down the tree with an ax. A chain is drawn around the base of the tree: "arbor alligata uinculo ferreo circa radices." Next to the tree Lambert has inscribed a line from Revelations: "Cedit Babilon illa magna, cum qua fornicati sung reges terre." In the upper left corner, God appears in a mandorla, enthroned and holding a sword. Next to the mandorla, a quotation from Daniel 4:11 describes the felling of Nebuchadnezzar's tree. To the right of this, another passage sets forth the lengths of time from Adam to the foundation of Babylon, to the foundation of Rome, and to the Incarnation of Christ. This information, culminating in the first Advent, is summarized below, to the right of the tree trunk.
The two remaining inscriptions on the page both describe the six ages of the world with reference to the metals of the statue of Nebuchadnezzar's first dream. The passage to the left of the king begins: "Mundus in prima etate habens caput aureum et in secunda pectus argenteum . . .". 52 Lambert repeats this list to the right of the king, noting in greater detail the periods of history that correspond to each age: "Etas I\textsuperscript{ma} aurea ab Adam usque ad Noe; Etas II\textsuperscript{da} argentea a Noe usque ad Abraham . . .". 53 This list ends with the inscription between the feet of the standing king: "Etas VI\textsuperscript{ta} finis mundi."

Several aspects of this miniature are unusual in comparison to other medieval illustrations of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. 54 First, the conjunction of the lists of the ages, metals, and parts of the body with the tree is unique; this is the only illustration that conflates the two dreams. Second, in no other example is the tree-chopper represented as a king. The dream itself does not actually tell who will wield the ax, it merely announces that the tree will be cut down. When medieval illustrators chose
to include tree-cutters in this scene, they depicted peasants in short tunics. Third, the representation of the chain around the stump of the tree, carefully pointed out by an inscription, is an unprecedented detail.

Finally, the inclusion of two passages on the right side of the page that refer to the time of Christ's first Advent seem to require some explanation. In the forthcoming commentary on Section Eleven of the Liber Floridus, we will discuss the iconography of this miniature and attempt to explain these unusual features.

Five chapters are missing from the manuscript in this place: "De Mundi Etatibus Sex Comparatis Diebus;" "De Symonia Secundum Willemum;" "De Sacrificio Corporis Christi;" "De Elemosina quomodo sit danda;" and "De que Stripe Ortus sit Herodes."

Chapter CLXVII concerns the Jewish kings after the Machabees. Lambert narrates the history of Herod and his family and the persecution of the prophets, apostles, and Christ.
A history of the descent of the Franks from Noah and Priam of Troy follows, beginning chapter CLXVIII, Lambert describes the succession of Merovingian kings and ancestors of Charlemagne in some detail in this passage. After discussing the reigns of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald, Lambert briefly names their successors to the accession in 990 of Hugh Capet. He notes that King Philip married Bertrada, sister of the crusader Robert of Flanders. Their grandson, Philip, was born in 1116.

One history of the Franks would apparently not suffice, and so Lambert immediately begins another. This history traces the descent of the Franks to Norway: "Tradunt nonnulli de Scanzia insula, que est Northewega, Francos exordium habuisse." The intermarriage with the descendents of the Trojans is explained next. Lambert then draws a straightforward genealogical list of the Merovingians. Charlemagne appears quite soon, followed by an account of the partitioning of the empire by the sons of Louis the Pious. The family history is succinctly drawn up to the reign of
Charles the Simple. The descent of the counts of Normandy, from Gerlo and Rotlo to Robert the Crusader, is next traced. Then Labert turns back to finish the genealogy of the Franks from Charles the Simple to the crusade and King Philip.

515-516 (204r-240v) A list of the names of the Frankish kings, from Priam of Troy to Philip, is found on the lower part of page 515. On 516, Lambert lists the names of all the archbishops of Reims, Cologne, Trier, Noyon, and Cambrai.

517 (241r) A map of Europe is supplied at this point, continuing chapter CLXVIII (fig. 101). A quarter-circle, it would appear to have been derived from a "T-O" map. Small buildings are scattered across the terrain, with a large church designating Roma. Country and city names are inscribed in the appropriate places. Lambert, naturally, includes Flanders and Morini on the map. Two particularly notable mountain ranges appear, mons Pyreneus and mons Iovis. A river-like ocean flows all around the continent, with the names of islands written within. Above the map, an inscription
states that from Julius Caesar to Theodosius, men erred in believing that Europe comprised a third part of the earth; actually, it is one fourth. Europe also, we learn, has eleven oceans, forty islands, twenty provinces, twenty-one mountains, twenty-one rivers, and thirty-three different groups of people. Their thirty-three groups are named below the map, beginning: "Habet gentes Gothos, Turingos, Herulos . . .".

In the right margin of the page, Lambert lists the names of the Greek numbers and letters of the alphabet.
II. Commentary on Section Eleven

The first half of Section Eleven is primarily comprised of topics relating to the immortality of the soul, with some reference to law and judgment. The excerpt from "Calcidius super Platonem," for example, includes discussion of man's immortal soul in relation to his mortal body. The Dream of Scipio, which follows, is especially concerned with the immortal afterlife of worthy souls, comparing this felicitous state to finite existence on the earth. The diagrams from Macrobius' commentary that accompany the Dream expand upon the "philosophy" in Cicero's text. After the passages about law on page 489 (229r) and the discussion of the precious stones of Heavenly Jerusalem on page 489 and 490 (229r and 229v), Lambert returns to the theme of existence after death, examining various aspects of this state with quotations from the Fathers.

The miniature of the Lily Among the Thorns (fig. 33) (at the center of Section Eleven) symbolizes the Church. The Good Tree and Evil Tree (figs. 31 and 32) and the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar (fig. 29) appear in close conjunction. The second half of this section is mainly devoted to tracing the ancestry of the Franks. Lambert then provides a map of Europe, a fourth of the earth, and lists the archbishops and kings of the earth.
In order to perceive the way in which these topics are related to each other, let us turn to the eleventh book of the Beatus Apocalypse. The main subject of this book is the millenial Church and its establishment. In Revelation 19:11-20:10, John sees Heaven open and a rider named Word of God emerge on a white horse. The rider is crowned with coronets, his name is written on his thigh, and his cloak is stained with blood. A sword comes from his mouth to smite the pagans; he will rule them with a rod of iron. An army in white linen, riding white horses, follows him. They defeat the army of the Beast and the kings of the earth. Then another angel comes from Heaven and chains the Beast, who is Satan, in the abyss for a thousand years. John then sees thrones with judges seated upon them and the souls of the righteous in heaven, reigning with Christ during the thousand years of Satan's imprisonment. These are the blessed of the first resurrection, the priests who reign for the thousand years. When the Millenium is complete, Satan will be released for a period of time to deceive the nations of the four corners of the earth. He will be defeated again, however, and thrown into the lake of fire and sulphur forever.

Beatus tells us that the rider and his white horse are the majesty of God upon the white body of Christ: "The only begotten Son of the Father; that is, God incarnate."
The white-bodied army that follows on white horses is the congregation of the saints. The "name" written on the warrior's thigh represents the lineage of generations of those known as the sons of God because of their faith. This is the battle between the Devil with his followers and Christ with his Church.

The "other angel" whom John sees descend from heaven and chain the Beast is Christ at his first Advent. The Incarnation, Beatus says, causes the Devil to be chained for a thousand years; this thousand year period, is the sixth age of the world. Beatus compares the sixth day of creation, when God created man, to the sixth age, when Christ was born. Beatus states that the thrones in heaven for the judging saints are twelve in number since they symbolize the Church. Among these thrones, the Son of Man sits upon his bright throne. He sits to the right, judging through the head of virtue, through his priests, and with all his servants. If any will sit and judge with Christ, it is more fitting for those who were martyred for their testimony. The virtue of charity possessed by this gathering is emphasized; Beatus quotes I Corinthians 13:2; "If I do not have charity, I am nothing."

Section Eleven of the Liber Floridus, and particularly the illustrations on pages 492-496 (230v-232v)
(figs. 20, 31, 32, and 33), can be interpreted in relation to the subject of Beatus' eleventh book, the millenial Church. The miniature of Nebuchadnezzar's Dream (fig. 29) corresponds to the description of the chaining of the Beast, or Antichrist, in Beatus' eleventh book. The tree in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, as the book of Daniel explains, represents Nebuchadnezzar.\textsuperscript{75} Saint Jerome's commentary on the book of Daniel, which was appended to some manuscripts of the Beatus Apocalypse, explains that Nebuchadnezzar is the Antichrist.\textsuperscript{76} The tree, therefore, may be thought of as a symbol of Antichrist as well as of Nebuchadnezzar. The chaining of the tree of Nebuchadnezzar for an interval of time is thus the metaphorical equivalent of the chaining of the Antichrist for the Millenium. As Mayo points out, Beatus equates the time of the chaining of the tree stump with "numerological speculations on the advent and reign of the Antichrist."\textsuperscript{77}

Beatus states that the Antichrist is chained by Christ's first Advent, which relates to the presence of the two texts on the right side of Lambert's miniature that culminate in the first Advent. Beatus also tells us that the Millenium is the sixth age of the world, the age which was initiated by Christ's birth. This, it seems, would explain the catalogue of ages with imagery from Nebuchadnezzar's first dream. The figure standing in
Aetas VI would then be Christ, since it is He who caused the Antichrist to be chained, initiating the sixth age. Following the description of the Warrior in Revelation 19:21, whom Beatus identifies as Christ, Lambert's tree-cutter is crowned and his garments are stained with blood. The Warrior in Revelation smites the pagans with a sword and rules them with an iron rod; the figure in Lambert's miniature strikes the tree with an ax, around which is written: "Fourth age, iron."

The images of the Good Tree and Evil Tree (figs. 31 and 32) depict the condition of the Church between the first and second advents of Christ. This image, we have seen, is related to medieval exegesis on Psalm 45. Augustine's interpretation of Psalm 45 speaks of the Church of the Faithful dwelling in the midst of her enemies until the completion of the Millenium. Accordingly, Lambert's Arbor Bona, Ecclesia grows in conjunction with Arbor Mala, Synagoga until she is delivered by the sword of her Savior. After the Arbor Mala is cut down, as the inscription to the right of the tree tells us, it will be cast down, into Hell for eternity, like the Devil and his legions at the end of time, according to Revelation 20:10.

Lambert's Lily Among the Thorns is the consummate image of the Church among her enemies. It would serve, therefore, as an appropriate analogue to Beatus'
"white-bodied" congregation of immortal souls, the heavenly, millenial Church, sitting in judgment with Christ. Beatus specifically mentions virtues, and priests, among this immortal, heavenly assembly. Corresponding to this, Lambert's Lily is accompanied by lists of virtues, bishops, and phylosophie which, according to his excerpt from Macrobius, helps us gain immortality. As charity, according to Beatus, is the foremost virtue among the heavenly congregation, charity heads Lambert's list of virtues. The texts preceding the Lily that discuss the immortality of the soul and law are appropriate expansions upon the image of the heavenly millenial Church, the immortal souls of the righteous dead in judgment.

The texts in the second half of Section Eleven elaborate upon the themes of the miniatures on pages 492 to 496 (230v to 232v) (figs. 29, 31, 32, and 33), and further relate this section to Beatus' eleventh book. The "name" written on the Warrior-Christ's thigh, Beatus claimed, was the lineage of the sons of God. For Lambert, no one would better represent the sons of God than the Franks, whose lineage is twice traced on pages 503-515 (234r to 240r). Perhaps the map of "Europa Mundi Pars Quarta" relates to the prediction in Revelations of the attack of the Anti-christ on the four corners of the earth. Lambert's list of
archbishops and kings may be a response to the references in Revelations to priests and to the kings of the earth.

Thus the arrangement of textual passages and illustrations in Lambert's eleventh section may be understood in comparison to the content of the eleventh book of the Beatus Apocalypse. The three illustrations in the center of this section represent the millenial Church and the beginning of the sixth age with the chaining of the Beast. The texts before and after these illustrations expand upon their themes.
FOOTNOTES


2 See above, 172-179.

3 Stahl, Macrobius, Commentary, 71.

4 Ibid., 72.

5 Ibid., 74.

6 Ibid., 76.

7 Ibid., 77.

8 Ibid., 78.

9 Ibid., 214.

10 Ibid., 218.

11 Ibid., 160.

12 Ibid., 171-172.

13 Ibid., 172.

14 Ibid., 172.

15 Ibid., 173.

16 Ibid., 162-166.

17 "ne scilicet corpus ab anima deseratur, sed anima habitante in corpore fiat inclitum, quod ante inglorium fuit."
Penelope Mayo (Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XXVII, 1973, 49, seems to mistake the leaves for thorns, referring to the "uncomfortable proximity of the spinae to the central stalk of the lily" and "the spread of the spinae to either side." The leaves are depicted in the same manner on the lilies at the top of the Tree of Good (fig. 31), which have no association with thorns.

"Cedrus, Cypressus, Palma, Platanus, Oliua, Rosa, Uitia, Terebintus."

Matthew 11:18-19.

Behling associates the Lily with the Virgin and the Church: "Ecclesia als Arbor Bona," Zeitschrift fur Kunstwissenschaft, XIII, 3/4 (1959), 140-143; Die Flanzenwelt der Mittelalterlichen Kathedralen, Cologne, 1964, 44. A more complex interpretation is offered by Penelope Mayo, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 1973, 48-52. Mayo argues that the miniature of the Lily Among the Thorns, like the Palm on Mount Zion (fig. 34), is specifically related to the first crusade. However, unlike the Palm, the Lily is not accompanied by inscriptions directly referring to the crusade. Mayo begins her interpretation of the Lily by examining the major exegetical discussions of Song of Solomon 2:2. Bede, she mentions, calls the thorns around the lily the spicula perfidiorum, the arrows of wickedness; Rabanus identifies them with the heresies and vices that grew up in Jerusalem during the Babylonian Captivity; Honorius of Autun calls them the daughters of Babylon. From this, Mayo concludes that Lambert's thorns must represent the unfaithful heretics from whom the crusaders had recently liberated Jerusalem. This conclusion seems, however, somewhat ill-founded on the basis of the evidence presented.

Mayo then interprets the presence of the fir, pine, and box trees in Lambert's list of trees as further and conclusive evidence that the image is associated with the crusade. Since these three trees are once mentioned in Isaiah 60:13, Mayo decides that it is appropriate to employ the entire sixtieth chapter of Isaiah as a primary factor in an interpretation of the Lily. Parts of this chapter are, she says, reminiscent of descriptions of the capture of Jerusalem in 1099; therefore, by including the fir, pine, and box in his list of twelve trees, Lambert indicates that the Lily Among the Thorns is the Church in Jerusalem after the first crusade.
While parts of Isaiah 60 are indeed cited in medieval texts as prophetic of the crusade, the verse in which the trees are mentioned has not, to my knowledge, ever been cited in this context (for a description of the Biblical texts cited in association with the crusade, see Johan Chydenius, The Typological Problem in Dante, Helsingfors, 1958, 77-84). In any case, it seems overly interpretive for Mayo to suggest that Lambert intended to create an image of the restored Church in Jerusalem merely by adding these three trees at the end of his list of trees to one side of the Lily.

In her effort to prove that the Lily is meant to remind us of Isaiah 60, and hence of the first crusade, Mayo turns next to Lambert's excerpt from Jerome's letter to Marcella on the previous page. She gives special emphasis to the end of the last sentence and says that the reference to the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the strangers holding ceremonies there is "a distant echo of Isaiah's prophecy."

22 Thus, Myrrha, Storax, Amomum, Aloen, Calamus, Balsamum, Nardus, Crocum, Acantus, Costum, Lylium."


24 Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and the Vices in Mediaeval Art, New York, 1964, 65. Katzenellenbogen tells us that benignitas has been replaced by sobrietas and that spes has been added.

25 I Corinthians 13:13: "And now abideth faith, hope and charity, these three; the greatest of these is charity."

26 See Mayo, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 1973, 52, n. 84.

28 "Sicut ex una arboris radice multi rami prodeunt, 
sic multa virtutes ex una caritate generantur."

29 "Arbor bona, que est regina a dextris Dei, 
varietae circumdata, id est fidelium ecclesia virtutum 
diversitate amicta."

30 Saint Augustine, Exposition on the Psalms, ed. 
and condensed from Oxford translation, A. Cleveland Coxe, 
VIII, New York, 1917, 145; Cassiodorus, Expositio Psalmorum, 
Corpus Christianorum, vol. XCVII, Turnholti, 1963, 402; 
Bede, De Psalmorum libro Exegesis, P.L. XCIII, 714-715. 
See also, A. Katzenellenbogen on Psalm 45:9 as the scriptu-
tural basis of twelfth century sculptural programs 
depicting the Triumph of the Virgin (The Sculptural Programs 

31 Augustine, Exposition on Psalms, 153; Cassiodorus, 
Expositio Psalmorum, 411.

32 Cassiodorus, Expositio Psalmorum, 409: "Tunc ad 
divinam dexteram ornata pretiosis virtutibus collocatur."

33 Cassiodorus, Expositio Psalmorum, 410: "Aurum ad 
caritas debemus aptare . . . virtutes alias gratia caritatis 
apparuit." Bede, De Psalmorum, 722: "Ornamentis dico 
de aurantis, id est, desuper aurum habentibus, hoc est, 
charitate fulgentibus . . . Quamuis virtutes illae unum 
sint, in charitate tamen per se sunt multiplices."

34 Augustine, The City of God, trans. Marcus Dods, 
D.D., New York, 1950, 598.

35 Ibid., 598.

36 Ibid., 598.

37 Ibid., 725.

38 Augustine, Exposition on the Psalms, 153.


40 Lambert's Good Tree and Evil Tree have been the 
most widely discussed in the context of the images of trees 
of virtues and vices that appear in twelfth-century art 
(see above, 17-18). The most extensive study of the trees 
has been made by Penelope Mayo (Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 1973,
52-55). This study claims that the Trees of Good and Evil are part of a complicated narrative on the final outcome of the first crusade, which also includes the miniature on the verso side of folio 248, the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar (fig. 29). Mayo connects the Tree of Evil with Nebuchadnezzar's tree which, as we shall see, she identifies with the kingdom of evil destroyed by the crusaders. There, "Providing the last crusader king is successful in his battle, the Arbor Mala will be cast down for eternity."

The Tree of Good, Mayo believes, is the Apocalyptic tree that will come into existence after the Arbor Mala is destroyed. This tree, as we have seen, comprises two main virtues, karitas at its root and spes, on its trunk, three pairs of flowers, and eleven branches with eleven virtues and trees growing from them. Mayo, however, claims that it is a twelve-branched tree. She writes that the spes medallion is on a branch—though it is, in fact on the trunk—and that the lily flowers on the top of the Arbor Bona represent a bifurcated tree growing from the spes medallion. She ignores the presence of the other pairs of flowers on the trunk which would belie her claim, already spurious, that the lilies are a bifurcated tree and part of the series of virtue-trees. Having thus erroneously described the Arbor Bona as a twelve-branched tree, she concludes that it is the twelve-branched tree mentioned in Revelation 21. Three times she incorrectly states that Revelation describes the twelve-branched tree as growing to the right of Christ. She then compares this fallacious citation of Revelation to the "queen to the right of God" passage in Lambert's inscription and declares that the Arbor Bona is none other than the Apocalyptic tree.

Mayo has clearly misunderstood the Arbor Bona. This misunderstanding is based first upon her mistaken belief that the tree has twelve branches and second upon her mis-reading of Revelation, and finally upon her failure to recognize that the inscription concerning the "queen to the right of God" is derived from Psalm 45. Lambert's trees, we contend, are no more associated with the crusade than was the Lily Among the Thorns. Again, we will postpone further interpretation of these images for our commentary on Section Eleven.

41 "Cupiditas, id est avaritia, inde prodito, fraus, fallacia, periiuria, inquietudo, uiolentia oriuntur."
"Desperatio, inde tristitia, malitia, rancor, pusillanimitas, torpor circa precepta Dei, vagatio mentis erga illicita nascitur."

"Inmunditia, inde scurilitas et multiloquium et gebetudo senses generatur."

"Luxuria, inde cecitas mentis, inconsideratio, inconstantia, precipitatio, odium Dei, amor sui, affectus presentis seculi oriuntur."

"Inimiticia, inde inobedientia, iactantia et hypocrisis generatur."

"Ira, inde rixe, tumor mentis, cutomelie, clamor, indignatio et blasphemie proferuntur."

"Homicidium hororem uel desperationem uite eterne generat."

"Emulatio discordias et nouitatum presumptiones et pertinatiam et inobedientiam generat."

"Fornicatio, inde uentris ingluuia, inepta leticia et multiloquium propagatur."

"Dissensio detractiorem et exultationem in aduersis proximi generat."

"Contentio odium, susurrationem et afflictionem in prosperis seminat."

"Inuidia homicidium, prodigionem, fraudem, inconstantiam tumoremque cordit generat."

"Rixa tumorem mentis et contumelie contentiones inter fratres facit."

Mayor notes that the vices are derived from Gregorius's Moralia (Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 1973, 53, n. 90).

43 Rabanus Maurus states that the fig tree symbolizes the synagogue: "Ficus mystice significat synagogam Iudeorum," De Universo, P.L. CXI, 513.

44 "Dominus in Evangelio: In hac fructum non inuenio. Ut quid etiam terram occupat? Iohannes Baptistus: Iam securis ad radicem arboris posita est."
Psalmus: In securi et ascia dieicerumt eam. Omnis arbor
que non facit fructum bonum excidetur, et reliqua. Hinc
ait Daniel: Non stabit semen eius, et alibi: Succidite
arborem et dispergite fructus eius. Hec arbor autumnalis
est infructuosa, bis mortua, eradicata; cui pro cella
tenebrarum conservata est ineternum."

45"Somnium Nabugodonosor regis Chaldeorum, quod
interpretavit Daniel propheta dum esset in transmigratione
Babylonis, de statua et arbore in fine quarte etatis
mundi."

46Daniel 2:31-45.
48Revelations 14:8 and 18:2.
49"Succidite arborem et presedite ramos eius,
executite folia eius et dispergite fructum eius. Germin
radicum eius alligetur uinculo ferreo in herbis et rore
celi tinguatur, donec VII tempora commutentur."

50"Ab Adam usque ad conditionem Babylonie ueteris,
que est in Persida, anni III et CCCXLIII, mansitque annis
MCLXIIIOr; tunc Toma ensepta est. Inde ad Christum DCCLI.
Hoc sunt V CCLCIII."

51"Uno eodemque tempore Babylon cecidit et Roma
surrexit anno ante adventum Christi DCCLI."

52"... et in tertia uentrem eneum et in quarta
femur ferreum et in quinta tibias plumbeas et in sexta
pedes luti."

53"Etas IIIa enea ab Abraham usque ad David; Etas
quarta ferrea usque ad transmigrationem Babylonis; Etas V
plumbea usque ad Christum; Etas VIa luta. Finis mundi."

54As Mayo notes, illustrations of Nebuchadnezzar's
second dream are confined to the manuscripts of the Beatus
Apocalypse and tenth to twelfth century Spanish Bibles

55As, for example, in the Bible of Sainta Maria de
Ripoll (illustrated, Adolf Boeckler, Abendlandische Mini-
turen bis zum Ausgang der romanischen Zeit, Berlin-Leipzig,
1930, p. 60) and the fresco at Brauweiler (illustrated,
Paul Clemen).
Penelope Mayo has attempted to show that this miniature is directly related to the history of the first crusade (Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 1973, 59-67). She first establishes that medieval commentators, including Augustine, Bede, Rabanus, and Beatus agreed that Nebuchadnezzar was a prefiguration of the Devil or Anti-Christ and that the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar had Apocalyptic overtones. Mayo then states that the kingly tree-chopper must be a crusader king because he stands on "Etas VI" and "it is his age which is responsible for the final blow to the tree of Nebuchadnezzar." Although the Apocalyptic connotations in this illustration are unmistakable, we cannot agree that the appearance of "Etas VI" inscribed between the king's feet is sufficient evidence to prove the suggested connection with the first crusade.


Pages 472-476 (220v-222v).

Pages 476-480 (222v-224v).

Pages 481-488 (222v-224v). According to Macrobius, the information presented in these diagrams is philosophical and the study of philosophy is the means for gaining immortality (Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, 245-246).

Page 491 (230r).

Pages 503-515 (234r-240r).

258v-259v (240v-241v).


Ibid., 850: "equus albus corpus Christi adsumptum est, et qui sedebat super eum, Dominus maiestatis est . . . unigenitus ingeniti patris est; id est, diuinitas incarnata."
66 Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 850: "quid albi sancti sunt, quod est ecclesia; in corporibus candidis imitantur eum, et sequuntur uestigia eius."

67 Ibid., II, 851: "in femore stirpis generationum intelligitur. in uestimento corpus Christi diximus. et ideo in femore, quia omnes qui per fidem, ut diximus, filii Dei nuncupantur."

68 Ibid., II, 855: "diabolum et populum eius ... contra Christum et ecclesiam pugnat."

69 Ibid., II, 857: "Et uidi alium angelum descendentem de caelo; Dominum Iesum dicit primo aeuentu."

70 Ibid., II, 859: "donec finiantur mille anni, id est, quod remanet de sexto die, qui constat ex mille annis; quia sexto die Deus hominem fecit, et in sexta aetate saeculi homo natus est Christus."

71 Ibid., II, 860-861: "hi throni modo sunit in ecclesia, quae ecclesia in duodenario numero est constituta, qui sedet in Christo super duodecim thrones ad iudicandum."

72 Ibid., II, 861: "ad dextram uirtutis per caput iudicans per sacerdotes suos et omnes seruos suos."

73 Ibid., II, 862: "certe si cum Christi aliqui sedebunt ad iuicandum, eis magis conuenit sedere et iudicare, qui propter testimonium eius occisi sunt."

74 Ibid., II, 861.

75 Daniel 4:19.

76 Jerome, Commentaria in Danielem, P.L. 25, c. 516.


78 See above, 318-319
CHAPTER TWELVE

I. Analytical Summary of Section Twelve, pages 519–622

(242r–155v)

519 (242r) The image on this folio is a chi-rho cross with each of its four arms expanded at the end, set upon a plain, yellow background (fig. 30).¹ Swarzenski proposes that this pages serves as the frontispiece of the text that follows, "Isisdorus Contra Iudeos," and wonders if it may not "record a frontispiece of some ancient Italian or Spanish book," possibly an edition of Isidore's Etymologiae.²

Manuscripts of the Beatus Apocalypse often included frontispieces with similar crosses of four equal, expanding arms and with alpha and omega hanging from them.³ In this context, the cross symbolized triumph over the infidel, associated with both the Reconquista and Constantine's vision of the cross as a sign of victory.⁴ To the sides of the cross on the Beatus frontispieces, we find inscribed "This sign defends the pious; in this sign the enemy is vanquished."⁵ Perhaps it is not too
speculative to suggest that Lambert's imposition of his cross upon a yellow background specifically signifies the triumph of the Church over the Jews since yellow was the color associated with the Jewish people during the Middle Ages. 6

520-540 (242v-252v)

The main part of chapter CLXX, "Isidorus Florentine Sorori Contra Iudeos de Christo," occupies these folios. The first book, pages 520-530 (242v-247v), begins by addressing several pertinent questions that Jews, in their nefarious unbelief, might ask of Christians, questions concerning when and how Christ was created and how the Trinity is, in fact, one God. Isidore answers these questions in large measure by citing passages in the Old Testament that can be interpreted as support for the Christian position. He then begins an exhaustive presentation of Old Testament texts that appear to foretell the Incarnation and Passion of Christ. Christ's ancestry, the Virgin Birth, and the story of the nativity of Christ are all predicted in the writings of the prophets, as are the denial of Christ by the Jews, His
betrayal by his own people, and all the events of His persecution, death, and resurrection.

In his second book, pages 530-540 (247v-252v), Isidore again commandeers Old Testament texts into the service of the Church. He cites the words of Isaiah, Jeremiah, David, and other prophets as evidence that, for example, the Jews have been abandoned by Christ because of their unbelief and that at the end of time they will be at last converted by Elijah. It was foretold, Isidore shows us, that the Gentiles, rather than the Jews, would be the first to believe in Christ and that baptism is necessary for the remission of sin. Isidore also explains that the typological precedents for the sign of the cross and the sacrament of bread and wine. He completes his diatribe lamenting the folly of the Jews who are convinced by neither the Savior himself nor on the authority of the Old Testament.

541 (253r) On the top half of this page, Lambert includes a miniature of Christ with Ecclesia and Synagoga (fig. 102). Christ, standing on the Mount of Olives, crowns Ecclesia with his right
hand and pushes Synagoga off the Mount with his left hand. Ecclesia holds a chalice labeled "calix" and a banner labeled "Vexillum sancte ecclesie crux." The top of the banner forms a cross, much like that on page 519 (242r) (fig. 30). Behind Ecclesia, we see a baptismal font and, above the font, an inscription that explains the function of baptism in the absolution of sin. The crown of Synagoga has fallen off her head, her banner is broken, and she is about to fall into the mouth of Hell, labeled "os inferni." There are two longer inscriptions on the right side of the page. The text in the upper corner narrates the action that takes place below: the synagogue, rejecting Christ and disbelieving the prophets, is driven from God with her crown removed and her banner broken, and is thrown into Hell. The inscription between Christ and Synagoga is attributed to Isaiah: "Thus, the synagogue is expelled without, having eyes and ears to earthly promises, while a diversity of people is gathered into one, that is, the Church of the Faithful."
Below the miniature, Lambert presents the genealogy of Christ according to Luke, in four columns. This is the first entry in chapter CLXXI. The genealogy begins with Joseph and ends with Adam. To the right, he traces the descent from Ruth to the sons of David and from Mathan to Joseph, son of Jacob.

542 (253v) Christ's genealogy is traced again continuing chapter CLXXII. This genealogy begins with Adam and ends with Mary. It is divided according to the Ages of the World.

272r-272v (254r-254v) There is an apparent discrepancy between Luke's and Matthew's descriptions of the ancestry of Christ. This discrepancy occurs in the generation of the great-grandsons of King David, Eli and Jacob. On pages 543-544 (254r-254v), Lambert records the explanation for and resolution of this apparent discrepancy by Eusebius the Historian in his Ecclesiastical History.11

544 (254v) Chapters CLXXII and CLXXIII are also extracts from Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, Book One, Chapter Thirteen.12 These texts transcribe an exchange of letters between King Abgar of Edessa and Christ. Abgar suffered from an
incurable ailment. Hearing of Christ's miraculous powers to heal, he wrote to Him, expressing his faith and asking Christ to visit him. He even offered to share his kingdom with Christ if he would come, having heard rumors that the Jews were plotting against him.

Christ sent his regrets, explaining that he was at present too busy fulfilling his destiny to visit Abgar. He blessed Abgar for his faith, however, and promised to send one of his disciples to effect Abgar's cure. After Christ's resurrection, the text goes on to report, the Apostle Thaddeus was sent to Edessa where he performed many miraculous cures, including that of the king, and converted the local citizens to Christianity.

Chapter CLXIII begins with recipes for herbal postions used in the treatment of various ailments. The text is entitled "Medicine Diverse." We are instructed in the cure of cancris, coughs, toothaches, fevers, falling hair, vomiting, and other woes. The inclusion of five different remedies for toothache suggests that Lambert felt a particular sympathy for the victims of this malaise.
The hymn and responses of Saint Omer are also recorded in chapter CLXXIII. The hymn celebrates the ascension of Saint Omer to the joys of paradise among the martyrs, confessors, and virgins. The responses carry forth this theme, rejoicing in Saint Omer's eternal union with the celestial choir and in the glory of the heavenly host.

In chapter CLXXV, Lambert lists the axioms of the saints, each in a separate, rectangular box: "... God will assist you in your endeavors so that you may succeed ... Your soul is infirm because you know wickedness; do not fall into temptation ... You have an enemy, put your trust in God and he will free you ... Fear not, God is with you and thus you should be joyful ... These are the axioms of the saints which never fail to show the truth at the opportune moment."\(^{13}\)

For chapter CLXXVI, four columns of Roman numberals are inscribed across this page: "I, unus; II, duo; III, tres ... M M M M, milies milies mille millemus." At the end of the third column, Lambert writes "Lord
Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, through the prayer of your servant Blasius, hasten to my assistance, you who live and reign with God the Father." Examples of the cardinal, ordinal, adverbial, and other numbers are also found on this page.

550 (257v) The subject of chapter CLXXVII is chronology. First, Lambert notes the numbers of years from Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, and so forth, to conclude that 6,359 years elapsed from Adam to King Godefrey of Jerusalem. This second part marks the time from Adam to Babylon to Rome and to Christ. The third begins again with Adam, includes Old Testament and secular history, the birth of Christ during the reigns of Octavian and Herod, and concludes with the placement in time of the construction and destruction of Troy and its temporal relation to the foundation of Rome and the birth of Christ. Finally, in the fourth part, Lambert measures the time from Adam to the death of Saint Denis, the Council of Nicea, the death of Saint Martin, the death of Saint Gregory, the death of
Charlemagne, the Council of Clermont, and the death of Count Robert—6,369 years.

According to Lambert's index and Delisle's survey, the missing folios contained the seven chapters: "Rabbanus de Dei Nominibus;" "De Judeorum Heresibus;" "De Veteri et Nouo Testamento;" "De Regionibus et Insulis;" "De Montibus et Locis;" "De Ciuitatibus et Opidis;" and the beginning of "De Phylosophorum Heresibus."

The chapter on the heresies of the philosophers ends on this folio stating that the errors of the Arians, Stoics, and Epicurians have brought heresy into the Church. "De Vera Phylosophia," chapter CLXXXV, follows, praising the true erudition of the Fathers and its inquiry into things human and divine. It admonishes us to achieve the contemplation of truth through the Scriptures and righteous and pious living. An entry about the effect of the moon upon trees, derived from Bede's De Temporum Ratione, chapter XXVIII, is added to the collection of short texts of these folios.
Chapter CLXXXVI, the first paragraph on this page, summarizes a chapter of Gregory of Tours' History of the Franks. It is the story of a saintly man of Antioch who shared every meal with the poor. When Antioch was destroyed by earthquake, this pious man's house and family were miraculously preserved.

Chapter CLXXXVII is entitled "Genealogia Mundi Scripta in Gestis Regum Francorum." The first part traces the genealogy of the Old Testament patriarchs from Adam to Christ. The second part discusses secular history from the Assyrians and Romans to Constantine. The text ends mentioning various saints of the early Church and stating that the Trojans eventually went to Germany, the origin of the kings of Gaul.

The adventures of a pious pagan is the subject of CLXXXVIII, "Inclita Gesta Pii Regis Apollonii." Apollonius of Tyre solved the riddle of King Antiochus and thus won the hand of his daughter. Antiochus plotted against Apollonius, though, and to save himself, Apollonius fled Tyre by ship. He was cast
onto the island of Cyrene in a storm. Having been brought into the court, he eventually married Lucina, the daughter of the king of Cyrene. He later learned that Antiochus and his daughter had been killed by lightning and that he was now the heir to the kingdom of Antioch. During a storm at sea, Lucina gave birth to a daughter whom they named Tharsia. Lucina had apparently died and she was left in a casket on the Island of Ephesus. She was not actually dead, though, and was revived by a physician who found her body on the shore. Apollonius left Tharsia with Strangulioni and Dionysiad to be brought up on the island of Tarsus. She was kidnapped by pirates when she was fourteen years old, brought to Mitylene and sold to a brothel. Here she was befriended by Athenagoras. Apollonius came to Mitylene and was reunited with his daughter. She married Athenagoras. Apollonius ruled Antioch, Tyre, and Cyrene and lived to an old age with his wife Lucina, with whom he was also eventually reunited.
On this page, at approximately the center of Section Twelve, Lambert has depicted the church of Notre-Dame at Saint-Omer (fig. 103), beginning chapter CLXXXVIII. Like the illustrations of Celestial Jerusalem and Paradise, the church of Saint-Omer is shown in a combination of plan and elevation. Above the church, Lambert inscribed the title of this image: "The church in Saint-Omer of Saint Mary and of the bishop Saint Omer." 

Inside the church, we see the altar and its golden candlesticks labeled "ALTAR," "lamps," "GOLDEN CANDLESTICKS." A longer text below the church explains Saint Omer's place in time relative to the popes, Roman emperors, and Frankish kings. It also tells us the date of Saint Omer's departure from this temporal realm, the dates of the foundations of the church of Notre-Dame and the monastery of Saint-Peter, and the dates of the deaths of Saint Bertin and Saint Folquinus. Lambert also records secular events in the history of the church, including the divine intervention rendered to Saint-Omer against Orichus the Dane in 840, the attack of the Danish pirate
Taruenna in 862, and the siege, capture, and plundering of the castellum in 1070 by Philip, king of the Franks.\textsuperscript{24}

Lambert's miniature of the Church of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer may be included in the series of figures of the Church that appear in the centers of the twelve sections of the Liber Floridus. The individual churches of Christendom were each, anagogically, images of the celestial Church, Heavenly Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{25} Evidence of the typological relationship between particular churches and Heavenly Jerusalem appears in the writings of such important, early twelfth century churchmen as Sugar of Saint-Denis and Bernard of Clairvaux.\textsuperscript{26}

The liturgy of the Mass that was sung for the dedication of new churches also clearly reveals this association. Beginning at least as early as the seventh century, the Feast of Dedication included the reading of Revelations 21:2-5:

"I saw the holy city and the new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven, as beautiful as a bride ... Here God lives among his own people ... He will wipe away
all tears from their eyes; there will be no more death, and no more mourning or sadness." 27

The final stanzas of the hymn Urbs Beata Jerusalem, sung in the Feast of Dedication, describe the elevation of one's mind from the visible, earthly church to the contemplation of the Celestial City. 28 As Saint-Denis was a symbol of Heavenly Jerusalem for Suger, the church of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer was the earthly manifestation of the Celestial Church for Lambert.

Facing the church, we find a standing, frontal portrayal of Saint Omer (fig. 22). He stands inside a door-like field of blue within a framing area of green. Around his head, Lambert has written "Saint Omer, bishop of Therouanne." 29 A longer text is inscribed around the saint, but it has, unfortunately, been largely effaced by the fingers of avid readers. The text appears to combine the prologue to the Mass celebrating Saint Omer and Lambert's explanation of his Liber Floridus, dedicated to Saint Omer. 30
Following the miniature of Saint Omer, Lambert presents a short history of the saint's life, "Vita Sancti Audomari Confessoris Christi et Gloriosi Morinorum Episcopi," and the miracles he performed after death, "Miracula Post Sancti Audomari Obitum." 31

More texts relating to Saint Omer, the Church of Notre-Dame, and the abbey of Saint-Bertin complete chapter CLXXXVIII. First, Lambert repeats the information found below the figure of the church on page 580 (259v) concerning the popes, emperors, and kings contemporary with Saint Omer's thirty year episcopacy. He then lists the names of the abbots resident in the town of Saint-Omer. The separation of the church of Notre-Dame and the abbey of Saint-Bertin by Fréduguise, tenth abbot after Saint Bertin, is duly mentioned as are the invasions of the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Lambert next describes the golden chalice of Saint-Omer, telling us the exact measure of gold and how many jewels of each kind radiate from it. This passage is reminiscent of
Suger's enthusiastic accounts of the precious ornaments of Saint-Denis. 32

A list of the abbots of the monastery of Saint-Bertin is the final entry associated with Saint-Omer: "Nomina Abbatum Ecclesie Sancti Bertini Sithiu."

In chapter CXC Lambert has copied Dares' version of the History of Troy. Dares' history, which claims to be an eyewitness account, enjoyed a tremendous popularity during the Middle Ages. 33 It devotes more attention to the events precipitating the war than to the actual siege of Troy. The history ends with the departure of Aeneas and his followers from Troy on twenty-two ships.

Lambert continues the history of Troy with Fretulfus' "De Romanorum Regibus, Consulibus et Bellis." Beginning with Aeneas' departure from Troy, we read of the descent of the Franks from the Trojans and the subsequent history of Rome. From Romulus and Remus and the foundation of Rome to Julius Caesar, the history is traced, ending in a final reference to the advent of Christ.
The last major passage in the Liber Floridus is a history of Old Testament patriarchs, prophets, kings, and priests. This history culminates in the birth of Christ and an account of which chief Jewish presists held office during Christ's life. Them Lambert lists the first fifteen Christian bishops of Jerusalem, beginning with Jacob, brother of the Lord.

The last entry tells the number of years from Creation to the building and fall of Troy, from the fall of Troy to the birth of Romulus and Remus, and from Brutus to Christ. A total of 5,258 years passed from Creation to Christ.
II. Commentary on Section Twelve

The twelfth section of the Liber Floridus consists of topics related to three major themes, arranged around a central miniature of the church of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer (fig. 103). The first theme is the opposition of the Church and her enemies, culminating in the Church's final triumph. This theme is found at the beginning of Section Eleven, with the cross on a yellow field (fig. 30), Isidore's anti-Semitic text, and the miniature of Christ with Synagoga and Ecclesia (fig. 102). This theme is continued in the entries discussing the contrast of true and heretical philosophy and the other entries that appeared on page 558.

A second theme includes passages relating to the saints. These passages include the axioms of the saints on page 548 (256v), an illustration and texts concerning Saint Omer on page 548 (256r) and 580-586 (271v-274r) (fig. 22), and histories that culminate in references to the saints on pages 550-556 (257v-260v).

A third theme concerns pious pagans: Apollonius of Tyre; the Trojans with their sacred destiny as progenitors of the Franks; and King Abgar who was miraculously healed. The entry on medicine which follows the history of Abgar seems to further associate pious pagans with "cures".
An examination of Revelations 20:11-22:12, the final part of John's vision, and the twelfth book of the Beatus Apocalypse[^35] will reveal Lambert's reason for presenting these particular topics, the image of the church of Saint-Omer (fig. 103), and the portrait of Saint Omer (fig. 22) in this twelfth section. The Last Judgment is the subject of Revelations 20:11-15 and the beginning of Beatus' twelfth book. John is carried to a mountain to behold the Heavenly City. Beatus says that the Heavenly City is the Bride of the Lamb who stands upon a mountain[^36]. Here, Beatus tells us, the Church gloriously arises and is crowned in triumph by Christ; she is separated from any further treat of evil[^37]. Revelations 21:6 and 21:9 announce that God will give the water of life to all who are thirsty, those who, according to Beatus, desire the remission of sin in the baptismal font[^38]. Infidels, idolaters, and sinners will be cast into Hell.

This part of Revelations and Beatus' commentary offers clear correspondences to Lambert's theme of the opposition of the Church and her enemies and the Church's final triumph, as illustrated in the miniature of Christ with Synagoga and Ecclesia (fig. 102). On top of a mountain, in this case, specifically, the Mount of Olives, Christ crowns the Church and removes from her all further threat of evil by pushing away Synagoga. The baptismal
font is provided for those desiring to enter the Church and the mouth of Hell consumes all sinners.

The main subject of this part of the Apocalypse is the apparition of the Heavenly City. Beatus is quite precise in defining the essential aspect of the City: "Celestial Jerusalem is the multitude of saints" who during their earthly tenure adorned themselves with virtue for their eternal life with God. 39 Corresponding to this description in the text, most manuscripts of the Beatus Apocalypse include in their twelfth books a miniature of the City, seen simultaneously in plan and elevation, with portraits of the apostles standing inside the twelve gates of the City (fig. 104). 40 Above them, we see representations of the twelve precious stones and above these, the Apostles' names, which Revelation 21:14 tells us are inscribed over the foundation stones.

Lambert's miniature of the church of Saint-Omer with the facing portrait of Saint Omer (figs. 103 and 22) relate to Beatus' depiction of the Heavenly City. The church of Saint-Omer was, like all churches in Christendom, an image of Celestial Jerusalem; 41 for Lambert, it was the most compelling earthly symbol of the Church described in Revelation 21 and thus a most appropriate subject for the focal image of his twelfth section. In this miniature, Lambert makes note of the gold and precious stones of
Saint-Omer's ornaments. This admiration for his church's precious ornaments is, as we have seen, related to his conception of the bejeweled Heavenly City.\textsuperscript{42} As the "City of Saints" in Beatus' illustration is accompanied by portraits of the twelve apostles standing inside its gates, Lambert's depiction of his church is confronted by the portrait of Saint Omer standing inside a door-like frame (fig. 22). The various passages on the saints in the twelfth section of the \textit{Liber Floridus} clearly coincide with Beatus' description of Heavenly Jerusalem as "the multitude of saints."

Salvation for pagans is also discussed in the final part of Revelations. Revelations 22:2 speaks of the Trees of Life whose leaves cure the pagans: "On either side of the river were the Trees of Life, which bear twelve crops of fruit in a year, one in each month, and the leaves of which are the cure for pagans." Beatus states that the cure of pagans is not to be understood as taking place after the end of the world; the trees are foreshadowed by the cross, which is in turn prefigured by the tree whose leaves covered Adam's and Eve's nakedness in order to avoid temptation.\textsuperscript{43} Discussing Revelations 21:6, which describes the four sides of the City and its gates, Beatus tells us that pagans, if they are truly good, will be
called to penance by almighty God and allowed to enter through the north door of the City. 44

Lambert's interest in pious pagans, as well as his list of "cures" on pages 545 and 546 (255r and 255v), seems to reflect these passages in Revelations and Beatus' commentary. Abgar is cured because he had faith in Christ, pious Apollonious eventually finds his rewards, the pious man of Antioch is spared from an earthquake, and the pagan Trojans eventually become the worthy Franks.

The final verses of Revelations, 22:3-21, may reveal the purpose for Lambert's inclusion of the genealogy of Christ and that of his own mother's family in his twelfth section. In Revelations 22:6, John records the voice of Christ stating that He is "of David's line, the root of David." Lambert was particularly anxious to clarify this point on pages 542-544 (253v-254v). Lambert's inclusion of the genealogy of his mother's family, reflecting the personalized nature of his presentation, 45 may be an analogue of John's reference to himself, the individual to whom the visions were revealed, in Revelations 22:8: "I, John, am the one who heard and saw these things."

In summary, we have found that the focal image of the church of Saint-Omer appropriately illustrates John's vision of the Heavenly City. The triumph of the Church in Lambert's illustration of Christ with Synagoga and Ecclesia
(fig. 102) corresponds to the triumph of the Bride on the mountain in Beatus' commentary. The saints and pious pagans are important in both the twelfth book of the Beatus Apocalypse and the twelfth section of the Liber Floridus. Thus we may conclude that this final section of Lambert's manuscript, like the previous eleven, relates to the corresponding book of Beatus' commentary.
FOOTNOTES

1. According to Albert Derolez, Lambert erased a list of kings on this folio in order to accommodate the cross (Lamberti, Liber Floridus, ed. Albert Derolez, Ghent, 1967, xxxviii).


7. Carra Ferguson O'Meara, The Iconography of the Facade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, New York, 1977, 101-108, has studied this miniature in relation to the figure of Synagoga on the south tympanum on the facade of Saint-Gilles. She also discusses the twelfth century association of Synagoga with Antichrist, which explains Lambert's placement of the scene of the rejection of Synagoga on the Mount of Olives since medieval accounts of the Last Events, such as that of the Pseudo-Methodius, locate the final victory of Christ over Antichrist on the Mount of Olives.


9. "Synagoga Christum Dei Filium abnegans, prophetis incredula, recedens a Deo, corona deposita, uexillo contracto ad infernum properans."


Tbid., 76-82.

"Deus te adiuuabit de hoc quod cupis, ut perueniat . . . Animus tuus firmus non est, quia praebat cogitas; nolui esse sollicitus . . . Aduersarium habes, spem tuam dirigis ad Deum, et liberabit te . . . ne timeas, Deus tecum est, et inde letaberis . . . Hec sunt sortes, sanctorum que numquam fallunt, sed uerum indicant opportuno tempore."

"Domine Ihesu Christe, Fili Dei uiui, per orationem serui tui Blasii festina in adiutorium meum, qui uius et regnas cum Deo Patre."


Ecclesia Sithius Sancti Marie et Sancti Audomari episcopi."

"ALTARE; lampas; CANDELABRA AUREA."

"Papatum rexerunt Vitalanus, Adeodatus, Donus, Agathon, Leo, Benedictus, Iohannes, Chonon et Sergius; et Romanum gubernabant, imperium Constantinus nepos Heraclei et Iustinianus Constantini filius successione temporum; et Francorum tuerunt regnum Dagobertus, Clodues, Lotarius et Theodericus, dum per annos XXX gloriosus pontifex Audomarus Morinorum rexit ecclesiam."

"et anno Verbi Incarnati DCXCVIII migravit a seculo."
22 "Anno Domini DCLXX Sanctus Audomarus templum Sancte Marie in Sithiu edificare cepit, in quo clericos constituit, et monasterium Sancti Petri inferius fundari iussit ad habitandum... monachis."

23 "Anno Domini DCXCVIII Sanctus Bertinus obiit...
Anno Domini DCCCCLVIII Sanctus Folquinus preuost Sanctum Audomarum episcopus XII obiit."

24 "Anno Domini DCC et XCI Lidricus comes primus regnauit in Flandriam. Anno Domini DCCCXL. Orichus rex Danorum ad Sithiu uenit, sed judicio Dei timore perterritus fugam arripuit et recessit... Anno Domini DCCCLXII pyrate Danorum Taruennam adeunt. Anno Domini MLXX Philippus rex Francorum II nonas Marcii castrum sancti Audomari obse-dit et cepit et preda sumpta maxima in dominica tunc quinquagesima rediit in Franciam."


26 Suger particularly gives this impression in his book on the consecration of the new church. For example, he remarks that people deposited precious stones at the laying of the foundation of the new choir, "chanting, 'lapides preciosi omnes muri tui'," in obvious reference to the walls of the Heavenly City (Erwin Panofsky, Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (Princeton, 1946, 102-103). In reference to the twelve columns of the choir representing the twelve apostles and the twelve columns of the side aisles representing the twelve minor prophets, Suger writes of the spiritual construction of a universal Church of the saints built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, cf. Revelations 21:14. A translation of the passage about the columns is found in Panofsky, Abbot Suger, 105.

In a letter, Bernard equates his own monastery of Clairvaux with both the earthly Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem (reference in Johan Chydenius, Typological Problem in Dante, Helsingfors, 1958, 83, n. 9.

27 Chydenius, Typological Problem in Dante, 73.

28 See Chydenius, Typological Problem in Dante, 73.
"Sanctus Audomarus Morinorum Epicopus."

The following works can be deciphered at the beginning: "Incipit prologus in Fl. . . .", and at the end: "... incommotitatem deuitans ego Lambertus sancti Audomari canonicus, Ornulfi filius, libellum istum de Diversorum auct. . . .".

In the early seventh century, Saint Omer was sent from his monastery at Luxeuil, near Constance, to the region of Morins to be the bishop of Thérouanne and to convert the local pagans. The village of Sithdiu, later renamed Saint-Omer, is in this region. Saint Omer later called three other monks from Luxeuil to join him: Bertin, Mummloin, and Ebertramm. The grand propriétaire of the region at this time was a tyrant named Adroald. Adroald was converted and baptized by Saint Omer and subsequently donated land to him. Part of this land was the future town of Saint-Omer. Saint Omer directed the construction of a monastery on a small island in the River Aa that flows through the village of Sithdiu. This monastery was named for its first abbot, Saint Bertin. The date of its foundation was 649. A second church and monastery, dedicated to Notre Dame, were built on top of a small hill nearby. The building of Notre Dame was partly motivated by the need for proper burial facilities. The land around Saint Bertin was too marshy to serve for interment. A cemetery was built around the church of Notre Dame and the church eventually housed the relics of Saint Omer. The new complex was the dependency of the old until the ninth century (see below, 6, n. 1).

Suger discusses the ornaments of the church of Saint-Denis in his book on the Administration, Panofsky, Abbot Suger, 55-79. At one point, discussing a golden chalice, Suger writes: "Specifically we caused to be made a big golden chalice of 140 ounces of gold adorned with precious gems, viz., hyacinths and topazes" (Panofsky, Abbot Suger, 77).


See above, 20-21.

36. Ibid., II, 881: "'sustulit me in spiritu in montem altum,' ac si diceret: 'seruus Dei, qui nunc est in ecclesia, spiritualis factus sum, et in contemplatione constitutus, Deo me eleuante. 'et ostendit mihi ciuitatem sanctam Ierusalem, descendentem de caelo a Deo.' haec est ecclesia, ciuitas in monte constituta, sponsa agnia."

37. Ibid., II, 877: "Hanc Ierusalem ecclesiam dicit . . . quo resurgat, et cum Christo inuicta ocronetur in gloria . . . et cum quanta gloria suscipiatur a Christo, et separata ab omni malorum incursu."

38. Ibid., II, 879: "cipientibus remissionem peccatorum per fontem baptismi."

39. Ibid., II, 878: "Ierusalem caelestis multitudo sanctorum est . . . sicut sponsa ornata uiro suo, sic ornati sanctitate et iustitia procedent, coniuengendi Domino suo, et in aeternum mansuri cum eo."


41. See above, 358-359.

42. See above, 118-119

43. Sanders, Beati in Apocalipsin, II, 895: "non enim post mundum aliquae gentes curabuntur. folia ligni usitatas est ex cruce, quod praefigurabatur in primis hominibus, qui de foliis arboris nuditatem suam tegere temptauerunt."

44. Ibid., II, 888: "per aquilonis portam gentilitas figuratur . . . per aquilonem uero recte peccatores accipimus, qui in mentis frigore dilapsi sub peccati sui umbra torpuerunt. sed quia omnipotentis Dei misericordia etiam tales and penitentiam reuocat."

45. See above, 20-21
PART III
In Part Two of this study we have undertaken to analyze and interpret the contents of the Liber Floridus in order to set forth a theory concerning the underlying organization of the manuscript. While recent publications have suggested that texts and illustrations in certain parts of the manuscript may be related to one another, this is the first attempt to describe the overall composition of the Liber Floridus. This study proposes both that the manuscript consists of twelve sections and that each of these sections relates to the corresponding book of the Beatus Apocalypse. This relationship is primarily evident in the major subjects of the twelve corresponding sections and books and in the images of the Church that they present. There are, in addition, coincidences in both the placement of specific topics and in the illustrations. To summarize our theory, the following table is given in order to clarify these concordances:
Liber Floridus

I

1-111 (lr-56r)

A. The prevailing theme is universal history, mainly schematized as the Ages of the World. Alignments are made between social and secular history.

B. At the center, a sedes sapientia (fig. 17) appears in conjunction with a miniature of Solomon enthroned (fig. 18), drawing a typological parallel between Christ and Solomon.

C. 1. The entire Apocalypse is shown in the Apocalypse Depictus (figs. 1-16).

2. Description of the levels of heaven and their inhabitants.


4. Construction of Babylon by Neboah the Giant.

Beatus Apocalypse

I

Rev. 1:1-3:18

A. The beginning of John's vision, the appearance of the Son of Man with seven candlesticks and seven stars. According to Beatus, the number seven represents the Ages of the World, the Church through universal history. The pictorial preface to this book represents the entire span of universal history; sacred and secular history are aligned.

B. Beatus makes a typological comparison between the image of Christ in John's vision and King Solomon.

1. The entire Apocalypse is summarized in Jerome's commentary in the textual prologue.

2. Map of the levels of heaven in the pictorial prologue (fig. 49).

3. Double Evangelist miniatures (figs. 50 and 51).

4. Babylon's foundation by Neboah the Giant described in an inscription in the pictorial preface genealogy.
5. "T-O" map (fig. 37).

6. Special interest in Herod and the Maries.

7. Legend of the wood of the Cross.

5. "T-O" map (fig. 52).

6. Special interest in Herod and the Maries (figs. 54 and 56).

7. Crucifixion miniature shows foliage on the base of the cross (fig. 55).

II

112-121 (56v-65r)  Rev. 2:1-3:22

A. Geography is the main subject of the entries in this section.

A. A voice dictates letters to the seven churches of Asia which, according to Beatus, represent the universal Church extending throughout the entire earth.

B. A miniature of Paradise (fig. 59) is the focal image of the Church at the center.

B. This book is illustrated with a map of the world that includes an enlarged detail of Paradise (fig. 60).

C. 1. Miniature of the Microcosm/Macrocosm (fig. 58).

C. 1. Comparison of the human body to the universal Church.

2. Catalogue of where the descendants of Noah settled.

2. Appendix on Noah's Ark.

3. Passages about rivers, islands, etymologies, fantastic creatures, and "ecclesiastical geography".

3. Map with inscriptions about rivers, islands, etymologies, and fantastic creatures; churches are shown on the map.

4. Passages on Christ's and God's names in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; the meaning of the angels', prophets', and apostles'
names' and ecclesiastical terms. apostles' names and of ecclesiastical terms.

III

132-188 (66v-77r)  

A. In this section Lambert presents his bestiary and lapidary.

B. A miniature of Heavenly Jerusalem appears at the center of this section (fig. 66).

III

Rev. 4 and 5

A. Precious stones and animals and their allegorical meanings are mentioned in conjunction with the central vision of this book.

B. According to Beatus, Revelations 4 and 5 describe John's first vision of the Heavenly Church.

IV

154-188 (77v-94v)  

A. The separation of virtue and vice and the first crusade are the major subjects in this section.

B. The Palm on Mount Zion (fig. 34) with virtues among its branches is the focal image of the Church.

IV

Rev. 6 and 7

A. Beatus' interpretation of this part of Revelations, which describes the opening of the first six seals, emphasizes the distinction between the virtuous and the wicked. Beatus locates the victory celebration of the Lamb on Mount Zion.

B. A palm tree, illustrating an excerpt from Gregory the Great's Moralia, is included in this book (fig. 67). It is associated with the vision of the victory on Mount Zion, in the vision of the Church, where the Lamb gathers grasses of virtues.
C. 1. Life of Christ ending in Christ washing the Apostles' feet.
    2. Passage on hebdomada.
    3. Poem on denario

C. 1. Beatus mentions Christ washing the Apostles' feet.
    2. Passage on hebdomada.
    3. The "coin of virtue" saves believers from spiritual famine.
    4. Christ referred to as "pax nostra."

V

188-213 (94v-107r)

A. Time and astronomy are the principle subjects in this section.

B. The focal image, Christ Among the Elements (fig. 25), symbolically represents the end of time and the beginning of eternity; the earthly, temporal Church becoming the heavenly, eternal Church.

Rev. 8:11-18

A. The subject of this book is the opening of the seventh seal. Measures of time are repeatedly mentioned.

B. When the seventh trumpet sounds, the era of the temporal Church ends and the eternal Kingdom of Christ begins.

VI

213-225 (107r-113r)

A. The four main subjects of this section are the contrast between true and false prophecy and miracles, penance, the separation of the elect and reprobate, and the liturgy.

Rev. 11:19-14:6

A. The Beast's false prophecy and miracles, the efficacy of penance, and the marking of the elect and reprobate are discussed in this part of Revelations and Beatus' commentary.
B. The culminating description of the Church is verbal: a catalogue of Old and New Testament texts that are read in the Mass—the cantus ecclesia—during the liturgical year.

C. 1. Herod, the prefiguration of Antichrist, persecutes the saints and is followed by his two sons.

2. Herod deceives the Romans by displaying scars.

3. Lambert notes that Herod, Pilate, and Nero all committed suicide.

VII

226-287 (113r-144r)

A. The defeat of the Saracens, sometimes called the Babylonians, by the first crusade. The first crusade is understood to signal the advent of the Antichrist.

B. Earthly Jerusalem (fig. 20) and the Holy Sepulchre (fig. 19), where the crusaders gathered to celebrate their victory, are found at the center.

C. 1. The blood of the Saracens runs as high as the Franks' ankles.

B. This book culminates in the elect singing the song of the Church.

C. 1. Antichrist persecutes the saints and is followed by his two Beasts.

2. Antichrist deceives the people by displaying a wound that has healed.

3. Revelations states that those who live by the sword will die by the sword.

VII

Rev. 14:6-15:8

A. The fall of Babylon is announced. Beatus interprets this part of Revelations with a militaristic emphasis.

B. The Church sings a song of victory; "... Now all nations will come and worship you..."

C. 1. The blood from the winepress of God's anger flows as high as a horse's bridle.
VIII

288-335 (144v-168r)

A. In this section, Lambert presents entries related to triumph through the spiritual blessings.

B. The main subject of this section is epitomized in the miniatures of the Eight Trees associated with the Beatitudes and Gifts of the Holy Spirit (figs. 87 and 88).

C. 1. Inscription quoting Luke 2:1 (fig. 26).

IX

336-411 (168v-206r)

A. Lambert records anti-feminist diatribes and writings of kings and kingdoms in this section.

B. At the center, Saint Peter, the "prince of the apostles," is enthroned upon Christian Rome (fig. 27).

Rev. 15:8-16:21

A. Seven vials are emptied upon the earth, bringing seven plagues. These plagues, Beatus says, are spiritual.

B. The wicked suffer spiritual torment. The way in which Beatus discusses the spiritual plagues indicates that they are the result of vice and thus are the opposite of the blessings described in the Beatitudes and Gifts of the Holy Spirit.


IX

Rev. 17

A. The whore of Babylon appears riding upon the Beast with seven heads and ten horns. She symbolizes the great city that has dominion over the kings of the earth. Beatus further associates her with feminine evil.

B. The Whore of Babylon, personification of evil, is enthroned upon the Beast, who is pagan rome.
X

412-471 (206v-236r)

A. In this section, worldly authorities are discussed along with earthly disasters. Some of the disasters are described in visions and are related to the end of time.

B. Noah's Ark is illustrated at the center (fig. 91).

XI

472-518 (236v-259v)

A. The prevailing topics in this section are the immortality of the soul and the ancestry of the Franks. Major illustrations relate to the chaining of the Beast (fig. 29) and the Church during the millenium between Christ's first and second Advents (figs. 31 and 32).

B. The Lily Among the Thorns (fig. 33) at the center represents the Church and includes inscriptions referring to virtues, bishops, and phylosophia, which assists one in gaining immortality.

X

Rev. 18:1-19:10

A. The fall of Babylon is again announced. The earth is wasted by disease, famine, and fire. Beatus speaks of the Whore, the Beast, and the kings of the earth. He says that Babylon is the whole earth and that it is being destroyed around us all the time.

B. The elect are called away from the destruction of the city of the earth.

XI

Rev. 19:11-20:10

A. In this part of Revelations, the white-clad army of the Church defeats the army of the Beast. The Beast is chained for the Millenium.

A. During the interval of the Millenium, the heavenly Church is presided over by Christ and the immortal souls of the righteous. Beatus mentions virtues and priests as part of the heavenly congregation.
A. The three main subjects of this section are: the Church's opposition to her enemies and her final triumph; the saints; and the salvation of pious pagans.

B. The church of Saint-Omer and a standing portrait of Saint Omer (figs. 22 and 103) appear at the center.

C. 1. The Church is crowned by Christ on the Mount of Olives and the Synagogue is thrown into Hell; a baptismal font is depicted behind the Church (fig. 102).

A. The Last Judgment is described at the beginning of this part of Revelations. The Heavenly Jerusalem then appears. Beatus writes of the separation of the damned from the elect and he describes the Heavenly City as the "city of saints." Pagans may be cured by the leaves of the tree that grows in the Heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 22:2).

B. A miniature of the Heavenly Jerusalem with apostles standing in the twelve gates (fig. 104) appears in this book.

C. 1. The Bride stands on a mountain and is crowned by Christ. She is separated from further danger. Those who desire remission of sin are offered the water of life, baptism.
Since Lambert was preoccupied with the idea that the Millenium would soon be complete, it is not surprising that his work would show the influence of an Apocalypse commentary. It is particularly significant, though, that Lambert imitated the structure of the Beatus Apocalypse because this structure has a symbolic meaning related to the theme of the Apocalypse commentary.

The theme of the Beatus Apocalypse is clearly the triumph of the Church. Beatus emphatically expresses this theme through every part of his work. His division of the commentary into twelve books is evidently associated with the expression of this theme. The number twelve, as Beatus repeatedly tells us, symbolizes the Church. The twelve-part structure of the work as well as its content serves, therefore, to evoke an image of the Church.

In adopting Beatus' twelve-part composition, Lambert gives his own work a structural framework that represents the Church in an allegorical manner. He makes the allegorical meaning explicit by organizing each section around an image of the Church. Thus the seemingly chaotic collection of information about all aspects of the universe that Lambert presents in his Liber Floridus is actually arranged around an underlying framework that symbolizes the eternal, spiritual Church.
Lambert's use of a venerated model as a guide in creating a structural image of the Church is not unprecedented in the Middle Ages. Medieval architects frequently followed symbolic models to create structures analogous to the Heavenly Church. Like Lambert's imitation of Beatus' "Church," the means used by medieval architects for creating analogous structures was often based upon a numerical design. Frequently, the essential number in the architectural structure, as in Beatus' and Lambert's manuscripts, was twelve. As Richard Krautheimer has shown, when medieval architects copied the Holy Sepulchre, the numbers manifest in the design were given the foremost consideration; these numbers were eight and twelve. The writings of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis on the administration and consecration of his church indicate that the system of numbers and "perfect" proportions underlying the vast, complex structure were intended to inspire one with a vision of the celestial Church. Describing the construction of the choir, Suger writes:

The midst of the edifice, however, was suddenly raised aloft by columns representing the number of the Twelve Apostles and, secondarily, by as many columns in the side-aisles signifying the number of the [minor] prophets, according to the Apostle who buildeth spiritually. "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners," says he, "but fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief cornerstone" which
joins one wall to the other; in Whom all the building"—whether spiritual or material—"growth into one holy temple in the Lord."⁴

The Liber Floridus is, we believe, unusual as a medieval encyclopedia in having a complex and symbolic form governing the arrangement of its textual and pictorial contents. And yet, if we consider the composition of the Liber Floridus in connection with contemporary developments in architecture and in the context of twelfth-century neo-Platonism, we will see that there are precedents for its sacred, universal scheme. The formal, symbolic meaning of the Liber Floridus is, in fact, one of its essential, twelfth-century features.

Like the Liber Floridus, twelfth-century churches of the transitional period between Romanesque and Gothic were symbols of the universe as well as of the Church. This concept has been discussed particularly by von Simson and Panofsky.⁵ The design of the early twelfth-century crypt and choir of the church of Saint-Denis is an especially suitable example of the application of a cosmic model to an architectural that was, as we have seen, an anagogical image of the Heavenly Church. Sumner McKnight Crosby has analyzed the design of the plans of this crypt and choir, begun in 1140 under the direction of Abbot Suger.⁶ While the basic dimensions of the old, eighth-century building were maintained in Suger's reconstruction
program, the plans of the new crypt and choir were given, as Crosby says, "totally different forms and a new symbolism."\(^7\)
Crosby's analysis shows that the Saint-Denis plans relate to the structure of the universe according to the Ptolemaic system.\(^8\) One may conclude, then, that the crypt and choir of Saint-Denis was constructed as a symbolic model of the universe.

It is particularly important to remember that the choir and crypt of Saint-Denis is "raised aloft" by two series of twelve columns. These columns, as we have seen, are identified by Suger as symbols of the Apostles and Prophets, the foundation of the spiritual Church. Thus the east end of the church of Saint-Denis demonstrates the interpretation of the natural and the supernatural; the Church, symbolized by the number twelve, is the supporting foundation of the temporal, material universe.

The structure of both the *Liber Floridus* and of early twelfth-century architecture symbolically represents the essential presence of the Church within the universe. The formative influence operating upon the structural conceptions of Lambert and, perhaps, Suger, may have been contemporary neo-Platonic principles of universal harmony and unity. During the early twelfth-century, there was a general revival of interest in neo-Platonism. The Church Fathers, and particularly Saint Augustine,\(^9\) had found
neo-Platonism the most acceptable pagan philosophy and a current of neo-Platonism had persisted throughout the early Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{10} This current rapidly became part of the mainstream of Christian philosophy during the early twelfth century. The school of Chartres was the leading proponent of neo-Platonism, but the philosophy was pervasive throughout intellectual centers of the period.\textsuperscript{11} Charles Homer Haskins and M.-D. Chenu have cited the resurgence of neo-Platonism as one of the key factors in the renaissance of the twelfth-century.\textsuperscript{12} Through the early twelfth century, the two works that served as the primary transmitters of this philosophy were Chalcidius' commentary on Plato's \textit{Timaeus} and Macrobius' \textit{Commentary on the Dream of Scipio}.\textsuperscript{13} Lambert, as we have seen, summarizes both these texts in his manuscript in connection with his Christian concepts of eternity and of the immortality of the soul.\textsuperscript{14}

Christian neo-Platonists set themselves the task of reconciling the Platonic account of Creation with that of the book of Genesis. According to the Platonic scheme, the beneficent, eternal deity, wishing to create a material universe that would be as perfect as possible, formed the world according to the model of that which is eternal and "comprehensible by rational discourse."\textsuperscript{15} He created a \textit{World-Body} from the four primary elements and posited the \textit{World-Soul} at its center.\textsuperscript{16} The \textit{World-Soul} is
divided into a double, numerical sequence, visually expressed in medieval manuscripts by the lambda diagram (fig. 93),\textsuperscript{17} which effects the unification of the world.\textsuperscript{18} As Macrobius explains to his medieval readers, "When Plato . . . recognized that no union could be lasting except one based on those numbers [the consonant chords], he constructed his World-Soul by interweaving them, imitating the ineffable wisdom of the Creator."\textsuperscript{19}

The concept of a unifying force within the material universe, imitating divine Wisdom, was particularly compelling to Christian neo-Platonists. In the early Middle Ages, Saint Augustine wrote of Creation in eternity in the Word of God; the Word contained the Pattern of all things that would ever come into temporal existence.\textsuperscript{20} A renewed interest in the notion of the divine Exemplar is an important part of the early twelfth century revival of neo-Platonism.\textsuperscript{21} Both Lambert, following Bede, and Honorius of Autun refer to Augustine's theory of creation in the Word of God before time, forming a pre-existent Pattern of the universe.\textsuperscript{22} Abelard, William of Conches, and Thierry of Chartres interpret this entity as Wisdom or the Holy Spirit infusing and harmonizing the universe.\textsuperscript{23} The fascination of the twelfth century with the penetration of the Wisdom of God into the created world is also evident in contemporary illustrations of Genesis. The In Principio page of the
Brussels Bible, for example, with its representation of the four elements and mathematical formulae around the Creator (fig. 107), and the Creator in the Bible of Saint-Castor in Coblenz, with its inscription describing the imparting of God's essence to all things (fig. 21), attempt to illustrate the connection between the eternal Pattern in the mind of God and the temporal, material creation.\textsuperscript{24}

It seems that the structural design of the \textit{Liber Floridus} and architectural monuments of the transitional period between Romanesque and Gothic are related to this resurgence of neo-Platonism. For the twelfth-century neo-Platonist, the visible universe, in all its multiplicity, is inherently harmonized by the numerically proliferating World-Soul, which is Wisdom or the Holy Spirit. Wisdom and the Holy Spirit are identified with the Church, as we have seen in the allegorical miniatures in the \textit{Liber Floridus}.\textsuperscript{25} Thus by using an image of the Church for the unifying principle within a vision of the universe, Lambert and, perhaps, the architects of Saint-Denis, have created formal models of the Christian neo-Platonic scheme of the divine harmony within the disparate elements of creation.

Early Gothic sculptural programs are also universal in their themes and based upon systems of harmonic arrangements. The Royal Portal of Chartres, for example, presents
the history of human salvation, culminating in the Last Judgment. As Katzenellenbogen has shown, the sculpture of the Royal Portal is closely organized in a complex but unified program, unlike the typical Romanesque sculptural program in which each part is comprehended separately in an additive manner. The Romanesque tension between architecture and sculpture has been replaced by a harmonic union between the two. The sculpture of the Royal Portal of Chartres, Katzenellenbogen explains, "articulates and clarifies the architectural design," and achieves a perfect consonance with it.

Carra O'Meara has drawn a comparison between the compound iconographic program of the sculpture of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard and the arrangement of articles and illustrations in Lambert's manuscript. She shows that the sculpture of Saint-Gilles has a specific theme, appropriate to the history of the abbey, and that this theme is cumulatively expressed by the combination of the various parts of the program. Similarly, O'Meara believes, Lambert's juxtapositioning of texts and miniatures, each with its separate meaning, creates a unified, comprehensive statement on a more complex level of meaning. However, she follows Mayo and de Smet in perceiving this principle of cohesion on a limited scale in the Liber Floridus, including only the texts and illustrations that relate to the crusade,
anti-Semitism, and the anticipation of the apocalypse. We believe, however, that Lambert is synthesizing on a much grander scale than O'Meara, Mayo, and De Smet have suggested; he is co-ordinating an image of the neo-Platonic universe with a scheme that encompasses his whole manuscript. Lambert's compositional principles may thus be more aptly compared to those of the designer of the Royal Portal of Chartes.

One must recognize the twelve-part structural framework of the Liber Floridus in order to appreciate its overall, symbolic meaning. And yet, instead of making this essential schema readily apparent, Lambert has apparently concealed it within the confusing multiplicity of his texts and illustrations. This seems paradoxical. However, by making the underlying structure of his manuscript detectable only by careful analysis, Lambert reflects another important aspect of twelfth-century neo-Platonism. Christian neo-Platonists agree that the sacred Pattern within the sensible universe is not readily apprehensible to our post-lapsarian minds. The vision of God's Will, direct communication between human wisdom and divine Wisdom, was impaired by Original Sin.\textsuperscript{31} We may now gain some insight into the order of creation only through a concentrated effort to rise above the blinding darkness of
our carnal prison. It is indeed the duty of all Christians to seek to reestablish communication with divine Wisdom. Hugh of Saint-Victor epitomizes the medieval concept of this pursuit in the opening chapters of his Didascalicon: "Of all things to be sought," he tells us, "the first is that Wisdom in which the Form of the perfect Good stands fixed."\(^{32}\) This Wisdom is the "living Mind and the sole primordial Idea or Pattern of things."\(^{33}\) To seek Wisdom will bring us closer to God: "This love of Wisdom, moreover, is an illumination of the apprehending mind by pure Wisdom and, in a certain way, a drawing and a calling back to Itself of man's mind so that the pursuit of Wisdom appears like friendship with the Divinity and pure Mind."\(^{34}\) The fact, therefore, that the harmonizing principles within the apparently disorganized "universe" of the Liber Floridus must be sought with some difficulty corresponds to the admonition that Christians must diligently endeavor to find the Wisdom of God within the seemingly chaotic universe.

It is, in part, Lambert's concealment of the organizing structure of his manuscript that allows us to determine the place of the Liber Floridus in relation to the changing aesthetic principles of the transitional period between Romanesque and Gothic. While we have found that the
Liber Floridus anticipates some of the fundamental elements of the design of Gothic architecture and sculpture, we cannot ultimately categorize Lambert's manuscript as a Gothic monument. As Panofsky has shown, the principle of manifestatio, the clarification of an argument or a work of architecture by means of a lucid structure, is one of the salient features of High Gothic philosophy and architecture. Lambert's contrasting principle of involucrum, of veiling the meaningful structure of his work, is in direct opposition to the Gothic desire for elucidation.

The scale of Lambert's ambition, his vast yet synthesized vision of the universe, surely foretells a Gothic mentality. However, the rigorous, hieratic design upon which he develops this vision, twelve symmetrical compartments, is more closely akin to the procrustean compositional techniques of the Romanesque. His basic plan seems unequal to its ambitious task; the grand edifice of the Liber Floridus seems precariously developed upon a too-rudimentary framework. The completed structure is unwieldy and lacking in the complex sophistication of the Gothic summa or even the later twelfth-century encyclopedia. Although Lambert's vision is more expansive and ambitious than that of Herrad of Landsberg, the ease with which Herrad handles her subject is witness to a greater fundamental control. Lambert struggles to hold together the
disparate elements of the world with a schema that is too rigid to serve the purpose.

Lambert's obsessive millenial expectations also bring his work into closer relation to the Romanesque with its apocalyptic fears than to the Gothic with its confidence in salvation through Grace. Another decidedly Romanesque characteristic of the Liber Floridus may be associated with this Doomsday mentality: Lambert's anti-rational credulous-ness. The lack of confidence in reason, which typifies a great portion of Lambert's work, is a defining feature of pre-scholastic medieval thought.39 The precursors of the scholastic movement, Anselm and Abelard, were near-contemporaries of Lambert.40 Lambert, in fact, includes Anselm's Cur Deus Homo in his manuscript.41 Nonetheless, Lambert seems completely oblivious to their vanguard attempts to harmonize reason and faith. He seems to accept the most fantastic "scientific" information on the authority of the early Middle Ages without attempting to exercise his own rational powers and must, therefore, be considered within the context of pre-Gothic modes of thought.

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Part One of this study has summarized codicological and bibliographical information about the Liber Floridus and discussed its historical background. The importance of
the personalized viewpoint of the Liber Floridus and Lambert's fascination with the first crusade and the advent of the Antichrist were discussed as significant attributes of the manuscript. Part Two, divided into twelve chapters, has summarized and analyzed the contents of the twelve sections of the Liber Floridus, as we define them, and has compared these sections to the twelve books of the Beatus Apocalypse. Part Three has attempted to deal with the implications of the underlying structure described in Part Two. We have attempted to show that the organization of the Liber Floridus is comparable to the Christian neo-Platonic scheme of the material universe infused with the harmonizing principles of Wisdom or the Holy Spirit, a scheme that is also comparable to architectural monuments of the early twelfth century. Finally, we have attempted to define the position of the Liber Floridus within the intellectual history of the twelfth century. Taking into account its combination of Romanesque and Gothic elements, we have concluded that the Liber Floridus characterizes the early twelfth-century period of transition between Romanesque and Gothic.
FOOTNOTES


3 Particularly in the first chapter of "The Other Little Book on the Consecration of the Church of St.-Denis" (Erwin Panofsky, Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures, Princeton, 1946, 83 and 85.

4 Ibid., 105.


6 Sumner McKnight Crosby, "Crypt and Choir Plans at Saint-Denis," Gesta, V (1966), 4-8.

7 Ibid., 4.

8 Crosby shows first how the axis of the new structure was sighted and that a point A was established on this axis, 20.40 east of the center of the old crossing. Two more important points, B and C, were then marked on the axis. The three points are equidistant from each other. These three points were the focus of a series of intersecting radii and arcs that mark the placement of the seven radiating chapels of the crypt and choir and the location of the supporting columns.

Crosby reminds us that "three equidistant points, with eccentric circles and epicycles . . . are the basic features of the astronomical system devised by Hipparchus in the second century B.C. and adopted by Ptolemy in the second century A.D." The earth was at the center of the universe, in the Ptolemaic system. According to Crosby, point A in the Saint-Denis plans represents the position of the earth in this geocentric system. The Ptolemaic
system explains the apparently irregular movements of the planets around the earth by the supposition that the seven planets were each traveling around their own epicycles. These seven epicycles orbited in a circle, called the deferent, whose central point was located above the earth. Crosby explains that the seven epicycles correspond to Saint-Denis' seven radiating chapels and that the center of the deferent corresponds to point B in the crypt and choir plans. Point C in the Saint-Denis plans corresponds, Crosby says, to the Ptolemaic equant, the point in the universe around which the centers of the epicycles travel.


10For example, in the works of Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopogite and John Scotus Eriugena.


14Pages 472-475, 203-210, and 476-487.


16Ibid., 21-27.

17According to Stahl (Macrobius, Commentary, 109, n. 48), the lambda diagram was probably not used by Plato.


20Augustine's theory of Creation is most clearly explained in Books XI-XIII of the Confessions (The Confessions of St. Augustine, trans. John K. Ryan, New York,
1960, 277-370) and in De Genesi ad Litteram Libri XII (P.L. XXXIV, 219-486). See also, Frank Egleston Robbins, The Hexaemeral Literature, Chicago, 1912, 64-72.

21See Robbins, Hexaemeral Literature, 83-88.

22See above, n. 20, concerning the image on page 196 (fol. 88r) of the Liber Floridus and Honorius' modes of Creation in De Imagine Mundi, P.L. CLXXII, 121.


25Lambert includes the trees from Ecclesiasticus 24:13-17 that symbolize Wisdom in three of his allegorical miniatures of the Church: the Palm on Mount Zion (fig. 34); the eight Beatitude Trees (figs. 87 and 88); and the Lily Among the Thorns (fig. 33). Wisdom is again compounded with the Church in the miniature of the Sedes Sapientia that appeared at the center of Section One (fig. 17). The miniatures of the eight Beatitude Trees further associate the Church with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit.


27Ibid., 37-39.

28Ibid., 38.

30 The theme of the sculpture of Saint-Gilles, according to O'Meara, involves the association of the abbey with the Military Orders of Saint John of Jerusalem and the Knights Templar and hence with twelfth-century political statements about the crusade.


32 Didascalicon, 46.

33 Ibid., 48.

34 Ibid., 48.

35 Panofsky, Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism, 30-44.

36 The concept of a veiled order within reality, the concept of involucrum or integumentum, is discussed by Wetherbee, Cosmographia, I4-16; Edgar de Bruyne, Etudes d'Esthetique Medievale, II, Brusells, 1946, 302-370; M.-D. Chenu, "'Involucrum' Le Mythe Selon les Theologiens Medievaux," Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Litteraire du Moyen Age, XXIV, 1957, 35-100.

37 Concerning the preference for various types of symmetrical compositions within the Romanesque style of architectural sculpture, see Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," Romanesque Art, New York, 1977, esp. 203ff.


39 Panofsky, Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism, 43-44.
Anselm died in 1109 and Abelard in 1142.

In Section Eight, pages 320-335 (folios 114v-152r).
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