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The Illustrated Apocalypse Cycle in the Liber Floridus of Lambert of Saint-Omer

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THE ILLUSTRATED APOCALYPSE CYCLE IN THE *LIBER FLORIDUS* OF
LAMBERT OF SAINT-OMER

By

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This thesis examines the series of Apocalypse illustrations appearing in a thirteenth-century copy of the *Liber Floridus*, MS lat. 8865 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The *Liber Floridus* is an illustrated encyclopedia completed in 1120 by Lambert, a canon of the church of Nôtre Dame in Saint-Omer in northern France. The autograph manuscript of the *Liber Floridus* has survived to the present day (Ghent, University Library MS 92), along with nine copies. Lambert’s encyclopedia is a compilation of excerpts from a range of Classical and medieval writers, and a number of the texts in the *Liber Floridus* are or were accompanied by figural illustrations. The Ghent autograph once contained a series of full-page miniatures depicting scenes from the Apocalypse of Saint John. Though fragments are present in several of the copies, this Apocalypse cycle is now missing from the autograph manuscript. MS lat. 8865 is the only copy to have retained a complete series of Apocalypse illustrations. This thesis argues that its iconography is an accurate reflection of the lost cycle in the autograph manuscript.

Because of the survival of the autograph manuscript, the *Liber Floridus* has generated a substantial amount of scholarly interest. As a result, the series of Apocalypse images, which is no longer present in the autograph, has gone largely unnoticed. By examining the relationship between the Apocalypse cycle and the other textual and figural elements of MS lat. 8865, I demonstrate that the cosmological and eschatological elements of the *Liber Floridus* are visually and thematically related, and were so in the autograph. In his choice of texts and illustrations, Lambert tries to structure the universe and situate himself in history and time – in relation to past events and to events of the apocalyptic future. In Lambert’s original, the use of similar pictorial arrangements in the Apocalypse cycle and in the rest of the *Liber Floridus* encyclopedia, particularly the didactic cosmological diagrams, strengthens the thematic connection between these schema and the Apocalypse illustrations. The specific selection of texts and the arrangement of the components in MS lat. 8865 reveal a significant concern with the end times and with systematizing knowledge.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The Liber Floridus is an illustrated encyclopedia completed in 1120 by Lambert, a canon of the church of Notre Dame in Saint-Omer, today in northern France. The autograph manuscript of the Liber Floridus, written in Lambert’s own hand, has survived to the present day (Ghent University Library MS 92), along with nine copies. Based on the dates entered in the calendar and the lists of rulers and popes, Lambert’s autograph manuscript can be dated securely to 1120. The Ghent manuscript is comprised of 287 folia, and it measures 307 millimeters high by 204 millimeters across, or approximately 8 by 12 inches. Lambert’s encyclopedia is primarily a compilation of excerpts from a range of Classical and medieval writers, and it contains little original work by Lambert himself. A number of the texts in the autograph Liber Floridus are listed in Appendix A of this thesis; see also Delisle, Notice, 581-609; and Derolez, The Autograph Manuscript, 11-28, 186-190.


2 The earliest known copy is the twelfth-century Cod. Guelf. 1 lat. in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Other copies are in Leiden (Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden MS Voss lat. F.31), Paris (Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 9675), Chantilly (Musée Condé MS 724), Douai (Bibliothèque de Douai MS 796), Genoa (Biblioteca Durazzo-Giustiani MS A IX 9), and The Hague (Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 72 A 23 and MS 128 C). The ten manuscripts of the Liber Floridus are listed in Appendix A of this thesis; see also Delisle, Notice, 581-609; and Derolez, The Autograph Manuscript, 11-28, 186-190.

3 A date of 1120 for the Liber Floridus autograph has been established “sans hésitation” by Delisle on the basis of the calendar (called the Martyrologium, on fols. 26v-32r) and the excerpts from historical texts in the manuscript. For example, the list of the counts of Flanders (fol. 105r) ends with the accession of Charles in the year 1119. Furthermore, the list of provosts of Saint-Omer ends with the name “Otgerus” but without a number of years he held the position; however, Otgerus is known from other sources to have been appointed provost in 1117 and governed the church for three years. See Delisle, Notice, 585-587. A facsimile edition was prepared by Albert Derolez and E. Strubbe, Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus: codex autographus Bibliothecae universitatis gandavensis (Gandavi: In aedibus Story-Scientia, 1968), hereafter cited as Lamberti S. Audomari. On dating the autograph, see pages vii-viii.

4 Texts by Augustine of Hippo, the Venerable Bede, Cassiodorus, Cicero, Eutropius, Gregory of Tours, Hegesippus (Flavius Josephus), Isidore of Seville, Macrobius, and Ovid, among others, are excerpted in the Ghent autograph manuscript of the Liber Floridus. For a list of Lambert’s
Floridus and in the copies are accompanied by figural illustrations, including a series of full-page miniatures depicting scenes from the Apocalypse of Saint John. Though fragments are present in several of the copies, this Apocalypse cycle is missing from the autograph manuscript.⁵ A thirteenth-century version of the Liber Floridus in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 8865 (hereafter MS lat. 8865), is the only copy to have retained a complete series of Apocalypse illustrations. In this thesis, I argue that the iconography of the Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865 is an accurate reflection of the lost cycle originally in the autograph manuscript.⁶

Because of the survival of the autograph manuscript, the Liber Floridus has generated a substantial amount of scholarly interest. As a result, the series of Apocalypse images, which is no longer present in the autograph, has gone largely unnoticed. This thesis examines the organization and layout of this series of images in relation to other elements in the encyclopedia, demonstrating that the Apocalypse is indeed a critical component in understanding Lambert of Saint-Omer’s conception of the world and its history – universal and localized, past and present. By examining the relationship between the Apocalypse cycle and the other textual and figural elements of the manuscript, I demonstrate that the cosmo1ogical and eschatological elements of the Liber Floridus are visually and thematically related, and were so in the autograph. This study thus not only provides a better understanding of the rarely studied Apocalypse cycle but also of this unique illustrated encyclopedia.

In his choice of texts and illustrations, Lambert tries to structure the universe and situate himself in history and time – in relation to past events and to events of the apocalyptic future. In Lambert’s original, the use of similar pictorial arrangements in the Apocalypse cycle and in the source texts, see Derolez, The Autograph Manuscript, 197-199. Delisle also gives a chapter-by-chapter “dépouillement synoptique” in which he names the authors and sources used by Lambert in the Ghent autograph and corresponding folio numbers for the textual excerpts in each of the copies. Delisle, Notice, 610-728.

⁵ Derolez, The Autograph Manuscript, 53-55; Delisle, Notice, 621-624.

rest of the *Liber Floridus* encyclopedia, particularly the didactic cosmological diagrams, strengthens the thematic connection between these schema and the Apocalypse illustrations.

Like the autograph manuscript, the choice and physical placement of texts and illustrations in MS lat. 8865 also indicate a connection between the Apocalypse and cosmological elements. The patron of MS lat. 8865 omitted some texts and illustrations found in Lambert’s autograph encyclopedia and added a number of texts that are not original to the *Liber Floridus*. Although approximately half of the diagrams found in the autograph manuscript are omitted, the specific selection of texts and the arrangement of the components in MS lat. 8865 nonetheless reveal a significant concern with the end times and with systematizing knowledge.

**Lambert and his Manuscript**

Lambert was a prebendary at the Church of Notre Dame in the town of Saint-Omer. His father Onulfus was also a canon at the Church of Saint-Omer, whose date of death is entered as 1077 in the *Liber Floridus* calendar. Lambert includes a genealogical tree of his family in the manuscript, but nothing more is known about the life of the author of this encyclopedia.8 The autograph manuscript of the *Liber Floridus* Ghent University Library MS 92 (hereafter Ghent MS 92) is one of the first known illustrated encyclopedias from the medieval period, and it was copied multiple times over the course of several centuries.

Lambert copied selections of theological, historical, literary, and scientific texts in both prose and verse, on a range of subjects, onto vellum sheets of varying quality. Many of the vellum sheets are rough and coarse, and it appears that a few were scraped of their original text and reused by Lambert. Some of the folia were originally too small, so the compiler sewed extra strips of vellum to the edges to create sheets of uniform size.9 Lambert copied primarily from Latin texts and wrote in Latin, but it has been noted by at least one scholar that his mastery of the

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Latin language was mediocre. The many additions and corrections, the variety of inks and parchment quality, and the marginal notes in the autograph in Ghent MS 92 indicate that this manuscript is Lambert’s “rough draft,” written in his own handwriting. In contrast to the written components, the illustrations in the Ghent autograph appear to be complete and ready to be copied. Overall, 46 of the 287 folia in Lambert’s autograph are illustrated with a total of 92 images. Of these, 64 are figural illustrations and 28 are schematic diagrams or maps.

The collection of excerpted texts is divided into 190 numbered chapters, each with a title that is listed in the Table of Contents appearing on fols. 4r-5r. The Table of Contents of the Ghent autograph manuscript lists the texts and other components in the encyclopedia, including some elements that are now lost. Chapter XIII bears the title Apocalypsis depictus, and it is located between the chapter De circulo superioris celi and Sperae due ventorum et zonarum. Literally meaning “illustrated Apocalypse,” this chapter heading provides evidence for the existence and location of the original Apocalypse cycle. Furthermore, the chapter heading indicates that the Apocalypse of chapter XIII was not the text of the Book of Revelation or a commentary, but that it was a pictorial version of the Apocalypse. The presence of a Table of Contents in the Ghent autograph and in the copies allows for the reliable reconstruction of the

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10 The language appearing in Ghent MS 92 is not exclusively Latin, however; Dutch names for the winds are written in red ink on fol. 24r, and Lambert copied the text of the Paternoster and the Nicene Creed in Latin and in Greek (in Latin transliteration). See Derolez, The Autograph Manuscript, 12, 107.


13 Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus, XVI-XVII. The sum of 64 figural illustrations includes each individual image of a constellation and the various trees of virtues and vices or of kinship are here considered to be schematic diagrams, rather than figural illustrations.

14 Ibid., 39.

15 There is a convenient website with a transcription of Lambert’s table of contents, “Inhaltsverzeichnis Lambert von St. Omer, »Liber Floridus« ” drawn from the facsimile of the Ghent Liber Floridus, http://www.enzyklopaedie.ch/liste/portrait/lambert_liberfloridus.html; See also Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus.

16 Delisle, Notice, 620-624.
original contents of the *Liber Floridus*, even though the autograph manuscript is now missing several sections.

One of the few original texts in Ghent MS 92 is Lambert’s prologue, appearing on fol. 3v, in which Lambert introduces himself as a canon of Saint-Omer and explains why he chose to collect excerpts from many different authors for the education of his brethren. Lambert calls his book *floridus*, or a “book of flowers,” stating that he has “woven the garland of this book with the flowers of various authors,” so that the faithful bees may come to it and draw from it “the sweetness of heavenly savor.”

MS lat. 8865 in the Bibliothèque nationale is one of the nine extant copies of the *Liber Floridus*, and, as mentioned previously, it is the only copy to have retained a full cycle of Apocalypse illustrations. Each copy of the *Liber Floridus* differs in content and arrangement. Medieval copyists reorganized the components of the encyclopedia and often inserted material not original to the autograph. This is the case for MS lat. 8865, which does not contain certain texts and illustrations, such as those pertaining to the town of Saint-Omer, but to it were added

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17 Derolez provides a translation of the prologue as follows: “To the praise and glory of our Lord and the Redeemer of all, it is fitting for us to wish to scrutinize diligently His great and marvelous works and, through scrutinizing them, commend them to the ears of the faithful, that the creature may love the more its Creator as it recognizes how wonderful and unheard of His ineffable creations are. At various times the diligent hand of the Holy Fathers in their various writings has faithfully described the magnificence of His works and passed them to posterity to read for the edification of their souls. In our days, however, the world, formerly flowering by sacred studies, has dried up entirely. Because in our laziness and idleness we no longer are able to read all their writings, we have thought that it would be best to excerpt at least a few things from the many offered to us, in order that with the mouth of the heart we may take the more eagerly a few dishes that are put before us from the banquet of the great king. It indeed often happens that, when we are entertained by a mighty person and various courses are served, our soul because of the abundance of the food draws back squeamishly and finally cannot be refreshed by any. In order to avoid this disadvantage I, Lambert, son of Onulf, canon of Saint-Omer, have for God and our pious patron Audomarus woven the garland of this book with the flowers of various authors, that, as from a celestial meadow, with diverse flowers united, the faithful bees may come to it and draw from it the sweetness of heavenly savour. For that reason I have called my book Floridus, because it flowers with the beauty of various books and excels in the narration of wonderful things.” Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript*, 38.

18 Only seven of the nine copies of the *Liber Floridus* are illustrated. Delisle, *Notice*, 581-609; Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript*, 185-190. The relationship between Ghent MS 92 and MS lat. 8865 is discussed in Chapter Three; see also Appendix B.
several texts not found in Lambert’s original.\textsuperscript{19} Significantly for the purposes of this study, the iconography of the illustrations in the various copies of the \textit{Liber Floridus} remained highly consistent over the course of the centuries, despite changes in style, arrangement of content, mise-en-page, and layout of the illustrations.\textsuperscript{20}

In addition to being one of the first known illustrated encyclopedias, the \textit{Liber Floridus} Ghent MS 92 is also one of the first such anthologies to exhibit a profound interest in the doctrine of last things.\textsuperscript{21} It is also the only known medieval encyclopedia that had a full cycle of images illustrating the Book of Revelation.\textsuperscript{22} In addition to the Apocalypse cycle, Lambert’s encyclopedia contains texts on eschatology, cosmology, Church history, ethics, local history, genealogy, the ages of man, plants and animals, and astrology. There are a number of schematic illustrations in the manuscript accompanying the text, including a tree of Virtues and Vices, a tree of consanguinity, a diagram of the ages of man, diagrams of constellations, planets, and phases of the moon. Drawing mostly from Isidore of Seville’s \textit{Etymologiae}, Lambert also includes depictions of animals and plants alongside the bestiary text and lists the names of trees and plants.\textsuperscript{23} Other figural representations include Saint Audomarus (fol. 6v), the Emperor Augustus (fol. 138v), and Alexander the Great on his horse (fol. 153v).\textsuperscript{24}

Despite the seemingly disorganized arrangement of a large variety of texts, an examination of the contents reveals that certain themes are emphasized throughout the autograph manuscript. Lambert is interested in the purpose of human history, as historical texts and

\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{19}] Delisle, \textit{Notice}, 581-609; Derolez, \textit{The Autograph Manuscript}, 185-190; see also Appendix B.
\item[\textsuperscript{20}] The iconography of the various copies is discussed in Chapter Two.
\item[\textsuperscript{21}] Derolez, \textit{The Autograph Manuscript}, 12.
\item[\textsuperscript{22}] Although it is the only known encyclopedia containing a full series of illustrations of the Book of Revelation, other medieval encyclopedic compilations incorporate selected Apocalypse images. Most notably, the \textit{Hortus Deliciarum} of Herrad of Landsberg, the Abbess of Hohenburg (c. 1130-1195), includes a depiction of the Great Whore of Babylon, among other Apocalypse images. On the \textit{Hortus Deliciarum}, see Fiona Griffiths, \textit{The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century} (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 2007); see also Chapter Four of this thesis.
\item[\textsuperscript{23}] Swarzenski, “Comments on the Figural Illustrations,” 26.
\item[\textsuperscript{24}] Derolez, \textit{The Autograph Manuscript}, 42, 126, 131.
\end{enumerate}
corresponding images “make up a kind of universal chronicle running from the creation of the
world to the end of the sixth age, and then to the coming of Antichrist and the Last Judgment.”

The compilation is clearly from the viewpoint of a cleric living in northern France who pays
special attention to local events and the role of his countrymen in the First Crusade. He is also
interested in events in the history of the world, ranging from Creation to Classical antiquity to
contemporary events. The *Liber Floridus* contains many lengthy lists of historical personages,
such as the kings of France, the rulers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Flemish counts,
and every pope from Peter to Pope Calixtus (1119-1124). Lambert also emphasizes natural
history and scientific knowledge, as seen in his decision to include lists of the names of plants,
the miraculous properties of different stones, descriptions of planetary movements, drawings of
constellations, maps, and diagrams of the heavenly spheres and terrestrial zones.

**The Apocalypse Cycle**

The illustrations in the Apocalypse cycle in the MS lat. 8865 copy of the *Liber Floridus*
are the only full-page miniatures in this manuscript. The Apocalypse cycle consists of nine full-
page miniatures extending from fol. 34v to fol. 42v (Figs. 1-9), with the images on facing pages.
The cycle incorporates images from Chapters 1-22 of the Book of Revelation, beginning with a
depiction of Saint John on the Isle of Patmos (Fig. 1) and ending with John’s visions of the
Celestial Jerusalem and the River of Life (Fig. 9). The miniatures are arranged in multiple
registers and compartments and depict scenes in the textual order of the Book of Revelation.

In addition to their significance as the only full-page illustrations, the Apocalypse cycle is
also interesting in that the Book of Revelation is not one of the texts contained in the manuscript,
nor do these images accompany a written commentary on the Apocalypse. The Latin “labels” in
the illustrations are the only written words in this section. Every other illustration in the *Liber
Floridus* exists to provide further explanation of a text; here, the Apocalypse images are
independent of accompanying text.

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26 Delisle, *Notice*, 586; *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus*, VII.

27 *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus*. 
As Peter Klein and Hans Swarzenski have each demonstrated, the copies of the *Liber Floridus* Apocalypse images are unusual in that they stand apart from any of the identifiable iconographic groups or families of illustrated Apocalypses. The Apocalypse illustrations exhibit a few iconographic connections to several different families, but no secure link to one particular group. The place of the *Liber Floridus* in the tradition of medieval illustrated Apocalypses is discussed in Chapter Two.

**State of the Literature**

Surprisingly, the images of the Apocalypse in the copies of the *Liber Floridus* have generated little scholarly interest. The *Liber Floridus* itself is well-known, despite the fact that many earlier authors considered it a bizarre and random assortment of texts, dismissing Lambert as an obvious “enemy of systematic arrangement.” Léopold Delisle’s 1906 publication on the copies of the *Liber Floridus* was the first to deal with the subject, and it is still the most significant source of information for any study of Lambert or his encyclopedia. In this work, Delisle provides a brief overview of each of the copies, then a synoptic breakdown of the

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28 Both Peter Klein and Hans Swarzenski discuss the “*Liber Floridus* Apocalypse” as one collective entity and rarely distinguish between different copies. Because of the close iconographic similarities between the Apocalypse illustrations in each of the copies, this approach is appropriate for their discussions. When they give examples of Apocalypse scenes, both authors typically refer to the copy of the *Liber Floridus* in Wolfenbüttel, as it is the earliest, but MS lat. 8865 in Paris is the most complete series. Peter K. Klein, “Les Cycles de l’Apocalypse du haut Moyen Age (IX-XIIIe s.),” in *L’Apocalypse de Jean: Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques IIIe-XIIIe siècles, actes du Colloque de la Fondation Hardt, 29 février – 3 mars 1976*, ed. Yves Christe (Genève: Droz, 1979), 135-186; Swarzenski, “Comments on the Figural Illustrations,” 23; Peter K. Klein, “Introduction: The Apocalypse in Medieval Art,” in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 159-199.

29 For a fuller bibliography on the *Liber Floridus*, see the “Bibliographical Note” in Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript*, 5-8. Despite Derolez’ introductory statement, that “most publications on the *Liber Floridus* are unreliable or irrelevant,” this chapter is invaluable for any study of Lambert’s encyclopedia.


31 Delisle, *Notice* (As in note 1).
contents of each. A section is devoted to describing the texts not included by Lambert in the autograph but that were added to the various copies. Delisle also transcribes several of the Latin texts found in the Liber Floridus, such as Lambert’s prologue, the acts of the Roman Popes, the names of the kings of France and the Holy Roman Emperors, genealogies of the Frankish kings, and a list of trees and plants.

Two other publications that mention the Liber Floridus include Fritz Saxl’s lecture on illustrated medieval encyclopedias, in which he discusses the manuscript and Lambert’s decision to incorporate a full illustrated Apocalypse cycle. Adolf Katzenellenbogen addresses some of the schematic illustrations in the Liber Floridus in his study of the Virtues and Vices in medieval art, but his study focuses on the autograph manuscript and does not address the Apocalypse cycle.

In 1967, the University Library of Ghent produced a facsimile of the autograph manuscript of the Liber Floridus. In conjunction with the publication of the facsimile, a colloquium devoted to the Liber Floridus was held in Ghent. The papers from this colloquium focus on issues of codicology, paleography, and the sources from which Lambert drew his excerpts. Hans Swarzenski’s paper from this colloquium is one of the first publications to address the illustrations in the Liber Floridus, and he is one of the few scholars to discuss the Apocalypse images in the copies at any length.

Swarzenski’s essay analyzes the style of the figural representations in the autograph of the Liber Floridus and in the copies, dividing them into three groups and attempting to situate

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32 Delisle, Notice, 729-735.

33 Ibid., 747-784.

34 Saxl, Lectures, 242-254.


36 Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus (As in note 8).


them within the stylistic tradition of medieval manuscript illumination. He concludes that the
first group of images – consisting of depictions of historical figures – is conservative but
consistent with the style of illustration practiced in northwestern Europe from the second half of
the eleventh century to about 1130. This style belongs to the tradition of the scriptoria of Saint-
Omer and the nearby abbey of Saint-Bertin.\(^39\) The monsters, beasts, trees, and plants make up
the second group, which Swarzenski compares to early Spanish Bibles, Beatus’ Commentary on
Revelation, and the early medieval encyclopedia by Hrabanus Maurus.\(^40\) The Apocalypse cycle
found in the later copies belongs to a third stylistic group for which the author attempts to
identify stylistic parallels.\(^41\) In Peter Klein’s work on medieval illustrated Apocalypse
manuscripts, the \textit{Liber Floridus} cycle is situated in his Group III.\(^42\) Klein associates the
fragmentary Apocalypse illustrations in the earliest copy from the twelfth century (Wolfenbüttel,
Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1 lat.) with the Apocalypse of Haimo of Auxerre, in
Oxford.\(^43\) Klein’s and Swarzenski’s comparisons of the \textit{Liber Floridus} with the Haimo
Apocalypse and the Trinity Apocalypse are discussed in Chapter Two.

Although she focuses primarily on the Ghent manuscript, Jessie Poesch’s article on the
beasts from Job in the \textit{Liber Floridus} deals with apocalyptic themes in Lambert’s manuscript.\(^44\)
Poesch explains that the image of Antichrist riding Leviathan and the image of the Devil riding
Behemoth – two illustrations appearing in the bestiary section from the \textit{Physiologus} in the \textit{Liber
Floridus} – are otherwise unknown in medieval bestiaries. The author asserts that the inclusion of
these diabolical elements is characteristic of Lambert’s tendency to emphasize items dealing with
the “expected events and calamities of the last times.”\(^45\)


\(^40\) \textit{Ibid.}, 26-27.

\(^41\) \textit{Ibid.}, 21-30.


\(^44\) Jesse Poesch, “The Beasts from Job in the \textit{Liber Floridus} Manuscripts,” \textit{The Journal of the

\(^45\) Poesch, “The Beasts from Job,” 41.
Another work that deals with the *Liber Floridus* is Virginia Tuttle’s 1979 dissertation on the autograph Ghent manuscript, which divides the *Liber Floridus* into twelve thematic groups and argues unsuccessfully that each group corresponds with a section of Beatus of Liébana’s Commentary on the Apocalypse.⁴⁶ Richard Emmerson and Suzanne Lewis also include the copies of the *Liber Floridus* in their “Census and Bibliography” of illustrated Apocalypses, a work which provides a number of invaluable bibliographic references.⁴⁷

An essential publication on the subject of the *Liber Floridus* is the essay by Daniel Verhelst in which he examines eschatological texts found in the Ghent autograph encyclopedia.⁴⁸ These are Adso’s *De ortu et tempore Antichristi* (wrongly attributed by Lambert to Methodius), a brief version of the *Revelationes* by Pseudo-Methodius, the *Quindecim signa ante diem iudicii*, and a list of the ten Sybils. Of primary interest to Verhelst is the way in which Lambert modifies the texts slightly, omitting or summarizing certain information. Lambert’s alterations provide valuable information on the evolution of eschatological ideas and, in the process, reveal Lambert’s views on eschatology and on the role of the Jews in the time of Antichrist.⁴⁹ Another helpful source for medieval eschatology and cosmology is Elizabeth Sears’ publication on medieval conceptions of the life cycle, in which she discusses the schematic diagrams illustrating the ages of man found in the autograph *Liber Floridus* manuscript.⁵⁰

The most recent publication on the *Liber Floridus* is Albert Derolez’ *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, which is a codicological and textual analysis of Lambert’s

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⁴⁹ Eschatology in the *Liber Floridus* is discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Although his focus is on the Ghent autograph, Derolez’ work provides a thorough, page-by-page analysis of the manuscript, bibliographical references, and many important conclusions concerning the underlying organization of Lambert’s encyclopedia.

Cosmological diagrams, such as those contained in the *Liber Floridus*, have received little attention from art historians. Harry Bober’s 1956 article on an illustrated schoolbook of Bede’s *De natura rerum* in the Walters Art Gallery was one of the first to address medieval schematic diagrams. Anna C. Esmeijer examines fourfold diagrams, or quadripartite schemata, in her book *Divina Quaternitas*, using what she terms visual exegesis. This methodology is applied in her study of the themes of paradise, the city, Jerusalem, and the cross, and she discusses the importance of the image as a didactic and mystical aid. Although Esmeijer does not include the *Liber Floridus* in her analysis of diagrams, her book was one of the first examinations of such medieval schemata and her conclusions are often applicable to the diagrams in the *Liber Floridus* manuscripts. Jennifer Feltman draws on Esmeijer and Bober’s work in her article, appearing in *Athanor*, on Walters Art Gallery MS 73. Feltman examines MS W. 73, suggesting that it should not be viewed simply as a schoolbook or a collection of texts, but as a harmonization of discordant parts through scriptural exegesis.

Barbara Obrist’s article on medieval wind diagrams and Bianca Kühnel’s book on quadripartite schemata are two recent works on the subject of medieval cosmology. Kühnel’s book *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* is one of the most recent works on the subject. This book is interesting but often makes unsupported generalizations, and as a whole is not a helpful resource for the study of medieval cosmology.

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51 Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript* (As in note 1).


cosmological diagrams. Additionally, this work focuses on early medieval art before the year 1000 and does not discuss the *Liber Floridus*. Obrist’s article looks at wind diagrams appearing in manuscripts between the seventh and eleventh century in order to determine what such diagrams reveal about medieval ideas of the nature of the universe. Lambert’s autograph manuscript in Ghent features a diagram of winds on fol. 24r that Obrist includes in her study, and her article is a useful general source of information on medieval cosmological illustrations.

The following study focuses on the full series of Apocalypse illustrations in MS lat. 8865, providing an analysis of the images in relation to the rest of the *Liber Floridus*. The goal is to demonstrate the visual and thematic connections between the Apocalypse cycle and the other illustrations in the encyclopedia. The next chapter provides general information about the format and contents of MS lat. 8865 and provides detailed information concerning the illustrated Apocalypse cycle. This chapter introduces the iconography of the cycle, noting traditional and unique scenes and comparing it to contemporary Apocalypse manuscripts. Chapter Three examines the relationship between the MS lat. 8865 Apocalypse cycle and the lost cycle in the Ghent autograph. The iconography of the illustrations of copies of the *Liber Floridus* is discussed, with the conclusion that the MS lat. 8865 Apocalypse cycle is a faithful representation of the original cycle. Chapter Four discusses the contents of the rest of MS lat. 8865 in relationship to the Apocalypse cycle, noting the use of similar pictorial arrangements throughout the manuscript that results in visual and thematic continuity between the different components. This chapter also examines the eschatological contents of the Ghent autograph and MS lat. 8865 and considers the *Liber Floridus* as a “key” to the medieval Apocalyptic imagination. The concluding chapter summarizes the main arguments and discusses the different choices made by the patron of MS lat. 8865 vis-à-vis the selections of Lambert of Saint-Omer. The paper ends with suggestions for avenues of future research.
CHAPTER TWO
THE APOCALYPSE CYCLE IN MS LAT. 8865

MS lat. 8865 was made in the second half of the thirteenth century in northern France or Flanders, and it is known to have belonged to the Chartreuse de Montdieu, in the diocese of Reims, by the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{56} The script is Gothic and is written in black ink on vellum.\textsuperscript{57} The manuscript contains 270 folia and is a combination of two sections. These two sections were produced separately but date to the same period, and they were likely bound together shortly after their production. Although the script in the first section is by a different hand than that of the second, only one hand is responsible for the filigreed initials in both sections. The two sections were bound together certainly by the fourteenth century, when folio numbers were added.\textsuperscript{58} The first 43 folia comprise the first section, divided into six quires of varying lengths, and may have been copied in the diocese of Cambrai, perhaps at Cambron.\textsuperscript{59} The cycle of Apocalypse illustrations begins on fol. 34v and continues to fol. 42v (figs. 1-9), thereby constituting part of the 43 folia added after the rest of the manuscript was bound.

The second section, fols. 44r through 262r, was likely copied at a scriptorium in the county of Hainault or of Flanders.\textsuperscript{60} The texts of this second section are primarily a rearrangement and revision of much of the content of Ghent MS 92 \textit{Liber Floridus}. Fols. 32v through 43r contain texts and images that were originally components of Ghent MS 92 but were lost from the autograph at an unknown date.\textsuperscript{61} Texts on fols. 1r through 31v are unique to the MS


\textsuperscript{57} Delisle, \textit{Notice}, 588.

\textsuperscript{58} The folio numbers in red Arabic numerals were added with a number of errors; as a result, there are four folia labeled “51.” These are now referred to as 51r, 51bis, 51ter, and 51quater. Similarly, there are two folia numbered 65, 88, 203, and 214. \textit{Catalogue Général}, 67-68.

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Ibid}.

\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid}.

\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Catalogue Général}, 67-68.
lat. 8865 copy of the Liber Floridis and were not in the autograph. A number of texts not found in the Ghent autograph are scattered throughout the second section, as well.\textsuperscript{62} Those excerpts and images pertaining to the town of Saint-Omer, such as the image of Saint Audomarus (Ghent MS 92, fol. 6v), or to Lambert himself are excluded in MS lat. 8865.\textsuperscript{63}

In contrast to the Ghent autograph, which contains 64 figural illustrations and 28 schematic diagrams and maps, MS lat. 8865 has 61 figural illustrations and only 14 schematic images.\textsuperscript{64} In addition to these images, a small pen drawing in red and black ink of a winged griffin was added to the lower margin of fol. 62r in MS lat. 8865. Images in the first section (fols. 1r-43v) are painted in a different style than those in the second (44r-262v), but both sections contain large red and blue filigreed initials as well as small initials in red and blue.\textsuperscript{65} Artists used a variety of colors in the painted miniatures and embellished crowns and haloes with the addition of gold leaf; blue, reddish-pink, and green are the dominant colors. George Vitzhum associated the painting style of MS lat. 8865 with the so-called courtly Parisian style popular in

\textsuperscript{62} MS lat. 8865 begins with a text listing characters from the Bible, \textit{De ortu et obitu patrum} (fol. 1r). It is followed by a text concerning the six ages of the world from Creation to Nero (fol. 1v-3r), a short commentary on the Apocalypse (fol. 3v), extracts of writings of Pope Leo, \textit{De dictis sacti Leoni pape} (fol. 3v-31r), and extracts attributed to Augustine (fol. 31v). Other material included in MS lat. 8865 but not associated with the Ghent autograph is a chronological text beginning \textit{Secundum Freculfum, et Eusebii Cronicam et Jheronimi assertionem} (fol. 51v), a chronological text, \textit{Ab Adam secundum Genesim et Affricani supputationem} (fol. 88r), a poem, \textit{Quenam summa boni est}” (fol. 153v), and a chronicle of the kings of France by Andreas of Marchiennes (fol. 161r). Also included is a letter of Blanche of Castille providing news received from Louis IX while he was in Acre in August of 1250 (fol. 188r), a text on the life of Charlemagne composed during the reign of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (fol. 190r-210v), extracts of Einhard’s biography of Charlemagne (210v-212v), a list of Charlemagne’s descendents (fol. 210v), a letter written by Rodolfus in response to Sibert of Saint-Pantaléon in Cologne on the question of the reception of donations for the admission of children into a monastery (fol. 213r-215r), a poem, \textit{Rithmus de diversis statibus mundi} (fol. 215r-215v), and a collection of glosses explaining the mystical applications preachers could use for certain words (fol. 216r). Delise, \textit{Notice}, 729-735; \textit{Catalogue Général}, 57-68; see also Chapter Four of this thesis.

\textsuperscript{63} For example, the illustration of Saint Audomarus (Ghent MS 92, fol. 6v), the patron saint and namesake of the town of Saint-Omer, was omitted by the compiler of MS lat. 8865, as was the illustration of Lambert writing (fol. 13r).

\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus; Catalogue Général}, 57-68.

\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Catalogue Général}, 67-68.
the thirteenth century, noting such features as “S-curves” and broad-angle folds, as well as bold black outlines, large areas of solid colors, and little highlighting or modeling.66 Faces are delicately rendered in black pen lines, and they are painted white with dots of red on the cheeks.

In addition to its significance as the only copy of the *Liber Floridus* to have retained a complete series of Apocalypse images, MS lat. 8865 also contains other excerpts and illustrations that were once in the Ghent autograph but are now lost. These include, among others, an Annunciation illustration (fol. 33r, fig. 10), and a miniature depicting Christ as the Lion of Judah (fol. 43r, fig. 11).67 The Annunciation image on fol. 33r (fig. 10) precedes the Apocalypse cycle (fols. 34v-42v), and the miniature of Christ as the Lion of Judah (fig. 43r, fig. 11) follows the Apocalypse cycle, facing John’s last visions on fol. 42v.

In the image of the Annunciation, the Virgin and Child are seated on an altar-like throne. On the left, the angel Gabriel kneels, holding a scroll in one hand and raising the other to address the Virgin. A hymn on the Assumption of the Virgin is inscribed on a panel within the Annunciation image. Although this illustration resembles a typical Annunciation scene, the Virgin already holds the Christ child on her lap, and the hymn in the painting refers to the Assumption of the Virgin, rather than the Annunciation. In addition to MS lat. 8865, three other copies of the *Liber Floridus* contain this unusual scene of the Virgin and Child and Gabriel, including the twelfth-century copy in Wolfenbüttel. A fourth copy from the mid-fifteenth century does depict the Assumption (Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 724, fol. 9r).68

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66 In 1907, Georg Vitzhum described the style of the MS lat. 8865 illustrations as that of the thirteenth-century courtly Parisian style. Today he remains the only scholar to have addressed the figural style of this manuscript. Georg Graf Vitzhum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa* (Leipzig: Quelle & Mayer, 1907), 113-132. However, more recent scholars have discussed the thirteenth-century Parisian courtly style, but not in connection with MS lat. 8865; see Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).


68 The hymn on the Assumption of the Virgin is the same in each copy containing the Annunciation image. Besides the manuscript in Chantilly, the two other copies containing an Annunciation scene similar to MS lat. 8865 are Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, MS Voss lat. F.31 (fol. 125v) and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 128 C 4 (fol. 22r). See Delisle, *Notice*, 621. For more information on the copies of the *Liber Floridus*, see Appendix A in this thesis.
the Lion of Judah faces the final illustration of the Apocalypse cycle (fig. 11). In this half-page miniature is a lion with a cruciform nimbus holding a scepter topped by a cross. An unpainted rectangular panel contains the words *o de stirpe davitica ortus de tribu juda leo potens surrexisti cum gloria*. Christ’s revelation of the final events of the world is thus framed by an image of the revelation of Christ’s birth to Mary and an image referencing Christ’s lineage from King David. Although the Lion of Judah is lost from all other copies of the *Liber Floridus*, the Annunciation is found in four copies. In each copy, the Annunciation immediately precedes the Apocalypse, but its presence is not announced in the Table of Contents. The Annunciation, Apocalypse, and Lion of Judah thus seem to have been conceived of as a unit along with the Apocalypse cycle, as evidenced by MS lat. 8865. The significance of these two images in relation to the Apocalypse cycle is discussed in Chapter Four.

As mentioned previously, the nine miniatures of the Apocalypse cycle (figs. 1-9) in MS lat. 8865 are the only full-page illustrations in the manuscript (figs. 1-9). Whereas other images in MS lat. 8865 are embedded within the columns of text they illustrate, the Apocalypse cycle does not accompany either the text of the Book of Revelation or a commentary on the Apocalypse. Identifying labels and inscribed phrases from the Book of Revelation do appear within the Apocalypse miniatures, usually in unpainted rectangular panels. Some of these labels are derived from the tradition of medieval exegesis rather than the Apocalypse text itself, such as the identification of the Two Witnesses of Rev. 11 as Enoch and Elijah. Because the series of Apocalypse images does not accompany the biblical text, the producer of MS lat. 8865 seems to assume that the audience is already familiar with the Book of Revelation. The labels included in the miniatures thus help a reader to recognizing figures and scenes with which he or she was already familiar. If the Apocalypse series in MS lat. 8865 is an accurate reflection of the Ghent autograph, as argued in the next chapter, Lambert evidently assumed that his audience would be

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69 For Latin legends in MS lat. 8865, see Appendix B.

70 In addition to the Two Witnesses, the various Beasts of Rev. 13 are labeled as “Antichrist” and “False Prophet” in accordance with traditional exegesis. In contrast, the illustrations are literal depictions of the biblical text – not until later in the tradition of Apocalypse manuscripts would commentary exert a more pronounced influence on the illustrations themselves. On interpretations of the Beasts and the Two Witnesses, see Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981).
familiar with the biblical text when he was compiling his original manuscript. Given the monastic milieu of Lambert’s original and of MS lat. 8865, such an assumption is certainly reasonable.

The nine miniatures of the Apocalypse cycle are rectangular and framed by yellow borders. These miniature are divided into multiple registers in which various figures from the biblical text interact against little setting or background. The painted background of each register alternates between a salmon color and a dark blue, and figures are often small and tightly compressed in order to fit a greater number of scenes into a single miniature. With a few notable exceptions, discussed below, the sequence of events follows the textual order of the Book of Revelation, and the illustrations adhere closely to the literal description given in the text.

The first opening in the MS lat. 8865 Apocalypse cycle, fol. 34v and fol. 35r, illustrates the text of chapters 1 through 8 of the Book of Revelation. Beginning the cycle at the upper left of fol. 34v (fig. 1), in the first of four registers, is a depiction of John holding a book and seated on the Isle of Patmos (Rev. 1:9-11). John appears four times in this register: seated with a book, kneeling, kneeling in an orant position before the Son of Man, and standing and pointing. The second and third registers depict the letters to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor (Rev. 2-3), each represented as a small Gothic-style architectural structure containing an altar; above each church is an angel holding a banderole. The lowest register on this folio contains an image of Christ in Majesty surrounded by the Four Living Creatures (Rev. 4: 6-7), as well as the Lamb with the sealed book and the Lion of Judah (Rev. 5:5-6). On the facing folio (fol. 35r, fig. 2), the 24 Elders of the Apocalypse, holding musical instruments, crowns, or chalices, surround the figures of Christ in Majesty and the Lamb with the book sealed with Seven Seals (Rev. 4-5). The Elders of the Apocalypse are arranged in a grid, and each figure occupies a single compartment.

The miniature on fol. 36v is divided into six registers (fig. 3). In the first two registers are the Four Horsemen who appear when the first four seals are opened (Rev. 6:1-8). The second and third registers on this page contain illustrations of angels restraining the four winds (Rev. 7:1), the opening of the sixth seal and the resulting earthquake (Rev. 6:12-16), angels censing the altar in heaven (Rev. 8: 3-5), and the sounding of the first trumpet, which causes a hail of fire to burn the earth (Rev. 8:7). In the fifth register, an angel sounds the Second Trumpet, causing a

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71 For a list of all the scenes depicted in the Apocalypse cycle and the corresponding biblical passages, see the “Comparison of Scenes” chart in Appendix C of this thesis.
mountain to fall into the sea and part of the waters to become blood (Rev. 8:8-9). An angel sounds the third trumpet in the fifth register, causing a star to fall into the waters and turn them bitter (Rev. 8:10-11). The miniature on the facing folio, fol. 37r, is divided into four registers (fig. 4). In the upper register, an angel sounds the fourth trumpet, turning the sun and moon dark, and the eagle flies through heaven crying “woe” (Rev. 8:12-13). The second register depicts the angel with the fifth trumpet and the appearance of the Locust-Beasts (Rev. 9:1-11). An angel sounding the sixth trumpet leads four angels out of the Euphrates River (Rev. 9:13-15) in the third register, and the army of monstrous horses appears in the fourth register (Rev. 9:3-19).

Fol. 38v (fig. 5) is divided into four registers. In the upper register, John hears seven thunders (Rev. 10:1-6) and is given a book to eat (Rev. 10:8-11). In the next register, John is given a rod to measure the temple of heaven (11:1-2) and the Two Witnesses appear (Rev. 11:3). In the third register, the Witnesses are killed, an earthquake occurs, and the Witnesses ascend to heaven (Rev. 11:3-13). An angel sounding the seventh trumpet appears in the fourth register (Rev. 11:15). Facing this folio, on fol. 39r (fig. 6), is a representation of the Woman clothed with the sun and the seven-headed dragon (Rev. 12:1-5) in the upper of two registers. Below, the archangel Michael battles the dragon and casts him to earth (Rev. 12:7-12).

The miniature on fol. 40v is divided into four registers (fig. 7). In the upper register, the woman flees from the dragon into the desert and the dragon spews out a river of water after her (Rev. 12:6, 3-18). In the second register is a group of people who adore the Beast from the Abyss (Rev. 13:4), and in the third register is a depiction of the Lamb on Mount Sion (Rev. 14:1). John’s vision of the Son of Man holding a sickle and the winepress appear in the fourth register (Rev. 14:14-20). The facing folio, fol. 41r, is divided into three registers (fig. 8). In the uppermost register, six angels empty the contents of the first six vials (Rev. 16:2-12), and in the second register, the Impure Spirits in the shape of frogs emerge from the mouths of the three Beasts (Rev. 16:13-14). The Whore of Babylon seated on the Beast and the ensuing battle in heaven (Rev. 17) is depicted in the third register.

On fol. 42v (fig. 9), the last folio in the Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865, the first of three registers illustrates the Beast and False Prophet chained in the fire (Rev. 19:20) and the Last Judgment (Rev. 20:4-15). In the center register is John’s vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21), and John’s vision of the River of Life (22:2-1) appears in the lower register. The facing folio is the half-page miniature of the aforementioned Lion of Judah.
In terms of iconography, the cycle in MS lat. 8865 contains the scenes that one expects to find in a medieval illustrated Apocalypse: John’s vision of the Son of Man, Christ in Majesty surrounded by the Four Creatures, the Four Horsemen, the sounding of the seven trumpets and the emptying of the seven vials, the Woman clothed with the sun, and Michael defeating the dragon. Such illustrations are common to most illuminated manuscripts and monumental art of the early and high Middle Ages. As all Apocalypse imagery is ultimately based on a single text, this consistency is not surprising.

Although the cycle in MS lat. 8865 is comprised of many typical images, it is also atypical in a number of ways. Certain scenes usually given prominence in depictions of the Apocalypse, such as the Last Judgment, are either deemphasized or omitted altogether. At one point the cycle deviates from the textual sequence, interpolating a later event into an earlier scene. There are also several instances of rare, perhaps unique, iconographic elements and arrangements of figures. Furthermore, the Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865 does not seem to be directly related to any one manuscript or group of manuscripts; instead, it appears to incorporate various elements from several different groups of manuscripts.

Unusual iconographic elements in the MS lat. 8865 Apocalypse cycle include, most notably, a circular representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem on fol. 42v, described by John in Rev. 21 as consisting of twelve precious stones and twelve gates (fig. 9). Representations of the celestial city appeared in monumental art in the Early Christian period and in early Apocalypse manuscripts. Some early images of the heavenly Jerusalem, such as that seen on the mosaic decorating the triumphal arch in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (fig. 13) and in the Trier Apocalypse (Trier, Stadtbibliothek Ms. 31, fol. 69r), depict the city as a three-

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dimensional city of towers and walls (fig. 14). Another manner of portraying the Heavenly Jerusalem is found in some early manuscripts like as the Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg, Staatlichen Bibliothek, codex 140, fol. 55v), which depict the Heavenly Jerusalem as a two-dimensional, diagrammatic circle (fig. 15).

By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a circular representation of the celestial city in Apocalypse manuscripts was less common. Apocalypses produced in France and England in the thirteenth century either do not depict the Heavenly Jerusalem, as in the Lambeth Apocalypse (London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 209), or depict the Heavenly Jerusalem as a three-dimensional city of towers and gates seen from a distance, as in the Paris Apocalypse (Paris, Bibl. nat. MS fr. 403, fol. 41v, fig. 16). In the earlier tradition of the Beatus Apocalypses, primarily limited to Spain, the Heavenly Jerusalem is depicted schematically as a square laid flat.

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75 On the Bamberg Apocalypse, see Henry Mayr-Harting, “Bamberg Apocalypse,” in *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study* (London: Harvey Miller, 1999), 11-24. Circular, diagrammatic T-O maps were used to illustrate the actual city of Jerusalem in manuscripts throughout the medieval period; an early instance is found Adomnan’s account of the pilgrimage taken by Arculf. Adomnan includes many plans of the Holy Sepulchre complex, including the circular Anastasis Rotunda. The Anastasis Rotunda became a symbol of the city itself, as is clear in one of the maps of the Rotunda that Adomnan labeled “the Holy City.” Arculf traveled in the seventh century. Interestingly, his descriptions of the holy places in Jerusalem and the surrounding areas were known to Bede, one of the main sources of excerpts in the *Liber Floridus* manuscripts. Crusader maps of Jerusalem often depicted the city as round, as well. On Adomnan’s account of Arculf’s pilgrimage, see John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977); on illustrations of the Heavenly Jerusalem see Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*; and Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

and seen from above, and it has three gates on each side. For example, in the Morgan Beatus
(New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 644, fol. 222v) from mid-tenth century Spain, the city
is a square of towers and crenellations (fig. 17). Figures of Apostles stand in the twelve gates –
three on each side – of the city. The particular representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem seen in
MS lat. 8865, a series of concentric circles ringed by angels and towers and containing
contiguous round gates with the heads of the Apostles (fig. 9), does not seem to have a clear
parallel in either contemporary Apocalypse illustrations or in earlier representations.

The arrangement of the 24 Elders on fol. 35r in square compartments around Christ and
the Lamb is also unusual (figs. 2, 32). In Ms lat. 8865, each of the 24 Elders of the Apocalypse
from Rev. 2 and 3 is placed in an individual compartment, arranged in a grid around John’s
vision of Christ in Majesty and his vision of the Lamb. A similar grid-like composition is found
in every copy of the Liber Floridus that contains a depiction of the 24 Elders adoring Christ and
the Lamb, but the layout in MS lat. 8865 is more independent than that of the other copies. For
example, Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 1. lat. arranges twelve of the Elders in compartments around
the vision of Christ in Majesty on fol. 10v, and on the facing folio is a similar composition of
twelve Elders adoring the Lamb (fig. 31).

The schematic arrangement of the 24 Elders seen in MS lat. 8865 has few known
parallels in Apocalypse illustration. In most earlier and contemporary depictions of the 24 Elders
adoring Christ, the Elders are grouped around the image of Christ in Majesty, not separated by
individual frames or laid out in a grid. For example, in the twelfth-century Haimo Apocalypse
from Germany (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 352, fol. 6r) Christ, holding the book and
the orb of the world, is surrounded by a group of Elders holding chalices (fig. 18). The Elders are
grouped in a rough circle around Christ and seem to float against the blank background. In the
lavishly decorated Trinity Apocalypse (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 16. 2, fol. 4r)
however, one of the painted miniatures depicts a group of Elders separated into individual
compartments (fig. 19) in a manner similar to the copies of the Liber Floridus.78

77 On Beatus Apocalypses, see Williams, The Illustrated Beatus.

78 The Trinity Apocalypse is itself an unusual manuscript, as it was produced in England in the
mid thirteenth century but the square illustration of the Heavenly Jerusalem indicates an
influence from the Spanish Beatus manuscripts. The illustrations in the Trinity Apocalypse may
be related to the Saint-Sever Apocalypse, a Beatus manuscript from southern France.
Another unusual feature of the MS lat. 8865 Theophany illustration is a Greek and Hebrew inscription, transcribed into a Latin script, written within the panel of the image of Christ enthroned: alpha et omega hel heloy heloe ja sother tetragramaton hely on sabaoth eieie on otheos usion yschirros pantocraton. Although other textual inscriptions in the various Liber Floridus manuscripts remain consistent over several centuries, this invocation does not appear in any of the other copies of the Liber Floridus.

In the Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865, the sequence of illustrations deviates from the order of the prophetic events described in the Book of Revelation. The opening of the fifth seal – which refers to souls of the martyrs beneath the throne of Christ – does not appear on fol. 36v between the illustration of the opening of the first Four Seals (Rev. 6: 1-8) and the opening of the Sixth Seal (Rev. 6: 12-17). Instead, the souls of the martyrs are interpolated into an earlier scene - the image of Christ in Majesty surrounded by the Four Living Creatures, on fol. 34v (fig. 20). In this image, Christ is seated upon a throne, beneath which can be seen several small nude figures pierced by swords. Accompanying these figures are the words anime occisorum sub altare dei and quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum deus noster.

Similarly, the illustration of the angels restraining the four winds from Rev. 7:1 appears between the Four Horsemen of Rev. 6:1-8 and the opening of the sixth seal of Rev. 6:12-16, rather than before the opening of the fifth seal as in the textual sequence.

As mentioned above, the Apocalypse illustrations in the copies of the Liber Floridus are also unusual in that they are not directly related to any one manuscript or interrelated group of manuscripts. Previous scholars such as Peter Klein and Hans Swarzenski have had difficulty situating the Liber Floridus Apocalypse images within the overall tradition of Apocalypse.

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Swarzenski, “Comments on the Figural Illustrations,” 29; McKitterick, The Trinity Apocalypse; Williams, The Illustrated Beatus.

79 Alpha [et] omega (often: beginning and end), sot[h]er (Savior) tetragram[m]aton (“four letters" - or YHWH/ yahweh ), o theos (God), schirros/ischyros (Strong One, used in the trisagion) and pantocraton/pantokrator (Almighty). This is perhaps some kind of “spell” or invocation using all the names of God. Hel and hely are related to El and Elye, and sabaoth is Hebrew for "hosts." I am grateful to Christopher Timm for this information.

80 See Appendix B for a transcription of the Latin legends appearing in the MS lat. 8865 Apocalypse illustrations.
The series of illustrations in MS lat. 8865 and the fragments found in the copies manuscripts exhibit similarities with several manuscripts belonging to different families, but no secure link to one particular group, as if the artist decided to pick and choose elements from different manuscripts belonging to different traditions in order to create his own unique series of Apocalypse images.

Peter Klein, a scholar who has worked extensively on grouping cycles of Apocalypse illustrations according to stemmata and hypothetical archetypes, places the Liber Floridus Apocalypse illustrations in his Family III. Klein’s Family I is comprised of two manuscripts dating from the ninth and tenth century, the Trier Apocalypse and a copy of it from Cambrai (Cambrai, Bibl. municipal ms. 386). Klein proposes a hypothetical sixth-century prototype for the Trier Apocalypse. Family II consists of four manuscripts and two frescoes dating from the ninth to eleventh centuries, including the Bamberg Apocalypse. These illustrations are related by date, a few iconographic similarities, the number of images, and the treatment of text. According to Klein, the illustrations of this group are derived from a hypothetical seventh-century cycle. In addition to the Liber Floridus, Klein’s Family III consists of a large number of manuscripts and wall paintings from the ninth through the twelfth centuries. This group includes, among many others, the Apocalypse images in the Vivien Bible (Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 1) from the

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81 Both Peter Klein and Hans Swarzenski discuss the “Liber Floridus Apocalypse” as one collective entity and rarely distinguish between different copies. Because of the close iconographic similarities between the Apocalypse illustrations in each of the copies (See Chapter Three), this approach is appropriate for their discussions. When they give examples of Apocalypse scenes, both authors typically refer to the copy of the Liber Floridus in Wolfenbüttel, as it is the earliest, but MS lat. 8865 in Paris is the most complete series. Klein, “Les Cycles de l’Apocalypse,” 135-186; Swarzenski, “Comments on the Figural Illustrations,” 23; Klein, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Art,” 159-199.


83 Ibid., 137.

84 Klein proposes a single hypothetical seventh-century source for six series of Apocalypse images: Valenciennes Apocalypse (Valenciennes, Bibl. municipale, ms. 99) from the ninth century, a copy of the Valenciennes manuscript in Paris (Bibl. nat., MS. nouv acq. Lat. 1132), from the tenth century, the Bamberg Apocalypse, a fragmentary Ottonian manuscript in Munich (Staatsbibl., Clm 29 159), frescoes in the baptistery of the Cathedral of Novare dating to c. 1000, and the paintings in the porch of the abbey church of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe in Vienne, France, dating to c. 1100. Ibid., 138-144.
ninth century, the Apocalypse cycle in the eleventh-century Roda Bible from Catalonia, and wall paintings from the Cathedral of Anagni from the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{85} Klein admits that it is difficult to reconstruct a prototype for Family III or even infer its principal elements from the variety of illustrated cycles he includes in this group, but he does propose a potential seventh-century prototype.\textsuperscript{86} There are a few iconographic similarities for the illustrations in Family III, such as the portrayal of the Lamb and the Lion on either side of Christ in Majesty, but the illustrations are not otherwise closely related. The main similarity for the illustration in Family III seems to be that they do not fit in either Family I or Family II. A fourth group is comprised solely of the closely-related Beatus Apocalypses from northern Spain, which Klein suggests derive from a sixth-century Spanish or North African model.\textsuperscript{87} Klein proposes that the prototype manuscript of Family I, Family II, and Family III are ultimately based on a Roman archetype, but given the wide variety of iconographic elements in medieval Apocalypse illustration, such an archetype is difficult to reconstruct.\textsuperscript{88}

According to Klein, “close iconographic parallels” link the Haimo Apocalypse in Oxford, mentioned above in comparison with the Adoration of the 24 Elders in MS lat. 8865, to the \textit{Liber Floridus}.\textsuperscript{89} The Haimo Apocalypse was produced in the twelfth century in Germany, and it contains a series of 68 Apocalypse illustrations on fols. 5r through 13v.\textsuperscript{90} These illustrations are full-page miniatures divided into registers. Inscriptions from the Book of Revelation appear in the borders between the registers. This manuscript contains a series of 68 Apocalypse illustrations on fols. 5r-13v that precede the text of a commentary on the Apocalypse written by the ninth-century exegete, Haimo of Auxerre.\textsuperscript{91}

\textsuperscript{85} Klein, “Les Cycles de l’Apocalypse,” 144-159.

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Ibid.}, 155.

\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Ibid.}, 151.

\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Ibid.}, 160.

\textsuperscript{89} Klein, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Art,” 181.

\textsuperscript{90} Appendix C contains a chart comparing the scenes illustrated in the Haimo Apocalypse with MS lat. 8865 and with other copies of the \textit{Liber Floridus}.

\textsuperscript{91} The Haimo Apocalypse in Oxford also contains texts by Gregory the Great, Bede, and Odo of Cluny. See Emmerson and Lewis, “Census and Bibliography,” \textit{Traditio} 41, 569.
A comparison with the Haimo Apocalypse is particularly important, as Haimo’s commentary was highly influential on medieval exegesis and widely known in monastic centers. Furthermore, this particular series of illustrations accompanying Haimo’s commentary was produced at about the same time Lambert compiled his autograph manuscript. In some aspects, there are similarities between the Haimo Apocalypse images and the MS lat. 8865 cycle. Both cycles are comprised of full-page miniatures that are fully painted and divided into multiple registers, both cycles include around sixty scenes, and both include inscriptions from the Book of Revelation either in or around the illustrations. In addition, both manuscripts include a number of the same scenes. The manner of the depicting these scenes, however, is not as closely related as has been asserted previously.

A comparison of MS lat. 8865 with the Haimo Apocalypse reveals that, although the two manuscripts have certain features in common, the two manuscripts are not closely related in terms of iconography. Klein notes that in the Haimo Apocalypse and the Liber Floridus, the Lion and the Lamb are similarly arranged around the throne of Christ in the illustration of the enthroned Son of Man holding the sealed book, from Rev. 4:8-5:13. In the Haimo Apocalypse, this illustration on fol. 6r depicts Christ enthroned at the center of a group of haloed figures who hold chalices, as well as the Lion and the Lamb (fig. 18). The Four Living Creatures appear in each of the four corners, and one winged angel points toward Christ. In MS lat. 8865, this scene is greatly reduced. Christ is enthroned in a mandorla at the center of the bottom register on fol. 34v (fig. 20). In each corner is one of the Four Living creatures, although in a different order than the Haimo Apocalypse. The Lamb appears on Christ’s right and the Lion on Christ’s left, as in the Haimo manuscript, but these two figures, as well as the Four Living Creatures, are presented in roundels arranged around the enthroned Christ. This image does not depict any of the Elders of the Apocalypse, as in the Haimo Apocalypse, as the adoration of the elders is represented on fol. 35r in MS lat. 8865. In MS lat. 8865, this scene is evidently combined with a later event, the opening of the fifth seal, as three nude figures appear pierced with weapons beneath the throne of Christ. There are no souls under the altar in the Haimo illustration, nor

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does John appear. If the artist of the Haimo Apocalypse intended one of the many figures surrounding Christ to represent John, none of the figures is designated as such. In contrast, the enthroned Christ in MS lat. 8865 is flanked by two figures of John, one holding a book and the other holding a book and pointing at a panel of text.

Another comparison of scenes appearing in both the Haimo Apocalypse and in MS lat. 8865 is John’s vision of the Son of Man (Rev. 1:12-20). In the Haimo Apocalypse, this scene is represented on fol. 5r by a figure of Christ, swords protruding from his mouth, holding a book in his left hand, and standing amid seven candlesticks (fig. 21). At his feet kneels the figure of John, while above John and on Christ’s right are seven stars and two keys. From his prostrate position, John directs his attention to Christ, who is frontally positioned and looks out at the viewer with wide, staring eyes. One hand holds a book, but with the other, he reaches down and just barely touches the top of John’s head with his hand. To the right of this scene is another illustration of John, seated on a throne-like chair and writing in a book placed on a lectern before him. In the arrangement of figures, gestures, and symbols, this image in the Haimo Apocalypse is close to the MS lat. 8865 (fig. 22). There are minor differences, such as the keys that float against the background in the Haimo Apocalypse but are held by Christ in MS lat. 8865, and Christ responds to John’s presence by inclining his head and raising his right hand in a gesture of blessing in MS lat. 8865. The sword is not in Christ’s mouth in MS lat. 8865, but clearly behind his head.

Other scenes appearing in both the Haimo Apocalypse and MS lat. 8865 that share the same very general iconography include the Four Horsemen (Haimo fol. 6v, lat. 8865 fol. 36v), the battle between the archangel Michael and the Dragon (Haimo fol. 9r, MS lat. 8865 39r), the Theophany (Haimo fol. 5v, MS lat. 8865 fol. 35r), the death, resurrection and ascension of the Two Witnesses (Haimo fol. 8v, MS lat. 8865 fol. 38v), and angels censing the altar (Haimo fol. 7v, MS lat. 8865 fol. 36v).

A closer examination of scenes common to the Haimo Apocalypse and MS lat. 8865 reveals that, despite some similarities in date of production, choice and number of scenes, layout, and certain iconographic elements, the two manuscripts have more differences than they do similarities. For example, the Haimo Apocalypse omits certain scenes that are emphasized in lat. 8865, such as the Heavenly Jerusalem that appears at the center of the last illustration in MS lat. 8865. MS lat. 8865 contains illustrations of the action that follows each time an angel pours out a
vial (fig. 8), whereas the Haimo Apocalypse only depicts the moment when the seven angels are given the vials.

In the Haimo Apocalypse, prominence is given to a number of events that are either omitted or barely indicated in MS lat. 8865. A significant example is the depiction of the Resurrection of the Dead on fol. 12r (fig. 23) in the Haimo manuscript. The miniature on this page illustrates Satan being chained in Hell in the top register, and the lower three registers are devoted to depicting the naked souls rising from the earth, receiving clothes, and then seated in heaven. This theme of the Resurrection that takes up three-quarters of one miniature in the Haimo Apocalypse is omitted entirely from MS lat. 8865.

Likewise, the scene of the Last Judgment fills the entire page on fol. 12v in the Haimo Apocalypse (fig. 24), but this scene is relegated to a small compartment in the upper register of fol. 42v in MS lat. 8865 and combined with a representation of angels chaining the Beasts (fig. 9). In MS lat. 8865, the small figure of Christ in a mandorla holding a book is seated between a group of five figures on his right and a group of four figures, on his left. The five figures on Christ’s right have haloes, indicating that they are among the saved, while the four figures on the other side do not, indicating that they are damned. In contrast to this highly abbreviated scene, the Last Judgment in the Haimo Apocalypse depicts Christ in a mandorla surrounded by angels in the top register, and in the register below, a large number of haloed figures on the left and an illustration of the damned being cast into a pit by demons. A significant difference between the two Last Judgment scenes is that Christ in the Haimo Apocalypse is shown with a large cross and he displays his wounds.

Other scenes included in the Haimo Apocalypse but omitted in MS lat. 8865 include the mighty angel and the adoration of the 144,000 (Rev. 7:1-17), the fall of Babylon (Rev. 18:1-20), the saints glorifying God (Rev. 19:1-5), the armies of heaven (19:11-16), and the birds that eat the bodies of the fallen (Rev. 19:17-18). In addition, the Haimo Apocalypse depicts the contents of each of John’s seven letters to the churches of Asia Minor, while MS lat. 8865 reduces Rev. 2-3 to seven illustrations of churches and figures of angels above each structure.

In his discussion of the style of figural illustrations in the autograph Liber Floridus, Hans Swarzenski notes that the Liber Floridus Apocalypse shares certain iconographic elements with
the Trinity Apocalypse of the mid-thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{94} Comparing the \textit{Liber Floridus} and the Trinity Apocalypse, he notes that both manuscripts arrange scenes in continuing strips and both blend depictions of the letters to the Seven Churches with the Vision of Christ. He also notices similarities in the illustration of the Beast Ascending from the Bottomless Pit in MS lat. 8865 (fig. 25) and the Trinity Apocalypse (fig. 26), as well as in the scene of the angels restraining the four winds.\textsuperscript{95}

There are several other additional correlations between the Trinity Apocalypse and the \textit{Liber Floridus}, however, which were not mentioned by Swarzenski. Most notably, the unusual grid-like arrangement of the 24 Elders around Christ and the Lamb on fol. 35r in MS lat. 8865 (fig. 2) is similar to the corresponding image in the Trinity Apocalypse (fig. 19). In the Trinity Apocalypse, the Elders are grouped around Christ in a mandorla against alternating squares of background color, forming a grid. In fact there seems to be more than one indication of a connection between the \textit{Liber Floridus} and the English tradition of Apocalypse illustration. In MS lat. 8865, each of the 24 Elders is accompanied by two names. These names are those of the 24 Priests of I Chronicles 24:7-18, which are equated with the names of the twelve Worthies of the Old Testament and the Twelve Apostles. Swarzenski notes that this “rare list of names” appears much earlier in the \textit{Textus Roffensis} of Rochester.\textsuperscript{96} A comparison of illustrations in the Trinity Apocalypse with the series of miniatures in MS lat. 8865 thus reveals that Swarzenski’s statement that the Trinity Apocalypse “seems to offer a somewhat greater number of similarities with the Lambert cycle than any other known early book illustration Revelation” is plausible.\textsuperscript{97}

\textsuperscript{94} Swarzenski, “Comments on the Figural Illustrations,” 29-30.

\textsuperscript{95} Swarzenski, “Comments on the Figural Illustrations,” 29.

\textsuperscript{96} \textit{Ibid}.

\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Ibid}. Swarzenski also identifies Italian and Insular influences in the \textit{Liber Floridus}, and proposes that the Apocalypse cycle could be a reflection of the now lost sixth-century Wearmouth-Jarrow Apocalypse paintings, which were copied from an Italian source onto the walls of an English church. It does seem likely that the Liber Floridus combines influences from England and the Insular tradition with Spanish and Italian influences, as well as local Flemish and French traditions.
In summary, the iconography of the Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865 contains a number of scenes traditionally found in Apocalypse illustrations, such as John’s vision of the Son of Man, the adoration of the 24 Elders, the Lamb on Mount Sion, the Four Living Creatures, the Seven Angels with Trumpets, and the Seven Candlesticks. The Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865 fits into the very broad Family III identified by Peter Klein, but the Liber Floridus contains a number of unusual iconographic elements, such as the circular schematic image of the Heavenly Jerusalem, a highly abbreviated Judgment scene, a grid-like arrangement of the 24 Elders, and a blending of Christ in Majesty surrounded by the Four Creatures with the opening of the fifth seal and the souls under the altar. A comparison of MS lat. 8865 with the Haimo Apocalypse and with the Trinity Apocalypse reveals certain similarities in composition and iconography, but no extant manuscript or monumental painting can be directly related to the Liber Floridus cycle. Interestingly, the Liber Floridus Apocalypse cycle has been linked to the sculpted Apocalypse portal of the thirteenth century at Reims Cathedral, and it seems likely that MS lat. 8865 or another copy of the Liber Floridus might have been one of the sources of inspiration for this portal’s program. Aside from this connection to the Reims portal sculpture, and despite certain similarities with the Haimo Apocalypse and the Trinity Apocalypse, the Liber Floridus is unique in the medieval tradition of Apocalypse illustration.

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CHAPTER THREE
MS LAT. 8865 IN RELATION TO GHENT 92

A comparison of the Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865 with the remaining Apocalypse illustrations in other copies of the Liber Floridus reveals that the iconography in the copies remained highly consistent over a period of four centuries, despite changes in layout and figural style. The copy of the Liber Floridus in Wolfenbüttel, produced in the second half of the twelfth century in Flanders, is the earliest known copy of Lambert’s autograph manuscript (hereafter Wolfenbüttel). This manuscript has retained part of the Apocalypse cycle, beginning on fol. 9v with a representation of John on the Isle of Patmos (Rev. 1:9-11) and continuing to fol. 15v, with a depiction of the Adoration of the Beast (Rev. 13:4). A copy of the Liber Floridus from France and dating to the fifteenth century (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 72 A 23, hereafter KB 72 A 23) also retains seven miniatures illustrating the Apocalypse. A French prose copy made in Flanders in 1512 is the latest known copy of the Liber Floridus (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 128 C 4, hereafter KB 128 C 4). Like the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, it contains illustrations of Rev. 1 through Rev. 13. Images in these two manuscripts in The Hague are very similar in layout to the much earlier Wolfenbüttel manuscript, but all the copies of the Liber Floridus are closely related in iconography. Additionally, the same textual inscriptions in the Apocalypse miniatures in every copy appear in similar locations in relation to the figures.

MS lat. 8865 is the most independent in layout of the Liber Floridus copies. Up to the illustration of the Adoration of the Beast on fol. 15v, the last remaining illustration in the

100 See Appendix A.

101 Delisle, Notice sur les Manuscrits du Liber Floridus, 593-600; Derolez, The Autograph Manuscript of Liber Floridus, 186.

102 Illustrations of Rev. 14 through Rev. 22 have been lost from the Wolfenbüttel manuscript. Ibid; see also Appendix A in this thesis.

103 As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Greek invocation of God is not found in other copies of the Liber Floridus, and is unique to MS lat. 8865; see note 80.
Wolfenbüttel manuscript, MS lat. 8865 and Wolfenbüttel contain the same number of scenes; however, the illustrations in Wolfenbüttel are larger and are spread out over a greater number of folia. By contrast, in MS lat. 8865, the illustrations tend to be compressed. The figures are reduced in size so that more scenes are combined onto a single page than in Wolfenbüttel. This compression can be seen throughout the manuscript, not just the Apocalypse cycle, and it is particularly noticeable when MS lat. 8865 is compared with the autograph Ghent manuscript. As the manuscript closest in date to Ghent MS 92, the Wolfenbüttel copy is stylistically closer to the autograph, and it is significant that the Wolfenbüttel manuscript follows the original closely in the format of the non-Apocalypse illustrations common to both manuscripts.

Miniatures in the Wolfenbüttel Liber Floridus are full-page illustrations, with bold outlines and several colors of paint, primarily red, blue, green, black, and brown. Most of the images are pen drawings in different colors with an ink wash in an abstract, linear style; areas are left blank against the vellum to create highlights. Like MS lat. 8865, the Apocalypse illustrations are presented in multiple registers. The Latin copy in The Hague, KB 72 A 23, contains colored drawings in an elegant fifteenth-century style, and the French prose copy, KB 128 C 4, contains pen drawings in a similar style.¹⁰⁴

The first page of the Wolfenbüttel Apocalypse cycle, fol. 9v, is divided into three registers, whereas the first miniature in MS lat. 8865 is divided into four (fig. 1). The topmost register in each manuscript presents the same events in a similar manner with only a few minor changes. In the upper register of both Wolfenbüttel (fig. 27) and MS lat. 8865 (fig. 28), a tree sprouts from a pile of rocks labeled patmos insula. A nimbed Saint John is seated on the Isle of Patmos, holding a book in his left hand and looking at the figure of the Son of Man in the center of the register. In both illustrations, the Son of Man has a cruciform nimbus, a sword is depicted behind his head, and he holds keys in his left hand while gesturing with his right. He stands among the Seven Candlesticks and at his feet lies another figure of John, which closely represents John’s biblical text, “And when I had seen him, I fell at his feet as dead” (Rev. 1:17). Seven red stars float above the candlesticks to the right of Christ. To the left of the Son of Man in MS lat. 8865 and in Wolfenbüttel is another figure of John, who kneels in prayer and faces Christ. A fourth figure of John, looking up at an angel, appears on the right side of the register.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix A.
This angel seems to swoop down from heaven in both illustrations, and he holds a scroll in one hand and points at John with the other hand. In the upper right corner of the two scenes a segment of a circle is depicted divided by a wavy band of clouds to indicate a heavenly realm. The main components of Rev. 1 are thus presented in a highly similar manner in both Wolfenbüttel and MS lat. 8865. Similar depictions of John on the Isle of Patmos, the Son of Man, and of John and the angel appear in the two manuscripts in The Hague (fig. 29-30).

Although the most significant elements of the biblical text are identical, a closer examination of this image reveals a few minor differences between the two manuscripts. For example, John holds a blank, open book in his left hand and writes in it with a pen in the Wolfenbüttel illustration (fig. 27), but in MS lat. 8865 (fig. 28) his hand is empty and he seems to return the gesture made by the Son of Man. Such minor differences do not affect the meaning of the scene, but these minor details remained consistent in most other copies of the Liber Floridus, such as the two copies in The Hague (figs. 29-30). Like the copy in Wolfenbüttel, the two manuscripts in The Hague depict John writing in his book rather than gesturing. Despite changes in style and medium, the two manuscripts in The Hague conform almost exactly to the Wolfenbüttel depiction.

The artist of MS lat. 8865 seems to have felt less tied to his model, as is evident in the treatment of hand gestures in the scene of John’s vision of the Son of Man on fol. 34v. In the two Hague copies (figs. 29-30) and Wolfenbüttel (fig. 27), Christ is frontally positioned and extends his arms away from his body. John, seated on Patmos, holds his book in one hand and writes with the other. In contrast, the Son of Man turns to acknowledge John’s presence in MS lat. 8865 (fig. 28). The artist changed the representation of John so that instead of holding the book in one hand and writing with the other, John instead holds the book and raises his other hand to mirror the gesture made by Christ. John in MS lat. 8865 is therefore a more dynamic figure who visibly reacts to and interacts with the figures from his visions.105

A more noticeable difference between John’s vision of the Son of Man in Wolfenbüttel and MS lat. 8865 is the celestial area in the upper right-hand corner, which in Wolfenbüttel contains an open book, but in MS lat. 8865 contains an open door (figs. 27-28). According to

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Rev. 4:1, John sees a door opened in heaven, and a voice invites him to “come up hither” in order to show him “the things which must be done hereafter.” The two copies of the *Liber Floridus* in The Hague (figs. 33-34) also represent a book in heaven, rather than a door. The creator of the MS lat. 8865 illustration thus may have misunderstood the image in the model and so drew a door rather than a book. On the other hand, traditional understandings of the book (both John’s Book of Revelation and the book of the Bible) as Christ, Christ as the Word (Logos), and Christ as a door could account for the discrepancy. It appears that the original Ghent Apocalypse cycle featured a book and not a door, but the artist creating MS lat. 8865 altered this element. This is one of the very few instances where the illustrations in Wolfenbüttel and MS lat. 8865 differ, however, and otherwise the images are highly consistent and literal representations of the events described in the text of the Apocalypse. It is unlikely that someone wishing to alter the illustrations in accordance with theological interpretation would change only one image in the entire cycle; therefore, this difference must be the result of a misunderstanding on the part of the copyist.

A comparison of the scenes represented on fols. 10r and 10v in the Wolfenbüttel *Liber Floridus* with the corresponding illustration in MS lat. 8865 demonstrates the way MS lat. 8865 compresses scenes (figs. 31-32). In Wolfenbüttel, fol. 10v represents Christ enthroned, surrounded by twelve figures arranged around him and confined to square compartments. On the facing page, twelve figures are similarly arranged around the central figure of the Lamb holding the book with the seven seals. Like the twelve figures surrounding Christ on fol. 10v, the male figures on 11r hold musical instruments and chalices. Each figure is accompanied by two names. These names are those of the 24 Priests of I Chronicles 24:7-18, which are equated with the names of the twelve Worthies of the Old Testament and the Twelve Apostles. Taken together, this opening represents the 24 Elders of the Apocalypse and the labels provide a theological interpretation of the Elders. The illustration of the 24 Elders that is spread over two folia in the

106 On this crucial scene in depictions of John as a visionary, see Emmerson, “Visualizing the Visionary,” 148-176.

107 The Gospel of John opens with the line “In the beginning was the Word: and the Word was with God: and the Word was God” (John 1:1). In this same gospel, Christ states, “I am the door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved” (John 10: 9).

Wolfenbüttel manuscript is combined into one image in MS lat. 8865, although the iconography remains the same. The two copies in The Hague also depict the 24 Elders in this manner, but the image spans two folia, as in Wolfenbüttel.

Scenes that span two folia in the Wolfenbüttel copy of the *Liber Floridus* (fig. 33) are also combined on fol. 36v in MS lat. 8865 (fig. 3). The image in MS lat. 8865 combines representations of the Four Horsemen, angels restraining the winds, the opening of the sixth seal, angels censing the altar, and the first three trumpets into one miniature, which is divided into six registers. In Wolfenbüttel, the Four Horsemen, the angels with the winds, the sixth seal, and the angels censing the altar appear on fol. 11v, while the angels who sound the first three trumpets appear in separate registers on fol. 12r.

A comparison of non-Apocalypse illustrations common to MS lat. 8865, the Wolfenbüttel copy and the Ghent autograph further demonstrates the tendency to reduce images in size and to combine multiple illustrations in MS lat. 8865. For example, the illustration of a lion and a porcupine on fol. 37v in Wolfenbüttel and on fol. 56v in the Ghent autograph are full-page framed illustrations. In MS lat. 8865, this same depiction of a lion and porcupine is reduced in size and inserted into the columns of a text on fol. 62v. Not only is the illustration inserted into a text rather than appearing alone as a full-page illustration, this same folio also features another illustration, a map of the world. This same map of the world appears in the Wolfenbüttel *Liber Floridus*, where it spans the opening of fols. 69v-70r. In this instance, MS lat. 8865 combines what spans at least four separate folia in other manuscripts of the *Liber Floridus* onto a single page – the text, the illustration of a lion and porcupine, and a two-page mappamundi.

Another image that demonstrates iconographic consistency in non-Apocalypse images not in the Apocalypse cycle is the illustration of Alexander the Great riding his horse Bucephalus on fol. 153v in Ghent MS 92 (fig. 34). This image accompanies several different texts all dealing with the legendary Greek conqueror. A similar depiction of Alexander the Great on Bucephalus is found on Wolfenbüttel fol. 88r (fig. 35) and MS lat. 8865 on fol. 71v (fig. 36). In Wolfenbüttel and Ghent MS 92, illustrations like that of Alexander and Bucephalus are full-page paintings, given prominence by isolating them from the textual excerpts. As is typical in MS lat. 8865, the illustration of Alexander is reduced in size and inserted into the columns of text and the

109 *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus*. 35
figures in this image also appear livelier than in other copies. Bucephalus appears to be running quickly and Alexander leans forward in his saddle, increasing the sense of motion. The entire composition is diagonally oriented, rather than vertical, and Alexander holds a spear instead of the sword that he wields in Wolfenbüttel and Ghent MS 92.

This comparison of Apocalypse illustrations common to Wolfenbüttel, MS lat. 8865, and the two manuscripts in The Hague demonstrates that the iconography remained highly consistent in every copy of the Liber Floridus, although the format and division of scenes in MS lat. 8865 is more independent than other copies. Such consistency is also evident in non-Apocalypse images, such as the depiction of Alexander the Great in MS Ghent 92 that was faithfully copied in Wolfenbüttel and MS lat. 8865. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that the complete Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865 is a complete and accurate copy of the cycle originally appearing in the autograph Liber Floridus. As such, it is extremely valuable in that it fills in the lacunae of the Wolfenbüttel and Hague manuscripts.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE APOCALYPSE CYCLE IN CONTEXT

An examination of the physical placement of the Apocalypse cycle within the manuscript and a consideration of the relationship between the Apocalypse cycle and other illustrations, diagrams, and texts included in MS lat. 8865 reveals an underlying connection between eschatology and cosmology throughout the manuscript. A series of cosmological texts and diagrams in MS lat. 8865 feature similar pictorial conventions as several elements of the Apocalypse cycle, which creates a visual and thematic connection between the two sections of the manuscript. The Apocalypse cycle is preceded by an image of the Annunciation to the Virgin and is immediately followed by a depiction of the Lion of Judah. These images of the Annunciation and the Lion of Judah also visually reinforce themes found within the Apocalypse cycle and thus allow for a deeper spiritual interpretation of the illustrations of the Apocalypse.

Other didactic encyclopedias compiled in the Middle Ages, such as the *Hortus deliciarum*, also emphasize eschatological themes. The close connection between eschatology and cosmology in the *Liber Floridus* and other medieval compilations is indicative of what Richard Emmerson and Bernard McGinn have termed the “Apocalyptic imagination.”\(^{110}\)

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the unusual miniature of the Annunciation on fol. 33r (fig. 10) that precedes the Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865 is accompanied by a hymn on the Assumption of the Virgin. Similar miniatures depicting the Annunciation are found in other copies of the *Liber Floridus*, such as the copy in Wolfenbüttel (fig. 12) and the two copies in The Hague.\(^{111}\) The consistent iconography of this image and its placement before the Apocalypse cycle in many copies suggests that such an Annunciation scene originally preceded the Apocalypse in Ghent MS 92.

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\(^{111}\) Delisle, *Notice*, 621.
In the Annunciation image, the angel Gabriel kneels before the Virgin, who already holds the Christ child on her lap. The Virgin and Child in the Annunciation image (fig. 37) resembles the representation of the Woman Clothed with the Sun of Rev. 12:1-4, depicted on fol. 39r in MS lat. 8865 (fig. 38). This woman, who gives birth to a male child and is persecuted by the Seven-Headed Dragon, was interpreted in the Middle Ages as the Virgin Mary. Her son, who is taken up into heaven in order to be safe from the Dragon, represents Christ. The women in the Annunciation scene and the Apocalypse scene are dressed and seated in a similar manner; both hold the child with one arm and gesture with the other. The child in the Annunciation on fol. 33r also wears nearly identical garments and has the same features as the child on 39r. This visual connection between the Virgin and Child and the Woman Clothed in the Sun reinforces the interpretive connection between the two figures.

In a similar manner, the illustration of Christ as the Lion of Judah visually reinforces elements of the Apocalypse cycle. This image of the Lion of Judah with a cruciform nimbus on fol. 43r (fig. 11) gives pictorial expression to Christ’s royal ancestry, as described in the Bible. The lion holds a scepter topped by a cross, and in a rectangular panel above is the inscription o de stirpe davitica ortus de tribu juda leo potens surrexisti cum gloria. It is written in the New Testament that through his mother, Mary, Christ was descended from the Old Testament King David of Judah and ultimately from Jesse. In the book of Revelation, when no one is found worthy to open the Book with Seven Seals in Rev. 5:1-4, John begins to weep. One of the Elders

112 Catalogue Général, 57-68; Delisle, Notice, 621.

113 The Apocalypse cycle in this copy of the Liber Floridus is not the only Apocalypse to combine the Book of Revelation with the life of Christ. For example, the Cloisters Apocalypse (New York, The Cloisters Museum 68.174), created in 1330 in Normandy, contains a series of illustrations illustrating the early life of Christ. Similarly, the Gerona Apocalypse (Gerona, Museu de la Catedral Num. Inv. 7(11)), one of the Beatus Apocalypses from Spain, includes a full-page miniature depicting scenes from the Life of Christ. On the Cloisters Apocalypse, see Florens Deuchler, Helmut Nickel, and Joffrey Hoffeld, The Cloisters Apocalypse (New York, Metropolitan Musem of Art, 1971); on the Gerona Apocalypse, see Mireille Mentre, The Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996).

114 Transcriptions of Latin legends, along with photographs of the illustrations in MS lat. 8865, are now available through Mandragore, the digital database of the Bibliothèque nationale: http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp; see also Appendix B.

115 Matthew 1: 1-17.
then tells John not to weep, for “behold the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book and to loose the seven seals thereof” (Rev. 5:5). In the Apocalypse cycle, the Lion of Judah and the Lamb, both representing Christ, are depicted on fol. 34v (fig. 20). By incorporating the Lion of Judah as a symbol of Christ at the end of the Apocalypse cycle, the *Liber Floridus* reflects the traditional interpretation of the Son of Man and the Lion of Judah as Christ and reiterates the biblical text of Rev. 5.

The use of similar pictorial elements to make or reinforce thematic connections is also evident elsewhere in the manuscript, notably between the Celestial Jerusalem in the Apocalypse cycle and the round, schematic diagrams accompanying cosmological texts. Circular diagrams were popularized by Isidore of Seville, who made use of them in his *De natura rerum*, a handbook of natural history with Christian allegorical elements composed in the seventh century. Isidore was one of the most influential early Christian authors, and his work served as a source and a model for authors like Lambert of Saint-Omer, who included many excerpts and diagrams from Isidore’s writings.116 These diagrams had an explicit didactic function, presenting ordered and systematized information in a clear pictorial format that indicated to the viewer the connections between different elements of the diagrams and served as mnemonic devices.117 In his autograph, Lambert also included extracts and diagrams of another early writer, the Venerable Bede, who discussed cosmological and astronomical phenomena and wrote extensively on the significance of the number four.118

Early medieval writers like Isidore and Bede inherited fourfold, or tetradic, systems of explaining the universe and understanding human existence from Classical antiquity, and they appropriated these ancient ideas for use in explicating Christian ideas. The universe was thought to be made up of four seasons, elements, humors, and ages of man existing in harmony. Christian authors added to these tetrads the four evangelists and the four rivers of Paradise, and they adapted quadripartite schema to express the harmony between the elements of the natural world


118 *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus*, XIX-XLI.
and scripture.\textsuperscript{119} In his handbook, Isidore was also interested in cosmic harmony, and many of his circular diagrams, illustrate his concept of \textit{syzgy}, or “interconnection of the elements.”\textsuperscript{120}

Lambert’s autograph manuscript in Ghent contains 28 non-figural schematic diagrams and maps illustrating ancient and medieval cosmological texts. By contrast, only twelve schematic diagrams and two maps are found in MS lat. 8865. Eight of these diagrams are grouped together and are in close proximity to the Apocalypse cycle, and each one is a copy of diagrams found in Lambert’s autograph manuscript in Ghent.\textsuperscript{121} These cosmological schema provide information about the natural world and the cosmos, and most of these diagrams accompany texts about the natural world written by Isidore of Seville, Bede, and Methodius. The text \textit{De circulo superioris caeli} precedes the Annunciation image and the Apocalypse cycle, and a text called \textit{Genealogia mundi} illustrated by an image of Augustus follows the cycle and the representation of the Lion of Judah in the manuscript.\textsuperscript{122}

Diagrams and cosmological schema in MS lat. 8865 include an image of Christ in Majesty among the four elements on fol. 54r (fig. 39), a table on fol. 55v that illustrates the relationship between the sun, the moon, and the earth, based on Macrobius (fig. 40), and a map of the world with indications of the different terrestrial zones on fol. 56r.\textsuperscript{123} Two schema appear on fol. 56v (fig. 41), one based on Macrobius representing the phases of the moon and the


\textsuperscript{120} Sears, \textit{Ages of Man}, 17.


\textsuperscript{122} In the autograph manuscript of the \textit{Liber Floridus} in Ghent, the Table of Contents lists the \textit{Apocalypsis depictus} between \textit{De circulo superioris caeli} and \textit{Sperae due ventorum et zonarum}. The text of the \textit{Geanealogia mundi}, also accompanied by an image of Augustus, is present in Ghent MS 92, but \textit{De circulo suprioris caeli} is now lost. Delisle, \textit{Notice}, 653-656.

\textsuperscript{123} The diagram on fol. 54r is found on fol. 88r in Ghent MS 92, the diagram on fol. 55v corresponds to that represented on fol. 92r in the Ghent autograph, and the map on fol. 56r corresponds to Ghent MS 92 fol. 92v. \textit{Ibid}.
planets, and another drawn from Bede that illustrates the constellations of the northern sky. A circular schema indicating the orbits of the planets, drawn again from Bede, is depicted on fol. 57r, along with illustrations of constellations accompanying an astronomical text. Another image of Christ in Majesty accompanies a diagram of the thunders on fol. 59r. A circular diagram indicating the five zones of the world and a diagram depicting a scale of musical tones, both based on the work of Plato, appear on fols. 60r and 60v, respectively. Therefore, in what can be considered a “cosmological cycle,” placed in close physical proximity to the Apocalypse cycle, eight circular schematic diagrams illustrate information about the natural world. The heavenly and celestial realms are depicted as existing in harmony with one another and with scripture. Three other schematic illustrations in MS lat. 8865 are concerned with morality and are represented as tree diagrams. A diagram on fol. 127r represents levels of consanguinity, and a similar tree found on fol. 127v depicts degrees of kinship. A palm tree on fol. 142v illustrates the Virtues.

On fol. 54r in MS lat. 8865, an image of Christ in Majesty is depicted among the four elements (fig. 39). This illustration is noteworthy due to the inscription accompanying Christ in Majesty, which states that the Lamb is worthy to open the book of the Seven Seals. This illustration is included in the autograph manuscript (fig. 42), and Albert Derolez has suggested that Lambert began to draw on this folio one of the images from the Apocalypse cycle, the Son of Man surrounded by the Four Living Creatures, but he stopped and reused the folio for an

124 Delisle, Notice, 656. These two illustrations appear on fol. 93v and fol. 94r in Ghent MS 92.

125 Ibid. The corresponding diagram is on fol. 94v in the Ghent autograph.

126 Ibid. This illustration has been lost from the original manuscript in Ghent.

127 Ibid., 702. These diagrams are found on fols. 221v and 222r of the Ghent autograph.

128 Ibid., 666. These two tree diagrams correspond to those depicted on fols. 102v and 103r in the Ghent autograph.


130 This diagram is found on fol. 88r in Ghent 92. Delisle, Notice, 653.
illustration of the harmony of the elements. The image of Christ among the four elements appearing on fol. 54r in MS lat. 8865 indicates the importance in the medieval period of quadripartite systems of information and tetradic diagrams demonstrating the harmony between scripture and the cosmos. With the reference to the Lamb who is worthy to open the Book of Seven Seals, described in Rev. 4: 6-9, this diagram is evidence for a connection between cosmology and eschatology in the Liber Floridus.

The circular depiction of the Heavenly Jerusalem on fol. 42v (fig. 9) is a clear example of the influence of rotae and diagrams on the Apocalypse cycle, but the grid-like layout of the Theophany on fol. 35r (fig. 2) also resembles some of the scientific and astronomical components found in the Liber Floridus, such as the constellations on fol. 88v in the Ghent autograph (fig. 43) and even the calendar and computistical tables in the Ghent autograph. As noted in Chapter Three, the producer of MS lat. 8865 altered the layout of the Apocalypse cycle, combining the opening depicting Christ in Majesty and the Lamb with the Book into one full-page miniature. The format was knowingly changed, most likely as a space-and resource-saving expedient, but as a result, a strong visual connection exists between the grid-like Theophany in the Apocalypse section and schematic layouts in the Ghent manuscript and elsewhere in MS lat. 8865.

A comparison of the illustration of the Celestial Jerusalem on fol. 42v (fig. 9) in the Apocalypse cycle with the circular diagrams, or rotae, in the cosmological cycle demonstrates most clearly the connection between these two sections. In the Book of Revelation, John sees “a new heaven and a new earth” coming down out of heaven from God, and he describes this New Jerusalem as “prepared as a bride adorned for her husband” (Rev. 21: 2). The city is surrounded by a great wall having twelve gates, and “in the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel” (Rev. 21: 12). John describes the city as a square, and to demonstrate that the length is as great as the breadth, an angel with a golden reed measures the city (Rev. 21: 16-17). According to John, the heavenly city is comprised of twelve precious stones, each of the four walls of the city has three gates, and the foundations of the wall have the twelve names of the Apostles in them (Rev. 21: 13-14, 18-21).

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Although the illustrations in the MS lat. 8865 Apocalypse cycle otherwise adhere closely to the literal words of the text of the Book of Revelation, the image of the Celestial Jerusalem on fol. 42v does not follow the biblical description. Whereas John describes the city as lying in a foursquare and observes an angel measure the city with a golden reed in order to prove that the width is as great as the breadth, the image in MS lat. 8865 is round. The Heavenly Jerusalem is represented as a series of concentric circles resembling the cosmological *rotae* found elsewhere in the compilation. Heads of the Twelve Apostles are arranged inside the circle, each within an archway, and busts of twelve angels form the outermost ring. The twelve angels alternate with architectural elements, which in turn divide the circular composition into six equal segments. This use of concentric circles is reminiscent of the round illustrations in the cosmological cycle in MS lat. 8865, but they are closest to certain diagrams appearing in the Ghent autograph that were omitted by creator of MS lat. 8865. Two diagrams, both representing the six ages of the world, are depicted on fols. 19v and 20v of Ghent MS 92 (figs. 44-45).

The spherical diagram on fol. 20v (fig. 44) depicts the six ages of the world arranged in segments of a circle. Each of the sectors contains a list of principle people of each of the six ages. The first age begins with Adam, the second with Noah, the third age begins with Abraham, the fourth age begins with David, the fifth with Heber, and the sixth age with Octavianus (the emperor Augustus). The list of important personages of the sixth age ends with the name of Godfrey of Bouillon, the knight from Flanders who became the first ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In the semicircle delineating the list of people of the sixth age, the rubric reads: “The sixth age to the capture of Jerusalem.” In the text below, labeled *microcosmos*, Lambert lists seven ages of the world, not six. As Elizabeth Sears has noted, Lambert may be suggesting that, with the recapture of Jerusalem – only 20 years before the *Liber Floridus* was compiled – the sixth age is passing away and the seventh age is beginning. That is, history is entering its final stage, approaching its resolution. Lambert’s eschatological understanding of history conforms to the traditional, Augustinian interpretation of the

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134 Sears, *Ages of Man*, 68.
Apocalypse in the belief that man cannot know the exact time of the End, but that the current era is the sixth age that began with the coming of Christ and will end with the coming of Antichrist.\(^{135}\)

The diagram on fol. 19v in Ghent MS 92 (fig. 45) consists of a series of concentric circles and is divided into six segments, resembling the illustration of the Heavenly Jerusalem in MS lat. 8865 (fig. 9). Historical persons typical of the six ages of the world are written in the six sectors of the circle, and again the periods are divided into six eras from Adam to the Flood, from the Flood to Abraham, the reign of the Assyrians, the reign of the Medes, the reign of the Persians, and finally, the Roman empire.\(^{136}\) The last person mentioned in the sixth age is “Dagobertus & others,” referring to the Merovingian king of the Franks.\(^{137}\) In the four corners of the page are the names of concepts, empires, and persons typical of a quadripartite subdivision of world history. Thus *Idola* is connected with Ninus and Arbaces, *Synagoga* is connected with Cyrus and Alexander, *Roma* with Brutus and Caesar, and *Ecclesia* with Augustus and Christ. The area underneath the circle contains a history of the world in a nutshell, and ends with announcement of the coming of Antichrist and the end of the sixth age. Overall, the recurring eschatological themes in the texts and illustrations in Lambert’s autograph manuscript attest to an underlying concern with Antichrist and the final days of history, and this concern is also reflected in MS lat. 8865.

Such a concern is evident in the bestiary section of MS lat. 8865 and the Ghent autograph manuscript, in which there are two illustrations not typically found in the medieval bestiary. This bestiary text is drawn mostly from Isidore of Seville and the *Physiologus*.\(^{138}\) It contains brief

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texts about real and fantastic animals, such as the rhinoceros, the unicorn, the hyena, and the crocodile. At the end are two images and descriptions of beasts found in the Bible: Behemoth and Leviathan, from chapters 40 and 41 of the Book of Job. According to Jesse Poesch, the Leviathan and the Behemoth are otherwise unknown in medieval bestiaries and they only appear in such a context in copies of the Liber Floridus. Here, the devil rides atop the Behemoth while the rider of the Leviathan is Antichrist (figs. 46-47). The images are given special prominence by their large size. The inscriptions, the accompanying text, and the illustrations reiterate the idea that the devil, the Behemoth, the Antichrist, and the Leviathan are interrelated, with the implication being that they are all “facets of the power of the devil in the world from the beginning to the end.”

As Poesch has noted, the inclusion of these diabolical elements is characteristic of Lambert’s tendency to emphasize items dealing with the “expected events and calamities of the last times.” The text around the Devil and Behemoth describes the monster in accordance with the Book of Job, and provides the following interpretation: according to the Bible, the Behemoth had his origin with the beginning of the world, thus the world will come to an end when the Behemoth traverses it. The text further explains that Behemoth signifies both the devil and Antichrist, who will try to destroy the human race at the end of time.

The illustration of Antichrist seated above the Leviathan is surrounded by a text providing a summation of the popular “Life of Antichrist” by Adso of Montier-en-Der. The text expresses traditional beliefs about Antichrist: he will be born of the tribe of Dan, he will enter into Jerusalem and sit in the temple as if he were God, the Lord will strike him down, and

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139 Poesch, “The Beasts from Job,” 41.

140 Ibid., 41.

141 Ibid., 42.

142 Ibid., 41.

143 Ibid., 42.

144 For Adso of Montier-en-Der, see Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 82-87.
the Jews will be converted to Christianity.\textsuperscript{145} The textual description of Leviathan closely follows the Book of Job, and the last lines of the text explain that Leviathan, like Behemoth, signifies the devil as well as Antichrist. It is likely that Lambert’s interpretation of these two fabulous beasts and their diabolical riders are drawn from the well known treatise by Gregory the Great, the \textit{Moralia on Job}.\textsuperscript{146} Gregory’s commentary on the Book of Job contains a number of writings about the nature of Antichrist, interpreted by Gregory as a satanic creature, at once man and beast, now present and yet coming in the future. In the \textit{Liber Floridus}, Lambert seems to have taken illustrations of these beasts out of a pictorial cycle illustrating the book of Job, and given them new meaning by placing them in a bestiary context where they are “the animals of the last times.”\textsuperscript{147} Lambert’s unusual inclusion of the Devil and Behemoth and Antichrist and Leviathan in a bestiary context and the accompanying excerpts from Gregory the Great’s commentary on the Book of Job is a clear example of Lambert’s tendency to emphasize the expected events of the end times, and such a concern is evident in MS lat. 8865 as well.\textsuperscript{148}

In addition to cosmological diagrams of the ages of the world, illustrations of Antichrist and the Devil, and scenes from the Book of Revelation, Lambert chose to include several texts dealing more or less explicitly with eschatological themes in his autograph manuscript. The autograph manuscript of the \textit{Liber Floridus} contains Adso’s aforementioned letter to Queen Gerberga, \textit{De ortu et tempore Antichristi} wrongly attributed by Lambert to Methodius, a list of the ten Sibyls, and a brief version of the \textit{Revelationes} of Pseudo-Methodius.\textsuperscript{149} The Sibyls believed to be responsible for the Sibylline Oracles, purportedly ancient texts that predicted the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{146} Poesch, “The Beasts from Job,” 45-46.
\item \textsuperscript{147} \textit{Ibid.}, 49.
\item \textsuperscript{148} \textit{Ibid.}, 41.
\end{itemize}
coming of Christianity and events of the end times. The eschatological texts found in Ghent MS 92 were also included in MS lat. 8865, as well as a brief commentary on the Apocalypse, *Expositio Apocalipsis b. Johannis ap.* that is not found in Lambert’s original manuscript.

The *Liber Floridus* is the first medieval encyclopedia to incorporate a full cycle of illustrations of the Apocalypse, but other encyclopedic compilations from the medieval period also indicate a concern with eschatology and cosmology. For example, the *Hortus deliciarum*, or *Garden of Delights*, that was compiled toward the end of the twelfth century in an Augustinian monastery in Alsace by the abbess Herrad, includes several Apocalypse images. Like Lambert in the *Liber Floridus*, Herrad draws on the apian metaphor used by Seneca, likening her book to a bouquet of flowers and representing herself as a bee culling texts from the flowers of scripture. The *Hortus deliciarum* devotes two full-page miniatures to the Whore of Babylon, and also depicts the Woman clothed in the sun of Rev. 12 and monsters representing Antichrist and Satan. In juxtaposing the Whore of Babylon with the Woman clothed in the sun, Herrad’s manuscript assumes that the various symbols of the Apocalypse are closely related to one another. This expectation that the human manifestations of the symbols of the Whore of Babylon and the Woman of Rev. 12 are inextricably linked is a manifestation of what Richard Emmerson and Ronald Herzman have termed the “apocalyptic imagination.”

Emmerson and Herzman’s discussion of “keys” by which the obscurities of the “enigmatic and patterned symbolism of the apocalyptic imagination” can be understood is also

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151 *Catalogue Général*, 57-68; Delisle, *Notice*, 729-735.

152 This illuminated manuscript was destroyed during a Prussian siege in 1870, but notes and drawings of the manuscript have allowed scholars to reconstruct the manuscript with some accuracy. See Rosalie Green, *Hortus deliciarum* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1979); and Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).


applicable to Lambert of Saint-Omer’s Liber Floridus.\textsuperscript{155} One “key” involved in understanding the complex eschatology and apocalyptic symbolism that pervades medieval writing links the cosmic, universal, and allegorical to the personal, individual, and historical.\textsuperscript{156} This notion is evident in Lambert’s concern with the passage of time, as indicated by the revolutions of the planets and the sun, and his interest in local history, such as the history of the counts of Flanders, and universal history, from Creation to Crusades and the approaching Last Judgment. Another key is the recognition that in the cosmic conflict, the “agents of evil act in ways that make them essentially inversion of the agents of good.”\textsuperscript{157} The juxtaposition between the Whore of Babylon and the Woman clothed in the Sun and the Virgin of the Annunciation in MS lat. 8865 is typical of this principle.\textsuperscript{158} The contrast between Christ as the Son of Man in the Apocalypse cycle of MS lat. 8865 and the illustration of Antichrist riding Leviathan in the bestiary section is also typical of this second key.

A third key involves recognizing the numerous parallels perceived by medieval authors between the careers of a range of biblical and historical figures, and is seen in the Liber Floridus diagrams of the ages of the world that link different historical figures of the six ages to one another. Thus, the apocalyptic imagination “applies the keys of inversion and linkage through parallel actions” to expand the first key “that relates the universal to the personal, the cosmic to the historical.”\textsuperscript{159} A fourth key involves understanding the symbolic numerical patterns of the Apocalypse in historical terms. In particular, the number seven fascinated the medieval imagination, as this number is found throughout the Apocalypse – in the seven letters to the churches, the seven seals, seven trumpets, seven vials, and seven heads of the dragon.\textsuperscript{160} Such a fascination with numerical patterns, particularly the number seven, is clearly evident in Lambert

\textsuperscript{155} Emmerson and Herzman, The Apocalyptic Imagination, 23.

\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., 25.

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., 27. Traditionally, the Woman clothed in the sun represents the Virgin Mary as well as Ecclesia, the true Church, and is thus an inversion of the Whore of Babylon, representing Synagoga, or the false church.

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid., 30.

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., 31.
of Saint-Omer’s diagrams of the ages of the world, which express Augustinian ideas of sevens in the Apocalypse as seven ages of the world. Thus, Lambert of Saint-Omer’s overarching concern with eschatology and cosmology, reflected also in MS lat. 8865, is indicative of the “apocalyptic imagination” so characteristic of the art and literature of the Middle Ages.
CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have examined the illustrated Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865, a thirteenth-century copy of the 
Liber Floridus, and I have discussed the relationship of MS lat. 8865 to the autograph manuscript. I have compared the cycle to other Apocalypse manuscripts and encyclopedic compilations and considered the Apocalypse cycle in the context of this encyclopedia.

The Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865 is a true and complete copy of the cycle lost from the autograph manuscript of the 
Liber Floridus. It is known that the autograph originally contained a series of Apocalypse illustrations because of the entry Apocalipsis depictus in the Table of Contents and because of fragments of the cycle found in copies of the manuscript. The highly consistent iconography of the illustrations in every redaction proves that the Apocalypse in MS lat. 8865 is an accurate copy of the original cycle. The most unusual illustrations in the Apocalypse cycle in MS lat. 8865 are also those that demonstrate the clearest connection to the autograph manuscript. For example, the illustration of the Heavenly Jerusalem in MS lat. 8865 (fol. 42v) uses the same pictorial conventions as does the diagram of the six Ages of the World in Ghent MS 92 (fol. 19v), and the grid-like arrangement of the 24 Elders in MS lat. 8865 (fol. 35r) resembles the grid used to display the constellations in Ghent MS 92 (fol. 88v).

The 
Liber Floridus is not merely a random miscellany, as Lambert of Saint-Omer controlled the contents of his encyclopedia and made deliberate choices about what to include. Lambert’s original text reflects a localized view point of someone living in northern France or Flanders, but also of someone interested in universal history and knowledge of the natural world. Likewise, later copyists of the 
Liber Floridus made their own selections based on Lambert’s autograph, choosing to include or omit certain passages and adding texts from other sources. This selectivity is evident in MS lat. 8865, where the texts and illustrations relating to the town of Saint-Omer, its patron saint Audomarus, and even Flemish history are omitted. French historical texts and images are retained in MS lat. 8865, such as the image of Charles the Bald on
Certain texts and illustrations pertaining to the history of the Church, the Roman Empire, Alexander the Great’s conquests are retained as well.

The patron of MS lat. 8865 preferred to exclude the local references to the original author’s hometown, evidently since they would not be relevant to a different audience, but the selection of components in MS lat. 8865 indicates a similar interest in systematizing information, illustrating the harmony of the cosmos, and a concern for past events and for the events of the apocalyptic future. The compiler of MS lat. 8865 seems to have been particularly concerned with French history and world history, adding texts on this subject that were not included in the Ghent original. For example, MS lat. 8865 contains a letter written by Blanche of Castille, Einhard’s Life of Charlemagne, and a genealogy of Charlemagne.\(^{161}\)

In MS lat. 8865, the Apocalypse cycle and the cosmological and astronomical diagrams contain similar visual formulae, such as the round \textit{rota} format and the grid. The use of similar pictorial elements creates a visual sense of unity between the various components of the manuscript and also reminds the reader of the eschatological component of the diagrams. By examining the relationship between the Apocalypse cycle and the other textual and figural elements in MS lat. 8865, it becomes evident that cosmology and eschatology are inextricably connected in the \textit{Liber Floridus}. In his original choice of texts and illustrations, Lambert is interested in structuring the universe and situating himself in history and in time. The use of similar pictorial arrangements in the Apocalypse cycle and in the rest of the Liber Floridus encyclopedia, particularly the didactic cosmological diagrams, strengthens the thematic connection between these schema and the Apocalypse illustrations.

My study has also indicated areas that can be fruitfully explored but which extend beyond the scope of this thesis. The relationship of the \textit{Liber Floridus} to the \textit{Hortus deliciarum} should be examined in greater depth, as well as the connection between the Trinity Apocalypse and MS lat. 8865. Additionally, the sources for Lambert’s illustrations have not received enough attention. Albert Derolez suggests that Lambert himself was responsible for painting the miniatures that appear in the autograph manuscript; however, it is generally assumed that Lambert did not invent these images, but copied them from each of his sources.\(^{162}\) The possibility that he may have

\(^{161}\) Delisle, \textit{Notice}, 153-159.

\(^{162}\) Swarzenski, “Comments on the Figural Illustrations”; and Derolez, \textit{The Autograph Manuscript}, 22.
invented at least some of the illustrations is an area requiring further study. The addition of texts related to French history and kingship in MS lat. 8865 is suggestive, and thus the issue of patronage of MS lat. 8865 is also an avenue for future research.

The *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer has interested scholars because of its unusual arrangement, its unique illustrations, and its array of texts, and also because there are multiple copies based on a still-extant autograph manuscript. The series of Apocalypse images, however, has gone unnoticed, as it is no longer present in the autograph manuscript. By ignoring the visual and thematic relationships between various components of the encyclopedia, previous studies have overlooked an important interpretive and organizational element of the *Liber Floridus*. This study of the *Liber Floridus* Apocalypse cycle not only provides further scholarship on an under-studied aspect of this fascinating manuscript, but also reveals that Lambert’s manuscript cannot be fully understood unless one takes into account the significance of the Apocalypse cycle and cosmological themes.
APPENDIX A

LIBER FLORIDUS MANUSCRIPTS

*Contain Apocalypse Illustrations

1. Ghent: Ghent University Library MS 92
   The autograph copy from Saint-Omer, Flanders dates to 1120. It contains 287 folia, is missing approximately a fourth of its original content, and is written in Latin with about sixty accompanying illustrations.\(^{163}\)

   The Wolfenbüttel Liber Floridus dates to the second half of the twelfth century and was made in Flanders. It contains 104 folia, the texts are in Latin, and it only has the first 126 articles from the Table of Contents.\(^{164}\)

3. *Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8865
   BnF latin 8865 is a copy from the Chartreuse de Montdieu, in the diocese of Reims, from the mid-thirteenth century. The texts are in Latin, it contains 270 folia, and measures 460 by 300 millimeters. The first 43 folia were added after the manuscript was bound, but they are of the same date. Its provenance is known due to traces of an erased inscription, Liber Montis Dei Cartusiensis, Remensis diocesis.\(^{165}\)

4. Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, MS Voss lat. F.31
   The Leiden Liber Floridus is from northern France or the southern Netherlands, and dates to ca. 1300. It is written in Latin and contains 284 folia.\(^{166}\)

5. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 9675
   BnF MS lat. 9675 contains 233 folia, and dates to 1429. A colophon states that it was written by Stephanus Clivis. It was made for John de Wilde, mayor and alderman of the Franc de Bruges, between 1385 and 1419. It is very similar to Douai MS 796.\(^{167}\)


6. *Chantilly: Musée Condé, MS 724  
Chantilly MS 724 contains 191 folia, dates to the mid-fifteenth century, and is from Flanders. It was commissioned by Philip Conraldi of Saint-Bavon in Ghent between 1445 and 1475.\textsuperscript{168}

7. Douai: Bibliothèque de Douai, MS 796  
The copy of the Liber Floridus in Douai dates to after 1447 and it contains 178 folia.\textsuperscript{169}

8. *Genoa: Biblioteca Durazzo-Giustiani, MS A IX 9  
This copy has 193 folia and has been dated to 1460.\textsuperscript{170}

This manuscript was begun at Lille, France, and completed at Ninove in 1460, according to an inscription. The texts are in Latin, and there are 225 folia with 98 colored drawings. It was made for Pierre de Goux et de Wedergraete (d. 1471).\textsuperscript{171}

10. *The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 128 C 4  
A French prose copy of the Liber Floridus was made in Enghien, Flanders, in 1512 for Philip of Cleves (d. 1528). There are 476 folia with 125 pen drawings. It was purchased in 1531 by Henri III, Count of Nassau.\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{168} Delisle, \textit{Notice}, 601-602; Derolez, \textit{The Autograph Manuscript}, 186.

\textsuperscript{169} Delisle, \textit{Notice}, 608-609; Derolez, \textit{The Autograph Manuscript}, 188.

\textsuperscript{170} Delisle, \textit{Notice}, 600-601; Derolez, \textit{The Autograph Manuscript}, 186.

\textsuperscript{171} The shelf-mark for this manuscript is given by Delisle as Y. 392, but it is now MS 72 A 23. Delisle, \textit{Notice}, 602-603; Derolez, \textit{The Autograph Manuscript}, 187; See also the Koninklijke Bibliotheek website, www.kb.nl/manuscripts/search/index.

\textsuperscript{172} The shelf-mark for this manuscript is given by Delisle as Y. 407, but it is now MS 128 C 4. Delisle, \textit{Notice}, 604-605; Derolez, \textit{The Autograph Manuscript}, 187; See also the Koninklijke Bibliotheek website, www.kb.nl/manuscripts/search/index.
**APPENDIX B**

**LATIN LEGENDS IN MS LAT. 8865**

**Fol. 34v**

John on Patmos, Vision of the Son of Man (Rev. 1:9-20)

> johannes / pathmos insula/ scribe et mitte septem ecclesiis que audisti et vidisti - ego sum alpha et omega primus et novissimus / johannes deum adorat / cecidit ad pedes ejus tamquam mortuus / stans in medio septem candelabrorum aureorum / VII candelabra septem ecclesie sunt / VII stelle angeli VII ecclesiarum sunt / conversus vidi septem candelabra aurea

John taken to Heaven (Rev. 4:1)

> accede huc et ostendam tibi quid oporteat fieri / ecce ego johannes vidi ostium apertum in celo / ostium apertum in celo

Letters to the churches of Ephesus, Smyra, Pergamon (Rev. 2: 1-17)

> angelus ecclesie ephesi / vincenti dabo edere - de ligno vite quod est in paradyso dei mei / scio opera tua et laborem tuum et patientiam tuam / angelus ecclesie smirne / qui vicerit non ledetur a morte secunda / scio tribulationem tuam et paupertatem tuam et dives es et blasphemiam habes ab his qui se dicunt judeos esse et non sunt / angelus ecclesie pergami / vincenti dabo manna absconditum / scio ubi habitas ubi sedes est sathane et tenes nomen meum /

Christ in Majesty, Four Living Creatures (Rev. 4-5)

> septem lampades - ardentes / agnus habens VII cornua qui dignus inventus est aperire librum / marcus / johannes euvangelista / lucas / johannes / noli timere / anime occisorum sub altare dei / innocentes / quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum deus noster / de throno procedebant tonitura et fulgura et voces / ortus de tribu juda leo potens surrexisti cum gloria / aperire librum et solvere VII signacula ejus

**Fol. 35r**

Theophany (Rev. 4-5)

lezim - philippus / jechener - bartholomeus / enazib - matheus / samuel - judas / benjamin - symon / chezir - mathias / sedenti in throno benedictio et honor et gloria et potestas in secula seculorum amen salus deo nostro qui sedet super thronum et agno ecce vicit radix david leo de tribu juda et regnabit in eternum ipsi gloria et honor ex omni tribu et lingua in secula quis non timebit te domine et magnificabit nomen tuum magna et mirabilia opera tua domine deus omnipotens juste et vere vie tue rex seculorum dignus es domine deus noster accipere gloriam et honorem et virtutem quia creasti omnia propter voluntatem tuam erant et creata sunt / alpha et omega hel heloy heloe ja sother tetragramaton hely on sabaoth eieie on theos usion yschirros pantocraton

**Fol. 36v**

Opening of the first four seals (Rev. 6:1-8)

equus albus / qui sedebat super illum habebat arcum et sagittas et exivit vincens ut vinceret / et data est ei corona; equus rufus / ut sumeret pacem de terra et ut invicem se interficent / datus est gladius / equus niger / qui sedebat super illum habebat stateram / statera / bilibris tritici denario et tres bilibreas ordei denario et vinum et oleum ne leseris / infernum / famas / mors improba / equus pallidus qui sedet eum mors est nomen illi et infernum sequitur eum ut interficiet fame et gladio et bestiis universam terram

Angels restraining the winds (Rev. 7:1)

quatuor angeli stantes super quatuor angulos terre tenentes quatuor ventos terre / nolite nocere terre et mari neque arboribus / quoadusque signemus servos dei nostri in frontibus eorum

Opening of the sixth seal (Rev. 6:12-17)

sol tanquam saccus cilicunus niger / luna quasi sanguis / stelle ceciderunt sicut ficus mittit grossos suos / celum recessit sicut / liber involutus / mons omnis et insule de locis suis moti sunt

Angel censing the altar (Rev. 8:3-5)

data sunt ei incensa / angelus implevit thuribulum de igne altaris / templum domini

First and second trumpet (Rev. 8:7-9)

visio VII angelorum tuba canentium / primus angelus tuba cecinit et facta est grando et ignis et tercia pars arborum combusta est / secundus angelus tuba cecinit / et tanquam mons magnus igne ardens missus est in mare et facta est tercia pars maris sanguis

Third trumpet (Rev. 8:10-11)
tercius angelus tuba cecinit et cecidit de celo stella magna ardens in terciam partem
fluminum et in fontes aquarum / nomen stelle dicitur abscinthium / celum / fluminum et
fontium facta est tercia pars in abscinthium et multi homines mortui sunt de aquis

Fol. 37r

Fourth trumpet (Rev. 8:12)

quartus angelus tuba cecinit et percussa est tercia pars solis et tercia pars lune et tercia
pars stellarum ut obscuraretur tercia pars eorum / et diei non luceret pars tercia et nox
similiter

Eagle flies through heaven (Rev. 8 :13)

aquila per medium celi volens - ve ve habitantibus in terra / ve ve ve habitantibus in terra
dictum est de ceteris vocibus trium angelorum. qui erant tuba canituri ut in servis
descriptum habetur

Fifth trumpet (Rev. 9: 1-11)

quintus angelus tuba cecinit et aperuit putetum abyssi et ascendit fumus et obscuratus est
sol et aer de fumo putei et de fumo exierunt / locuste in terram similes equis et super
capita earum tanquam corone similes auro et facies earum sicut facies hominum et dentes
earum sicut leonum erant et habebant loricas ferreas et alas et aculeos in caudis et
habeant inter se regem angelum abyssi / stella - de celo cecidit et data est ei clavis putei
abyssi / sol / rex abyssi / ve unum abii et ecce veniunt adhuc duo ve post hec

Sixth trumpet (Rev. 9:13-15)

sextus angelus tuba cecinit et soluti sunt IIIIor angeli / vox procedit ex cornibus altaris
aurei quod est ante oculos dei vox dicens / VIo angelo solve IIIIor angelos qui alligati
sunt in flumine magno eufrate / eufrates

Monstrous horses (Rev. 9 : 3-19)

et soluti sunt quatuor angeli / et non tantum quatuor sed numerus equestris exercitus
vigies milies dena milia / ecce IIIIor angeli qui / qui parati sunt in horam et diem et
annum et mensem occidere terciam partem hominum loricas igneas et capita
equorum capita leonum erant potestas enim equorum in ore eorum et in caudis eorum
nam caude eorum similes serpenti habentes capita et in his nocent / ab hiis plagis occisa
est tercia pars hominum deigne et fumo et sulphure qui procedebat ex ore ipsorum / hii
sunt qui adoraverunt demonia et non egerunt penitentiam / ve mihi causa non morior hic
est qui adoravit simulacrum et ideo cruciatur / mors ubi es
**Fol. 38v**

John and the angels, Seven Thunders (Rev. 10:1-6)

\[
\text{Johannes apostolus et euangelista / cum clamasses locuti sunt [septem] tonitrua voces suas et ego scripturus eram / signa que / locuta sunt VII tonitrua noli scribere ea / clamavit dicens per viventem tempus amplius non erit sed in diebus vocis septimi angeli dum ceperit tuba canere consummabitur mysterium dei}
\]

John receiving the book (Rev. 10:8-11)

\[
vade accipe libellum apertum de manu angeli stantis supra mare et devora illum / sol / celum
\]

John receiving the rod to measure, the Two Witnesses appear (Rev. 11:1-2)

\[
\text{Johannes / datus est michi calamus similis virge ut templum et altare metur / surge metire templum domini et altare / altare / templum domini / isti sunt due olive et duo candelabra lucentia ante dominum / enoch - et – helyas}
\]

The Two Witnesses (Rev. 11: 3-12)

\[
\text{Enoch / helyas / cum duo finierint testimonium antichristus occidet eos / hec bestia ascendens de abysso / jacebunt corpora eorum / in plateis civitatis ubi et dominus eorum crucifixus est / ascendentem in celum in nube et Xa pars civitatis cecidit ve secundum abiit et ecce ve tertium veniet cito / ascendentem huc}
\]

Seventh trumpet (Rev. 11:15)

\[
\text{Septimus angelus tuba cecinit et advenit ira et tempus mortuorum judicare et reddere mercedem justis et exterminare eos qui corruperunt terram / factum est regnum huius mundi domini nostri et christi eius et regnabit in secula seculorum}
\]

Ark in the temple (Rev. 11:19)

\[
\text{Johannes - evangeliasta / templum apertum in celo et archa testamenti ejus in templo}
\]

**Fol. 39r**

Woman and Dragon, child saved from Dragon (Rev. 12:1-5)

\[
\text{Vidi et aliud mirabile signum in celum de muliere et ejus filio et de dracone rufo et de templo et archa testamenti in eo / mulier amicta sole habens coronam stellarum duodecim que peperit filium masculum et draco rufus habens capita septem et cornua decem stat}
\]
ante mulierem ut devoraret filium ejus sed filius ejus raptus est ad deum et ad thronum ejus / luna sub pedibus mulieris / draco rufus trahens cauda sua terciam partem stellarum / filius mulieris raptus est ad thronum dei

Combat against the Dragon (Rev. 12:7-12)

archangelus michael pugnat cum dracone idest dyabolo et angeli ejus cum eo / nunc facta est salus et virtus et regnum dei nostri et potestas christi ejus

Fol. 40v

Woman receives wings, persecuted by Dragon (Rev. 12:6, 13-18)

item draco postquam projectus est in terram perseveratur mulierem et misit ex ore suo flumen ut eam faceret trahi a flumine / sed terra adjuvit mulierem et absorbuit flumen quod misit draco et mulier i date sunt ale ut volaret in desertum / draco rufus / flumen / os terre

Adoration of the Beast (Rev. 13:4)

bestia prima de mari ascendens similis pardo habet pedes ursi et os leonis et capita VII et cornua decem et super cornua decem dyadema et universa terra adorabat bestiam / ne quis emat vel vendat nisi habeat caracterem nominis bestie / terra / adoramus / ignis / bestia altera de terra ascendens habens cornua duo similia agni et potestatem prioris bestie compellens omnes inhabitantes terra adorare bestiam primam / adorate et vos bestiam hanc qui habetis caracterem nominis ejus qui similis bestie huic et quis poterit pugnare cum ea hec bestia fecit de celo ignem descendere in terram et pusillos et magnos habere caracterem in dextra / reges terre isti sunt qui adorant bestiam / sol – celum

Lamb on Mount Sion (Rev. 14:1)

johannes / vidi supra montem syon agnum stantem et cum eo CXLIIIor habentes nomen ejus et nomen patris scriptum in frontibus suis sine macula sunt ante thronum dei / hii secuntur agnum quocumque jerit

Harvest (Rev. 14:14-20)

vidit johannes nubem candidam et super nubem sedentem similem filio hominis habentem in manu sua falcem acutam angelus exivit de templo clamans ad sedentem super nubem / mitte falcem tuam et mete quia venit hora ut metiatur quoniam aruit messis terre et misit et messuit terram / alius angelus exivit de templo habens et ipse falcem acutam / alius angelus de altari clamavit ad eum qui habebat falcem mitte falcem tuam et vindemia botros vinee terre quoniam mature sunt uve ejus et misit et vindemiavit et misit in lacum ire dei / lacus ire dei / nolite adorare bestiam / dimete dominum et date illi honorem
Fol. 41r

First vial (Rev. 16:2)

primus angelus effudit phyalam suam in terram et factum est vulnus sevum in homines qui habebant caracterem bestieque adoraverunt ymaginem ejus

Second vial (Rev. 16:3)

secundus effudit phyalam suam in mare et factum est sanguis et omnis anima vivens mortua est in mari

Third vial (Rev. 16:4-7)

tertius effudit phyalam suam super flumen et fontes et factus est sanguis / angelus aquarum / justus es et qui eras et qui es omnipotens qui hec judicasti quia fuderunt sanguinem sanctorum tuorum

Fourth vial (Rev. 16:8-9)

quartus effudit phyalam suam in solem et datum est illi afficere homines igni

Fifth vial (Rev. 16:10-11)

quintus effudit phyalam suam super sedem bestie et regnum ejus factum est tenebrosum / sedes bestie

Sixth vial (Rev. 16:12)

sextus effudit phyalam suam in flumen illud magnum eufraten et siccavit aquam ejus ut paretur via regibus ab ortu solis

Impure spirits (Rev. 16:13-14)

draco / bestia / pseudopropheta / vidit de ore draconis et bestie et pseudoprophete tres spiritus in modum ranarum hii sunt spiritus demoniorum et faciunt signa et procedunt ad reges terre congregare illos in prelrium ad diem magnum dei omnipotentis / ecce venio sicut fur beatus qui vigilat / et beatus qui custodit vestimenta sua ne nudus ambulet et videant turpitudinem ejus / congregati sunt vigilantes in locum qui vocatur hebraice hermagedon

Seventh vial (Rev. 16:17-21)
septimus effudit phyalam suam in aerem et exivit vox de templo / factum est et facta sunt fulgora et voces et terremotus et babylon venit in memoriam ante deum dare ei calicem vini indignationis ire ejus / babylon magna / calix indignationis ire dei

Whore of Babylon (Rev. 17)

johannes / veni et ostendam tibi damnationem meretricis magne sedentem in bestiam coccineam habentem capita VII et cornua X cum qua fornicati sunt omnes reges terre habens poculum aureum in manu sua ebria de sanguine martyrum jhesu sedens super aquas et populos / cornua decem decem reges sunt qui bestie idest dyabolo potestatem suam tradentes pugnant cum agno hoc est cum christi membris sed agnus per patientientiam sanctorum vincit eos / aque populi sunt et gentes et lingue / mulier quam vidisti est civitas magna que habet regnum super reges terre / per bestiam autem cum septem capitibus septem capitolia vicia designantur / babylon magna mater fornicationum et abominationum terre / poculo luxurie et ebriata / hic est qui unus est / VIIet montes sunt / VIItem montes sunt / quinque reges ceciderunt idem qui per V etates regnaverunt transierunt / et unus est hoc est regis qui in hac Via etate super regnant / et alius nundum venit quod est antichristus / locus antichristi nundum venit / vidi angelum descedentem de celo habentem potestatem magnam et exclamavit in forti voce / angelus a cujus gloria illuminata est terra cecidit babylon illa magna / vox / exite de illa populus meus quoniam pervenerunt peccata ejus usque ad celum / ve civitas illa babylon magna quoniam una hora destructe sunt tue divicie / negociatores procul stant dicentes que simul [sic] civitati huic magne / et angelus sustulit lapidem molarem et misit in mari dicens hoc impetu mittetur babylon et ultra non invenietur

Fol. 42v

Combat against the Beast (Rev. 19:13-19)

ecce verbum dei in equo albo quod cum justicia judicat et pugnat et torcular calcat vini furoris dei omnipotentis / celestis exercitus venite congregamini ad cenam magni dei / bestia et reges terre congregati sunt ad faciendum prelium cum illo qui sedet in equo albo

Beast and False Prophet in the fire (Rev. 19:20)

apprehensa est bestia et pseudopropheta et vivi missi sunt hii duo in stagnum ignis ardentis et ceteri occisi sunt in gladio sedentis super equum qui procedit de ore ipsius / cum consummati fuerint mille anni solvetur sathanas de carcere ut seducat gentes que sunt in gog et magog

Satan chained (Rev. 20: 1-3)

angelus habens clavem abyssi et cathenam in manu sua apprehendit draconem serpentem antiquum qui est dyabolus et ligavit eum per annos mille et misit eum in abyssum / antiquus hostis et serpens qui est dyabolus et sathanas
Last Judgment (Rev. 20:4-15)

   
   thronus dei a cujus conspectu fugit terra et celum / liber vite / venite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum vobis paratum / liber mortis / discedite a me maledicti ite in ignem eternum qui paratus est dyabolo et abgelis ejus judicati sunt mortui

Celestial Jerusalem (Rev. 21)

   
   ecce tabernaculum dei cum hominibus et habitabit cum illis et ipsi populus ejus erunt et ipse cum eis erit eorum deus septimus ex VII angelis / veni ostendam tibi sponsam uxorem agni - et sustulit me in spiritu et vidi Jherusalem descendentem de celo ornatum auro et lapidibus preciosis intextam / jherusalem habens portas duodecim et in ipsis apostolorum nomina duodecim ex duodecim lapidibus preciosis composita / Ius jaspis - petrus / II saphirus - paulus / IIIus caxodonius - andreas / IIII smaragdus - jacobus / Vus sardonix - symon / VI sardius - judas / VIIus crisolitus - johannes / VIIIus berillus - matheus / IXus topazion - bartholomeus / Xus crisopassus - philippus / XIus jacinctus - barnabas / XIIus ametistus - thomas / jherusalem pacifera hec tua sunt fundamenta

River of Life (Rev. 22:1-2)

   
   fluvius aque vive splendidus procedens de sede agni / sedes agni / ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vite afferens fructus XIIcim / johannes / surge / postquam audissem cecidi ut adorarem ante pedes angeli qui michi hec ostendebat / vide quid ne feceris conservus enim tuus sum et fratrum tuorum deum adora
### APPENDIX C

#### COMPARISON OF SCENES

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Figure 43. Astronomical illustrations. *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer; Ghent, University Library MS 92, fol. 88v.
Figure 44. Diagram illustrating the six ages of the world. *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer; Ghent, University Library MS 92, fol. 20v.
Figure 45. Diagram illustrating the six ages of the world. *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer; Ghent, University Library MS 92, fol. 19v.
Figure 46. Antichrist riding Leviathan. *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat.8865, fol. 65 bis.

Figure 47. The Devil riding Behemoth. *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat.8865, fol. 65v.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Elizabeth Woodward received a Bachelor of Arts in Art History and in French from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2008. While at Chapel Hill, she developed an interest in medieval art and received several grants to conduct research on medieval sculpture in France. Elizabeth began graduate work at Florida State University in Fall 2008. During her time at FSU, she has presented papers at the University of North Texas Medieval Symposium, the Vagantes Traveling Medieval Graduate Student Conference, and the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo. After completing her master’s degree in Spring 2010, Elizabeth will begin doctoral studies at the University of Chicago, where she will continue to study medieval manuscripts.