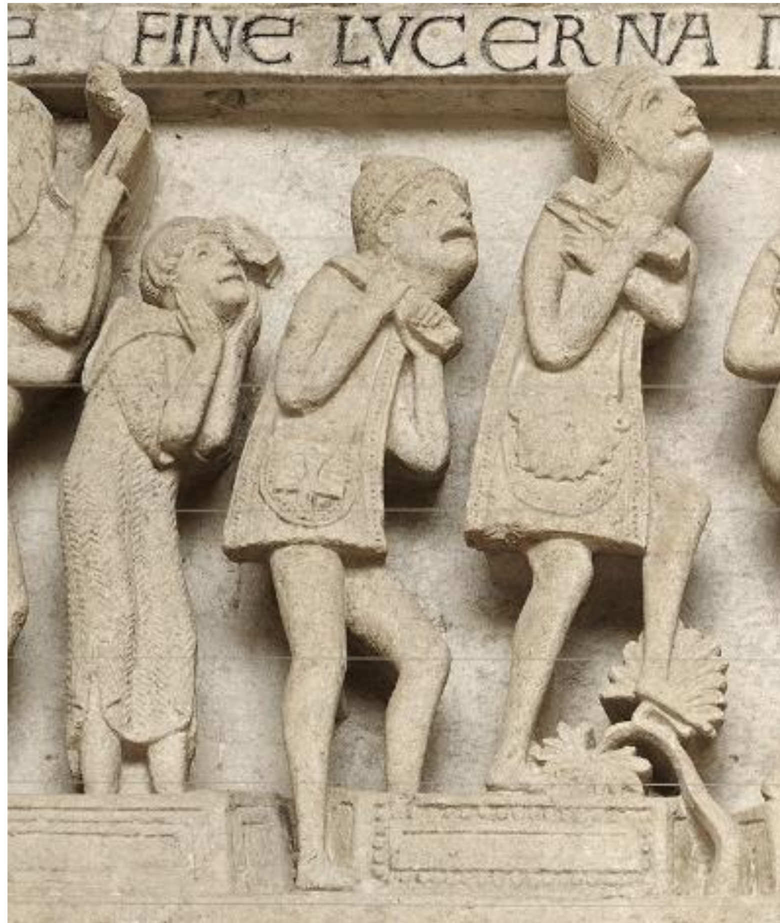
The Beginning of Wisdom: Imagining fear in French Romanesque portal sculpture, c.1080–1140



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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of fear in the design and function of Romanesque portal sculptures c.1090–1140 to understand how representations of the *majestas Domini*, Last Judgment and Hell were intended to guide their audiences towards an emotional state of terror and wonder that would lead to wisdom. It focuses on a small collection of important sites in Burgundy and the regions of Aveyron and Tarn-et-Garonne in south-western France to examine the development of monumental sculpture as a means of conveying and formulating theological concepts to lay and monastic audiences. Through an analysis of their iconography and composition in relation to exegetical and literary interpretations of divine majesty, judgment and eternal damnation, it offers new perspectives on pre-Scholastic art and thought, and contributes to current scholarship on affective devotion and emotional response in the context of Romanesque and Gothic sculpture. The new imagery created for the medium of portal sculpture is contextualised within the iconographic traditions which developed from Late Antiquity and continued to evolve over the early Middle Ages.

The role of emotions, particularly fear, in the devotional cultures of the early twelfth century also presents new insights into the nature of visuality and spiritual sight in the Middle Ages. Portal sculptures were designed to prompt their audiences to develop the fearful attitude shared by the prophets, and which would remain even after the Last Judgment. Representations of response and the replication of divinely-created images encouraged those viewing the sculpture to imagine them as if they were real to participate in the visionary experience of the prophets or terror of the resurrected dead at the Last Judgment.

Covid Statement:

Much of this thesis was written during lockdown, and I was unable to access in-person library services or make site visits. As such, I have relied on digital copies of sources. However, this has meant that I have used the Patrologia Latina throughout, rather than more recent editions. I was also unable to make additional site visits after January 2020, and so I have not been able to include photographs of as many things as I would have liked. There are thus some manuscript sources which are referenced, but which I have not been able to provide an image.

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Abbreviations and conventions

PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. by J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–1855)
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, Brepols: 1967–)
BnF	Bibliothèque national de France

All Bible quotations are taken from the Douay-Reims 1899 American Edition and the Biblica Sacra Vulgata, accessed via BibleGateway.com.

Unless otherwise specified, all Latin translations are my own.

Introduction: The Beginning of Wisdom

1. Fear and the functions of portal sculpture

Fear was a fundamental part of twelfth-century religious experience. Psalm 110:10 established that "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" [*Initium sapientiae timor Domini*], demonstrating the necessity and value of fear, as did Psalm 18:10, "The fear of the Lord is holy, enduring forever" [*Timor Domini sanctus, permenens in saeculum saeculi*].[1] Commentary tradition on these Biblical passages recognised fear as both the initiating force of spiritual ascent and its goal, in which literature, liturgy and art were designed to evoke this beneficial emotional state necessary for salvation. Beginning in the late eleventh century, monumental sculptures of theologically-charged subjects such as the Last Judgment and *majestas Domini* were placed around the entrances to abbey and cathedral churches, particularly those associated with the pilgrimage routes to Santiago de la Compostela.[2] Located at the threshold of the building, they prepared audiences for their entrance into the divine presence dwelling within the church, and encouraged them to participate in the image by modelling response. This thesis aims to examine the theological understanding of fear in the early twelfth century and the role of portal sculptures in shaping their audience's experience of sacred space by providing visual aids to emotional practice which revealed an invisible reality veiled within the image. This will focus on the portal systems created in France between 1100 and 1140 to

[1] "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" is repeated in Proverbs 1:7 and 9:10, and in Sirach 1:16

[2] The close connection between the rise of monumental sculpture and pilgrimage was made by Arthur Kingsley Porter, who opposed what he viewed as nationalist interpretations of the chronology of Romanesque sculpture. He argued instead that "this art is neither French nor Spanish. It is the art of the pilgrimage." See Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 10 vols (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1923), I, p.197

consider how their designs aimed to generate different forms of fear, and the function of emotional response in religious contexts.

The function of portal sculptures, and their limitations, are encapsulated in an episode from Adam of Eynsham's (before c.1185–c.1233) life of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln (c.1140–1200, canonised 1220), in which Hugh attempted to teach King John (b.1166, r.1199–1216) humility and fear through a sculpture of the Last Judgment at the Benedictine abbey of Fontevrault:

> *Cum uero ad porticum iam peruenissent ecclesiam ingressuri, ubi species seu ymago extremi examinis quo electi a reprobis secernuntur, eleganter satis pro modulo humani exprimitur artificii opere sculptoris, episcopus comitem futurum in proximo regem manu protraxit ad leuam Iudicis ubi reges cum suis insignibus inter dampnatos, audituri, "Ite maledicti in ignem eternum," a gehennalibus tortoribus rapiuntur in Tartarum. Tunc ait episcopus "Horum eiulatus et interminabiles cruciatus uobis indesinenter animus representet; hec perpetua supplicia uobis ante cordis oculos assidue uersentur: horum malorum sedula recordatio doceat uos quanto sui dispendio aliis ad tempus modicum preficientur regendis hominibus, qui seipsos male regendo sine fine cruciandi demoniacis subiciuntur spiritibus. Hec dummodo uitare licit semper expedit formidare, ne cum non licet iugiter postmodum contingat tolerare." Dicebat quoque celaturam seu picturam huiuscemodi in ipsis ecclesiarum aditibus congrua satis ratione pretexi, quatinus intraturi et pro necessitatibus suis Dominum rogaturi hanc summam et supremam necessitatem suam esse sciant, ut impetrent ueniam pro delictis; qua impetrata securi permaneant a penis et gaudeant in deliciis sempiternis.*
>
> *[...]*
>
> *Transiens quippe et manu trahens secum episcopum at parietem oppositum eique ostendens reges, speciosis insignitos coronis, angelico ductu in gaudium tendentes superni Regis, "Hos," inquit, "domine episcope, nobis potius monstrare debuistis, quorum exemplum atque consortium sequi et assequi habemus in uotis.*

[When they had reached the porch of the church and were about to enter, there was over it a representation of the Last Judgment showing the separation of the elect from the damned, a magnificent example of the human sculptor's art. The bishop led the count, who was so soon to be king, to the left side of the Judge where there were kings in full regalia amongst the damned, about to hear the words, "Go ye cursed into everlasting fire." They were being carried off by their demon tormentors into Hell. The bishop then said, "Fix your mind always on their howls and perpetual torment, and let your heart dwell upon their unceasing punishment; by frequently recalling their misfortunes you will learn the great risks those incur who for a short space of time are set over others as rulers, and who by not ruling themselves are eternally tortured by demons. This fate ought always to be dreaded whilst there is time to avoid it, lest it should have to be endured forever when it is too late." He said also that such sculptures or pictures were at the entrances to churches for a very good reason, namely that those about to enter and pray to God in their need, should understand what would be their last and final extremity and so would pray for forgiveness for their sins. By such prayers they would be secure from torment and enjoy everlasting happiness.

[...]

Drawing the bishop with him, [John] crossed over to the opposite wall and pointed out to him kings, made conspicuous by their splendid crowns, conducted joyously by angels to the king of Heaven. "My lord bishop," he said,

"you should have shown us these, whom we intend to imitate and whose company we desire to join.][3]

This explanation of portal sculpture summarises the purpose of representing the Last Judgment at the entrance to the church: to frighten their audience by the punishments of the damned, so that they would turn to the Church to seek forgiveness for their sins and achieve salvation. John's parents, Henry II (b.1133, r.1154–1189) and Eleanor of Aquitaine (c.1122–1204), and his brother Richard I (b.1157, r.1189–1199) were all buried at Fontrevault, and Hugh's admonishment would have been intended to remind John of his own mortality and the fate of his soul after death.[4] Adam's inclusion of this conversation between Hugh and John in his *Vita* was designed to illustrate John's sinful nature and unwillingness to listen to the counsel of his bishops. As Karl Leyser has observed, Adam was particularly hostile to John and so his account may not be entirely accurate, although fragments of a Last Judgment sculpture were discovered at Fontrevault in 1984.[5] However, the insertion of an explanation of sculpture's didactic

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[3] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna vita sancti Hugonis*, vol. II, ed. and trans. Decima L. Douie and David Hugh Farmer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp.139-141. For Hugh of Lincoln and the *Vita*, see Philippa Byrne, "Legal Learning and Saintly Authority in Thirteenth-Century Hagiography: The *Magna vita sancti Hugonis*," *Journal of Medieval History* 44 (2018), pp.39-55; David Hugh Farmer, *Saint Hugh of Lincoln* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1985); Ryan Kemp, "Hugh of Lincoln and Adam of Eynsham: Angevin Kingship Reconsidered," *Haskins Society Journal* 30 (2018), pp.133-157; *St Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures delivered at Oxford and Lincoln to celebrate the eighth centenary of St Hugh's consecration as bishop of Lincoln*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); and Jay Rubenstein, "Biography and autobiography in the Middle Ages," in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. Nancy Partner (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), pp.22-41

[4] Paul Binski, *Gothic Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), p.43; Thomas S. R. Boase, "Fontevrault and the Plantagenets," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 43 (1971), pp.1-10; Thomas E. A. Dale, *Pygmalion's Power: Romanesque Sculpture, the Senses, and Religious Experience* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2020), p.173; Kathleen Nolan, "The Queen's Choice: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Tombs at Fontevraud," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.377-405

[5] Karl Leyser, "The Angevin Kings and the Holy Man," in *St Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures delivered at Oxford and Lincoln*, pp.48-73 (repr. in Karl Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), pp.157-175; references made to this edition) (pp.161-162); Kemp, "Angevin Kingship Reconsidered," p.153. For the sculpture fragments from Fontrevault, see Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.43; and Léon Pressouyre and Daniel Prigent, "Le jugement dernier de Fontevraud," *Comptes rendus des scéances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 133 (1989), pp.804-809

purpose reflects the general view of sculpture and images in the late twelfth century, which Adam's readers would understand as evidence for Hugh's sanctity.

Paul Binski has argued that the account of Hugh and John at Fontevrault demonstrates the rhetorical function of portal sculpture, in which the intended outcome was the action of prayer, not feeling.[6] However, fear played a powerful role in this process, and was part of the intended effect of the sculpture. Fear was the "beginning of wisdom," and only through fearing the power of God and punishments of Hell would the audience be able to achieve the true contrition necessary for repentance and salvation. Generating and maintaining this hopeful fear was an important component of the affective function of portal sculpture. However, John's reaction also highlights one of the problems with a study into emotional reactions to sculpture in the Middle Ages. People did not always respond to things as their designers hoped, and the intended outcome of pious and reverential fear may not have always been the effect of the portal sculptures examined throughout this thesis. Individuals may have responded with laughter, delight, or desire rather than fear, revealing the instability of images and their potentially subversive power.[7] For this reason, this thesis will concentrate on the meanings and functions of portal sculptures envisaged by their designers and patrons, rather than the question of their reception by contemporary audiences.

Hugh's instruction to John that he should "fix [his] mind always" on the punishments of Hell and learn by "frequently recalling" the threat of damnation also reveals an important mnemonic and didactic function of portal sculptures. The spiritual

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[6] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.43

[7] For the reception of works of art and the potential for queer or subversive readings in the Middle Ages, see Michael Camille, "Mouths and Meanings: towards an anti-iconography of medieval art," in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23-24th March 1990* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp.43-57; Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp.65-85; and Robert Mills, *Suspended Animation: Pain, Pleasure and Punishment in Medieval Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005)

benefit of viewing and fearing images of the Last Judgment or majesty of God was expected to continue through frequent recollection of the image in the memory long after the encounter itself. Odo, the second abbot of Cluny (b. c.879, r.927–942), explained how monks should always imagine the Last Judgment and punishments of Hell to remain humble and reject worldly pleasures in his *Collationes*, written between 917 and 927 while he was a monk at the abbey of Baume:

> *[S]ed cogitemus horrendum judicis tribunal, ardentem fluvium, vermes qui non morientur, ignes gehennae, fletus et stridorem dentium, et prae oculis habeamus quasi jam ad haec ventum sit, pertimescamus quasi jam praesens, quod etsi tardet, futurum est tamen*.
>
> [But we know the horrible tribunal of the judge, the burning river, the worms that will not die, the fires of Hell, the weeping and gnashing of teeth, and we hold it before our eyes as if it had already come to this, we become terrified as if it were already present, for although it may yet delay, it is the future.][8]

Odo was asked to write the *Collationes* by Turpio, bishop of Limoges (c.905–944), and produced a series of meditations on sin and the afterlife which Christopher A. Jones suggests was intended for a mixed audience of "monks, secular clergy, and lay aristocrats."[9] This passage appears in the third book, in which Odo addresses the duties and roles of different people within society, and forms part of a condemnation of the

[8] Odo of Cluny, *Collationes* 3.31, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina* (PL), 217 vols., ed. J-P. Migne (Paris, 1844-1865), vol. 133, col.0614B. For Odo of Cluny, see Giles Constable, "Cluny in the Monastic World of the Tenth Century," and "Baume and Cluny in the Twelfth Century," in *The Abbey of Cluny: A Collection of Essays to Mark the Eleven-Hundredth Anniversary of its Foundation* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010), pp.43-77, 405-436; Isabelle Rosé, *Construire une société seigneuriale: Itinéraire et ecclésiologie de l'abbé Odon de Cluny (fin du IXe – milieu du Xe siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Isabelle Rosé, "Les *Collationes* d'Odon de Cluny († 942). Un premier recueil d'*exempla* rédigé en milieu « clunisien » ?" in *Le Tonnere des exemples:* Exempla *et médiation culturelle dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Jacques Berlioz, and Pascal Collomb (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp.145-159; and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982)
[9] Christopher A. Jones, "'To Embrace a Sack of Excrement': Odo of Cluny and the History of an Image," *Speculum* 96 (2021), pp.662-698 (p.668-669); Christopher A. Jones, "Monastic Identity and Sodomitic Danger in the *Occupatio* by Odo of Cluny," *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp.1-53 (pp.8-9); and Rosé, "Les *Collationes*"

love of earthly power and possessions.[10] In this context, he explains that those who desire to be among the elect should imagine the terrors of the Last Judgment "as if" (*quasi*) they were occurring in reality to motivate them to reject the things of the world, which will "pass as a vision in the night" [*Transiet ut nocturna visio*] in comparison to the real threats of punishment in the eternal fires of Hell.[11] The phrase *quasi* occurs frequently throughout the Biblical texts and commentaries examined in this thesis, describing physical and mental images as well as visions that allowed the contemplative viewer or visionary to mentally 'see' and understand the glory of God or the future judgment "as if" they were looking at them directly.

Portal sculptures were designed to reveal the invisible presence of God, and audiences were encouraged to participate in the representations of visionary experience, Last Judgment and Hell "as if it were already present." Mentally imagining the subjects depicted on the portals of the early twelfth century such as the *majestas Domini* and Last Judgment was already an established monastic and pastoral practice by the tenth century, as shown by Odo's description of how those seeking salvation should constantly imagine the torments of Hell. This thesis is divided into three sections that focus on the iconographic themes of the *majestas Domini*, the Last Judgment, and representations of damnation, beginning with one of the earliest extant tympana to feature figure sculpture at the cathedral of Jaca, designed c.1080, and ending in c.1140 with the completion of the portal of Saint-Lazare in Autun, produced shortly before Abbot Suger finished the Gothic façade at Saint-Denis. In transforming affective mental images into concrete representations, the clerical and monastic designers used iconography and accompanying inscriptions to convey the idea that these sculptural programmes were to be carefully viewed, internalised, and contemplated as a

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[10] Rosé, "Les *Collationes*," p.145

[11] Odo, *Collationes* 3.31, col.0614A; Job 20:8

representation of reality to deliberately craft the fear which was the beginning and end of wisdom.[12]

2. The portal as a threshold

The entrances to churches in the twelfth century were spaces charged with meaning, communicated to their audiences through liturgy and images which expressed the symbolism of the church building as a bridge between heaven and earth. The role of the doorway has been examined from a range of perspectives to explore the significance of the portal as a site for the placement of sculpture, and the function of sculptures in the contexts of entrance and transformation.

Scholarship on Romanesque sculpture has considered the apparent disappearance of monumental figural carving after the fifth and sixth centuries, before re-appearing in the form of portal sculpture in the eleventh century.[13] In his essay on the architectural contexts of Romanesque sculpture, Willibald Sauerländer argues that the emergence of monumental, public-facing sculpture at the end of the eleventh century placed a new emphasis on the symbolic site of entry into sacred space which had existed since Late Antiquity, evidenced by the inscriptions placed over the entrance to Paulinus of Nola's (c.352–431) new church at Fundi: "Peace to you, whoever you may be, entering the innermost sanctuary of Christ God with peaceful and pure heart" [*Pax tibi sit quicunque*

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[12] See Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, rhetoric, and the making of images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Mary Carruthers, "Moving Images in the Mind's Eye," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp.287-305 (p.290)

[13] For analysis of the early historiography of Romanesque sculpture, see also Michael Camille, "'How New York Stole the Idea of Romanesque Art': Medieval, Modern and Postmodern in Meyer Schapiro," *Oxford Art Journal* 17 (1994), pp.65-75; Janice Mann, "Romantic Identity, Nationalism, and the Understanding of the Advent of Romanesque Art in Christian Spain," *Gesta* 36 (1997), pp.156-164; Linda Seidel, "Rethinking "Romanesque;" Re-engaging Roman[z]," *Gesta* 45 (2006), pp.109-123; and John Williams, "Meyer Schapiro in Silos: Pursuing an Iconography of Style," *The Art Bulletin* 85 (2003), pp.442-468

Dei penetralia Christi pectore pacifico candidus ingrederis].[14] Sauerländer attributes the change from inscriptions to representative stone sculpture in the eleventh century to the practice of constructing buildings using regularly-cut ashlar masonry, previously used in Roman architecture.[15] M. F. Hearn also connected the "Romanesque revival" of the eleventh century to the use of ashlar masonry, but argued that the earliest sculptures on interior features such as tombs, capitals, and altars, was driven by the "aesthetic impulse" of patrons rather than a religious function.[16] He also suggested that the first stone sculptures were produced by goldsmiths, as metalwork had been "the only significant [figural] sculptural activity in the Carolingian tradition."[17] While decoration and ornament played an important role in the aesthetic and rhetorical effect of church buildings, as shown by Binski and Carruthers, figural sculptures responded closely to the meanings attached to their locations, particularly the portal.[18]

Calvin Kendall has also traced the development of ideas surrounding the doorway from pre-Christian Roman tradition, in which inscriptions were placed above public buildings and on triumphal arches to proclaim imperial power and authority.[19] Inscriptions continued to appear on lintels in abbeys across western Europe up to the eleventh century, when they began to be accompanied or replaced by sculpted or

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[14] Willibald Saueränder, "Romanesque Sculpture in its Architectural Context," in *The Romanesque Frieze and its Spectator: The Lincoln Symposium Papers*, ed. Deborah Kahn (London: Harvey Miller, 1992), pp.17-44 (p.19); translation adapted from Sauerländer, who gives: "Peace to you entering the chambers of Christ with peaceful breast, and pure." Paulinus of Nola's buildings and their inscriptions will be discussed in detail in the second chapter of this thesis, but for general studies, see Catherine Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); R. C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1940); Joseph T. Lienhard, *Paulinus of Nola and Early Western Monasticism* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1977); and Dennis E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp.146-159

[15] Sauerländer, "Romanesque Sculpture in its Architectural Context," p.22

[16] M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), p.53-54

[17] Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture*, p.40

[18] See Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp.22-27; Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp.122-124, 275-276

[19] Calvin Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p.21

painted images at sites such as the cathedral of Jaca (c.1080) and the late eleventh-century Apocalypse cycle in the porch of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe.[20]

The drama of entry and the positioning of audiences within a threshold space was heightened through the architectural structures surrounding portals in Carolingian and Romanesque buildings. Narthexes, often termed 'westworks' or in abbey churches affiliated with Cluny, *Galilea*, presented imposing western facades by two-tower structures which were distinct from the nave and served specific liturgical functions which differed according to context.[21] The narthex extended the boundary of the doorway by creating a distinct space in which audiences were neither inside the church nor outside in the world, but suspended between the two. The portals inside the narthex often featured sculpture or painting, such as the sculpted portals of Cluny (c.1115–1122) and Vézelay (c.1120–1135), and the paintings at Saint-Savin, which would have heightened the significance of entry and respond to the dramatic liturgical entrances performed within them.[22]

[20] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.43-48. Jaca cathedral will be discussed in the following chapter, but for Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe see Otto Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, trans. Mary Whittall (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1970), pp.102-104, 420-423; *Saint-Savin: L'abbaye et ses peintures murales*, ed. Robert Favreau (Poitiers: Connaissance et promotion du patrimoine de Poitou-Charentes, 1999); André Grabar, "Mural Painting," in André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (Geneva: Albert Skira, 1958), pp.24-132 (pp.87-95); and Delia Viola Kottmann, "The Apocalyptic Cycle of the Romanesque Murals in the Narthex of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe (Vienne): Do They Illustrate Political Ideas of the Gregorian Reform?" in *Peoples of the Apocalypse: Eschatological Beliefs and Political Scenarios*, ed. Wolfram Brandes, Felicitas Schmieder and Rebekka Voß (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), pp.337-352

[21] The term *westwerke* to describe the architectural structures at the west end of Carolingian churches was first introduced by Joseph Bernhard Nordhoff, *Der Holz- und Steinbau Westfalens in seiner culturgeschichtlichen und systematischen Entwicklung* (Münster: Regensberg Buchhandlung, 1873). For narthexes in medieval architecture see Kristina Krüger, "Architecture and Liturgical Practice: The Cluniac *galilaea*," in *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy and Art around the Millennium* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp.139-160; *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'Église (entre le IVe et le XIIe siècle)*, ed. Christian Sapin (Aubervilliers: Éditions du CTHS, 2002); and Herwin Schaefer, "The Origin of the Two-Tower Façade in Romanesque Architecture," *The Art Bulletin* 27 (1945), pp.85-108

[22] See Krüger, "Architecture and Liturgical Practice"

Portals have frequently been considered as "liminal" spaces, following anthropological studies into transformative rituals and space by Arnold van Gennep and its application to medieval pilgrimage by Victor Turner.[23] In particular, van Gennep's description of doors as "the boundary between the foreign and domestic worlds in the case of an ordinary dwelling, between the profane and sacred worlds in the case of a temple" has been applied to Romanesque portals to explore how they articulated sacred space and expressed the meaning of the threshold as the division between sacred and secular.[24] Peter Low argues that the sculpted representation of Pentecost at the abbey of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Vézelay "sets up a play between temporal and physical beginnings, and thus between movement in space and passage through time" in order to imbue the space beyond with sacred meaning and "announce to lay visitors that...the Church itself, with all its salvific benefits, will only *come into existence* for them at the moment they cross this threshold."[25] Similarly, Daniel Jütte has examined Biblical references to doorways to argue that entering a church building was "charged with religious meaning" through the allegorical interpretation of the door as the gate of Heaven, which had a transformative effect on the person walking through it.[26] Kendall has similarly considered the symbolic and allegorical associations of doorways through their inscriptions which, he argues, framed the entire church building as a layered

[23] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffée (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); and Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978)

[24] van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, p.19; see for example Mickey Abel, *Open Access: Contextualising the Archivolted Portals of Northern Spain and Western France within the Theology and Politics of Entry* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012); Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992); Gillian B. Elliot, *Sculpted Thresholds and the Liturgy of Transformation in Medieval Lombardy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022); and *The Notion of Liminality and the Medieval Sacred Space*, ed. Ivan Foletti and Klára Doležalová (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020)

[25] Peter Low, ""You Who Once Were Far Off": Enlivening Scripture in the Main Portal at Vézelay," *The Art Bulletin* 85 (2003), pp.469-489 (p.472)

[26] Daniel Jütte, *The Strait Gate: Thresholds and Power in Western History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p.39-40

allegory in which every element carried spiritual meaning, most significantly in the way in which "the portal was identified with, or as, Christ."[27] He argues that through inscriptions the door was able to allegorically "speak" simultaneously as the institution of the Church, the building itself, and as Christ.[28] Discussing the *tituli* which were placed above multiple thresholds throughout monastic buildings, he views portals of monastic churches as "a place of spiritual transformation," emphasising their liminal function.[29]

Recently, Binski has challenged the anthropological reading of the portal in terms of liminality, arguing that the rhetorical concept of *occasio* is a more helpful way of understanding sculpture as an element of a wider architectural scheme which aimed to engage their audience and direct their thoughts towards theological truth.[30] He explains that the threshold was not a site of transformation as a liminal boundary, but rather a "starting-point" which emphasised interior movements of the soul and exterior movement through the doorway.[31] For Binski, theories of liminality overlook the way in which portals were "socially and habitually embedded" in daily life and thought. Instead of separating audiences from ordinary experiences, he proposes that portals are "indivisibly connected by the thread of process and movement to what had gone before, and what came next."[32] While Binski highlights the importance of persuasion and engagement, as well as distinguishing between the initial and habitual encounter, the sculptures examined in this thesis also aimed to capture the attention of their audiences and bring them to a halt. In addition to the importance of the space inside the church, the space outside was equally shaped by sculpture to be a place where those entering could stop to consider the act of entry, preparing themselves by focusing their minds on

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[27] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.3
[28] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.14-18, 68, 96
[29] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.48
[30] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.19-21, 30-31
[31] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.21
[32] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.31

divine majesty and judgment to create feelings of fear, wonder and reverence. The importance of this pause in front of the portal is demonstrated by the inscriptions calling on their audiences to purify themselves before entering the building and instructing them in how to feel, such as the inscription on the tympanum and lintel at the nunnery of Santa Cruz de la Serós, made c.1100:

> *IANVA SVM P[ER]PES : P[ER] ME TRANSITE FIDELES : FONS EGO SVM VITE : PLVS ME QVAM VINA SITITE VIRGINIS H[OC] TEMPLVM Q[UI] VIS PENETRARE BEATVM + CORRIGE TE PRIMVM VALEAS QVO POSCERE XPISTVM*
>
> [I am the eternal door; pass through me, faithful ones. I am the fountain of life; thirst for me more than wine. You who wish to enter this blessed church of the Virgin, reform yourself first in order that you may be able to call upon Christ.][33]

The habitual encounter would not necessarily have lessened this function, as repeated viewing – both mentally and in reality – may have heightened the emotional impact of the image. The monastic practice of *lectio divina* and *ruminatio*, in which texts were read slowly and repeatedly to internalise and digest their meaning through detailed visualisation, can also be applied to sculpted images, which were similarly encountered repeatedly and held in the mind to stimulate devotion.[34] This process may have been aided by the liturgical functions of the portal in which events from the life of Christ were re-enacted and recalled on a regular basis.

The connection between the liturgy and sculpted portals has been shown by Margot Fassler in her study of the western portals of Chartres Cathedral, in which she argues

[33] Transcribed and translated by Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.277; Santa Cruz de la Serós will be discussed further in chapter 2

[34] See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.205-209

that the sculpture aimed to enhance the ceremonial entrance of the bishop, which was "a liturgical act of great significance."[35] Eric Palazzo has also considered the relationship between art and liturgy, particularly in relation to the images in liturgical books, arguing that the function of art in liturgical spaces is "to be activated by the senses during the performance of the ritual in order to 'produce' the effect required by the theological context of the liturgical ceremony."[36]

More recently, Michele Luigi Vescovi and Kristina Krüger have examined the portal sculptures at the abbeys of Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne and Cluny within the context of the narthex, or *galilea,* to consider how the antiphons sung in the narthex during the celebration of Easter informed the design of portal sculpture.[37] For Vescovi, the portal at Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne responded to the liturgy, "mirroring and amplifying the eschatological meaning" through the representation of the Second Coming and resurrection.[38] Krüger has reconstructed the liturgical processions for Sundays and Easter at Cluny to examine the significance of the narthex as a re-creation of the historical Galilee, in which the priest took the position of Christ meeting the Apostles, signified by the monks.[39] She suggests that the iconography of the *Majestas Domini* above the portal was "intimately linked with the theological content of the station in the *galilee*,

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[35] Margot Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympana at Chartres," *The Art Bulletin* 73 (1993), pp.499-520 (p.500)
[36] Eric Palazzo, "Sensory Activation in Liturgy and Art in the Early Middle Ages: The Initials 'O' in the Sacramentary of Gellone," in *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016: Plenary Papers*, ed. Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić (Belgrade: The Serbian National Committee of AIEB, 2016), pp.189-200 (p.189-190). See also Eric Palazzo, "Art and Liturgy in the Middle Ages: Survey of Research (1980–2003) and Some Reflections on Method," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 105 (2006), pp.170-184; and Eric Palazzo, "Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 41 (2010), pp.25-56
[37] Kristina Krüger, "Monastic Customs and Liturgy in the Light of Architectural Evidence: A Case Study on Processions (Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries)," in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp.191-220; and Michele Luigi Vescovi, "An Eschatological Mirror: The Romanesque Portal of Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne," *Gesta* 56 (2017), pp.53-80
[38] Vescovi, "An Eschatological Mirror," p.80
[39] Krüger, "Monastic Customs and Liturgy," p.204

the revelation of the divinity of Christ."[40] Through the liturgy, the allegorical meaning of the portal as Christ and the gate of heaven was further elaborated and made visible, emphasising the act of entrance as a transformative process. As Palazzo argues, the image could be activated by the liturgy performed in front of it to allow the transition from corporeal to spiritual sight.[41]

Considering the liturgical functions of doorways also complicates the interpretation of the church door as a sharply defined liminal threshold between sacred and secular space. Processions expanded the sacred space of the church to encompass the area outside, amplifying the significance of the space constructed by the portal between the world and house of God. As Kendall has shown, inscriptions also emphasised that the area in front of the door was meaningful as a site of repentance and preparation, as demonstrated by the portal of Santa Cruz de la Serós.[42] Thomas E. A. Dale and Dawn Marie Hayes have argued that there was not a strict distinction between sacred and profane space in the Middle Ages.[43] Dale, discussing Meyer Schapiro's research into the re-emergence of monumental sculpture in the early twelfth century, observes that through ritual, the realms of sacred and secular were frequently merged.[44] For Hayes, a strict separation of the sacred from the profane was impossible in the Middle Ages, as "sacredness could readily appear in profane time and place" since divinity could be encountered within the world.[45] This appearance of divinity in the world is exemplified by the processions which took place at the abbey of Sainte-Foy in Conques, where the golden reliquary statue of Saint Faith was frequently taken from her resting-place within the basilica and carried through the region, often to witness the transfer of her property

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[40] Krüger, "Monastic Customs and Liturgy," p.206
[41] Palazzo, "Sensory Activation," p.191
[42] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.112
[43] Thomas E. A. Dale, *Pygmalion's Power*, p.9; and Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389* (London: Routledge, 2003)
[44] Dale, *Pygmalion's Power*, p.9
[45] Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place*, p.5

or to demonstrate the authority of the abbey, before returning beneath the tympanum of the Last Judgment.[46] Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn observe that the locations where the reliquary was set down during the procession became "*loci* of the saint's powers" where miracles continued to take place after she had moved on.[47] Rather than marking a division of sacred and profane or secular, portal sculptures imbued the space in front of the church with meaning as a site for repentance and preparation before the passage through the doorway, in addition to defining the space within as a representation of heaven on earth.

3. Emotions and communities

In addition to defining spaces, sculpted portal programmes also constructed communities. The Church was allegorised as a body in the Pauline Epistles, as in 1 Corinthians 12, which states "Now you are the body of Christ, and members of member."[48] Throughout Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages plague, famine, invasions, or natural disasters were frequently believed to have been sent by God as punishments on a sinful people.[49] In response, social reforms driven by ecclesiastical and secular leaders sought to create a community which was as free from sin as possible in order to prepare for the future judgment and avoid the wrath of God in the present.[50] The emotional responses which portal sculptures aimed to produce from their audiences were intended to unify them into the idealised body of Christ in preparation

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[46] Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, "*Sainte Foy* on the Loose, Or, The Possibilities of Procession," in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim N. M. Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp.53-67
[47] Ashley and Sheingorn, "*Sainte Foy* on the Loose," p.58
[48] 1 Cor. 12:27
[49] See James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); *Apocalypse and Reform from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and James T. Palmer, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019); and Alfred Thomas, *Writing Plague: Language and Violence from the Black Death to COVID-19* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022)
[50] Palmer, *The Apocalypse*, pp.225, 232-233; James T. Palmer and Matthew Gabriele, introduction to *Apocalypse and Reform*, pp.1-10

for their entrance into the church as a physical building and the metaphorical building formed from the "living stones" of the faithful.[51]

Representations of pain and punishment to position readers, viewers and subjects as part of a community has been explored by Robert Mills in his analysis of François Villon's poem *Ballade des pendus*. He describes how the poem unites the hanged criminals and their audience as all suspended between living and dead, or heaven and hell, which he terms a "community of the threshold."[52] The audience standing before the doorway to the church is, in a literal sense, a community of the threshold, joined together through a shared experience of fear and hope in the face of divine presence, future judgment, or the punishments of Hell. The iconography of Hell, which includes figures in portal systems such as a hanged sinner at Conques or the rich man from the parable of Lazarus and *Dives* at the abbey of Saint-Pierre in Moissac, encouraged those viewing the sculptures to consider themselves as potentially-damned souls, highlighting their ambiguous status between saved and damned. Representations of response such as the pilgrims who cry out in terror at the sight of Christ as the judge in the lintel of Saint-Lazare in Autun similarly extended the boundaries of the image to include its audience within the image, encouraging them to participate through emotional response.

Fear, properly directed towards penitence and good works, was a positive and productive emotional response to the majesty of God, the uncertainty of the future judgment, and threat of damnation. Barbara Rosenwein has shown how emotions are socially and historically situated, and fear, as a constellation of feelings, was valued by the monastic and ecclesiastic designers of portal sculptures as a means of attaining salvation in the early twelfth century.[53] Scholarship on the history of emotions in the

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[51] 1 Peter 2:5
[52] Mills, *Suspended Animation*, p.31
[53] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp.84-85

Middle Ages has followed Rosenwein's work, exploring the construction and uses of emotions in the pre-modern world.[54] The history of emotions has emerged alongside psychological and neurological investigations into emotional experience, which has shown that it is not clear what exactly emotions are, and that there is considerable variation among different cultures regarding the meaning, existence, and value of particular emotions.[55] The wide range of terms used to describe experiences of fear in Latin sources, such as *paveo*, *metus*, *terror*, *horror*, and *timor* frequently overlap and could be used interchangeably in theological discussions of fear to describe varied emotional experiences. Rather than categorising or defining specific types of fear according to particular terms, this thesis uses 'fear' and its associated language as a descriptor for a large category of feelings and sensations rather than singular emotions.

Alongside this research into the history of emotions, the "affective turn" in humanities research has focused on feelings as embodied cognition and the way in which bodies interact with one another to produce affects.[56] The intersection of both emotion and affect in medieval culture has been considered by Glenn D. Burger and Holly A. Crocker in their introduction to the edited volume *Medieval Affect, Feeling, and Emotion*. They argue that emotions and affects should be explored together to

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[54] For approaches to the history of emotions in general, see *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe, 1100-1700*, ed. Andrew Lynch and Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2020); William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001; Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2017); and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

[55] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p.6-12

[56] Stephen Ahern, "Introduction: A Feel for the Text," in *Affect Theory and Literary Critical Practice: A Feel for the Text* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp.1-22 (p.1). See also *Affect Theory and Early Modern Texts: Politics, Ecologies, and Form*, ed. Amanda Baily and Mario DiGangi (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); and *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010)

understand the way in which emotions are socially constructed and affects are felt in the body in medieval literature.[57]

In response to the "affective turn," Binski has critiqued the use of affectivity to interpret Gothic sculpture, particularly as an explanation for the perceived rise in naturalism.[58] He views the emotional or affective purpose of sculptures as an element of their persuasive purpose, guiding their audiences towards a certain state of mind rather than being their primary goal.[59] Binski also argues that viewing the rise of naturalism as a cause and consequence of changing affective spirituality "robs pre-Gothic art of its affectivity" and fails to consider the ways in which medieval audiences engaged with images through imagination "as that which deliberates and composes."[60] Rather than affectivity being a quality of the image, he argues that devotional images encouraged "slow looking," as audiences recreated the image in their minds, meditating on them in order to generate affective responses and stimulate devotion, in a similar way to literary descriptions of the Crucifixion or Last Judgment.[61]

This practice of mental image creation relied on medieval theories of the spiritual senses, in which images could be seen with the "eyes of the heart," an image derived from Augustine's (354-430) unfinished treatise *De Genesi ad litteram*.[62] Augustine explained that there were three modes of sight: "corporeal," the sense of vision using the eyes of the body; "spiritual," the appearance of pictures in dreams or imagination;

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[57] Glenn D. Burger and Holly A. Crocker, introduction to *Medieval Affect, Feeling, and Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp.1-24

[58] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp.77-79

[59] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.48-49

[60] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.84

[61] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.80, 94; see also Carruthers, "Moving Images"

[62] Cynthia Hahn, "Vision," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp.44-64 (p.45). See also Matthew R. Lootens, "Augustine," in *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity*, ed. Paul L. Gavrilyuk and Sarah Coakley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.56-70; Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing; Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); and *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard G. Newhauser (London: Bloomsbury, 2018)

and "intellectual," the perception of divine truth.[63] These types of sight interacted with one another, so that images seen with corporeal vision were recollected and recreated by spiritual sight, and these mental images could be interpreted to achieve greater understanding through intellectual vision.[64] Herbert L. Kessler has shown how the boundaries between corporeal and spiritual vision were flexible in the Middle Ages, as medieval viewers "transform[ed] the sensual impressions derived from looking at artistic representations into mental contemplations."[65] Mary Carruthers has discussed the way in which entirely mental images such as Hugh of Saint-Victor's (c.1096–1141) description of Noah's Ark were used in medieval rhetoric, allowing speakers and audiences to construct an image in their mind which could be used to arrange and quickly recall information.[66] This practice of mental image-making reflects Odo of Cluny's description of the contemplative practice of holding the image of the Last Judgment before the eyes "as if it had already come to pass" to develop the beneficial fear of Hell and motivate the rejection of earthly power and wealth. Spiritual vision and the use of mental images for gaining greater understanding through contemplation permitted the shift between sculpted image and the reality it represented for the audiences of portal sculpture.[67] Mentally recreating the image through meditation

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[63] Hahn, "Vision," p.45
[64] Hahn, "Vision," p.45
[65] Herbert L. Kessler, "Turning a Blind Eye: Medieval Art and the Dynamics of Contemplation," in *The Mind's Eye*, pp.413-439 (p.413)
[66] Carruthers, "Moving Images," p.290; see also Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*. For the interpretation of the Ark as a physical painting, see Conrad Rudolph, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor, Art, and Thought in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); and Patrice Sicard, *Diagrammes médiévaux et exégèse visuelle. Le* Libellus de Formatione Arche *de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993)
[67] For sculpture and visionary experience in the later Middle Ages, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," *Viator* 20 (1989), pp.161-182; and Jacqueline E. Jung, "The Tactile and the Visionary: Notes on the Place of Sculpture in the Medieval Religious Imagination," in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park: Index of Christian Art, 2010), pp.203-240

allowed viewers see with their "mind's eye" and respond as if they were standing before the supreme Judge or mystery of God's presence in reality.

4. Understanding fear in twelfth-century theology

Medieval theories of the passions followed Augustine's critique of Stoicism in *De civitate dei*, in which he described how the soul consents to *passiones*, *perturbationes*, or *affectiones*, joining emotional experience to free will (*voluntas*).[68] Rather than rejecting emotions entirely, Augustine explained that when the will is properly oriented towards what is good, then it will consent to those emotions which are "appropriate" and "in accordance with right reason," which will bring it closer to God and spiritual understanding.[69] For Augustine, self-control was essential to properly managing the affections, as an uncontrolled will would be susceptible to immoderate and inappropriate affections which would cloud the reason and distance the soul from God.[70] Following Cicero's (106–43 BCE) *De inventione*, medieval rhetorical theory distinguished between *affectio* as temporary disturbances of the mind or body, and *habitus* as a constant state of mind gained through deliberate effort.[71] Augustine explained how the uncontrolled, unsettled *affectiones* could be shaped into lasting *constantiae* through careful prayer and proper orientation of the will.[72] The Augustinian account of *affectio* as any strong emotion and the rhetorical understanding of its role in persuasion can be

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[68] Peter King, "Dispassionate Passions," in *Emotion and Cognitive Life in Medieval and Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Martin Pickavé and Lisa Schapiro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.9-31 (p.18); Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate dei* 9.4 and 14.6, PL 41, col.0258-0260 and col.0409. For the *passiones* see also Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and Jonathan D. Teubner, "The Failure of *affectus*: *Affectiones* and *constantiae* in Augustine of Hippo," in *Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400–1800*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys, Michael W. Champion and Kirk Essary (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp.9-25

[69] King, "Dispassionate Passions," p.19

[70] Augustine, *De civitate dei* 9.4, col.0260

[71] Rita Copeland, "*Affectio-affectus* in Latin Rhetoric up to c.1200," in *Before Emotion*, pp.38-50 (p.40, 44)

[72] Teubner, "The Failure of *affectus*," p.16

seen in a commentary on *De inventione* by an author named Menegaldus written in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, in which he described *affectio* as "a disturbance that can be altered...and it is called *affectio* because we 'effect' ourselves, that is, incline to having to have it."[73]

The emotional state of fear associated with the contemplation of divine majesty or the terrors of Hell and Judgment belonged to this deliberately crafted state of *habitus* or *constantiae*. As such, these responses were not considered involuntary movements of the soul, but rational, and so a receptive soul could be persuaded or guided using rhetoric and logical argument.[74] Fear, properly used and directed, was thus a positive emotion which would keep individuals from falling into further sin, and even the elect would continue to experience reverential fear after the Last Judgment as part of the glory of God. As with any emotion however, excessive or uncontrolled fear was dangerous, and Philippa Byrne has found that pastoral literature from the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries expressed concern over achieving the correct balance of hope and fear to prevent penitents from relying on divine mercy for salvation or falling into despair, both of which would prevent the confession and correction of sin.[75] The designers of portals similarly aimed to guide their audiences towards the hopeful fear or fearful hope which would motivate repentance and remain after the initial encounter.

The majority of the sculptures discussed in this thesis were produced in monastic contexts, where the cultivation of the lasting emotional state of reverential fear was encouraged through meditation on mental or physical images, as described by Odo. In

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[73] Quoted and translated in Copeland, "*Affectio-affectus*," p.45

[74] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp.68-69

[75] Philippa Byrne, "Despair and Presumption in Late Twelfth- and Early Thirteenth-Century Pastoral Care," *Viator* 48 (2017), pp.151-168 (p.154). See also Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1976); Elina Gertsman, "Inciting Despair," in *Emotions, Communities, and Difference in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Barbara H. Rosenwein*, ed. Maureen C. Miller and Edward Wheatley (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp.121-138; and Susan Snyder, "The Left Hand of God: Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Tradition," *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965), pp.18-59

the *Regula sancti Benedicti*, the early sixth-century rule written by Saint Benedict of Nursia (c.480/500–c.547/560) which became the primary authority for monastic life during the eighth and ninth centuries, Benedict placed fear as the first stage on the ladder leading to humility and obedience, following John Cassian's (c.360–c.435) *Institutiones*:[76]

> *Primus itaque humilitatis gradus est si, timorem Dei sibi ante oculos semper ponens, oblivionem omnino fugiat et semper sit memor omnia quae praecepit Deus, ut qualiter et contemnentes Deum gehenna de peccatis incendat et vita aeterna quae timentibus Deum praeparata est animo suo semper evolvat. Et custodiens se omni hora a peccatis et vitiis, id est cogitationum, linguae, manuum, pedum vel voluntatis propriae sed desideria carnis, aestimet se homo de caelis a Deo semper respici omni hora et facta sua omni loco ab aspectu divinitatis videri et ab angelis omni hora renuntiari.*
>
> [The first step of humility, then, is that a man keeps the fear of God always before his eyes and never forgets it. He must constantly remember everything God has commanded, keeping in mind that all who despise God will burn in Hell for their sins, and all who fear God will have everlasting life awaiting them. While he guards himself at every moment from sins and vices of thought or tongue, of hand or food, of self-will or bodily desire, let him recall that he is always seen by

[76] For the early dissemination of the *Regula sancti Benedicti* and its use in the standardisation of monastic life in the seventh and eighth centuries, see Jesse D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England 597–c.1000* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2014), pp.13-77; James G. Clark, "The Rule of Saint Benedict," in *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, ed. Krijn Pansters (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp.37-76 (pp.38-44); and Timothy Fry, *The Rule of Saint Benedict, in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, The Liturgical Press, 1981), pp.113-131. For John Cassian's *Institutiones* and its influence on Benedictine monasticism, see Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian: A Study in Primitive Monasticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp.174-178; Marilyn Dunn, "Mastering Benedict: Monastic Rules and Their Authors in the Early Medieval West," *The English Historical Review* 105 (1990), pp.567-594; and Adalbert de Vogüe, "Les mentions des oeuvres de Cassian chez Saint Benoît et ses contemporains," *Studia Monastica* 20 (1978), pp.275-285.

God in Heaven, that his actions everywhere are in God's sight and are reported by angels at every hour.][77]

The sculpted representations of the *majestas Domini* and Last Judgment encouraged the mental imagining suggested by Benedict's instruction that monks should "keep the fear of God always before his eyes," providing a visual aid and acting as a reminder of God's constant watch over their thoughts and actions. This was part of the rational and deliberate cultivation of fear which was central to meditative practice in monastic communities of the early twelfth century. Although the views of fear discussed throughout this thesis were not exclusive to monastic contexts, the priority given to fear in the *Regula sancti Benedicti* and later monastic customaries may have been a factor in the development of monumental representations of themes such as the *majestas Domini*, Last Judgment and Hell in abbey churches.

The theoretical conception of fear in early twelfth-century thought was based on Augustine's distinction between "chaste fear" (*timor castus*) and "servile fear" (*timor servilis*) to explain the apparent contradiction between the fear of the Lord which endures forever (Psalm 18:10) and the fear which is cast out by perfect charity (1 John 4:18):

> *Sunt homines qui propterea timent Deum, ne mittantur in gehennam, ne forte ardeant cum diabolo in igne aeterno. Ipse est timor ille qui introducit charitatem: sed sic venit ut exeat. Si enim adhuc propter poenas times Deum, nondum amas quem sic times. Non bona desideras, sed mala caves. Sed ex eo quod mala caves, corrigis te, et incipis bona desiderare. Cum bona desiderare coeperis, erit in te timor castus. Quis est timor castus? Ne amittas ipsa bona.*
>
> [There are some men who fear God, lest they are sent into Hell, lest perhaps they will burn with the devil in eternal fire. This is that fear which introduces

[77] Benedict of Nursia, *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, ed. and trans. Fry, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, pp.192-195

charity: but it comes so that it will depart. If so far you fear God because of punishment, you do not yet love him whom you thus fear. You do not desire the good things, but fear the bad things. But because you fear the bad things, you amend yourself, and begin to desire the good things. When you begin to desire goodness, there will be the chaste fear in you. What is chaste fear? Lest you lose that goodness.][78]

Augustine's definition of two distinct types of fear, one incited by the threat of damnation which begins the process of repentance and one eternal and based in a desire for God, was quoted by later theologians, including Honorius Augustodunensis (c.1080–c.1140) in the *Speculum ecclesiae*, a popular collection of sermons that became widely circulated in the twelfth century and translated into vernacular languages.[79] In his sermon for Pentecost, Honorius summarised Augustine's discussion of chaste and servile fear:

> *Hujus Spiritus dono coelestia scandent omnes qui timent Deum. Per ipsum namque timor tributur qui in duo dividitur, nam est timor servilis, est et filialis. Servus quippe timet dominum ne eum damnet; filius timet patrem ne eum exhaeredet; timet adultera maritum ne*

[78] Augustine of Hippo, *In epistolam Joannis ad parthos tractatus*, 9.5, PL 35, col.2049. The phrase *timor servilis* appears in a similar passage in *In Joannis evangelium tractatus*, 43.7, PL 35, col.0708: *Est timor servilis, et est timor castus; est timor ne patiaris poenam, et alius timor ne amittas justitiam.* For Augustine, see Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, 2nd edn. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Henry Chadwick, *Augustine of Hippo: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); and *A Companion to Augustine*, ed. Mark Vessey (Chichester: Blackwell, 2012)

[79] For Honorius Augustodunensis, see Valerie I. J. Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis," in *Authors of the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, *Nos. 5-6*, ed. Patrick J. Geary, Constant Mews, and V. I. J. Flint (Farnham: Ashgate, 1995), pp.89-183; Marie-Odile Garrigues, "Qui était Honorius Augustodunensis?" *Angelicum* 50 (1973), pp.20-49; and Karl Patrick Kinsella, "Teaching through Architecture: Honorius Augustodunensis and the Medieval Church," in *Horizontal Learning in the High Middle Ages: Peer-to-Peer Knowledge Transfer in Religious Communities*, ed. Micol Long, Tjamke Snijders, and Steven Vanderputten (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), pp.141-161

veniat; timet uxor casta ne discedat. Cum Spiritus sanctus, qui est caritas, mentem possederit, servilem timorem foras emittet; timor autem Domini sanctus in saeculum saeculi permanet.

[All who fear God will ascend to the heavens by the gift of this Spirit. For indeed through him fear is given which is divided in two, one is servile fear, and one is filial. He is called servile who fears the Lord lest he is damned, filial who fears the father lest he is disinherited...When the Holy Spirit, which is charity, possesses the mind, it casts out servile fear; while the holy fear of the Lord remains forever.][80]

Despite Augustine's statement that the fear of punishment "comes so that it may depart," authors of pastoral and contemplative texts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries encouraged their audiences to constantly fear the coming judgment and perils of Hell in order to dissuade them from sin and motivate repentance.[81] A sermon attributed to Nicholas of Clairvaux (before 1138–c.1176/1178), one-time secretary to Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), instructed his listeners on how to prepare themselves for penitence by considering the punishments that awaited the damned:

Primus ejus gradus est cognitio peccati. Initium salutis, ait quidam, notitia peccati. In hac cognitione videndum est quid egeris, quantis contumeliis affeceris corpus tuum [...] Considerandum etiam quid merueris, ignem videlicet illum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus, et omnia poenarum genera, quae in illis poenalibus locis cumulantur et crescunt... Horum igitur omnium consideratione perterritus, transi ad poenitentiam.

[The first step is knowledge of sin. The beginning of salvation, some say, is the notice of sin. In this, what you have done is seen by cognition, by how much you have harmed your body by mistreatment [...] You have earned that which is to be considered, that is, that fire which is prepared for the devil and

[80] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL 172, col.0960B-0960C
[81] See Byrne, "Despair and Presumption"

his angels, and all kinds of punishments, which are heaped up and multiply in those places of punishment...Then having terrified yourself by consideration of all these, you will pass to penitence.][82]

In his *Meditationes sive orationes*, Anselm of Canterbury (b. c.1033, r.1093–1109) similarly urged his reader to consider their sins, asking, *"Quid ergo restat tibi, o peccator, nisi ut in tota vita tua plores tota vitam tuam, ut ipsa tota se ploret totam?"* [Therefore what remains to you, O sinner, if not that in your whole life you may lament your whole life, so that the whole of it laments the whole of itself?][83] Sculpted portals similarly appealed to the emotions of their audiences to demonstrate the necessity and value of fearing the Last Judgment through continually imagining the last days and eternal punishments of the damned, a theme which will be explored further in the second and third chapters of this thesis. This fear was different from the feelings of wonder and terror provoked by visionary or contemplative experiences, and associated with the iconography of the *Majestas Domini*, which showed Christ surrounded by the four animals, an image derived

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[82] This sermon is attributed to Peter Damian in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* appearing as *Sermo LVII. II. De S. Andrea apostolo* in *Sermones ordine mensium servato*, PL 144, col.0831C-0831D. For the attribution to Nicholas of Clairvaux and its appearance among collections of Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons, see Jeroen De Gussem, "Bernard of Clairvaux and Nicholas of Montiéramey," *Speculum* 92.S1 (2017), pp.S190-S225; Jean Leclercq, *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits*, 4 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1962), I, pp.48-60; and J. Joseph Ryan, "Saint Peter Damiani and the Sermons of Nicholas of Clairvaux: A Clarification," *Mediaeval Studies* 9 (1947), pp.151-161

[83] Anselm of Canterbury, *Liber meditationum et orationum*, PL 158, col.0722C. For Anselm, see G. R. Evans, "Anselm's life, works, and immediate influence," in *The Cambridge Companion to Anselm*, ed. Brian Davis and Brian Leftow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.5-31 (p.14); Richard W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); and Richard W. Southern, *St Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). For the *Meditationes* in particular, see Mary Agnes Edsall, "Learning from the Exemplar: Anselm's *Prayers and Meditations* and the Charismatic Text," *Mediaeval Studies* 72 (2010), pp.161-196; Rachel Fulton, "Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice," *Speculum* 81 (2006), pp.700-733; Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); John Munns, *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Norman England: Theology, Imagery, Devotion* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016); Otto Pächt, "The Illustrations of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956), pp.68-83; and Dorothy M. Shepard, "Conventual Use of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," *Rutgers Art Review* 9-10 (1988-89), pp.1-16

from the Biblical visions of Ezekiel and John of Patmos which will be discussed in chapter one.

Mary Carruthers has proposed that the terms *terror*, *horror*, and *timor Domini* described distinct emotional experiences which were differentiated "experientially if not always lexically" in medieval writing.[84] In her article "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," written in response to Stephen C. Jaeger's introduction to the edited volume *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics*, Carruthers argues that the feeling of *timor Domini* was a form of reverence, while *terror* described "an experience of what is utterly alien, wholly outside nature."[85] She associates this feeling of *terror*, or things which were described as *terribilis*, with visionary experiences such as Jacob's dream of a ladder of angels and the "gate of heaven," and describes it as "anaesthetic," arguing that it cannot be "referred to human works of art as a term of aesthetic value."[86] Unlike this experience of terror, the feeling associated with *timor Domini*, for Carruthers, is "the beginning of wisdom, nothing is better or sweeter or delights more...though it is an experience of fear it is also one of trust, even love."[87] However, this description of "friendly" fear Carruthers views as the "beginning of wisdom" is closer to the chaste or filial fear described by Augustine and Honorius Augustodunensis, which is the goal of contemplation rather than its beginning. Instead, the "beginning of wisdom" for medieval theologians was the fear of judgment, as Augustine explained in a homily on 1 John 4:17-21:

> *Coepit aliquis credere diem judicii: si coepit credere, coepit et timere. Sed quia timet adhuc, nondum habet fiduciam in die judicii, nondum est in illo perfecta charitas. Numquid tamen*

[84] Mary Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God, or, Why There is no Medieval Sublime," in *'Truthe is the beste': A Festschrift in Honour of A.V.C Schmidt*, ed. Nicholas Jacobs and Gerald Morgan (Oxford: Peter Lang), pp.17-36 (p.21). See also C. Stephen Jaeger, introduction to *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics*, ed. C. Stephen Jaeger (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.1-16

[85] Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," p.21

[86] Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," p.18

[87] Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," p.21

desperandum est? In quo vides initium, cur desperas finem? Quod initium video, inquis? Ipsum timorem. Audi Scripturam: Initium sapientiae timor Domini. Coepit ergo timere diem judicii: timendo corrigat se; vigilet adversus hostes suos, id est, adversus peccata sua; incipiat reviviscere interius, et mortificare membra sua quae sunt super terram... Surgentibus coelestibus membris, incipit desiderare quod timebat.

[Some man has begun to believe in the day of judgment: if he has begun to believe, he has also begun to fear. But because he still fears, he does not yet have courage in the day of judgment, not yet is charity perfected in him. But despite this, is he to be despaired? In whom you see the beginning, why do you despair the end? What beginning do I see, you ask? The fear itself. Listen to Scripture: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." Therefore he has begun to fear the day of judgment: by fearing he corrects himself; he watches against his enemies, that is, against his sins; he begins to revive inwardly, and mortify his members which are on the earth...as his heavenly members rise up, he begins to desire that which he once feared.][88]

This *timor* is termed *terror* by Nicholas of Clairvaux, but both authors convey the same idea: that the initial fear which is the beginning of wisdom is the terror of judgment, not the comfort of the bedchamber. The wisdom achieved through this process is also fear, but the chaste fear which would characterise the elect. The use of *timor* and *terror* to describe the same experience in these two passages also indicates that the definitions of types of fear were not as strictly defined as Carruthers suggests.

Carruthers separates the feeling of *terror* associated with visionary experience from "friendly" *timor Domini*. She rejects the idea that medieval culture had any equivalent to the Romantic concept of the Sublime, instead arguing that the medieval experience of

[88] Augustine, *In epistolam Joannis* 9.2, col.2046

God was an "unmediated" experience referred to as *terror*, which was similar to the Sublime, but far more powerful. This experience is "anaesthetic" rather than sensory, and thus cannot be applied to human works of art.[89] She finds the medieval concept of *terror* in Jacob's dream in Genesis 28, in which he saw angels ascending and descending a stairway to heaven, and responded, "How terrible is this place! This is no other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven."[90] For Carruthers, Jacob's shuddering and response indicates that the place he is in is "terrible," a reaction provoked by "a place that had seemed ordinary but then became suddenly, horribly, not," and exemplified a feeling associated with what cannot be explained or rationalised within the natural order of the cosmos.[91] However, the inscription on lintel of the tympanum at the cathedral of Saint-Lazare in Autun, placed below the damned who emerge from their graves to face the judge, refers to the image as "this terror:"

> *Terreat hic terror qvos terrevs alligat error: nam fore sic vervm notat hic horror speciervm*
>
> [This terror should terrify those bound by earthly error: for the horror of these visions signifies what will be true.]

The term *terror* here is used in an aesthetic sense to refer to the sculpture, and it also describes the fear of judgment rather than Carruthers' definition of a fear of something entirely unknown.

The flexible meanings of *terror* and *horror* can be seen in the commentary on Ezekiel by the ninth-century abbot of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, Haimo of Auxerre (before 840–c.878).[92] In his discussion of Ezekiel's first vision, in which he saw wheels within

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89 Carruthers, 'Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," p.18
90 Genesis 28:17
91 Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," p.19
92 For Haimo of Auxerre, see John J. Contreni, "The Biblical Glosses of Haimo of Auxerre and John Scottus Eriugena," *Speculum* 51 (1976), pp.411-434; John J. Contreni, "Haimo of Auxerre, Abbot of *Sasceium* (Cessy-les-Bois) and a New Sermon on 1 John V, 4-10," *Revue bénédictine* 85 (1975), pp.303-320; John J. Contreni, "Haimo of Auxerre's Commentary on Ezekiel," in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi, 830–908*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy,

wheels which had a "size, and a great height, and a horrible aspect (*horribilis aspectus*)," Haimo explained that the "horrible aspect" referred to the threat of damnation, and that "*horror* is sometimes placed for *timore*" [*Horror enim aliquando ponitur pro timore*].[93] Later, discussing the likeness of a crystal which appeared above the four Living Creatures which was "horrible to behold," Haimo wrote that "*horribilis* in this place is placed for *terribili*. Indeed, as we have said, this word is sometimes placed for *timor*" [*Horribilis autem hoc loco p[ro] t[er]ribili ponit[ur]. Hoc eni[m] verbu[m] ut dixim[us] aliquando p[ro] timore ponit[ur]*].[94] The apparent interchangeability of these terms indicates that they were not as fixed as Carruthers suggests, but rather that they were understood to have related meanings which could overlap with one another. The experience Carruthers finds in Jacob's dream and defines using the term *terror* can be seen in commentaries on Ezekiel in connection with the "likeness of the glory of God," which reveal its suitability for describing created images. The meanings and functions of this form of visionary fear provoked by the power and ineffability of God will be explored in the first chapter of this thesis, which examines the iconography known as the *majestas Domini*.

5. Theological approaches to portal sculpture

The methodological approach taken throughout this thesis incorporates recent scholarship on the history of emotions and affectivity, in light of Binski's view that emotions were part of the rational, persuasive function of works of art.[95] However, by

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and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1991), pp.229-242; Matthew Gabriele, "This Time. Maybe This Time: Biblical commentary, monastic historiography, and Lost Cause-ism at the turn of the first millenium," in *Apocalypse and Reform from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and James T. Palmer (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp.183-204

93 Haimo of Auxerre, *Annotatio libri Iezechielis imperfecta*, in Paris, BnF Lat. 12302, f.11r. This manuscript is the only source for Haimo's Ezekiel commentary, and has been edited in Roger Gryson, *Haymo Autissiodorensis: Annotatio libri Iezechielis imperfecta*, CCCM 135E (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015). This edition was not available at the time of writing, and so the original manuscript has been consulted.

94 Haimo, *Iezechielis imperfecta*, f.12v

95 Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.48-49, 72-76

focusing on the intentions of the designers, the emphasis will be on the idealised emotional response which they aimed to evoke and the place of sculpture in monastic and contemplative emotional practice, rather than the individual responses of their audience. Theological perspectives are also essential for understanding the meanings envisaged by designers, and each chapter will closely examine the theological, exegetical background to monastic and ecclesiastic thought in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries through Patristic and early medieval commentary tradition Jeffrey F. Hamburger has re-examined the place of theology in medieval art history, arguing that "theology and theological modes of thought had a profound impact on the form as well as the content of medieval art."[96] He critiques Hans Belting's opposition of image to theology, arguing against his view that theologians aimed to limit the power of images, and Émile Mâle's approach of finding the sources of iconographic formulae in theology, which "made images subservient to texts."[97] Instead, Hamburger proposes that theology should be considered "not as a vessel of truth, but instead as an historical artifact in its own right," emphasising the variety of theological methods over the idea of a canonical "body of doctrine."[98] The sculpted portals of the twelfth century reflected theological ideas and methods, rather than illustrating them directly. Their designers were able to elaborate theological truths in new ways which drew on the ability of images to present multiple ideas simultaneously, and the possibilities presented by the bodily presence of their audiences.

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[96] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "The Place of Theology in Medieval Art History: Problems, Positions, Possibilities," in *The Mind's Eye*, pp.11-31

[97] Hamburger, "The Place of Theology," p.12, 18; see also Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993); and Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century. A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, ed. Harry Bober, trans. Martiel Matthews (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978)

[98] Hamburger, "The Place of Theology," p.25

Fear has frequently been viewed as a negative element of ecclesiastical control in the Middle Ages, following Jean Delumeau's characterisation of a "guilt culture" which affected western Europe. He finds that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, monastic writers developed the doctrine of *contemptus mundi*, a "woeful vision of life" leading to an attitude of pessimism, hatred of the body and the world, and an oppressive awareness of the self as a sinful being which was transmitted throughout Western European society from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries.[99] For Delumeau, this was a top-down process of dissemination from a clerical elite to wider society through a "discourse of fear and intimidation" and an "oppressive doctrinal campaign" which aimed to convince congregations of their essential evil nature and the devaluation of all earthly life.[100] Marcello Angheben, in his study of the "immediate judgment" in Romanesque sculpted portals, argues that such images were included in order to encourage the living to purchase suffrages for the dead, allowing the Church to exercise greater control over the living.[101] Although the positive aspects of fear have been examined more recently by Binski, he views the fear stimulated by sculptures of the Last Judgment to be a rhetorical device to motivate external action, a "means to an end" rather than the goal.[102]

By considering sculptures alongside theological, pastoral, and contemplative writing from the fourth to twelfth centuries, fear can be seen as a necessary and lasting emotional response to memorable images which was intended to last beyond the initial encounter as a productive force. The designers of the sculpted portals of the early twelfth century aimed to generate fear in their audiences not only to move them to

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[99] Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th-18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990), p.17
[100] Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, p.556-57
[101] Marcello Angheben, *D'un Jugement et l'autre. La représentation du jugement immédiat dans les Jugements derniers français: 1100-1250* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), p.46-47
[102] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp.48-49

action, but as an essential element of the salvific purpose of the image as a signifier of spiritual truth. Emotional response gave audiences the opportunity to experience the reality of judgment and the glory of God, "as if" it was occurring in the present, giving them a glimpse of the invisible reality that it signified.

6. Structure

This thesis is divided into three sections, each concentrating on an iconographic theme. The first chapter examines the image of the *majestas Domini*, the representation of Christ enthroned in heaven, surrounded by the Tetramorph: the eagle, man, ox, and lion which wereinterpreted as the four evangelists.[103] This image was derived from the first vision of the prophet Ezekiel in the first chapter of the book of Ezekiel, and John's vision in Apocalypse 4, in which "a door was opened in heaven" to show Christ enthroned with the four Living Creatures and adored by twenty-four elders.[104] The earliest extant example of the theme is thought to be the apse mosaic at Santa Pudenziana in Rome, produced between 387 and 417, where Christ is shown alongside the Apostles and the Tetramorph.[105] Between the fourth and twelfth centuries, the

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[103] The identification of the Living Creatures with the Evangelists followed the order set out by Jerome in his commentary on Ezekiel, in which he identified the man as Matthew, the lion as Mark, the ox as Luke, and the eagle as John; see Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, PL 25, col.0021C-0022A. For the tradition of representing the Evangelists by their symbols, see Angela Russell Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See? Christian Exegesis of Ezekiel's Vision of the Chariot from Irenaeus to Gregory the Great* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp.14-23; Wilhelm Neuss, *Das buch Ezechiel in theologie und kunst bis zum ende des XII. jahrhunderts* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912), pp.164-167; and Martin Werner, "The Four Evangelist Symbols Page in the Book of Durrow," *Gesta* 8 (1969), pp.3-17

[104] Ap. 4:1

[105] For Santa Pudenziana will be discussed in chapter one, but in general see Geir Hellemo, *Adventus Domini: Eschatological Thought in 4th-Century Apses and Catecheses* (Leiden: Brill, 1989); Dale Kinney, "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp.200-216; Anne-Orange Poilpré, *Maiestas Domini. Une image de l'Église en Occident V-IX siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2005); Frederic W. Schlatter, "Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana," *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1992), pp.276-295; and J.-M. Spieser, "The Representation of Christ in the Apses of Early Christian Churches," *Gesta* 37 (1998), pp.63-73

majestas Domini was frequently depicted in manuscript illumination, altar frontals, and liturgical objects.[106] As sculpted portals became larger and more elaborate in the early twelfth century, the *majestas Domini* was a popular iconographic theme, appearing in the portals of the abbey of Cluny (c.1115–1122), the abbey of Saint-Pierre in Moissac (c.1100–1115), and the Cluniac priory of Saint-Fortunat in Charlieu (after 1150).[107] The iconography has frequently been interpreted as an illustration of the Apocalypse, or as a representation of the Second Coming before the Last Judgment.[108]

Following a discussion of the early history of the theme, this chapter will examine the sculptures at Moissac and the surviving evidence of the tympanum at Cluny alongside the commentary tradition on Ezekiel's vision. The *majestas Domini* is understood through these exegetical interpretations to be associated with wonder and reverence, rather than Apocalyptic anxiety. The term *similitudinis* in Ezekiel was interpreted by medieval commentators such as Haimo of Auxerre and Hrabanus

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106 See Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Beatrice Kitzinger, "Graphic and Figural Representation in Touronian Gospel Illumination", in *Graphic Devices and the Early Decorated Book*, ed. Michelle P. Brown, Ildar H. Garipzanov, and Benjamin C. Tilghman (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp.179-202; Neuss, *Das buch Ezechiel*, pp.193-230; and Éliane Vergnolle, "'Maiestas Domini' Portals of the Twelfth Century", in *Romanesque: Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2008), pp.179-199 (p.189)

107 Cluny and Moissac will be discussed in detail in chapter one, but see in general Kenneth J. Conant, *Cluny: Les églises et la maison du chef d'ordre* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1968); Ilene H. Forsyth, "Narrative at Moissac: Schapiro's Legacy," *Gesta* 41 (2002), pp.71-93; Ilene H. Forsyth, "The Date of the Moissac Portal," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp.77-100; Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," *The Art Bulletin* 13.3, pp.249-351, 464-531; Neil Stratford, "Le grand portail de Cluny III," trans. Élaine Vergnolle, *Bulletin Monumental* 120 (2012), pp.15-30. For Charlieu, see Elodie Leschot, "Between Universal and Local Practices: The Unfolding Narrative of the Resurrection of Christ and Its Public in the Wide-Open *Galilee* at the Priory of St. Fortunatus, Charlieu," in *Art, Architecture, and the Moving Viewer, c.300–1500 CE*, ed. Gillian B. Elliott and Anne Heath (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp.279-306; Elizabeth Read Sunderland, "The History and Architecture of the Church of St. Fortunatus at Charlieu in Burgundy," *The Art Bulletin* 21 (1939), pp.61-88; and Elizabeth R. Sunderland, "A Late Carolingian Church at Charlieu in Burgundy," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 9 (1950), pp.3-9

108 See for example, Robert Calkins, *Monuments of Medieval Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p.99-100; Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History;" Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, pp.3-4; Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac;" and Vergnolle, "'Maiestas Domini' Portals"

Maurus (c.780–856) as referring to the way in which images could reveal invisible truth to enable their audiences to understand what would otherwise be incomprehensible.[109] Comparisons between Ezekiel's vision and created images in these commentaries indicate that what Ezekiel saw was a type of picture created by God, which was the prototype for the image of the *majestas Domini* in medieval art. The tympanum at Moissac was thus designed as a revelation of divine knowledge, allowing its audience of monks and lay visitors to achieve greater understanding through contemplation. This revelation was intended to produce the pious fear, wonder, and reverence associated with divine visions, which Carruthers considers in her analysis of the term *terror* in Jacob's dream. At Cluny, the Easter liturgy performed before the tympanum, which combined the *majestas Domini* with a scene of Christ's Ascension, similarly activated the image as a signifier of divine truth, as the monks re-enacted the meeting of Christ and the Apostles after his resurrection in the *Galilea*. These two case studies are examined as two early examples of Romanesque *majestas Domini* tympana which combine the central theophany with other scenes from the Gospels and Apocalypse to convey doctrinal truth. By referencing the eucharist and Ascension, they demonstrate the use of portals to activate spiritual sight and guide the emotional responses of their audiences.

The second chapter focuses on representations of the Last Judgment, using as case studies the tympana of the abbey of Sainte-Foy in Conques and the cathedral of Saint-Lazare in Autun, both of which were constructed in response to increasing pilgrimage and the popularity of their relic cults.[110] The imagery of the Last Judgment was primarily

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[109] For Hrabanus Maurus, see Mayke De Jong, "The Empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and biblical *historia* for rulers," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.191-226; and Matthew Gabriele, "The Historian Hrabanus Maurus and the Prophet Haimo of Auxerre: Experiments, Exegesis, and Expectations Emerging from the Ninth Century," in *Carolingian Experiments*, ed. Matthew Bryan Gillis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp.149-164

[110] For the iconography of the Last Judgment see Angheben, *D'un Jugement et l'autre*; *Homo, Memento Finis: The Iconography of Just Judgment in Medieval Art and Drama*, ed. David Bevington

drawn from Matthew 25, which described how Christ would return at the end of time to judge all humanity, as well as Matthew 24 and Apocalypse 20-21. The iconography of the Last Judgment which developed around the year 800 and continued to appear up to the twelfth century featured Christ enthroned in judgment, gesturing to his left and right to indicate the separation of the saved and damned; the places of Heaven and Hell, indicated by built structures and the entrance to Hell as a monstrous creature; the resurrection of the dead; and often a scene of angels and demons weighing the souls of those being judged.

The development of this iconography in an ivory panel from c.800, now held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is examined and compared with the earliest extant monumental representation of the theme in the contemporary wall-paintings at the monastery of Saint Johann in Müstair.[111] These early medieval transformations of the

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(Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985); Yves Christe, *Jugements derniers* (Saint-Léger-Vauban: Zodiaque, 1999); Anthony Musson, "Controlling Human Behaviour? The Last Judgment in Late Medieval Art and Architecture," in *Theorizing Legal Personhood in Late Medieval England*, ed. Andreea D. Boboc (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp.166-191. For Autun and Conques, see Kirk Ambrose, "Attunement to the Damned of the Conques Tympanum," *Gesta* 50 (2011), pp.1-17; Kathleen Ashley, *The Cults of Sainte Foy and the Cultural Work of Saints* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021); Jean-Claude Bonne, *L'art roman de face et de profil: Le tympan de Conques* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1984); Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, *Gislebertus Sculptor of Autun* (London: The Trianon Press, 1961); Calvin B. Kendall, "The Voice in the Stone: The Verse Inscriptions of Ste.-Foy of Conques and the Date of the Tympanum," in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp.163-182; Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); and *Révelation: Le grand portail d'Autun*, ed. Cécile Ullman (Lyon: Lieux-Dits, 2011)

111 For the Victoria and Albert Museum ivory (accession number 253-1867), see John Beckwith, *Ivory Carving in Early Medieval England* (London: Harvey Miller, 1972), pp.22, catalogue entry 4; Jane Hawkes, "The Road To Hell," in *Listen, O Isles, Unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork: Cork University Press, 2011), pp.230-242 (p.233-234); Meg Boulton, "Art History in the Dark Ages: (Re)considering Space, Stasis, and Modern Viewing Practices in Relation to Anglo-Saxon Imagery," in *Stasis in the Medieval West? Questioning Change and Continuity*, ed. Michael D. J. Bintley, Martin Locker, et.al. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), pp.69-86; Paul Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings: Early Christian to Romanesque* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2010), pp.152-153. For the wall paintings at Saint Johann, see See Kirsten Ataoguz, "The Apostolic Ideal at the Monastery of Saint John in Müstair, Switzerland," *Gesta* 52 (2013), pp.91-112; Joan Cwi, "St John, Mustair, and St Benedict, Malles: A Study in Carolingian Imperial Iconography" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1978); and Manuel Maissen, Martin Gantner, and Stefan M. Holzer, "Late Gothic constructions in Müstair and Meran," in *Building*

iconography from the Late Antique imagery of Paradise demonstrates the changing attitudes towards the Last Judgment in the early ninth century which shaped the functions and meanings of the sculpted tympana of the twelfth century. Through an analysis of the tympanum of Sainte-Foy, this chapter will consider how images of the Last Judgment were used to direct external behaviour and construct devotional community, preparing pilgrims for their entry into the building by representing Saint Faith's reliquary statue transforming into the resurrected body of saint herself on the day of judgment. The incorporation of local figures from the popular miracle collection of Bernard of Angers (d. after 1020) into the scene of hell demonstrates the use of portals for moral instruction, creating a powerful message of monastic authority.[112] Through this, the relationship between the final and immediate judgments is also explored to show how time was 'telescoped' in the iconography of judgment, so that the nature of an individual's death is seen to reveal the eternal fate of their soul.

The tympanum at Saint-Lazare is considered alongside Anselm of Canterbury's meditation on the Last Judgment to show how the sculpture was structured to generate intense terror, and the salvific benefit of this fear. Anselm's meditation reveals the affective use of material and mental images of the Last Judgment for crafting terror, reflecting emotional practices of the early twelfth century which are part of the function of portal sculptures. The representation of pilgrims within the lintel provides another example of the way in which sculpted portals dissolved the boundaries between image

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Knowledge, Constructing Histories: Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on Construction History, ed. Ine Wouters *et. al.* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2018), pp.887-893

[112] Bernard of Angers, "The Book of Sainte Foy's Miracles," in *The Book of Sainte Foy*, ed. and trans. Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp.59-60. For Bernard of Angers and his miracle collection, see Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, *Writing Faith: Text, Sign, and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); and Kathleen Stewart Fung, "Divine Lessons in an Imperfect World: Bernard of Angers and *The Book of Sainte Foy's Miracles*," in *The Middle Ages in Text and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp.119-128

and reality, allowing visiting pilgrims to imagine that they were seeing the reality of judgment in the present.

The final chapter turns to images of Hell and damnation, examining how it is represented in the iconography of the Last Judgment in the Victoria and Albert ivory and tympanum of Conques introduced in the previous chapter, and returning to the porch sculptures at Moissac where the punishment of the soul before the resurrection was imagined somatically, again flattening the present and future judgments into a single moment of torment. Theological views of Hell and eternal punishment, particularly Gregory the Great's (540–604) *Moralia in job*, imagined damnation as not only in terms of physical pain but also an existential threat to the personhood of the damned as they were tortured mentally and spiritually.[113] Through iconographic formulae such as the 'mouth of Hell,' an image of the entrance to Hell as a disembodied, monstrous head, the incomprehensibility of damnation and the punishment of the soul could be visualised, allowing audiences to understand the torments of Hell which could not be described in language.

The use of the mouth of Hell to define the boundaries between the places of Hell and Paradise also reflects the communal function of tympana, as shown through the tympanum at the church of Perse in Espalion, a priory of Conques. The unique iconography at Espalion combines an image of judgment and damnation with a representation of Pentecost which incorporates elements from Ascension iconography to emphasise an eschatological dimension. This scheme demonstrates the importance of the portal as a threshold, allegorising the act of entering the church as inclusion in the

[113] For Gregory the Great, see Rolf H. Bremmer, *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001); *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. John C. Cavadini (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame Press, 2001); Gillian R. Evans, *The Thought of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); R. A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, ed. Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)

community of the elect by showing the exclusion of the damned. The prominent placement of a damned figure hanged by demons in the tympanum at Conques also shows this process of exclusion and is considered through Mills's examination of how hanging as a literary and iconographic device created a "community of the threshold."[114]

Rather than presenting an exhaustive survey of Romanesque sculpture, this thesis focuses on a small number of case studies, which allows an analysis of some of the ways in which sculpted portals aimed to engender fear in their audiences. Although the majority of these case studies are in France, this is not to suggest that monumental sculpture was a particularly French phenomenon, as shown by the early examples which survive in northern Spain discussed in the second chapter. However, the scope of the thesis has been limited to France, where a large number of surviving sculpted portals have been documented and studied in depth in Anglophone and Francophone scholarship.

By analysing the function of portal sculptures as guides to engendering fear, this thesis explores their place in the emotional practices of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It also seeks to demonstrate the ways in which sculptures were able to express dense theological meaning in a way which was not possible for textual sources due to their ability to represent multiple moments in time simultaneously. Through an examination of fear, this thesis considers how images could signify and represent invisible and ineffable truth, and the role of emotional response in allowing audiences to perceive the reality of divine presence, the Last Judgment, and the punishments of Hell.

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114 Mills, *Suspended Animation*, pp.28-37

Chapter One: The Fear of the Lord and the *majestas Domini*

1. Introduction

The *majestas Domini*, the iconography of the Christ enthroned and surrounded by four Living Creatures, was derived from the visions of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse of John. In the fourth chapter of the Apocalypse, John witnesses a "door opened in heaven":

> *Ecce sedes posita erat in caelo, et supra sedem sedens. Et qui sedebat similis erat aspectui lapidis jaspidis, et sardinis: et iris erat in circuitu sedis similis visioni smaragdinae. Et in circuitu sedis sedilia viginti quatuor: et super thronos viginti quatuor seniores sedentes, circumamicti vestimentis albis, et in capitibus eorum coronae aureae. Et de throno procedebant fulgura, et voces, et tonitrua: et septem lampades ardentes ante thronum, qui sunt septem spiritus Dei. Et in conspectu sedis tamquam mare vitreum simile crystallo: et in medio sedis, et in circuitu sedis quatuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro. Et animal primum simile leoni, et secundum animal simile vitulo, et tertium animal habens faciem quasi hominis, et quartum animal simile aquilae volanti. Et quatuor animalia, singula eorum habebant alas senas: et in circuitu, et intus plena sunt oculis: et requiem non habebant die ac nocte, dicentia: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat, et qui est, et qui venturus est.*
>
> [Behold, a throne set in heaven, and upon the throne one sitting. And the one sitting was to the sight like the jasper and the sardine stone; and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald. And round about the throne were four and twenty seats; and upon the seats, four and twenty ancients sitting, clothed in white garments, and on their heads were crowns of gold. And from the throne proceeded lightnings, and voices, and thunders; and there were seven lamps burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of

God. And in the sight of the throne was, as it were, a sea of glass like to crystal; and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind. And the first living creature was like a lion: and the second living creature like a calf: and the third living creature, having the face, as it were, of a man: and the fourth living creature was like an eagle flying. And the four living creatures had each of them six wings; and round about and within they are full of eyes. And they rested not day and night, saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, who was, and who is, and who is to come].[1]

The imagery of John's vision was itself derived from the Old Testament vision of Ezekiel.[2] In the first chapter of Ezekiel, the prophet witnesses the "visions of God" on the banks of the river Chobar:

> *Et vidi, et ecce ventus turbinis veniebat ab aquilone, et nubes magna, et ignis involvens, et splendor in circuitu ejus: et de medio ejus, quasi species electri, id est, de medio ignis: et in medio ejus similitudo quatuor animalium. Et hic aspectus eorum, similitudo hominis in eis. Quatuor facies uni, et quatuor pennae uni. Similitudo autem vultus eorum, facies hominis et facies leonis a dextris ipsorum quatuor, facies autem bovis a sinistris ipsorum quatuor, et facies aquilae desuper ipsorum quatuor. Et animalia ibant et revertebantur, in similitudinem fulguris coruscantis. Cumque aspicerem animalia, apparuit rota una super terram juxta animalia, habens quatuor facies... Statura quoque erat rotis, et altitudo, et horribilis aspectus: et totum corpus oculis plenum in circuitu ipsarum quatuor.*
>
> *[...]*

1 Apocalypse 4:2-8

2 See Beate Kowalski, "Transformation of Ezekiel in John's Revelation," in *Transforming Visions: Transformations of Text, Tradition and Theology in Ezekiel*, ed. William A. Tooman and Michael A. Lyons (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2010), pp.281-313; and Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995)

Et super firmamentum quod erat imminens capiti eorum, quasi aspectus lapidis sapphiri similitudo throni: et super similitudinem throni similitudo quasi aspectus hominis desuper... Haec visio similitudinis gloriae Domini. Et vidi, et cecidi in faciem meam.

[And I saw, and behold a whirlwind came out of the north: and a great cloud, and a fire infolding it, and brightness was about it: and out of the midst thereof, that is, out of the midst of the fire, as it were the resemblance of amber: And in the midst thereof the likeness of four living creatures: and this was their appearance: there was the likeness of a man in them. Every one had four faces, and every one four wings...And as for the likeness of their faces: there was the face of a man, and the face of a lion on the right side of all the four: and the face of an ox, on the left side of all the four: and the face of an eagle over all the four...And the living creatures ran and returned like flashes of lightning. Now as I beheld the living creatures, there appeared upon the earth by the living creatures one wheel with four faces...The wheels had also a size, and a height, and a dreadful appearance: and the whole body was full of eyes round about all the four.

[...]

And above the firmament that was over their heads, was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of the sapphire stone, and upon the likeness of the throne, was a likeness as of the appearance of a man above upon it...This was the vision of the likeness of the glory of the Lord. And I saw, and I fell upon my face.][3]

These two passages together formed the visual source for the iconography of the *majestas Domini*, a representation of Christ enthroned and surrounded by a two-winged

[3] Ezekiel 1:4-2:1

man, lion, ox, and eagle, representing Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.[4] One of the earliest surviving examples of the iconography in monumental sculpture is the tympanum of the south porch at the abbey of Saint-Pierre in Moissac (figs. 1.1-1.3), constructed between 1100 and 1115, which demonstrates one version of the iconography and the separate elements which could be included. Christ is shown enthroned, dressed in elaborate robes, and wearing an octagonal crown which recalls the imperial crown made for the coronation of Emperor Otto I (912–973) in 960 (fig. 1.4).[5] The four Living Creatures are arranged around Christ, facing outwards and turning their heads back to look towards him, flanked by a pair of angels holding scrolls. The twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse are shown as smaller crowned figures holding cups and viols, each sitting on a throne, who fill the rest of the tympanum and twist their bodies to look towards Christ in the centre, creating a visual effect of busy movement centred around the impassive figure of Christ. Swirling clouds structure the tympanum and divide the seated elders into groups, evoking the heavenly setting of Ezekiel and John's vision.[6] While at Moissac the Elders are included within the tympanum itself, Yves Christe has shown that in the twelfth century the Elders could be shown independently of the *majestas*, appearing in the archivolts of tympana with subjects such as the Last Judgment and Ascension.[7]

Christ holds a book on one knee and raises his right hand in blessing, rather than holding his arms outwards or displaying his wounds, distinguishing images of the *majestas Domini* from the iconography of the Last Judgment.[8] Yves Christe and Peter

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[4] See Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, pp.14-23; and Neuss, *Das buch Ezechiel*, pp.164-167
[5] The *Reichskrone* is now held in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Weltliche Schatzkammer (Schatzkammer, WS XIII 1); see Reinhart Staats, *Theologie der Reichskrone: Ottonische "Renovatio Imperii" im Spiegel einer Insignie* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1976)
[6] Ap. 4:1
[7] Yves Christe, "The Apocalypse in the Monumental Art of the Eleventh through Thirteenth Centuries," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp.234-248 (p.246-247)
[8] For the interpretation of the *majestas Domini* as a Second Coming, see Calkins, *Monuments of Medieval Art*, p.99-100; and Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History"

Klein have both argued that the *majestas Domini* was an image of "present eschatology."[9] Klein uses this term from contemporary theology to explain the way in which medieval thinkers made a clear distinction between the revelation of divinity in the present and future through the first and second *Adventus* of Christ.[10] He uses this to define three categories for theophanic images in twelfth-century sculpture: the "present theophany," seen at Moissac; the Second Coming in the tympanum at the abbey of Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (c.1130–1140); and the Last Judgment, exemplified by Abbot Suger's tympanum at the abbey of Saint–Denis (1137-1140).[11]

From the second century, exegetes frequently connected Ezekiel with the Apocalypse to demonstrate the typological concordance of the Old and New Testaments.[12] The earliest identification of the four Living Creatures of Apocalypse and Ezekiel as the Evangelists appears in Irenaeus of Lyons's (c.130–c.202) treatise *Adversus haereses*, in which he quotes Apocalypse 4:7 but refers to the cherubim as having four faces, according to their appearance in Ezekiel 1:10.[13] In Augustine's discussion of the Living Creatures as signifying the Evangelists in his commentary on the Gospel of John,

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[9] Yves Christe, "The Apocalypse in Monumental Art;" and Peter K. Klein, "Programmes eschatologiques, fonction et réception historique des portails du XIIe s.: Moissac - Beaulieu - Saint-Denis", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 132 (1990), pp.314-349

[10] Klein, "Programmes eschatologiques," p.319

[11] Klein, "Programmes eschatologiques", p.319-320. For Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, see also Vescovi, "An Eschatological Mirror." For the tympanum at Saint-Denis, see Paula Lieber Gerson, "Suger as Iconographer: The Central Portal of the West Facade of Saint-Denis," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), pp.183-198; Charles T. Little, "Monumental Sculpture at Saint-Denis Under the Patronage of Abbot Suger: The West Facade and the Cloister," in *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis in the Time of Abbot Suger*, ed. Sumner McKnight Crosby *et. al.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981), pp.25-33; Sumner McKnight Crosby, "The West Portals of Saint-Denis and the Saint-Denis Style," *Gesta* 9 (1970), pp.1-11; and Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Gothic Portal: Suger, Hugh of Saint-Victor, and the Construction of a New Public Art at Saint-Denis," *Art History* 33 (2010), pp.568-595

[12] Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, pp.39-40

[13] Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, pp.14-17. For Irenaeus of Lyons, see *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*, ed. Paul Foster and Sara Parvis (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012); Eric Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and *Studia Patristica, Vol. 109. Papers presented at the Eighteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2019: Volume 6: Readings in Irenaeus of Lyon*, ed. Markus Vinzent, Don W. Springer, and Awet Andemicael, (Leuven: Peeters, 2021)

he mentioned both Apocalypse and Ezekiel directly and added that this was a common interpretation:

> *Et apud Ezechielem prophetam, et in Apocalypsi ipsius Joannis, cujus est hoc Evangelium, commemoratur animal quadruplex, habens quatuor personas; hominis, vituli, leonis, aquilae. Qui ante nos Scripturarum sanctarum mysteria tractaverunt, plerique in hoc animali, vel potius in his animalibus quatuor Evangelistas intellexerunt.*
>
> [In the writing of both the prophet Ezekiel and in the Apocalypse of this very John, whose Gospel this is, a quadruplex animal is mentioned, having four persons; man, ox, lion, eagle. Those who have discussed the mysteries of sacred Scripture before us have mostly recognised the Evangelists in this creature, or in these four creatures.][14]

The "wheel within a wheel" [*rotae in medio rotae*] of Ezekiel's vision was also interpreted typologically as representing the unity of the Old and New Testaments, originating in Ambrose of Milan's (c.339–c.397) treatise *De spirito sancto*, written for Emperor Gratian (359–383) in c.381.[15] The full articulation of the relationship of the Old and New Testaments as a "wheel within a wheel" is found in Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Ezechielem prophetam*:

> *Rota ergo in medio rotae est, quia inest Testamento Veteri Testamentum Novum. Et, sicut saepe jam diximus, quod Testamentum Vetus promisit, hoc Novum exhibuit; et quod illud occulte annuntiat, hoc istud exhibitum aperte clamat.*
>
> [Therefore, a wheel is within a wheel, since the New Testament is within the Old. And, as we have often said, what the Old Testament promised, the New

[14] Augustine, *In Joannis evangelium*, col.1665-1666
[15] Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, p.40

> Testament showed forth. What the Old announces in secret, the New openly proclaims as revealed.][16]

The close relationship between the Apocalypse and Ezekiel in Patristic exegesis suggests that although the Apocalypse formed the direct visual source for the *majestas Domini* iconography, sculptures such as the tympanum at Moissac may also have evoked Ezekiel's vision, particularly for its monastic audience.

This chapter will focus on the "present theophany" at Moissac and Cluny, where Christ is shown as eternally present, rather than depicting a particular moment in time. The Moissac tympanum combines the visions of Ezekiel and John into a single image, bringing past and future into the audience's present to reveal the invisible presence of God. At Cluny, the *majestas Domini* is framed within a scheme of the Resurrection and Ascension, placing it within the monastic community's present and reflecting the liturgical association of the *galilea* as the site where they would meet with Christ. Following an examination of theological exegesis on Ezekiel and the concept of visionary fear, this chapter will consider the way in which the portal systems at Moissac and Cluny represented the "likeness of the glory of God" to stimulate the emotional response of terror and wonder experienced by Ezekiel.

2. The fear of the Lord

In her discussion of the experience of *terror*, Mary Carruthers argues that Jacob's dream in Genesis 28:17 provides an example of the medieval view of *terror* as an "anaesthetic," prophetic response provoked by events or things which are unexpected and impossible to explain within the natural cosmos, unrelated to the fear of judgment and the "essentially rational motive of wonder."[17] While *terror* is prompted by things

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[16] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem prophetam*, PL 76, col.0836A-0836B
[17] Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," pp.22-24

which are entirely alien and unimaginable, *timor* is a form of fear which can be rationalised within the order of the world.[18] However, twelfth-century interpretations of Jacob's vision demonstrate a different form of fear, characterised by terror and wonder and associated with wisdom. These exegetical commentaries on Jacob's vision also connect the presence of God and the "gate of Heaven" with the church building, indicating the way in which the portal sculpture was designed to similarly evoke the wonderful terror experienced by Jacob.

The early twelfth-century commentators Rupert of Deutz (c.1075–c.1129) and Peter Abelard (c.1079–1142) both interpreted Jacob's words "this place is terrible" as referring to the future church and the works of restoration. In his *Commentaria in Genesim*, Rupert of Deutz discussed the significance of Jacob's reference to "this place:"

> *Notandum quod non ipsum Dominum, sed locum pavescit, et terribilem esse dicit. Quidnam pavoris, vel quid terroris secundum se locus iste poterat habere? [...] Praevidit illumque locum, cujus iste figura erat, expavit. Qui videlicet locus Ecclesia Dei est [...] Ecclesiam ergo Dei futuram, et in ea terribilia Dei opera, quae, ut ait Apostolus, "innotuit principatibus et potestatibus in coelestibus multiformis sapientia Dei," iste miratus expavit.*
>
> [Notably, he is not afraid of God, but the place, and says it to be terrible. What was that place able to have of fear, or terror, according to itself? [...] Without doubt it was because the prophet foresaw that place, of which it was a figure, and he became afraid. Which of course is the place of the Church of God. [...] Therefore being astonished, he feared the future Church of God, and in it the terrible works of God, which, as the Apostle has said, has made known

[18] Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," p.28-29

"the manifold wisdom of God to the principalities and powers in heavenly places."][19]

Rupert's description of Jacob's terror after his dream is not that he was afraid of a place which has suddenly ceased to be ordinary, or an experience which is beyond comprehension. Instead, what is beyond rationalisation and frightens Jacob are the works of restoration, that is, the Crucifixion and Resurrection, and by extension the future Church and its sacraments. The "gate of heaven" is Christ, through whom "the gate of heaven is opened and heaven and earth are joined." [*aperta est porta coeli et coelestia juncta sunt terrenis*].[20]

Carruthers argues that once a place which provoked *terror* is rationalised, the fear is tempered into a "friendly terror" which she associates with the term *timor Dei*. She finds this process in Bernard of Clairvaux's (c.1090–1153) twenty-third sermon on the Song of Songs, in which he describes a sequence of rooms in the house of the Lord as an allegory for the senses of Scripture:

> *Sit itaque hortus simplex ac plana historia; sit cellarium moralis sensus; sit cubiculum arcanum theoricae contemplationis.*
>
> [Therefore, the garden may be the plain and simple moral sense; the storeroom may be the moral sense; the bedroom may be the mystery of speculative contemplation.][21]

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[19] Rupert of Deutz, *De trinitate et operibus ejus libri XXLII. Commentaria in Genesim*, PL 167, 7.23, col. 0468C-0469A. For Rupert of Deutz see Jay Diehl, "The Grace of Learning: Visions, Education, and Rupert of Deutz's View of Twelfth-Century Intellectual Culture," *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), pp.20-47; Jay Diehl, "Masters and Schools at St Laurent: Rupert of Deutz and the Scholastic Culture of a Liégeois Monastery," in *Medieval Liège at the Crossroads of Europe: Monastic Society and Culture, 1000–1300*, ed. Steven Vanderputten, Tjamke Snijders, and Jay Diehl (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp.151-182 and John van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983)

[20] Rupert of Deutz, *Commentaria in Genesim*, col.0469A

[21] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, PL 183, col.0885D. For Bernard of Clairvaux, see Gillian R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Leclercq, *Recueil d'études*; *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. Brian Patrick MacGuire (Leiden:

The passage in which Carruthers finds Bernard's description of a "terror of judgment" is the second of the three rooms, the storeroom, rather than the bedroom, where the fear of judgment is not dissipated or lessened by his awareness that "this place too is of God, and certainly none other than the house of God and gate of heaven" [*Est tamen Dei locus et iste, plane non aliud quam domus Dei, et porta coeli*].[22] Speaking of the storeroom, Bernard does not describe a fear of a place which is incomprehensible, but fear of God's anger and judgment, where "here is his holy and terrible name" [*hic sanctum et terribile nomen ejus*].[23] This fear is necessary in order for the contemplative to progress towards the bedroom, where they are able to achieve greater knowledge of divine mysteries. Bernard explains that the fear of judgment prepares the soul for wisdom and prevents the contemplative from becoming proud:

> *Illic praepararis, ut hic initieris. Praeparatio, rerum cognitio est. Verum hanc facillime sequitur elationis tumor, si non reprimat timor, ut merito dicatur: Initium sapientiae timor Domini, qui se pesti insipientiae primus opponit. Ibi itaque quidam accessus est ad sapientiam, hic et ingressus.*
>
> [There you are prepared, so that here you are initiated. Preparation is the study of things. However, a swelling of pride easily follows this, if fear does not restrain it, so that rightly it is said: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," which first opposes itself to the disease of foolishness. In that place, therefore, one is advanced towards wisdom, and here entered into it.][24]

Bernard's monastic treatment of the Song of Songs demonstrates the understanding of fear in twelfth-century exegesis as the first stage in the process towards wisdom,

Brill, 2011); and *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Canonization*, ed. M. Basil Pennington (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977)

[22] Bernard of Clairvaux, *in Cantica Canticorum*, col.0891C

[23] Bernard of Clairvaux, *in Cantica Canticorum*, col.0891C

[24] Bernard of Clairvaux, *in Cantica Canticorum*, col.0892A-0892B

following Psalm 110:10, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," and the gifts of the Holy Spirit derived from Isaiah 11:2-3:

> *Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini: spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis; et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini.*
>
> [And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness. And he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord.][25]

Rupert of Deutz, following traditional interpretations of Isaiah 11:2 as listing the gifts of the Holy Spirit, states that they were the stages by which wisdom could be achieved, in which the fear of the Lord was the beginning, "the first of seven stages, through which Ezekiel was raised to the eastern gate." [*Hic est septem graduum primus, per quos juxta Ezechielem ad portam orientalem ascenditur.*][26] Rupert's connection between Ezekiel and the fear of the Lord as the beginning of wisdom in the stages of contemplation according to Isaiah 11 demonstrates the importance of fear to visionary experience and contemplative ascent in medieval tradition, in which portal sculptures could be used as aids to meditation.

The role of fear in restraining pride and initiating the wisdom which would allow greater knowledge of God complicates the definition of *terror* in Carruthers' article, as rather than being the fear of a place or thing which has suddenly become terrible, it is a response to considering the judgments of God and his "terrible name." A form of fear

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25 For the gifts of the Holy Spirit, see Canisius van Liere, "The Teaching of St Augustine on the Gifts of the Holy Spirit from the Text of Isaiah 11:2-3," in *Augustine: Mystic and Mystagogue*, ed. Frederick van Fleteren, Joseph C. Schnaubelt, and Joseph Reino (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), pp.5-110; E. Ann Matter, "The Pseudo-Alcuinian *De Septem Sigillis:* An Early Latin Apocalypse Exegesis," *Traditio* 36 (1980), pp.111-137 (pp.133-135); Lisa Millen, "Hugh of St Victor and the Gifts of the Holy Spirit," in *The Holy Spirit and the Christian Life: Historical, Interdisciplinary, and Renewal Perspectives*, ed. Wolfgang Vondey (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp.75-91; and Roger E. Reynolds, ""At Sixes and Sevens"—And Eights and Nines: The Sacred Mathematics of Sacred Orders in the Early Middle Ages," *Speculum* 54 (1979), pp.669-684

26 Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, PL 170, col.0220D-0221A

associated with visions can be seen in the exegesis of Ezekiel's first vision, in which his response was interpreted as humility, mingling fear and wonder in a way which was uplifting and brought knowledge. However, although this fear is closer to Carruthers' view of *terror* and *raptus*, it is associated with wonder and understanding rather than being an entirely otherworldly, incomprehensible experience.

After experiencing his first vision, Ezekiel wrote, "And I saw, and I fell upon my face... and the spirit entered into me after that he spoke to me, and he set me upon my feet." [*Et vidi, et cecidi in faciem meam... Et ingressus est in me spiritus postquam locutus est mihi, et statuit me supra pedes meos*].[27] In his *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, Gregory the Great interpreted this passage as demonstrating the way in which fear and humility were joined, so that terror accompanied visionary experience to prevent pride:

> *Visa gloria Domini in faciem suam propheta cadit, quia quamvis homo ad intelligenda sublimia elevetur, ex contemplatione tamen majestatis Dei infirmitatem suae conditionis intelligit; et quasi statum non habet, qui se ante Dei oculos esse cinerem et pulverem videt.*
>
> [Seeing the glory of God the prophet fell on his face, because any person raised to the highest things which are to be understood, still they know the infirmity of their condition from contemplation of the majesty of God.][28]

In his commentary on 1 Kings, Gregory explained how the "wonderful fear" caused by visions would be increased by contemplation, rather than decreased, as fear allowed the visionary to experience God "more sweetly:"

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27 Ezekiel 2:1-2

28 Gregory the Great, *Homilia in Ezechielem*, 8.4, PL 76, col.0920B. For the *Homilia in Ezechielem*, see Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*; Conrad Leyser, "'Let Me Speak, Let Me Speak': Vulnerability and Authority in Gregory the Great's Homilies on Ezekiel," in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo*, 2 vols (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1991), II: 169-182; Markus, *Gregory the Great*, p.16; E. Ann Matter, "Gregory the Great in the Twelfth Century: The *Glossa Ordinaria*," in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, pp.216-226; Straw, *Gregory the Great*; and J. R. Webb, ""Knowledge Will Be Manifold": Daniel 12:4 and the Idea of Intellectual Progress in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 89 (2014), pp.307-357

Illa enim internae Majestatis ineffabilis pulchritudo electam mentem cui se delectabiliter ostendit aliquando mirabili pavore concutit, ne de visionis magnitudine ad elationem prosiliat, si eam quam blanda contemplatio ad tam summa evehit provector suus spiritus timoris moderamine non refrenat. In una quidem et eadem revelatae gloriae visione, et bonitas Redemptoris aspicitur ineffabiliter blandiens, et aequitas illius ineffabiliter terrens, ut quo videntis animus de respectu Dei bonitate dulcius pascitur, consideratione aequitatis territus caveat, ne inaniter satietur.

[There indeed, any time the beauty of ineffable inward majesty shows itself, it terrifies the chosen minds by wonderful fear, lest it rushes up to elation of magnified visions, if the more pleasant the contemplation, the higher the promoter advances, his spirit of fear does not restrain by moderation. Indeed in one, both by the same vision of revealed glory, the goodness of the Redeemer is seen ineffably attracting, and equally ineffably terrifying, as that soul of the seer from the respect of God is nourished more sweetly by goodness, having been terrified by consideration of justice, it takes care lest it is vainly satisfied.][29]

For Gregory, fear would remain, and be intensified, by visions of the sweetness of God. This is "ineffably terrifying," and although Carruthers argues that *terror* was an experience of *raptus* which "suspends all one's human sensations and reason, including the essentially rational motive of wonder," Gregory describes the terror provoked by ineffable and incomprehensible visions as "wonderful fear."[30] Writing before Gregory,

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[29] Gregory the Great, *In librum primum regem*, PL 79, col.0136B-0136C; the Vulgate 1 Kings is 1 Samuel in modern translations. For *In Librum primum regem*, see R. A. Markus, "Gregory the Great on Kings: Rulers and Preachers in the *Commentary on I Kings*," in *The Church and Sovereignty c.590–1918: Essays in Honour of Michael Wilkes*, ed. Diana Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.7-21; Paul Meyvaert, "A New Edition of Gregory the Great's Commentaries on the Canticle and 1 Kings," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1968), pp.215-225; Paul Meyvaert, "The Date of Gregory the Great's Commentaries on the Canticle of Canticles and on I Kings," *Sacris Erudiri* 23 (1978), p.191-216; and Patrick Verbraken, "Le Texte du Commentaire sur les Rois attribué à saint Grégoire," and "Le Commentaire de saint Grégoire sur le premier Livre des Rois," *Revue Bénédictine* 66 (1956) pp.39-62, 159-217

[30] Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," p.24

the fourth-century bishop Hilary of Poitiers (c.300–c.367) also associated wonder with terror in his commentary on the Psalms, following Psalm 144:6, "They shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts" [*et virtutem terribilium tuorum dicent*]:

> *Et mirabile quidem est, sanctitatem nihil sibi proficientem in usum alienae beatitudinis exberare: sed mirabilius est sanctitatem plenam esse terroris: ne si non indiscretam se utentibus aut abundantibus praestet, dum bonis ac malis promiscuas est, et tamquam ex naturae necessitate praebens, admirationem non habeat sanctitatis. Et idcirco mox subdidit, "Et virtutem terribilium tuorum dicent:" ut sanctitatem loquentes, et mirabilia narrantes, dicant quoque terribilium virtutem, media admiratione inter sanctitatem atque terrorem*
>
> [And it is indeed wonderful, sanctity advancing nothing to itself to flourish in the blessedness of another; but it is more wonderful for sanctity to be full of terror: indeed if it does not show itself to be set apart by abundance or usage, while good and evil are mixed together, as if it were caused by the compulsion of nature, it does not have the wonder of sanctity. And for this reason it is soon added: "And they will speak of your terrible acts." That sanctity speaking, and wonder reporting, they may speak of terrible acts, wonder is placed between sanctity and terror.][31]

Caroline Walker Bynum has argued that medieval wonder was a cognitive response triggered by mystery, paradox, and singularity, so that a thing which was strange or awe-inspiring "pointed beyond itself to meaning."[32] Hilary's description of wonder being "between sanctity and terror" suggests the visionary fear experienced by Ezekiel pointed beyond the image which triggered wonder to an invisible truth. The sculptures at

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31 Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super psalmos*, PL 9, col.0858D-0858C

32 Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," *American Historical Review* 102 (1997), pp.1-26 (pp.12, 23). For wonder in the Middle Ages see also Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style, 1290-1350* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Keagan Brewer, *Wonder and Skepticism in the Middle Ages* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); and Wan-Chuan Kao, "The Body in Wonder: Affective Suspension and Medieval Queer Futurity," in *Affect Theory and Literary Critical Practice*, ed. Stephen Ahern (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp.25-43

Moissac and Cluny represented the "likeness of the glory of God" witnessed by Ezekiel in order to similarly provoke wonder which would reveal the invisible presence of God. For Hilary, the destruction of the Egyptian army in the Red Sea provided an example of this mingled terror and sanctity which characterised wonder, as "where it had been the salvation of the religious, there it became the destruction of the impious" [*ubi fuerat salus religiosorum, ibi poena constitit impiorum*].[33] A fear of the Lord which was beneficial and associated with humility was also described by Rupert of Deutz in his commentary on the book of Jonah, in which he compares the prophet to Christ to explain how Christ experienced the fear of the Lord due to his human nature: "Rightly, by holy fear he becomes most reverent and fearful, and by fear true humility should be spoken of and judged" [*Vere timore sancto timoratus et reverentissimus exstitit, timore qui et vere humilitas debet dici et aestimari*][34]

In the *Tractatus Theologicus*, an anonymous treatise written in the first half of the twelfth century, the chaste fear of the Lord is separated from sin and punishment entirely and described as "reverence," which the elect would continue to experience after the Second Coming:

> *Non enim timent perfecti puniri gehennali poena, sed separari in praesenti per aliquam poenam. In futuro vero nec puniri, nec separari timebunt, et tamen erit ibi timor, sed reverentia. Duo enim in ipso Deo attendent, majestatem et pietatem. Ex majestate, reverentia; ex pietate dilectio. Itaque majestatem timebunt, id est ei cum reverentia subditi erunt.*
>
> [The perfect do not fear to be punished by Hell's punishments, but to be separated in the present through some other punishment. Truly, in the future they will neither fear to be punished, nor to be separated, and yet there will be fear, but of reverence. Namely, two [things] will attend in God himself, majesty

[33] Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super psalmos*, col.0859A
[34] Rupert of Deutz, *In Jonam prophetam commentariorum*, PL 168, col.0410B

and piety. From majesty, reverence; from piety, delight. And thus they will fear majesty, that is, they will be subjected to him with reverence.][35]

This fear characterised by humility was associated with obedience, but not sin, damnation, or the Last Judgment. Although its purest form was reserved only for the elect in heaven, according to the author of the *Tractatus Theologicus*, reverence and humility in the face of God's majesty was held to be the ideal form of fear to which Christians should strive. It is not only caused by what is ineffable or something which has suddenly become incomprehensible, but also by an awareness of God's power compared to human fragility and the unworthiness of fallen humanity in the presence of the divine. This experience of terror, wonder, reverence, and humility was associated with contemplation and visionary experience, mediated by "likenesses" created by God which provided the divine prototype for the theophanic representations of the *majestas Domini* in portal sculptures of the twelfth century. Exegetical treatments of the book of Ezekiel by authoritative, widely-read authors such as Gregory and Hilary, as well as twelfth-century writers in the Cluniac milieu, interpreted his first vision in terms of created images, demonstrating the visionary fear associated with the *majestas Domini*.

3. The origins of the majestas Domini and its development up to the twelfth century

The iconography of the *majestas Domini* originated in fourth-century Rome, and from its earliest appearances followed the exegetical treatment of Ezekiel and John by Ambrose and Jerome to create an image which represented the unity of scripture and affirmed ecclesiastical authority. The earliest extant example of the *majestas Domini*

[35] *Tractatus Theologicus*, PL 171, col.1144D; This treatise was attributed to abbot Hildebert of Lavardin by Migne in the *Patrologia Latina* and re-attributed to Hugh of Saint-Victor in 1892 by Barthélemy Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1892), p.251. André Wilmart established that it could not have been written by Hildebert, see André Wilmart, "Le *Tractatus Theologicus* attribué à Hildebert," *Revue Bénédictine* 45 (1933), pp.163-164.

iconography is seen in the apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana in Rome (fig. 1.5), which Anne-Orange Poilpré has argued was designed between 387 and 398, although not completed until the pontificate of Innocent I (r.401–417).[36] Christ is shown in the centre of the apse seated on a golden throne surrounded by the Apostles within an open courtyard, with contemporary Roman buildings appearing in the distance to evoke the heavenly city.[37] A golden, gem-covered cross appears in the sky above Christ's head, casting a golden glow onto the clouds, from which emerge the four Living Creatures shown as winged busts.

The representation of Christ in late antiquity, including the apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana, has often been thought to have appropriated imperial iconography.[38] Geir Hellemo follows this interpretation, comparing Christ's throne in the Santa Pudenziana mosaic to a fourth-century porphyry statue from Alexandria of an enthroned Roman emperor, representing possibly either Diocletian or Constantine, as evidence for a

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[36] Poilpré, *Maiestas Domini*, p.71. See also Hellemo, *Adventus Domini*; Kinney, "Early Christian Monumental Decoration;" Schlatter, "Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana;" Spieser, "The Representation of Christ;" and Erik Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome: Time, Network, and Repetition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

[37] The apse of Santa Pudenziana has been altered multiple times since it was first built, most significantly by the remodelling of the nave and apse in 1588 which destroyed the lower part and either side of the mosaic, and the construction of a new altar in 1711 which destroyed the image of the Lamb of God beneath Christ's feet, added during the pontificate of Adrian I (r.772–795). A drawing by Ciacconio made in 1595 gives an indication of the appearance of the mosaic between these two alterations and prior to its extensive restoration in 1830–1831. The central part of the mosaic showing Christ and the tetramorph are believed to be almost entirely original, with the exception of some restoration to the right side of Christ's throne and hand. See Richard Krautheimer, Spencer Corbett, and Wolfgang Frankl, *Corpus basilicarum christianorum Romae: The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV–IX Cent.)*, 5 vols. (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana), vol. III, pp.277-302; and Giovanni Battista de Rossi, "I monumenti del secolo quarto spettanti alla chiesa di S. Pudenziana," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 5 (1867), pp.49-60

[38] For the interpretation of Christ as an emperor in Late Antique iconography, see Christa Belting-Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner, 1960); Beat Brenk, "The Imperial Heritage of Early Christian Art," in *Age of Spirituality*, pp.39-52; André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantine* (Strasbourg: Faculté des lettres de l'université de Strasbourg, 1936); and André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968)

"direct borrowing from imperial precedents."[39] He argues that the mosaic was intended to represent Christ as absolute sovereign ruling over both Heaven and earth, and in particular as founder and ruler of the church, demonstrated by the text on his book proclaiming him its protector: *DOMINVS CONSTERVATOR ECCLESIAE PVDENTIANAE* [I am the Lord, protector of the Church of Pudenziana].[40]

Thomas F. Mathews has challenged the view that late antique Christian art adopted imperial iconography, proposing instead that attributes of the gods in pre-Christian cult images, such as his shining golden garments and jewel-encrusted throne, were used to indicate Christ's divine nature.[41] More recently, Robin M. Jensen has reconsidered the relationship between imperial and Christian iconography, arguing that while fourth-century Christian art "was undoubtably influenced by imperial iconographic motifs," the image of Christ enthroned carried multivalent meaning which "varied according to viewer and context."[42] Challenging Mathews' opposition of imperial and religious iconography, Jensen argues that images of Christ adopted, and thus inverted, traditional imperial iconography to highlight his victory over temporal powers to become a new type of king.[43]

Poilpé interprets the mosaic as an elaboration of official Christian themes, with Christ's raised hand and open book signifying the authority of the divine Word, and she

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[39] Hellemo, *Adventus Domini*, p.41.For the porphyry statue, now held in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (inv. 5934), see Richard Delbruek, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1932); Zsolt Kiss, *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Egypte* (Varsovie: Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1984), p.51; and László Török, *Transfigurations of Hellenism: Aspects of Late Antique Art in Egypt AD 250-700* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p.184-186
[40] Hellemo, *Adventus Domini*, p.46
[41] Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp.101.
[42] Robin M. Jensen, "The Emperor Cult and Christian Iconography," in *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult,* ed. Jeffrey Brodd and Jonathan L. Reed (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), pp.153-171 (p.158)
[43] Jensen, "The Emperor Cult," p.169

associates the throne with *Salus*, the Roman goddess of health.[44] The iconography of ecclesiastical authority is shown through the Apostles as representations of the terrestrial Church, with the Tetramorph appearing as personifications of the Gospels.[45] Similarly, Hellemo argues that Paul's inclusion among the Apostles to bring their number to twelve was intended to correspond with the twelve tribes of Israel, representing the Church as "the restored people of God."[46] Mathews also views the mosaic as a representation of Church authority, arguing that Christ is shown as a bishop and philosopher, holding out one hand in a gesture of teaching found in earlier iconography of grouped philosophers, and seated alongside the apostles in the manner of a bishop.[47] André Grabar similarly viewed the apse of Santa Pudenziana as continuing the established theme of a group portrait showing philosophers or poets seated together.[48]

Fredric W. Schlatter has also critiqued the view that the mosaic represented Christ as a king through imperial iconography, arguing that it relied on the visions of Ezekiel and John to create a complex representation of Trinitarian theology in which the central figure was God the Father, the cross the Son, and the clouds the Spirit.[49] Although the interpretation of the seated figure as God the Father is problematic, given the lack of other similar iconography and the presence of the Apostles, Schlatter convincingly demonstrates the importance of Biblical sources to the meaning of the iconography. The Santa Pudenziana apse does not represent either vision precisely, including the Apostles and female figures holding crowns rather than the twenty-four Elders and placing the entire scene within a heavenly city resembling Rome. Christ's throne is

[44] Poilpré, *Maiestas Domini*, p.76. For *Salus*, see Martin A. Marwood, *The Roman Cult of Salus* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988)
[45] Poilpré, *Maiestas Domini*, pp.80-81
[46] Hellemo, *Adventus Domini*, p.46
[47] Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, p.114
[48] Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, p.72
[49] Schlatter, "Interpreting the Moisaic of Santa Pudenziana," pp.287-288

decorated with gemstones, visually connecting it with the Cross and reflecting Ezekiel's vision of "the likeness of a throne as the appearance of the sapphire stone." Above the roofs of the city, the Living Creatures emerge from glowing clouds composed of waving blue, gold, and red lines, recalling the firmament having "the appearance of crystal" in Ezekiel's vision and the "sea of glass like to crystal" set before the throne in the Apocalypse.[50] The cross behind Christ is set on a mound of shimmering light, through which the city buildings are visible, the lines of the roofs refracted as if seen through water. The otherworldly appearance of the sky in the apse of the church gives the impression of a "door opened in heaven," allowing the worshippers to glimpse the glory of Christ enthroned in Paradise, protecting the church. By combining the visions of Ezekiel and Apocalypse, the mosaic presents an image of the eternal divinity of Christ revealed to both Ezekiel and John and the unity of the Old and New Testaments, shown through the four Living Creatures as personifications of the Gospels. Although the Santa Pudenziana mosaic has been interpreted as an image of the future judgment and "realization of the kingdom of God" by Hellemo, the commentary tradition on both Ezekiel and Apocalypse frequently interpreted the visions as revelations of the present Church, rather than the Last Judgment, as Christe and Klein have shown. The eternal nature of Christ and atemporal dimension of the *majestas Domini* iconography can be seen in the portals at Moissac and Cluny, where Christ is shown as an unchanging heavenly ruler in the past, present, and future, simultaneously positioning the audience as visionaries, apostles, and sinners before the judge.

Following the early monumental appearance of the *majestas Domini* in apse paintings and mosaics, the theme appeared across a variety of media up to the twelfth century, particularly in apsidal images, altars, and liturgical objects, leading Élaine Vergnolle to

[50] Ez. 1:22; Ap. 4:6

argue that it carried specifically eucharistic associations.[51] By the twelfth century, when the iconography began to appear on sculpted portals, it had already been refined into a standardised, recognisable image which carried theological significance. Yves Christe has traced the development of the composition in manuscripts from the scriptoria of Tours, arguing that the earliest form of the *majestas Domini* showed a centripetal layout, as in the Weingarten Gospels, made c.830 (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB II 40, f.1v). In the Lothair Gospels (Paris, BnF Lat. 266, f.2v), made c.849–851, the Creatures were still shown as busts, but in centrifugal positions, and in the Le Mans Gospels, made c.855 (Paris, BnF Lat. 261, f.18r) the composition has reached the form which would continue into the twelfth century (figs 1.6-1.8), with the Creatures shown full-length, in a centrifugal layout, and looking over their shoulders at Christ in the centre.[52] Anne-Orange Poilpré has also traced this development, connecting the transformation of the composition to the abbacy of Vivien at Tours, between 843 and 851.[53] Although this was the most common composition, there continued to be examples of the older tradition, with the Creatures positioned with their bodies facing inward towards Christ. This was the form of the *majestas Domini* at Cluny, which Neil Stratford has argued was a deliberately archaising form of the *majestas Domini* designed to recall the fifth-century image of the *Agnus Dei* adored by the four Living Creatures on the façade of Saint Peter's basilica in Rome (fig. 1.9), evoking the spiritual and political connections between Cluny and the Papacy.[54]

[51] Vergnolle, "'Maiestas Domini' Portals, p.189
[52] Christe, "The Apocalypse in Monumental Art," p.253
[53] Poilpré, *Maiestas Domini*, pp.230-248; On the Tours scriptorium, see also Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*; and Kitzinger, "Touronian Gospel Illumination"
[54] Stratford, "Le grand portail de Cluny III," p.17-18; see also Vergnolle, "'Maiestas Domini' Portals," p.181. For the facade of Saint Peter in Rome, see Peter K. Klein, "Introduction: The Apocalypse in Medieval Art," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp.159-199; and Dale Kinney, "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp.200-216

The earliest extant example of the *majestas Domini* in monumental sculpture is a marble bas-relief set into the wall of the ambulatory at the basilica of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse (figs. 1.10-1.12). In addition to the *majestas Domini*, the series of bas-reliefs includes four angels with their heads turned to that they are in profile facing towards Christ, and two unidentified apostles. Christ is seated on a backless, cushioned throne within a mandorla, holding a book inscribed *PAX VOBIS* [Peace to You] in his left hand and blessing with his right. The Living Creatures, each holding a scroll, are placed in the corners of the rectangular panel facing outwards and turning to look towards Christ, who appears as the impassive focus of the entire series. The original location of these reliefs is unclear, although Étienne Delaruelle discovered a record stating that the mayor of Toulouse, Joseph d'Hargenvilliers, donated "four marble angels from demolished churches" to Saint-Sernin in 1825. Delaruelle also notes that an account of the church written in 1661 by Raymond Daydé fails to mention the reliefs, despite providing lengthy descriptions of other sculptures, indicating that they were originally sculpted for a different setting.[55]

However, the style of the bas-reliefs has been associated with the workshop of Bernardus Gelduinus, master of the sculpted high altar of Saint-Sernin, indicating that they were originally produced for the basilica and completed before its consecration in 1096, but placed in a different location within the church.[56] The soft, rounded faces and

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[55] Étienne Delaruelle, "Les bas-reliefs de Saint-Sernin," *Annales du Midi* 41 (1929), pp.49-60 (p.52); Raymond Daydé, *L'histoire de Saint-Sernin ou l'incomparable trésor de son église abbatiale de Tolose* (Toulouse: Arnaud Colomiez, 1661)

[56] See Paul Deschamps, "L'autel roman de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse et les sculptures du cloître de Moissac," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1923), pp.239-250; Marcel Durliat, "La construction de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse au XI siècle," *Bulletin Monumentale* 121 (1963), pp.151-179; Thomas W. Lyman, "Notes on the Porte Miègeville Capitals and the Construction of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse," *The Art Bulletin* 49 (1967), pp.25-36; Frances Terpak, "Pilgrimage or Migration? A Case Study of Artistic Movement in the Early Romanesque," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51 (1988), pp.414-427; and Valérie Yvonnet-Nouviale, "Production et réception d'influence: le cas de 'l'atelier' de Bernard Gilduin à Saint-Sernin de Toulouse," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 187 (2004), pp.279-292

bodies of the figures enclosed within vines along the edge of the altar-table (fig. 1.13) are similar to the figures in the ambulatory reliefs, and the scale-like pattern of overlapping circles above the vines is repeated in the angels' wings (fig. 1.11). There is also a resemblance in the depiction of hair as small, tight circles in both the altar-table and the relief sculptures of the apostles (fig. 1.12), which reappears in the later capitals of the south portal. Thomas W. Lyman has argued that the reliefs were produced as part of an earlier building campaign before 1096, and were always intended to decorate the ambulatory, but were not placed there until the nineteenth century.[57] Between 1082 and 1083, the Benedictine monks from Moissac expelled the Augustinian canons from Saint-Sernin, and Lyman proposes that during the break in construction the Gelduinus workshop moved to Moissac, where they produced some entablatures for capitals and possibly the relief sculptures of the apostles in the cloister.[58] Based on this chronology, he dates the altar table and smaller ambulatory reliefs of the *majestas Domini* and the angels on either side of Christ to 1080–1082, and attributes the larger reliefs of the two apostles to a second sculptor who completed the project between 1082 and 1098.[59] Although the original context for the sculptures at Saint-Sernin is unclear, they demonstrate the development of monumental sculptures in the last quarter of the eleventh century, in which the *majestas Domini* was an established iconography prior to its earliest appearance in portal sculpture. Although the designers of the portal at Moissac may have been aware of the marble reliefs at Saint-Sernin, as monks from the abbey were installed in the basilica after they were produced, the iconography and style of the tympanum is significantly different, demonstrating the adaptation of the theme to the meaningful site of the portal.

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57 Lyman, "Notes on the Porte Miègeville Capitals," p.29-30
58 Lyman, "Notes on the Porte Miègeville Capitals," p.33
59 Lyman, "Notes on the Porte Miègeville Capitals," p.31

4. The majestas Domini at Saint-Pierre, Moissac

The tympanum at the abbey of Saint-Pierre in Moissac forms part of the complex sculpted programme across the main entrance to the church on the south facade, which depicted the *majestas Domini* alongside images of prophets and scenes from the New Testament to present a clear message of Church authority and doctrinal truth, as well as visualising the invisible presence of Christ within the church. Below the theophanic vision of Christ in the tympanum, the trumeau is decorated with pairs of male and female lions crossing over one another, flanked by elongated figures of a prophet (fig. 1.14) and Saint Paul (fig. 1.15) compressed within the scalloped edges of the trumeau and twisting to face those passing through the door to the right and left. On the doorposts, Paul faces Saint Peter, while the unidentified prophet is paired with Isaiah, both of whom are also facing outwards but twisting around to look towards the doorway. The Old Testament prophets and founders of the Church support the vision of Christ, signifying doctrinal authority, and express the eternal presence of Christ throughout scripture. The sides of the porch contain narrative schemes, with the parable of *Dives* and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31) on the left and the Nativity following Isaiah on the right, providing a moralising continuation of the themes of the tympanum.

The sculpture at Moissac has been dated according to the *Chronicon universale* (BnF Lat. 4991A) of Aymeric de Peyrac, abbot of Moissac from 1377–1406, who recorded the early history of the abbey and attributed the "most beautiful and subtle" (*pulchessimus et subtillissimus*) portal and cloister to abbot Anquetil (r.1085–1115), believing the pattern of scales on the interior face of the trumeau to be a reference to his name.[60] Meyer

[60] BnF Lat. 4991A, fol.160v; Aymeric linked *scatus* with *Asquilino*. *Scatus* was a variation of *scala* which became the Occitan *escata*. See Institut für Romanische Philologie der LMU, *Dictionnaire de l'Occitan médiéval en ligne* (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013),

Schapiro, in his influential two-part article on the sculpture at Moissac published in 1931, argued that the relief sculptures of *Dives* and Lazarus and the Nativity in the porch (figs. 1.16-1.17) were later than the tympanum, based on the "more plastic" figures which were less closely associated with the architectural frame.[61] Schapiro assigned the porch to the abbacy of Anquetil's successor Roger (r.1115–1131), as he is portrayed on an engaged column above the tympanum alongside a figure Schapiro believed to be St Benedict, although he noted that "the differences are so slight that the two works cannot be far apart in date."[62] Ilene H. Forsyth has challenged Schapiro's separation of the porch and tympanum, arguing that the "extraordinary unity" of style and thematic opposition of generosity and avarice indicates that the entire portal was designed as a single programme under Anquetil and completed before 1115.[63] She observes that the inscription accompanying the sculpted portrait of Roger refers to him as *BEAtuS ROTgERIUS ABBAS* and the masonry is cut back behind it to set it into the wall, demonstrating that it was added to the porch after Roger's death in 1131.[64] Forsyth's analysis indicates that the entire portal system was designed as a cohesive whole, and was completed before Anquetil's death in 1115.

Earlier scholarship on the tympanum at Moissac has sought to find the origin of the iconography in manuscript painting, particularly the illustrations to the Apocalypse commentary of Beatus of Liébana, written in 784.[65] The Apocalypse of Saint-Sever,

<http://www.dom-en-ligne.de/dom.php?lhid=1IkmBIIS6olG3xA6cRbnIu>; and Forsyth, "The Date of the Moissac Portal," p.85

61 Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac,"p.251

62 Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," p.499

63 Forsyth, "Narrative at Moissac: Schapiro's Legacy," *Gesta* 41 (2002), pp.71-93 (p.87); see also Forsyth, "The Date of the Moissac Portal,"

64 Forsyth, "The Date of the Moissac Portal," p.87

65 For Beatus of Liébana, see Gaelle Bosseman, "Beatus of Liebana and the Spiritualized Understanding of Apocalypse in Medieval Iberia," in *The End(s) of Time(s): Apocalypticism, Messianism, and Utopianism through the Ages*, ed. Hans-Christian Lehner (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp.175-204; Roger Gryson (ed.), Introduction to Beatus of Liébana, *Tractatus de Apocalipsin*, CCSL 107B-C (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Peter K. Klein, "Eschatological Expectations and the

copied from a Spanish model between 1028 and 1072, was believed to have transmitted the Beatus commentary and its illustrations to France, providing the model for a number of later copies (fig. 1.18).[66] In the tympanum at Moissac and the Saint-Sever Apocalypse the Elders hold viols rather than harps or psalteries, and the eagle of the Tetramorph is shown with a scroll instead of a book, unlike other manuscripts in the Beatus tradition, leading Émile Mâle to believe that the Saint-Sever manuscript or one of its copies was the prototype for the tympanum.[67] He argued that a line drawing of Christ enthroned with the Tetramorph and surrounded by the Elders of the Apocalypse holding viols and chalices preserved on a single manuscript leaf from the monastery of Saint-Julien in Tours, now in the treasury of Auxerre Cathedral (Auxerre, Trésor de la Cathédrale Ms. 002) (fig. 1.19), was copied from a manuscript derived from the Saint-Sever Beatus, providing evidence for the transmission of the iconography from manuscript to sculpture.[68] Mâle's conclusions were challenged by Schapiro, who observed that the iconography of the eagle holding a scroll was common in Britain and

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Revised Beatus," in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, ed. Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp.147-171; John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1994-2003); John Williams, *Visions of the End in Medieval Spain: Catalogue of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries on the Apocalypse and Study of the Geneva Beatus*, ed. Therese Martin (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2017); and John W. Williams, "Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus of Liébana," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp.217-233

[66] For the Saint-Sever Apocalypse, see *Saint-Sever, millénaire de l'abbaye: Colloque international 25-27 mai 1985*, ed. Jean Cabanot (Mont-de-Marsan: Comité d'Etudes sur l'Histoire et l'Art de la Gascogne, 1986); Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, "The Image of France in the Beatus Map of Saint-Sever," in *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories and Imagined Geographies*, ed. Meredith Cohen and Fanny Madeline (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp.159-174; O.K. Werckmeister "Pain and Death in the Beatus of Saint-Sever," *Studi Medievali* 14 (1973), pp.565-626; O. K. Werckmeister, "The Beatus Commentary and the Abbey Church of Saint-Sever," in *Le Plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge: Commande, production, et réception de l'œuvre d'art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, ed. Rosa Alcoy Pedrós (Paris: Picard, 2012), pp.903-909; and Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus. Vol. 3: The Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London: Harvey Miller, 2000)

[67] Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, pp.5-7

[68] Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, pp.8-9. The Auxerre leaf, and a second drawing of the Crucifixion which may have originated from the same manuscript was originally studied by Maurice Prou, "Deux dessins du XIIe siècle au trésor de l'église Saint-Etienne d'Auxerre," *Gazette Archéologique* 12 (1887), pp.138-144

France, particularly Tours, and suggested that the Auxerre drawings preserved elements which originated in wall paintings, concluding that "it is not necessary to assume...that the vision of Christ and the Elders could have been introduced into Romanesque sculpture only from the pages of illuminated manuscripts."[69] Louis Grodecki supported Schapiro's view that wall paintings may have provided the original iconography of the *majestas Domini*, arguing that the iconography of sculpted tympana was derived from monumental wall paintings, transmitted through manuscript drawings such as the Saint-Sever Apocalypse.[70] Klein compares the tympanum of Moissac and the Saint-Sever Apocalypse to two other manuscripts which show the Elders arranged in a rectangular sequence around the central image of Christ: the *Liber Floridus* tradition of Apocalypse illustrations by Lambert of Saint-Omer made from c.1090–1120 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1 Gud. Lat. 2, f.10v), and a breviary from Kloster Zwiefalten from the mid-twelfth century (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Cod.brev.128, f.9v) (figs.1.20-1.21). He argues that these monumental and miniature Romanesque *majestas Domini* images are removed from an eschatological context to represent present theophanies which show the permanence of Christ's divinity through the nervous movement of the Elders in comparison to the "eternal silence" of God in the centre.[71]

While the immediate visual sources of the *majestas Domini* in Romanesque portal sculpture may have been the imagery of Apocalypse, developed in manuscript illumination and wall paintings, the architectonic context of the portal gave the iconography new significance. Christe describes iconography derived from Revelation 4

[69] Meyer Schapiro, "Two Romanesque Drawings in Auxerre and Some Iconographic Problems," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp.331-349 (p.348)
[70] Louis Grodecki, "Le Problème des sources iconographiques du tympan du Moissac", *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique, et philologique de la France méridionale* (1989), pp.387-393
[71] Klein, "Programmes eschatologiques," pp.322-323

and 5 as being “ecclesiologically significant,” rather than eschatological, so that images of the *Majestas Domini* or New Jerusalem are used to represent the institutional Church as well as the future of the Second Coming and the time after.[72] Based on this, he interprets the Moissac tympanum as being “a revelation of the triumph of God in a celestial Jerusalem - the portico of the abbey church - already established on earth.”[73] This reading of the *majestas Domini* as a representation of the Church on earth, as well as the celestial Jerusalem, can be joined with the view that it shows the unity of Scripture and Christ as the embodiment of the Word, so that these two readings together can be used to interpret sculpted *majestas Domini* as a representation of the terrestrial Church as heaven on earth, the authority of which comes from their inheritance of the Apostolic mission, as argued by Poilpré. In this way, it was able to show the Church and its teachings as the reflection of the entire truth of scripture and its mysteries. Klein makes this connection in relation to the tympanum of Moissac, which, he argues, is rooted in contemporary history and politics, being produced during a period of conflict between the abbey and the local nobility of Toulouse. As a result, the tympanum acted as a sign of the function and sacerdotal authority of the terrestrial Church, so that it represented “a grandiose and overwhelming image of the power and glory of the contemporary Church, a church which was feudal and militarised.”[74]

Detached from the narrative programme of an Apocalypse cycle, the tympanum at Moissac was able to recall the visions of Ezekiel and John simultaneously as a representation of the presence of Christ and unity of the Old and New Testaments to generate the reverential fear associated with visionary experience. The close association between the two visions is clear in Haimo of Auxerre’s commentary on Ezekiel, in

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[72] Christe, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Art”, p.240
[73] Christe, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Art”, p.254
[74] Klein, “Programmes eschatologiques”, p.330; *“[U]ne image grandiose et écrasante du pouvoir et de la gloire de l’Église contemporaine, d’une Église – on le sait – aussi bien féodalisée que militarisée.”*

which he interpreted the "book rolled up" that Ezekiel was instructed to eat after experiencing his first vision as the same book John saw Christ open in the Apocalypse:

> *Liber ad eu[m] missus om[n]is series intellegit[ur] scripturae sacr[a]e. De quo libro bene dicit[ur] q[uia] erat involutus. Quia videlic[et] vetus [et] novu[m] testam[en]tu[m] magnis [est] obscuritatib[us] circu[m]datu[m]. Hic e[st] eni[m] liber que[m] vidit ioh[anne]s in apocalypsin clausu[s] de quo [et] ipse flebat multu[m] [et] audivit q[uo]d leo de tribu iuda operuiss[et] illu[s]. Ea eni[m] qu[a]e obscure in eade[m] scriptura sunt [Christus] manifestavit.*
>
> [The book sent to [Ezekiel] is understood to be the entire course of sacred scripture. It is rightly said that this book was rolled up. For the Old and New Testament is enclosed by great obscurities. This is indeed that very book that John saw in the Apocalypse, of which he both wept greatly and heard that the lion of the tribe of Juda had opened. Indeed those things which are obscure, Christ has made manifest in that same scripture.][75]

This passage demonstrates the significance of Ezekiel to understanding the image of the *majestas Domini* when removed from an Apocalyptic context. By identifying Ezekiel's scroll with the sealed book opened by Christ, Haimo's commentary reveals the exegetical understanding that both visionaries witnessed the same glory of God, revealed at different times.

At Moissac, the angel to the left of Christ and the Tetramorph holds a tightly-rolled scroll between his thumb and forefinger, while the angel to the left holds an unfurled scroll. Both angels have four wings, identifying them as cherubim. Two wings point upwards to cross behind the angels' heads, the third points outwards, while the fourth is obscured behind the figures of the man and eagle of the Tetramorph. The appearance

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[75] Haimo of Auxerre, *Annotatio libri Iezechielis*, f.20r

of cherubim with four wings recalls Ezekiel's vision of the "living creatures" with four wings and four faces, which are described again in Ezekiel 10 as cherubim. The scrolls held by each of the cherubim thus evoke the exegetical interpretation that both Ezekiel and John saw the same image, in which the book appeared as rolled up to Ezekiel and open to John, signifying the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. By reading the iconography in relation to Ezekiel's vision, particularly the significance of the term *similitudo* ('likeness'), the *majestas Domini* at Moissac and Cluny can be understood as a copy of an image originally created by God which revealed divine knowledge. Through the liturgical associations of the portal as the meeting-place between the Apostles, personified by the monks, and Christ, the iconography functioned to reveal the invisible divine presence of Christ within the church building, made present through the Eucharist.

From its earliest known monumental appearance in the fourth-century mosaic at Santa Pudenziana, the *majestas Domini* was associated with the eternal divinity of Christ and the authority of the Church. While the iconography was not a direct representation of the Second Coming or Last Judgment, it was nevertheless intended to be a frightening image. The reverential fear provoked by the sculpture could enable the contemplative viewer to attain greater understanding of God, while reminding them of the importance of humility in the face of knowledge, building the fear which was "holy, enduring forever."[76] Through the exegetical interpretation of the vision of the throne in Apocalypse 4 as a revelation of the contemporary Church, Jacob's dream as a sign of the future works of restoration, and Ezekiel's vision as the entirety of scripture, the *majestas Domini* transformed the church building into the dwelling-place of God and expressed the doctrine and authority of the institutional and local Church. At the abbey

[76] Psalm 18:10

of Moissac in particular, the site-specific concerns of the monastery shaped the function of the tympanum, which created a clear statement against eucharistic heresy and secular interference in the abbey. The incorporation of site-specific elements which referred to local concerns into universal images such as the *majestas Domini* is also demonstrated by the Last Judgment portal at Conques and discussed in the following chapter, where the iconography alluded to the abbey's conflicts with secular nobility and the neighbouring abbey of Figeac.

5. The majestas Domini as a revelation of divine presence

The association of the *majestas Domini* with the sanctity of the church building as the "house of God" and its ecclesiological significance was particularly relevant at Moissac, as during the abbacy of Anquetil, the abbey of Moissac was involved in a series of conflicts with the counts of Toulouse and canons of Saint-Sernin following their admission to the Cluniac order. At the same time, controversy over the eucharist provoked widespread concern and formalised the orthodox position that Christ was materially present in the bread and wine of the sacrament. With this context in mind, the representation of the *majestas Domini* at Moissac proclaimed doctrinal truth and the supremacy of the Church over secular rulers through its representation of the totality of scripture and the true presence of Christ within the church building. Commentaries on Ezekiel's vision interpreted the "likeness of the glory of God" seen by the prophet to be an image which was analogous to human works of art, making the *majestas Domini*, as a copy of this divine protype, uniquely able to visualise the invisible presence of God in the church and lead contemplative viewers to spiritual understanding through reverential fear. Through these interpretations of divine presence and the relationship between sign and signified, as well as the "likeness" as a created image, the tympanum at Moissac can be seen as a theologically complex image in which the tympanum and

porch were designed to reveal the invisible divinity of Christ dwelling within the abbey church.

The abbey of Saint-Pierre in Moissac was originally founded in the seventh century, according to the eighth or ninth-century *vita* of Bishop Desiderius of Cahors (r.630–655), which stated that during his episcopate the abbey was founded by two men named Ansbertus and Leothadius.[77] However, by the twelfth century the abbey had begun to claim a royal foundation, altering their eleventh-century copy of Desiderius' *vita* to read:

> *Nam et Moyssiacense cenobium paulo ante regiis expensis inicitum huius temporis a viris laudabilis Ansberto et leathadio eompetenter expletum est.*
>
> [Now in his time the monastery of Moissac, begun shortly before with royal revenues, was competently brought to completion by the praiseworthy men Ansbertus and Leothadius.][78]

As Amy G. Remensnyder has shown, the identification of these "royal revenues" with Clovis (b.c.466, r.481–511), the first Frankish king to be baptised, had already begun in the eleventh century. She argues that an inscription originally placed in the cloister commemorating the dedication of the church in 1063 presented a falsified version of the abbey's history, claiming Clovis as its legendary founder and invoking the later Louis the Pious (b.778, r.813–840) as a patron in order to protect their interests and promote the power of the abbey.[79]

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77 Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp.101-102. For Desiderius of Cahors, see Ralph W. Mathisen, "Desiderius of Cahors: Last of the Romans," in *Gallien in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, ed. Steffen Diefenbach and Gernot Michael Müller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp.455-470

78 Quoted and translated from Paris, BnF Lat. 5548 by Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.102

79 Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.126-127

In 1047, the abbey was brought under the control of Cluny, becoming one of the most important abbeys in the Cluniac hierarchy, partly due to its position as the most western house on the Camino towards Santiago de Compostela which allowed Moissac to act as an intermediary for Cluny in regions such as Spain and Catalonia, where it had less immediate influence.[80] According to Aymeric de Peyrac, Moissac's admission to the Cluniac order occurred after a journey made by Abbot Odilo of Cluny (b. c.962, r.994–1048) and Bernard, bishop of Cahors (r. after 1031–1055) to Carennac, when Odilo was persuaded to reform the abbey of Moissac by Bernard and Pons, count of Toulouse (b.1019, r.1037–1060).[81] Following the donation of Moissac to Cluny, the Cluniac monk Durandus (r.1047–1072) was chosen as the new abbot by Odilo, and became bishop of Toulouse in 1057.[82]

However, as shown by Jacques Hourlier, the process of reforming the abbey and extracting it from secular control was not achieved immediately. From 778, the abbey had a secular abbot in addition to the regular abbot, a position held by the counts of Toulouse until 1037, when Gausbert de Gourdon (d. c.1071) inherited, or purchased, the position from Count Guillaume III of Toulouse (b.950, r. c.975–1037). Count Pons formally renewed the act of donation to Hugh of Semur, the new abbot of Cluny (b.1024, r.1048–1109) in a charter of 1053, but it was not until 1063 that Gausbert de Gourdon returned the right to name the secular abbot to the counts of Toulouse,

[80] See Anscari Mundó, "Moissac, Cluny et les mouvements monastiques de l'Est des Pyrénées du Xe au XIIe siècle," *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 75 (1963), pp.551-573; and Chantal Fraïsse, *Moissac: Histoire d'une abbaye. Mille ans de vie bénédictine* (Cahors: La Louve éditions, 2006), p.42

[81] Fraïsse, *Moissac*, pp.40-42, 156-158; Jacques Hourlier, "L'entrée de Moissac dans l'ordre de Cluny," *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 75 (1963), pp.353-363; A. Lagrèze-Fossat, *Études historiques sur Moissac* (Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1870), p.122-132. For Bernard III of Cahors, see *Gallia Christiana*, 16 vols (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1715-1865), I (1715), p.127

[82] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970), p.113; Hourlier, "L'entrée de Moissac," p.360; Erik Inglis, "Remembering and Forgetting Suger at Saint-Denis, 1151-1534: An Abbot's Reputation between Memory and History," *Gesta* 54 (2015), pp.219-243 (pp.242-243); Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," p.253

retaining the role until his death c.1071.[83] The continuing influence of secular nobility in the abbey may have influenced the design of the tympanum, which emphasises the supremacy of the Church and the sovereignty of Christ through the inclusion of the imperial crown in addition to the wider association of the *majestas Domini* with the authority of scripture.

The tensions between the sometimes-conflicting authorities of the abbots of Cluny, bishops of Cahors, counts of Toulouse, and the abbey itself continued into the early twelfth century. In 1082, abbot Hunauld (r.1072–1085, d. c.1095) and Bishop Isarn of Toulouse (c.1072–1105) expelled the Augustinian canons of the basilica of Saint-Sernin in 1082, replacing them with monks from Moissac.[84] Pope Gregory VII (b. c.1015, r.1073–1085) intervened to renew the rights and privileges of Saint-Sernin, and called on Hugh of Cluny to censure and control the abbey.[85] Abbot Hunauld retired in 1085 and Anquetil was named as abbot of Moissac, but Taiichiro Sugizaki interprets Aymeric's account of the incident to argue that Hunauld attempted to reclaim the monastery by force, laying siege to the town in 1085.[86] Sugizaki argues that the consecration of the high altar at Moissac by Urban II (b. c.1035, r.1088–1099) in 1096 presented Anquetil with an opportunity to re-establish his authority and that of the abbey following the violence carried out under Hunaud, reduce the power of the secular abbots, and distance the abbey from Cluny by aligning it with the papacy directly.[87]

[83] Houlier, "L'entrée de Moissac," p.358-359; Lagreze-Fossat, *Études historiques*, pp.122-126; and Taiichiro Sugizaki, "Mise en scène juridique et liturgique autour de l'autel et des reliques de l'abbaye de Moissac: la politique de l'abbé Ansquitil (1085-1115) au travers des actes," *Annales du Midi* 128 (2016), pp.179-190.
[84] Fraïsse, *Moissac*, p.64
[85] See Fraïsse, *Moissac*, p.64; Lyman, "Notes on the Porte Miègeville Capitals," p.32 and n.33; and Thomas W. Lyman, "The Politics of Selective Eclecticism: Monastic Architecture, Pilgrimage Churches, and "Resistance to Cluny,"" *Gesta* 27 (1988), pp.83-92
[86] Sugizaki, "Mise en scène;" Ernest Repin believed that the violence was perpetrated by a different person named Hunaud, who claimed to be the successor to the previous abbot due to their shared name, see Ernest Repin, *L'abbaye et les cloitres de Moissac* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1897), pp.62-63
[87] Sugizaki, "Mise en scène," pp.189-190

The portal sculptures produced early in Anquetil's abbacy similarly reaffirmed and publicly announced the authority of the abbey following the disruptions under his predecessor. The ecclesiological significance of Christ and the evangelists as the embodiment of sacred scripture was used to assert doctrinal authority, emphasising the orthodoxy of the abbey and the protection of the pope following Hunauld's actions at Saint-Sernin. At the same time, the legendary foundation of Moissac by Clovis was evoked through the representation of Christ wearing an imperial Ottonian crown, stating the importance and prestige of the abbey.

The iconography of the *majestas Domini* also highlighted the power of the abbey as a *locus sanctus* where Christ could be encountered on earth, as stated by Rupert of Deutz's interpretation of Jacob's dream as a prefiguration of the Church, which is "terrible" through its sacraments. The doorway of the abbey was Christ himself, the "gate of heaven," marking the interior of the church as the place where Heaven and earth were joined. The close association between the *majestas Domini* and the eucharist has been shown by Vergnolle, who observes that the iconography was frequently used on objects and locations connected with it, such as liturgical objects, manuscripts, altars, and the apse.[88] The way in which the *majestas Domini* visualised invisible presence gave it particular resonance in relation to the eucharist, when Christ became physically present. Rupert of Deutz referred to the eucharist in his commentary on Ezekiel 1:14, "And the Living Creatures ran and returned like flashes of lightning." Having interpreted the Living Creatures as referring to Christ himself, Rupert explained that they "returned" through the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist:

> *Deinde sciendum quia cum baptizamur, vel baptizamus in nomine Christi Jesu, itemque cum sacrosanctum corporis ac sanguinis ejus mysterium in sancto altari celebramus, haec*

[88] Vergnolle, "Majestas Domini Portals," p.189

> *animalia sine dubio praesentia invisibili ad nos revertuntur. [...] Igitur et revertuntur animalia haec, reversione quidem vel praesentia invisibili, sed actu vel sacramento visibili, unde dicit: "Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem saeculi."*
>
> [Henceforth it is known that we are baptised, or when we baptise in the name of Jesus Christ, and likewise when we celebrate the most sacred mystery of his body and blood on the holy altar, these animals without doubt return to us by invisible presence...Therefore too these animals return, indeed returning either by invisible presence or by the visible sacrament having been performed, from which it is said: "Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the earth."][89]

The physical presence of Christ within the church building was particularly significant in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, during a period of heated eucharistic debate.[90] The controversy between Berengar of Tours (c.1000–1088) and Lanfranc of Canterbury (c.1010–1089) between 1040 and 1080 confirmed the orthodox position on the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament, which Gary Macy argues had previously been "largely unnoticed."[91] Concern over eucharistic heresies in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries may have informed the meaning

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[89] Rupert of Deutz, *De trinitate et operibus ejus libri XLII. In Ezechielem prophetam commentariorum* 1.10, PL 167, col.1431B

[90] For surveys of the eucharist in the Middle Ages, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen van Ausdall (Leiden: Brill, 2012); and Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

[91] Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians, c.1080-c.1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). See also *Auctoritas und ratio. Studien zu Berengar von Tours,* ed. Peter Ganz, R. B. C. Huygens and Friedrich Niewöhner (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990); Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); and Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078-1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino Against Berengar of Tours* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)

and importance of the iconography of the *majestas Domini*, an image signifying the presence of Christ.

Conflicting views on the eucharist originated in two treatises written at the abbey of Saint-Pierre in Corbie: *De corpore et sanguine domini* written by Paschasius Radbertus (c.790–c.865) between 831 and 833, and a work of the same name by Ratramnus of Corbie (d. after 868) written between 843 and 844.[92] Both treatises were addressed to Charles the Bald (b. 823, r.875–877) and presented opposing interpretations of the presence of Christ in the eucharist. Paschasius Radbertus stated that the physical body of Christ was present in the sacrament, which was transformed "internally and in fact into Christ's flesh and blood."[93] For Paschasius, this was essential for salvation since the Mass united the physical bodies of the faithful, and the universal body of the Church, with that of Christ.[94] Ratramnus opposed Paschasus' view, asserting instead that what was present in the eucharist was the spiritual, rather than terrestrial, body and blood of Christ.[95] In his short treatise he distinguished between *figura* and *veritate*, stating that the eucharist represented Christ's body in *figura*, so that the exterior objects of bread and wine were forms which covered the hidden reality of Christ's spiritual presence, sensed only through faith.[96] Although Ratramnus' treatise was not condemned as heretical,

[92] For Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus see above, and also Celia Chazelle, "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy," *Traditio* 47 (1992), pp.1-36; Mayke de Jong, *Epitaph for an Era: Politics and Rhetoric in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Willemien Otten, "Between Augustinian Sign and Carolingian Reality: The Presence of Ambrose and Augustine in the Eucharistic Debate Between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie," *Duch Review of Church History* 80 (2000), pp.137-156; and Owen M. Phelan, "Horizontal and Vertical Theologies: 'Sacraments' in the Works of Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie," *The Harvard Theological Review* 103 (2010), pp.271-289
[93] Quoted and trans. by Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.15
[94] Chazelle, "The Eucharist in Early Medieval Europe," p.239; Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p.27
[95] Chazelle, "The Eucharist in Early Medieval Europe," p.248
[96] Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, pp.28-29

Pachasius' view of a material transformation of the bread and wine into Christ's physical body and blood was more widely disseminated and accepted as authoritative.[97]

Celia Chazelle argues that Ratramnus' views were influenced by his support of Gottschalk of Orbais (c.803–868) during the controversy over double predestination in the ninth century, during which Gottschalk argued that God predestined individuals to both salvation and damnation.[98] Gottschalk believed that Christ was only sacrificed once on behalf of those who were predestined to salvation, and so the eucharist could not offer salvation to those who had not already been saved by the crucifixion.[99] Although Ratramnus did not refer to predestination directly, the orthodox position on predestination refuted his and Gottschalk's view of figurative or spiritual presence, arguing instead that the repetition of Christ's sacrifice through the transformation of the eucharist into his material body allowed salvation to be available to all, which may have influenced the success of Pachasius' treatise over that of Ratramnus.[100]

Berengar of Tours, *scholasticus* of the abbey of Saint-Martin in Tours between 1040 and 1080, began challenging the dominant view of material presence in the eucharist in 1040 based on the treatise of Ratramnus, which he believed to have been written by the ninth-century Irish theologian John Scotus Eriugena (c.800–c.877).[101] Berengar had studied at the cathedral school of Chartres under Bishop Fulbert (1006–1028) before

[97] Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p.30
[98] For Gottschalk of Orbais and the debates over double predestination, see Matthew Bryan Gillis, *Heresy and Dissent in the Carolingian Era: The Case of Gottschalk of Orbais* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Matthew Bryan Gillis, "Heresy in the Flesh: Gottschalk of Orbais and the Predestination Controversy in the Archdiocese of Rheims," in *Hincmar of Reims: His Life and Work*, ed. Rachael Stone and Charles West (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp.247-267; Warren Pezé, "Doctrinal debate and social control in the Carolingian age: the predestination controversy (840s-860s)," *Early Medieval Europe* 25 (2017), pp.85-101; Diana Stanciu, "Double Predestination, Augustinian Tradition and Carolingian Ecclesiastical Politics," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 110 (2015), pp.56-102, 619-661; and Andrej P. Stefanczyk, "Doctrinal Controversies of the Carolingian Renaissance: Gottschalk of Orbais' Teachings on Predestination," *Annals of Philosophy* 65 (2017), pp.53-70
[99] Chazelle, "The Eucharist in Early Medieval Europe," p.245-248
[100] Chazelle, "The Eucharist in Early Medieval Europe," p.248-249
[101] Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p.35. For John Scotus Eriugena, see *A Companion to John Scottus Eriugena*, ed. Adrian Guiu (Leiden: Brill, 2020)

teaching at Tours in the mid-1030s, and approached the theology of the eucharist using the framework of dialectic and grammar prominent in cathedral schools of the eleventh century.[102] Following Aristotle and Augustine, he argued that it was impossible for the accidents of an object to remain while the substance was fully transformed into another, and distinguished between *signum* (signs) and *res* (things themselves).[103] Instead, he taught that the reception of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist was purely spiritual, while the bread and wine remained in both accidents and substance to be consumed. The eucharist pointed towards the signified reality of Christ's spiritual presence which was unified with the recipient's soul, rather than corporeal union of human and divine matter.[104] Berengar's position was challenged by Lanfranc, then abbot of Bec, John of Fécamp (c.990-1079), and Humbert, cardinal and bishop of Silva Candida (c.990/1000–1061), who declared his views to be heretical.[105] Berengar was condemned and forced to sign an oath in 1059, which he recanted, and a second declaration of faith in 1079 which made a clear doctrinal statement of eucharistic theology:

> *Ego Beringarius credo...panem et vinum, quae ponuntur in altari...substantialiter converti in veram et propriam ac vivificatricem carnem et sanguinem Iesu Christi...non tantum per signum et vertutem sacramenti, sed in proprietate naturae et veritate substantiae.*

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[102] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.17. For cathedral schools and the reception of Aristotle in the eleventh century, see Sten Ebbesen, "Boethius as an Aristotelian Commentator," in *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and their Influence*, ed. Richard Sorabji (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1990), pp.403-422; Toivo J. Holopainen, *Dialectic and Theology in the Eleventh Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Alex J. Novikoff, "Anselm, Dialogue, and the Rise of Scholastic Disputation," *Speculum* 86 (2011), pp.387-418; Irene O'Daly, "Revisiting the Evidence for the Study of Rhetoric and Dialectic at the School of Chartres in the Time of Fulbert (d.1028)," *Viator* 47 (2015), pp.23-44; James Shiel, "Boethius' Commentaries on Aristotle," in *Aristotle Transformed*, pp.377-402; and John R. Williams, "The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century," *Speculum* 29 (1954), pp.661-677

[103]Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.18; Radding and Newton argue that Berengar relied on Augustine but not Aristotle, see Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric and Politics,* p.13, 97

[104] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.17-18

[105] Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, p.95; Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p.38; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.19

> [I Berengar believe...that the bread and the wine that are placed upon the altar...are converted in substance into the true and proper and life-giving flesh and blood of Jesus Christ...not only through the sign and force of a sacrament, but in its natural property and in the truth of its substance.][106]

The eucharistic controversy of the late eleventh century firmly established that Christ was materially, but invisibly, present in the church building through the bread and wine of the eucharist. The discussions over the relationship between the two also introduced considerations of the relationship between sign and signified through the notion of the sacrament, a mode of presence which was different from other signs by being simultaneously sign (*sacramentum*) and that which was signified (*res sacramenti*).[107] Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak has argued that the eucharistic controversy of the eleventh century developed a theological semiotics in which signs and signifiers were conflated, so that signs embodied their referents and enabled them to be experienced as present.[108] Eric Palazzo has also considered the role of medieval sign theory, as derived from Augustine, in his discussions of liturgy and the senses. He argues that the liturgy used the senses in order to reveal God, allowing him to be "known intrinsically...establishing a link between the visible and invisible."[109] These debates were ongoing at the same time that the sculpture of the *majestas Domini* was produced at Moissac, in which the "likeness of the glory of God" seen by Ezekiel acted as a sign for the invisible presence of Christ in the church.

The eucharistic associations of the *majestas Domini*, as shown by Vergnolle, were elaborated in the portal system at Moissac through the Nativity sequence placed on the

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106 Quoted and trans. Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric and Politics*, pp.106-107
107 Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and Concept," *The American Historical Review* 105 (2000), pp.1489-1533; p.128; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.21
108 Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p.170. See also Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p.302; and Michael Kobialka, *This Is My Body: Representational Strategies of the Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992)
109 Eric Palazzo, "Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses" p.30

right side of the porch (fig. 1.16). The porch narratives are divided into a series of compartments containing individual scenes framed by a pair of arches, surmounted by a single image which stretched across both. The Nativity sequence begins in the bottom left with the Annunciation, followed by the Visitation on the bottom right, where the Virgin is shown visiting her cousin Elizabeth who holds up her hand in surprise as the infant John the Baptist responds to Christ's presence from within her womb. The two upper panels show the Magi visiting Christ and the Virgin in Bethlehem, carrying their gifts in veiled hands in the same way that the eucharistic vessels would be carried during the Mass.[110] Elizabeth Saxon has argued that by the twelfth century the Magi were interpreted as a prefiguration of the eucharistic offering and sacrifice and observes that at Moissac, the Magi appearing before Christ seated on the Virgin's lap alongside scenes of the Annunciation and Presentation "forcefully asserts the significance of the Eucharist of the body born of Mary."[111]

Across the top of the porch, the Presentation is shown on the right, with Simeon holding Christ above the altar, recalling the eucharistic ritual and presence of Christ's body on the altar of the church. The Virgin and her companion bring a bird to sacrifice, again prefiguring the eucharist, while Joseph turns to face an angel warning him of Herod's plan to kill all the male children in Bethlehem. The Massacre of the Innocents itself is omitted in favour of the entrance of the Holy Family to Egypt, with the Virgin, carrying Christ, riding on a donkey led by Joseph towards the gateway of a city, and thus also towards the doorway of the church. Within the Egyptian walled city of "Sohennen," icons are shown twisting sideways and tumbling head-first towards the ground, following the narrative given in the ninth-century Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew

[110] Elizabeth Saxon, "Carolingian, Ottonian and Romanesque Art and the Eucharist," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, pp.251-324 (p.297)
[111] Saxon, "Romanesque Art and the Eucharist," p.296-297

in which the 365 idols of the Egyptian temple fell from their altars when Mary entered with Christ.[112] Forsyth has observed that the falling idols is "almost non-existent" in earlier Nativity cycles, and argues that it was included as a counterpart to the female figures she identifies as representations of Jezebel on the opposite wall of the porch to construct a commentary on greed and lust.[113]

In addition to the iconographic details identified by Saxon and Forsyth as indicating eucharistic or moralising themes, the entire narrative of the Nativity sequence functions alongside the *majestas Domini* in the tympanum to forcefully reiterate the true presence of Christ following the eucharistic controversies of the preceding decades. With the exception of the Annunciation, all the episodes chosen for the porch, including the unusual iconography of the falling icons, depict moments in which figures recognise and respond to the veiled divinity of Christ. At the same time, the *majestas Domini* revealed that Christ was present inside the church, spiritually through the worshippers gathered there and materially in the bread and wine of the eucharist which was the means of salvation. As Rupert of Deutz explained in his commentary on Genesis 28, what was "terrible" about "this place" seen by Jacob in his dream was the future church and its sacraments, transforming the church building into the place he witnessed. In his commentary on Ezekiel, Rupert again connected visionary experience with the sacramental presence of Christ, stating that the Living Creatures return through the eucharist.

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112 Brandon W. Hawk, *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew and the Nativity of Mary* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2020), pp.79-80. For the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, which was a Latin text derived from the *Protoevangelium* of James, see also J. K. Elliott, *A Synopsis of the Apocryphal Nativity and Infancy Narratives* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *Sacred Fictions of Medieval France: Narrative Theology in the Lives of Christ and the Virgin, 1150-1500* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), p.11;

113 Forsyth, "Narrative at Moissac," p.86; see also Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac (2)," p.504. Forsyth follows Schapiro in identifying the city as Heliopolis, but the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew names the Egyptian city "Sohennen."

The connection between the *majestas Domini* and the doorway recalled John's vision, transforming the door of the church into the door "opened in heaven" through which Christ could be perceived, making an immediate connection between the building and the kingdom of Heaven. The emphasis on the presence of God within the church building and the typological analogy between the church portal and the Temple is shown by the *Jeu d'Adam*, a vernacular French liturgical play written between 1125 and 1175 and preserved in a single manuscript copied in the south of France (MS Tours 927).[114] This would have been performed before the doorway of the church, and Stephen Justice argues that this staging turned the church into the subject of the play as the location of Paradise, so that salvation was shown as "the ritually defined pattern of penance and reconciliation," the presence and authority of the church building, and the act of entry itself.[115] After the stories of the Creation, Fall, and Cain's murder of Abel, the prophets appear in sequence and a Latin responsory is sung, before the prophets explain chant's meaning in the vernacular. The Latin stage directions instruct the actor playing Jeremiah to point towards the door of the church during his performance:

> *Tunc ingredientur Jheremias ferens rotulum carte in manu, et dicat:*
>
> > *Audite verbum Domini, omnis Juda, qui ingredimini per portas has, ut adoretis Deum!*
>
> *Et manu monstrabit portas ecclesie:*

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[114] Christophe Chaguinian, "The *Jeu d'Adam*: A Monastic or Secular Play?" in *The Jeu d'Adam: MS Tours 927 and the Provenance of the Play*, ed. Christophe Chaguinian (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2017), p.31-32. See also Véronique Dominguez, ed. and trans., *Le Jeu d'Adam* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012); Charles T. Downey, "*Ad imaginem suam*: Regional Chant Variants and the Origins of the *Jeu d'Adam*," *Comparative Drama* 36 (2002/2003), pp.359-390; Steven Justice, "The Authority of Ritual in the *Jeu d'Adam*," *Speculum* 62 (1987), pp.851-864; and Lynette R. Muir, *Liturgy and Drama in the Anglo-Norman Adam* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973)

[115] Justice, "The Authority of Ritual," p.852

Domini, audivi auditum tuum et timui, consideravi opera tua et expavi; in medio duum animalium cognosceris. Hec dicit Dominus Deus exercituum, Deus Israel: Bonas facite vias vestras et studia vestra, et habitabo vobiscum in loco isto.

[Then Jeremiah will enter, carrying a roll of paper in his hand, and he will say:

Hear the word of the Lord, all Judah, who enter through these gates that you may adore the Lord!

And he will point with his hand to the door of the church*:*

Lord, I have heard your voice and was afraid, I have considered your works and was terrified; you will be known in the midst of two animals. Thus says the Lord God of hosts, God of Israel: Make your ways and your deeds good, and I will dwell with you in this place.][116]

As with the words of consecration in Carruthers' discussion, "this place" is the church building, where God can be encountered on earth through the eucharist and his invisible presence.[117] Rather than being a place which has become "suddenly, horribly not," as Carruthers describes, what is terrifying is the invisible presence of God, which is shown through the "likeness of the glory of God" in the *majestas Domini*. As a sign and statement of orthodox belief, the sculpted tympanum at Moissac aimed to persuade those entering the church to feel the reverence and humility experienced by the prophets, preparing them for mystical union with the body of Christ through the eucharist.

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[116] Latin text quoted from Dominguez, *Le Jeu d'Adam*, pp.302-304; translation my own. The reference to "two animals" is based on the Septuagint text of Habakkuk 3:2, *ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζῴων γνωσθήσῃ* [you will be known between the two living creatures]. While the Vulgate followed the Hebrew text, reading *in medio annorum notum facies* [in the midst of the years you will make it known], the Old Latin Bible followed the Septuagint, providing the source for the liturgical text. See Bogdan Gabriel Bucur, *Scripture Re-envisioned: Christophanic Exegesis and the Making of a Christian Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp.191-192

[117] Carruthers, "Terror, Horror and the Fear of God," p.19

In the trumeau, the prophet who inclines his head towards the interior of the church (fig. 1.14) further emphasises that the image of the *majestas Domini* was a prophetic vision and instructs viewers in how to respond. This figure has frequently been interpreted as Jeremiah, and if this is the case, then it would correspond with the revelation of divine presence above and the association between Jeremiah and the church shown by the *Jeu d'Adam*, showing that God would "dwell with you in this place."[118] Looking downwards towards the monks and visitors passing by the trumeau to enter the church, the prophet invites them to participate in the divine vision above. On the opposite side, Paul looks upwards and into the church building (fig. 1.15), demonstrating that while the Old Testament prophets had seen likenesses of God in the past, he was able to perceive the reality of God in the present.[119] The choice of Paul for the trumeau rather than Peter reflects his position as the only Biblical visionary to experience an unmediated encounter with God when he was caught up into the "third heaven."[120] The theological semiotics which emerged from discussions of the eucharist in which the bread and wine were simultaneously sign and signified through the sacrament to become the material presence of Christ can also be seen in the commentary tradition on Ezekiel's vision, in which the "likeness" seen by Ezekiel was understood as being a sign which incorporated, and thus revealed, the ineffable and invisible divine nature of God.

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[118] For the identification of this prophet as Jeremiah, see Dale, *Pygmalion's Power*, p.188; Forsyth, "The Date of the Moissac Portal," p.79-81; Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, IX: Provence, fig. 363; and Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *The Art Bulletin* 21 (1939), pp.313-374. None of these authors explain the identification, although in "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," Schapiro simply refers to this figure as a prophet. Kingsley Porter appears to be the earliest scholar to identify the prophet as Jeremiah.

[119] Dale similarly interprets the prophet's turn into the portal as representing his "veiled vision" of the coming of Christ in the Nativity sequence of the porch, although he does not offer an explanation for the representation of Paul also facing inwards. See Dale, *Pygmalion's Power*, p.188

[120] 2 Cor. 12:1-5

6. Likeness in Ezekiel's vison

As Bedos-Rezak has shown, eleventh-century writers developed a theological interpretation of signs in which they could be "experienced as if their referent...were present and, if not identical at least identifiable through resemblance," exemplified through eucharistic theology.[121] The role of images to visualise invisible presence is also addressed by Hans Belting in relation to figural reliquaries and cult images in the early Middle Ages. In his discussion of western images in *Likeness and Presence*, Belting argues that image theory in the west developed from the growth of saints' cults, in which images and relics were inextricably connected: "The image, with the bodily appearance of a sculpture, was an agent of religious experience as it represented the reality of the presence of the holy in the world, on terms similar to those of the relic."[122] Herbert L. Kessler demonstrates that images from the sixth to the twelfth century were understood as mediators between spiritual and corporeal modes of vision which "instigated dynamic progressions that, themselves, generated theological content.[123] Following Augustine's discussion of vision in *De genesi ad litteram*, medieval image theory was based on the distinction between corporeal, spiritual, and intellectual vision. Corporeal vision was the perception of the outward appearances of things, while spiritual vision involved mentally visualising images. Intellectual vision was pure understanding, without the need for any kind of mental or material image.[124] Augustine's discussion was frequently

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121 Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago*, p.170

122 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p.302

123 Kessler, "Turning A Blind Eye," p.414; Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, p.104

124 Bernard McGinn, "Theologians as Trinitarian Iconographers," *The Mind's Eye*, pp.186-207. See also Thomas Finan, "Modes of Vision in St Augustine: *De Genesi ad litteram XII*," in *The Relationship Between Neoplatonism and Christianity*, ed. Thomas Finan and Vincent Twomey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1992), pp.141-154; Cynthia Hahn, "Vision;" pp.45-46; Jesse Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.137-216; Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, p.118; Isabel Moreira, "Augustine's Three Visions and Three Heavens in Some Early Medieval Florilegia," *Vivarium* 34 (1996), pp.1-14; and Barbara Newman, "What Did It Mean to Say "I Saw"? The Clash Between Theory and Practice in Medieval Visionary Culture," *Speculum* 80 (2005), pp.1-43 (pp.6-7)

interpreted by medieval authors as a classification of visions, which Jesse Keskiaho has argued was due to the influence of Gregory the Great, who prioritised the literal imagery of visions.[125] For the majority of visions, such as Ezekiel's, God created physical or mental images to allow the visionary to comprehend divinity.[126]

The relationship between material images, mental imagining, and visionary experience is demonstrated by Rupert of Deutz's erotically charged dream-vision of the crucifix placed on the altar of the abbey church in Liège, in which he described kissing the image of Christ and being kissed in return:

> *[A]pprehendi "quem diligit anima mea," tenui illum, amplexatus sum eum, diutius exosculatus sum eum. Sensi quam gratanter hunc gestum dilectionis admitteret, cum inter asculandum suum ipse os aperiret, ut profundius oscularer.]*
>
> [I took hold of "him whom my heart loves," held him, embraced him, and kissed him eagerly for a long time. I sensed how much he joyfully accepted this gesture of love, since he opened his mouth while I kissed him, so that I might kiss him more deeply.][127]

Sara Lipton argues that Rupert's vision "emerged from an extended process of looking" at a carved figure of the crucified Christ, reflecting the effort required for the movement from corporeal to spiritual sight through focused contemplation and imitation.[128] As Kessler argues, contemplation involved a process of visualising material

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[125] Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions*, pp.138-139

[126] McGinn, "Trinitarian Iconographers," p.187

[127] Rupert of Deutz, *De gloria et honore Filii hominis super Mattheum*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke, CCCM 29 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), p.383

[128] Sara Lipton, "The Sweet Lean of His Head: Writing about Looking At the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages," *Speculum* 80 (2005), pp.1172-1208 (pp.1175-1179, 1182). See also Dale, *Pygmalion's Power*, p.28; Jung, "The Tactile and the Visionary," p.218-219; Robert Mills, "Ecce Homo," in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Samantha J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), pp.152-173; John Munns, "The eye of the beholder? Beauty and ugliness in the crucifixion imagery of the late Middle Ages," *Theology* 114

images in order to lead the mind to intellectual vision, which was the knowledge or understanding of what was ineffable and incomprehensible.[129] The *majestas Domini* shown to Ezekiel was a type of image which could be reproduced to have a similar effect, provoking reverence and humility in the presence of God.

Following Ezekiel's first vision of the Living Creatures, the second chapter of Ezekiel begins with the phrase: *Haec visio similitudinis gloriae Domini* [This was the vision of the likeness of the glory of the Lord]. The term *similitudinis* [likeness] was understood by authors to mean that Ezekiel saw an image which gave him spiritual understanding of God through the "likeness of glory." In his commentary on Ezekiel, Jerome explained that the prophet saw images rather than things themselves:

> *Vocem enim Dei Omnipotentis resonantem in coelestibus ferre non poterant, sed stabant, et mirabantur; et silentio suo, Dei potentiam demonstrabant, qui sedebat super firmamentum. Quod firmamentum his qui deorsum erant, habebat similitudinem crystalli: his autem qui supra, instar lapidis sapphiri videbatur. Quae similitudo sapphiri, thronus erat ejus qui sedebat in similitudinem hominis. Ex quo intelligimus, et firmamentum, et crystallum, et sapphirum, et hominem in similitudine, non in veritate monstrari.*
>
> [They [the Living Creatures] are not able to speak of the voice of the Omnipotent God resounding in heaven, but they stand still, and wonder; and by their silence, they were showing the power of God, who sat above the firmament. Which firmament they were beneath, which had the likeness of crystal: which was above this too, an image of sapphire stones was seen. Which

(2011) pp. 419-426; Lieke Smits, "Wounding, Sealing, and Kissing: Bridal Imagery and the Image of Christ," *Medium Aevum* 88 (2019), pp.1-22 (pp.13-15); and Richard Trexler, "Gendering Jesus Crucified," in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23-24th March 1990*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp.107-120

129 Kessler, "The Dynamics of Contemplation," p.414

likeness of sapphire was the throne of him who sat in the likeness of a man. From which we understand the firmament, crystal, sapphire, and man to be in likeness, and not in truth.][130]

As Mary Carruthers has shown, the understanding of representation in the Middle Ages was not mimetic, but instead signs made things "present to the mind by acting on memory." She observes that *repraesentare* ('represent') is derived from *praesens* ('presence'), so that the creatures seen by Ezekiel "do not represent God, they are signs of the presence of God."[131] Ezekiel's vision provided a divinely-created prototype for the *majestas Domini*, which similarly acted as a sign containing the "likeness of the glory of God" to encourage the reverence and humble fear appropriate for those entering the presence of divinity. In a slightly earlier passage, Jerome compared the vision to a created image:

Haec visio similitudinis gloriae Dei: per quae quasi per picturam quamdam et imaginem, providentiam demonstrari.

[This was a vision of the likeness of the glory of God: Through this, as if through a certain picture and image, providence is shown.]

Jerome's use of the terms *pictura* and *imago*, usually applied to human works of art, indicates that he understood Ezekiel's vision to be in a similar category as something which points to a reality separate from itself, a view of images as signs shared by Augustine.[132] In his commentary, Haimo of Auxerre followed Jerome's phrase "in

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[130] Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, col.0029C-0029D. See Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, particularly pp.42-47; J. N. D Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1975); and Douglas Kries, "Origen, Plato, and Conscience ("Synderesis") in Jerome's Ezekiel Commentary," *Traditio* 57 (2002), pp.67-83

[131] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p.275

[132] Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago*, p.121-123. See also Clifford Ando, "Augustine on Language," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 40 (1994), pp.45-78; B. Darrell Jackson, "The Theory of Signs in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 15 (1969), pp.9-49; and Robert A. Markus, "St Augustine on Signs," *Phronesis* 2 (1957), pp.60-83; and Robert A. Markus, "'Imago' and 'similitudo' in Augustine," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 10 (1964), pp.125-143

likeness and not in truth" by explaining that the "likeness" seen by Ezekiel showed the glory of God in the same way that a picture showed the likeness of a person:

> *Non tam[en] vera erat gl[ori]a D[omi]ni, sed similitudo erat visionis gl[oria]e d[omi]ni. Veluti verbi gr[ati]a pictura hab[et] imagine[m] petri aut pauli vel cetero[rum] alicui[us] cu[m] longe dist[et] a veritate.*
>
> [Yet this was not the glory of the Lord in truth, but it was a likeness of a vision of the glory of the Lord. Just as a by the grace of the word a picture has the image of Peter or Paul or any other thing when it is far from the truth.][133]

Jerome also interpreted the "likeness as of the appearance of a man" as being both the incarnate Christ and the complete Godhead, since God the Father could be referred to as *hominem* allegorically in Gospel parables:

> *Hominem autem Deum Patrem debere intelligi multa docent testimonia. E quibus illud est in Evangelio: "Homo quidam plantavit vineam, et locavit eam agricolis." Et post paulum: "Misit servos, et super omnes filium suum." Rursumque: "Homo quidam fecit nuptias filio suo." [...] Omnia enim Filii Patris sunt, qui est imago Dei Patris invisibilis*
>
> [Moreover, many testimonies show that by 'man,' God the Father should be understood. From that which is in the Gospel: "A certain man planted a vineyard, and let it to farmers." And a little later, "He sent servants, and above all his son." And again, "A certain man made a marriage for his son"[...] Indeed all these are the Son of the Father, who is the image of the invisible God the Father.][134]

As the Father is invisible and ineffable, the appearance of a man in Ezekiel's vision was Christ, who made the Triune God visible through the incarnation, so that all three persons of the Trinity were shown through the image. For Jerome, Ezekiel's vision was

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133 Haimo, *Annotatio in Iezichielem*, f.17r
134 Jerome, *in Ezechielem*, col.0029D-0030A

an image which made the invisible visible through likeness, so that the mysteries of God could be understood through corporeal vision:

> *Sicut autem crystallo purissima quaeque atque lucentia in coelestibus demonstrantur, quae nostrum oculatum corpus illuminant: sic in sapphiro, id est, in throno Dei, et super firmamentum quod coelum accipimus, abscondita atque secreta et incomprehensibilia Dei sacramenta monstrantur.*
>
> [Just as all things shining in the heavens are shown by purest crystal; which illuminate our bodily sight: thus in the sapphire, that is, in the throne of God, and above the firmament which we interpret as Heaven, the hidden, secret and incomprehensible mysteries of God are shown.][135]

Jerome's and Haimo's exegeses of Ezekiel treated the vision as a "likeness" which presented a type of image in order to reveal what could not be shown directly or explained by language, in the same way as a created image showed the likeness of a person, but not the person in reality. As a copy of this divinely created image, the *majestas Domini* was intended to be understood in a similar manner as a "likeness of the glory of God" which made the "hidden, secret and incomprehensible mysteries of God" visible and accessible to all. As with the eucharist, the image was a sign that simultaneously veiled and revealed the sacramental presence of God. Rather than a representation of the moment immediately before the Second Coming, or Christ the Judge, the *majestas Domini* was an atemporal representation of the incarnate Christ as the visible sign of the eternal and unchanging Godhead.

The identification of the image of Christ with God the Father is shown through an inscription on Christ's mandorla seen in a sculpted *majestas Domini* at the church of Saint-Orens in Larreule, produced c.1100. The church itself was almost entirely

[135] Jerome, *in Ezechielem*, col.0030B

destroyed during the Wars of the Religion in the sixteenth century, and rebuilt in the nineteenth century, when the rectangular plaque containing the *majestas Domini* was inserted into the tympanum (fig.1.22). Saint-Orens was founded as a Benedictine abbey in 1009, and the sanctuary rebuilt after a fire in 1068.[136] Jacques Gardelles has argued that since the building methods used for the main body of the church fell out of use in the mid-eleventh century, the tower dates to c.1100, and suggests that the sculpted plaque now in the tympanum was originally located on the south facade.[137] The plaque itself was damaged in the sixteenth century, and the upper corners, Christ's face, and the head of the lion are nineteenth century replacements, added when it was moved to its current location.[138] The sculpture represents the *majestas Domini*, although an angel replaces the eagle, and shows Christ seated on a rainbow decorated with lozenge-shaped gemstones within a mandorla, resting his left hand on a closed book and raising his right in blessing. The inscription written within the mandorla emphasises that through the incarnation, Christ made God visible:

> *SIC SEDET AETERNE DEITATIS IMAGO PATERNE / CVNCTA REPLENDO REGIT SVSTINET ATQUE TEGIT*
>
> [Thus sits the image of eternal paternal divinity / He rules, sustains, and protects by permeating all things][139]

By identifying Christ as the "image of eternal paternal divinity," the inscription clarifies the meaning of the iconography as a representation of the incarnate Christ as

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136 Stéphane Abadie, "Le cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Orens de Larreule (Xe–XIIe s.)," *Bulletin de la Société Académique des Hautes Pyrénées* (2017), pp.10-59; and Jacques Gardelles, "Saint-Orens de Larreule et l'architecture du XIe siècle en Bigorre et en Gascogne," *Bulletin Monumental* 129 (1971), pp.229-240

137 Gardelles, "Saint-Orens de Larreule," p.232

138 Gardelles, "Saint-Orens de Larreule," p.232

139 Trans. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.232; transcribed in *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale*, ed. Robert Favreau *et al.*, 26 vols. (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1974–2016), VIII: *Ariège, Haute-Garonne, Hautes-Pyrénées, Tarn-et-Garonne*, ed. Robert Favreau, Jean Michaud, and Bernadette Leplant (1982), p.92

the *imago Dei*, signifying the eternal presence of God. In the same way, Jerome interpreted the enthroned figure of Ezekiel 1 as an image of Christ, who was the visible form of God. Christ is represented as the "image of the invisible God," who, along with the Living Creatures as representations of scripture, made the presence of God in the church visible. The same concept is illustrated by the Hitda Codex, a Gospel Book produced for Abbess Hitda of Meschede in Cologne, c.1000 (r. c.978–c.1042).[140] Herbert Kessler has examined how "verbal and pictorial imagery was deployed to represent the invisible" in the manuscript, which justified and explained the *majestas Domini* by a set of verses which take up the entire facing page, written in gold on a purple background and surrounded by a decorative frame:

> *Hoc visibile imaginatum figurat illud invisibile veru[m] / cuius splendor penetrat mundu[m] / cum bis binis candelabris, ipsius novi sermonis.*

[140] Abbess Hitga's precise identity is unknown beyond this manuscript, which depicts her as a wealthy and aristocratic head of the spiritual community at Meschede in the first half of the eleventh century. Henry Mayr-Harting suggests that she was abbess between 978–1042, but records of the abbesses at Meschede do not survive for this period. For the miniatures, see Kessler, "Turning a Blind Eye." Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1991; repr. 1999), II, p.100. See also Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "The Medieval Work of Art: Wherein the 'Work'? Wherein the 'Art'?" in *The Mind's Eye*, pp.374-412 (pp.376-377); Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Robert Suckale, "Between This World and the Next: The Art of Religious Women in the Middle Ages," in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, trans. Dietlinde Hamburger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), pp.76-108; Herbert L. Kessler, "*Hoc Visibile Imaginatum Figurat Illud Invisibile Verum*: Imagining God in Pictures of Christ," in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp.291-306; Jennifer P. Kingsley, "Picturing the Treasury: The Power of Objects and the Art of Memory in the Bernward Gospels," *Gesta* 50 (2011), pp.19-39 (pp.28-29); Corine Schleif, "Gifts and Givers that Keep on Giving: Pictured Presentations in Early Medieval Manuscripts," in *Romance and Rhetoric: Essays in Honour of Dhira B. Mahoney*, ed. Georgiana Donavin and Anita Obermeier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp.51-74 (pp.67-69); and Andrea Worm, "'You Shall All Live Together in Harmony and Spiritual Unity: Images of Abbesses and Female Religious Communities in the Empire," in *Mulieres Religiosae: Shaping Female Spiritual Authority in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Veerle Fraeters and Imke de Gier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp.37-85 (pp.54-55, 77-79)

> [This visible thing which is imagined figures that invisible truth, whose splendour penetrates the world together with the two-times-two lamps of this new teaching.][141]

The image and its inscription reference Ezekiel's vision directly, as four small *rotae* are labelled and placed on either side of Christ, who is seated within a star-studded, hourglass-shaped mandorla. As Kessler explains, the iconography depicts the Gospels as embodiments of "a single invisible source," and the unity of scripture through Christ as *Logos*.[142] Comparing the language of the verses to the writers Alcuin of York (c.735–804) and Hrabanus Maurus (c.780–856), Kessler argues that the phrase "invisible truth" was a reference to the Trinity, embodied in the facing image as Christ, the only person of the Trinity to have visible form.[143] The image of the *majestas Domini* in the Hitda Gospels, combining exegetical interpretations of both Ezekiel and the Apocalypse, operated in a similar way to the sculpture at Moissac by engaging the reader and preparing her for the text to follow. Placed at the beginning of the book, it announced that by continuing she was passing through Christ as the "gate of heaven" embodied in the work of the evangelists. The reverence associated by Jerome, Gregory, and Rupert of Deutz with Ezekiel's vision was essential in this process of accessing invisible truth through contemplation of the corporeal but unchanging, eternal image created to allow Ezekiel to understand the glory of God.

7. The fear of the Lord at Moissac

As shown above, the commentaries on Ezekiel 2:1 explained how Ezekiel fell on his face from fear and knowledge of his own unworthiness, after which the "the spirit

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141 Quoted in Kessler, "*Hoc Visibile Imaginatum*," p.292; translation my own.
142 Kessler, "*Hoc Visibile Imaginatum*," p.292
143 Kessler, "*Hoc Visibile Imaginatum*," p.293

entered into me...and set me upon my feet."[144] Haimo of Auxerre connected this directly with sin and penitence, encouraging his readers to imitate the prophet by repentance:

> *S[an]c[t]i itaq[ue] in fatie[m] cadunt quia peccata sua p[er]territa recognoscentes penitentia[m] agunt...Qua p[ro]p[he]t[a] cum aliq[ui]d de d[omin]o cognoscim[us] in fatie[m] n[ost]ram cadam[u]s, ide[m] [et] malis erubescam[us] q[ui] nos p[er]petrasse meminim[us].*
>
> [The saints fall on their face because having been terrified by recognition of their sin, they achieve penitence...As the prophet, when we understand something of the Lord we fall on our face. And the same when we are ashamed of the evil which we remember to have perpetrated.][145]

This transformative, productive fear which produced the response of repentance was particularly appropriate for portal imagery. Susan Boynton has shown how monastic prayers frequently described the Psalms as sung "in the sight of God," a phrase included at the end of the Benedictine Rule and in the *Regularis Concordia* for the Night Office.[146] In one example, a psalter produced at the abbey of Farfa c.1100, a prayer includes the phrase "*in conspectu diuine maiestatis tue*" [In the sight of your divine majesty], repeated in a second manuscript from Farfa and one from the abbey of Santa Maria Maggiore in Tivoli.[147] Boynton identifies the references to prayers said "in the sight of" God as penitential, framing the Psalms as an offering for the remission of sin.[148] In his

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144 Ez. 2:1; "And the spirit entered into me after that he spoke to me, and he set me upon my feet: and I heard him speaking to me."

145 Haimo of Auxerre, *Annotatio libri Iezechielis imperfecta*, f.17v

146 Susan Boynton, "Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh and Twelfth Century Monastic Psalters," *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp.896-931 (pp.906-907). For the Benedictine Rule at Moissac, see Fraïsse, *Moissac*, pp.97-99, 112-121

147 Perugia, Biblioteca Communale Augusta MS I 17, quoted in Boynton, "Prayer as Liturgical Performance," p.906-907. See also Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp.81-82, 235; and Paola Supino Martini, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X–XII)* (Florence: Olschki, 1987), pp.236, 264-265

148 Boynton, "Prayer as Liturgical Performance," p.906

discussion of the "storeroom" in his sermon on the Song of Songs, Bernard describes how the constant gaze of God is to be feared:

> *Est item locus, de quo super rationalem reprobam quidem creaturam immobilis vigilat secretissima et severissima animadversio justi judicis Dei, terribilis in consiliis super filios hominum...Quis hoc loco requiem quaerat? Habet haec visio tremorem judicii, non securitatem cubiculi. Terribilis est locus iste, et totius expers quietis. Totus inhorrui, si quando in eum raptus sum, illam apud me replicans cum tremore sententiam: Quis scit si est dignus amore, an odio? [...] Est tamen Dei locus et iste, plane non aliud quam domus Dei, et porta coeli. Hic nempe timeri dicitur Deus; hic sanctum et terribile nomen ejus, et tanquam ingressus gloriae: Initium plane sapientiae timor Domini.*
>
> [And there is another place, from which the most secret and severe observation of God watches over rational fallen creation, terrible in counsel over the sons of men...Who could seek rest in this place? This vision has the terror of judgment, not the security of the bedchamber. This place is terrible, and entirely without rest. I shudder all over, if I am ever taken up in it, reflecting to myself with trembling that sentence: "Who knows whether he is worthy of love or hate? [...] Yet this too is the place of God; this is none other than the house of God and the gate of Heaven. Here indeed God is said to be feared; his name is holy and terrible, and the entrance of glory: the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.][149]

Rather than the Last Judgment, Bernard describes the constant and eternal judgments of God, who watches over the actions of humanity in the present. By representing the eternal presence of God above the door, the sculpture at Moissac reminded its audience to consider how he was watching over their actions, encouraging

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149 Bernard of Clairvaux, *In cantica canticorum*, col.0891C-0891D

them to fear his judgment when entering the church and before receiving the eucharist. Bernard quotes from the account of Jacob's dream, recalling Biblical precedents for the visionary experience he describes and connecting the "storeroom" with the Church through the words used in the consecration ceremony, which transformed the building into the "house of God and gate of heaven." The reference to the "entrance of glory" similarly connects the image of God's watchful gaze with entrance and beginning, in a similar way to the *majestas Domini*. As Paul Binski argues, doorways prepared their audiences for what was to follow, and the *majestas Domini* at Moissac directs the minds of those visiting and living at the abbey to the presence and glory of God through the "likeness" created to show that glory.[150] Just as the illustration of Ezekiel's vision in the Hitda Gospels showed the reader the unity of scripture embodied in the incarnate *Logos* to direct her experience of the text and enable her to understand what was revealed within it, the sculpted tympanum at Moissac aimed to guide the emotional and spiritual experience of its audience entering to pray "in the sight of your divine majesty."

Binski views the fear provoked by sculpture as "primary, not secondary," in which it was a means to achieving the "confident belief, sound judgment, and action," which he terms the "conviction purpose" of Romanesque and Gothic art.[151] In this process, he argues that "the incitement of fear is a technique, and its deployment is instrumental."[152] While the terror of images such as the *majestas Domini* and Last Judgment aimed to produce concrete action in prayer and repentance, as Binski contends, the fear of the Lord was also "chaste, enduring forever."[153] The response which the sculpture aimed to generate was an important part of its purpose, as continuing to fear was as important as the actions caused by that fear. As a representation of the glory of God and the

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[150] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.21
[151] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.47
[152] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.48
[153] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.47-48

"fullness of knowledge" (*plenitudo scientiae*), as Gregory described the cherubim, the *majestas Domini* showed both the beginning and end of wisdom.[154] After his description of the "storeroom," Bernard continues to discuss how fear is the beginning of wisdom, punning on the word *sapere* meaning both to know and to have taste:

> *Et bene initium sapientiae timor Domini; quia tunc primum Deus animae sapit, cum eam afficit ad timendum, non cum instruit ad sciendum. Times Dei justitiam, times potentiam; et sapit tibi justus et potens Deus, quia timor sapor est. Porro sapor sapientem facit, sicut scientia scientem, sicut divitiae divitem.*
>
> [Rightly is the fear of the Lord the beginning of wisdom; because God first has taste to the soul when he moves it to fear, not when he instructs it to knowledge. Fear the justice of God, fear his power, and to you the just and powerful God has taste, for fear is flavour. Then tasting makes wisdom, just as knowing makes knowledge, and riches makes wealth.][155]

Bernard uses the word *sapor* (taste) to refer to *sapientia* (wisdom), equating the two by obliquely referencing Psalm 33:9, "taste, and see that the Lord is sweet," to explain how by "tasting" God, the contemplative comes to have wisdom. In this way, *sapor* comes to stand for wisdom, so that the phrase "*timor sapor est*" can be understood as meaning "fear is wisdom." By moving from fear as the beginning of wisdom to speaking of fear as wisdom itself by analogy, Bernard shows how fear is necessary to wisdom, and will remain even after attaining the highest stage of the contemplative ascent. As with the description of *reverentia* in the *Tractatus Theologus* as the fear inspired by divine majesty experienced by the elect, which would continue after the creation of the new Heaven and new earth, Bernard's sermon demonstrates how fear was a goal in itself, rather than

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154 Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, col.0835D; *Quid vero per duo Cherubim, quae plenitudo scientiae dicuntur, nisi utraque Testamenta signata sunt?* Gregory used the same phrase to describe the cherubim in the *Moralia in Job*, PL 76, col.0029A; *Cherubim quippe plenitudo scientiae dicitur.*
155 Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cantica Canticorum*, col.0892A

a means to an end. Fear and wisdom were intrinsically linked, as Gregory explained, the more the contemplative understood and grew in wisdom, the more they experienced "wonderful fear." In addition to the terrifying gaze of the judge, the *majestas Domini* provided a visual image which would guide the viewer towards wisdom and fear, just as God had created the same image for Ezekiel.

At Moissac, Christ is surrounded by the twenty-four elders arranged over three registers divided by swirling clouds, depicting the fourth and fifth chapters of the Apocalypse in which the elders worship Christ. Each of the elders is seated on a cushioned backless seat and fill the space around the central group of Christ, the Tetramorph and the two cherubim, twisting to look towards the impassive and static figure of Christ. The composition of the clouds and figures creates a dynamic, rippling effect of movement emanating from Christ, focusing attention onto him. Binski argues that the role of ornament in sculpture was to initially provoke amazement and disorientation, creating a mood of "animation or restlessness" before inviting audiences to examine and meditate closely.[156] This follows the earlier work of Mary Carruthers, who compares the sculpture at Moissac to the interlaced carpet-pages found in insular Gospel books, arguing that in the same way, the sculpture "puts one not just in mind, but in motion, establishing intention and affect for the experiences within."[157] The multitude of moving, overlapping figures and clouds in the tympanum, in addition to the decorative foliage and creatures which cover the archivolts, lintel, and jambs of the portal, initially overwhelm and distract the viewer, leaving them unsure of where to look. Through careful, meditative looking, the density of the sculpture becomes clear, consistently leading the eye back to Christ.

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[156] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.27

[157] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p.265

Two marginal figures (figs. 1.23-24) placed in the second archivolt of the portal guide the audience's response to the divine vision displayed in the tympanum. The figure on the left bends backwards to look upwards, while the other has his back to the viewer and twists around to see Christ, both staring at him with eyes opened wide in astonishment. Binski interprets these figures following Carruthers' definition of terror as a paralysing "deprivation of sensation," describing them as responding to the image of Christ by "recoiling and casting their arms up and backwards as if astonished...probably in allusion to the text in Revelation 4:5, the throne emitting lightning and voices and thunders." However, the figure on the right does not bend back as dramatically as his companion on the left and holds an unidentifiable object in his raised hand and a staff in the hand which remains by his side. The raised hand of the figure on the left is damaged, but the depth of carving at the mid-point of his palm suggests that he is either bending his fingers into a loose fist or holding a small object. In his lowered hand, he holds an object which has the same proportions and circular dent at one end as the scroll held by the angel above him, suggesting that he also holds a scroll. A bird perches above his head, potentially identifying this figure as John, witnessing the vision of Apocalypse 4. If so, then the figure opposite would represent Ezekiel, responding to the same image, as indicated by the closed and opened scrolls held by the angels. Through these marginal figures, the tympanum directs the response of its audience, positioning them as witnesses to the same image shown to both John and Ezekiel and encouraging the same response of wonder and terror.

M. B. Pranger has argued for a specifically monastic form of aesthetics, analysing how the routine of prayer and meditation in the cloister shaped monastic writing, in which he finds a tension between hope, joy, and despair when considering the absent

presence of God.[158] In his analysis of Anselm of Canterbury's (c.1033–1109) *Proslogion*, Pranger describes the "dreamlike density" of monastic writing, "governed by the indivisibility of divine absence and presence in the centre."[159] He finds the source of this density in the patterns of thought shaped by the architectural forms of the cloister and the rhythm of the monastic routine in communities such as Moissac, encouraging meditation and rumination.[160]

Although the elders hold viols, none of them are shown playing or singing, in contrast to the repeated references to noise in the Apocalypse, in which John describes how the angels, creatures, and elders all sing before the throne.[161] Silence as a response to the glory of God appears in Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel:

> *Stantibus autem animalibus, demittebantur alae eorum. Vocem enim Dei Omnipotentis resonantem in coelestibus ferre non poterant, sed stabant, et mirabantur; et silentio suo, Dei potentiam demonstrabant, qui sedebat super firmamentum*.
>
> [The wings of these standing animals were let down. They could not bear the voice of the omnipotent God resonating in the heavens, but stood, and will wonder; and by their silence they were showing the power of God who was sat above the firmament.][162]

Hrabanus Maurus adapted Jerome's description of the cherubim, writing that they let down their wings to "show wonder by silence." (*stuporem silentio demonstrarunt*).[163] The agitated movement at Moissac is contrasted by the silent elders, who pause in their

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[158] M. B. Pranger, *The Artificiality of Christianity: Essays on the Poetics of Monasticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), p.98
[159] Pranger, *The Artificiality of Christianity*, p.102
[160] Pranger, *The Artificiality of Christianity*, p.99-100. For rumination see also Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 205-209
[161] Ap. 4:5, 8, 11; "And from the throne proceeded lightnings, and voices, and thunders;" "And they rested not day and night, saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, who was, and who is, and who is to come;" "The four and twenty ancients fell down before him...saying: Thou art worthy, O Lord our God..."
[162] Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, col.0029C-0029D
[163] Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, col.0545D

worship to gaze towards Christ. In her article on sensory experience in medieval devotion, Beth Williamson compares silences in music to images which were partially or sometimes placed out of sight to consider how silence and invisibility could direct the spiritual senses of inner hearing and sight.[164] She bases her argument on Emma Hornby's study of silence in medieval monastic chant, in which she argues that the pause for breath in the middle of psalm verses sung by the whole community was "heavily devotional, being ceremonial, meditative and indicative of the unity of the monastic community with the heavenly choir and the Holy Spirit."[165] Williamson suggests that this pause functioned similarly to the representation of musical notation to activate the inner sense of hearing, so that for a brief moment the song became part of the heavenly "music of the spheres" described by Boethius (480–524) in *De institutione musica*.[166] The representation of silence in the tympanum at Moissac may have reflected the significance of this brief pause in the sung liturgy, creating an analogy between the elders and the monks of Moissac, who similarly paused to gaze inwardly towards the invisible presence of Christ. As explained by Hrabanus Maurus, silence was a means of showing wonder, and the elders may have provided a model for the monks to imitate by

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[164] Beth Williamson, "Sensory Experience in Medieval Devotion: Sound and Vision, Invisibility and Silence," *Speculum* 88 (2013), pp.1-43 (p.31). See also Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines, "Performing Silence and Regulating Sound: The Monastic Soundscape of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp.47-70; and Matthew G. Shoaf, "The Voice in Relief: Sculpture and Surplus Vocality at the Rise of Naturalism," in *Resounding Images*, pp.31-46

[165] Williamson, "Sensory Experience," p.31; Emma Hornby, "Preliminary Thoughts About Silence in Early Western Chant," in *Silence, Music, Silent Music*, ed. Nicky Losseff and Jenny Doctor (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), pp.141-154 (p.145)

[166] Williamson, "Sensory Experience," p.31-32. For *De institutione musica*, see Calvin Bower, "Boethius and Nicomachus: An Essay Concerning the Sources of *De institutione musica*," *Vivarium* 16 (1978), pp.1-45; Calvin M. Bower, "The Modes of Boethius," *The Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984), pp.252-263; Gabriela Ilnitchi, "*Musica mundana*, Aristotelian Philosophy and Ptolomaic Astrology," *Early Music History* 21 (2002), pp.37-74 András Kárpáti, "Translation or Compilation? Contributions to the Analysis of Sources of Boethius' *De institutione musica*," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1987), pp.3-33; and Susan Rankin, "*Naturalis concordia vocum cum planetis*: Conceptualizing the Harmony of the Spheres in the Early Middle Ages," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp.3-19

inwardly picturing the vision of Christ and the silent music of the spheres. The material image provided a model for this mental imagining, as the image could be stored in the memory and recalled during prayer and liturgical performance to generate the "wonderful fear" associated with contemplative and visionary experiences that would bring the soul closer to God, as described by Carruthers.[167]

The tympanum at Moissac demonstrates the theological meanings of the *majestas Domini* iconography and the way in which the image was adapted to reflect the functions and meanings of the portal. By combining the visions of John and Ezekiel into a single moment witnessed at different moments in time, the sculpture positioned its audiences of monks and visitors to the abbey as participants in the eternal revelation of God, who was present within the church building through the community gathered there and the sacrament of the eucharist. As a copy of an image created by God to show his glory, the *majestas Domini* carried particular significance as the visible expression of the glory of God which enabled understanding of divinity through material and spiritual vision, in contrast to the intellectual vision which could not be reproduced or explained in human language. The portal at Moissac aimed to engage and guide the emotional responses of its audiences to generate the reverential fear associated with contemplative and visionary experience, not only to direct their thoughts and actions but also as an end in itself. This fear was productive and could lead to greater ascent, remaining and increasing as the contemplative gained deeper understanding or knowledge of God to produce the wonder that was between terror and sanctity. As a representation of the presence of God and totality of scripture, the *majestas Domini* was also a flexible image which could be combined with other iconographic themes to produce site-specific meaning. At Moissac, the Nativity sequence of the porch elaborates the theme of the tympanum to

[167] See Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*; and Carruthers, "Moving Images"

create a commentary on the eucharist and the inward recognition of invisible presence, while at Cluny, the addition of scenes from the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ framed the *majestas Domini* within the liturgical performance and meanings of the narthex as an allegory of Galilee.

8. Liturgical performance and the majestas Domini at Cluny

The sculpted tympanum of the third abbey church of Cluny, constructed between 1115 and 1122, frames the *majestas Domini* within a scheme of Christ's resurrection and Ascension to bring the past events of Christ's life and his future return into the present, a meaning which was enhanced through liturgical performance. Created shortly after the tympanum at Moissac, the sculpture demonstrates a similar purpose of constructing fear through the evocation of visionary experience to visualise the presence of God.

The abbey of Saint-Pierre in Cluny was founded in 909 by William the Pious (875–918), Duke of Aquitaine (from 893) and Count of Auvergne (from 886), who appointed Berno, then already abbot of Baume (c.850–927, r.909–926), as its first abbot.[168] Significantly, William placed the abbey under the direct authority and protection of the papacy, allowing it to operate without interference from local bishops and secular leaders.[169] Throughout the tenth century, Cluny was one of a number of reformist

[168] Cluny has been the subject of sustained focus from historians since its destruction in the early nineteenth century. For overviews of the historiography, see *A Companion to the Abbey of Cluny in the Middle Ages*, ed. Scott G. Bruce and Steven Vanderputten (Leiden: Brill, 2022); Janet T. Marquardt, *From Martyr to Monument: The Abbey of Cluny as Cultural Patrimony* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007); *Cluny après Cluny: Constructions, reconstructions et commémorations, 1790–2010*, ed. Didier Méhu (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); and the special issue "Current Studies on Cluny," *Gesta* 27 (1988), ed. Walter Cahn, Ilene H. Forsyth, and William W. Clark

[169] For the extent and significance of Cluniac independence, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198*; Rosalind Kent Berlow, "Spiritual Immunity at Vézelay (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries)," *The Catholic Historical Review* 62 (1976), pp.573-588; Jean-François Lemarignier, "L'Exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme

monasteries, and under abbots Odilo and Hugh, the abbey gained increasing wealth and success and grew substantially.[170] By the end of the eleventh century, Cluny had become the head of a large order of priories and daughter-houses, and the customs of Cluny influenced other houses beyond those attached to the abbey.[171] In 1088, Hugh began construction of a new abbey church, only a century after completion of the second church on the site.[172] This new church was consecrated by Urban II in 1095, although building work continued up to 1130, and the west facade of the church was later enclosed within a narthex completed during the abbacy of Roland de Hainaut, between 1220–1228.[173] The abbey church was almost entirely demolished in 1811, destroying the sculpted portal of the *majestas Domini* located over the main western entrance.[174]

Kenneth Conant and Helen Kleinschmidt used surviving fragments of sculpture found during Conant's excavations on the site in 1928–1938 and 1949–50 to

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grégorienne," in *À Cluny: Congrès scientifique, fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des saints abbés Odon Odilon, 9-11 juillet 1949* (Dijon: La Société des Amis de Cluny, 1950), pp.288-334; Benjamin Pohl, "The Problem of Cluniac Exemption," in *A Companion to the Abbey of Cluny*, pp.288-305; and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999)

170 For contemporary reform movements, see above, and also Lyman, "The Politics of Selective Eclecticism;" Benjamin Pohl and Steven Vanderputten, "Fécamp, Cluny, and the Invention of Traditions in the Later Eleventh Century," *The Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 5 (2016), pp.1-41. For Cluny during the abbacies of Odilo and Hugh, see Isabelle Cochelin, "Besides the book: using the body to mould the mind – Cluny in the tenth and eleventh centuries," in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), pp.21-34; *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Noreen Hunt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1971); Noreen Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh, 1049–1109* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of St Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); and Steven Vanderputten, "The Emergence of the *Ecclesia Cluniacensis*," in *A Companion to the Abbey of Cluny*, pp.34-49

171 For the customs of Cluny and their influence, see *From Dead of Night to End of Day*; Boynton, *Liturgy and History*; Jay Diehl and Steven Vanderputten, "Cluniac Customs Beyond Cluny: Patterns of Use in the Southern Low Countries," *Journal of Religious History* 41 (2016), pp.22-41; and Pohl and Vanderputten, "The Invention of Tradition"

172 For the third church at Cluny, see C. Edson Armi, "The Context of the Nave Elevation of Cluny III," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69 (2010), pp.320-351; Conant, *Cluny*; and Carolyn M. Carty, "The Role of Gunzo's Dream in the Building of Cluny III," *Gesta* 27 (1988), pp.113-123

173 Conant, *Cluny*, pp.112-115; Krüger, "Monastic Customs and Liturgy," p.204

174 See Marquardt, *From Martyr to Monument*

reconstruct the iconography of the tympanum (fig.1.25), alongside watercolour sketches by Jean-Baptiste Lallemand made between 1773–1780 and a detailed description of the portal written c.1779 by Benoît Dumoulin, then doctor at the abbey.[175] Christ is enthroned within an oval mandorla held by angels who stand on clouds, with the four creatures symbolising the evangelists placed in the corners, their whole bodies turned towards Christ in a composition which echoed the imagery of Saint Paul's basilica in Rome, as argued by Stratford.[176] In the lintel, the scene of the three women visiting Christ's tomb to be told by an angel that he is resurrected is on the far left, and the Supper at Emmaus is on the far right. In the centre, eleven apostles and the Virgin are gathered to witness Christ's ascension, represented by the *majestas Domini*. In the tympanum, two angels fly down to speak to the group below following the account in Acts, in which two angels tell the apostles that Christ would return: "This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven, so shall come, as you have seen him going into heaven."[177]

Conant initially believed the portal was sculpted c.1115, but later revised the date to c.1106-1110 based on his view that the nave clerestory was completed c.1115, arguing that it predated the tympanum of Moissac.[178] Stratford critiqued Conant's conclusions, arguing that Conant's "Clunio-centrist" view led him to believe that Cluny was the

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[175] Conant, *Cluny*; Kenneth John Conant, "Cluny Studies, 1968–1975," *Speculum* 50 (1975), pp.383-390; Helen Kleinschmidt, "Notes on the Polychromy of the Great Portal at Cluny," *Speculum* 45 (1970), pp.36-39; Juliette Rollier-Hanselmann, "Reconstitution des portails de Cluny III: des fouilles de Conant à l'imagerie virtuelle en 3D," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* (*BUCEMA*) 13 (2009), pp.157-170; Juliette Rollier-Hanselmann and Stéphanie Castandet, "Couleurs et dorures du portail roman de Cluny III. Restitution en 3D d'une oeuvre disparue," *BUCEMA* 14 (2010), pp.235-250 and David Walsh, "An Image of Cluny by Emile Sagon," in *Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages*, ed. Janet T. Marquardt and Alyce Jordan (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp.111-128 (p.115)

[176] Stratford, "Le grand portail de Cluny III," p.18

[177] Acts 1:11

[178] Kenneth John Conant, "Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny, VIII: Final Stages of the Project," *Speculum* 29 (1954), pp.1-43 (p.11); Conant, "Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny, X," *Speculum* 45 (1970), pp.1-35 (p.31); and Conant, "The Theophany in Church Portal Design," *Gesta* 15 (1976), pp.127-134

"fount and origin" of all other major twelfth-century portals.[179] In his study of the chronology of building projects at Cluny, Stratford finds that the western parts of the nave were constructed between 1115 and 1130, rather than being complete by 1110, as Conant had proposed.[180] Based on his comparison between the tympanum fragments and abbot Hugh's tomb, created in 1120 to promote his new cult, Stratford argues convincingly that both must have been made during the abbacy of Pons, between 1115 and 1122.[181]

Kristina Krüger has analysed the Sunday and Easter processions performed at Cluny and recorded in three customaries from the eleventh century: the *Liber tramitis* written for the abbey of Farfa between 1027 and 1048, where the customs of Cluny were introduced; the *Consuetudines* of Ulrich of Zell (1029–1083), written between 1079 and 1083 or 1084 for Abbot William of Hirsau (c.1030–1091); and a work of the same name written c.1085 by a Cluniac monk named Bernard.[182] The fourth station of the procession was held in the narthex of the church, called the *"galilea"* (Galilee) in the customaries, which Krüger highlights as the "particularly Cluniac feature," adapted in other monasteries according to their architectural settings (fig. 1.26).[183] Although the narthex was not added to the third church until the thirteenth century, she argues that it

179 Stratford, "Le grand portail," p.17. Robert Branner also criticised Conant's monograph study for failing to provide evidence for a number of his conclusions, instead relying on speculation and comparative studies, see Robert Branner, review of Kenneth J. Conant, *Cluny: Les églises et la maison de la chef d'ordre* (1968), *The Art Bulletin* (1971), pp.246-248

180 Kenneth John Conant, "Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny V: The Date of the Ambulatory Capitals," *Speculum* 5 (1930), pp.77-94 (pp.85-86, 90); and Stratford, "Le grand portail," p.17-18

181 Stratford, "Le grand portail," p.18

182 Krüger, "Monastic Customs," p.194. For these customaries see above=, and also Susan Boynton, "Oral Transmission of Liturgical Practice in the Eleventh-Century Customaries of Cluny," in *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth-Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. Steven Vanderputten (Turnhout Brepols, 2011), pp.67-84; Frederick S. Paxton, *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); and James Westfall Thompson, "On the Identity of Bernard of Cluny," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 8 (1907), pp.394-400

183 Krüger, "Monastic Customs," p.195, 200

would have been planned from the beginning, given the significance of the fourth station in the customaries.[184]

The *Galilea* itself was a two-storey, three-aisled narthex several bays long that had a chapel on its first floor, a distinctly Cluniac structure which shaped, and was shaped by, the liturgy.[185] At Cluny, a *Galilea* was present in the second church built in the early eleventh century under Abbot Odilo, which was preserved during construction of Cluny III, connected to the new building by a small passage leading to a doorway in the seventh bay of the southern nave aisle.[186] Krüger suggests that while the new narthex was under construction, the fourth station of the Sunday procession continued to be performed in the *Galilea* of the old church.[187] However, she argues that the new *Galilea* had been planned for Cluny III from the beginning, and so the tympanum was designed to correspond with the theological content of the liturgy which would be performed in front of the door.[188] Two-storey narthexes termed *galilea* in contemporary sources are found at monasteries where the Cluniac customs were adopted, such as Saint-Philibert in Tournus (c.1006–c.1030/1040), Paray-le-Monial (c.1080–1130), and Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Vézelay (c.1120–1135), demonstrating the close association between the meanings of the liturgical station and its architectural location.[189]

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184 Krüger, "Monastic Customs," p.204
185 Krüger, "Monastic Customs," 197
186 Krüger, "Monastic Customs," p.205. See also Anne Baude, "La chapelle de l'abbé et le passage Galilée," *Cahiers du Musée d'art et d'archéologie de Cluny* 1 (1996), pp.29-33
187 Krüger, "Monastic Customs," p.205
188 Krüger, "Monastic Customs," p.206
189 Krüger, "Monastic Customs," p.196; Krüger, "Architecture and Liturgical Practice"; and Kristine Tanton, "Inscribing Spiritual Authority: The Temptation of St. Benedict Capital in the Narthex at Vézelay," *Viator* 44 (2013), pp.126-156. For Tournus, Paray-le-Monial, and Vézelay see also Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006); Marcellin Babey, "Constantin le Grand à Tournus. Etude iconographique de la galilée de l'abbatiale Saint-Philibert," *Artibus et Historiae* 36 (2015), pp.9-61; C. Edson Armi, "The Nave of Saint-Philibert at Tournus," *Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians* 60 (2001), pp.46-67; Jacques Henriet, "Saint-Philibert de Tournus. L'oeuvre du second maître: la galilée et la nef," *Bulletin Monumental* 150 (1992), pp.101-164; *1004–2004: un millénaire à Paray-le-Monial*, ed. Nicholas Reveyron (Paray-le-Monial: Amis de la

The fourth station for which the narthex and portal was designed re-enacted the moment when Christ revealed himself to the Apostles in Galilee following the Resurrection, which Krüger describes as the "most solemn" element of the Easter and Sunday processions. Standing before the door (*ante portam*), the monastic choir sang the antiphon *Crucifixum in carne* followed by the collect *Domine Jesu Christe*, before entering through the portal to chant the antiphon *Christus resurgens*.[190] Rupert of Deutz wrote his liturgical commentary *Liber de divinis officiis* in 1111 while at the monastery of Saint-Laurent in Liège, where Cluniac customs were introduced sometime before 1107, in which he explained the meaning of the Sunday procession:

> *Ut autem processio ageretur, ex mystica euangelii auctoritate tractum est, scilicet ex eo, quod angeli mulieribus praecipiunt dicentes: Ite, dicite discipulis eius et Petro, quia praecedit uos in Galilaeam, et ipse Dominus occurrens illis exeuntibus a monumento, cum tenuissent pedes eius et adorassent eum: Ite, inquit, nuntiate fratribus meis, ut eant in Galilaeam, ibi me uidebunt. Primi huius mandati, quod Dominus resurgens per angelos suos et per seipsum suis mandat discipulis: ut eant in Galilaeam, et ibi me uidebunt, inquit, si causam agnouerimus, procul dubio fatebimur merito fieri, quod mandatum illud hac die cunctisque per annum dominicis memoria celebri, id est processione frequentamus solemni. [...]*
>
> *Ecce haec est illa magna transmigratio, quam Galilaea quoque suo commendat nomine...eandem gratiae suae transmigrationem significare uoluit per Galilaeam, quae latine uertitur in transmigratione.*

basilique romane de Paray-le-Monial); Nicholas Reveyron, "Hugues de Semur et l'architecture clunisienne. Influences de la liturgie et des coutumes monastiques sur les programmes architecturaux dans l'*ecclesia cluniacensis*," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 91 (2012), pp.91-147; Francis Salet, "La Madeleine de Vézelay et ses dates de constructions," *Bulletin Monumental* 95 (1936), pp.5-25, 142-245; and Mariëtte Verhoeven, "Appropriation and Architecture: Mary Magdalene in Vézelay," in *Monuments and Memory: Christian Cult Buildings and Constructions of the Past. Essays in Honour of Sible de Blaauw*, ed. Mariëtte Verhoeven, Lex Bosman and Hanneke van Asperen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp.107-119

[190] Krüger, "Monastic Customs," pp.195, 207

[And moreover, that the procession should be performed is drawn out from the mystical authority of the Gospel, that is, from himself, that as the angels instructed the women, saying, "Go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is gone before you into Galilee," and the Lord himself meeting them after exiting the tomb, when they held his feet and adored him, "Go, declare to my brothers that they should go into Galilee, there they will see me." This first mandate, that the risen Christ instructed the apostles through his angels and himself: that they should go into Galilee, "and there they will see me," he says, if we should understand the reason, we will show what takes place: that the memory of this instruction is celebrated this and every Sunday of the year, that is, we frequently celebrate this solemn procession. [...]

And this too is that great transmigration, that he entrusted to his disciples by the name of Galilee...that he wished to signify to them the transmigration of his grace [from the Jews] through Galilee, which is translated in Latin *in transmigratione*.][191]

Krüger interprets the associations of Galilee as a "transmigration" as meaning simultaneously the migration of grace from the Jews to the Christians; conversion from vice to virtue through repentance; and the meeting with Christ at the end of time, following the resurrection.[192] She emphasises the eschatological implications of the *majestas Domini* and Rupert's description of the procession to argue that the *Galilea* of Cluny II was originally constructed for the explicit purpose of holding daily Masses for

[191] Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke, CCCM 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), p.250-252. See Krüger, "Monastic Customs," pp.195-196; Krüger, "Architecture and Liturgical Practice," p.151
[192] Krüger, "Architecture and Liturgical Practice," p.151

the commemoration of the dead.[193] In addition to these meanings, the visionary iconography of the *majestas Domini* responded to the emphasis on Galilee as the place where the Apostles would see Christ and understand his divinity. In the same way, the monks celebrating the procession in the *Galilea* would 'see' Christ through the image in the tympanum. As Rupert explained in his commentary on the Palm Sunday procession, "in Galilee, that is in the migration, we are obligated to exit with the Apostles to see the Living Lord, as we are not the old men we have been, but we walk in the newness of life" [*in Galilaeam, id est in transmigrationem ad uidendum Dominum cum apostolis eius exire debeamus, scilicet, ut non simus uetusti homines, quod fuimus, sed in nouitate uitae ambulemus*].[194]

Through the typological allegory created by the architecture, sculpture and liturgy of the *Galilea* at Cluny, the monks recreated the meeting between Christ and the Apostles while entering and exiting the church, transforming the narthex into the historical Galilee. In his commentary on Ezekiel, Rupert connected Ezekiel's vision to the Apostles' meeting with Christ in Galilee and the Ascension:

> *Propheta ipse postquam Evangelii figuras sive imagines tam mirabiles pervidit, jam nunc praedicatoris ejusdem Evangelii, id est apostolorum vel discipulorum Christi typum gerit. "Et vidi, inquit, et cecidi in faciem meam." Non statim ut vidit similitudinem quatuor animalium vel caetera quae consecuta sunt, cecidit in faciem suam; sed postquam vidit similitudinem throni, et desuper similitudinem quasi aspectus hominis, "cecidi, ait, in faciem meam." Sic nimirum apostoli non statim ut Christum Dominum coeperunt sequi, et videre gloriam Evangelii ejus, ita cognoverunt eum, vel ita crediderunt ut adorarent eum, sed postquam*

193 Krüger, "Architecture and Liturgical Practice," p.151-152; Kruger explains that these masses would have been held in the upper chapel of the Galilee, and that this was the origin of the name. She argues that as the customaries instruct each priest to announce to the chapter when he has completed his masses so that the next priest could begin, all masses held in commemoration of deceased Cluniac monks must have been said at the same altar.
194 Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, p.158

resurrexit a mortuis, et in coelum ascendit, adoraverunt, et adorandum illum esse praedicaverunt.

[After the prophet himself perceived the figures of the Gospel and such wonderful images, he now carries a type of the preachers of the Gospel themselves, that is, the Apostles and disciples of Christ. “And I saw,” he says, “and I fell on my face.” Not as soon as he saw the likeness of the four animals or the other things which they followed did he fall on his face; but after he saw the likeness of the throne, and above the likeness as if of the appearance of a man, he says “I fell on my face.” Thus evidently the apostles did not worship Christ the Lord as soon as they began to follow him, and to see the glory of his Gospel, in such a way they knew him, and so they believed they worshipped him, but after he had risen from the dead and ascended into Heaven, they worshipped him, and they preached him to be that which is to be worshipped.][195]

In the *Galilea*, the monks could re-enact the Ezekiel and the Apostles’ progression from knowledge to fearful wonder and understanding. By combining scenes of the Resurrection and Ascension with the visionary image witnessed by Ezekiel and John, the tympanum combined past, present, and future into a single moment, allowing the monks to see the same glory of God with the Apostles as they recreated the moment they met with Christ. Seeing the same likeness of the glory of God created for Ezekiel, the monks could move from knowledge to worship and fearful wonder as they considered the Resurrection and Ascension, the works of salvation which provoked Jacob’s terror at seeing “this place” which is the gate of Heaven.

[195] Rupert of Deutz, *In Ezechielem* 1.17, col.1439B-1439C

The temporal understanding of Christ being simultaneously in Heaven and on earth through sacramental presence is shown by the inclusion of the empty tomb, Emmaus, and Ascension in the lintel. The scene of the Ascension appears directly beneath Christ, so that the *majestas Domini* of the tympanum becomes part of the Ascension iconography. Mary is shown with her arms held in front of her chest in the centre of the lintel, flanked by two angels, with the eleven remaining Apostles arranged around her, five on the left, and six on the right. In the tympanum itself, two angels lift Christ upwards, holding either side of his mandorla, while a second pair of angels fly downwards to speak to the Apostles and Mary below. This follows a different formula than the Ascension tympanum at Saint-Sernin (fig.1.27), where Christ is shown in profile stepping upwards towards Heaven, an iconographic type appearing in the fifth-century carved wooden doorway of Santa Sabina in Rome, and consistently used in ivory and manuscripts in the early Middle Ages.[196]

A leaf originally from the Lectionary of Cluny (Paris, Musée de Cluny, Cl. 23557), produced c.1100 (fig. 1.28), demonstrates the iconographic formula for the Ascension known at the abbey at the same time the sculpture was produced.[197] Christ is shown at the top of the image, standing upright within a mandorla filled with stars, the edges of which are decorated with a pink undulating border to designate clouds. Below, two

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[196] For Ascension iconography in general, see Ernest T. DeWald, "The Iconography of the Ascension," *American Journal of Archaeology* 29 (1915), pp.277-319. For the carved doors of Santa Sabina, see Ivan Foletti, "The Doors of Santa Sabina: Between Stational Liturgy and Initiation," in *The Fifth Century in Rome: Art, Liturgy, Patronage*, ed. Ivan Foletti and Manuela Gianandrea (Rome: Viella, 2017), pp.121-137; Ivan Foletti, "Singing Doors: Images, Space, and Sound in the Santa Sabina Narthex," in *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art*, ed. Bissera V. Pentcheva (London: Routledge, 2021), pp.19-35; and Jean-Michel Spieser, "Le programme iconographique des portes de Sainte-Sabine," *Journal des Savants* (1991), pp.47-82.
[197] The Lectionary itself is BnF N.a.L 2246, from which a number of miniatures have been removed before its acquisition by the BnF in 1881; the Ascension would have belonged to f.64v. See Vescovi, "An Eschatological Mirror." The Pentecost miniature from the Lectionary was associated with the tympanum at Vézelay by Émile Mâle, see Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, pp.329-330; Low, "You Who Were Once Far Off," p.487n16; and Michael D. Taylor, "The Pentecost at Vézelay," *Gesta* 19 (1980), pp.9-15

angels hold either side of a scroll reading "*Sic veniet [quemadmodum] vid[i]stis eu[m] [e]unte[m]*" ["Thus he will return by the same manner you have seen him going"], above the Apostles gathered around the central figure of Mary, who all look up towards Christ. Mary stands between Peter and Paul, enclosed within a pink arched shape decorated with an abstract diaper pattern of squares containing crosses.

In the portal sculpture, the representation of the Ascension is closer to the "eastern" type of Ascension iconography which appears in the Rabbula Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana cod. Plut. I, 56, f.13v), a manuscript produced in Syria c.586 (fig. 1.29), and sixth-century lead ampullae from Palestine now held in the cathedral of Monza.[198] A similar representation of the Ascension also appears in the ninth-century frescos in the lower church of San Clemente in Rome, where Mary stands above the gathered Apostles, while Christ is raised into the Heavens by angels carrying his mandorla (1.30).[199] Ally Kateusz has argued that this iconography was originally intended to represent the Ascension of Mary, based on fifth-century accounts of her Dormition and Ascension, which describe how the eleven Apostles and Paul visited her

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198 It has recently been suggested that the last four folios, including the images of Ascension and Pentecost, were taken from a contemporary manuscript and added to the Rabbula Gospels in the fifteenth century. See Massimo Bernabò, "The Miniatures in the Rabbula Gospels: Postscripta to a Recent Book," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2014), pp.343-358; and David H. Wright, "The Date and Arrangement of the Illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), pp.197, 199-208. For the Rabbula Gospels in general, see Herbert L. Kessler, "Narrative Representations," in *Age of Spirituality*, pp.449-456 (pp.454-455); *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art,* ed. Jeffrey Spier (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 2007), pp.276-282. For the Monza ampullae, see André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958); Elizabeth Leesti, "The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary," *Gesta* 28 (1989), pp.205-216 (p.206-207); Paul A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," *Dunbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950), pp.41-138; and Kurt Weitzmann, "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974), pp.31-55.

199 For the wall paintings at San Clemente, see Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p.128; Joseph Mullooly, *Saint Clement Pope and Martyr and his Basilica in Rome* (Rome: G. Barbera, 1873), pp.199-299; and John Osborne, *Early Mediaeval Wall Paintings in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome* (New York: Garland, 1984)

before her ascension.[200] In the Syriac "Six Books" version of the narrative, Mary raised her arms to pray with the Apostles before Christ descended in a "chariot of the seraphim" and carried her to Heaven.[201]

While this interpretation may be applied to the Rabbula and San Clemente iconography, the lintel at Cluny was unambiguously intended to represent the Ascension of Christ, following chronologically from the scenes of the Resurrection and Emmaus. Unlike the earlier images, Mary holds her hands to her chest instead of stretching her arms outwards, and is accompanied by only eleven apostles, rather than the twelve specified in the Dormition narratives.[202] In the tympanum, Christ is not shown returning to his mother, but neither is he shown in the moment of ascent, as in the traditional "western" iconography. Instead, the imagery of the *majestas Domini* is used to show how, following the Ascension, Christ was simultaneously reigning in Heaven and present in the church building until he would return "as you have seen him going into Heaven."[203] In his analysis of the iconographic innovation of the "disappearing Christ" in tenth and eleventh-century English Ascension images, Robert Deshmann argued that the depiction of Christ vanishing into a cloud was intended to illustrate how the Apostles no longer saw him with corporeal vision, but spiritual.[204] Similarly, the tympanum at Cluny did not represent Christ in the moment of Ascension, but showed

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200 Ally Kateusz, "Ascension of Christ or Ascension of Mary? Reconsidering a Popular Early Iconography," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 23 (2015), pp.273-303 (p.283). Mullooly also believed the scene of Ascension at San Clemente represented the Assumption of the Virgin, although he did not explain his interpretation, see Mullooly, *Saint Clement*, pp.280-286. For the "Six Books," tradition, see Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp.46-57; Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Mary in Early Christian Faith and Devotion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), pp.130-165; and Antoine Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VIe au Xe siècle. Études et documents* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1955)
201 Kateusz, "Ascension," p.286
202 Kateusz, "Ascension," p.286
203 Acts 1:11
204 Robert Deshman, "Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images," *The Art Bulletin* 79 (1997), pp.518-546 (p.533)

the "likeness of the glory of God" to enable the monks to internalise and reproduce the image to see Christ as the Apostles did after the Ascension, with their spiritual sight. As Rupert indicated in his commentary on Ezekiel, it was only after achieving this spiritual vision that Ezekiel and the Apostles were able to see Christ's true nature, provoking reverential fear.

The tympana of both Cluny and Moissac aimed to make the presence of Christ visible, showing the monks and visitors that Christ was both the "gate of Heaven" and the God who could be found "in this place" through sacramental presence. Through the liturgy and iconography, the monks and visitors to the abbey could position themselves alongside the visionaries and Apostles, extending the historical image shown to Ezekiel and John into their own present as a representation of the eternal glory of Christ both before and after the incarnation. The monumental image of the "likeness of the glory of God" was designed to provoke fear and wonder at the power of God and his invisible presence, but in a reciprocal interaction, they reflected and were enhanced by the fear with which they were approached. After considering the watchful gaze and constant judgments of God to initiate the fear which was the "beginning of wisdom," the contemplative viewer could elevate their spiritual understanding by internalising and visualising the image to achieve the fear which was wisdom itself, characterised by reverence and wonder.

Chapter Two: The Terror of Judgment

1. Introduction

In the late eleventh century, Anselm of Canterbury began composing his *Orationes sive Meditationes*, a series of nineteen prayers and three meditations intended to be used as a means of inspiring devotion. The second meditation in the sequence is known as *Ad concitandum timorem* [For inciting fear], a title which was used in Admont Benediktinerstift Cod. 289 (f.95), a copy of the complete version of the *Meditationes* sent by Anselm to Matilda of Tuscany (c.1046-1115) in 1104.[1] *Ad concitandum timorem* is a dramatic account of the Last Judgment which Anselm encouraged his readers to use to imagine the day of judgment in order to repent and reform themselves before death, while they still had time. His imagined vision demonstrates the intensity of fear evoked by the prospect of judgment and the use of terror to visualise the last day:

> *O angustie. Hic erunt accusantia peccata. Inde terrens iusticia et subtus patens horriddum chaos inferni. De super iratus iudex. Inter urens conscientia. Foris ardens mundi. Iustus vix saluabitur. Peccator sic deprehensus inquam partem se premit.*
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> [O anguish! Here are sins accusing; there, justice terrifying, and below the horrible void of Hell lies open. Above is an angry judge, within, a burning conscience, without, a flaming world. The just shall scarcely be saved, how much more will he strike down the sinner captured thus in that place?][2]

[1] Pächt, "The Illustrations," p.71. For the Admont manuscript see also Fulton, "Praying with Anselm," pp.705-706; Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), and Shepard, "Conventual Use." For Matilda of Tuscany, see Joan M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp.85-90; David Hay, *The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa, 1046-1115* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, pp.81-85; and Penelope Nash, *Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda: Medieval Female Rulership and the Foundations of European Society* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

[2] Anselm of Canterbury, *Orationes sive meditationes*, PL 158, col.0724B

Ad concitandum timorem was included in the earliest form of the *Orationes*, a sequence of seven prayers appended to a selection of Psalms Anselm sent to Adelaide (c.1052-c.1094), a young nun and daughter of William the Conqueror, in c.1071, while he was still prior of the monastery of Bec in Normandy.[3] In his letter, Anselm explained to Adelaide that the first prayer was actually a meditation "in which the soul of the sinner briefly contemplates itself; contemplating, it despises itself; despising, it humiliates itself; humiliating, it agitates itself by the terror of the last judgement, and through this agitation it breaks down in groans and tears," and told her to observe "with what humility and with what a sense of fear and love the sacrifice of prayer should be offered."[4] In 1104, Anselm sent a complete, illustrated version of the *Meditationes* to Matilda of Tuscany, a powerful supporter of papal reform he had met the previous year while travelling to Rome. The rapid circulation of the *Meditations* before 1100 is demonstrated by a letter written to Anselm by Abbot Durandus of La Chaise-Dieu (r.1067–1078) in either 1075 or 1076, in which Durandus praised *Ad concitandum timorem* in particular, describing how "these works show us your devoted tears when we read them and bring forth ours…The devotion of your written prayer arouses in us the devotion of slumbering compunction (*pietatem sopitae compunctionis*) to such an extent that we rejoice with you."[5] *Compunctio*, meaning literally a "prick" or "puncture," described the feelings of guilt and shame accompanied by weeping that followed the initial fear of

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3 McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, p.70; T.A Heslop, "The Two Pictures Cycles in Early Manuscripts of St Anselm's Prayers," in *Illuminating the Middle Ages: Tributes to Prof. John Lowden from his Students, Friends and Colleagues*, ed. Laura Cleaver, Alixe Bovey, and Lucy Donkin (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp.94-108 (p.96); Sally N. Vaughn, *St Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm's Correspondence with Women* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), p.256

4 Walter Frölich (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, 3 vols. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990-1994), I, pp.92-94 (p.93)

5 Frölich, *Letters*, I, pp.193-194; Franciscus S. Schmitt, *Anselmi opera omnia*, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946), III, pp.190-191. See also Paul Megna, "Dreadful Devotion," in *The Routledge History of Emotions, 1100-1700* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), pp.72-85 (p.76); and Maureen M. O'Brien, "Far From the Heart: The Social, Political, and Ecclesiastical Milieu of the Early Abbots of La Chaise-Dieu, 1052–1184," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Western Michigan, 2006), pp.67-89

judgment, condemnation, and eternal punishment in Hell.[6] Piroska Nagy describes *compunctio* as "the root of the process of conversion," exemplified in the writing of Gregory the Great.[7] After the initial regret and pain following the realisation of sin, *compunctio* transformed this guilt into the desire for God and sorrow at having to wait for the joys of heaven.[8] This follows Augustine's description of fear that "comes that it may depart," and initiates the process of penitence and reformation that would lead to the reverent, humble fear associated with prophets and visionaries, which would continue to be experienced by the elect after the Last Judgment.[9]

Although Anselm's meditative writing emerged from a monastic background, it was directed beyond the cloister, reflecting what Travis Ables describes as "the laicization of the monastic life," as monastic modes of thought and religious practice began to spread to lay communities.[10] The visualisation of Biblical events, particularly the life and Passion of Christ, formed the "affective piety" that came to define the emotional intensity of later medieval religious literature and experience.[11] Although Anselm's

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[6] Compunction has been studied extensively, particularly in relation to Middle English devotional literature such as the *Book of Margery Kempe* and the *Prick of Conscience*. See *Cultures of Compunction in the Medieval World*, ed. Graham Williams and Charlotte Steenbrugge (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021); Piroska Nagy, "The Power of Medieval Emotions and Change: From Theory to Some Unexpected Uses of Spiritual Texts," in *Tears, Sighs and Laughter: Expressions of Emotions in the Middle Ages*, ed. Per Förngård *et al* (Stockholm: KVHAA, The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 2017), pp.31-40; Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge: Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution (Ve-XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2000); *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012); Sandra McEntire, "The Doctrine of Compunction from Bede to Margery Kempe," in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers read at Dartington Hall, July 1987*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), pp.77-90; Sandra McEntire, *The Doctrine of Compunction in Medieval England: Holy Tears* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991)

[7] Nagy, "The Power of Medieval Emotions," p.26

[8] Nagy, "The Power of Medieval Emotions," p.26

[9] Augustine, *In epistolam Joannis*, 9.5, col.2049

[10] Travis E. Ables, *The Body of the Cross: Holy Victims and the Invention of the Atonement* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2022), p.96

[11] For affective piety generally, see Anne C. Bartlett, *Male Authors, Female Readers: Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1996); *Medieval Affect, Feeling, and Emotion*, ed. Glenn D. Burger and Holly A. Crocker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies*

Orationes sive meditationes have been viewed as a point of departure for the new compassionate devotion to the sufferings of Christ and Mary in studies of affective piety, the meditation on judgment was intended to provoke terror rather than compassionate sorrow.[12] Paul Megna has explored the role of emotions beyond compassion in Middle English devotional literature, and has argued that Anselm's *Ad concitandum timorum* demonstrates the less Christ-centric practice of "dreadful devotion."[13] Megna contrasts this practice with the "compassionate devotion" usually associated with affective piety, observing that as "dread" was encouraged frequently in both the Old and New Testaments it is impossible to establish a clear origin, but that it was not a novel concept in the early twelfth century.[14] In his analysis of *Ad concitandum timorum*, Megna finds that the meditation is an "emotion script" to be performed by the reader, which encourages hope rather than despair.[15]

Paralleling this spread of monastic literary spirituality beyond the cloister in the early twelfth century, the portal sculptures of the Last Judgment at the abbey of Sainte-Foy in Conques (c.1105-1114) and the cathedral of Saint-Lazare in Autun (c.1130–1146) were

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in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); *Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400-1800*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys, Michael W. Champion, and Kirk Essary (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019); *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1982*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1982); Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); and Alastair Minnis, "Affection and Imagination in the *Cloud of Unknowing* and Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*," *Traditio* 39 (1983), pp.323-366. For the development of affective piety in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Ables, *The Body of the Cross*; Adam S. Cohen, "Art, Exegesis and Affective Piety in Twelfth-Century German Manuscripts," in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, ed. Alison I. Beach (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp.45-68; Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Lauren Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism: Affective piety in the eleventh-century monastery of John of Fécamp* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019); M.B Pranger, *The Artificiality of Christianity: Essays on the Poetics of Monasticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); and Ineke van't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life: Religious Literature and the Formation of the Self in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004)

[12] See for example, Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, p.60

[13] Megna, "Dreadful Devotion," p.74

[14] Megna, "Dreadful Devotion," 75

[15] Megna, "Dreadful Devotion,"p.78

designed within an educated monastic context, but were also intended to be seen by the pilgrims and local people entering to venerate the relics within.[16] The purpose of representing the Last Judgment in portal sculpture was similar to that of Anselm's meditation: to create an imaginative vision of judgment for the viewer to slowly contemplate in their mind in order to intensify fear. Fear played an essential role in the transformative process of conversion, as the fear of divine judgment and punishment would provide the initial pricking or stinging of *compunctio*, which would in turn intensify the desire for God and despising of sin. However, this process was not a single movement from fear to hope, but a constant balance of the two as the viewer or reader continued to repent and feel remorse for sin. Images of the Last Judgment, like Anselm's meditation, aimed to suspend the viewer between fear and hope, neither allowing them to feel secure in their own salvation, nor letting them fall into despair and fail to trust that God could save them.[17]

This chapter will initially examine theological views on the Last Judgment and the development of iconography from late antique allegorical representations of the sheep and goats of Matthew 25 to the vision of the resurrection of the dead and Christ's judgment of mankind which emerged in the early Middle Ages in carving and wall paintings. In the early twelfth century, the Last Judgment moved from the interior of the church to the exterior, where it gained additional significance through its association with the door, preparing visitors for an encounter with the divine within the church by activating the correct emotional state for entrance and announcing the authority and independence of the Church. The sculpted representations of the Last Judgment at the abbey of Sainte-Foy in Conques and Saint-Lazare in Autun are two significant examples

[16] Studies of vernacular literature have examined the spread of monastic spirituality to lay contexts in detail; see the studies on compunction and affective piety above, and Ables, *The Body of the Cross*.
[17] Byrne, "Despair and Presumption"

of the uses and meanings of the Last Judgment in the twelfth century. The sculptures functioned to instruct viewers in how to feel through inscriptions and by modelling the embodied emotions of fear and remorse in the sculpted figures of the portal. Like Anselm's meditation, the sculptures were images which could be held and manipulated in the mind through memory and imagination in order to provide a stimulus to devotion through emotional response.

2. *The Last Judgment in early Christianity*

Views on the Last Judgment in the early twelfth century developed from a long tradition of apocalyptic and eschatological thought that formed an integral part of Christian theology, originating in the Bible and late antiquity and adapting to the changing position of Christianity as it became an institutionalised cultural system in the early Middle Ages. Anticipating the completion of the divine plan for creation, the Christian view of history looked ahead to an already revealed future restoration of the faithful, who would achieve perfect union with God after the creation of a "new heaven and a new earth" at the end of time.[18] The changing iconography of the Last Judgment reflected these theological views, moving from a hopeful representation of salvation through the allegory of the sheep and the goats, with very little reference to the

[18] The phrase "new heavens and a new earth" first appeared in Isaiah 65:17, and was repeated in 2 Peter 3:13, "we are looking forward to a new heaven and a new earth, where righteousness dwells," and Revelation 21:1, "Then I saw 'a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away." For medieval views on history as unfolding towards a fixed goal, see Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages; Apocalypse and Reform from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*; *The End of the World in Medieval Thought and Spirituality*, ed. Eric Knibbs, Jessica A. Boon, and Erica Gessler, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019); Christe, *Jugements derniers*; Bruno Reudenbach, "Salvation History, Typology, and the End of Time in the *Biblia Pauperum*" in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp.217-232. For the modern theological definition of 'salvation history,' see Elizabeth Boyle, *History and Salvation in Medieval Ireland* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021); Christian P. Ceroke, "Principles of Salvation History," *Marian Studies* 16 (1965): 29-40; Matthew L. Becker, *The Self-Giving God and Salvation History: The Trinitarian Theology of Johannes Von Hofmann* (London: A&C Black, 2004).

condemnation of the damned, to a literal representation of the Second Coming, resurrection of the dead, and separation of the blessed and damned in the early ninth century. Before examining the representation of the Last Judgment in the early twelfth century, it is necessary to consider how the development of theological views of the Last Judgment shaped its iconography over the preceding millennium.

There has been considerable scholarship on Biblical, Patristic, and medieval views on eschatology and apocalypticism, particularly surrounding the possible apocalyptic expectations of the year 1000.[19] A general overview of modern scholarship on apocalyptic thought is *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, particularly volume two, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, edited by Bernard McGinn.[20] Brian Edward Daley has studied the origins of eschatological thought from pre-Christian Judaism to the Patristic writers, while James T. Palmer has examined the apocalypse in the early Middle Ages.[21] Daley, in his study of early Christian eschatology, considers how pre-existing apocalyptic thought prevalent in the Palestinian Jewish community in which Christ and his followers lived influenced New Testament approaches to judgment and the end of time. He finds that Christian descriptions of the afterlife and apocalypse such as those in Matthew, Apocalypse, and the apocryphal Apocalypse of Peter reflected earlier apocalyptic texts such as the book of Daniel, with the addition of Christ in the

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[19] For scholarship on the year 1000 and other predictions of the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages, see *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, ed. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, revised and expanded edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Jules Michelet, *The History of France*, trans. W. K. Kelley (London: Chapman and Hall, 1844)

[20] *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, 3 vols. (London: Bloomsbury, 1998)

[21] Brian Edward Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*; *Apocalypse and Reform*, ed. Gabriele and Palmer

role of universal judge.[22] The imminence of the coming apocalypse was also established in the New Testament, in which a number of passages described how the end of time was near, as in Romans 13: "It is now the hour for us to rise from sleep. For now our salvation is nearer than when we believed. The night is passed, and the day is at hand."[23] During the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire, the Last Judgment was thought of in hopeful terms as a renewal of the Christian community accompanied by the destruction and punishment of their oppressors.[24] The most well-known example of this attitude is found in *De spectaculis* by Tertullian (c.155–c.220), who described how the blessed would rejoice in seeing non-believers and those who persecuted Christians suffering in the fire of Hell at the Last Judgment:

> *Quae tunc spectaculi latitudo! Quid admirer? Quid rideam? Ubi gaudeam, ubi exsultem, spectans…praesides, persecutores dominici nominis, saevioribus, quam ipsi contra christianos saevierunt, flammis insultantibus, liquescentes?*
>
> [Then what a great spectacle! What do I admire? What do I ridicule? Where may I take pleasure, where may I rejoice, seeing…rulers, persecutors of the people of the Lord, melting in more violent flames than those which raged against Christians?][25]

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22 Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, pp.5-6; See also Norman Cohn, "Biblical Origins of the Apocalyptic Tradition," in *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*, ed. Frances Carey (London: The British Museum Press, 1999), pp.28-42

23 Romans 13:11-12. See Cohn, "Biblical Origins of the Apocalyptic Tradition;" Bernard McGinn, "Turning Points in Early Christian Apocalypse Exegesis," in *Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity*, ed. Robert J. Daly (Grand Rapids: Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, 2009), pp.81-105

24 Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, p.33, 65; Carole Straw, "Settling Scores: Eschatology in the Church of the Martyrs," in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp.21-40 (p.25)

25 Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, PL vol. 1, col.0660B-0662B. For Tertullian, see Eric Osborn, *Tertullian: First Theologian of the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); David Rankin, *Tertullian and the Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); David E. Wilhite, *Tertullian the African: An Anthropological Reading of Tertullian's Context and Identities* (Berlin:

Carole Straw has argued that Christians shared an "apocalyptic mentality" before the edict of Milan in 313, in which the Apocalypse was expected to provide retribution for the deaths of the martyrs when their persecutors would be eternally punished for their assaults on the Church and lack of belief.[26] Peter Brown further explains that there was emphasis on steadfastness in early Christian views on the afterlife, noting that many Christian converts reverted to Roman practice when threatened with death or the loss of their livelihoods. In response, writers such as Cyprian of Carthage (c.258) invoked the Last Judgment and the punishments of Hell to encourage them to remain faithful, pointing to the martyrs as those who had escaped worse torments through their suffering.[27]

Early Christian art reflected this focus on salvation and hope for the future, with the majority of surviving works found in funerary contexts. The catacombs in Rome were used for extra-mural burial of Christians from c.200 to the fifth century, beginning in a period of persecution and declining after Christianity was adopted as the official religion of the Roman Empire, although the majority of burials took place between the fourth and fifth centuries following the edict of Milan in 313.[28] Roman Christians continued the burial practices of non-Christian families, with familial bonds continuing into the afterlife through the practice of honouring the dead by feasting by the burial place and

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Walter de Gruyter, 2007). For earlier scholarship on Tertullian, see Robert D. Sider, "Approaches to Tertullian: A Study of Recent Scholarship," *The Second Century: A Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1982), pp.228-260. See also John Casey, *After Lives: A Guide to Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.126-130; Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, p.36; and Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*

[26] Straw, "Settling Scores"

[27] Peter Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), p.6

[28] John Osborne, "The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53 (1985): pp.278-328 (pp.279-280); Norbert Zimmermann, "Catacomb Painting and the Rise of Christian Iconography in Funerary Art," in *The Routledge Handbook of Early Christian Art*, ed. Robin M. Jensen and Mark D. Ellison (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp.21-38 (p.21). See also *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context. Studies of Roman, Jewish, and Christian Burials*, ed. Laurie Brink O.P. and Deborah Green (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008)

representing the deceased in paintings or sculptures alongside their tombs. With the exception of shrines built over the graves of martyrs, the majority of Christian funerary art was commissioned by the family of the deceased and expressed a hope for resurrection and union with the divine rather than a didactic message of future judgment to encourage obedience or repentance.[29] The iconography of surviving paintings reflect this function, with popular subjects including the story of Jonah swallowed and regurgitated by a giant fish (Jonah 1-2), which Christ compared with his own death and resurrection in Matthew 12:38-41; the stories of Daniel in the lions' den (Dan. 6:16-23) and the three Hebrew youths protected from fire in the furnace (Dan. 3:12-94), both of which were seen as allegorical representations of the preservation of the body in resurrection; and the raising of Lazarus from the dead (John 11:38-44).[30] As Norbert Zimmermann has argued, the scenes chosen for funerary art were almost all Biblical narratives of individuals being protected or healed, or "salvific" moments representing the promises of God such as the reception of the Law by Moses (Exod. 34) or Jesus telling a woman of Samaria that he was the Messiah (John 4:5-26).[31] These images were often condensed into a single scene that focused on the hopeful element of the narrative, such as Daniel praying while flanked by lions, or Noah receiving the olive branch to signal his survival of the flood.[32] Erich Dinkler has suggested that the choice of themes for sarcophagi and wall paintings were derived from the prayers for the dead

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[29] Janet H. Tulloch, "Devotional Visuality in Family Funerary Monuments in the Roman World," in *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp.542-563 (p.544); Zimmermann, "Catacomb Painting," p.21

[30] Erich Dinkler, "Abbreviated Representations," in *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Exhibition catalogue, New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 1979), pp.396-448 (p.397); Zimmermann, "Catacomb Painting," pp.25-26

[31] Zimmermann, "Catacomb Painting," p.26

[32] Zimmermann, "Catacomb Painting," p.26; Dinkler, "Abbreviated Representations," p.396

and dying which referenced acts of salvation and hoped that the deceased would similarly be saved.[33]

Only one representation of the Last Judgment survives from this period, found on a sarcophagus lid made c.300 showing the separation of the sheep and goats according to Matthew 25:31-45, held today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 2.1).[34] As with the iconographic other themes found in the catacomb paintings, the representation of the Last Judgment is an expression of hope for future salvation and the welcome of the deceased into the company of Christ, rather than a threatening message aiming to warn against the dangers of sin. Christ is shown seated within a rural landscape surrounded by trees, turning to welcome a group of sheep to his right and placing one hand on the head of the sheep closest to him, while holding up his other hand to turn away the group of goats on his left. Unlike later medieval representations, this allegorical scene does not include any of the terrors associated with the day of judgment such as the damned being taken to Hell by demons, or the souls of the resurrected dead weighed to determine whether they were worthy to be accepted into Heaven.

Instead, Christ is shown in the guise of the "Good Shepherd," as he described himself in John 10:11. This was a common iconographic type in Christian art before the fifth century, based on the popularity of bucolic and pastoral literature such as Virgil's

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[33] Dinkler, "Abbreviated Representations," p.397

[34] Beat Brenk, "The Imperial Heritage of Early Christian Art," p.45; Margaret E. Frazer, "Sarcophagus lid with Last Judgment," in *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 1979), p.558; John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek, "Apocalyptic Themes in the Monumental and Minor Art of Early Christianity," in *Pottery, Pavements, and Paradise: Iconographic and Textual Studies on Late Antiquity*, ed. Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp.327-382 (p.329). Brenk specifies that the sarcophagus lid can be dated to 300, while the Metropolitan Museum of Art gives the date as "late 3rd – early 4th century," see *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), pp.372-373

Eclogues with both Christian and non-Christian audiences.[35] Christ similarly appeared as a shepherd surrounded by sheep in the fifth-century Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, and was often shown holding a lamb on his shoulders, a motif that developed from the pre-Christian tradition of shepherd sculptures and the representation of Orpheus as a shepherd or surrounded by animals (fig. 2.2).[36] Orpheus himself also appeared in Christian paintings, as a figure John Block Friedman has called "Orpheus-Christus."[37] In a fresco in the second-century catacomb of Domitilla, a Christianised Orpheus as the "Good Shepherd" was represented seated and playing a lyre or cither, while wild animals gathered around him to listen to his music (fig. 2.3).[38] The imagery of Christ as a shepherd emphasises the hopeful theme of the Metropolitan Museum's sarcophagus, showing the "good shepherd" who "gives his life for his sheep," or the Lord who sets believers in a "place of pasture" and gives "the water of refreshment."[39] The rural scene emphasises this theme, indicating the places of rest awaiting Christians after death which were also associated with scenes of Orpheus among animals.[40] The presence of the goats is a reminder of damnation, however, there is no suggestion that

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[35] Kurt Weitzmann, "Science and Poetry," in *Age of Spirituality*, pp.199-204 (p.203). See also Christe, *Jugements derniers*, p.15; Cillian O'Hogan, *Prudentius and the Landscapes of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.100-101; and Boniface Ramsey, "A Note on the Disappearance of the Good Shepherd from Early Christian Art," *The Harvard Theological Review* 76 (1983): pp.375-378. For the history of bucolic and pastoral poetry in Greek and Roman Antiquity, see David M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); and Raymond Kania, "Orpheus and the Reinvention of Bucolic Poetry," *The American Journal of Philology* 133 (2012): pp.657-685

[36] O'Hogan, *Prudentius*, p.101; catalogue entries 462-466 in *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art*, pp.518-522

[37] John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), p.40

[38] Friedman, *Orpheus*, p.43; Fabienne Jourdan, "The Orphic Singer in Clement of Alexandria and in the Roman Catacombs: Comparison between the Literary and the Iconographic Early Christian Representation of Orpheus," in *Studia Patristica vol. LXXIII: Including papers presented at the Conference on Early Christian Iconography, held in Pécs, Hungary*, ed. Allen Brent and Markus Vinzent (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), pp.113-127 (pp.125-126)

[39] John 10:11, "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep;" Psalm 23(22):1-2, "The Lord ruleth me: and I shall want nothing. He hath set me in a place of pasture. He hath brought me up, on the water of refreshment."

[40] Friedman, *Orpheus*, p.45

this is a threat faced by the Christian believer, but a reminder that they have been chosen and separated from others who are unable to access the rewards that await the deceased and their family. As with the catacomb paintings of salvific themes, the Last Judgment sarcophagus expresses the hope for the salvation of its inhabitant and their entry into Heaven, rather than inciting the fear of judgment or the possibility of damnation that were the functions of later portal sculptures.

Following the conversion of Constantine and the Edict of Milan in 313, Christianity became legally practiced across the Roman world, and Christian writers invoked judgment in different ways to maintain unity and encourage piety among their growing congregations. Daley describes a "receding of the apocalyptic horizon" after Constantine's conversion and the cessation of persecution against Christians, as writers no longer saw the apocalypse as imminent and ceased to find signs of the end in contemporary events.[41] During periods of persecution, Peter Brown has observed that writers such as Cyprian focused on the heroic deaths of the martyrs as the only means of guaranteeing entry to Paradise and rarely considered the fate of ordinary souls.[42] As the threat (or goal) of martyrdom diminished, a greater emphasis was placed on dedication and asceticism for ordinary Christians, and many chose to withdraw from society as an act of "voluntary martyrdom."[43] The Last Judgment was used to encourage and maintain this commitment to ascetic life and the need to avoid sin, just as it had been used to motivate potential martyrs to avoid the eternal pain of Hell through the temporary pain of torture and death, and strengthen the commitment of Christian

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[41] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, p.76

[42] Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, p.5. See also Allen Brent, *Cyprian and Roman Carthage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Edelhard L. Hummel, *The Concept of Martyrdom According to Cyprian of Carthage* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946). Brent notes that Cyprian's treatment of the martyrs was intended to reinforce episcopal authority in response to living "martyr-confessors" who were claiming to be able to provide absolution and reconcile those who had lapsed to the Church. See Brent, *Cyprian and Roman Carthage*, p.251

[43] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, p.69

communities against the threat of persecution. Daley has argued that this was particularly prominent in Egyptian monasticism. In the first letter attributed to Anthony, he explained that the fear of Hell and a desire for reward in Heaven were the only legitimate reasons for the monastic vocation after the desire to follow God's will.[44]

Significantly, as Christianity became increasingly institutionalised following its legalisation, the Last Judgment was more frequently described as a threatening, uncertain event rather than the triumph of the Christian people over their persecutors that Tertullian had imagined. Christians were encouraged to fear the coming judgment in order to correct their behaviour and taught that belief alone would not necessarily be enough to achieve salvation. Rather than encouraging heroic emulation of the martyrs, the threat of judgment and suffering after death was used to emphasise the importance of living well, while the example of the martyrs encouraged Christians to reject earthly pleasure and spend their lives hoping to return to Paradise. By the fourth century, the *refrigium* was discouraged, as it implied that the fate of the soul was certain. Instead, Christian writers described the uncertainty of salvation, encouraging believers to atone for their sins during life and pray for the souls of the dead.[45] Augustine has traditionally been seen as the most important writer on eschatological themes following Constantine's conversion and the establishment of orthodox belief at the First Council of Nicea in 325. Jacques le Goff named Augustine the "father of Purgatory," as the most influential authority for writers in the Middle Ages.[46] The accounts of the Last Judgment given by Augustine in the *Enchiridion* and *De civitate dei* would define the view of judgment for the following centuries. In the *Enchiridion*, Augustine developed the concept of the *non valdes*, Christians who were not so wicked as to be taken to Hell

[44] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, p.70
[45] Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*
[46] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1984) p.61; Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, p.32

immediately after death, nor so good that they would be instantly taken to Heaven as one of the saints.[47]

The categories of people present at the Last Judgment had been previously addressed by Hilary of Poitiers (c.310–c.367) in his commentary on Psalm 1, in which he attempted to explain the apparent contradiction between Psalm 1:5, "Therefore the wicked shall not rise again in judgment," and John 3:18, "He that believeth in Him is not judged." Hilary explained that while the saints would judge alongside Christ and the non-believers would already be judged before the Last Judgment, there would be a third category of ordinary sinners:

> *Sunt enim aliqui inter impios piosque qui medii sint, ex utroque admixti, neutri tamen proprie, quia in id ipsum constiterint ex utroque: nec fidei admiscendi, quia sit illis aliquid infidelitatis insertum; nec infidelitati deputandi, quia aliquid habeant et fidei.*
>
> [Those who may be between pious and impious, containing a mixture of the two, but being strictly neither, because they will be made up of both: neither admitted to the faithful, because there may be in them unfaithfulness, nor placed in the infidels, because they may have some faith.][48]

In Augustine's description, Hilary's group of "those who may be between pious and impious" became two categories, the *non valde boni* (not very good) and *non valde mali* (not very bad), who were Christians who would be judged according to their good and bad deeds in life.[49] Brown argues that following Augustine's discussions of judgment and damnation, the burden of sin became greater and Heaven appeared increasingly distant

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[47] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.70; Peter Brown, "The Decline of the Empire of God: Amnesty, Penance, and the Afterlife from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages," in *Last Things*, pp.41-59 (pp.42-43)

[48] Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super psalmos*, col.0259D-0260A

[49] Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive de fide, spe et charitate*, PL 40, col.0283-0284

to the average Christian.[50] Constant atonement and repentance through almsgiving were necessary to achieve salvation, rather than simply belonging to the community of the faithful. As a result, the longing and hope for Christ's return became increasingly mingled with anxiety surrounding the uncertain judgment and threat of damnation.[51] The conception of judgment as uncertain and concern over the fate of individual souls would increase during the early Middle Ages, as the apocalypse was framed as God's punishment on a sinful world which could be postponed by appealing to his mercy through reform. By the twelfth century, the Last Judgment was invoked as a reminder to repent and avoid sin, encouraging audiences to consider the fate of their souls after death as well as the eventual punishment or reward of body and soul at the end of time.

The emphasis on the fate of individual Christian souls and the uncertainty of salvation also highlighted the importance of the moment of death. As Christe has argued, the imagery of the Last Judgment encouraged repentance during life in order to prepare for judgment, as it would be too late after death. Similarly, Palmer argues that the distinction in modern scholarship between "apocalypse" as the imminent end of the world and "eschatology" as a general concern with judgment is misleading, and that medieval writers saw both judgment and death as inevitable events that required the same preparations.[52] In his *Sermo* 82, Augustine instructed his listeners to reform themselves and fear the judgment of God:

> *Times ne te inscribat inimicus; et non times ne te judicet Deus? Ubi est fides? Time cum est quando timeas. Longe est quidem dies judicii: sed uniuscujusque hominis dies ultimus longe*

[50] Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, p.46
[51] Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*
[52] James T. Palmer, "To Be Found Prepared: Eschatology and Reform Rhetoric ca.570-ca.640," in *Apocalypse and Reform*, pp.31-49 (p.33)

esse non potest; quia brevis est vita. Et quia ipsa brevitas semper incerta, quando sit dies tuus ultimus, nescis. Corrige te hodie, propter cras.

[You fear lest your enemy accuses you; and you do not fear lest God judges you? Where is your faith? Fear while there is time to fear. The day of judgment is indeed far off: but the final day of each man is not able to be far off; because life is short. And since this shortness is always uncertain, you do not know what may be your last day. Reform yourself today, because of tomorrow.][53]

A similar idea appeared in Augustine's *Sermo* 97. Speaking on Mark 13:32, "But of that day or hour no man knoweth…Take heed, watch and pray. For you know not when the time is," Augustine explained that:

Fratres, quod audistis modo monentem Scripturam atque dicentem, ut propter diem novissimum vigilemus, unusquisque de novissimo suo die cogitet: ne forte cum senseritis vel putaveritis longe esse novissimum saeculi diem, dormitetis ad novissimum vestrum diem…qualis quisque hinc exierit suo novissimo die, talis inveniatur in novissimo saeculi die.

[What we have heard Scripture speaking and warning, that we should watch for the very last day, each one of you should understand as referring to his final day: lest when you might think or deem the last day of the world to be far off, you slumber concerning your own last day…just as anyone exits from here on his last day, so will he be found in the last day of the world.][54]

Augustine's account of judgment as an event which was in the distant future, but which would be determined on the day of death demonstrates the flattening of the Last

[53] Augustine, *Sermones ad populum*, PL 38, col.0511-0512. For this sermon, see also Michel Lauwers, "Prêcher, corriger, juger: à propos des usages de la "correction", entre *habitus* monastique et droit ecclésiastique (IXe-XIIIe siècle)," in *Verbum e ius: Predicazione e sistemi giuridici nell'Occidente medievale / Preaching and legal Frameworks in the Middle Ages*, ed. Laura Gaffuri and Rosa Maria Parrinello (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2018), pp.109-130
[54] Augustine, *Sermones ad populum*, col.0589

Judgment and the moment of individual death. This conflation of individual death and Last Judgment would continue up to the twelfth century, forming a crucial element of the iconography of the Last Judgment seen in portal sculpture. Rather than being represented as two distinct events, written and visual representations of individual death incorporated the future punishment of the body, while the iconography of the Last Judgment included images of contemporary pilgrims or other figures to conflate present and future time. This iconographic theme can be seen in the case studies examined in this and the following chapter, in which images of the Last Judgment and Hell merged present and future events into a single image.

Visionary literature, beginning with the third-century *Visio Pauli*, incorporated scenes of immediate judgment after death, reflecting the growing interest in the fate of souls between death and judgment. The *Visio Pauli* was originally written in Greek during the third century but was revised after 388 with a new preface that attempted to establish its authenticity with an account of the text's discovery in Paul's house in Tarsus.[55] The vision purports to be written by Paul, based on a reference in 2 Corinthians 12 of a man who was "caught up to the third heaven…and heard secret words, which it is not granted to man to utter."[56] Although criticised by contemporary authors, including

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[55] For the text of the *Visio*, see Herman Brandes, "Über die quellen der mittelenglischen versionen der Paulus-Vision," *Englische Studien* 7 (1884): pp.34-65; Theodore Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli: The History of the Apocalypse in Latin together with Nine Texts* (London: Christophers, 1935); and Theodore Silverstein and Anthony Hilhorst, *Apocalypse of Paul: a new critical edition of three Long Latin versions* (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1997). For the history and influence of the *Visio*, see Jan N. Bremmer, "Christian Hell: From the *Apocalypse of Peter* to the *Apocalypse of Paul*," *Numen* 56 (2009), pp.298-325; Claude Carozzi, *Eschatologie et au-delà. Recherches sur l'Apocalypse de Paul* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1994); Claude Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après littérature latine (v^e-xiiie siècle)* (Rome: L'École française de Rome, 1994); Peter Dinzelbacher, "La «Visio S. Pauli» Circulation et influence d'un apocryphe eschatologique," *Apocrypha* 2 (1991), pp.165-180; and Nicole Volmering, "The Adaptation of the *Visio Sancti Pauli* in the West: The Evidence of Redaction VI," *Peritia* 31 (2020), pp.225-254

[56] 2 Corinthians 12:2-4; "I know a man in Christ above fourteen years ago (whether in the body, I know not, or out of the body, I know not; God knoweth), such a one caught up to the third heaven. And I know such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I know not: God knoweth), that he was caught up into Paradise, and heard secret words, which it is not granted to man to utter."

Augustine, the vision spread throughout the Christian world, and by the seventh century it had been translated into Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Slavic, with an additional Coptic translation based on the earlier version of the text.[57] In the long version of the vision preserved in St Gall Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 317, Paul watches the judgment of good and evil souls leaving their bodies, in which an angel recounts the good and bad deeds they had performed during their lives, for which they are judged by the voice of God. In Redaction IV, the most widely distributed version of the text in the Middle Ages, this episode was shortened so that Paul only watches a soul carried to Hell by demons, followed by another lifted to heaven by an angel, with the reading of its good and evil deeds only mentioned briefly.[58] In both versions, the soul is judged immediately after its death, as Paul witnesses "the soul of a sinner between seven devils, whom they had taken howling from its body that day" carried away into the "exterior darkness" of Hell.[59] In the St Gall version of the text, the voice of God instructs that the wicked soul, which has committed murder and fornication, is sent into Hell and tormented until the day of judgment.[60]

Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, written c.593-594 as a discourse between Gregory and a student named Peter, contains a number of stories about the deaths of different people to explain what would occur after death. Three of these feature individuals who are attacked by dragons and evil spirits on their deathbeds, revealing their sinfulness and

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[57] Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, p.4-5. For criticisms of the *Visio*, see Bremmer, "Christian Hell," pp.305-307; and Augustine Casiday, "St Aldhelm on Apocrypha," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 55 (2004), pp.147-157

[58] Brandes, "Paulus-Vision," p.46

[59] Brandes, "Paulus-Vision," p.46; *Et postea aspexit in celum a terra ac vidit animam peccatoris inter dyabolos vii, quum ululantem deducebant eo die de corpore…Tunc eam demones susceperunt mittentes in tenebras exteriores.*

[60] Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, p.108; "*Tradatur anima ista in manibus tartari deorsum ad inferos, et include eam in carcere inferorum, et mittat ibi in tormentis et reliquatur illic usque ad diem magnum iudicii.*"

proving that they are destined to go to Hell.[61] These stories are followed by Gregory's explanation of purgatorial fire: "Everybody will be presented for judgment just as they leave this place. However, a purgatorial fire is believed to exist before the judgment for certain light sins…Yet it is known that nobody will obtain any purging for even the smallest thing, unless by good works while placed in this life, that they will obtain there what they have deserved" [*[Q]ualis hinc quisque egreditur, talis in judicio praesentatur. Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante judicium purgatories ignis credendus est…Hoc tamen sciendum est, quia illic saltem de minimis nihil quisque purgationis obtinehit, nisi bonis hoc actibus in hac adhuc vita positus, ut illic obtineat, promereatur*].[62] This was consistent with statements of earlier writers such as Caesarius of Arles (c.468–542), who stated that although the cleansing fire of judgment day would cleanse souls of some light sin, this should be avoided through almsgiving in life, and would only be possible for those who had led pious lives rather than unregenerate souls who had made no attempt to repent in life.[63] Similarly, Augustine described how alms and masses could aid the souls of the dead, but only those who "have earned such merit when they have lived, that afterwards these things may benefit them." [*Sed eis haec prosunt, qui cum viverent, ut haec sibi postea possint prodesse, meruerunt*][64]

Brown explains that although educated theological writers in the fourth and fifth centuries may have been able to keep the immediate and final judgments distinct, for many ordinary Christians the two moments were "telescoped," so that the moment of death was a mirror for the moment of judgment after the resurrection, an idea which

[61] Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum Libri IV*, PL 77, Lib. IV, col.0381B-0393D; See also Jesse Keskiaho, "Visions and the Afterlife in Gregory's *Dialogues*," in *Imagining the Medieval Afterlife*, ed. Richard Matthew Pollard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp.225-246
[62] Gregory, *Dialogorum*, col.0396A-0396D
[63] Isabel Moreira, "Purgatory's Intercessors: Bishops, Ghosts, and Angry Wives," in *Imagining the Medieval Afterlife*, pp.133-152
[64] Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive de fide, spe, et charitate*, PL 40, col.0283

continued into the sculpted representations of death and judgment in the twelfth century.[65] As Yves Christe has observed, although the Last Judgment was a future event, representations of the theme were intended to have an impact on the way people lived in the present, as it was in life that repentance and atonement would be possible.[66] The conflation of present and future in Last Judgment iconography derived from the belief that the fate of each individual was determined before the point of death. Although there was a concept of the immediate judgment of the soul that was distinct from the final judgment, the two were telescoped at the moment of death in late antique and early medieval exegesis, which revealed the eternal punishment or reward of the body and soul. As with the image of the *majestas Domini*, the representation of the Last Judgment could thus portray both the present and future judgments of God simultaneously. The iconography of portal sculpture aimed to reach individuals in the present and alter their behaviour, in order to achieve future reward, and as such does not express a clear distinction between present and future. The resurrected bodies of the elect and damned are sometimes shown wearing identifying garments, not to indicate that they would continue to wear their earthly clothes after the resurrection, but in order to present specific ideas concerning monastic life, the privileges of the church, or pilgrimage.

However, the complex theological discussions of the experience of death, the fate of the soul, and what would occur at Last Judgment that flourished throughout the fourth and fifth centuries does not seem to be reflected in contemporary visual culture. Tracing the early history of Last Judgment imagery, Christe explains that it was rarely represented in Late Antique Christian art.[67] It was a century after the image of the sheep

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[65] Peter Brown, "The Decline of the Empire of God," p.45
[66] Christe, *Jugements derniers*, p.57
[67] Christe, *Jugements derniers*, p.7

and goats on the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus that the Last Judgment is known to have been represented for a second time, in the apse mosaics of the bishop's church at Fundi commissioned by Paulinus of Nola at the end of the fourth century.[68] Although this basilica is now lost, the iconography of the mosaic is recorded in a letter written by Paulinus to his friend Sulpicius Severus (d. c.420) in 403, in which he recounts the design of the new church and provides Sulpicius with the verse *tituli* he composed to explain and accompany the images, "so that the letter may show what the hand has set forth."[69] The apse mosaic represented the Last Judgment as the allegorical separation of the sheep and goats, with Christ shown in the form of a lamb beneath a throne:

> *Sanctorum labor et merces sibi rite cohaerent*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *inter floriferi caeleste nemus paradisi*
>
> *sub cruce sanguinea niueo Christus in agno –*
>
> *agnus ut innocua iniusto datus hostia leto*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Et quia praecelsa quasi iudex rupe superstat,*

[68] Christe, *Jugements derniers*, p.15; For Paulinus of Nola and the construction of the basilica at Fundi, see also Catherine Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); R. C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1940); Joseph T. Lienhard, *Paulinus of Nola and Early Western Monasticism* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1977); and Dennis E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp.146-159

[69] Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches*, p.64; *Ut littera monstret / quod manus explicuit*. This phrase appears in a poem written by Paulinus between 403-404, in which he justifies the unusual custom of decorating the church with images by explaining that they are intended for peasants who cannot read. See Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster*, p.95. For the full text and date of Paulinus' letter to Sulpicius Severus see Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola*, pp.35-47; for the relationship between Paulinus and Sulpicius, see Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster*, pp.84-88; and Pierre Fabre, *Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne* (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1949)

bisgeminae pecudis discors agnis genus haedi

circumstat solium; laeuos auertitur haedos

pastor et emeritos dextra conplectitur agnos.

[The labour and the reward of the saints are justly connected with each other,

[…]

Christ stands in the heavenly forest of flower-bearing Paradise

Under the blood-red cross, in the form of a white lamb –

Lamb because he was delivered up to unjust death as an innocent sacrifice

[…]

And because it stands as a judge on a high rock,

There are around its throne cattle of a twofold kind,

Goats which are at discord with lambs; the shepherd turns

From the goats on his left and he welcomes the lambs on his right,

Which have performed their duty.][70]

Geir Hellemo has summarised different reconstructions of the scheme in German scholarship by Josef Engemann and Christa Ihm, arguing that the apse at Fundi represented the lamb standing on a rock beneath a throne, on which was placed a cross. The lamb would have been turning away from the goats on its left to face the sheep approaching from the right, as in the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus, where Christ faces away from the goats.[71] Despite the judgment theme, the apse evidently presented

[70] Trans. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches*, p.47

[71] Hellemo, *Adventus Domini*, p.96-97, 103. See also Christa Belting-Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsis-malerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zir Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Weisbaden:

an image of the glorified Christ in the form of a lamb already in a "flower-bearing Paradise," with the sheep and goats reflecting the end of time and coming judgment without presenting a warning to Paulinus' audience. Instead, the cross, throne, and lamb together present an allegorical representation of salvation, in which the sheep represent the faithful who will be accepted into Paradise. Hellemo explains that although the judgment includes the division of humanity as an "essential point," the entire scene "conveys a feeling of care and consideration" due to the combination of judge and shepherd and the eucharistic associations of the lamb, giving the apse mosaic a dominating theme of salvation.[72]

The language of the *tituli* reflects this focus on salvation, representing the separation of the sheep and goats in order to demonstrate the happiness and reward of the saints rather than the condemnation of the damned. Unlike the inscriptions alongside the iconography of the Last Judgment in the twelfth-century sculptures at Autun and Conques, which speak directly to the audience as sinners, the goats in the scheme at Fundi are those who are "at discord" with the Christian faithful. Rather than aiming to threaten sinful believers, the damned are the opponents of the faith and persecutors of the martyrs, over whom the faithful lambs will triumph, joining the "labour and reward of the saints" together. The anxiety over the fate of the soul after death, or the burden of sin that would be weighed against each individual's good deeds in the day of judgment is not reflected in the hopeful eschatological outlook of Paulinus' apse. Instead, the iconography and accompanying *tituli* conveyed the glory of the saints, particularly St Felix, by visualising the martyrs who "have performed their duty" as already residing in the future Paradise. In a poem written to commemorate the

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Steiner, 1960); Josef Engemann, "Zu den Apsis-Tituli des Paulinus von Nola," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 17 (1974), pp.21-46

[72] Hellemo, *Adventus Domini*, p.120

martyrdom of Felix and honour his friend Niceta of Remesiana, Prudentius described guiding Niceta around the new church and explained that he had chosen to have images from the Old Testament painted around the portico dividing the two churches in the complex at Nola for "peasant people, not devoid of religion but not able to read."[73] He continues that these visitors "intrude into the sacred houses with their beakers" and feast in the church, and so the paintings were added to distract them, as "while they pass the day by looking, most of the time the beakers are less frequently filled, because now that the time has been spent with all these wonderful things, but few hours are left for a meal."[74] In this context, the Last Judgment is included among other paintings in order to astonish and delight the audience at Nola in order to guide their thoughts towards spiritual themes and the glory of the saints, rather than to provide moral instruction and remind them of the need for penitence.

Although the Last Judgment continued to occupy a prominent position in theological writing over the following seven centuries, there are no other surviving examples of the theme in monumental art until the ninth century, when images of the Last Judgment began to reappear in European wall paintings associated with the Carolingian dynasty. The imminence or unexpectedness of judgment, and the need for constant vigilance, were frequently invoked by successive Christian preachers and writers in order to encourage moral and societal reform, and to persuade their audiences

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[73] Trans. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches* p.62-63; *Sed turba frequentior hic est / rusticitas non cassa fide neque docta legendi.* For Niceta of Remesiana and the context of this poem, see André Basson, "A Transformation of Genres in Late Latin Literature: Classical Literary Tradition and Ascetic Ideals in Paulinus of Nola," in *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith S. Sivan (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1999), pp.267-276; Carmen Angela Cvetković, "Niceta of Remesiana's Visits to Nola: Between Sacred Travel and Political Mission," in *Episcopal Networks in Late Antiquity: Connection and Communication Across Boundaries*, ed. Carmen Angela Cvetković and Peter Gemeinhardt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), pp.179-203; Sigrid H. Mratschek, "*Multis enim notissima est sanctitas loci*: Paulinus and the Gradual Rise of Nola as a Center of Christian Hospitality," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9 (2001), pp.511-553 (pp.539-542); and Michael Roberts, "Rhetoric and the *Natalicia* of Paulinus of Nola," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 95 (2010), pp.53-69

[74] Trans. Goldschmidt, *Prudentius' Churches*, pp.64-65;

to repent through almsgiving.[75] James T. Palmer and Matthew Gabriele describe how apocalyptic language was frequently used by writers calling for reform in order to "conceptualise urgency of action" by reminding their readers that the end could be at any moment.[76] In his essay in the same volume, Palmer explains that the anxiety provoked by judgment and apocalypse was used to encourage individual and social change into the early Middle Ages, as well as explaining the need for reform.[77]

3. Communal judgment in the early Middle Ages

During the ninth century, the iconography of the Last Judgment was transformed from the allegorical representation of sheep and goats found in late antique imagery to a fearful view of the Second Coming of Christ, resurrection of the dead, and separation of the saved and damned. This more literal interpretation of Matthew 25 first appeared around the year 800, during the reform movements led by Charlemagne (b.747, r.800–814) alongside influential figures such as Alcuin of York (c.735–804) and Benedict of Aniane (c.750–821), and quickly became the standardised iconographic formula for representing the Last Judgment in Christian art throughout the Middle Ages.[78] From the fifth to eleventh centuries, cultural and social changes altered the function and practice of the Church as an institution, as it became more independent from secular leadership and increasingly focused on the moral reform of all sections of society and the internal

[75] Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*
[76] Gabriele and Palmer, introduction to *Apocalypse and Reform*, pp.1-10 (p.4)
[77] Palmer, "To Be Found Prepared," p.33; see also Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*
[78] For Carolingian reform movements, see *Apocalypse and Reform*, ed. Gabriele and Palmer; Mayke de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp.103-135; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); and Owen M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the* Imperium Christianum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

responses of lay believers.[79] An examination of the earliest extant examples of the new iconography and its theological background in visionary literature and writers such as Gregory the Great is thus necessary for understanding the function of the Last Judgment in the portal programmes of the early twelfth century.

Apocalyptic and millenarian expectations became widespread among Christian communities in the period following invasions into the Roman Empire and the assault on Rome itself by the Gothic ruler Alaric (b. c.370, r. c.390–414) in 410.[80] James Palmer has explored how the collapse of the Western Roman Empire shaped medieval apocalyptic and eschatological thought, arguing that the migrations and invasions of 'barbarians' such as the Goths and Vandals "contributed to a destabilisation of political order and a cluster of anxieties about what it meant to be Roman and Christian."[81] Gregory the Great, writing between 590 and 604, frequently referred to the coming apocalypse, finding signs of the end in the wars between Emperor Justinian (b.482, r.527–565), the Gothic kings, and the Lombards, as well as the famine and plague which had afflicted Rome over the preceding fifty years.[82] Jane Baun has described an

[79] For the Church and society in the early Middle Ages, and the need for penitence and moral reform, see for example Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Civilization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London: Penguin, 1994); Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*; and Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991)

[80] See Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*; Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*. For Alaric's invasion of Rome, see Michael Kulikowski, *Rome's Gothic Wars: From the Third Century to Alaric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); John Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D 364-425* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and *The Sack of Rome in 410 AD: The Event, its Context, and its Impact. Proceedings of the Conference held at the German Archaeological Institute at Rome, 04-06*, ed. Johannes Lipps, Carlos Machado, and Philipp von Rummel (Weisbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013)

[81] Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, p.26

[82] Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, p.4; R. A. Markus, "Gregory the Great's Europe," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 31 (1981), pp.21-36 (p.21); Jane Baun, "Gregory's Eschatology," in *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, ed. Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp.157-176

eschatological "matrix of stern expectation, aspiration, and motivation" that defined Gregory's writing, reflecting his belief that the world was coming to an end.[83]

Gregory invoked the coming judgment in his treatises and letters in order to exhort his readers to penitence or discourage them from sin so that they would be prepared for the coming judgment. One example of his use of judgment can be seen in a letter written to his friend Rusticiana, in which he encouraged her to "consider ceaselessly with fear and tears the terrifying trial of the Judge soon to come…so that you no longer fear the anger of the Judge on the day itself."[84] In the *Moralia in Job*, his lengthy commentary on the book of Job completed by 591, Gregory frequently described the anger of God and the way in which the elect would fear the Last Judgment.[85] One example can be found in his discussion of Job 17:1, "My spirit shall be wasted, my days shall be shortened, and only the grave remaineth for me," which Gregory explained as referring to the fear of the elect:

> *Attenuatur spiritus timore judicii, quia electorum mentes quo amplius extremo judicio propinquare se sentiunt, eo ad discutiendas semetipsas terribilius contremiscunt, et si quas in se carnales unquam cogitationes inveniunt, poenitentiae ardore consumunt…quia eo semetipsos dijudicantes subtilius feriunt, quo districtum judicem praestolantur vicinum. Unde fit ut propinquum sibi semper exitum suspicentur. Nam reproborum mentes idcirco multa nequiter agunt, quia hic se vivere diutius arbitrantur.*

83 Baun, "Gregory's Eschatology," p.157

84 Quoted in Baun, "Gregory's Eschatology," p.158

85 Baun, "Gregory's Eschatology," p.160. For the date of the *Moralia* see Paul Meyvaert, "The Enigma of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*: A Response to Francis Clark," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988), pp.335-381 (pp.345-351). In a letter to his friend Leander of Seville in 591, Gregory explained that he could not send his homilies on Job as he had promised, as he had rewritten them as a book dedicated to Leander which was still being copied. Meyvaert quotes from this letter to show that the *Moralia* was complete by 591, arguing against Francis Clark's claim that Gregory would have been too busy with the *Moralia* to have written the *Dialogues* between 591 and 595.

[The spirit is wasted by the fear of judgment, because the more the minds of the elect know themselves to approach the Last Judgment, so much more will they tremble at the terrible examining of themselves, and if they find in themselves any carnal thoughts, they consume them by the ardour of penitence…judging themselves more keenly, they strike themselves so that they expect the strict judge who is near. From whence it may be that they believe death to always be at hand. Thus the minds of the reprobate do many things wickedly, because they consider themselves to live for a long time.][86]

As with Augustine's sermons, Gregory associated the Last Judgment with the moment of individual death, as he explained how the elect prepared for their deaths by repenting while they had the opportunity in life. While Augustine described the Last Judgment as an event which would occur in the distant future, Gregory suggested that it would not be long until the Second Coming. A later passage in the *Moralia* describes the mixture of hope and fear that the righteous would experience when thinking of the Last Judgment, anticipating the simultaneous experience of hope and fear that would be expressed in Anselm's *Meditations* and the sculptures of Autun and Conques. Commenting on Job 39:19-20, Gregory explained the phrase "the glory of his nostrils is terror" as referring to the hope and terror provoked by thinking on the Last Judgment:[87]

Pro eo quod non visa res odore deprehenditur, non immerito narium nomine spei nostrae cogitationes exprimuntur, quibus venturum judicium, quod etsi oculis adhuc non cernimus, jam tamen sperando praevidemus. Omnis autem qui bene vivere incipit, audiens quod per extremum judicium justi ad regnum vocentur, hilarescit; sed quia quaedam mala adhuc ex reliquiis sibi inesse considerat, hoc ipsum judicium, de quo exsultare inchoat, appropinquare

[86] Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, col.1031D-1032A

[87] Job 39:19-20, "Wilt thou give strength to the horse, or clothe his neck with neighing. Wilt thou lift him up like the locusts? The glory of his nostrils is terror."

formidat. Vitam quippe bonis malisque permistam conspicit, et cogitationes suas aliquo modo spe et timore confundit…Bene ergo gloria narium ejus terror dicitur, quia inter spem et metum positus, dum futurum judicium mente conspicit, hoc ipsum timet unde gloriatur. Ipsa ei sua gloria terror est, quia inchoates jam bonis, spe et judicio laetus est; et necdum finitis omnibus malis, perfecte securus non est.

[Because a thing not seen is perceived by smell, not improperly are the thoughts of our hope expressed by the word "nostrils," by which the coming judgment, which we cannot perceive by sight, we anticipate by hope. All who begin to live well, hearing that the just are called to the kingdom through the Last Judgment, grow joyful; but yet they consider some wickedness to be remaining in themselves and they dread to approach that same judgment from which they began to rejoice. For he considers his life mixed with good and evil, and in some manner mingles his thoughts with hope and fear…Rightly therefore is the glory of his nostrils called terror, because being placed between hope and fear, while he comprehends the future judgment in his mind, he fears that from which he glories. The glory itself is its terror, because now by beginning good things, he is joyful from the hope of judgment; and not yet finished from all evil, he is not secure by perfection.][88]

This passage demonstrates the attitude towards the Last Judgment expected by monastic or ecclesiastical designers of portal schemes, which aimed at leading their audiences towards the same feeling of hope and fear as they reflected on sins which might condemn them in the final judgment. The terrifying visions of sculptures such as the tympana of Autun and Conques were intended to stimulate audiences to constantly reform themselves by considering how they would be judged at the end of time.

[88] Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, PL 76, col.0614D-0615C

The transformations of society that emerged in Latin Europe during the papacy of Gregory the Great and developed over the seventh century fundamentally altered the function of the Church, as the missionary movements of the late sixth and seventh centuries introduced Christianity to northern territories.[89] Peter Brown describes the turn of the seventh century as the "end of ancient Christianity," marking the turning point between the world of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[90] For Markus, this change was defined by a "drainage of secularity" as the world was increasingly interpreted through a theological or ecclesiological lens, so that time was defined liturgically or geography was understood as "sacred topography."[91] Brown attributes the transformation of the Christian worldview to the incorporation of northwestern Europe into the Roman Church and the emergence of Islam as a major religion in north Africa and the Mediterranean.[92] He describes the growth of monastic communities, and their increasing influence on wider culture, along with a "profound change in the imagination" that accompanied the new view of sin and atonement in Europe.[93]

Brown and Rob Meens have both examined the shifts in penitential systems that redefined Christian attitudes to sin and the afterlife in the seventh century. Brown refers to a "peccatization" of the world, in which all experience was viewed in terms of sin and repentance, as the classical Roman notion of God as an emperor who could offer unconditional forgiveness was combined with the Celtic view of justice in which every crime needed to be accounted for.[94] As a result, the early medieval view of judgment

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[89] For an introduction to these movements, see *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D 200-1000*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); David Petts, *Pagan and Christian: Religious Change in Early Medieval Europe* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2011); Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001)
[90] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p.219; Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*
[91] Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, p.226
[92] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p.219-220, 289-294
[93] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p.220
[94] Brown, "The Decline of the Empire of God," p.55, 58

combined genuine contrition, which Brown associates with classical and early Christian thought, with a penitential system that required atonement for every sin.[95] Meens finds that a penitential procession held by Gregory the Great in Rome in 590 in response to the sudden wave of plague that had caused the death of his predecessor Gelasius II (r.492–496) demonstrated two important elements of the changing view of penance and sin: the importance of confessing sin before death, and the need for collective repentance to avoid the punishment of an entire community.[96]

In addition, while the apocalyptic tone of Gregory's writing continued into the seventh century, it was not the stagnation of theology that Daley describes. Brown has argued that the sense that the end of the world was imminent that was provoked by the disintegration of the Western Roman Empire and fall of Rome lessened as the new kingdoms that came to rule over Roman territories stabilised and secured the continuation of Roman society.[97] As a result, he finds that the rulers of Western Europe after the collapse of the Roman Empire invoked the Last Judgment as part of a reform movement that looked ahead to the Second Coming without necessarily expecting it to be in their lifetimes.[98] Following the conversion of Clovis I from Arian to Roman Christianity in 496, Merovingian and Carolingian rulers adopted the role of the Christian ruler that had developed in the Roman Empire since the conversion of Constantine, and played a significant role in the reform movements alongside their bishops.[99] James

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95 Brown, "The Decline of the Empire of God," p.55
96 Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, pp.13-14
97 Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, p.142
98 Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, p.141
99 Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, p.143; For Clovis see Patrick J. Geary, *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp.82-88; Michael Edward Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of Frankish Kingship, 300-850* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011); Alexander Callander Murray, *The Merovingians: Kingship, Institutions, Law, and History* (London: Routledge, 2022); Danuta Shanzer, "Dating the baptism of Clovis: The bishop of Vienne vs the bishop of Tours," *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998), pp.29-57; and Mark Spencer, "Dating the baptism of Clovis, 1886-1993," *Early Medieval Europe 3* (1994), pp.97-116

Palmer has observed that the period between 570 and 640 was not as peaceful or free from crises that provoked apocalyptic anxiety as Brown suggests, but similarly argues that the Last Judgment was often used as a positive tool for reform, describing how eschatology "justified the urgency of reform" and created a rhetoric surrounding the "imperative to act."[100]

However, there are very few images of the Last Judgment that appear in Western Europe prior to the year 800. Christe finds only two secure representations of the Last Judgment produced in the eighth century in Irish manuscripts, one now in Turin (Bib. Naz. MS O. IV. 20) and the other in St Gall (Cod. Sang. 51), both produced c.750 (fig.2.4).[101] In the Turin manuscript, Christ stands in a central compartment holding a long cross, with an angel in the top right of the border blowing a trumpet. In the framed area around Christ which takes up the majority of the page are ninety-six small figures in similar poses who face outwards. Christe suggests that the illustration could represent Matthew 24:30-31, which describes how the Son of Man will come in the "clouds of heaven with much power and majesty. And he will send his angels with a trumpet…and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds." The small heads on the remaining three corners of the border are interpreted by Christe as the winds, with the angel replacing the fourth.[102] The illustration of an Ascension scene on the opposite page further suggests its identification as a Second Coming or Last Judgment, despite the lack of the resurrection of the dead or separation of the saved and damned that would usually be associated with the scene.[103] The St Gall manuscript shows Christ similarly holding a cross, flanked by two angels and with twelve figures below, and again

[100] Palmer, "Eschatology and Reform Rhetoric," p.33
[101] Christe, *Jugements Derniers*, p.17, for Turin, Bib. Naz. MS O. IV. 20, see Christe, *Jugements Derniers*, as this manuscript has not been photographed.
[102] Christe, *Jugements Derniers*, p.17
[103] Christe, *Jugements Derniers*, p.17

makes no reference to resurrection or separation. The similarity of the St Gall illustration to that in the Turin manuscript has led to its identification as a Last Judgment scene, and Christe suggests that it combines the Second Coming and Ascension in a single image rather than on facing pages, as they are presented in the Turin manuscript. However, the lack of any representation of the separation of the saved and damned makes it difficult to accept the Turin and St Gall illustrations as images of the Last Judgment, rather than a Second Coming or Ascension. Despite the repeated use of the long-handled cross held by Christ in the St Gall image, there is nothing else to suggest that the scene should be viewed as a Second Coming rather than as an Ascension combined with an image of Christ in Majesty to indicate that he continued to reign in Heaven after the Ascension.

An early reference to an image of the Last Judgment is found in Bede's *Historia abbatum*, written after the death of Abbot Ceolfrith in 716.[104] In his life of Benedict Biscop (d.690), Bede writes that after founding the monastery at Wearmouth in 674, built in stone "after the Romans" (*iuxta Romanorum*) by masons from France, Benedict travelled to Rome and obtained "paintings of sacred images" (*picturas imaginum sanctarum*) to decorate the new church.[105] Among these were images of the Last Judgment according to the Apocalypse:

> *Quintum, picturas imaginum sanctarum quas ad ornandum ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli quam construxerat detulit... imagines visionum apocalypsis beati Iohannis, quibus septentrionalem aeque parietem ornaret, quatenus intrantes ecclesiam omnes etiam literarum*

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[104] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. J. E. King (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), II, *Books 4-5, Lives of the Abbots, Letter to Egbert*. Translation my own from Latin text.

[105] Bede, *Historia abbatum* 1.6; *Benedictus oceano transmisso Gallias petens, caementarios qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam iuxta Romanorum quem semper amabat morem facerent*

ignari, quaquaversum intenderent... extremi discrimen examinis, quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent.

[The fifth was, he brought pictures of holy images for the ornamentation of the church of Blessed Peter the Apostle that he had built...Images of the visions in the Apocalypse of the blessed John with which he adorned the northern wall, so that all those entering the church, to whatever extent they may be ignorant of letters, could study...the dangers of the final examination, holding it before their eyes so that they might remember to examine themselves more strictly.][106]

Christe has questioned whether this painting actually existed, arguing that since Bede was careful to separate the events of the Apocalypse from those of the end of time in his Apocalypse commentary, the painting was a literary *topos*, similar to the account of Hugh of Lincoln using a Last Judgment sculpture to admonish King John.[107] However, as there are no known contemporary accounts of Last Judgment paintings that Bede could have imitated, there is no evidence for an existing literary tradition for his description to follow. Other scholars have questioned whether the pictures Benedict brought from Rome were entire panels which could be placed on the walls and ceiling of the church, or illuminated manuscripts which were then used as models for wall paintings.[108] Paul Meyvaert has argued that since Bede's writing is usually unambiguous, he would have specified if the paintings were copied from manuscript illuminations.[109] As Bede frequently mentions Benedict's collection of books, it seems unlikely that he

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106 Bede, *Lives of the Abbots*, pp.404, 406

107 Christe, *Jugements derniers*, p.18

108 Paul Meyvaert, "Bede and the church paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979), pp.63-77. Meyvaert quotes Adolph Goldschmidt and Ernst Kitzinger for the view that Benedict brought illuminated manuscripts from Rome that were used as models, see Adolph Goldschmidt, *An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus and Related Manuscripts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), p.33; and Ernst Kitzinger, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp.118-119

109 Meyvaert, "Church paintings," p.67

would refer to "sacred pictures" without explaining that they were images in a manuscript, particularly as a manuscript with such a collection of illuminations would have been a prestigious object. Instead, Meyvaert suggests that the paintings were produced on a series of thin planks, which could then be arranged to form a screen between the nave and transept and placed across the north and south walls.[110] As a collection of smaller panels, it would not have been impossible for Benedict to have transported images large enough to cover the walls of the church from Rome to Northumbria.[111]

Benedict's paintings at Wearmouth are no longer extant, but Bede's description indicates that the scenes from the Apocalypse included a Last Judgment with a more penitential theme than the images of the glorified Christ welcoming the sheep into Paradise found in the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus and in Paulinus's apse at Fundi. Adolph Goldschmidt believed that two manuscripts now in Valenciennes (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale MS 99) and Paris (BnF MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1132), produced in the early ninth and early tenth centuries, used a Northumbrian prototype, itself a copy of a manuscript Benedict brought from Rome and used as a model for wall paintings, a view which has been followed by Peter Klein and James Snyder.[112] However, as Meyvaert has argued, it is more probable that the images Bede described were panels rather than manuscripts, and neither the Valenciennes or Paris manuscripts include a scene of the Last Judgment. As Bede explained that the painting on the north wall would cause its audience to consider the perils of the Last Judgment and examine themselves, it seems likely that it included Christ as the judge, the

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[110] Meyvaert, "Church paintings," p.74
[111] Meyvaert, "Church paintings," p.74
[112] Klein, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Art;" and James Snyder, "The Reconstruction of an Early Christian Cycle of Illustrations for the Book of Revelation: The Trier Apocalypse," *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964), pp.146-162 (p.147)

resurrection of the dead, and some kind of separation of the saved and damned. The scene of the Last Judgment in the ninth-century Trier Apocalypse (Trier, Stadtbibliothek MS 31, f.67r) may provide a closer analogue with Benedict's paintings at Weremouth (fig. 2.5).[113] James Snyder argues that the Trier Apocalypse used a sixth-century model and represents an earlier iconographic tradition of Apocalypse illustrations, and Peter Klein similarly believes it to be "a fairly exact copy of an Italian model of the sixth century."[114] Although Meyvaert believes that it is unlikely for any manuscript to be a direct copy of Benedict's paintings, he allows that the Trier Apocalypse provides an idea of the kind of images found at Wearmouth.[115] The Last Judgment in the Trier manuscript follows the account of Apocalypse 20:11-15, showing Christ enthroned on a circular mandorla at the top of the page, with angels bringing him the books by which the dead would be judged. A group of nude figures representing the resurrected dead are gathered below the throne, and at the bottom of the page two angels are shown gesturing towards the sea to raise the dead and reassembling a dismembered body, while a third pushes Satan and the damned into Hell, shown as a dark opening surrounded by flame.

If the Trier Apocalypse was copied from a sixth-century model and reflects the type of image made for Benedict Biscop shortly after 674, then it would indicate that in the sixth and seventh centuries the iconography of the Last Judgment changed from the allegorical images found at Fundi and in the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus to the more literal interpretation which would become common up to the twelfth century, establishing the key iconographic features of the resurrection and punishment of the

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113 See above, and also Nigel Morgan, "Latin and Vernacular Apocalypses," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.404-426

114 Snyder, "The Trier Apocalypse," p.154

115 Meyvaert, "Church paintings," p.77n1

damned. Bede's description also indicates the way in which they were expected to affect their audience, causing them to "examine themselves," reflecting Brown's view of the developing "peccatization" of the early Middle Ages as inward feelings were increasingly considered to be of equal importance to external action. The "perils" of the Last Judgment were intended to generate the beneficial fear necessary for true penitence, rather than the glimpse of Paradise and the glory of the saints shown at Fundi.

Apocalyptic expectations in the early Middle Ages have been heavily debated in recent scholarship, and various dates have been proposed as being widely thought of as the end of the world for medieval Christian communities, including the years 500, 800, and most significantly, 1000.[116] Although various writers such as Beatus of Liébana, who wrote his commentary on the Apocalypse in 776, gave specific dates for the end of the world, many Church authorities followed the longstanding advice of Augustine to avoid giving any specific date for the world's end, and largely discouraged predictions by other authors.[117] Even Gregory the Great failed to provide any concrete predictions for the end of the world, despite his constant reminders that the end was very close. Palmer has taken a broader view of apocalyptic tendencies in medieval thought, arguing that apocalypticism was "an important factor in the way that people conceptualised,

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116 For scholarship on the year 1000 and other predictions of the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages, see Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter (eds.), *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Michael Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, revised and expanded edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Jules Michelet, *The History of France*, trans. W. K. Kelley (London: Chapman and Hall, 1844)

117 For Beatus of Liébana, see Linda Seidel, "Apocalypse and Apocalypticism in Western Medieval Art," in *The Encylopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (New York: Continuum, 2000), pp.467-506; John Williams, *Visions of the End in Medieval Spain: Catalogue of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries on the Apocalypse and Study of the Geneva Beatus*, ed. Therese Martin (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017); and John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1994-1998)

stimulated and directed change."[118] Rather than identifying a specific apocalyptic moment, he describes an "apocalyptic voice," used to convince audiences that change was necessary and that sins needed to be addressed, as well as to legitimise authority and the exercise of power to achieve these goals.[119] Palmer uses the example of reform rhetoric in Constantinople after an earthquake in 557, which prompted a penitential moment for society motivated by the fear of the coming apocalypse, in which "the Church was wealthier, bolstered in numbers, and being listened to, while the usual moral standards of society were questioned more fiercely."[120]

This view of apocalyptic thought and medieval expectations of judgment either after death or at the end of time is more helpful for understanding the way in which judgment was portrayed in sculpture, and corresponds with the argument proposed by Paul Binski that medieval sculptures aimed to effect concrete, material action in their audiences.[121] As a tool of reform, eschatological or apocalyptic themes could be used in sculptures to encourage individuals and communities to ensure they were ready for the judgment that would be inevitable, if unpredictable. As Palmer observes, whether the apocalypse occurred in an individual's lifetime, or after their death, everybody would have to face the Last Judgment, creating a "pastoral imperative" to prepare as individuals and societies.[122] This is demonstrated by Aelfric of Eynsham's (c.955-c.1010) Old English sermon for the second Sunday of Advent, in which he explained that the end of time would always be soon, even if it would be another thousand years until the Apocalypse, as "whatever ends is short and swift and will be as if it never happened

[118] Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, p.3
[119] Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, p.20
[120] Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, p.21
[121] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.48
[122] Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, p.2

when it is finished."[123] He followed by reminding his audience that although the Second Coming might be distant in an earthly scale, they would face judgment after their own deaths: "Even if it were a long time to that day – as it is not – our own time will not be long, and at our ending it will be decided for us whether we are to await the general Judgment in rest or in torment."[124] This echoes Augustine's sermons instructing his listeners to prepare for the Last Judgment by thinking of their own deaths, as although the end of the world might be in the distant future, they could not predict when they would die. For Malcom Godden, Aelfric's sermon demonstrates his awareness that preachers had been referring to the nearness of the apocalypse for hundreds of years, and he is careful not to specify when the end would come.[125] Aelfric's description of the Second Coming reflects Palmer's "apocalyptic voice," as the nearness of the apocalypse is used rhetorically to call for personal and societal reform, rather than to suggest a certain end.

The communal aspect of discourses surrounding judgment was as critical as the fate of individual souls after death or at the end of time. Judgment and apocalypse were used to legitimise and lend urgency to reforms, and disasters such as invasions or disease were blamed on the sinfulness of the community. For Frankish kings and their bishops, as Brown has argued, the sinfulness of the population was closely linked to the prosperity of the kingdom, and laws were introduced to prohibit sinful behaviour in order to protect society from the wrath of God.[126] Brown quotes an edict of King Guntram of Burgundy (b. c.545, r.561–592) in 585, in which he stated that due to sin,

[123] Quoted and translated in Malcom Godden, "The Millennium, Time, and History for the Anglo-Saxons," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000*, pp.155-180 (p.162). For Aelfric of Eynsham, see Aaron J. Kleist, *The Chronology and Canon of Aelfric of Eynsham* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2019); *A Companion to Aelfric*, ed. Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (Leiden: Brill, 2009); and Luke M. Reinsma, *Aelfric: An Annotated Bibliography* (London: Garland, 1987)
[124] Godden, "The Millennium, Time, and History," p.162
[125] Godden, "The Millennium, Time, and History," p.162
[126] Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, p.144

"by the wrath of heaven, men and beasts are known to perish by different calamities and die of disease and by the sword."[127] The judgment of God could occur in the present, as well as after death or the end of time, and both individuals and communities could be struck by sudden disaster through sin. Brown quotes an account by Gregory of Tours (c.538–594) concerning a tax collector who infringed on the rights of the monastery of Saint Julian in Brioude, whose death from a fever proved "what place he found himself in over there who left this world with such a judgment upon him."[128] The crises that impacted the Roman Empire and the re-negotiation of new societal systems in the kingdoms of northern Europe as Christianity spread throughout Europe produced a change in the iconography of judgment, moving from the hopeful attitude found in the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus and at Fundi to a more penitential outlook. The iconography of the Last Judgment in sixth-century Italy, which spread through manuscripts such as the model used for the Trier Apocalypse and the large-scale, portable wall coverings Benedict Biscop brought to Wearmouth, demonstrates this new emphasis on preparation for the end of time through individual and collective reform to create an idealised Christian people.

4. Carolingian reforms and the Last Judgment in the ninth century

On Christmas Day in the year 800, Charlemagne was crowned as the Holy Roman Emperor at St Peter's Basilica in Rome by Pope Leo III (b. 750, r.795–816), re-

[127] Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, p.145. For Guntram of Burgundy, see Greg Halfond, "All the King's Men: Episcopal Political Loyalties in the Merovingian Kingdoms," *Medieval Prosopography* 27 (2012), pp.76-96; Anna Gehler-Rachůnek, "East and West from a Visigothic Perspective: How and Why Were Frankish Brides Negotiated in the Late Sixth Century?" in *The Merovingian Kingdoms and the Mediterranean World: Revisiting the Sources*, ed. Stefan Enders *et. al.* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), pp.31-40; and Helmut Reimitz, "True Differences: Gregory of Tours' Account of the Council of Mâcon (585)," in *The Merovingian Kingdoms and the Mediterranean World*, pp.19-29

[128] Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, p.171

establishing the ideal of the Christian emperor established by Constantine and representing the new Carolingian dynasty as the heirs of the Roman past.[129] The appearance of a number of images of the Last Judgment from around the year 800 may have been a reflection of a growing desire to establish a unified Church representing imperial and papal authority, providing an impetus to create monumental, public works of art which encouraged obedience and adherence to doctrine. Mayke de Jong has shown that the reform movements and *correctio* of Charlemagne's reign was concerned with "order and correction to forge a polity that might be worthy of salvation," in which universal adherence to orthodoxy by a pious and penitential people was necessary.[130] In 789, the capitulary known as the *Admonitio generalis* was disseminated from Charlemagne's court, setting out the proposals for Church reform which aimed to "correct" and "emend" not only the ecclesiastic and monastic communities, but the entire lay population of the kingdom.[131] Representations of the Last Judgment in the early ninth century may have reflected this desire to impress the necessity of personal and collective reform on a wider audience in order to encourage the greater

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[129] Palmer, *Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, p.132. The historiography of Charlemagne's reign is considerable; for recent scholarship see Alessandro Barbero, *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent*, trans. Allan Cameron (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Anne A. Latowsky, *Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013); Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Janet L. Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne* (London: Penguin, 2020); and *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005)

[130] de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," p.105

[131] For the *Admonitio generalis*, see above and also Daniel J. DiCenso, "Revisiting the *Admonitio generalis*," in *Chant, Liturgy, and the Inheritance of Rome: Essays in Honour of Joseph Dyer*, ed. Daniel J. DiCenso and Rebecca Maloy (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp.315-371; Steffen Patzold, "*Pater noster*: Priests and the religious instruction of the laity in the Carolingian *populus christianus*," in *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Steffen Patzold and Carine an Rhijn (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016); Carine van Rhijn, "'Et hoc considerat episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae': Carolingian local *correcio* and an unknown priests' exam from the early ninth century," in *Religious Franks*, pp.162-180; Carine van Rhijn, "Royal Politics in Small Worlds: Local Priests and the Implementation of Carolingian *correctio*," in *Kleine Welten: Ländliche Gesellschaften im Karolingerreich*, ed. Thomas Khol, Steffen Patzold and Bernhard Zeller (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2019), pp.237-253

understanding and obedience needed to create a Christian people, thus protecting the kingdom from God's anger.

Two examples of the Last Judgment survive from around the year 800. The first is a small ivory book cover now held in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 2.6), and the second, a wall painting in the Benedicktinerinnenkloster St. Johann in Val Müstair, Switzerland (fig. 2.7). The book cover is notable for being the earliest known representation of the entrance to Hell as a monstrous creature, an iconographic motif which appeared throughout Europe in the following centuries and which will be discussed in the following chapter.[132] In both, the iconography of judgment reflects the penitential focus that had developed between the sixth and ninth centuries, demonstrating the departure from the hopeful visions of Paradise in the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus and the apse at Fundi. Rather than showing the Last Judgment in allegorical terms of the sheep and goats, the ninth-century images depict Christ the Judge surrounded by the resurrected dead, including an explicit condemnation of the damned in addition to the salvation of the blessed. The original use and context for the Victoria and Albert Museum carving is uncertain, and scholars have debated whether it was produced in a continental Carolingian or Insular milieu. Jane Hawkes and Meg Boulton, among others, have claimed that it was produced in a specifically "Anglo-Saxon context" without Carolingian influence.[133] However, Paul Williamson has argued

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[132] See Aleks Plukowski, "Apocalyptic Monsters: Animal Inspirations for the Iconography of Medieval North European Devourers," in *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, ed. Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), pp.155-176; and Gary D. Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eighth Century Britain to the Fifteenth Century* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1995)

[133] John Beckwith, *Ivory Carving in Early Medieval England* (London: Harvey Miller & Medcalf, 1972); Meg Boulton, "Art History in the Dark Ages: (Re)considering Space, Stasis, and Modern Viewing Practices in Relation to Anglo-Saxon Imagery," in *Stasis in the Medieval West? Questioning Change and Continuity*, ed. Michael D. J. Bintley, Martin Locker, et.al. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), pp.69-86; Jane Hawkes, "The Road To Hell," in *Listen, O Isles, Unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork: Cork University Press, 2011), pp.230-242 (p.233-234)

that it was produced in south Germany or north Italy, as a second ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum, used as the basis for the Anglo-Saxon provenance by John Beckwith, originally had rounded corners, suggesting that it belonged to a Late Antique consular diptych. As these ivory panels were rarely found outside Italy, Williamson suggests that both ivories are northern Italian, but produced in a workshop that was influenced by Insular models.[134] This continental provenance would correspond with contemporary images of the Last Judgment also produced in the region around the borders of Italy, Germany, and Switzerland such as the wall paintings at Müstair. Whether the carving is Insular or continental, the iconography of the Last Judgment reflects the increasing concern for Christian leadership and atonement for sin that was current in Europe at the time, partially due to the reforming activity centred on Charlemagne's court.[135] It is not known what book the ivory would have originally been joined to, as shortly after its creation it was taken to Reims, where it was recarved with the Transfiguration on the reverse and used as the inside-facing pair of doors for an unknown object before being reused again as book covers. A matching ivory relief of the Ascension is thought to have been the other half of the book cover, which is consistent with the association of the Ascension and the Second Coming based on the account of Christ's ascension in Acts 1:1-12.[136] This is often considered the earliest

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[134] Paul Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings: Early Christian to Romanesque* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2010), pp.152-153

[135] See de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church"; and also John J. Contreni, "Carolingian monastic schools and reform," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, *vol. 1: Origins to the Eleventh Century*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp.450-465; Miriam Czock, "Creating futures through the lens of Revelation in the rhetoric of Carolingian Reform ca. 750 to ca. 900," in *Apocalypse and Reform*, pp.101-120; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. Rob Meens (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Maureen C. Miller, "Reform, Clerical Culture, and Politics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. John H. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.305-322; and Janet L. Nelson, "Religion in the Age of Charlemagne," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, pp.490-514

[136] Victoria and Albert Museum, object description; Acts 1:11, "This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come, as you have seen him going into heaven."

surviving image of the predominant type of Last Judgment iconography that would persist throughout the Middle Ages, marking a departure from the earlier allegorical images from Late Antiquity.[137]

At the top of the ivory panel's composition, Christ appears as the universal judge enthroned within a mandorla. He carries scrolls bearing his words from Matthew 25, "*Venite benedicti patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum*" [Come to me, blessed of my father, possess the kingdom prepared for you] and *"Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum*" [Depart from me, wicked ones, into the eternal fire]. The text survives as a fragment on the left-hand scroll, reading *"venite ben…atr[is]…mei p[re]cipit…vo[bis],"* while the scroll on the right has lost its inscription entirely. The use of *precipit* may indicate an Old Latin version of the Gospel as a source rather than the Vulgate of Jerome, whereas the text of the Gospel in the version produced by Bishop Theodulf of Orléans (b. c.750, r. c.798–818) at the request of Charlemagne for a correct, standardised text uses *possidete*, as demonstrated in the copy held in the British Library, Add. MS 24142 (f.208r).[138] However, Alcuin of York regularly used *precipit* in his letters and commentaries, and it is also seen on the scrolls held by angels in the Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc.Bibl.140), made c.1010 for Henry II (b.973, r.1014–1024) demonstrating that both usages were current in intellectual Carolingian and Ottonian culture (fig.2.8).[139]

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137 Boulton, "Art History in the Dark Ages," p.74
138 See Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "The Latin Bible c.600 to c.900," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. 2: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.69-92; Bryan Carella, "Alcuin and the Legatine Capitulary of 986: The Evidence of Scriptural Citations," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 22 (2012), pp.221-256; Bonifatius Fischer, *Die Lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert,* 4 vols., vol. 1: *Varianten zu Matthäus, Vetus Latina die Reste der Altlateinischen Bible: Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel* (Freiberg: Herder, 1988-1991); Hiroshi Ogawa, "Language and Style in Two Anonymous Old English Easter Homilies," in *Inside Old English: Essays in Honour of Bruce Mitchell*, ed. John Walmsley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp.203-221
139 Carella, "Alcuin and the Legatine Capitulary," p.245-246

Meg Boulton observes that the scrolls held by Christ in the ivory meet the angled sarcophagi of the resurrected dead to form a lozenge, a shape which was associated with salvation through Christ.[140] On either side of Christ, angels blow trumpets to awake the dead, who are shown in different stages of their resurrection. Souls, represented as doves, return to their corporeal bodies which emerge from their sarcophagi, entering the mouth of one figure who is sitting upright to indicate his resurrection, while another flies towards a corpse still wrapped in its shroud. Immediately below Christ's feet an angel stands on an upturned crescent moon and holds out his hands to the resurrected figures, with his right hand placed on the head of the person closest to him, who holds his hand out in return. A similar composition occurs in the Bamberg Apocalypse, where a pair of angels hold scrolls with the text from Matthew 25 below the enthroned figure of Christ. In the bottom corners of the ivory the saved and damned enter Heaven and Hell, shown as micro-architectural structures. On the left, an angel welcomes a small group of three figures, dressed in the robes of the elect, into Heaven through a large open door decorated with the same pattern of small holes that frame the entire scene, emphasising the significance of opening and reading the book as the means of gaining entry to Heaven. Opposite, the damned are crushed together at the entrance to Hell, shown as a monstrous, disembodied, humanoid head which emerges from a small opening in a crenelated fortress to swallow the closest figure to it.

Meg Boulton has described the articulation of space in the ivory as intentionally complex, creating a confusing scene which is hard to comprehend in order to signify the end of time and space that would occur at the Last Judgment.[141] There is not yet any indication of which of the resurrected dead will be saved or damned, and the angel standing in the centre of the composition blesses those on both the left and right. There

140 Boulton, "Art History in the Dark Ages," p.77
141 Boulton, "Art History in the Dark Ages," p.76-77

is also no image of the deeds of souls being weighed, an iconographic feature which would become common in Last Judgment schemes of the twelfth century. These observations indicate that although the uncertainty of Judgment was more pronounced than in earlier images, it was not as heavily emphasised as it would later become. As a book cover, the iconography of the Last Judgment provided a similar sense of *occasio* as sculpted portals of the twelfth century, preparing the reader for their entrance by encouraging them to fear the coming judgment so that they would read its contents and apply it to their lives. The repetition of the motif framing the ivory around the entrance to Heaven emphasised the meaning of opening the book as opening the door to Paradise.

Different functions of Last Judgment iconography can be seen in the contemporary wall paintings at Saint Johann, Müstair, also produced close to the year 800. The exact date of the fresco cycle at Müstair has not been established and the context for its production remains unclear, partly due to the fact that the church moved between local and Imperial control in the ninth century.[142] Traditionally, the monastery claimed Charlemagne as its patron, and a statue of Charlemagne in the church is accompanied by an inscription describing his foundation of the monastery in 801.[143] A later record of the cloister from 1394 repeats this claim to imperial foundation by Charlemagne.[144] In her unpublished PhD dissertation, Joan Cwi made a detailed study of the monastery and observed that the inscription was added in the fifteenth or sixteenth century as a copy of an earlier version. She argued that this original inscription and the sculpture dated to

142 See Ataoguz, "The Apostolic Ideal;" Cwi, "St John, Mustair;" and Maissen, Gantner, and Holzer, "Late Gothic constructions"
143 Joan Cwi, "St John, Mustair," p.66; "*Divus Carolus Magnus hujus Monasterii fundator 801*"
144 Cwi, "St John, Mustair," p.67

c.1165, when Charlemagne was canonised, based on the description of him as *Divus*, a term "practically equivalent to *sanctus*."[145]

Kirsten Ataoguz has connected the foundation of Saint Johann to an agreement reached between Bishop Constantius of Chur (d. c.800) and Charlemagne during the Carolingian conflict with the Longobards, in which the monastery would have provided a strategic position in relation to the nearby Val Venosta.[146] The integration of Chur into the Frankish kingdom followed Charlemagne's capture of Verona in 773.[147] Constantius requested that Chur be placed under royal protection, and he was elevated to *rector* of the region in the summer of 773, allying himself with Charlemagne in a move described by Jinty Nelson as "effectively a negotiated takeover."[148] Dendrochronological analysis of the wood used in the construction of the church of Saint Johann reveals that the monastery was founded around 775, and Nelson suggests that Charlemagne rewarded Constantius for his military support in 776 during a ducal revolt in northern Italy by supporting the foundation of Saint Johann.[149] The strategic significance of Müstair has also been examined by Bernard Bachrach, who observes that its location on the Roman road between Augsberg and Verona allowed Constantine's forces to control access to Verona and prevent Bavarian troops from passing through to northern Italy.[150]

A layer of dirt between the church wall and the paintings indicates that they were not contemporaneous with the building, but were added in the following decades.[151]

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145 Cwi, "St John, Mustair," p.67
146 Ataoguz, "The Apostolic Ideal," p.92-93
147 Bernard Bachrach, *Charlemagne's Early Campaigns (768-777): A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (Leiden: Brill, 2013)
148 Jinty Nelson, "Charlemagne and the Bishops," in *Religious Franks*, pp.350-369 (pp.360-361); see also Sean J. Gilsdorf, *The Favour of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p.20
149 Nelson, "Charlemagne and the Bishops," p.361; Bachrach, *Charlemagne's Early Campaigns*, p.478
150 Bachrach, *Charlemagne's Early Campaigns*, p.480
151 Ataoguz, "The Apostolic Ideal," p.93

Ataoguz has suggested that they were designed in response to a transfer of power from the Bishopric of Chur to the new count of the region, Hunfrid of Istria (d. after 808), in 806-807, when Saint Johann was given to Hunfrid along with two other abbeys and around two hundred churches.[152] For Ataoguz, the restructuring of power in 806-807 and the practice of monastic preaching motivated the creation of the fresco cycle in order to assert local monastic authority and demonstrate the pastoral role of the abbey through its apostolic message.[153] Cwi gave a slightly later date, arguing that the extensive David and Absalom cycle indicates the entire programme was designed c.835 in support of Emperor Louis the Pious during his conflict with his son Lothar (795–855).[154] The abbey became a convent in the mid-twelfth century and in 1492 the basilica was converted into a three-aisle church with a nuns' gallery across the western wall, and new windows and doorways were added, destroying large sections of the mural.[155] The paintings themselves were preserved under a layer of whitewash until 1947, with the exception of the Ascension on the east wall, which was discovered and moved to the Landesmuseum in Zurich in 1894.[156]

The murals at Müstair continue the penitential theme developed in the preceding centuries and reflect the insistence on religious uniformity and the desire to teach lay audiences following the *Admonitio generalis*, which may have been particularly important in areas recently incorporated into the Frankish kingdom such as Chur. Christ appears as the judge enthroned within a circular mandorla in the central register (fig.2.9), surrounded by a semicircle of angels and with the apostles as fellow judges enthroned

152 Ataoguz, "The Apostolic Ideal," p.93;
153 Araoguz, "The Apostolic Ideal," p.94
154 Cwi, "St John, Mustair," p.128
155 Cwi, "St John, Mustair," p.13; Maissen, Gantler, and Holzer, "Late Gothic constructions," p.890
156 Ataoguz, "The Apostolic Ideal," p.94n12; Maissen, Gantler, and Holzer, "Late Gothic constructions," p.890

within arcades to his left and right. He looks directly outwards with his right hand raised and palm facing upwards to gesture towards the saved, and his left lowered and facing downwards towards the damned, a pose which is similar to Christ in the tympanum of Sainte-Foy in Conques. Both groups appear in the lowest register, the saved accompanied by three angels and the damned separated by a fourth. Very little survives of the group of damned figures (fig. 2.10), and a diagonal line divides them from a section which has been entirely destroyed, but which may have been a scene of Hell. In the upper register, the general resurrection is shown above the apostles on the far left and right, where nude figures climb out of their sarcophagi, in some cases helping one another. An angel can be seen above the resurrected figures on the right (fig. 2.11), although only his feet and the edge of his robe remain visible following the addition of the window in the fifteenth century. The resurrection is divorced from the separation of the saved and damned, so that it is unclear what the fates of the resurrected figures would be. A group of individuals climbing from their sarcophagi on the upper right turn towards the angel blowing a trumpet to raise the dead, holding out their hands as if to appeal for aid, emphasising the uncertainty of salvation.

Above the central group are two scenes that precede the events of the Last Judgment. To the left is the Second Coming, with Christ shown standing and in profile, walking towards the centre of the composition, where Christe suggests there may have been a triumphal cross (fig. 2.12).[157] A group of angels emerge from behind his mandorla, overlapping one another so that only the first is entirely shown. Although the painting is cut off by the insertion of another window, this first angel is clearly stepping forwards with one knee slightly bent, and the angle of his shoulders and head suggest that he is bending forwards, possibly blowing a trumpet to herald the resurrection and

[157] Christe, *Jugements derniers*, p.153

Second Coming. One arm remains visible, stretched outwards as if to hold an object that has since been lost. On the other side of the judgment scene a pair of angels roll up a giant scroll, referencing Apocalypse 6:14, "And the heaven departed as a book folded up."[158] These references to the Second Coming and the Apocalypse frame the Last Judgment as a specific moment in time, unlike the V&A ivory, which shows an atemporal view of the Last Judgment. This follows the extensive historical cycles on the north and south walls of the lives of David and Christ and the *majestas Domini* in the central apse. The entire scheme of paintings at Müstair thus shows the unfolding of divine history, prefigured in the life of David and fulfilled by Christ, which looks towards the Second Coming and is governed by the unchanging, atemporal God represented by the *majestas*.

Between the ninth and eleventh centuries, the Last Judgment was frequently placed on the western interior wall of churches, reminding viewers of the watchful eyes of the judge as they re-entered the world.[159] A series of frescoes produced at the abbey of St Gall during the abbacy of Hartmut (872-883) are now lost, but the accompanying *tituli* and their respective placements have been preserved in a manuscript now held in Zürich (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms. C 78, f.40v-50v).[160] These describe a Last Judgment painting on the western wall in two verses:

Hi vero in fronte occidentali in spatio, quod supra tronum est.

"Ecce tubae crepitant quae mortis iura resignant; Crux micat in caelis, nubes praecedit et ignis."

Hi etiam subtus tronum inter paradysum et infernum.

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[158] Ap. 6:14; This is a reference to Isaiah 34:4, "And all the host of the heavens shall pine away, and the heavens shall be folded together as a book."
[159] See Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, pp.13, 22
[160] Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, "Das Münster des Abtes Gosbert (816-837) und seine Ausmalung unter Hartmut (Proabbas 841, Abt 872-883)," *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler: Mitteilungblatt für die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft für Schweizerische Kunstgeschichte* 34 (1983), pp.152-167 (p.156)

"Hic residant summi Christo cum iudice sancti; Justificare pios, baratro damnare malignos."

[This verse on the western frontispiece in the room, above the throne:

"Behold trumpets sound which rescind the law of death / The cross shines in Heaven, clouds and fire precede it."

This likewise below the throne between Paradise and Hell:

"Here sit the most high saints with Christ the judge / To justify the pious, to condemn the wicked to the abyss."][161]

The use of *ecce* (behold) and *hic* (here) in the *tituli* parallel the use of *hic* and *sic* (thus) in the inscriptions in the tympana of Conques and Autun, drawing the audience's attention to specific points of the scheme in order to demonstrate that they are witnessing the reality of the future judgment. The *tituli* also reflect the uncertainty of judgment, moving from expectation of salvation to anxious hope, by emphasising that not all believers would be saved, but only the pious who have lived well. The "wicked" are not necessarily the non-believers, but sinners of all kinds. While some representations of the Last Judgment depict the damned as nude to distinguish them from the robed elect, as in the V&A ivory panel and the Ripoll Bible (Vatican, Vat.Lat.5729, f.369v) made between 1008 and 1047 at the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll in Catalonia, in others the damned are identified by the clothes they would have worn in life.[162] In the Bamberg Apocalypse, the group of sinners includes a bishop and

[161] Printed in Sennhauser, "Der Münster," pp.164-165, from Zentralbibliothek Zürich Ms. C 78
[162] For the Ripoll Bible, see Manuel Castiñeiras, "Patrons, institutions and public in the making of Catalan Romanesque art during the Comital Period (1000-1137)," in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes: Design and Instrumentality in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. Jordi Camps *et. al.* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp.143-158; Manuel Castiñeiras, "Le Nouveau Testament de la Bible de Ripoll et les traditions anciennes de l'iconographie Chrétienne: Du *scriptorium* de l'abbé Oliba à la peinture romane sur bois," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009), pp.145-164; Erika Loic, "The Art of the Biblical Prologue in Medieval Catalonia: Visual Connections and Interpretation in the Ripoll Bibles," *Early Medieval Europe* 30 (2022), pp.577-605; and Erica Loic, "The Ripoll Bible (Vat. Lat. 5729)," in *The Bible From Late Antiquity to the Renaissance:*

crowned emperor to show that all people were at risk of damnation and needed to repent while they had time. There is no indication as to whether the damned in the Last Judgment scheme at Saint Gall would have been clothed or nude, but the *tituli* reflect the increased emphasis on the need for Christians to continue to repent and live well in order to be saved, departing from the late antique division between the salvation of the faithful and the condemnation of their enemies.

A contemporary Second Coming and Last Judgment are also preserved, in a similar style but in a very fragmented state at the abbey church of St Peter in Mistail, less than seventy miles away from Müstair.[163] The iconography of the Last Judgment scene has been reconstructed by Randon Jerris, and would have corresponded closely to the paintings at Müstair.Christ would have dominated the composition, enthroned within a mandorla at the centre and surrounded by angels and the twelve apostles. The resurrection of the dead was placed below Christ, rather than above, and angels holding scrolls were placed between them at Christ's feet. As at Müstair, the Second Coming was shown separately from the Last Judgment, with Christ carried by angels depicted at the top of the scheme.[164]

Positioned on the interior of west facades, these Carolingian murals at Müstair, St Gall, and Mistail served a similar function to the sculptures which would later be placed above exterior portals, marking the boundary of sacred space and serving as a warning of future judgment to persuade viewers to avoid sin and think constantly on the state of their souls in the world to come. The movement of the Last Judgment from the interior wall to the exterior door, and the shift from two-dimensional paint to three-dimensional

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Writing and Images from the Vatican Library, ed. Ambrogio M. Piazzoni and Francesca Manzari (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2017), pp.168-173

163 Sennhauser, "Der Münster," p.157

164 Described in Randon Matthew Newman Jerris, "Alpine sanctuaries: Topography, architecture, and decoration of early medieval churches in the bishopric of Chur," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1999), p.282

sculpture, altered this message slightly, encouraging audiences to think of judgment at the entrance to sacred space, rather than on leaving to return to the world outside. As the entrance to the church, the Last Judgment aimed to evoke fear in order to encourage the salvific feelings of repentance and true contrition needed for spiritual progression, as well as exterior acts of obedience, devotion, and submission to the authority of the Church.

5. The portal as a site of penitence and early Romanesque sculpture

Sculptures placed over the doorways to churches played a different role to the paintings within the church building, which Calvin Kendall has associated with the nature of doorways as points of passage. He finds that the purpose of portal sculpture was to create a sense of "personal transformation and incorporation into sacred space," rather than provoking adoration.[165] Similarly, Peter Low has examined how sculpture functioned to construct sacred space and align the lay visitor's place within the Church community.[166] Binski has argued against the interpretation that every entrance into the church building should be viewed as a liminal or transformative experience, as some viewers would have passed beneath the sculpture without necessarily reflecting deeply on its significance.[167] While the reception of portal sculptures may have varied, as a functional symbol the door could serve as the site of transformation and incorporation into the Church, and this would have been the intended function of the sculptures as envisioned by the designers and artists of the portal. By placing the Last Judgment over the threshold of the church, the designers of the programme aimed to persuade their

[165] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.53
[166] Low, "'You Who Once Were Far Off,' p.469
[167] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.31

audience to enter in a contrite mood, wishing for forgiveness, thereby preparing them for an encounter with the divine.[168]

As programmes of figural sculpture began to be placed above church portals in the last decades of the eleventh century, the theme of judgment was immediately associated with the threshold. The west façade tympanum at San Pedro Cathedral in Jaca (fig. 2.13) has been described by Sauerländer as "the first truly Romanesque portal," and he argued that its sculpture demonstrated a shift from a simple sign above the door to a moralising image asking for repentance.[169] Construction of the cathedral began shortly after Sancho Ramírez (1043–1094), Count of Aragon (from 1064) and King of Pamplona (r. 1076–1094), established the new diocese of Aragon in Jaca in 1077 following his coronation as King of Pamplona in 1076. Javier Martínez de Aguirre argues that the cathedral was under construction by 1089 at the latest, and suggests that the sculpture was completed by 1094 under the direction of Bishop Pedro (r. 1086–1099).[170] Rather than an image of Christ, the Jaca tympanum features a *chrismon*, a wheel-shaped version of the *Chi-Rho* monogram through which a horizontal bar has been added with Alpha and Omega to create a cross. A pair of lions flank this monogram, one on the left standing over a man prostrating himself while holding a snake; the other baring its teeth and placing its paw onto a beast, while a basilisk is coiled behind its back legs.[171] Inscriptions above each lion and across the lintel explain the iconographic programme. Above the lion on the

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[168] For persuasion and rhetoric in sculpted portals, see Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, particularly p.21
[169] Sauerländer, "Romanesque Sculpture," p.20
[170] Javier Martínez de Aguirre, "The Role of Kings and Bishops in the Introduction of Romanesque Art in Navarre and Aragon," in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes: Design and Instrumentality in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. Jordi Camps, Manuel Castiñeiras, John McNeill, and Richard Plant (London: British Archeological Association, 2018), pp.47-62 (p.52, 57). See also Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.63; and Lynn H. Nelson, "The Foundation of Jaca (1076): Urban Growth in Early Aragon," *Speculum* 53 (1978): pp.688-708 (p.699)
[171] Kendall has identified the beast below the lion on the right as a *leontophonos*, a creature described by Pliny the Elder and Isidore of Seville as being poisonous to lions, which lions would kill using their paws. See Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.126-127

left side of the *chrismon* is written: "*Parcere sternenti leo scit xp[istu]sq[ue] petenti*" [The lion knows to spare the man who prostrates himself, and Christ knows to pardon the man who prays.][172] Above the lion on the right is the inscription "*Imp[er]ium mortis concvlcans e[st] leo fortis"* [The strong lion is trampling underfoot the sovereign power of death.][173] The lion was frequently used as an allegorical figure representing Christ, following the reference to Christ as the "lion of Judah" in Apocalypse 5:5. Like the lions, Christpardons those who pray and destroyed the power of death through the crucifixion. The role of the bishop in this process was also emphasised by the position of the lion and prostrate penitent, which Aguirre compares to the ritual of public penance, arguing that the sculpture was a "clerically formulated message" which highlighted episcopal authority.[174]

The significance of the portal as a site of repentance and transformation was elaborated by the lintel inscription: "*Vivere si qveris qvi mortis lege teneris: hvc svplicando veni. Renvens fomenta veneni. Cor viciis munda. Pereas ne morte secvnda*" [If you who are bound by the law of death seek to live, come hither in prayer, renouncing the fomentation of poison. Cleanse your heart of vices, lest you perish in the second death.][175] The necessity of repentance is emphasised in the inscription, calling for sinners to "come hither" to the portal and enter the church, and demarcating all those who fail to enter the church as "bound by the law of death." The threat of the "second death" is invoked to inspire penitence, as by fearing punishment the audience of the portal would begin to repent and live well, marking the first stage of their spiritual progression which would continue within the church.

[172] Quoted and trans. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.230
[173] Quoted and trans. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.230
[174] Aguirre, "Kings and Bishops," p.54-55
[175] Quoted and trans. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.230

The iconographic scheme of the *chrismon* flanked by two lions was copied shortly after it was completed at Jaca at the convent of Santa María in Santa Cruz de la Serós, closely associated with the Aragonese royal family since 1070 (fig. 2.14).[176] All three of Sancho Ramírez's sisters lived at Santa María and made donations to it during their lifetimes; the youngest, Sancha, left all her possessions to the "workshop of the church of Santa María" in her will of 1095, indicating that construction was being carried out at the convent.[177] The lintel inscription at Santa María makes the significance of the door more explicit than at Jaca:

> *Ianva svm p[er]pes : p[er] me transite fideles : fons ego sum vite : plvs me qvam vina sitite virginis h[oc] templum q[vi] vis penetrare beatvm / corrige te primum valeas qvo poscere xpistum*
>
> [I am the eternal door; pass through me, faithful ones. I am the fountain of life; thirst for me more than for wine. You who wish to enter this blessed church of the Virgin, reform yourself first in order that you may be able to call upon Christ.][178]

The inscription makes it clear that those who wish to pray for salvation to Christ and the Virgin would first need to reform themselves, a process which began with fearing the Last Judgment and the punishments of Hell. Kendall has also shown how the first-person voice of the inscriptions identify the door as an embodiment of Christ,

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176 Janice Mann, *Romanesque Architecture and its Sculptural Decoration in Christian Spain, 1000-1120: Exploring Frontiers and Defining Identities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), p.92-93; According to Mann, the earliest reference to Santa María is in a document of 1070, recording a gift of possessions from Sancha, the mother of Ramiro I of Aragon, to her granddaughter Sancha on the condition that after her death they would pass to the convent.
177 *Percipio ego sancia de omnibus rebus sive substanciis meis quaque inventa fuerint post meum discessum sit in fabrica aeclesiae sanctae Mariae ob redemptione peccatorum meum*; Quoted in Mann, *Romanesque Architecture*, p.93. For Sancha Ramírez see Mann, *Romanesque Architecture*, and Gregoria Calvero Domínguez, "Spanish Female Monasticism: 'Family' Monasteries and their Transformation (Eleventh to Twelfth Centuries)," in *Women in the Medieval Monastic World*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp.15-52
178 Quoted and trans. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, pp.276-277

transforming the act of entering the building into a statement of faith. The meaning of the iconographic programme cannot be fully comprehended without the accompanying inscriptions, suggesting either that the intended audience was literate or that an interpreter would have been able to explain the message to visitors. Kendall has argued that the first-person voice of the inscription identified Christ with the door, making the invisible divine presence within the church audible.[179] The inscriptions at Jaca and Santa Cruz de la Serós also make the role of judgment iconography in the function of the doorway evident. As with the ivory book cover, the image of judgment made a clear association between the act of entering the church and the process of repentance and salvation. When visitors entered the church, the sculpture called on them to prepare themselves emotionally for encountering Christ by asking for forgiveness for their sin with genuine remorse. As Last Judgment sculptures became more elaborate and recognisable over the first decades of the twelfth century, the meaning of the doorway as the site of repentance and transformation remained.

The themes of penitence and fear evoked by the iconography of the Last Judgment were intensified in the sculpted portals of the twelfth century, reflecting the increasingly emotional, uncertain attitude towards judgment and salvation which emerged in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries in of the work of authors such as Anselm, referred to at the beginning of this chapter. Images of the Last Judgment, like Anselm's meditation, were intended to be memorable figures which would keep the events of the final day and the constant watchfulness of the judge in mind. In this way, they cultivated the experience of the beneficial fear that would lead to repentance and prevent pride or over-confidence in salvation. Anselm described how he, or his reader, saw some sins as minor, and how that would condemn them in the final judgment:

[179] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.81

> *Forsan parvum quid putas aliquod peccatum: utinam districtus judex parvum existimaret aliquod peccatum. Sed heu me! nonne omne peccatum per praevaricationem Deum exhonorat? [...] Vae! quot peccata ibi proruent ex improviso, quasi ex insidiis, quae modo non vides? Certe plura, et fortassis terribiliora his quae nunc vides.*
>
> [Perhaps you consider some sin small: Would that the stern judge might think any sin to be small. But oh! Does not all sin dishonour God through transgression? When therefore is it a small thing, to dishonour God? [...] How many sins will then rush forth from that which is unforeseen, as if from an ambush, which somehow you have not seen? Certainly many, possibly more terrible than those which you see now.][180]

To create the attitude of fear necessary to consider every sin and repent, Anselm instructs his reader to "add fresh griefs to thy load of griefs; add terror to terror; add cry to cry" [*Auge ergo, peccator, auge superioribus aerumnis pondus; adde terrorem super terrorem, ululatum super ululatum*] by imagining the Last Judgment and the anger of Christ.[181] The immediacy of this agonizing imagery, whether pictured in stone or the imagination, highlights Christe's emphasis on the present in the history of the Last Judgment. As the inscription at Jaca instructs, it was necessary to "cleanse your heart of vices" in the present, in order to avoid worse punishment in the future. After the dramatic account of the Last Judgment in his meditation to create an intense terror of the future, Anselm turns to hope, instructing his reader, *"Respira jam, o peccator, respira; ne desperes, spera in eo quem times"* [breathe now, sinner, breathe; lest you despair, trust in him whom you fear].[182]

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180 Anselm, *Meditationes*, col.0723B
181 Anselm, *Meditationes*, col.0724A
182 Anselm, *Meditationes*, col.0724C

This tension between terror and hope in Anselm's meditation was necessary to prevent his reader from despairing and accepting damnation, which would prevent repentance and hope for salvation, echoing the description of terror in Gregory's *Moralia* as being "placed between fear and hope."[183] Portal sculptures created the same tension between terror and hope by showing both the condemnation of the damned and salvation of the just, asking the visitor to enter the church in order to join the community of the saved who would enter Paradise. By evoking judgment at the threshold, sculptures were intended to generate intense terror, encouraging their audience to turn to Christ and the saints for salvation, accessible through the mediator of the Church. The terror and chaos of the Last Judgment above the door could then give way to wonder at the serenity of the church interior and the glory of the saints in their shining reliquaries, which recalled the perfected bodies they would receive in the resurrection. The long development of representations of the Last Judgment from the fourth to eleventh centuries established a sophisticated and recognisable iconography with deep intellectual and exegetical significance, which was utilised to new effect in the sculpted portals of Sainte-Foy in Conques and Saint-Lazare in Autun.

6. Communities of the threshold at the abbey of Sainte-Foy in Conques

The Last Judgment tympanum at the abbey of Sainte-Foy in Conques (figs. 2.15-2.16) is one of the earliest surviving examples of a monumental sculpted Last Judgment portal. However, its complexity and the quality of the carving suggests that it was created by an experienced team of sculptors, which may point to the existence of earlier monumental Last Judgment schemes that no longer survive. Unlike the allegorical iconography seen at Jaca and Santa Cruz, the sculpture at Conques shows the Last

[183] Byrne, "Despair and Presumption"

Judgment on a vast scale, embellishing the account found in Matthew 25 with details of the saved and damned that reflected local concerns at the abbey as well as the broader theological views of the Church in the early twelfth century. Although the iconography of Hell will be discussed in the following chapter, the overall scene of the Last Judgment balances the threat of damnation with hope for salvation to instruct pilgrims to place their trust in the intercessory power of the abbey and its patron saint, while also emphasising its authority and independence. Through the punishments of the damned and joy of the blessed, obedience and submission to the Church – and the abbey of Sainte-Foy in particular – is shown as the only means of accessing Heaven. Here, the inclusion of contemporary events and references to the legendary history of the abbey anchored the events of the Last Judgment in the present, reflecting Augustine's exhortation to view the "last day" of the judgment as being the last day of each individual's life in his sermons.

The foundation of the abbey of Sainte-Foy is referenced in a charter of Louis the Pious in 819, which records the transformation of a religious community at Conques which had gathered around a hermit named Dado into a monastery following the Benedictine rule.[184] However, Hervé Oudart argues that as the charter refers to Dado in the past tense, he had already died by 819, and the earliest surviving document from the abbey dated to 801 describes the monks living *sub regula beati Benedicti* and names Medraldus as abbot.[185] According to the 819 charter, Dado had settled in Conques after it had been destroyed by Muslim forces, and had built a church dedicated to the Saviour

[184] Hervé Oudart, "L'ermite et le prince. Les débuts de la vie monastique à Conques (fin VIIIe – dèbut XIe siècle," *Revue Historique* 297 (1997), pp.3-39 (p.6); *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, ed. Gustave Desjardins, no.580, pp.409-411
[185] Oudart, "L'ermite et le prince," pp.6-7; Kathleen Ashley, *The Cults of Sainte Foy and the Cultural Work of Saints* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), p.7; Beate Fricke, *Fallen Idols, Risen Saints: Sainte-Foy of Conques and the Revival of Monumental Sculpture in Medieval Art*, trans. Andrew Griebeler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), p.48

alongside his companion Medraldus, who is referred to as the abbot of the monastery.[186] In the *Carmina in honorem hludovicum*, a verse biography of Louis written c.826-828 by a poet named Ermoldus Nigellus, who states that he is in exile at the time the poem was written, the invasion of the region by Muslims and the life of Dado is embellished and Louis is made co-founder of the abbey alongside Dado.[187] In 838, Louis's son Pepin I of Aquitaine (797-838) founded the nearby abbey of Figeac as the "New Conques" (*novas conchas*) on a site that was easier to access than the hilltop foundation of Conques.[188] This new foundation sparked ongoing tension between the two abbeys, as although Pepin had instructed that Sainte-Foy would retain "the dignity of priority," both abbeys attempted to proclaim their authority and claim the other as a priory.[189] The dispute would eventually be resolved at the Council of Nîmes in 1096, when Urban II permitted both abbeys to elect their own abbots, but instructed Figeac to submit to the authority of Cluny.[190]

Patrick Geary has argued that it was as a result of this rivalry that Conques obtained the relics of the third-century martyr St Faith in 855, as an important saint to entice pilgrims to their abbey rather than the more accessible and prosperous abbey of

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186 Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.56

187 Ermoldus Nigellus is known only through his poetry, and there are no bibliographic sources to indicate his life beyond the references he makes to himself in his own work. The text of the *Carmina in honorem hludovicum* has been edited by Ernst Dümmler, in the *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini vol. II*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Poetae vol. II (Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1881), pp.1-79; for an introduction and translation see Thomas F. X. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: The Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), pp.119-186. See also Donna Lee Boutelle, "Louis the Pious and Ermoldus Nigellus: An Inquiry into the Historical Reliability of *In honorem Hludovici*" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, 1970); and Graeme Ward, "Lessons in leadership: Constantine and Theodosius in Frechulf of Lisieux's *Histories*," in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick, and Sven Meeder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

188 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, p.411-414; Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, pp.271-272. For Pippin I of Aquitaine, see Roger Collins, "Pippin I and the Kingdom of Aquitaine," in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840),* ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp.363-390

189 Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.272

190 Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.272-273

Figeac.[191] According to her *Passio*, summarised in the ninth century by Florus of Lyons (d. c.860) and surviving in two tenth-century manuscripts, Faith was the teenage daughter of a patrician of Agen who was martyred by a prefect named Dacian during the rule of Maximian (b.250, r.286-305). After she refused to worship pagan idols, Dacian had her burned alive, then beheaded.[192] A cult dedicated to St Faith developed in Agen in the sixth century, as the earliest reference to the saint appears in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* giving her feast day as the sixth of October and recording that she was venerated in Agen.[193] Her relics were kept in Agen until the community at Conques heard of her "prodigious miracles" and planned to obtain them "for the salvation of the country and the redemption of many people."[194] According to her *translatio* written in the mid-eleventh century, a monk of Conques named Arinisdus came to Agen in disguise, where he was able to become the guardian of the church where the relics were held. Having gained access to her tomb, he stole Saint Faith's body and escaped back to Conques.[195] The *translatio* emphasised God's permission to take the saint's body, and Saint Faith's desire to remain in Conques. While Arinisdus was fleeing from Agen, the *translatio* describes how God caused his pursuers to be "plunged into such witlessness" that they went in the wrong direction and disguised Arinisdus "in a miraculous way" so that he would not be recognised.[196]

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[191] Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp.60-61

[192] Pamela Sheingorn, ed. and trans., "*Passio:* The Passion of Sainte-Foy," in *The Book of Sainte-Foy*, ed. Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp.33-38; Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, *Writing Faith: Text, Sign, and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp.3-5; and Fricke, *Fallen Idols, Risen Saints*, p.25-26

[193] Ashley and Sheingorn, *Writing Faith*, p.3

[194] "The Translation of Sainte Foy," in *The Book of Sainte Foy*, ed. and trans. Sheingorn, pp.263-274 (p.266)

[195] "The Translation of Sainte Foy," p.267-268; Geary, *Furta Sacra*

[196] "The Translation of Saint Faith," p.269

Kathleen Ashley has observed that although St Faith's relics were acquired by the abbey in the ninth century, with the earliest mention of her appearing in a donation charter of 883, she was not initially the sole patron of the monastery, and her cult developed in "a gradual process" over the following century.[197] The relics of St Vincent arrived around the same time as those of St Faith, and both saints were venerated alongside Christ, the Virgin, and St Peter until the eleventh century, when the hagiographic texts at Conques centred its history around St Faith alone, making her "the unquestioned patron of the cult center in its texts, architecture, and art," according to Ashley.[198] The transformations of St Faith's physical representation, her elaborate reliquary shrine (fig. 2.17), paralleled the development of her cult and the legendary history of the abbey. The reliquary was restored and examined in 1954-1955, revealing that its original form was a bust produced in the ninth century to hold the cranium of the saint, constructed from a hollow wooden core covered in gold panelling, and using a hollow mask taken from a fourth or fifth-century statue of a male figure for the head.[199] Between 985 and 1013, the statue was reconstructed as a full-body representation of St Faith seated on a throne and wearing an imperial crown as the authoritative and powerful patron of the abbey, described by Bernard of Angers (d. after 1020) as the "majesty of Sainte Foy."[200] In its expanded form, the reliquary visualised the presence of St Faith's body, showing her whole and glorified as she would be in the future resurrection, and thus prefiguring the moment when the saints would be seated in judgment alongside Christ.

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[197] Ashley, *The Cults of Sainte Foy*, p.8
[198] Ashley, *The Cults of Sainte Foy*, p.8
[199] Jean Taralon and Dominique Taralon-Carlini, "La Majesté d'or de Sainte Foy de Conques," *Bulletin Monumental* 155 (1997), pp.11-73. See also Ashley, *The Cults of Sainte Foy*, p.9-10; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin and Élisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, "Majesté de sainte Foy," in *Le trésor de Conques, Exposition du 2 novembre 2001 au 11 mars 2002, Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, 2001), pp.18-29; and Fricke, *Fallen Idols, Risen Saints*, pp.36-37
[200] Taralon and Taralon-Carlini, "La Majesté," p.44-45; Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, p.81

The rivalry between Conques and Figeac also led to a reworking of the abbey's foundation legend. In order to assert their primacy and claim that Conques was a rebellious priory rather than an independent abbey, Figeac merged their historical founder Pippin I of Aquitaine with Charlemagne's father Pepin the Short (b.c.715, r.751–768), reversing the relationship between the two abbeys.[201] In response, Conques reshaped its own history by claiming to be even more ancient. According to the eleventh-century chronicle of the abbey, the first community on the site was a group of hermits in 371, who were then killed by pagans, and later a community of monks following the Benedictine Rule was established by Clovis. After this monastery was destroyed by Muslim soldiers, Pepin the Short refounded the abbey and appointed Dado as its abbot.[202] Here the abbey's original foundation was incorporated into its new legend, but with a more royal tone. However, Charlemagne was presented as the abbey's most prestigious benefactor, providing Conques with a more illustrious association than Figeac's claim to Pepin.[203] Charlemagne's legendary gifts of relics and reliquaries were used to define the abbey's identity as a particular favourite of the Frankish monarchs and first among Charlemagne's abbeys. In addition to relics of Christ's foreskin and umbilical cord, Conques claimed to have received an A-shaped reliquary, the first in a series of twenty-three alphabetical reliquaries given by Charlemagne to his most important monasteries.[204] Through these imperial associations,

[201] Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.273
[202] "Chronique du Monastère de Conques," ed. Marc Antoine François Gaujal, in *Études historiques sur le Rouergue*, vol. IV (Paris: Imprimerie Paul Dupont, 1859), pp.391-394. Beate Fricke believes the prologue and chronicle to be contemporary, but Remensnyder suggests that the prologue is a later addition. However, the *A* reliquary and relics were in Conques by 1100, suggesting that the legend had already been established by this date, and Remensnyder acknowledges that the most logical date for the prologue's composition would have been c.1100. See Fricke, *Fallen Idols*, p.48; Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.158
[203] Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.149
[204] For the 'A of Charlemagne' reliquary see Walter Cahn, "Observations on the 'A of Charlemagne' in the Treasure of the Abbey of Conques," *Gesta* 45 (2006), pp.95-107; Amy G. Remensnyder, "Legendary Treasure at Conques: Reliquaries and Imaginative Memory," *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp.884-906; Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.159

Conques was able to proclaim its own independence from any external control from lay or Cluniac interference, and authority over Figeac.

The fabric of the current church at Conques was begun under abbot Odolric (r.1031–1065), and the relics of Saint Faith had been translated into the new building by his death in 1065, indicating that a major part of the construction had been completed by this time.[205] Building continued under Odolric's successor Etienne II (r.1065–1087), and abbot Bego (r.1087–1107) was responsible for the new cloister, according to the chronicle written during his abbacy.[206] This new building replaced the church built less than a century earlier during the abbacy of Stephen I (r.942–984), which was completed by the time Bernard of Angers visited Conques in 1013.[207] In both cases, the reason for the construction of a new church was to accommodate growing numbers of pilgrims, demonstrating the rapid growth of Saint Faith's cult.[208] Bernard was studying in Chartres under bishop Fulbert (r.1006–1026), where stories of St Faith and her "new and unusual" miracles had spread by the early eleventh century, demonstrating the rapid and early growth of her cult. He travelled three times to Conques to investigate and record her miracles from the local accounts, which were compiled into the *Liber miraculorum sancte fidis*, with a further two books added by a monastic writer after Bernard's death.[209]

The monumental and imposing Last Judgment tympanum appears over the main doorway to the church on the western façade, which emulated traditional Carolingian

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205 Jean Wirth, *La datation de la sculpture médiévale* (Geneva: Librarie Droz S.A., 2004), p.236; "*Chronicon monasterii Conchensis*," in *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, tom. III*, ed. Edmond Martène, Ursin Durand (Paris: Florentin Delaulne, Hilaire Foucault, Michel Clouzier, Jean Geofroy Nyon, Estienne Ganeau, Nicholas Gosselin, 1717), col.1387-1390 (1390)
206 Wirth, *La datation de la sculpture*, p.236; Ashley, *The Cults of Sainte Foy*, p.13; *Chronicon*, col.1391
207 Fricke, *Fallen Idols*, p.38
208 "The Translation of Sainte Foy," p.271-272; Fricke, *Fallen Idols*, p.45
209 Ashley, *The Cults of Sainte Foy*, pp.9, 57, 95-104; Ashley and Sheingorn, *Writing Faith*; Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), pp.39-42

"westwork" structures to reflect the abbey's claims to an imperial heritage (fig. 2.15).[210] Although the façade was completed before the death of Abbot Bego in 1107, the date of the Last Judgment tympanum has been widely debated, and proposed dates have ranged from 1100 to 1150. Émile Mâle stated that the tympanum could not be earlier than the second quarter of the twelfth century, followed by Paul Deschamps who suggested a date of c.1120-1130, while Jean-Claude Bonne proposed the slightly later date of 1125-1135.[211] The date of 1150 was suggested by Don Denny, based on comparisons with the sculpture at the cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Cahors (c.1140-1150) and the representation of Hell in the Winchester Psalter.[212] Jean Wirth has argued that the process of dating sculptures should rely more heavily on documentary evidence, and has pointed to the account in the twelfth century chronicle that attributes the completion of the west façade to abbot Bego as evidence for the sculpture's production between 1100 and 1107.[213] Calvin Kendall has analysed the literary style of the verse inscriptions found on the tympanum, comparing them with the inscriptions of abbot Bego's tomb, made in 1107, the 'A of Charlemagne,' and a pair of lintels originally located in the cloister built by Bego, arguing that a single author composed all the verse inscriptions at Conques between 1095 and 1115. He suggests that this monastic poet would have been active for some years before the tympanum was designed and carved, dating the sculpture between 1105 and 1115.[214] If the author of the verses was a member of the monastic community at Conques, as Kendall suggests, then this would also indicate that a monastic designer was responsible for the iconography of the

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210 Ivan Foletti et. al., ""Romanesque" Conques as a Neo-Carolingian Project," *Convivium* 8 (2021): pp.168-174 (p.173)
211 Wirth, *La datation de la sculpture*, p.236; Bonne, *L'art roman de face et de profil*, pp.313-317; Paul Deschamps, *French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972); and Émile Mâle, R*eligious Art in the Twelfth Century*, p.415-416
212 Don Denny, "The Date of the Conques Last Judgment and its Compositional Analogues," *The Art Bulletin* 66 (1984): pp.7-14
213 Wirth, *La datation de la sculpture*, p.236-242
214 Kendall, "The Voice in the Stone"

tympanum, given the close correspondence between the text and image through the repetition of *sic*, as in the inscription accompanying the damned on the upper right band of text: *HOMNES PERVERSI SIC SVNT IN TARTARA MERS[I]* [Wicked men – thus they are plunged into Hell].[215]

The tympanum at Sainte-Foy represents the drama of the Last Judgment on a monumental scale, affording far more prominence to the rewards of the just and punishment of the damned than the earlier wall paintings at Müstair. Figures fill the entire space, creating an overwhelming spectacle of miniature scenes which expresses the universality of judgment and aims to capture the attention of its audience, inviting closer examination and contemplation. Bands of text divide the tympanum into three registers with Christ in the centre, while a procession of the elect approaches his throne from the left. To the right, angels separate the crushed mass of the damned and their demonic torturers from the Saviour. The clouds emanating from Christ's mandorla create an open space around him, distinguishing him from the crowds of smaller figures. The top of the mandorla and the cross descending from the clouds also break the upper band of text, forming a core of imposing serenity within the chaos of the Last Judgment. Christ's tunic falls away from his side and he gestures upwards with his left hand and downwards with his right to indicate the salvation of the just and punishment of the wicked, and to display his wounds. This perspective is that of the damned, who would witness the wounded Christ who would accuse them of their sin, according to Augustine and later writers, including Gregory the Great and the anonymous author of the Old English poem *Christ III* (c.960-980).[216] Those standing before the portal are

215 Text from Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.218
216 Timothy D. Arner and Paul D. Stegner, "“Of þam Him aweaxeð wynsum gefea”: The Voyeuristic Appeal of *Christ III*," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 106 (2007), pp.428-446 (pp.435-439); Fulton-Brown, *From Judgment to Passion*, p.57-59; Thomas D. Hill, "Vision and Judgment in the Old English *Christ III*," *Studies in Philology* 70 (1973), pp.233-242; Natalie Jones,

grouped with the damned who are tormented in Hell, and addressed as "sinners" by the inscription on the lintel calling on them to repent: *O PECCATORES TRANSMVTETIS NISI MORES / IVDICIVM DVRVM VOBIS SCITOTE FVTVRVM* ["O sinners, if you do not change your ways / you will know a harsh future judgment"].[217] In this way, the tympanum frames its audience as a community of those who will be damned, a fate which can only be altered by entering the church with contrition to access the saving power of St Faith.

Marcello Angheben has argued that the lowest register of the tympanum should be interpreted as an image of the immediate judgment of souls after death in the present, with the future judgment beginning with the resurrection of the dead above.[218] This lower register shows the places of Heaven and Hell beneath 'gables' formed by bands of text, which the elect and damned enter through heavy doors after their deeds are weighed by an angel facing a demon immediately beneath Christ's feet. Within Heaven, Abraham is seated within an arch beneath a pointed gable, flanked by a pair of crenelated towers, which form a structure resembling the abbey church itself. On either side, pairs of nimbed and crowned figures holding books, lamps, and palms to identify them as saints or the wise virgins of Matthew 25 fill the 'aisles' of the miniature church. Opposite, Satan is seated beneath the apex of the gable demarcating Hell in a parody of Abraham, with snakes winding around his legs and reaching out to bite the bodies of sinners next to him. Unlike the scene of Paradise, the area of Hell is not ordered by architectural forms, but is a chaotic, unordered void filled with the bodies of the damned and demons which clamber on top of them to push them into the flames

"Ways of Seeing Christ the Judge: The Iconography of *Christ III* and its Visual Context," *Neophilologus* 105 (2021), pp.261-277; and Sachi Shimomura, *Odd Bodies and Visible Ends in Medieval Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp.13-38

[217] Text from Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.218

[218] Angheben, *D'un jugement et l'autre*, p.194

which cover the bottom of the space. Angheben finds that the visual logic of the tympanum is disrupted by a reading of the lowest register as a continuation of the scene of the Last Judgment, as it would suggest that after the resurrection the elect and damned descend to the spaces of Paradise and Hell before rising to the scenes in the central register. Instead, he claims that it makes more sense to view the entire tympanum as a representation of a "double judgment."[219] According to Angheben, such images of the "immediate judgment" functioned to encourage the living to give alms and suffrages on behalf of the dead while they had the opportunity, as the judgments of the end of time would be final.[220] However, this lower register is incorporated into the wider image of judgment through the passage of the elect and damned who move from the scene of the resurrection above to the entrances to Heaven and Hell below. On the left, the elect rise from their sarcophagi, aided by angels who lift the lids as they sit up, while in the same triangular space formed by the gable above Hell, demons torment the damned by forcing one figure into flames while pulling on his tongue with pliers and sit on another while biting the top of his head. One of the damned is shown descending from this upper zone, which Angheben argues incorporates elements of the future judgment in the resurrection and the present judgment in the weighing of souls. This unfortunate figure is upside-down, falling head-first through an opening in the band of text to be thrust into the open mouth of Hell which swallows sinners into the space beyond. A reading of the entire sculpture as a representation of the end of time would be more consistent with its overall composition and themes, and exegetical interpretations of the Last Judgment which elide the present and future into a single moment. Instead of a "double judgment," the tympanum shows the past, present, and future of the abbey to invoke the power of their patron saint and invite visitors to

[219] Angheben, *D'un jugement et l'autre*, p.194
[220] Angheben, *D'un jugement et l'autre*, pp.142-143

repent and turn to the church for salvation. The emphasis on salvation of one's own soul, rather than intercession for the dead, is shown through the second-person voice of the inscription, calling on the "sinners" standing before the door to change their ways in order to avoid the "harsh judgment" shown in the tympanum.

The conflation of present and future can be seen in the representation of the abbey church itself above Abraham, where St Faith's altar in the choir is shown surrounded by the manacles left by devotees who had been imprisoned and released thanks to her intervention. St Faith herself is shown in the process of climbing down from her reliquary throne (fig. 2.18) to be received by the hand of God. By depicting the saint in this way, the sculpture at Conques implies that the appearance of the golden reliquary pilgrims were about to see was a prefiguration of the saint's resurrected body, when her earthly form would be remade and glorified.

As Christe has argued, images of the Last Judgment were concerned with the present as much as the future, since the judgment was the culmination of salvation history, it was the fulfilment in the future of events occurring in the present.[221] Rather than making a clear distinction between the immediate post-mortem judgment and the final judgment in the future, the two were joined, so that the moment of death revealed the eternal fate of the soul. The way in which figures from the past and present were shown in the tympanum projected the local history of Conques into the scheme of divine history, presenting the abbey as playing an important role in the unfolding and fulfilment of judgment from the present to the future. The interior of the church was shown as Paradise through the structure enclosing Abraham and the saints and the inclusion of the choir with St Faith's reliquary, creating the impression that visitors were

[221] Christe, *Jugements derniers*, p.175

about to enter Heaven on earth through the door which was an allegorical representation of Christ, embodying the action of salvation.[222]

In the lower register, the entrance to Hell is depicted as a bestial creature emerging from a heavy iron gate to swallow the bodies of the damned after they are weighed by the angel above. Immediately beyond this gate is a knight still clothed in mail tumbling from his horse, with one demon standing on his back to force him out of the saddle and a second grabbing his arm to pull him downwards (figs. 2.19-2.20). The iconography of a knight falling head-first from his horse was widely used as an anthropomorphic representation of pride, based on the Roman writer Prudentius's (c.348–405) poem *Psychomachia* which described a war between the virtues and vices.[223] In the *Psychomachia*, Pride is described as a great warrior who despises the Christian virtues of Humility and Hope, who is defeated through her own over-confidence:

> She spurs on her speedy steed and with slackened reins she runs out of control…Arrogance falls headlong into a pit, which shrewd Deceit had secretly dug on the plain. […] Thrown forward, she wraps herself around the bolting horse's neck. Under the weight of the horse's chest, she is whirled among the horse's broken legs.[224]

In the *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, written between 1013 and 1020, Bernard of Angers compiled the miracles of Conques's patron saint. One of these concerned a local nobleman named Rainon who attempted to attack a monk from the abbey, but fell from

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222 John 10:9, "I am the door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved."
223 For the *Psychomachia* in the context of early fifth-century Christianity, see Macklin Smith, *Prudentius' Psychomachia: A Reexamination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976). For the reception of the poem in the twelfth century, see Amy Jeffs, "Anger's Broken Sword: Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and the Iconography of Becket's Martyrdom," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 173 (2020), pp.26-38
224 Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, trans. Marc Mastrangelo (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), p.39, lines 212-230

his horse to his death, demonstrating Faith's protection over her devotees and the intervention of God. Bernard referenced the *Psychomachia* directly in his account:

> The ill-fated Rainon was dazzled by wretched greed and carried away by contemptible pride…Suddenly he spurred his horse violently forward, and with frenzied speed this utter savage rushed headlong toward the innocent men. He was hurrying to attack them as quickly as he could when divine vengeance intervened. Rainon's horse kicked its hind legs high into the air, plunged its neck downward, and fell to a sad death. And the rider, who was flung a good distance beyond the horse, died for nothing, with a twisted neck and a fractured skull. And so the one who was in a hurry to injure the good and obedient monk or cheat him completely of his life received the death sentence himself first by divine judgment and was sent down to Hell, where he became the companion of the dead or the prey of demons. […] You should rejoice, scholar, that now Pride, not in imagination as you have read in Prudentius's *Psychomachia* but actually and in human form, was overpowered by the whirlwind of her own speed and lay there dead.[225]

This description of Rainon's death closely matches the scene in the tympanum, in which a knight similarly falls headfirst from his horse into the mouth of Hell where he will be tortured by demons. While the iconography of Pride would have been familiar to many of the pilgrims visiting Conques, for those familiar with the local history of the abbey or the miracles of Saint Faith the image of the knight may have been intended to have greater significance. Bernard's reference to the *Psychomachia* indicates that the poem was known at Conques, suggesting that the knight in the tympanum may have deliberately recalled both the *Psychomachia* and Bernard's miracle account. The story of

[225] Bernard of Angers, "The Book of Sainte Foy's Miracles," trans. Sheingorn, pp.59-60

Rainon and its representation in the tympanum also demonstrates the way in which the present and future judgments were portrayed together in Last Judgment schemes. Bernard explained that Rainon's death was brought about by "divine vengeance," and that his soul was immediately sent to Hell by "divine judgment" rather than to an interim place of waiting. Although Angheben has seen this portion of the sculpture as representing the post-mortem judgment separately from the future, the condensing of time in both the miracle account and the sculpture allowed the representation of the immediate descent of the knight's soul into Hell and the eternal fate of his body and soul together which would occur at the end of time. His violent death was proof that he would be condemned and returned to Hell after the resurrection in the future, in the same way as Saint Faith's reliquary represented her glorified body in the resurrection. The events and objects in the present demonstrated the future judgment of Christ, allowing visitors to the church to witness something of that future as well as making the present judgments of God visible through the portal scheme.

Contemporary events at Conques were also incorporated into the image of the Last Judgment through the representation of a king in the procession of the blessed to Christ's left, and the inclusion of monastic figures among the damned. The tympanum expressed the history and authority of the abbey church, which had become particularly significant during the controversy with Figeac five years earlier. Conques's claims to repeated royal foundation and refoundation and their particular association with Charlemagne was shown in the procession of the blessed approaching the throne of Christ. Immediately to Christ's right are the Virgin and Saint Peter leading the procession and interceding on behalf of the faithful below an angel holding a banderole reading *[H]UMILITAS*, with Peter shown tonsured and in the robes of a bishop, representing the authority of the Church and the Papacy. Behind Peter is a man dressed as a hermit, possibly representing Bego, the founder of the abbey, under a banderole

originally reading *CONSTANCIA*.[226] After Bego, an abbot leads a king by the hand, often thought to be Charlemagne, accompanied by assistants carrying his gifts of relics to the abbey to demonstrate his faithfulness and love of Sainte-Foy.[227] Above Charlemagne and the abbot an angel holds a banderole reading *CARITAS*, and a fourth angel holds a banderole which would have read *FIDES SPES*.[228] Above the final three unidentified saints in the procession, an angel descends holding out a crown to reward the faithful, which is modelled after the open cross-shaped crown worn by the reliquary statue of Saint Faith. The legendary history created at Conques to assert their independence and priority over Figeac is depicted across the tympanum as part of God's plan for the world and the work of salvation. Below the procession, the main choir of the church with the altar and reliquary throne of Saint Faith is shown in the wedge-shaped space created by the inscriptions. The Heavenly Jerusalem inhabited by Abraham and the saints is also modelled after the abbey church, with the gabled roof and towers appearing above the central archway.[229] On either side, a pair of aisles with incense burners create the effect of a five-aisled nave seen in cross-section, with a third aisle added to the left-hand side to balance the doorway on the right. As Kendall has argued, Romanesque sculpted portals presented an allegory of the Church as the Heavenly Jerusalem, so that the doorway became the entrance to Heaven, enhanced by the encounter with the reliquary statue within.[230]

Across from these scenes of the saved being welcomed into the presence of God, the damned are shown crushed into an unstructured and chaotic space, with a pair of angels holden a sword and spear forming a barrier between them and Christ. The

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[226] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.218
[227] Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p.160; Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*
[228] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.218
[229] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.109
[230] Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.92-93, 109

figures closest to these angels correspond with the figures on the opposite side, with a group of monks tormented by demons in the upper section, and a king in the lower portion. This king is naked except for the crown that identifies him, and a demon takes him by the hand in a parody of the abbot leading Charlemagne towards Christ. He is looking directly outwards towards the pilgrims gathered below the portal, and points back towards the scene on the left as if to explain that they should follow the example of Charlemagne by giving to the abbey and submitting to the authority of its abbot. Above, a winged demon traps three monks in a giant net, while another demon forces a tonsured figure wearing robes and holding a crozier to his knees in order to chew on his back. As with the king, these figures provided a counter to the blessed, showing the fate of disobedient monks or those who attempted to usurp the authority of the mother house, in a pointed warning against those who had hoped to place Conques under the authority of Figeac.

These references to the physical abbey and its patron saint in the tympanum visualised the idea that the events of the present were signs of future salvation or damnation, so that an individual's way of life or manner of death revealed the future that awaited them in the final judgment. They also affirmed the legendary history of the abbey created through the conflict between Conques and Figeac, presenting the narrative held by Conques as the truth which would be upheld by Christ at the end of time, while those who attempted to refute it would be tormented in Hell. The numerous Latin inscriptions underscore the meanings of the sculpture, which may have been explained to pilgrims unfamiliar with Latin by a monastic interpreter.[231] Above the procession of saints and important figures from the history of the abbey is written

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231 Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.98; Conrad Rudolph has argued that "tour guides" may have been common at major pilgrimage sites to explain the history and artwork of the building, see Conrad Rudolph, "The Tour Guide in the Middle Ages: Guide Culture and the Mediation of Public Art," *The Art Bulletin* 100 (2018): pp.36-67

SANCTORVM CETVS STAT XPISTO IVDICE LETVS [The assembly of saints stands joyfully before Christ the Judge], and in the same position above the damned is the inscription *HOMNES PERVERSI – SIC SVNT IN TARTARA MERS[I]* [Wicked men – thus they are plunged into Hell].[232] Between the central and lower registers is a long band separating the two sections, carrying the inscription *SIC DATVR ELECTIS AD CELI GAVDIA V[E]CTIS GLORIA PAX REQVIES PERPETVVSQ[ue] DIES + PENIS INIVUSTI CRVCIANTVR IN IGNIBVS VSTI DEMONAS ATQ[ue] TREMVNT PERPETVVSQ[ue] DIES* [Thus is given to the elect, who have been borne to the joys of heaven, glory, peace, rest, and eternal light + The unjust, burned in fires, are tormented by punishments, and they shudder at the demons and groan endlessly].[233]

The bands creating the pointed roofs above the scenes of Heaven and Hell have similar inscriptions, reading above the saved*: CASTI PACIFICI MITES : PIETATIS AMICI : SIC STANT GAVDENTES SECVRI NIL METVENTES* [The chaste, the peace-loving, the gentle ones, the lovers of piety - thus they remain rejoicing, secure, fearing nothing], and above the damned: *FVRES MENDACES FALSD CVPIDIQVE RAPACES SIC SVNT DAMPNATI CVNCTI SIMVL ET SCELERATI* [Thieves, liars, hypocrites, and the rapaciously avaricious – thus they are condemned and defiled at the same moment."[234] Finally, one long inscription is placed at the bottom of the tympanum: *O PECCATORES TRANSMVTETIS NISI MORES : IVDICIVM DVRVM VOBIS SCITOTE FVTVRVM* [Sinners, if you do not change your ways, know that a hard judgment will be upon you].[235] These inscriptions will be

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232 Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.218
233 Trans. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.218
234 Trans. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.219; Kendall notes that "FALSD" should read *falsi*.
235 Trans. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.219

discussed further below and in the following chapter, but the final inscription addressing the audience gathered below and moving through the door emphasises the role of the sculpture: to effect a concrete change in the habits and thoughts of its audience in order to bring them to salvation and perfect the community of the faithful as the body of Christ. All those who approached the doorway into the church were sinners, at the mercy of an angry judge, and could only achieve salvation through change, repentance, and almsgiving at the shrine of Saint Faith, following the example of Charlemagne in the portal. Fear was a crucial aspect of this process, as it was for Anselm, who led his readers through the terrors of the Last Judgment and the prospect of damnation before consoling himself with his description of Christ as the merciful judge and redeemer.

7. Hope and fear at the cathedral of Saint-Lazare in Autun

The tympanum at Saint-Lazare cathedral in Autun (fig.2.21) is one of the most well-known twelfth-century images of the Last Judgment, holding a significant position in the history of medieval sculpture as one of the few works of art to feature what has been assumed to be the signature of an individual artist. As such, there have been numerous studies of the church and its sculptor, Gislebertus, based on the inscription *Gislebertus hoc fecit* [Gislebertus made this] placed under the feet of Christ the Judge (fig. 2.25).[236] The cathedral of Saint-Lazare has a complex history, as it was built adjoining

[236] In particular, Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, *Gislebertus Sculptor of Autun* (London: The Trianon Press, 1961), which traced the "biography" of Gislebertus from Cluny to Vézelay before coming to Autun, based on stylistic similarities between the sculptures. More recently, Linda Seidel has argued that *"Gislebertus hoc fecit"* was a reference to a Gislebert who was Duke of Burgundy from c.952 until his death in 956. This Gislebert was married to Ermengarde, whose brother Raoul married Emma, sister to Hughes the Great, the father of Hugh Capet and sixth great-grandfather of Duke Hugh II of Burgundy who donated the land to build Saint-Lazare to the bishopric. See Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

the existing Carolingian cathedral of Saint-Nazaire and was not originally created as either a new cathedral or another type of foundation such as an abbey or collegiate church. It was not given equal cathedral status until 1195, and the two churches remained closely connected throughout the Middle Ages.[237] By the eighteenth century, the church of Saint-Nazaire had fallen into disrepair after failed attempts at restoration in the thirteenth and fifteenth century and was demolished in 1783.[238]

The cult of Lazarus at Autun originated when the relics of Saint Lazarus, a disciple of Saint Martin and bishop of Arles from 408, were translated from Arles to Autun by bishop Gérard (r.968–976) and conflated with the Biblical Lazarus, the brother of Martha and Mary whom Christ raised from the dead.[239] Linda Seidel suggests that the impetus for building a dedicated cathedral for the veneration of Lazarus' relics was a response to a claim made in the late eleventh century by the collegiate church of Notre-Dame in Avallon to have the head of the saint.[240] Notre-Dame had been the property of Autun until it was donated by Duke Hugh I of Burgundy (b.1057, r.1057–1093) to Cluny in 1078, and was rebuilt following their claim to the head reliquary in 1106.[241] In 1116, the collegiate church was returned to Autun by Pope Paschal II (b. c.1050/55, r.1099–1118), which was later reaffirmed by a royal charter in 1120.[242] Seidel argues that the new church was begun after restitution of the collegiate church in order to emphasise the cathedral's sole claim to the complete body of Lazarus.[243] The promotion of the cult may also have increased the number of pilgrims visiting the shrine, as well as

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237 Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.17; Kristina Krüger, "Les fondations d'autels et de chapelles à la cathédrale d'Autun," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre | BUCEMA* 7 (2003) <http://journals.openedition.org/cem/3082> (online edition accessed 21/12/22)
238 Krüger, "Les fondations d'autels," p.2
239 Brigitte Maurice-Chabard, "L'église de pélegrinage, l'iconographie et la function liturgique de ses portails," in *Révelation: Le grand portail d'Autun*, ed. Cécile Ullman (Lyon: Lieux-Dits, 2011), pp.143-161 (p.143); Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.56
240 Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, pp.38, 57-60. See also Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.17
241 Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.57; Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.17
242 Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.59
243 Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.60

its proximity to the abbey of Vézelay, which had claimed to possess the relics of Mary Magdalene since 1050 and had become a popular pilgrimage destination.[244]

The sculpture was covered by a layer of plaster by the canons of the cathedral in 1766 in an attempt to modernise the building and remove features considered to be "bastard gothic, in bad taste," according to an eighteenth-century observer.[245] In 1837, the local historian Abbé Devoucoux found a reference to portal sculptures in a document of 1482 reporting an enquiry into the authenticity of the relics of St Lazarus.[246] After removing the plaster "put there by architects of no taste," the image of the Last Judgment was revealed, lacking the head of Christ and one set of voussoir figures.[247] In 1948, a sculpted head deposited in the Musée Rolin in the nineteenth century was found to be the lost head of Christ by Denis Grivot, who replaced it on the tympanum as he believed it would have originally appeared.[248]

However, the trumeau showing Lazarus as a bishop accompanied by his two sisters had been entirely destroyed, as had the east transept portal which had depicted the

[244] Grivot and Zarnecki, p.17. For the cult of Mary Magdalene at Vézelay, see Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp.74-78; and Victor Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en occident. Des origines à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Clavreuil, 1959)

[245] This was the opinion of the engineer Louis Thomassin, who visited Autun in 1719 while surveying routes for a new canal between the Atlantic and Mediterranean on behalf of the Duc de Orléans. According to Philibert Gagnarre, a canon of Autun who wrote a history of the cathedral in 1774, Thomassin had described the church as "un assez grand vaisseau mais d'une mauvaise architecture. C'est un gothique bâtard, d'un mauvais goût." Gagnarre agreed that this epithet accurately described the "figures anciennes du portail," although not the entire church. See Philibert Gagnarre, *Histoire de l'église d'Autun* (Autun: P. P. Dejussieu, 1774), p.316. For Thomassin's visit to Autun and his observations on the ancient history of the city, see Vivien Barriere, "Les portes de l'enciente antique d'Autun et leurs modèles (Gaule, Italie, provinces occidentales de l'Empire romain)," PhD diss. (Université de Bourgogne, 2012)

[246] Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.26; See also Abbé Devoucoux, *Description de l'église cathedrale d'Autun par un chanoine de cette église* (Autun: Dejussieu, 1845)

[247] Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.26; Grivot and Zarnecki quoted from Devoucoux's personal diary held in the Musée Rolin.

[248] Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.26; For successive restorations and alterations made to the church between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, see Ullman, "Le service des monuments," and Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone.*

raising of Lazarus from John 11 and the parable of Lazarus and *Dives* from Luke 16.[249] Following the discovery of the surviving sculpture, a major restoration took place at Saint-Lazare under Viollet-le-Duc in 1860, during which the porch was reconstructed to build steps across the width of the church and the chapels which been built under the towers on either side of the main doorway were demolished to create entrances to the east and west.[250] The towers of the church were also rebuilt in 1873 in imitation of those at Paray-le-Monial.[251] However, the Last Judgment tympanum is entirely original, with the possible exception of the position of Christ's head, although the original contexts in which pilgrims would have approached the portal remains unclear, due to the successive rebuilding of the facade.

Saint-Lazare was not oriented according to the traditional east-west axis, but with the apse facing south-east so that the eastern transept, which was the main entrance, faced towards the western portal of Saint-Nazaire.[252] Scholars of the church have often standardised the orientation when discussing the sculptures to avoid confusion, but the present chapter will refer to the main portal with the Last Judgment as the north façade and the transept as the east to maintain the connection with Saint-Nazaire and more clearly discuss the way in which visitors would have experienced the church.[253] The unusual orientation may also have been due to the constraints of the site, as both Saint-Nazaire and Saint-Lazare were built within the walls of the ducal palace, and the land on

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[249] For the transept portal, see Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*; Maurice-Chabard, "L'église de pélegrinage"; O. K. Werckmeister, "The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972), pp.1-30

[250] For the reconstruction of the porch in the seventeenth century and the restoration by Viollet-le-Duc see Cécile Ullman, "Le service des monuments historiques face au grand portail d'Autun, XIXe -XXIe siècles," and Sylvie Balcon-Berry and Walter Berry, "Le tympan du portail septentrional de Saint-Lazare d'Autun dans son contexte monumental," both in *Révelation* pp.20-41, and 51-67

[251] Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.20

[252] Maurice-Chabard, "L'église de pélegrinage," p.143

[253] This is the approach taken by the authors in Ullman, *Révelation*, and Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*. For the practice of standardising the orientation and describing the Last Judgment portal as being on the "west" frontispiece, see Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.37

which Saint-Lazare was constructed was given to the cathedral by Duke Hugh II (b. c.1084, r.1102–1143) some time before 1132, as a charter from Pope Innocent II (b. before 1000, r.1130–1143) confirming the donation and Saint-Lazare's exception from tributes and customs is the earliest surviving record of the church.[254]

Seidel has argued that the new church was intended to act as an enormous reliquary providing a setting for pilgrims to view the body of Lazarus.[255] She follows Neil Stratford's argument that the monumental reliquary-shrine inside the church, modelled as a miniature church which pilgrims could enter in order to view the tomb of the saint and the three-dimensional sculpted re-enactment of his miraculous revival, was designed as a copy of Lazarus' empty tomb in Bethany.[256] Seidel has compared the layout of the sepulchre in Bethany to the church in Autun, observing that the church that housed the sepulchre was a three-aisled basilica terminating in a triple apse built immediately to the west of an older church dedicated to Lazarus's sister Mary Magdalen, and was accessed from the east through a courtyard between the two churches.[257] Odo I of Burgundy (b.1060, r.1079–1102), the father of Hugh II, had visited the Holy Land in 1100, where she believes he may have visited the new church built around the tomb of Lazarus in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, while Stratford has observed that Bishop Norgaud of Autun (r.1098–1112) visited Jerusalem in 1101.[258] She describes the church of Saint-Lazare housing the relics of the saint as a copy of the church

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254 Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.35; Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.17; Anatole de Charmasse, *Cartulaire de l'église d'Autun* (Autun: Dejussieu, 1865; repr. Geneva: Mégariotis Reprints, 1978), pp.5-7

255 Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.40

256 Neil Stratford, "Le mausolée de saint Lazare à Autun," in *Le tombeau de Saint Lazare et la Sculpture Romane à Autun après Gislebertus* [exhibition catalogue] (Autun: Musée Rolin 1985), pp.11-38; reprinted in Neil Stratford, *Studies in Burgundian Romanesque Sculpture* (London: Pindar Press, 1998), pp.317-363; Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.43

257 Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, pp.43-45

258 Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.50; Neil Stratford, "The Lazarus Mausoleum at Autun Revisited," in *Romanesque Saints, Shrines, and Pilgrimage*, ed. John McNeill and Richard Plant (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), pp.1-14 (p.12)

surrounding the empty tomb from which he was resurrected, allowing the Burgundian site to act as a substitute for pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in a similar way to churches built in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre.[259]

Grivot and Zarnecki suggest that the church of Saint-Lazare was begun by Bishop Étienne de Bâgé (r.1112–1136) in 1120, as Pope Calixtus II (b. c.1065, r.1119–1124) had spent Christmas in Autun in 1119. They argue that as it was common practice to dedicate or consecrate a church before it was complete or even in its early stages, if construction of the new church had been underway when Calixtus II was present then he would have performed the ceremony.[260] Although the church was dedicated by Innocent II in 1130, during the pope's coronation at Autun, the translation of the relics of St Lazarus did not occur until 1146, according to an account of the translation preserved in an inquiry into the authenticity of the relics in 1482.[261] At the time of the translation, the church was not completely finished, and the 1146 account describes how there was a disagreement over whether it was ready, given the amount of work required on the façade:

> *Dicebant ex eis quidam nondum tempus advenisse quo tam pretiosissimi thesauri revelation fieri deberet; ecclesiam quae in honore beati martyris dedicata et consecrata per manum domini Innocentii…fuerat, prorsus paratam minime fore. Vestibulum, quod vestire et*

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[259] Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.46; see also Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture,"" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): pp.1-33

[260] Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.18

[261] The coronation of Innocent II at Autun is recorded in the *Annales Sancti Germani minores* of Saint-Germain-des-Pres, which begins the list of memorable events for 1130 with the pope's coronation: "*Hoc anno, in Natali Domini, Augustiduno, domnus papa Innocentus coronatus est*." For the dedication of Saint-Lazare at the same time, see Georges Boëll, "Le couronnement d'Innocent II à Autun et la consecration de l'église Saint-Ladre en 1130," *Mémoires de la Société éduenne* (1935), pp.125-140; Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.17; and Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.34. For the inquiry of 1482, see Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail;" Maurice-Chabard, "L'Église de pèlegrinage," p.144; and Stratford, "Le mausolée," p.328. The text of the "*proces-verbal*" from 1146 copied in 1482 is printed in Victor Mortet and Paul Deschamps, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France au Moyen-Âge*, tom. II (Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1929), p.67-69.

delucidare ecclesiam debet nondum confirmatum esse, pavimenta, ut decebat in tam nominate domo, juxta ingenium artificis, nec sculta, nec ad unguem aptata fore; adhuc innumera restare quae dignum erat in ingressu Domini domus integre consummari.

[Some of them said that the time had not yet come when such precious treasure should be revealed; the church which had been consecrated and dedicated in honour of the blessed martyr by the hand of the lord Innocent…would not be completely finished. The *vestibulum* which should adorn and illuminate the church was not yet strengthened; the pavement, that adorned the house according to the talent of the artist, was neither carved nor would it be suitably prepared; and furthermore, innumerable other things were to be correctly finished in the entrance of the house of the Lord.][262]

This *vestibulum* and the work to be completed in the entrance raises important questions about the date of the Last Judgment tympanum and the original appearance of the northern façade. The description indicates that the façade was not complete in 1146, but the tympanum is often thought to have been completed by this date. Grivot and Zarnecki attempted to construct a biography and corpus of work for Gislebertus, arguing that he had originally trained under the tympanum master of Cluny. This suggestion was based on the similarities in the decoration of Christ's mandorla at both Cluny III and Saint-Lazare, and the similar treatment of foliage and drapery in both sculptures.[263] They also attribute a group of unfinished sculptures preserved at Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Vézelay to Gislebertus, based on the linear form of the drapery and an unfinished tympanum which showed Christ with his knees flattened into a lozenge shape, as he appears in the tympanum of Saint-Lazare.[264] The appearance of a capital in

[262] Mortet and Deschamps, *Recueil de textes*, p.68;
[263] Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.175
[264] Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.175

the second storey of the choir is attributed to Gislebertus as his earliest surviving work at Autun, establishing his appearance at Saint-Lazare around 1120.[265] The 1132 charter confirming the land given for the new church gives the boundaries of the church as they existed by 1132, and describes a road from the castle to the canon's cloister passing in front of the door to the church. As the north façade faced onto an open courtyard, Grivot and Zarnecki argue that this road must have passed in front of the transept, indicating that the church had only been completed as far as the crossing by this time. Based on this, they believe that Gislebertus had been working on the apse capitals from 1120 and began work on the north portal tympanum sometime between 1130 and 1132, completing it by 1135 in order for the walls and vaults to be constructed before 1146.[266]

It is unclear what the *vestibulum* described in the translation account was intended to be, although it has frequently been interpreted as an early porch. The porch which currently provides access to the north façade portals is often believed to have been constructed in 1178, following a charter by Duke Hugh III giving the canons freedom to build anything they wanted on the land given to them except fortifications. [267] This porch was later altered during the eighteenth-century modernisation of the façade, and restored by Viollet-le-Duc in the 1860s.[268] Balcon-Berry and Berry credit Viollet-le-Duc as the first to suggest that the term *vestibulum* referred to an earlier porch built c.1140, which he described as a nave aligned with the main portal and an upper chapel dedicated to St Michael, following the model of the *Galilea* of Cluny III.[269] This was repeated by successive authors, including Victor Terret, Jean Vallery-Radot, and Grivot

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265 Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.161
266 Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.162
267 Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail," p.52
268 For the successive alterations to the porch, see Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail;" Ullman, "Le service des monuments;" Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, p.52; Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.20, 26
269 Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail," p.52

and Zarnecki.[270] Although the term *vestibulum* was used in contemporary liturgical sources to refer to a porch or *Galilea*, Balcon-Berry and Berry argue that the original façade of Saint-Lazare did not have a porch at all, and the unfinished *vestibulum* was the entire upper part of the façade, including a gallery above the porch.[271] This gallery would have been accessed by two doors above the portal, on either side of a recess, which the authors suggest could have been used for the display of the relics of St Lazarus.[272] However, this suggestion is based on a later dating of the mausoleum constructed to house the relics, which Balcon-Berry and Berry date to 1160-1180, rather than 1140, as Neil Stratford has demonstrated.[273]

As permission to extend the church to the north was not granted until 1178, Balcon-Berry and Berry argue that any structure projecting from the north façade must have been much smaller than the porch proposed by Viollet-le-Duc.[274] The proposed original façade by Balcon-Berry and Berry includes steps up to the portal, but without the platform which exists in the current porch.[275] As the church appears to have only been completed as far as the crossing by 1132, it would seem probable that the tympanum was begun after this date and completed before 1146, as argued by Grivot and Zarnecki. In an examination of the inscription of the tympanum as part of the 2009 restoration of the portal, Bruno Bon and Anita Geurreau-Jalabert suggested that the epigraphy of the inscription was consistent with the notion of an artist working around the year 1130, although they place the date of the tympanum as the "end of the first half of the twelfth

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270 Victor Terret, *La sculpture bourguignonne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Autun*, tom. I (Autun: Dejussieu, 1925), p.33; Jean Vallery-Radot, "Notes sur les chapelles hautes dédiées à Saint Michel," *Bulletin Monumental* 88 (1929): 453-478 (p.454); Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.20
271 Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail," p.61; for the use of *vestibulum* to describe a narthex, see Vallery-Radot, "Notes sur les chapelles," p.454
272 Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail," p.62
273 For the dating of the mausoleum, see Stratford, "Le mausolée de Saint Lazare" and "The Lazarus Mausoleum"
274 Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail," p.63
275 Fig. 4 in Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail," p.60

century."[276] In addition, Stratford has shown that the mausoleum constructed for the relics of St Lazarus and completed by 1140 was signed by a monk named Martin, suggesting that Gislebertus was either still working on the tympanum, or had moved on from Autun.[277]

The difficulty of reconstructing the original appearance of the north façade at Autun complicates the discussion of how the sculpture was originally intended to function, and how pilgrims might have encountered the grand vision of the Last Judgment which appears over the door. Unlike Sainte-Foy, Saint-Lazare had no other purpose beyond the veneration of the relics, as the liturgical functions of the cathedral continued to be conducted in the church of Saint-Nazaire until 1195.[278] The north façade did not operate as the main entrance to the church, as pilgrims would exit through the western portal of Saint-Nazaire and enter Saint-Lazare through the eastern transept which faced it.[279]

The east transept entrance was intrinsically connected to the experience of pilgrims visiting the shrine, showing the Resurrection of Lazarus in the tympanum and Adam and Eve in the lintel, above a trumeau of Lazarus dressed as a bishop.[280] The east transept opened onto a lateral chapel of Saint Mary Magdalene, where the silver box in

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[276] Bruno Bon and Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, "Propositions pour une relecture des inscriptions du tympan," in *Révelation*, pp.179-189 (p.182); "il n'est pas impossible qu'il soit l'oeuvre d'un lapicide don't pratique précède les années 1130. Dans ces conditions, il semble raisonnable de dater l'inscription du tympan…de la fin de la première moitié du XIIe siècle."
[277] For the date of the mausoleum and its inscription, see Stratford, "Le mausolée de Saint Lazare," particularly p.328, 332-335; and Stratford, "The Lazarus Mausoleum Revisited."
[278] See Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, p.19; and Maurice-Chabard, "L'Église de pèlegrinage," p.143
[279] Stratford, "The Lazarus Mausoleum Revisited," p.3; Marian Bleeke, "The Eve Fragment from Autun and the Emotionalism of Pilgrimage," in *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.16-24; and Marian Bleeke, *Motherhood and Meaning in Medieval Sculpture: Representations From France, c.1100–1500* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2017), pp.87-119
[280] Bleeke, "The Eve Fragment," p.18; Bleeke, *Motherhood and Meaning*, p.91; Maurice-Chabard, "L'Église de pèlegrinage,"p.143; Stratford, "The Lazarus Mausoleum Revisited," p.3

which Lazarus' relics were kept prior to the 1146 translation was located.[281] They would then have entered the six-metre tall mausoleum in the shape of a miniature church extending south from the high altar by descending a set of steps on their knees.[282] Inside, the coffin holding the relics of the saint was accompanied by an almost life-size tableau of Lazarus's miraculous resurrection sculpted in the round, visualising the moment when Christ called to Lazarus to come out from his tomb.[283] The pilgrims would have crawled beneath the coffin before exiting the mausoleum up a second set of steps, still on their knees, to the chapel of St Martha where the head reliquary of Lazarus was moved from Saint-Nazaire in 1195.[284]

Brigitte Maurice-Chabard has suggested, based on the description of the church in the 1482 inquiry, that the Last Judgment portal was the highlight of the pilgrimage route around the church, although she does not give an indication of how pilgrims would have accessed the portal.[285] More recently, Conrad Rudolph has suggested that a monastic guide may have led pilgrims to the portal and explained its iconography.[286] The prominent inclusion of pilgrims among the saved on the lintel would indicate that pilgrims would have been expected to approach the north portals in order to view the sculptures, despite entering the church through the east transept portal (fig. 2.26). The reconstruction of the north façade without a porch by Balcon-Berry and Berry would also suggest that the tympanum was originally more prominent before it was partially obscured from street-level view by the porch.[287]

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281 Stratford, "The Lazarus Mausoleum Revisited," p.7
282 Stratford, "The Lazarus Mausoleum Revisited," p.7; Stratford; "Le mausolée de Saint Lazare," p.330; Maurice-Chabard, "L'église de pèlegrinage," p.143
283 Bleeke, "The Eve Fragment," pp.18-19; Bleeke, *Motherhood and Meaning*, p.91-93 Maurice-Chabard, "LÉglise de pèlegrinage," p.143; Stratford, "The Lazarus Mausoleum Revisited," p.7
284 Maurice-Chabard, "L'église de pèlegrinage," p.143; Maurice-Chabard notes that before 1195, the head reliquary was moved between the two churches.
285 Maurice-Chabard, "L'église de pèlegrinage," p.144
286 Rudolph, "The Tour Guide in the Middle Ages," p.58
287 Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail"

8. The Last Judgment and Anselm's meditation

The image of the Last Judgment at Saint-Lazare is a complex, chaotic arrangement of small figures caught in the moment of judgment. Unlike the orderly lines of the saved at Conques, where bands of text clearly define separate zones for the saved and damned, the entire Autun tympanum is an overwhelming mass of bodies in a whirlwind of activity. The composition is dominated by the oversized enthroned Christ surrounded by a mandorla, who is the only point of stillness throughout the sculpture, emphasised by the way his entire body is impossibly flattened compared to the almost entirely three-dimensional figures across the rest of the tympanum. His arms are stretched out to indicate the separation of the saved and damned, and traces of paint discovered during the recent restoration of the sculpture in 2009 reveal that his wounds would have been visible, with blood trickling out and across his hands.[288]

To the left of Christ are the saved, with the Virgin enthroned on an upper level next to an angel blowing a trumpet, and an unidentified group of seven saints below. Immediately next to this group is St Peter holding an enormous key that stretches up to the Virgin's feet, who holds the clasped hands of a resurrected figure clinging to him in supplication. Other figures hold onto angels across the sculpture, wrapping their arms around their waists or hiding from the sight of the judge beneath their robes. A two-level architectural structure representing the Celestial Jerusalem follows the curve of the arch surrounding the sculpture, where little figures can be seen already inside, while another is being lifted up through an arch by one of the attending angels. Another naked soul holds this angel by the waist, hoping to also be helped into heaven (fig. 2.22). The right side of the sculpture is similarly organised, with two nimbed figures

[288] Ullman, "Le service des monuments;" Maurice-Chanard, "L'église de pèlegrinage," p.149

sharing a wide backless bench decorated with small perforations on an upper register beside Christ's shoulder, and a group of elongated angels and demons below weighing souls to determine whether they will enter Heaven or Hell (fig. 2.23). An architectural structure is positioned in the same location as the Heavenly city opposite, representing Hell as an enclosed building with hinged shutters covering the roof and a trio of windows at the bottom. Emerging from the side of this building is the head of a monstrous creature, from which a demon leans out to capture two groups of the damned, using a butchers' flesh-hook to ensnare a woman already tormented by a snake winding around her body and chewing at her breasts, and in his other hand holding one end of a chain encircling the necks of three figures (fig. 2.24). On the upper part of this building is a chute enveloped in flames, with a small brick tower appearing above it to indicate the city of Hell. A gigantic, open-mouthed demon is plunging groups of damned figures headfirst into this pit, holding a pair of lamenting individuals in one hand and pulling their heads back by the hair to force them to look at their fate with the other, while using his foot to push another group downwards, who are only visible by their feet poking above the edge. Across the lintel, the saved and damned emerge from their tombs, divided by an angel holding a sword, who pushes one of the damned away from the group of the saved (fig. 2.25).

The chaos and terror of judgment is evident throughout the sculpture by the poses and gestures of the resurrected figures, as well as through the composition, which reflects the frenzied description of the Last Judgment in Anselm's meditation as a "flaming universe" with terror everywhere. In his analysis of monastic writing and thought, M. B. Pranger describes the "circularity" of monastic literary output, which he

finds to be exemplified in the writing of Anselm.[289] This circularity was based on the monastic reading practice of *ruminatio*, as monks would read and slowly digest the content of a text while moving around the circular world of the cloister and the monastic order of the day.[290] However, the *Meditations* were disseminated widely beyond the cloister after they were written, and a similarly meditative process of reading and thinking may have influenced the composition of the sculptures at Autun, where bishop Étienne developed close links with the abbey of Cluny.[291] The connections between Anselm and his lay patronesses Adelaide and Matilda has been understood as playing an important role in the development of affective spirituality and monastic practice beyond the cloister in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which can also be seen in the emerging use of sculptures to heighten emotional experience through fear.[292]

Unlike than the structured, layered composition of Conques, the tympanum at Autun presents a balanced, circular arrangement of figures centred on Christ in the centre. The compositional strategy of *ductus* described by Mary Carruthers emphasised movement through a work of art; as Carruthers explains, "one is said to travel through a composition…led on by the stylistic qualities of its parts and their formally arranged relationships."[293] At Saint-Lazare, the arrangement of figures in the sculpture draws the audience through the sculpture in a circular, meditative motion that mirrors the *ruminatio*

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[289] Pranger, *The Artificiality of Christianity*, p.7; Although Pranger sees this "circularity" as a particularly monastic way of reading, the *Meditations* were disseminated to lay audiences, with an early manuscript sent by Anselm to Countess Matilda of Tuscany in 1104. See Evans, "Anselm's life, works, and immediate influence," p.14; Southern, *St Anselm,* p.112; and Pächt, "The Illustrations," pp.68-83

[290] Pranger, *The Artificiality of Christianity*, p.7; See also Brian Davies and Brian Leftow, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Anselm*, ed. Brian Davies and Brian Leftow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.1-4 (p.3)

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[292] Ables, *The Body of the Cross*, p.82; 96-97

[293] Mary Carruthers, "The concept of *Ductus*, Or journeying through a work of art," in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.190-213 (p.190). See also Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp.77-82, 203-204

of spiritual reading and contemplation. The damned in the lintel are structured in a way that draws attention more than the saved, whose bodies almost all face towards Christ, except for a few who turn to speak to one another or hang onto the arms of the angel who accompanies them. One group of the damned is pushed away from the centre by the angel who separates them from the saved, while a second group emerge from their tombs and face towards the judge. The oppositional movement of these two groups frames a central figure who faces outwards at the viewer as he is lifted from his grave by a massive, disembodied pair of clawed hands that grasp him by the neck. An empty space opens around this unfortunate person, as the bent knees of the miser to his right and the gesture of a woman to his left make them both lean away from him, drawing attention to the individual figure in a way that the clustered groups of the saved who interact with one another do not. The hands emerging from the band of the lintel create a connection between the lintel and the scene above. The saved and damned above the lintel to the far left and right of the tympanum are being lifted upwards towards the architectural structures of Heaven and Hell, which draw the composition around the curve of the tympanum towards the trumpeting angels close to the top of the arch whose bodies face outwards and turn inwards to direct attention towards the head of Christ at the apex of the sculpture. This upwards and inwards movement is counterbalanced by the figure of Christ, whose outstretched arms and flattened knees create momentum back downwards and outwards towards the edges of the tympanum.

The circular motion created by the composition echoes the structure of Anselm's meditation, which moves between terror and hope.[294] The whirlwind of activity that surrounds Christ in the centre of the tympanum highlights the way in which he is removed from the chaos of judgment, appearing as a still and impassive judge. Travis

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294 Anselm, *Orationes sive meditationes*, col.0724C

Ables describes how Anselm's *Meditations* attempted to "translate a highly ritualized, codified monastic *habitus* for the lay reader in which the 'horror of self' opens into 'contemplation through meditation.'"[295] However, as Pranger has argued, this is not a linear movement; instead, the meditation creates a tension between hope and despair that is maintained through contemplation.[296] The perpetual motion towards and away from Christ created by the arrangement of the tympanum at Autun creates this tension between the terror of the damned and the hope of the faithful described by Gregory the Great in his account of the terror of the elect in the *Moralia*, and demonstrated by Anselm's *Meditationes.*

Although the attention of the audience is drawn towards the damned through the use of form and empty space, the figures of the saved also reflect the way in which pilgrims were expected to approach the sculpture in order to prepare for their encounter with the divine. In contrast to the joyful and confident appearance of the saved at Sainte-Foy, at Autun the elect do not appear to be certain of their salvation. A small nude person standing between an abbot holding a crozier and a figure wearing a crown holds his chin and head as he looks upwards, while a monk wearing a hairshirt who follows a pair of pilgrims clutches his face in a gesture reflecting the more extreme poses of the damned who hold or cover their faces in despair (fig. 2.26).[297] Among those clinging to angels or attempting to hide beneath their robes for protection from the wrath of Christ are three small nude figures on the lintel, one of whom hangs from the arm of the angel pointing towards Christ, his mouth open and downturned as if he is screaming, carved in the same way as the expression of the damned person lifted by monstrous hands. The two pilgrims near the centre of the lintel have similar

[295] Ables, *The Body of the Cross*, p.82
[296] Pranger, *The Artificiality of Christianity*, p.102
[297] See Barasch, *Gestures of Despair* p.12

expressions, particularly the smaller pilgrim carrying a bag adorned with the cross of Jerusalem, whose open-mouthed expression looks as if he is crying out in fear at the sight of the Last Judgment (fig. 2.26). That even the saved would fear the Last Judgment also appears in Anselm's meditation, in which he describes how "the just will scarcely be saved" [*Justus vix salvabitur*].[298] The representation of the fear of the elect also reflects the account in the *Tractatus Theologius* which describes how the elect would continue to fear the majesty of God with reverence.[299]

As with the tympanum at Conques, the iconography at Autun projects the present into the future, enabling the sculpture to speak to pilgrims and other visitors to the church about the way in which their actions in life would determine the outcome of the Last Judgment. The fear shown on the faces of the pilgrims approaching Christ instructed their audiences in how to respond by representing contemporary figures viewing the image of judgment with terror. In the same way as the two marginal figures who respond to the "likeness of the glory of God" at Moissac, the representation of response in the Autun tympanum positioned its audiences as sinners approaching the throne of the judge. Marian Bleeke has argued that the sculptures at Saint-Lazare aimed to stimulate the strong emotional responses pilgrims might have experienced in the holy places of Bethany and Jerusalem by recreating them in the cathedral at Autun, following Seidel and Stratford.[300] Although her study focuses on the depictions of Eve, Mary Magdalene, and Martha in the route from the transept entrance through the mausoleum, the sculpted pilgrims on the Last Judgment portal were similarly designed to evoke an emotional response by simulating the future judgment in the pilgrims' present.

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298 Anselm, *Meditationes sive orationes*, col.0724B
299 *Tractatus Theologicus*, PL 171, col.1144D
300 Bleeke, "The Eve Fragment," p.26

Anselm's *Meditation* demonstrates the relationship between emotion and action not as a one-way movement from cause to effect, but a circular rhythm of reminding oneself of the need for contrition, repentance, and correct action through emotional meditation on the glory of God, judgment, and Hell. While Binski argues that the fear provoked by the tympanum at Autun was intended to "incentivise, to point or indicate, to alter conduct or affirm belief," texts such as Anselm's *Meditation* suggest that constantly returning to images that elicited emotional response, whether physically or mentally, was an important part of the process of maintaining the moral and spiritual benefits that such emotions achieved.[301] By repeatedly meditating on images of judgment, either real or imagined, the audience of Last Judgment portals were expected to maintain the necessary fear provoked by the sculptures which would suspend them between terror and hope. The balance between the two is also demonstrated by the *Collationes*, in which Odo explained how Scripture provoked terror through threats of judgment in order to create humility, while preventing despair through the consolation of salvation:

> *Notandum sane est quam misericorditer Deus praedictae suae Scripturae verba temperans, modo nos asperis incitationibus terret, modo blandis consolationibus refovet, terrorem fomentis miscet, fomenta terrori, et corda peccatorum indicates terroribus ad humilitatem inclinet, et humilem moerorem enarratis consolationum fomentis attollat: quatenus dum utrumque circa nos mira arte magisterii temperatur, nec desperate inveniamur terriri, nec incaute securi.*
>
> [It is sensibly noted that the merciful God, tempering the words of his sacred scripture, terrifies us in one manner by harsh vehemence, in another way refreshing us by pleasant consolation, mixing terrors with remedies, remedies with terror, and inclines the hearts of sinners to humility by the terrors which

301 Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp.48

are shown and lifting humble mourning to consolation by the remedy which is explained: yet each of these are tempered by the wonderful skill of Church teaching, so that having been terrified, we are not found by desperation, nor by incautiousness, having been secure].[302]

Odo's description of the balance achieved between terror and consolation demonstrates the pastoral function of Last Judgment sculpture to motivate confession and penitence, which Philippa Byrne has found in confessors' manuals.[303] As with Anselm's meditation, the sculptures functioned as "emotion scripts" to guide the mental visualisation of the events of the Last Judgment as part of the affective practice of "dreadful devotion" described by Paul Megna.[304]

The pilgrims on the lintel at Autun functioned as guides for the pilgrims visiting the church, demonstrating the attitude of fear and reverence which should be their response to the sculpture. The expressions of the pilgrims would have indicated the correct emotional response to the sculpture, not only encouraging engagement but also demonstrating the appropriate response. The way the sculpted pilgrims acted as models for visitors to imitate is emphasised in their poses, as instead of climbing out of the sarcophagus beneath them, they are walking as if ascending a set of steps in the same manner as the pilgrims approaching the sculpture. The first pilgrim, carrying a bag with the cross symbol of Jerusalem, is stepping from the ground onto the lid of the sarcophagus. The second, whose bag carries the conch shell of Santiago de Compostela, steps into the air, his foot resting on a plant that curves over the edge of the sarcophagus. No other figures in the lintel are posed in this way – almost every other member of the resurrected dead is shown climbing out of their sarcophagus or standing

302 Odo of Cluny, *In collationem*, col.0522B-0522C
303 Byrne, "Despair and Presumption," p.154
304 Megna, "Dreadful Devotion," p.78

on the lid, with the exception of the little naked persons surrounding an angel, who have one foot out of their tombs as if they have been lifted up as the angel raised its arms.

As Balcon-Berry and Berry suggested in their reconstruction of the north facade, there would have been steps leading up from a lower courtyard to the portal, and the unique poses of the two pilgrims supports this.[305] As the pilgrims visiting the church of Saint-Lazare walked up the steps towards the sculpture, they would have recognised their fellow pilgrims similarly approaching the throne of Christ the judge. As Jacqueline Jung has argued, sculptures were directed towards a moving audience and "crafted to be seen from multiple perspectives, in relation to other images and spaces, and in a variety of lighting positions."[306] She describes this as "haptic viewing" which joins audiences and sculptures in a "visual dialogue" by making them aware of their own bodies as moving through time and space.[307] In a similar process, the sculpted pilgrims on the lintel at Autun projected the real movements of their spectators into the future, allowing it to be experienced as if present, as described by Odo of Cluny. Their expressions of fear showed the appropriate response, but their presence among the blessed indicated that their fear in the present would help them in the future judgment, even if the just would only "scarcely be saved."

9. Hic terror: Seeing the reality of judgment

The inscriptions placed around the portals at Conques and Autun highlight the rhetorical and emotional significance of their Last Judgment portals. At Autun, the inscription around Christ's mandorla reads: *"Omnia dispono solvs meritosq[ue] corono: quos*

305 Balcon-Berry and Berry, "Le tympan du portail," p.224
306 Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, p.8
307 Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, p.32

scelvs exercet me ivdici pena coercet" [I alone arrange all things and I crown the deserving: from me the Judge, punishment confines those who are driven by sin].[308] Another inscription runs across the band above the saved and damned on the lintel, broken by the signature of Gislebertus in the centre. Above the saved it reads: *"Qvisq[ue] resvrget ita: Q[u]em n[on] trhait impia vita et lvcebit ei sine fine lvcerna diei"* [Whoever is not drawn away by an impious life will rise again in this way, and the light of God will shine upon them without end]; and above the damned: *"Terreat hic terror qvos terrevs alligat error: Nam fore sic vervm notat hic horror specierv[m]"* [This terror should terrify those terrestrial error binds: For indeed the horror of this vision signifies what will be]. The final part of the inscription suggests that the emotional response of horror signified the reality of judgment and allowed those viewing the sculpture to imagine experiencing the moment of judgment, operating in a similar way to Anselm's intense visualisation. Significantly, the sculpture is described using the term *specierum* rather than *imago*, which carried the more flexible meanings of an image, likeness, dream, or vision.[309] This word choice suggests a similar intention as *majestas Domini* iconography, in which the image functioned as a sign for a future reality that could be activated through fear.

Paul Binski interprets the inscription following Carruthers' understanding of *terror* as "anaesthetic," and suggests that it would not be caused by the tympanum at Autun, but rather that the use of the subjunctive verb *terreat* indicates that "the experience of terror should at least be contemplated or 'entertained' in mind."[310] However, the phrase *"hic terror"* [*this* terror] suggests that the image was intended to operate more directly, prompting the immediate response of fearful humility at the power of God and

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308 Transcribed by Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.207; Kendall notes that *trhait* should read *trahit*.
309 Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary* <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Dspecies> (Accessed 22/11/22)
310 Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.48

consideration of sin. This terror was the response Anselm directed his readers towards in his instruction, *"Auge ergo, peccator, auge superioribus aerumnis pondus, adde terrorem super terrorem, ululatum super ululatum"* [Therefore sinner, add weight to that distress which has come before, add terror to terror, wails to wailing].[311] While the rational, rhetorical appeal of terror Binski describes may have followed this initial fear, leading to the calmer reflection on Christ as simultaneously saviour and judge, the sculpture's primary aim was to prompt its audience towards awareness of the enormity of their sin and uncertain fate. The real and figural pilgrims are united in their terror, allowing the audience to mentally participate in the events of the Last Judgment, in a similar process to the feelings of wonder and reverence which allowed the image of the *majestas Domini* to be used as a guide towards spiritual, inward understanding.

The use of words such as *hic*, *ita*, and *sic* in the lintel inscription emphasise that the saved will be resurrected "in this way," as it is shown in the lintel below, or that the sculpture itself should be understood as "this terror." Bruno Bon and Anita Guerreau-Jalabert have shown that the careful use of present and future within the inscriptions associate the experience of the viewer with the events shown in the sculpture, so that the use of the present tense in the mandorla demonstrates the atemporality of Christ, while the use of future tense in the lintel emphasises the coming judgment.[312] At Sainte-Foy, the inscriptions which accompany the sculpture similarly shift between present and future, using the present tense to describe future events as if they are occurring in the present, and the future tense to speak directly to the audience to instruct them in how to understand the sculpture. The majority of the inscriptions are in the present tense, but the lintel inscription addresses the "sinners" standing before the door directly to

311 Anselm, *Meditationes sive orationes*, col. 0724A
312 Bon and Guerreau-Jalabert, "Propositions pour une relecture, p.186

warn that "a hard judgment will be upon you" [*IVDICIVM DVRVM VOBIS SCITOTE FVTVRVM]*[313]

As with Autun, the word *sic* is used repeatedly throughout the inscriptions at Conques, as in the inscriptions describing the rewards of the blessed and punishment of the damned, "Wicked men – thus (*sic*) they are plunged into Hell," and "thus (*sic*) is given to the elect…"[314] The inscriptions in the gables defining the spaces of the saved and damned direct attention to the sculpture in the same way: "The chaste, the peace-loving, the gentle, the lovers of piety – thus (*sic*) they remain rejoicing, secure, fearing nothing," and "Thieves, liars, hypocrites, and the rapaciously avaricious – thus (*sic*) they are condemned and defiled at the same moment."[315] The repetition of *sic* in these inscriptions consistently emphasises the connection between the *tituli* and images, pointing to the fates of the saved and damned, or the rewards and punishments of Heaven and Hell as a preacher might during a sermon. Contemporary portal sculptures similarly used *sic* to refer to the image as a representation of reality, as at Saint-Julien in Condeissiat, where a fragmentary sculpture from the early twelfth century preserves Christ holding out one hand in blessing, enthroned within a mandorla, on the border of which is written: *"Sic residens coelo n[o]b[is] Chr[istu]s benedictis"* [Thus Christ blesses us, seated in Heaven.][316]

The sculpted Last Judgment images at Conques and Autun reflect the way in which judgment was understood theologically by the early twelfth century, as well as the function of such imagery to guide and direct behaviour and emotional response. Using iconography and inscriptions as well as composition and style, the sculptures aimed to

313 Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.219
314 Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.218
315 Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.219
316 Transcribed by Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, p.217. For Saint-Julien-et-Saint-Laurent, see Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*; and Robert Favreau, Jean Michaud, and Bernadette Mora, *Corpus des Inscriptions de la France Médiévale*, vol. 17 (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1994), pp.5-6

convince their audiences to fear the coming judgment. The vision of the Last Judgment displayed over the doorways of Autun and Conques acted as prompts to mental visualisation and instructed their audiences in how they should feel as they approached the door of the church in order to generate the compunction which would lead to repentance.

The immediacy of judgment was emphasised through the identification of the saved and damned by their clothing, linking the future judgment to the present and referring to contemporary figures such as Rainon and the pilgrims at Autun. This condensing of time removed the need to make a clear distinction between the "deathbed judgment" immediately after death and the final judgment at the end of time, as the two moments were collapsed into one. The state of a person's soul at the moment of their death determined their fate at the Last Judgment, while purgatorial punishments served to lengthen the time the "not very good" would have to wait before gaining their eventual entry to the presence of God. The terror produced by Romanesque Last Judgments was not a "means to an end," as Binski suggests, but an important element of belief, in which constant fear at the prospect of judgment was necessary to attain salvation when it finally came.

The uncertainty created by the Last Judgment was an important part of the way in which fear functioned in the twelfth century religious imagination, and can be understood in relation to Robert Mills's description of "suspended animation" in images of punishment and pain in medieval art.[317] The iconography of "suspension" was particularly evident in the iconography associated with damnation, such as the detailed scene of Hell at Sainte-Foy in Conques, and the depiction of punishment in Hell at Saint-Pierre in Moissac and the church of Perse in Espalion. These sculptures will be

[317] Mills, *Suspended Animation*

the focus of the following chapter, which will examine the fear associated with damnation and the punishments of Hell.

Chapter Three: The Horror of Damnation

1. Introduction: Hell in the Bible and Jewish traditions of the afterlife

The threat of damnation and eternal punishment was essential to the fear provoked by the Last Judgment, and the representation of Hell aimed to demonstrate the reality of torment in the afterlife that awaited those who failed to behave according to the will of God and law of the Church. In late eleventh and early twelfth-century church decoration, images of Hell functioned both within Last Judgment programmes and in other contexts to promote correct behaviour and guide their audiences away from sin. Although the expectation of corporal punishment was a significant element of descriptions and depictions of Hell, theological writing and visionary literature also described the spiritual suffering that would distinguish the torments of Hell from any earthly experience. Damnation was understood as total separation from God and the ordered universe. The iconography of Hell used contradictory images such as the entrance to Hell as a gigantic, disembodied face to demonstrate this chaotic, disordered aspect of damnation, alongside bodily imagery of hanging, consumption, and contortion to show the confusion and suffering of the damned. The way in which the external form of the body expressed the internal movements of the soul in medieval art has been explored by a number of scholars, usually in relation to the changing Gothic style of the mid-thirteenth century.[1]

[1] For example, Paul Binski, "The Angel Choir at Lincoln and the Poetics of the Gothic Smile," *Art History* 20 (1997), pp.350-374; Mia Åkestam, ""I Felt Like Jumping for Joy" – Smile and Laughter in Medieval Imagery," in *Tears, Sighs and Laughter: Expressions of Emotions in the Middle Ages*, ed. Per Förnegård, Erika Kihlman, et al. (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2017), pp.215-238; Elina Gertsman, "The Facial Gesture: (Mis)Reading Emotion in Gothic Art," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36 (2010), pp.28-46; and Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*

The images of Hell displayed on Romanesque portal schemes at Saint-Pierre in Moissac, Sainte-Foy in Conques, and the church of Perse in Espalion display the iconography of Hell and damnation in a manner that gives urgency to the need for repentance, issuing a warning of the fate that awaited sinful souls after death and the eternal punishments of the damned following the Last Judgment. These sculptures also appear alongside those of the Last Judgment, *majestas Domini*, and iconographies of redemption such as the Nativity or Pentecost to highlight the function of the portal as the entrance to sacred space. Through these images of damnation, portal sculptures could be used to define the boundaries of the community of the saved and the sacred space of the church by showing the exclusion of sinners and the damned.

The separation of the dead into distinct places for punishment or rest can be found in pre-Christian Jewish theology, although Alan E. Bernstein observes that it was a "minority view in the Hebrew Bible" which developed after the sixth century BCE.[2] The underworld in Jewish literature was "Sheol" (שְׁאוֹל), a pit somewhere below the earth which was the neutral destination of all souls, meaning literally "a grave" in Hebrew, where the dead would remain without any awareness of their former life.[3] Bernstein argues that "moral death," in which the wicked are separated for punishment first appeared in Ezekiel 32 and Isaiah 14, in which the enemies of the Jewish people were said to be tormented in the lowest part of Sheol, reserved for sinners, departing from earlier traditions in which the wicked were not punished after death.[4] At the same time, the valley of Ge-Hinnom (גֵּיהִנּוֹם) outside Jerusalem, where child sacrifices to Moloch had been performed and the bodies of criminals were left, became associated

[2] Alan E. Bernstein, *Hell and its Rivals: Death and Retribution among Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), p.9; and Alan E. Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (London: UCL Press, 1993), pp.162-167
[3] Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell*, p.143
[4] Bernstein, *Hell and its Rivals*, p.10

with the punishment of the wicked at the end of time.[5] By the first century CE, Sheol referred to the neutral underworld while Ge-Hinnom, translated into Greek as Gehenna (*Γέεννα*), referred to post-mortem punishments of the soul after death rather than a geographic location.[6] Christ referred to Gehenna as the place of punishment in the Gospels, as in Luke 12, in which he instructs his followers, "Be not afraid of them who kill the body…fear ye him, who after he hath killed, hath power to cast into Hell (*gehennam*)."[7] In translating the Bible into Latin from Hebrew and Greek, Jerome used *inferus* or *Infernus* to refer to both Sheol and Hades, transferring the Christian notion of judgment after death onto the neutral death described in the Hebrew Old Testament.[8] *Tartarus* (*Τάρτἄρος*), the place of punishment in Greek thought, was left untranslated in the Latin New Testament, where it was used to refer to a specific location where the wicked angels and souls of the damned would be held until the Last Judgment.[9]

Theological debates on resurrection, salvation, and the state of the soul after death in the fifth and sixth centuries expanded on Biblical descriptions of condemnation and punishment, providing further detail to the Christian understanding of the afterlife. As discussed in the previous chapter, the moment of individual death became "telescoped" and the representation of time "flattened" in Romanesque iconography of the Last Judgment, so that the fate of the soul would be revealed immediately after death, before being confirmed at the end of time when the body and soul would be judged and

5 Bernstein, *Hell and its Rivals*, p.10; Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell*, p.167; Wyatt, "The Concept and Purpose of Hell: Its Nature and Development in West Semitic Thought," *Numen* 56 (2009), pp.161-184 (p.179); Lloyd R. Bailey, "Enigmatic Bible Passages: Gehenna: The Topography of Hell," *The Biblical Archeologist* 49 (1986), pp.187-191 (p.188)
6 Bernstein, *Hell and its Rivals*, p.11; Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell*, pp.167-169; Wyatt, "The Concept and Purpose of Hell," p.180
7 Luke 12:4-5
8 Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell*, p.139
9 Bernstein, *Hell and its Rivals*, p.27; 2 Peter 2:4, "*sed rudentibus inferni detractos in tartarum tradidit cruciandos, in judicium reservari*." "But delivered them [the wicked angels], drawn down by infernal ropes into the lower Hell, unto torments, to be reserved unto judgment."

punished or rewarded together.[10] The parable of *Dives* and Lazarus in Luke 16 was particularly important for the Christian view of punishment of the soul after death, establishing that at least some souls would go to Hell immediately after death where they would be punished by fire. Descriptions of damnation as irrational, defined by confusion, spiritual 'darkness,' and an inability to think or communicate clearly are evident in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, as well as the tradition of visionary journeys through Heaven and Hell. The imagined landscape of the afterlife and the way souls would experience damnation in portal sculptures drew on these accounts, visualising the inconceivable torment of damnation through the bodies of the damned.

This chapter will examine the development of the theology of Hell and damnation through Patristic writers, which established that the punishments of the damned would be eternal and experienced in the same bodies they had in life, as well as indicating some form of separation before the Last Judgment. The visionary literature describing Hell, particularly the third-century text known as the *Visio Pauli* and the "Vision of Drythelm" recorded by Bede (c.672–735) in his *Historia ecclesiastica* also demonstrate the development of views on Hell and damnation in the early Middle Ages, as well as indicating how individuals were instructed to feel when thinking of the punishments of the damned. Following from the discussions of torment in Last Judgment imagery in the previous chapter, this chapter will consider two instances of portal sculpture representing the separation and punishment of the damned outside of an eschatological context: the narratives of *Dives* and Lazarus in the porch of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, and the portal of the "Église de Perse," a priory of Conques in Espalion which presents a unique iconography of judgment and punishment. Through the representation of bodily

[10] For the resurrection of the body, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995)

torment and monstrous creatures, the iconography of Hell can be understood as signifying damnation as an experience beyond all human comprehension.

2. Theological perspectives on Hell and damnation in Late Antiquity

The medieval conception of Hell's punishments relied particularly on two New Testament references: the account of the Last Judgment in Matthew 25, and the parable of *Dives* and Lazarus in Luke 16. In Matthew 25, Christ describes the Last Judgment in two parables, before describing the separation of "all nations…as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats" [*omnes gentes... sicut pastor segregat oves ab haedis*].[11] The first parable, that of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matt. 25:1-13), was frequently included in funerary art, and became a standard feature of Last Judgment portal schemes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the earliest extant example being the portal system produced at the abbey church of Saint-Denis under Abbot Suger (b. c.1081, r.1122–1151), completed in 1140.[12] In this parable, ten virgins are preparing for a wedding, but five who do not bring oil with them and are unprepared for the arrival of the bridegroom are shut out and told "I know you not" [*nescio vos*].[13] The parable of the talents was rarely represented in monumental art, but it described a servant who failed to make a profit from the money his master entrusted to him, for which he was "cast out into the exterior darkness" [*ejicite in tenebras exteriores*] when the master returned, where there would be "weeping and gnashing of teeth" [*illic erit fletus, et stridor dentum*.][14] The description of damnation as being "cast into the exterior darkness: there

[11] Matt. 25:32
[12] For the Wise and Foolish Virgins, see Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp.61-70, 76; Gertsman, "The Facial Gesture;" Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, pp.331-348; Jacqueline Jung, "Dynamic Bodies and the Beholder's Share: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Magdeburg Cathedral," *in Bild und Körper im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Kristin Marek *et. al.* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006), pp.121-146 (p.121-122); and Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, pp.133-181
[13] Matt. 25:1-13
[14] Matt. 25:14-30

shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" also appeared in Matthew 8:12 and 22:13, and the phrase "weeping and gnashing of teeth" was also used to describe a "furnace of fire" [*caminum ignis*] in Matthew 13:50 and the punishment of a wicked servant in Matthew 24:51. In Luke 13:28, Christ describes how "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" when sinners are removed from the Kingdom of God.

The final part of the account of judgment in Matthew 25 was the parable of the sheep and goats, which formed the basis for the iconography of the Last Judgment, as discussed in the previous chapter. Here, Christ's command to the damned to "depart from me, into the eternal fire, which has been prepared for the devil and his angels" [*Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo, et angelis ejus*] to experience "everlasting punishment" [*supplicium aeternum*] established that Hell would be filled with fire, and that the damned would be eternally punished alongside the devil. These phrases were frequently used to describe Hell and damnation by Christian authors, along with the phrase "their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched" [*vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis eorum non extinguetur*] from Isaiah 66:24, quoted by Christ in Mark 9, in which he instructed his disciples, "If thy hand scandalize thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life, maimed, than having two hands to go into Hell, into unquenchable fire: where their worm dieth not and the fire is not extinguished" [*Et si scandalizaverit te manus tua, abscide illam: bonum est tibi debilem introire in vitam, quam duas manus habentem ire in gehennam, in ignem inextinguibilem, ubi vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis non extinguitur*].[15] In *De civitate dei*, Augustine explained that there were some writers who believed that both the worm and fire described spiritual suffering, while others thought that the fire was physical and the worm was the soul tormented by sorrow, or that both referred to physical torments.[16] Although he preferred to interpret both as physical, he

[15] Mark 9:42-43
[16] Augustine, *De civitate dei*, col.0723

allowed other readings to be possible, concluding that "each person may choose one from either as he pleases, whether he may think the worm to belong to the body, or to the soul, from the words relating corporeal to incorporeal things" [*Eligat ergo unum de duobus quisque quod placet, utrum et vermem ad corpus proprie, an ad animum translato a corporalibus ad incorporalia vocabulo existimet pertinere*].[17] Medieval descriptions of Hell and damnation referred to both physical worms which would bite the damned, and the "worm of conscience" by which they would be tormented by their remorse.[18]

The physical nature of punishment was the subject of intense debate in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, although the resurrection of the body had been a central element of Christian belief since the second century.[19] Early writers such as Athenagoras of Athens (c.133–c.190), Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Justin Martyr (c.100–c.165) emphasised the necessity of corporeal resurrection in order to achieve the rewards and punishments promised in the Bible.[20] The orthodox position – that the punishment of the damned would be both physical and eternal – was established as a result of the controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries concerning interpretations of Origen's views on universal salvation, leading to his condemnation by Emperor Justinian I at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553, when his works were ordered to be destroyed.[21] Origen himself was born in Alexandria in 185 and was active in the late

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[17] Augustine, *De civitate dei*, col.0724

[18] Gustav Zamore, "The Medieval Origins of the Worm of Conscience in Shakespeare's *Richard III*," *Notes and Queries* 69 (2022), pp.103-106

[19] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, pp.22-27; and Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*

[20] For Jewish and early Christian views on resurrection, see Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell*, pp.172-175; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, expanded ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); and Claudia Setzer, "Resurrection of the Body in Early Judaism and Christianity," in *The Human Body in Death and Resurrection*, ed. Tobias Nicklas, Friedrich V. Reiterer, and Joseph Verheyden (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), pp.1-12 (pp.7-8)

[21] Joseph W. Trigg, *Origen* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.66. In her study of the "Origenist Controversy," Elizabeth A. Clark separates the interpretation of Origen from his genuine teaching, arguing that ""Origen" served as a code word for various theological concerns problematic to Christians at the turn of the fifth century." See Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist*

second and early third centuries. His life is largely known through an elegiac account by Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260/65–339) in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (written c.313–c.325), which described how he had studied Greek philosophy before gaining renown as a theologian and preacher.[22] He was a pioneer in the practice of using allegorical interpretations of scripture and set out early approaches to Trinitarian theology, although his works are now known through fragmentary copies or commentaries.[23] The controversy over Origen's eschatology was based on his argument that the fire of Hell was purifying rather than retributive, and would be a corrective measure to guide fallen souls back to God.[24] By the fourth century, Origen's work was interpreted as advocating universal salvation that extended even to the Devil, a view cemented in the debate between Jerome and Rufinus of Aquileia (c.344–411), beginning in 397.[25]

In 397, Jerome launched an attack on Rufinius concerning his translation of Origen's *Peri Archon* (*On First Principles*), accusing him of removing heretical elements from the

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Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p.6

[22] For a detailed account of Origen's life and how his early education as a *grammaticus* shaped his theological method, as well as an introduction to his major works, see John Behr, introduction to *Origen, On First Principles*, ed. and trans. John Behr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.xv-xxv; Henri Crouzel, *Origen*, trans. A.S. Worrall (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989); Pierre Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977); and Trigg, *Origen*. For the dating of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia ecclesiastica*, see R. W. Burgess, "The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici canones* and *Historia ecclesiastica*," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1997), pp.471-504; and Andrew Louth, "The Date of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990), pp.111-123

[22] Trigg, *Origen*, pp.64-66

[23] Trigg, *Origen*, pp.64-66

[24] Graham Keith, "Patristic Views on Hell – Part I," in *The Evangelical Quarterly* 71 (1999), pp.217-231 (p.220)

[25] Although this controversy was not the origin of these accusations, Jerome's view that Origen believed in universal salvation became widely accepted. As Rufinus changed and removed certain elements of Origen's text, the original meaning has been obscured. See Behr, "Introduction," p.xvi. Clark provides an account of the controversy and analyses the social networks that lay behind it, including the roles played by figures such as Epiphanius, John of Jerusalem, and Theophilus of Alexandria. She also argues that the interpretation of Origen's writing as advocating for universal salvation was influenced by the monastic author Evagrius Ponticus (d.399). See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*

text in order to reinstate Origen as an orthodox writer.[26] Among these heretical statements, Jerome claimed that Origen had written that even the devil would be saved, and that there would be:

> *...in restitutione omnium, quando indulgentia uenerit principalis, cherubim et seraphim, thronos, principatus, dominationes, uirtutes, potestates, archangelos, diabolum, daemones, animas omnium hominum, tam Christianorum quam Judaeorum et gentilium, unius conditionis et mensurae fore...*
>
> [A restitution of all things, when a principal pardon will come, cherubim and seraphim, thrones, principalities, dominions, virtues, powers, archangels, the devil, demons, the souls of all humans, so of Christians as of Jews and gentiles, will be of one condition and measure.][27]

In 398 or 399, Jerome wrote to his friend Pammachius (b. c.340–350, d.410) accusing Bishop John of Jerusalem (c.356–417) of heresy, in which he stated that Origen's work denied bodily resurrection and physical punishment in Hell, since material bodies existed only to guide bodies back to perfection and the fires of Hell were the pangs of a guilty conscience.[28] A year later, Jerome wrote to Pammachius again, claiming that heretical followers of Origen used the word 'body' (*corpus*) rather

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[26] Behr, "Introduction," p.xxii; Trigg, Origen, p.65. Jerome had not intended his letter attacking Rufinus to have been widely read; having asked his supporter Pammachius to deliver Rufinus a letter of reconciliation in Rome, Pammachius deliberately suppressed this letter and circulated Jerome's private letter condemning Rufinus instead. In response, Rufinus wrote his *Apologia ad Hieronymus*, provoking Jerome to write his own *Apologia ad Rufinus,* escalating the controversy. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, p.28, 40

[27] Jerome, *Apologia ad Rufinus*, ed. Pierre Lardet in *Saint Jérôme: Apologie Contre Rufin. Introduction, texte critique, traduction, et index* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1983), p.132

[28] Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, p.12. For the theological position that all bodies will eventually return to an incorporeal state in the writing of Evagrius Ponticus, and his subsequent influence on the way Origen's writing was understood in the late fourth and fifth centuries, see Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, p.72-84. For the importance of corporeal resurrection in early Christianity, see Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body.*

than 'flesh' (*carnem*) in order to affirm the resurrection without admitting that it was the corporeal body that was raised.[29]

The resurrection of the physical body, comprised of the same matter that had lived and died, was central to medieval theology. Caroline Walker Bynum has argued that the resurrection of the body represented, for fifth-century Christians, "the triumph of integrity over partition, of stasis and incorruption over decay."[30] She finds that the biggest threat to identity was digestion and integration into "an other that is natural process itself," which was overcome through the doctrine of bodily resurrection.[31] While Bynum's study concentrates on the significance of resurrection for salvation, the simultaneous insistence on the corporeal nature of the damned demonstrates the way in which the same concerns over change through digestion or decay could be used to amplify the torments of Hell. The association between corporeal unity, individuality and identity Bynum finds in the debates concerning the resurrection in Late Antiquity, which she suggests continued to influence ideas around materiality and resurrection throughout the early Middle Ages, are also reflected in the iconography of Hell, in which the bodies of the damned are swallowed by monstrous creatures or become indistinguishable from one another.[32]

Augustine discussed the nature of Hell as a physical location in which the Devil and the damned would be eternally punished in the twenty-first book of *De civitate dei*. He referred to the *misericordes*, Christians who he characterises as overly merciful, as followers of Origen:

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[29] Jerome, *Epistola LXXXIV*, PL 22, col.0746; Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, p.136
[30] Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, p.108
[31] Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, 111-112
[32] Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, p.114

Nunc jam cum misericordibus nostris agendum esse video, et pacifice disputandum, qui vel omnibus illis hominibus quos justissimus Judex dignos gehennae supplicio judicabit, vel quibusdam eorum nolunt credere poenam sempiternam futuram, sed post certi temporis metas pro cujusque peccati quantitate longioris sive brevioris eos inde existimant liberandos...Qua in re misericordior profecto fuit Origenes, qui et ipsum diabolum atque angelos ejus post graviora pro meritis et diuturniora supplicia ex illis cruciatibus eruendos atque sociandos sanctis Angelis credidit.

[Now again I see it is to be debated peaceably with our merciful ones, who do not even wish to believe the eternal future punishment that the most just Judge will have proclaimed to all those persons worthy of the torment of Gehenna, but they suppose them to be liberated after certain limits of time, either long or short according to the quantity of their sins...Indeed in this Origen was the most merciful, who believed the devil himself and his angels to be thrown out from these torments after long and heavy supplication for their faults and united with the holy angels.][33]

To refute these *misericordes*, Augustine argued that if they truly believed that all sinners would eventually be saved this should include the devil, which was impossible without contradicting Christ's description of eternal punishment and life in Matthew 25.[34] More challenging for Augustine was the argument that the bodies of the damned would be destroyed by the fire of Hell, as "there is no body that is able to suffer yet not able to die" [*Sed nullum est…corpus quod dolore possit, nec possit mori*].[35] In the thirteenth book of *De civitate dei*, Augustine separated damnation from death as it could be understood on earth, describing it as the "second death" [*secundam mortem*] in which the

[33] Augustine, *De civitate dei*, col.0732;
[34] Augustine, *De civitate dei*, col.0732, 0736. For Augustine's contributions to the wider controversy over the works of Origen, see Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, p.234
[35] Augustine, *De civitate dei*, col.0710

soul would be "always in death, and through this never living, never dead, but dying without end" [*sed semper in morte: ac per hoc nunquam viventes, nunquam mortui, sed sine fine morientes*].[36] To explain this endless suspension in the process of dying, without the release of death itself, in the twenty-first book Augustine claimed that since God could change whatever he had created, the bodies of the damned would be transformed in order to suffer the punishments of Hell without being destroyed:

> *Proinde etiamsi caro nunc talis nulla est, quae sensum doloris perpeti possit, mortemque non possit: erit tamen tunc talis caro, qualis nunc non est; sicut talis erit et mors, qualis nunc non est... Sic ergo aliter quam nobis nota est, instituetur in resurrectione mortuorum.*
>
> [Although now there is no flesh which is able to feel perpetual pain and not be able to die, so then there will be such flesh as now there is not; just as too there will be such death as now there is not...Thus it will be known by another manner to us, when it will have been established in the resurrection of the dead.][37]

Although he did not explain what this change would be, Augustine compared the bodily transformation of the damned to the existence of monsters on earth, which proved that God could alter creation:

> *Sicut ergo non fuit impossibile Deo, quas voluit, instituere; sic ei non est impossibile, in quidquid voluerit, quas instituit, mutare naturas. Unde illorum quoque miraculorum multitudo silvescit, quae monstra, ostenta, portenta, prodigia nuncupantur...Monstra sane dicta perhibent a monstrando, quod aliquid significando demonstrent; et ostenta ab ostendendo; et portenta a portendendo, id est, praeostendendo; et prodigia, quod porro dicant, id est, futura praedicant. [...] Nobis tamen ista quae velut contra naturam fiunt, et contra naturam fieri*

36 Augustine, *De civitate dei*, col.0385
37 Augustine, *De civitate dei*, col.0710, 0720

dicuntur...et monstra, ostenta, portenta, prodigia nuncupantur, hoc monstrare debent, hoc ostendere, vel praeostendere, hoc praedicere, quod facturus sit Deus, quae de corporibus hominum se praenuntiavit esse facturum, nulla impediente difficultate, nulla praescribente lege naturae

[Just as, therefore, it was not impossible for God to make what he wished; thus it is not impossible to him to change the nature that he has made into whatever he will wish. From which a multiple of those miracles have spread, which are called monsters, omens, portents, prodigies...Rightly they say monsters are named from "demonstrating" [*monstrando*] because they demonstrate something by signifying; omens [*ostenta*] from "showing" [*ostendendo*]; portents from "foretelling," [*portendendo*], that is, "showing beforehand," [*praeostendendo*]; and prodigies, because they speak ahead, that is, they predict the future. [...] Yet those things which appear to us as if they are made contrary to nature...and are called monsters, omens, portents, and prodigies, ought to demonstrate, to show, to foretell, to predict this, that God may do what he has promised to do concerning the bodies of human beings, with no hindering difficulty, and no prescription of natural law.][38]

Augustine's discussion of monsters has been widely studied in relation to medieval views on monsters and what has been termed "Monster Theory" by authors such as Jeffrey Jerome Cohen.[39] According to Cohen, Monster Theory is a "method of reading

[38] Augustine, *De civitate dei*, col.0722-0723.
[39] See *The Monstrous Middle Ages*; *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981); Barbara Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); and David Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Medieval Art and Literature* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996). For Augustine's reliance on the Roman author Varro and medieval theories of signification, see

cultures from the monsters they engender," and monsters in medieval culture have often been considered as a way of articulating differences between bodies, defining the boundaries of what could be considered human and reflecting discourses of race, gender, and disability.[40] The comparison between the bodies of the damned and monsters demonstrated Augustine's view that God could alter his creation as he wished, but also revealed the bodily anxieties that were used in discussions of damnation. The damned were understood to be transformed in a mysterious way to experience eternal suffering, becoming similar to monsters through the transformation of their bodies, and to experience a paradoxical state of continually dying without reaching death. Monsters challenged and defined what it meant to be a 'person,' residing at the boundaries between human and non-human. The invention of the iconographic theme of representing the entrance to Hell as a disembodied head in the eighth century used the complex associations of monsters as beings able to signify beyond the limitations of language to visualise the horrors of damnation which were beyond comprehension.[41]

This aspect of damnation as a threat to personhood through the alteration of the body was developed by Gregory the Great to include mental and spiritual torments as similarly between being and non-being. Gregory discussed the afterlife and the nature of damnation in the *Moralia in Job*, The three-fold structure of exegesis in the *Moralia*, in which Gregory explained each section according to three levels, historical (or literal) meaning, allegorical significance, and moral interpretation, exercised considerable influence over medieval exegesis, particularly for monastic writers of the eleventh and

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Heather Blurton, *Cannibalism in High Medieval English Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p.8

[40] Cohen, "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," in *Monster Theory*, pp.3-25. For the use of monsters in studies of race, gender, and disability in medieval studies, see above and also Meghan R. Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury: Gender, Disability, and the Invention of Damned Bodies in Early Christian Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021); Dana Oswald, *Monsters, Gender, and Sexuality in Medieval English Literature* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010); and Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001)

[41] For monsters as beings which could signify beyond language, see Williams, *Deformed Discourse*

twelfth centuries.[42] In the *Moralia*, Gregory wrote extensively on the inward experience of the devil and damned souls in Hell, describing how they would undergo spiritual and mental alteration to experience torment, and used language creatively to demonstrate the notion of damnation as something indescribable and unlike anything which could be understood in terms of earthly experience. In his descriptions of the devil and the damned, Gregory indicated the way in which the existence and personhood of the damned would be fundamentally altered, and this influential view remained unchallenged in medieval exegesis.

The conception of what constituted a 'person' in medieval thought followed the formula set out by Boethius in his treatise *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*, a defence of Trinitarian theology written c.512, in he defined a person as "the individual substance of a rational nature...which the Greeks call '*hypostasis*'" [*naturae rationabilis individua substantia...quam Graeci* ὑπόστασιν *dicunt*].[43] By comparing his definition to the Greek term *hypostasis*, Boethius indicated that *persona* in his discussion of the Trinity was different from *ousia*, or essence, as defined by Greek writers such as Gregory of Nyssa (c.355–

42 Constant J. Mews and Claire Renkin, "The Legacy of Gregory the Great in the Latin West," in *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, pp.315-342 (p.316). See also Straw, *Gregory the Great*; Evans, *The Thought of Gregory the Great*; and Renè Wasselynck, "Les compilations des Moralia in Job du VIIe au XIIe siècle," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 29 (1962), pp.5-32 and "L'influence de l'exégèse de S. Grégoire le grand sur les commentaires bibliques médiévaux (VIIe-XIIe s.)," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 32 (1965), pp.157-204

43 Boethius, *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*, in *Theological Tractates. The Consolation of Philosophy*, Loeb Classical Library 74, ed. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973). For the notion of what constituted a 'person' according to Boethius and the reception of this idea by thirteenth-century writers, particularly Thomas Aquinas, see L. M. de Rijk, "On Boethius's Notion of Being: A Chapter of Boethian Semantics," in *Meaning and Inference in Medieval Philosophy: Studies in Memory of Jan Pinborg*, ed. Norman Kretzmann (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988), pp.1-29; Claudio Moreschini, "*Subsistentia* according to Boethius," in *Boethius as a Paradigm of Late Ancient Thought*, ed. Thomas Böhm, Thomas Jürgasch, and Andreas Kirchner (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), pp.83-99; Scott M. Williams, "Persons in Patristic and Medieval Christian Theology," in *Persons: A History*, ed. Antonia LoLordo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp.52-84; and Jeffrey C. Witt, "Essence and Existence," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy between 500 and 1500,* second ed., ed. Henrik Lagerlund (Berlin: Springer, 2020), pp.504-511

c.395), Origen, and Leontius of Byzantium (c.485–543).[44] *Ousia* referred to universals, while *hypostasis* referred to individuals, so that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are distinct *hypostases* which shared one *ousia*, or divine essence.[45] Boethius's definition was echoed by Cassiodorus (c.485–c.580) in his *In psalmorum expositio*, in which he defined a person as "the individual substance of rational man, separated by its properties from others of the same essence." [*Persona vero hominis est substantia rationalis indvidua, suis proprietatibus a consubstantialibus caeteris segregata*].[46] This is consistent with the distinction between *hypostasis* and *ousia* followed by Boethius which distinguished an individual from a group, such as an individual human person from humanity as a whole.

Boethius's conception of *esse*, being or essence, can also be seen in his discussion of human nature in *De consolatione philosophiae*, written before his execution in 525.[47] Robert J. Porwoll has argued that the answer to the "problem of evil lying at the heart of the *Consolation*" is resolved by the discussion of evil men in chapter IV, in which *Philosophia* tells Boethius:

> *Sed hoc modo non solum potentes esse sed omnino esse desinunt. Nam qui communem omnium quae sunt finem relinquunt, pariter quoque esse desistunt. Quod quidem cuipiam mirum forte videatur, ut malos, qui plures hominum sunt, eosdem non esse dicamus; sed ita*

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[44] Williams, "Persons," 54-61

[45] Williams, "Persons," p.55-59; Williams observes that there was a difference in the interpretation of *hypostasis* by Greek writers, some of whom believed each *hypostasis* to be a particular, indivisible substance, while others thought a *hypostasis* was a collection of peculiar characteristics. He also notes that Boethius's definition of *hypostasis* as equivalent to *persona* was not entirely consistent, but that his *persona* was an individual substance which was not predicated of accidents and as such, Christ can be one person with a union of two natures. See Williams, "Persons," pp.68-69; see also Ilaria L. E. Ramelli, "Origen, Greek Philosophy, and the Birth of the Trinitarian Meaning of 'Hypostasis,'" *The Harvard Philosophical Review* 105 (2012), pp.302-350

[46] Cassiodorus, *In psalmorum expositio*, PL 70, col.0066D-0067A

[47] For Boethius's statement "Being and the thing that is are different" (*Diversum est esse et id quod est*) in *De Hebdomadibus* and the scholarly discussion regarding its meaning and interpretation by Thomas Aquinas, see Andrew Lazella, "Creation, *Esse* and *Id Quod Est* in Boethius's *Opuscula Sacra*," *Carmina Philosophiae* 17 (2008), pp.35-56. For *The Consolation of Philosophy*, see Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) and John Marenbon (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

sese res habet. Nam qui mali sunt eos malos esse non abnuo; sed eosdem esse pure atque simpliciter nego... Est enim quod ordinem retinet servatque naturam; quod vero ab hac deficit, esse etiam, quod in sua natura situm est, derelinquit.

[[Wicked men] cease not merely to be powerful, but simply to be: for those who leave aside the common end of all things that are, at the same time also leave off being. And indeed this may seem strange to some, that we should say of evil men, who are the majority of mankind, that they do not exist; but that is how things are. For of those who are evil I do not deny that they are evil; but that they are, purely and simply, I do deny...For that *is*, which keeps its nature; and whatever falls from this, also abandons being, which is dependent on their nature.][48]

Porwoll identifies the central question of *De consolatione* in the question *Philosophia* asks Boethius: "What is a man," and his incorrect answer of "a rational, mortal animal," which fails to address the true nature or purpose of humanity.[49] He argues that Boethius presented a "philosophical anthropology" that placed all human beings on a trajectory moving either upwards to the divine or downwards towards non-being and bestiality, in which sin and wickedness is a failure to achieve the purpose for human existence, causing a person to cease to be human at all. Porwoll also observes that Boethius's definition of a person in *Contra Eutychen* as an "individual substance of a rational nature" also demonstrates the purpose of human activity, as the human substance receives virtue as part of its rational nature, and sinful actions are harmful to that nature.[50] As

[48] Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, in *Theological Tractates. The Consolation of Philosophy*, Loeb Classical Library 74, ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, S. J. Tester (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 324-327. See Robert J. Porwoll, "'This Indeed May Seem Strange to Some': Boethius on the Non-Being and Inhumanity of 'Evil Men'," in *Carmina Philosophiae* 17 (2008), pp.57-79 (p.61)
[49] Porwoll, "This Indeed May Seem Strange," pp.62
[50] Porwoll, "This Indeed May Seem Strange," p.64

such, sinful humans "cease to be" by failing to participate in God as the ultimate being and acting against their proper nature.[51]

In the *Moralia*, Gregory used *non esse* to describe the devil – and by extension, the damned – as "being not," having lost "being" but not the "essence of nature." Like the wicked men in Boethius's *De consolatione*, the damned have the external appearance of humans, but through the loss of God's presence in damnation they have ceased "to be." Commenting on Job 18:15, "Let the companions of him that is not dwell in his tabernacle," Gregory explained:

> *Id est, in mente ejus apostatae angeli per cogitationes nequissimas conversentur, ejus videlicet socii, qui idcirco jam non est, quia a summa essentia recessit, et per hoc, quotidie excrescente defectu, quasi ad non esse tendit, quo semel ab eo qui vere est cecidit; qui recte quoque non esse dicitur, quia bene esse perdidit, quamvis naturae essentiam non amisit.*
>
> [That is, through most evil thoughts they are converted into the companions of that apostate angel, who for this reason now is not, because he has withdrawn from the highest essence, and through this, by a daily defective growth, it is as if he has proceeded not to be (*non esse*), that once he has fallen from he who truly is (*eo qui vere est*) he has entirely lost the proper *esse*, however, he has not lost that essence of nature.][52]

Gregory's reference to "he who truly is" also recalls Exodus 3:14, in which God described himself in response to Moses asking for his name: "I AM WHO AM...thus shall you say to the children of Israel, HE WHO IS hath sent me to you" [*Ego sum qui*

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[51] Porwoll, "This Indeed May Seem Strange," p.67; For Boethius and the philosophical concept of participation, see Lazella, "Creation, *Esse*, and *Id Quod Est*;" de Rijk, "On Boethius's Notion of Being." See also Wayne J. Hankey, "Establishing Reason by Its Participation in Divine Intellect for Boethius and Aquinas," *Res Philosophica* 95 (2018), 1-33; and Sarah Pessin, "Boethius and the Neoplatonic Good: Hebdomads and the Nature of God in the *Quomodo Substantiae*," *Carmina Philosophiae* 10 (2001), pp.57-71

[52] Gregory, *Moralia*, col.1051B

sum. Ait: Sic dices filiis Israel: Qui est, misit me ad vos].[53] Gregory's phrase "*eo qui vere est*" mirrors Jerome's translation of Exodus, in which "He who is" is translated as "*qui est.*" By moving away from God who is pure being, the damned no longer participate in 'being' at all and lose the substance of human nature; although their outward appearance remains that of a human person and the soul is still present, this is only so that they can experience eternal torment.[54]

The exegetical connection between Exodus 3:14 and Job 18:15 was previously made by Jerome in a letter to Pammachius known as *Contra Jovinianum* written in 393 or 394. In this letter, Jerome anticipated the definition of damnation as non-being, although he did not use the Neo-Platonic language of essence and nature adopted by Boethius a century later. Writing in defence of his position that marriage was not bad in itself, but inferior in comparison to the better state of virginity, Jerome used Biblical examples to show that it is possible to describe something as lacking a property in comparison to something with more of that same property:

> *Seu liber apologeticus, ad Pammachium, pro libris contra Jovinianum, PL 22, col.0504; "Ego sum," inquit, "qui sum." Omnem igitur creaturam si Deo contuleris, non subsistit...In Job quoque legimus, a Baldad dictum de impio: "Avellatur de tabernaculo suo fiducia ejus, et calcet super eum quasi rex interitus. Habitent in tabernaculo ejus socii ejus, qui non est:" haud dubium quin diaboli, qui cum habeat socios, non autem haberet nisi esset: tamen quia Deo periit, non esse dicitur.*
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> ["I am," God says, "who am." Therefore if you compare all creation to God, it has no substance...We read likewise in Job, from Baldach speaking of the

[53] Exodus 3:13-14; "Moses said to God: Lo, I shall go to the children of Israel, and say to them: The God of your fathers hath sent me to you. If they should say to me: What is his name? What shall I say to them? God said to Moses: I AM WHO AM. He said: Thus shall thou say to the children of Israel: HE WHO IS, hath sent me to you."

[54] Porwoll, "This Indeed May Seem Strange," p.67

impious man: "His confidence shall be rooted out of his tabernacle, and destruction as a king shall trample upon him. The companions of him who is not shall live in his tabernacle." It is hardly without doubt that the devil, because he has fellows, could not have had them while he did not exist: yet because he is nothing to God, he is said not to be.][55]

Gregory's discussion of damnation as a loss of 'being' and Augustine's description of the way the bodies of the damned would be transformed, like those of monsters, to experience torment both reveal the way in which damnation was conceptualised in ways which emphasised some sort of unknown alteration to the damned, both physically and mentally. This transformation of the damned is reflected in literary and visual images of Hell, in which confusion, a dissolution of difference, and impossible bodies were used to show the incomprehensibility of damnation.

Gregory also described the confusion of the damned in the eighth book of the *Moralia*, in which he suggested that God would punish them with the "fire of blindness" which would prevent rational thought. Discussing Job 7:10, "Not shall he return any more into his house, neither shall his place know him," Gregory explained:

> *Sed qui ad infernum descenderit, ad domum suam ulterius non ascendet, quia eum quem desperatio obruit, a cordis sui habitaculo foras mittit, et redire introrsus non valet, quia, fusus exterius, ad deteriora quotidie compulsus cadit...Sed extra se per inobedientiam missus, mentis suae locum perdidit, quia, tenebrosis itineribus sparsus, ab inhabitatione veri luminis elongavit.*
>
> [But of those who descend into Hell, they will never ascend to their house, when he has been obscured with despair, he sends them out of the doors of

[55] Jerome, *Epistola XLVIII*. For the controversy over Jovinian's views on celibacy and virginity and Jerome's role in the debate, see David G. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

their house, from the heart, and he does not have the strength to turn inwards, when, shut outside, he descends daily into forced deterioration...But he is cast out beyond himself through disobedience, he has lost the place of his own mind, having been scattered by darkened custom, he has removed from his habitation his true light.][56]

In the following book, Gregory then explained that through this loss of 'interior light,' the punishments of Hell, which as part of God's creation were necessarily ordered, would appear disordered to the damned. This confusion was created in the minds of the damned, who were prevented from experiencing rational thought. Gregory interpreted the "shadow of death" as referring to this mental confusion:

Sicut mors exterior ab anima dividit carnem, ita mors interior a Deo separat animam. Umbra ergo mortis est obscuritas divisionis, quia damnatus quisque cum aeterno igne succenditur, ab interno lumine tenebratur. [...] Sed sanctus vir postquam umbram mortis intulit, quanta sit confusio in damnatorum mente subjungit, quia ipsa quoque supplicia, quae ordinata per justitiam veniunt ordinata procul dubio in corde morientium non sunt. Ut enim paulo superius diximus, dum damnatus quisque foris flamma succenditur, intus caecitatis igne devoratur, atque in dolore positus, exterius interiusque confunditur, ut sua deterius confusione crucietur. Repulsis ergo ordo in supplicio non erit, quia in eorum morte atrocius ipsa confusio mentis saevit. Quam tamen mira potentia judicantis aequitas ordinat, ut poena animum quasi inordinata confundat

[Just as exterior death divides the body from the soul, thus interior death separates the soul from God. Therefore the 'shadow of death' is the obscurity of division, because when each of the damned is burned by eternal fire, they are darkened from the internal light. [...] But after the holy man introduced the

56 Gregory, *Moralia*, col.0821B-0821C

> shadow of death, he added how great confusion may be in the mind of the damned, because that punishment, which having been ordered through justice, without doubt they will not be ordered in the heart of the dying ones. As indeed we have said a little above, while each of the damned are burned from outside by flame, they are internally consumed by the fire of blindness, and being placed in great sorrow, they are confounded inside and out, so that they are worse punished by their own confusion. Therefore there will be no order in the punishment of the rejected, because that confusion of mind will rage more violently in their death. Yet what by a great miracle he has equally ordered, that pain may confound the soul as if it is disordered.][57]

Unable to think clearly or act rationally, the damned become worse than beasts and lose their humanity. This confusion became an important element in the representation of the torments of Hell in the twelfth-century sculptures, which showed the damned losing control over their bodies and making uncontrolled expressions or gestures.

While the eternal punishment of the physical body was essential to concepts of damnation, the punishment of the soul through mental anguish was equally important, shown by Gregory's discussions of the "fire of blindness" and "being not" that would afflict the damned. Following the description of God as "he who is" and Boethius's categories of essence and existence, the damned appear in the *Moralia* as not-quite-human, having become 'not' through a mysterious transformation which would alter their state of being. In the portal sculptures of the twelfth century, images such as the mouth of Hell or figures subjected to extreme bodily contortion would demonstrate not only the physical pain of damnation, but also spiritual confusion and non-being.

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[57] Gregory, *Moralia*, col.0912C, 0914A-0914B;

Similarly, the visionary narratives of damnation would describe devils and damned souls in ways which expressed their inhumanity and the punishments which could not be explained in terms of earthly experience. Images of the body reflected the pain of the soul, and representations of damnation would show corporeal punishments both before and after the resurrection in order to demonstrate this confusion and spiritual transformation. Through the representation of the soul as a physical body, descriptions and representations of Hell also expressed ideas surrounding living bodies, in order to persuade their audiences to repent and amend themselves before it was too late, while amplifying the fear of damnation through bodily anxieties.

3. Gregory's Dialogues and the moment of death

Alongside these theological definitions of Hell and damnation, literary narratives of visionary journeys through the afterlife shaped the conception of damnation in the early Middle Ages, providing a range of imagery with which to describe the landscape of Hell. Gregory's accounts of souls visiting or returning from the places of the afterlife, as well as texts describing journeys through Hell such as the third-century *Visio Pauli* and eighth-century Vision of Drythelm elaborated on formal theological discussions to outline the contours of Hell and places of intermediary punishment.

In Luke 16, Christ tells his followers the parable of *Dives* and Lazarus, or Lazarus and the rich man. This Biblical passage would form the basis for a number of discussions of the afterlife, including the notion that the soul could be taken to Hell and experience punishment before the Last Judgment. In the parable, a beggar named Lazarus was taken to "Abraham's bosom" after his death, while the rich man at whose door he had

sat was "buried in Hell" [*sepultus est in inferno*], where he could see Lazarus and beg him for water while he was "tormented in this flame" [*crucior in hac flamma*].[58]

The idea that the souls of the dead would be punished or rewarded immediately after death, instead of only after the resurrection and Last Judgment, produced the concept of the 'immediate judgment' or 'post-mortem judgment,' described in visionary literature and by Gregory the Great, as discussed in the previous chapter. Helen Foxhall Forbes has traced the history of the immediate judgment, and finds that this was introduced into the Christian view of the afterlife in the second and third centuries by writers such as Tertullian and Cyprian of Carthage (c.210–258), who believed the souls of the martyrs travelled immediately to Heaven, while other souls rested in a sleep until the Last Judgment.[59] She finds evidence for the wide acceptance of the individual judgment by the fifth century in Augustine's treatise *De anima et ejus origine* (*On the Nature and Origin of the Soul*), in which he stated that "souls are judged when they depart from the body, before they come to that judgment which must be passed on them when reunited with the body and are tormented or glorified in that same flesh which they here inhabited."[60] Augustine's distinction between the *valdes* and *non valdes* also contributed to the idea that there would be a division of souls before the Last Judgment into those who would be judged, those who would judge, and those who were judged already, suggesting that the *valde boni* and *valde mali* were already experiencing rest or torment.[61] Claude Carozzi has argued that Augustine's major original contribution to views of the

[58] Luke 16:20-24
[59] Forbes, "Theology of the Afterlife," p.154
[60] Quoted in Forbes, "Theology of the Afterlife," p.154
[61] See Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, p.46 and "The Decline of the Empire of God;" and Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*. Forbes credits Gregory the Great with the invention of the quadripartite division of souls into the saints, wicked sinners, and ordinary people who will be judged according to Matthew 25, which she believes first appeared in the *Moralia*. However, this division had already been elaborated by Hilary of Poitiers and Augustine by the time Gregory came to write the *Moralia*. See Forbes, "Theology of the Afterlife," p.155

afterlife was to "introduce temporality into the intermediary period between death and resurrection," giving the dead continued existence and agency beyond the grave.[62]

Many images that show the punishment of sinners who died before the Last Judgment represent the damned suffering through physical torment of the body. Early medieval descriptions of the afterlife such as the *Visio Pauli* and Vision of Drythelm described souls suffering as if they had physical bodies, leading to the depiction of the embodied soul in sculptures of the twelfth century. In addition to the work of Forbes, the representation of the 'immediate judgment' in art has been discussed by Marcello Angheben, who argues that Romanesque images of the Last Judgment often incorporated scenes of the immediate judgment.[63] He claims that these images of immediate judgment were included to show that the Church would not be able to offer salvation after the Second Coming in order to encourage the living to offer suffrages and alms to aid the dead, providing the Church with considerable wealth and control over lay society. Angheben finds the 'immediate judgment' in a number of twelfth-century portal sculptures, including the tympana of Sainte-Foy in Conques and Saint-Lazare in Autun, based on the presence of certain iconographic features, such as the bosom of Abraham or angels weighing souls using a scale. [64] However, images showing the punishment of the soul before the Last Judgment were not necessarily intended to show purgatorial punishments in order to encourage suffrages. They also reflected contemporary social discourses surrounding wealth, clerical or monastic conduct, and gender and sexuality.[65] Rather than being purgatorial, the iconography of Hell aimed to show the fate of those beyond hope of salvation, generating a fear of Hell and

[62] Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l'âme*, p.32
[63] Angheben, *D'un jugement et l'autre*, p.142-143
[64] Angheben, *D'un jugement et l'autre*, p.57-60, 118-119
[65] See for example István Czachesz, *The Grotesque Body in Early Christian Discourse: Hell, Scatology, and Metamorphosis* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012); Dale, *Pygmalion's Power*, pp.47-88; and Mills, *Suspended Animation*, pp.83-105;

damnation that could encourage faith, change behaviour, and create a community of the elect through exclusion.

In Book IV of the *Dialogues*, Gregory states that "it is necessary to believe that from the day of their departure, fire burns the reprobate" [*ita credi necesse est quod a die exitus sui ignis reprobos exurat*].[66] Peter asks how it is possible that the fire of Hell could harm demons and the souls of the damned before the resurrection, and Gregory explains that because the soul sees itself in fire, it experiences pain as if it were corporeal:

> *Teneri autem spiritum per ignem dicimus, ut in tormento ignis sit videndo atque sentiendo. Ignem namque eo ipso patitur, quo videt; et quia concremari se aspicit, crematur. Sicque fit ut res corporea incorpoream exurat, dum ex igne visibili ardor ac dolor invisibilis trahitur, ut per ignem corporeum mens incorporea etiam incorporea flamma crucietur.*
>
> [We say the spirit is to be held through fire, so that it is in the torment of fire which is both seen and felt. Since it sees itself suffer fire; and because it considers itself to be burnt, it is burnt. And thus it may be that corporeal things burn what is incorporeal, when invisible pain and sorrow are drawn out from visible fire, so that through corporeal fire the incorporeal mind is likewise tormented by incorporeal flame.][67]

To prove that the souls of the damned are tormented before the resurrection, Gregory provided a number of stories that describe how the fate of the soul would be revealed at the moment of death, with sinners being confronted by demons as they died to show witnesses the reality of eternal punishment. Jesse Keskiaho, in his survey of afterlife visions in the *Dialogues*, observes that Gregory used visions to "communicate various truth about invisible realities and Christian life," rather than to create a

[66] Gregory, *Dialogues*, col.0365A. For the date and authenticity of the *Dialogues*, see Meyvaert, "The Enigma of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*."
[67] Gregory, *Dialogues*, col. 0368A.

systematic theology of visions as a whole.[68] Bernstein compares the *Dialogues* to the *Moralia*, finding that Gregory developed his teaching on Hell and punishment through formal theological methods in the *Moralia*, and edifying narrative and moral lessons in the *Dialogues*.[69] The stories in the *Dialogues* were excerpted and read widely, and, alongside the *Visio Pauli*, provided the sources for the literary genre of visionary travels through the spaces of the afterlife which remained popular throughout the Middle Ages.[70] For Carozzi, the *Dialogues* established for the first time "a continuity between the state of the soul after death and that which is resurrected after the Judgment."[71] The purgatorial fires of Hell would purify some minor sins, but would only delay the soul's final reward rather than ensure it.[72] The finality of death can be seen in Gregory's accounts of people faced with demons arriving on their deathbeds to take them to places of punishment. As seen in discussions of the Last Judgment, the moment of death and the end of time were collapsed, so that although the soul continued to exist between the two, its state at the moment of death would determine its eternal fate. In one of these narratives, Gregory described the death of a man named Chrysaorius, who was "as filled with as many vices as riches:"

> *Qui ad extremum veniens, eadem hora qua jam de corpore erat exiturus, apertis oculis vidit tetros et nigerrimos spiritus coram se assistere, et vehementer imminere, ut ad inferni claustra eum raperent. Coepit tremere, pallescere, sudare, et magnis vocibus inducias petere...Cumque*

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68 Keskiaho, "Visions and the Afterlife in Gregory's *Dialogues"*

69 Bernstein, *Hell and its Rivals*, p.40

70 For the development of visionary literature on the afterlife and its dependence on Gregory, see Bernstein, *Hell and its Rivals*; Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l'âme*, esp. pp.44-54; Yitzak Hen, "Visions of the Afterlife in the Early Medieval West," in *Imagining the Medieval Afterlife*, pp.25-39; Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Keskiaho, "Visions and the Afterlife;" Jesse Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); and Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp.90-95

71 Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l'âme*, p.55; "*[S]on originalité est d'établir une continuité entre l'état de l'âme après la mort et celui des ressuscités après le Jugement."*

72 Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l'âme*, p.55

constructus nimis relaxari se jam posse desperaret, coepit magnis vocibus clamare: Inducias vel usque mane, inducias vel usque mane. Sed cum haec clamaret, in ipsis vocibus de habitaculo suae carnis evulsus est. De quo nimirum constat quia pro nobis ista, non pro se, viderit, ut ejus visio nobis proficiat, quos adhuc divina patientia longanimiter exspectat. Nam illi tetros spiritus ante mortem vidisse et inducias petiise quid profuit, qui easdem inducias quas petiis non accepit?

[When it was that hour at which he was to exit his body, opening his eyes he saw foul and very evil spirits standing before him to violently threaten that they would take him away to infernal places. He began to tremble, grow pale, sweat, and beg respite in a loud voice...Excessively bound, he despaired that he would be able to be released, and began to cry out "respite even until morning, respite even until morning." But when he had shouted this, in that speech he was torn out from the habitation of his body. From which it is shown that he saw these things for us, not for himself, so that it might benefit those of us for whom divine patience might wait with forbearance. For what profit is that foul spirit seen before death, and respite for which he begged, to him that begged for respite which was not accepted?][73]

The presence of demons surrounding the deathbed of the sinner to "tear out" (*evulsare*) his soul from his body proved that he would be eternally punished in Hell. Similarly, visionary literature describing the spaces of the afterlife featured scenes of souls being judged immediately after exiting their bodies and taken to places of punishment from which they would not escape. These narratives also highlight another important function of literary and visual images of Hell: to depict the punishments of particular sins in order to highlight their severity, addressing contemporary concerns facing the Church such as simony.

[73] Gregory, *Dialogues*, col.0392C-0393A

4. Visionary journeys through Hell

Caroline Walker Bynum has described how the soul became "somatized" in medieval theories of the body as the *locus* of the self.[74] The somatic souls of the damned in the narratives of visionary journeys to the afterlife were able to speak, act, and feel pain as if they were physical bodies, reflecting the living bodies of their audiences in order to express the suffering of Hell and create an embodied response.[75] One of the earliest and most influential of these visions was the *Visio Pauli*, discussed in the previous chapter, which claimed to be Paul's account of what he witnessed when he was taken to the "third heaven," based on a reference in 2 Corinthians 12 to an unnamed man who experienced a vision of heaven, taken to be Paul himself. In this vision, Paul witnesses the judgment of three souls after their departure from the body, before being guided through the spaces of punishment and reward which await souls after death.

The origins of the *Visio Pauli* are uncertain. Traditionally, it was believed to have been composed in Greek in the second or third century and revised after 388, based on apparent quotations from the *Visio* in a sermon on the Psalms by Origen written by c.240.[76] More recently, Pierluigi Piovanelli has argued that the prologue belongs to the original version written in Greek Egypt between 395 and 416, as the quotation from Origen is not confirmed to be authentic and there is nothing in the text referencing

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[74] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p.11, 14

[75] Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury*, p.13; see also Czachesz, *The Grotesque Body*. For recent discussions of embodiment and affect in medieval studies, see Glenn D. Burger and Holly A. Crocker, introduction to *Medieval Affect, Feeling, and Emotion*, ed. Glenn D. Burger and Holly A. Crocker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp.1-24; Javier E. Díaz-Vera, "Embodied emotions in Medieval English language and visual arts," in *Sensuous Cognition. Explorations into Human Sentience: Imagination, (E)motion and Perception* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), pp.195-219

[76] See R. P. Casey, "The Apocalypse of Paul," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1933), pp.1-32 (pp.26-31); and Claude Carozzi, *Eschatologie et au-delà: Recherches sur l'Apocalypse de Paul* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1994)

events of the mid-third century.[77] The latest date of 416 is based on a reference to the *Visio Pauli* by Augustine in his Gospel commentary *In Joannis evangelium tractatus*, in which he said it was not accepted by the Church, as the "secret words" the visionary heard "were not granted to man to utter."[78] The *Visio* developed from an existing genre of visionary literature and borrowed from the earlier Apocalypse of Peter as well as the apocalyptic Jewish literature which influenced the Apocalypse of John such as the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 1 Enoch, and the book of Daniel.[79] However, despite its condemnation by Augustine, the *Visio Pauli* surpassed its predecessors to become one of the most influential accounts of the afterlife and fate of the soul for later medieval writers, providing much of the imagery and topography of Hell and the experience of the damned.

Anthony Hilhorst has observed that the earlier vision narrative known as the Apocalypse of Peter has survived in two versions, an Ethiopic version which situates the events of the vision at the end of time, and a fragmentary Greek version which described the judgment of the soul immediately after death.[80] The *Visio Pauli* in turn borrowed from the Greek version of the Apocalypse of Peter, providing a detailed description of what would occur to the soul on exiting its body which would exert influence over later medieval writers. The textual transmission of the *Visio Pauli* has

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77 Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Les origines de l'Apocalypse de Paul reconsidérées," *Apocrypha* 4 (1994), pp.25-64; See also Jan N. Bremmer, "Christian Hell: From the Apocalypse of Peter to the Apocalypse of Paul," *Numen* 56 (2009), pp.298-325; Emiliano Fiori, "Death and Judgment in the *Apocalypse of Paul*: Old Imagery and Monastic Reinvention," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity* 20 (2016), pp.92-108; and Pierluigi Piovanelli, "The Miraculous Discovery of the Hidden Manuscript, or the Paratextual Function of the Prologue to the *Apocalypse of Paul*," in *The Visio Pauli and the gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*, pp.23-49

78 Bremmer, "Christian Hell," p.305; Augustine, *In Joannis evangelium tractatibus*, PL 35, col.1885

79 Anthony Hilhorst, "The Apocalypse of Paul: Previous History and Afterlife," in *The Visio Pauli and the gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*, pp.1-22 (p.17); see also Bremmer, "Christian Hell;" and J. K. Elliott (ed.), "The Apocalypse of Paul (*Visio Pauli*)," in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.616-644

80 Hilhorst, "The Apocalypse of Paul," p.21-22. For the relationship between the *Visio Pauli* and Apocalypse of Peter see also Bremmer, "Christian Hell."

been studied extensively by Theodore Silverstein, who found two extant Latin versions of the complete text in two manuscripts in Paris (BnF NAL 1631) and St Gall (Stiftsbezirk St. Gallen Cod. 317), with a fragmentary third copy in Vienna (Österreichesche Nationalbibliothek Cod. 362), which he believed to be translated from a Greek original and unrelated to the other two long Latin versions.[81] Silverstein also identified eight Latin redactions preserved across forty-seven manuscripts, seven of which shortened the vision to only the judgment and punishment of the damned, removing the descriptions of Paradise and the joys of the blessed.[82]

The influence of the *Visio Pauli* is apparent in the Vision of Drythelm, recorded by Bede in his *Historia Ecclestica*, written c.734, although the narrative may have circulated before Bede included it in the *Historia*, as he writes that Drythelm had recounted his vision to King Alfred (d.701).[83] Drythelm's vision emerged alongside other English visionary journeys to the afterlife recorded in the seventh and eighth centuries, including the visions of Fursey, Barontus, and the monk of Wenlock.[84] These visionary journeys elaborated on the accounts in the *Dialogues* and *Visio Pauli*, creating a clearer and more detailed topography of the spaces of the afterlife, as well as providing additional support to the idea of the immediate judgment.

Drythelm's vision has often been compared the vision of the monk of Wenlock written by Boniface (c.675–754) in 716, which Patrick Sims-Williams and Ananya

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[81] Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, p.21
[82] Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, p.40
[83] Bertram Colgrave, "Historical Introduction," in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969), pp.xvii-xxxviii. For the date Drythelm received his vision and its circulation prior to the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, see Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme*, p.227; Isabel Moreira, *Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.152; and Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.250
[84] See Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme*; Hen, "Visions of the Afterlife;" Kabir, *Paradise, Death and Doomsday*; Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*; and Carol Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys: Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Medieval and Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp.31-34

Jahanara Kabir believe to derive from the same lost source.[85] Boniface recorded this account in a letter to a nun at Wimborne Abbey named Eadburg, and it was subsequently copied with visions from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Otloh of St Emmeram (c.1010–c.1072) in his *Liber Visionum*, compiled between 1062–1066.[86] In both accounts, the visionary is guided through different spaces of the afterlife, witnessing the judgment of souls which have left their bodies, and the different spaces for the reward or punishment of souls before the Last Judgment.[87] In the *Visio Pauli*, and in the later visions of Drythelm and the monk of Wenlock, there remains a clear distinction between those who would be eternally damned and those who would experience some purgatorial punishments, but would eventually be saved. Rather than encouraging suffrages on behalf of souls suffering purgatorial punishments, these visionary texts emphasised that the fate of souls would be determined in life, and that the condemnation of damned souls at the moment of death would be final.

In all three infernal journeys – Paul, Drythelm, and the anonymous monk of Wenlock – the visionary encounters a pit filled with fire into which they cannot see clearly, where the souls of all those who are eternally damned are thrown, only returning to be reunited with their bodies for worse punishment after the resurrection. In the

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[85] Sims-Williams believes the original vision was encountered by Bede before it travelled to Hildelith, abbess of Barking, who told it to Boniface. Kabir agrees that the visions are linked, but believes Bede knew of Boniface's account through their mutual correspondent Pehthelm, Bishop of Whithorn. See Patrick Sims-Williams, "A Recension of Boniface's Letter to Eadburg about the Monk of Wenlock's Vision," in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, 2 vols, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), II, pp.194-214 (p.197) and Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p.250; and Kabir, *Paradise, Death and Doomsday*, pp.85-87. See also Helen Foxhall-Forbes, "*Diuiduntur in quattuor:* The Interim and Judgment in Anglo-Saxon England," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 61 (2010), pp.659-684 (p.661)

[86] Sims-Williams, "A Recension of Boniface's Letter," p.195-196, 199-200. For Eadburg, see Jane Stevenson, "Brothers and Sisters: Women and Monastic Life in Eighth-Century England and Frankia," *Dutch Review of Church History* 82 (2002), pp.1-34

[87] Boniface, *Epistola X*, in *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. Michael Tangl (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916), pp.8-15 (p.11); Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp.488-498; see also Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*, p.149-152

Visio Pauli, this is a great pit covered with seven seals in which he can see "a mass of burning flame from every part" [*massas igneas ardentes ex omni parte*] and smell a terrible stench which surpasses all the other torments he had seen up to that point.[88] His angelic guide tells him, "If anyone is sent into this pit and it is sealed over him, no commemoration of him will be made in the sight of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit, nor of the Holy Angels" [*Si quis missus fuerit in hunc puteum et sigillo signatum fuerit super eum, numquam commemoratio eius fit in conspectu patris et filii et spiritus sanctus nec in sanctorum angelorum*].[89] In Drythelm's vision, he travels through a valley with hail and snow on one side and fire on the other, with souls tossed from side to side, before reaching a great pit:

> *Ecce subito apparent ante nos crebri flammarum tetrarum globi ascendentes quasi de puteo magno rursumque decidentes in eundem...cerno omnia quae ascendebant fastigia flammarum plena esse / spiritibus hominum, qui instar fauillarum cum fumo ascendentium nunc ad sublimiora proicerentur, nunc...relaberentur in profunda. Sed et fetor incomparabilis cum eisdem uaporibus ebulliens omnia illa tenebrarum loca replebat*
>
> [Suddenly there appeared before us masses of noisome flame, constantly rising up as if from a great pit and falling into it again...the tips of the flames as they ascended were full of human souls which, like sparks flying upward with the smoke, were now tossed on high and...sucked down into those depths.

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88 Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Three Long Latin Versions*, p.154; *Et tulit me ad septemtrionem locum omnium penarum et statuit me super puteum inveni eum signatum septem signaculis...Cum ergo apertum fuisset, statim surrexit fetor quidam durus et malignus ualde qui superauit penas. Et respexi deorsum in eum et vidi quasi massas igneas ardentes ex omni parte....* The text of the *Visio* used here is the ninth-century Long Latin version preserved in St Gall, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, MS. 317. For the other versions of the *Visio* and the recensions, see Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse of Paul*; and Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*.

89 Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, p.154

Furthermore, an indescribable stench which rose up with these vapours filled all those abodes of darkness.][90]

A pit filled with fire which tossed souls up into the air before pulling them back is also seen by the monk of Wenlock, below which is another place, "in the lowest depths" [*in imo profundo*] which he cannot see but hears the "horrendous and tremendous and difficult to describe groans and cries of mourning souls" [*horrendum et tremendum et dictu difficilem gemitum et fletum lugentium animarum*].[91] When Drythelm reaches the end of his journey through the afterlife, his angelic guide explains the different places he has seen:

> *Vallis illa, quam aspexisti flammis feruentibus et frigoribus horrenda rigidis, ipse est locus in quo examinandae et castigandae sunt animae illorum, qui differentes confiteri et emendare scelera quae fecerunt, in ipso tandem mortis articulo ad paenitentiam confugiunt, et sic de corpore exeunt; qui tamen, quia confessionem et paenitentiam uel in morte habuerunt, omnes in die iudicii ad regnum caelorum perueniunt. Multos autem preces uiuentum et elimosynae et ieiunia et maxime celabratio missarum, ut etiam ante diem iudicii liberentur, adiuuant. Porro puteus ille flammiuomus ac putidus, quem uidisti, ipsum est os gehennae, in quo quicumque semel inciderit, numquam inde liberabitur in aeuum*
>
> [The valley that you saw, with its awful flaming fire and freezing cold, is the place in which those souls have to be tried and chastened who delayed to confess and make restitution for the sins they had committed until they were on the point of death; and so they died. But because they did repent and confess, even though on their deathbed, they will all come to the kingdom of heaven on judgment day; and the prayers of those who are still alive, their alms and fastings

[90] Trans. Colgrave and Mynors, *Ecclesiastical History*, p.491.
[91] Tangl, *Briefe*, p.11; *Sub illis autem puteis adhuc in inferioribus et in imo profundo, quasi inferno inferiori, audivit horrendum et tremendum et dictu difficilem gemitum et fletum lugentium animarum.*

and specially the celebration of masses, help many of them to get free even before the day of judgment. Furthermore, the fiery noisome pit you saw is the very mouth of hell, into which whoever once falls will never be released from it for all eternity.][92]

Isabel Moreira has identified these three locations witnessed by Drythelm as the earliest appearance of Purgatory as "a location in the otherworld that is temporary, punitive, but available to the intercession of the church and the intervention of the living," arguing against Le Goff and Carozzi who were hesitant to see Drythelm's valley of snow and fire as a distinct purgatorial space due to the lack of the words "purgation" or "to purge."[93] She finds the purpose of Bede's description of purgatory and the possibility of redemption after death through purificatory punishments to be a response to Origen, allowing any repentance in life to be sufficient to achieve salvation, even if that repentance was only given at the point of death, while maintaining that the devil and unrepentant sinners would be eternally punished in accordance with the description of the Last Judgment in Matthew 25.[94] Bede's clear distinction between those who would be eternally damned and those who could be helped by the actions of the living followed Augustine's discussion of the efficacy of prayers for the dead in the *Enchiridion,* emphasising that repentance in life was still the only means of achieving salvation.[95] For those who failed to repent before death, there was only the stinking pit of fire.

The imagery of a great pit which could not be seen, even in the context of visionary experience, emphasised the notion of damnation as being beyond comprehension. In the vision of the monk of Wenlock, the visionary is unable to describe the groans and

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92 Colgrave and Mynors, *Ecclesiastical History*, p.495
93 Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*, p.156-157. See also Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme*, p.249-253; and Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.115
94 Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*, p.209
95 See Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, pp.54-55; Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*, p.34-35; and Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.73

howls of the damned, presenting the suffering experienced in Hell as beyond any earthly experience. The damned are unable to speak, removing them from the framework of language, an idea which also appears in Drythelm's vision, in which he is unable to distinguish between the laughter of demons and the screams of the damned.

The repeated references to Hell having a terrible smell can also be understood in terms of Mary Douglas' analysis of uncleanliness, in which she frames dirt and pollution as being dangerous to order, identity, and bodily integrity. In the twelfth century, sculpted representations of Hell similarly presented damnation in terms of disorder, in which bodily boundaries were transgressed through creatures which swallowed and chewed the damned or mixed incongruous forms into a single being.[96] At Moissac, the punishments of a man and woman are shown on the capital of the colonette dividing the scenes of *Dives'* punishment (fig. 3.1-3.2). As they are immersed in flame, a demon leans forward to stoke the fires with a pair of bellows and holds the woman's arm in its jaws, while at the same time a worm emerges from its anus to bite her hand as it stretches around the edge of the capital. The mixing of two bodies into a single being and the association with filth through the image of the worm which combines anal and oral imagery, as well as the theme of consumption implied by the doubled chewing of the woman's arm by the demon's two mouths reflects Douglas' definition of dirt as a threat to order and identity.

Sculptures of the Last Judgment or damned souls after death in the twelfth century showed the punishments of sinners such as *Dives*, who failed to realise the consequences of his sinful life until he was in Hell. Rather than aiming to encourage their audiences to give to the Church in the hopes of aiding the dead, images of damnation served as

[96] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1984), in particular p.5, 56, 116, 125

warnings to the living to repent before it was too late. By invoking monstrosity and bodily disorder, the representation of Hell in portal sculptures conveyed the unthinkable horror of damnation as an experience which was beyond anything that could be encountered on earth.

5. Dives and Lazarus at Moissac and the punishment of the soul

The porch sculpture at Saint-Pierre in Moissac demonstrates the way in which the soul, even before the resurrection of the body, was imagined in corporeal terms, reflecting Caroline Walker Bynum's description of a "somatized soul."[97] The story of *Dives* and Lazarus (fig. 3.3) is positioned opposite the Nativity sequence discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, where the parable's narrative is arranged in a mirrored order, moving from right (closest to the door) to left. At the top of the porch, opposite the scenes of the Purification and Flight into Egypt, *Dives* is shown feasting with his wife, who holds food up to her mouth while a servant brings them more plates and wine (fig. 3.4). They are placed on the far right, close to the entrance to the church, and enclosed by a sculpted door on their left. Beyond this door lies the body of Lazarus covered in sores, which are licked by a pair of dogs, while an angel lifts his soul and carries it to Paradise, divided from the earthly scene by a flowering tree. In Paradise, Abraham is seated on a throne, cradling the soul of Lazarus within his cloak, while a second figure sits next to him and points to a scroll. This second figure may be Moses or a generic prophet, referencing Abraham's refusal to send Lazarus to *Dives*'s brothers, saying, "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them."[98]

[97] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p.11, 14
[98] Luke 16:29

Below, the majority of the porch is devoted to the death and punishment of *Dives* and other souls, divided into four separate panels by a small arcade. In the first panel, immediately below the feasting scene, *Dives* is shown on his deathbed, where demons tear his soul from his mouth while his grieving wife kneels next to him (fig. 3.5). Another demon carries the sack of money with which he will be tormented, watched by an angel who hovers at the top of the scene. This angel may have originally held the scales which proved his guilt, as his hand is raised in a fist holding a cylindrical handle resembling that held by the hand of God in the sculpture at Autun. On the left, *Dives* is punished in Hell, demonstrating that he has begun to experience eternal damnation immediately after death (fig. 3.6). Beneath this narrative sequence is a pair of scenes showing sinners tormented by demons (fig. 3.7). On the left, an avaricious miser is confronted by a pilgrim or beggar, who is now almost entirely lost. On the right is a grimacing, nude woman tormented by snakes and a toad gnawing on her breasts and groin. This female figure has been viewed as an allegorical personification of *Luxuria*, and has frequently been studied in terms of sexuality and female embodiment in medieval art.[99]

As discussed in the first chapter, Ilene Forsyth argues that the entire portal system was constructed under Abbot Anquetil and completed by 1115. She believes that the thematic emphasis on avarice and donation in the porch indicates a period of extensive construction, encouraging donations to the abbey while also justifying the need for

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[99] See for example Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.160; Thomas E. A. Dale, "The Nude at Moissac: Vision, *Phantasia*, and the Experience of Romanesque Sculpture," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp.61-76 and *Pygmalion's Power,* pp.47-87; and Forsyth, "Narrative at Moissac". For an alternative reading of this figure as representing a "bad mother," see Amanda Luyster, "The *Femme-aux-Serpents* at Moissac: Luxuria (Lust) or a Bad Mother?" in *Between Magic and Religion: Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and Society*, ed. Sulochana R. Asirvatham, Corinne Ondine Pache, and John Watrous (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), pp.165-191.

expensive sculptural projects.[100] Paul Binski has noted the similarities between the cloister and porch sculptures, describing the hair of the *Luxuria* figure as produced in "essentially the same" manner as the flames in the cloister capital of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, further indicating that the porch, tympanum, and cloister were produced contemporaneously.[101] If the porch sculptures were produced during Anquêtil's abbacy, the inclusion of the *Dives* narrative may have had site-specific resonance. Aymeric de Peyrac reported that Moissac was a popular pilgrimage site for lepers due to a miraculous well located in the chapel of Saint-Julien in the cloister.[102] Abbot Robert closed the well after an outbreak of leprosy among the monks and banned lepers from making a pilgrimage to the abbey, a decision which caused protests from the local townspeople.[103] The depiction of the narrative of *Dives* and Lazarus, with its detailed portrait of a contemporary leper dressed in rags and with a clapper to announce his presence, appears strange in the context of Robert's controversial refusal to allow lepers into the abbey.[104] Under Anquêtil, the sympathetic portrayal of Lazarus and the condemnation of those who failed to provide charity to lepers would have gained additional significance through the presence of real lepers gathered around the porch, making the Biblical narrative come to life in the present.

The depiction of *Dives* and his punishment demonstrates how the moment of death could be understood as an experience of terror and judgment. Here, demons came to

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[100] Forsyth, "Narrative at Moissac," p.87; see also Ilene Forsyth, "The Date of the Moissac Portal," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, pp.77-99
[101] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.160
[102] Aymeric de Peyrac, *Chronicon universale*, f.161r-161v
[103] Aymeric de Peyrac, *Chronicon universale*, f.161v; see also Susan Raglan Dixon, "The Power of the Gate: The Sculptured Portal of St. Pierre, Moissac (France)," PhD diss. (Cornell University, 1987), p.158-168
[104] For the depiction of lepers in art see Christine M. Boeckl, *Images of Leprosy: Disease, Religion, and Politics in European Art* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2011), pp.68-69. Boeckl is not aware of Lazarus portrayed as a leper before the fifteenth century, but notes that from the ninth century sufferers were portrayed wrapped in sheets of cloth termed "rent clothes," as is the case at Moissac.

challenge the departing soul, crowding around *Dives* as he dies to tear his soul through his mouth, echoing Gregory's description of the miser who was "torn out from the habitation of his body" by the demons who came to collect his soul. The coming disorder of his punishment in Hell is indicated by the way the demons grasp and bite each other while holding his soul. The finality of this deathbed judgment is also suggested by the angel who overlooks the arrival of the demons, holding scales to show that this punishment is according to the justice of God.

The porch sequence also represented the bodily torments of *Dives* to engage the senses of the spectator in order to move them to fear for their own soul. The emphasis on the physical, corporeal experiences of *Dives* is also expressed through the linking of consumption, lust, and bodily decay to heighten the somatic effect of the sculpture. Jacqueline Jung has described a medieval "haptics of viewing," which she describes as "a mode of perception that emerges from and works back on the entire body."[105] Jung defines this in relation to devotional images, which used the "haptic mode" to create an encounter between "real and fictive bodies [that] rendered palpable the connection between human beings and their once incarnate God."[106] However, this form of engagement could also have been activated by the representation of unpleasant, tormented bodies, or figures in the unsettling processes of eating and death to create an empathetic, somatic connection between the real bodies of viewers and the sculpted figures. At Moissac, consumption and sexual desire are joined forcefully to death and decay through the vertical repetition of female figures on the right side of the scheme.

Caroline Walker Bynum has argued that the discussions around the resurrection reflected a fear of process as death and decay, and practices of fasting and celibacy

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[105] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, p.32
[106] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, p.32

began the "arresting of process" on earth, moving the body closer to the impassable body of the resurrection.[107] Christian writers described food and eating as something unpleasant but necessary, and a dangerous temptation to be avoided, uniting consumption with lust and excessive "appetite" of all kinds. In a letter to his friend Eustochium, Jerome described excessive eating as unavoidably linked with lust and sin. Jerome warned Eustochium that she would face constant danger "so long as the flesh lusts against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh" [*concupiscit spiritus adversus carnem, et caro adversus spiritum*], instructing her that fasting was necessary for preserving her chastity and condemning "virgins by flesh, not by spirit" [*virgines carne, non spiritu*] who were like the foolish virgins shut out by the Bridegroom.[108] He also instructed her to avoid rich food or wine, as they would lead to lust: "Noah drank wine, and became intoxicated...after drunkenness the nakedness of his body followed, lust being joined to luxury (*luxuriae*). For first the belly is enlarged, and thus the other members are aroused" [*Noe vinum bibit, et inebriatus est...post ebrietatem nudatio femorum subsecuta est, libido juncta luxuriae. Prius enim venter extenditur, et sic caetera membra concitantur*].[109]

Gregory the Great used similar language in the *Regula Pastoralis* to condemn feasting and talkativeness as sources of lust, pointing to the example of *Dives* as evidence:

> *Illos enim superfluitas locutionis, levitas operis, atque luxuria; istos vero saepe impatientiae, saepe vero superbiae culpa comitatur. Nisi enim gulae deditos immoderata loquacitas raperet, dives ille qui epulatus quotidie dicitur splendide in lingua gravius non arderet, dicens: Pater Abraham, miserere mei, et mitte Lazarum, ut intingat extremum digiti sui in aquam, ut refrigeret linguam meam, quia crucior in hac flamma." Quibus profecto*

[107] Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, p.94, 112
[108] Jerome, *Epistola XXII. Ad Eustochium, Paulae filiam*, PL 22, col.0396-03967; *Quamdiu hoc fragili corpore detinemur...et concupiscit spiritus adversus carnem, et caro adversus spiritum; Istae sunt virgines malae, virgines carne, non spiritu: virgines stultae, quae oleum non habentes, excluduntur a sponso.*
[109] Jerome, *Ad Eustochium*, col.0399; *Noe vinum bibit, et inebriatus est...post ebrietatem nudatio femorum subsecuta est, libido juncta luxuriae. Prius enim venter extenditur, et sic caetera membra concitantur.*

verbis ostenditur quia epulando quotidie crebrius in lingua peccaverat, qui totus ardens refrigerari se praecipue in lingua requirebat. Rursum quia gulae deditos levitas protinus operis sequitur, auctoritas sacra testatur, dicens: Sedit populus manducare et bibere, et surrexerunt ludere." Quos plerumque edacitas usque ad luxuriam pertrahit, quia dum satietate venter extenditur, aculei libidinis excitantur.

[Indeed, sin follows superfluous speech, fickle actions, and luxury (*luxuria*); particularly those sins of impatience and pride. For if immoderate speech did not carry off those devoted to the mouth, that rich man who is said to have feasted in splendour every day would not be worse burned in the tongue, saying, "Father Abraham, send Lazarus, that he might dip the tip of his finger to cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame." By which words it is clearly shown that he had very frequently sinned in the tongue by daily feasting, who, burning completely, asked to be refreshed particularly in the tongue. Because sacred authority testifies that levity immediately follows the surrendered works of the mouth: "The people say to eat and drink, and stood up to play." It leads most of the greedy to luxury, because while the belly is extended by fullness, the thorn of libido is excited.][110]

The association between feasting, pride, and lust is shown by *Dives* and his wife feasting at the top of the porch sequence, above the scene of his wife kneeling by his bedside as demons pull his soul through his mouth, echoing Gregory's description of his torment being concentrated on his mouth as the source of his sin.[111] In contrast, the moment at which Lazarus' soul leaves his body is not shown, instead, an angel is already

[110] Gregory the Great, *Liber regulae pastoralis*, PL 77, col.0081A-0081C
[111] For the departure of the soul through the mouth, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p.42; Moshe Barasch, "The Departing Soul. The Long Life of a Medieval Creation," *Artibus et Historiae* 26 (2005), pp.13-28; and Massimo Leone, "Signs of the Soul: Towards a Semiotics of Religious Subjectivity," *Signs and Society* 1 (2013), pp.115-159

carrying his soul towards Abraham seated in Paradise. While the iconography of the soul leaving the body through the mouth was frequently used in medieval art to show the moment of death for both good and wicked souls, at Moissac the motif is joined with imagery of sinners eating and being eaten to emphasise the association between *Dives*' sin and punishment. In her analysis of the Last Judgment iconography at Saint-Lazare Cathedral in Autun, Rachel Danford has argued that the linguistic similarities between *mors* (death), *morsus* (bite), and *remordere* (remorse) encouraged salvation and damnation to be "envisaged by activities that engaged the mouth."[112]

Below, the corpse-like body of *Luxuria* reveals the horror of lust and bodily excess, showing both the sources and consequences of temptation to the monks and pious visitors to the abbey through her emaciated form and grimacing face. Ilene Forsyth has observed an intentional link in the rounded shapes of the pots, sack of money, and breasts of *Luxuria* to argue that the narrative uses "chiasmically related" visual forms to create a thematic opposition between fertility and infertility, and giving or nurturing and withholding or avarice.[113]

As visitors approached the entrance to the church, the life-size figure of *Luxuria* turns outwards, her face angled slightly downwards towards the spectator to look at them rather than at the demon who grasps her wrist to hold her in place as she tries to turn away from him. Her face is contorted in a grimace of pain and sorrow, pulling her lips back from her clenched teeth and capturing the attention of those passing through the doorway (fig. 3.8). Passing *Luxuria*, turned away from the entrance, the spectator then encounters Paul on the west face of the trumeau opposite, directing them inwards to the church building (fig. 1.15). The unavoidable stare of *Luxuria* here serves as a

[112] Rachel Danford, "Cast Not to the Beasts the Souls that Confess You: Images of Mouths at the Cathedral of St Lazare at Autun", *The Rutgers Art Review* 29 (2014), pp.4-21 (p.5)
[113] Forsyth, "Narrative at Moissac," p.76-78

warning to the visitors and monks to avoid her fate by following the ascetic Saint Paul, and entering the church where they could access the salvific presence of Christ. As with the images of the Virgin described by Jung, *Luxuria* "seems to look back at you, register your approach, and draw you near."[114] However, unlike the peaceful cult images of Mary, *Luxuria'*s position forces the viewer to come close as she stares at them, so that her rotting, polluting body is threatening rather than comforting.

The design of the scene of *Dives* feasting emphasises his sinful desire for bodily pleasures and the accumulation of wealth as representative of his excessive appetite of all kinds, following Gregory's exegesis. Meanwhile, his wife also holds food up to her mouth, emphasising her equally lustful nature. She appears again by her husband's deathbed, weeping and clinging to the sheets, her hair uncovered, and she turns outwards so her distraught expression is visible. Although it was common for grieving widows to untie their hair, loose hair on women was also associated with youthful beauty.[115] Young, unmarried women often wore their hair uncovered, and long, untied hair was associated with both beauty and virginity in images of female saints, or sinfulness and desirability in the depiction of prostitutes.[116] Paul Binski has drawn attention to the meaning of hair in Romanesque sculpture, demonstrated by the "lank clotted tresses" of *Luxuria* which echo the forms of the snakes which attack her breasts and connect hair with "death and sin."[117] The wife's loose hair and gentle, decorous weeping make her appear desirable rather than repellent, sharply contrasting with the

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[114] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, p.32
[115] Robert Bartlett, "Hair in the Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1994), pp.43-60 (p.54)
[116] For the connection between loose hair and female sexuality, see Bartlett, "Hair in the Middle Ages;" Madeline Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p.77; Martha Easton, "Gender and Sexuality," in *A Cultural History of Hair in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roberta Milliken (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp.107-122 (pp.114-115); and Roberta Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks: An Iconology of Hair in Medieval Art and Literature* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2012), p.90
[117] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.160

ugly, exaggerated expression and snake-like strands of hair of *Luxuria* below. By looking at the sculptures, the audience would have associated the naked body of *Luxuria* and the long tresses of the grieving widow, whose skin is exposed by her sleeve falling back from her wrist, inviting further touch.

Although the creatures crawling over her body and her visible sternum give *Luxuria* a corpse-like appearance, her rounded stomach is unlike the hollow abdomen seen in Gothic depictions of corpses such as the Three Living and Three Dead in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle (c.1310), maintaining the appearance of a living woman.[118] The desirable female body is transformed into a living corpse, her feasting reversed as she is herself eaten by creatures believed to be spontaneously generated from rotting cadavers, but the trace of her bodily sensuality remains.[119] The sculpture plays on this sense of touch, shocking the viewer into horror at suddenly finding themselves face-to-face with a vision of damnation. Thomas Dale has viewed the image of *Luxuria* through the concept of *phantasia*, the mental facility of conjuring and manipulating imagined pictures, arguing that the naked female body of sexual fantasy was visualised as a decaying corpse to "evoke the terror of corporeal punishment and decay" that followed sexuality.[120] However, Binski has discussed the macabre in terms of its sensory affects, arguing that the horror of macabre images was an experience that affected the whole

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[118] For depictions of corpses in Gothic art, see Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.220-224; and also Paul Binski, *Medieval Death* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp.134-138; Ashby Kinch, "Image, Ideology, and Form: The Middle English "Three Dead Kings" in its Iconographic Context," *The Chaucer Review* 43 (2008), pp.48-81; Millard Meiss, "An Illuminated Inferno and Trecento Painting in Pisa," *The Art Bulletin* 47 (1965), pp.21-34; and Sophie Oosterwijk, "Food for worms – food for thought: The appearance and interpretation of the 'verminous' cadaver in Britain and Europe," *Church Monuments* 20 (2005), pp.40-80

[119] For the belief that snakes and toads were spontaneously generated from rotting corpses, see Oosterwijk, "Food for worms," p.53; Oosterwijk also notes that snakes, toads, and frogs were used as punishments for both lust and gluttony in the imagery of Hell of the early thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

[120] Dale, "The Nude at Moissac," p.76

body rather than an emotion.[121] The naked body of *Luxuria* generated horror through being both attractive and repulsive, inviting touch while also warning against temptation and desire. The decay and consumption of her body mirrors the scene of Lazarus licked by dogs above, for whom death is a release and triumph over suffering, contrasting the bodies of women with those of lepers. In doing so, the depiction of a living corpse emphasises the ephemerality of beauty and bodily pleasure, creating parallels between the sculpted bodies of the porch and the physical bodies of visitors.

Dives's death and punishment in Hell also reflects the sins and punishments of the flesh evoked by the image of *Luxuria*. Although the parable was understood to refer to the present before the general resurrection of the body, the physicality of his torture demonstrates the way in which the punishment of the soul would be like that of the body after the resurrection, as well as indicating the eternal nature of damnation. The separation of his death and the scene of Hell also reflects the need to prepare for death through repentance and almsgiving before it was too late.

The imagery of demons crowding around a deathbed to take the soul immediately to Hell follows the stories in Gregory's *Dialogues* describing how sinners would begin to experience torment while they were dying to prove the reality of Hell to witnesses. Aron Gurevich distinguishes between two eschatologies, "a 'small', personal one, and a 'large', universal one" to discuss the immediate judgment of the soul after death.[122] He finds that the simultaneous belief in the Last Judgment according to Matthew 25 and the immediate judgment described in Luke 16 and visionary literature reveals the way in which medieval people "felt themselves directly on two temporal planes," one being

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[121] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.222-223; See also Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God."

[122] Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*, p.119. See also Bernard McGinn, "The Last Judgment in Christian Tradition," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, Volume 2: Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (New York: Continuum, 2000), pp.361-401

their individual, concrete life on earth, and the other the eternal sacred time from Creation to Judgment, so that each life "was intertwined with the world-historical drama and received from it new, higher and eternal meaning."[123] The simultaneous importance of personal and universal judgment described by Gurevich reflects the collapse of death and the end of time seen in Augustine's sermons instructing believers to understand references to the last days in Scripture as referring to their own deaths.

To the left of the deathbed scene, *Dives* is shown tormented in the flames of Hell, where demons use their feet and a pronged tool to force his body backwards until his head is submerged in flame, dragged down by the weight of the sack of money hanging around his neck (fig. 3.6). Instead of making any gesture of speech or supplication to Abraham above, which would be in accordance with the Gospel narrative, *Dives* is shown screaming in pain, his eyes bulging and forehead creasing while flames reach up around his face.[124] Along with the screaming figure in the mouth of a beast above, the representation of Hell at Moissac encouraged spectators to imagine the sounds emitted by souls in torment. The sounds of Hell were described in visionary literature, as in the Vision of Drythelm, in which Drythelm finds himself at the edge of the pit of Hell, where he sees a crowd of demons dragging a group of damned souls into the flames:

> *Et cum diutius ibi pauidius consisterem, utpote incertus quid agerem, quo uerterem gressum, qui me finis maneret, audio aubitum post terga sonitum inmanissimi fletus ac miserrimi, simul et cachinnum crepitantum quasi uulgi indocti captis hostibus insultantis. Vt autem sonitus idem clarior redditus ad me usque peruenit, consideros turbam malignorum*

[123] Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*, pp.145-146

[124] Other representations of this scene show *Dives* pointing to his mouth to indicate his request for water, for example in the Gunhild Cross (c.1075) made by an artist named Liutger for Princess Gunhild of Denmark (c.1076). The scenes of *Dives* punished in Hell and Lazarus in Abraham's bosom are positioned on the top and bottom points of the Cross, which shows a Last Judgment scene with Christ in the centre and the saved and damned on either end of the cross arms. See Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, pp.57-58

spirituum, quae quinque animas hominum merentes heiulantesque, ipsa multam exultans et cachinnans, medias illas trahebat in tenebras; e quibus uidelicet hominibus, ut dinoscere potui, quidam erat adtonsus ut clericus, quidam laicus, quaedam femina. Trahentes autem eos maligni spiritus descenderunt in medium baratri illius ardentis; factumque est ut , cum longius subeuntibus eis fletum hominum et risum daemoniorum clare discernere nequirem, sonum tamen adhuc promiscuum in auribus haberem

[When I had stood there a long time in great terror, uncertain of what to do or where to turn or what end awaited me, I suddenly heard behind my back the sound of wild and desperate lamentation, accompanied by harsh laughter as if a rude mob were insulting their foes. As the noise became clearer and finally reached me, I beheld a crowd of evil spirits, amid jeers and laughter, dragging five human souls, wailing and shrieking, into the midst of the darkness. I could see that one was tonsured like a clerk, one a layman, and one a woman. The evil spirits dragged them down into the midst of the burning pit; and as it came about that, as they descended deeper, I was unable to discern clearly between human lamentations and devilish laughter, but there was a confused noise in my ears.][125]

The mingling of demonic and human sounds in Drythelm's vision demonstrates the loss of individual identity in Hell, and the way in which the boundaries between individuals were transgressed as demons and humans merge together. The confusion and spiritual anguish of the souls which would transform them into the non-persons described by Gregory in the *Moralia* was shown through the representation of *Dives* screaming in Hell and his loss of control over his body.

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[125] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* (trans. Colgrave and Mynors), p.490-493

As discussed in the preceding chapters, medieval images could be used as prompts for mental imagining, and viewers were encouraged to recreate images in their minds to aid memory and devotion.[126] Twelfth-century writers such as Anselm instructed their audiences to visualise the Last Judgment or the punishments of Hell in detail in order to generate fear and compunction in preparation for the last day, and images played a similar role in prompting affective, fearful devotion, as argued by Megna.[127] Beth Williamson has also shown that devotional practice involved a movement from material to imagined pictures, which she has examined in the context of sound and silence, arguing that the visual representation of singing could signify silently in the "inner ear."[128] Matthew Shoaf has also explored the concept of imagined sound in relation to images of the damned in an article on the Last Judgment sculpture of Orvieto Cathedral (c.1310-1330). He describes the representation of the damned souls clustered together with their mouths open in lamentation as producing an "unnerving cacophony" which communicated nothing, and observes that the screams of the damned would have had particular resonance in fourteenth-century Orvieto, where new laws were introduced to control public displays of emotion at funerals.[129] The depiction of *Dives* screaming while plunged into flame invited spectators to imagine the uncontrolled and meaningless sounds of Hell, mentally supplementing the static image to bring it to life. This auditory imagination as a mode of affective interaction with a work of art enhanced the power of

[126] See Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*; and Carruthers, "Moving Images"
[127] Megna, "Dreadful Devotion"
[128] Beth Williamson, "Sensory Experience in Medieval Devotion: Sound and Vision, Invisibility and Silence," *Speculum* 88 (2013), pp.1-43 (p.31). For the "inner senses" in medieval thought see also Paul L. Gavrilyuk and Sarah Coakley (eds.), *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Harvey, *The Inner Wits*. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*; Stephen G. Nichols, Andreas Kablitz, and Alison Calhoun (eds.), *Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritage/Fascinations/Frames* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); and Karl Rahner, "Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène," *RAM* 13 (1932), pp.113-145
[129] Matthew G. Shoaf, "The Voice in Relief: Sculpture and Surplus Vocality at the Rise of Naturalism," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. Susan Boynton and Dianne J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp.31-46 (p.36-37)

the image as a means of generating horror at the prospect of damnation, inspiring repentance and a desire for God.

6. The iconography of the church of Perse, Espalion

Images of damnation seen in Romanesque portals, whether alone or as part of a Last Judgment scheme, used iconography such as the mouth of Hell to visualise the "non-being" and "deathless death" of damnation as described by Augustine and Gregory. As with the screams of the damned, the mouth of Hell demonstrated that the damned would lose control of their bodies and emotions, while also signalling the failure of language in Hell as a place and experience beyond human understanding. A loss of the capacity for articulate speech in damnation is indicated by the visionary accounts of Drythelm and the monk of Wenlock, who both described the screaming and crying of the damned that was, for Drythelm, indistinguishable from demons.

The sculpture at Sainte-Foy in Conques and its priory of Perse in Espalion (fig. 3.9) used bodily metaphors and signs of exclusion to define the boundaries of the communal body of the elect. A charter from Conques dated to 1060 is the earliest mention of a church in Espalion and records the donation of the church of *Persa* to Saint Faith by a nobleman named Hugh of Calmont, his wife Faith, and their son Bego.[130] This donation included the church, the surrounding lands, and an agreement to give the monks of Conques rights to half the tolls from the bridge which crossed over the river Lot in the town of Espalion.[131] This bridge was on an important pilgrimage route, and the town was described in a letter by Francois I (b. 1494, r.1515–1547) as

[130] This charter is printed as number 572 in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue,* ed. Gustave Desjardins (Paris: A. Picard, 1879), pp.401-403
[131] *Cartulaire*, p.401-402

being "on the main route...from Languedoc and Toulouse to Paris and Lyon."[132] Espalion may therefore have been an important priory of the abbey, providing income and the opportunity to connect with pilgrims prior to their arrival in Conques, prompting the extension of the church in the twelfth century and the addition of the sculpted portal in the south wall of the nave.

Bernard de Gauléjac reconstructed the main phases of construction in the church, suggesting that the two lateral chapels and choir were built in the late eleventh century, and the transepts, nave, and apse added in the twelfth.[133] The floor is significantly lower than the sculpted porch, and a set of wide steps descend into the middle of the nave. In the fourteenth century, the nave was extended by two chapels on the north side.[134] Louis Saltet believed that sculpture at Espalion was earlier than the tympanum at Conques, based on his interpretation of the entire scheme as a representation of the Last Judgment rather than Pentecost.[135] However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the most likely date for the tympanum of Conques is before 1107, and the portal at Espalion seems to be modelled on that of the abbey. The presence of rib vaulting in the transept of the church indicates that construction was carried out after 1115, as rib vaults were used in southern France for the first time in the construction of the tower-porch at Moissac.[136] The depiction of Satan enthroned with snakes wrapping around his legs in the tympanum at Conques is repeated at Espalion, where Satan is again shown

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[132] "*[C]elle ville d'Espalion...sur grand chemin et passager en allant ou venant de Languedoc et Toulouse vers Paris et Lyon."* Printed in H. Affre, *Simples récits historiques sur Espalion* (Villefranche-de-Rouergue: Mme Cestan, 1850), pp.370-372. See also Christian-Pierre Bedel, *Espaliu, Bessuèjols, Lo Cairòl, Castèlnau, Sant-Cosme, Las Sots* (Rodez: Mission départmentale de la culture de l'Aveyron, 1993)
[133] Bernard de Gauléjac, "Espalion, église de Perse," in *Congrès archéologique de France* 100 (1938), pp.445-458
[134] Gauléjac, "Espalion," p.447
[135] Louis Saltet, "Perse et Conques – Rapport entre deux portails voisins du douzième siècle," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France* 46 (1917/1921): pp.72-92 (pp.88-89). See also Gauléjac
[136] Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p.12

seated with a snake winding around his legs. In both cases, the throne itself is not clearly visible, and Satan's knees are formed with the same rounded kneecap to indicate that he is seated, suggesting that the sculptors at Espalion imitated iconographic elements from the Conques tympanum.

The portal of the nave at Espalion is divided into a tympanum depicting a scene of Pentecost, and a lintel with a unique iconography of the separation of souls after death. In the tympanum the Virgin is shown standing in the centre of the Apostles, with five arranged on either side of her holding scrolls. The decision to include ten apostles, rather than eleven or twelve, may have been based on the construction of the sculpture, which is formed from twelve small blocks of stone, on which one or two figures have been carved. The two blocks on either side of Mary contain paired apostles, but the corners only have space for one smaller figure rather than two, so that only eleven figures can fit into the space of the tympanum. Although Gauléjac suggested that the sculpture was not originally designed for its current location, arguing that the scenes of Pentecost and "Last Judgment" were entirely unrelated, the way in which the iconography is adapted for the space of the portal indicates that it was always intended for the tympanum.

Above the Virgin, a dove representing the Holy Spirit emerges from a cloud alongside eight tongues of fire, between personifications of the sun and moon. The dove and tongues of fire make it clear that the tympanum is a representation of Pentecost, but other features of the scheme borrow from the iconography associated with the Ascension, blending the two schemes together. Although Mary was sometimes included in Pentecost imagery, the depiction of her standing in the centre of the apostles is more commonly found in representations of Ascension. The personifications of *Sol* and *Luna* similarly appear more frequently in iconography of the Crucifixion or

Ascension, as in the Ascension scenes of the Rabbula Gospels and the wall paintings at St John, Müstair.[137] Within Ascension iconography, *Sol* and *Luna* signified the passage of time and the future return of Christ, as well as indicating the heavens.[138] By combining these personifications with a scene of Pentecost, the tympanum at Espalion joins the foundation of the Church as the body of Christ and its ideal form as the apostolic community to the eschatological significance of the Ascension.

Below the scene of Pentecost, the lintel features a unique iconography depicting the judgment of a soul leaving the body. The central scene shows the departing soul, which is depicted as a head emerging from the body which lies under a sheet (fig. 3.10). This head is larger and more detailed than the heads of other figures in the lintel and looks directly outwards towards the audience entering the church. Above, a hand emerges from the top of the lintel holding a scale, which is tipped only very slightly to the side of Heaven, suggesting the precarious state of the soul. A group of demons crowd around the bedside of the deceased, pointing at it and attempting to attack the body with a forked implement. As with the descriptions of deaths in the *Dialogues* and visionary texts where demons appear to try and claim the soul as it leaves the body, the representation of the moment of death at Espalion encourages its audience to imagine their own deaths and consider the threatening presence of demons. To the left, a soul wearing a helmet, potentially indicating his identity as a knight, falls headfirst into the hovering, disembodied mouth of Hell, reflecting the influence of the sculpture at Conques. Beyond, Satan presides over scenes of torment, surrounded by four creatures in an infernal parody of the *majestas Domini* on the far right (fig, 3.11). This *majestas* scene shows Christ enthroned within a mandorla, holding a book and raising one hand in a

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137 Ataoguz, "The Apostolic Ideal," p.96

138 For the iconographic significance of the personifications of *Sol* and *Luna*, see Simona Cohen, *Transformations of Time and Temporality in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), particularly pp.62, 102

blessing rather than gesturing towards his right and left as in a traditional image of judgment, indicating his role within the scheme as a representation of divine presence rather than the judge. To his left, two angels bring a soul to Paradise, separated from the central scene of death by a third angel. The arrangement of the lintel reverses traditional representations of judgment, placing the saved on the right and the damned on the left in relation to the audience rather than Christ.

7. Damnation and monstrosity at Conques

The representation of the entrance to Hell as a disembodied head reflected the theological and visionary descriptions of Hell and damnation as a place beyond human comprehension and the limits of language. By using a monstrous form to signify the moment of damnation, the designers of the portals at Espalion and Conques aimed to convey the way in which damnation would destroy the identity of the damned through the non-being described by Gregory in the *Moralia*. Monsters in medieval thought were used to define material and spiritual boundaries between persons and spaces, and the monstrous imagery of damnation demonstrated the ways in which portal systems constructed community and defined the act of entry as incorporation into the body of Christ.[139]

Jeffrey Jerome Cohen has used postcolonial theory in his study of identity in the British Isles during the twelfth century to argue that medieval community building involved "exclusion and demonization as catalysts to self-delimitation."[140] While Cohen's study focuses on the construction of earthly communities, the emphasis on the

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[139] Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills, "Introduction: Conceptualizing the Monstrous," in *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, pp.1-28 (p.2)
[140] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), p.6

exclusion of the damned, particularly as a result of a particular characteristic or action, similarly constructed the imagined communities of saved and damned at the threshold of the church building, while individuals remained in an uncertain middle ground between salvation and damnation. The representation of Hell and judgment at Espalion and Conques framed the audience standing before the door as a community of potentially damned souls, reflecting what Robert Mills terms "suspended animation" in medieval art.[141]

Descriptions of damnation emphasised the mental anguish of tormented souls in addition to the physical punishments of Hell. Isidore of Seville wrote in his *Sententiae* (c.630), "In Hell the punishment of the damned is twofold, in which alternately sorrow burns the mind, and flame the body" [*Duplex damnatorum poena est in gehenna, quorum et mentem urit tristitia, et corpus flamma juxta vicissitudinem*].[142] This reflects the discussions referred to by Augustine when he explained that certain authors preferred to interpret the "bite of worms" as the conscience and the "fire that does not go out" as physical punishments. Similarly, Gregory's description of damnation in the *Moralia* of the damned having "lost the proper *esse*," and being "confounded inside and out, so that they are worse punished by their own confusion" demonstrates the way in which damnation was understood as being a threat to identity through the loss of rationality and non-being of the damned.

Gregory's exegesis on Job continued to influence later theological views on damnation as a process which altered the mental state of the damned. In the *Sentences*, a comprehensive reference work written c.1150 summarising the authoritative views on theological questions which formed the basis of university teaching in the later Middle

141 Mills, *Suspended Animation*
142 Isidore of Seville, *Sententiarum libri tres*, PL 83, col.0597B

Ages, Peter Lombard (c.1095–1160) summarised Gregory's *Moralia* to explain the "exterior darkness":

> *Sane exteriores tenebrae intelligi possunt, quaedam malignitas odii et voluntatis, quae tunc excrescet in mentibus reproborum, et quaedam oblivio Dei, quia tormentorum interiorum et exteriorum doloribus adeo afficientur et turbabuntur, ut ab illis ad cogitandum aliquid de Deo vix, vel raro, vel nunquam mentem revocent. Ut qui nimio premuntur pondere, adeo stupescunt et turbantur, ut interim in aliam cogitationem non se extendant; sed illuc tendit impetus cogitationis, ubi sentitur vis doloris.*
>
> [It is certain that they are able to think in the outer darkness, a certain kind of malignant hatred and will, which then has grown out from a reprehensible mind, and from a certain oblivion of God, because they are afflicted and disturbed by the sorrows of interior and exterior torments, so that from these anything of God is recalled with difficulty to what is to be thought, rarely or never will they restore the mind. So they are somehow overwhelmed by heaviness, to such an extent that they are confounded and disturbed, that they do not extend themselves in any other thoughts; but an assault of thought proceeds there, where the force of sorrow is felt.][143]

Peter Lombard's definition of the mental blindness and confusion emphasises how the damned would not be able to think of God, explaining how they could be separated

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[143] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, PL 192, col.0961. For the *Sentences*, see Mark J. Clark, "Peter Lombard, Stephen Langton, and the School of Paris: The Making of the Twelfth-Century Scholastic Biblical Tradition," *Traditio* 72 (2017), pp.171-274; Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1993); *Medieval Commentaries on the* Sentences *of Peter Lombard*, ed. Gillian R. Evans (vol. 1) and Philipp W. Rosemann (Vols. 2-3) (Leiden: Brill, 2002-2015); Philipp W. Rosemann, "New Interest in Peter Lombard: The Current State of Research and Some Desiderata for the Future," *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 72 (2005), pp.133-152; Philipp W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Philipp W. Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's* Sentences (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); and Riccardo Saccenti, "From Wisdom to Science: A Witness to the Theological Studies in Paris in the 1240s," in *The Intellectual Dynamism of the High Middle Ages*, ed. Clare Frances Monagle (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), pp.43-62

from God while maintaining that Hell was part of the divine order of creation. The passage in the *Sentences* also reflects the transformation of the emotions that would occur in damnation, as the damned must continue to have free will in order that their punishment remains just, but it is only able to be directed towards sorrow and hatred. A similar explanation of the emotions of the damned becoming distorted or destroyed appears in the *Elucidarium* by Honorius Augustodunensis, a summary of teaching presented as a dialogue between teacher and student which survives in 336 manuscript sources and was rapidly translated into vernacular languages after its completion.[144] Honorius described how the *affectiones* of the damned would be destroyed (*disperibunt*) in his exposition on Psalm 1:

> *Hoc totum ideo fit, quoniam novit Dominus vitam justorum, id est approbat vitam illorum et laudans remunerat facta eorum, quando ibunt cum eo in vitam aeternam. Viam autem malorum non cognoscit, id est vitam illorum improbabit: et ideo iter impiorum peribit, id est affectiones malorum, in quibus ut in viis discurrebant, tunc disperibunt, cum in aeternum supplicium cum diabolo introibunt.*
>
> [And furthermore... "the Lord knows the way of the just," that is, he approves the lives of them, and commending, he will repay the works of them, when they will go with him into eternal life. And too, he will not know the lives of the wicked, that is, he will condemn them: and "the way of the wicked shall

[144] For Honorius Augustodunensis, see Joseph Enders, *Honorius Augustodunensis* (Kempten: Kösel, 1906); Valerie I. J. Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis," in *Authors of the Middle Ages*, vol. II, ed. Patrick J. Geary and Constant J. Mews (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995); Valerie I. J. Flint, "The Sources of the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis," *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975), pp.190-198; Valerie I. J. Flint, "The original text of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis from the twelfth century English manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 18 (1964), pp.91-94; Marie-Odile Garrigues, *L'oeuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis: Inventaire critique* (Göttingen: Erich Goltze, 1986); Karl Patrick Kinsella, "Teaching through Architecture: Honorius Augustodunensis and the Medieval Church," in *Horizontal Learning in the High Middle Ages: Peer-to-Peer Knowledge Transfer in Religious Communities*, ed. Micol Long, Tjamke Snijders, and Steven Vanderputten (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), pp.141-162; and Eva Matthews Sanford, "Honorius, Presbyter and Scholasticus," *Speculum* 23 (1948), pp.397-425

perish," that is, the *affectiones* of the wicked, in whom they have run to and fro in life, then they shall be destroyed, when they enter eternal suffering with the devil.][145]

It is unlikely that Honorius believed that the emotions of the damned would be entirely destroyed, as he and other authors described the sorrow and anguish that would accompany physical torment in Hell. Instead, he followed the understanding of the *affectiones* derived from Augustine's *De civitate dei* to indicate that their capacity to change through correct orientation of the will would be lost. Rather than achieving a positive *habitus* through careful training of the will and emotions, they would be subject to the uncontrolled disturbances of the *affectiones* alone. For Honorius, the uncontrolled desires and feelings of the damned in life would lead to their loss of control over their *affectiones* in Hell, preventing them from orienting their desires to goodness or repentance. Controlled emotions and bodily movements were seen as both evidence and the means of attaining virtue, so that the uncontrolled actions of the damned reflected their lack of control which had led to sin.[146]

In the centre of the tympanum of Sainte-Foy, the space formed by the line of the gables over Heaven and Hell and the inscription below the feet of Christ shows the general resurrection, as angels lift the lids from sarcophagi as the dead rise on the left, and their deeds are weighed by a devil and angel who face one another in the centre of the composition. In the upper register, facing the orderly procession of the saved discussed in the previous chapter, the space is given over to further torments of the damned, where a demon sits on the shoulders of a bearded man and bites his head,

[145] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio in Psalmos*, PL 172, col.0281D.
[146] For the importance of controlled actions, see Ambrose, "Attunement to the Damned;" Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, p.10; and Walter Simons, "Reading a Saint's Body: Rapture and bodily movement in the *vitae* of thirteenth-century beguines," in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp.10-23 (p.14)

while he plunges a knife into his own neck. Next to this pair, a demon, holding a small harp, uses a small pair of tongs to pull the tongue of a sinner while a second demon bites the back of his neck and crushes him into a mass of flame. This scene is connected with the one below, where the saved and damned are sent into the spaces of their eternal rest or torment, by a nude figure covering himself with his hands who falls through a hole in the line of the gable to join the other damned souls being shoved head-first through the mouth of Hell. As Jacqueline Jung has shown, portal sculptures responded to the movements of their audience, bringing certain elements in and out of view, or changing perspectives as the spectator walked closer or moved further away.[147] From a distance, this falling figure is easily overlooked, but if the viewer were to look up when entering or exiting the church, the hole in the stone lines dividing the space and the figure falling through it become a focal point of the composition (fig. 3.13). This opening in the banner of text disrupts the orderly arrangement of the sculpture and plays on the materiality of solid stone by adding a sense of permeability, reflecting the chaos and failure of meaning in Hell.

This lack of meaning in damnation, and the mental and spiritual transformation of the damned to become confused, monstrous, and cease to 'be' is expressed through the depiction of the entrance to Hell as a gigantic devouring creature which emerges from the gates of Hell to swallow the damned. The earliest extant example of this iconography is the Last Judgment ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and it appeared frequently in Britain between the eighth and tenth centuries.[148] Gary Schmidt,

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[147] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, p.9 and p.59-60

[148] For the history of the mouth of Hell iconography, see Joyce Galpern, "The Shape of Hell in Anglo-Saxon England" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, 1977); Gary D. Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eighth Century Britain to the Fifteenth Century* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1995); and Pamela Sheingorn, "Who Can Open the Doors of His Face? The Iconography of the Hell Mouth," in *The Iconography of Hell*, ed. Clifford Davidson and Thomas H. Seiler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp.1-19

in his study of the mouth of Hell iconography, argues that the tenth-century scriptoria of Winchester developed the image "to illustrate vividly the real potentiality and terror of damnation."[149] Schmidt finds that the image was formed from the descriptions of Hell as an open pit, Satan as a dragon or roaring lion who devours souls, and Leviathan in the book of Job, all of which suggested exclusion, enclosure, and the themes of being swallowed or chewed.[150] Other scholars such as Aleks Pulowski have argued that the image derived from the fear of real creatures such as wolves in Northern Europe, although this does not explain why the earliest appearance of the mouth of Hell is as a humanoid face.[151] Within the context of the portal schemes at Conques and Espalion, the mouth of Hell demonstrates the horror of damnation by utilising the anxieties surrounding the body reflected by discussions of bodily resurrection and monsters to signify how damnation would be defined by disorder, a loss of control, and a failure of meaning and logic.

Cohen has argued that the monstrous humanoid bodies of creatures such as the acephalic Blemmyae or dog-headed Cynocephali defined the boundaries of human bodies, reaffirming the normative categories of race, sex, and gender.[152] Their inevitable destruction by the male hero of chivalric literature thus acted as a reassuring confirmation of the supremacy of the ideal white, able-bodied, heterosexual male body.[153] In particular, the decapitation of these monsters "announces that masculinity has been restored to its proper somatic order."[154] The consumption of human bodies by the mouth of Hell subverted these literary expectations, showing the triumph of

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149 Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell*, p.25
150 Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell*, p.3
151 Aleks Plukowski, "Apocalyptic Monsters" p.162; see also Michael Camille, "Mouths and Meanings: Towards an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art," in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23-24 March 1990*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp.43-57
152 Cohen, *Of Giants*, p.51
153 Cohen, *Of Giants*, p.51
154 Cohen, *Of Giants*, p.92-93

monstrous bodies over human ones. At Conques, the knight who falls through the mouth of Hell indicates the reversal of the somatic order affirmed by decapitation narratives through the defeat of the masculine ideal of knightly violence.[155] In Bernard's account of the knight Rainon, killed while attempting to attack a monk of Conques, Rainon becomes almost monstrous himself as he is "dazzled by wretched greed and carried away by contemptible pride" to become an "utter savage."[156] Kirk Ambrose has argued that the lack of expression or gesture among the damned in the tympanum demonstrates the way in which suffering was "imagined…in terms of a profound loss of bodily control," responding to accounts of Saint Faith paralysing sinners in Bernard's *Liber miraculorum*.[157] After his lack of control over his actions and thoughts in life, Rainon's punishment in Hell is to become the "prey of demons," losing control over his body and emotions.

The mouth of Hell at Conques emerges from a heavy, prison-like door to swallow the damned, its head appearing impossibly large for the space surrounding it and disappearing on the other side. The suddenly truncated head emphasises the loss of rationality in Hell, presenting an impossible, monstrous creature which refuses all logic and defies conventional understanding of what constitutes a "body." Caroline Walker Bynum has discussed the theme of consumption and regurgitation in iconography of the resurrection, arguing that the representations of the dead being vomited up by the beasts which had eaten them to be reassembled for judgment demonstrates that "partition, decay and digestion were the most fearful destruction twelfth-century writers could imagine."[158] She finds that the fundamental fear overcome by the resurrection of

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[155] See Carol Knicely, "Food for Though in the Souillac Pillar: Devouring Beasts, Pain and the Subversion of Heroic Codes of Violence," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 24 (1997), pp.14-27
[156] Bernard of Angers, "The Book of Sainte Foy," p.59
[157] Kirk Ambrose, "Attunement to the Damned," pp.4, 10
[158] Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, p.198

the body is "process itself," with the resurrected body representing impassibility and stasis.[159] The way in which the mouth of Hell swallows the damned without chewing or digesting them so that they remain whole reversed the promise of resurrection as a triumph over process, incorporating them into its monstrous body to be trapped in the eternal process of "dying without end" described by Augustine.

Consumption, according to Cohen, "condenses a fear of losing the boundary that circumscribes identity and produces discrete subjects," and invokes a fear of material incorporation of one body into another.[160] In her study of cannibalism, Maggie Kilgour argues that consumption leads to a failure of language "as a means of representation," dissolving the distinction between interior and exterior that defines individual identity.[161] Through the iconography of a monstrous entrance to Hell that consumes the damned in the sculptures of Conques and Espalion, and the humanoid devouring face of the Victoria and Albert Museum ivory, the mouth of Hell emphasised the loss of individual identity and failure of logic in damnation. The consumption imagery reflects the failure of language described by Kilgour, presenting an impossible, monstrous form in order to convey that Hell would be without logic or meaning, and the torments of the damned beyond description.[162]

As Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills have argued, monsters such as the mouth of Hell defined the boundaries between the world and "exterior darkness," or between time and eternity.[163] The gate from which the mouth of Hell emerges contrasts with decorative doorway of Heaven opposite, emphasising the importance of the portal itself as a transitional space between the world and the church. As shown in the previous

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[159] Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body,* p.199
[160] Cohen, *Of Giants*, p.2
[161] Maggie Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p.68
[162] See also Williams, *Deformed Discourse*
[163] Bildhauer and Mills, "Introduction," pp.8-10

chapter, Heaven is represented as an idealised version of the abbey church itself, complete with Saint Faith's reliquary statue in the process of resurrection. The arched doorway is decorated with curling metal hinges and motifs, with the bolt and lock on the inside so that the angels can lock the door on the damned who are left outside. In contrast, the lock on the gate of Hell does not have a visible keyhole or the metal handle on the bolt as seen on the doorway of Heaven, indicating that it would be locked from outside, trapping the damned inside the undefined (and undefinable) space of Hell. The audience are invited to enter the physical building in order to join the community of the elect seated within its heavenly copy in the tympanum, while those outside remain in the company of the damned. The monstrous mouth of Hell acts as a demarcation of space and time, and as a marker that the damned have been removed from rationality and 'being' through the deformation of their minds, bodies, and emotions.

These strategies of exclusion marked the threshold of the door as the way to salvation and constructed a community of potentially-damned souls. The representations of hanging found in the punishments of Hell at Conques similarly invited audiences to interact with the sculpture by considering themselves as hanging between salvation and damnation. Mills has described the representation of violent or spectacular justice in medieval culture as the "medieval penal imaginary," arguing that images of punishment maintained structures of power in medieval society.[164] He also defines medieval images of pain, such as the suspension of the body in hanging, or the bodies of the damned "always 'on the brink of' suffering more," as "suspended animation," referring to the dramatic tension in the representation of something 'about

[164] Mills, *Suspended Animation*, p.16; See also Esther Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late-Medieval France* (Leiden: Brill. 1992); and Jody Enders, *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999)

to' happen.[165] To the immediate right of Satan in the lintel of the Sainte-Foy tympanum, one of the damned is hanged from a gallows and tormented by snakes which bite at his legs and face, with a bag of money strung around his neck to weigh him down and identify him as avaricious (figs. 3.14-3.15). The way in which the demonic executioner braces against the gallows with its foot in order to gain leverage on the rope heightens the realism of the motion, encouraging viewers to imagine the sensation of heaving on the rope, the noose pulling around the hanged figure's neck, or the sound of rope creaking as it tightens. In his analysis of François Villon's poem *Ballade des pendus* (written c.1463), Mills discusses the way in which the speech of the hanged criminals creates a "penitential community" with the living readers who are "'about-to-be-punished' souls…located within an atemporal, borderline space of betwixt and between."[166]

Unlike the criminals in Villon's poem, the damned at Conques are unusually static and passive, as Kirk Ambrose has observed, and the hanged figure does not make any gesture or expression which would suggest an attempt to communicate with the living audience.[167] However, his position within the sculpture emphasises the threshold of the portal and the penitential themes of the sculpture. If a viewer were to look up while passing under the tympanum, they would be confronted with the remaining eye of the hanged figure gazing down at them, highlighted by its deeply drilled pupil. The passivity of the damned also emphasises the "suspended animation" of the scene, in which the physiological reality of hanging and its result are removed, leaving the damned in the perpetual "deathless death" of damnation. In the same way as Villon's poetry, the iconography of hanging at Conques shows the "spaces between life and death, where

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165 Mills, *Suspended Animation*, p.20
166 Mills, *Suspended Animation*, p.31
167 Ambrose, "Attunement to the Damned"

communities are constructed, temporarily, through shared experiences of between-ness," as Mills argues.[168]

8. Exclusion and incorporation in the portal sculpture of Espalion

The sculpted portal system at Espalion presents an innovative iconographic programme which demonstrates the meanings of the doorway as a site of meditation and repentance, and the allegorical understanding of the "body of Christ" as being simultaneously his material body, the church building, and the "living stones" of the faithful.[169]

Marcello Angheben, following Saltet and Gauléjac, argues that the tympanum and lintel at Espalion are disconnected, concentrating on the lintel as a representation of the immediate judgment in his analysis without reading it alongside the scene of Pentecost above. However, when considered as a complete scheme, the combination of judgment and Pentecost follows the themes of exclusion and entrance into the community of the faithful seen in the tympanum at Conques. Pentecost and Ascension were eschatologically significant events within the Church calendar, associated with the foundation of the Church, the future elect after the Judgment, and the return of Christ at the end of time. The liturgical celebration of Pentecost spanned the fifty days after Easter, with the feast of Ascension occurring on the fortieth day, and Pentecost itself on the fiftieth, marking the end of the Easter period.[170] Pentecost was understood to represent the foundation of the Church, as the Apostles were granted the ability to

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168 Mills, *Suspended Animation*, p.36

169 1 Peter 2:5, "Be you also as living stones built up, a spiritual house."

170 Richard W. Bishop and Johan Leemans, "Introduction: Preaching After Easter: Fresh Perspectives on an Understudied Topic," in *Preaching After Easter: Mid-Pentecost, Ascension, and Pentecost in Late Antiquity*, ed. Richard W. Bishop, Johan Leemans, and Hajnalka Tamas (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp.1-12 (pp.3-4)

preach to the world in every language and the spirit enabled them to achieve spiritual, rather than carnal, understanding.[171] This theological interpretation of Pentecost as the foundation of the Church can be seen in Bede's commentary on the Song of Songs (written c.716), in which he explained that the Bride represented the "voice of the primitive Church…who was consecrated in the day of Pentecost, that is the fiftieth Sunday of the resurrection, by the coming of the Holy Spirit" [*Vox est primitivae Ecclesiae…quae die Pentecostes, id est quinquagesima Dominicae resurrectionis, adventu Spiritus sancti dedicata est*].[172] The eschatological significance of Pentecost can be seen in Rupert of Deutz's *Liber divinis officiis*, where he explains how the Gradual was omitted during the time between Easter and Pentecost:

> *Graduale ad poenitentiae respicit lamentum, cantus asper et gravis adeo ut illud excellentibus efferre vocibus nec usus nec decus sit. Significat enim non jam requiem remuneratorum, sed laborem operantium. Propter quod diebus post Pentecosten de officio tollitur, quia videlicet dies illi futurum in regno Dei felicem sanctae Ecclesiae statum significant, quando jam area Christi ventilabro, quod est in manu ejus, purgata erit, nullumque ex residuis granis jam timebit, quod ab horreo dominico debeat in ignem palaerum inexstinguibilem projici*
>
> [The Gradual looks to a lament of penitence, such a rough and grave song that it is to carry neither grace nor skill by excellent voices. Indeed, it does not yet signify the rest of reward, but the labour of toil. For this reason it is omitted from the office for the days after Pentecost, because clearly those days signify the future happiness of the holy Church in the reign of God, when now the

171 Martin Meiser, "Pentecost Homilies and Late-Antique Christian Exegesis," in *Preaching After Easter*, pp.242-268 (p.249)

172 Bede, *In cantica canticorum allegorica expositio*, PL 91, col.1090C-1090D. For Bede's Song of Songs commentary, see Hannah W. Matis, *The Song of Songs in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp.27-38

threshing-floor will be cleansed by the winnowing-fork of Christ, which is in his hand, and yet none from the remaining grain will fear that they deserve to be thrown from the storehouse of the Lord into the inextinguishable fire of chaff.][173]

Rupert's interpretation highlights the eschatological meaning of Pentecost as representing the future community of the elect after the Last Judgment, signified by the Apostles, and the exclusion of the damned as they are thrown into "inextinguishable fire." By the twelfth century, the Apostolic community was interpreted as the model for the monastic community, situating it as the ideal form of religious life and establishing the authority of monastic foundations as inheritors of the Apostolic mission.[174] The ability of the Apostles to speak in many languages was compared to the scattering of humanity through the introduction of multiple languages in Babel.[175] Augustine emphasised the importance of language to the unity of the Church in a sermon for Pentecost: "Each man spoke in all tongues, because the future Church was announced in all tongues. One man was a sign of unity: All tongues in one man, all people in unity" [*Unusquisque homo linguis omnibus loquebatur, quia futura Ecclesia in omnibus linguis praenuntiabatur. Unus homo signum erat unitatis: omnes linguae in uno homine, omnes gentes in unitate*].[176] In another sermon for Pentecost, Augustine reiterated the typological association between Pentecost and Babel, as well as the unity of the elect as the metaphorical body of Christ:

> *Sicut enim post diluvium superba impietas hominum turrim contra Dominum aedificavit excelsam, quando per linguas diversas dividi meruit genus humanum, ut unaquaeque gens lingua propria loqueretur, ne ab aliis intelligeretur: sic humilis fidelium pietas earum*

[173] Rupert of Deutz, *Liber divinis officiis*, col.0029D-0030A.
[174] See Low, "You Who Once Were Far Off;" and Taylor, "The Pentecost at Vézelay"
[175] Meiser, "Pentecost Homilies," p.255
[176] Augustine, *Sermo* 266 of the *Sermones ad populum*, PL 38, col. 1225

linguarum diversitatem Ecclesiae contulit unitati; ut quod discordia dissipaverat, colligeret charitas, et humani generis tanquam unius corporis membra dispersa ad unum caput Christum compaginata redigerentur, et in sancti corporis unitatem dilectionis igne conflarentur.

[Just as after the flood, the proud and impious of men built a lofty tower against God, when humankind deserved to be divided through diverse tongues, so that each people spoke in individual tongues, lest they were understood by others: thus the humble love of the faithful gathered the diversity of these tongues to the unity of the Church; so that what was dissipated by discord, charity united, and men of many kinds, like dispersed members of one body, are brought back to Christ the one head, and the fire of love is kindled in the unity of the holy body.][177]

The representation of Pentecost is rare in Romanesque sculpture, and the only other known example is the tympanum of the abbey church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Vézelay, produced between 1104 and 1132.[178] At Vézelay, the portal is dominated by the figure of Christ as the source of the Holy Spirit, with the tongues of fire emerging as rays of light from his outstretched hands. In the lintel and a series of compartments surrounding the central scene are the peoples of the world, shown as contemporary knights and pilgrims to the abbey, as well as the 'monstrous races' such as the Cynocephali, large-eared Panotii, and pygmies.[179] Peter Low has argued that the portal at Vézelay merged the iconography of Pentecost with the passage in Ephesians 2:11-22

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177 Augustine, *Sermones ad populum*, PL 38, col.1245-1246

178 For the tympanum at Vézelay, see Friedman, *The Monstrous Races*; Adolf Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Portal at Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and Its Relation to the First Crusade," *The Art Bulletin* 26 (1944), pp.141-151; Low, "You Who Once Were Far Off;" Peter Low "Innovation and Spiritual Value in Medieval Monastic Art: The Case of the Main Narthex Portal at Vézelay," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42 (2012), pp.657-698; Conrad Rudolph, "Macro/Microcosm at Vézelay: The Narthex Portal and Non-elite Participation in Elite Spirituality," *Speculum* 96 (2021), pp.601-661; and Taylor, "The Pentecost at Vézelay"

179 See Friedman, *The Monstrous Races*

describing the unity of Gentiles and Jews as one Church, so that the sculpture "announces the presence of a sacred space…and emphasises that this space's salvific powers can only begin to work once the lay visitor crosses the portal's threshold."[180] Michael D. Taylor has examined the site-specific meanings of the Vézelay tympanum, based on a reading of Pentecost as the "ideal form" of the Church and embodied in the monastic community in the *Occupatio* of Odo of Cluny, written after 924.[181] He argues that the decision to depict Pentecost at Vézelay was the result of protracted disputes between the monks and local secular nobility, making a "pointed statement" that the abbey, as a representation of Christ's body on earth, should be protected and free from external influence.[182]

Neither Taylor nor Low compare the tympanum of Vézelay to the representation of Pentecost at Espalion, with Taylor noting only that the sculpture reproduces the concepts found in the Vézelay tympanum in "a very provincial form."[183] The combination of the iconography of Pentecost with the immediate judgment and Ascension at Espalion expresses the associations between Pentecost and the salvific power of entrance that Low finds at Vézelay, but with a specific emphasis on the role of the church building in achieving salvation and the exclusion of the damned from the community of the elect.

Augustine's sermon demonstrates the close association between the unity of language achieved at Pentecost and the community of the elect as belonging to the "body of Christ." The incongruous mixture of organic and inorganic forms in the representation of the mouth of Hell at Conques and in the Victoria and Albert ivory is absent in the Espalion lintel, where it appears as a floating, disembodied head, forcefully

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[180] Low, "You Who Once Were Far Off," p.472
[181] Taylor, "The Pentecost at Vézelay," p.11
[182] Taylor, "The Pentecost at Vézelay," p.13
[183] Taylor, "The Pentecost at Vézelay," p.15, note 49

emphasising its impossible and incomprehensible form. While the Apostles and Virgin in the tympanum allegorise the entrance into the church as entry into body of Christ, the mouth of Hell acts as a reminder that those who fail to join this community will be cast out from the unity created at Pentecost and belong to the monstrous body of the damned.

Gregory the Great described the damned as belonging to the body of the Antichrist in the *Moralia in Job*, in which he asked, "What is the head of the reprobate, if not Antichrist?" [*Quis vero reproborum caput est, nisi Antichristus?*][184] Gregory's analogy between the body of Christ and Antichrist was echoed by Ratramnus of Corbie in his treatise *De praedestinatione*, written between 848 and 850 in support of Gottschalk of Orbais during the predestination controversy of the ninth century discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. In one passage, Ratramnus explained that "just as indeed Christ is the head of the elect, thus the Antichrist is the head of the reprobate: and thus the body of Christ is all of the saints, thus the body of the Antichrist is all of the wicked" [*Sicut enim caput electorum Christus, sic Antichristus caput est reproborum: et sic corpus Christi omnes sancti, ita corpus Antichristi omnes iniqui*].[185]

Haimo of Auxerre discussed the corporate body of the Antichrist in his commentaries on 2 Thessalonians and the Apocalypse, written while he was at Saint-Germain-de-Auxerre between 840 and 865.[186] Haimo distinguished between the

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[184] Gregory, *Moralia*, PL 75, col.1090C. For the Antichrist in the Middle Ages, see Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study in Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981); Kevin L. Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005); and Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000)

[185] Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione Dei*, PL 121, col.0076C;

[186] Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist*, pp.144-146. For Haimo's Pauline commentaries, see Contreni, "The Biblical Glosses" and Ian Christopher Levy, "Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles in the Carolingian Era," in *A Companion to St Paul in the Middle Ages*, ed. Steven Cartwright (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp.143-174

"members" of the body of Antichrist and the historical figure of Antichrist himself, explaining that although the coming of Antichrist is still to come, his "members" are present on earth.[187] Commenting on the beast which emerges from the sea in Apocalypse 13:1-2, Haimo explained that "the beast which rose from the sea signified the devil, which ascends from the hearts of the reprobate…and furthermore in this his whole body is figured" [*Hic itaque, sicut dixi, bestia quae ascendit de mari, diabolorum significat, qui ascendit de cordibus reproborum…et in illo etiam omne corpus ejus figuratur*].[188] The "body" of the devil, or the Antichrist, are "heretics, pagans, and so on, which certainly belong to the body of Antichrist" [*Tales sunt utique haeretici, pagani, et caeteri, qui ad corpus Antichristi praeripit*].[189] Kevin L. Hughes has argued that the Carolingian view of the Antichrist distinguishes two "modes" of Antichrist, the collective interpretation of a present body seen in heretics and sinners derived from Augustine and the Donatist writer Tyconius (d.390), and the future individual who would persecute the Church.[190] The iconography of the mouth of Hell at Espalion and Conques visualised this interpretation of the damned as belonging to the body of Antichrist, contrasting them to the faithful who would become part of the body of Christ by entering the church building, represented through the scene of Pentecost. The eschatological associations of the Ascension elements of the tympanum at Espalion emphasised the way in which the present

[187] Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist*, p.157-159

[188] Ap. 13:1-2, "And I saw a beast coming up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten diadems, and upon his heads names of blasphemy. And the beast, which I saw, was like to a leopard, and his feet were of the feet of a bear, and his mouth was as the mouth of a lion. And the dragon gave him his own strength, and great power;" Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositionis in apocalypsin*, attributed to Haimo of Halberstadt in PL 117, col.1092D

[189] Haimo, *Expositionis in apocalypsin*, col.1093C. Haimo referred to the beast as being both the devil and Antichrist, initially stating, "'A beast ascending.' This is Antichrist." (*"Bestiam ascendentem." Id est Antichristum.*) before saying that the beast signified the devil (*diabolorum significant*).

[190] Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist*, p.167; McGinn, *Antichrist*, p.79. For Tyconius, see Johannes van Oort, "Tyconius' Apocalypse Commentary, Its Reconstruction, and Its Significance for Augustine's Doctrine of the Two Cities," *Vigiliae Christianae* 72 (2018), pp.513-532

Church was waiting for the return of Christ, anticipating the general resurrection which would follow the immediate judgment shown below.

Like the representation of the death and punishment of the soul of *Dives* at Moissac and Rainon at Conques, the lintel of Espalion collapses the present and future punishments of the damned into the same moment, representing the eternal damnation of those who failed to repent during their lifetimes. The mouth of Hell, following its appearance in Last Judgment iconography, was used to represent the finality of damnation, in the same way as the deep pits seen by Paul, Drythelm and the monk of Wenlock in their visionary journeys to Hell. While the lintel represents the immediate judgment, as argued by Angheben, this was not necessarily separated from the Last Judgment, but signified the present and future simultaneously.

The portal sculptures at Moissac, Conques, and Espalion each use the imagery of judgment and damnation to demonstrate the physical and spiritual or mental torments of Hell. The eternal punishments faced by the damned were shown through the torment of the body both before and after the resurrection, following the notion of a "somatised soul" described by Bynum.[191] These scenes of torment created a "spectacle of punishment" which operated in a similar way to spectacular punishments of criminalised bodies, following Michel Foucault's analysis of punishment and power. Images of Hell and damnation deterred their audiences from sin and expressed God's power to punish, and by extension, the Church's ability to provide salvation.[192] As Michel Foucault observed, public torture and execution "revealed truth and showed the operation of power" by re-creating the crime in the body of the criminal.[193] As Mills has shown, corporeal punishments were not as common as Foucault believed, and instead

[191] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p.11, 14
[192] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), p.16
[193] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p.55

power structures were sustained through representations of punishment in visual art, including images of Hell.[194] In monumental public depictions of Hell and damnation such as portal sculpture, images of infernal torment showed the sovereign power of God, who had the ability to judge and condemn sinners, transforming their bodies so that they would endure perpetual torture.

As Foucault argued, the tortured body in judicial contexts produced and made visible the truth of the crime and the justice of punishment, so that the suffering of the condemned person demonstrated their guilt. Similarly, the suffering bodies of the damned proved their guilt, and thus the justice of their punishment. In his treatise *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, written before 1128, Bernard of Clairvaux addressed the question of whether the damned would be able to repent if they retained their free will.[195] Bernard stated that although the damned would continue to have free will, this would be only an evil will, and therefore they would be unable to repent. In addition, they would only wish to no longer be punished for their sin and would continue to sin if they could, and thus deserve their punishment. Bernard finished his argument by explaining that since the damned are punished, they must deserve their punishment: "Finally, what is shown outwardly is effected inwardly. For as long as the body is living: so long as it is to reside in flames, the will is certain to persist in wickedness" [*Denique foris ostenditur quid intus agatur. Nam quamdiu corpus vivi: in flamma, tamdiu constat in malitia persistere voluntatem*].[196] The representation of the punishment of the damned in portal sculptures not only revealed the reality of Hell and what God would do to the bodies of the

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194 Mills, *Suspended Animation*, p.16

195 Watkin W. Williams translated the treatise and argued that it was written shortly before 1128, as Bernard mentioned a treatise on free will which was "newly set forth" (*nuper edidi*) in a letter to Hincmar, Chancellor of the Holy See in that year. See Watkin W. Williams (ed. and trans.), introduction to *Concerning Grace and Free Will* (New York: MacMillan, 1920), v-xi (v). See also Gillian R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.90

196 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, PL 182 col.1018B

damned, but also proved the guilt of the damned in the same way as corporeal punishments proved the guilt of criminals.

The representation of extreme pain at Moissac and the threatening imagery of decay, consumption, and sexuality were designed to create an intense fear of damnation, repulsing their audiences to move them to reject sin. The detail on the faces of *Dives* and *Luxuria* aimed to encourage their audiences to continue to imagine the sculpture long after the initial encounter, and to imitate the serene figure of Paul opposite. In addition to the representation of pain to show the extremity of torment, the portals of Conques and its priory at Espalion used impossible, monstrous forms to make the destruction of identity and non-being of Hell visible and allowing their audiences to imagine it beyond the limitation of language. The role of the sculpture within the porch or doorway articulated the transformative power of entrance into the church building which would create the community of the elect. The space in front of the portal was constructed as one which was between the heavenly realm and body of Christ within, and the world, with its associations of change and death, beyond the boundaries of the church. Within this space, the visitor was encouraged to see themselves as a potentially-damned soul, hovering between salvation and damnation like the soul emerging from its body to face the tribunal of angels and demons at Espalion.

The sculpted representation of the deaths of this anonymous soul at Espalion and of *Dives* at Moissac invited their audiences to visualise the day of their own deaths, imagining the terror and uncertainty they would face as demons came to accuse them and attempt to take their souls to Hell. The audience standing immediately in front of the door were neither fully in the secular realm, nor within the house of God, but balanced between salvation and damnation in the space between. By entering the church, they announced their participation in the community of the elect, and the

sculpted representation of judgment and punishment visualised the significance of the church building as "none other than the house of God and entrance to Heaven."

Conclusion

This thesis has focused on the experience of fear in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, investigating how portal sculptures were designed to aid their audiences in crafting the appropriately fearful attitudes of terror or wonder needed for penitence and understanding. Through this analysis, it has addressed the questions raised in recent scholarship by Mary Carruthers and Paul Binski surrounding the types of fear in medieval views of emotion, and the role of fear in the design and aims of portal sculpture. It has also shown how audiences could participate in images through emotional response, bringing past and future realities into their present and revealing the invisible presence of God.

Chapter one offered a new interpretation of the well-known iconography of the *majestas Domini*, examining it through the theological commentaries on Ezekiel's inaugural vision in addition to the Apocalypse. These sources provide a new way of thinking about this iconography, which demonstrate its transcendental meaning as an image of the eternally-present God, rather than a particular moment in time. Ezekiel's vision also allows for an understanding of *reverentia* as an emotional response which was distinct from the fear of the anger of God and divine punishment. Instead, reverence was used to guide contemplative viewers towards an understanding of divine majesty, allowing them to experience the terror and wonder of visionaries such as John and Ezekiel, and the reverential fear of the elect. The interpretation of the "likeness of the glory of God" as a created image by Patristic and early medieval theologians also reveals the use of images in constructing visionary experience and challenges Carruthers' definition of visionary *terror* as "anaesthetic."[1]

[1] Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," p.22

Chapters two and three explored the iconography of the Last Judgment and Hell, considering how the iconography of portals at Moissac, Conques, Autun, and Espalion reflected theological views to position their audiences as being on the threshold between salvation and damnation. The iconography of these schemes reflected contemporary anxieties surrounding monsters and human bodies to heighten their effect, aiming to bring their audiences to the intensity of terror which would lead them to repentance. By considering the iconography of judgment separately from that of Hell, chapter three examined the concept of damnation and how images were able to represent the unimaginable torments of the damned as they ceased "to be" yet continued to exist to experience punishment, suspended in a constant moment of death without being able to die.

Through the analysis of these different types of fear in portal sculpture, this thesis shows that Romanesque sculptures of the early twelfth century remain valuable sources for new understanding of pre-Scholastic thought and the medieval religious imagination. In particular, the unique combination of judgment and Pentecost in the sculpture of Espalion demonstrates that "provincial" locations beyond the major cathedrals and abbeys require further study as important sites of iconographic innovation.

The types of fear analysed in this thesis – reverence towards divine majesty; terror in the face of judgment; and horror at the punishments of the damned – can all be understood as deliberate responses to the sculptural programmes of church portals in the early twelfth century. Peter King has shown how the reception of Augustine's discussion of the emotions in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries led to a

characterisation of emotions as being voluntary movements of the soul.[2] Portal sculptures, much like the meditational texts associated with "affective piety" in literary traditions, aimed to guide emotional response in their audiences, producing a fear which was willed, constructed, and intentional. Binski argues that portals were "starting points" which aimed to create a particular mood in their audience, making them receptive to orthodox teaching and repentance.[3] However, emotional response was not only a means to an end. Fear was the "beginning of wisdom," but as Bernard of Clairvaux explained in his sermons on the Song of Songs, that wisdom was fear itself. The persuasive effects of portal sculptures were to guide the soul towards the willing assent to fear described by Augustine, which would lead greater understanding of divine mysteries. Although Carruthers interprets *terror* as an involuntary, "anaesthetic" response, the portal sculptures examined in this thesis reveal a different understanding of the emotional responses involved in 'terror', as well as horror or reverence, as rational responses crafted through careful meditation, initiated and facilitated by images.[4]

The sculpted programmes at Moissac, Cluny, Conques, Espalion, and Autun all demonstrate the ways in which portals constructed and defined space, not only within the church building, but also in front of it. The concept of the "community of the threshold" defined by Mills reveals how images could create spaces between two states, in which audiences could participate in the events shown as part of a community "located within an atemporal, borderline space of betwixt and between."[5] The site of the portal was porous, existing neither within the sanctified space of the church nor in

[2] Peter King, "Emotions in Medieval Thought," in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*, ed. Peter Goldie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.167-188
[3] Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, p.40
[4] Carruthers, "Terror, Horror, and the Fear of God," p.22
[5] Mills, *Suspended Animation*, p.31

the postlapsarian world beyond. Those standing in this space, whether the monks who habitually encountered the image in their re-enactment of the meeting between Christ and the Apostles or the pilgrims for whom the portal was an initiation into the presence of the saint, formed a community with each other and with their sculpted counterparts. The representation of response, such as the marginal visionary figures at Moissac or the fearful pilgrims approaching the judge at Autun, invited viewers to participate by seeing the events shown "as if it were already present." Fear was essential to this process of moving from corporeal to spiritual sight, as it was emotional response which allowed the telescoping of past and future in images of the *majestas Domini*, Hell, or Last Judgment. The fear experienced in viewing these sculpted representations permitted viewers to imagine what they would feel when it finally occurred; as the inscription at Autun instructed, "by the horror of this vision you will know it to be true."

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Figures

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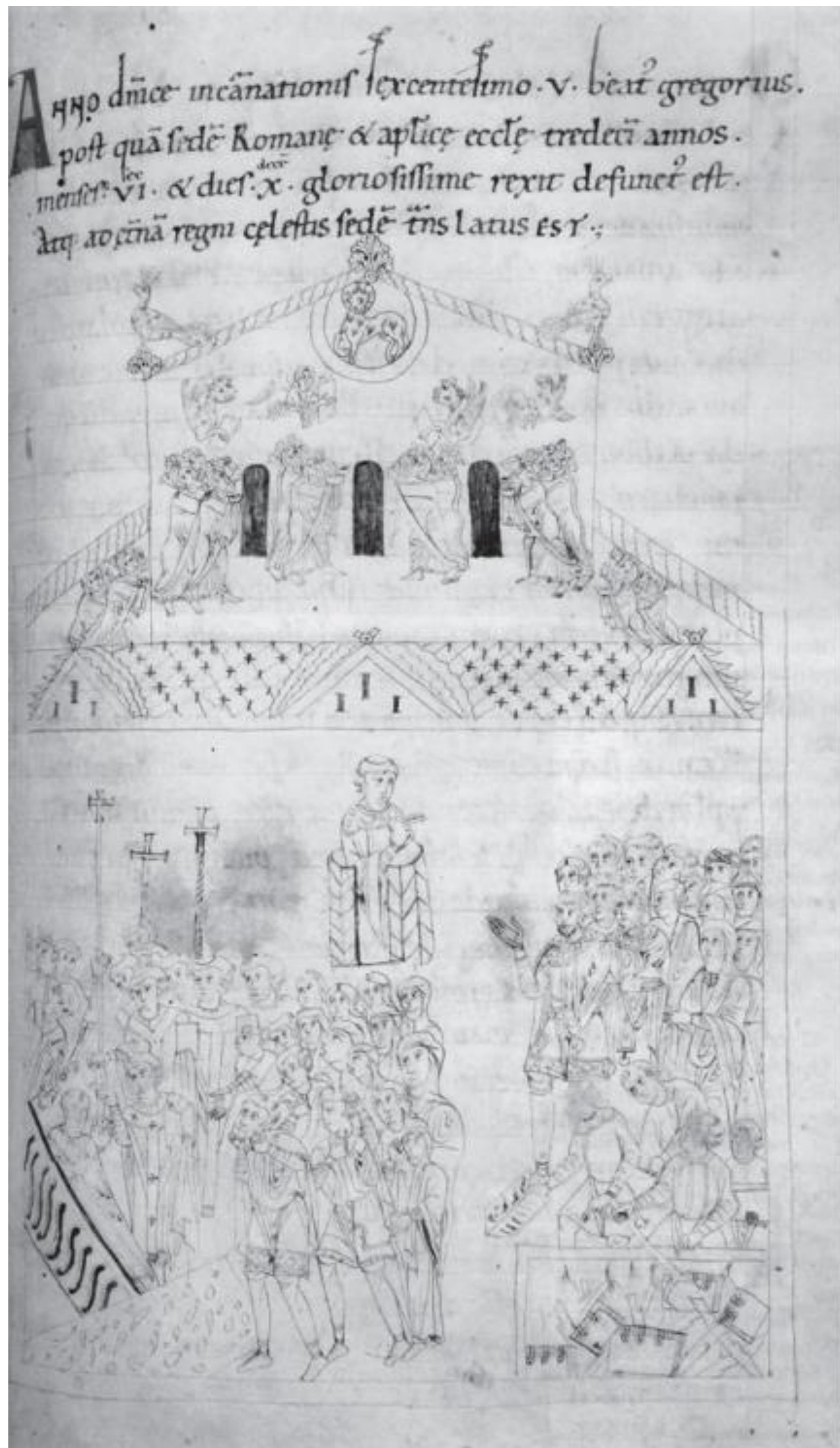

Fig. 1.9. Facade of Saint Peter’s basilica, c.1075–1125, Eton College Library MS. 124, f.122r (reproduced in Wolf Zöller, “Ritual, Space and Inscriptions in Medieval Rome: Contextualising Papal Epitaphs in St. Peter’s and St. John Lateran, in *Materialität, Inschriftlichkeit und schrifttragende Artefakte im mittelalterlichen Rom,* ed. Wolf Zöller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), pp.79-93 (p.84)

Fig. 1.10. Toulouse, Saint-Sernin basilica, *majestas Domini* relief, c.1080–1082

(Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

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Fig. 1.14. Moissac, Saint-Pierre abbey, trumeau figure of a prophet, c.1100–1115 (Photograph: Anonymous, distributed through Wikimedia Commons under Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0)

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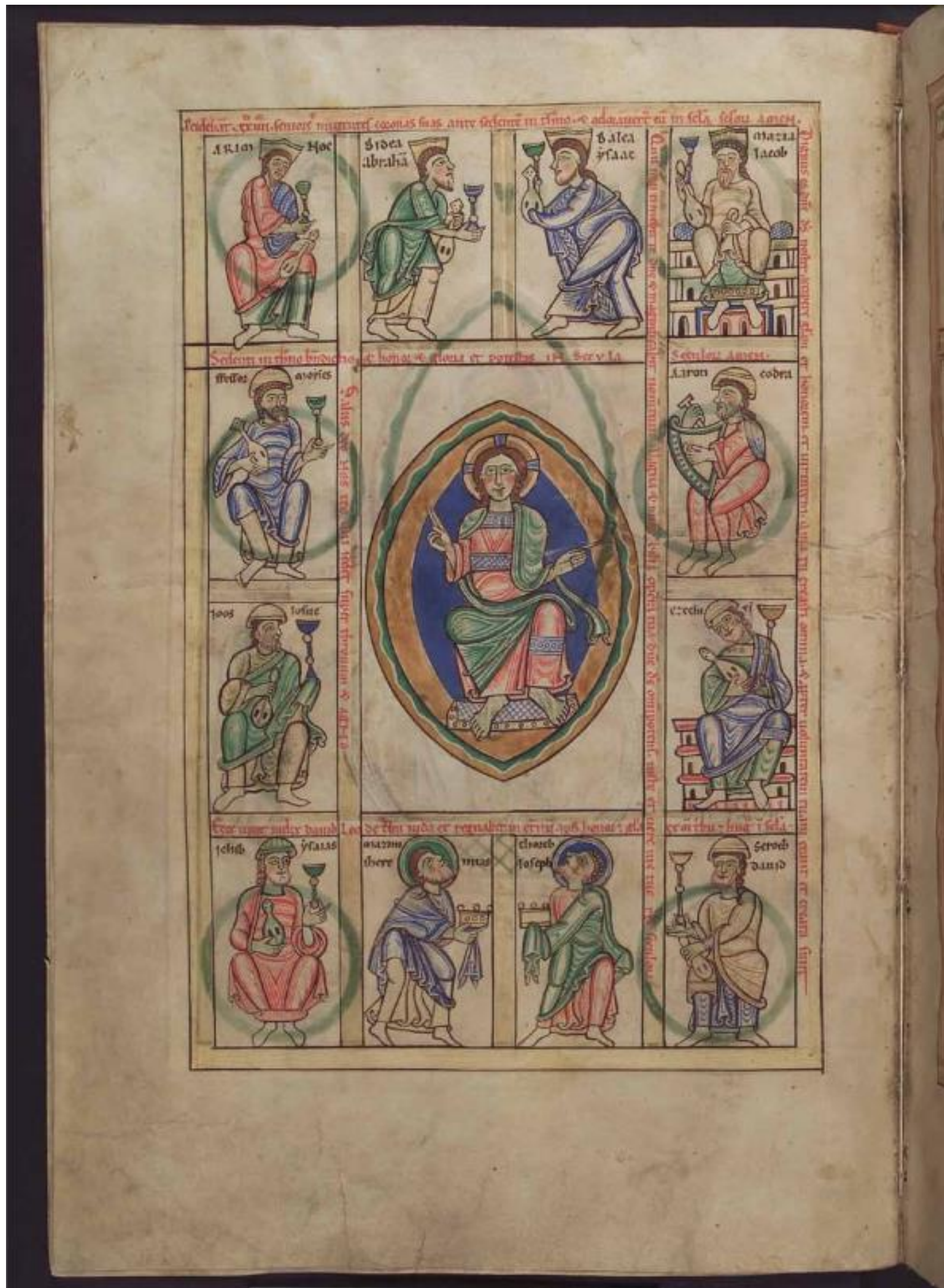

Fig. 1.20. Lambert of Saint-Omer, Adoration of Christ by the Elders of the Apocalypse, in the *Liber Floridus,* c.1090–1120 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1 Gud. Lat. 2, f.10v)

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(Photograph: Anonymous, distributed under Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0)

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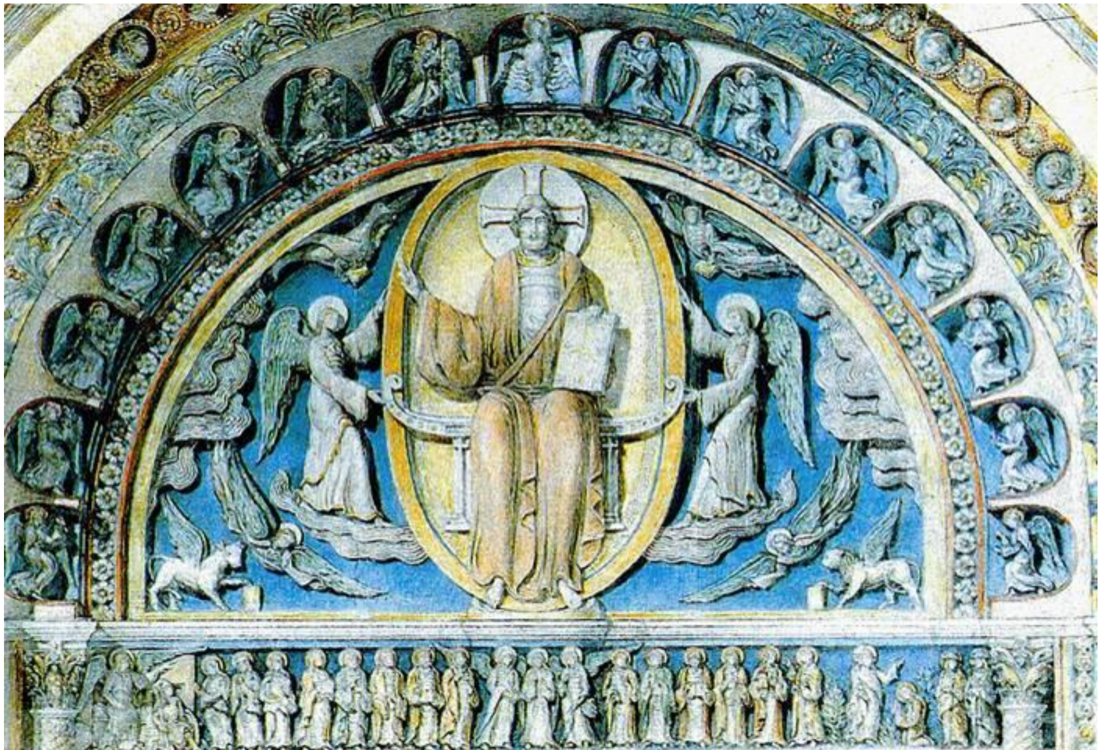

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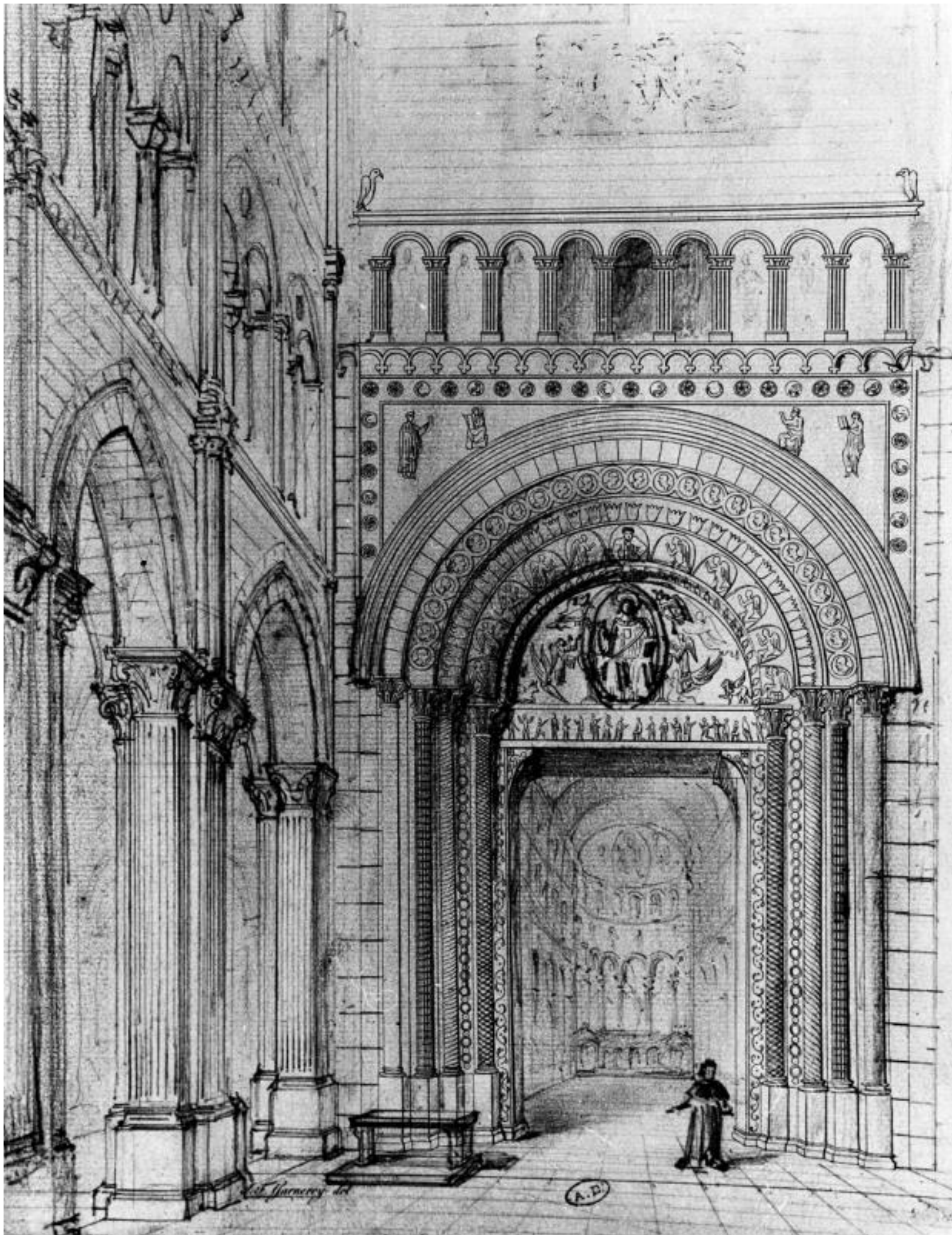
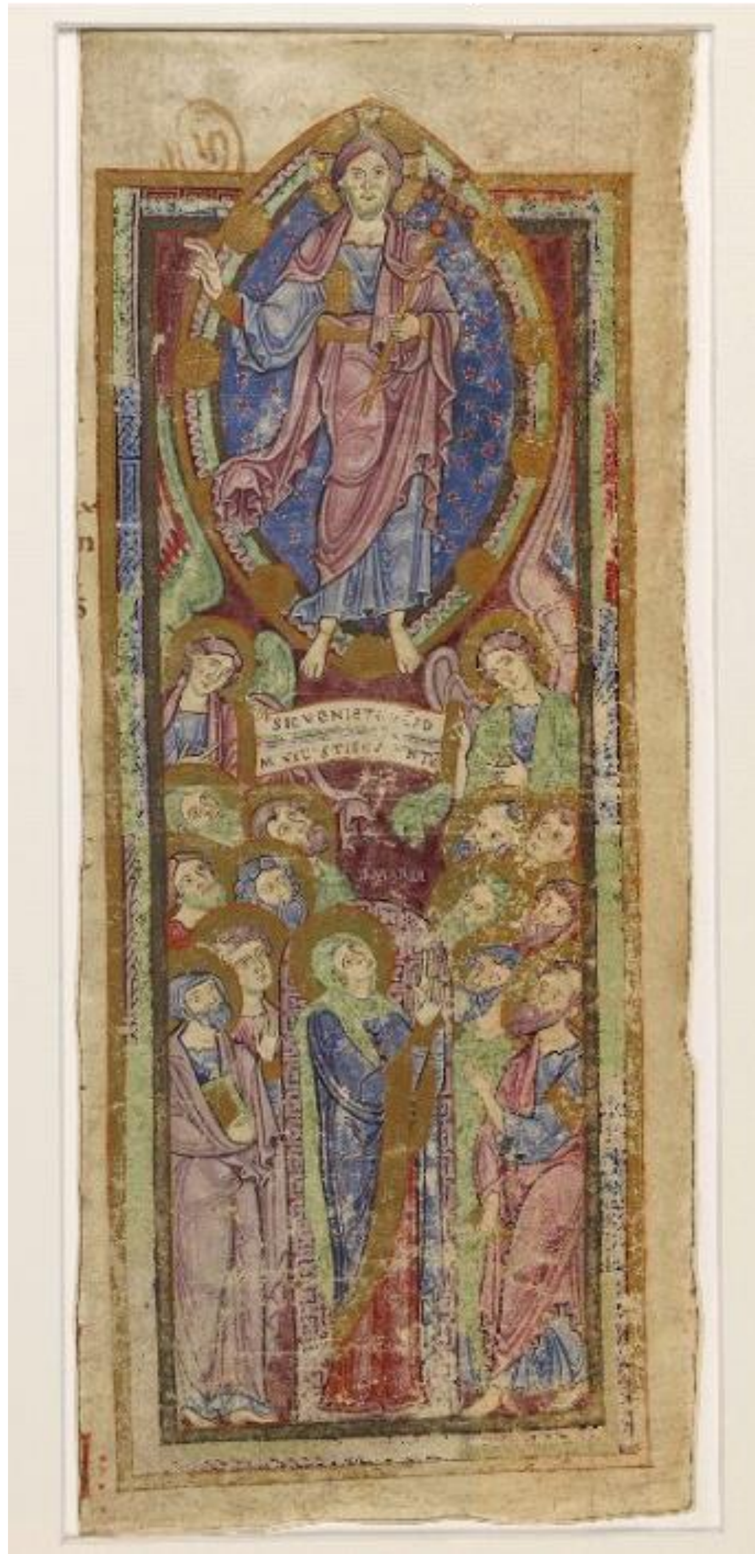


Fig. 1.26. Cluny, Saint-Pierre, drawing of the portal from within the *Galilea* by L. Charmet, printed in Neil Stratford, "Le grand portail de Cluny III," trans. Élaine Vergnolle, *Bulletin Monumental* 120 (2012), pp.15-30 (p.16)

Fig. 1.27. Toulouse, Saint Sernin basilica, Ascension portal on the south entrance to the church, c.1080–1100 (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)



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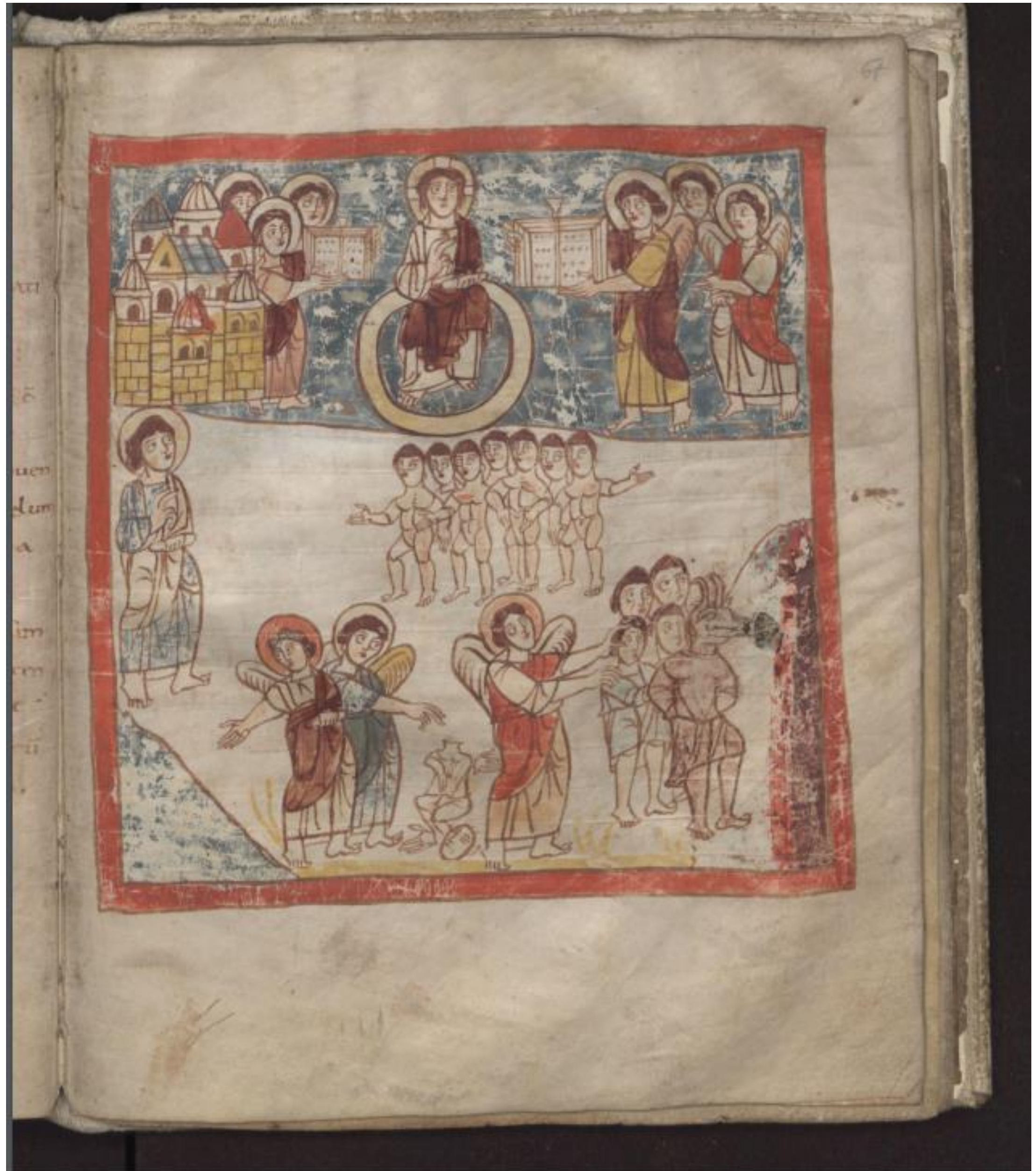

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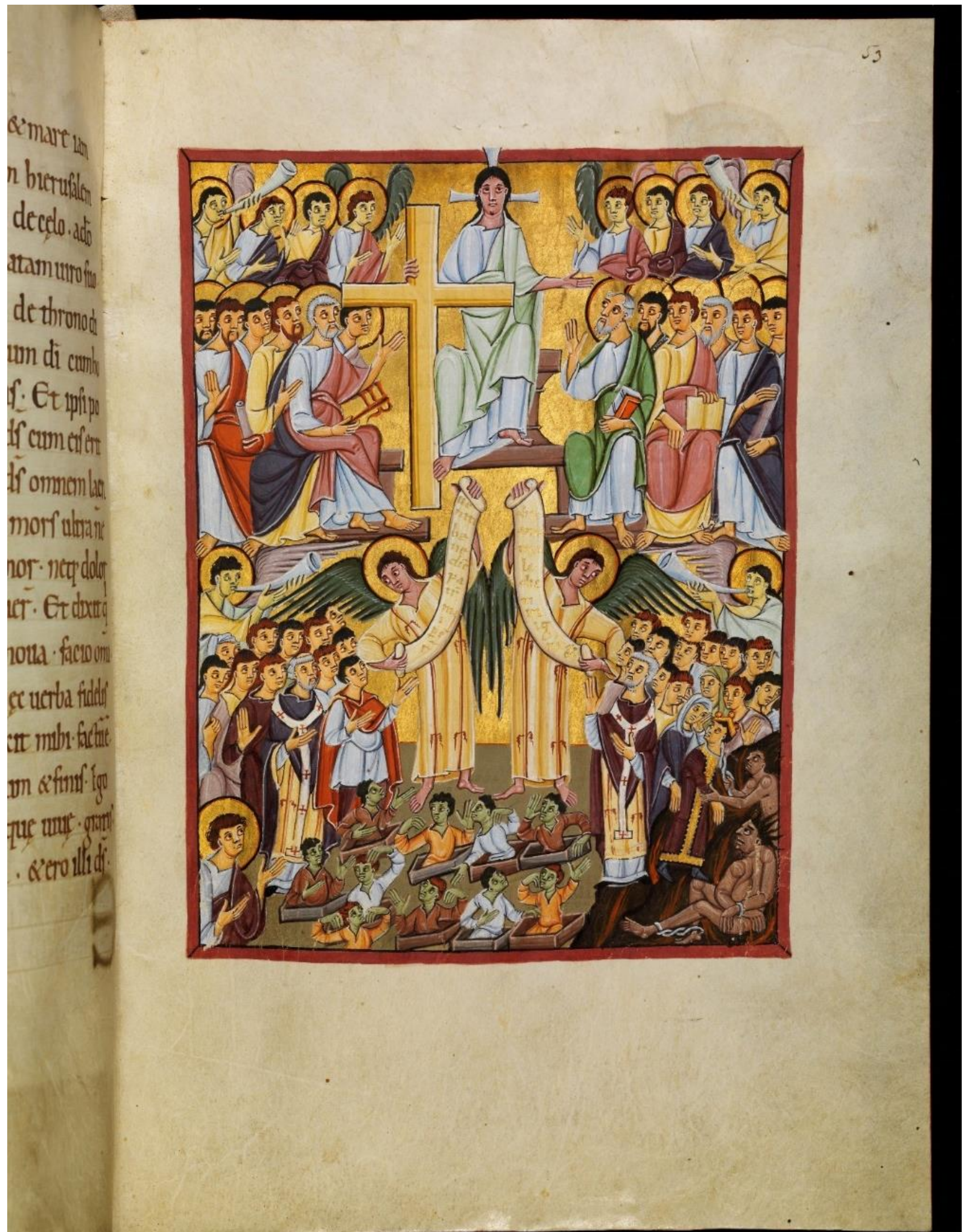

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Fig. 2.10. Val Müstair, Benedicktinerinnenkloster St. Johann, detail of Hell, c.800 (Photograph: Convent of St John Müstair, <https://www.muestair.ch/en/>, accessed 30/5/2023)

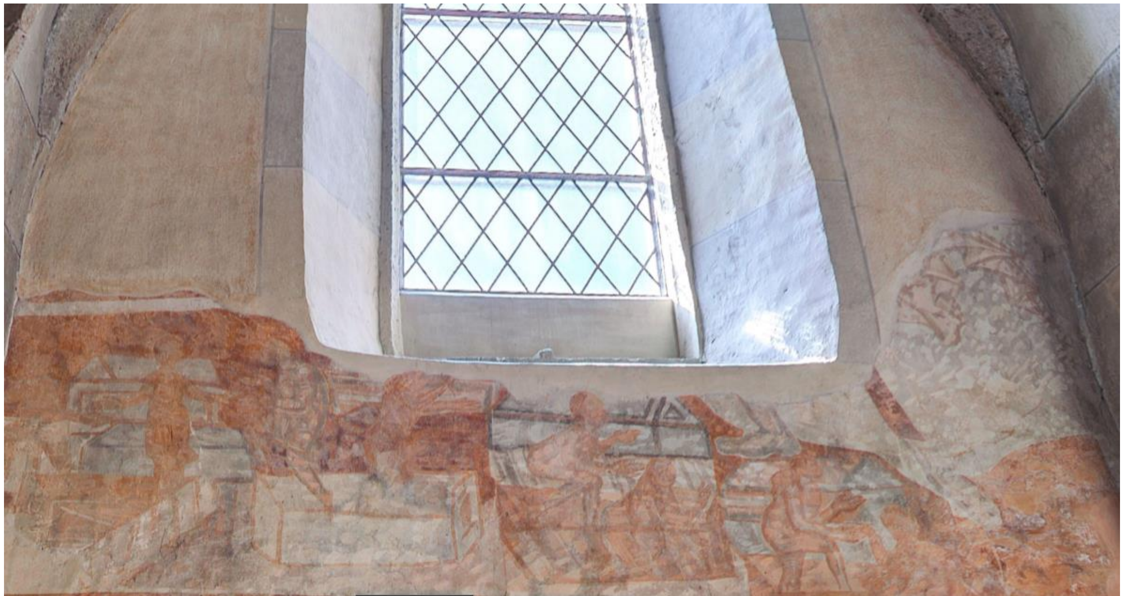

Fig. 2.11. Val Müstair, Benedicktinerinnenkloster St. Johann, detail of the resurrection, c.800 (Photograph: Convent of St John Müstair, <https://www.muestair.ch/en/>, accessed 30/5/2023)

Fig. 2.12. Val Müstair, Benedicktinerinnenkloster St. Johann, detail of the Second Coming, c.800 (Photograph: Convent of St John Müstair, <https://www.muestair.ch/en/>, accessed 30/5/2023)

Fig. 2.13. Jaca, San Pedro Cathedra, tympanum, c.1090–1100 (Photograph: Anonymous, distributed under Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0)

Fig. 2.14. Santa Cruz de la Serós, church of Santa Maria, tympanum, c.1095–1100 (Photograph: Anonymous, distributed under Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0)

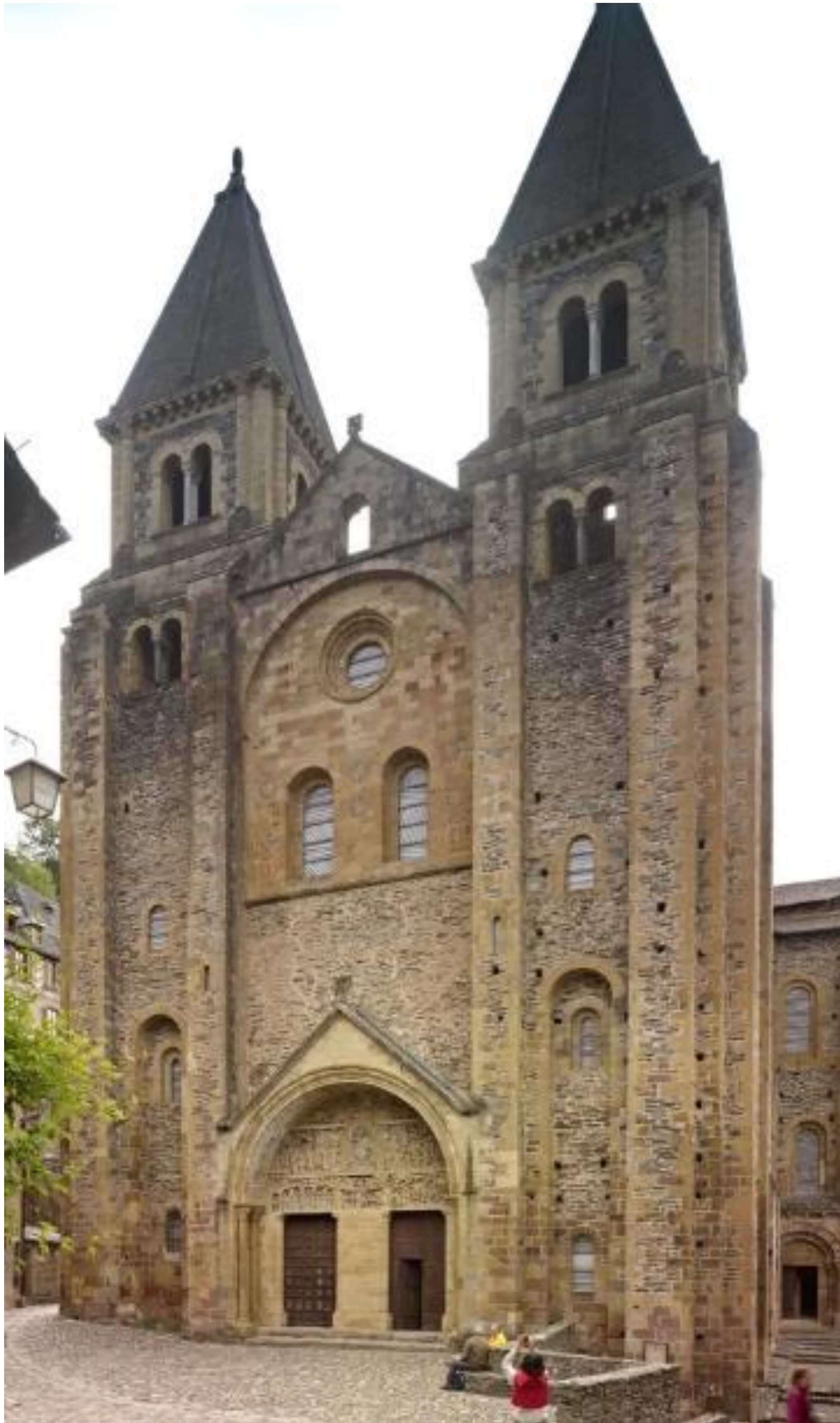

Fig. 2.15. Conques, Sainte-Foy abbey, west facade, before 1107 (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

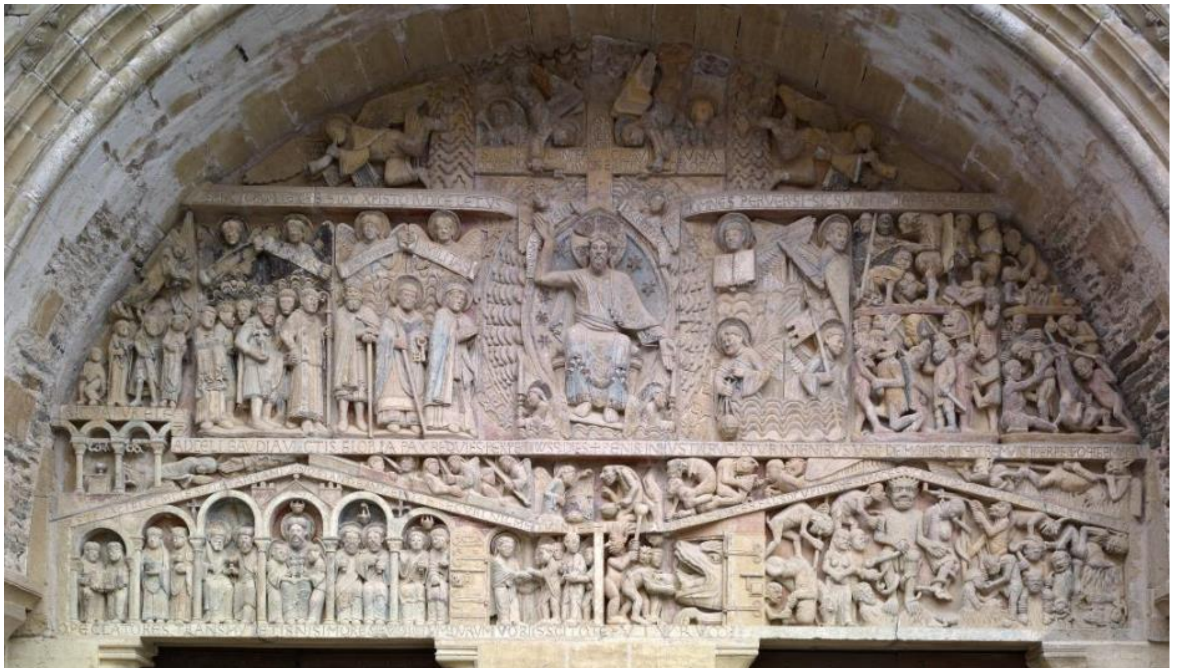

Fig. 2.16. Conques, Sainte-Foy abbey, tympanum, before 1107 (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

Fig 2.17. Conques, Reliquary statue of Saint Faith, c.833–1013 (Conques, Trésor de l'abbaye)

Fig 2.18. Conques, Sainte-Foy abbey, tympanum, Saint Faith's reliquary climbing down from her throne (Photograph: Author's own)

Fig 2.19. Conques, Sainte-Foy abbey, tympanum, knight falling through the mouth of Hell (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

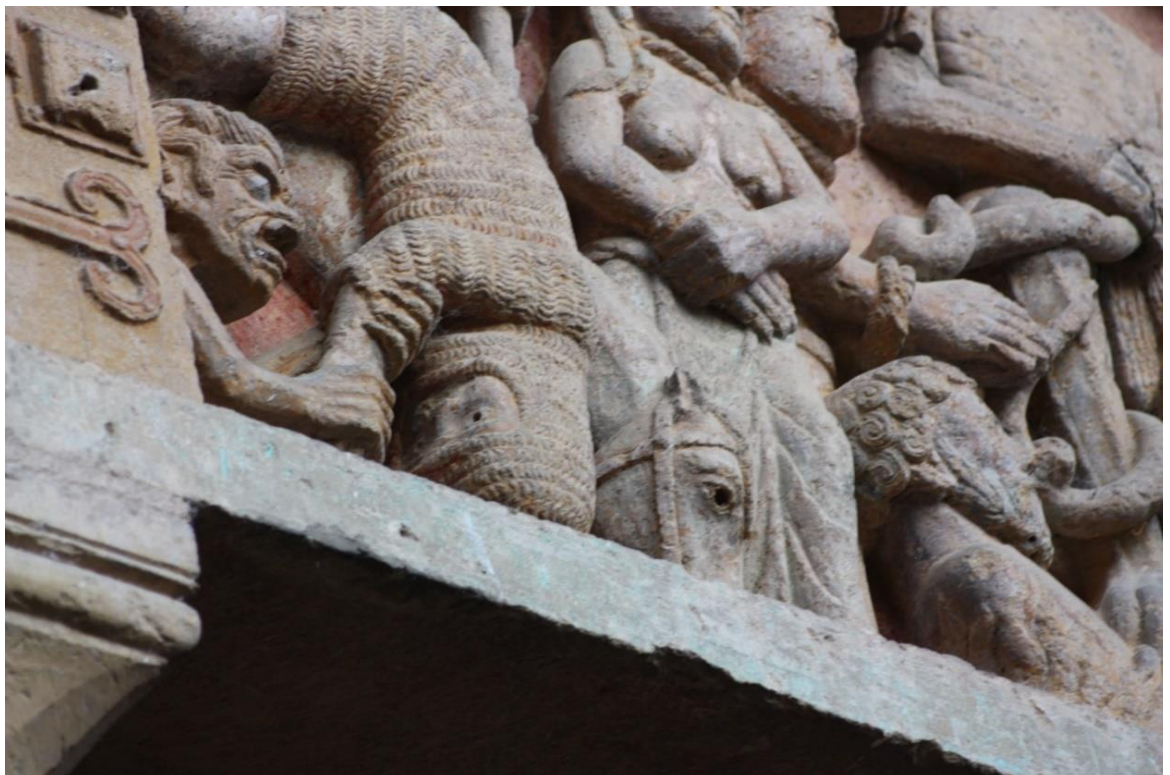

Fig 2.20. Conques, Sainte-Foy abbey, tympanum, knight falling through the mouth of Hell, seen from below (Photograph: Author’s own)

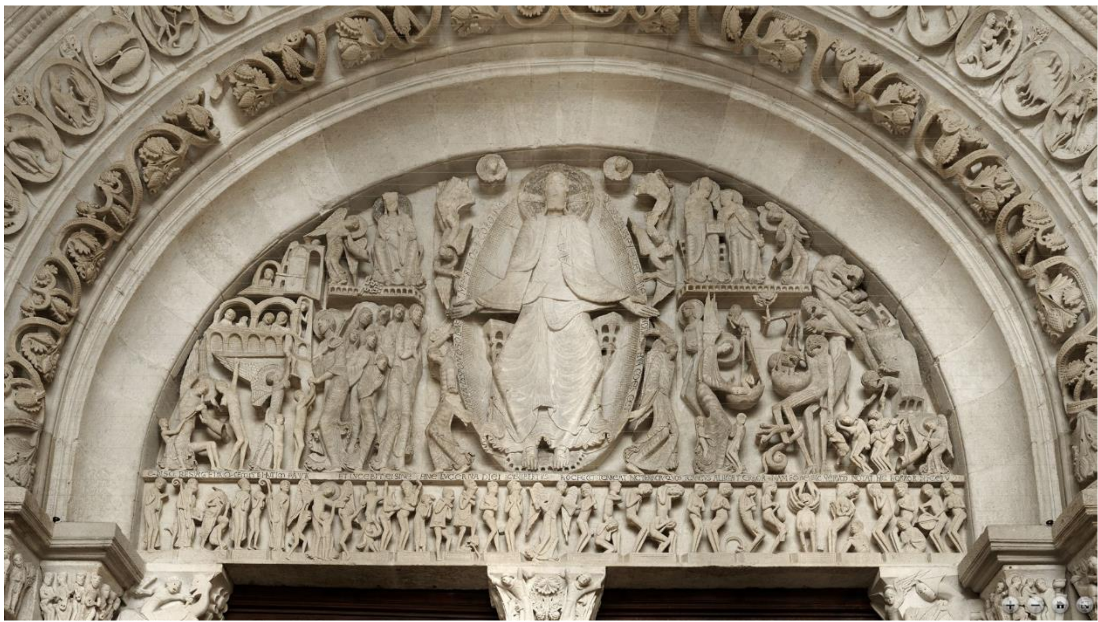

Fig 2.21, Autun, Saint-Lazare cathedral, north facade tympanum, completed by c.1140 (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

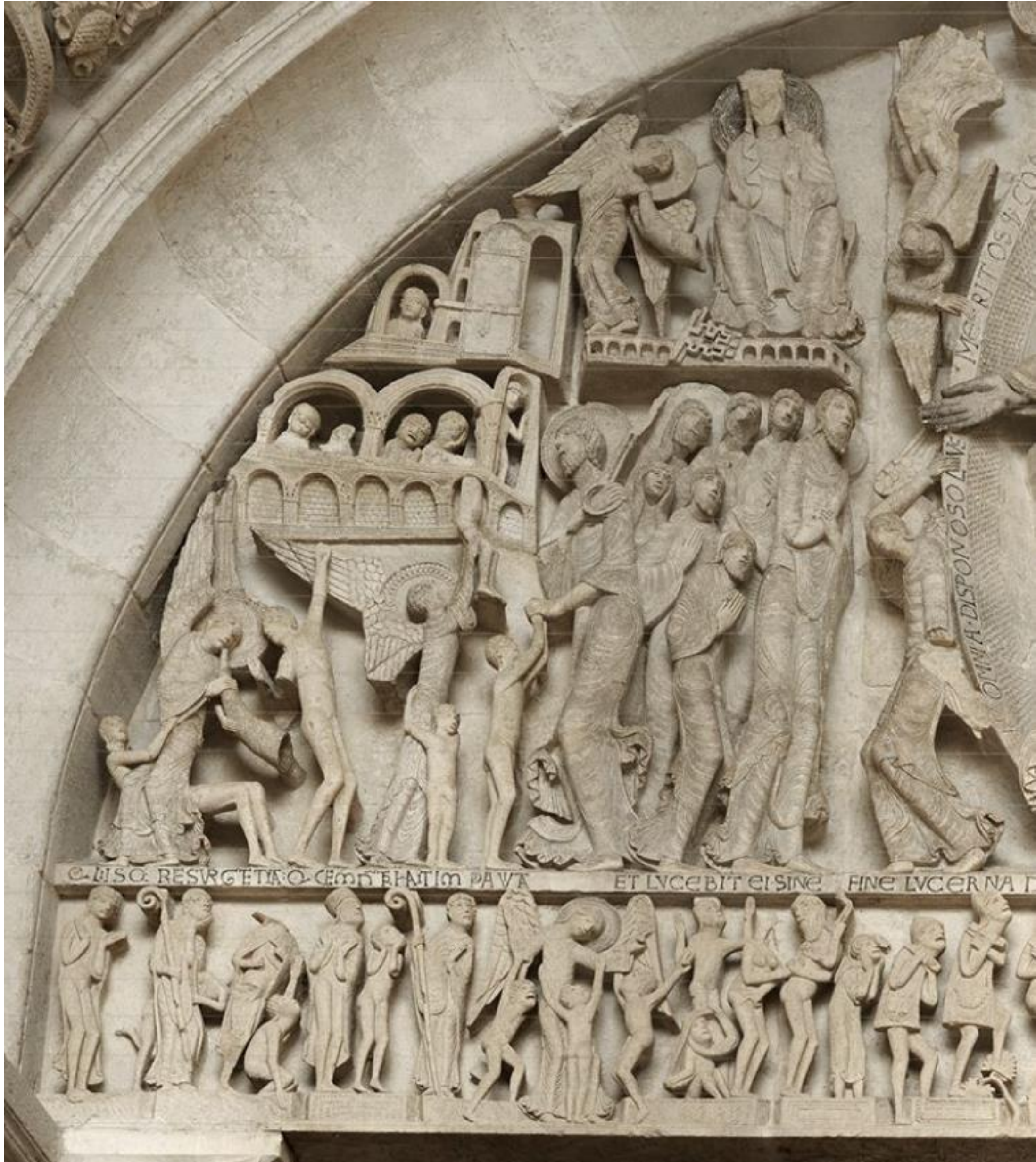

Fig 2.22, Autun, Saint-Lazare cathedral, north facade tympanum, detail of left side showing the resurrection of the saved and the Heavenly Jerusalem (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

Fig 2.23, Autun, Saint-Lazare cathedral, north facade tympanum, detail of right side showing resurrection of the damned, weighing of souls, and Hell (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

Fig 2.24, Autun, Saint-Lazare cathedral, north facade tympanum, detail showing the structure of Hell, with mouth of Hell at the side and chute at the top. (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

Fig 2.25. Autun, Saint-Lazare cathedral, north facade tympanum, detail of an angel separating the saved and damned (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

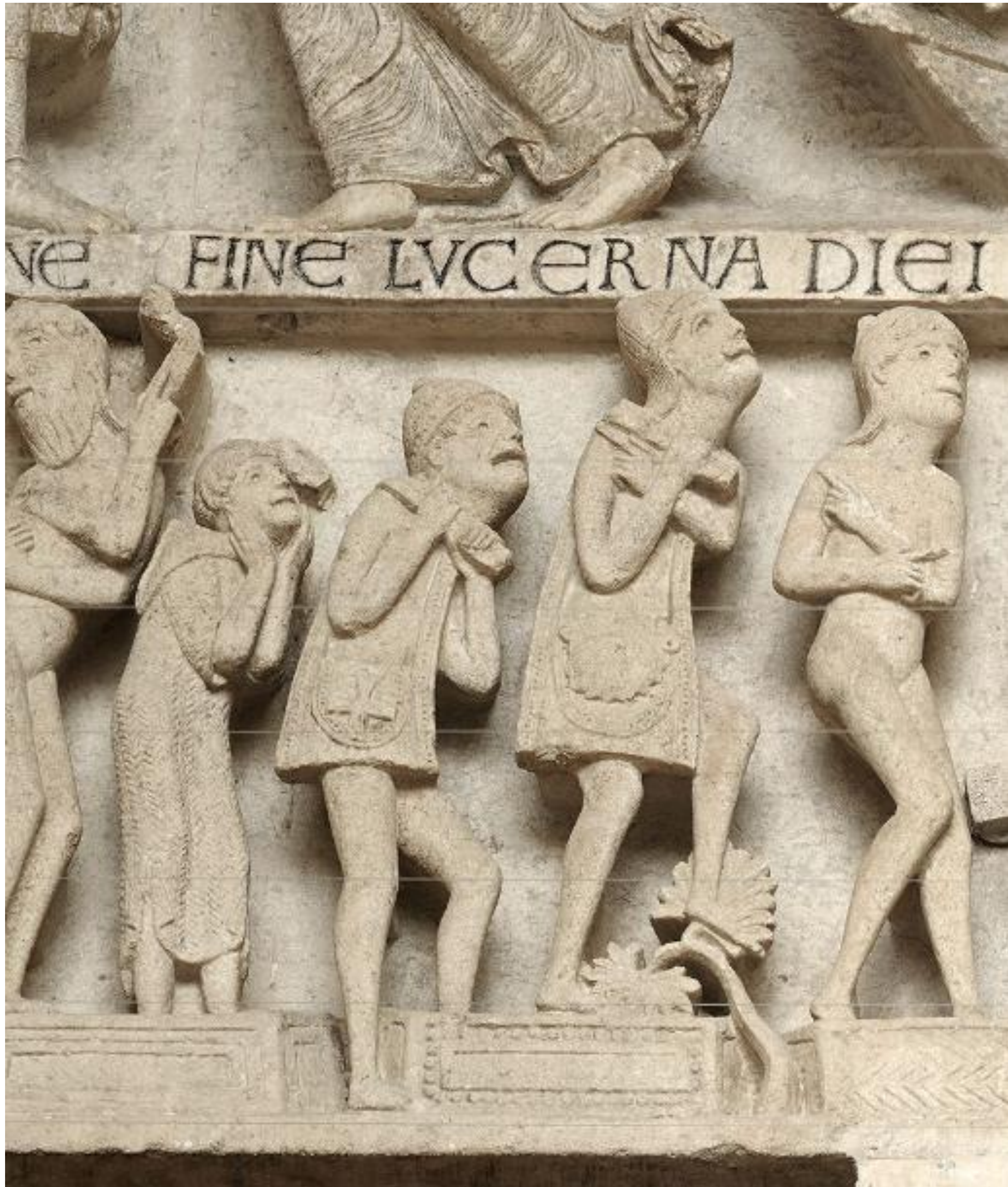

Fig 2.26. Autun, Saint-Lazare cathedral, north facade tympanum, detail of pilgrims

(Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

Fig. 3.1 Moissac, Saint-Pierre abbey, colonnette capital dividing scenes of *Dives'* punishments, c.1100–1115 (Photograph: Author's own)

Fig. 3.2 Moissac, Saint-Pierre abbey, colonnette capital dividing scenes of *Dives'* punishments, c.1100–1115 (Photograph: Author's own)

Fig. 3.3. Moissac, Saint-Pierre abbey, left side of porch with the parable of *Dives* and Lazarus, c.1100–1115 (Photograph: Anonymous, distributed under Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0)

Fig. 3.4. Moissac, Saint-Pierre abbey, *Dives* and his wife feasting (Photograph: Author's own)

Fig. 3.5. Moissac, Saint-Pierre abbey, the death of *Dives* (Photograph: Author's own)

Fig. 3.6. Moissac, Saint-Pierre abbey, detail of *Dives* tormented in Hell (Photograph: Author's own)

Fig. 3.7. Moissac, Saint-Pierre abbey, *Luxuria* and Avarice (Photograph: Author's own)

Fig. 3.8. Moissac, Saint-Pierre abbey, detail of *Luxuria* (Photograph: Author's own)

Fig. 3.9. Portal sculpture at Perse, Espalion, after 1107 (Photograph: Anonymous, distributed under Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0)

Fig. 3.10. Portal sculpture at Perse, Espalion, showing the departure of a soul at the moment of death (Photograph: Anonymous, distributed under Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0)

Fig. 3.11. Portal sculpture at Perse, Espalion, detail of Hell (Photograph: Anonymous, distributed under Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0)

Fig. 3.12. Portal sculpture at Perse, Espalion, detail of Heaven (Photograph: Anonymous, distributed under Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0)

Fig. 3.13. Conques, Sainte-Foy abbey, detail of a damned soul falling through a band of text (Photograph: Author's own)

Fig. 3.14. Conques, Sainte-Foy abbey, detail of a sinner being hanged (Photograph: Stephen Murray, Mapping Gothic)

Fig. 3.15 Conques, Sainte-Foy abbey, detail of a sinner being hanged, seen from below (Photograph: Author's own)