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Orate pro eo

The Signatures of the Goldsmiths' Works of Hugo d'Oignies

Abstract Hugo d'Oignies' case holds a unique position in the field of signatures, as no other treasury ensemble displays the presence, work and influence through various artefacts of one particular goldsmith to such an extent. The works all stem from, were housed in and created for the former treasury of the priory of canons regular of Oignies, where Hugo himself held various social roles. Hugo was not only a goldsmith in Oignies' priory, but also a donor and a regular canon—maybe even a scribe and illuminator. Thus, he was deeply entangled in the matters of the priory.

Hugo d'Oignies is one of the most important medieval goldsmiths known by name, due to his six name inscriptions and two self-portraits on and in several artefacts: on the bookbinding plates of a gospel book, on one of its' manuscript pages, on a chalice, and on a relic label in a reliquary, all created between 1228 and 1238. Some of the works

were made for newly acquired relics, generously donated by Jacques de Vitry (1160/70–1240), once himself a canon regular in Oignies, later Cardinal of Tusculum.

By analyzing the wording, the layout, the (in)visibility of the signatures in the interplay of the work as a whole, their spatial arrangements and thus their accessibility by different actors and audiences, the present paper discusses central communicative functions and the reception of the presence of the artist through his signatures and self-portraits within the ritual and liturgical structure and (choreographed) action scenarios of the priory and community of Oignies. Furthermore, means of communication of Hugo's self-referential works with supra-temporal and -spatial dimensions are discussed, as the community of the living was reminded to whom gratitude was due for the precious artefacts they used over many centuries, thus transcending Hugo's death.

Keywords Goldsmith's Art; Artists' Signatures; Praxeology; Hugo d'Oignies; Self-Representation of Artists

Introduction

Hugo d'Oignies is one of the most important goldsmiths known by name from the Meuse region, a leading religious and artistic hub, famous for the Romanesque style that radiated into various art genres and reached its peak from the 11th to the 13th century. Hugo's works display a *mise-en-œuvre* of various techniques and materials translated into the emerging Gothic style. Six name inscriptions and two self-portraits, all created between 1228 and 1238, bear witness to his authorship. Throughout the Middle Ages, signatures of goldsmiths are to be found on artefacts mainly intended for liturgy, such as chalices, patens, and reliquaries.¹ Though Hugo's signatures are not an isolated case, it is striking that several inscriptions that mention the name of one particular goldsmith are preserved in a single ensemble:

1 Examples in DIETL 2009, esp. in his catalogue and tables; see also LECLERCQ-MARX 2000 and LECLERCQ-MARX 2001.

on bookbinding plates of an Evangeliary, on a manuscript page of the Holy Scripture these plates once contained, on a chalice, and on a relic label in a rib reliquary.² The works all stem from and were housed in the former treasury of the priory of canons regular of Oignies.³ Besides being partly a local production created in and specifically for the priory by Hugo and his workshop, the *thesaurus* took on an international dimension due to significant donations of relics, precious stones, and *ornamenta ecclesiae* by Jacques de Vitry (1160/70–1240).⁴ He joined the priory as canon regular (1211–1216) before making a career, first as a crusade preacher, then as bishop of Acre (1216–1225), and later as Cardinal of Tusculum (1228–1240). His effort to work towards the canonization of Marie d’Oignies (1177–1213), a Beguine and mystic who lived close to the priory, brought a broader reputation to Oignies and, hence, more pilgrims.⁵ This development required the production of specific reliquaries and liturgical artefacts. It is at this intersection of different, but closely related devotional trends and movements, encompassing the crusades, the cult of relics, and the establishment of the gothic style, that Hugo d’Oignies was active within the priory, where he performed various social roles. He served as a donor, goldsmith, draughtsman, illuminator, and possibly even as a scribe. Much has been written on Hugo’s works.⁶ Hitherto, no detailed account sheds light on the spatial context and ritual practices in which Hugo’s signed artefacts (all linked to Jacques de Vitry) were implemented. These are the topics this paper will discuss, with a particular focus on the visibility of the signatures, the associated presence of the artist, and his reception within this praxeological agenda.

Life and Work of Hugo d’Oignies Based on the Sources

Except for his artefacts, which provide the earliest surviving mentions of his name and are thus important primary sources, Hugo is only referred to by name and function in a 15th century copy of a manuscript containing a chronicle of the priory of Oignies (*Historia foundationis venerabilis ecclesie beati Nicolai Oigniencensis*).⁷ The now lost original document is dated to shortly after 1289.⁸ The chronicle tells

2 See inventory lists of the priory from 1628: Arnoldus Rayssius, *Hierogazophilacium Belgium*, 386–387; and from 1648: COURTOY 1953, Appendices, II, 139; DIDIER/TOUSSAINT 2003, 191–304

3 Now on permanent display at the Musée des Arts Anciens du Namurois-Trésor d’Oignies (TreM.a).

4 See PONCELET 1912, XXXI, 102–103; DIDIER 2013, 78; FORMIGIONI 2003, 37–45.

5 See COLLET 2012, 18–20, 26.

6 For an overview of the secondary literature see DIDIER/TOUSSAINT 2003, 191–304, esp. 191–192.

7 The document is contained in the Archives de l’Etat in Mons, no. 54, Cartulaire du prieuré d’Oignies, fol. 1r–3r.

8 PONCELET 1912, II, note 1; cf. BERLIÈRE 1890–1897, 450.

of a man who lived in Walcourt around 1187 and had four sons, three of whom became priests—Aegidius, Robertus, and John. The fourth was Hugo, a famous goldsmith: *alter dictus est Hugo qui fuit in arte aurifabrice operator famosissimus*.⁹ It is reported that Aegidius sold his property in and around Walcourt, moved to an area on the Sambre called Oignies along with his mother and brothers around 1190 (after the death of the husband/father). They settled around a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, gathered like-minded people, professed to the rules of St. Augustine¹⁰, and elected Aegidius as their prior.¹¹ They lived *in communi* and were requested to relinquish any personal property or income of their own.¹² According to this foundation story, Hugo would have been directly involved in the founding of the priory.

The initial development of the priory is evident from the earliest donations of landed property to the chapter of canons of 1192 and 1198, which enabled them to build a new church that was consecrated by the bishop of Liège, Hugues de Pierrepont, in 1204.¹³

We know neither of Hugo's life and activities before and after his creative period between 1228–1238, nor of his place of training or the location and organisation of his workshop, but most probably the latter was located in or close to the priory of Oignies, and it was there that Hugo created the precious artefacts for use in the priory itself.¹⁴

Critical questions remain, however. Why are only works from within a limited time span of ten years preserved? What about Hugo's occupation during the roughly 35 years between the foundation of the priory and his first attested works?

9 A critical edition of the founding chronicle is provided in: HUYGENS 2012, Appendix II, 207–213, here 209.

10 See JOCQUÉ 2004, 45–63: The same *cartulaire* (see note 7) contains a 15th-century copy of the priory's *Constitutiones seu statuta monasterii nostri Oigniencensis*. The regular canons of Oignies followed the *Regula recepta*, i. e. the *Praeceptum*, preceded by the first phrase of the *ordo monasterii*, thus belonging to the *ordo antiquus*. The *regula recepta* is a moderate and the most widely used version of the Augustinian rules. The brothers wrote it down in 1251, after they had been ordered to do so twice (1243, 1250) during visitations. What kind of institutions the canons followed during the first 50 years after the foundation of the priory of Oignies seems to be an open question.

11 HUYGENS 2012, App. II, 211, 63–64; see JOCQUÉ 2004, 51.

12 Cf. JOCQUÉ 2004, 51.

13 LINK 1964, 32, esp. *ibid.*, notes 2 and 3: Until their destruction in 1940, the 1198 and 1204 documents were located in the Archives de l'Etat in Mons. The 1192 document is in the States Archive in Namur. For the wording of these documents, see PONCELET 1912, 2 (for 1192), 1 (for 1198) and 4 (for 1204). NOËL 2013, 53, is convinced the 1192 document must be a forgery from ca. 1250 due to paleographic characteristics; further, he lists more documents containing privileges for and land donations to the priory during the 13th century.

14 Recent excavations found only the 13th century refectory, but no indications of the presence or location of a scriptorium or a goldsmith's workshop yet, but it is likely that the latter was located in the priory's proximity.

Other sources indirectly point to the goldsmith and provide the basis for the institutional and religious context he was living in. In 1207, Marie of Nivelles, later known as Marie d'Oignies, joined a beguinage near the priory, where she died in 1213.¹⁵ Around 1215, Jacques de Vitry, her confessor, wrote her vita, which was expanded by a *supplementum* of Thomas of Cantimpré (dated to around 1230 and commissioned by prior Aegidius).¹⁶ Both authors refer to the prior's mother (who, like Marie d'Oignies, lived in the beguinage) as *mater fratrum de Oegnies and mater prioris* and as almost a hundred years of age—*anus fere centenaria*.¹⁷ This would confirm both the presence of the mother and her four sons in Oignies, as described in the chronicle. Due to the mother's advanced age in this time period between 1207 and 1213, Link suggests that Hugo must have been a readily trained goldsmith in his mid-forties on his arrival in Oignies in or around 1190, as he must have had little opportunity for education in the surrounding 'wasteland'.¹⁸ Shortly after 1238 (dating of the rib reliquary), he probably passed away, concludes Link. While I agree that the rib reliquary should be considered one of Hugo's latest works, it is hard to imagine that a fully trained goldsmith did not create more precious objects during more than three decades between the founding of the priory and his first documented works around 1228. It seems more plausible that in the early years of the priory (which was not a secluded monastery),¹⁹ Hugo ventured into the surrounding areas, which rather than being a 'wasteland' as Link insisted, offered monastic and episcopal workshops, such as Malonne, Namur or Liège. Perhaps he attended the influential school of Cambrai to learn his skills before he eventually established a workshop in Oignies. Because his brothers lived in relative poverty, they might not have been able to afford the costly materials Hugo needed for his work. However, they must have had at their disposal at least some form of makeshift or improvised liturgical objects in order to celebrate mass. Hugo most likely melted down pre-existing artefacts and used materials that were donated to the priory.²⁰

15 For further reading on Marie d'Oignies: MULDER-BAKKER 2006.

16 Thomas Cantipratensis, *Supplementum* (CCCM), ed. by Huygens, 167, 1–3; cf. OSTEN-SACKEN 2010, 86.

17 Iacobus de Vitriaco, *Vita Marie de Oegnies* (CCCM), ed. by Huygens, 106, Liber II, 296–299; Thomas Cantipratensis, *Supplementum* (CCCM), ed. by Huygens, 179, § 10, 355.

18 See LINK 1964, 34–35.

19 Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, ed. by Hinnebusch, Cap. XXI, 130–132. J. d. Vitry mentions the virtuous canons regular of *sancti Nicholai de Oignies* (ibid., 132, 9). He stressed that canons regular in general are permitted to perform pastoral care and preside over parish churches (*Animarum curas licitum est eis suscipere et ecclesias parochiales regere*; ibid., 131, 8–14) as the priests of Oignies did in the vicinity of their priory on various occasions (cf. JOUQUÉ 2004, 45–63). However, Jacques de Vitry's writings never mention our goldsmith explicitly, probably because they precede Hugo's signed artefacts.

20 See COLLET 2012, 18, 32.

The Evangeliary of Oignies

The Evangeliary bookbinding plates (Fig. 1) were made between 1228 and 1230.²¹ Two oak boards are decorated lavishly.

On the front and back, the lid is framed on the outside by a filigree leaf ornament of gilded silver, bordered by a golden beaded band, and adorned with precious stones and *intagli*. This is complemented by a frame of silver plating with a vine ornament. The front shows a central crucifixion scene with Mary and John, framed by mounted metal strips with vegetal ornamentation, while the central scene on the back, a *Majestas Domini*, is framed on all four sides by inscription strips. The latter depiction with the symbols of the four Evangelists in the corners refers to the vision of God's throne in the Apocalypse (4:6–8). Six niello plates are in the outer frame zone. The top left and right show incense-bearing cherubs. The upper plate shows drolleries, the lower one dragons. On the lower right niello plate, an enthroned bishop figure is identified as St. Nicholas. On the left is a figure wearing a tonsure,



Fig. 1: Hugo d'Oignies, Evangeliary bookbinding plates, oak base, silver, niello, gilt, precious stones, intaglios, cameos, enamel, 32.5 × 23.2 × 2 cm, post 1228 – c. 1230, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 01.

21 HERMAND 2003, 165–179.

identified by the inscription hVGO (Fig. 2). Kneeling, he raises his hands and offers Christ a book—more specifically, the Evangeliary.

The layout of the inscription is very suggestive, for it “surrounds the central *Majestas Domini* on all sides [Fig. 3], as if Hugo wanted to bring his plea and his hymn of praise as close as possible to God”.²²

The inscription reads:

+ LIBER : SCRIPTVS : INTVS : ET : FORIS : /
 HVGO : SCRIPSIT : INTVS : QUESTV : FORIS : MANV : + ORATE : PRO : EO : /
 + ORE : CANVNT : ALII : CHRISTVM : CANIT : /
 ARTE : FABRILI : HVGO : SVI : QUESTV : SCRIPTA : LABORIS : ARANS.²³

The inscription is interpreted in different ways, especially due to different possible translations of the word *questu*, which is used twice. The first interpretation translates *questu* as “acquisition” or “cost” and assumes a commissioning aspect of *questus*: “The book is written. Hugo wrote it from the inside and the outside. Inside he had it written at his own expense, outside with his artist’s hand. Pray for him. Others sing of Christ with their mouths, with his goldsmith’s art Hugo sings of him, having the Gospels copied with the wages of his labour.” In this case, Hugo made the binding and had the Gospels written by a scribe at his expense. Leclercq-Marx thinks that this is supported by the fact that the words *scripsit manu* refer to *foris* but not to *intus*, which would only emphasize the goldsmith’s own hand-work.²⁴

I lean towards the second interpretation of *questu* as “lamentations” or “laboriousness of work”. Following Toussaint’s translation, the inscription reads: “Livre écrit à l’intérieur et l’extérieur par le travail de sa main. Priez pour lui. D’autres emploient leur voix à chanter le Christ, Hugo chante par son art, traçant son sujet malgré les difficultés du travail.”²⁵ Courtoy accepts this translation: “Hugo l’a écrit à l’intérieur avec des gémissements.”²⁶ Tino Licht recommends translating *questus* as “performance/activity/care” and *arans* from *arare* as “ploughing”, a metaphor for the strenuous work of creating or writing.

As we will see further, Hugo might have had more functions in the creation of the Evangeliary and might not only have been the donor and goldsmith of the plates. We must consider though, that the differentiation of *manu* and *questu* excludes the possibility of a single person who was responsible for all the work stages that were necessary to create the book of gospels (e. g. the procurement of the materials, the

22 Translation by M. T.; original quote in: BERGMANN 1985, 136–137.

23 DIDIER/TOUSSAINT 2003, 195.

24 See LECLERCQ-MARX 2003, 146.

25 TOUSSAINT 1880, 45.

26 See COURTOY 1953, 20. A correction is due, as Courtoy translates *questu* in the plural form (“gémissements”), whereas it should be a singular form (“gémissément”).



Fig. 2: Hugo d'Oignies, Evangeliary book-binding plates, detail: Hugo's self-portrait, post 1228 – c. 1230, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 01.



Fig. 3: Hugo d'Oignies, Evangeliary bookbinding plates, detail: back with *Majestas Domini* framed by the inscription, post 1228 – c. 1230, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 01.

preparation of the manuscript pages, and the binding). So, to avoid a strict definition of Hugo's part in the interior of the book, but rather to leave the matter open, the translation would read: "[...] Hugo wrote it, inside by his performance, outside with the hand of an artist. Pray for him. Others sing of Christ with their voice, Hugo sings of him with his artistry and ploughs the scriptures with the performance of his work." If Hugo was indeed the scribe, Tino Licht suggests the following translation: "The book is written inside and out. Hugo wrote it inside with care, outside with an artist's hand. Pray for him. Others use their voice to sing of Christ, where Hugo copied the gospels (*scripta*) with his thorough care (*questu sui laboris*)."²⁷

The evocation of the laboriously executed work accompanied by lamentation, meant to atone and to serve God in expectation of a heavenly reward, is a topos of the writer.²⁸ From sources we also know of personalities who were virtuously trained, such as Odorannus of Sens (d. ca. 1046), a Benedictine monk in the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in Sens—a goldsmith, architect, music theorist, biographer, and author of various theological and liturgical writings;²⁹ as well as the priest-monk and goldsmith who called himself "Theophilus presbyter"³⁰ and wrote in his *Schedula diversarum artium* about the various materials and techniques, and the liturgical purpose of goldsmiths' work.³¹ Hence, a goldsmith like Hugo, with access to a priory with a vivid *vita religiosa*, could have been a *literatorus*, knowledgeable of sacred scripture, scriptural practices, and skilled in various arts.³²

Following this hypothesis further, the inscription has a learnt form. The first part of the inscription (including *orate pro eo*) is written in prose, the second in leonine hexameter (ORE CANVT ALII CRISTVM CANIT ARTE FABRILI HVGO).³³ The "book written within and without" alludes to both the Book of Ezekiel (2:10) and the Apocalypse (6:1)³⁴, whose first large vision is located centrally on the back plate.³⁵ The signature also tells us that Hugo understood his goldsmithing as a form of praising Christ.

Inventories often list precious Evangeliaries amongst the *ornamenta ecclesiae* as part of the treasury according to two categories: cover material and text genre. In the case of Hugo's bookbinding plates, this is no different in the inventory of 1648: "Première, le livre de l'Evangille, manuscrit en parchemin, couvert de lames

27 I kindly thank Tino Licht for his thoughtful suggestions.

28 See REUDENBACH 2020, especially the paragraph "Körperliche Qualen", 181–182 and 186–187.

29 See Odorannus de Sens. *Opera omnia*, ed. and transl. by R. H. Bautier and M. Gilles, musical part by M.-E. Duchez and M. Huglo.

30 For a discussion of the identity of Theophilus see BREPOHL 2013, esp. 26–30.

31 Theophilus Presbyter, *De diversis artibus*, in: BREPOHL 2013, esp. Book 3 (Goldsmithing).

32 More examples of literate goldsmiths who had knowledge of biblical texts: DIDIER 2013, 71–72.

33 LINK 1964, 23, note 3.

34 LINK 1964, 23.

35 Cf. LECLERCQ-MARX 2003, 146.

d'argent relevé en bosse.”³⁶ As the book of gospels contained the *verbum Dei*, it represented Christ himself.³⁷ The sacramental implication of the holy scripture legitimized an appropriate splendid binding,³⁸ which revalues not only the book cover and the sacred scripture itself but also the donor-artist. Hugo’s name is inscribed three times on the back side, very close to important actors in the pictorial program. The composition and deposition of the self-references are intended to be as close as possible to sacred texts and the events of salvation. On the right side, his name begins at the top next to an eagle, the symbol of John the Evangelist. This results in a doubling of the name Hugo from the niello plate to the inscription strip next to it on the throne level of Christ. The visual axis leads from Hugo directly to Christ. The inscription leaves no doubt that Hugo’s hand made the binding and that he also donated it.³⁹

Hugo also left his name and image in the manuscript of the Book of the Gospels (Fig. 4). In the lower left margin of fol. 11r, we can see a tonsured kneeling figure that is identified by the writing on the rotulus in his left hand: “hVGO”, written in identical letters as on the bookbinding plate, thus giving the impression of a standardised label.

The figure seems to hold another tool in his right. Is it supposed to be a stylus for drawing, writing, or illuminating?

As for Hugo’s skills as a draughtsman, Didier pointed to the detailed crucifixion scene on Hugo’s chalice (see below), which suggests that he was familiar with Villard de Honnecourt’s drawing of a crucifixion or that both men drew from a similar source.⁴⁰



Fig. 4: Hugo d'Oignies, Book of the Holy Scriptures of the Priory of Oignies, detail: Hugo in the margins, fol. 11r, post 1228 – c. 1230, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 02.

36 COURTOY 1953, Appendices, II, 139, no 9.

37 REUDENBACH 2009, 71.

38 In Frauke Steenbocks work on ecclesiastical splendour binding, more than 60 of 127 catalogue entries are gospel books. That shows the custom to equip Evangelaries with lavish bindings. See STEENBOCK 1965.

39 Cf. BERGMANN 1985, 136.

40 See DIDIER 2013, 79–81; see also Crucifixion, Villard de Honnecourt, Recueil de dessins. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 19093, fol. 8 r. For the usage of models from 12th–15th century see: BORLÉE/TERRIER ALIFERIS 2018, as well as TERRIER ALIFERIS 2020.

Was Hugo the scribe of the manuscript? While we may assume that Hugo d'Oignies could read and write, we lack adequate handwritten sources that are undoubtedly attributable to Hugo himself for paleographical comparison. Usually, the production of manuscripts required more hands and a division of labour for the preparation of the pages, the illumination of initials, and the writing.⁴¹

Herman examined the content and layout of the manuscript and concluded that the manuscript was written by one hand, meaning a single scribe, in a large-format *littera gothica textualis*, a common font for liturgical books of the 13th century.⁴² Hence, there is no clear indication that Hugo was the scribe, though there is also no undisputable evidence that speaks against it.

It is, however, highly likely that Hugo was (at least) an illuminator, as the manuscript's pictorial evidence implies. A comparison of both self-portraits, the one in metal and the one on parchment, marks Hugo as a donor in the type of a devotional image,⁴³ as there are no tools in his hand but only the book he offers to Christ himself. Only the inscription reveals his function as an artist and might hint towards him being a scribe. By contrast, the illuminated self-portrait, though showing Hugo in the same posture, shows a rotulus⁴⁴ and a tool in his right hand. Thus, the same artist who depicted himself twice apparently wanted to show his various functions through different materials and image solutions.

Secondly, Hugo's figure is depicted on a light brown background that also frames a vertically elongated I-initial on the left side, consisting of stylised leafy tendrils ending in two entwined dragons at the top. The latter seems to emerge from Hugo's head (Fig. 5)—which could be interpreted as a hint that it was indeed Hugo who invented the written and pictorial program of the manuscript. While Hugo's depiction is the only figural miniature, more initials in a great variety of shapes can be found at points in the manuscript where various biblical texts of the gospels begin; yet these are simpler, making folio 11r the real eye-catcher of the manuscript.

The text on the right of the I-initial ends with the shepherds parting from witnessing baby Jesus (Luke 2:20). The "I" of the *Incipit* marks the beginning of the opening gospel reading of the Christmas Mass (John 1:1–14): "I(n principio erat Verbum)", i. e. the beginning of the book of Genesis. A correlation can be identified between the concept of God as *Deus artifex*, who creates the world through his divine *operatio*, his *labor Dei*, and the *artifex*, who creates his works through divine *inspiratio*⁴⁵: Hugo, who is responsible for this page, kneels humbly under the mighty story of God's creation, the very beginning of the world, which ultimately also hints at the end, the apocalypse, and hence, at the eschatological concept of salvation.

41 For further reading see EBERLEIN 1995. See also HERMAND 2003, 172.

42 HERMAND 2003, 166–167.

43 See BERGMANN 1985, 142.

44 Example of another donor holding a rotulus: ROLAND 2008, 222–223 ("Ditricus-Bible", ca. 1341).

45 More on that concept: REUDENBACH 2006, esp. 20.

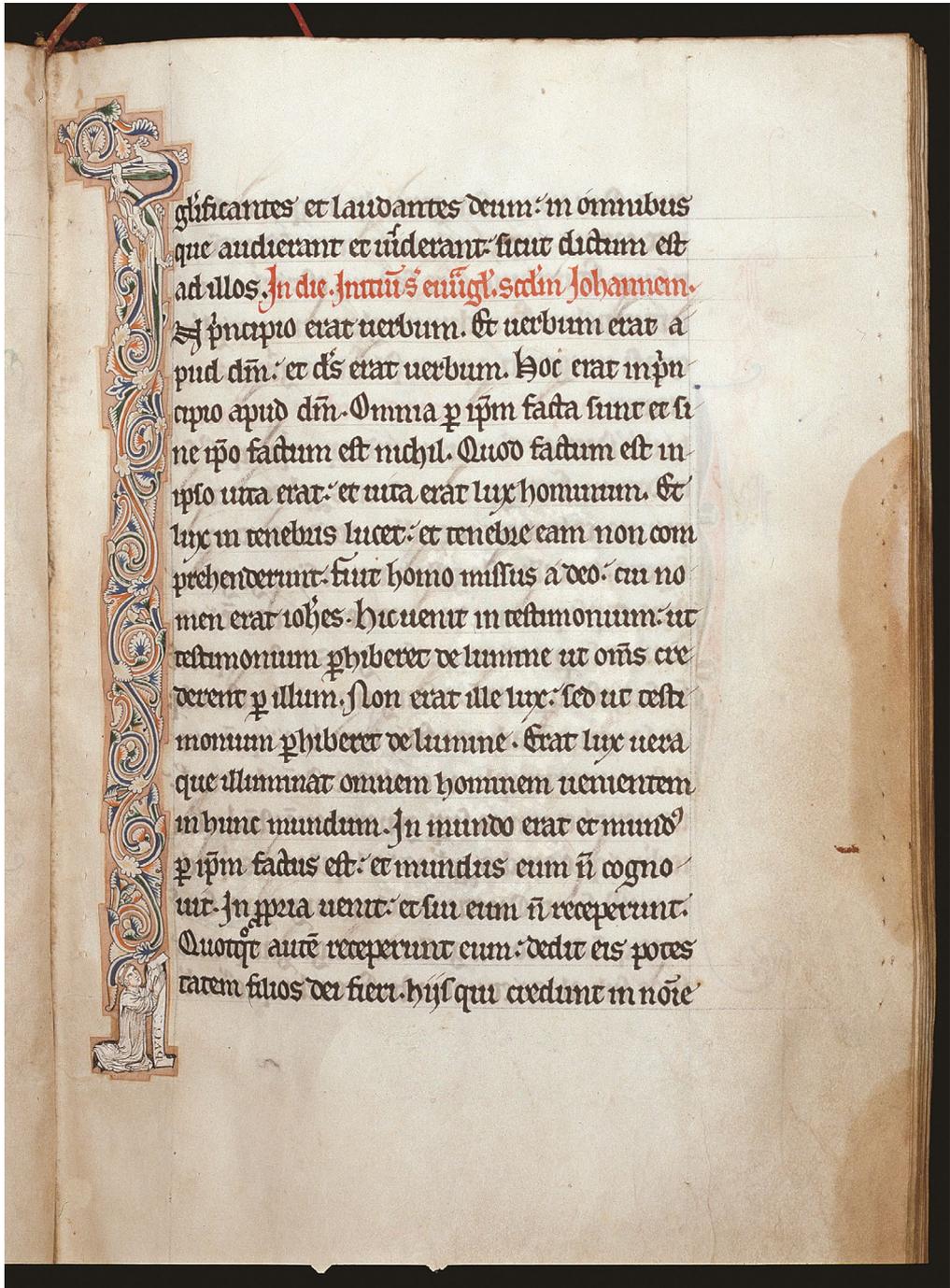


Fig. 5: Hugo d'Oignies, Book of the Holy Scriptures of the Priory of Oignies, fol. 11r, post 1228 – c. 1230, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 02.

It is no coincidence that Hugo places his self-portrait exactly there. He is forever linked to this supratemporal narrative by name and portrait. His white habit could be linked not only to his affiliation to the priory but also to the Secret Revelation: “the Victor will thus be clothed in white robes, and I will never blot out his name from the book of life, and I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels (Rev. 3:5).”⁴⁶ Thus, the Evangeliary that contained the gospels symbolises the book of the living and the dead, the *liber vitae*.⁴⁷ It is this book that Christ is holding in Hugo’s depiction of the *Majestas Domini*. Mary and John also hold books in the crucifixion scene on the front. Hugo refers to his book in both his inscriptions and images. “These self-referential moments of the book communicate symbolically with other (in)visible sacred writings.”⁴⁸ Hence, as Ganz concludes, the book covers evoked a communication “between earth and heaven”, “between the ritual present, the past history of salvation”, and “the eschatological future”.⁴⁹

According to the Revelation, only those whose names are recorded in the *Libri vitae*, the celestial book that contains the names of the righteous, will be saved.⁵⁰ Therefore, the name has a great significance for personal salvation.

Who could see the signatures and inscriptions, which required a close-up of the beholder—and under what conditions?

The prior, as head of the community, held the highest authority, but there would have also been liturgical offices such as a sub-deacon and a deacon. Chapters of canons were staffed by ordained clerics, who could be assisted by lay servants who were not necessarily full members of the community. An appointed custodian, commonly a treasurer or sacristan, would take care of the precious objects and liturgical vessels.⁵¹

At least on holidays and important church festivities, lay participation in the masses and processions was common, especially for religious houses that administered parish churches, and whose members performed the *cura animarum*. Jacques de Vitry reports that on Sundays, lay people from different areas usually attended the canons’ service in their conventual church.⁵² However, one must reckon with a spatial separation of some kind between the secular and clerical spheres and between the male members of the community and the women, such as the Beguines, who seem to have been attached to the priory of canons of Oignies in one form or another.⁵³

46 See EUW 1996, 22.

47 See EUW 1996, esp. 30.

48 GANZ 2014, 106f. Translation by M. T.

49 GANZ 2014, 110. Translation by M. T.

50 See cf. BERGMANN 1985, 128; BURG 2007, 62. See Rev. 3:5, 13:8, 17:8, 20:12–15, 21:27.

51 See JUNGSMANN 1962, vol. 1, 565–583.

52 Iacobus de Vitriaco, *Vita Marie de Oegnies* (CCCM), ed. by Huygens, 151, Lib. II, 1396–1399: *Prior autem domus nostre gravisus est, eo quod die sequenti, scilicet die dominica, de diversis partibus solent homines seculares ad ecclesiam nostram convenire...*

53 I kindly thank Jürgen Bärsch for this specification.

According to Thomas of Cantimpré, at the feast for the Holy Trinity, the prior celebrated mass with the women of Oignies, seemingly without the male members of his community.⁵⁴

In what manner was the Evangeliary of Oignies included in performative rites? By the structure of the manuscript, it is a book specifically designed for liturgical use according to the Roman rite, as it includes successive cycles of the *Temporal* and *Sanctoral*, with periscopes that guide the user through the liturgical readings.⁵⁵ The staging of the Evangeliary in the Liturgy of the Word is one of the highlights of the mass. As the book of the gospels represents Christ himself, every place, performance, and attendant needed to be dignified accordingly.⁵⁶ During mass, liturgical books are subject to a hierarchy of differing practices and rituals and handled by various actors. In the beginning, the Evangeliary book is carried into the church, escorted by candle, and incense bearers.⁵⁷ In this context, the depiction of the incense-waving cherubs on the niello plates on the reverse of the book are interesting. Do they refer to the praxeological agenda of the entry of the Evangeliary into the church? The angels not only adulate Christ in the *Majestas Domini* but are in a framing zone with the images of St. Nicholas and the book-bearing Hugo, ennobling the depicted. Donating a precious Evangeliary meant high prestige for the donor because the book was an indispensable part of the celebration of mass.⁵⁸

After entering the church, at the solemn mass (*Missa sollemnia*) the proclamation was given to the deacon, who received the blessing of reading from the priest in front of him, and carried the Evangeliary to the ambo. He became the medium of the *verbum Dei* by reciting what is written and what only he could see.⁵⁹ The congregation was reached by the spoken or sung word. Hence, the ritual texts reflected a “restringierte Schriftpräsenz” (“restricted presence of writing”) because the writing was physically present, but not visible for all.⁶⁰ Finally, the closed book was placed on the altar and eventually returned to the church treasury.⁶¹ During mass, the book cover was only partially visible when it was carried to the ambo for reading. The back of the Evangeliary came into direct contact with the altar table when it was laid down. The depiction of the moment of the donation and Hugo’s signatures and portrait, as well as the *Majestas Domini*, then remained hidden from earthly viewers. Even if Hugo’s name was not read out loud, his presence inside and outside of the sacred book that touched the main altar, the Blessed

54 Thomas Cantipratensis, *Supplementum* (CCCM), ed. by Huygens, 179–180, § 10.

55 More on the structure of the content of the gospel book manuscript of Oignies: HERMAND 2003, 167–170.

56 See HEINZER 2009, 45–48.

57 GANZ 2014, 91; cf. *ibid.*, note 26; cf. GUSSONE 1995, 202–209; cf. LENTES 2006, 136–138.

58 Cf. BERGMANN 1985, 138.

59 See JUNGSMANN 1962, vol. 1, 565–583.

60 GANZ 2014, 85, 87. For “restringierte Schriftpräsenz” see FRESE 2014, 1–15.

61 GANZ 2010, 202.



Fig. 6: Hugo d'Oignies, Evangelary book-binding plates, detail: traces of use and various restorations, post 1228 – c. 1230, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 01.

Sacrament, evoked a transcendental proximity to the heavenly recipients of his pious works (that were made to praise them) and (in a moment of reciprocity), reflected Hugo's request for the intercession of the saints.

Evangelaries could also be carried in processions.⁶² We are lacking the proper sources on a possible *processio per officinas claustra* in Oignies as a form of a special rite of entry with heightened performative acts on Sundays and feast days before the main Mass. Such solemn processions commonly included carrying other sacred artefacts, such as crosses and reliquaries, which sanctified the spaces with their presence.⁶³ Certainly, the precious material had an immense effect in candlelight or daylight, but details were not legible due to their scale and the light reflection, and likely, the back of the bookbinding was not visible throughout the rite. The outlines of the prominent crucifixion scene on the front could certainly be understood in its symbolism by the audience. We do not know if certain individuals engaged in a *lectio divina* with Hugo's Evangelary, memorising the *verbum Dei* in contemplation, and responded to Hugo's call to prayer.⁶⁴

Furthermore, an analysis of the material aspect, especially the state of conservation of the Evangelary implies that the magnificent book was appreciated and used for centuries. Indications of this are the traces of use on the bookbinding plates, and various restorations through time of varying quality (Fig. 6).⁶⁵ In conclusion, Hugo's name, image and pious contribution in life, as well as his request for prayer transcended his death, as it was transmitted throughout time and many generations of beholders.

62 Cf. GANZ 2010, 200–201: e. g. the closed Evangelary of Bernward of Hildesheim was carried in processions.

63 HEINZER 2009, 52–55.

64 GANZ 2014, 110.

65 According to Françoise Urban, a metal restorer who worked on the binding plates (cleaning without dismantling), and from the X-rays taken, it is clear that in particular, some filigane parts have been completed, in parts with melted silver coins, others reassembled in reverse. For the nielloed plates, it is indeed not so clear. I thank Fiona Lebecque from the Société archéologique de Namur for this information.

The Chalice of Oignies

The chalice (Fig. 7), which came in a set together with an unsigned paten (which is also attributed to Hugo),⁶⁶ bears written testimony to Hugo's authorship and his affiliation with the priory of Oignies. The uncial inscription decorates the entire foot rim (Fig. 8).

The inscription reads: + HUGO : ME : FECIT : ORATE : PRO : EO : CALIX : ECCLESIE : BEATI : NICHOLAI : DE : OIGNIES : AVE : It translates to: "Hugo made me, pray for him. Chalice of the blessed church of Nicolaus of Oignies. Ave."

The position of this inscription is not innovative. Other goldsmiths, like brother Bertinus in 1222,⁶⁷ also used the circumferential bases of chalices for their signatures.

The position of Hugo's signature, which is in the same lettering as on



Fig. 7: Hugo d'Oignies, Chalice, silver gilt and niello, 17.8 × 15.4 cm, 1228, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 03.



Fig. 8: Hugo d'Oignies, Chalice, silver gilt and niello, 17.8 × 15.4 cm, detail: Hugo's signature, 1228, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 03.

⁶⁶ See COURTOY 1953, 30, fig. 10. See SKUBISZEWSKI 2003, 99–131.

⁶⁷ DIDIER 2013, 76; cf. EUW 1985, 455–457, no. C37. Brother Bertinus, Chalice, silver and silver gilt, 1222, made in possibly Meuse Valley, Northern Europe, The Cloisters Collection, New York, Inv. No. 47.101.30. Inscription on the chalice: AD HONOREM B[EATE] MARIE VIRGINIS F[RATER] BERTINUS ME FECIT + A[N] MCCXXII ("To the honor of the blessed virgin Mary brother Bertinus made me in the year 1222"); cf. BARNET/WU 2012, 73.

the bookbinding plate and on fol. 11r, is directly behind the single invocation cross of the inscription. The symbol of the cross, the most common sign of salvation in medieval Christian art, amplifies the request for prayer in combination with the performative act of striking the sign of the cross, which each consecration of a sacred artefact required.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the cross directs the gaze both to the right, i. e. to the name of the goldsmith directly behind it, and up to the crucifixion scene directly above it. In the first third of the 13th century, the crucifixion is the most frequent and most important scene on chalices and patens,⁶⁹ whose semantic value for the Eucharist lies in the transformation and “participation in the blood and body of Christ” (1 Cor. 10:16).⁷⁰

As for the chalice communion, various prayers initiated the consecration, amongst them the *Memento vivorum* and *Communicantes* that could include an intercession for the living and the dead. Generally, the consecration takes place after these introductory prayers by the celebrant, who acts as Christ’s representative. Depending on the time and place, an *elevatio* of the host and chalice took place before or after this consecration in order to present them to the faithful present. Then, more canon prayers follow, introduced by the *Unde et memores*⁷¹, which commemorates Christ’s passion, his sacrifice on the cross, his resurrection, and his ascension.⁷² It is this sacrifice on the cross and the intrinsic symbolic meaning of salvation, that is depicted as the most important scene on Hugo’s chalice.

After this introduction, the priest’s communion took place without any accompanying prayers, followed by the communion of the rest of the faithful.⁷³ Due to the high material value and the nature of the inscription on the chalice, I assume that the chalice of Oignies did not serve as a donation or absolution chalice, but as a consecration chalice, in which the wine was transformed—a task incumbent on the priest presiding at the mass.⁷⁴ There might have been a lay communion in the convent church of Oignies on special occasions, but the appropriate documentation is lacking.

Touching the host and the chalice was the sole responsibility of the priest and deacons in the 13th century. The priest communicated directly from the chalice. If lay communion was not customary, he consumed the bread and wine on behalf of the whole congregation.⁷⁵ In the case of the Oignies chalice, we may assume that the celebrating priest held the chalice in front of him, perhaps with the crucifixion scene as the most important scene before his eyes. In this important liturgical mo-

68 See “Kreuzeszeichen”, in: ANGENENDT 1997, 415.

69 SIEBERT 2015, 86, with examples. See also BRANDT 2019, 90–107, and SKUBISZEWSKI 2003, 99–132.

70 ANGENENDT 1994, 33. Translation by M. T.

71 SIEBERT 2015, 8–9.

72 SIEBERT 2015, 8–9.; Luke 22:19.

73 SIEBERT 2015, 9; *ibid.* note 19; JUNGSMANN 1958, vol. 2, 446ff..

74 JUNGSMANN 1958, vol. 2, 474.

75 SIEBERT 2015, 13.

ment, only he could see Hugo's signature directly under the crucifixion scene. Yet Hugo's name might have been included in the introductory prayers and intercessions for the living and the dead.

It is plausible that the chalice was made for the occasion of Jacques de Vitry's consecration of the new conventual church between 1228 and 1229.⁷⁶ If this is indeed the case, and the chalice was designated for use at the main altar of Saint-Nicolas d'Oignies, Jacques de Vitry, at that time a high ranking official of the Roman church, would have led the ceremony. This would add another dimension to the meaningfulness of the chalice for the artist whose name and request for prayer it bears: the higher the rank of the advocate and the higher the value of his good deeds, the more success the prayer provided.⁷⁷

The Rib Reliquary of Oignies

The rib reliquary (Fig. 9) stands on a circular foot that is supported by three dragons and is divided into eight sharp-edged lancets that extend up to the neck of the foot. Each lancet shows a chased figure in front of a smooth ground, always alternating between an enthroned Mary with the baby Jesus and a seated bishop, which is directly linked to the priory of Oignies: Augustine, Lambertus, Saint Nicholas, and Servatius. Above the lancets, columns reach up to support a strong nodus in the form of a depressed sphere. A smooth shaft with leaf friezes follows. On either side, two round sculptural volutes emerge, supported by thin segmental struts. This formula is also found in the drawing of the Crucifixion on folio 8 of Villard de Honnecourt's famous book of drawings.⁷⁸ The diverging volutes frame a small relic chamber, and they support a strong semicircular arch opening upwards, the inner circle of which is about the same diameter as the base.



Fig. 9: Hugo d'Oignies, Rib reliquary of St Peter, 1238, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 05.

76 Thomas Cantipratensis, *Supplementum* (CCCM), ed. by Huygens, 193–194, § 19. Cf. COLLET 2012, 13. Collet suggests that Hugo might have been the donor of the chalice, but does not give reasons for this hypothesis; *ibid.*, 8.

77 ALTHOFF 2014, 93.

78 See above in the subchapter on the gospel book (note 40).



Fig. 10: Hugo d’Oignies, Rib reliquary of St Peter, detail: backside with inscription, 1238, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 05.

The front and back of the semicircle are similarly designed with small tendrils, foliage, and precious stones.

The back of the semicircle (Fig. 10) shows a small panel both on the left and right, decorated with ornamentation and an inscription, both nielloed. Starting with the left panel, the nielloed inscription in uncial on the outer edge says: *IN HOC VAS HABETUR* and continues on the right panel, *COSTA PETRI APP.* – “In this vessel is a rib of the apostle Peter.” The semicircular form that houses the relic allows the beholder to assume from which body part of the saint a relic was taken. It is thus a ‘talking reliquary’.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ DIDIER/TOUSSAINT 2003, 204–210; cf. BRAUN 1940, 386–388. See *ibid.*, “Redende Reliquiare”, 380.

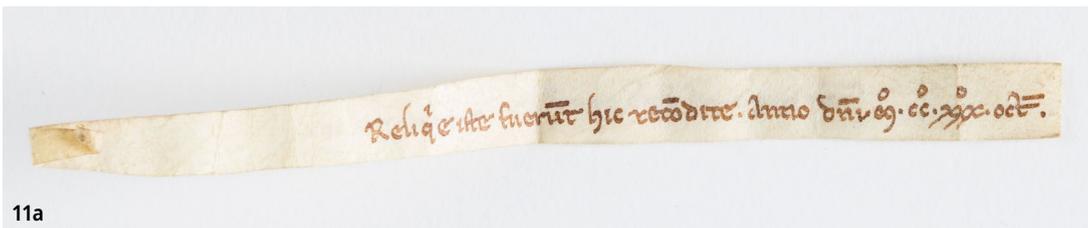
In the centre of the round arch, as an extension of the reliquary shaft and framed by four gild columns with nielloed ornaments, a rock crystal cylinder with a conical roof and nodus rises. This central piece protrudes minimally above the side pieces.

Inside the cylinder, wrapped in red fabric, is a parchment with writing on both sides (Figs. 11a–b): The front reads: *Reliq(ui)e iste fueru(n)t hic reco(n)dite. Anno D(omi)ni M.CC.XXX. oct(avo)*. The back reads: *Frat(er) Hugo vas istud op(era)t(us) est. Orate pro eo* (“These relics were buried (stored) here in the year of our Lord 1238. Brother Hugo made this vessel. Pray for him”).

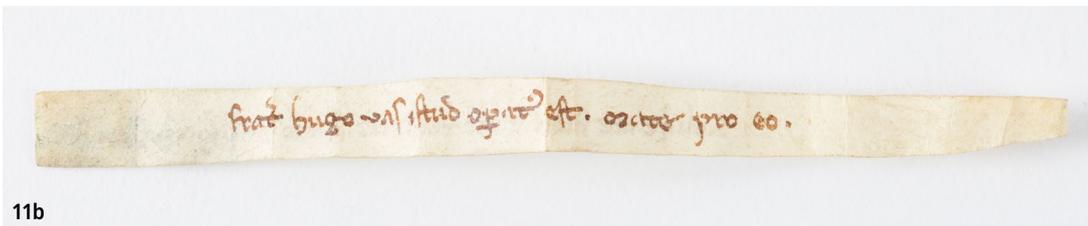
The parchment provides the only indication as to the dating of Hugo’s oeuvre. The fact that the relics were transferred to the precious reliquary in 1238 makes it plausible that the artefact and its relic label were created around that year.

Interestingly, the relics inside are specified on the niello plates on the reliquary itself, while the relic label does not name the saint from whom the relic was taken. Instead, it provides a date for the sealing of the relic in that very vessel, together with the name of the artist, his function as *frater* (a member of a religious community), and requests to pray for him.

Throughout medieval times, we find signatures of artists inscribed on the reliquaries they made, as well as relic labels inside the vessel that name a scribe and maybe a donor, but as to my current state of research, the relic label of the rib reliquary of Oignies is the only known example that gives the name of the artist who made the very reliquary that housed the relics.⁸⁰ Hugo’s name is to be found in the



11a



11b

Figs. 11a–b: Hugo d’Oignies (?), Relic label from the Rib Reliquary of Saint Peter, 1238, Namur, Museum of Ancient Arts (TreM.a), Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, donated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Inv. No. TO 05.

⁸⁰ I thank Kirsten Wallenwein for that information. Example of a scribe’s name on an early medieval relic label from the cathedral treasury in Sens, though not directly linked to a reliquary: PROU 1898–1899, 160, no. 121: (verso) *et scripsit Bernoinus presbyter indignus*

intimate interior of the vessel, close to the relic of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, who holds the keys to the gates of paradise (Mt. 16:18f.).⁸¹ Likely, the goldsmith would have reflected on the high ranking position and function of the saint for whom he created a reliquary. His request for prayer close to St. Peter is no coincidence.

Who wrote the label? It is likely that the same person inscribed both sides. The writing is common in Hugo's time.⁸² Hermand states, "selon toute probabilité, la main qui exécuta l'Évangélaire n'est pas celle qui traça cette inscription."⁸³ Seemingly, according to Hermand, we cannot attribute both the relic label and the manuscript of the Evangeliary to Hugo. That does not need to hold true, because the handwriting on a short label might look different than a skilfully calligraphed scripture for a gospel book.⁸⁴ Further paleographic analysis is due, however.

According to Martène and Durand, the relic was donated by Jacques de Vitry.⁸⁵ The tomb of St. Peter belonged to the most prestigious pilgrimage destination in Latin Christianity, and since Jacques de Vitry was appointed as cardinal bishop of Tusculum in 1229, he had every opportunity to access and donate the relic and certify its authenticity.⁸⁶

In which scenario was the rib reliquary accessible, and for which audience? Was it carried in processions or shown at the Feast of St. Peter?⁸⁷ Was one of the side altars dedicated to him, and the reliquary adorned it? Other priests/canons could celebrate numerous masses at side altars, usually without the participation of the faithful.⁸⁸

Whatever the liturgical custom, the relic label remained hidden from the eye of the earthly beholder, except for possible instances of an examination of the relics.⁸⁹ We encounter yet again moments of a 'restricted presence of writing'. The latter, and thus its function and effect (*memoria*, authentication), was present but rarely visible.⁹⁰

peccatur. One of the relic labels from the crucifix of Ringelheim (Hildesheim, Dom-museum) reads: (verso) *Bernwardus episcopus*. Bernward might have been the writer of the label and the donor of the cross (see SCHUFFELS 1993, 247–250 and catalogue entry 497).

81 ANGENENDT 1994, 225–229.

82 COURTOY 1953, 152.

83 HERMAND 2003, 178, note 33.

84 See LICHT/WALLENWEIN 2021, XVI and XXXIV refer to the writing on the label as "Alltags-schriftlichkeit".

85 DURAND/MARTÈNE 1724, 119.

86 VANDECAN 2003, 49.

87 Thomas Cantipratensis, *Supplementum* (CCCM), ed. by Huygens, 182, § 12, 431–435 tells us about the prior who prepared the altar with relics and vestments in preparation of the feast of a saint: *Dies alicuius sancti sollempnis instabat, et contigit ut predictus prior de Oingnies, prolatis sanctorum reliquiis ac vestibis serivis, quas pauculas ac pauperes ipsa adhuc domus habebat, altare secundum consuetudinem dierum sollempnium prepararet.*

88 Cf. ANGENENDT 2014, 138–147.

89 Mentions of relic examinations: LICHT/WALLENWEIN 2021, XIII, XXVII; on opening of reliquaries: GEORGE 2021, 104.

90 See FRESE/KEIL/KRÜGER 2014, esp. *ibid.*, FRESE 2014, 1–15.

Summary

Hugo's case holds a unique position in the field of signatures on medieval goldsmiths' art as no other treasury ensemble displays the presence, work and influence through various artefacts of one particular goldsmith to such an extent.⁹¹ His artefacts invoke the liturgical practices and daily life of the regular canons in the priory of Oignies and shed light on Hugo's social functions as a versatile and skilled artist and a member of the religious community there. The layout of the examined works testifies to a refined engagement with image-text relations by purposefully directing the gaze of the beholder. By depicting himself on the hierarchically better side of Christ on the bookbinding plate, Hugo approximates himself as close as possible to Christ and the Book of Life he is holding in his hand. The dichotomy between the crucifixion scene on the front and the *Majestas Domini* on the back of the plates pre-eminently reflects the history of salvation: the recipient is reminded that Christ sacrificed Himself for the sins of man on the cross and that on Judgement day, He has the power to gauge who will be redeemed.

Salvation could be reached by way of a pious lifestyle, pious works, or in life in a form of *commutatio*, an interchange of one service through another.⁹² The system of salvation of one's soul was founded upon good deeds, which were deemed to be especially successful if directed to a saint or pious advocate, such as priests who could pray for the saving of one's soul during mass both in this life and the next.⁹³ In the case of the gospel book, and maybe also the chalice, Hugo's activity as a donor is certainly the driving force behind his intent to leave his name in writing and image. It seems contradictory that Hugo could have been a donor when the community of Oignies was requested to relinquish any personal property or income of their own; yet there might have been exceptions; or Hugo's role as a benefactor meant he donated his own hand's work that he created with material that was given to the priory beforehand.

The community of the living was reminded by Hugo's self-referential works to whom gratitude was due for the liturgical objects they used over a long period of time, even transcending Hugo's death.⁹⁴ What Ulrike Bergmann so aptly said applies here: "No art without the donor" ("Ohne den Stifter keine Kunst.")⁹⁵ – In the

91 Interestingly, the former Augustinian Hermit-Church S. Agostino in Siena, held four chalices (now lost) in its treasury, all made before 1343 and signed by Tondino di Guerrino, See DIETL 2009, vol. 3, 1594–1597; cat. nr. A 685–687, 689. Tondino's inscriptions tell us his name and origin, the chalices were likely mass-produced for various religious institutions he was not affiliated with. Hence, his signatures had, amongst others, also an economical purpose to advertise his work/ workshop amongst many rivaling workshops in Siena at that time.

92 ALTHOFF 2014, 93.

93 ALTHOFF 2014, 89.

94 See ALTHOFF 2014, 97.

95 BERGMANN 1985, 132.

same way, there was no art without an artist, and no liturgy that included dignified artefacts of precious metal without the labour of the goldsmith.⁹⁶ That correlates to Theophilus presbyter, who legitimises the activity and works of goldsmiths with their religious-liturgical purpose.⁹⁷

Bredekamp explores the tension between an artist's pride and humility, and characterises the Middle Ages as an era of individuality ("Epoche der Individualität"⁹⁸). According to him, if artists ever showed humility and modesty, it was affected, and the motivations to sign their works resulted from artistic pride, the "enrichment of the individual grace" and "standing out against the competition".⁹⁹ In my point of view, that interpretation is too narrow in Hugo's case, as an artist's pride and an artist's humility need not be mutually exclusive. Hugo's self-representations are present but often hidden or pushed to the margins, visible at close range and by a small group of recipients only. This speaks of a relative modesty. However, Hugo d'Oignies did not want to remain anonymous. He hoped for permanent *memoria* and a heavenly reward for his earthly labours. His multiple signatures and self-portraits amplified the urgency of fulfilling that plea to a dramatic extent.¹⁰⁰

Hugo's artefacts oscillate in a field of tension between the earthly and the heavenly recipients, between the visibility and invisibility of his presence in writing and image, between a private and communal interest. The generous donations by Jacques de Vitry and his personal involvement in and support of the priory's treasury and reputation as a place of devout religious commitment enabled the goldsmith Hugo to take the necessary steps as an artist-donor and member of the priory for his own salvation. He did so partly to preserve his lasting memory within the religious community by including his name and memory in their prayers for the heavenly recipient, partly to provide that very community with worthy liturgical vessels for newly acquired relics, thus contributing to the prosperity of his priory in the material and the immaterial world.

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96 Similar things hold true for the makers of Attic vases whose signatures are discussed in the chapter by N. Dietrich. Indeed, "no symposium without cups, no cups without potter-painters." See above p. 45.

97 See REUDENBACH 2006, esp. 248.

98 BREDEKAMP 2000.

99 BREDEKAMP 2000, esp. 201 and 234, translation by M. T.

100 See ALTHOFF 2014, esp. 97.

correspondence on relic labels, and Tino Licht for his indispensable advice on translations from Latin. Finally, I thank Julien De Vos, Fiona Lebecque and Marie Dewez, for the opportunity to study the artefacts at the TreM.a in Namur and the premises of the former priory of Oignies on site, as well as for granting me access to valuable publications.

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Abbreviation

CCCM *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, Turnhout 1971–.

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