

A Delightful Inheritance:
Female Agency and the *Disputatio* Tradition in the *Hortus Deliciarum*

by

Sarah C. Parker, BA; MA

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of the University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2009

A Delightful Inheritance:

Female Agency and the *Disputatio* Tradition in the *Hortus Deliciarum*

APPROVED BY

SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Joan Holladay

Martha Newman

A Delightful Inheritance:

Female Agency and the *Disputatio* Tradition in the *Hortus Deliciarum*

by

Sarah C. Parker, MA

The University of Texas at Austin, 2009

SUPERVISOR: Joan Holladay

The *Hortus deliciarum* (ca. 1170-ca. 1194, destroyed 1870) was an encyclopedic salvation history created for the canonesses at the Augustinian convent of Hohenburg by their abbess Herrad. Despite the strong role of images in the canonesses' reception of the manuscript, the *Hortus* illuminations have thus far not merited a critical consideration. In this thesis, I analyze major individual illuminations in the *Hortus* as well as the manuscript's entire structure, and I suggest that Herrad designed the *Hortus* around contemporary apocalyptic ideas, such as those of Joachim of Fiore, while also illustrating the importance of debate and discussion to the body Christian. The overall composition of the *Hortus* showed the canonesses that God has chosen to share his knowledge with them. In significant individual images, Herrad showed her canonesses that they were to exercise this divine knowledge vocally, specifically through debate. In the *Hortus*, debate was shown as originating with Christianity's Jewish desert predecessors, and the canonesses were encouraged to consider themselves as heirs of this intellectual tradition. Debate appeared as endemic to Christianity and essential to the continued life and prosperity of the Church. In stressing the importance of intellectual activity, while also implying that the canonesses were part of the intellectual elect, the *Hortus* exerted power that transgressed the library walls and affected the ways the Hohenbourg canonesses performed their faith and understood their responsibility as Christians.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
ACADEMIC PROCLIVITIES AND THE LIMITATIONS OF PHYSICAL SPIRITUALITY	11
THE SPIRITUAL EDUCATIONS OF FEMALE RELIGIOUS: HILDEGARD, HELOISE, HERRAD.....	13
<i>I: Hildegard of Bingen</i>	14
<i>II: Heloise, Abbess of the Paraclete</i>	15
<i>III: Herrad of Hohenbourg</i>	16
CHAPTER 1 - “WHAT HAS BEEN WILL BE AGAIN”: REVELATION AND READERLY AUTHORITY	18
THE HORTUS DELICARUM LAST JUDGMENT	24
THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN APOCALYPTIC THOUGHT.....	25
APOCALYPTIC THOUGHT IN JOACHIM OF FIORE	27
VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE APOCALYPSE	28
THE HORTUS LAST JUDGMENT: PARALLELS AND MODELS	30
IMAGES BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE HORTUS LAST JUDGMENT	31
STUDYING THE HORTUS DELICARUM.....	39
CHAPTER 2 - “THAT YOU YOURSELVES ARE GOD’S TEMPLE”: SHIFTING IDENTITIES AND THE FOUNDATION OF FAITH IN THE HORTUS TABERNACLES.....	42
THE HORTUS DELICARUM TABERNACLES.....	43
“A TABERNACLE THAT CANNOT BE REMOVED”: THE HOPE FOR JERUSALEM IN JEWISH TABERNACLE IMAGERY	44
CASTLES IN THE AIR: FROM DESERT TABERNACLE TO HEAVENLY JERUSALEM.....	46
“SHOUT, FOR THE LORD HATH DELIVERED THE CITY TO YOU”: THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE TABERNACLE/JERUSALEM AND THE INHERITANCE OF ANALYSIS IN THE HORTUS TABERNACLES.....	50
<i>I: The Visual Evidence</i>	50
<i>II: The Textual Evidence</i>	51
CHAPTER 3 - A GENEALOGY OF DISSENT	58
THREATS TO THE FAITH: JEWISH SKEPTICISM IN THE CHRISTIAN SUBCONSCIOUS.....	59
“PRO UTILITATE FIDEI”: DISPUTATION TO ALLEVIATE CHRISTIAN DOUBT.....	61
VISUAL CONCEPTIONS OF JEWS IN TWELFTH-CENTURY EUROPE	63
THE HORTUS TREE OF ABRAHAM.....	65
THE STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH	72
CONCLUSION	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY	117
VITA	124

List of Illustrations

FIGURE 1. HD FOL. 247v, LAST JUDGMENT.	82
FIGURE 2. HD FOL. 251r, LAST JUDGMENT.....	83
FIGURE 3. HD FOL. 251v, LAST JUDGMENT.	84
FIGURE 4. HD FOL. 252r, LAST JUDGMENT.....	85
FIGURE 5. HD FOL. 253r, LAST JUDGMENT.....	86
FIGURE 6. SAINT-LAZARE AT AUTUN. EXT. W. FACADE. LAST JUDGMENT. CA. 1120-40.	87
FIGURE 7. SAINT-FOY AT CONQUES. EXT. W. FACADE. LAST JUDGMENT. CA. 1120.....	87
FIGURE 8. SANTA MARIA ASSUNTA AT TORCELLO, INT. W. WALL, LAST JUDGMENT. 11-12c. MOSAIC.	88
FIGURE 9. HD FOL. 215v, LADDER OF VIRTUES.	89
FIGURE 10. LADDER OF DIVINE ASCENT OF ST. JOHN CLIMACUS. CA. 12 TH C., TEMPERA AND GOLD ON PANEL. ST. CATHERINE'S MONASTERY, MT. SINAI.	90
FIGURE 11. HD FOL. 8v, GOD CREATING LAND AND SEA CREATURES.	91
FIGURE 12. HD FOL. 251r, LAST JUDGMENT, DET. ANIMALS GIVING UP THE DEAD.....	91
FIGURE 13. HD FOL. 258v, FALL OF BABYLON.	92
FIGURE 14. HD FOL. 3v DET. FALL OF REBEL ANGELS.....	93
FIGURE 15. ARCHANGEL MICHAEL FIGHTING THE SEVEN-HEADED BEAST. MOSAN ENAMEL FROM RELICUARY FOR FRAGMENT OF TRUE CROSS, CA. 1160-70.....	93
FIGURE 16. HD FOL. 263v, BOSOM OF ABRAHAM.....	94
FIGURE 17. HD FOL. 19r, <i>PARADISUS VOLUPTATIS</i>	95
FIGURE 18. HD FOL. 123v, AFTERLIFE OF LAZARUS AND DIVES.....	95
FIGURE 19. HD FOL. 322v-323r, FOUNDING OF HOHENBOURG (LFT.); CONGREGATION OF HOHENBOURG (RT.).....	96
FIGURE 20. HD FOL. 45v-46r, TABERNACLES OF THE ISRAELITES.....	97
FIGURE 21. TETRADRACH OF THE BAR-KOKHBA REVOLUTION. CA. 134-135 CE, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM.	98
FIGURE 22. GOLD GLASS FRAGMENT. 4 TH C. CE, VATICAN CITY, MUSEO SACRO (LFT.); DWG. OF FRAGMENT MADE SHORTLY AFTER DISCOVERY (AFTER DEROSI, ARCHIVES DE L'ORIENT LATIN, II, PL. FACING P.439.....	98
FIGURE 23. CAPERNAUM SYNAGOGUE, DET. LINTEL. ARK OF THE COVENANT. LA. 3 RD -4 TH C. CE.	99
FIGURE 24. CONSECRATION OF THE TABERNACLE BY AARON AS HIGH PRIEST. DURA EUROPOS. MURAL FROM DURA EUROPOS SYNAGOGUE. CA. 244-255.....	99
FIGURE 25. DURA-EUROPOS TORAH NICHE WITH PAINTING OF TABERNACLE. CA. 244-245.	100
FIGURE 26. TABERNACLE. <i>CHRISTIAN TOPOGRAPHY</i> OF COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES. BEF. 553. MS ROME VATICANUS GRAECUS 699 FOL. 49r.	101
FIGURE 27. TABERNACLE. <i>CHRISTIAN TOPOGRAPHY</i> . MS ROME VATICANUS GRAECUS 699, FOL. 46v.	102
FIGURE 28. TABERNACLE. <i>CHRISTIAN TOPOGRAPHY</i> . MS VATICANUS GRAECUS 699, FOL. 52r.....	103
FIGURE 29. THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM. BEATUS APOCALYPSE. LEON, 10 TH C. NEW YORK, THE MORGAN LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, MS 644, FOL. 222v.....	104
FIGURE 30. HEAVENLY JERUSALEM. SAINT-SEVER APOCALYPSE. 11 TH C. PARIS, BN LAT. 8878, FOL. 207v- 208r.	105
FIGURE 31. THE TABERNACLE. <i>CODEX AMIATINUS</i> . FOL. 2v-3r. CA. 716 CE. FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA.	106
FIGURE 32. IMAGES OF THE TABERNACLE. FIRST LENINGRAD PENTATEUCH. 929 CE.	107
FIGURE 33. HD FOL. 80v, TREE OF ABRAHAM/TREE OF THE ANCESTRY OF CHRIST.	108
FIGURE 34. HD FOL. 225v, STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH.....	109
FIGURE 35. CHURCH OF SAN ZENO MAGGIORE, DOOR OF SCENES FROM OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, DET. FLAGELLATION. CA. 1030, BRONZE ON WOOD. VENICE, ITALY.	110

FIGURE 36. COVER OF SACRAMENTARY OF HENRY II, CRUCIFIXION, DET., SPONGEBEARER. CA. 1002-1014.	110
FIGURE 37. BAMBERG EVANGELIARY, FOL. 14V, DET. ADORATION OF THE MAGI. CA. 1012-1014.....	111
FIGURE 38. WINCHESTER PSALTER, FOL. 14R, DET. FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. MID-12TH C.	111
FIGURE 39. PROPHET DANIEL. AUGSBURG CATHEDRAL. NAVE, S. SIDE. LATE 11TH - EA. 12TH C.....	112
FIGURE 40. HD FOL. 241V DET., THE DEEDS OF ANTICHRIST.....	113
FIGURE 41. HD FOL. 253V, LAST JUDGMENT DET., JEWS AND PAGANS.	114
FIGURE 42. HD FOL. 255R, HELL, DET., AFTERLIFE OF THE JEWS.....	114
FIGURE 43. ABBEY CHURCH, ST. DENIS, FRANCE. INT. RADIATING CHAPEL. TREE OF JESSE WINDOW (LFT); DETAIL OF OLD TESTAMENT FIGURES (RT.).....	115
FIGURE 44. TREE OF JESSE. BAMBERG? CA. 1200 CE. IVORY. LOUVRE, PARIS, FRANCE (INV.: OA 10428).	116
FIGURE 45. CHRIST PRESENTING THE KEYS TO PETER AND THE LAW TO PAUL. GERMAN (WESTPHALIA), 2ND HALF OF 12TH C. ELEPHANT IVORY, 5 15/16 x 3 3/8 IN. (15.1 x 9.4 CM). THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, THE CLOISTERS COLLECTION, (1979.399).	116

Introduction

The abbess Herraad designed the *Hortus deliciarum* (Garden of Delights) for the spiritual and intellectual edification of her Augustinian canonesses of the Alsatian convent of St. Odile at Hohenbourg. Although there is no evidence to provide a secure dating, scholars generally agree that work on the *Hortus* began around 1171 and that it was not modified after 1194. Regretfully, the original manuscript was burned in the 1870 Siege of Strasbourg and, although a number of its sections were copied in the nineteenth century prior to its loss, a full copy was never produced. The disparate copies as well as the notes taken during the copying processes guided a reconstruction of the *Hortus* undertaken in 1979 by the Warburg Institute under the direction of Rosalie Green.¹ Therefore, though the copyists likely stayed true to the original illuminations, no statement can be made about the visual and textual compositions in the *Hortus* with absolute certainty.² Yet perhaps even more saddening, given the incineration of its numerous colorful and gold-laden pages, we can only imagine how glorious the *Hortus* once was.

Green describes the *Hortus* as “a great triptych whose centre is the narrative life of Christ” that is bookended by the manuscript’s first section, which contains selections

¹ Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff, and Michael Curschmann, eds., with contributions by T. Julian Brown and Kenneth Levy, *The Hortus deliciarum of Herraad of Hohenbourg*, 2 vols., Studies of the Warburg Institute 36 (London, 1979). Essays in the commentary volume will be cited under the author’s name and “HD Commentary;” items from the reconstruction will appear as “HD” plus the appropriate folio or plate number. Much of the reconstruction relies on copies made by Wilhelm Stengel for the Comte de Bastard before the original manuscript’s destruction.

² See the comparison of a still-extant illumination with its copy by one of the *Hortus* copyists (HD plates 167-68).

from the Old Testament and images intended to transition the reader to the christological center, and the last, which presents didactic and apocalyptic subjects. As a result, the *Hortus* is typically summed up as an encyclopedic history of salvation, but this does not begin to describe the incredible breadth and sophistication of its contents. Ethics, natural science, the liberal arts, and church history are just a few of the topics that the Hohenbourg canonesses would have absorbed from its pages. Furthermore, an overwhelming portion of the manuscript seemed to have been devoted to contemporary sources, thereby offering the canonesses an entrée to the developing theological arguments and movements of their own time. In addition to writings on ethics, cosmology, biblical and church history, the *Hortus* offered excerpts from contemporary works such as Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (ca. 1150), the *Elucidarium*, *Sigillum beatae Mariae*, and *Gemma animae* of Honorius Augustodunensis (early 12th c.), and the *De divinis officiis* of Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1169-73), as well as original texts and musical compositions written by Herrad herself.

As Judith Collard notes, scholars have tended to consider the *Hortus* illuminations from one perspective, typically examining specific images for “meaning” rather than undertaking a full critical and codicological examination of the manuscript.³ Indeed, much work on the *Hortus* has been iconographic in scope.⁴ While this art-historical

³ Judith Collard, “Herrad of Hohenbourg’s *Hortus Deliciarum* (The Garden of Delights) and the Creation of Images for Medieval Nuns,” in *Communities of Women: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Barbara Brookes and Dorothy Page (Dunedin, 2002), 47.

⁴ Otto Gillen suggests Byzantine sources for many of the *Hortus* images and Gérard Cames investigates Herrad’s use of allegory and symbolism. Otto Gillen, *Ikongraphische Studien zum Hortus deliciarum der Herrad von Landsberg*, Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien 9 (Berlin, 1931). Gérard Cames, *Allégories et symboles dans l’Hortus deliciarum* (Leiden, 1971). Shorter essays show how Herrad imbued the *Hortus* with allegories of salvation or affirmations of Christianity’s supremacy by weaving visual themes throughout to

method is useful, it falls short of demonstrating how the artistic merits of the *Hortus* contributed to its far-reaching effects, such as how the images may have factored into the larger picture of the canonesses' lives or how the *Hortus* worked on the canonesses' minds even when they were not reading. Images in the *Hortus* were put onto the parchment before the texts or inscriptions, guiding the placement of the text.⁵ The *Hortus* thereby inverts the standard method of creating an illuminated page, in which illuminations were placed in a space designated by the scribe, who would enter the text first.⁶ Major illuminations marked pivotal moments in the *Hortus* and shaped the canonesses' reception of the entire manuscript.⁷ Therefore, the complex, multi-layered qualities of its images must be drawn out.

A critical book-length examination of the *Hortus* has occurred only within the past two years, with Fiona Griffiths's comprehensive study of Herrad and the *Hortus*. A recent dissertation by Danielle Joyner, supervised by Jeffrey Hamburger, suggests that art-historical studies of the *Hortus* are just beginning to take hold.⁸ I shall address Joyner's dissertation more fully in the following chapter. For now it will suffice to say that her work provides a thorough art-historical undertaking in which the reader is led through various medieval conceptions of time as represented in the *Hortus* through

produce a consistent reading, ensuring that the canonesses were always on-message. Xenia Muratova, "Le sirene di Herrada di Hohenburg," in *Opus Tessellatum: Modi und Grenzgänge der Kunstwissenschaft: Festschrift für Peter Cornelius Claussen*, (Hildesheim, 2004), 385-98. Annette Krüger and Gabriele Rauge, "Lifting the Veil: Two Typological Diagrams in the *Hortus Deliciarum*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997): 1-22.

⁵ Therese B. McGuire, "Monastic Artists and Educators of the Middle Ages," *Woman's Art Journal* 9:2 (Autumn 1988-Winter 1989): 8.

⁶ Barbara Shailor, *The Medieval Book* (New Haven, 2002), 17.

⁷ McGuire, "Monastic Artists and Educators of the Middle Ages," 8.

⁸ Fiona Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 2007); Danielle Joyner, "A Timely History: Images of Time and History in the *Hortus deliciarum*," PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007.

narrative and diagrams. Joyner stresses a primarily devotional reading of the *Hortus*, arguing that the presentation of time “familiarized its female audience with the analytical tools and devotional methods necessary for them to comprehend their participatory role in this theologically-inspired history.”⁹

Griffiths convincingly demonstrates how Relinde, Herrad’s predecessor, initiated a trend of spiritual and intellectual renewal at Hohenbourg through the institution of the Augustinian Rule. Augustinians were particularly concerned with intellectual edification, and as Carolyn Bynum suggests, their emphasis on education is what set Augustinians apart from their Benedictine contemporaries.¹⁰ Herrad continued Relinde’s spirit of intellectual curiosity and learning via the *Hortus*, thereby fostering a rich scholarly community at Hohenbourg. The *Hortus* familiarized the women of Hohenbourg with foundational texts while also exposing them to the newest theological topics debated by their male counterparts. Griffiths also demonstrates how, in addition to providing her canonesses with an impressive and wide-ranging education, Herrad designed the *Hortus* with contemporary reform issues in mind. Throughout the *Hortus*, Griffiths finds a vigorous censure of avarice and notes that this vice is depicted as a categorically male transgression.¹¹ Her examination of some of the *Hortus* images such as Hell (fol. 255r), the Psychomachia cycle (fol. 199v-204r), and the Ladder of Virtues (fol. 215v) suggests

⁹ Joyner, “A Timely History,” iii.

¹⁰ Carolyn Walker Bynum, “The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century: A New Approach,” in Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), 57. However, in some cases Benedictine nuns enjoyed greater intellectual freedom than lay canonesses did. Compare Alison Beach’s example of the nuns of Admont, who assisted in biblical exegesis and even delivered sermons, with the Premonstratensian double monastery at Schäftlarn, in which women were allowed access to books only for the sake of copying them for the male canons. Alison Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (Cambridge, 2004), 72-103; 109-27.

¹¹ Griffiths, *Garden of Delights*, 20. See also 206-10.

that Herrad provided her condemnations visually as well as textually.¹² Thus, the *Hortus* put Herrad's canonesses on par intellectually with their male contemporaries and endowed them with the knowledge necessary to exert greater agency over their spiritual lives.

Herrad's exact role in the execution of the *Hortus* is unclear; she does not mention any collaborators, scribes, or illustrators in her colophon and in fact claims sole authorship. She may have collaborated with Relinde on selecting the texts and conceptualizing the illuminations and then parceled out the work to her canonesses.¹³ Three artists' hands have been detected in the *Hortus* imagery.¹⁴ Yet, regardless of the method of its physical execution, the pictorial themes woven throughout the manuscript make a strong case for a single creative force directing its design. Herrad refers to herself only twice in the extant reproduction of the manuscript, textually in its colophon and in image form at its conclusion, yet this was enough to effectively communicate her presence throughout the entirety of the *Hortus*. The mind behind the manuscript strongly seems to be hers.

I believe that an additional interpretation of the *Hortus* imagery is possible, one that enhances Griffiths's portrait of the intellectual setting at Hohenbourg and suggests that the *Hortus* greatly affected the canonesses' articulation of their own authority. I will suggest that Herrad addressed the twelfth-century *disputatio* tradition to demonstrate to her canonesses that dissenting voices, including their own, were essential to the body

¹² Ibid., 195-212.

¹³ An entirely possible scenario, as Beach's *Women as Scribes* (cited above) emphatically demonstrates in the case of twelfth-century Bavarian female scribes.

¹⁴ Of course, as seemingly reliable as the copies executed by the copyist for the Comte de Bastard are, they are nonetheless copies, and it is risky to divide up artists' hands without any other evidence.

Christian. At various points, the canonesses seem encouraged not just to read and contemplate the manuscript's texts and images silently within their library and their own minds, but vocally, even antagonistically. However, whereas twelfth-century disputation tracts often encapsulate a sense of Christian anxiety in the face of threats to Latin orthodoxy, Herrad presents disputation as an inheritance of the rabbinic tradition of Christianity's Jewish predecessors. There is much visual evidence for Christian familiarity with the rabbinic tradition dating from Antiquity. For example, Christian imagery in the catacomb on the Via Latina (early 4th c.) embodies influences from extrabiblical rabbinic literature.¹⁵ Likewise, Dorothy Verkerk has demonstrated how the miniatures in the Ashburnham Pentateuch (late 6th c.) incorporate rabbinic motifs and were very likely copied from a now-lost Jewish source.¹⁶

As I shall discuss in a later chapter, Christians would again encounter rabbinic sources in the twelfth century as they sought to enhance their understanding of Scripture. While these extrabiblical writings were composed only as of 200 CE, I will propose that Herrad presents the argumentative and reflective qualities of rabbinic literature as always having been a component of Judaism, since at least the days of the desert Tabernacle, thereby superimposing qualities of Talmudic debate discovered by Christians in the twelfth-century onto early Judaism. Furthermore, not only does debate appear as an essential part of Christianity's heritage, but later in the *Hortus* it is presented as necessary for the continued life and prosperity of the Christian Church. It appears that Herrad

¹⁵ Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Bible Illustration and the Jewish Tradition," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park, PA, 1999), 67-77.

¹⁶ Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Cambridge, 2004).

intended to establish in her charges not only the theological knowledge with which they could debate their faith, but also the intellectual confidence to actually do so.

As I shall demonstrate, Herrad imparted this intellectual confidence to her canonesses by evoking contemporary apocalyptic thought and conceptions of time. Unlike Joyner's study of time in the *Hortus*, my chapter will suggest that the eschatological implications of Herrad's visual program provided the Hohenbourg canonesses with a privileged perspective similar to that offered to John the Evangelist in the Book of Revelation. When absorbing the *Hortus* as a sequential whole, the Last Judgment cycle (fol. 247v, 251r-251v, 253r-253v) [Figures 1-5] marked a pivotal moment in the canonesses' experience of the manuscript. The miniatures that depict the Judgment and the subsequent images in the *Hortus* recall earlier parts of the manuscript, producing a reading that ties the entire manuscript together into a visual treatise on eschatology, transcending what is in individual texts or images. I suggest that, as they viewed the Last Judgment and moved through the remainder of the *Hortus*, the canonesses could recall previous visual and textual encounters in the *Hortus* and understand that history was recursive. The *Hortus* provided the canonesses with knowledge concerning the workings of the universe and of time, the same divine knowledge imparted to John, and thereby endowed them with the ability to discuss current developments affecting God's Church in the world. In reading/viewing the *Hortus* as a whole and in the sequential order of its folios, the canonesses understood that they possessed specialized knowledge, endowed by God, which in turn instilled in each of them the sense of authority necessary for seriously considering their faith.

While revealing to her canonesses their God-given intellectual authority, Herrad also provided them with a series of large, full-page illuminations that demonstrated how they were to exercise this authority. Upon analyzing three major images in the *Hortus*: the paired Tabernacles (fol. 45v-46r) [Figure 20], the Tree of Abraham (fol. 80v) [Figure 33], and the Structure of the Church (fol. 225v) [Figure 34], it will become clear that Herrad presented her canonesses with three incarnations of the Church: its foundational, Jewish form, its germination period in which its nascent and overtly Christian qualities were grafted to and supported by this Jewish foundation, and its present-day medieval state in which Christ's Church is a clear and independent presence in the world. Herrad developed and altered iconographic tradition for a number of these images in order to present discussion and debate as an inherent aspect of Judaism that was passed to Christianity.

Indeed, a major theme of these images is Christianity's role as the "true" Chosen People, the "true" Jews. As the Hebrews' successors, Christians were obligated to continue the tradition of discussion. As the canonesses considered the Tabernacles, the Tree of Abraham, and the Structure of the Church, they underwent a gradual assumption of Jewish identity. In the Tabernacle images, the twelve tribes of Israel are a clear physical presence that guided and interacted with the canonesses. In the Tree of Abraham, however, Judaism is literally surmounted by the Church. It is here that the discussion witnessed in the Tabernacle imagery shifts to debate. The Christian figures here do not interact with the Jewish figures, but rather use them as models for their own religious debate. Finally, in the Structure of the Church there is no Jewish physical

presence at all, but only an implied “spectral” presence that emphasizes Christianity’s complete assumption of Jewish tradition.¹⁷

In all these images, I will argue, the Hohenbourg women would have understood that debate was practiced not only when the Church was ideologically attacked. Rather, discussion and debate were integral, ineffable qualities of the Church. As such, it was every Christian’s responsibility to engage with his or her faith in this manner. The active role of women is quite apparent in each image, and both the Tree of Abraham and the Structure of the Church include the Hohenbourg canonesses themselves, showing them that the duty to disagree fell to each of them. At a time when churchmen were scrambling to assert doctrinal supremacy in the face of theological opponents and to quell even their own doubts, Herrad welcomes the challenge of Jewish skepticism about Christianity and urges her canonesses to join the debate. While these images therefore teach by example, they also move beyond this; in addition to incorporating contemporary apocalyptic thought to demonstrate the privileged spiritual and intellectual position her canonesses occupied, Herrad also addressed the twelfth-century Christian-Jewish *disputatio* tradition to provide her charges with behavioral models that would promote vocal consideration of Christianity’s hotly-debated fundamentals. I shall conclude with a proposed purpose and use for the *Hortus*.

The contents of the *Hortus deliciarum* were very likely shaped by Hohenbourg’s adherence to the Augustinian rule in the mid-twelfth century. An increased focus on

¹⁷ For an extended discussion of medieval Christianity’s concurrent rejection and adoption of Jewish identity, see Steven Kruger, *The Spectral Jew: Conversion and Embodiment in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 2006).

institutional purity and homogeneity articulated at the Second Lateran Council (1139) and again at the Council of Reims (1148) compelled Relinde to place Hohenbourg under the Rule of St. Augustine. Prior to this, the canonesses may have been secular, living under the *Institutio sanctimonialium* of Aix,¹⁸ and houses of this sort garnered criticism from the Catholic hierarchy. Under the Augustinian Rule the Hohenbourg canonesses were free to leave the convent if they wished. Many of the canonesses were of the nobility with intentions to marry, and they came to Hohenbourg for their education. As mentioned earlier, the Augustinian tradition stressed the importance of education, and Hohenbourg's rule would have tied the convent even more closely to the male Augustinian community at Marbach, also founded by Relinde in the mid-twelfth century. In fact, Herrad could have collaborated on the *Hortus* with the male community there. Male-female collaboration was not uncommon at Marbach as attested by the 1154 Guta-Sintram Codex (Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Strasbourg, Ms. 78), an illuminated text produced by the canoness Guta of Schwarzenhann, an Alsatian abbey close to Marbach, and Sintram, a canon of Marbach.¹⁹ The Guta-Sintram Codex provides an example of the learned, interdisciplinary character of texts for women and is a precursor to the multifaceted functions the *Hortus* seems to have served. The Codex was a prayer book for the Schwarzenhann community, but it also served as a legal compendium and offered pharmacological, medical, and health advice.

¹⁸ Griffiths, *Garden of Delights*, 30-31.

¹⁹ Gérard Cames, "Un joyau de l'enluminure alsacienne: Le Codex *Guta-Sintram* (1154) à Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France Paris*, (1979): 255-61; Jeffrey Hamburger, "A Liber Precum in Sélestat and the Development of the Illustrated Prayer Book in Germany," *Art Bulletin* 73.2 (June, 1991), 209-36.

Academic Proclivities and the Limitations of Physical Spirituality

Aside from Griffiths, other medieval historians have demonstrated how female monastics in the twelfth century were given access to contemporary reform literature and were thereby provided with an education equal to that of their male monastic counterparts.²⁰ In some cases these texts included illustrations that served didactic purposes just as strong as those in the texts they accompanied.²¹ Thus the Guta-Sintram Codex and the *Hortus* suggest a wider field of female involvement in book production, and likely existed within a matrix of manuscripts composed by women alone or by women in collaboration with men.²² Yet much art historical scholarship analyzing the role of images in the lives of female monastics traces the path of one specific type of relationship between women and images, one that appears to deviate from the scholarly material offered in the *Hortus* and that is grounded in the presumed predominance of womankind's physicality.

Scholars such as Jeffrey Hamburger have illuminated the central role that late-medieval religious women took in shaping their devotional practices and the far-ranging influence their visual piety exerted on medieval European spirituality.²³ Admittedly, exploring such objects offers a wealth of information on female readership and female

²⁰ Julie Hotchin, "Women's Reading and Monastic Reform," in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Medieval Church Studies 13 (Turnhout, Belgium, 2007), 139-89.

²¹ Stefanie Seeberg, "The Manuscripts of the Admont Nuns," in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Medieval Church Studies 13 (Turnhout, Belgium, 2007), 99-121.

²² Beach, *Women as Scribes*, 129-30.

²³ Jeffrey Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the *Cura Monialium*: Prolegomena in the Guise of Postscript," *Gesta* 31.2 (1992): 117-26; Jeffrey Hamburger, "'To Make Women Weep': Ugly Art as 'Feminine' and the Origins of Modern Aesthetics," *Res* 31 (1997): 9-33.

monastic artists. Yet, while Hamburger's work on the use of images in the *cura monialium* strives to right a skewed modern perception of medieval women's passivity in their spirituality, it often focuses exclusively on images of women bathed in blood, worshipping Christ's gaping wound/womb, or breast-feeding the Christ Child.²⁴ This is due largely to Hamburger's chosen time frame, and my critique is not intended to detract from the many important ideas he brings to bear on women's reception and creation of devotional art. Rather, Hamburger's imposing and thorough scholarship seems to have overshadowed areas of female monastic art that fall outside his field of study.

My point is merely to underscore the lack of balance in art historical studies of imagery made for women. Adam Cohen's examination of the Uta Codex provides but one example of how highly intellectual works could be commissioned by female monastics even before the so-called "Twelfth-Century Renaissance."²⁵ The need for a fuller examination of works without an overtly physical devotional thrust seems particularly urgent when considered in light of statements such as, "For too long our attention has been riveted by luminaries such as Hildegard of Bingen and Herrad of Hohenbourg."²⁶ At the time that Hamburger wrote this, the only major publication on the *Hortus* was the Warburg Institute facsimile, the commentary volume of which is largely a codicological study, noting paleography and musical notation, the history of Hohenbourg,

²⁴ Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, 1997); Quotes such as "...the infantilization of Christ was a strategy especially appropriate for an audience of cloistered women" betray a notion of medieval women not very different from that of their spiritual advisors: here, women are body and instinct and because of this, a naturally receptive audience for images. Likewise, their responses would be articulated through the vocabulary of their bodies. Hamburger, "To Make Women Weep," 32.

²⁵ Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, 2000).

²⁶ Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the *Cura Monialium*," 108.

and the catalogue of miniatures. Ironically, Hamburger's work has won much scholarly attention for the long-neglected images made for and/or by the anonymous nuns of his studies, while the *Hortus*, until very recently, has merited only entries in encyclopedias and a smattering of articles and book chapters.

The Spiritual Educations of Female Religious: Hildegard, Heloise, Herrad

Hamburger's nun-artists have come to occupy the forefront of academic interest in art-historical discussions of female spirituality, yet the work of a handful of female monastic leaders contemporary with Herrad indicates that women could participate in a spirituality that occurred outside of their prayers; quite often, spiritual training included a highly intellectual component, and women transmuted previous educational tactics for their own needs and the needs of their communities. This could result in new exegetical readings of Scripture, as Hildegard of Bingen offers in her *Scivias* and *Expositiones evangeliorum*, or religious practice that blurred with the theatrical, as she presents in the *Ordo virtutum*. It could also manifest in a case for a revised approach to rules for monastic orders, as Heloise presents in her third letter to Abelard. Thus it becomes apparent that women often could and did vocalize their own thoughts on theological controversies or the need for reform. Yet these women should not be considered of an identical mind merely because of their gender. Together, Hildegard, Heloise, and Herrad illustrate the varying aspects of intellectual and spiritual activity that could occur within twelfth-century monasticism. Despite their shared sense of empowerment, they approached their faith in various ways, demonstrating a constantly shifting definition of "female spirituality."

I: Hildegard of Bingen

Although Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*, (Know the Ways; composed 1141-51) her best-known work, is a presentation of her visions and includes vivid and fantastic illuminations of these visions, she glosses them in metaphysical terms, grappling with issues that plagued male theologians of her own time, much like Herrad does.²⁷ Likewise, her *Expositiones evangeliorum*, a lesser-known work composed by 1157, comments on Scripture in a way that deviates from the classic interpretations of previous exegetes; although she uses Augustine's three-pronged approach for reading Scripture, her results emphasize values that would have been pertinent specifically to her community at Rupertsburg.²⁸ Yet, while Hildegard was familiar with the burgeoning scholastic movement and other contemporary developments in theology, she did not impart these new sources to her community in a direct sense.

While Herrad makes a point of noting which authors she quotes and using those authors' texts verbatim, Hildegard considers her own visions and thoughts the means by which her nuns will receive their education and salvation.²⁹ Furthermore, her means of transmission differ from Herrad's; whereas Herrad's methods involved singing, discussion, and close looking and reading, Hildegard's worship practices were far more elaborate and theatrical, involving costumes, and according to some sources, even

²⁷ "Saint Hildegard of Bingen," *Reclaiming Eve: 1500 Years of Feminist Commentary on the Creation Story in Genesis*, March 16, 2009 <<http://www.pinn.net/~sunshine/whm2000/bingen2.html>>.

²⁸ Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Hildegard of Bingen's teaching in her *Expositiones evangeliorum* and *Ordo virtutum*," in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (London, 2000), 75-81.

²⁹ Carolyn Muessig, "Learning and Mentoring in the twelfth century: Hildegard of Bingen and Herrad of Landsberg," in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (London, 2000), 90-91.

dance.³⁰ Hildegard was extremely attentive to outward comportment and thus, in a way, conservatively followed the Benedictine tradition, which, as Stephen Jaeger notes, promoted the idea that the outward person affected the inward; impeccable physical actions and appearance reflected ontological perfection.³¹

II: Heloise, Abbess of the Paraclete

Despite recent scholarship indicating her strong presence in the contemporary religiopolitical sphere, Heloise is still known primarily in terms of her tragic romance with Abelard and is quite often divested of any authorial agency. Beginning in the nineteenth century, a number of her letters were dismissed as Abelard's creations, under the assumption that women would not be capable of the arguments she presented.³² This allegation has been convincingly countered in recent scholarship, particularly by Barbara Newman's intervention,³³ but even Newman may not give Heloise the full credit she deserves; she notes that in her third letter to Abelard, Heloise "dwindles into virtue as a heroine of romance might dwindle into marriage."³⁴ Yet Linda Georgianna convincingly

³⁰ Hildegard mentions dance as a viable form of worship in a letter to the prelates of Mainz. See Hildegard Ryan, O.S.B., "Hildegard of Bingen and Bl. Jutta of Spanheim: Foremothers in Wisdom," in *Medieval Women Monastics: Wisdom's Wellsprings*, ed. Miriam Schmitt, O.S.B. and Linda Kulzer, O.S.B. (Collegeville, Minn, 1996), 160.

³¹ Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), 269-72.

³² The authenticity argument over the letters of Abelard and Heloise was first raised in the nineteenth century, and in 1913 Bernhard Schmeidler asserted that Abelard had penned all of the correspondence supposedly written between the two of them. Bernhard Schmeidler, "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abälard und Heloise: Eine Fälschung?" *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 11 (1913): 1-30; Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abälard und Heloise als eine literarische Fiktion Abälards," *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte* 54 (1935): 323-38.

³³ Barbara Newman, "Authority, Authenticity, and the Repression of Heloise," in her *Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995), 46-75.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 74.

demonstrates that this letter can be considered a bold proposal to reconsider monastic rules.³⁵ In noting her personal difficulty in conforming to an inner spiritual life, Heloise formulates a strong critique of contemporary monastic life. Revealing her own theological sophistication, she states that a truly efficacious rule would help guide one's thoughts and desires rather than stressing superficial elements such as dietary or dress restrictions.³⁶ Furthermore, her response to Abelard's advice implies that, at least sometimes, Christ was not enough. For when Abelard suggests that Heloise think on Christ's Passion to assuage her passionate thoughts, she ignores this advice as if it had never been offered.³⁷ This non-engagement with Christ presents an image of female monasticism that is entirely different from the cradled and kissed crucifixes or the enlarged bridal chamber hearts of Hamburger's anonymous nuns.

III: Herrad of Hohenbourg

In the following pages, I shall discuss how Herrad attempted not only to impart current scholarly developments to her canonesses, but how she also impelled them to consider themselves authorized to comment on these developments. With the *Hortus*, Herrad made it clear that women were to read for reasons beyond stimulating their devotions or safeguarding their virtue. This is not to say, however, that she set aside devotional practice or questions of judgment and redemption. As Jean Leclercq notes, to isolate monastic spirituality from intellectual endeavors is to be left with an incomplete

³⁵ Linda Georgianna, "In any Corner of Heaven': Heloise's Critique of Monastic Life," in *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler (London, 2000), 187-216.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 199-201.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 196-97.

picture of either.³⁸ Herrad saw the salvation of her canonesses as inseparable from their education, and it would be erroneous to discuss them as two separate objectives. As we shall see, Herrad repeatedly emphasizes the canonesses' ability, indeed, their duty, to engage in thoughtful consideration of a Christianity that was transforming before their eyes. The *Hortus* offered a powerful visual means by which the women of Hohenbourg fully engaged their faith—and one another—on intellectual, critical, and experiential levels.

³⁸ Jean LeClerq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York, 1982). Leclerq's presentation of monastic and scholastic modes of education has come under undue criticism for positing a divide between the monastic and scholastic approach. See Constant Mews, "Monastic Educational Culture Revisited: The Witness of Zwiefalten and the Hirsau Reform," in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Meussig (London, 2000), 182-97. In fact, Leclerq himself states that, despite their discernable differences, scholasticism and monasticism owe something to each other and are in fact interrelated. See *Love of Learning*, 3.

Chapter 1 - “*What has been will be again*”: Revelation and Readerly Authority

Green’s description of the *Hortus deliciarum* as a triptych implies two ancillary sections in the *Hortus* that, while serving the primary central section of Christ’s life, nonetheless are able to function independent of that central section. Green’s simile is apt since, like a triptych, the three sections of the *Hortus* blend together seamlessly and the manuscript is most powerful when these sections are considered as a whole. Reading the *Hortus* reveals an intentional weaving of ages: for example, the christological center of the *Hortus* contains Old Testament passages as well as selections from the Church Fathers and medieval exegetes. Time continues to unfold, but past, present, and future share common elements. One age does not supplant another, but instead coexists with all other ages. Yet, while apparent in the manuscript’s texts, this interwoven nature of time appears most often and most emphatically in a visual sense. In addition to textual evidence in the *Hortus*, there is a striking frequency of images that indicate this recursive structure of time and the universe. Interestingly, this cyclical aspect of time first becomes apparent to the viewer upon studying the Last Judgment cycle [Figures 1-5]. As I shall argue in this chapter, Herrad structured the *Hortus* in this way so that her canonesses might understand the intellectual responsibility they owed their faith.

The treatment of time in the *Hortus deliciarum* has not been seriously considered until Joyner’s recent dissertation; some scholars have denied it is a theme at all. In comparing the *Hortus* with Lambert of St. Omer’s *Liber floridus*, Penelope Mayo states that while Lambert’s work was “propelled by an eschatological urgency,” Herrad’s

“apocalyptic mode...is a natural extension of the linear biblical history which informs the entire work.”³⁹ Mayo’s discussion posits Herrad’s work as merely didactic while Lambert’s offers visionary possibilities. Time in the *Hortus* has been explored only in Joyner’s dissertation, cited above, where she considers computistic and narrative representations of time. Joyner suggests that in doing the calculations for the computational material in the *Hortus*, the canonesses would learn to “manipulate...comprehend...[and] interpret [the manuscript’s] relevance for the history of salvation and for themselves as individuals in that history.”⁴⁰ Yet while many images in the *Hortus* do indeed provide the behavioral models that Mayo discusses, and while a linear reading of the manuscript was certainly one mode of reception for the *Hortus*, I shall attempt to show that Herrad’s approach to history could sometimes break the constraints of narrative linearity.

As the first art historian to discuss the *Hortus* in terms of its possible wide-ranging effects on the minds and lives of the Hohenbourg canonesses, Joyner revels in the untapped riches available to her. And yet, sometimes this ambitious and necessary study seems too simplistic. For example, in discussing the Tree of Abraham she notes that “The branches of the tree represent a progression through history, and climbing the tree on fol. 80v is akin to reading through history, thus this image becomes an exhortation [to the canonesses] to study the manuscript” in order to be redeemed.⁴¹ Her analysis presents the Tree of Abraham solely as a visual account of the early history of the Church

³⁹ Penelope C. Mayo, “*Concordia discordantium: A Twelfth-Century Illustration of Time and Eternity*,” in *Album amicorum Kenneth C. Lindsay: Essays on Art and Literature* (Binghamton, 1990), 33.

⁴⁰ Joyner, “A Timely History,” 178.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 332-33.

and a testament to Christianity's dominance. While these are undeniable elements of the Tree, in the next chapter I shall suggest more nuanced and significant implications for how the canonesses considered their role as Christians. Joyner also notes, as other scholars already have and as I will here, the similar tumbling poses of Lucifer, Superbia, and the Whore of Babylon.⁴² Yet, after analyzing these figures Joyner's conclusion falls somewhat short of expectations. She suggests that through these attractive falling figures, the canonesses came to recognize their own sinfulness and the sin hidden or inherent in beauty.⁴³ This conclusion is unsatisfying for two reasons: first, the superficial allure of evil was a well-established trope by the twelfth century. Finding it in the *Hortus* should not be surprising. Second, Joyner does not suggest what this might reveal about conceptions of time.

Like Joyner, I suggest that as the Hohenbourg canonesses gained an understanding of the structure of time, they also gained a sense of authority to assume control of their spiritual lives. But Joyner and I seem to hold different notions of what a spiritual life entailed. She presents the *Hortus* as a devotional aid that expands the boundaries of contemporary worship guides. In its folios the canonesses learned to avoid sin and live a proper Christian life. Ultimately, Joyner is more interested in the "private" aspects of viewing the *Hortus*, yet her thesis would suggest that the canonesses all underwent the same experience. Thus for Joyner the *Hortus* carries liturgical

⁴² Cames, *Allégories*, 121; Green, "The Miniatures," HD Commentary, 31; Rosemary Muir Wright, "The Great Whore in the Illustrated Apocalypse Cycles," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 198-99.

⁴³ Joyner, "A Timely History," 272-88.

connotations that, when combined with a solitary-yet-communal experience, approximates the mass (although Joyner does not extend her argument to this final point).

In my discussion of the *Hortus*, “spiritual life” will refer not only to devotional practice, but will merge the spiritual with scholarly edification. Likewise, while many of the images I will discuss are also examined in Joyner’s dissertation, my framework for their reception will differ, as will my interpretation of how the *Hortus* came to bear on the minds of the Hohenbourg canonesses. The lengthy Apocalypse image program reveals a matrix of images and texts throughout the *Hortus* that encouraged the Hohenbourg canonesses to consider how time functioned in Christian history. It is clear that the Last Judgment cycle marks a pivotal moment in one mode of comprehending the *Hortus*.

After the Judgment, many of the remaining texts and images recall earlier parts of the *Hortus*, producing a reading that transcends what is in individual texts or images. While Joyner acknowledges this repetition of images, she does not consider eschatology as an aspect of their conception and has little to say about the Last Judgment cycle. In looking at the Last Judgment and then proceeding to the rest of the *Hortus*, it gradually became apparent to the canonesses, I argue, that Christian history was recursive. Throughout the *Hortus*, the canonesses would witness particular events at recurring at significant moments in the salvation narrative. The *Hortus* thereby provided the canonesses with a revelation regarding the functioning structure of time and history, both of which were predicated on divinely ordained events. This is directly related to medieval

apocalyptic texts, which describe a visual revelation from God that reveals creation's predestined structure to a select few.

That the Apocalypse embodied characteristics of previous ages is an idea also apparent in the thought of Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1135-1202). Indeed, as we shall see, Herrad's presentation of history in the *Hortus* bears some interesting similarities to that in Joachim's writings. Like Joachim, Herrad presents "[a] sense of the Godhead at work in the very stuff of history..."⁴⁴ Just as Joachim posits three interconnected thematic ages of the world (the ages of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), so Herrad seamlessly interweaves elements from the three different thematic sections (Yaweh-Christ-Spirit) comprising the *Hortus*.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Joachim expressed his ideas primarily in visual symbols rather than discursively, a fact that ties his work even more closely to Herrad's.⁴⁶ Yet what truly aligns Herrad with Joachim is the emphasis they both place on improved theological understanding as the ideal post-Apocalyptic state. As I shall contend, Herrad saw the culmination of apocalyptic purification as a deeper understanding of the sacraments and Scripture. Likewise, Joachim saw his third age as when the monastic elect would attain the status of *intellectus spirituales* and reach a perfect understanding of Scripture.

Although Joachim's works were not widely disseminated until the thirteenth century, according to Bernard McGinn he enjoyed an international reputation by the late-twelfth century, advising popes on apocalyptic matters throughout the 1180s and 1190s

⁴⁴ Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London, 1976), 3.

⁴⁵ Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy* (Oxford, 1991), 521.

⁴⁶ Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1998), 128.

and meeting with major secular rulers such as Richard the Lionheart and Emperor Henry VI.⁴⁷ His apocalyptic visions received papal endorsement in 1184, and from that moment on, he was a figure “of international repute,” already considered a prophet by the English and famous for his *Liber apocalypsis* (completed ca. 1184).⁴⁸ Furthermore, the popes whom Joachim advised, particularly Lucius III (1181-85) and Clement III (1187-91), desired peace with the German emperor (Frederick Barbarossa under Lucius, Henry VI under Clement), and for this reason welcomed Joachim’s concept of a nonresistant Church that suffered in silence.⁴⁹ For this same reason, Joachim’s works may have been particularly welcomed and promoted within the Staufen territory. Christine Bischoff has demonstrated the extent to which Hohenbourg was esteemed among the emperors, beginning with Barbarossa, who restored the convent after his father, Frederick II of Swabia, had practically demolished it and in so doing, “thrust [Hohenbourg] into the spiritual and political spotlight.”⁵⁰ For all of these reasons, it seems possible that Joachim’s ideas would have made their way to Herrad, who was determined to provide her canonesses with the freshest scholarship in addition to foundational or older works. As I shall attempt to show, the *Hortus* strongly embodies the fundamentals of Joachim’s thoughts in text and image.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 126.

⁴⁸ Ibid.; M. Bloomfield and Marjorie Reeves, “The Penetration of Joachimism into Northern Europe,” *Speculum* 29 (1954): 775.

⁴⁹ Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York, 1985), 24-26; McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 127.

⁵⁰ Christine Bischoff, “L’histoire,” in HD Commentary, 9; Griffiths, *Garden of Delights*, 24-27; Hohenbourg seems to have experienced continued elevated status under Barbarossa’s son, Henry VI (r. 1191-97). Upon Henry’s defeat of Tancred of Lecce, Tancred’s wife Sibyl of Acerra and their daughters were exiled to the convent. See Heinrich Büttner, “Studien zur Geschichte des Stiftes Hohenburg im Elsass während des Hochmittelalters,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 52 (1939): 137.

The *Hortus deliciarum* Last Judgment

The *Hortus* Last Judgment extends over five folios, each divided into three registers. They once occurred continuously, one after the other, but half- and quarter-leaves were later interpolated between many of the folios, interrupting the smooth visual progression. First to appear are the saved penitents and Just Judges standing above a representation of the destruction of sky and earth that will occur after the judgment (fol. 247v) [Figure 1]. In the lowest register are two spheres showing the new sky and the new earth, filled with flowers, a garden of sorts. This page may be considered a vision or foretaste of the great burning of the world that is to come, since the end of the present earth and the inception of the renewed earth are displayed before any of the activity leading up to this has occurred. Herrad even provides an inscription – at the left of the middle register – telling her canonesses “this fire will occur *after* the judgment” (emphasis added).⁵¹ The next folio (fol. 251r) depicts saved male Church members below which stand women labeled “joyful and wise virgins” (*perlatae et prudentes virgines*) and “widows” (*viduae*) at the left of the middle register [Figure 2]. Beside them, an angel blows a trumpet to summon the dead from their graves for judgment. Below, the beasts of the earth and sea vomit up the bodies or body parts of their human victims. The regurgitated limbs return to their rightful owners’ bodies via a conduit connecting the center and bottom registers. Meanwhile, an angel rolls up the heavens like a scroll, indicating that secular time has come to an end as has the linear narrative that characterized the canonesses’ reading experience up to this point.

⁵¹ *Iste conflagratio erit post iudicium.*

Before the later interpolations,⁵² folio 251v and folio 253r faced each other; they are easily identifiable as two connecting halves [Figures 3-4]. At the top of and central to this composition is a Deesis showing Christ seated on a double-rainbow in a mandorla between the supplicating Virgin and John the Baptist. Apostles flank this group and also occupy the center register. In the lowest register is the empty cross and throne flanked by Adam and Eve. Behind Eve begin the ranks of the damned, headed by false prophets and other liars (*pseudi prophetae et falsi*) separated from the saved by a river of fire streaming from Christ's mandorla [Figure 5]. The procession of the damned continues at the top of fol. 253v with impious members of the Church hierarchy (*pseudi apostoli, episcopus et clericus*). In their company are the foolish virgins, unjust judges and all unfaithful people (*iniqui iudices et omnes infideles*), and Jews and pagans (*judei et pagani*). In the bottom right of the image angels force the condemned into hell.

The Development of Christian Apocalyptic Thought

As with much Christian tradition, the concept of the end of the world first began among Jews in the second century BCE, when Israel was subordinated to foreign rulers.⁵³ Quite often apocalyptic writings from this period equate enemies of Judaism not only with political foes, but also with earthly representatives of Satan. The final judgment would provide relief from these persecutors, who would be punished for eternity. The

⁵² Throughout this paper I will assume that any and all interpolated leaves post-date the image cycles or textual selections they interrupt. Interpolations contain text only and appear to clarify or augment the preexisting material in the *Hortus*. Furthermore, I do not believe a pictorial program as apparently essential to instruction as that in the *Hortus* would have been intentionally disrupted in the period of its original use, especially in extensive cycles such as the Last Judgment.

⁵³ Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle, 1981), 13.

twelfth century witnessed increased interest in the Apocalypse, providing the text with more glosses and commentaries than nearly any other century.⁵⁴ Apocalyptic thought became entwined with eschatological concerns or questions about humanity's destiny and existence. At the end of time, God would finally reveal his divine secrets through signs to certain chosen individuals.⁵⁵ Common to many apocalyptic authors is that these secrets were articulated visually through visions incorporating symbols that could only the initiated could understand and use to converse with God in a "secret language."⁵⁶

As Bernard McGinn shows, the belief in Christ's return contained contradictory elements. Christian apocalypticism looked back to the past and forward to the end of time. Quoting Oscar Cullmann, McGinn explains that Christ's return had occurred "already but not yet."⁵⁷ Since Christ's judgment would be a direct response to the behavior of humanity, the Last Judgment re-presents the entire history of the world beginning with its creation.⁵⁸ Thus in the medieval period we see a developing concept of the end of the world as repetitive and revelatory.⁵⁹ In apocalyptic thought, historical time was characterized as an ongoing battle between good and evil that would reach an ultimate conclusion as ordained by God.

⁵⁴ McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot*, 87.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 53; D. S. Russell, *Between the Testaments*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1972), 95-96; Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 13; Frederick van der Meer, *Apocalypse: Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art* (New York, 1978): 29.

⁵⁶ Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 13.

⁵⁷ Bernard McGinn, *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1985), 25; Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 14.

⁵⁸ Pamela Sheingorn, "For God is such a Doomsman: Origins and Development of the Theme of the Last Judgment," in *Homo, Memento Finis: The Iconography of Just Judgment in Medieval Art and Drama* (Kalamazoo, 1985), 16.

⁵⁹ The same-but-different relationship of Antichrist to Christ illustrates this clearly. Antichrist is the leader of evil who deceptively imitates Christ. Christ and Antichrist are also complementary to one another: Christ opens the sixth age, and Antichrist closes it.

Apocalyptic Thought in Joachim of Fiore

Joachim of Fiore's apocalyptic imaginings exhibit much continuity with traditional apocalyptic thought: historical events were preordained and cyclical, and this structure could become apparent through revelation.⁶⁰ Yet Joachim's notion of what the final, perfected world would look like differed greatly from those of his contemporaries. His doctrine of history posited three statuses or versions of existence. First was the status of the Father, which corresponded to the Old Testament. This was followed by the status of the Son, which included all events from Christ's birth into Joachim's own time and into the future up to 1260. In 1260, he predicted, humanity would enter the status of the Spirit in which civilization would come into direct contact with God, reaching an understanding of Scripture that transcended a literal reading. Latin and Greek Churches would enjoy an ecumenical relationship, a status they would maintain until the Parousia, through a mutual, "correct" understanding of Scripture.⁶¹

As I shall contend, Joachim's belief in Scriptural clarity comes to bear on the *Hortus* and thereby filled the Hohenbourg canonesses with a sense of authority to know and name God's actions. And yet, Herrad's apocalyptic thought is not identical to Joachim's; whereas Joachim saw an ecumenical Church united through a spiritual understanding of Scripture in anticipation of Christ's Second Coming, for Herrad access to God's secrets could happen only after the Parousia and final judgment of humanity had

⁶⁰ McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot*, 191.

⁶¹ Reeves, *Prophetic Vision*, 7.

occurred. Thus, Herrad combines traditional eschatological belief about Christ's separation of evil and good with Joachim's prioritization of spiritual intelligence.

Visual Representations of the Apocalypse

Rather than being presented as a narrative showing the separation of the saved from the damned, representations of the Apocalypse in the Early Christian period tended to be expressed as isolated triumphal images, such as the Alpha and Omega or the *Etimasia* (empty throne).⁶² The earliest medieval evidence for a narrative Apocalypse account in images comes from ninth-century Carolingian manuscripts that reproduce Antique prototypes discovered in Italy circa 500, and large-scale, detailed Apocalypse and Last Judgment narratives became more frequent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶³ Monumental renderings of the subject, as on the tympanum of Saint-Lazare at Autun [Figure 6] or of Sainte-Foy at Conques, [Figure 7] became standard decoration for the central portals on west church façades, as well as the interior west walls of churches, as at Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello [Figure 8]. It appears that from about 1000 until 1150, artists did not create their scenes according to the account in the Book of Revelation, but according to Christ's descriptions in Matthew 24 and 25.⁶⁴ For example, the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Matt. 25: 1-13) is often integrated into

⁶² Emerson, *Antichrist*, 108. Van der Meer, *Apocalypse*, 33.

⁶³ Jérôme Baschet, *Le justice de l'au-delà* (Rome, 1993), 137; Van der Meer, *Apocalypse*, 40. There are literary accounts that reveal an earlier existence of narrative cycles. Bede mentions Benedict Biscop returning to England from Rome ca. 676 with an illustrated Apocalypse cycle intended as a model for narrative wall paintings.

⁶⁴ Yves Christe, "Apocalypse and Judgment around the Year 1000," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, ed. Richard Landes (New York, 2003), 150.

twelfth-century Judgment scenes, and indeed there are groups of women among the saved and the damned in the *Hortus* Judgment labeled wise and foolish virgins on fol. 251r and 253v, respectively.⁶⁵ Furthermore, artistic depictions of the Judgment were more often influenced by exegetical texts than by the biblical passages themselves, and in fact Gérard Cames has argued that Herrad's Last Judgment relies on the account in the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis.⁶⁶

Like Cames, I see Herrad's visual treatment of the Last Judgment as a pictorial motif as following the description in Honorius's third book of the *Elucidarium*, which focuses exclusively on what will happen during and after the Last Judgment. Honorius describes Christ returning as an emperor entering a city, with his crown and insignia preceding him.⁶⁷ Furthermore, he will appear in two forms: to the damned, he will appear as crucified; to the elect, as he appeared "on the mountain (*in monte*)," presumably referring to the Transfiguration.⁶⁸ Upon examining fol. 252r, the correlation between the *Elucidarium* and the *Hortus* Last Judgment is apparent. Herrad has depicted Christ in just this manner. Like an emperor, his crown and insignia, that is, the crown of thorns (labeled *spina corona*) and the other instruments of his passion, precede him and descend from heaven first. Two angels display them to the ranks of the saved and the damned. Christ himself sits above, radiantly triumphant yet still bleeding from his wounds, which present him to the damned as the crucified one, but which also serve as an additional example of his insignia. Furthermore, Honorius notes that pagans and Jews who did not

⁶⁵ *Prudentes virgines* and *fatuae virgines*.

⁶⁶ Cames, *Allégories*, 115.

⁶⁷ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, Liber Tertius #51, ed. Yves Lefèvre (Paris, 1954), 457.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, #54; #66, 458, 460.

convert after Christ's arrival would number among the damned.⁶⁹ Likewise, folio 253r of the *Hortus* Last Judgment depicts *Judei et pagani* among the damned [Figure 5; see Figure 41 for detail]. These examples comprise only the most major parallels between Herrad's and Honorius's works. Yet, in her treatment of apocalyptic time and the way time and history unfold, she seems more akin to Joachim.

The *Hortus* Last Judgment: Parallels and Models

The *Hortus* Judgment bears a strong resemblance to the Torcello Judgment mosaic, although Herrad's direct source was more likely a manuscript that was modeled after the same source as Torcello.⁷⁰ In any case, it is clearly derived from a Byzantine prototype, as is much of the *Hortus* imagery. For example, the *Hortus* Ladder of Virtues [Figure 9] was clearly influenced by the Ladder of Divine Ascent of John Climacus [Figures 10], and Rosalie Green has shown that the Cotton Genesis provided the inspiration for the *Hortus* Adam and Eve cycle.⁷¹ This borrowing of iconographic motifs is not surprising; as mentioned earlier, Hohenbourg was an important part of the Hohenstaufen territorial patrimony, and Sibyl of Acerra may have brought manuscripts or other visual objects from Sicily upon her exile to the convent.⁷² There were, furthermore, other means by which Byzantine objects could have reached the convent: the

⁶⁹ Ibid., #65-68, 459-60.

⁷⁰ Green, "Catalogue of Miniatures," HD Commentary, 217.

⁷¹ Rosalie Green, "The Adam and Eve Cycle in the *Hortus deliciarum*" in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 340-47.

⁷² See p. 6, n. 49 of this chapter.

Hohenstaufen court was located in Palermo or southern Italy and employed a number of Greek artists, providing many opportunities for artistic cultural exchange.⁷³

Images Before, During, and After the *Hortus* Last Judgment

While the *Hortus* Last Judgment marks a turning point for the manuscript's salvation narrative, it also sets into motion a revelatory mode of reading for the canonesses. As I shall argue, sections of the Last Judgment adopt and repeat images that have appeared earlier in the *Hortus*. This recapitulation of previous elements in the *Hortus*, visual and textual, continues after the Judgment cycle and through to the end of the manuscript. I would suggest that Herrad is not reusing previous images from a mere lack of imagination, for she does not slavishly copy her models. Rather, she subtly evokes particular aspects of those images, thereby constructing a complex visual representation of the recursive nature of time. Her understanding of apocalypticism is apparent, and she seems to have designed the *Hortus* with the newest developments in eschatology in mind, specifically Joachim of Fiore's interpretation of the final age as an age of perfect understanding of Scripture.

The first motif to be repeated and slightly modified is the group of animals from the image showing the fifth and sixth days of Creation (fol. 8v) [Figure 11]. God stands both in and on a body of water that is filled with various kinds of fish. The surrounding mountains teem with all sorts of animals including a bull, a lion, a horse, an elephant, a

⁷³ Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocalypse in Art* (London, 1931), 42-43.

peacock, a leopard, an elk, an elephant, a griffon, and even a unicorn.⁷⁴ The inscription, omitted from the image by the nineteenth-century copyist but noted by the copyist elsewhere, is a selection from Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. The passage tells of how living things were created harmless to humanity but became dangerous after sin entered the world.⁷⁵ This image and inscription, while meaningful and informative in their own right, take on an additional resonance when the reader encounters a similar image in the Last Judgment.

A segment of the Last Judgment (fol. 251r) illustrates Revelations 20:13, where the land and sea give up their dead [Fig. 12]. As noted earlier, the land and sea are represented by their animal inhabitants, every one regurgitating a human being or a human body part. Aside from this striking feature and the absence of God, the group in the Judgment is very similar to that in the Creation scene and likely would have evoked this earlier image. Compositionally, the landmasses and body of water approximate those of the Creation, as do the way the animals are tucked into the landscape. Although the number of animals is not identical, many of the more striking creatures from the Creation reappear in the Judgment scene: the griffon, the lion, the unicorn, and the elongated fish. That the animals are in the process of vomiting up people they have eaten reinforces the idea that time is looping back around; animals became hostile to people after people became sinful, but the Judgment presents the reversal of this shift.

⁷⁴ This animal may in fact be a monocerus (rhinoceros). Quite often the qualities of unicorns and monoceri were conflated, and some bestiaries treat the two as the same animal. See David Badke, "Monocerus," *The Medieval Bestiary: Animals in the Middle Ages*. December 1, 2008. <<http://bestiary.ca/beasts/beast165.htm>>.

⁷⁵ *Venenosa et pernicioosa animantia creata sunt innoxia, et per peccatum facta sunt noxia. Nichil enim homini nocuissent si non peccasset.* Peter Lombard, *The Sentences*, Distinction XV, Ch. III (84).

Such repetitions would, I claim, have revealed the cyclical nature of history as the viewer read and looked at the Last Judgment. The recursive nature of existence continues to appear throughout the manuscript. This gradual revealing to the canonesses continued with one of the most inventive images from the *Hortus*, the Fall of Babylon (fol. 258v) [Figure 13]. Scholars have remarked upon Herrad's creativity here.⁷⁶ While a number of manuscript images present the whore of Babylon seated on the seven-headed beast and holding her cup of iniquities, there is no known precedent for an illustration of the Fall of Babylon where the city is personified as a falling woman. Typically, the burning or crumbling city walls are depicted instead.⁷⁷ And yet, precedents for this image exist in the *Hortus* itself. In her design of the falling woman-city, it appears that Herrad intentionally evoked (and invoked) an earlier image: the Fall of Lucifer and the Rebel Angels (fol. 3v) [Figure 14].

Regrettably, the Fall of Lucifer was never copied in color or on the same scale as the Fall of Babylon. However, its fundamental qualities are still apparent and share interesting commonalities with the Fall of Babylon. Both Lucifer and the Whore tumble headfirst to their fate; angels jab them both with tridents; both hold or have just dropped a particular object: for Lucifer, the orb of the world; for the Whore of Babylon, her cup of iniquities; and both exhibit similarly furrowed brows. After considering these images in relation to a Mosan enamel showing the Archangel Michael fighting the Seven-Headed Beast (ca. 1160-70) [Figure 15], it becomes clear that Herrad manipulated contemporary

⁷⁶ Cames, *Allégories*, 121; Green, "Catalogue of Miniatures," 222, n. 2.

⁷⁷ Although, interestingly, Herrad's treatment of the Whore of Babylon does in some ways recall the Fall of Babylon in the Bamberg Apocalypse, where the fallen city appears untouched but for the fact that it is inverted. The city is thus "turned on its head" similar to Herrad's city-woman.

images of Lucifer's fall to develop an original motif that tied together her message about the recursive nature of history. The "choreography" of Lucifer's fall, which heralded the entrance of sin into the world, reappears in the *Hortus* to signify the victory of good. In quoting the form of Lucifer for that of the City/Whore of Babylon, Herrad reinforces the apocalyptic idea that history will unfold in a series of patterned predestined events until it attains perfection in the final age. This also may be why Herrad chose to place the Fall of Babylon out of its usual place in the biblical narrative. In the Book of Revelation, Babylon falls in Chapter 18 while the Last Judgment occurs in Chapter 20. Yet in the *Hortus*, the Fall of Babylon occurs after the Judgment, on fol. 258v. Herrad has interrupted the narrative arc of the Bible to shape and direct an understanding that embodies her conception of the Apocalypse. The falling city-woman occurs after the Last Judgment in order to increase the revelatory impact of this image, and of the *Hortus* in its entirety, on the canonesses.

It is the next-to-last image in the *Hortus*, a large-scale illumination of the Bosom of Abraham cemented the canonesses' revelatory reading [Figure 16]. Here, Abraham sits on a lyre-backed throne with the Elect in his lap. Water spirits in the corners of the image pour forth the four major rivers, and date trees and hanging crowns surround the central group, denoting that this is also the final paradise of the Just. An earlier image of the Just in Heaven shows paradise filled with these trees and crowns (fol. 244v). However, the Bosom of Abraham has not one parallel in the *Hortus*, but at least two: the *Paradisus voluptatis* (fol. 19r) [Figure 17] and a scene from the parable of Dives and Lazarus (fol. 123v) [Figure 18].

The *Paradisus voluptatis*, or “garden of desire,” displays the Tree of Life under a canopy, and human heads sprout on its boughs. Flanking the tree above and below are urns pouring forth the four rivers of world, which we also see held by the river gods in the image of the Bosom of Abraham. The urns are angled the same way and again are similarly labeled. A seraph with a flaming sword guards the doorway, though, underscoring the inaccessibility of this garden. While the *Paradisus voluptatis* is forbidden to the canonesses, the Bosom of Abraham shows the central member of the elect on Abraham’s lap lifting his hand and looking directly at the viewer, beckoning her to join them, while another member raises his hand in a pontificating gesture and figures on either side of the group extend their hands in different speech gestures, all under the observant gaze of Abraham. In some ways, Abraham recalls Ecclesia from the Structure of the Church. Like Ecclesia, Abraham does not employ a speech gesture, yet is in the company of a number of speaking figures. That this was a full-page image would have made the effect even more commanding. The image becomes a beatific vision of sorts. After moving through the Last Judgment, the canonesses would have received full access to a paradisiacal vision which, much like the earthly conception of the Church in fol. 225v, included an apparently continuing conversation.

Likewise, the image of Lazarus seated with Abraham also bears similarities to the Bosom of Abraham. Abraham holds Lazarus in his lap, but the four rivers are missing, as are the date trees and crowns that mark the Bosom as the ultimate destination of the Just. Perhaps this is because the Bosom of Abraham is a vision offered directly to the canonesses after they have received knowledge of the structure of time and the universe,

while the scene of Dives and Lazarus is merely a precursor or foretaste to this vision. Yet their vision is more refined here than in the *Paradisus voluptatis* in that they see Abraham's form. This gradual revelation of heaven culminates in the Bosom of Abraham. An understanding of what Paradise looks like is granted to the canonesses after they have seen the world burn.

It is not only images that function as revelatory elements in the *Hortus deliciarum*, but texts as well. Immediately after the Bosom of Abraham Herrad decided to include a number of selections from Peter Lombard's *Sentences* that discuss the creation of the world. The passage included earlier in the Creation, cited above, appears on fol. 264r as well. Yet it is accompanied with other selections from the *Sentences* that provide a fuller understanding of Creation. The universe becomes more than the omnipotent and unquestionable Word, a series of factual statements ("In the beginning God created heaven, and earth" etc.), but an amalgam of ideas including *why* God decided to make the world in the way and order that he did. Additional selections offer explanations of the sacraments and discuss the nature of the Eucharist, two controversial issues that were just beginning to be debated in Herrad's time. Indeed, at a time when the term "transubstantiation" had entered acceptable theological parlance only recently (as of the mid-twelfth century),⁷⁸ the Eucharist offered a tantalizing puzzle to be ruminated upon. Yet, the canonesses were given access to this clearer understanding of their faith only upon witnessing God's final judgment. Like Joachim of Fiore's notion of a third age in which the Elect were spiritually perfected by the Holy Spirit, thereby receiving an

⁷⁸ McGinn, *Christian Spirituality*, 379.

understanding of Scripture beyond its literal surface, Herrad saw her canonesses as becoming spiritually perfect by enhancing their knowledge of Scripture as well as the sacraments. Like John the Evangelist, they come to know through seeing.

As the structure of history took shape under the canonesses' eyes, they may also have been endowed with a fuller knowledge of Christianity's deepest mysteries. They would have seen the ultimate paradise in the Bosom of Abraham, received an understanding of Creation, and, in learning about the nature of the sacraments, were made privy to the workings of liturgical actions that only male clerics could perform. However, it was not until they underwent the Judgment in the *Hortus* that this knowledge begins to blossom. In this regard, reading the *Hortus* was akin to experiencing revelation as it was thought to occur in actuality. When considered in this way, Herrad's introduction addressed to her canonesses at the beginning of the *Hortus* takes on an additional significance, adding to the multivalent quality of her incredibly rich work. After a song to the canonesses urging them to spurn the world, Herrad includes a prose address that exhorts the Hohenbourg women to consider the *Hortus* as a "single sweet honeycomb" to be received as "pleasing food" (fol. 1v).⁷⁹ Herrad's address carries a number of connotations,⁸⁰ but given the overwhelming stress on apocalyptic thought throughout the manuscript the first allusion that materializes, to my mind, is John the Evangelist eating

⁷⁹ *Sanctitati vestre insinuo, quod hunc librum qui intitulatur Hortus deliciarum ex diversis sacre et philosophice scripture floribus quasi apicula deo inspirante comportavi et ad laudum et honorem Christ et Ecclesie, causaque dilectionis vestre quasi in unum mellifluum favum compaginavi. Quapropter in ipso libro oportet vos sedulo gratum querere pastum et mellitis sillicidiis animum reficere lassum...*

⁸⁰ Griffiths notes allusions to medieval memorization techniques, the Garden of Paradise, and the *hortus conclusus*, a common metaphor for the Virgin Mary and for virginity in general. Griffiths, *Garden of Delights*, 134-42; Christine Bischoff mentions references to bees and pollination in the *Liber floridus*, the *Liber exceptionum*, and the *Liber deflorationum*. Christine Bischoff, "Le texte," in *Hortus deliciarum*, Commentary, 38.

the book, which was “as sweet as honey” in his mouth.⁸¹ Further associations exist that bring the convent’s association with the apocalypse and heavenly Jerusalem into sharp focus and I shall discuss them in the following chapter.

The Bosom of Abraham, however, is not the last image in the *Hortus*; it is merely the final vision connected with the didactic apocalyptic program of the *Hortus*. At the very end of the manuscript is a double-page illumination, showing the founding of Hohenbourg and Herrad’s predecessor and possibly *Hortus* collaborator Relinde on the left and the monastery’s current residents and Herrad on the right (fol. 322v-322r) [Figure 19].⁸² Here, although past and present events seem to occupy separate folios, the two periods coalesce in one setting, the mountain of Hohenbourg. The current canonesses watch Christ give his blessing to Hohenbourg’s founders. Relinde addresses the congregation across the page, her words contained within a cross-shaped frame. This double-image can therefore be taken as a kind of epilogue to the history presented in the *Hortus*. Here, as in the entire manuscript, we see a conversation between past and present and perhaps even a glimpse to the future; Green eloquently suggests that the first and last woman in the congregation are unnamed to represent those who have gone and those who are still to come to Hohenbourg.⁸³ In this simultaneous treatment of time it becomes apparent that God had always favored the Hohenbourg community. The rows of canonesses witness Hohenbourg’s founding, but they also look back at, and perhaps through, the entirety of the *Hortus*. The *Hortus* not only educates Hohenbourg’s current

⁸¹ Rev. 10:10.

⁸² For a discussion of Relinde’s possible role in creating the *Hortus*, see Griffiths, *Garden of Delights*, 54-55, 75-76.

⁸³ Green, “Catalogue of Miniatures,” 228.

residents but also shows them that their predecessors also enjoyed access to God's intentions for his creation and numbered among the *intellectus spirituales*.

Studying the *Hortus deliciarum*

There is no solid record of how, when, or how often the *Hortus* was viewed. Its destruction precludes examining it for wear or other signs of use. Its large size, documented as approximately 53 x 37 centimeters, implies that viewing the manuscript was a group activity rather than an individual venture. The women might have used the *Hortus* under the guidance of a *magistra* or instructor.⁸⁴ The *Hortus* often presents biblical events out of order, as in the case of the Last Judgment preceding the Woman Clothed with the Sun, making it seem that a linear reading and understanding of the *Hortus* could be augmented by a paratactic method of viewing and reading. Herrad apparently crafted her manuscript with the intention that her canonesses spend time considering its texts and images and the multivalent readings they could produce.⁸⁵

Herrad's comparison of the *Hortus* with food may also indicate the type of reading practiced by the canonesses when viewing and reading their manuscript. *Lectio divina* (sacred reading) was a common practice among monastic communities and had been prescribed by the Benedictine Rule and was strongly promoted by Hugh of St. Victor early in the twelfth century. Griffiths demonstrates the allegiance Herrad would

⁸⁴ Griffiths, *Garden of Delights*, 166-67.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 110-11.

have had to Hugh's ideas.⁸⁶ In observing the construction of the *Hortus*, Herrad's adherence to *lectio divina* becomes apparent. This method emphasized a slow and contemplative approach. Reading was considered a carnal activity; readers were supposed to remember words "by putting them into their mouths and chewing," i.e. speaking. Reading, which would have been conducted in a low mumble, resulted in the ingestion and embodiment of the page.⁸⁷ Herrad thus adheres to traditional monastic reading practices but applies those practices to a contemporary scholarly text.

Herrad's presentation in the *Hortus* of a recursive-yet-corrective movement of time gave visual form to contemporary ideas about the destruction and restoration of the world. In viewing the Last Judgment and proceeding through the *Hortus*, the Hohenbourg canonesses were presented with the intellectual history of their faith, but they also absorbed knowledge of how that history functioned. Looking was just one component of fully experiencing this manuscript; reading provided the interlocking piece. When these two aspects of consuming the *Hortus* united, the manuscript's revelatory power was unlocked, giving the canonesses the tools necessary for understanding the implications of the *Hortus* after they had reached its end. As the following analyses of additional *Hortus* images will suggest, Herrad also provided concrete models for her canonesses that demonstrated how they should perform their intellectual duty. In reading the *Hortus*, it gradually dawned on them that God had chosen to share his divine secrets with them, imbuing them with a responsibility they could not ignore. In the following chapters I shall propose that Herrad instructed her canonesses to exercise this intellectual gift. In a

⁸⁶ Ibid., 73-74.

⁸⁷ Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalion* (Chicago, 1993), 54.

number of major visual moments in the *Hortus*, Herrad depicted the Christian inheritance, and the Church's very existence, as planted firmly in a vocal consideration of the faith.

Chapter 2 - “*That You Yourselves are God's Temple*”: Shifting Identities and the Foundation of Faith in the *Hortus* Tabernacles

In the very act of moving through the *Hortus*, the Hohenbourg canonesses experienced an affirmation of their God-given capability, and therefore their utter responsibility, to know their faith. Yet, how did Herrad wish them to apply this sense of responsibility and exercise their intellectual gifts? The first individual image to suggest how the canonesses might have wielded their intellectual power occurs on folios 45v and 46r [Figure 20].⁸⁸ Here the canonesses viewed the Tabernacle in two forms: as the portable desert Tabernacle from Exodus on the right, and, as I shall argue here, the celestial Tabernacle of the Book of Revelation on the left. As I shall argue, in observing these images, particularly folio 45v, the canonesses understood that debate had always been part of Christian history from its Jewish beginnings in the desert. Yet these images do more than merely present Christianity’s Jewish foundations; the depiction on fol. 45v would have been understood not only as the Christianized Tabernacle mentioned in the Book of Revelation, but as the heavenly Jerusalem as well. Furthermore, Herrad imbued these two images with meaning beyond their immediate appearances. It was not only the images on the pages that affirmed the canonesses’ identity as God’s true Chosen People, but the very movement of the women’s eyes over the pages as well. For while visually conflating the heavenly Jerusalem and the Tabernacle was not new in the twelfth century,

⁸⁸ I believe that these two distinct representations functioned as pendants, and therefore work in the viewer’s mind as a single idea.

the images in the *Hortus* provide an experience different from of any other depictions discussed in art historical scholarship thus far.

The *Hortus deliciarum* Tabernacles

Upon first glance, the two facing images in the *Hortus* of the Tabernacle appear almost identical. Each contains the Ark of the Covenant from which sprouts a bust of Christ, and each is filled with the appurtenances mentioned in Exodus 25-27, such as the Tabernacle, the Ark of the Covenant and its propitiatory, the candelabrum, and the shew-bread table, as well as the incense altar mentioned in Exodus 30: 1-10. Yet close analysis reveals many differences, the most obvious being the historiated border enclosing the Tabernacle on folio 45v, in which members of the twelve tribes of Israel surround the Tabernacle. The sheaf of first fruits, appearing to the left of the Ark on folio 46r, does not appear on 45v. The shew-bread tabletop in folio 46r is edged by a series of bust portraits, most likely Old Testament kings judging from the crowns the figures wear, while the table on 45v is highly schematized. Indeed, folio 45v presents the Tabernacle and all of its contents in highly schematic, geometric terms. It is even depicted as located within a rigid masonry structure exhibiting a rounded entrance surmounted by three towers. Folio 46r on the other hand is executed in a looser style and the Tabernacle is enclosed in a pliable tent-like structure whose cloth drapes into folds over the five supporting columns before the sanctuary⁸⁹ and the Holy of Holies.⁹⁰ In 45v, rods line the perimeter of the

⁸⁹ That is, the area containing the menorah and shew-bread table.

⁹⁰ That is, the area behind the curtain containing the Ark.

sanctuary and the Holy of Holies, illustrating the twenty boards on the north and south sides of the Tabernacle (Exodus 26: 16-20).

“A Tabernacle that Cannot be Removed”: The Hope for Jerusalem in Jewish Tabernacle Imagery

Christian visions of the apocalyptic heavenly Tabernacle-heavenly Jerusalem, from the Late Antique period to the present-day are indebted to Late Antique and Early Medieval Jewish images of the Tabernacle. These Jewish images, in turn, were designed by conflating aspects of the Tabernacle with those of Solomon’s Temple in Jerusalem.⁹¹ The earliest surviving Jewish depictions of the Temple-Tabernacle are found on tetradrachs of the Bar Kokhba revolt (ca. 133 CE) [Figure 21]. The obverse of the coin shows the Temple façade supported by four columns and surrounded by the *lûlav* (palm) and the *’etrôg* (citron), symbols of the Feast of the Tabernacles (Sukkot), a feast day that commemorated the establishment of the desert Tabernacle of Exodus and the consecration of its replacement, the Temple in Jerusalem. Inside the temple is the Ark of the Covenant that was deposited into the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Jerusalem.

Many Bar Kokhba tetradrachs bear the inscription “for the freedom of Jerusalem.” This yearning for Jerusalem, the visual references to Sukkot, and the artist’s rendering of the Temple structure converge to produce a religio-political message that typifies Jewish eschatological beliefs regarding the messianic age, namely that the Temple would be

⁹¹ Bianca Kühnel, “Jewish Symbolism of the Temple and the Tabernacle and Christian Symbolism of the Holy Sepulchre and the Heavenly Tabernacle,” *Jewish Art* 12/13 (1986/1987): 147-68; Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, “Images of the Tabernacle/Temple in Late Antique and Medieval Art: The State of the Research,” *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997/1998): 42.

rebuilt – it had been destroyed by Roman forces in 70 CE – and Jerusalem would be restored to the Jews.⁹² In his *Quaestiones in Genesim et Exodum*, Philo of Alexandria states that four columns create the dimensions of the point, the line, and the volume, and are located at the boundary between the present, physical world and the ideal world.⁹³ Thus the tetrach Temple's four columns with three openings suggest a heavenly, post-apocalyptic Temple. Indeed, an essential component of Jewish belief was that the earthly Temple-Tabernacle-Jerusalem would ascend to the heavens where it would meet, and then merge with, its heavenly counterpart.⁹⁴ Archer St. Clair proposes similar messianic connotations in her examination of a Late Antique Roman glass fragment in the Vatican Library [Figure 22]. While this object incorporates the tetrach iconography, the apocalyptic overtones are made more overt by the inclusion of additional iconographical elements of the Sukkot, such as pilgrimage tents and ceremonial vessels.⁹⁵

This anagogical interpretation of the Tabernacle appears to have been a very appealing theme and is also found on a lintel from the Capernaum synagogue (3rd-4th c. CE) and the Dura Europos synagogue wall paintings (early 3rd c.). At Capernaum, the Ark of the Covenant, or perhaps the Tabernacle itself, depicted as being moved on a wheel-carriage, yet is rendered as a masonry structure akin to the Temple [Figure 23].

This also occurs in a Dura Europos wall painting of Aaron in the Tabernacle [Figure 24].

⁹² Kühnel, "Jewish Symbolism," 147; Archer St. Clair, "God's House of Peace in Paradise: The Feast of Tabernacles on a Jewish Gold Glass," *The Journal of Jewish Art* 11 (1985): 13.

⁹³ Kühnel suggests that a star (now obliterated) depicted above the Ark in one of the tetrachs implies that this image presents the celestial Temple, but "Bar Kokhba" translates to "son of a star," so this may serve as an additional explanation for the star's inclusion here. Kühnel, "Jewish Symbolism," 147; Oskar Skarsaune, *In the Shadow of the Temple: Jewish Influences on Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, Ill, 2002), 52.

⁹⁴ Victor Aptowitz, "The Celestial Temple as Viewed in the Aggadah," in *Studies in Jewish Thought*, ed. Joseph Dan (New York, 1989), 25.

⁹⁵ St. Clair, "God's House of Peace," 13-15.

Furthermore, above the Dura Torah niche is an image similar to the Temple-Tabernacle-Jerusalem image from the tetradrachms [Figure 25]. Thus, Kühnel's and St. Clair's studies indicate that conflating the desert Tabernacle with the celestial Temple was not a supersessionist Christian invention, but in fact descended from Jewish imagery and belief.⁹⁶

Castles in the Air: From Desert Tabernacle to Heavenly Jerusalem

The Temple-Tabernacle imagery that began as the iconography for the Jewish hope for freedom played a central role in Late Antique and Early Medieval Christian representations of the heavenly Tabernacle that is identified as the heavenly Jerusalem in Revelation 21: 3. As participants in the New Covenant with God through Christ, Christians saw Jewish history, and the imagery it employed, as their own illustrious lineage. As the Jews did, Christians understood the desert Tabernacle, Solomon's Temple, and the City of Jerusalem as earthly types for their imminent celestial entities. For Christians, the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple were precursors to the Church, and the earthly Jerusalem was a foretaste of the city of God.⁹⁷ New Testament references and allusions to the Temple affirmed Christ's role as the Temple high priest who would sacrifice himself for humanity's salvation.⁹⁸

Because Christians considered Jewish history their own, their depictions of the Temple and heavenly Jerusalem drew heavily on iconographical features of the desert

⁹⁶ St. Clair, "God's House of Peace," 6-15.

⁹⁷ Thomas Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought, 400-1300* (Wales, 2002), 9-11.

⁹⁸ Specifically, and most emphatically, in Luke 1:1-23 and Hebrews 7-10.

Tabernacle. Since they considered themselves to be the true Chosen People, Christians naturally adopted Judaism's textual and visual imagery to illustrate that the Hebraic prophecies had been or would be fulfilled in Christ. Throughout the Book of Revelation, John the Evangelist refers to the heavenly Tabernacle/Jerusalem in language that is similar, if not identical, to that used for the sanctuary of the desert.⁹⁹ The typological link between heavenly Jerusalem and desert Tabernacle continues in John's description of the heavenly city. Like the Holy of Holies of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 6:20), it is a perfect square. Its walls bear the names of the twelve tribes of Israel (Rev. 21:12) and, as mentioned in Tobias 13: 21, are covered with precious stones.

Christians gave physical form to John's description of the heavenly Jerusalem in numerous media, even overtly constructing their own houses of worship according to the account in the Book of Revelation. As Hans Sedlmayr argued, the Christian church was intended to be a physical representation of the heavenly city.¹⁰⁰ While correlations between earthly church and heavenly Jerusalem had been made since at least the tenth century, this reached its pinnacle in the Gothic cathedral.¹⁰¹ Indeed, with its walls of shimmering, jewel-like stained glass and three entrances on the façade and often on the two transepts as well, the Gothic cathedral does approximate the gemstone walls and twelve gates of the heavenly Jerusalem described in the Book of Revelation. Geometric harmony was an indispensable quality in constructing a re-creation of the celestial city; both Solomon's Temple and the heavenly Jerusalem are described as possessing a square

⁹⁹ Compare Apocalypse 7:15, 11:19, and 15:5-8 with Exodus 40: 34-35, 1 Kings 8:10-11 and Isaiah 6:4.

¹⁰⁰ Hans Sedlmayer, *Die Entstehung der Kathedral* (Zurich, 1950).

¹⁰¹ Laurence Hull Stookey, "The Gothic Cathedral as the Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and Theological Sources," *Gesta* 8:1 (1969): 36.

format. The twelfth-century philosopher Thierry of Chartres also saw the square as a representation of Christ, and squares came to serve as the standard module for the majority of cathedral plans.¹⁰² Yet, while there is scriptural precedent for depicting the heavenly Jerusalem as square, artistic visions seem to have been more influenced by images of the desert Tabernacle.

John's conflation of the heavenly Tabernacle with the heavenly Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation caused Christians to look to Tabernacle imagery when designing the structure for most visual representations of the heavenly Jerusalem. Kühnel convincingly demonstrates how the cartographic plans and schematics of the Tabernacle in the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes (before 553) greatly influenced the images of the heavenly Jerusalem in the Beatus Apocalypse manuscripts.¹⁰³ The Cosmas images, here taken from MS Vaticanus graecus 699, show the Tabernacle as a large square subdivided into three registers of smaller squares [Figure 26]; as a three-dimensional rectangle [Figure 27]; and as a subdivided square inhabited by the twelve tribes of Israel, which surround the center square that contains the Ark [Figure 28].

The earliest Beatus manuscript (New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS M. 644, mid-10th c.), presents an aerial view of the heavenly Tabernacle/Jerusalem (fol. 225v) [Figure 29]. In the outer square, the twelve apostles stand beneath Mozarabic arches. Each has a circular gem hovering above his head, equating the precious stones of the Tabernacle in Old and New Testament with the "living stones," i.e. Christians, of the spiritual Temple noted in I Peter 2:5. Like the Cosmas Tabernacle, the heavenly

¹⁰² Stookey, "The Gothic Cathedral," 39.

¹⁰³ Kühnel, "Jewish Symbolism," 156-63.

Jerusalem in the Beatus manuscripts is square and contains figures surrounding the central section. A slightly later Beatus manuscript, the Saint-Sever Apocalypse (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8878) (ca. 1050), also includes a heavenly Jerusalem of this type (fol. 207v-208r), albeit with very slight differences [Figure 30]. As in the earlier Beatus image, the central square contains John the Evangelist, the Lamb of God, and the angel measuring the Tabernacle with a reed (Rev. 21:15, in which the heavenly Jerusalem is actually referred to as the Tabernacle), as well as the twelve apostles surround this central square, but here the arches are Romanesque rather than Mozarabic, and the gems are at the men's feet rather than over their heads.

It should be apparent by now that depictions of the Tabernacle or heavenly Jerusalem should be understood as multivalent. Indeed, to consider them only in terms of their immediate subjects would produce an incomplete understanding of the integral role this structure held in Christian history and for Christians after the end of the world. In images of either the Tabernacle or Jerusalem, Christians inevitably saw both. Keeping this in mind, the *Hortus* double Tabernacle takes on a rich significance, for these images not only instructed the Hohenbourg canonesses in proper historical attitudes concerning the relationship between the two Testaments; as we shall see, they also revealed to the canonesses their own central and vocal role in history's proper unfolding.

***“Shout, For the Lord hath Delivered the City to You”*: The Transference of the Tabernacle/Jerusalem and the Inheritance of Analysis in the *Hortus* Tabernacles**

I: The Visual Evidence

The stiff, deliberate rendering in the *Hortus* of the Tabernacle on fol. 45v presents the structure as the geometric ideal noted in the Book of Revelation, similar to the square layouts of the Tabernacle or heavenly Jerusalem in the *Cosmas* and *Beatus* manuscripts. Although the *Hortus* Tabernacle is rectangular rather than square, Kühnel notes that this was a typical occurrence in images of the heavenly Jerusalem and does not come to bear on the symbolism of the image.¹⁰⁴ Also like the *Cosmas* and *Beatus* images, the *Hortus* Tabernacle on fol. 45v is enclosed by twelve smaller rectangles containing members of the twelve tribes. Yet the *Hortus* depiction moves beyond these two earlier examples, for while geometric rigidity is a tacit subject of all three illuminations, the *Hortus* 45v Tabernacle is the only one to present the Tabernacle materials in the precise numbers mentioned in the Exodus description. As mentioned earlier, Herrad included minute details such as the twenty silver rings and boards for the north and south sides. This is in neither the *Cosmas* nor the *Beatus* images, and this feature does not appear in the *Hortus* Tabernacle on 46r, either.

In fact, rather than the pneumatic purity of its counterpart on fol. 45v, the Tabernacle on fol. 46r embodies tactility and texture, an overt physicality. While it is dangerous to make a judgment about the line quality of illuminations in a now-lost

¹⁰⁴ Rather, she suggests that rectangular Jerusalems were made in order to be “more suitable to the shape of the page.” Kühnel, “Jewish Symbolism,” 156.

manuscript while using nineteenth-century copies, an antiquarian who had seen fol. 45v prior to its destruction noted that it was a “very fine and delicate work,” so my assessment appears substantiated.¹⁰⁵ While items such as the menorah, the shew-bread table, and the curtain have been reduced to their most basic outlines in fol. 45v, on fol. 46r they are vibrantly detailed. The artist articulated the volume and weight of the tent cloths in their drape over the supporting columns, and the cloth itself is patterned. This version of the Tabernacle appears earlier in the *Hortus*, on fol. 40v. Here we see the curtains drawn shut as Moses receives the law from God the Father. Two shofars in the bottom left corner and vessels below the menorah are ornamented, and the shew-bread table in this depiction is heavily embellished. An additional element that implies a christological reading of 45v is the omission of the sheaf of first fruits, a sacrificial offering that appears prominently next to the Ark on fol. 46r. According to St. Paul, Christ is the sheaf that was sacrificed for humanity (I Cor. 15: 20). Therefore, there is no need for a vegetal sheaf here.

II: The Textual Evidence

The association of fol. 45v with the heavenly Tabernacle/Jerusalem is compounded upon consideration of the texts preceding the Tabernacles. Beginning on fol. 41r, Herrad transcribed passages from Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica* concerning the construction of the Tabernacle. A marginal note here implied that Christians followed the light of Scripture into a new Promised Land while the Jews

¹⁰⁵ The image was “traité avec un soin tout particulier et d’un travail très-fin et très-délicat...” Charles Gérard, *Les artistes de l’Alsace pendant le moyen-âge* vol. 1, (Colmar, 1872), 70.

stumbled into darkness through their ignorance of Christ's divinity.¹⁰⁶ This was followed by a passage from Gregory the Great's *In Ezechiel* explaining how knowledge of both Testaments was necessary to understand the Christian mysteries, followed by additional passages describing the construction of the Tabernacle's appurtenances (fol. 41v-42r). Folio 42v contained further descriptions of Tabernacle items as well as the vestments of the Hebrew "bishops."¹⁰⁷

At this point a half leaf was interpolated (fol. 43r-v) that described additional Tabernacle objects followed by, still on the half leaf, a passage from the *Summarium Heinrici* (a medieval encyclopedia composed between 1007 and 1032) explaining the significance of Christian bishops' vestments, followed a description of Christ as high priest and sacrifice. This final passage has no attributed author and may have been written by Herrad. Folio 44r, which picked up the text from 42v, continued to discuss the Hebrew priests' vestments. Next, on fol. 44v, came another selection from the *Historia Scholastica* (*Lib. Exod.* 59) in which Peter Comestor discusses the Tabernacle from the now-lost sixth-century *Codex grandior* of Cassiodorus, specifically how Cassiodorus strayed from the scriptural description in his portrayal of the incense and holocaust altars. While we cannot know for certain what the *Codex grandior* image looked like, the Tabernacle in the *Codex Amiatinus* (ca. 716) (fol. 2v-3r) [Figure 31] was likely copied from this manuscript and might serve as a reference. Fol. 45r contained passages drawn

¹⁰⁶ *Judei equidem intrabant ab oriente ad occidentem, id est a luce Scripturarum ad tenebras ignorantie, nos vero intramus ab occidente et tendimus ad orientem, id est a perfidia gentilitatis ad Christum, a tenebris ignorantie ad lumen fidei et sciencie.*

¹⁰⁷ The Latin term provided is *sacerdotalibus*.

from the *Historia*¹⁰⁸ and Rabanus Maurus¹⁰⁹ on the uses of the silver trumpets and how they symbolize the two Testaments (no. 171), followed by a passage in which the incense altar is likened to Christ (no. 173). This final passage is followed by opening with the images of the two Tabernacles.

The two-page layout of the *Hortus* Tabernacles differs from all other known Christian depictions of the Tabernacle. While the *Codex Amiatinus* and the Beatus and Cosmas manuscripts depict the Tabernacle as a single image of a square or rectangular unit, Herrad presents two different manifestations of one subject. While there is a clear intention to underscore the Tabernacle's geometric qualities on fol. 45v, this depiction otherwise breaks from the cartographic renderings in the manuscripts mentioned above. Interestingly, however, a close parallel occurs in the so-called "First Leningrad Pentateuch" (929), a Jewish illuminated text from Egypt. Here, as in the *Hortus*, the viewer observes two facing images of the Tabernacle [Figures 32].¹¹⁰ As in the *Hortus*, these images are rendered in antithetical stylistic terms: one is highly geometricized, even portraying the arms of the menorah at stiff right angles, while the other employs soft, curving lines. As in the *Hortus*, the geometric Tabernacle is enclosed in a masonry structure with towers and a rounded entrance, while, judging from the five rectangular shapes before the menorah that probably represent the supporting columns, the curvy, agrafe Tabernacle is inside a tent.

¹⁰⁸ *Liber Numerorum* 12.

¹⁰⁹ *Enarrationes in Numeros* II, 4.

¹¹⁰ Although these leaves, along with two other carpet pages, are loose and bear no folio numbers, Bezalel Narkiss suggests that they were once located at the head of the manuscript. Bezalel Narkiss, *Illuminations from Hebrew Bibles of Leningrad: Decorations in Hebrew Mediaeval Manuscripts from the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg now the Saltikov-Shchedrin Collection at the State Public Library in Leningrad* (Jerusalem, 1990), 47.

The Leningrad Pentateuch is one example of the visual tradition of the Tabernacle in medieval Jewish manuscripts. Quite different from their Christian counterparts, which can best be categorized as plans, images of medieval Jewish Tabernacles emphasized the contents rather than the structure of the Tabernacle itself, and a single image never extended lengthwise across two pages as in the *Amiatinus*.¹¹¹ Furthermore, while Christian depictions of the sacred Tabernacle objects included only the essentials (menorah, shew-bread table, altars, Ark), they adhered to scriptural precedent in their placement. Jewish depictions, however, place such an emphasis on the objects themselves that their arrangement within the Tabernacle does not appear to have been considered.¹¹² In this regard, the *Hortus* Tabernacles would more precisely fit into the Jewish Tabernacle tradition. Aside from the *Hortus*, no other extant Christian manuscript has been found with similar Tabernacle imagery. And yet, the busts of Christ sprouting from both Arks imply that Christ's incarnation, and therefore Christianity, was always God's intention.

It is possible that Herrad would have had access to a Jewish text such as the Leningrad Pentateuch; despite the vastly different representations of the Tabernacle in the *Codex Amiatinus* and those in contemporary Jewish texts, Revel-Neher does admit to the possibility of artistic exchange between Christians and Jews in their respective visual

¹¹¹ Elisabeth Revel-Neher, "La double page du Codex Amiatinus et ses rapports avec les plans du tabernacle dans l'art juif et dans l'art byzantin," *Journal of Jewish Art* 9 (1982): 10-12. This Tabernacle format would not appear in a Jewish text until the fourteenth-century, in a manuscript of Rachi's commentary on the Pentateuch (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Michael 384, fol. 142v), thereby demonstrating the rich cross-cultural influence of Christian and Jewish texts.

¹¹² For a later example, see Parma, Biblioteca Palatina MSS 2810-2811, fol. 7v-8r (1st half 14th c.).

traditions, as have other scholars.¹¹³ Furthermore, the rise of the universities in the twelfth century and, as Robert Chazan, notes, the concurrent growing Christian interest in Jewish texts further strengthen the likelihood that Herrad encountered a manuscript akin to the Leningrad Pentateuch. The highly learned and up-to-date contents of the *Hortus* indicate that Herrad was determined to educate her canonesses as full as possible. Is it not then possible that she might consult Jewish texts just as male scholastics did?

Upon considering the typological essence of the *Hortus* Tabernacles and their commonality with Jewish imagery, one could suggest that Herrad designed these images as she did to promote intellectual discussion among her canonesses about their religious identity and, subsequently, how they were to perform their faith. To view the Tabernacles in their correct typological order, one must proceed from right to left, thereby abrogating the traditional Christian directionality of reading and modeling the way that Jews read their own texts. The Jewish directionality inherent in these leaves and their similarity to images of the Tabernacle in Jewish texts suggest that Herrad intended her canonesses to understand themselves as not only succeeding their Jewish predecessors but also as taking on their identity. As the canonesses' eyes swept from desert to heavenly Tabernacle, the readings on the previous folios would take on additional significance. In a move that enriched the textual elements of the *Hortus*, the Tabernacles visually established the transference of God's favor from Jews to Christians, while revealing to

¹¹³ Revel-Naher, "La double page du Codex Amiatinus," 16; Rachel Wischnitzer, "Illuminated Haggadahs," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 13 (1922-23): 193-218; J. Sloane, "The Torah Shrine in the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 25 (1934): 1-12; Kühnel, "Jewish Symbolism," 168.

the canonesses their inherited identity as the Chosen People, the “true” Jews, a concept I will elaborate upon in the next chapter.

The historiated border of fol. 45v provides further evidence for the canonesses’ assuming a Jewish identity. Whereas the desert Tabernacles in the Cosmas manuscript and the heavenly Jerusalems in the Beatus commentaries present only male figures surrounding the respective structures, Herrad developed an image that incorporated this iconographic tradition while simultaneously infusing it with a freshness and immediacy that suited her specific educational agenda. As mentioned earlier, the border of fol. 45v is divided into twelve rectangles occupied by members of Israel’s twelve tribes, but here women are included as well as men. Furthermore, the perimeter figures in the Cosmas and Beatus illuminations appear either static, like the Beatus apostles, or gesturing in praise, like the armored tribe members in the Cosmas images. There is little to no engagement between the figures. In the *Hortus*, however, all of the figures appear engaged with one another, and in a number of places a particularly lively discussion appears to take place between men and women. Some figures raise a hand to another in speech while others point to various objects in the Tabernacle, implying that the tribes are discussing the heavenly Tabernacle-Jerusalem before them, which is precisely what the texts on the preceding folios had laid out. It is as if the figures themselves are conducting an exegetical debate. The canonesses also would have pondered image and text together, perhaps even suggesting what questions or ideas the tribe members in the image were discussing. In debating the possibilities with one another they are, in effect, debating with

the figures on the page, taking on their role as the new Jews who must continue the tradition acted out before them.

The *Hortus* Tabernacles afforded the canonesses an intimate engagement with their manuscript. It offered a wormhole through which they could simultaneously inhabit a multiplicity of identities, becoming one with the figures in the *Hortus* Tabernacles, who in turn were, like the Beatus figures, the living stones of the heavenly Jerusalem. The Tabernacles set into motion the central tenet of Herrad's intricate plan: debate was an undeniably innate element of the Christian faith. Herrad would project this message again and again throughout the *Hortus*, gradually endowing her canonesses with a greater sense of power. For although the canonesses could engage and identify with the figures in the Tabernacle on fol. 45v, they themselves are not depicted on the page. This would occur later, however, in the Tree of Abraham and the Structure of the Church. In these images the canonesses saw themselves in the pages of their manuscript, debating with the founding figures of the Church while clearly following in the intellectual footsteps of their Jewish ancestors. Yet, as we shall see, once Christianity asserted itself within this genealogy of faith and brought about an ideological crisis, the robust conversation becomes more argumentative, shifting from discussion to debate.

Chapter 3 - A Genealogy of Dissent

While the *Hortus* Tabernacles demonstrated a Christian absorption of Jewish identity as a way to encourage debate among the Hohenbourg canonesses, debating Jewish figures once again provide a model for an ideal Christian community in the *Hortus* Tree of Abraham (fol. 80v) [Figure 33] and the Structure of the Church (fol. 225v) [Figure 34]. In the Tree, Herrad plays upon and breaks from Tree of Jesse iconography in significant ways to present the Church as a robust community rooted in debate, first exemplified by a series of arguing Old and New Testament Jews, and culminating in the medieval Christian community engaging in intense discussion.

Whereas Jews are typically pushed outside of the communal body in contemporary images of the Jesse Tree, Herrad's Tree of Abraham presents them as active participants rather than static signifiers. Jews inspire, promote, and participate in discussion. Herrad's seemingly inclusive portrayal of Jews is surprising, yet I do not intend to build a case for religious tolerance in the *Hortus*. Rather, I suggest that Herrad values theological attacks on the Church only as catalysts for Christian intellectual activity. The Tree of Abraham and the Structure of the Church demonstrate the extent to which she esteemed discussion and, more importantly, disagreement regarding theological matters. Jews and pagans are ultimately enemies of the faith, and upon Christ's Second Coming and the nullification of the earthly Church, they would cease to be useful and would number among the damned at the Last Judgment.

Threats to the Faith: Jewish Skepticism in the Christian Subconscious

Christians had employed Jews as negative didactic figures and religious scapegoats since the earliest stages of Christianity, as demonstrated in the Gospel of John and the epistles of St. Paul. Indeed, Paul notes, “all are not Israelites that are of Israel” (Romans 9: 6). A simultaneous effacement and absorption of Jewish identity occurred as early Christians came to classify themselves as the *Verus Israel* (True Israel).¹¹⁴ The Old Testament covenant of the Hebrews had passed. The Jews were no longer God’s chosen people, since their inability to recognize Christ as the Messiah prevented them from sharing in the new covenant. Thus, paradoxically, Christians were the new chosen people, i.e. the new Jews, while Jews were considered the new Gentiles because they maintained their faith. Later, Augustine would command that the Jews be allowed to live in peace, albeit also in abjection, claiming them as witnesses to the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies and denying that they intentionally killed Christ.¹¹⁵

Early Christian supersessionist beliefs persisted into the Middle Ages, and by the second half of the eleventh century Augustine’s position on Jewish preservation and collective guilt had been contested a number of times, such as in the *Glossa ordinaria*.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Bernhard Blumenkranz, “Vie et survie de la polémique antijuive,” *Studia Patristica* 1 (1957): 460-76; Rosemary Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1974), 121; Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135-425)* (New York, 1986), 79-80.

¹¹⁵ Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (New York, 1995), 65; David E. Timmer, “Biblical Exegesis and the Jewish-Christian Controversy in the Early Twelfth Century” *Church History* 58.3 (Sept., 1989): 310; Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, 1999), 23-47.

¹¹⁶ Jeremy Cohen, “The Jews as Killers of Christ in the Latin Tradition, from Augustine to the Friars,” *Traditio* 39 (1983): 13. While Jacques-Paul Migne attributes the marginal glosses in the *Glossa* to Walafrid Strabo and the interlinear glosses to Anselm of Laon, Beryl Smalley has found this to be “bibliographic legend” and dates the *Glossa* to the twelfth century rather than the ninth, making Anselm the compiler. See

In the wake of the Crusades and the Gregorian Reform, opposition to orthodoxy was met with hostility and defensiveness. The violent attacks on Jewish communities in 1096 are but one example.¹¹⁷ The *Adversus iudeorum inveteratum duritiem* (1143-44) of Peter the Venerable (abbot of Cluny, 1122-56) is another. Peter set himself to analyzing Jewish literature, primarily the Talmud, among other writings. In a gross misreading, Peter condemns the Jews for their “monstrous fables” that blaspheme and deviate from Old Testament truth, and he determines that only beasts would “believe in” the Talmud.¹¹⁸ Passages that described God in corporeal terms convinced Peter that the Talmudic Jews were overly literal and therefore unable to think spiritually.¹¹⁹ Peter and his contemporaries were convinced that Judaism was now separate from God, a manufactured heresy. Later in the *Adversus iudeos*, Peter constructs a rhetorical argument around human reason and the implications of its apparent absence that would create serious ramifications for Jews. According to Peter’s logic, all of humanity is characterized by its God-given reason.¹²⁰ Yet, he continues, the Jews’ supposed irrationality and their irreverent treatment of scripture in their rabbinic literature proved that they in fact were incapable of reason and therefore were not human.¹²¹

Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed., (Oxford, 1983), 56-66. See also by this same author, *The Gospels in the Schools c. 1100-c. 1280*, (London, 1985) 3-7.

¹¹⁷ Robert Chazan, *In the Year 1096: the First Crusade and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1996), 56; Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Christian Violence and the Crusades,” in *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*, ed. Anna Sapir Abulafia (New York, 2002), 3.

¹¹⁸ Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l’hérésie, au judaïsme et à l’islam 1000-1150* (Paris, 1998), 304.

¹¹⁹ Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, 115-17, 130-33. In fact, it is, ironically, Peter who is approaching the Talmud in overly literal terms.

¹²⁰ Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, 123.

¹²¹ Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure*, 361.

The twelfth century produced more anti-Jewish polemic than all the preceding centuries combined.¹²² In addition to the *contra Iudeos* tradition, of which Peter the Venerable serves as an example, there was a rise in live and recorded debates between Christians and Jews concerning issues of faith.¹²³ Jewish opposition to Christian theology occasionally swayed other Christians regarding doctrinal matters such as the Incarnation, although in many cases Christians came to question their faith on their own. In northwestern Europe particularly, scholars grappled with Jews and Christians who shared many of the same doubts regarding Christ's divine humanity and other foundational beliefs.

“Pro Utilitate Fidei”: Disputation to Alleviate Christian Doubt

Disputation tracts such as Gilbert Crispin's *Disputatio iudei et christiani* (Disputation of a Jew and a Christian; ca. 1092-93) and its companion piece, *Disputatio christiani cum gentili* (Disputation of a Christian with a Gentile), as well as Peter Abelard's *Dialogus inter philosophum, iudaeum, et christianum* (Dialogue between a Philosopher, Jew, and Christian; ca. 1136-39) sought to resolve Christian doubt and confound all other opposition.¹²⁴ Christian witnesses to Crispin's debate with a Jew asked that he put the discussion in writing *pro utilitate fidei*, for the strengthening of the faith.¹²⁵ Christian contact with Jews and other non-Christians sometimes provided the inspiration for such written material. For example, Rupert of Deutz frequently debated

¹²² Cohen, *Living Letters*, 154.

¹²³ Sean Eisen Murphy, “Concern about Judaizing in Academic Treatises on the Law, c. 1130 – c. 1230,” *Speculum* 82.3 (July 2007): 560.

¹²⁴ Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, 77.

¹²⁵ Anna Sapir Abulafia, “Jewish-Christian Disputations and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989): 108.

with Herman of Scheda, a Jew from Cologne, who occasionally presented him with aggadic interpretations of Scripture or challenges to Christ's divinity.¹²⁶ Yet often disputations were altered in their journey to the page, and sometimes they were entirely fictitious.¹²⁷ Rather than accurate recordings, these tracts are intellectual exercises intended for the theological fortification of Christians. To prove to the reader that Christians and Jews were entirely different, the Jewish debater is often typecast, as in the *Disputatio Iudei*, as the stereotypically carnal Jew who exhibits hostility towards Christianity and holds a literal, and therefore faulty, understanding of Scripture.¹²⁸

The twelfth-century *disputatio* tradition thus attempts to invent or underscore differences between Christians and Jews. Ironically, Christians carried this out via traditional Jewish argumentation methods. In order to spar with their opponents, Christian writers devoted themselves to studying the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud¹²⁹ and thereby became acquainted with the rabbinic tradition, which is characterized by rational reflection and debate.¹³⁰ Robert Chazan laments the Christian engagement with rabbinic literature as a wasted opportunity, stating, "what might have been illuminating and liberating turned out to arouse Christian sensitivities...."¹³¹ Indeed, Peter the Venerable, who had promoted the study of Jewish and Islamic classic texts, responded to these works with vehement condemnation. Likewise, Peter Alfonsi, who converted to

¹²⁶ Timmer, "Biblical Exegesis," 313-14.

¹²⁷ Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, 73.

¹²⁸ Cohen, *Living Letters*, 149; Abulafia, "Jewish-Christian Disputations," 105; Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, 77-78.

¹²⁹ Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, 94.

¹³⁰ David Hartman, *Israelis and the Jewish Tradition: An Ancient People Debating the Future* (New Haven, 2000), 110.

¹³¹ Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Anti-Semitism* (Berkeley, 1997), 86-87.

Christianity from Judaism in 1106, criticized the rabbinic exegesis of the Talmud for “misinforming Jews about God.”¹³² In addition to its anthropomorphic description of God, the Talmud threatened Christians because it indicated Jewish intellectual activity that did not rely on Scripture, and its contents were later condemned in the thirteenth century.¹³³ Since Christians and Jews shared a common religious origin and thus shared some traditions, additional efforts were required to separate the two in society and the Christian psyche in more immediately recognizable ways.

Visual Conceptions of Jews in Twelfth-Century Europe

To further distance themselves from their detractors and to deny their own doubt, medieval Christians also developed visual differences between themselves and their theological foes. Although there were visual conventions to depict a wide variety of enemies to the faith, the *Hortus* is particularly focused on negative portrayals of Jews. By the twelfth century, various types of hats were employed to identify Jews. The *pileus cornutus* (pointed – literally, horned – hat) became a common iconographical element in the eleventh century [Figure 35]. It was soon joined by the Phrygian cap, a common marker for biblical Jews by the twelfth century that also sometimes appears on Christian figures of bad repute, such as the spongebearer at the Crucifixion [Figure 36].¹³⁴ Yet sometimes the Phrygian cap appears on Joseph, Mary’s husband, and the three Magi, and

¹³² Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, 91. See also 106.

¹³³ Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes*, 102; Cohen, *Living Letters*, 263-65, 319-25; Jeremy Cohen, “Christian Theology and Anti-Jewish Violence,” in *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*, ed. A. Sapir Abulafia (New York, 2002), 53-55.

¹³⁴ Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003), 105; Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley, 1999), 16; Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1993), 1: 59-67.

the *pileus cornutus* often appears on venerable Old Testament figures such as Moses and biblical prophets, thus frustrating attempts to ascertain whether or not this headgear always carried negative connotations [Figures 37-39].¹³⁵

The *pileus cornutus* appears at various moments throughout the *Hortus* and also carries conflicting connotations. For example, Mordecai, Queen Esther's uncle, who was typically considered an admirable Old Testament figure, wears the conical hat (fol. 60v). Nevertheless, among the *Hortus* illuminations that have been copied, this hat more often features in negative depictions of medieval Jews. It appears on the Jews who follow Antichrist (fol. 241v) [Figure 40], on those among the damned at the Last Judgment (fol. 253v) [Figure 41], and on Jews who are thrown into a cauldron in Hell (fol. 255r) [Figure 42].

Upon considering this far greater negative treatment of Jewish figures in the *Hortus*, the Tree of Abraham and the Structure of the Church must be taken as a comment on the importance of education and dissent for an ideal Christian community rather than an open interfaith dialogue. Attacks on Church doctrine from the enemies of the faith served only to strengthen it, because their arguments incite members of the Church to educate themselves. After examining the Tree of Abraham and the Structure of the Church, it will become apparent that, although Herrad employs a visual divide between Christians and Jews, she acknowledges and highlights the continuities between the Jewish and Christian faiths and Christianity's intellectual debt to Judaism.

¹³⁵ Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 106; Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 16; Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 1: 73-74.

The *Hortus* Tree of Abraham

The Tree of Abraham is planted by God the Father, who watches it bloom to fruition. Abraham, enclosed within its trunk, responds to an angel who directs his gaze toward a number of red stars symbolizing the innumerable progeny promised to him (Genesis 22:17). Above Abraham in a larger compartment are his descendants, the men who connect him to Christ. Above these figures is a full-length figure of the Virgin from which a bust of Christ sprouts in a small bud. In the top-most register is Peter to the left and Paul to the right. Each stands with five additional Apostles and holds a codex. Behind them stand various church people, ordered according to Church hierarchy. Behind Paul and his Apostles are a pope and bishops, followed by martyrs and finally a virgin, identified by her long hair.¹³⁶ Peter and his Apostles head a group of bishops and a partially obscured pope, martyrs, male monastics and two naked hermits, and a virgin. Interestingly, a Hohenbourg canoness also appears here, pushed to the left margin of the image. She is identified by her headdress, which is similar to those worn in the *Hortus* illumination presenting the Hohenbourg community (fol. 323r) [Figure 19 rt.].

The Tree of Abraham bears similarities to the Tree of Jesse, but breaks from this tradition in interesting ways. The Jesse window at the Abbey Church of Saint Denis [Figure 43], the earliest known depiction of this motif (ca. 1140-44) presents the Tree sprouting from Jesse's body while Old Testament figures stand outside of the Tree

¹³⁶ By "virgin" I mean a young, unmarried woman. Long loose hair had been identified with virgins and virginity in the Middle Ages via Paul's dictum in 1 Cor. 11:13-15: "You yourselves judge: doth it become a woman, to pray unto God uncovered? Doth not even nature itself teach you, that a man indeed, if he nourish his hair, it is a shame unto him? But if a woman nourish her hair, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given to her for a covering." See Madeline Caviness, "Body, Visual Representations of," in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York, 2006), 84.

proper. Many point to their scrolls and look up to Christ, indicating his fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies. Green notes that the recently invented Tree of Christ, seen in the *Speculum virginum* (Berlin, Staatsbibl. Phill. 1701, fol. 3r) might have also served as a source for Herrad, yet even here Old Testament men do not exhibit any agency of their own and are meant to direct the viewer's gaze to Christ.¹³⁷ This is also characteristic of later Jesse Trees, such as a Bamberg ivory from the Louvre [Figure 44]. Again, Old Testament figures act as signposts for Christ. Indeed, locating the Tree's origins in Jesse emphasizes the Old Testament's prophetic relation to the New. It is merely an arrow pointing to Christianity.

Rather than placing Old Testament figures outside the organic body Christian, Herrad absorbs them into it. To either side of the Tree, groups of figures in a series of convolutions interact with their corresponding group on the opposite side. These figures appear to be disputing, for many of them hold up their hands, a traditional signifier of speech. I interpret these speech gestures as argumentative because each set of convolutions presents antithetical figural pairings. At the bottom right are the Temple priests, who, according to Stephen's accusation in Acts, persecuted the "prophets of old" (Acts 7: 52). These very prophets occupy the opposite convolution.¹³⁸ Above these figures are convolutions containing Old Testament kings, some bearing scepters topped with fleur-de-lis. Likewise, the top-most convolutions show the Hebrew patriarchs on the

¹³⁷ Green, "Catalogue of Miniatures," 133.

¹³⁸ I have identified all figures in the Tree of Abraham and Structure of the Church according to their resemblance to other figures in the *Hortus* that are clearly labeled. For example, the figures I identify as the Temple doctors appear to wear tunics and head coverings similar to those of the figures surrounding Christ in the Temple and accompanied by the inscription *doctores* in HD fol. 98r. I identify the prophets as such for their similarity to the *Prophetae d(omi)ni* that appear among the saved at the Last Judgment on HD fol. 251v.

left,¹³⁹ figures who chose to believe in Christ's divinity, disputing with New Testament Jewish officials on the right, perhaps the Pharisees or Sadducees who denied Christ's status as the messiah, who wear the *pileus cornutus*. The Tree is thus a single unit composed of two divergent branches, one side a foil for the other. Peter and his followers crown the side of the tree that displays the prophets, kings, and patriarchs while Paul's group sits atop the side that contains the Temple doctors, kings, and New Testament Jews.

The prophets and Temple doctors gesture similarly to the patriarchs and Chief Priests, respectively, suggesting a continual conversation or a recurring argument throughout the life of the Church. Rather than relegating Old Testament figures to the outside of the organic body Christian, Herrad absorbs them into three pairs of ovarian convolutions. Furthermore, rather than holding scrolls and pointing to Christ, indicating a prophecy fulfilled, each group of figures gestures animatedly, apparently in the midst of a heated discussion with the figures in the corresponding convolution. Yet Herrad's strongest evidence for Christianity's argumentative heritage is the inclusion of the New Testament Jews, the very figures who rejected Christ's divinity and condemned him to die.

Herrad's alteration of iconographic tradition encourages an interesting interpretation of this image. Rather than sprouting from Abraham's body, the *Hortus* is instituted by God himself. Focusing on Abraham as the first figure emphasizes the common Old Testament origins of Christians and Jews, and therefore, to some extent, a

¹³⁹ Identified as such due to their similar dress and general appearance to the figures labeled *patriarchae* among the saved at the Last Judgment on HD fol. 251v.

bodily commonality, which would allow for the shifting identity I suggested in Chapter 2. The Tree splits almost immediately, demonstrating that the Church grew from conflict, perhaps even thrived on it judging from the Tree's succulent branches and many full blooms.

And yet, perhaps there is an implied weakness in this apparently healthy body. The angel at the lower right of the image points to red objects primarily intended as the stars representing Abraham's progeny, yet their location in the image also implies spilled seed from a bloom on the Tree. The Tree, while not precisely vertically symmetrical, does exhibit vertical balance; that is, although there are slight differences in the way one side is depicted from the other, there is a uniformity of number: there are three convolutions on either side, and each convolution contains the same number of figures as its counterpart on the opposite side. Therefore, one would expect the full blossom to the left of Abraham (i.e. to the viewer's right) to have a similar counterpart on the right. However, rather than coming to fruition the pod has exploded, spilling its seed everywhere. The biblical account of Onan "spilling his seed" on the ground (Genesis 38:9) was likely familiar to the educated women at Hohenbourg, and the parallels to the Tree's spilled seed would have emphasized that the figures in the right-side convolutions had wasted God's gifts.

The textual accompaniment to the Tree of Abraham puts into words the visual divide that characterizes the Tree. Folio 81r begins with the Genesis account of God's promise to Abraham of progeny as innumerable as the stars in the heavens (Gen. 15:1-6). Next, prose and poetic texts provide an explanation of the image. No author is identified,

and it is tempting to say that Herrad herself composed these texts, which contextualize the Tree as a visualization of Christians' inheritance of God's special favor from the Jews.¹⁴⁰ The lengthy prose passage recounts God's promise to Abraham and presents an interesting extension of the star metaphor applied to Abraham's innumerable progeny: just as the stars vary in brightness, so do Abraham's innumerable progeny differ in their ability to be resurrected at the Last Judgment. The poem following the prose states that "Abraham is understood as the father of many peoples, who are all Christians or Jews or pagans," and, unlike Adam, who is the father of all who are born and die, Abraham is father to all whom Christ will raise from the dead.¹⁴¹ Here, the poem alludes back to the prose portion and to the Genesis passage: only the stars will be called to eternal life, while Christ will cast the grains of sand¹⁴² into hell.

Interestingly, one scholar reads everything beneath Peter and Paul as existing underground.¹⁴³ If this is correct, then Mary, the Christ-bud, and Peter and Paul's groups represent the tree's contemporary fruits, the present-day Church continuing the tradition of discussion. There are fewer speech gestures in this upper section, probably because Christ's nature, which was the main argument dominating the Tree, was not as hotly

¹⁴⁰ Further suggesting Herrad's authorship are remarks in the prose that learned stars (*stelle docti*) are brighter than the unlearned (*stelle non docti*) and that virgins are clearer than widows (*Clariores sunt virgins sancta quam vidue*). The poem is attributed, for stylistic reasons, to Godesscalcus, whose name appears as an acrostic in text #300 (fol. 81v). According to Green, there is no record of a Godesscalcus at this date anywhere aside from the *Hortus*. HD Commentary, ix.

¹⁴¹ *Interpretatur Abraham/Pater multarum gentium,/Qui sunt omnes Christiani/Vel Judei vel pagani./Sicut Adam nascentium/Pater est et morientium./Sic Abraham omnium/Pater est resurgentium/Sed ille non vivificat/Ullum unquam ut resurgat,/Sed Christus semen Abrahe/Jubet mortuos vivere.* This sentence is ambiguous, and could also be translated to claim that Abraham "is the father of many peoples, who are all Christians *whether* Jews or pagans," which would provide even more interesting theological implications. Interestingly, there are no immediately apparent pagan figures in this image.

¹⁴² Another reference to the number of Abraham's descendents, this time from Gen. 22: 15-17.

¹⁴³ Gladys Noreen, OSB, "Herrad of Hohenbourg and her Garden of Delights: A Pictorial Encyclopedia," in *Medieval Women Monastics: Wisdom's Wellsprings* (Collegeville, Minn., 1996), 191.

debated between Christians. Yet the fact that any speech gestures occur here at all indicates that conflict was perceived even within the Christian community, to some extent. Herrad's present-day Church exists on a different plane from the Tree, but it is still tied to its argumentative history, literally so: two tethers bind the Tree to the garden.

This idea of commonality despite difference that characterizes the convolutions also pertains to SS. Peter and Paul and their respective groups on either side of Christ. Paul was the apostle to the Gentiles, and accounts of his interactions with them are found in Romans 11:13, Ephesians 3:8, and Acts 21:17. Peter, being one of Christ's followers during his time on earth, was a representative of the foundational Church. In short, Paul was the apostle to non-Jews and therefore outsiders, while Peter was the apostle to the Jews, who were God's chosen people. A late-twelfth-century Westphalian ivory plaque depicting the *traditio clavis et legis*, an iconographical theme originating in early Christian art, emphasizes the different roles that Peter and Paul were perceived to hold [Figure 45]. Paul receives the law as a scroll from Christ while Peter receives the keys of the Church. While Peter and Paul are presented as interdependent founders of the Church, the fact that Paul receives a scroll rather than a codex may imply the permanence of his Jewish identity despite his conversion. Quite often scrolls were attributes of Old Testament prophets.¹⁴⁴ Here Paul evokes images of Moses receiving the Law in the form of a scroll rather than tablets, a visual tradition since the Early Christian period.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ "Scroll," in *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, ed. James Hall (Boulder, 2007), 284-85.

¹⁴⁵ Archer St. Clair, "A New Moses: Typological Iconography in the Moutier-Grandval Bible Illustrations of Exodus," *Gesta* 26:1 (1987): 21; Elizabeth Leesti, "The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary," *Gesta* 28:2 (1989): 205-16.

Thus, although Peter and Paul are major figures in Christianity, and are considered with great reverence, there is a perceivable difference, albeit a minor one, between them. The debates at Jerusalem and Antioch between Peter and Paul concerning circumcision, recounted in Acts 15:1-11 and Galatians 2:11-14, indicate antagonism and ideological difference between Christianity's two major representatives.¹⁴⁶ While the polemical attitude taken toward the figures in the right-side convolutions does not extend to Paul and his followers, Herrad's design does instill in the Church level of the Tree a similar sense of argument, and it suggests that ideological differences that could, and should, exist even within the Christian community. Interestingly, Peter's virgin is one of the only figures aside from Peter to gesture, and, therefore, to speak. In this top-most register, among male clerics and monastics, a woman joins Peter in debating Paul. It is significant that she is accompanied by a Hohenbourg canoness who, though she herself does not gesture, drinks in the actions of this assertive and confident figure. The virgin's counterpart on Paul's side, however, is silent. This, together with the fact that there is a canoness only on Peter's side, also seems to imply a preference, however slight, for Peter over Paul.

The Tree of Abraham showed the Hohenbourg canonesses that the Church grew within an environment of argument and discussion, overseen by God and first exemplified by Christianity's Jewish ancestors. Indeed, it is the Jewish debating figures that make the survival and promotion of the current Church possible. The top-most level, Herrad's present-day Church, would not be able to stand were it not for the groups in the

¹⁴⁶ This tradition persisted as far as the seventeenth century, when Rembrandt painted his "Scholars Disputing" (1628), an image traditionally understood to depict Peter and Paul.

convolutions. They not only serve to support Christianity, but also to be surpassed by it. Herrad has presented *disputatio* as an eternal condition of Christianity and an unshakeable duty of all Christians, including women. Yet in the Structure of the Church we see that she did not intend her canonesses to be only spectators.

The Structure of the Church

In the Structure of the Church, the canonesses again saw women exerting a strong role in a Church-wide discussion. Here women appear in greater numbers than in the Tree, and the canonesses specifically are more prevalent here. As in the Tree, Peter and Paul sit with popes, bishops, monks, and Hohenbourg canonesses. Yet this time, rather than flanking Mary as the humble mother of God, these two figural groups sit on either side of an enthroned queen, the Virgin Mary/Ecclesia. The lower level of the Structure contains the *laici* [laity] on the left and *spiritales* [religious] on the right flanking the *adolescentulae* [young women], symbolizing the daughters of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁷ Here, even more so than in the Tree, women are active participants; they feature in every area of the Structure except for the section of *spiritales*, and all speak, except for Ecclesia, who listens. To the left, the prophet Isaiah emerges from a door and King David welcomingly gestures from a door while angels and demons battle on the roof, indicating that the Structure cannot represent the heavenly Jerusalem, contrary to what Comes argues. According to the Book of Revelation, the heavenly Jerusalem is marked by internal

¹⁴⁷ Green, "Catalogue of Miniatures," 204.

harmony and homogeneity.¹⁴⁸ The Structure, however, thrives on conflict, and the continued struggle between good against evil indicates that this is Herrad's conception of the earthly Church.

Like the Tree of Abraham, the Structure implies Christianity's inheritance of the rabbinic tradition. Green's commentary notes that there was once an inscription next to the figures on Ecclesia's left (i.e. the viewer's right) that read, *Frigium est opus textorium preciosum ex albo serico. Papa portat frigium, ceteri episcopi infulas* [the *frigium* is a costly woven work of white silk. The pope wears the *frigium*, other bishops wear miters].¹⁴⁹ The *frigium*, or "Phrygian cap," has an interesting place in the history of ecclesiastical vestments, for its conical pattern seems to have been the inspiration for the peaked episcopal miter and the conical papal tiara, both worn by figures in the *Hortus* Structure.¹⁵⁰ Ruth Mellinkoff suggests that this was intended to establish a typological relationship between the Old Testament priesthood and the contemporary Catholic hierarchy but notes that there is no evidence for miters among the Jewish high priests. It appears that medieval ecclesiastics only thought they were assuming the sartorial traditions of their Jewish predecessors.¹⁵¹ Indeed, the patriarchs in the Tree of Abraham wear headgear nearly identical to the medieval episcopal miter, and a figure wearing an

¹⁴⁸ "There shall not enter into it any thing defiled, or that worketh abomination or maketh a lie, but they that are written in the book of life of the Lamb." Rev. 21:27.

¹⁴⁹ Philippe Levillain, "Tiara," in *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2002), 1489; Green, "Catalogue of Miniatures," 204.

¹⁵⁰ Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 1: 89; Walter Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church* (New York, 1901), 387. The tiara and miter were visually differentiated only as of the twelfth century. Levillain, "Tiara," 1490.

¹⁵¹ Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 1: 82-85. See also Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley, 1970).

episcopal miter accompanies the Israelites carrying the Ark of the Covenant through the Desert of Paran on fol. 51r.

Herrad's description of the papal tiara as a *frigium* carries interesting implications. While *frigium* had referred to the pope's headgear from the eighth century, by the mid-twelfth century this term had been replaced by *regnum*.¹⁵² Furthermore, and as illustrated above, by the twelfth century the Phrygian cap was more often associated with Jews or exotic figures.¹⁵³ Perhaps Herrad employed this archaic terminology to emphasize the assumed typological relationship between the Old Testament priesthood and the medieval Church, subtly affirming that the pope represented God's true chosen people and Christians the true covenant.

The inextricable yet antagonistic relationship between Old and New Testament is further addressed in the four roundels at the corners of the Structure, each containing an Old Testament prophet and an Evangelist symbol. In the two upper roundels the angel of Matthew offers his gospel to Isaiah while the eagle of John speaks to Jeremiah. Meanwhile, Ezekiel raises his hands in speech to the lion of Mark and Daniel to the calf of Luke. While pairings of evangelists and prophets occurs elsewhere in medieval art, such as the slightly later lancet windows at Chartres cathedral (early 13th c.), the figures are not in apparent conversation as they appear in the *Hortus* Structure. The lancets contain either single figures that are frontal and extremely iconic, such as the apse lancets showing Jeremiah or King David, or they show evangelists on the shoulders of prophets,

¹⁵² The last documented use of *frigium* is found in the writings of a pontifical historiographer from 1185. Levillain, "Tiara," 1489, 1491.

¹⁵³ Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 1: 90.

as in the south transept clerestory window showing Isaiah bearing Matthew. This type of image implies a supersessionist relationship that the *Hortus* roundels do not quite express. The Chartres figures do not communicate whereas the *Hortus* roundel figures clearly do. Admittedly, the Chartres windows (early 13th c.) are slightly later than the *Hortus*, but nothing approximating the *Hortus* roundels appears in the surviving twelfth-century glass at Saint-Denis, either. Precious little twelfth-century glass from Saint-Denis has survived, though, so there is no way to be sure of Herrad's originality in this particular case.

The *Hortus* Structure of the Church resounds with discussion between Old and New Testaments, yet it is apparent that Christianity will always set the framework for such discussions. The inscriptions accompanying the figures of Isaiah and David, inscribed around the doorways of the building, command the viewer, “wash yourselves, be clean...” (Isaiah 1:16),¹⁵⁴ and, “enter his gates in praise” (Psalm 99:4).¹⁵⁵ Thus, before one can enter into conversation with the Church, one must submit to the Church. Indeed, while it is tempting to laud the Tree and the Structure for their apparent inclusiveness, when considering images such as these it is important to remember that medieval portrayals of Jews were often symbolic and intended to magnify Christianity's greatness. Although the Tree and Structure imply an intellectual kinship among Christians and Jews, Jews are clearly damned in other areas of the *Hortus*. Indeed, one detects in these images a polemical spirit not apparent in the Tabernacles. Although Herrad's alteration of the Tree of Jesse for the Tree of Abraham results in greater agency for the Jewish figures,

¹⁵⁴ *lavamini mundi estoti.*

¹⁵⁵ *introite portas eius in confessione.*

they do not interact with the canoneses or the Christian figures in the image in the same way as the figures in the fol. 45v Tabernacle border. This essentializing and gradual effacement of the Jewish body continues in the Structure of the Church. Here, Jews do not even appear as models of debate, but have been removed from the body of the Church entirely and are only alluded to through archaic costume terminology and the roundel prophets.

It appears that Herrad valued Christianity's theological rivals solely for the discussion they fostered among members of the Church. Her canoneses would look and read and understand that so long as the Church was an earthly representation of God's kingdom, any assistance at better understanding its mysteries and sacraments was for the good. Disagreement was essential to the continued existence of the Church because it led to the intellectual activity that produced a stronger and more knowledgeable Christian community. Although Jews contribute to the intellectual prosperity of the Church, their final place is outside of it. Ultimately, Herrad designed the *Hortus* with her canoneses' intellectual futures in mind.

Conclusion

To date, a clear understanding of how the *Hortus* was used remains elusive. The manuscript's destruction precludes examining it for wear or other signs of use, and there is no solid record of how, when, or how often the *Hortus* was consulted, although some educated guesses can be made after considering its content and size. As mentioned earlier, the large dimensions of most of the folios suggest a communal rather than solitary reading experience. Due to its lack of finding tools, such as tabs or chapter divisions, Griffiths concludes that the *Hortus* was not intended as a reference tool.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the layout of biblical accounts breaks the traditional narrative sequence. These two factors imply that, rather than prioritizing speed and searchability, Herrad crafted her manuscript with the intention that the canonesses spend time ruminating over its texts and images. Indeed, Christine Bischoff suggests that the canonesses would have chanted together the poetic compositions that often accompany the images.¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, the *Hortus* was never bound,¹⁵⁸ allowing additions to be made as ideas at Hohenbourg developed, and indeed there were a number of interpolated leaves inserted throughout the manuscript. A number of half leaves, quarter leaves, and stubs were added over time, and their distribution is only partially documented.¹⁵⁹ The unbound quality of the *Hortus* suggests an organic object that grew and changed along with ideas

¹⁵⁶ Griffiths, *Garden of Delights*, 110-11.

¹⁵⁷ Bischoff, "Le texte," 58.

¹⁵⁸ Michael Evans, "Description of the Manuscript," in HD Commentary, 1.

¹⁵⁹ Griffiths, *Garden of Delights*, 118.

at Hohenbourg and also suggests that the canonesses could study individual folios, perhaps according specific instructions or lesson plans. Indeed, when considered in the ways I have suggested in this thesis, the *Hortus* becomes akin to a multi-level lesson plan. The foundation of the canonesses' education, the recognition of their intellectual promise, began with a basic, straightforward reading of the manuscript, but more complicated modes of reception developed as their education continued. In disrupting the linear order of the *Hortus* and considering disparate, unbound folios, the canonesses understood their responsibility to maintain the life and continued survival of the Church and the method by which they would do so. Perhaps disparate folios were placed together for comparison and discussion. A comparison of the Tree of Abraham and the Structure of the Church, two images that echo each other compositionally in significant ways, would have yielded a rich discussion between Herrad and her canonesses, and perhaps additional folio combinations existed. In this way the *Hortus* is in fact a multifunctional object, its character transcending that of any bound manuscript, and it provides opportunities for a wealth of readings and receptions.

The emphasis on the canonesses' knowledge and authority and the strong recurring theme of the innately argumentative quality of Christian history, could bring one to speculate that the *Hortus* may have been used as an initiation tool for the newest members of the Hohenbourg community. The first time the novices saw the *Hortus* during group instruction would have been a major part of their orientation. While they were exposed to biblical history and complicated theological writings, they also would have understood that they had joined a community of the intellectual elect. God had

chosen to reveal his secrets to them as he had to all the women who entered Hohenbourg before them. Letting this knowledge lie dormant would have been a waste of God's gift. The novices would have seen the Jewish foundational members of the faith vocalizing their ideas about crucial and integral religious matters, and later they would have seen their fellow *moniales* following in this tradition and occupying the privileged ranks of the Church hierarchy.

Thérèse McGuire notes that the *Hortus* was stored in Hohenbourg's treasury rather than the library.¹⁶⁰ The *Hortus* would have kept company with liturgical objects, reliquaries, and other costly or otherwise precious items. There are a few possible reasons as to why the *Hortus* might have been kept here rather than the convent library. First, a religious house typically stored its older or most sumptuous manuscripts in the treasury.¹⁶¹ Second, if the *Hortus* was used only for the initiation of novices, it probably was not used as often as other texts in the convent's possession, and perhaps it was stored in the treasury to ensure that it stayed in the best possible condition.

I would also propose a third possible reason, which is that the *Hortus* was deemed a sacred object different from any other sacred text at Hohenbourg. As I suggested in Chapter 1, the *Hortus* offered an intimate familiarity with all of creation and a fuller understanding of the mysteries and sacraments, and in this regard it is more akin to a liturgical vessel. Furthermore, it provided the canonesses with a moment of recognition

¹⁶⁰ Thérèse B. McGuire, "Two Twelfth-Century Women and Their Books," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (London, 1996), 101. However, McGuire does not note exactly *when* the *Hortus* was placed in the treasury. It is possible that it was kept in the library during Herrad's own time and shortly thereafter and was moved to the treasury only after it had become a symbol of Hohenbourg's impressive history.

¹⁶¹ Marcus Louis Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire* (Westport, CT, 2006), 247.

of God just as the paten and chalice offered them contact with Christ's presence in the form of the Eucharistic species. Indeed, in light of the allusion in the colophon to John's honey-flavored text and the revelatory experience upon viewing the Last Judgment,¹⁶² images such as the *Hortus* Tabernacles provoke an intriguing consideration of how Herrad interpreted Hohenbourg's physical structure and location and her canonesses' relation to it. Officially, Herrad's convent was called the convent of St. Odile. This religious house was constructed at the top of an isolated mountain and for this reason was also referred to as "Hohenbourg," which translates roughly to "high castle." It seems possible that the canonesses identified with the young, effeminate apostle John, the *Hortus* as their own book of revelation, and the convent space itself as the celestial city.

Herrad was not content only to provide her canonesses with contemporary theological works written by men. While she clearly saw the importance of imparting the latest educational resources to her charges, she also intended for the Hohenbourg women to thoughtfully consider these recent theological developments and to do so vocally. In designing the Tabernacles, the Tree of Abraham, and the Structure of the Church, three full-page, monumental images, within the frame of debate, Herrad harnessed the *disputatio* tradition and shaped it to her needs, portraying the heated discussion between Christians and non-Christians as endemic to the Church and necessary for its survival while simultaneously encouraging the canonesses to exercise their own intellectual talents. Under the Augustinian rule, the Hohenbourg canonesses had no obligation to remain at the convent, and Herrad knew that some of them would one day leave

¹⁶² See above, 32-33.

Hohenbourg to become wives of the nobility. Yet it seems that she did not intend for them to “dwindle into marriage.”¹⁶³ By harnessing the most current apocalyptic arguments of her time, as well as employing her own creative skills, Herrad compelled her canonesses to be evangelists in their own right. In modeling themselves on the engaged and arguing figures in their manuscript, the Hohenbourg canonesses entered into the life of the mind that was so important to the Augustinian tradition and to the Abbess Herrad.

¹⁶³ Barbara Newman, “Authority, Authenticity, and the Repression of Heloise,” 74.

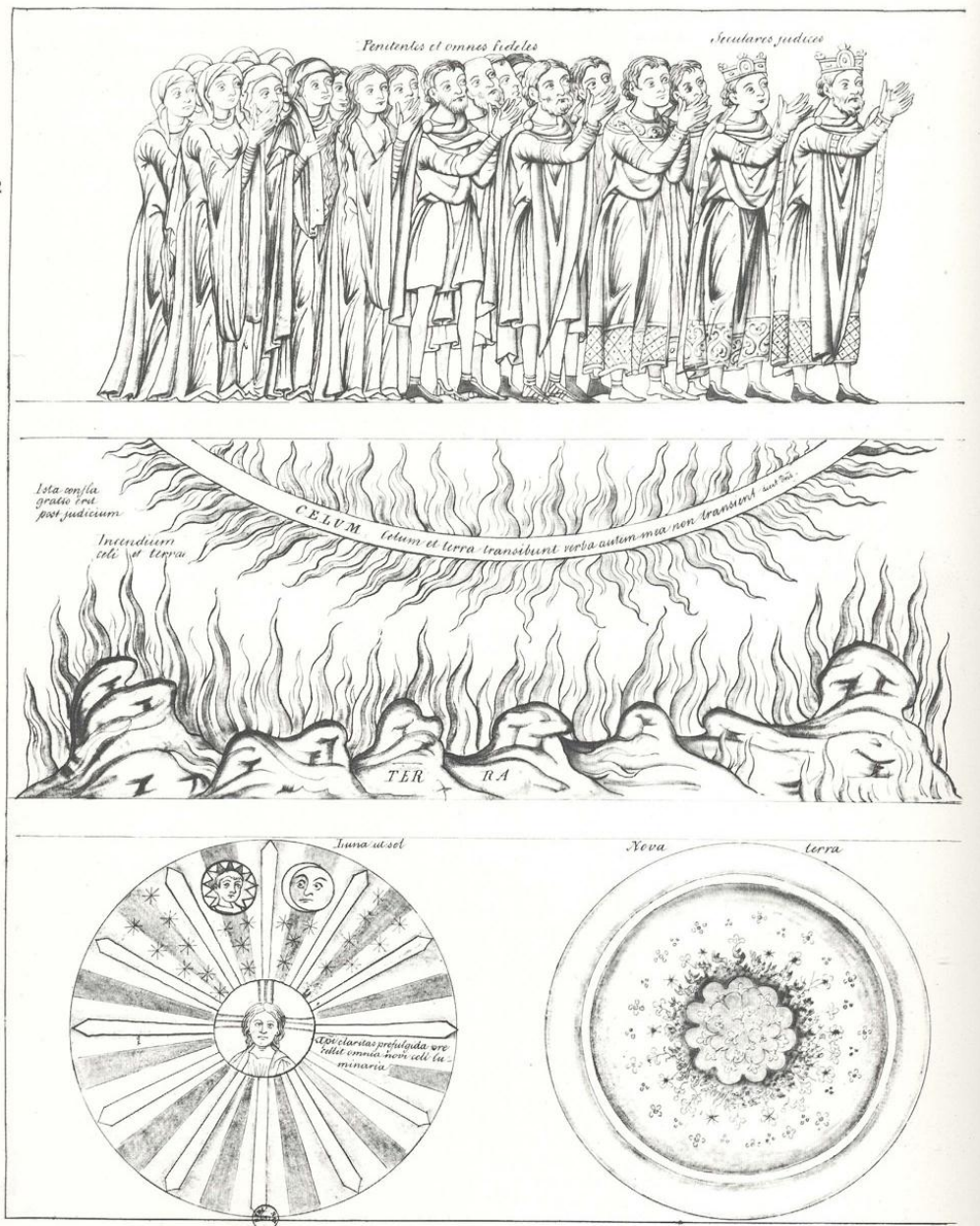


Figure 1. HD fol. 247v, Last Judgment.

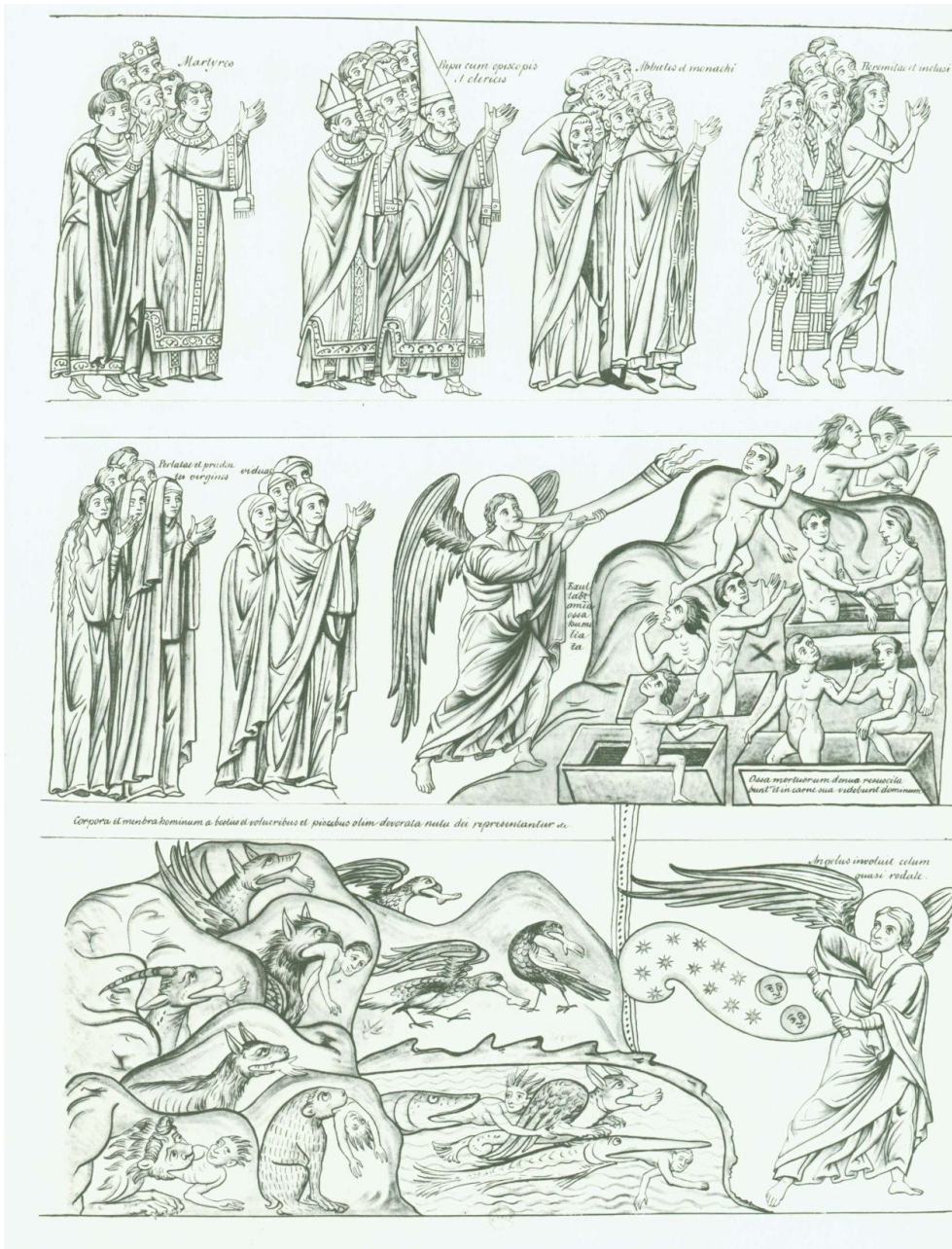


Figure 2. HD fol. 251r, Last Judgment



Figure 3. HD fol. 251v, Last Judgment.



Figure 4. HD fol. 252r, Last Judgment.



Figure 5. HD fol. 253r, Last Judgment.



Figure 6. Saint-Lazare at Autun. Ext. W. facade. Last Judgment. Ca. 1120-40.

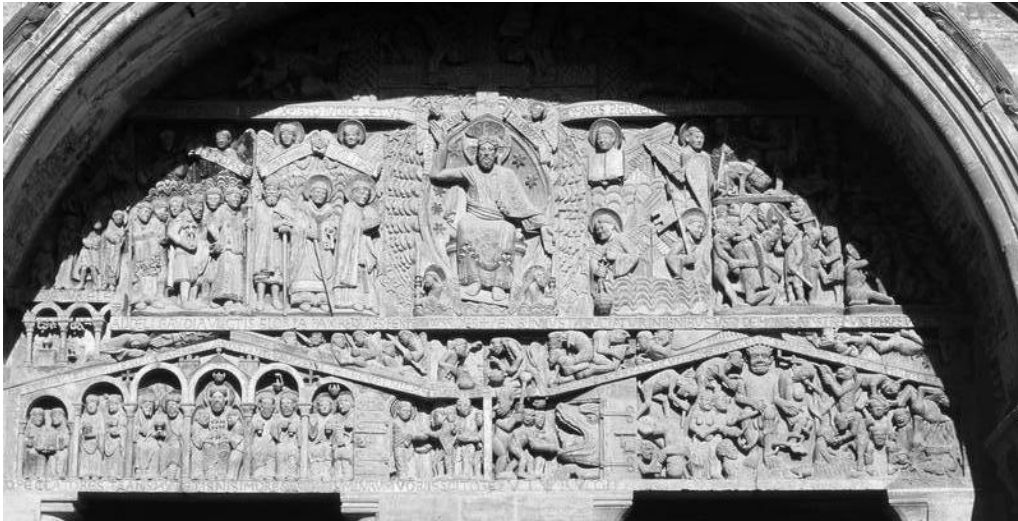


Figure 7. Saint-Foy at Conques. Ext. W. facade. Last Judgment. Ca. 1120.



Figure 8. Santa Maria Assunta at Torcello, int. W. wall, Last Judgment. 11-12c. Mosaic.



Figure 9. HD fol. 215v, Ladder of Virtues.



**Figure 10. Ladder of Divine Ascent of St. John Climacus. Ca. 12th c.,
tempera and gold on panel. St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai.**



Figure 11. HD fol. 8v, God Creating Land and Sea Creatures.

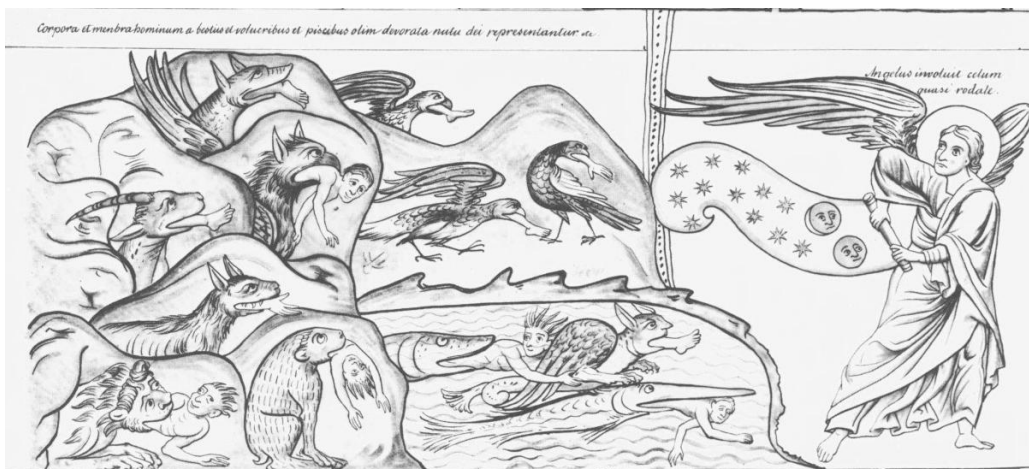


Figure 12. HD fol. 251r, Last Judgment, det. Animals Giving Up the Dead.



Figure 13. HD fol. 258v, Fall of Babylon.

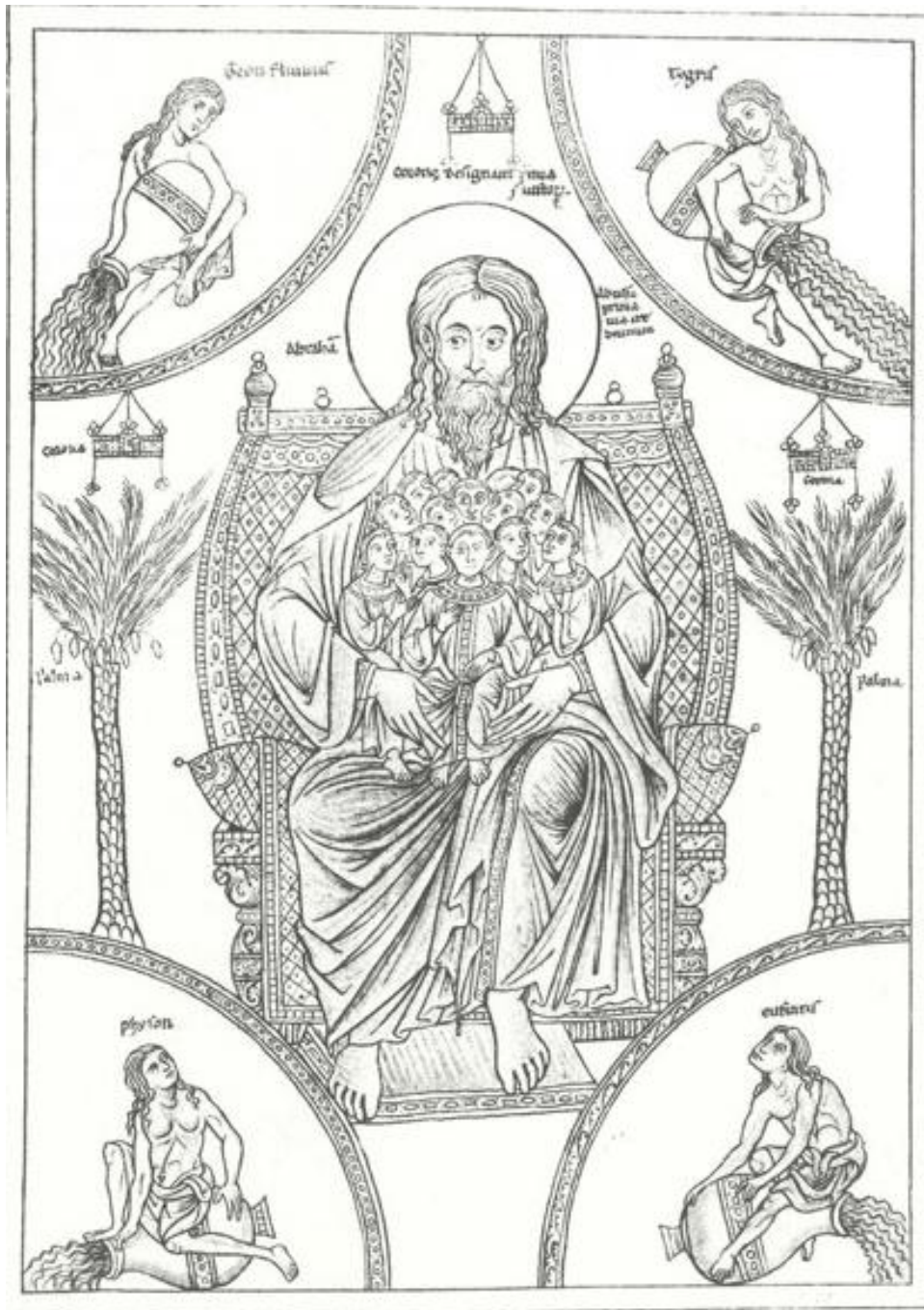


Figure 16. HD fol. 263v, Bosom of Abraham.



Figure 17. HD fol. 19r, *Paradisus voluptatis*.

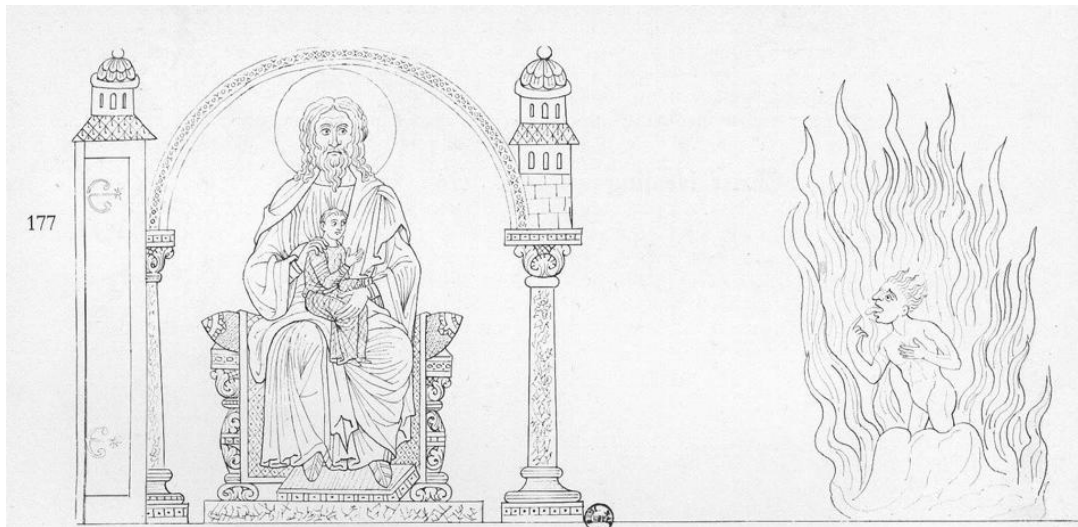


Figure 18. HD fol. 123v, Afterlife of Lazarus and Dives.

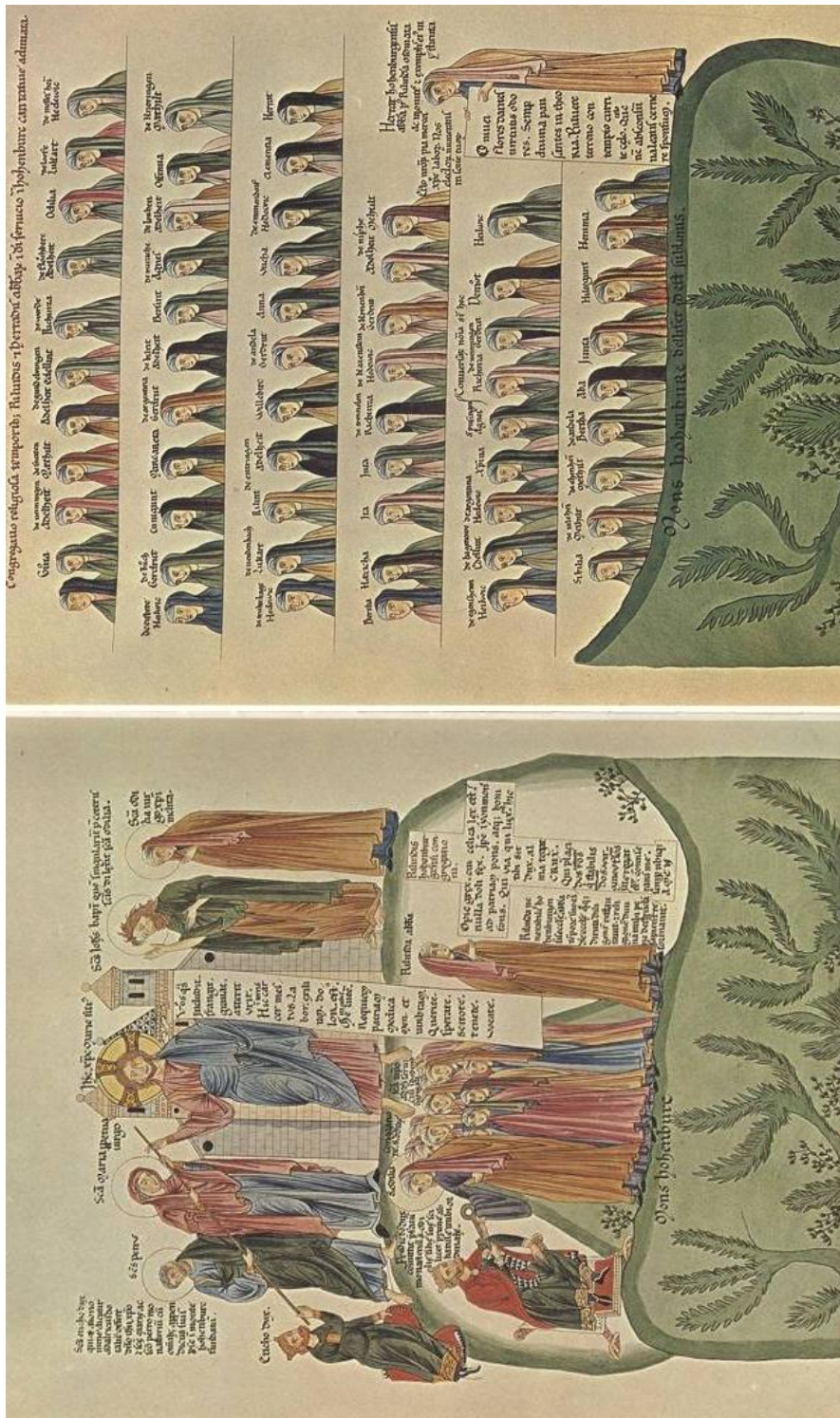
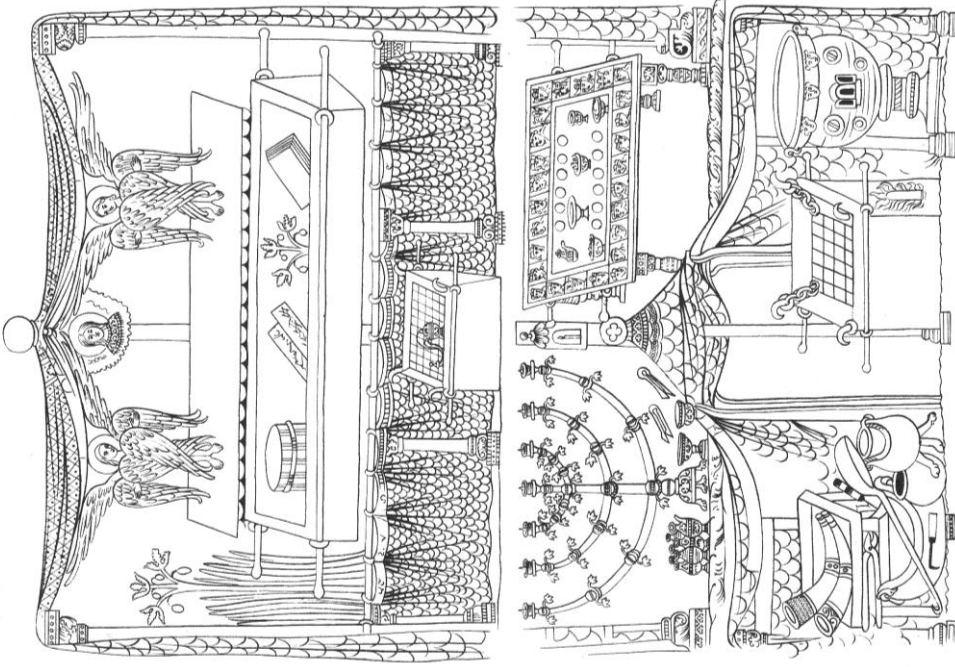


Figure 19. HD fol. 322v-323r, Founding of

Fol. 46r (Pl. 27)



Fol. 45v (Pl. 26)

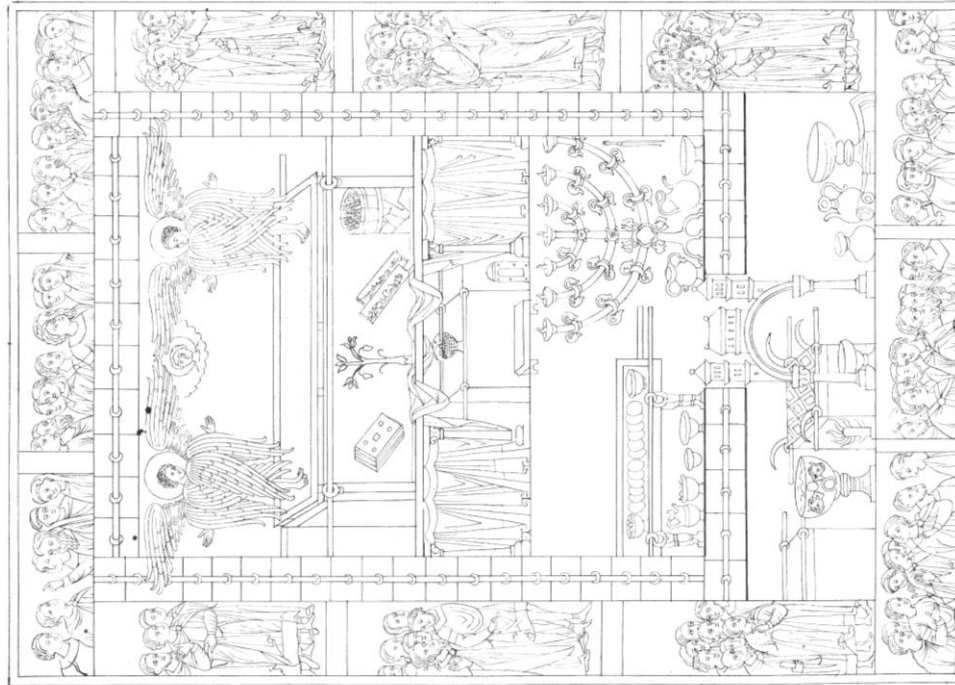


Figure 20. HD fol. 45v-46r, Tabernacles of the



Figure 21. Tetradrach of the Bar-Kokhba Revolution. ca. 134-135 CE, London, British Museum.



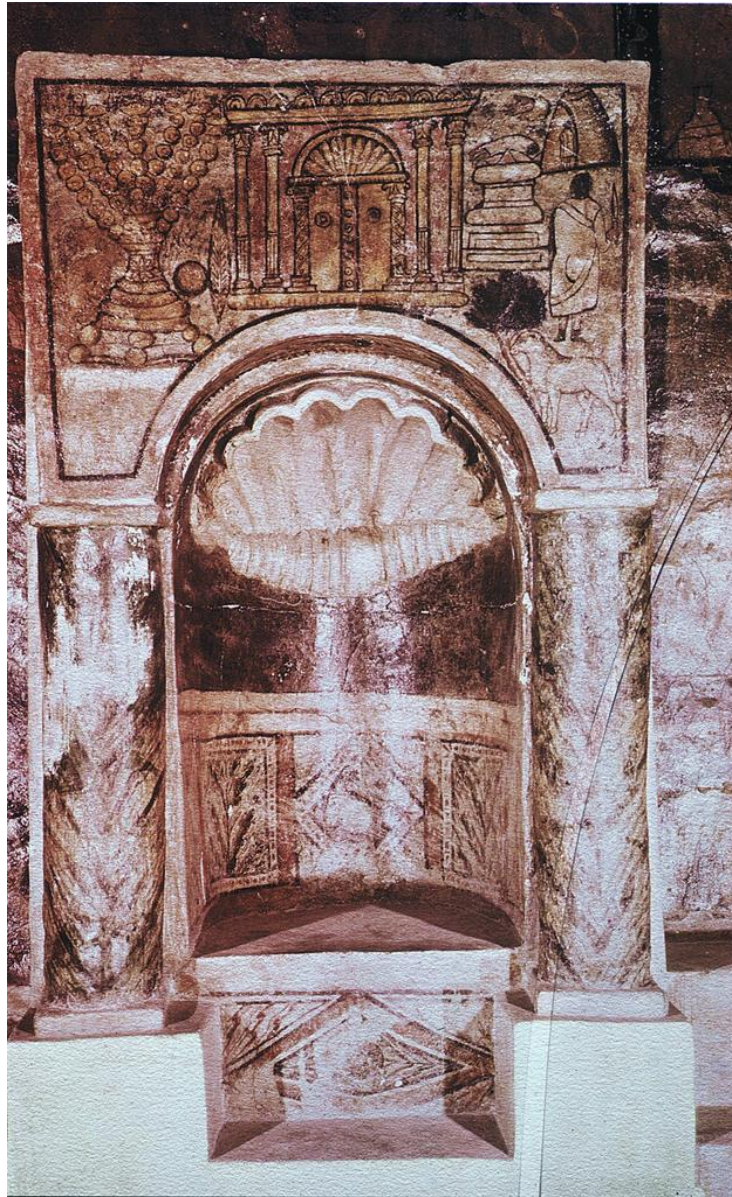
Figure 22. Gold glass fragment. 4th c. CE, Vatican City, Museo Sacro (lft.); Dwg. of fragment made shortly after discovery (after DeRossi, Archives de l'orient latin, II, pl. facing p.439.



Figure 23. Capernaum synagogue, det. lintel. Ark of the Covenant. La. 3rd-4th c. CE.



Figure 24. Consecration of the Tabernacle by Aaron as high priest. Dura Europos. Mural from Dura Europos synagogue. Ca. 244-255.



**Figure 25. Dura-Europos Torah niche with painting of Tabernacle.
Ca. 244-245.**

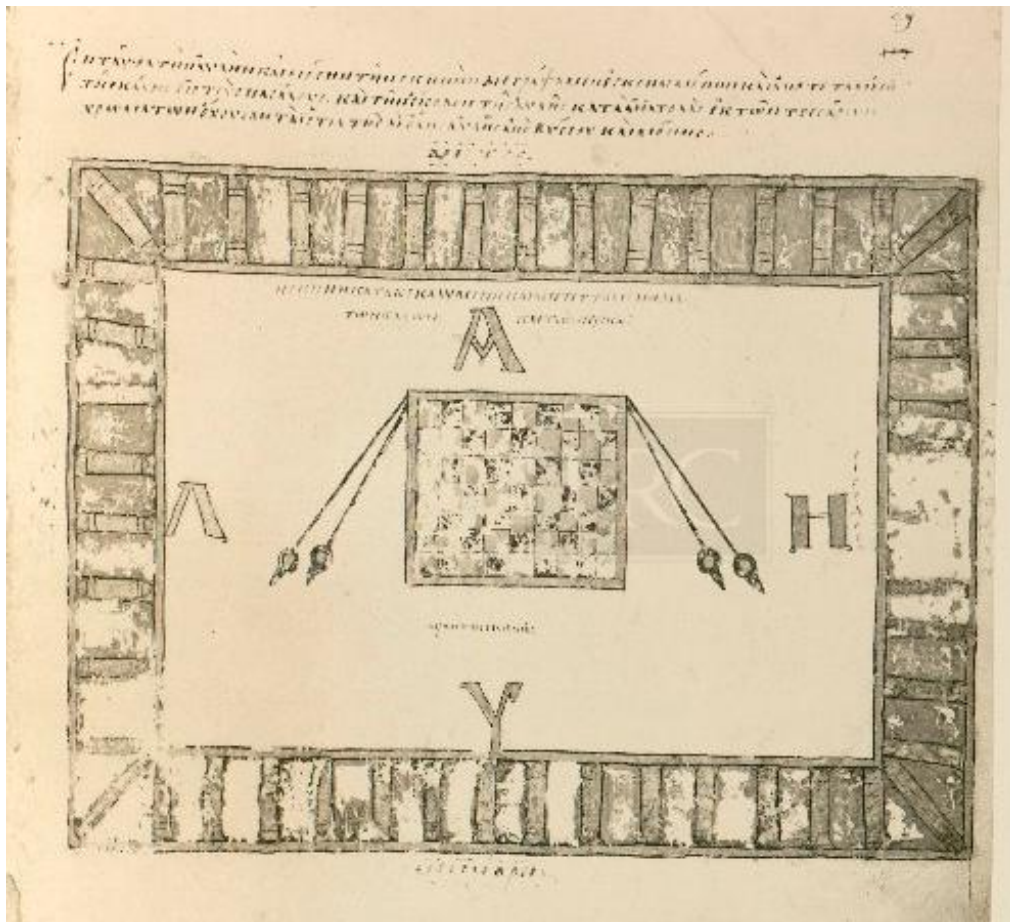


Figure 26. Tabernacle. *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes. Bef. 553. MS Rome Vaticanus graecus 699 fol. 49r.



Figure 27. Tabernacle. *Christian Topography*. MS Rome Vaticanus graecus 699, fol. 46v.

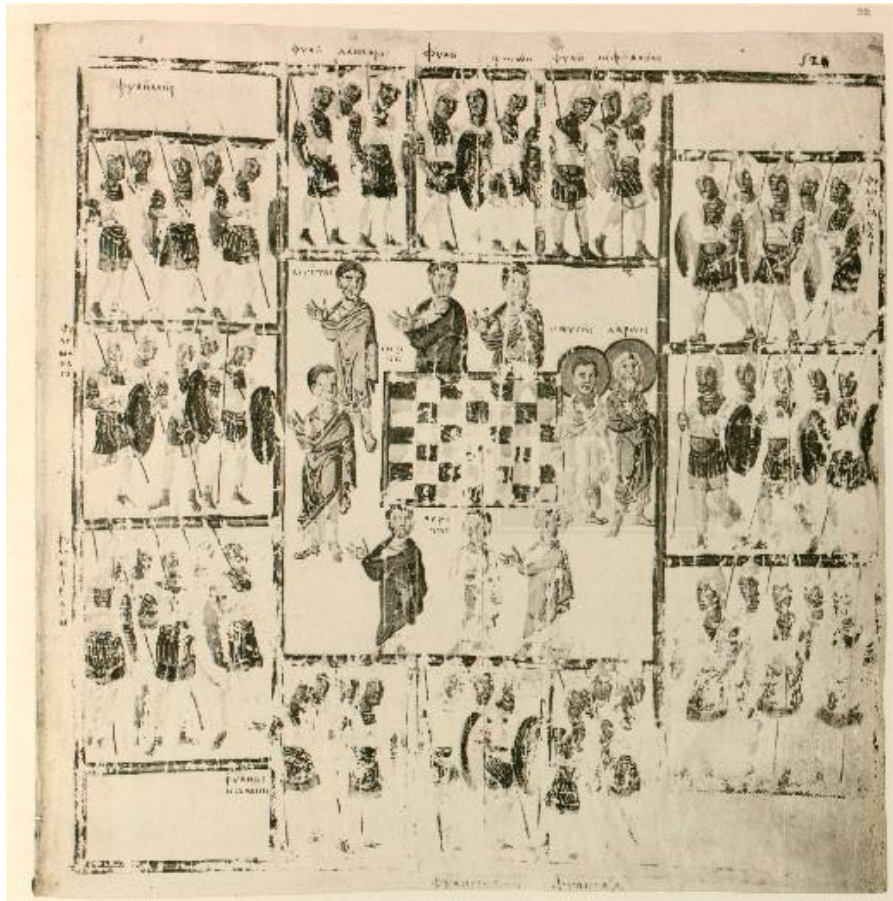


Figure 28. Tabernacle. *Christian Topography*. MS Vaticanus graecus 699, fol. 52r.



Figure 29. The Heavenly Jerusalem. Beatus Apocalypse. Leon, 10th c. New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS 644, fol. 222v.

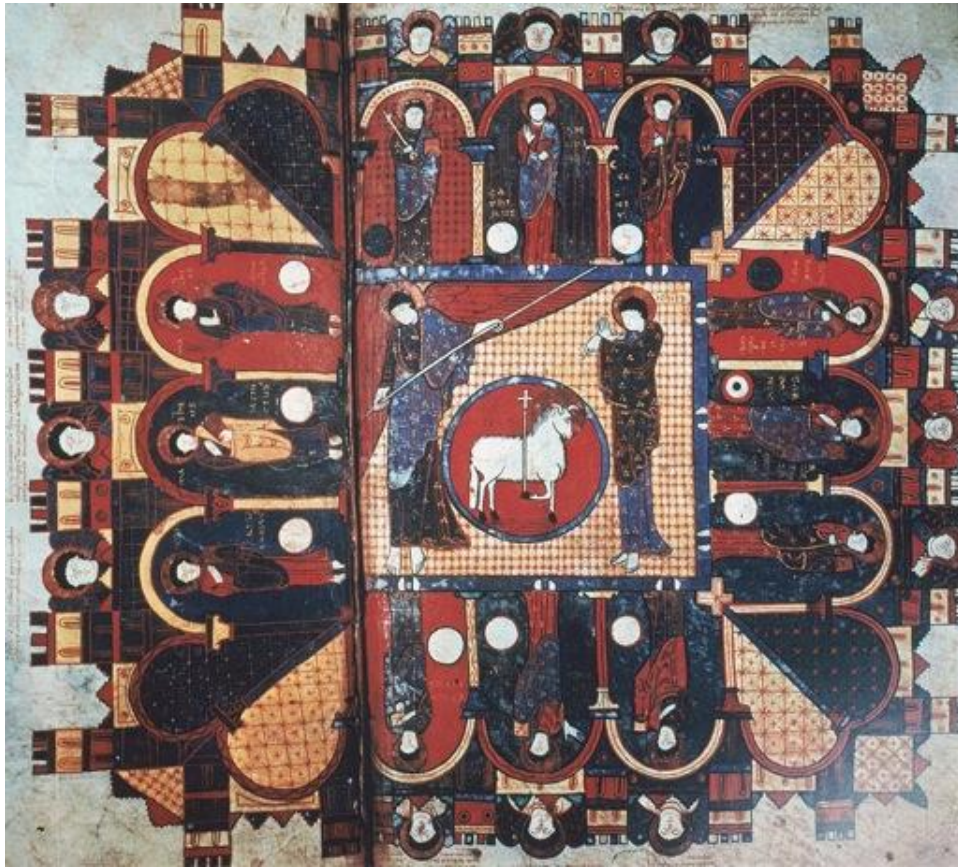
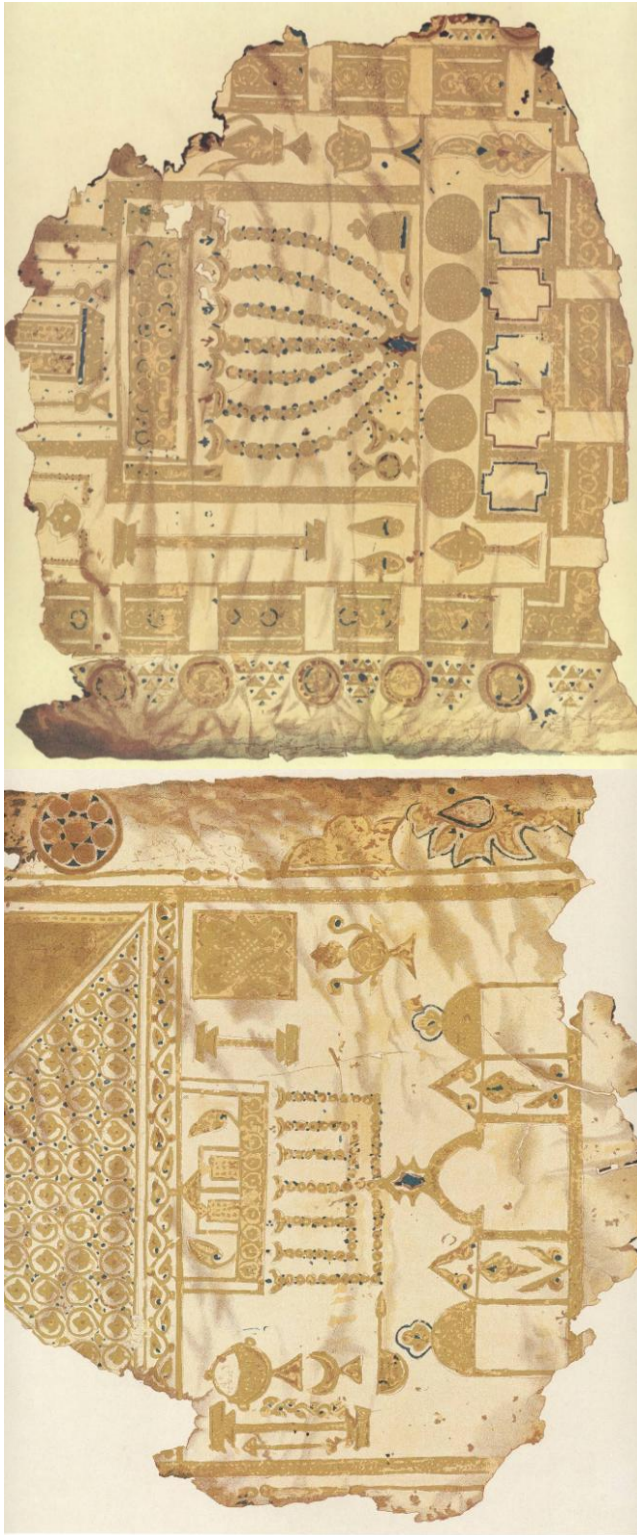


Figure 30. Heavenly Jerusalem. Saint-Sever Apocalypse. 11th c. Paris, BN lat. 8878, fol. 207v-208r.



Figure 31. The Tabernacle. *Codex amiatinus*. Fol. 2v-3r. Ca. 716 CE. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



**Figure 32. Images of the
32. Images of the Tabernacle. First**

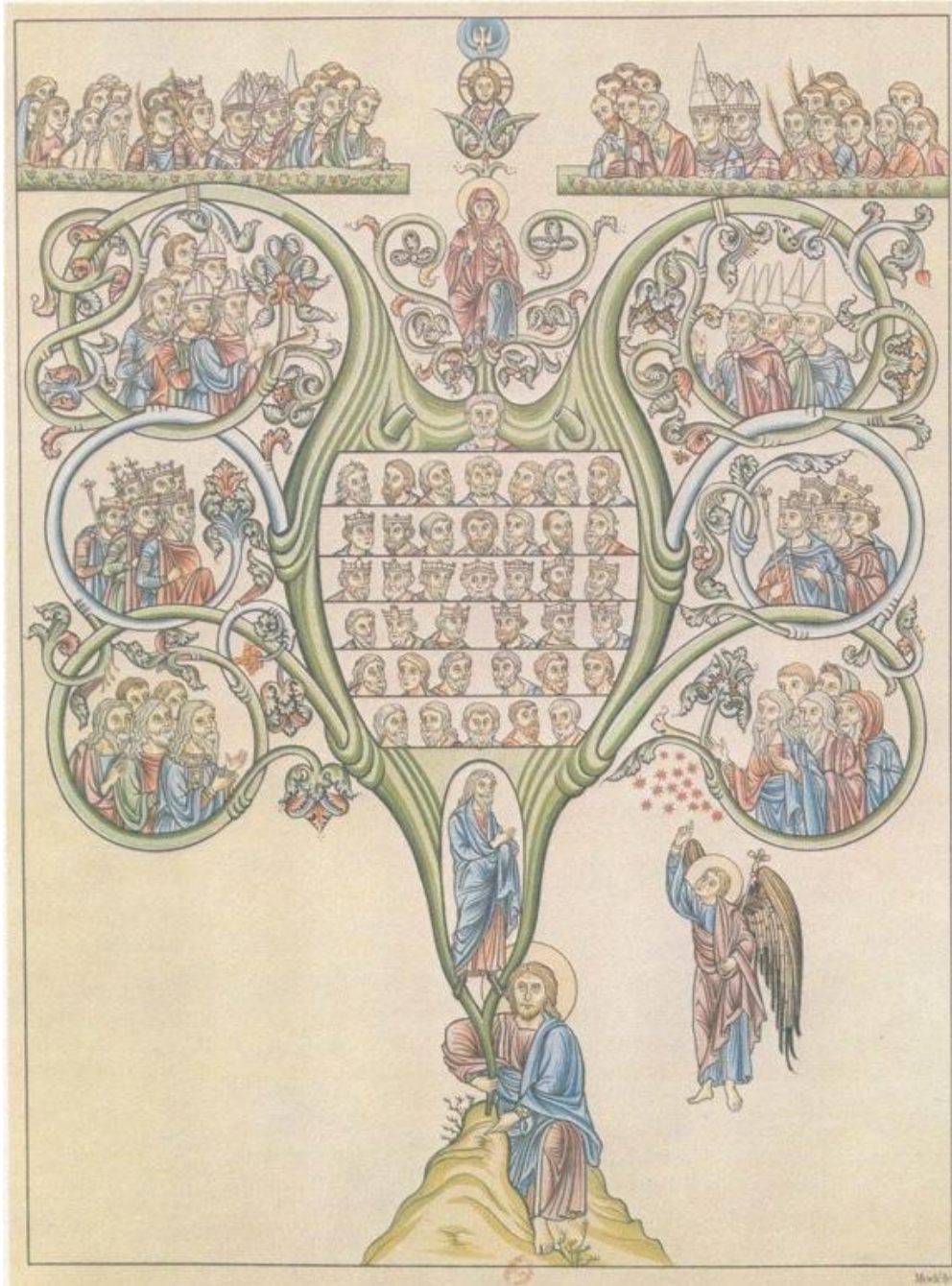


Figure 33. HD fol. 80v, Tree of Abraham/Tree of the Ancestry of Christ.

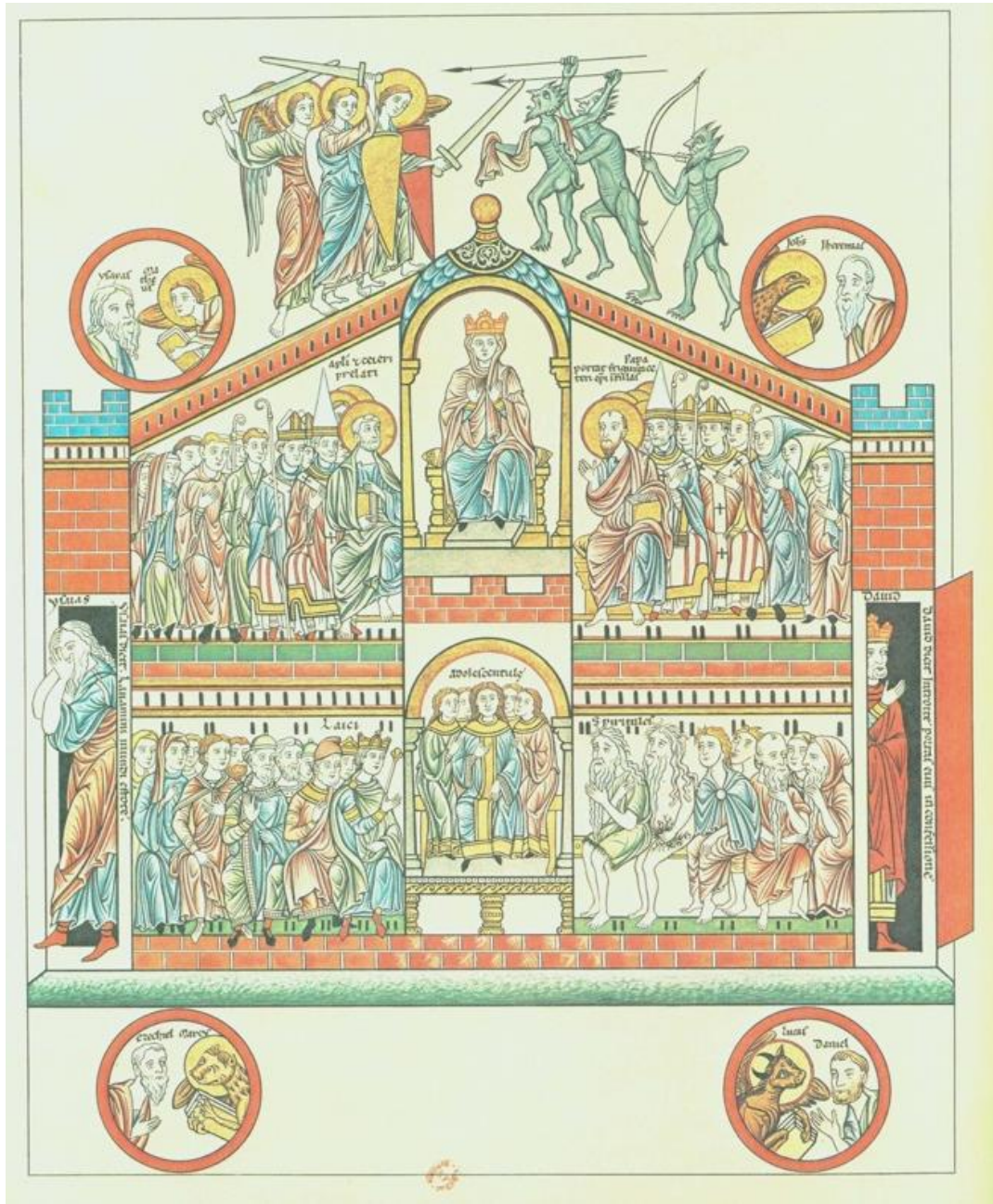


Figure 34. HD fol. 225v, Structure of the Church.



Figure 35. Church of San Zeno Maggiore, Door of Scenes from Old and New Testaments, det. Flagellation. Ca. 1030, bronze on wood. Venice, Italy.



Figure 36. Cover of Sacramentary of Henry II, Crucifixion, det., Spongebearer. Ca. 1002-1014.



Figure 37. Bamberg Evangeliary, fol. 14v, det. Adoration of the Magi. Ca. 1012-1014.



Figure 38. Winchester Psalter, fol. 14r, det. Flight into Egypt. Mid-12th c.



Figure 39. Prophet Daniel. Augsburg Cathedral. Nave, S. side. Late 11th - ea. 12th c.



Figure 40. HD fol. 241v
40. HD fol. 241v



Figure 41. HD fol. 253v, Last Judgment det., Jews and pagans.

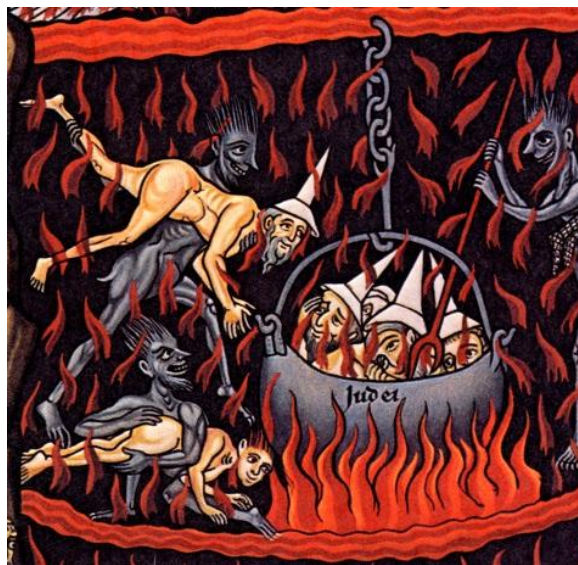
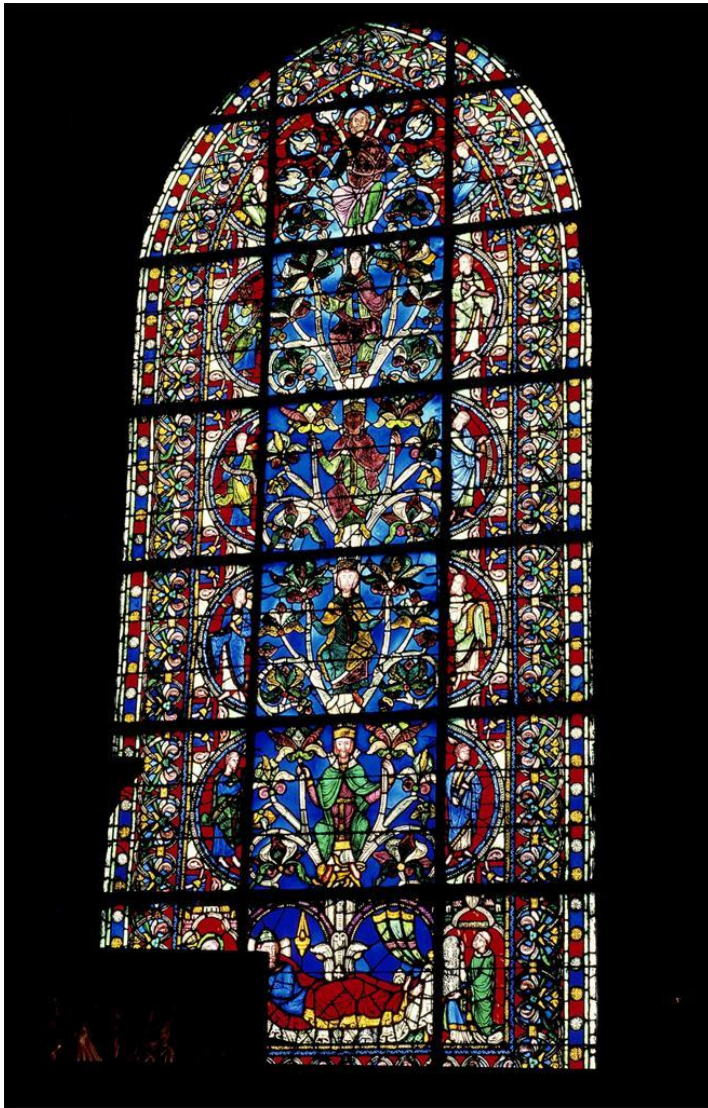


Figure 42. HD fol. 255r, Hell, det., Afterlife of the Jews.



**Figure 43. Abbey Church, St. Denis, France. Int. Radiating chapel.
Tree of Jesse Window (lft); Detail of Old Testament figures (rt.).**



Figure 44. Tree of Jesse. Bamberg? Ca. 1200 CE. Ivory. Louvre, Paris, France (Inv.: OA 10428).



Figure 45. Christ Presenting the Keys to Peter and the Law to Paul. German (Westphalia), 2nd half of 12th c. Elephant ivory, 5 15/16 x 3 3/8 in. (15.1 x 9.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, (1979.399).

Bibliography

- Abulafia, Anna Sapir. *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*. New York, 1995.
- _____. "Jewish-Christian Disputations and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance." *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989): 105-125.
- Aptowitzer, Victor. "The Celestial Temple as Viewed in the Aggadah." In *Studies in Jewish Thought*, Vol. 2. Ed. Joseph Dan. New York, 1989.
- Badke, David. "Monocerus." *The Medieval Bestiary: Animals in the Middle Ages*. December 1, 2008. <<http://bestiary.ca/>>.
- Baschet, Jérôme. *Le justice de l'au-dela*. Rome, 1993.
- Beach, Alison. *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria*. Cambridge, 2004.
- Bloomfield, Morton and Marjorie Reeves. "The Penetration of Joachism into Northern Europe." *Speculum* 29 (1954): 772-793.
- Blumenkranz, Bernhard. "Vie et survie de la polémique antijuive." *Studia Patristica* 1 (1957): 460-76.
- Bynum, Carolyn Walker. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley, 1982.
- Cames, Gérard. *Allégories et symbols dans l'Hortus deliciarum*. Leiden, 1971.
- _____. "Un joyau de l'enluminure alsacienne: Le Codex Guta-Sintram (1154) à Strasbourg." *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France Paris*, (1979): 255-61.
- Caviness, Madeline H. "Body, Visual Representations of." In *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*. Ed. Margaret Schaus. New York, 2006. 82-85.
- Chazan, Robert. *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Anti-Semitism*. Berkeley, 1997.
- _____. *In the Year 1096: the First Crusade and the Jews*. Philadelphia, 1996.

- Christe, Yves. "Apocalypse and Judgment around the Year 1000." In *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*. Ed. Richard Landes. New York, 2003.
- Cohen, Adam S. *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany*. University Park, 2000.
- Cohen, Jeremy. "Christian Theology and Anti-Jewish Violence." In *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*. Ed. A. Sapiro Abulafia. New York, 2002. 44-60.
- _____. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Berkeley, 1999.
- _____. "The Jews as Killers of Christ in the Latin Tradition, from Augustine to the Friars." *Traditio* 39 (1983): 3-27.
- Collard, Judith. "Herrad of Hohenbourg's *Hortus Deliciarum* (The Garden of Delights) and the Creation of Images for Medieval Nuns." In *Communities of Women: Historical Perspectives*. Ed. Barbara Brookes and Dorothy Page. Dunedin, 2002, 39-57.
- Emmerson, Richard K. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*. Seattle, 1981.
- Georgianna, Linda. "'In any Corner of Heaven': Heloise's Critique of Monastic Life." In *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*. Ed. Bonnie Wheeler. London, 2000. 187-216.
- Gérard, Charles. *Les artistes de l'Alsace pendant le moyen-âge*, Vol. 1. Colmar, 1872.
- Gillen, Otto. *Ikonographische Studien zum Hortus deliciarum der Herrad von Landsberg*. Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien 9. Berlin, 1931.
- Green, Rosalie. *The Hortus deliciarum of Herrad of Hohenbourg*. 2 vols. Studies of the Warburg Institute 36. London, 1979.
- _____. "The Adam and Eve Cycle in the *Hortus deliciarum*." In *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* Ed. Kurt Weitzmann. Princeton, 1955. 340-47.
- Griffiths, Fiona. *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century*. Philadelphia, 2007.

- Hamburger, Jeffrey. *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*. Berkeley, 1997.
- _____. “‘To Make Women Weep’: Ugly Art as ‘Feminine’ and the Origins of Modern Aesthetics.” *Res* 31 (1997): 9-33.
- _____. “A Liber Precum in Sélestat and the Development of the Illustrated Prayer Book in Germany.” *Art Bulletin* 73.2 (June, 1991): 209-36.
- Honorius Augustodunensis. *Elucidarium*. Ed. Yves Lefèvre. Paris, 1954.
- Hotchin, Julie. “Women’s Reading and Monastic Reform.” In *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*. Medieval Church Studies 13. Turnhout, Belgium, 2007. 139-89.
- Illich, Ivan. *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh’s Didascalion*. Chicago, 1993.
- Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Ordonner et exclurer: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l’hérésie, au judaïsme et à l’islam 1000-1150*. Paris, 1998.
- Jaeger, Stephen. *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*. Philadelphia, 1994.
- James, Montague Rhodes. *The Apocalypse in Art*. London, 1931.
- Joyner, Danielle. “A Timely History: Images of Time and History in the *Hortus deliciarum*.” PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007.
- Kienzle, Beverly Mayne. “Hildegard of Bingen’s teaching in her *Expositiones evangeliorum* and *Ordo virtutum*.” In *Medieval Monastic Education*. Ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Meussig. London, 2000. 75-81.
- Kogman-Appel, Katrin. “Bible Illustration and the Jewish Tradition.” In *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*. Ed. John Williams. University Park, PA, 1999. 61-96.
- Krüger, Annette and Gabriele Rauge. “Lifting the Veil: Two Typological Diagrams in the *Hortus Deliciarum*.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997): 1-22.
- Kühnel, Bianca. “Jewish Symbolism of the Temple and the Tabernacle and Christian Symbolism of the Holy Sepulchre and the Heavenly Tabernacle.” *Jewish Art* 12/13 (1986/1987): 147-68.

- LeClerq, Jean. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*. New York, 1982.
- Leesti, Elizabeth. "The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary." *Gesta* 28:2 (1989): 205-16.
- Levillain, Philippe. "Tiara." *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia*. New York, 2002.
- Lipton, Sara. *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée*. Berkeley, 1999.
- Lowrie, Walter. *Monuments of the Early Church*. New York, 1901.
- Mayo, Penelope C. "Concordia discordantium: A Twelfth-Century Illustration of Time and Eternity." In *Album amicorum Kenneth C. Lindsay: Essays on Art and Literature*. Ed. Susan A. Stein and George D. McKee. Binghamton, 1990. 29-57.
- McGinn, Bernard. *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York, 1998.
- _____. *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought*. New York, 1985.
- _____. *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*. New York, 1985.
- McGuire, Thérèse B. "Two Twelfth-Century Women and Their Books." In *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*. Ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor. London, 1996. 97-105.
- _____. "Monastic Artists and Educators of the Middle Ages." *Woman's Art Journal* 9:2 (Autumn 1988-Winter 1989): 3-9.
- Meer, Frederick van der. *Apocalypse: Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art*. New York, 1978.
- Mellinkoff, Ruth. *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. Berkeley, 1993.
- _____. *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*. Berkeley, 1970.
- Meussig, Carolyn. "Learning and Mentoring in the twelfth century: Hildegard of Bingen and Herrad of Landsberg." In *Medieval Monastic Education*. Ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig. London, 2000. 90-91.

- Mews, Constant. "Monastic Educational Culture Revisited: The Witness of Zwiefalten and the Hirsau Reform." In *Medieval Monastic Education*. Ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Meussig. London, 2000. 182-97.
- Morris, Colin. *The Papal Monarchy*. Oxford, 1991.
- Muratova, Xenia. "Le sirene di Herrada di Hohenburg." In *Opus Tessellatum: Modi und Grenzgänge der Kunstwissenschaft: Festschrift für Peter Cornelius Claussen*. Hildesheim, 2004. 385-98.
- Murphy, Sean Eisen. "Concern about Judaizing in Academic Treatises on the Law, c. 1130 – c. 1230." *Speculum* 82.3 (July 2007): 560-594.
- Narkiss, Bezalel. *Illuminations from Hebrew Bibles of Leningrad: Decorations in Hebrew Mediaeval Manuscripts from the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg now the Saltikov-Shchedrin Collection at the State Public Library in Leningrad*. Jerusalem, 1990.
- Newman, Barbara. "Authority, Authenticity, and the Repression of Heloise." In Newman, Barbara *Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*. Philadelphia, 1995. 46-75.
- Noreen, Gladys. "Herrad of Hohenbourg and her Garden of Delights: A Pictorial Encyclopedia." In *Medieval Women Monastics: Wisdom's Wellsprings*. Collegeville, Minn., 1996. 185-195.
- Rautman, Marcus Louis. *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*. Westport, CT, 2006.
- Reeves, Marjorie. *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future*. London, 1976.
- Renna, Thomas. *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought, 400-1300*. Wales, 2002.
- Revel-Neher, Elisabeth. "La double page du Codex Amiatinus et ses rapports avec les plans du tabernacle dans l'art juif et dans l'art byzantine." *Journal of Jewish Art* 9 (1982): 6-17.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. "Christian Violence and the Crusades." In *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*. Ed. Anna Sapir Abulafia. New York, 2002. 3-20.
- Ruether, Rosemary. *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism*. New York, 1974.

- Russell, D. S. *Between the Testaments*. Rev. ed. Philadelphia, 1972.
- Ryan, Hildegard. "Hildegard of Bingen and Bl. Jutta of Spanheim: Foremothers in Wisdom." In *Medieval Women Monastics: Wisdom's Wellsprings*. Ed. Miriam Schmitt. and Linda Kulzer. Collegeville, Minn, 1996. 149-164.
- "Saint Hildegard of Bingen," *Reclaiming Eve: 1500 Years of Feminist Commentary on the Creation Story in Genesis*. March 16, 2009.
<<http://www.pinn.net/~sunshine/whm2000/bingen2.html>>.
- Schmeidler, Bernhard. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abälard und Heloise als eine literarische Fiktion Abälards." *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte* 54 (1935): 323-38.
- _____. "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abälard und Heloise: Eine Falschung?" *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 11 (1913): 1-30.
- Sed-Rajna, Gabrielle. "Images of the Tabernacle/Temple in Late Antique and Medieval Art: The State of the Research." *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997/1998): 42-53.
- Sedlmayer, Hans. *Die Entstehung der Kathedral*. Zurich, 1950.
- Seeberg, Stefanie. "The Manuscripts of the Admont Nuns." In *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*. Medieval Church Studies 13. Turnhout, Belgium, 2007. 99-121.
- Shailor, Barbara. *The Medieval Book*. New Haven, 2002.
- Sheingorn, Pamela. "For God is such a Doomsman: Origins and Development of the Theme of the Last Judgment." In *Homo, Memento Finis: The Iconography of Just Judgment in Medieval Art and Drama*. Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 6. Kalamazoo, 1985. 15-58.
- Simon, Marcel. *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135-425)*. New York, 1986.
- Sloane, J. "The Torah Shrine in the Ashburnham Pentateuch." *Jewish Quaterly Review* 25 (1934): 1-12.
- Smalley, Beryl. *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. 3rd ed. Oxford, 1983.
- St. Clair, Archer. "A New Moses: Typological Iconography in the Moutier-Grandval Bible Illustrations of Exodus." *Gesta* 26:1 (1987): 19-28.

- _____. "God's House of Peace in Paradise: The Feast of Tabernacles on a Jewish Gold Glass." *The Journal of Jewish Art* 11 (1985): 6-15.
- Stookey, Laurence Hull. "The Gothic Cathedral as the Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and Theological Sources." *Gesta* 8:1 (1969): 35-41.
- Strickland, Debra Higgs. *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*. Princeton, 2003.
- Timmer, David E. "Biblical Exegesis and the Jewish-Christian Controversy in the Early Twelfth Century." *Church History* 58.3 (Sept., 1989): 309-321.
- Verkerk, Dorothy. *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*. Cambridge, 2004.
- Wischnitzer, Rachel. "Illuminated Haggadahs." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 13 (1922-23): 193-218.
- Wright, Rosemary Muir. "The Great Whore in the Illustrated Apocalypse Cycles." *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 191-210.

VITA

Sarah Celentano Parker was born in Elmont, NY. Upon receiving a Regents Diploma from Sewanhaka High School in Floral Park, NY, she entered Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, NY. She graduated in 2003 with a BA in Liberal Arts with a self-designed concentration in Medieval Studies and having met her soon-to-be husband, Geoff Parker. She then entered the master's program in Medieval Studies at Fordham University and graduated in 2007, whereupon she began work on her MA in art history at the University of Texas at Austin. In fall 2009 she will begin the PhD in art history at UT.

Permanent Address: 195 Livingston St.
New Haven, CT 06511

This thesis was typed by the author.