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“*Quale sit intus in his*” –

A Note about Abbot Suger’s Bronze Doors in Saint-Denis

Abstract: This article is merely a note on the reading of Abbot Suger’s inscription on his gilded bronze doors on Saint-Denis’s west façade, handed down through his own writing *De rebus in administratione sua gestis* from 1144/45–1148/49. In particular the discussion concerns the translation of the second and sixth verses of the eight-line inscription, and the understanding of *in his* in verse six constitutes its focal point. In this new reading the focus is on the rhetorical use of gold to emulate the nature of spiritual light, which, when seen with the inner eye of faith, is able to lift the mind of the beholder towards the vision of eternal bliss. The author does not go into a closer discussion of the sources of Suger’s inspiration, Pseudo-Dionysius or a Western tradition in a broader sense, but his argument is based on the view that *lumina vera* specifically refer to Christ’s work of redemption, represented in the golden reliefs of the doors. Further support for this reading is provided by a reference to an inscription on a Danish golden frontal from around 1200.

Keywords: Abbot Suger, St.-Denis Portal, Portal Inscription, Suger Inscription, Material Aesthetics, Gold – Light, Materia – Opus, Anagogic Movements

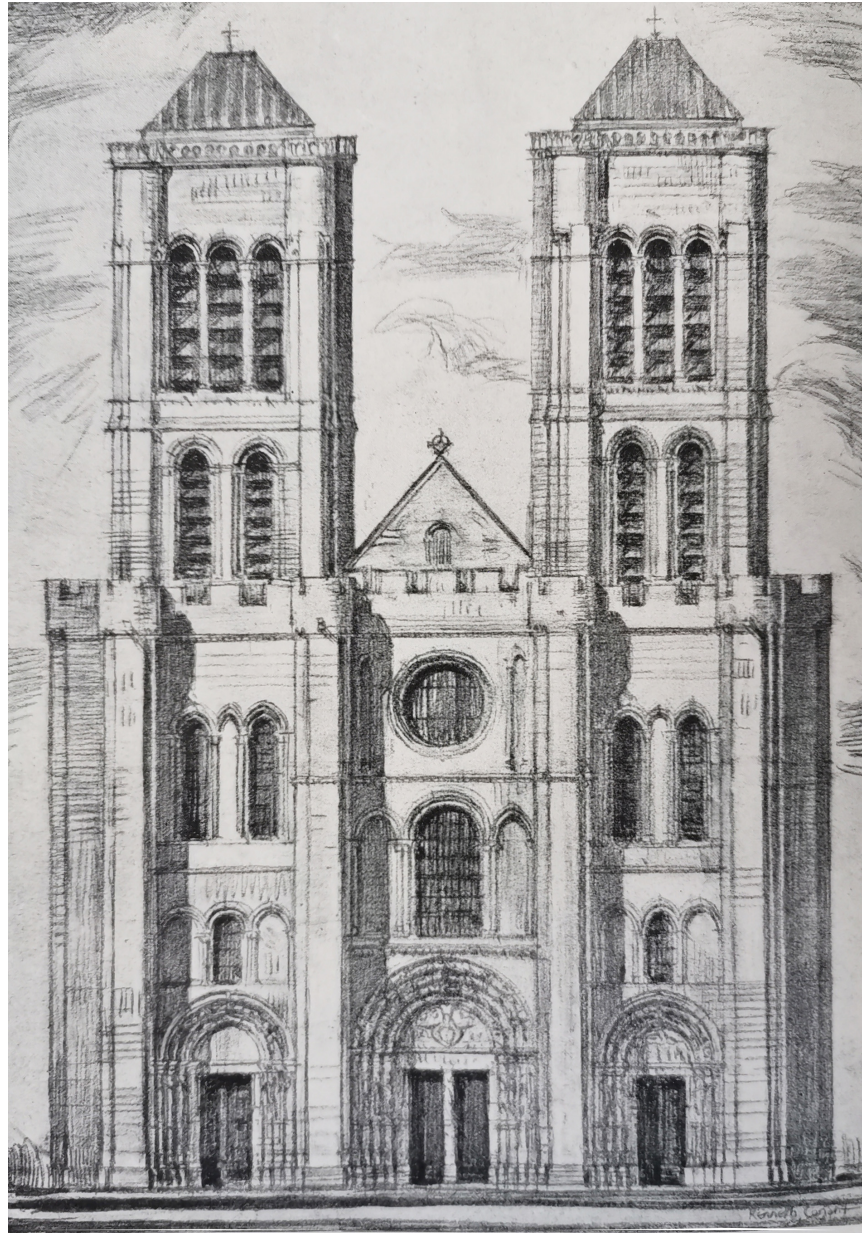


Fig. 1 Saint Denis, Abbey Church, the west façade. Restoration study by Kenneth J. Conant. After Conant 1959.

“Quale sit intus in his” –

A Note about Abbot Suger’s Bronze Doors in Saint-Denis

Søren Kaspersen

One of Abbot Suger’s most discussed inscriptions was on Saint-Denis’ central west portal with its gilded bronze door as reproduced in his *De rebus in administratione sua gestis* (more compactly, *De Administratione* or *Gesta*) from 1144/45–1148/49. According to Erwin Panofsky’s famous edition of Abbot Suger the verses on the portal “amount to a condensed statement of the whole theory of ‘anagogical’ illumination,” inspired by the writings of the Syrian monk Pseudo-Dionysius, not least through the annotated translation by the Irish theologian and neoplatonist philosopher John the Scot.¹ This theory has been challenged by several later scholars, who point to a broader Western tradition behind Suger’s understanding of light, illumination and the anagogic.² This essay does not attempt to amplify this discussion to distill what may have been Suger’s pseudo-Dionysian inspiration; rather, it examines a few places in Suger’s inscription, which have especially given rise to discussion. In so doing, I lean towards the view that the *vera lumina* in Suger’s verses are not, as in Pseudo-Dionysius, the lights that can enlighten the mind through any created thing, but lights which more specifically point to the portal’s golden reliefs and their content, i. e. the Passion of Christ and His Glorification (*resurrectio vel ascensio*).³

The Latin inscription – accompanied by Panofsky's translation – read:

Portarum quisquis attollere quæris honorem,
Whoever thou art, if thou seekest to extol the glory of these doors,
Aurum nec sumptus, operis mirare laborem,
Marvel not at the gold and the expense but at the craftsmanship of the
work.
Nobile claret opus, sed opus quod nobile claret
Bright is the noble work; but, being nobly bright, the work
Clarificet mentes, ut eant per lumina vera
Should brighten the minds, so that they may travel, through the true
lights
Ad verum lumen, ubi Christus janua vera.
To the True Light where Christ is the true door.
Quale sit intus in his determinat aurea porta:
In what manner, it be inherent in this world the golden door defines:
Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit,
The dull mind rises to truth through that which is material
Et demersa prius hac visa luce resurgit.
And, in seeing this light, is resurrected from its former submersion.⁴

The text and Panofsky's translation have been the subject of much discussion, especially perceived problems with the second and sixth verses. Obviously, the second verse relates to Ovid's topos: *Materiam superabat opus* used in connection with his description of Apollo's palace and its silver portal at the beginning of the second song of *Metamorphoses*.⁵ Its meaning is that the art of the work, the portal's reliefs in silver, surpasses the precious material.⁶

But there is a third element in Suger's verse, it does not only speak of *aurum* and *laborem operis* but also of *sumptus*. Panofsky's translation equates 'gold' and 'expense' (or 'expenses'), but the question has been raised whether *nec* can pre-emptively include *aurum*.⁷ According to Philippe Verdier this is not possible,⁸ but his proposal to connect the *sumptus* and *operis laborem*, as that which are to be admired rather than the gold, does not seem satisfactory.⁹ Verdier's grammatical understanding is taken up by Konrad Hoffmann and some

other scholars. According to Hoffmann, the viewer is encouraged to admire the gold and the achievement (*Leistung*), not the costs of the work – a more sympathetic reading, which, however, gives a complex sentence structure and calls for an *et* between the two parts of the verse.¹⁰

Peter Cornelius Claussen opposes this solution and rightly states that *nec*, at least according to medieval usage, may concern both *aurum* and *sumptus*.¹¹ Therefore, he claims Panofsky's translation to be the correct one but suggests, that *aurum* relates to money rather than to effulgence.¹² But this reading clearly weakens the connection to the following verse; thus, a fourth option is suggested here, namely to understand *sumptus* not just as 'cost' or 'costs' but as cost(s) of something, which provides a very simple reading: "Marvel at the craftsmanship (or better 'achievement'/'deed') of the work and not (*nec*) at the expense(s) for the gold (*sumptus [ad] aurum*)."¹³ One can, of course, object that Suger could have clarified this reading by writing 'auri nec sumptus'.¹⁴

However we untangle the grammar of this passage, it is hard to imagine that Suger should have wanted to put the gold in a bad light.¹⁵ His writings are full of praise for precious materials as when a passage in *De Administratione* on the golden crucifix tells us that "we [abbot Suger and others] searched around everywhere by ourselves and by our agents for an abundance of precious pearls and gems, preparing as precious a supply of gold and gems for so important an embellishment as we could find, and convoked the most experienced artists from diverse parts."¹⁶ The description of the golden doors moreover, begins with the passage that reads: "Bronze casters having been summoned and sculptors chosen, we set up the main doors [...] with great cost (*multis expensis*) and much expenditure (*multu sumptu*) for their gilding as was fitting for the noble porch."¹⁷ The gold was obviously central to the whole achievement of the work.

The following three verses of the inscription in the portal consequently focus on the luster of gold as that which is to enlighten the minds of the beholders and lead them towards the True Light. *Nobile claret opus* also can be translated: "Noble shines the work", followed by: "but the work that shines noble (*sed opus quod nobile claret*) should brighten the minds, etc." So, it does not shine for its own sake, but specifically to open the minds for the *lumina vera*, seemingly illuminating lights on a higher level, in this context most likely lights issuing from the redeeming works of Christ depicted in the doors' golden reliefs.¹⁸



Fig. 2. Master of Saint Giles, The Mass of Saint Giles, detail. Oil on oak, c. 1500. The painting illustrates an episode from the legend of Saint Giles that took place in the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis. On the altar stands a golden frontal, donated by the Emperor Charles the Bald (c. 870) and originally a part of the golden high altar: "We [Abbot Suger] hastened to adorn the Main Altar of the blessed Denis where there was only one beautiful and precious frontal panel (anterior tabula . . . speciose et preciosa) from Charles the Bald, the third Emperor; for at this [altar] we had been offered to the monastic life. We had it all encased, putting up golden panels on either side (utriusque lateri aureas . . . tabulas) and adding a fourth, even more precious one (etiam preciosiore); so that the whole altar would appear golden all the way round [...] But the rear panel, of marvellous workmanship and lavish sumptuousness (miro opera sumptuque profuso) (for the barbarian artists were even more lavish than ours), we ennobled with chased relief work equally admirable for its form as for its material (tam forma quam materia mirabili anaglifo opere), so that certain people might be able to say: The workmanship surpassed the material (Materiam superabat opus)." (See Panofsky 1946, 61, 63). Photo Wikimedia Commons, The Yorck Project.

Concerning the sixth verse there is a general consensus that in the reference: *Quale sit intus*, it is the possible presence of the True Light that is at stake: "In what manner it [i.e. the True Light] be inherent, etc." The problem arises with the following two words: *in his*. Panofsky translates: "in this world" but emphasizes in his comments that this is "only one of several possibilities."¹⁹ Re-

lated translations have been suggested.²⁰ Among these Peter Diemer suggests 'Menschen' as a possibility,²¹ while Martin Gosebruch suggest "innerhalb der Kirche."²² Edgar de Bruyne and others refer to the portal.²³ Hans Sedlmayr and many others completely skip *in his*.²⁴ Werner Beierwaltes lets *in his* point back at *lumina vera* in verse four.²⁵ Conrad Rudolph and others understand *lumina vera* as related to the golden reliefs on the portal, or more specifically to the themes of these reliefs, i.e. Christ's works of Redemption (cf. above).²⁶

Of these various translations, those connecting *in his* and *vera lumina*, understood as the golden reliefs of the doors and their history of redemption, are clearly preferable. However, it seems superfluous to ask how or in what manner the True Light may be inherent in the true lights (*in his*). I would therefore like to suggest another possibility: *in his* may refer not to *lumina vera* but to *mentes* in the same verse.²⁷ In that case the last triad of verses is about the possible presence of the True Light in the mind of the beholder and the importance of this. And the golden door constitutes the frame for this key performance.

The inscription states that the dull mind needs *materialia* to rise to truth, and that it "is resurrected from its former submersion" after having seen the True Light (*hac luce visa*).²⁸ But how does the portal stage this transmission from *materialia* to the True Light? In a reflection on the inseparable connection between the True Light and *lumina vera*, Jean-Claude Bonne operates with different levels from gold as matter (*l'or-matière*) over processed gold (*l'or œuvre*) and its light but he also points out that the ornamentally and figuratively shaped radiance does not in itself lead to particular motifs – rather an opposition exists.²⁹ Suger, therefore, proposes, according to Bonne, two different anagogic movements towards the True Light: an aesthetic-ornamental movement via the gold and an iconographic one via the Christian scenes.³⁰

If one considers the development in Suger's inscription from *aurum* via *opus quod nobile claret* further to *lumina vera* and *verum lumen* in this perspective, I think that the opposite is rather to be understood as a leap, and that this leap from one to the other anagogic movement is caused by the nobly bright work if brightening the minds. Moving through the enlightenment from a physical sight to an inner spiritual vision, the mind is thus able to understand the meaning of Christ's redemptive work represented by the reliefs and thereby led to the True Light by the golden reliefs, the *lumina vera*.

The *opus laboris* in Suger's poem can refer both to the extensive work of



Fig. 3. Saint Denis, Abbey Church, the west façade after the restoration in 2012–2015. Photo Thomas Clouet (Wikimedia, CC BY-SA 4.0).

making the portal as well as to the artistry of its golden reliefs. The term thus, as mentioned above, recalls Ovid's topos: *Materiam superabat opus*, to which Abbot Suger himself refers in his description of the high altar at Saint-Denis.³¹ Ovid is talking about twin doors in the palace of the Sun that "radiated light from polished silver." Still, the "work of art was finer than the material", but this fact negates neither the value of the polished silver, nor the value of the other precious materials of which the palace was constructed.³² Rather, these materials helped to elevate the artistic expression. As pointed out by Konrad Hoffmann *materia* is used as a foil within the rhetorical figure of an escalating comparison.³³

The relation between the use of gold (*materialia*) and the True Light (*verum lumen*) on Suger's portal is seemingly the same: the work of golden reliefs *nobile claret*, i.e. the light raised by the excellent work transcends from the material light of the gold to another level to clarify the minds and opens them for the *lumina vera*. This happens as mentioned when the enlightened mind beholds with the gaze of faith the golden reliefs and their talk of Christ's work of redemption, the illumination of which outshines the gold, both in its material and processed form, and leads to the True Light.

As a postscript that buttresses this reading, a Danish golden frontal from around 1200 in Stadil Church may be mentioned. It displays gilded copper plates with episodes from the childhood of Christ and a row of apostles, organized around a central area with a *Majestas Domini*-representation. On its main frame the following inscription can be read:

Quam cernis fuluo tabulam splendore nitentem
More than by its golden radiance the shining tablet you behold
Plus nitet ystorie cognitione sacre
Shines by knowledge of the sacred story

Pandit enim Christi mysteria quae super aurum
For it spreads the mysteries of Christ which by their radiance
Irradiant mundis corde nitore suo
Outshine the gold for the pure of heart

Ergo fide mundes mentem si cernere lucis
Therefore, purify your mind by faith if you desire,
Gaudia diuine qui legis ista uelis.
You who read this, to behold the joys of divine light.³⁴

* * *

I want to thank Professor Emerita Jean A. Givens, University of Connecticut, for linguistic guidance.

Notes

- 1 Panofsky 1946, 23. For 'Stand der Forschung,' see Speer 2000, 13–18.
- 2 For recent discussions of this issue, see Poirel 2001 and Linscheid-Burdich 2004, espec. 20–60.
- 3 According to Panofsky 1946, 23f.: "Suger would not have ventured to designate reliefs as *lumina* had he not been familiar with those passages which demonstrate that every created thing "is a light to me." Lieber Gerson 1970 and Gerson 2014 suggests that each line of the poem accompanied one of the eight medallions on the doors and that these showed the *Entry into Jerusalem*, the *Cleansing of the Temple*, the *Last Supper*, the *Arrest of Christ*, the *Crucifixion*, the *Resurrection*, the *Pilgrims at Emmaus* (including Abbot Suger as donor), and the *Ascension*. See Gerson 2014, 26–29.
- 4 Ed. Panofsky 1946, 46f. – repeated from Panofsky 1944, 108. Panofsky's translation is based on ed. Lecoy de la Marche 1867. For a modern edition with translation, see Suger, ed. Gasparri 1996. See also Suger, ed. Bur 1994 and Suger, ed. Speer & Binding 2000. The transl. by Cusimano & Whitmore 2018 is still based on ed. Lecoy de la Marche 1867.
- 5 Lib. II, 1–7, see Ovid, ed. Kline 2000.
- 6 Claussen 1996, 43–44, proceeds from a somewhat peculiar argument that Suger has deliberately avoided quoting Ovid, however.
- 7 Panofsky's translation is aligned with and followed by other scholars. E.g. De Bruyne 1946, II, 143: "N'admire pas tant, dit-il [Suger] aux visiteurs, la matière précieuse et coûteuse, mais plutôt la beauté du travail." Aubert 1950, 137: "Ne te laisse toucher ni par l'or, ni par la magnificence, mais plutôt par la labeur." Sedlmayr 1950, 240: "Staune nicht an das Gold und die Aufwand, sondern die Arbeit." Wixom 1981, 105 – as Panofsky. Büchsel 1983, 74 and 1987, 12: "bestaune nicht das Gold und die Kosten, sondern die Mühsal des Werks [however, with a different understanding of *operibus* than Panofsky]." Zinn, Jr. 1986, 34: "The poem open with an admonition to marvel not at the gold and expense but at the labor of the work in the doors." Büchsel 1987, 12: "bestaune nicht das Gold und die Kosten, sondern die Mühsal des Werks." McKnight Crosby 1987, 189 quotes Panofsky's translation. Rudolph 1990, 52: "Admire the craftsmanship, and not the gold or expense." Bonne 1994, 32: "Ne t'étonne ni de l'or ni de la dépense, admire le travail de l'œuvre." Raff 1994, 31: "bewundere nicht das gold und die Kosten, sondern die Mühe des Werkes. Diemer 1995, 186: "schau nicht auf Geld und Kosten, sondern auf die Leistung des Werkes." Kramp 1995, 94: "Bestaune nicht das Gold und den Wert, sondern die Kunstfertigkeit des Werkes." Darko Senekovic in Claussen 1996, 48, n. 28: "Bewundere die Mühe, nicht das Gold oder die Kosten des Werkes." Bur 1991, 236 and Suger, ed. Bur 1994, 249: "N'admire pas l'or ni la dépense, mais plutôt l'artifice." Suger, ed. Gasparri 1996, 117: "n'admire ni l'or ni la dépense mais le travail de l'œuvre." – Gasparri 2006, 119 reuses her translation from 1996 but only quotes line 3–5 and 7–8. Gerson 2014, 20: "Do not admire the gold or the expense but the execution of the work." – I have not had access to Lieber Gerson 1970. Cusimano & Whitmore 2018, 97: "Admire neither the gold nor the expense, but their craftsmanship." Brown 2020, 63: "marvel not at the gold or the expense but at the labor of the work."
- 8 Verdier [1974], 706, note 26: "Les traducteurs antérieurs, E. Mâle, E. Panofsky, E. de Bruyne, ont compris, comme M. Aubert: "Ne te laisse toucher ni par l'or, ni par la magnificence, mais plutôt par le labour." "Mais *nec* ne porte pas proleptiquement sur *aurum*. Il a une valeur adversative, qui englobe *sumptus* et *laborem*, deux mots fréquemment liés en une seule expression dans le latin classique, avec, chez les poètes, la précision de *labor operis* dans le sens de travail artistique."
- 9 Verdier [1974], 706: "N'en admire pas l'or pour le coût et le travail." Von Simson (1956) 1989, 114 earlier made this paraphrase: "the visitor was admonished not to stop at the admiration of the preciousness and sumptuousness of the work, etc."
- 10 Hoffmann 1985, 36, with note 49, where it is stated in a letter with philological advice: "Dem Begriff *aurum* ist *sumptus* negativ gegenübergestellt, während '*operis laborem*' asyndetisch als zweiter positive Begriff folgt. Zur formalen Unterstützung dieser Ansicht wäre auf die Verszäsur zwischen *sumptus* und *operis* hinzuweisen: Die Zäsur erleichtert den Verzicht auf eine ausdrückliche Verbindung (mit et) zwischen der ersten und der zweiten Vershälfte." The translation is followed by Haug 1992, 85: "Er bewundere das Gold und die Arbeit am Werk und nicht die Kosten." Büchsel 1994, 57, 1995, 169 and 1997, 125: "Bestaune das Gold und die Mühsal des Werkes, nicht aber die Kosten." Markschieß 1995, 66: "bewundere das Gold und nicht die Kosten, die Mühe des Werkes." Suger, ed. Speer & Binding 2000, 122–23 and 325: "bewundere das Gold – nicht die Kosten! – (und) die Leistung dieses Werkes!" Speer 2001, 73: "n'admire ni l'or ni la dépense mais le travail de l'œuvre." See also Linscheid-Burdich 2000, 122–23 and 2004, 52: "Das Gold, nicht die dafür nötigen Ausgaben, soll der Betrachter bewundern, ebenso den *labor operis*."
- 11 Claussen 1996, 43. Christian Troelsgård, former director of studies at the Institute for Greek and Latin, University of Copenhagen, is of the same opinion. I thank him for a clarifying dialogue about the inscription.
- 12 Claussen 1996, 43: "Mit der Aufforderung, nicht auf Geld und Kosten zu achten, mag der auctor in einem Bescheidenheitstopos zudem seinen finanziellen Einsatz und damit sich selbst zu rühmen."
- 13 Jan Białostocki 1988, 11, suggests in his paraphrasing reading of the inscription a similar understanding of 'sumptus': "The viewer should admire not the costliness of the gold, but the workmanship, the 'art' in it."

- 14 Another possibility is to understand *sumptus* as singularis genitive and thereby read: "not the gold of the expense." But this seems to be an awkward mode of expression if the weight of what is not to be admired rests on the cost and not on the gold.
- 15 Cf. note 32 below.
- 16 Panofsky 1946, 57. *De Adm.* also notes an inscription on a votive vase: "Since we must offer libations to God with gems and gold, I, Suger, offer this vase to the Lord." (p. 79)
- 17 Panofsky 1946, 46.
- 18 Linscheid-Burdich 2000, 123 suggests that *lumina vera* refer to Peter and Paul and martyrs in general, leading to Christ through their intercession.
- 19 Panofsky 1946, 165. Quoted by McKnight Crosby 1987, 189.
- 20 Haug 1992, 85: "Im welcher Weise es im Irdischen wirkt, etc." And Kramp 1995, 94: "Auf welche Weise es dieser Welt innewohnt, etc." Zinn, Jr. 1986, 34–35 leaves the question open but states that "the thrust seems to be clear: the golden doors defines or determines how it, the True Light, is present and understood through the vehicle of material reality." Bur 1991, 236 and Suger, ed. Bur 1994, 250: "Comment la vraie Lumière est présente en ce/au monde, etc." Cusimano & Whitmore 2018, 98 suggest just the 'material': "The golden doors reveal the material inherent in them."
- 21 Diemer 1995, 187: "Die goldene Tür drückt aus, wie es [das wahre Licht] in diesen [Menschen?] ist." Neuheuser 1994, 160 talks in a discussion of verse 3–5 about the 'inhabitant' (Bewohner) of the portal.
- 22 Gosebruch 1954, 254 (1979, 29).
- 23 De Bruyne 1946, II, 143: "Ce qui rayonne ici au dedans, etc." Aubert 1950, 138: "Ce qui trouve caché là, etc." Markschies 1995, 66: "Wie beschaffen es sei in seinen (Werken) (*in his operibus*) inwendig, grenzt die goldene Pforte ab: etc." See also Brown 2020, 63: "In what manner it may be here, within, etc."
- 24 Sedlmayr 1950, 42: "Welcherart es im Inneren sei, etc." Kimpel & Suckale 1985, 90: "Wie (der Bau) innen sei soll, zeigt die goldene Pforte." Raff 1994, 31: "Welcherart es dahinter sei, deute dieses goldene Portal an: etc." Darko Senekovic in Claussen 1996, 48, n. 28: "Welches (Licht) sich inwendig befindet, das bestimmt (besagt) die goldene Tür." Suger, ed. Gasparri 1996, 117: "Quelle est cette lumière intérieure, la porte dorée la définit ainsi: etc." – for Gasparri 2006, see note 7 above. Suger, ed. Speer & Binding 2000, 325: "Welcher Art dieses (wahre Licht) innen ist, das gibt die goldene Tür hiermit an." Gerson 2014, 20: "That which is within the golden door reveals: etc."
- 25 Beierwaltes 1976, 238: "Wie sehr (das wahre Licht) in diesen (Lichtern) ist, etc."
- 26 Rudolph 1990, 52: "The golden door indicates in what way it [the true light, i.e., the divine] may be within these things [the lesser lights, i.e., the artworks]." Büchsel 1987, 12, 1994, 57, 61, 1995, 169, and 1997, 125: "Wie das Licht in seinen Werken [die *opera* der Erlösung, auf der Tür dargestellt] gegenwärtig ist, zeigt das goldene Tor." See also Bonne 1994, 32: "De quelle manière elle [la lumière] y est immanente [aux lumières], etc." Linscheid-Burdich 2000, 123: "Zugleich differenziert Suger damit [by *uerum lumen* and *ianua vera*] zwischen der materiellen Kirchentür und dem in ihrem Bildprogramm dargestellten Christus. Das Bildprogramm belehrt über das Leben Jesu und gibt damit Aufschluß über das *uerum lumen*; die Angabe *in his* läßt sich damit auf die Reliefs der Tür beziehen." Speer 2001, 74 follows Gasparri's translation in Suger ed. 1996 but makes a comment very similar to that of Linscheid-Burdich.
- 27 Diemer 1996, 187 mentions the possibility but rejects it: "Es liegt nahe, dort *in his* auf *mentes* zu beziehen, [. . .], doch bleibt die Aussage mehrdeutig und wage."
- 28 Panofsky and others translate *hac visa luce* as "in seeing this light". But the grammatical construction rather dictates a view of the light in the immediate past. See e.g. Kimpel & Suckale 1985: "der zuvor (ins Irdische) verstrickte (Geist) wird wieder aufgerichtet, wenn er dieses Licht gesehen hat." Markschies 1995, 66: "steht, nachdem er dies Licht gesehen hat, wieder auf." Darko Senekovic in Claussen 1996, 48, n. 28: "nachdem er dieses Licht gesehen, etc." Suger, ed. Speer & Binding 2000, 325: "ersteht er neu, wenn er dieses Licht erblickt hat." Linscheid-Burdich 2004, 56: "ein Wieder-Erstehen wird ihm [der Mensch] möglich, weil er das Licht geschaut hat. Mit der Wendung *hac visa luce* wird erneut die bereits zuvor gebrauchte Licht-Metapher für Christus aufgenommen."
- 29 Bonne 1994, 32: "Et la porte dorée, ce n'est pas seulement "l'or de la porte" en tant que tel, ni, inversement, la seule iconographie des panneaux, c'est l'or en tant qu'il est *œuvré* sur la mode ornementale et sur le mode figuratif, et, *reciproquement*, les scènes christologiques en tant qu'elles sont *taillées dans la matière lumineuse de l'or*. Mais les deux choses ne sauraient coïncider: le scintillement de l'or sculpté ne fait pas image, il est, au contraire, en tension avec les scènes – [etc.]." Cf. Büchsel 1987, 13: "Die Bewunderung des Materials gibt jedoch nicht dem ‚mos anagogicus‘ seine theologische Bestimmung."
- 30 Bonne 1994, 32: "La porte dorée et l'inscription de Suger proposent donc deux analogies différentes vers la Lumière, l'une, esthétique-ornementale par l'or, l'autre, iconographique par les scènes."
- 31 Cf. fig. 2.
- 32 Cf. Raff, "Materia" 1994, Büchsel 1997, 86–91 and Reudenbach 2002.
- 33 See Hoffmann 1985, 36: "*Materia* ist als Folie innerhalb der rhetorischen Figur eines steigernden Vergleichs eingesetzt." See also Branner 1965, 57–58.
- 34 See Nørlund 1926 (1968), 186–87, Kaspersen 2003, 53 or Kaspersen et al. 2006, 111.

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