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A Wheel of Fortune? The North Rose at Saint-Etienne in Beauvais

J. DAVID MCGEE

Around 1150, the upper portion of the north transept at Saint-Etienne in Beauvais was radically transformed. Whereas the lower section had continued the stress on blank, unarticulated wall surfaces, characteristic of the exterior in general, the upper portion received a rich plastic treatment dominated by a large circular window replete with tracery infilling and figural sculpture around the circumference (Ills.1,2&5). The circular and spoked form of the window together with the disposition of the figures fostered a local tradition that the grouping represents a Wheel of Fortune; however, a lack of specific attributes and apparent internal inconsistencies have led to this interpretation being challenged and alternative ones being put forth. This paper will examine these various issues, especially the iconographic tradition of the Wheel of Fortune, in an attempt to define its meaning within the context of Saint-Etienne at Beauvais.

Central to any consideration of the sculptural group is a precise understanding of the placement and disposition of the figures, particularly in relation to one another. The figures, twelve in all, are arranged with an enthroned figure at the summit of the window; this figure aids four others to attain the summit by offering the left hand and forces four others opposite to descend by means of a staff held in the right (Ill.4). All eight subordinate figures grasp the circumference of the window as if it were the rim of a wheel driven by the actions of the person at the apex. Thus, the motion of the wheel simultaneously lifts some up and hurls others downward. Below these nine figures are arrayed three others. The lower group consists of two opposed figures who stand upright on the small pieces of ground, and do not seem to take part in the wheel's action and, finally, one last figure who either has been completely cast off or lies sleeping at the wheel's base (Ills.5&4). Besides opposing the action of the wheel, the two upright figures are differentiated from the others in scale, gesture, spacing, and, to a certain extent, in drapery style. Furthermore, they are different from one another, since the figure on the left is bearded. Yet, despite these differences, all the figures are marked by prominently bulging eyes with deeply drilled pupils. The figure at the bottom is often referred to as being skeletal, but a close examination reveals merely a crude attempt at rendering the characteristic rope-like drapery folds in relief, exacerbated by an extremely poor state of preservation (Ill.4).

The inferior grade of stone used for the carvings and the comparatively low quality

of the workmanship in general make it difficult to decipher the precise meaning of the figures around the wheel. Several of the sculpted figures have lost their heads — most regrettably the enthroned figure at the apex — and no attributes are present (if they ever existed). This partially accounts for the varying iconographic programs which have been suggested, many of which overlap somewhat in meaning and traces of which may, indeed, be present. The quantity of figures, twelve, has raised speculation that the figures represent either the twelve hours of the day or the twelve months of the year;¹ however, the lack of any attributes, especially such as for the labors of the months, renders this interpretation specious or, at best, highly questionable. A corollary to this, the “Ages of Man,” or “Phases of Life,”² should also be dismissed since it does not adequately take into account the violent actions of the figure at the summit of the wheel, and the bearded figures on the right side of the wheel seem incongruous with this interpretation. Furthermore, the bearded upright figure frankly runs counter to the course of the wheel and by extension, to life. Moreover, the standard iconography of the “Ages of Man” calls for two angels to drive the wheel,³ not a single, enthroned figure, as at Saint-Etienne. It has been suggested further that the program may encompass some idea of judgment, with the figure at the apex personifying the “justice of the Lord” or an avenging angel.⁴ Granted, the action could vaguely be interpreted as a form of judgment but it is difficult to accept the “damned” being cast down on the right side, the traditional side of honor, and the action of pulling up on one side and casting down on the other seems alien to the basic theme of Christian judgment. Also, none of the expected supporting symbols appear, such as a scale or a winged figure of Michael.

Apart from these generally known iconographic programs, two specific to the city of Beauvais have been offered. Firstly, the replacement of figures from one side with those of the other has provoked the speculation that the figures portray the installation of new peers of the Beauvais commune in place of former ones.⁵ Again, there are no attributes that would definitely identify the figures as such, and the interpretation fails to explain the three lower figures at all. Moreover, the marked brutality of the action at the wheel’s apex seems quite out of place in terms of a “democratic” election process. Secondly, and most recently, it has been suggested that the imagery at Saint-Etienne reflects the Augustinian movement of the twelfth century and, in particular, Victorine thinking.⁶ However intriguing, the specific philosophical alignment or outlook, if any, of the chapter at Saint-Etienne is not recorded in the extant ecclesiastical sources for the church of Beauvais and, moreover, the Victorine texts

in question appear only after the inception of the wheel window at Saint-Etienne.

The improbability of these interpretations leaves the popular one — interpretation that the figures represent a Wheel of Fortune, with Dame Fortune enthroned at the apex.⁷ The suggestion may have originated with Baron Guilhermy who has left a brief description from the seventeenth or eighteenth century of the Saint-Etienne wheel window; however, the basic idea of the Wheel of Fortune did not originate at Saint-Etienne. Representations of Fortune have a long and rich history in the traditions of Greek and Roman literature and art.⁸ First emerging in the medieval West in Book II of the sixth century classic the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius,⁹ the theme did not appear pictorially until the eleventh century.¹⁰ Curiously, early representations of the theme did not accompany the text of Boethius but occurred either as isolated illustrations, such as frontispieces, or were associated with other related texts.¹¹ The theme of Fortune was almost contemporaneously introduced into literature and by the twelfth century had appeared in the works of such notable authors as Honorius of Autun¹² and Alain of Lille.¹³ In plastic form, the theme was also used on a handful of church facades, most notably in Italy, but they all date well after Saint-Etienne and bear no apparent relationship to the Beauvais church.¹⁴

While the actions of the upper nine and lowest figures at Saint-Etienne fit the basic themes of the Wheel of Fortune, namely the transitory nature of temporal goods and the vicissitudes of worldly power, certain peculiarities of the Beauvais program require explanation. Specifically, the wheel at Saint-Etienne, unlike the majority of medieval representations,¹⁵ turns in a counterclockwise direction (Ill.4). Furthermore, Dame Fortune is normally not perched atop her wheel, as at Saint-Etienne, but is traditionally enthroned outside the wheel driving it by a crank, or is occasionally attached to the hub of the wheel, as described by Honorius of Autun.¹⁶ Additional problems are raised by the two upright figures, who do not seem to participate in the action of the wheel and the unclear action of the prostrate figure at the wheel's base (Ills.5&4). Explanations of the wheel's detail may be found by considering the iconography's sources as well as other instances, and, in the special case of the two upright figures, by examining the basic meaning of the Wheel of Fortune theme, particularly as it applies to a Christian setting.

Although Wheels of Fortune normally turn in a clockwise direction, examples from the twelfth century show the wheel turning in the opposite direction.¹⁷ Moreover, the text of Boethius expressly states that Fortune drives her wheel with the right hand,¹⁸ as the figure at Saint-Etienne does. The same hand is singled out by Alain of Lille,¹⁹

writing around the middle of the twelfth century. In addition, two of the plastic representations of the theme from the thirteenth century, the cathedrals of Trento and Saint Francis, Parma, also feature the wheel being driven in a counterclockwise manner. Therefore, the direction of the wheel would not seem to be a stumbling block to the interpretation, especially since, as far as extant manuscripts reflect, the pictorial tradition was still quite young and flexible at the time of the Saint-Etienne program.

The unusual position of Dame Fortune relative to the wheel may be explained by the problems inherent in presenting the theme in a sculptural setting. As previously stated, the common manner of presentation in manuscripts of the early period was to place Fortune enthroned outside the wheel, driving it by a long crank; however, this would have been quite clumsy to render three-dimensionally on a church facade. In fact, in none of the plastic representations of the theme is Fortune placed outside the wheel. For sculptural programs, Dame Fortune is commonly omitted altogether and is normally replaced by a single figure enthroned at the apex of the wheel. Nevertheless, in one lone example, the cathedral of Trento (1212), Fortune is attached to the hub and consequently subject to the movement of her own device, as Honorius of Autun imagined her.²⁰ Lastly, a late twelfth century manuscript from Sicily does depict a bust length figure of Fortune atop her wheel with the Norman usurper Tancred at the base of the wheel.²¹ Thus, the idea of placing Fortune at the top of her wheel is not entirely alien even to pictorial representations of the Wheel of Fortune.

One still might argue, however, that nothing about the figure at Saint-Etienne specifically identifies it as Dame Fortune. Unfortunately the figure's head is missing; were it present, identification might be possible, since she is often depicted in iconographic and literary descriptions as having a double visage, or with her hair over her eyes signifying "blind Fortune." Regardless, the actions of the enthroned figure at the summit of the Saint-Etienne wheel clearly portray the physical idea of the Wheel of Fortune — namely, a figure who simultaneously helps people up on the one hand and then casts them down on the other after they have achieved the summit or pinnacle of their success. The animal-headed throne on which the figure at Saint-Etienne sits might be considered as a definite mark of Dame Fortune, since she is often depicted in this manner; however, such thrones have a long tradition in medieval iconography. The animal-headed throne may derive from the actual bronze throne of Dagobert²², or be related to it, though in manuscript illustrations it has been used for persons ranging from kings to Gospel writers to other authors, including even Boethius himself.²³ Therefore, the throne at Saint-Etienne could perhaps only be a reflection of the royal

undercurrents, traditionally associated with Wheel of Fortune iconography.

The prostrate figure at the base of the Saint-Etienne wheel presents somewhat of an enigma because it seems to stem from or represent more than one iconographic tradition (Ill.3). On the one hand, Wheel of Fortune iconography does call for a defeated or withdrawn person at the base of the wheel; and the Saint-Etienne figure bears a striking resemblance to the representations of the death of the “poor” rich man as, for instance, in the twelfth-century *Hortus Delicianum* of Harrad of Landsberg.²⁴ Note that in both instances the figures lie on an inclined rocky outcropping with one arm across the belly. On the other hand, since the prostrate figure at Saint-Etienne supports his head on a stone, he also recalls the Biblical and pictorial traditions of the “Dream of Jacob” from the Old Testament (*Genesis* 23.10). Although not a particularly popular subject in medieval art, the dream in which Jacob sees a ladder leading to heaven was present in manuscripts, stone and wooden sculpture,²⁵ and even in a mosaic from the early cathedral of Reims.²⁶ Perhaps more importantly, the idea of the ladder was associated with the concept of the “Heavenly Ladder” of John of Climacus²⁷ and its close western parallel, the “Celestial Ladder.”²⁸ In fact, the “Celestial Ladder” and the “Wheel of Fortune” are juxtaposed on folios of the *Hortus Delicianum*, a manuscript already mentioned in regard to Saint-Etienne. Even though the concept of a ladder could be suggested by the ascending and descending of a wheel, the ideas seem truly too far apart to permit such an interpretation at Saint-Etienne. Yet, if the prostrate figure is considered merely representative of a dreamer, then more closely related themes come to mind. For example, Ezechiel, who is intimately associated with wheel imagery, saw his famous visions while asleep.²⁹ Also, Boethius is often pictured in manuscripts as being in bed and dreaming of Lady Philosophy, who comes to comfort him in his time of despair and doubting.³⁰ For example, in Pierpoint Morgan 332 Boethius assumes the identical position of the Saint-Etienne figure, one hand under the head and the other across the belly.³¹ Nevertheless, unless the designer sought some Christian overtone, Boethius excepted, for a theme he might have considered too pagan for a Christian church facade, the figure at the base seems consistent with Wheel of Fortune iconography.

Lastly, we must integrate the two upright figures into the overall iconographic program of the window at Saint-Etienne (Ill.5). These figures lie completely outside the traditional pictorial imagery, which tends to restrict itself to the rise and fall of royal or noble persons, as Boethius explains in the *Consolation*³², or as specifically alluded to by Alain of Lille: “The joyful and beautiful daughter of Fortune, Nobility.”³³ This

royal theme is perhaps subtly expressed at Saint-Etienne by the crowned heads of the hood mouldings directly adjacent to the wheel window. However, the two figures in question seem to belong to the broader implications of the Wheel of Fortune theme, as incorporated in the basic message of Boethius; namely, that an individual voluntarily chooses to take part in the game of Fortune, a key distinction from the fatalistic tradition out of which the idea of Fortune derives.³⁴ Boethius sought to merge or reconcile Classical thinking with the idea of Christian free will;³⁵ and, in the particular case of Fortune, to instruct Man in the virtues of Wisdom and Reason, the natural moral adversaries of Fortune.³⁶ This message is no better formulated than in the words of an introduction to a twelfth-century copy of the *De consolazione*:

The intention of Boethius in this work is to bring man to scorn temporal things which are changing and decaying, and to prevent him from placing hope in them, in the belief that he will find happiness there. He raises ethics anew, indeed, affirming that it is not necessary to desire temporal things and thus teaching good morals.³⁷

Or in the words of Boethius himself, “Go up if you like, but only on condition that you will not feel abused when Fortune requires you fall” and “Once you have submitted yourself to her chains, you ought to take calmly whatever she can do for you.” Furthermore, in the words of Philosophy, the mentor and comforter of Boethius, “You have not been driven out of your homeland, you have willfully wandered away.”³⁸ Thus, for Boethius, it is clearly by one’s own volition that he participates in the devious game of Fortune and since the two figures at Saint-Etienne definitely do not partake in the action of the wheel, they should be interpreted as living a virtuous life governed by Reason and Wisdom. In other words, they truly stand outside the game and, as a result, are allowed to live to a ripe old age, exemplified by the bearded figure, without suffering the pitfalls and reversals of fortune, as do the other figures above them on the wheel. The words of Boethius may also provide further explanation for their low placement in the scheme of the window, when he counsels the virtuous to “make our home safely on the low rocks” and “build a strong house in the quiet valley.”³⁹

Thus, the Wheel of Fortune at Saint-Etienne seems to adhere more closely to the original text of the *Consolation* itself, rather than to its pictorial offshoots. Several translations of and commentaries on Boethius appeared in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,⁴⁰ as well as a great deal of philosophical comment on the vanity of worldly goods,⁴¹

one of the key issues in the *Consolation*. Moreover, the *Consolation* has been called the “centerpiece” of the revival of Classical literature in the twelfth century; excerpts of the text were even taught as sentences in the study of the Latin language.⁴² The Classical revival was particularly strong in Beauvais⁴³, its episcopal library, considered by many to be the best in northwestern France,⁴⁴ having been founded in the eleventh century. Most importantly, the library is known to have housed an 11th century manuscript of the *Consolation*,⁴⁵ the very words which seem to be so clearly reflected in the Saint-Etienne window. Furthermore, the Classical tradition particularly prospered under the encouragement of Ivo of Chartres who, upon leaving Beauvais, brought the School of Chartres to prominence as a premier center of medieval learning in the twelfth century. The city of Beauvais, then, was a likely site for a church window based on one of the most important books of the twelfth century classical revival.

The message of the Wheel of Fortune was also particularly timely for the city of Beauvais because it accurately reflected the prevailing political situation at the time of the Saint-Etienne window, especially as it related to the recently formed commune. The theme could have served as a simple reminder to the up-and-coming bourgeois to guard against the ever present possibility of avarice or as a caveat to keep temporal wealth in its proper perspective. Situated on the north face of Saint-Etienne, the iconographic program of the window would have greeted the merchant class daily on their return from the town marketplace, the site of their growing wealth and influence, and the defeated figure at the bottom of the wheel, in conjunction with the vast cemetery surrounding Saint-Etienne, would have served as a constant reminder of the transitory nature of worldly goods. In addition, as far as the commune is concerned, the traditional relationship between Nobility and Fortune could have played a role in the program as well. This political body had witnessed, almost repeatedly, the vicissitudes of the Bishop-Count of Beauvais, as well as the King, on occasion, in their struggle for recognition and a measure of political independence.⁴⁶ Over the central issue of justice alone, the King had virtually reversed himself at one point. This last idea is nowhere better expressed than in the words of the *Somme le roi*, “In these cathedral churches and royal abbeys is Dame Fortune who turns topsy-turvy faster than a wind-mill.”⁴⁷

1. E. Woillez, *Etudes archeologiques*, p. 144.
2. This interpretation has been put forth by M. Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chretienne*, p. 408.

3. *Ibid.*
4. Woillez, *Etudes*, p. 144; and F.P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages*, p. 218.
5. Woillez, *ibid.*
6. E. Beretz, personal letters.
7. The literature on the Wheel of Fortune is legion and as such is highly repetitive. The basic sources are as follows:
 E. Weinhold, *Glücksrad and Lebensrad* (Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften) (Berlin 1892); G. Heider, "Das Glücksrad und dessen Anwendung in der christlichen Kunst," *Mitteilungen der k.k. Zentralkommission*, IV (1859), pp. 113-24; W. Wackernagel, "Das Glücksrad und die Kugel des Glücks," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, VI (1843), pp. 135-49; M. Schilling, "Rota Fortunae," in *Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters* (W. Harms and L.P. Johnson eds.), pp. 293-313; H.R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature*, esp., pp. 147-77; F.P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages*, pp. 168-222; and E. Kitzinger, "World Map and Fortune's Wheel: A Medieval Mosaic Floor in Turin," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association*, CXVIII (1973), pp. 361-69 (reprinted in *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West*, W.E. Kleinbauer ed., pp. 344-52).
8. H.R. Patch, *The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Roman Literature and in the Transitional Period* (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages 3), pp. 131-77.
9. See H.R. Patch, *The Tradition of Boethius: A Study of His Importance in the Medieval Culture*; and P. Couccelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition litteraire*.
10. The earliest known examples are in Monte Cassino MS 189, fols. 73r. and 73v., illustrated in Kitzinger "World Map," figs. 13 and 14.
11. For example, in the Monte Cassino MS 189 the second illustration accompanies excerpts from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, Bede's *De temporum ratione*, and 16 other lines about the vicissitudes of Fortune. A representation of a Wheel of Fortune is also used in conjunction with Bernard of Cluny's *De contemptumundi* and excerpts from Honorius of Autun in the wellknown *Hortus Dialecticarum* fols.214r.-214v.
12. *Speculum Ecclesiae, Dominica XI post Pentacosten* (PL 172, col. 1057) and *De Gemma Animae* (PL 172, col. 588).
13. *Anticlaudianus* Book VIII chaps. 1 and 2.
14. E. Jourdain and C. Duval, "Roues symboliques de Notre-Dame d'Amiens et de Saint-Etienne de Beauvais," *Bulletin monumental* XI (1845), pp. 59-64. The other

- sculptural representations are Basel Cathedral, n. transept (Reinhardt *Das Baseler Munster*, pls. 64-6); San Zeno at Verona, w. facade and inside the tower (A. da Lisca, *La Basilica di S. Zenone in Verona*, figs. 51-5); Lausanne Cathedral (R. van Marie, *Iconographie de l'art profanell*, p. 190); and Trento Cathedral, n. transept (B. Passamani, *La Scultura Romanica del Trentino*, figs. 40-6).
15. Patch, *Goddess Fortuna*, p. 172.
 16. *Speculum Ecclesiae* (PL 172, col. 1057).
 17. Heiligenkreuz MS.130 fol. lv.; Basel Universitätsbibliothek Ms. D111.12 fol. 5r. (Constantinus Africanus, *Viaticum*); and Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin MS.83. fol. 214v. (Gregory the Great, *Moralia of Job*).
 18. *De consolatione* 2 poem 1: "When Fortune turns her wheel with her proud right hand, she is as unpredictable as the flooding Euripus." (Note, this and all other translations are taken from *Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy* trans. by R. Green).
 19. *Anticlaudianus* VIII.1: "For often, when exertion tires her right hand, the left succeeds it and succours its fatigued sister and drives the motion of the wheel more swiftly." (Note, this and all other translations are taken from *The Anticlaudian of Alain de Lille* trans. by A.W.H. Cornog).
 20. The same idea would seem to be in Alain of Lille as well: "Thus the rotation ravages all in turn, and tumbling Fortune varies vicissitudes." (*Anticlaudianus* VIII.1).
 21. Bern, Burgerbibliothek cod. 120/II, fol.146 (Peter of Eboli, *Sicilian Chronicle*) illustrated in Pickering, *Literature and Art*, ill.3a. and 3b.
 22. Paris, Bibliotheque nationale: Cabinet des Medailles, ca. 800.
 23. The following list while by no means exhaustive will, nonetheless give an idea of the variety of uses of the animal-headed throne from the 9th to the 12th century: Saint Gregory (*Letters from Saint Martin's Abbey*, Tournai Paris, Bibliotheque nationale lat. 2288 fol. 1); Otto III (*Gospels of Otto III* from Reichenau, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 4453 fol. 124); Mark (Munich Staatsbibliothek cod. lat. 4454); Lothair II (*Lothair Psalter* from Tours, London, British Museum Add. 37768 fol.4r.); Evangelists (*Ebbo Gospels* from Epernay, Bibliotheque Municipale MS. 1 fols. 60v. and 90v.); John (*Gospel of Saint Emmeram of Regensburg*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 14000 fol.97r.);

- Mark (*Ada Gospels*, Trier, Staatsbibliothek cod. 22);
 Saint Augustine (*Commentary of Saint Augustine*, Douai, Bibliotheque Municipale);
 Boethius (*De consolatione*, Cambridge, University Library I.i.3.12 fol. 6v.); and
 Fortune (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 2642 fol. 11r.). Animal-headed thrones also
 occasionally appear in stone sculpture as in the tympanum of the Munster in Basle
 which depicts Christ enthroned.
24. *Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 123v.
 25. See L. Reau, *Iconographie de l'art chretien* II, pp. 146f., which includes a list of the
 major occurrences of the theme.
 26. N. Berger, *Histoire des grands chemins de l'Empire*, p. 200; and E. Muntz, *Etudes
 iconographiques et archeologiques sur le moyen age*, p. 51.
 27. J.R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, p. 7.
 28. G. Cames, *Allegories et symboles dans l'Hortus Deliciarum*, p. 88.
 29. See W. Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII Jahrhun-
 derts* (Munster 1912).
 30. Courcelle, *Consolation de Philosophie*, ill. 37-1; cf. ills. 29-1 and 2, 31-1, 40, 50-1
 through 3, 54, 56, and 60.
 31. *Ibid.* ill. 37-1.
 32. *De consolatione* 2 prose 2: Croesus, King of Lydia (see Herodotus I.87) and Perses,
 King of Macedonia (see Livy, *Annales* XLV.7f.). In pictorial representations, the
 royal theme is often expressed by the so-called formula of four — *regno, regnavi,
 regnabo, sum sine regno* — see Patch, *Goddess Fortuna*, p. 164ff.
 33. *Anticlaudianus* VIII.1.
 34. On the fascinating history of this idea and the possible association between Orphic
 tradition and Christianity see J.M. Dibelius, *A Commentary on the Epistle of James*,
 pp. 196-8.
 35. E.K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*, pp. 151-6.
 36. "There is free will," Philosophy answered, "and no rational nature can exist which
 does not have it. For any being, which by its nature has the use of reason, must
 also have the power of judgment by which it can make decisions and, by its own
 resources, distinguish between things which should be desired and things which
 should be avoided. Therefore, in rational creatures there is also freedom of desir-
 ing and shunning. (*De consolatione* 5 prose 2).
 37. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 19.475 fol. 1, reproduced in R. Bultot,
 "Gramatica, Ethics et Contemptus Mundi," *Arts liberaux et philosophie au moyen
 age* (Congres international de philosophie medievale, 4th. Universite de Montreal,

- 1967), p. 824.
38. *De consolatione* 2 prose 2, 2 prose 1, and 1 prose 5, respectively.
 39. *De consolatione*, 2 poem 4.
 40. The various translations and commentaries are conveniently catalogued and briefly discussed by Courcelle, *Consolation de philosophie*, pp. 301-15. See also M. Manitius, "Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekenkatalogen," *Rheinischen Museum Ergänzungsheft* XLVII(1892), pp. 130-35; and M. Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekenkatalogen*, pp. 275-304, esp. pp. 286-93 listing the French holdings.
 41. Bultot in *Arts liberaux*, pp. 823-25.
 42. See E.K. Rand, "Boethius the Scholastic," in *Founders of the Middle Ages*, pp. 135-80; C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the 12th Century*, pp. 29, 81, and 114; and W.T.H. Jackson, *The Literature of the Middle Ages*, pp. 11 and 49.
 43. Beauvais was the birthplace of Fulcoius, a well-known poet of the 11th century, and the home of Ralph, the noted grammarian of the 12th century. See, respectively, M.I. Rousseau, *Folcoius of Beauvais: De nuptiis Christi et Ecclesiae* (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature XXII); and R.W. Hunt, "Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century, II," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, II (1950), pp. 11-16.
 44. J.W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 251; E. Boutaric, "Vincent de Beauvais et la connaissance de l'antiquité classique," *Revue des questions historiques*, XVII (1875), pp. 55-57; and H.A. Omont, "Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'église cathédrale de Beauvais," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris Mémoires*, XL (1916), pp. 1-93.
 45. Manitius, *Handschriften*, p. 286, catalogue entry 8. The library also housed a copy of *De arithmetica*, the important treatise on mathematics by Boethius.
 46. M. Guizot, *History of Civilization in France*, pp. 309f.: "Let it then be known to all present and to come, that our brother Henry, bishop of Beauvais, has complained to us against the citizens of Beauvais, his men, who, under cover of the communal right, acquiring new and illicit audacity, have usurped the privileges of the bishop and church of Beauvais, the right of justice which the bishop possesses over all and each of the borough..."
 47. Frater Laurentius Gallicus, *Somme le roi* I. 386-88. Translation by E. Male, *The Gothic Image*, p. 95. Of related interest is a mechanical model of a "Wheel of Fortune" by the 12th century abbot of Fecamp who used the contrivance to instruct his brethren in the ways of the world.



1. Saint-Etienne, Beauvais: north transept (D. McGee).



2. Saint-Etienne, Beauvais: north transept, rose (D. McGee).



3. Saint-Etienne, Beauvais: north transept, rose, bottom figure (E. Dufresne).



4. Saint-Etienne, Beauvais: north transept, rose, top figures (D. McGee).



5. Saint-Etienne, Beauvais: north transept, rose, lower left figure (D. McGee).