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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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THE PSYCHOMACHIA IN MEDIEVAL ART:
METAMORPHOSES OF AN ALLEGORY

Joanne S. Norman

Dissertation submitted to the University of
Ottawa, Department of English, in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the
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Spring, 1979

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Ottawa, 1979

ABSTRACT

The representation of the allegory of the battle of the Virtues and Vices in medieval art is traced from the ninth century to the fifteenth with particular emphasis on England and France. Various works of art, including manuscript illustrations, sculpture, frescoes, stained glass and other minor art forms, are described and analyzed in terms of their perception of the allegory and the literary or theological influences that may be reflected in that perception. Chapter I outlines the illustrated manuscripts of Prudentius' poem, *Psychomachia*, that were the source for the earliest portrayals of personified Virtues and Vices in conflict. The next two chapters discuss the basic iconography of triumphant Virtue and defeated Vice that was developed in non-manuscript works of art and the changes that were introduced into the Prudentian manuscript models when they were used to illustrate texts other than the *Psychomachia*. The fourth chapter analyzes the innovations that were brought into the motif in some of the more complex sculpture programs of the thirteenth century. Chapter V digresses from the strict chronology of the survey to examine a separate but related psychomachia motif, that of David of Israel as a personified virtue. The final two chapters survey new illustrated psychomachia allegories of the fourteenth century, primarily the *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* and the *Etymachia*, and the art, especially tapestries, that were influenced by them.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
Introduction	1
I. The Illustrations of the Psychomachia Manuscripts	9
II. Sculpture and Paintings Derived from Prudentius Models	27
III. Iconographic Variations of the Psycho- machia in Manuscripts	72
IV. A New Iconography of Conflict	102
V. King David as a Psychomachia Figure ...	151
VI. New Psychomachia Allegories of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries ..	191
VII. Psychomachia Allegories in Fifteenth- Century Tapestries	226
Conclusion	256
Bibliography	263

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

All illustrations are included in a separate portfolio. The figure numbers are designed to include a reference to the chapter in which they are discussed. Example: Fig. II-1 means that the illustration is the first one referred to in Chapter II.

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Description</i>
II- 1	Capital, circa 1140. Notre Dame du Port, Clermont-Ferrand, France. Largitas-Avaritia. Craplet, Pl. 24.
II- 2	Capital, circa 1140. Notre Dame du Port, Clermont-Ferrand, France. Ira. Craplet, Pl. 26.
II- 3	Capital, circa 1140. Notre Dame du Port, Clermont-Ferrand, France. Largitas-Caritas. Craplet, Pl. 25.
II- 4	Wall painting (sketch), 1151-56. Schwarzerheindorf, Germany. Clemen, <i>Monumentalmalerei</i> , Fig. 229.
II- 5	Ivory bookcover, ninth century. Carolingian. Museo Nazionale, Florence, Italy. Katzenellenbogen, Fig. 13.
II- 6	Archivolt, circa 1135. St-Gilles, Argenton-Château (Deux-Sèvres), France.
II- 7	Archivolt, circa 1140. St-Pierre, Aulnay (Charente-Inférieure), France.
II- 8	Archivolt, circa 1160. Blasimon (Gironde), France.
II- 9	Archivolt, circa 1150. Fontaine d'Ozillac, France.
II-10	Gallery, circa 1160. Pérignac, France.
II-11	Fresco, early twelfth century. St-Gilles, Montoire (Loir-et-Cher), France. (a) Castitas (b) Patientia-Ira
II-12	Fresco, 1180-1223. St-Julien, Brioude (Haute Loire), France. (a) Spes and Vice (b) Virtue and Vice (b) Fides and Vice (d) Virtue and Vice

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Description</i>
II-13	Archivolt, twelfth century. Castelvieil (Gironde), France. (a) Entire archivolt (b) Right side of archivolt
II-14	Tympanum, 1130-40. St-Pierre, Beaulieu (Corrèze), France.
II-15	Frieze, circa 1130. Cathedral, Angoulême, France.
II-16	Archivolt of chapter house, early twelfth century. St-Aubin, Angers, France.
II-17	Fresco, early twelfth century. St-Nicholas, Tavant (Indre-et-Loire), France.
II-18	Fresco, early twelfth century. St-Nicholas, Tavant (Indre-et-Loire), France.
II-19	Pillars, north side of facade, 1290-1310. Cathedral, Strasbourg, France.
II-20	Window, 1390-1410. Niederhaslach (Alsace), France.
II-21	Window, late fourteenth century. Cathedral, Strasbourg, France.
III- 1	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 8318, f. 53. Superbia-Humilitas and Gula-Abstinencia.
III- 2	B.N. ms. lat. 8318, f. 53v. Fornicatio-Castitas and Avaritia-Largitas.
III- 3	B.N. ms. lat. 8318, f. 54. Ira-Patientia and Tristitia-Gaudium.
III- 4	B.N. ms. lat. 8318, f. 54v. Accidia-Fortitudo and Vana Gloria-Compunctio cordis.
III- 5	B.N. ms. lat 2077, f. 163.
III- 6	B.N. ms. lat. 2077, f. 164v. Superbia-Humilitas.
III- 7	B.N. ms. lat. 2077, f. 165v. Inanis Gloria-Timor Domini.
III- 8	B.N. ms. lat. 2077, f. 166v. Invidia-Congratulatio Fraternalis.
III- 9	B.N. ms. lat 2077, f. 168. Ira-Patientia.

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Description</i>
III-10	B.N. ms. lat. 2077, f. 169. Desperatio-Gaudium.
III-11	B.N. ms. lat. 2077, f. 171v. Ventris Ingluvies- Abstinencia.
III-12	B.N. ms. lat. 2077, f. 173. Luxuria-Castitas.
III-13	B.N. ms. lat. 2077, f. 170. Avaritia-Misericordia.
III-14	<i>Hortus Deliciarum</i> , f. 199v. Cames, Pl. XXX.
III-15	<i>Hortus Deliciarum</i> , f. 200. Cames, Pl. XXXI.
III-16	<i>Hortus Deliciarum</i> , f. 203v. Cames, Pl. XXXVI.
IV- 1	Mantle portal, early thirteenth century. Cathed- ral, Tournai, Belgium. Warichez, Pl. 15. (a) Libido (b) Castitas (c) Avarice and Humilitas-Superbia
IV- 2	Font, circa 1160. St. Leonard, Stanton Fitzwarren (Wiltshire), England. (a) Ecclesia (b) Largitas-Avaritia (c) Humilitas-Superbia (d) Pietas-Discordia (e) Misericordia-Invidia (f) Modestia-Ebrietas (g) Temperantia-Luxuria (h) Patientia-Ira (i) Pudicitia-Libido
IV- 3	Archivolt, 1200-10. Cathedral, Laon, France. Green, Pls. 57 and 58. (a) Sobrietas-Hebeta (b) Largitas-Avaritia (c) Castitas-Luxuria (d) Mansuetudo-Violentia (e) Caritas-Paupertas (f) Patientia-Ira
IV- 4	Archivolt of chapter house, 1260-70. Salisbury, England. Green, Pls. 50-56. (a) Humilitas-Superbia (N1) (b) Largitas-Avaritia (N2) (c) Castitas-Luxuria (N3) (d) Sobrietas-Gula (N4) (e) Fides-Infidelitas (N5) (f) Misericordia-Invidia (N6) (g) Laetitia-Accidia (N7)

Figure	Description
IV- 4	(continued) (h) Fortitudo-Infortitudo (S1) (i) Temperantia-Intemperantia (S2) (j) Caritas-Paupertas (S3) (k) Prudentia-Stultitia (S4) (l) Patientia-Ira (S5) (m) Spes-Desperatio (S6) (n) Justitia-Injustitia (S7)
IV- 5	Archivolt, north porch, 1220-35. Cathedral, Chartres, France. (a) Archivolt, left side (b) Archivolt, right side
V- 1	Ivory bookcover, 1131-44. London, British Museum. Melisenda Psalter.
V- 2	Tympanum, chapter house, early twelfth century. St-Aubin, Angers, France.
V- 3	<i>Hortus Deliciarum</i> , f. 225v. Cames, Pl. LII.
V- 4	Fresco, early twelfth century. St-Nicholas, Tavant (Indre-et-Loire), France.
V- 5	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 10484, f. 12v.
V- 6	London, British Museum Add. MS. 18850, f. 96.
VI- 1	Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève ms. 1130. <i>Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine</i> . This manuscript is one of the oldest (1360-70 executed at Paris) and finest of the illustrated manuscripts of DeGuile- ville. f. 47v. Pilgrim followed by Paresce.
VI- 2	ms. 1130, f. 49v. Pilgrim encounters Orgueil who rides Flaterie.
VI- 3	ms. 1130, f. 55. Pilgrim encounters Envie and her two daughters.
VI- 4	ms. 1130, f. 58v. Colère appears as the Pilgrim is attacked by Traison and Detraction.
VI- 5	ms. 1130, f. 60v. Pilgrim encounters Avarice.
VI- 6	ms. 1130, f. 67v. Pilgrim encounters Gloutonnie.
VI- 7	ms. 1130, f. 67v. Pilgrim and Luxure.

Figure	Description
VI- 8	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS. 300, f. 96. French, circa 1400. Attack by all seven sins.
VI- 9	ms. 1130, f. 70v. Grace-Dieu returns the Pilgrim's staff.
} VI-10	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 62, f. 126v.
	(a) Full page (b) Margin illustration enlarged
VI-11	Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek MS. 130. Buberl; Figs. 204-07. (a) Avaritia, f. 107 (b) Gula, f. 108v (c) Humilitas, f. 109 (d) Patientia, f. 110
VI-12	Woodcuts. Johann Baemler, Augsburg, 1474. Schramm. (a) Superbia (h) Patientia (b) Humilitas (i) Invidia (c) Luxuria (j) Caritas (d) Castitas (k) Accidia (e) Avaritia (l) Devotia (f) Largitas (m) Gula (g) Ira (n) Abstinencia
VI-13	London, British Museum Add. MS. 15693. <i>Etymachia</i> . (a) Superbia, f. 2v (b) Humilitas, f. 5v
VI-14	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. fr. 938. <i>Somme le roi</i> . (a) Amitié-Envie, f. 82 (b) Equité-Félonnie, f. 86
VII- 1	Rome, Casanatensis Library Ms. 1404, ff. 26v-27. Kurth, Pl. 83.
VII- 2	Tapestry, circa 1400, Flemish. Town Hall, Regensburg, Germany. Göbel, <i>Wandteppiche</i> , Pl. 60.
VII- 3	Tapestry, circa 1500, Brussels. Destrée, Pl. VIII.

PREFACE

The study began as a survey of all the major images in medieval art of the seven deadly sins. However, in the interests of clarity and brevity, I decided to limit the final thesis to an analysis of only one metaphor, the psychomachia or battle of the Virtues and Vices, although this entails the occasional arbitrary cutting off of exploration into works of art that do have connections with the psychomachia but whose basic allegory is not defined by a metaphor of conflict. The psychomachia allegory achieved its greatest prominence as an iconographic motif in the twelfth century, but was superseded in the later Middle Ages by other images such as the tree of vices and the procession of sins until it became simply one among many other allegorical images, so that there is not the same proliferation of examples towards the end of the Middle Ages.

One of the major difficulties in conducting a survey such as this one is the fact that the allegory appears only as a minor sub-theme in sculpture or painting or in minor art forms. Therefore, it cannot be said with any certainty that I have noted every representation of the allegory, but I believe that no major variation in France and England has been overlooked and I have included works of art from Spain, Italy and Germany whenever this seemed warranted.

I would like to acknowledge the various libraries and other institutions who allowed me convenient access to their

manuscripts or artifacts. Some of this material appears in photographs accompanying the thesis. The libraries include the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Ste-Genève, Paris; the British Museum and the Wellcome Museum of the History of Medicine, London; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the Index of Christian Art, Princeton; Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto and the National Gallery, Ottawa. I would also like to include in this list the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in particular to thank Dr. W.O. Hassall and Ms. M. Pemberton who directed my attention to new material and made special arrangements for my work. I have also benefited greatly from the unfailing support and encouragement of my supervisor, Dr. L.M. Eldredge; the efficient service of the Inter-Library Loan department of the University Library and the helpful suggestions and advice from other medieval specialists at the University of Ottawa. Mrs. C. Mullin also gave valuable assistance in translating some of the older German sources.

INTRODUCTION

Although the close relationship between art and literature in the Middle Ages has been frequently recognized in a general way, the exact nature of that relationship is less easy to explain and, even more important, to document. F.P. Pickering, in his book *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages*¹, has pointed out some of the major problems in attempting any synthesis of interpretation of art and literature in the search for an elusive *Geistesgeschichte* and concludes that "the study of literature and the study of art are neighbouring disciplines, but they remain separate. This is not a consequence of 'specialisation'. It is the reflection of a difference between the works which are studied in each case."² What he proposes as a more possible goal and, eventually, a more productive one, is the study of subjects and motifs that cross over from one discipline to another and so offer the possibility of "reciprocal illumination."³ It is in the hope of offering such illumination that this survey of the psychomachia allegory in medieval art begins.

While it is true that there are vast compendia of sources in art history, they are difficult to use unless one already knows what one is looking for. One can, for example, trace individual examples of sculpture and painting that represent virtues, vices, King David or a horse, but these examples may or may not be part of a psychomachia allegory.

Or if the lexicon does include a heading for the conflict of virtues and vices, the survey given probably does not recognize the wide variations that developed in the motif, variations that are often so extensive that the original form has been completely changed. Most of the major studies of medieval iconography, such as Künstler, Molsdorf, van Marle, Réau and Bréhier,⁴ while outlining the general characteristics of a motif and listing major examples of it, are too broad in scope to provide a detailed study of a motif or of a particular representation of it. In this regard, no work has come close to surpassing the great surveys of medieval art of Emile Mâle for both range and detail.⁵ His work is one of the very few that attempt to suggest some of the evolutions in specific iconographic themes over the entire Middle Ages. However, Mâle focuses on France and, of course, does not include discoveries in medieval art that have taken place more recently both in France and elsewhere.

When one turns from the general surveys of iconography to studies of particular works of art and studies of art within a specific geographic region or within a period of history, then the interest usually shifts away from iconography to questions which are more directly the concern of art history alone, such as the date, provenance and style of the sculpture, painting, manuscript or other artifact. Nevertheless, any discussion of iconography must take fully into account the context in which a motif appears as this will doubtlessly affect interpretation of it. For this

reason, the primary studies in art history pertaining to each iconographic example mentioned in my survey are noted in every case. Yet in most instances, the art historian is not chiefly concerned with the subject of a sculpture or painting unless there is some problem of actual recognition, as at Tavant in France.

There is new work, however, that does follow the development of a particular theme in art and attempts to account for some of the changes in iconography as they occur. Three of the more recent works that follow this trend are Kenneth Varty's study of the fox in medieval English art, J. Marrow's analysis of the sources of the iconography of the Passion in the late Middle Ages and P. Tristram's use of pictorial evidence in *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature*.⁶ All make extensive use of literary and non-literary texts to interpret the meaning of various works of art dealing with similar themes. Like the motifs dealt with by Varty and Tristram, the psychomachia allegory exists in both literature and the visual arts and invites a similar examination. In fact, the source for the original iconography has long been identified as Prudentius' poem, *Psychomachia*, thereby establishing from the beginning a direct connection between art and literature.

There is, of course, a comprehensive study of the various iconographies of Virtues and Vices by Adolf Katzenellenbogen called *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*.⁷ As the title indicates, Katzenellenbogen does not

confine himself to the psychomachia allegory alone, although that is his starting point and about a quarter of his book does cover almost all the known twelfth-century representations of the Prudentius allegory. His discussion, however, is limited to documenting the various examples and to considerations of date and style. He does not address himself to the actual meaning of the allegory as it appears in art. Furthermore, his account ends at the beginning of the thirteenth century and one might conclude, quite wrongly, from his book that the psychomachia theme in medieval art disappeared in the thirteenth century as it was absorbed into a new iconography first appearing at Notre Dame in Paris that does not include any psychomachia theme.

What does happen is that the twelfth century saw the development of a particular convention to express a dynamic relationship between good and evil. Following St. Paul and Tertullian, man's moral life was conceived as a continuous battle between virtue and vice and this conception had received full development as an allegory in the fifth-century poem, *Psychomachia*. The illustrations of this poem, which consist primarily of human figures, usually female, engaged in violent battle in the classical epic style, provided a base for twelfth-century representations of Virtues and Vices. The individual personifications of particular Virtues and Vices were gradually separated from the text which had first characterized them and were simplified into a single dominant motif in which an armed and victorious

Virtue overcomes by brute force an impotent and malignant Vice at her feet. This form of representation became the traditional iconography of Virtue and Vice which persisted down to the fifteenth century along with any later, newer forms.

Until the thirteenth century, there was only one symbolic action available to the painter or sculptor who wished to portray virtue and vice: hand-to-hand combat. Classical tradition and, more particularly, Prudentius dictated that the Virtues be female. As the Virtues became more static and idealized in form, so the Vices became debased and monstrous to point up the essential difference in their natures. They were, in fact, cosmic forces whose battle was a sub-theme in the great apocalyptic vision in which they became incorporated.

In time, however, the analysis of virtue and vice became part of the increasing emphasis in the thirteenth century on the examination of individual conscience and the sacrament of penance. A new iconography was developed to express a perception of virtue and vice as contrary impulses of the human spirit. At first this iconography employed the traditional Prudentian forms but modified them and added new details. Then, in the fourteenth century, new allegories expressing the conflict between good and evil suggested new visual symbols for the same concept. The most influential of these were the pilgrim (Mankind) beset by robbers or foot-pads (Seven Deadly Sins), derived from Guillaume de

DeGuilleville's *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* and the tournament or siege between armies of Virtues and Vices, derived primarily from the *Etymachia*. Both conserve the idea of morality as essentially a conflict between different impulses in the human soul and both use violent confrontation as their basic metaphor.

A similar conception informs the allegorical interpretation of the life of David of Israel, especially his fight with Goliath, and suggested the use of the biblical warrior-king as another psychomachia figure in art. The gradual shift in emphasis from the Virtues and Vices as eternal forces or realities to a more psychological conception of human motivation is reflected in the changing representations of David in conjunction with personified Virtues and Vices first as the triumphant warrior-king and later as the sinful penitent.

The reasons for these changes cannot be found in the visual representations themselves but in the literary and theological works from which they derive their *significatio*. Yet it is also true that once the psychomachia allegory has been freed from the literal illustration of a specific text and is incorporated into a broader scheme of visual symbolism, the meaning of the original allegory is also subtly transformed by its visual incarnation whether the artist is consciously aware of this or not. In this way the visual arts contribute their share, both in their time and in ours, to a fuller understanding of the psychomachia allegory.

Since this review follows the patterns of change in the iconography of the psychomachia allegory, chronological order is generally observed with Chapter I first analyzing the actual Prudentius manuscripts and their illustrations which served as the original sources for the traditional psychomachia motifs. Chapter II examines examples of the conventional motif in various art forms excluding manuscripts, up to the fifteenth century. The third chapter then looks at manuscript illustrations, especially a Moissac penitential and the *Hortus Deliciarum*, that use the Prudentian motifs but place them in different contexts and alter their meaning in significant ways. The gradual transformation in the thirteenth century of the traditional Prudentian figures with the incorporation of new details that reflect the current understanding of human morality is the concern of Chapter IV. Chapter V digresses from the strict chronology of the rest of the study by presenting a parallel iconography that uses the life of King David of Israel as another form of psychomachia in art. Finally, the last two chapters detail new allegories of moral conflict in the fourteenth century that provided the sources for other psychomachia representations in the art of the fifteenth century.

6

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

¹F.P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (London: Macmillan, 1970).

²Pickering, p. 3.

³Pickering, p. 66.

⁴Louis Bréhier, *L'Art chrétien: son développement iconographique des origines à nos jours*, 2nd ed. rev. (Paris: Laurens, 1928); Gustav Künstler, *Romanesque Art in Europe* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1968); Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane au moyen âge et à la renaissance*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1931-32); Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 6 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1955-59); Joseph Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchenbaues und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters* (Freiburg: Herder, 1924).

⁵Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France: Etude sur les origines de l'iconographie du moyen âge*, 2nd ed. rev. (Paris: Colin, 1924); Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey from 3rd French ed. (1913; rpt., New York: Harper, 1958); Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Paris: Colin, 1949).

⁶Kenneth Varty, *Reynard the Fox: A Study of the Fox in Medieval English Art* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1967); James Marrow, "Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin*, 49 (1977), 167-81; Philippa Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature* (London: Elek, 1976).

⁷Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from early Christian times to the thirteenth century*, trans. Alan J.P. Crick (London, 1939; rpt. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1968).

CHAPTER I ,
THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PSYCHOMACHIA MANUSCRIPTS

The fifth-century poem, *Psychomachia*, by Aurelius Prudentius Clemens has long been recognized as the major literary source for the theme of the battle between the Virtues and the Vices in medieval allegory.¹ Moreover, extant manuscripts of this poem, including the earliest, contain an extensive series of detailed illustrations of the text, which provided a pictorial base for subsequent illustrations of the theme.² In this way, Prudentius became the primary source for both the literary form and the iconography of the psychomachia allegory in the Middle Ages.

The interdependence of text and illustration exemplified in the Prudentius manuscripts remains a constant characteristic throughout the evolution of the allegory in its visual forms. The manuscripts are a clear example of how a literary text was used to establish a particular iconographic tradition, and since the illustrations are basic to later representations of the battle between the Virtues and the Vices, it is useful to identify the exact details of the personifications and to note how closely they conform to the text.

The Prudentius illustrators, like most medieval artists, worked on a principle of absolute literal representation of the text. Accordingly, metaphoric or symbolic language was

translated into concrete situations. The most famous and common example of such literal representation of texts are the illustrations of the Psalms such as those of the Utrecht Psalter. The picture is to be "read" with a double or allegorical meaning in much the same way as the text is read. Sometimes the picture would include symbols that were only implicit in the text and by so doing would in effect clarify and gloss an ambiguous text, but in the case of Prudentius, text and picture are literal reflections of one another. The artists are concerned only to represent various actions described in the text and rely upon the poem and captions to explain what the picture represents. Prudentius supports these aims by establishing a clear, simple allegorical framework which is then elaborated by innumerable physical details that may, but often do not, have allegorical significance.

A. Katzenellenbogen has indicated the important general characteristics of the Prudentius illustrations, and it is interesting to note how these are derived from the very intention of the text.³ First, there is the battle motif. Other writers, such as Tertullian, had spoken of a battle between good and evil, virtue and vice, but only Prudentius develops the concept into an elaborate allegory in which specific virtues and Vices enter into a variety of single combats as part of one great battle. Naturally enough, Prudentius turns to the classic epic tradition when writing his Christian epic. Although the marriage of Christian morality

and pagan literary form may not always appear to be a happy one to a modern reader, the enormous popularity and influence of the poem in its own time and for centuries later indicate that earlier audiences approved the attempt and appreciated the genuine verve and excitement of the *Psychomachia* style as well as its novel theme.⁴ The illustrators evidently understood Prudentius' aim in this and freely borrowed motifs and details from classical pagan art. In so doing, they established another iconographic norm. For later illustrators of this text, recognizing only that Prudentius was interpreting eternal spiritual ideas in terms of his own time, felt free to drop the purely classical costumes and forms of the illustrations and to reproduce instead those of their contemporaries. Indeed, the representation of the battle is always put in contemporary dress, as if to underline the ever-present conflict in the soul of man. In contrast to this variety of form, there is the characterization of the warriors. The chief combatants in Prudentius' poem are all female, a circumstance which may be accounted for by the gender of most abstract nouns in Latin. The Virtues remain female for the rest of their career in literature and art, although later on the Vices vary in sex or even become non-human according to the whim of the artist or the tradition in which he worked.

Of the manuscripts of Prudentius still extant that were written before the end of the thirteenth century, twenty contain from two to ninety illustrations. Stettiner has shown

that all the illustrations derive from a common original.⁵ However, the existing manuscripts can be divided roughly into two iconographic groups, a northern one that includes the French and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (I), and a southern one that includes the manuscripts from the Rhine and Meuse valleys (II).⁶ Despite individual variations in style or detail, the two groups of manuscripts can be clearly differentiated and individual manuscripts assigned to one or the other. Evidently the illustrators were following a tradition that was clearly defined and essentially conservative. In Group I the Virtues appear in long garments with a mantle often drawn over the head, unless the text specifically designates another costume. The Vices appear in long or short tunics, sometimes with a mantle fastened on the shoulder, and occasionally in a short, belted garment fastened on one shoulder, leaving one arm bare. In Group II the Virtues appear as warriors in mail with helmets. The Vices are in a short costume with the skirt divided into three parts resembling flames. Their hair is dishevelled and flies out in flame-like strands. The individual Virtues and Vices are usually identified by means of a significant action rather than by any particular attributes. Despite the principle of expressing narrative action in literal terms, various misreadings of the text or even the artist's own whim result in divergences from Prudentius' intention, and these variations play an important role in developing the iconography of the Virtues and Vices.

According to Prudentius, Fides should appear with bare shoulders and arms and unruly hair as she flings herself against the enemy, Cultura Deorum. A French eleventh-century manuscript (Leyden, University Library, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15) does show Fides with wild flying hair and a long garment that leaves the whole upper part of her body naked.⁷ She is unarmed and gestures with scorn at Cultura Deorum. The latter points a lance against Fides while on her right appears an altar and a flame on which are two bullock bodies. This is apparently an attempt to characterize Cultura Deorum by the attribute of a pagan altar and to explain "Ora cruore de pedecudum satiata."⁸ The choice of weapon is left to the artist, and Cultura Deorum in other variants uses an axe or a spear. Fides sometimes appears quite calm and even fully clothed, an indication of a later development in which the Virtues conform more and more to one fixed type. Despite the text, Fides is armed with a shield and sword in an English manuscript and in another she carries a book, both attributes that look forward again to the later uniform representations of Virtues. The next scene shows Fides treading on her foe in triumph. Stettiner sees this form of triumph as particularly Germanic while Katzenellenbogen traces it back to a more general oriental source.⁹ Certainly the moment of triumph became the static pose for later visual representations of the Vices and Virtues, but the origin of the action of stepping on the enemy is quite clearly suggested in Prudentius' text where it is

in fact the way in which the supposedly unarmed Fides dispatches her fallen foe:

... et pede calcat.
 elisos in morte oculos, animamque malignam
 fracta intercepti commercia gutturis artant,
 difficilemque obitum suspiria longa fatigant.
 (ll. 32-35)

The accompanying illustration shows Fides clearly standing on the Vice's head while one group of manuscripts also shows her throttling Cultura Deorum with the Vice's garment, no doubt to indicate more precisely the action of suffocation. A later development actually has Fides using a cord to strangle Cultura Deorum. Fides is armed with a sword (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 975), a stone (B.N. ms. lat. 8085) or spear (Leyden, University Library, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 and B.N. ms. lat. 8318) in other versions, while one English manuscript (B.M. Cotton MS. Titus D xvi) omits the choking but shows Fides piercing the eyes of the Vice with a lance, a somewhat inaccurate representation of "calcat elisos in morte oculus." In Group II Fides wears a crown, another attribute that is frequently carried over in later representations. Only the manner of death and the pagan altar in the background serve to distinguish Cultura Deorum from the other Vice-warriors in the poem.

The second couple of combatants, Pudicitia and Libido, appear more consistently in all the illustrations. Pudicitia wears a long gown with a breastplate and helm, a spear swinging in her right hand and a shield protecting her body. Libido appears as a typical Vice, but is armed invariably

with a torch. Some manuscripts also arm Pudicitia with a stone in anticipation of the actual combat (Berne, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 2645 and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 977). Two other moments of the battle between Libido and Pudicitia are shown. Pudicitia is drawn in the act of throwing a stone, while Libido, her torch extinguished, either falls or flees. In a Liège manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 975), Libido appears with a bird-head and a long tail, thus introducing a grotesque or demonic form of characterizing the Vice. The third scene in this sequence shows Pudicitia in the act of piercing the throat of Libido who lies at her feet. The actual degree of violence shown varies, although several manuscripts do indicate the blood spewing from the mouth of Libido. In one manuscript (B.N. ms. lat. 18554) Pudicitia pulls back the hair of the Vice who reaches out for help, while in another manuscript (B.M. Cotton MS. Titus D xvi) Libido shrinks back as the Virtue's lance (not sword, as in the text) pierces her. Pudicitia also appears in formal triumph, unarmed and carrying a scroll or a book while she assumes the conventional posture of an orator. Libido still remains lying on the ground, although some drawings give the impression that she is kneeling or crouching.

The next conflict introduces a new and significant element in the presentation of Patientia and Ira. According to the text, Patientia should be armed with a breastplate and helm, but should remain completely passive in the battle.

The first Group shows Patientia as a praying figure in long gown with a cloth pulled over her head as she bares her body to attack. Two groups of warriors surround her, including one warrior with a crested helmet who is armed with a lance in the left hand and who is identified in subsequent pictures as Ira. The second Group of manuscripts shows Patientia surrounded by dwarf-like figures who hurl a variety of weapons against her. This group also tends to show Patientia in a cloak, breastplate and helm, armed with a sword and shield. The emphasis on Patientia as an armed warrior follows from the text, but it also follows the illustrators' tendency to make the Virtues conform with each other. The conflict between Patientia and Ira is developed in detail both in the text and in the accompanying illustrations. Ira usually appears in her special bristled helmet but conforms to the appearance of the Vices common to each of the two manuscript groups except in one manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 975) where she appears with claws on her feet, long horns, a tail, and a monster face. This is another, clearer example of how the artists tended to identify the Vices with devils, contrary to an evident intention in Prudentius' poem. With this exception, the sequence of pictures follows the text closely: Ira rushes at Patientia holding a lance (or a stick in Group II). In Group I Ira raises her spear against Patientia and in Group II she directs an arrow. Finally, in the next scene Ira actually throws her spear so that in some manuscripts both the moment

of impact and the rebound are shown. Patientia then appears standing quietly surrounded by a variety of broken weapons while Ira either launches another weapon or stands helpless. Next Patientia in her original praying position awaits Ira's attack with the sword. However, helm and breastplate are shown under her mantle. Patientia appears both with and without a helm in this sequence but her passive posture remains constant. Aside from demonstrating the difficulty involved in translating narrative into pictorial terms, these scenes are relatively unimportant in the characterization of the psychomachia. It is the final dramatic scene of Ira's suicide that became one of the most important features in the iconography of the Vices. Ira holds a sword, spear, or arrow (a variation permitted by the word "missile") in both hands and pierces her own chest with it. In the scenes of triumph Patientia steps toward the body of her enemy and in ~~one~~ manuscript (Berne, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 264) she touches the feet of the corpse with the end of a lance, thus repeating the basic form of the triumph motif.

The next Vice introduced in the *Psychomachia* is Superbia, who appears on horseback. Prudentius emphasizes the height of the horse as a means of demonstrating Superbia's raising herself up above her fellows (ll. 181-82). The height of her coiffure and her elaborate headdress are also mentioned for the same purpose. Although these attributes are emblems of Superbia's spiritual haughtiness, they also provide a basis for later representations of Pride that

stress an elaborate costuming more suitable to simple Vain Glory. Superbia's horse also carries a lion's skin, and although various illustrations either change the pelt to a simple saddle or reduce it to a small animal head attached to Superbia, it begins the long association of this animal as an emblem or attribute of the Vice. The figure itself in all the illustrations follows the text exactly in appearance, sometimes wearing spurs and sometimes swinging either a scourge or a battleaxe. Superbia's horse plays an important role in the action of the poem and may be considered as an extension of Superbia's character. It is not surprising to find a separate picture illustrating the horse's actions (ll. 190-93), and two more illustrating Superbia's taunting and final charge against Mens Humilis and Spes. The two Virtues wear long gowns and are armed with shields and helms in Group II, but remain passive, either standing or kneeling. Superbia carries a lance in Group II against Mens Humilis who holds a sword and is crowned. The scene of Superbia's defeat usually omits Fraus and shows simply the moment of the Vice's fall from her horse. Group I shows the horse falling into the pit with Superbia huddled between its legs and Group II has Superbia simply lying under the horse. The picture of the falling horseman became one of the most consistent themes in the iconography of the Vices. Even when the horse is omitted, the appropriate action of Pride is proverbially that of falling. The victory of Mens Humilis repeats the familiar motif of standing on the fallen foe.

According to the text, Mens Humilis drags Superbia by her hair out of the ditch and, still grasping her hair, severs her head with a sword:

illa cruentatam correptis crinibus hostem
protrahit et faciem laeva revocante supinat,
tunc caput orantis flexa cervice resectum
eripit ac madido suspendit colla capillo.
(ll. 280-83)

The accompanying illustrations follow the verbal description accurately in every detail, so that an armed Mens Humilis stands over her supine enemy.

Three pictures develop the complex character of Luxuria, the next Vice. Lust and gluttony are part of this personification, which seems to embrace all the sensual appetites of the body as well as a lust for worldly pleasures. The first scene shows Luxuria feasting as she hears the war trumpets. She reclines at a banquet table laden with food. A cupbearer or servitors approach with a drinking horn or platters. One manuscript (B.M. Cotton MS. Titus D xvi) transforms these into small devils, one with a bottle and one with a steaming platter. The second scene shows Luxuria with long, hanging hair slowly weaving her way across the flowered ground toward the battle which is represented by two armed warriors in combat. Trumpeters stand at the side. The third scene is Luxuria's chariot which she drives while flourishing a scourge. A group of men follow her. Four more scenes reveal the success of Luxuria's seduction of the Virtues, all according to the text (ll. 321-406). Finally, we see the fall of Luxuria. In Group I Sobrietas stands in

front of the chariot horses, holding a cross; Luxuria reaches out to her from the chariot. In Group II the chariot has fallen to the right and Luxuria has fallen out. In some versions, she is being dragged by her feet with the chariot. Sobrietas stands behind leaning on the cross. In Group I the next scene shows the collapse of the chariot and the fall of Luxuria while Sobrietas stands with a cross in her left hand and a stone in her right. Group II shows the actual stone throw while Luxuria lies on the ground. In one manuscript (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek MS. 135) Sobrietas actually rushes forward and hits the head of Luxuria with the top of the cross, but this is a direct contradiction of the text. The triumph of Sobrietas is unchanged in all manuscripts. She stands pointing to the dead Luxuria while she holds a cross in her left hand, sometimes a book, or once a cross with a flag. One manuscript shows her with a lance and shield, another example of the tendency to present the Virtues in a uniform fashion despite variations clearly indicated by Prudentius.

The last formal combat follows hard on Sobrietas' victory, for Avaritia appears to gather up the spoils left behind by Luxuria's followers. Group I shows Avaritia in her loose robe sitting on the ground, feeling through the sand with crooked hands for booty:

fertur Avaritia gremio praecineta capaci,
quidquid Luxus edax pretiosum liquerat, unca
corripuisse manu, pulchra in ludibria vasto
ore inhians aurique legens fragmenta caduci
inter harenarum cumulos. (ll. 454-58)

In B.N. ms. lat. 15158 Avaritia collects the gold hanging in the thorns, holds some in her right hand and carries some in her gown, "*fertur Avaritia gremio praecineta capaci*" (l. 454). A large full sack sits behind her and little sacks hang all around her. These sacks appear in all manuscripts and become an indispensable attribute of this Vice, although a few versions substitute urns for sacks. Some illustrations of Group II show Avaritia walking and bending over to fill either a sack or a fold of her gown with gold.

The defeat of Avaritia is rather obscurely illustrated. The first manuscript Group apparently tries to combine two different actions in one picture. On the right, a kneeling figure empties a large sack while three smaller figures, hands outstretched as if begging, receive the contents of the sack. On the left, two armed warriors engage in combat, one of whom, a lightly-armed Amazon figure, may be Operatio. Various headings indicate that Avaritia and Operatio (sometimes labelled Largitas in the illustrations) are fighting, but all of this contradicts Prudentius who states that Avaritia is unable to make any resistance at all. Group II repeats the same error and shows Operatio armed with a spear or axe. In one instance (Lyons, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, MS. 22), Operatio actually pursues Avaritia with a sword and tears her veil off. Succeeding illustrations, however, return to the text and show, first, Avaritia paralyzed before the onslaught of the Virtue and then her death. Group I has Operatio bending over a fallen Avaritia about to

bind her hands, but Group II has Operatio actually throttling Avaritia with a scarf. According to Prudentius, Operatio first strangles Avaritia with her bare hands and then, as the Vice struggles, crushes her with her knee and foot, finally stabbing her through the ribs (ll. 589-97). Illustrators had difficulty with this sequence and so Group I shows Avaritia on the ground and Operatio with her hand on her neck. Only some manuscripts, notably the Anglo-Saxon ones, indicate that Operatio kneels on the Vice. In the Paris manuscript (B.N. ms. lat. 15158) Operatio actually pierces the neck of the fallen Avaritia with a sword. Group II emphasizes the kneeling action as a struggle and shows Operatio tearing at Avaritia's clothing while she ties the Vice's hands with a cord. One manuscript shows Operatio both kneeling on Avaritia and strangling her manually while St. Alban's manuscript (B.M. Cotton MS. Titus D xvi) shows Operatio kneeling as she transfixes the Vice with a lance.

The final combat in Prudentius takes place between Fides and Discordia after Discordia covertly attacks Concordia. Group I presents all the crowned Virtues in long gowns with shields on their backs. Discordia receives a wound from Fides' sword or lance as she tries to escape. Most manuscripts in both groups indicate that the blow is against her mouth. All manuscripts also include an illustration of the Virtues dismembering the body of Discordia. There is a tendency to emphasize the brutality of the action by elaborating the details.

This series of illustrations became so familiar that it was reproduced, in a simplified form and independent of the *Psychomachia* poem, as decoration for another text. One of the best examples of such a decoration is a Book of Gospels belonging to Henry the Lion and produced by a monk, Hermann of Helmarshausen, about 1175, which contains a very detailed and accurate visual summary of the *Psychomachia* narrative.¹⁰ The ivory bookcover of the Melisenda Psalter is yet another instance showing the decorative use of an abridged narrative series taken from this allegory.¹¹ In both cases, the connection with the illustrations of Prudentius manuscripts is very close but the absence of a text indicates the next step has been reached in the gradual freeing of the figures of warring Virtues and Vices from the *Psychomachia* text to become independent symbols of moral conflict.

However, the increased emphasis on the decorative function of the *Psychomachia* brought about significant changes in the allegory. The conception of the Virtues and Vices found in Prudentius is essentially dynamic. That is, the allegorical figures are recognized by their actions rather than by physical characteristics or attributes. The illustrators of the text tried with varying success to adhere to this dynamic principle and presented a series of vignettes that reproduce as literally as possible the various actions described by the poet. Although the various combats include widely different actions according to the text, the illustrations contain the similar elements of a standing victorious

Virtue figure and a crushed, supine Vice figure who is being dispatched by the Virtue. It is this scene that is developed into a uniform motif for all the Virtues and the Vices that are paired with them. It becomes the dominant characteristic of all representations of Virtues and Vices that are ultimately derived from Prudentius. Since manuscript painting was one of the basic art forms of the Middle Ages and a principal means by which both styles and subjects were disseminated, it is not surprising that the immensely influential Prudentius manuscripts with their picture cycles should attract the attention of sculptors and mural painters. Certain subordinate architectural features, such as twelfth-century capitals and later spandrels or arcades, as well as artifacts in the minor arts, tended to be decorated with literary subjects including the *Psychomachia* in what was primarily anecdotal representation.

However, a number of scenes are incomprehensible unless they are viewed in close relationship with a text or at least carry explanatory titles. When artists reproduced the *Psychomachia* theme in art divorced from manuscript, they chose the essential elements of the allegory: the battle between good and evil and the triumph, expressed in military terms, of the Virtues over the Vices. Even more useful from a decorative point of view was the balanced effect of a series of similar or identical pairs suggested by the various combats in Prudentius. Despite the poet's efforts to make each duel an individual scene, the illustrators seem driven to produce

a certain uniformity among the warriors. Thus all Virtues tend to wear the same costume, in flat contradiction of the poem, and so do the Vices. The moment of triumph always produces a prone Vice with an upright Virtue who destroys her with a weapon, usually a lance or sword. It is this possibility of repetition of motif that probably accounts for the great popularity of the *Psychomachia* in figure sculpture, especially that of the Romanesque archivolts and later doorway sculpture where, together with the signs of the zodiac and the labours of the months, it provides a convenient series of related figures that can form a decorative band where one is required.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹This has long been recognized, but for good summaries of Prudentius' influence see Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (Michigan: State University Press, 1952), pp. 63-65 and C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 66-67.

²Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 3; Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, pp. 98-99; Bloomfield, p. 101.

³Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 4-7.

⁴Richard Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (Berlin: Preuss, 1895), establishes the number and distribution of manuscripts and contains a detailed analysis of all the illustrations. Helen Woodruff, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius," *Art Studies: Medieval Renaissance and Modern*, 7 (1929), 33-79, revises Stettiner's findings in terms of the original or base manuscripts but substantiates the rest of his work.

⁵Stettiner, pp. 149-200.

⁶Stettiner, pp. 149-51; Woodruff, pp. 35-50.

⁷This analysis of individual scenes is based on Stettiner's descriptions.

⁸Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Psychomachia*, ed. and trans. H.J. Thomson (London: Heinemann, 1949), ll. 31-32. All references are made to this edition.

⁹Stettiner, pp. 238-42; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. vii.

¹⁰Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 9.

¹¹Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 9; see below, Chapter V.

CHAPTER II
SCULPTURE AND PAINTINGS DERIVED
FROM PRUDENTIUS MODELS

As the triumph of the Virtue over Vice became more and more separated from its literary source, its representation became more and more static. Artists were no longer showing an ever-present struggle in the soul of man, but rather a single eternal truth about the relationship between good and evil. Hence both personifications lose the few individualized characteristics they had possessed and the figures become fixed.

French sculpture and frescoes apparently show the greater influence of the theme, despite the prominence of Anglo-Saxons among the artists of the surviving illustrated manuscripts of the *Psychomachia*. However, a comparatively larger amount of English sculpture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been destroyed or mutilated, and it is difficult to draw a definite conclusion about the relative importance of the theme to each country. Enough examples exist in England to show that her sculptors and painters were not ignorant of the theme and, in fact, like the earlier Anglo-Saxon artists, produced sophisticated and original variations on the motif. Still it is France that shows the greater proliferation, if not always the more subtle, of the psychomachia subjects. Two regions of France, Auvergne and Saintonge, evince an almost obsessive interest in the

triumph of Virtue over Vice. There appears to be no easily documented reason for this concentration of examples, but it seems likely that artists within a region reproduced a given motif that had proved popular and successful. Given the wide circulation of Prudentius manuscripts, the first appearance of such a motif anywhere in France or England would not be surprising.

The earliest examples are quite simply isolated pairs of warriors, male or female, who fight each other on a more or less equal basis. If it were not for an accompanying inscription, their identities would be problematic. Indeed, in those instances where labelling is absent, only the basic similarity of the figures and the ecclesiastical context in which they are found enable one to make a tentative identification as a psychomachia. So we find in Notre Dame du Port in Clermont-Ferrand a capital that is clearly based upon Prudentius¹ (Fig. II-1). It presents the Virtues, Largitas and Caritas, as armed Carolingian warriors, complete with chain mail, rounded helmets and pointed, kite-shaped shields. Avaritia, a male in this version, appears with flame-like hair and wears only a short, hairy skirt. At his feet appears a large pot, a further detail meant to recall the urns of the Prudentian Avaritia. Both the Virtues and the Vices are very similar to the figures of the illustrations of the Group II Prudentius manuscripts. The sense of physical combat is still strong, as Caritas and Avaritia stand face to face, shield to shield, with weapons raised.

Avaritia brandishes a two-headed serpent as a weapon, a rather startling departure from the conventional weapons in Prudentius, but one that seems a logical development in emphasizing the demonic nature of the Vice.

The adjacent face of the capital portrays the suicide of Ira, a purely Prudentian scene (Fig. II-2). The Vice, a nude, dishevelled woman, stabs her breast with a short-bladed sword. A serpent appears again as a symbol of the demonic nature of the Vice. The succeeding scene on the next face of the capital shows Largitas and Caritas trampling on two unarmed naked Vice figures (Fig. II-3). Their shields are still raised and the points of their spears are buried deep in the backs of the Vices. These anonymous opponents both put out their tongues as a sign of death by suffocation, another detail that follows Prudentius (ll. 33-35).

The confusing repetition of Caritas is probably an attempt to preserve a sense of narration similar to that of the manuscript illustrations. First, Largitas engages in hand-to-hand combat, Ira commits suicide as part of the action and then two Virtues, including Caritas, gain victory over their foes. They stand upon these supine opponents as they engage in the final struggle, so that their posture is not just the simple symbol of triumph, but is part of the narrative action, as it is in Prudentius.

This sense of narration as well as the use of detail actually found in both the text and the illustrations of the

Psychomachia show a close adherence to the actual poem that is quite unusual. For this reason, Clermont-Ferrand may be considered an important example of the transition of the allegorical theme from manuscript to sculpture. Certain changes that appear in this particular sculpture indicate the general development of them in new plastic and more purely decorative forms. The Virtues are all identical in contemporary armour with shields, swords or spears. The variety of weapons, costumes and movements of the poem has disappeared. The Vices also lose their individuality as their demonic nature is emphasized. As other examples will show, this loss of individuality becomes more and more grotesque and non-human until the return to a naturalistic style of the fourteenth century reintroduces a human element to the characterization of the Vices. The capitals of Notre Dame du Port all carry a number of inscriptions that identify or comment upon the carved scenes. Such texts tend to become less important in later visual representations with the exception of the *psychomachia* theme which frequently appears with some special inscription, as if its allegorical character required particular verbal interpretation.

The extreme condensation of the theme of the poem that is required to reduce it to three faces of one capital is also indicative of the basic change required in transferring the theme out of manuscript illustration. In fact, most of the examples reduce the allegory to a single symbol, the triumph of the Virtues, that appears on the third face of

7

the capital. The most important themes that the Clermont-Ferrand sculptor has isolated are the armed combat expressed in contemporary terms and the victory of the Virtue over the Vice. At this point in time the Virtues and Vices are always shown together in close relationship. It is the struggle that defines them in art, not secondary physical attributes.

A cloister capital of Sant Cugat del Valles near Barcelona in Spain offers an interesting contrast to the capital of Clermont-Ferrand.² Like the Auvergne capital, this one is part of a series depicting the fall of man and his redemption by Christ. However, there is no attempt to preserve a narrative sequence or to characterize particular Vices. The Virtues wear the chain-link armour and carry the lances so familiar in the Saintonge sculpture that will be described later in more detail. Only one Virtue stands veiled in the "orante" position and is possibly meant to represent Patientia. The Vices are small nude figures whose convulsed limbs are interlaced to form a decorative frieze around the base of the capital. Like the window arch of the south portal at Aulnay, it demonstrates an extreme use of the psychomachia theme as ornament (Fig. II-7).

In a wall painting of the lower church of Schwarzhof, four female knights in twelfth-century armour spear their fallen opponents who appear to be clothed but unarmed³ (Fig. II-4). The sense of struggle is emphasized by the force with which the Virtue pierces the Vice and by the

despairing grasp of the Vice on the spear that pierces her. This form of the combat is based upon the final struggle between Libido and Pudicitia (ll. 49-52), but the same scene is repeated in the four different window embrasures of the church.

While both Schwarzhheindorf and Clermont-Ferrand show a fairly close affinity to Prudentius, a much earlier example of the theme reveals a wider divergence of concept while retaining a closer similarity in style. An ivory bookcover of the ninth century now in the Museo Nazionale in Florence presents the Virtue and Vice figures in a more classical triumph" (Fig. II-5). The Virtue, wearing Roman armour, rests upon a spear as he stands upon a contorted and unarmed Vice. It is interesting to note that, possibly because of the close imitation of classical art forms, the soldier-Virtue has become male while the Vice remains female. However, this sex shift is not typical of psychomachia iconography because the Virtues usually remain feminine or neutral in appearance. In this example, moreover, while the costumes and pose reflect a classical inspiration that runs parallel to Prudentius' use of epic conventions and his original illustrators' borrowing from classical battle scenes, the sense of interaction between the figures is lost, to be replaced by the static scene of victory that appears so prominently in twelfth-century sculpture. In keeping with this abstract symbolism, the Virtues and Vices have lost all the individuality that Prudentius' narrative had developed, although the

Vice has not yet become demonic.

Although this ivory carving does foreshadow a later development in the iconography of the psychomachia, other early Romanesque artists adhered more closely to Prudentius' original concept. Two early Italian mosaics (whose exact date seems to be uncertain) show the combat between Faith and Discord.⁵ In the Campo Santo of Cremona, Fides pierces the tongue of the Vice with her lance and in Santa Maria Maggiore, Pavia, Fides strikes down Discordia who is then dismembered and her limbs fed to a wolf and a crow. Both incidents are based directly on the Prudentius poem:

non tulit ulterius capti blasphemia monstri
 Virtutum regina Fides, sed verba loquentis
 inpedit et vocis claudit spiramina pilo,
 pollutam rigida transfigens cuspidē linguam.
 carpitur innumeris feralis bestia dextris;
 frustatim sibi quisque rapit quod spargat in auras,
 quod canibus donet, corvis quod edacibus ultro
 offerat, immundis caeno exhalante cloacis
 quod trumat, monstris quod mandet habere marinis.
 (ll. 715-25)

and had received detailed treatment in the manuscript illustrations.

Other later examples retain the battle motif to a greater or lesser degree, but there is a general tendency for the figures to become static and frozen in position, particularly as they are adapted to decorative functions. The Virtues retain their character of armed warrior-maidens whose armour is contemporary yet remains close to descriptions in Prudentius' text. However, all of them are uniform in appearance and action, without any attempt to individualize them. Their posture and movements are dictated by

purely architectural concerns, as they form a curving archi-volt above a doorway or an arch above a window. The figures are often elongated with lance and kite-shaped shields, both held vertically. The long lines of the figures and the stylized folds of their robes give them a hieratic quality. The single action shown is that of triumph: the Virtue tramples on the Vice and may not even bother to point her spear downwards, but gazes upward in rapt contemplation. Only the armour reminds us of the original struggle.

In this form the warring pairs became one of the standard themes in the sculptured ornament of church doorways in the Saintonge region of south-west France. These churches all date from the middle of the twelfth century and represent the working out of a local fashion in iconography. There is no evidence to suggest that Prudentius was better known in this region than elsewhere, but the majority of these churches ~~were~~ originally associated with monasteries. The influence of learned communities may explain the presence of such a relatively sophisticated allegorical theme in these churches. Furthermore, the idea of morality as the spiritual struggle and eventual triumph of virtue against vice in the soul of man was consonant with the ascetic principles of monastic life. Indeed, aside from Prudentius, many of the most familiar allegorical concepts of the struggle between good and evil and the seven cardinal sins originate in monastic writings.⁶ Monastic influence, as Bloomfield's study suggests, may also account for the

transformation of the Vice figures into monsters that occurs so frequently in the sculptures of this region.

Despite these general observations, each series does retain some individuality of treatment. Some archivolts actually label each figure, and it is these inscriptions which indicate more conclusively the influence of Prudentius. It is significant that only these figures in the whole sculptural program of the facade are labelled in this way. Apparently their novelty was such that they could not be as readily identified from their visual attributes as other more traditional subjects. Obviously, too, the artist in this instance was catering to more scholarly, literate taste rather than creating pictures in stone for the illiterate. At Argenton-Château (Deux-Sèvres) the church of St-Gilles has an archivolt of six Virtues and Vices, all in similar poses⁷ (Fig. II-6). The Virtues, dressed in flowing robes, wear breastplates and lean on long kite-shaped shields. They stand indifferently upon a variety of monster Vices, one of which is transfixed with the Virtue's sword. Unfortunately, the mutilation of the figures means that other details remain obscure. However, it would appear that only slight variations in posture distinguish the Virtues; and the Vices are all interchangeable. The inscriptions mark certain departures from Prudentius that became well established. Avaritia is paired with Largitas, a change already present in the Prudentius illustrations themselves and one that has been noted already at Clermont-Ferrand. Discordia

is paired with Concordia, a logical arrangement that contradicts Prudentius.

St-Pierre of Aulnay⁸ also reproduces the same archivolt with identical inscriptions, probably another work by the St-Gilles sculptor (Fig. II-7). In this version the Virtues wear pointed helms (which may have been present in the earlier work but are now mutilated beyond recognition), and Humilitas and Largitas hold a crown, the symbol of the heavenly reward for the virtuous. The Vice figures are all grotesquely human demons with the wild, flame-like hair so characteristic of Romanesque devils. Their agonized convulsions at the feet of the indifferent Virtues at least are reminiscent of the ferocious battles of Prudentius, just as their hair recalls the Vices of the second group of manuscript illustrations. Here, however, the violent movement of the Vices points up their essential impotence in the face of divine righteousness.

Once the central motifs had been established, as they appear at Aulnay and Argenton-Château, other churches were free to use the theme in a variety of simplified forms.⁹ The archivolt of the central arcade of the church of St-Nicholas at Civray appears to be almost an exact copy of Aulnay but without inscriptions. Fenioux also follows the prototype, although the demons seem to struggle a little more fiercely. Inscriptions seem no longer to have been necessary if the essential triumphant pose of female warrior over grotesque creature was maintained. The number of pairs

became insignificant as the individuality of the Virtues and Vices was lost. So at the abbey of Blasimon (circa 1160) only four pairs appear over the doorway, each in a similar tranquil stance, poised upon but oblivious to grotesque animals at their feet (Fig. II-8). In contrast, the unnamed warriors at Fontaine d'Ozillac are still engaged in combat with fierce human foes (Fig. II-9). The trampling motion of the Virtues has a calculated brutality that is closer to the action described by Prudentius than that of Aulnay:

illa hostile caput phalerataque tempora vittis
altior insurgens labefactat, et ora cruore
de pecudum satiata solo adplicat et pede calcat
elisos in morte oculos, animamque malignam
fracta intercepti commercia gutturis artant,
difficilemque obitum suspiria longa fatigant.
(ll. 30-35)

The Virtue steps upon the Vice in order to deliver the death blow, so that the pose can be interpreted both statically and dynamically as it is here. The repetitive rhythm of the figures that was so important for their decorative effect is here maintained by means of the spear that each Virtue wields in a diagonal thrusting motion and by the repetition of the same movement reversed in the opposite position in the archivolt. The top Virtues also reach out to the centre of the arch, presumably to hold a crown (now destroyed) similar to the one at Aulnay.

Corme-Royale¹⁰ returns to the calm of the pure triumph motif, in which only four pairs of Virtue and Vice figures are shown, all identical except for the formal variations of having two bareheaded Virtues armed with swords contrast

with two helmed figures who carry spears. But all four Virtues gaze passively outward while the animal-like Vices appear to almost sleep at their feet. Other churches built within a decade or so of each other present similar formal variations on this theme.¹¹ Only Pérignac¹² reveals one further variation, and that arises from the different position of the figures (Fig. II-10). Instead of being placed as a series in a curving archivolt over the door, they appear in a gallery on either side of an upper window on the west facade of the church. Each figure is contained within its own niche so that all sense of interaction is completely broken. Only five figures survive, but these show an increased fragmentation of the traditional iconography. Two figures are apparently unarmed and weaponless. Those that do carry weapons do not use them against the Vices, for the sword is sheathed and the point of the spear is upright as if the Virtue is using it as a staff. Indeed, there is no need for defence against such docile Vices. The grotesques crouch as indifferent and convenient footstools for the Virtues. These Virtues are also nimbed, a detail that occurs sporadically in some Prudentius manuscripts but is absent from the Aulnay/Argenton-Château prototype.

While Pérignac represents the widest deviation from Prudentius, a general trend in the sculptural interpretations of the theme can be observed. Armour becomes less and less prominent, so that only the sword or lance and distinctive kite-shaped shield remain to indicate the Virtue. The Vice

is consistently represented as non-human and becomes indistinguishable from all the other grotesques that ornament all forms of medieval art. The sculptor and painter have in fact progressively simplified Prudentius' complex allegory until all that remains is a studied contrast of forms: a large upright figure, more or less static in pose, that dominates a smaller, reclining figure usually frozen in convulsive movement. The idealized formal beauty of the Virtue figure is deliberately set against the grotesqueness of the Vice, so that the contrasting relationship defines the two abstractions in the iconography of the period. It is the conflict that identifies these figures, a concept of good and evil that was expressed by St. Paul and Tertullian in their military metaphors of the moral life, and one that remained a basic element in later Western moral philosophy. But it was Prudentius and his illustrators who developed the original metaphor in terms of contemporary warfare. Thus the Virtues all assume the same armour until it becomes the significant attribute that embodies their abstract meaning. If any two warriors appear in Carolingian armour and engage in battle either with each other or with some grotesque beast, they are likely to be identified as a psychomachia theme. If two female figures appear armed with spears, like the two pairs of Virtues at the ends of an arch at Fishlake, Yorkshire, then they are certainly an expression of the psychomachia theme, even if they no longer form part of a coherent series.¹³ This rare English example is probably

inspired by the churches of south-west France, but the position of the Virtues as they stand facing each other with their lances crossed diagonally at the point of transfixing prone human figures is much closer to the capital of Notre-Dame du Port at Clermont-Ferrand. Identification of a psychomachia theme is also certain when the knight is obviously dealing a deathblow to some grotesque creature at his feet, a scene which appears four times in window embrasures at Copford, Essex.¹⁴

The clear labelling in the painting at St-Gilles de Montoire,¹⁵ a Benedictine priory, indicates another variation on the psychomachia theme (Fig. II-11). Here the two Virtues, clad in the usual chain-armour and rounded casques, armed with lances and kite-shaped shields, transfix the Vices lying at their feet. The figure of Luxuria has been completely worn away but that of Ira shows a distorted human figure writhing in bloody agony as Patientia's lance pierces her throat. While the moment of battle is dramatically presented, the moment of triumph is also shown simultaneously, for the hands of a Christ in Majesty reach out to place an elaborate jewelled crown on each knight's helm. The crown had appeared as a subsidiary emblem of triumph of Argenton-Château and Aulnay, but here it is given a much more precise meaning as the heavenly reward bestowed upon those who win the battle against evil. The picture as a whole is part of the apocalyptic and Christological iconography that forms the program of the chapel. Both the crowning and the

violent conflict reflect Prudentius' own concluding words:

... fervent bella horrida, fervent
 ossibus inclusa, fremit et discordibus armis
 non simplex natura hominis; nam viscera limo
 effigiata premunt animam, contra ille sereno
 editus adflatu nigrantis carcere cordis
 aestuat, et sordes arta inter vincla recusat.
 spiritibus pugnant variis lux atque tenebrae,
 distantesque animat duplex substantia vires,
 donec praesidio Christus Deus adsit et omnes
 virtutum gemmas componat sede piata,
 atque, ubi peccatum regnaverat, aurea templi
 atria constituens texat spectamine morum
 ornamenta animae, quibus oblectata decoro
 aeternum solio dives Sapientia regnet.

(ll. 902-15)

The actual identity of the Virtues and Vices shown is not important. Indeed, the action of Patientia is in direct opposition to the actions Prudentius ascribes to that Virtue in her particular combat.

Similar inscriptions of the thirteenth-century wall paintings in the tribune at St-Julien of Brioude also allude directly to Prudentius¹⁶ (Fig. II-12). There were apparently six pairs of Virtues and Vices originally, grouped in threes around the embrasures of two windows on the south and west walls. On the south appear Humilitas-Superbia, Patientia-Ira and Caritas-Cupiditas. On the west appear Fides, Spes and one other. Almost all the inscriptions have become illegible and, following the earlier sculptural conventions, the different Virtues are interchangeable with each other, as are the Vices. However, the appearance of the Virtue figures has been changed quite radically. They are simple female figures dressed in long robes without any armour at all. Instead of a helmet, they have halos as a sign of

their holiness. Only the lance and the position of the Vice remain as symbols of conflict. Even the lance is held more as a staff than as a weapon. The Vices, most of whom are too mutilated to be at all recognizable, would seem to share a certain uniformity. They lie in twisted knots at the feet of the Virtues, but only the posture is grotesque. Judging from the opponents of Spes and Fides, the Vices were conceived as robed women, with long, flowing locks. Only their position and a certain wildness in their expression indicate their true nature. It would seem then that the Brioude artist, whether he actually knew a Prudentius text or not, has reproduced certain elements of that allegory while dispensing with the pictorial conventions that had been established earlier for the psychomachia. Armour, after all, is not *de rigueur* for either Virtues or Vices in Prudentius. In his poem, armour is actually selected according to its symbolic appropriateness for the individual abstractions. In later representations of the psychomachia, contemporary dress is substituted for contemporary armour, so that while the motif of allegorical combat may be weakened, the emphasis on the continuing relevance of these abstractions to man's moral life is retained. At Brioude, too, the Vices have regained some of their original status as humanized opponents of the Virtues and are recognizable, therefore, as part of man's nature, not a purely alien force. It is appropriate that these Virtues should triumph effortlessly in the context of the Last Judgment. For the vault of the chapel

shows a Christ in Majesty while the north wall, directly opposed to the psychomachia,² has one of the most powerful scenes of Hell of all Romanesque art. On the west wall on the other part of the window are two of the elect who receive crowns of glory, a motif that had been combined earlier with the psychomachia; most strikingly at Montoire.

Later representations of the psychomachia use armour less and less, possibly as the emphasis on the triumph of the Virtues and their essential invulnerability is emphasized and the concept of conflict lessened. Until some other system of symbols of the Virtues could be developed, it is the position of the Vice that becomes essential for interpreting a psychomachia theme.

The consistent motif of triumphant Virtue is broken once in the neighbouring region of Guyenne outside Bordeaux. While the great abbey at Blasimon (circa 1160) may be said to be an almost perfect example of the conventional triumph, the neighbouring twelfth-century monastic church at Castelvieil alters the traditional concept in a most surprising manner¹⁷ (Fig. II-13). As the various Saintonge examples prove, the general trend in visual arts was to simplify the psychomachia theme and to minimize the sense of actual conflict, while repeating the form of Virtue triumphant. The sculptor of the third archivolt at Castelvieil was familiar with the Saintonge convention because the three figures on the left half of the archivolt are easily recognizable as Virtues wearing the usual graceful robes and carrying

pointed shields and lances. They balance rather precariously on grotesque Vices, two of which are obviously animal and the third may be a conventional Romanesque demon. Because every other doorway with this theme has carried out a plan of six or eight symmetrical pairs around the arch, the right half of the Castelvieil archivolt has also been assumed to be the same. However, the contortions of these figures cannot be considered as part of the standard psychomachia. Only the Zodiaque study notes the discrepancy, but accounts for it as showing a more serious struggle between the Virtues and Vices. However, a close examination of this archivolt reveals a more dramatic difference. The human figures that are usually identified as Virtues are not armed or even clothed. One Virtue is said to "ploie curieusement les jambes"¹⁸ and indeed two figures kneel in attitudes of supplication. The lowest figure on the right stands but twists and lifts its leg, almost as if leaping up. This is not such a surprising action since the bird-like Vice is clearly taking a large bite out of the figure's shin. Such an action is never part of a psychomachia, especially not one that uses the triumph motif. The second figure seems to almost kneel as it is drawn up towards the top of the arch. The arms reach out in either prayer or resistance to the pull. There is nothing at his feet, but a grotesque shape curves over his head and shoulders. The serious deterioration of the sculptures makes any further description impossible, but the posture of the upper figure is clearly

grotesque and its position is certainly not that of the defeated Vice. The third group shows a grotesque beast-monster devouring another crouching figure, which is too worn to be described. The final and topmost group has another kneeling man being drawn upwards. The aggressor again is too eroded to be recognizable, but the posture is contorted and it evidently attacks the man below it, another reversal of the relative positions of the Virtues and Vices. None of the human figures gives more than token resistance to its foe and its convulsions seem closer to those of agonized Vices than Virtues. The Virtues, on the other hand, are always represented as human and never by means of monsters or grotesques. This doorway cannot show even the temporary victory of Vice, for the archivolt has no narrative sequence and each group stands alone as part of a decorative series. What can this struggle mean in the context of a church's west portal? The iconography of the rest of the door, such as the elders, is apocalyptic, like the doorways of Saintonge. Therefore, a scene of damnation would not be out of place. I believe this archivolt of Castelvieil combines both the victory over evil, symbolized by the psychomachia figures on the left side, and the punishments of the damned on the right. Such a combination, while unique to this example, would not be out of place as a theme in the iconography of the Last Judgment. The motif of monster-beasts devouring naked men and women is a traditional iconography for Hell and damnation although not perhaps as famous as the

Leviathan mouth and torture by fire. The motif appears very clearly at Beaulieu as part of the Last Judgment where Hell is represented solely by four monsters, two of which devour naked human beings (Fig. II-14). Wall paintings at Brioude and Montoire also include the psychomachia as a specific theme linked to a scheme of the Last Judgement. However, the balanced contrast within the single frame of the archi-volt is an innovation peculiar to Castelvieil alone. Another detail that may also support this interpretation of the iconography is that the top human figure appears to carry a pouch suspended from his neck. The presence of the miser and his moneybag in Hell, tortured by demons, was a very popular subsidiary theme in almost any representation of the punishments of Hell. It was elevated into a decorative motif of its own at Sainte-Croix in Bordeaux itself.

While Castelvieil may represent an original juxtaposition of two distinct iconographic themes, the psychomachia figures are clearly present and easily identifiable because they conform to the model established in south-west France in the twelfth century. This is not true of another twelfth-century work that has been consistently cited as an example of a psychomachia. When the essential characteristics of the iconography of the psychomachia are considered, the identification of the unusual wall painting at Claverley, Shropshire, becomes more problematic than available studies of these paintings would suggest.¹⁹ Aside from sculptures around the south portal at Malmesbury²⁰ which, despite their

great deterioration, are clearly an English variation on the basic Saintonge forms, and two fonts at Stanton-Fitzwarren, Wiltshire, and Southrop, Gloucester, these paintings are the only extensive work of the late twelfth century still extant in England that is considered to be a psychomachia. The most detailed description of the painting by E.W. Tristram even attempts to identify particular combatants as specific Virtues and Vices as they appear in Prudentius. It is true that the theme of the paintings placed so prominently within a church is unlikely to be secular or to represent purely historical events. As the earlier examples studied in France indicate, the psychomachia theme tends to appear almost invariably in a monastic context, and All Saints, Claverley, was a collegiate foundation, not a simple parish church. At this point in time the psychomachia is still a relatively novel theme, and its allegorical interpretation presupposes a relatively intellectual response and a certain amount of literary knowledge on the part of the viewer. In fact, in at least half of the examples, inscriptions were added to clarify the meaning of the sculpture or painting. If the inscriptions are dispensed with, the artist relied upon two basic elements of the iconography of the motif: the "triumphant" position of the Virtue, armed or not, and an extreme contrast in form between the Virtue and Vice, with the latter often becoming purely monstrous. At Claverley both motifs are absent and yet no inscriptions are provided to clarify the meaning of the various combats. Nor do the

paintings represent the details of individual combats, as described by Prudentius. The knights, all indistinguishable from each other, fight on horseback in tournament style and do not employ the great variety of modes of combat suggested by Prudentius and amplified by his illustrators. For example, Tristram suggests that the last defeated knight in the sequence must be Pride because he is shown falling from his horse whose bridle flies free. Not only would this pairing be out of sequence according to Prudentius, but the knight is not falling through his own recklessness but because his opponent has unhorsed him with a lance. The action is, in fact, similar to and almost a continuation of the action shown in the second combat. In Prudentius Pride falls as his horse stumbles into the pit dug by Fraus while Mens Humilis, her opponent, simply stands by impassively. Only after Pride has fallen does the Virtue act and then it is to decapitate her fallen enemy with a sword. Finally, all the knights in the wall painting are male while Virtues, even in armour, are usually female. While some examples may show them as male, they were represented more and more consistently as female in later versions. The armour of the Claverley knights is similar to the armour of the Virtues shown elsewhere, but since this is simply twelfth-century armour, it has no significance in itself. The interpretation of the Claverley wall painting as a simple representation of a Prudentius psychomachia appears to be mistaken.

The clear pattern of victory and defeat that is shown

and its position in the church do indicate that some form of moral conflict between good and evil is intended. The only comparable works of art I have discovered are the friezes of Angoulême cathedral, which show first a series of knights on horseback who crush monsters with their lances in individual combats around the archivolt of the central door of the west facade; and then, on the right false tympanum, a series of combats between knights on horseback (Fig. II-15). The first of these has been interpreted as a symbol of the war against vices and the monster-opponents of the knights together with the apocalyptic iconography of the whole facade would support this view.²¹ The other combat has been suggested as an allusion to a famous cavalry battle at Cutanda, a victory over the Moslems. In this case, a contemporary historical event has been given a greater significance as another symbol of the continuing battle between the forces of good and evil. A new study by L.V. Seidel on the origins and influences on the iconography of the armed rider so popular in Romanesque art²² suggests a possible means of interpreting the English wallpainting, although her work is concerned almost exclusively with continental examples. She develops the allegorical dimension perceived in chronicles and romances of Charlemagne's wars against the infidel. Such an interpretation is a form of psychomachia, but one that is derived from actual history rather than from Prudentius. Her view is supported by the frequent appearance of the armed rider in close association with the Prudentius

psychomachia sculptures in the various churches that have been described earlier. The most striking example occurs at Parthenay.²³ As such juxtapositions make clear, the knights in battle are not a variation on the Prudentian concept but represent an allegorical interpretation attached to an historical event, a method that seems close to the typological reading of Scripture. It may be that a similar allegorical interpretation of contemporary history was intended at Claverley, but without a definite historical reference, the key to a final interpretation is lost.

In contrast to Claverley, the abbey church of St. Aubin in Angers²⁴ provides a further example of the spreading influence of the psychomachia motif of the Saintonge region as well as the possibility of another, different treatment of the same theme. The two doorways that constitute the only extant remains of this great monastic centre both contain sculptural variations on the psychomachia. The refectory doorway leading from the south cloister is surmounted by three archivolts, and the top one contains six armed Virtue figures, each trampling on a demon Vice. The iconography and style are both close imitations of that already described in other contemporary examples in Saintonge, derived from St. Pierre Aulnay.

Arcades on the right side of the chapter house doorway, while also revealing the strong influence in style of Poitou,²⁵ develop a more complex theme of the struggle between good and evil (Fig. II-16). One of the corner angles

contains a winged dragon that is usually considered a symbol of evil, although the rest of the sculpture has been destroyed so that it cannot be said whether the dragon is engaged in battle with a symbol of virtue, such as St. Michael, or whether it is devouring a damned soul. Another corner angle clearly shows David fighting with Goliath, a theme often associated with the psychomachia, as will be demonstrated later on. However, it is the archivolt above the winged dragon that may be the most direct expression of a psychomachia. Pairs of warriors face each other in combat along the curve of the arch. Each pair forms a separate unit by itself, and there is no narrative sequence apparent. The warrior on the left in each pair wears a long robe and pointed helm, and is armed with a sword and kite-shaped shield. He stands in an identical position each time in an attitude of passive defence. The opponents on the right wear shorter tunics and attack with a variety of weapons, including a cross-bow and battle-axe. One warrior on the left remains seated grasping an upright spear in the right hand and what may be a scroll in the left, while his opponent rushes forward brandishing an axe. The costume of the warriors on the left is very close to that usually seen on the clearly identified Virtues while their posture of defence is consonant with the Prudentius allegory that clearly marks each Vice as the aggressor. The various weapons carried by the warriors on the right are similar to those of various Prudentius illustrations. For example, Cultura

Deorum wields an axe,²⁶ Superbia also wields an axe,²⁷ Patientia is attacked with clubs, maces, bows and arrows and Superbia also swings a scourge.²⁸ The most striking parallel to Prudentius is the pair of combatants on the far right of the arc. The figure on the left is seated, holding a spear in his left hand as if it were a staff and has what may be a scroll in his right hand. His opponent, whose head is crowned by a high rounded shape, rushes forward grasping an axe in both hands. The contrasting poses of the figures, together with the spear and scroll of the figure on the left, is strongly reminiscent of manuscript illustrations of the battle between Patientia and Ira. Patientia appears as a warrior, contrary to Prudentius' text, and is often armed with a spear or shield. In some illustrations she also carries a scroll.²⁹ Despite her arms, however, she remains completely passive under the onslaught of Ira who invariably attacks her energetically with a variety of weapons, such as a club, sword or arrows, depending upon the whim of the artist. The bristled helmet of Ira was also open to a number of visual interpretations and sometimes appears as a kind of halo in manuscripts of Group II.³⁰ The high, rounded shape over the head of the Angers warrior may be a variation of this idea.

The chapter house doorway is considered to be somewhat earlier than the refectory doorway³¹ and therefore may have been carved before the Aulnay model established a more general iconographic mode for the psychomachia theme. However,

the absence of identifying inscriptions means that any identification must remain problematic. The tendency in general descriptions of various monuments to classify any group of fighting figures as either psychomachia or the seven deadly sins cannot be justified without reference to some definite literary source. As the examples at Aulnay and Clermont-Ferrand clearly demonstrate, the source for the iconography was literary and required particular verbal labelling because it was not universally recognizable. Angoulême and Claverley lack this identification and neither follows the one model that did become established as a norm; that is, the psychomachia of St. Pierre at Aulnay. Angers also lacks inscriptions but the composition with its clearly defined pairs of warriors, the consistent representation of the warriors on the left in the most common armour of the Virtues and the one scene that shows a possible confrontation between Patientia and Ira, makes the interpretation of this sculpture as a psychomachia theme more probable. The lack of narrative sequence actually supports the identification because most clearly marked examples in art, with the exception of Clermont-Ferrand, do not attempt to reproduce a narrative sequence but present instead a balanced series of static symbols.

While Claverley and Angers illustrate the difficulties of identifying a psychomachia subject without accompanying text, the famous crypt of St. Nicholas at Tavant³² provides a good example of how the iconographical context of a work

can supply an alternative means of identification. Although the complete program at Tavant has yet to be defined satisfactorily, recent studies have shown conclusively that the crypt does represent the working out of a series of definite and complex theological and moral themes. This is not so surprising when the history of this small parish church with its close dependence upon the great abbey of Marmoutier is considered. Indeed, it seems likely that monastic artists actually conceived and executed the building and frescoes. And, as in the churches of Saintonge, a psychomachia theme appears within a monastic context.

In this instance, the psychomachia is simply a single symbol incorporated into a larger, more complex iconographic program. The imperfect condition of the frescoes presents a number of insoluble problems for the art historian, but it seems clear that the crypt does represent the working out of a unified symbolic program whose sophistication of theme and purpose would equal the obviously brilliant execution. The artists of Tavant, like the sculptors of Saintonge, chose the theme of the conflict between good and evil as one of the central motifs of their iconography. But at Tavant the sense of continuous and violent conflict and confrontation between these two cosmic forces is emphasized rather than diminished and is expressed by a variety of symbols derived from different sources. The psychomachia painting is not treated as a theme complete in itself, as it is when it appears in the archivolts of a doorway, but is a single

element in the symbolic patterns of the crypt. It could be used in this way, however, because of the consistent simplification that other sculptors and painters had imposed upon the original Prudentius allegory (Fig. II-17). At Tavant, the figures reveal all the essential traits that define the psychomachia, so that recognition is immediate and certain, even without inscriptions. A tall female warrior, clad in chain-mail corselet and rounded helm, and holding the conventional kite-shaped shield, thrusts her long spear through the body of a red-ochre, monkey-like demon whose grimacing face reveals his essential bestiality. Both Virtue and Vice thus bear a close relationship to those of Saintonge. But there are also significant changes. The demon stands in front of the Virtue as an equal opponent, like the Avarice of Clermont-Ferrand, and although he has presumably received his death-blow, the struggle continues. He holds a broken spear in his left hand while he grasps the shaft of the Virtue's spear in a vain effort to wrest her weapon away from her. Similarly, the shield is not resting lightly on the ground as a support for the Virtue, but is held high on her arm in a position of defence. This is one of the few examples of a psychomachia outside of manuscript illustration that shows the Vice armed and giving more than token resistance. While the dramatic force of the scene and its emphasis on brutal conflict is closer in conception to the battle in Prudentius, the figures themselves and their action totally lack individuality. They are simply representative

of good and evil in general and have no direct connection to the literary text from which their appearance and action is ultimately derived.

Tavant also demonstrates another possible way of extending the psychomachia iconography into other themes. The spear, which first appears in this context as the weapon on Virtue, appears again significantly in three more important scenes. It is the weapon used by Christ in the scene of the Delivery of Adam and Eve from Hell. The Saviour's left hand thrusts the spear into a monstrous horned Satan with a movement identical to that of the Virtue against the demon. In this economical way the artist indicates the moral significance of Christ's Passion. The spear also appears in the hand of the great Vice figure, Luxure, who delivers her own death wound as she stands opposed, physically and morally, to the Virgin Mary (Fig. II-18). The motif of the suicide of Vice, like the weapon, is also derived ultimately from Prudentius, but both symbols are here juxtaposed to the richer iconography of Redemption in which they participate as part of the moral paradox of Christ's victory: whose death conquers death and delivers man from his own mortal sin.

There is possibly one more psychomachia theme placed towards the rear of the crypt, behind the Virgin Mary and opposed to what may be fragments of the scenes of Cain and Abel. According to rather confused descriptions, this pillar also has another armed warrior who carries a shield and

transfixes a female figure with his lance. This would be a repetition of the same motif except for the change in the Vice's sex. In both cases the paintings directly across from these combatants are unidentified, so that the full significance of the battles remains obscure. The warrior and demon are clearly taken from the psychomachia tradition, but the second pair, while almost certainly symbolizing the victory of good over evil, may not be in the Prudentius form at all but be drawn from another source. It seems unlikely that the artists of Tavant with such rich sources of iconography before them would choose to repeat an almost identical scene rather than to import another motif and thereby extend the symbolism. Another possible interpretation of these figures is discussed in Chapter V.

This survey of Romanesque examples of the psychomachia theme demonstrates certain important trends in the adaptation of the literary allegory to visual forms. Not only has the battle motif been considerably weakened, but the very nature of the Vice-opponent has changed. In all the earlier examples and, of course, in the Prudentius illustrations, the Vices were shown as human figures on a more or less equal basis to the Virtues. A few later Anglo-Saxon manuscripts do introduce one or two demonic Vices but this is definitely a departure from the original intention of both poet and illustrator. Prudentius' allegory assumes that both virtue and vice are different and incompatible tendencies within the soul of man. But monastic writers, following

traditional ascetic spirituality established by the teachings of the desert fathers, developed a concept of sins as evil demons who attacked the soul from the outside or who could enter into the soul of man as agents of evil.³³ The visual representations of such demons draw upon conventions associated with the infernal and diabolical world. It is probably the influence of this view of the nature of evil that transforms the Saintonge Vices into demonic, non-human figures. In this respect, Blasimon may serve as the supreme example of the expression of this concept:

C'est sans effort que ces minces figures idéales des Vertus dont le vêtement aux petits plis serrés moule le corps qui s'allonge à l'extrême, l'emportent sur les Vices hideuses bêtes grouillantes et rampantes qu'elles foulent aux pieds. Du glaive ou de la lance, protégées par ces longs boucliers qu'on portait vers 1160-70, et qui conviennent à leur maniérisme racé, elles dominent plus qu'elles ne luttent, victorieuses, si l'on peut dire, de toute éternité.³⁴

Thus the twelfth-century shift in the iconography of the *Psychomachia* results from a major change in the whole nature of the allegory and is founded upon a theological definition of evil that is radically different from that of Prudentius' allegory. For the original *Psychomachia* is primarily psychological in its aim and attempts to explain the nature of human morality. As such it is firmly-rooted in temporal society. Prudentius makes this clear both by setting his battle within the soul of man and by adopting the forms of battle familiar to his society. His illustrators understood his purpose very well, so that they do not hesitate to substitute contemporary armour and weapons in place

of the classical armour of the original. A thirteenth-century version even goes so far as to interpret the Virtues and Vices as nuns and burgesses respectively (B.N. ms. lat. 15158). But this change goes beyond the customary up-dating of illustrations and becomes a pointed comment on contemporary society. The identifying of any one particular social group as vicious or virtuous undercuts the essential theme of the allegory, which is that moral conflict is present in every individual soul. In most examples, however, the use of contemporary costume merely emphasizes the continuing universality of this theme.

Later examples of a more or less simple psychomachia, without the additions and refinements introduced in the thirteenth century, present these basic elements in a final brilliant variation. These monuments, following a pattern of local repetition similar to that of the early examples in south-west France, are all to be found in the area of Strasbourg. Once again, local taste and the influence of one important church seem to be the simplest explanation for such a concentration on the theme. The sculptors of the west porch of the cathedral in Strasbourg³⁵ chose to give the psychomachia theme an unusual prominence among the iconographical motifs of the facade. The north side door of the facade presented the childhood of Christ in its tympanum while the pillars have a row of triumphant Virtues on either side of the door (Fig. II-19). This is the only time in sculpture that the psychomachia figures are taken out of the

archivolts and placed in such dominant positions on a west facade. It is not surprising that later artists should reproduce this theme, albeit in stained glass, throughout the district.

Even at this late date, circa 1290-1310, the figures cannot be definitely identified by their physical attributes. Each Virtue and its corresponding Vice is duly provided with an identification scroll. The names unfortunately are no longer legible and the series provides no obvious differentiation among the figures to associate them with particular Virtues and Vices. Nevertheless, the traditional pose of the figures readily proclaims the theme of the triumph of Virtue over Vice. The female Virtues grasp a long lance with which they pin the Vice figures to the ground, at the same time that they balance easily upon the backs of these female Vices. The Virtues no longer wear armour but simple contemporary robes that fall in graceful folds around them. Instead of helmets they wear a variety of jewelled circlets and, occasionally, a modish veil. The Vices contrast even more dramatically with their twelfth-century predecessors. They, too, are all female and completely human. All demonic or even grotesque elements have been eliminated so that the Vices differ from the Virtues primarily in terms of dress and recumbent position. All of them wear a wide variety of headdress that identifies them most certainly as affluent burgesses, an interpretation that may reveal a certain sardonic humour in the minds of the sculptors, as well as a

taste for social satire. This humanizing of these allegorical figures, while it represents part of the general impulse toward naturalism that began to develop in late gothic art, has important implications for the treatment of allegory. The new iconography of the psychomachia, while apparently absent from Strasbourg, has nevertheless left its mark. The Virtue figures, brilliantly conceived as they are, stand as noble human beings rather than the embodiment of abstract principles. The Vices also are simply examples of bad women, not final causes of sin. The allegory has lost most of its cosmic significance and is to be read in simple social and moral terms. It is this limitation that enables the sculptor to make his little satiric point with the bourgeois costuming. As the iconography of the Virtues and Vices of Notre Dame of Paris demonstrates (see below), the thirteenth century re-emphasized the psychological interpretation of the psychomachia that had been the theme of the Prudentius poem. This in turn led to an iconography that used contemporary costumes and customs to a larger degree than before. The Strasbourg figures, however, tried to retain the older iconography and to interpret it in naturalistic or psychological terms. The result is a certain ambiguity about these figures and the moral combat they represent. The Vices can only be recognized by their position, which does not appear to cause them more than a slight discomfort. Their evil must be read from a close psychological interpretation of their human features, a rather dangerous task. True, the

Vices do have sly, secretive expressions that disquiet an on-looker, particularly when he realizes how very lightly they are pinned down by the Virtues. The Virtues suffer from the moral ambiguity that all purely human figures, no matter how good, must possess. The smile of righteous triumph that is appropriate to a victorious Virtue comes close to smug complacency or even priggishness. No wonder each figure carries a clear identity card. The solution, as Prudentius had also suggested in the rich figures of Luxuria and Avaritia, was to show the Vice's effects in terms of human behaviour.

The sculpture of Strasbourg encouraged a number of local interpretations of this theme, all in stained glass and all almost identical in iconography. The earliest of the three extant examples was created for the church at Mulhouse, outside Strasbourg, in about 1370.³⁶ The windows that are left indicate that the psychomachia was juxtaposed to the seven works of mercy, a contrast that was popular in the later Middle Ages, although it usually took the form of the seven works of mercy set against the seven deadly sins.³⁷

Unlike the Strasbourg sculptures, the Mulhouse figures preserve a stronger contrast between the feminine Virtues and Vices. The Virtues are swathed in long, heavy robes and wear decent wimples while the Vices are more fashionably décolletée, with flowing hair. The Virtues in two of the remaining fragments pin the Vice to the ground with a billhook rather than a spear. The suitability of this weapon rather than the traditional spear may have been suggested by

its frequent appearance in scenes of the Last Judgment and Hell where it is employed to prod the reluctant damned souls towards the flames. However, this is the only possible allusion to any demonic element in this psychomachia, since the Vices retain their full humanity and beauty. There is not even the suggestion of subtle psychological characterization as at Strasbourg.

The inscriptions at Mulhouse indicate that while the basic iconography is still that originally derived from Prudentius, the artists were aware of the new lists of Virtues and Vices that had been introduced in the thirteenth century. The pairs that remain—Patientia-Ira, Sobrietas-Gula, Fortitudo-Accidia, Largitas-Avaritia, Caritas-Invidia—differing as they do from the Prudentian pairs—Fides-Cultura Deorum, Pudicitia-Libido, Patientia-Ira, Superbia-Mens Humilis, Luxuria-Sobrietas, Operatio (Largitas)-Avaritia, Fides-Discordia—owe more to penitential treatises such as Ambrose of Autpert's *Liber de Conflictu Vitiorum et Virtutum*, the pseudo-Hugonian *De Fructibus Carnis et Spiritus* and *Somme Le Roi* than to the *Psychomachia*.

Niederhaslach, a relatively small church, constructed by a son of the master architect of Strasbourg cathedral, was part of the diocese of Strasbourg and served as a collegiate foundation for the canons of St. Augustine.³⁸ Obviously, the ties to the cathedral were extremely close, and the principal worshippers in that church were educated men well-versed in theology and philosophy. This may account

for the varied and detailed iconographic program of the stained-glass windows, all dating from the end of the fourteenth century.³⁹ It may also explain the presence of a large number of inscriptions that are worked into the fifth window on the north side of the nave (Fig. II-20). This window, whose lower border carries the apparently mutilated title "Conflict Vir tute e viciorum et victoria", consists of twelve medallions, each representing a Virtue and a Vice. Despite the very traditional postures of the psychomachia, it seems to have been necessary to identify and comment upon each figure. So each Virtue and each Vice has a banner with a name upon it, and worked into the background of each scene is a text that comments upon these abstractions. This is the only window that carries such inscriptions for even the other allegorical window, representing the Works of Mercy, is felt to be self-evident without verbal explanations.

The figures themselves are, in the traditional mode and obviously strongly influenced by the Strasbourg sculptures. All the Virtues and Vices are female, clad in long, flowing robes. The Virtues wear their hair loose under jewelled crowns while their dress is fairly elaborate, often including a cloak or overdress. The most remarkable detail is their posture: they all remain seated on thrones from which position they pin down the Vices with bill hooks, a weapon already in use at Mulhouse. The Vices, all wearing elaborate coiffures or wimples, recline gracefully at the feet of the Virtues. Although the pose is natural rather than

hieratic, it is as far removed from a picture of conflict or even hard-won victory as could be imagined. The figures themselves have become only shorthand symbols that stand for a certain system of moral abstractions that is no longer tied to any particular text, but can be applied freely as an illustration of any pair of opposite moral qualities. Although each figure is carefully labelled and supplied with a commentary, the artist has made no attempt to differentiate among the various virtues and vices in any way that would reveal their varied natures.

The list of Virtues and Vices at Niederhaslach indicates how far the motif has been removed from the Prudentius text. The pairs are as follows:

Patientia — Impaciencia
 Largitas — Avaritia
 Fides — Incredulitas
 Spes — Desperancia
 Correccio — Detraccio
 Justitia — Iniquitas
 Sapiencia — Stulticia
 Humilitas — Superbia
 Simplicitas — Fraus
 Taciturnitas — Multiloquium
 Castitas — Luxuria
 Celestis Amor — Amor Seculi

Of these pairs, only Patiencia, Largitas, Fides and Humilitas with their partners are found in Prudentius. Spes and Fraus are also in the poem, but only as secondary characters without partners. Castitas in Prudentius is challenged by Libido, while Luxuria, a more complex figure than Lust, is

opposed by Sobrietas, a virtue omitted in the Niederhaslach series. While most of the non-Prudentius pairs appear in new thirteenth-century representations of series of Virtues and Vices,⁴⁰ Celestis Amor and Amor Seculi seem to be peculiar to this church and may represent a special reminder of the monastic vocation of the Augustinian canons.⁴¹

A second example of the same arbitrary assigning of particular names to undifferentiated psychomachia figures occurs in one of the windows of Strasbourg cathedral itself (Fig. II-21). The Virtues and Vices are so similar to those of Niederhaslach that it seems probable that one window is a copy of the other.⁴² Strasbourg omits the commentary and assigns quite a different list of Virtues and Vices:

Humilitas — Superbia * **
 Fides — Idolatria * **
 Simplicitas — Fraus * **
 Temperancia — Gula
 Justitia — Iniquitas **
 Sapiencia — Stulticia **
 Spes — Desperancia **
 Fortitudo — Incidiae
 Concordia — Discordia *
 Castitas — Luxuria **
 Largitas — Avaritia * **
 Caritas — Invidia

(A single * denotes these pairs that are derived from Prudentius and two ** indicate those that are also found at Niederhaslach.) Again, the influence of thirteenth-century changes in the list of Virtues and Vices is present. Strasbourg seems to be a version of the seven cardinal virtues with

additions of figures from Prudentius. What is interesting is that the new iconography of Paris that substitutes static contrast of Virtues and Vices for actual combat between them⁴³ has made virtually no impact because all these representations, the Strasbourg sculptures and the three windows, no matter how variously labelled, are all derived from the simple basic motif of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹Louis Bréhier, "Les traits originaux de l'iconographie dans la sculpture romane de l'Auvergne," *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. Wilhelm R.W. Koehler (1939; rpt. New York: Books for Libraries, 1969), p. 394; Marcel Aubert, *La Sculpture française au moyen âge* (Paris: Flammarion, 1946), pp. 144-45; Paul Deschamps, "Le Combat des Vertus et des Vices sur les portails romans de la Saintonge et du Poitou," *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 79 (1912), p. 50; Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France 987-1498* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 128; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 8.

²Raymond Rey, *L'Art des cloîtres romans: Etude iconographique* (Toulouse: Privat, n.d.), p. 136; Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *Les Chapiteaux de Sant Cugat del Valles* (Paris: Leroux, 1931), pp. 78-90. Unfortunately, no photograph of this capital could be acquired and the reader is directed to these two studies for the only available reproduction.

³Louis Réau et G. Cohen, *L'Art du moyen âge et la civilisation française* (Paris: Michel, 1951), p. 256; Paul Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1916), p. 312.

⁴Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser VIII.-XI. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1914-23), no. 10; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 15, Fig. 13.

⁵Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 8, note 1. There seems to be a great variation in the dates assigned to these mosaics, ranging from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), I, p. 378; Eugène Müntz, *Etudes iconographiques et archéologiques sur le moyen âge* (Paris: Leroux, 1887), pp. 18-22; Raimond van Marle, *History of Italian Painting: from the 6th until the end of the 13th century* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1923), I, p. 227. I have been unable to obtain pictures of these mosaics but they are reproduced in all three of the studies listed.

⁶Bloomfield, p. 56.

⁷Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, p. 440; Deschamps, p. 50; Aubert, *Sculpture française*, p. 130; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 17-18; G. Sanoner, "Analyse du portail de l'église St-Gilles à Argenton-Château (Deux Sèvres)," *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 46 (1903), 397-405.

⁸Deschamps, pp. 70-73; Réau et Cohen, p. 198; George Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066-1140* (London: Tiranti, 1951), p. 41; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 18-19; Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, p. 102; A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923), I, pp. 331-32; Figs. 984 and 985.

⁹Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 17-19; Deschamps, p. 50; Mâle,

L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France, p. 440.

¹⁰F. Eygun, *Saintonge romane* (Paris: Zodiaque, 1970), p. 384.

¹¹Varaize, Pont l'Abbé d'Arnoult, Saint-Symphorien and Parthenay; Eygun, pp. 384-85; Deschamps, p. 72.

¹²Aubert, *Sculpture française*, p. 75; Eygun, pp. 256-58.

¹³George Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210* (London: Tiranti, 1953), pp. 37-38, Pl. 83.

¹⁴The only available reproduction, of poor quality, appears in this study: E.W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: Twelfth Century* (The Pilgrim Trust; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 115-18; Pls. 76 and 77.

¹⁵Réau et Cohen, p. 246; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 20; Clémence-Paul Duprat, "Enquête sur la peinture murale en France à l'époque romane," *Bulletin Monumental*, 102 (1943-44), 53; Paul-Henri Michel, *La Fresque romane* (Paris: Tisné, 1961), p. 211; Paul Gamard, "Montoire," *Touraine romane* (Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1952), pp. 44-63.

¹⁶Michel, *La Fresque romane*, p. 206; L. Brion-Guerry, *Fresques romanes de France* (Milan: Electa, 1958), p. 60; Paul Deschamps and Marc Thibout, *La Peinture murale en France: le haut moyen âge et l'époque romane* (Paris: Plon, 1951), pp. 13-14; Guy Nicot, *Basilique Saint-Julien de Brioude* (Collection "Le Bibliophile en Auvergne," XIV; Clermont-Ferrand: de Bussac, 1967), pp. 110-13.

¹⁷Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, Figs. 926 and 927; Dubourg-Noves, *Guyenne romane* (Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1969), pp. 296-97; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 19.

¹⁸Dubourg-Noves, p. 297.

¹⁹E.W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Paintings: Twelfth Century*, pp. 111-12; Pls. 72 and 73. These are the only reproductions available of these wall paintings. I have not been able to ascertain their present condition. See also A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 11; Tancred Borenius and E.W. Tristram, *English Medieval Painting* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1926), p. 4.

²⁰Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 39-40, Figs. 95 and 96; M.D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 81; O. Elfrida Saunders, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1932; rpt. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1969), p. 89; Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 38.

²¹Kingslley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, Figs. 931 and 932; L'Atelier du Coeur-Meurtry, *Angoulême* (Pierre-Qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1963), p. 15; Charles Daras, "Angoulême," *Angoumois romane* (Pierre-Qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1959), p. 87.

²²Linda V. Seidel, "Holy Warriors: The Romanesque Rider and the Fight Against Islam," *The Holy War*, ed. Thomas Patrick Murphy (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976).

²³Seidel, p. 36.

²⁴Canon Urseau, "Angers et Saumur," *Congrès Archéologique de France: Angers et Saumur*, 77 (1910), 219-20; Deschamps, p. 65; Aubert, *Sculpture française*, p. 139; Arthur Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture in France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), pp. 143-44.

²⁵Ursseau, p. 220.

²⁶Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS. 977.

²⁷Berne, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 264; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 977; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 975.

²⁸Leyden, University Library, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 977; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 975.

²⁹London, B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. viii.

³⁰Leyden, University Library, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 25; London, B.M. Add. MS. 24199.

³¹Ursseau, p. 220.

³²Paul-Henri Michel, *Les Fresques de Tavant* (1944; rpt. Paris: du Chêne, 1956); Brion-Gueffry, p. 50; Claude Jean-Nesmy, "Tavant," *Touraine romane* (Pierre-Qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1952), pp. 186-231.

³³Bloomfield, pp. 50-63.

³⁴Dubourg-Noves, p. 300.

³⁵Roland Recht, *La Cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Stuttgart: Müller und Schindler, 1971), pp. 70-71; Gardner, p. 369; Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p. 105; Hans Haug, Robert Will et al., *La Cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: La Société des Amis de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg, 1957); pp. 82-83.

³⁶J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Mülhausen: Meininger, 1907), II; Robert Bruck, *Die Elsassische Glasmalerei: vom Beginn des XII. bis zum Ende des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg: Heinrich, 1902), I, p. 65, Pl. 39. The Mulhouse windows are no longer intact so I have supplied photographs of the remaining complete windows at Niederhaslach and Strasbourg.

³⁷Bloomfield, pp. 17, 366, 379-80.

³⁸W. Friedrich, *Niederhaslach*, 2 ed. rev. (Munich and Zurich: Schnell und Steiner, 1972).

³⁹Friedrich, pp. 12-15; Bruck, pp. 72-85; Marcel Aubert, *Le Vitrail en France* (Paris: Larousse, 1946), p. 59; Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p. 105.

⁴⁰Paris, Amiens, Riems and Chartres. Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p. 109; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 75-84.

⁴¹A number of rather similar pairs of opposed Virtues and Vices appear in the *Liber de Conflictu Vitiorum et Virtutum* by Ambrose of Autpert. These include Humilitas-Superbia, Patientia-Ira, Libertas justae correctionis-Detractio, Spes-Desperatio, Discretia taciturnitas-Multiloquium, Castitas-Luxuria, Innocentia-Fraus, Amor patriae coelestis-Amor praesentis saeculi. Since this is a penitential treatise directed towards a monastic audience (see Chapter III), the parallel concept may suggest that the Niederhaslach window was also created for a similar monastic group.

⁴²Bruck, p. 71; Aubert, *Le Vitrail en France*, p. 51; Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p. 105.

⁴³Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 75-81; Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, pp. 109, 113-27.

CHAPTER III
ICONOGRAPHIC VARIATIONS OF THE
PSYCHOMACHIA IN MANUSCRIPTS

The survey of sculpture and wall painting in the previous chapter illustrates the profound and continuous influence of the Prudentius illustrations upon the style and iconography of the representation of the conflict between good and evil, virtues and vices, throughout the Middle Ages, with examples that range from the ninth to the fourteenth century. Not surprisingly, however, variations in the model conceived by Prudentius were gradually introduced and these are closely linked to particular literary texts. Some of the more radical changes arose from the adaptation of Prudentius illustrations to new allegorical texts whose content demanded that the actual significance of the pictures be altered while retaining much of the original form.

One of the earliest examples of this trend is incorporated into a tenth-century manuscript from Tours of the *Psychomachia*, B.N. ms. lat. 8318.¹ The text of the poem breaks off in the manuscript at f. 52v:

Luxuriae servire volens dominacque fluentis
iura pati et laxa ganeorum lege teneri.
(ll. 342-43)

and does not resume until f. 58:

nequiquam loris auriga comanque madentem
pulvere foedatur. tunc et vertigo rotarum ...
(ll. 413-414)

At this break in the poem a new text is introduced with

accompanying illustrations. The added text is apparently a Latin tract dealing with eight Virtues and Vices. The Vices are presented simply as a list of eight cardinal sins with subdivisions. For example, in the left column under the heading, "De Superbia", are "contemnritur(?), invidia, odium, inoboedientia, blasphemia, murmuratio, detractio" (f. 53). The Virtues, in contrast, have longer notes on their function as remedies or opposites of the Vices, although most of the text consists of quotations from Scripture and admonitions against the Vice. Any interaction between the two sets of abstractions is supplied solely by the illustrations.

The pictures are formed by analogy from some of the Prudentius illustrations² that surround them and possibly from other *Psychomachia* manuscripts as well and, since the text conspicuously lacks any concrete references or imagery, they suggest an allegorical narrative that does not refer to the tract at all. The first Vice, Superbia, is clearly the Prudentius personification: a woman galloping on horseback, a turban on her head and her cloak flying up in an arc above her head. The familiar lion's head is attached to her saddle and in her right hand she levels a spear at Humilitas (Fig. III-1). Although this figure is clearly the same in iconographical terms as that of Superbia in the *Psychomachia*,³ the picture is not identical to that of f. 51 where Superbia's dress, cloak and turban are drawn differently and where the Vice carries a scourge instead of a spear. Humilitas of the tract resembles Mens Humilis more closely in

her long robe with a mantle over her head, but her sword and shield are taken from some other Prudentian source."

The next scene demonstrates the danger of wholesale borrowing from Prudentius. The text indicates a contrast between a Virtue and a Vice and the reader might be expected to interpret the man in the short tunic who stretches out empty hands towards a robed female figure as Gula and the woman who threatens him with a spear while she offers him a round object as Abstinencia (Fig. III-1). But this scene is an exact copy of the illustration accompanying these lines:

porro alium capit intuitu fallitque videntem,
insigne ostentans aliquid quod dum petit ille;
excipitur telo incautus cordisque sub ipso
saucius occulto ferrum suspirat adactum.

(ll. 486-89)

The aggressor here is Avaritia and the picture must be considered as an example of the fruits of greed and unworthy desire. Its use in the tract, however, where the woman could easily seem to be a Virtue who both tempts and punishes, renders the illustration somewhat ambiguous to say the least. One suspects that the artist may have confused Avaritia with Sobrietas who wears a similar robe and who carries a round stone (f. 58).

The next pair of Virtue and Vice shows a much better understanding of the *Psychomachia* illustrations (Fig. III-2). The figure of Sobrietas as she appears on f. 58 is copied exactly to represent Castitas. Fornicatio in turn is a copy of one of the dancers who represents the life of debauchery which almost conquers the Virtues (f. 52v). Her weapon, a

bow with two arrows, is taken from one of Luxuria's followers, Amor (f. 58v). This pair clearly represents the allegorical conflict between Virtue and Vice, a theme that is continued in the rest of the illustrations although no explicit reference is made to it in the tract.

Avaritia and Largitas who follow next in the tract (f. 53v) are also copied from a Prudentius scene of the same manuscript (f. 60v) (Fig. III-2). Both scenes are somewhat inaccurate according to the poem since Avaritia suddenly becomes male in a short tunic and brandishes a semi-circular shield while Largitas, wearing Roman armour and helmet, carries a circular shield and spear. All other pictures of these two show them both unarmed and in similar robes. Of course, the Virtue in armour is a regular feature of Group II manuscripts.

The other pairs of Virtues and Vices follow the same pattern of borrowing and adaptation (Fig. III-3). Ira and Patientia (f. 54) are clearly copied directly from the Prudentius figures (although the Patientia-Ira episode in the *Psychomachia* is missing in this manuscript) while Tristitia and Gaudium, who do not appear in the poem, are derived from other Prudentius figures. Tristitia who, dressed in a short tunic, sits on a rock and rests both hands on his sword hilt is an amalgam of two figures in the Prudentius illustrations who portray the laying down of arms and the coming of peace after victory (f. 62). Gaudium, Fortitudo and Compunctio cordis appear as Roman soldiers, all similar to the armed

figure of Largitas. Accidia is also a soldier while Vana Gloria is a copy of Luxuria's follower, Pompa (f. 58v) (Fig. III-4).

It would seem then, that where the Prudentius illustrations provided an allegorical figure who was a suitable equivalent to one of the tract's Virtues or Vices, the figure would be simply copied and renamed if necessary. If the *Psychomachia* did not provide a direct equivalent, a new figure would be created by adapting parts of any illustration of the poem regardless of the original intention of that illustration. The four armed Virtues indicate a tendency to reduce the Virtue figures to one common model, the armed female warrior. This simplification was actually of even greater importance in the representation of the psychomachia in sculpture and fresco.

Another example of the tendency to detach Prudentian figures from the original narrative may be observed in two illustrations of the Manerius Bible (Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève ms. 8-10), a late twelfth-century manuscript from Canterbury.⁵ The initial at the beginning of the Psalms (ms. 10, f. 194r) shows Ira attacking Patientia with a raised arrow, while a small picture decorating the Canonical Tables (ms. 10, f. 128r) has Ira lying on the ground transfixed by a spear. Neither picture carries any inscription so that it is the action and appearance of the figures that provide the identification. Katzenellenbogen sees both these illustrations as purely decorative in

function without having any direct connection with the text.⁶ This is probably true for the picture accompanying the Canonical Tables, but the illustration of the Psalms suggests a reference to a figural understanding of David as Patientia threatened by Saul (Ira). (The interpretation of the life of David as a psychomachia is explained more fully in Chapter V.) Certainly the two Manerius Bible illustrations are completely dissociated from any specific allegory and serve only as very general symbols of the conflict between good and evil, a role they had come to play in earlier twelfth-century sculpture.

Two other manuscripts heavily influenced by Prudentius illustrations also show the various ways in which this iconography could be adapted to new textual material. The first of these, B.N. ms. lat. 2077, is a compilation of the work of two theologians, Haltigar of Cambrai, whose treatise was written around 829, and Ambrose of Autpert (d. 777 or 778), selected according to their treatment of the nature of sin and repentance. The collection is apparently directed towards an ascetic way of life and this particular manuscript of the ninth or tenth century is derived from Moissac, a great monastic centre.⁷ The illustrations accompany a treatise on the Virtues and Vices that is a combination of the debates between Virtues and Vices written by Ambrose of Autpert and the commentary on the eight vices by Haltigar of Cambrai. The influence of the Prudentius illustrations in terms of style and general composition of scenes is clear.

enough. Without attempting to make close identification of any one Prudentius manuscript as a source for the Moissac illustrations, it would seem that the visual representation of the Virtues in long, vaguely classical robes and bare feet with human Vices in long or short tunics is consistent with Group I of Prudentius manuscripts which generally derive from French and Anglo-Saxon sources.⁸ A number of naked demons with flame-like hair support the chief Vices, and these figures are more common in Group II (Rhine and Meuse valleys) Prudentius manuscripts.⁹ However, these demons had become a staple form in Romanesque art, and very striking examples of them can be found throughout France, including Moissac itself. The Vices had assumed the same demonic form in some of the psychomachia portals in southwest France.¹⁰ The illustrations of the Moissac manuscript also employ set motifs or details from Prudentius where this is feasible.

Despite these obvious borrowings, the Moissac illustrations are radically different in content and approach from their model, and these differences arise naturally from the nature of the text that is being illustrated. First of all, the concept of a moral conflict expressed in pictures of physical battle is almost completely absent. Both Ambrose and Hiltig used a debate or dialogue form in their treatises, and this structure is more formally emphasized in the Moissac penitential by having each section subtitled "De conflictu ..." with a Virtue and Vice pair. Despite this

attempt at lively interaction, the ~~debates~~ are extremely static, consisting of set speeches or even descriptions contrasting the points of view of a Virtue and Vice. The Virtue may begin by refuting some of the Vice's statements, but quickly moves on to other arguments, and the sense of interaction is lost. The artist reproduced this static quality by placing a single Virtue/Vice pair in each picture and having each figure pursue a course of action totally unaware of its partner in the same frame. The only picture that attempts to demonstrate interaction is the second one (B.M. ms. lat. 2077, f. 163).

Since each picture is consistently incorporated in the manuscript into the actual portion of the text it illustrates, it can be assumed that the first picture was meant to accompany the opening sections of Ambrose and Haltigar and the debate between Superbia and Humilitas. Both writers give extensive lists of sins, and Haltigar tries to establish some kind of hierarchy among them by relating them to the seven principal vices. The illustrator abandoned any attempt to produce an orderly sequence and apparently substituted his own jumble of vices, all demons engaged in frenetic and unrelated activity (Fig. III-5). Wheel or tree images later provided a useful way to convey the concept of various sins growing out of each other, but neither Ambrose nor Haltigar suggest any concrete image that the illustrator could use. What the artist does do is divide the picture into four registers, using the small one at the top as a

kind of window in heaven from which three sorrowing angels regard the anarchy of the three lower registers. Superbia and Humilitas, who are the opponents of the first debate, are used to give some focus or continuity to the scene. In the top register, a crowned Superbia appears seated on a throne and raises a cup in her right hand. Humilitas in a long, classical robe, carrying a palm branch, stands to one side as she gestures towards the throng around Superbia. Her position as well as the palm indicate her heavenly nature. The lowest register shows a half-naked Superbia falling headlong from her former position of power while Humilitas crouches to one side. These two forms of Superbia may be a general reference to the direct comparison of Superbia to Lucifer that is made in the dialogue. The surrounding Vices are all labelled and some are the same as those who appear in subsequent pictures. A few are common to Prudentius and these borrow a few details from the poem. For example, Avaritia wears a loose tunic that bulges with her accumulated wealth and Ifa tears his hair. But the composition of Superbia's court seems to be the illustrator's own general impression and not an attempt to represent any particular idea of the introductory passages in the penitential.

The Prudentius illustrations all attempt to reproduce as literally as possible the action described in the poem. The Moissac illustrator may have intended to do likewise, but his text defeated him. It not only eschews action, but

also remains firmly abstract and generalized. The little concrete detail or imagery is derived almost exclusively from quotations from Scripture. Although each section of the penitential is supposedly a debate, only one scene of a discussion is shown. Evidently the artist recognized that eight identical scenes of two figures speaking would be even more boring visually than it is in the text. Besides, he is more interested in illustrating the content of the speeches rather than the form in which they appear. Thus, the discussion scene actually shows Humilitas refuting two different opponents, both aspects of Superbia (Fig. III-6). The manuscript text at this point deals only with Exultatio or the assumption of unjustified superiority, symbolized in the picture by the physical attributes of kingship. The passage from Ambrose emphasizes speaking and listening, as the command "Audi" is used to introduce each new scriptural quotation against pride. The warrior who stands to the side of Exultatio is labelled Detractio, and it is not clear why he should be opposed to Humilitas. However, a passage in Ambrose (Caput XI) in another debate gives a secondary aspect of Humilitas, the role of reproving sin openly and with a clear conscience as opposed to malicious slander (Detractio). This passage is omitted in the Moissac manuscript but does explain the presence of the odd third figure and perhaps the passage was included in an earlier version of the penitential.¹¹ In any event, the whole picture is so clearly linked to the text, it cannot be correctly interpreted

without referring to the treatise. There is no clear way of identifying the figures and their qualities except by labels that in turn go back to the text. Once the treatise is read, the symbolic meaning of the three figures is explained and the picture can act as a visual summary of the first debate.

The illustration of the second debate (f. 165v) shows more clearly the primary ways in which the Prudentius cycle influenced the illustrator of this manuscript (Fig. III-7). The picture is divided into two scenes. On the left, Inanis Gloria gives a bowl and some other object, probably bread, to two beggars, one of whom is crippled and carries an odd crutch, shaped like a small squared arch. The action and pose are parallel to those of Operatio or Largitas, as she is sometimes labelled in Prudentius manuscripts. Even the beggars and the crutch or bench are the same.¹² But the meaning of the whole picture has been completely altered because of the text it accompanies. The action in this context is that of a Vice, Inanis Gloria, and represents boastful almsgiving for personal glorification. The opposite scene is a literal representation of Matthew VI:3-4. Timor Domini wears the customary long robe of the Virtues and holds a scroll while he talks with a companion. His left hand passes discreetly under his right arm and hands a coin to a waiting beggar. While the Virtue's costume and scroll are common to Prudentius figures, the rest of the scene is not. However, the painstaking translation of a metaphor into simple physical action is the basic technique of the whole

Prudentius cycle. This is one of the best examples of how well the Moissac illustrator understood this technique and could adapt it to a new concept where the text provided the necessary image.

Unfortunately, Ambrose and Haltigar did not tend to use vivid imagery or even to sustain the original allegorical conceit of personified Virtues and Vices. The illustrator was left to invent action that would translate generalities into concrete situations. He accomplishes this with a fair degree of liveliness and ingenuity, but at the expense of intelligibility. The picture that accompanies the debate between Invidia and Congratulatio Fraternalis is one of the best examples of the difficulty of interpretation (Fig. III-8). Again, only the accompanying text can provide clues to the meaning of the illustration, but the relationship between the two is by no means straightforward. The illustration is divided into two registers. On the left sits a melancholy figure resting his chin on one hand and supporting the elbow of this hand in the palm of the other. It is the obvious pose to express deep thought, dejection, or simply the mind turning inward. The figure is labelled Tristitia, a natural error since this did become a traditional pose for the vice of Accidia or Tristitia. However, both writers describe Invidia solely in affective terms, as a state of mind, rather than a Vice that is manifested in any concrete action. The seated figure is a suitable visual metaphor for the totally self-absorbed nature of the Vice

that the treatise describes. Haltigar concludes his description of Invidia by saying that it leads to homicide. The demonic figure who stands behind "Tristitia" (Invidia) brandishing sword and shield may represent this aspect of the Vice. The Virtue who appears in the scene on the right side of the upper register is represented by one figure, named Dileccio (Dilectio) who turns toward a companion. Presumably this sociable gesture is to contrast with the Vice's isolation and is meant to express Congratulatio Fraternalis or the brotherly love that is the remedy of Invidia. Haltigar designates this as a form of "caritas" that is expressed as *delighting* in the well-being of others. Hence the label "Dilectio" for the Virtue.

The lower register of the picture conforms to a common convention of Romanesque art, that of designating the lowest space as the realm of the underworld or the demonic.¹³ The illustrator maintains this convention quite consistently, as demons are always found at the bottom of a picture or moving upward to impinge on the space inhabited by the Vice. In this example, one demon runs towards the left, clutching a two-pronged fork, while two hairy devils battle over a piece of cloth. Once again the text provides a general rationale for these figures. According to both Ambrose and Haltigar: "Invidia siquidem diaboli mors intravit in orbem terrarum" (f. 166v).¹⁴ This is quoted twice in the manuscripts, and the running devil with his fork may be a symbol of this devilish Envy.

The battle over the piece of cloth is a clear enough representation of one manifestation of envy, and Haltigar provides a gloss: "Qui autem invidet, diabolo similis est, qui per invidiam hominem de paradisi felicitate dejecit."¹⁵ The demons then may represent a more active development of the Vice in the ninth century.

However, the role of demons is by no means consistent in the illustrations. In the illustration of Invidia, they perform an action that symbolizes the Vice but elsewhere they appear as tempters who draw a human figure into a particular Vice. This is the case in the next illustration of Ira and Patientia (Fig. III-9). Although all the figures look like those of the Prudentius manuscripts, the scene is quite original. Ira tears his hair and appears to be ready to box an opponent. Two demons, whose devilish nature is indicated only by their nakedness and flame-like hair, encourage him to strip. Patientia ignores this scene and stands quietly holding a set square. The contrasting actions of the two personifications reveal their essential opposition very clearly. The suggestion of interaction emphasizes their conflict more vividly than the text itself suggests. Yet the figure of Patientia with its attribute is quite clearly intended as a visualization of an abstraction, not a human figure performing an action characteristic of a virtue. The virtue figures Delectio and Timor Domini carry no attributes but perform suitable actions, and their scenes might be considered as visual exempla that supplement the

text.

The distinction between symbolic representation of an abstraction and the simpler illustration of action characteristic of the abstraction is not easy to maintain in practice. Even Prudentius blurs the two in his description of Avaritia, and the Moissac manuscript does not have a consistent allegorical approach to guide the illustrator. The difficulty is more apparent in the drawing of Desperatio and Gaudium (Fig. III-10). Gaudium reverts to a picture of a virtuous man performing an act of praise which is said to characterize Spirituale Gaudium.¹⁶ He carries no attribute, nor is he distinguished in any way, except by his action, from the Vice. The figure labelled Desperatio sits morosely listening to a demon who carries a scythe. Presumably the man actually says the words attributed to Desperatio: "Quid ergo agendum est quando de praeteritis certo damnatio imminet, de praesentibus emendatio nulla succurrit"¹⁷ Haltinger emphasizes that the contemplation of evil, shown by the four-headed monster at the foot of Desperatio, leads to either true contrition or despair. Neither human figure is more than a generalization of human behaviour, and they are not actual symbols of the Virtue and the Vice.

The same patterns obtain in the remaining three pictures. Prudentius figures or scenes are used where they can be adapted appropriately. Hence, the banquet scene of Luxuria is used to illustrate Ventris Ingluvies (Fig. III-11). Castitas stands upon a naked demon as a symbol of her

triumph over Luxuria (Fig. III-12). The illustrator's independence is evident in his use of Prudentius models. Although he has to illustrate Luxuria, a Vice with the same name as one in the *Psychomachia*, the Moissac text interprets Luxuria in the single sense of lust rather than the more complex Vice of the poem. The illustrator recognizes this and chooses Luxuria's banquet for the section on Gluttony while devising a new scene for the Moissac Luxuria. Two of the Virtue figures remain abstract representations with the common attributes of book and palm. Misericordia combines the two as she both holds a palm as attribute and gives clothing to a beggar (Fig. III-13). The second action, one of the second acts of mercy, became so closely associated with the figure of Misericordia that it practically constitutes an attribute.

The Vice figures are all accompanied by demon tempters who reduce them to human exempla of vice rather than the Vice itself. The lower part of each picture includes a number of monsters or other figures who do not appear directly in the text but who may have been suggested by certain ideas. The peasant "rusticus" who breaks open a pot may be a thief, since Haltigar refers to robbery as a result of Avaritia.¹⁸ Similarly, the falling monster that is being unchained by a demon may be an oblique reference to Haltigar's contention that Gluttony led to the fall of man:

At contra videamus qualiter illi homines primi commiserint tam grande peccatum, et quod ipsos de paradiso projecit, in hoc vitae poenalis exsilium, et in eis originaliter totum damnavit genus humanum. Prohibitum siquidem a Domino fuerat, quod de ligno scientiae boni et mali, ne comederent: sed gulac vitio decepti comederunt.¹⁹

It is clear then that the Moissac manuscript demonstrates one kind of development in the iconography of the psychomachia theme: that is, the use of figures and scenes borrowed from Prudentius illustrations to interpret a different moral allegory, thereby completely altering their original meaning. The substitution of abstract definitions for concrete action in the text prevented the artist from drawing scenes that would interpret the allegorical action literally, the basic method of the Prudentius illustrators. The Moissac illustrator was forced to provide very free interpretations of the text instead and turned to the *Psychomachia* figures to give him some suggestions for appropriate figures and scenes since these illustrations were a recognized tradition for portraying moral abstractions. However, the essential element that was the basic form of the iconography is missing, for there is no clear conflict or battle between virtue and vice, merely a contrast. The penitential text itself is responsible for this since it too omits conflict despite the misleading title *De Conflictu Vitiorum et Virtutum*. The allegorical sense of the different figures is blurred in the penitential because the speeches of the Virtues and Vices are really descriptions of human motives and actions, not dramatic presentations of personifications. The final result of such interpretation in both literature and art is the portrayal of vice not as symbolic figures but as exemplified in typical human behaviour. In the Moissac manuscript the presence of the demon tempters already marks the

human figures as vicious types rather than the Vice itself and later, more sophisticated interpretations will produce elaborate pictures of human activity that will illustrate particular evils clearly enough without the presence of supernatural devils.

If the Moissac penitential illustrates one way in which the psychomachia iconography was developed, the *Hortus Deliciarum* illustrates another way.²⁰ In the former the actual pictures of the Prudentius manuscript were adapted and modified for use with a text that was quite different in form and content from the original allegory. Some of the difficulties of interpretation that this entailed have been described above. Herrad of Landsberg represents another, more logical approach. Part of the success of this manuscript is no doubt due to the fact that both text and illustration were devised by the same person. Obviously the Moissac artist was simply asked to provide illustrations to a text that he may or may not have understood completely and which in any case was not particularly easy to interpret visually.

Although the role of the famous abbess, Herrad of Landsberg, in the actual execution of the manuscript which is attributed to her is not positively known,²¹ it is clear that she was the guiding authority in its creation, both in terms of the selection and compilation of the text and in the devising of the specialized illustrations. Her encyclopedia became one of the most influential sources of the iconography of the Middle Ages and since she included her

own individual interpretation of the psychomachia theme, it is necessary to consider how she contributed to the development of this iconography.

First of all, the *Hortus* illustrations show a clear and detailed knowledge of Prudentius' poem and the cycle of illustrations that had become attached to it. However, the Alsatian pictures are not simple copies of this cycle, but an anthology of extracts from it²² that are given deeper significance by being placed in a new context. The psychomachia pictures express the nature of the Church militant, and the victory of the Virtues is part of a larger apocalyptic vision, just as it is in the sculptured doorways of Saintonge and Poitou.

Unlike the Moissac manuscript, the *Hortus* illustrations do not imitate the classical style of some of the Prudentius pictures. There are no flowing antique robes nor any sense of dramatic physical action. In fact, with certain brilliant exceptions such as the figure of Superbia, scenes of battle tend to be very formal and static compositions. The warriors on both sides are dressed in identical mail tunics and helmets. They stand opposed to each other in single file with monotonous regularity. Where the vivid detail of Prudentius' poem and the enthusiastic visual interpretation of his lines tended to obscure his allegory and occasionally contradict it whenever his Virtues behaved more like pagan heroes on a real battlefield than is compatible with Christian teaching, the formal poses of the *Hortus Deliciarum*

figures and the deliberate lack of differentiation among them emphasize their abstract nature and underline the symbolism of their conflict. It is the allegorical content of the *Psychomachia* that is accurately reproduced and expanded in a way that is consistent with the original theme of the poem.

Although the *Psychomachia* is the basic text for Herrad's analysis of Christian moral teaching, it is condensed and rearranged to suit the didactic purposes of the encyclopedia. It is also combined with another text, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, a moral treatise attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor. This work greatly influenced the iconography of the illustrations, in terms of both general composition and choice of detail. Since the treatise is a scholastic analysis of the essential nature and relationships of the seven cardinal virtues and vices, it has no intentional dramatic or even psychological interest. Therefore, it does not suggest new scenes or activities in which Virtues and Vices can reveal their natures. Its influence appears rather in the use of schematic and diagrammatic arrangements of Virtue/Vice figures and the careful labelling of each figure and action because the pictures cannot be interpreted without a verbal gloss.

Under the guidance of this authoritative twelfth-century treatise, Herrad of Landsberg rejected the portrayal of action that reveals the concrete human effects of vice and virtue in favour of presenting pure abstractions whose actions symbolize particular metaphysical or theological concepts.

She recognized the ambiguity implicit in the overt realism of the Prudentius poem and its accompanying illustrations and edited her own illustrations so that the allegorical meaning was explicit and consistent. Any concrete detail added to a scene was intended to convey a specific symbolic message, not to appear as a scenic prop. The labelling of such details clarifies the intention.

The process may be seen quite clearly in the sequence of scenes dealing with Pride (Fig. III-14). First, the traditional Prudentius scene of Pride riding before her followers to challenge the Virtue army, specifically Humilitas, begins the *Hortus Deliciarum* series. Superbia careers across the page as an Amazon without body armour and brandishing a spear. Her long-sleeved robe, elaborate turban and lion-skin saddle are all described in Prudentius and became the essential elements in any illustration of this scene. The galloping horse and rider was a favourite motif of late classical art and as such was eagerly adapted by illustrators of the Christian epic.²³ So far, except for the great technical skill of the *Hortus Deliciarum* artist, the figure could be taken from almost any of the *Psychomachia* manuscripts. However, a number of changes have taken place. The scene itself is out of order according to the epic which begins with the combat between Fides and Cultura Deorum. The names of Superbia's seven followers—luxuria, ventria ingluvies, avaritia, tristitia, ira, invidia, vana gloria—reveal that Herrad of Landsberg has wedded the scheme of

seven deadly sins to the psychomachia theme. According to this theological concept, which is one of the main points of the *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* treatise, Superbia is the chief or root of all the other vices. Therefore, she must logically appear first in any comprehensive presentation of virtues and vices. Her preeminence in evil is further emphasized by the inscription: "Superbia principale vitium. Diabolus est princeps superbie."²⁴

Another significant change lies in the appearance of the rest of the vices and all the virtues (Fig. III-15). All these figures are drawn in a uniform style in contemporary armour. Although visual treatments of the *Psychomachia* other than the actual Prudentius illustrations tended to make all virtues or all vices exactly alike, the *Hortus Deliciarum* is the only example other than one at Clermont-Ferrand where there is no clear and consistent differentiation between Virtues and Vices. Usually the Vices are given different dress, or even more commonly, are presented as naked demons. It has been noted that this representation of the Vices, accompanied by the motif of triumph rather than combat, seriously undermined the concept of conflict between two equally powerful forces. Herrad of Landsberg has maintained the sense of continuous struggle by portraying both Virtues and Vices in the same visual terms.

While the two sides thus retain equal status, there is some differentiation among the Virtues for the first time since Prudentius. The way in which this is done is

significant because it represents a totally different approach to pictorial allegory. In Prudentius, the most successful portrayals of Virtues are those which characterize the figure by means of action: unarmed Patientia sitting passive and invulnerable, Spes encouraging Mens Humilis, Fides rushing wildly and confidently into battle. In the *Hortus Deliciarum*, the Virtues are designated by means of emblems, not actions. Fides carries a cross, Prudentia a book, Justitia scales and Temperantia pours liquid from a carafe into a bowl. These emblems are not part of the Prudentius poem at all but are simply borrowed as traditional symbols of the cardinal virtues that appeared in other contexts.²⁵ In fact, the companions of Humilitas, except for Spes and Justitia, do not come from the *Psychomachia* but are yet another concept drawn from the pseudo-Hugonian treatise, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, that combines the three theological virtues with the four cardinal virtues to produce a group of seven opposed to the seven deadly sins. The use of emblems became the standard way in which Virtues were presented in art and Herard of Landsberg's introduction of them into the *Psychomachia* where they have no connection with the allegorical action is yet another indication of how these figures will gradually withdraw from the active psychomachia theme to become static figures decorated or labelled with a variety of attributes drawn from disparate sources that no longer refer to a single coherent allegory.

The emblems of the four cardinal virtues are imported

symbols, but even details that are copied directly from the Prudentius illustrations are converted into symbolic attributes which add new dimensions to the original allegory. It has been said that Virtues and Vices are indistinguishable in the *Hortus Deliciarum* (see above, p. 90) in general appearance and action. But they are identified consistently by means of subtle changes in the Prudentian iconography. For example, while companies of Virtues and Vices are always opposed to each other single file, Virtues appear on the right and Vices on the left in the positions of the elect and damned of Last Judgment scenes. This is a deliberate reference to the apocalyptic context which the encyclopedia gives to the *Psychomachia*. Other visual allusions confirm this: the figure of Superbia seated sidesaddle, which no doubt is drawn from the Prudentius manuscript pictures, is also the iconographical motif for contrasting Church and Synagogue figures and the Whore of Babylon. The ditch into which Superbia falls is simply drawn in a vertical instead of horizontal position and thereby offers a striking analogy to a Hell-mouth.²⁶ That these visual apocalyptic references are intentional is made explicit by the inscription, "Superbia impugnat ecclesiam cum pedissequis suis."²⁷ Other details which in the poem are more dramatic props for action are given consistent symbolic meaning. Vice-warriors, except Ira, carry lances because "Spicula vitiorum designant punctiōnem temptationum."²⁸ This is contrary to the common practice of assigning lances to the Virtues to pin down Vices in

a manner reminiscent of St. George or St. Michael as in Schwarzhwindorf or Angers, and is obviously Herrad of Landsberg's own innovation. The Virtues, of course, carry swords because "Gladius virtutum significat verbum Dei."²⁹ These weapons, then, are turned into emblems comparable to those of the four cardinal virtues. An attribute for *Cultura Deorum* is found in the same way. The *Prudentius* illustrations usually show a pagan altar with or without a human figure and sacrificial animals in the background of the scenes dealing with this Vice. This is intended to illustrate lines 31-32. In the *Hortus Deliciarum* picture, the pagan altar has been reduced in size and is actually carried as an identifying object by *Cultura Deorum*.

Besides adding layers of symbolic meaning to scenes copied from *Prudentius*, Herrad of Landsberg used this established iconography to form new scenes illustrating material that does not appear in the *Psychomachia*. Having established the rather stiff pattern of opposed lines of warriors to designate battle, followed by the bloody slaying of the principal Vice by the principal Virtue, any number of new combinations of virtues and vices could be included to complete the schema of *De Fructibus carnis et spiritus*. So there appear *Tristitia* against *Spes*, *Invidia* against *Caritas*, *Ventris Ingluvies* against *Sobrietas* and *Vana Gloria* against *Prudentia*. None of these appears in the original *Psychomachia*, but their battles are obviously drawn by analogy with the combatants of the poem. Each chief Virtue and Vice has a

troop of seven followers who are all identified and who together carry out the comprehensive schema of the treatise that organizes virtues and vices into major and subordinate categories. This hierarchy of abstractions is consistently indicated in the pictures by having each chief Virtue wear a crown and by placing the cardinal Virtue or Vice at the head of the lines of secondary Virtues and Vices. These stereotyped combats do not follow any special order, neither the list of the treatise nor the traditional *sittagl* order,³⁰ but appear apparently at random framed by more complex scenes of Superbia, Luxuria and Avaritia that are taken directly from the *Psychomachia* manuscripts.

The second important adaptation of *Psychomachia* iconography is that of the chariot driven by Luxuria. Luxuria's attempted seduction of the Virtues and her final destruction form an important sequence in the poem and several pictures are devoted to it in the manuscripts. It is not surprising then to find two scenes in the *Hortus Deliciarum* that contain most of the essential action of the narrative together with some new details (f. 201v-202). Luxuria's companions are augmented by those secondary vices listed in the treatise as belonging to her and the stone thrown by Sobrietas is identified as Christ. But the chariot itself suggested a new vehicle for expressing visually certain theological concepts that were outside the scope of the *psychomachia* motif.

At the end of the *Psychomachia* section appear two more

chariots, one guided by Avaritia, the other by Misericordia (Fig. III-16). The pictures have nothing to do with Prudentius' poem which simply suggested the idea of a cart or vehicle. Unlike Luxuria's chariot in the poem, the new chariots in the *Hortus Deliciarum* are purely symbolic and there is no attempt to make them appear as real objects. The pictures, as a whole resemble diagrams in their circular composition and may foreshadow the use of the wheel pattern that appears in later representations of virtues and vices, such as the rose window at Paris and the diagrams in the manuscript B.M. Arundel 83. Another important feature of the pictures is the use of animals to symbolize aspects of the Vice, all making some allusion to a relevant scriptural and exegetical text³¹ that is quoted on various scrolls. This is one of the first visual examples of animal symbolism and it is clearly an interpretation of verbal metaphors. The same principle then is probably at work in other, later examples in which various animals stand for the cardinal sins themselves rather than aspects of one vice. And finally, the opposed chariot of Misericordia is surrounded, logically enough, by the six works of mercy and this again is an innovation in the context of the psychomachia. The idea of conflict remains in the continued pairing of opposites but the works of mercy gradually superseded other combinations of virtues to become the most common contrast to the seven deadly sins, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in art.³²

From this examination of part of the *Hortus Deliciarum*, it may be concluded that the most important innovations of the author/illustrator lay in extending the kinds of symbols to be used in identifying the personifications already described in the *Psychomachia* proper, the addition of more allegorical significance to certain scenes and details already present in the poem and the invention of new allegorical pictures suggested by analogy to particular *Psychomachia* scenes combined with different texts.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 3, 8-9.

²Woodruff, p. 36, states that the illustrations of the poem and those of the commentary are by the same hand. If this is so, then the discrepancies noted in my discussion are quite remarkable and I am at a loss to explain how they occur unless the artist was quite unaware of the full meaning of the text he was illustrating.

³Stettiner, pp. 278-80. This picture seems close to illustrations of Group I. =

⁴Stettiner, pp. 286-88.

⁵A. Boinet, "Les Manuscrits à peintures de La Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures* 5 (1921), Nos. 8-10; Adolf Katzenellenbogen, "Die Psychomachie in der Kunst des Mittelalters von den Anfängen bis zum 13. Jahrhundert," Diss. der Hamburgischen Universität, 1933, p. 27.

⁶Katzenellenbogen, "Psychomachie", p. 27.

⁷Tony Sauvel, "Les vices et les vertus d'après les dessins d'un manuscrit de Moissac," *Recueil publiée à l'occasion du cent cinquantième de la Société 1804-1954*, Société nationale des Antiquaires de France (Paris: Klincksieck, 1954), pp. 155-62; Michel, *La fresque romane*, p. 163; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 11-15; Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York: Abrams, 1960), pp. 136-37.

⁸Woodruff, pp. 35 and 49; see also above, Chapter I, p. 12.

⁹Woodruff, p. 35, and above, Chapter I, p. 12.

¹⁰See above, Chapter II, pp. 34-35.

¹¹Sauvel, p. 162. This manuscript is a copy of another, original manuscript.

¹²Stettiner, pp. 349-52.

¹³Olivier Beigbedier, *Lexique des symboles* (Pierre-Qui-Vire: Zodiac, 1969), pp. 225-27.

¹⁴Haltigar of Cambrai, *De vitiis et virtutibus*, P.L., 105, 662. B.N. ms. lat. 2077, ff. 166v-67.

¹⁵Haltigar of Cambrai, 662.

¹⁶Ambrose of Autpert, *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum*, P.L., 40, 1097-98. This work has been attributed to St. Augustine, among others. See Bloomfield, pp. 82, 362-63, note 119; B.N. ms. lat. 2077, f. 169.

¹⁷Ambrose of Autpert, *P.L.*, 40, 1098. This passage is omitted in the Moissac manuscript.

¹⁸Haltigar of Cambrai, *P.L.*, 105, 665-66.

¹⁹Haltigar of Cambrai, *P.L.* 105, 667.

²⁰The destruction of this famous twelfth-century manuscript is well known, so the following discussion is based on reproductions and descriptions from various studies which in turn are based on the Straub-Keller copies, ff. 199v-203v. See Gérard Cames, *Allégories et symboles dans l'Hortus Deliciarum* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, pp. 105-06; van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, I, pp. 48-51; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 10-11; F. Saxl, *Lectures* (London: Warburg Institute, 1957), I, pp. 245-54.

²¹Cames, p. 1.

²²Cames, p. 54.

²³Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 5; Cames, p. 55.

²⁴Cames, p. 54.

²⁵Cames, p. 56.

²⁶Cames, pp. 56-57.

²⁷Cames, p. 54, italics mine.

²⁸Cames, p. 54.

²⁹Cames, p. 56.

³⁰Bloomfield, p. 72.

³¹Cames, pp. 63-66.

³²Bloomfield, p. 379, note 313; Saunders, p. 139.

CHAPTER IV

A NEW ICONOGRAPHY OF CONFLICT

A few series of Virtues and Vices in the art of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries provide important keys to some of the changes the psychomachia allegory was to undergo in art and literature. They form a transition between the tradition that had been established directly from the Prudentius poem and the new iconography that Mâle recognizes at Paris.¹ This new treatment of Virtues and Vices is not, strictly speaking, a psychomachia at all because the allegory of conflict has been replaced by simple contrast. The influence of Prudentius has been reduced to a few secondary motifs, such as the falling horseman or the suicide that are used for the Vices, while the Virtues draw upon another independent tradition for their characterization. The identification of some of the Vices and the sources for their characterization remain obscure, but earlier series of Virtues and Vices indicate the gradual process by which the Vices assumed independent visual identities apart from the Virtues. Some works still emphasize to a degree the battle motif and employ some of the details that have been encountered elsewhere in earlier and even later monuments. At the same time, like the Moissac manuscript and the *Hortus Deliciarum*, they incorporate new ideas from new sources into the conventional iconography so that they are no longer simple variations on Prudentius.

Some sculptures of the Mantile portal (early thirteenth century) of the cathedral at Tournai² appear at first to reproduce most accurately personifications found in the *Psychomachia* (Fig. IV-1). For example, Libido is elaborately gowned and brandishes a torch. The gown would seem to be more appropriate for Luxuria in the poem, but the torch clearly indicates that Libido is intended, as the inscription makes clear. Furthermore, the Vice has just received a stone thrown by her adversary, Castitas (Pudicitia in the poem), who stands beneath her in the bottom part of the column. Castitas, who is more modestly clothed, is ready to throw a second stone. Despite the awkward vertical positions of the two figures, the battle between Libido and Pudicitia (ll. 40-45) is clearly and accurately represented. In fact, it is this accuracy as well as the choice of incident that makes this sculpture unusual. As we have seen earlier, artists outside of manuscript illustrators seldom attempted to create a narrative sequence based on the poem or to copy exactly a particular scene. The second pair of sculptures of the column look more familiar. Humilitas, wearing the conventional robe and long mail surcoat, carries an enormous pointed shield that covers most of her body. Armed with a lance, she pierces the throat of Superbia who lies defenceless at her feet. This is the great moment of triumph that had become the most common element in pictures of virtues and vices. As it became generalized, it became less and less accurate in terms of the original poem. So here,

Humilitas does not behead Superbia as specified by Prudentius but pierces her throat, an action ascribed to Pudicitia (ll. 49-52). Despite these discrepancies, both pairs can be readily identified as personifications whose appearance and actions are derived from Prudentius.

The third Vice, however, belongs to a totally different tradition,³ although a personification of the same Vice appears in the allegory. On the column adjacent to the warring Virtues and Vices, a devil carries off a miser on his back. This Vice is easily identified by means of the bags of money that he carries about him, but these bags are the only detail he shares in common with Avaritia of the *Psychomachia*. Devils had been joined to the psychomachia motif elsewhere, but usually as the Vices themselves or, less commonly, as tempters, like those of the Moissac manuscript. Although temptation may be symbolized in this sculpture, the scene more likely shows retribution, and judgment visited upon the evil-doer. If this is the case, then the allegorical mode has shifted as well, for the hapless miser is merely a human exemplar of avarice, not the actual Vice as the other figures are.

Why was this figure chosen when Prudentius offers the vivid personification of Avaritia? Probably the detailed accuracy of the figures derived from the poem is misleading. The iconography of the doorway is not concerned chiefly with the conflict of good and evil, or with opposite pairs of virtue and vice, but with abstractions of the threefold

classification of sin found in I John 2:16: "Omne quod est in mundo concupiscentia carnis est et oculorum et superbia vitae." This classification was elaborated by St. Augustine and, with its scriptural basis, would have an authority equal to that of any other scheme of vices, such as that of the seven deadly sins, at least in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before the great popularization of the latter. The moral allegory at Tournai is essentially this static three-fold aspect of sin: lust of the Flesh (Impurity), lust of the eyes (Avarice) and pride of life (Pride). The defeat of Libido and Superbia is to be read as analogous to the retribution visited upon the avaricious man. The column statues are not to be seen as illustrations of the *Psychomachia* but rather as allegorical figures derived from the poem and now applied to another text. The Prudentian models were chosen because, having become a fairly firm and widespread tradition in the visual arts, they would be immediately recognizable. However, when another, equally popular but non-Prudentian iconography was available for Avarice, then it was chosen instead. Obviously the iconographer was not interested in the sources of the personifications nor the allegory which originally produced them, but only in their identity as isolated symbols.

Two fonts in England are the second important example of the transition from the simple Prudentius model to representations that include allegorical concepts that are not part of the poem and come from other sources. The twelfth-

century fonts at Stanton Fitzwarren (Wiltshire) and Southrop (Gloucester)⁴ (Fig. IV-2) are the only complete non-manuscript works of art in England that reflect clearly a detailed knowledge of Prudentius and the illustrations associated with the poem. At the same time, the sculptures follow the trend towards uniformity and symmetry that had been observed in France. The octagonal shape of the fonts, like the archivolts of a doorway, demanded some repetitive design, and the psychomachia theme was one that had been adapted in just such a manner.

However, the choice of subject goes beyond simple suitability of ornament. The rite of baptism was closely associated with the idea of conquest over sin and regeneration so that the psychomachia with its repeated symbol of victory over evil was more appropriate than, for example, the elders of the Apocalypse, and more pointed than the usual collection of miscellaneous saints. While recognizing the apposite choice of subject, it must be noted that the Stanton Fitzwarren font is unique. The Southrop font is an exact copy of it and merely furnishes another example of local fashion adopting a new idea, as was the case with St-Gilles of Argenton-Château and St-Pierre of Aulnay. Unlike the Saintonge example, however, there is no further record of other fonts copying the Stanton Fitzwarren theme. Probably the sculpture was too ambitious for most parish churches. Indeed, the more interesting question is why did Stanton Fitzwarren choose the psychomachia theme in the first place,

as it is not a popular or easily recognized subject? The presence of inscriptions identifying each figure is a sign once again that the psychomachia was intended for a literate congregation and that the sculptures could not be identified immediately without reference to a verbal text.⁵

At first glance the English font appears to be yet another variation on the familiar psychomachia figures of twelfth-century France. The date of the sculptures, 1160, indicates that the font was made within the same period as the Saintonge sculptures. Yet it deviates from them in a number of interesting details. There are eight pairs of virtues and vices, and each pair is a self-contained unit within a trefoil niche. These niches circle the font like an arcade, unifying the decorative design and emphasizing the separation of the figures so that no narrative sequence is possible. Each Virtue stands upon a grovelling Vice; the "trampling" motif of victory is emphasized in each case. So far, the figures conform to the French model. However, the Virtues have no armour and instead of helmets wear simple crowns. The crowns and lack of armour are both consistent with some Prudentius manuscripts, so the sculptures are still within the conventions of that picture series, but represent an independent interpretation of it.

Two niches, however, contain figures that are not psychomachia subjects. One is immediately recognizable, even without a label, as Ecclesia for she carries a staff surmounted by a cross and a chalice. Her crown and her gown

are exactly the same as those of the Virtues and she too stands upon a supine creature, a dragon, which she gracefully pierces with the butt end of her staff. One of the Virtues has a similar weapon used in the same manner, and the deliberate repetition of details makes the symbolism explicit. As in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, the Virtues are aspects of the church militant and are to be identified with her. The symbolism is particularly apt in the context of baptism. In this sacrament, the person baptized is both admitted into membership of the body of Christ, and therefore into the Church, and is spiritually regenerated so that he is saved from original sin, and given grace to lead a new and perfect life. Furthermore, the person wishing to be baptized must first promise to renounce evil in all its forms. The visual analogy that is made on the font at Stanton Fitzwarren reveals a sophisticated understanding of the Church's teaching on baptism that is able to translate with striking economy a complex series of ideas into clear and appropriate symbols.

The individual Virtue/Vice pairs on the font also provide a number of significant details. First of all, the basic symmetry of the design is varied by giving the Virtues a variety of weapons and postures. Yet these weapons, while consistent with those found in the Prudentius illustrations, do not reflect the poem in their assignment to particular Virtues. Some details may be inspired by the text or some manuscript illustrations, but the sculptor has interpreted these very freely. Largitas pierces Avaritia with a sword

while stripping him of a garment. The despoiling of Avaritia is an important element in Prudentius' description of her defeat and some manuscript illustrations show Largitas armed with a sword or spear, despite the action of the poem which states that Operatio (Largitas) strangles Avaritia.⁶ Avaritia also lies as if his hands are bound, another detail emphasized in the manuscripts. Therefore, the Stanton Fitzwarren pair show a close knowledge of some Prudentius illustrations if not of the text itself.

Humilitas and Superbia also show this familiarity with Prudentius as well as the free interpretation of the artist. According to several Prudentius manuscripts, Superbia rides armed with a scourge. Since no Vice carries a weapon in the font sculptures, the artist has simply transferred Superbia's scourge to Humilitas, with interesting consequences for the theme of the allegory. Superbia is also the only Vice in the series who is assigned a particular dress. Her headdress and gown are also probably derived from Prudentius' Superbia, who is always shown with an elaborate gown and coiffure.⁷ Another pair, Temperancia and Luxuria, also show a familiarity with Prudentius illustrations. Temperancia carries a banner-spear like Sobrietas of the poem although, unlike the poem, the banner is also a spear that pierces Luxuria. Luxuria is easily recognized by her flowing hair and immodest dress and position. The last Virtue and Vice may be the scene that follows Prudentius, text and illustration, the most closely. Unfortunately, the Virtue

has been badly mutilated, so that identification of exact details must remain speculative. However, Pudicitia holds a circular object on her left arm which closely resembles the round targets carried by Patientia and Misericordia. Prudentius specifically describes Pudicitia with a shield. The weapon in her right hand is almost obliterated, but it apparently was short and pointed. Its position and length preclude a spear or lance and it is held vertically like a club. In the *Psychomachia*, Pudicitia exchanges her armour for a toga in which she makes a peroration on her victory. As a symbol of her triumph, she holds her sword vertically after cleansing it in the river Jordan. This action is said to symbolize the cleansing power of baptism (ll. 98-106). The Stanton Fitzwarren Pudicitia also wears a toga, clearly different from the robes and cloaks of her fellow Virtues. It seems then that she held an upright sword as a victory symbol, especially in view of the explicit connection made in the poem between her triumph and baptism.

While the influence of the *Psychomachia* on these sculptures is obvious, the presence of three non-Prudentian Virtues and their opposites indicate that some other secondary influences are at work to change the shape of the original allegory. Pietas triumphs over Discordia, Misericordia over Invidia, and Modestia over Ebrietas. The first pair is actually a *Psychomachia* pair, since Discordia is the last opponent of the Virtues in the poem. Discordia is beaten by Fides, and Pietas is in fact closer in meaning to the virtue

named in the poem. The figures of the other Virtues and Vices are made by analogy with the original allegory, like the method of the *Hortus Deliciarum*. The death of Ebrietas is exactly parallel to that of Libido in the poem (ll. 49-52).

Not only does the scheme include subjects that are not part of the original allegory, but the symbolic action has also changed slightly but significantly. R.E. Kaske makes the interesting comment that the iconography of the font emphasizes penance by portraying individual vices being punished or suffering just retribution.⁸ Two Vices, Ira and Superbia, are beaten on the posterior by the Virtue armed with a scourge. (Kaske notes this punishment only in the case of Ira,⁹ but the identical action is performed on Superbia where the scourge remains clearly recognizable.) Such punishment, usually self-inflicted, was a common form of penance, especially in the religious orders. Other Vices are killed or injured in ways appropriate to the kind of sin they represent: Temperancia stabs Luxuria in the eye, probably a visual allusion to the concupiscence of the eye described by St. John.¹⁰ Misericordia appears to stab Invidia in the back, an ironic reversal of roles, since betrayal and ingratitude are important components of that Vice. (It must be noted that this action described by Kaske is problematic since the contorted position of the Vice makes it difficult to state with certainty whether the relative positions of the sword and the Vice were intentional or inadvertent.) Modestia stabs Ebrietas in the throat, that part of the body

most abused by the Vice. Largitas strips Avaritia of his possessions. It would seem that there is an attempt to differentiate the various Vices not by means of an attribute, except in the case of Superbia and Luxuria, but by the punishment they receive at the hands of the Virtue. Such a concept is conspicuously absent from the *Psychomachia* where the defeat of the Vices is designed in accordance with epic tradition rather than as part of the allegory. Any attempt to give these actions such significance has to be imported into the original poem. Herrad of Landsberg did this when she designated the stone thrown by Sobrietas at Luxuria as a symbol of Christ. The sculptor at Stanton Fitzwarren is creating his own allegory when he has Humilitas scourge Superbia. Unfortunately, the psychomachia scheme of the font is not consistent in this respect. Other Virtue/Vice pairs remain conventional figures with no suggestion of a particular symbolic punishment. Some of the details already mentioned, such as the stripping of Avaritia, can be traced directly to Prudentius where they have no important allegorical significance. So the font cannot be cited as a clear example of a new theme using the psychomachia motif. On the other hand, the references to Prudentius and the iconography derived from the poem are so clear and accurate that any changes in the conventional scheme must be considered conscious and deliberate. Perhaps the artist did wish to suggest the chastisement of sin. Certainly other iconographical themes, such as scenes of Hell, usually dealing more directly with

the idea of judgment and damnation, "made the punishment fit the crime." Stanton Fitzwarren may indicate a gradual shift in emphasis in the psychomachia theme in which the Vices take precedence so that the Virtues are seen more in terms of remedies for the sins than in terms of independent entities. Certainly this trend gradually appeared in literature.¹¹

Three important cathedral sculpture programs of the thirteenth century, Laon, Salisbury and Chartres, all include a psychomachia theme with significant variations from the traditional twelfth-century model. They demonstrate how the meaning of the original allegory of conflict could be fundamentally changed by the introduction of innovations in the iconography of Virtues and Vices.

The cathedral of Laon (1200-1210) has one archivolt of the left portal of the west façade that contains eight pairs of Virtues and Vices¹² (Fig. IV-3). The general theme of the doorway is the childhood of Christ with a special tribute to Mary the Mother of Christ. It is not the only example in which a psychomachia theme appears in this context.¹³ Presumably it symbolizes the triumph of good over evil and the potential for moral regeneration that is made possible by Christ's Incarnation. At Laon and Chartres the triumphant Virtues also symbolize the moral perfection of Mary.¹⁴ Obviously, no direct allusion to Prudentius' poem is intended. The figures of struggling and/or triumphant Virtue and her opposed Vice have become an independent symbol that can be incorporated into a different allegorical system.

The sculptures of Laon conform to the familiar pattern of being the only sculptures within a program to be given identifying inscriptions, indicating once again the more specialized nature of the subject. At the same time, there is an increased effort to differentiate both Virtues and Vices by means of visual symbols or actions, a tendency that had already been evident at Stanton Fitzwarren.

Unlike those of the font, however, their relationship to either Prudentius' poem or its illustrations is remote. Only four pairs of Virtues and Vices are the same as the pairs appearing in the *Psychomachia* and none of them performs any action that alludes to the poem. At the same time, each pair of opposites is an independent unit within the general theme. There is no narrative sequence, although some individual scenes are so dramatic in quality, such as the chastising of Luxuria, that the viewer might suppose he was seeing the illustration of an important scene from a story. Nor is there any attempt to produce a unified design by repeating a single motif, such as the doorways of Saintonge that established the psychomachia convention of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Laon uses only enough of that iconography to be recognized within the tradition. The Virtues are female, but without armour, and they remain upright while the Vices recline, sit or kneel on the ground. Half of the Virtues carry the traditional spear, and two have kite-shaped shields. Even without inscriptions, those details would clearly identify a psychomachia.

But the departures from convention are more interesting. In each scene, the Virtues and Vices interact with each other and there is a strong sense of conflict. When a Vice is pinned down by the spear of Virtue, this is done with a violence that is reminiscent of Prudentius. The tendency in the examples of the earlier psychomachia tradition was to eliminate the struggle and to show Virtue calmly and immutably triumphant. At Laon, Virtue has the upper hand, but it is locked in battle (Patientia-Ira), delivering a mortal blow (Largitas-Avaritia), or standing ready to resume the fight (Fides-Idolatria). No Virtue stands upon a quiescent Vice. The Vices themselves have been rehabilitated to a certain degree. They are clearly human and pose a genuine threat to the Virtues. In terms of allegory, this renewed emphasis on the conflict between Virtue and Vice, both represented in human form, defines these figures as moral and psychological concepts comparable to those of the original *Psychomachia*. Neither Virtue nor Vice is seen as a supernatural force that influences human behaviour.

The attempt to individualize Virtues and Vices by means of attributes reflects the sophisticated analysis and categorizing of sin and evil that had been and continued to be one of the major concerns of theologians.¹⁵ Luxuria brandishes a torch and Avaritia clutches a money bag, both details ultimately derived from Prudentius. Fides carries a cross and Caritas gives alms to the poor. The simple assigning of attributes like these is little different from using.

inscriptions for identification purposes.

If, however, the attribute is combined with some action that illustrates the working of vice or virtue, then the artist is employing a visual allegory that makes a particular statement about that abstraction. Castitas scourges Luxuria who waves her torch in a futile gesture of defiance as she lies wantonly exposed. Avaritia grasps his money bag even in his death agony while Largitas pierces his eye, the organ which first led to his downfall (*concupiscentia oculorum*). Patientia calmly but effectively restrains the frenzies of Ira by pulling a rope around his legs. Such actions suggest that the Virtues are not simply opposites of the Vices but are remedies for them, the point of view expressed in the penitential literature by such writers as Haltigar of Cambrai and Ambrose of Autpert, whose works have been discussed earlier.¹⁶ It is this line of thought that may account for the curious pair Caritas-Paupertas in which no conflict is represented. Instead, the Virtue gives alms to a beggar who, according to the pattern established by the other figures, must be designated as a Vice. Certainly it is difficult to see Paupertas as the opposite of Caritas, although other examples of Paupertas as vice exist,¹⁷ but that Caritas is a remedy for this condition is quite reasonable.

While the actions of some Virtues and Vices express their natures in a concrete form, the personification remains abstract. In each of the examples described, the Virtue and Vice interact to express both their individual qualities and

their relationship to each other. Avaritia is not the portrait of a miser nor Luxuria a simple prostitute. But the use of attributes and dramatic action that appear together at Laon and the other transitional examples foreshadow two methods by which the Virtues and Vices could be separated from each other to assume separate existences as symbols or allegories. Notre Dame of Paris is usually taken as the primary example of the new iconography of Virtues and Vices.¹⁸ It provides the clearest illustration of both methods juxtaposed. The Virtues are all designated by means of emblems without action, while the Vices are represented by scenes of human activity in which no abstraction is physically represented but must be inferred as the motivating force behind the action represented. There is no interaction between the Virtues and Vices and any connection between them is suggested solely by means of their relative positions on the facade.

The second example of a Virtue/Vice series that is still governed by the dominant motif of conflict is the archivolt of the chapter house doorway at Salisbury cathedral (Fig. IV-4). The sculptures are considered to date from 1260 to 1270,¹⁹ approximately fifty years later than Laon to which they present some striking parallels. The figures can be readily recognized as Virtues and Vices by means of their relative positions, attributes and actions. The Virtues, all of whom are women dressed in simple, flowing gowns and wearing crowns, trample upon a variety of Vices, most of whom

are human. Two Virtues, furthermore, are armed with the traditional sword or lance and shield. Some of the Vices are almost demonic in appearance and all are caricatures so that the inner distortion of the human soul given up to these particular sins is reflected faithfully in the Vice's external appearance.

But the series is not a simple psychomachia following the earlier tradition. It is the largest group presently extant: fourteen pairs which form two related but distinct groups of seven. There are no identifying inscriptions, nor is there any evidence that any ever existed.²⁰ The designer of the series carried out consistently and completely the new tendency already suggested at Stanton Fitzwarren and Laon in which each Virtue and Vice reveals its character through both action and symbolic detail. The scheme is apparently original and very elaborate. Its position over the entrance to the chapter house of the cathedral gives it a special prominence and it may have been selected as peculiarly appropriate decoration for a building in which the canons met to conduct the business of their church and to make decisions affecting the good of the diocese.

With such particularly learned and sophisticated viewers in mind, the designer of the iconographical program for the chapter doorway was free to develop a series of complex visual images that would include a number of related theological and moral concepts probably drawn from a variety of sources. Single-word labels would not be sufficient to

indicate the range of meaning. Instead, the viewer, who would be trained in the use of allegory as a key to interpretation of texts, could simply transfer that perception to the plastic forms before him. While the symbolism may have been esoteric, it was not intended to be enigmatic. The iconography may well have been designed by a priest attached to Salisbury cathedral, one who would know the intellectual background of the members of the cathedral and who would naturally choose symbols that could be recognized by them. Unfortunately, a modern viewer without such a background can only tentatively identify the figures by comparing them with other clearly recognizable figures that have similar attributes. Rosalie B. Green has proposed the most likely identifications based on such close comparisons.²¹ Using her work as the basis for the descriptions of the various pairs, it is possible to indicate some of the new concepts that have been introduced into the original psychomachia allegory.

First of all, only two pairs of Virtues and Vices are presented in armed combat with the Virtue defeating the Vice by means of a sword or lance. Both Humilitas and Fortitudo carry shields and dispatch the Vice with calm efficiency. Their positions on the archivolt, N1 and S1,²² give them a certain prominence, so that they actually appear to lead their respective series, Humilitas the north group and Fortitudo the south. Since they are unmistakably traditional psychomachia figures, they serve as an important key to interpreting the rest of the archivolt whose sculptures do not

conform to the Prudentius model. The allusion to Prudentius is emphasized even more by the Vice opposed to Fortitudo. He is committing suicide by stabbing his throat with a dagger. Both his act and his wildly dishevelled hair are very close to the conventional picture of Ira derived from the *Psychomachia*. Since Ira is not a suitable opponent for Fortitudo, the identification of the suicide figure becomes rather difficult. Green hesitates to actually name the Vice Desperatio, although this is the only other Vice commonly associated with the action of suicide and there is a clear tradition for opposing Fortitudo and Accidia whose branches include tristitia and desperatio.²³ It seems quite possible that the sculptor intended to anchor his original series with two scenes that employ completely traditional motifs, even at the expense of consistent identification.

The unusual variety of action and detail raises problems in naming each allegorical figure. Green can usually identify one figure of each pair with some degree of certainty by means of attributes that are easily recognizable and that are drawn from a wide variety of sources, both visual and textual. The other figure of the pair then must represent the opposite of the one identified. For example, if the Virtue is clearly Temperantia, then the Vice is simply a form of Intemperantia, without necessarily assuming an independent identity as Ebrietas or Gula. The function of the Vice in this instance is to define Temperantia by showing what it is not. The two traditional pairs use

conventional imagery to state the theme of the whole archivolt. Once that is done, the battle motif is replaced by different symbolic actions that attempt to express the individual natures of a number of moral abstractions.

Such iconography represents a new perception in art of the theme of the conflict between virtue and vice, one that is aware of the increasingly complex theological and psychological studies of the nature of vice and virtue that had been written since Prudentius' original allegory. While the innovative iconography of Salisbury is a direct response to the challenge posed by the scholastic theologians, it does not depend on any one particular text. Unlike the manuscript illustrations whose departures from the Prudentius iconography could be traced to the text they accompanied, the artist at Salisbury created his own particular allegory to be read on its own.

The key to interpreting his allegory is given in a number of visual ways, all recognizable techniques employed by medieval artists. First, he uses figures and poses that had acquired a fixed, traditional significance. For example, there is the use of the two female warriors at the beginning of the series to identify the theme of the whole archivolt. Secondly, he makes the decorative function of his figures underline their meaning. The use of a psychomachia theme for certain decorative effects had been an established procedure in south-west France where a series of similar figures unify an archivolt or form a frieze. At Salisbury, the

Virtue/Vice figures are all part of a single archivolt and the sculptor has maintained the basic composition of vertical virtue and horizontal vice that was established at Aulnay and Argenton-Château. The importance of this form can be seen in the Fides-Infidelitas group (N5) in which the Vice is rigorously kept to a prone position despite the logic of the scene that would ordinarily demand that a person hang from a gallows in an upright position. The symmetrical composition of each scene, together with their positions in the archivolt, unifies the series and insists on some overall relationship among them.

Since the individual figures and their actions are so different, repetition of form is important. The clear physical unity that is achieved by this means not only achieves the necessary decorative effect but underlines the single theme. The difficulties in identifying a psychomachia theme without inscriptions and without a narrative sequence has already been discussed in the descriptions of Claverley, Angoulême and Angers. The Salisbury archivolt succeeds because its iconography makes use of established models to identify the group while incorporating new ideas as well.

The first evidence of the influence of theological schemata lies in the number of pairs, fourteen in all, that make up the series of the archivolt. Previously, a psychomachia series tended to be six or eight in number and the choice seemed to be based on decorative symmetry. Since all pairs were virtually identical, only the general allegory of the

continuing conflict between good and evil and the eventual triumph of virtue is expressed and the number of symbolic pairs involved does not affect the meaning of the allegory. But a series based on seven, the favourite symbolic number for so many lists and parallels outlined by important theologians, must have some meaning. This supposition is strengthened when it appears that the fourteen virtue figures are neatly divided into two groups of seven, one group on the south side of the archivolt and the other on the north. The virtues on the south side all wear elaborate crowns while those on the north have only simple diadems.

Green suggests, after discussing the possible identification of each figure in the series, that the seven virtues on the south side are the combined theological and cardinal virtues while the ones on the north are *remedia* virtues; that is, on the one hand virtues which arise from the operation of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost and on the other those which are designated as specific opposites or antidotes to the seven deadly sins.²⁴ Her identifications support this hypothesis, although they are not absolutely consistent with established series outlined elsewhere by Rosemond Tuve.²⁵

Indeed, the identity of the individual virtues on the north side of the archivolt is of less importance since the primary interest in that group of seven is the Vices who most likely do represent a modified (or slightly inaccurate) SALIGIA order of the seven deadly sins.²⁶ This classification of sin has its own long and independent history that

owes nothing to Prudentius. Nor do the capital sins, despite their ubiquitous presence in almost all influential works of moral theology through the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, develop a particular iconography of their own. The tradition in art remained consistently attached to the psychomachia motif. In Salisbury, apparently for the first time,²⁷ there is an attempt to expand the psychomachia motif by incorporating a new, non-Prudentian, group of vices into it. This innovation was facilitated by the fact that the seven deadly sins traditionally had a group of opposite virtues attached to them.

Yet the relationship between sin and remedial virtue is somewhat different from that of the warring abstractions that make up the earlier, conventional psychomachias. Both sin and virtue are seen primarily as contrary impulses of the human soul, rather than cosmic absolutes. The Salisbury sculptures reflect this point of view by portraying both virtue and sin in human form and eschewing the obviously grotesque for the sins. Both figures in each pair are approximately the same size, and only the two most conventional pairs, S1 and N1, actually stand upon the vices in an attitude of triumph. Most of the Vices are far from defeated or quiescent. Instead, there is a strong sense of resistance to the Virtues. The nature of this resistance is very interesting in its theological implications. The sins do not fight back or, with one very appropriate exception, offer violence to the virtues. Rather, they persist in performing

the action which is the outward sign of the inner motivation of the Vice. Superbia, despite his abject position still gazes upward toward his goal, and is obviously that form of human arrogance in which man seeks to place himself above his proper station. Avaritia still clutches his money bags; Gula clasps a half-eaten loaf in his hand; Luxuria lifts her dress enticingly; Invidia stabs his benefactor in the back; Infidelitas remains blindfolded and Accidia sound asleep. The Virtues, as in earlier, more dynamic representations of the psychomachia, continue to be recognized by their actions towards the Vice but, except for Humilitas, they do not use the conventional weapons of sword or spear. At first the unexpected variety of attributes and actions seems a confused hodge-podge of motifs, none of which have any connection with traditional psychomachia iconography. Largitas pours molten coins from a ladle down the throat of Avaritia. Sobrietas pulls out the tongue of Gula with a pair of pincers. Castitas belabours the conveniently exposed posterior of Luxuria while a serpent attacks the Vice's genitals.

Misericordia shelters Invidia with her cloak while the Vice smilingly embraces her knees in order to stab her in the back. Fides solemnly hangs Infidelitas from a gallows.

Only Laetitia ignores her companion as she gazes serenely upward, hands raised in ecstatic prayer. The Virtues are characterized not simply as opposite qualities whose actions contrast with those of the Vices. They are engaged in remedying or punishing the Vices and in this way express the

theme of repentance and penance that had become so closely attached to the concept of the seven deadly sins.

The importance of this theme to the original psychomachia allegory should not be overlooked. Its presence may have provided the impetus for the innovations in iconography that were suggested at Stanton Fitzwarren and which appear fully developed here at Salisbury. The apocalyptic context together with the static image of cosmic conflict is completely absent. In its place there is a return to moral allegory that is deliberately confined to the realm of human psychology. While the Salisbury series still presents allegorical figures—Superbia, Avaritia, Invidia, Fides, Misericordia, Gula—whose actions are clearly symbolic, the concrete detail and apparent psychological realism of some of the scenes, such as those of Laetitia-Accidia and Misericordia-Invidia suggest the potential development of purely naturalistic scenes of human activity that will exemplify a particular sin by means of type-figures. Without the presence of Misericordia or Laetitia, the treacherous attack by Invidia could become simply the act of an envious man and Accidia without Laetitia could dwindle into a sluggard. This, in fact, is what occurs when the dramatic relationship between virtue and vice first established in the *Psychomachia* is severed in favour of simple contrast between virtue and vice or, more exactly, types of vicious behaviour as in the famous virtue and vice cycle at Notre Dame in Paris and its derivatives. But at Salisbury the symbolic figures still

interact with each other and their relationship has allegorical significance.

While the violence directed towards the Vices at Salisbury does not resemble that established in the psychomachia tradition, it is even more important here because it serves to identify the individual Vices and, through them, the Virtues. Therefore, the details must be from some recognizable tradition other than the Prudentius illustrations and their successors. The theme of penance and retribution that unifies the whole series suggests a possible source. What other theological concept of the punishment of evil had an established iconography in the visual arts? The scenes of the Last Judgment that included the sufferings of the damned in Hell is the most obvious possibility. Examples in both art and literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries clearly demonstrate the incorporation of the seven deadly sins into scenes of Hell in which each sinner receives punishment appropriate to the sin committed. In literature, this scheme was worked out most comprehensively in Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, while the paintings in the Cathedral of Albi may stand as representative of a similarly comprehensive treatment in visual art.²⁸ While most documented examples of this development are considerably later than the Salisbury sculptures, they do show how easily the sins could be joined to the pains of hell. Furthermore, the general idea of "making the punishment fit the crime", especially in terms of physical torture in Hell, became a theological

commonplace very early. Gregory the Great in the *Moralia*²⁸ states succinctly:

Unde bene per prophetam dicitur: Descenderunt in infernum cum armis suis (Ezek. XXXII, 27). Arma quippe peccantium sunt membra corporis, quibus perversa desideria, quae concipiunt, exsequuntur. Unde recte per Paulum dicitur: "Neque exhibeatis membra vestra arma iniquitatis peccato (Rom. VI, 13). Cum armis ergo ad infernum descendere est cum ipsis quoque membris, quibus desideria voluptatis expleverunt, aeterni iudicii tormenta tolerare, ut tunc eos undique dolor absorbeat, qui nunc suis delectationibus subditi undique contra justitiam iuste iudicantis pugnant."²⁹

The influential *Visio Pauli*, also a very early work, while not using the seven deadly sins, classifies types of sins according to kinds of punishment, and this work not only became a major source for concrete details in visions of Hell, either in literature or art, but was also illustrated itself in England about the middle of the fourteenth century.³⁰

The punishments meted out to the Vices at Salisbury can all be found in scenes of Hell, although they are not always associated with a particular sin. The sculptures, N2 and N3, that represent Avaritia and Luxuria, are the most easily recognized. These two particular sins had long enjoyed particular prominence in representations of Hell and are often the only sinners who are singled out by means of attributes. The miser has a moneybag, often hung around his neck, and the lustful woman is yet another variation of the great figure of Luxuria with a reptile devouring her genitals. (In the context of the Last Judgment, these figures must be identified as type-figures, not as personifications of Avarice and Lust.) At Salisbury these two sins have the usual attributes.

Their punishments are also traditional. Avaritia has molten coins poured down her throat, hellish torture that can be traced back at least to ninth-century visions of Hell and which was given due prominence in the well-known English "Vision of the Boy William" dated after 1144 and in the "Vision of Thurcill" reported by Roger of Wendover in 1206.³¹ The latter work specifically links the punishment with extortion. Indeed, its suitability as retribution for sins of greed seems obvious. Green, in fact, cites an identical scene occurring in the Painted Chamber at Westminster where the inscriptions make identification of the figures certain.³²

The next pair, N3, shows Castitas scourging Luxuria. Although the Virtue carries a flowering branch, a traditional symbol associated with chastity and specifically virginity, it is the portrayal of the Vice as Luxuria that identifies the subject of the sculpture. Scourges were a popular instrument of torture in scenes of Hell as well as a frequently used monastic discipline to mortify the desires of the flesh. The reptile that devours the Vice is both the sign of her inner corruption and the punishment allotted to her in Hell.

Sobrietas and Gula are less readily recognized, but if it is assumed that the theme begun in the preceding scenes is continued, then the Vice who is punished through the tongue is most likely Gula, called the "sin of the mouth" in the *Somme le roi*.³³ Again, this particular punishment occurs frequently in visions of Hell, such as the "Vision of

Thurcill" in which a negligent priest has his tongue pulled out and in some illustrations of the *Visio Pauli* where a devil applies tongs or pincers to the tongue of an ecclesiastical sinner who is being roasted on a grid.³⁴ The same torture is seen in the scenes of Hell that make up part of the great tympanum at Conques, although the particular sin is not indicated.³⁵ If the Vice is also holding part of a round loaf, then the identification is even more definite.

Conques may also suggest an infernal parallel for the hanging of Infidelitas by Fides. The character of the Vice is established by two clear details: the Vice is blindfolded and is accompanied by a ram, symbolizing the Synagogue and by extension those who continue to reject the Christian message. The punishment may be unexpected, but hanging was a fairly common punishment in visions of Hell, chiefly as variations on the theme of sinners suspended by parts of their bodies from fiery trees that occurs in the *Visio Pauli*.³⁶ Conques shows a miser being hanged from a gallows in a manner quite similar to the action of Fides.³⁷

So far, five out of the seven in the sins and remedia series represent Vices who are punished by the Virtues using tortures derived from the traditional pains of Hell. The Virtues' identity is contingent upon that of the Vices. If Avaritia is recognized, then the Virtue who punishes him must be Largitas even though pouring molten gold down a man's throat is not at first glance an act that would be expected from this Virtue. The Virtue's symbolic

characterization is almost completely negative in that as a "remedia" her function is simply to oppose the Vice. Despite the change in allegorical action, the Salisbury pairs are still engaged in conflict and are defined by that conflict.

However, the fruitful idea of Virtues punishing Vices by appropriate infernal tortures breaks down in the last two scenes. Perhaps the designer of the program considered that to show Misericordia as exacting vengeance, even in purely allegorical terms, represented too great a departure from her essential nature. The association of this Virtue with the Virgin Mary, together with the spreading of the mantle suggests, as Green points out, the motif of the Mater misericordiae.³⁸ Caritas or Misericordia, a branch of Caritas, were the usual remedia for Invidia. The dramatic treachery of the Vice is so appropriate to the character of the sin "thurgh which a man anoyeth his neighebor prively, if he may; ... as for to brennen his hous pryvely, or empoysone or sleen his beestes, and semblable things"³⁹ that recognition of the Vice is immediate despite the fact that Salisbury is apparently unique in its representation of this sin and that the motif of sin and punishment is broken. Yet a glance at discussion of the sin of Invidia as it appears in some of the more influential manuals and treatise of religious instruction may indicate a basis for the unusual iconography. One of the earliest of the writers on sins and their remedia in the context of penance was Haltigar of Cambrai who states: "Namque ex hoc vicio oriuntur homicidia."⁴⁰ The influential

Peraldus treatise, *Summa seu Tractatus de Vitiis*, generally considered to be one of the principal sources of Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, was contemporary with the Salisbury sculptures. As the earlier quotation indicates, underhanded violence and treachery are emphasized as important aspects of the Vice. There is general agreement that the fundamental motivation of Invidia is a hatred of all that is good and a desire to destroy that good: "Þe enuyous may not see good bi opere, ne see who-so helpe hym, no more þan a bake may suffre to see þe schynyng of þe sonne."⁴¹ The attack of the Vice on the Virtue then may be seen as the ineluctable response of that Vice to any manifestation of goodwill or pity. The benevolent action of the Virtue is an even clearer representation of the nature of the remedy for Invidia that is outlined by all these writers. Whatever the actual name given to the Virtue that counteracts the workings of Invidia, that Virtue is always described in terms of forgiveness, especially in returning good for evil:

Agayns hate and rancour of herte, he shal love hym in herte.
 Agayns chidyng and wikkede wordes, he shal preye for his
 enemy. Agayns the wikked dede of his enemy, he shal doon
 hym bountee.⁴²

Therefore, despite Green's warning, it seems likely that the obvious or "common sense" interpretation of the figures in N6 is correct.

The portrayal of physical violence seems to accord with the other pairs on the archivolt, yet does it not actually contradict the fundamental concept of the psychomachia? The

Vice seems to be winning over the Virtue rather than undergoing punishment like his fellows. But Peraldus suggests that Misericordia may be inflicting a mortal blow: "For right as the devel is disconfited by humylitee, right so is he wounded to the deeth by love of oure enemy" (l. 529). Surely N6 is a very graphic picture of loving one's enemy.

The last pair to make up the series of sins and remedia, N7, also departs from the theme of punishment. The reason may again be found in the manuals of penance that probably suggested the general theme. The Vice is still Accidia or Dolor, not simply Sloth and so its corrective Virtue is not Labor or Diligence but Laetitia, as Green proposes.⁴³ Here identification of these figures is based on the similarity of poses between them and figures at Lyons that bear inscriptions. These two abstractions are among the most difficult to portray in visual terms as they are primarily described as states of mind or spirit and so the conflict between them is shown only in terms of opposed attitudes. In this case, the sculptor appears to have given up any attempt to provide the Vice with a suitable punishment, perhaps because neither Vice nor Virtue could be clearly associated with physical activity. The Vice in particular must illustrate a state of total passivity and its common image was that of sleep.⁴⁴

The series of Virtue/Vice figures on the south side of the archivolt at first appear to be a simple continuation of the motif begun on the north. The similarity in form and function between N1 and S1 has been pointed out. However,

the regal crowns of the Virtues suggest that, unlike their sisters on the north side, these Virtues assume a greater importance as independent symbols and it is their particular characters that dominate the theme of the south series. This fact is borne out by the shift in assigning attributes to the figures. On the north side, the symbolic details were primarily attached to the Vices. Here they belong to the Virtues and their Vice partners exist solely as opponents to particular Virtues. The nature of the conflict between them indicates the change in emphasis. While the Virtue still stands triumphant, the symbol of her particular nature is attacked or subverted by the Vice. This theme accounts for the curious redundancy of the attack of Fortitudo on a prostrate Vice who persists in cutting his own throat. The suicide motif is ultimately derived from the Ira of Prudentius, but here it obviously represents that failure of the will to do good called Tristitia or Desperatio, that is opposed to Fortitudo.⁴⁵ The same kind of conflict obtains in the rest of the series. Temperantia (S2) pours from a pitcher, an act of measurement intended to symbolize her character as that virtue which strives for equality and avoids all manner of excess.⁴⁶ However, instead of pouring from the pitcher into another vessel, as she does in more traditional representations, she pours the contents of the pitcher into the open mouth of an apparently insatiable Vice who has seized possession of the second container. A similar situation exists in S7 where the Vice bites the rods

of Justitia. Other forms of subversive conflict are suggested in S3,³ S4, and S5. In S3 Caritas gives alms to a beggar, the traditional iconography for that Virtue. But the beggar is not simply an appendage of the Virtue. His position under her feet indicates that he is also the Vice and so his action must be understood as a parallel to that of Intemperantia and Injustitia. Paupertas was designated as a Vice by Alanus de Insulis in the *Anticlaudianus*⁴⁷ and appears as such at Laon and on the Novgorod doors.⁴⁸ It would seem then that while Caritas performs a good deed in keeping with her moral nature, Paupertas by accepting those alms reveals his depravity. The next two scenes do not involve direct confrontation between Vice and Virtue. This seems appropriate to the basically passive and intellectual qualities of Patientia and Prudentia. The former weeps while the Vice continues to throttle an opponent in an excess of fury. Ira is best shown in an act of violence which Patientia must passively reject. Prudentia suffers a fate often common to those whose chief function is to advise and admonish. The Vice rests sound asleep, completely oblivious to any promptings of spiritual council or wisdom. The second-last pair, S6, is too mutilated to be interpreted, although Green's suggestion that the Virtue is Spes seems quite possible in view of the other, more definite identifications of Virtues in the south series.

The archivolt of the Salisbury chapter house represents a definitely original interpretation of the psychomachia

theme. While allegorical conflict is still the basis for the iconography, the program has been expanded to include a number of other motifs drawn from other literary and artistic sources. These are primarily used to individualize the various Virtues and Vices engaged in their eternal conflict: the tortures of Hell to symbolize the Vices on the north side and traditional attributes to represent the Virtues on the south side. The purpose behind such distinctions lies in the fact that the two series represent more than a generalized conflict between good and evil. The traditional iconography of armed combat and triumph was insufficient for two reasons. First, by the thirteenth century it had been simplified to one idea: a female warrior trampling on a prostrate and generally grotesque Vice. No variety of detail suggested a way of individualizing the personifications without the rather mechanical device of inscriptions. Secondly, the original source of the iconography, the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius, while it did differentiate among Vices, referred to a series of moral abstractions quite different from the twelfth-century schema familiar to the designer of the Salisbury archivolt. He solved his problem by using Prudentian iconography in N1 and S1 to establish the theme of the whole series and then chose other visual means to set up two complementary groups of seven: seven cardinal sins and their remedia; seven cardinal virtues and their opposites. In this way he creates a visual summa of the theological teaching on the nature of sin contained in such manuals as

Peraldus' *Summa seu Tractatus de Viciis*. The context in which the allegorical battle takes place changes from apocalyptic to moral with important consequences for the basic allegory. The Vices regain a human form and with it individuality, as do the Virtues. The conflict between them is expressed in ways that reveal their distinct natures rather than as part of a cosmic struggle. Yet the Virtues and Vices of Salisbury are not simply human exempla of the abstract qualities. It is Largitas herself who destroys Avaritia with molten gold, not a devil who tortures the damned soul of a miser. Even more clearly, the character of Injustitia exists not as an unjust man but as a perverse response to Justice itself. Salisbury, then, stands as one other, unique example of a transition from the traditional psychomachia of the twelfth century and the cycle of Paris with its passive Virtues and human types of Vice that is the new iconography of the thirteenth century.

Of the three most important examples of the transition from the Romanesque psychomachia and the new iconography of the Gothic period, Chartres (Fig. IV-5) represents an almost complete transformation of the motif. Although the archivolt of the north porch is dated between 1220 and 1235⁴⁹ and is, therefore, later than the bas-reliefs of Paris which are the primary example of the new motif, the scheme has been called Romanesque by Joan Evans.⁵⁰ By this she probably means that the basic iconography of conflict is still indicated, although it has become of secondary importance. In

fact, the Virtues, except for Fortitudo, are unarmed and do not attack the Vices.⁵¹ Only their larger size and vertical position allow them to dominate the Vices who cower at their feet. These Vices are purely human figures whose evil nature is revealed by their actions, not by a grotesque physical form. In this way, as well as by the lack of inscriptions, the Chartres archivolt resembles that of Salisbury.

The difference between them, however, is of more significance and lies in more than simple variations of pictorial detail and symbol. At Salisbury, the Virtues and Vices are still defined by their relationship to each other, a relationship that still contains some elements of combat. At Chartres, there is practically no connection between the Virtues and Vices beyond a physical juxtaposition. The Virtues are clearly identified by means of a system of coherent, traditional symbols; the Vices perform actions that exemplify particular evils but neither group is affected by the other, nor do they act in response to each other. Chartres-north remains within the psychomachia tradition only through the use of a composition that was associated with that theme. The allegorical significance of Chartres-north is that of a *summa* in which abstract moral qualities and their opposites are identified or distinguished more or less as separate entities.

The context in which the archivolt sculptures appear suggests a reason for this change in meaning. Unlike the twelfth-century archivolts to which it bears a superficial

visual resemblance, Chartres-north is not part of an apocalyptic scheme in which the triumph of virtue over vice is yet another allegorical mode related to the Last Judgment. Instead, the Virtues appear as attributes of the Virgin Mary in an iconographical program designed to glorify the role of the Virgin as the vehicle for the Incarnation.⁵² While the concept of the triumph of virtue is certainly appropriate to this theme, emphasis is placed on the individual identities of the Virtues as they represent aspects of the Virgin's human perfections.

The choice of Virtues clearly expresses this idea, for it owes its origin to Hugh of St. Victor and other scholastic theologians rather than to Prudentius. For the first time, the Virtues in a psychomachia series are clearly the seven cardinal ones. The eighth Virtue is, of course, Humilitas, which enjoyed a particular association with the Virgin Mary. Katzenellenbogen quotes a passage from a letter then attributed to Jerome, a work which he considers to be of great influence in the design of the whole north porch:

Her foremost virtue is the foundation and preserver of all virtues, Humility herself, of whom she gives praise: For he hath regarded the humility of His handmaiden; for behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.⁵³

It is not surprising, then, to find Humilitas given a prominent place at the apex of the archivolt, balanced by Temperantia, in the guise of Castitas, the other Virtue closely associated with the Virgin.

Despite the lack of inscriptions, there is no doubt

about the identity of the Virtues. The symbols used at Chartres-north, although drawn from a variety of sources, had become widely recognized as independent iconographical symbols of individual Virtues. For that reason, a summary of them may be instructive: Prudentia has a book and Justitia a pair of scales; Fortitudo wears mail and holds a sword and a lion; Temperantia and Humilitas both hold doves; Caritas gives clothing to a beggar; Spes looks up to heaven, and Fides catches the blood of a lamb in a chalice. Except for Caritas, none of the Virtues acts. They are revealed by means of physical objects that in turn are the expression in visual terms, an incarnation as it were, of verbal metaphor. Only almsgiving could be construed simply as an example of the Virtue motivating human activity. The realistically human appearance of the Virtues themselves may be misleading in terms of the allegory as a whole. They are not types of virtuous people but the embodiment of an abstraction and they are to be recognized by means of symbolic attributes, not by their actions. Such an allegorical method is essentially static and pictorial. It is useful for decorative purposes because it is made up of discrete units that can be increased or lessened, according to the limits imposed by the overall design of the monument. At the same time, it must be admitted that the sculptors of the north porch at Chartres did not take advantage of this potential flexibility because they were committed to the specific scheme of eight particular virtues and were obliged to fill in the

remaining spaces in the third row of the archivolt with statues of the wise and foolish virgins.

The individualization of the Vices presented more difficulties than that of the Virtues because there was no tradition of recognizable attributes attached to personifications of particular vices. Until the thirteenth century, the vices had always appeared simply as the opponents of the virtues and had no distinct characters. As the psychomachia concept was gradually extended to include a variety of non-Prudentian motifs and as the theme of conflict became less important as a basis for a series of Virtues and Vices, artists sought a method of representing the Vices independently. The Salisbury group incorporated details from the pains of Hell for this purpose and in so doing suggested a new relationship between Virtue and Vice: sin and its remedy. At Chartres-north the Vices are still subordinate to the Virtues in the organization of the archivolt where they function as opposites to the designated Virtues. Yet they appear for the first time as separate entities pursuing their own ends without reference to the Virtues who tower over them.

Even more than the attributes of the Virtues, the Vices show an eclectic combination of symbolic motifs and a mixture of allegorical modes. The figure of Injustitia operates in a manner very similar to Injustitia at Salisbury. The latter Vice bites the symbolic rods of the Virtue while at Chartres he upsets the balance of the scales held by

Justitia. Although the attributes are different, the meaning of the symbolic action is the same. Whereas this theme of Vice attempting to subvert Virtue becomes the basic theme for one group of sculptures at Salisbury, Chartres shows no such unified allegorical plan in portraying the rest of the Vices.

Four Vices incorporate motifs that are recognizably Prudentian. Superbia sprawls in a headlong fall, Avaritia hides his gold in moneybags, Desperatio stabs herself, and Intemperantia tears her dress in what may be a demonstration of either lust or rage. However, only the first two Vices appear in the *Psychomachia*. The other two are borrowed from other sources as suitable opponents of the Virtues, and Prudentian details are attached to them. In the *Psychomachia*, it is Fides and Cultura Deorum who appear dishevelled while Ira stabs herself. Another iconographical tradition established prurient nakedness as an essential part of the representation of lust or the desires of the flesh. At Chartres, the Vice's violent exposure of herself is appropriate for Intemperantia in the specific form of Lust who is opposed to Temperantia defined as Castitas. The rather limited interpretation of this Virtue/Vice pair refers to the general context of this psychomachia which is to be interpreted as the moral qualities perfected in the Virgin Mary. Obviously Purity, together with Humility, must have special emphasis. Theologians generally agreed that suicide was an action engendered by Desperatio so the transfer of that motif from

Ira was a logical one.⁵⁴

The three remaining Vices also appear in a familiar guise, although they are not part of the psychomachia tradition. Stultitia who bites a stone and blindfolded Infidelitas appear most commonly in psalter illustrations. Stultitia accompanies Psalm LII: "Dixit insipiens"⁵⁵ while Infidelitas is a variation of the famous Synagogue figure, the great medieval symbol of faithlessness and unbelief who, together with victorious Ecclesia, accompanies Psalm XLV: "Deus noster refugium". Ignavia is represented by an armed man in flight, a fairly obvious choice of cowardly action. It is not, however, the most common scene of a knight running away from a rabbit or snail, as it is at Paris or Reims.

This mélange of attributes and actions that is used to portray the Vices indicates the problems faced by an artist when he attempted to differentiate among the Vices in a psychomachia series and wished to use purely visual symbols without inscriptions. The Virtues, especially the seven cardinal ones, had developed an iconographical tradition based primarily on static symbols that was independent of Prudentius' poem and its illustrations. This was not the case of the Vices who had never appeared in art except as foils to the Virtues. At Chartres, the opposition of Virtue and Vice that had been traditionally expressed in terms of physical conflict was interpreted chiefly by simple juxtaposition: The sense of interaction is lost; each figure stands alone and is capable of being recognized in isolation

from the rest of the series. Perhaps the scholastic analysis of the nature of various virtues and vices that proceeded primarily by means of definitions and the penitential treatises based on this theology that described sin and virtue as mutually exclusive opposites encouraged the essentially static view of opposite abstractions that predominates in Chartres-north. When the sculptors of Chartres-south came to treat the same theme of Virtues and Vices, they followed the archetype of Notre Dame of Paris and omitted any reference at all to a psychomachia theme.

Once the Vices were freed from the limitations imposed by the psychomachia, they could become a series in their own right. To do this, they would have to acquire iconographical attributes that would clearly identify them; such as those already attached to the Virtues. Salisbury was one such attempt to create these symbols, but it also relied on a theme of conflict and the Vices were still tied to their virtuous partners. Chartres-north solved the problem by borrowing very familiar symbols from other iconographical themes and giving them new significance as part of a Virtue/-Vice series.

Since these details are taken out of context, they combine a variety of rather inconsistent allegorical modes. The blindfold of Infidelitas is clearly a symbol of inner or spiritual blindness while Stultitia biting a stone is simply acting the part of a madman. Injustitia has no symbol but tries to upset the scales of Justitia. Her action is

symbolic but it is a variation of the original idea of conflict. The contrasting actions of Fortitudo and Ignavia who share a common symbol, the sword, make a neat point about their opposite natures, yet Fortitudo is clearly a personification while Ignavia is really a man acting out of cowardice. The tendency at Chartres-north is to retain the static personifications of Virtues that had been elaborately developed since classical times while introducing dramatic scenes that illustrate a Vice in action. While the distinction between these two types of allegory is not consistent here, it is in Notre Dame of Paris and its successors. Later representations of the Vices alone clearly use scenes of human activity as examples of each vice, not personifications of the Vices themselves.

It would appear, then, that the artists of the thirteenth century began to find the traditional psychomachia iconography that they had inherited too simple and too rigid to express a growing awareness of the complex relationship between varied forms of virtue and vice, especially as they appear in the context of human moral development. One possible solution was to return to the original source of the iconography, the *Psychomachia*, and reintroduce details from that text and its illustrations that had been omitted from later simplifications of the allegory in art. When this is done, however, as on the Mantile portal at Tournai or on the English fonts, the Prudentian figures are often combined with other symbols drawn from different traditions so that

the original allegorical concept is altered. The Salisbury chapter-house sculptures provide the most complete and comprehensive system of changes that graft onto the traditional psychomachia the concept of the seven deadly sins and the virtues as remedia, not just opponents, of those sins. Laon and Chartres, while continuing to use conventional psychomachia figures, also shift the focus of the allegory by employing either new forms of combat and struggle between Virtues and Vices or attributes drawn from a wide range of sources.

In all these instances, the relationship between Virtue and Vice has been considerably broadened and the characterization of these abstractions suggests new depth and psychological complexity. At the same time, the clear logical base provided by Prudentius has been blurred by additions and changes so that it becomes very difficult to recognize any specific allegory that might give a coherent meaning to each series of sculptures as a whole, although Salisbury does come close to doing so. The iconography of the allegory has been extended as far as possible and what seems to be needed is a new allegory that will suggest a fresh visual form for the eternal battle of good and evil.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹Maile, *The Gothic Image*, pp. 98-128.

²J. Warichez, "La Cathédrale de Tournai," *Ars Belgica* 1 (1934), Partic I.

³Aubert, *Sculpture française*, p. 113.

⁴Bloomfield, p. 102; Francis Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1908), pp. 179-81; Prior and Gardner, p. 38; Saunders, p. 60.

⁵It may be that the great monastery and artistic centre at Malmesbury exercised some influence here at Stanton Fitzwarren. Malmesbury itself had a conventional eight-pair psychomachia sculpture on the archway of the south porch and also produced one of the best-known illustrated manuscripts of Prudentius' poem.

⁶Stettiner, pp. 353-55.

⁷Stettiner, pp. 278-80.

⁸R.E. Kaske, "Piers Plowman and Local Iconography," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968), 159-69.

⁹Kaske, p. 162.

¹⁰See above, p. 104-05.

¹¹Bloomfield, p. 67.

¹²Marcel Aubert, *French Sculpture at the Beginning of the Gothic Period 1140-1225* (New York: Hacker, 1972), p. 77; Aubert, *Sculpture française*, pp. 216-17; Bréhier, *L'art chrétien*, p. 304; Rosalie B. Green, "Virtues and Vices in the Chapter House Vestibule in Salisbury," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968), 148-58; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 19; Maile, *The Gothic Image*, p. 103.

¹³A stained-glass window in the cathedral at Lyons and the figures of the triumphing Virtues on the west facade of Strasbourg Cathedral both introduce the psychomachia as a sub-theme of the Incarnation of Christ.

¹⁴Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Program of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959), p. 67.

¹⁵Bloomfield, pp. 69-104.

¹⁶See above, Chapter III.

¹⁷Green, p. 156.

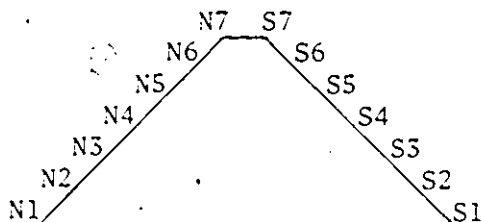
¹⁸Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 75-84; Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p. 109.

¹⁹M.D. Anderson, *The Imagery of British Churches* (London: Murray, 1955), pp. 164-65; Green, pp. 148-58; Prior and Gardner, p. 39.

²⁰Green, pp. 148-50.

²¹Green, pp. 151-57.

²²Green, p. 150. The numbering used by Green to designate individual pairs is used here for easy reference.



²³Green, pp. 154-55; Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 23-27 and 52-57; Rosemond Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices: Part II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 27 (1964), 46.

²⁴Green, p. 154.

²⁵Tuve, "Notes," pp. 44-46.

²⁶Green, pp. 135-54.

²⁷This is the only extant example in art that I have been able to find. The iconography is complex and sophisticated so that it would not necessarily be very popular or widespread. However, the large number of destroyed, unrecorded monuments must be taken into account so that no final conclusion can be reached whether the Salisbury iconography was indeed unique.

²⁸Emile Mâle, *La Cathédrale d'Albi* (Paris: Hartmann, 1950).

²⁹Quoted by Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 58.

³⁰A. Auriol, "La Descente de Saint Paul en Enfer," *Trésors des Bibliothèques de France*, eds. M.R. Cantinelli and M.E. Dacier (Paris: van Oest, 1926), III, 131-45.

³¹"Vision of the Boy William," reported by Vincent of Beauvais in *Speculum historiale*, Bk. XXVIII, Ch. 84, quoted and translated by D.D.R. Owen, *The Vision of Hell in Medieval French Literature* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), pp. 15-16; "Vision of Thurcill," reported by Roger of Wendover, *Chronica, siue Flores historiarum*, ed.

H.O. Coxe (London: English Historical Society, 1841-42), pp. 190 ff. The "Vision of Thurcill" is summarized in detail by J.A. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable* (London: Harrap, 1932), pp. 192-93.

³²Green, p. 151.

³³Green, pp. 151-53.

³⁴Auriol, Pl. LXVIII.

³⁵L. Balsan, Dom Angelico Surchamp and Georges Gaillard, "Conques," *Rouergue roman*, 2nd ed. (Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1974), pp. 27-186.

³⁶Auriol, Pl. LXXII.

³⁷*Rouergue Roman*, Pl. 10. Green, p. 152, note 34, points out a similar hanging scene in Ratisbon Ms. 1165, Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibliothek, but while this may be close to the Salisbury hanging in visual detail, the conception of the picture is quite different since it is the representation of an historical event to which an allegorical interpretation has been given.

³⁸Green, p. 153.

³⁹Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Parson's Tale," *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), ll. 518-23.

⁴⁰Haltigar of Cambrai, *P.L.*, 105, 662.

⁴¹*The Book of Vices and Virtues: A fourteenth century English Translation of the Somme le Roi of Lorens d'Orléans*, ed. W. Nelson Francis, Early English Text Society, No. 217 (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 22.

⁴²"Parson's Tale," ll. 523-42.

⁴³Green, p. 153.

⁴⁴Wenzel, pp. 7-9 and 112.

⁴⁵"Parson's Tale," ll. 692-95 and 624-56.

⁴⁶Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 27-56. A general description of the symbols and attributes associated with individual virtues.

⁴⁷Alanus de Insulis, *Anticlaudianus*, ed. R. Bossuat (Paris: J. Vrin, 1955), VIII, 160-67 and 234-42.

⁴⁸Green, p. 156, note 51.

⁴⁹Aubert, *Sculpture française*, pp. 233-38; Bréhier, *L'Art chrétien*, pp. 310-11; Gardner, p. 260; Etienne Huvet, *Cathédrale de*

Chartres: Portail Nord (XIII siècle) (Chelles, S. & M.: Faucheux, 1919), I; Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres Cathedral*, pp. 65-67.

⁵⁰ Evans, *Art in Medieval France*, p. 101.

⁵¹ Their shields have been transferred to the female figures of the Beatitudes on the outer arch.

⁵² Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres Cathedral*, p. 65.

⁵³ Quoted by Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres Cathedral*, p. 67.

⁵⁴ Wenzel, pp. 82 and 114. *The Book of Vices and Virtues* designates despair as the culminating evil of Sloth:

... and so he falleþ in-to anger, and þat is þe ferþe vice. And so moche þis anger ouergoþ hym, þat what þat euere any good man seiþ hym, or what he doþ hym, and al þat euere he heereþ or seeþ, al it teeneþ hym; and þus he falleþ in sorwe and is euele apaied of his self, and hateþ hymself and desireþ his owne deþ; and þat is þe fifþe vice. And after þes sorwful poyntes of slewþe, þe deuel gyueþ hym a stroke of deþ and put hym in wanhope and purchaseþ his deþ and sleep hym, or biweileþ hymself as a man in wanhope ...

(p. 29)

⁵⁵ J.A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Methuen, 1911), p. 327.

CHAPTER V

KING DAVID AS A PSYCHOMACHIA FIGURE

The early medieval period saw the psychomachia allegory as simply one specific and subordinate image in a larger pattern of conflict between good and evil that informs so much Romanesque art. Its subordinate position in earlier monumental works of sculpture and painting suggests this secondary importance. Perhaps the close dependence of the iconography on a particular, non-biblical literary source limited its potential as a general symbol of moral conflict. Then, too, allegory in twelfth-century art is chiefly concerned with anagogical themes rather than the purely moral ones which only come to the fore in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Until the fourteenth century, the Prudentian iconography remained the dominant form in art for the psychomachia. All the examples of a visual interpretation of this allegory that have been described so far represent variations and elaborations of a single consistent symbol: hand-to-hand combat between human warriors as personifications of virtues and human or monstrous opponents as personifications of vices.

However, one other symbol occurs frequently enough in the context of the psychomachia in art to constitute a secondary symbol and one which adds another dimension to the original allegory. Scenes from the life of David, king of Israel, also appear as allegorical representations of the

victory of human virtues over vice.

The choice of David is not surprising. He is one of the great heroes of the Old Testament and, of course, was venerated as the ancestor of Christ. Certain key events in his life have a legendary quality, even in the straightforward history-chronicle of the Bible. Early Christian exegesis was not slow to exploit the symbolic potential of such scenes as David's fight with Goliath. From St. Augustine on there is an unusually consistent allegorical interpretation of David as Christ and his experiences as prefigurations of events in the Gospels. David, whose name is said to mean *manus fortis*, is a hero delivering his people:

Si ille rex et propheta convenienter David, olim manu fortis vocatus est quia ursum interfecit, leonem suffocavit, Goliath fortissimum lapidis unius ictu prostravit ¹

And St. Ambrose considers David to be numbered among the saints because

....ipse obtulit se fideliter pro Dei populo adversus solus Goliath, cum singulari certamine dimicaret, et solus commune periculum et crimen refelleret ²

Therefore, he prefigures Christ, not only by his prophecies in the Psalms which all foreshadow events of the New Testament, but also by his actual life as it is recorded in the Old Testament. One of the most detailed studies of the allegorical significance of individual events in David's life is that of Prosper of Aquitaine who was a disciple of Augustine's:

Cum idem ipse rex Saul superbia captus, Dei praecepta contemneret (I Reg. xvi, 1 et seq.), spretus a Deo, David ille (quod dicitur manu fortis), parvus licet in fratribus,

unctionis regiae sacramenta suscepit (I Reg. xvi, 13): pastor sane ovium, ut nostrum signaret, pastorem unctum Christum Dominum, qui dicit: *Ego sum pastor bonus* (Joan. x, 11). Eripuisse se praedam ex ore leonis David fatetur (I Reg. xvii, 35). Et noster manu fortis de ore leonis diaboli, et Petrum negantem, et latronem eripuit confitentem (Luc. xxii, 61, et xxiii, 43). Suavi sono citharizans David, non tantum animalium mulcebat auditus; quantum etiam in ipso Saule vexationem mali spiritus temperabat (I Reg. xviii, 10). Si nostri manu fortis Christi Domini citharam respicias personantem, quam ligno crucis, carnis membrorumque suorum chordis aptatam, plectro dum tangit sancti Spiritus, omne animal replens benedictione (Ps. cxliv, 16), ipsum quoque diabolum fugavit de cordibus inimicorum, pro quibus orans in cruce suavem illum sonum protulit, dicens: Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt (Luc. xxiii, 34) ³

A similar interpretation, obviously based on Augustine and other earlier writers, can be found in Peter Lombard:

David ergo totus Christus est, scilicet caput et corpus. Goliath, diabolus; arma Saul, legalia sacramenta sunt, quibus oneratus erat Judaicus populus, scilicet circumcisio, sacrificia, et alia visibilia sacramenta. Sed quia lex non potest vivificare, ut prementia non adjuvantia, in tempore gratiae Christus et caput et corpus, legis deposuit sacramenta Sed ut lex esset utilis, David accepit vas pastorale, id est gratiam, sine qua lex non poterat impleri, quia plenitudo legis est Charitas (Rom. xiii), quae est ex Spiritu sancto. Hoc est ergo lapides mittere in vase pastorali, quo lac mulgere solebat legi, scilicet admiscere gratiam. Sic armatus procedit totus Christus adversus superbum, unum lapidem misit, quo dejecit, quia unitas diabolum vincit; percussit in fronte, quia ex eo loco corporis sui cecidit, id est in illis membris, ubi signum Christi non habuit. Deinde illo percusso atque dejecto, gladio ejus caput abscidit, quia quando magni ejus credunt, quos ille in manu habebat, et de quibus animas trucidabat, contra eum loquuntur. Et sic caput ejus suo gladio inciditur. Sicut ergo David parvus superbum Goliath de se praesumentem superavit, ita Christus superbum diabolum occidit, id est humilitas superbiam.⁴

The most important of all these incidents, however, is the fight with Goliath. A young man, whose anointing had already marked him as chosen by God, goes forth without armour to do battle for the whole of Israel against a monstrous, seemingly invincible enemy. His miraculous victory is seen

even by himself as a special working of divine power, and for a Christian theologian the symbolic implications were obvious. As Augustine states succinctly:

In figura Christi David, sicut Goliath in figura diaboli: et quod David prostravit Goliath, Christus est qui occidit diabolum. Quid est autem Christus qui diabolum occidit? Humilitas occidit superbiam.⁵

This passage includes two levels of interpretation. Allegorically, David is Christ who overcomes the Devil to liberate mankind and, morally, the modest boy represents the virtue of humility who overcomes pride in the shape of the boasting giant. The allegory found in Augustine became the traditional interpretation of the figure of David in the Psalms and books of Kings and, while later commentaries like Lombard's elaborated on the figural meaning of various details in the scriptural account, there was never any deviation from the established theme. Before David goes out to meet Goliath, he recalls his victories over a bear and lion in defence of his flock (I Sam. 17: 34-37). Again a battle between good and evil is suggested, and the triumph of the virtuous hero means deliverance not only for himself but for those who rely on his protection, as Prosper of Aquitaine says:

Eripuisse se praedam ex ore leonis David fatetur (I Reg. xvii, 35). Et noster manu fortis de ore leonis diaboli, et Petrum negantem, et latronem eripuit confitentem (Luc. xxii, 61, et xxiii, 43) *Et leonem*, ait David *et ursum occidit servus tuus. Sic erit iste unus ex illis* (Ibid., 36): ex semine suo, ut promissum fuerat, signans illum esse venturum qui conculcavit leonem et draconem (Ps. xc, 13).⁶

The last statement explicitly links the warrior David to the

apocalyptic vision of Christ triumphing over the forces of evil in the symbolic forms of the lion and dragon:

Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis,
et conculcabis leonem et draconem.

(Ps. xc: 13)

While it can be assumed that any medieval illustration of the victories of David would carry at least a general meaning of the triumph of good over evil, a number of twelfth-century works of art emphasize the allegorical significance of these Old Testament events by interpreting them in terms of a psychomachia. This is done by combining scenes of the life of David with the personifications derived from Prudentian sources. The juxtaposition may even have been suggested by Prudentius for in her peroration celebrating the victory of Mens Humilis over Superbia, Spes compares the battle to the slaying of Goliath (ll. 291-304). Later on, Sobrietas exhorts the faltering Virtues to follow the example of David the peerless warrior (ll. 386-87). But Prudentius is simply alluding to traditional interpretations of the life of David that can be found in standard commentaries and exegetical works beginning with Ambrose and Augustine.

One of the finest and most detailed examples of this combination of motifs is the ivory bookcover of the Melisenda Psalter (1131-44) in the British Museum (Fig. V-1).⁷ Six scenes of the life of David are symmetrically arranged in roundels while the spaces between these roundels are filled with seven pairs of fighting Virtue and Vice figures. Five extra Virtues, shown as unarmed women, appear in the

corners and lower edge of the panel. Inscriptions precisely identify each figure, so that it is clear that a reference to the actual *Psychomachia* is intended. Certain details of individual combats are also derived from the poem and its illustrations: Fides is dishevelled (ℓ. 30); Humilitas beheads Superbia with a sword while Spes looks on, holding a scabbard (ℓℓ. 280-81); Pudicitia pierces the throat of Libido (ℓ. 50); Patientia stands passive under the attack of Ira (ℓ. 109); Sobrietas carries a banner and crushes the mouth of Luxuria with a stone (ℓ. 417). A close adherence to some particular manuscript is even more certainly demonstrated by the last two pairs of Virtues and Vices. Fortitudo kneels on Avaritia, seizes her clothing at the neck and runs her through with a spear. Such action refers to the bodily crushing of Avaritia (ℓℓ. 596-97) in the poem, but the combination of strangulation and piercing with a lance is found only in some manuscript illustrations, particularly B.M. Cotton MS. Titus D. xvi, circa 1100, from St. Albans,⁸ which is of English origin. Discordia with a spear, a free interpretation of ℓℓ. 715-18, occurs again in the same manuscript. The absence of armour, except for Superbia and Fortitudo, is another indication that a manuscript derived from Group I⁹ of the illustrated manuscripts of Prudentius was used as a model for the bookcover. Of all the non-manuscript illustrations of the *Psychomachia*, the Melisenda Psalter bookcover is the most complete and accurate representation of actual scenes derived from the poem, not simply a repetitive series of

generalized combats.

The same interest in accuracy and narrative sequence is present in the scenes of the life of David:

- (1) In the top left roundel, David as a shepherd boy rescues a lamb from a lion and a bear;
- (2) In the top right roundel, David is anointed by Samuel;
- (3) In the middle left roundel, David kills Goliath;
- (4) In the middle right roundel, David, fleeing from Saul, is aided by the priest Abimelech;
- (5) In the lower left roundel, David kneels before an altar with burnt offerings as an act of thanksgiving for relief from pestilence;
- (6) In the lower right roundel, David sits enthroned as musician-king.

It might be expected that a correspondence could be established between individual conflicts of Virtues and Vices which surround these roundels and the scenes themselves, but each group of figures is ordered chronologically and apparently remains independent of the other. The biblical scenes are physically linked to each other by means of decorated ribbon-like bands that frame each compartment and join it to the others. The warring Virtues and Vices fill the interstices made by these bands. Both groups are again framed as a whole by means of an outer frame that brings the two distinct groups into a single composition. The use of the personifications as background to the biblical narrative also suggests an implicit relationship between the two.

Familiarity with the traditional allegorical interpretations of the life of David may have prompted the artist/designer of the psalter cover to indicate visually a figural meaning. The frequent reference to humility overcoming pride, which is a commonplace in these interpretations, may have suggested the use of Prudentius' allegory to express the theme of moral conflict that lies implicit in the scriptural account of David as king and deliverer. The bookcover thus presents two parallel views of man's moral life, and both are largely seen in terms of conflict.

The consistent interpretation of conflict and victory in the historical pictures is not obvious at first glance because only two scenes show David actually fighting, but the *Psychomachia* scenes surround each roundel to indicate that every scene is a variation of the same conflict. The first two scenes, for example, are both victories for David as the instrument of the Lord, and both represent in one sense the triumph of faith. The bear and lion that David overcomes are commonly interpreted as the devil and Anti-Christ respectively¹⁰ and David's deliverance of the lamb prefigures Christ's deliverance of His people from these two archenemies. The pouch slung over the shepherd boy's shoulder also carries a wealth of allegorical meaning. According to Augustine, the pouch David fills with five pebbles represents the new law of grace that subsumes the five books of the Old Law, and this grace is brought by David who prefigures Christ:

Quia ergo gratia fecit impleri Legem, significatur autem gratia lacte; hoc enim est in carne gratuitum, ubi mater non quaerit accipere, sed satagit dare; hoc mater gratis dat, et contristatur si desit qui accipiat: quomodo ergo ostendit David Legem sine gratia operari non posse, nisi cum illos lapides quinque, quibus significabatur Lex in libris quinque, conjungere volens gratiae, posuit in vase pastoralis, quo lac mulgere consueverat? His armatus, gratia utique armatus, et ideo praesumens non de se, sed de Domino suo, processit adversus Goliath superbum, se jactantem, de se praesumentem. Tulit unum lapidem, jecit, inimicum in fronte percussit; cecidit ex eo loco corporis, ubi signum Christi non habuit. Hoc quoque licet attendas: quinque lapides posuit, unum misit. Libri quinque lecti sunt, sed unitas vicit.¹¹

Finally, David's own allusions to his victory underline his perfect faith in God. The second scene shows David's anointing by Samuel. This act was, in fact, a rejection of Saul who "superbia captus, Dei praecepta contemneret"¹² and thus became a figure of faithlessness. Gregory the Great extends the meaning of the scene even further by seeing in it a symbolic rejection of the Old Law (Saul) in favour of the reign of Grace:

Cornu ergo pleno ad ungendum David propheta mittitur, quia illum modo doctores praedicant, qui duritiam legis solvit, et omne, quod rigidum praetulit, per gratiae suae fomenta reparavit.¹³

It is appropriate, then, to find Fides overcoming Idolatria in the upper space joining these two scenes.

Humilitas beheads Superbia in the central intersection above the next two roundels. The meaning of the left scene, which shows the fight with Goliath, is obvious. One or two corresponding details in both the scene and its background may not be entirely fortuitous. Goliath and Superbia both wear similar armour, and Superbia is the only Vice to be armed in this way, so the parallel must be deliberate.

Humilitas beheads Superbia with a borrowed sword as David beheads Goliath with the giant's own sword after his fall. The parallel may be derived in this instance directly from Prudentius, who refers to David and Goliath in the passage that is illustrated by the Superbia-Humilitas combat.

The second scene is more obscure. David in flight from Saul is aided by the priest Abimelech who returns to him the sword of Goliath and allows him to eat bread reserved for the temple. So there is another reference to the victory over Goliath and David's virtue of humility. The presence of Doeg, the betrayer of both Abimelech and David, is even more suggestive. Doeg represents the persecutors of the righteous who achieve an apparent, temporary success only to be overcome by the very weakness of their victim. David, who eats the bread reserved for the temple, adds another dimension to his role as a Christ-figure because he becomes both priest and king, enduring suffering and betrayal. Ambrose explains the eating of the bread as prophecy of the new sacrament of grace that triumphs over the Old Law:

Etsi illi accusent sed Christus excusat, et similes facit
quas vult animas se sequentes David illius, qui supra legem
panes propositionis manducabat (I Reg. xxi, 6), novae gratiae sacramenta prophetica jam tunc mente prospiciens ¹⁴

Abimelech, who consents to this breach of custom, then becomes one of the followers of the true belief who must endure martyrdom for their faith. Isidore of Seville concludes his comments on this incident by comparing Abimelech and his family with Christ's disciples:

Sed quantum ad sacramentam prophetiae pertinet in Christo Domino nostro impletum est, qui positus in carne, dum insecutionem declinaret Judaicam, ad apostolos transiit, cum quibus et desideratum sibi cibum sumpsit; desiderio enim desideravit manducare pascha.

Ex quibus Goliae, id est diaboli, arma sustulit. Fortis enim spolia ipse diripuit. His ergo, a quibus receptus est Christus, tribulationes induxit diabolus, et mortem. *Omnes enim, ut ait Apostolus, qui in Christo volunt pie vivere, persecutionem patiuntur* (II Tim. iii). Et Dominus ait, *Si me persecuti sunt, et vos persequentur* (Joan. xv).¹⁵

The psychomachia combat that adjoins this scene is Patientia passively submitting to the onslaughts of Ira, the most paradoxical of all Prudentius' battle scenes in which victory is achieved through utter submission. The implied parallel is further strengthened by other commentaries on the conflict between David and Saul, whose agent is Doeg. Saul is described frequently as *saevus*, and indeed his attitude towards his rival protégé is characterized by an inordinate irascibility that is transmitted to Doeg: "Qui cum adesset quando Saul irascebatur suis, quod nullus illi vellet prodere David, prodidit ubi eum vidisset."¹⁶ In contrast, David's patience and magnanimity towards his persecutor is exemplary:

... ibi est illa incomparabilis mansuetudo usque ad immanissimum et atrocissimum inimicum, qui quoties illi est in manus fortissimas datus, toties ab illo est de manibus piissimis dismissus illaesus (I Reg. xxiv, et xxvi).¹⁷

A parallel between the ultimately futile persecution of David by Saul and the conflict between Patientia and Ira does seem likely.

The third important *Psychomachia* scene is the throttling and piercing of Avaritia by Fortitudo. The central combat is balanced by secondary scenes of Luxuria and Sobrietas on

the left and Concordia-Discordia on the right. The historical scenes show David making a penitential sacrifice to ask for relief from a pestilence visited upon his people as a punishment for his sins (I Chronicles 21: 1-30) and the organization of the temple musicians (I Chronicles 15: 16-22) with David sitting in their midst as both king and psalmist. Neither activity appears as a conflict on the literal level, but allegorical interpretations emphasize a moral victory embodied in both these events. Thus David is seen as a deliverer or redeemer of his people in ways that closely prefigure the actual sacrificial redemption by Christ. David first accepts the justice of the plague that God sends but prays that he alone be punished instead of his people. His action, then, is parallel to his wish to fight Goliath singlehanded so that by one man's action a whole nation is saved. Ambrose underlines the sacrificial nature of David's deliverance of Israel by combining these two significant actions:

Et ideo quasi Propheta praevidens se cum sanctis, et qui pro devotione animas suas in Christo deposuerunt, futurum, lacatur; quia et ipse obtulit se fideliter pro Dei populo adversus Goliath, cum singulari certamine dimicaret, et solus commune periculum et crimen refelleret, vel cum se morti pro Domini placanda offensione promptus objiceret, vel cum se pro salute populi laborantis divinae ultioni paratus offerret.¹⁸

Imagery derived from the line "Dirupisti vincula mea: tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis" (Psalm CXV: 16, 17) dominates the entire passage in St. Ambrose who sees in David a representation of the just man who frees himself from the "corporis

vinculis", that is "luxuria" and the "flammas libidinum" and "cupiditas mundi". Ambrose's entire argument presupposes a state of conflict as inherent in the human condition. The combination of struggle, sacrifice and praise already present in the psalm is further elaborated by Ambrose in such a way that the act of self-immolation becomes the way in which victory over sin is achieved:

Nonne igitur unusquisque in hac vita positus speciem mortis imitatur ... sicut mortuus erat Paulus dicens: *mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo* (Galat. vi, 14)?¹⁹

The fetters of sin that bound David were clearly those of this world: his lust for Bathsheba and his greed and pride in numbering his people:

Hujus mulieris uxoris alienae pulchritudine captus rex et propheta David, ex cujus semine secundem carnem Dominus venturus erat (Rom. i, 3), adulteravit eam Hujus etiam maritum in bello occidendum curavit: homicidio auxit adulterium: ²⁰

Ille enim Deo attestante laudatus, ille supernorum mysteriorum conscius David propheta, tumore repentinae elationis inflatus, populum numerando peccavit ²¹

and

... quando populo numerato peccatum, elationis ejus sic punire placuit Deo, ut eundem numerum minueret morte multorum, cujus multitudine cor regis fuerat superbia pertentatum ²²

Yet by an act of true penitence, he redeemed both himself and his people. The defeat of all worldly desire is prefigured in his sacrifice, so it is appropriate that the two psychomachia Vices who adjoin this scene are Luxuria and Avaritia, whom Prudentius himself characterized as the two greatest powers of the temporal world: Luxuria almost succeeds in seducing the entire army of the Virtues and

establishing the "laxa ganeorum lege" while Avaritia is called "victrix orbis" (ll. 340-43; 480-81). It is significant that Sobrietas appeals to the memory of David in her exhortation to her fellow Virtues against Luxuria:

excitet egregias mentes celeberrima David
gloria continuis bellorum exercita curis ...
(ll. 386-87)

As the reiterated etymology of his name, *manus fortis*, suggests, the virtue most closely associated with David the deliverer is fortitude:

David sedens in cathedra, qui octingentos interfecit impetu uno. Ubi hoc factum sit, non legimus, nisi quantum his commemorantur. In Hebraeo sic est: Octingentos una vice. Quod sic intelligi potest, quasi diceret David ligni vermiculo comparatur propter fortitudinem; qua omnia penetrat, et nihil ei resistere potest; in tantum ut super octingentos una vice irruere possit, et vincere.²³

The careful working out of parallels between the individual scenes of the Prudentius allegory and this particular history of David accounts for the otherwise inexplicable substitution of Fortitudo for Largitas or Operatio as the opponent of Avaritia. The extreme accuracy of the *Psychomachia* figures and poses on this bookcover suggest that the change cannot be the result of a misreading of the text, nor do any of the *Psychomachia* manuscript illustrations contain such a change. Its appearance here is a clear indication that the particular context of the bookcover is responsible for the alteration. The three virtues primarily exemplified by David were *sapientia* or *fides*, *humilitas* and *fortitudo*.²⁴

The first two were also treated in the *Psychomachia*, and Prudentius had conveniently included a direct allusion to David

as humility overcoming pride. A relatively minor alteration of one *Psychomachia* figure enables the designer of the book-cover to include the third Davidian virtue as well. This deliberate departure from Prudentius must be viewed as concrete evidence that the two series, one a formal allegory and the other a literal history, while apparently existing independent of each other within the decorative frame of the book-cover, were conceived in relationship to each other and that the *Psychomachia* represents the *significatio* of the biblical scenes. The central and dominating position on the cover of the three Prudentian conflicts that involve the three Davidian virtues is not simply an accident of design but a deliberate attempt to provide text and exegesis in visual terms.

The final scene of David and the musicians is one of the most familiar of psalter illustrations, although here it is not a generalized picture of the royal psalmist but a definite historical event, indicated by the names of the particular musicians. The figural interpretation of David as musician is also quite particular and, as in the other scenes, has overtones of conflict and redemption. David's skill upon the harp is another way by which he overcomes evil and brings deliverance to his people. It is a relatively passive way of fighting and carries suggestions of victory through sacrifice because of associations such as Psalm CXV, "Tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis", and the traditional interpretation of the harp as a symbol of the Crucifixion:

Suavi sono citharizans David, non tantum animalium mulcebat auditus, quantum etiam in ipso Saule vexationem mali spiritus temperabat (I Reg. xviii, 10). Si nostri manu fortis Christi Domini citharam respicias personantem, quam ligno crucis, carnis membrorumque suorum chordis aptatam, plectro dum tangit sancti Spiritus, omne animal replens benedictione (Ps. cxliv, 16), ipsum quoque diabolum fugavit de cordibus inimicorum, pro quibus orans in cruce suavem illum sonum protulit, dicens: *Pater, Ignosce illis, qui nesciunt quid faciunt* (Luc. xxiii, 34).²⁵

It was David's harping that drove out the evil spirits that possessed Saul, and the action is clearly seen, even in Scripture itself, as a triumph of God's agent over evil. But the scene shown, although it has David playing, is not that of David and Saul but represents King David's organization of the temple into a fit house of worship after his final accession to the throne. The establishment of a permanent place for the Ark of the Lord is the mark of David's triumph, just as the building of the temple of Sapientia is the final achievement of the Virtues in the *Psychomachia*. The final enemy of the righteous is Discordia, who must be overcome before unity can be realized. Just as David's bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem signifies the political unity he brings to Israel, his harmonious singing represents in a more mystical fashion the unity of God's people, the Church:

Erat quidem David in canticis musicis eruditus. Diversorum sonorum rationabilis moderatusque concentus concordie varietate compactam ordinatae Ecclesiae significat unitatem, quae variis modis quotidie resonat, et suavitate mystica modulatur.²⁶

Appropriately enough, Concordia pierces the tongue of Discordia in the space immediately above this scene of peace,

- unity and harmony.

The close identification of the life of David and the psychomachia allegory is not confined to the Melisenda Psalter, but it is here that it receives the most systematic treatment. No other known artist attempted to incorporate so much of the allegorical interpretation and exegetical commentary on David into a series of illustrations. Yet neither the historical scenes nor the allegorical scenes are forced into an artificial form. Rather surprisingly, each series follows its own strict order so that each can be read as an independent narrative sequence. The layout of the bookcover allows for both the narrative order and the juxtaposition of individual scenes to indicate thematic parallels. The *Psychomachia* sequence had a limited number of set scenes, but the life of David offered a wide selection of possible incidents, and it appears that the designer of the bookcover chose incidents that could be matched most suitably to the various allegorical combats. The basis for his choice was the traditional allegorical interpretation of the historical David, and the iconography of the Melisenda Psalter is a thoughtful attempt to express visually a second meaning beyond the literal level of historical illustration.

Other artifacts that also explore this second or figural meaning attached to David's life do not attempt such a detailed analysis. One example is the chapter house doorway of St-Aubin in Angers (Fig. V-2). In the tympanum below a large arch that carries representations of the labours of

the months are three scenes relating the story of David and Goliath. On the left David is playing the harp before Saul when he hears Goliath's challenge; in the centre is the actual fight with Goliath who is shown staggering under the blow of the stone cast by David and the final scene on the right has David beheading Goliath with the giant's own sword. Considered by itself, the tympanum is nothing more than an accurate pictorial account of an historical event. However, the sculptures that adjoin it add another level of meaning to the historical scenes. The labours of the months, general symbol of human earthly existence, form an arch directly above the tympanum. If David and Goliath are to be read as further representations of man's earthly existence, then surely human life is interpreted as a continuing struggle of good against evil. The same theme of moral conflict is expressed in the adjoining arch and tympanum. Although half of the tympanum is obliterated, it seems clear that a human figure, possibly a representation of St. Michael, is engaged in battle with a winged dragon. The arch above this scene certainly has the theme of armed combat and may possibly be an unusual adaptation of Prudentius' allegory.²⁷ In a manner similar to that observed in the bookcover of the Melisenda Psalter, the juxtaposition of historical and allegorical figures adds a symbolic dimension to the historical scenes.

Another juxtaposition of historical and allegorical figures can be observed in two somewhat later works of art, the Carrand crozier (1175)²⁸ and the Milan

candlestick (1200).²⁹ Like the ivory bookcover, these are relatively minor works of art and, again like the bookcover, offer a complex and detailed iconography with a small space. The Carrand crozier portrays scenes of the life of David exclusively, while the Milan candlestick uses psychomachia figures to suggest the moral significance of a number of Old Testament events of which David and Goliath are only one example. Neither work shows a particular knowledge of Prudentius but freely adapts the conventional Virtue and Vice figures that had become current during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Both works are intended for a rather specialized literate audience which could be expected to recognize the figures and their allegorical meaning from its own knowledge of moral allegories and biblical commentaries. The crozier, for example, is carried by a bishop, and only he and those close to him would be able to see the detailed work and read the careful inscriptions on his badge of office. The candlestick, while enormous, is covered with elaborate decoration and the figures that emerge from the foliage comprise a compendium of both Christian and classical ideas, including the four rivers of Paradise, the liberal arts, scenes of the Old Testament, the psychomachia, the zodiac, prophets and the Epiphany. While none of these themes is unusual, the combination and their elaborate form suggest sophistication. If Otto v. Falke is correct, the candlestick was an important work of Nicholas of Verdun commissioned for the cathedral of

Milan.³⁰ Under such circumstances the artist, like the designer of the Melisenda Psalter bookcover, was free to use as elaborate and learned sources for the iconography as he wished.

While the psychomachia theme is only one motif incorporated into the complicated scheme of the Milan candlestick, the same allegory in its dual aspects, the life of David and the warring personifications, is the single theme of the Carand crozier. The choice of subject reflects the role of the bishop as spiritual guide and mentor of his people, a shepherd who, like David and Christ, must defend his flock from evil and be ready to lay down his life for his sheep. A crozier, after all, is a symbolic shepherd's crook. But the connection between the psychomachia allegory and the life of David the shepherd remains only a general parallel. The virtue and vice figures are not specifically related to Prudentius, as the inclusion of Caritas-Invidia and Concordia-Discordia indicates. The Virtues are all dressed alike in flowing robes with a simple circlet on their heads. They are armed with swords or spears with which they transfix the prostrate Vices at their feet. Only Largitas carries the familiar kite-shaped shield. Neither do the Vices show any attempt at differentiation, with the possible exception of Libido, who is clearly female and offers at least token resistance. All the Vices are naked human figures that submit naturally to punishment. The moral conflict represented here on the crook of the crozier is focussed on human values.

rather than possible cosmic forces and the inevitable victory of virtue is stressed. The scenes on the knop from the life of David are chosen as a parallel moral triumph. David rescues a lamb from a bear, David with his harp is anointed by Samuel, David kills and beheads Goliath. These are the incidents that had been interpreted most consistently in biblical commentaries as the victory of good over evil and as the prefiguration of the redemption of man by Christ. The accompanying inscriptions stress the sense of moral allegory:

"Urse, cadis, vermi datus a puero, si(c) inermi. Hic fundatus. propriis. male viribus usus. Goliath cecedit."³¹ The juxtaposition of the triumphant Virtues and the victories of David is intended to remind the bishop that by an anointing similar to David's portrayal on the knop of his crozier, he is a second David "chargé par Dieu d'arracher au démon l'âme chrétienne dont il veut s'emparer, comme David a repris à l'ours le brebis dérobé."³² The bishop may have taken renewed confidence in his task by the sight of the serenely smiling Virtues and by the memory of how God brought victory to the boy David.

While David's most important victory is joined to a militant virtue on the Milan candlestick, the allegory has become much more generalized. A number of identical Virtue figures, armed with swords or spears and shields decorate the base of the candlestick. Apparently they do attack small men representing Vices, but these Vices have practically merged with the surrounding foliage. They are not

significant in themselves, only as identifying attributes, like the arms, for the Virtues. Immediately below the Virtues are key scenes from the Old Testament: the fall of man and his expulsion from Paradise, Noah's ark and Abraham's sacrifice, the calling of Moses and his leading the Israelites out of Egypt, the crowing of Esther by Ahasuerus and, finally, the beheading of Goliath. The presence of the *Psychomachia* figures, however, generalized, adds an allegorical meaning to these biblical scenes whose true significance is that of the victory of good over evil and the manifestation of divine justice in human history.

All the monuments that have been described so far have incorporated the figures of the *psychomachia* allegory into a literal representation of the life of David. Only one artist of the same period chose to develop a new iconography to express David's allegorical significance as defender of the faithful. It is not surprising to discover that this was Herrad of Landsberg and that her innovation was suggested by contemporary biblical commentators, especially Honorius of Autun. David does not appear in the *Psychomachia* sequence proper of the *Hortus Deliciarum* but is presented like the prophet Isaiah in a tower of celestial Jerusalem (Fig. V-3). These two men are defenders of the holy city against the attacks of heretics and schismatics who appear as devils. The image is a rendering of the verse from the Song of Songs: "Sicut turris David collum tuum, quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis" (Song of Songs 4: 4). Honorius states that ~~the~~

writings of the prophets are the *propugnaculum*,³³ so that the David in the illustration is the prophetic psalmist rather than the hero-king.

In this iconography, David is transformed into a completely allegorical figure whose combat with evil has no historical dimension. The vision of Jerusalem under siege, while it is certainly an allegorical battle, has an apocalyptic overtone that is absent from Prudentius' poem which concentrates more on the moral nature of an individual soul. David enclosed within his tower is neither the representative individual who overcomes the evil within himself nor the Christ-like deliverer of his people. He has become part of the whole Church militant attacked by diabolical enemies from without.

The enigmatic frescoes in the crypt at Tavant offer yet another possible interpretation of David as a psychomachia figure. The use of the conventional personifications of Virtue and Vice has been discussed earlier, and their presence supports the identification of other figures as David. By the time of the Tavant paintings, the association of David with moral victory and human salvation was very well established in biblical commentary and had been translated into another form of psychomachia by the designers of such artifacts as the Melisenda Psalter bookcover and the Carrand crozier. It was not perhaps a commonplace theme in popular art, but the iconography of Tavant is sophisticated enough to use it as one motif in a larger scheme of human failure

and divine redemption of that failure.

Some of the frescoes that begin the series of the crypt have been at least tentatively described as scenes from the life of David.³⁴ Their subjects and composition certainly indicate parallels to other representations of him. For example, the crowned harpist who sits across from a throned figure must be the psalmist-king. The other pair of scenes is less easily recognized, but one shows a warrior without armour killing a lion who attacks him and the other a similar figure dancing. Comparable events in the life of David are easily found: David kills both a lion and a bear in defence of his flock and David dances before the ark of the Lord when he brings it to Jerusalem as a symbol of the deliverance of the Israelites. All three incidents emphasize the role of David as a deliverer and his victories over evil. Even the apparently passive role of harpist, particularly in conjunction with Saul, has been interpreted as part of the conflict between good and evil, with David as God's agent, and even as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion:

David adhuc puer in cithara suaviter, imo fortiter canens, malignum spiritum qui exagitabat Saulem compescebat: non quod ejus cithara tantam virtutem haberet, sed figura crucis Christi, per lignum et chordarum extensionem mystice gerebat, quae jam tunc daemones effugabat.³⁵

Since, as most studies of the iconography of Tavant seem to agree, the general theme of the frescoes is a spiritual combat, more especially the "combat ou triomphe du Christ: la valeur rédemptrice de sa mort et de son ascension dans la gloire,"³⁶ then David is the most likely Old Testament figure

to be chosen as a prefiguration of Christ precisely because of his role as heroic and victorious rescuer of the oppressed.

The presence in the adjoining series of frescoes of an abstract, unspecified Virtue overcoming a monstrous Vice is not mere duplication. The association of the historical David with the conventional psychomachia figures has appeared elsewhere. The pendant scene to this Virtue is not a scene from the life of David, however, but apparently Cain and Abel. Perhaps this Old Testament incident was chosen to represent more fully the nature of Christ's victory which is achieved by sacrifice.

If the life of David is one of the themes presented at Tavant, the absence of a scene dealing with David's victory over Goliath is most unusual. Besides being the most common representation of David, except for his portrayal as psalmist-king that is so closely associated with psalter decoration, this incident is by far the most important one from a typological point of view. The slaying of Goliath is the event specifically referred to in the original *Psychomachia* by Prudentius and biblical commentaries insist upon its significance as the triumph of good over evil, Christ over the devil and humility over pride. Cassiodorus in his commentary on the Psalms explains David's importance in these terms:

Diximus *David* significare manu fortem. Et quando tale nomen debuit poni, nisi cum passionis dominicae gloriosa certamina referuntur? Fortis utique manu qui per tolerantium suam prostravit principem tenebrarum, qui mortem moriendo superavit, qui humanum genus captivum crucifixionis suae dispensatione liberavit.³⁷

The direct association of David the slayer of Goliath with Christ the liberator is very appropriate in the context of Tavant where the central frescoes show not a Crucifixion but the Deposition from the Cross and the Harrowing of Hell. But the series of frescoes that make up the David theme does not have any scene that could refer to Goliath.

There is, however, one rather puzzling fresco that appears behind the same pillar supporting the scene of the Deposition (Fig. V-4).³⁸ This fresco shows a large warrior armed with a shield and spear who bends toward a smaller, unarmed figure. The scene has been rather casually identified as a warrior rejecting a woman or, in other words, overcoming temptation.³⁹ Such an interpretation does not account for some of the details of this scene, nor does it explain the connection such a scene could possibly have with the rest of the frescoes.

The warrior might appear to be another Virtue figure at first glance, but this resemblance is due solely to a similarity of arms and armour. More important is the fact that the warrior is obviously male, wearing a short tunic under the mail surcoat and greaves upon his legs. Although sketches of this scene suggest the warrior stabs his opponent in the foot, more accurate reproductions of the fresco show that the unarmed figure remains untouched by his opponent, while the actual detail of the spear must remain doubtful. The figure opposed to the warrior is most definitely not a woman but a man dressed in a tunic whose folds curve

tightly around his chest and end in a free-floating short skirt. This costume appears on a large number of male figures at Tavant, among them David and Adam.

Since the Tavant artists had already employed the conventional psychomachia iconography of an armed female warrior and monstrous vice, it is unlikely that the unconventional pair is intended as another representation of that particular allegory. On the other hand, the confrontation between a large armed warrior and a smaller, unarmed man is suggestive. The costume of the warrior is very similar to that worn by Goliath in other twelfth-century representations, such as that of the Melisenda Psalter bookcover and the tympanum of St. Aubin at Angers. In both these examples, which have been described earlier because of their psychomachia overtones, Goliath wears a mail surcoat over a short tunic, a rounded helmet and leg armour. He carries a kite-shaped shield and brandishes a spear. David appears in the usual knee-length tunic whose folds follow the common stylized pattern. The Tavant figures follow the same costuming exactly. Even the composition of the scene supports this similarity as the larger warrior bends forward as if his legs were buckling under him, a movement that is clearly seen in the Angers sculpture. The only significant detail that is missing at Tavant is David's sling. The unarmed figure as a whole is rather faint and exists as an outline without that detailed colouring and shading apparent in the warrior. It is possible that this scene is unfinished and

other clarifying details would have been added. At least the position of the right figure is not inconsistent with that of other Davids..

If this scene can be considered at least tentatively as a representation of David and Goliath, then the David series would be complete and the essentially typological arrangement at Tavant confirmed. Its position adjoining the Deposition scene has some significance. There is a general tendency to use the left side for figures identified as virtue triumphant or redemption while the right side is concerned more directly with the continuing confrontation of good and evil. Logically, the defeat of Goliath, which is always the basic idea behind the visual portrayal of the historic fight, would be just such a moment of triumph. It would act as a commentary on the Deposition scene by emphasizing the paradox that the moment of apparent defeat is in fact the ultimate victory of good over evil, Christ over the Devil, as Cassiodorus had made very clear:

Diximus *David* significare manu fortem. Et quando tale nomen debuit poni, nisi cum passionis dominicae gloriosa certamina referuntur? Fortis utique manu qui per tolerantium suam prostravit principem tenebrarum, qui mortem moriendo superavit, qui humanum genus captivum crucifixionis suae dispensatione liberavit.⁴⁰

There seems to be good reason for the designers of Tavant to place David's greatest victory in this important position and thereby complete the theme of David as a prefiguration of Christ the Redeemer that had been introduced at earlier stages in the crypt. The design of Tavant can be said to

incorporate the psychomachia significance of David into a larger apocalyptic theme and thereby extend the general significance of the allegory. A similar development had already occurred in the treatment of the more conventional psychomachia figures in Saintonge where the warrior-Virtues and their opponents became part of the apocalyptic themes of the doorways.

With the introduction of the new iconography of Virtues and Vices in the thirteenth century and the subsequent decline in popularity of the psychomachia allegory in the visual arts, the figure of David the warrior disappears as a secondary form of the psychomachia. However, another allegorical interpretation of the biblical David assumes an increased importance during this period. Since it is not one that is primarily concerned with battle or metaphorical conflict, this new development cannot be traced fully here, but it is interesting to note that the association between David and the Virtues and Vices begun in psychomachia terms is continued in the new iconography.

David is not portrayed as a warrior-king but as the archtypal penitent. This aspect of David's life is as prominent in biblical commentaries as his career as saviour of Israel:

David autem hic apponitur in exemplum non cadendi, non prosperitatis otia affectandi, sed si cecideris resurgendi. Et ne desperes de peccati immanitate, cum videas David post reatum homicidii et adulterii, per poenitentiae humilitatem, Deo placuisse. Nam arguente eum Nathan propheta, rex non erubuit peccatum publice confiteri. Non se excusavit, ut solet homo, et a se poenas exegit, quas vix ferret aliquis

coactus. In conspectu omnium reum se abjecit cuius iudicium ab omnibus timebatur. Unde hic specialiter humilitas ostenditur, quae adeo poenitentibus valet.⁴²

Indeed, the two often overlap, as the Melisenda Psalter cover indicates in the scene of sacrifice at the threshing-floor of Ornan which shows David saving his people by an act of penitence. However, the new emphasis on David the penitent probably arises from the many references to him as an exemplar of a variety of virtues and vices in the penitential works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The most important of these from the point of view of iconography was the *Somme le roi* by Frère Laurent of Orléans written in 1279.⁴³ This penitential work, which may be more familiar in its English translations as the *Ayenbyr of Inwit* or the *Book of the Virtues and Vices*, includes a lengthy section defining and classifying seven Virtues related to the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and their opposites. The treatise in its original form had its own particular series of illustrations, seven of which are devoted to the Virtues and Vices outlined in the text. These pictures include personifications of the individual Virtues as female figures with identifying attributes, usually animals, and Biblical scenes or scenes of everyday life which serve as exempla of both the Virtues and the Vices. Since neither the *Somme le roi* nor its illustrations contain a systematic allegory of the conflict between Virtues and Vices, its iconography must remain peripheral to this present study.

However, the text of this work makes continual reference

to David the psalmist in order to substantiate and amplify various concepts of penitence and the exercise of virtue. The illustrations that accompany the text employ scenes from the life of David as exempla for two virtues, Amitié and Prouesce. Neither of the scenes, David embracing Jonathan and David fighting Goliath, is referred to in the text, so the illustrator probably recalled traditional moral interpretations of these scenes that would make them appropriate visual images of the abstract virtues and vices of Frère Laurent's scheme. It would seem from examining the use made of David in *La Somme le roi* that the figural interpretation of his life that emphasized its psychomachia element is of little importance. Instead, his roles as preacher and as historical example of virtue or vice predominate. Nevertheless, the earlier view of David as personified Virtue established a permanent link between him and any representation of contrasting virtues and vices.

For this reason, a series of virtues and vices or simply vices alone were chosen as illustrations for the penitential psalms in important books of hours or breviaries of the fourteenth century. The Belleville Breviary (B.N. ms. lat. 10483 and 10484, dated after 1320) and the Breviary of Charles V (B.N. ms. lat. 1052, dated before 1380) that copies its illustrations⁴⁴ are two famous examples of a new iconography that put a scheme of Virtues and Vices into the context of David's penitential psalms. Accompanying each psalm division in these manuscripts are a series of bas-de-page

illustrations of the seven sacraments linked to seven virtues and vices. In the centre of each illustration appears a realistic portrayal of a particular sacrament which is flanked on the right by a personified Virtue (a crowned female figure with an appropriate symbol) and on the left by a realistic scene, usually biblical, showing the consequences of a particular vice (Fig. V-5). The contrast between a series of personified Virtues and scenes of human activity to depict vice is reminiscent of the "new iconography" of Virtues and Vices established at Paris and other thirteenth-century cathedrals while the use of biblical figures as exempla is closer to the *Somme le roi* in its conception. There is, of course, no allegory of conflict in either representation. What is important here is the association of the penitential psalms with pictorial Virtues and Vices. Such marginal scenes had never before been used as illustrations to the Psalms and their choice seems strange in view of the fact that they are completely unrelated to the text they accompany.⁴⁵ However, it is quite possible that the traditional allegorical interpretation of David, author of the Psalms, as a Virtue overcoming Vice and his life as a psychomachia suggested that a series of Virtues and Vices might be suitably joined to the penitential psalms. The Melisenda Psalter bookcover is, after all, an earlier example of a series of Virtues and Vices used to illustrate a psalter. Even if such a reason underlies the iconography of the Belleville Breviary and its followers, the association of these psalms with the pictorial

Virtues and Vices became so general a tradition in the fifteenth century that, with two important exceptions, a direct reference to David is no longer apparent.

The first exception is the Bedford Missal (B.M. Add. MS. 18850) (Fig. V-6).⁴⁶ The full-page illustration of Psalm VI (f. 96) is a complete visual expression of David's role as penitent. The central picture on the page combines three separate scenes as a condensed narrative. On the right, David, crowned and carrying a harp, looks through a window at a woman and man standing together. On the left, David hands a message to an armed courtier who kneels before him. The top part of the picture has David kneeling before God the Father in Heaven as an angel with a red sword flies toward him. The king's robes are open to reveal a penitent's gown underneath. There is little attempt to reproduce scenes of historical accuracy, especially since Bathsheba's bath is absent, but the general meaning of the picture is clear enough and the inscription at the bottom of the page confirms that the story of David's lust for Bathsheba, his murder of her husband and his subsequent remorse are intended.

David's adultery with Bathsheba was the most famous of all his sins and the one for which he suffered the most. Here the Bedford Missal is presenting David purely as an historical figure, an example of human sin and the possibility of God's forgiveness for that sin if the sinner is properly penitent. This interpretation of David's sin was the more prominent one in commentaries on the penitential psalms

by Augustine and Gregory:

Multi enim cadere volunt cum David, et nolunt surgere cum David. Non ergo cadendi exemplum propositum est, sed si cecideris, resurgendi. Attende, ne cadas. Non sit delectatio minorum lapsus majorum, sed sit casus majorum tremor minorum. Ad hoc propositum est, ad hoc scriptum est, ad hoc in ecclesia saepe lectum atque cantatum: audiant qui non ceciderunt, ne cadant, audiant qui ceciderunt, ut surgant.⁴⁷

David's fall was not to encourage lesser men to sin or to lead them to despair of doing what was right. Rather it was to be remembered as a sign of hope and faith in God's mercy:

Ad hoc ergo in Scriptura sacra vivorum talium, id est, David et Petri peccati sunt indita, ut cautela, sit minorum ruina majorum. Ad hoc vero utrorumque illic et poenitentia insinuat et venia, ut spes pereuntium sit recuperatio perditorum. De statu ergo suo David cadente nemo superbiat, de lapsu etiam suo David surgente nemo desperet.⁴⁸

Unlike the twelfth-century psychomachia allegory, this picture ignores entirely the figural interpretations that had been given to these actions and keeps strictly to the literal level of meaning with its obvious moral implications.

The allegorical figures that surround the central picture do not reflect the moral aspects of David's life except in a general sense that would apply to any human life. They are chosen because they fit a popular, familiar series of virtues and vices and the iconography is comparable to that established at Notre Dame in Paris and elaborated so fully in later sculpture and painting. The Virtues are all passive female figures who carry emblematic signs and sit opposite the Vice figures who engage in some human activity that exemplifies the vice. There is no interaction between personifications of good and evil. Only David's story suggests

a possible relationship between sin and virtue in that one human figure acts out both the sin and the remedy for that sin.

The other manuscript that uses allegorical figures in illustrating the psalms does make the connection between the allegory and David's life much more explicit. This is the Dunois Hours (B.M. Yates Thompson MS. 3)⁴⁹ which has some stylistic links to the Bedford Missal. The illustrations for the seven psalms comprise allegorical portraits of the seven deadly sins. The choice of sins rather than a scheme of virtues and vices reflects the prominence of the sins in later manuals of penitence and effectively removes any suggestion of conflict. However, Lust is represented not only by means of the usual mounted figure but also by a scene of David at a window watching Bathsheba in a bath. The idea of using David and Bathsheba as an example of Lust seems obvious but, in fact, is quite unusual. Thus the Dunois Hours example is an interesting contrast to the Bedford Missal where the same story is used as an example of penitence.

Both these examples indicate the progressive decline in the visual interpretation of David as a psychomachia figure. All that remains in the fifteenth century is a tenuous link between the historical David and the theme of penitence that uses schemes of virtues and vices as appropriate secondary illustrations for the penitential psalms in books of hours and breviaries. David's dual role as a vanquisher of sin, figuratively in the battle with Goliath and more literally

in his repentance for his sin with Bathsheba, probably influences the choice of psalm illustrations of such later manuscripts as the Bedford Missal, Dunois Hours, a French book of hours at Cambridge (Fitzwilliam MS. 73) and two books of hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale (B.N. ms. lat. nouv. acq. 215 and B.N. ms. fr. 2224) as well as the psalm illustrations of the Belleville Breviary and the Breviary of Charles V that were mentioned earlier. Few of these series of virtues and vices, however, have any similarity in iconography nor do they attempt to incorporate the allegory of the virtues and vices into the life of David. The choice of subject matter has become conventional and its original significance well-nigh forgotten.

The early artifacts from the twelfth century, such as the Melisenda Psalter bookcover and the Carrand crozier, show clearly that the representation of King David as an allegorical figure relied quite heavily on the use of conventional motifs based on Prudentius. The *Psychomachia* figures combined with purely historical scenes from David's life described in the Old Testament would indicate a figural level of meaning beyond the purely literal and historical. Such a combination was possible because the narrative action of both the poem and the scriptural episodes focussed on hand-to-hand combat as a means to express the relationship between Virtue and Vice. But as the concept of actual conflict faded and almost disappeared from thirteenth-century iconography of Virtues and Vices, so too did the understanding of David as

an allegorical figure.. In late medieval iconography, such as in the *Somme le roi* or the Bedford Missal, David became merely one more example of good or bad human behaviour, not the embodiment of a particular moral quality. All that remains of the original *significatio* of his life is a tradition of illustrating the Psalms by means of series of Virtues and Vices that owe nothing to Prudentius.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

¹Gregory the Great, *In Septem Psalmos Poenitentiales Expositio*, P.L., 79, 550. See also the following for similar interpretations of David: Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, P.L., 36, 302 and 37, 1856-57; Prosper of Aquitaine, *De Promissionibus et Praedictionibus Dei*, P.L., 51, 797-98; Isidore of Seville, *Appendix Ad Libros Regum*, P.L., 83, 399; Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmos*, P.L., 70, 1015; Peter Lombard, *Commentarium in Psalmos*, P.L., 191, 1253-54; Hilarius, P.L., 9, 844.

²Ambrose, *Liber de Bono Mortis*, P.L., 14, 570.

³Prosper of Aquitaine, P.L., 51, 797.

⁴Peter Lombard, P.L., 191, 1253-54.

⁵Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, P.L., 36, 302.

⁶Prosper of Aquitaine, P.L., 51, 797.

⁷Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 9 and Fig. 7; Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p. 102; J.O. Westwood, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Factile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1876), pp. 72-73; A. Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1934), II, No. 224.

⁸Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 4.

⁹Woodruff, p. 35.

¹⁰Leonem quoque et ursum idem David necavit, ursum videlicet diabolum, leonem Antichristum; alterum hominibus latenter insidiantem, alterum in posterum manifestissime saevientem. Isidore of Seville, P.L., 83, 399.

¹¹Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, P.L., 37, 1857.

¹²Prosper of Aquitaine, P.L., 51, 797.

¹³Gregory the Great; *In Primum Regum Expositiones*, P.L., 79, 462.

¹⁴Ambrose, *Liber de Isaac et Anima*, P.L., 14, 549.

¹⁵Isidore of Seville, P.L., 83, 403.

¹⁶Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, P.L., 36, 601.

¹⁷Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, P.L., 42, 441.

¹⁸Ambrose, *Liber de Bono Mortis* P.L., 14, 570.

- ¹⁹ Ambrose, *Liber de Bono Mortis*, P.L., 14, 571.
- ²⁰ Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, P.L., 36, 586.
- ²¹ Paterius, *Expositio Vet. et Nov. Testamentum. Sup. Lib. Regum.*, P.L., 79, 806.
- ²² Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, P.L., 42, 441; see also Gregory the Great, *In Septem Psalmos*, P.L., 79, 581.
- ²³ Hugh of St. Victor, *Exegetica Dubia*, P.L., 175, 105.
- ²⁴ Hugh of St. Victor, P.L., 175, 105.
- ²⁵ Prosper of Aquitaine, P.L., 51, 797.
- ²⁶ Hugh of St. Victor, P.L., 175, 692.
- ²⁷ See above, Chapter II.
- ²⁸ M. Chamot, *English Medieval Enamels* (London: Benn, 1930), pp. 31-32, Pl. 3A; Clemen, p. 166; F. de Mély, "La Crosse dite de Ragenfroid," *Gazette Archéologique*, 13 (1888), 109-23; Hans Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954), Pl. 196; Saunders, p. 60; F. Saxl, *English Sculptures of the Twelfth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), p. 63; Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p. 102. I have not been able to obtain a photograph of this crozier. The clearest pictures are those accompanying Mély's article.
- ²⁹ Otto von Falke, "Der Bronzeleuchter des Mailänder Doms," *Pantheon*, 7 (1931), 127-33, 196-203, Pl. 4 and 5. A photograph is unavailable. The pictures included in the article are very good.
- ³⁰ Falke, pp. 196-97.
- ³¹ Chamot's reading, p. 32.
- ³² Mély, p. 113.
- ³³ Cames, pp. 93-94.
- ³⁴ Michel, *Les Fresques de Tavant*, "Table des Sujets et des Planches".
- ³⁵ Hugh of St. Victor, P.L., 175, 692.
- ³⁶ Jean-Nesmy, "Tavant", p. 238.
- ³⁷ Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmos*, P.L., 70, 193.
- ³⁸ Michel, "Table"; Jean Nesmy, p. 236.
- ³⁹ Michel, "Table"; Jean-Nesmy, p. 236.

⁴⁰Cassiodorus, *P.D.*, 70, 193.

⁴¹See above, Chapter II.

⁴²Lombard, *P.L.*, 191, 483.

⁴³Bloomfield, p. 125; Henry Martin, "La Somme le roi," *Les Trésors des Bibliothèques de France*, ed. M.R. Cantinelli and M.E. Dacier (Paris: van Oest, 1926), I, 52-56; Eric G. Millar, *The Parisian Miniaturist Honoré* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959).

⁴⁴F. Godwin, "An Illustration to the *De Sacramentis* of St. Thomas Aquinas," *Speculum*, 36 (1951), 609-14; V. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris: n.p., 1934), I; Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, pp. 328-29; Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts (51-100) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), pp. 365-68.

⁴⁵Godwin, p. 609.

⁴⁶There are a number of fifteenth-century books of hours which use a very similar illustration for the Psalms: No. 22, Firmian Horae (Flemish, 1490), f. 101b; No. 23, Italian-Flemish Horae (early sixteenth century), f. 132b; No. 85, Horae of Admiral Prigent de Coëtivy (French, 1480), f. 138. All of these are described by M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts from the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898) and *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts*. Also Handschrift 1855 Nationalbibliothek Vienna (Paris, circa 1420), f. 153v, Horae for Charles VII, probably by the Bedford Master, is described by E. Trenkler and K. Holter, "Les Principaux Manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Vienne," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures*, 20 (1937).

⁴⁷Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *P.L.*, 36, 586; see also Gregory the Great, *In Septem Psalmos*, *P.L.*, 79, 550-82.

⁴⁸Gregory the Great quoted by Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Libros IV Regum*, *P.L.*, 109, 99.

⁴⁹James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts*, No. 11.

CHAPTER VI

NEW PSYCHOMACHIA ALLEGORIES OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

The thirteenth century saw a general erosion in art and literature of the allegorical theme of conflict between virtues and vices, although the Prudentian motifs did not disappear completely. The iconography of Paris with its emblematic virtues juxtaposed with scenes of human activity, which are presumably motivated by particular vices, predominates in the cathedral sculptural programs and other major art forms of the period.¹ However, the concept of the moral conflict between virtues and vices, which is simply an extension of the fundamental opposition of good and evil, was much too basic an idea to disappear. Various writers began to explore other allegorical forms to express this theme, forms that could include some of the subtle analyses of the nature of sin that moral theology and penitential works had fostered. The original Prudentius style of allegory, relying as it did on classical epic conventions, had come to seem too old-fashioned and irrelevant to the manners and mores of the fourteenth century. It was time to invent new symbols and new narratives to encompass the old truths. The visual artists appear to have waited until some writer finally achieved a new allegory that was dramatic enough to lend itself to illustration and popular enough in its own right for its illustrations to form the basis for an

independent iconography of moral conflict. Two works of the fourteenth century finally fulfilled these requirements:

Guillaume de DeGuileville's *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* and an anonymous treatise on the conflict of virtues and vices that appears as part of the *Lumen animae*, an Austrian manual for preaching dated about 1332.² This treatise carried its own illustrations and circulated independently in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under such titles as *De septem apparitoribus* and the *Etymachia*.

The multiplication and elaboration of symbolic details so prominent in these works did not lend itself to sculpture. At least the new allegory appears visually in tapestry, wall-paintings and manuscript illustrations rather than in the sculpture of the time. Later sculptural programs, like that of Strasbourg, seem to revert to the traditional virtues and vices of the twelfth century or to continue the Paris scheme of portraying vice in the form of human activity.

The first major source of manuscript illustration is Guillaume de DeGuileville's massive narrative poem in three parts, one of the most important works of the fourteenth century. Written originally between 1330 and 1331, it was extensively revised by the author in 1355. Its continuing importance is attested by the prose versions of two parts of the *Pèlerinages*, one by Jean Galloppes (1422-31) who rewrote the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* and a clerk of Angers who rewrote the *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* in 1465. Both prose works were done for important aristocratic patrons. In the early

sixteenth century a modernized verse recension was also done.³ All versions were translated into several languages including Latin, English, Dutch and German and the number and distribution of extant manuscripts is a fair indication of the extraordinary popularity of DeGuileville's poem.⁴ The literary merits of the *Pèlerinage* may be debatable but its success is not.

Part of this success must surely be a result of DeGuileville's inclusiveness and the pictorial quality of his writing. As Faral points out, "au fond, l'oeuvre de Guillaume a consisté, sans aucun penchant au mysticisme, à traduire des idées en images."⁵ This quality was of great significance for the development of iconography, just as its widespread popularity ensured the consistent transmission of the visual images that were derived from the text. Tuve's study of DeGuileville's survival into the sixteenth century leads her to conclude that "a firm iconographical tradition had developed in the early manuscripts and was passed on to the woodcut designers of several countries."⁶ Even in very late manuscripts such as Magd. Coll. Camb., Pepys MS. 2258, the subjects and story "moments" are the same as much earlier illustrations. The iconography remains constant while translated into a variety of artistic styles.⁷

The conflict between virtues and vices is only part of DeGuileville's allegory, but it had the greatest influence in the visual arts and the episodes are among the most striking of the *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*. The basis for

the allegory differs significantly from Prudentius and, of course, it is these differences that account for the changes in iconography. Almost the only element the two poems have in common is the representation of a metaphorical conflict between moral abstractions in terms of physical battle. The nature of the conflict has changed and also the identities of the combatants.

The most important shift lies in the locus of the conflict. Prudentius clearly conceives of the battlefield as within the soul. This means that both the virtues and the vices are impulses within the human psyche and are part of it.⁸ In the *Pèlerinage* the action, while psychological, is not so clearly internal. The locus is the world and the vices are agents of the Devil that man encounters in the course of his life. The conflict then is external, a battle with demonic forces that seek to invade and control man's inner self. The reasons for such a radical change in the allegory are complex and probably relate to prevailing models of human psychology. But the tendency to interpret vices, even Prudentian ones, as external forces has always been present, as the apocalyptic virtues and vices of Saint-onge and Brioude demonstrate.

The next important change in the allegory occurs in the nature of the protagonist. In the *Psychomachia*, the Virtues are in every sense the heroes with Fides perhaps having a little more prominence. The hero of the *Pèlerinage* is the Pilgrim representing mankind, both individual man and the

human race. He is called upon to battle with the sins but his stature as fallen man cannot be said to be heroic. What has happened to the Virtues? They have been reduced to mere equipment, the protective armour that the Pilgrim, in a delightful comic passage, refuses to wear because it makes him uncomfortable. Perhaps the very rigidity of the Virtue figures of Paris is symptomatic of their loss of vitality as imaginative constructs. At least as far as DeGuileville is concerned, morally positive personifications are those of spiritual or mystical concepts such as Grace-Dieu, not the conventional Virtues.

The different setting and protagonist also require a different allegorical structure or plot. In the *Psychomachia* the structure is more or less static and proceeds by a series of tableaux. Each Vice seems to arise at random and is challenged by an appropriate Virtue. There is a sense of progress, in that each battle becomes more difficult and the victory of the Virtue less certain, but this reflects more a sense of rhetorical fitness rather than a real development of action. Such a structure is appropriate for an allegory that represents what is presumably a continuous action within the human mind, one that never ends as long as the world endures, even though it looks forward to an ultimate victory in the building of the temple of the New Jerusalem. On the other hand, DeGuileville's Pèlerin is proceeding in a framework of time; that is, he is living his human life from birth to death and salvation so that the structure of the

allegory is sequential rather than spatial. Therefore, the battles are a series of encounters, each one leading into the next, and each one experienced by the same protagonist.

How do these changes affect the iconography? The Prudentian embattled or triumphant Virtues disappear completely to be replaced by the single human figure of the Pilgrim. He is never triumphant, only threatened and quite often defeated. As DeGuileville sees it, man's moral victory lies in escaping or avoiding vice and this requires supernatural assistance.

The biggest change, of course, lies in the conception of the Vices. These are no longer dominated by the Virtues but achieve an independent existence as fully realized, complex characterizations. What Prudentius had only begun to suggest in the figures of Luxuria and Avaritia, DeGuileville is able to carry out to the fullest extent possible. Moreover, the Vices are actually the seven deadly sins, a schema that had come to assume the foremost position in both religious and secular works dealing with sin and its correction. This list of sins had developed apart from any classification of virtues and, indeed, virtues that later become attached to it are viewed solely as *remedia* for the sins. Since DeGuileville is using this classification, the translation of virtues into passive and inanimate protective armour is only logical.

The choice of the seven deadly sins, the figure of the Pilgrim as protagonist, the use of the pilgrimage as a

metaphor for human life, even the battle theme are all evidence of DeGuileville's unerring choice of the most familiar and most popular themes of his time. Any one of these ideas can be found in innumerable earlier examples,⁹ but it was DeGuileville's achievement to combine them all in one elaborate allegory. The characterization of the sins itself is not original but represents the same urge to elaborate and combine. A series of personifications results in which characters are built up by accretion of symbolic details that also produce a startling but concrete picture. The illustrators of DeGuileville responded to this quality of his allegory by translating his personifications as literally as possible in visual terms. The pictures themselves are dramatic and full of action, even if the actual figures of the sins emerge as grotesque monsters. This nightmare effect probably pleased DeGuileville as being appropriate to the terror and revulsion that the spectacle of his hags was supposed to evoke. Certainly the pictures add depth to the emotional impact of the Pilgrim's encounters. The reader of the text follows the Pilgrim in a process of gradual recognition of the sin that confronts him. The Pilgrim notices each individual detail of the Sin's appearance in sequence and then these details are conveniently recapitulated and explained by the Sin herself. But the picture has a different impact. All the details are seen at once in a single glance and the response to the total picture is one of sheer horror. Of course, reference to the text will enable the viewer to

"read" the picture by identifying all its components and their significance, but this does not diminish the original effect.

This technique of creating monsters built up of symbolic details influenced the later iconography of both Virtues and Vices as abstractions. Gone are the recognizably human figures of Prudentius. Since the DeGuilleville Sins were composites of so many traditional ideas, details of the individual representations were also influential as well as the general technique. A brief description of these Sins, then, will be useful to demonstrate both the process of creating them and their distinguishing marks. The order of the first recension will be used since this was the earliest version to be illustrated and later changes in the text do not affect the iconography to any large extent.

The first Sin met by the Pilgrim is Paresce who, like all her fellow Sins, is an old hag (Fig. VI-1).¹⁰ She is armed with an axe and two ropes. The second recension also gives her five cords as well, and some pictures show this bundle of cords as well as the other ropes and axe. The two ropes are Negligence and Laschete (ll. 7208-09), while the cords are hope of a long life, foolish dread, shame, hypocrisy and despair. The axe is Ennui de vie (ll. 7180-81). Paresce first ambushes the Pilgrim and binds him by the feet. She later smites him with her axe and binds him about the throat with more cords intending to drag him to Hell, since that is her particular function. Two pictures of Paresce

carefully show both her roping of the Pilgrim and her attack with the axe. The third picture shows her binding the Pilgrim and his escape still encumbered by her cords.

While the Pilgrim is still bound by Paresce, he encounters Orgueil who rides on Flaterie (Fig. VI-2) (ll. 7338-8190). The rider is swollen and carries a staff and a horn. A bellows hangs about her neck and a unicorn horn protrudes from her forehead. Pride also has a pair of spurs to encourage her mount. Flaterie, that mount, manages to carry Orgueil and a mirror at the same time, a tricky problem for the illustrators who solved it in a number of ingenious ways. The horn in the forehead of Orgueil is Cruaute, the bellows Vaine Gloire, the horn Vantance, the spurs Inobedience and Rebellion, the staff Obstinacion. She also wears a cloak or mantle of Ypocrisie (ll. 7647-8094). Flaterie confides that she carries her mirror, Echo, in order to protect herself from Orgueil's horn (ll. 8155-90). The various illustrations of this episode emphasize the various symbolic features of Orgueil. Some, in fact, consist of a series showing each piece of Orgueil's equipment by itself.

While the Pilgrim converses with Orgueil, he is overtaken by Envie (ll. 8191-785) (Fig. VI-3). Envie terrifies the Pilgrim because she carries two spears in her eyes. The spears represent Courroux de (la) joie d'autrui and Joye d'autrui adversité. Two daughters, Traison and Detraction, ride upon her back. Traison hides her face behind a mask, carries a knife secretly in her right hand and a box of

ointment in her left. The knife is to stab men secretly, the ointment to blear men's eyes with flattery and the mask to deceive everyone. Detraction carries a lance like a spit on which are threaded ears that have listened to slander. She holds one end of this towards the Pilgrim and the other end is between her teeth, together with a bloody bone. The bone presumably represents her habit of eating raw flesh, that is, the destruction of men's good reputations.

After the white dove (Holy Spirit) rescues the Pilgrim from the concerted attack of Envie and her daughters, Colère enters (ll. 8797-972) (Fig. VI-4). Her whole body is covered with spines like a hedgehog and she, armed with a falchion,¹¹ carries flint stones in her hands. The steel saw in her mouth is Haine, the stones are Despit and Tencon, while Colère uses her falchion to create her own order of knights.

Avarice, the most horrible of all the monster Sins, appears next (ll. 9055-10234) (Fig. VI-5). She limps along with a broken back and her tongue hangs out. The picture clearly illustrates her body's deformities, all of which have symbolic significance. The crippling haunch is Mençonge, the outstretched tongue Parjurement, the hump on her back is Propriete, the riches of those who forsake their vows of poverty and who will be unable to pass through the metaphorical eye of the needle that leads to Heaven. Of course, round her neck is the traditional miser's money-bag. Her other distinctive feature is a griffin paw and six hands, each carrying a special object symbolizing one of Avarice's

many aspects. The paw represents Ravine, while the hand behind her back is Coupe-bourse. The second hand which carries a file is called Usure but actually seems to represent trickery or cheating while the balance that weighs the zodiac is a better symbol for Usure as it is usually understood. The next two hands, one with a ladder and a bag for bread, and the other with a crook represent Coquinerie (deceitful begging) and Symonie respectively. The last hand, which rests on Avarice's crooked hip, is Decevance. All of these objects are explained in great detail in the text, but it is their physical presence in the illustration which is important here. There are some variations in the pictures of Avarice so that the number of arms may change or some of the objects, but the physical deformities remain constant as well as the idol that Avarice carries on her head. The idol is quite literally her crowning symbol because it stands for the worship of gold, the ultimate surrender to worldly goods and Avarice's attack begins by her demanding that the Pilgrim fall down and worship her Mahomet.

Avarice calls the other sins to join in attacking the Pilgrim, who immediately flees (ll. 10224-37). As he runs, he meets Gloutonnie, an old woman with a long nose who carries with her teeth a large sack in which is placed a funnel to signify her continuous cycle of stuffing and vomiting (ll. 10240-684) (Fig. VI-6). Gloutonnie attempts to strangle the Pilgrim. As she does so, a second sin rides up on a wild boar. She carries the mask of a beautiful woman in front of

her own ugly visage but her true nature is revealed by the mud on her clothes (Fig. VI-7). She joins with Gloutonnie in attacking the Pilgrim but her weapon is a dart that pierces the Pilgrim's eye. This method of attack, of course, identifies her as Venus or Luxure.

After revealing, as the other Sins have done, their true natures to the Pilgrim, Gloutonnie and Luxure join with all the Sins in a concerted attack on the Pilgrim, as he says "Chascune a son tour me feroit / De tele armeure qu'elle avoit" (ll. 10685-96) (Fig. VI-8). They take away his staff and the Pilgrim, totally helpless, laments his plight and admits his own folly and stubbornness in refusing to wear armour and in avoiding the hedge of Penitance. Finally Grace Dieu reappears to return his staff and set him once more on the right road (ll. 10697-836) (Fig. VI-9).

This descriptive outline of DeGuileville's treatment of the allegorical conflict between virtues and vices throws into relief certain important features of his allegory that influence the illustrations. First, there is the recognition of the schematic analyses of each major sin and its branches promoted by *Somme le roi* and its followers. The various bizarre and carefully labelled attributes are DeGuileville's attempt to suggest the varied manifestations of each sin. But it is interesting that DeGuileville chooses to do this by means of metaphor or symbol rather than by exempla, although these are also embedded in the monologues of each Sin. The illustrators, taking their cue from the

poet, create emblematic pictures that must be decoded by means of the text. Such a method can be both witty and economical in making a point, as in having Flaterie carry Orgueil on her back or in showing Avarice as a many-handed monster. J.H. Blythe in her discussion of the figure of Wrath has given an excellent demonstration of how DeGuileville's concrete symbols are derived from a complex association of biblical and patristic allusions and metaphors so as to constitute a visual compendium of traditional teaching on the subject.¹² However, these figures are so firmly grounded in the abstract that at no point does Avarice, for example, become merely a miser or a usurer. In this way DeGuileville demonstrates full control over his allegorical method and a sophisticated understanding of its purpose so that this particular section of his poem is distinguished by a consistent focus and a logical development of its theme.

It might be supposed that DeGuileville's personifications, burdened as they are with a veritable inventory of symbolic hardware, would remain relatively static figures to be read and analyzed. This is, in fact, one level at which they operate in the poem since the Pilgrim is forced to recognize and gradually comprehend the nature of each sin by means of a minute examination of its parts. However, the Sins, far from being passive, are also important actors in the narrative. Therefore, they reveal themselves by attacking the Pilgrim in a variety of ways. In this matter DeGuileville has the advantage of Prudentius in that his mode

of allegorical conflict is more psychologically satisfying and he is not bound by an epic convention of warfare that occasionally seems forced or even illogical when applied to Christian virtues or vices. In the *Pèlerinage*, DeGuilleville's allegory is probably ultimately derived from the parable of the Good Samaritan since moral exegesis had consistently interpreted this as the Christian soul attacked by the Devil and his agents and wounded by sins. Augustine in his *Quaestionum Evangeliorum* comments on the passage "Homo quidam ex Jerusalem descendebat in Jericho, et incidit in latrones" that "homo" is "Adam intelligitur in genere humano" and the "latrones" are the "diabolus et angeli ejus qui eum spoliaverunt immortalitate: et plagas impositus, peccato suadendo."¹³ The "stabulum" to which the Samaritan/-Redeemer brings the wounded man "est Ecclesia, ubi reficiuntur viatores de peregrinatione redeuntes in aeternam patriam."¹⁴ Augustine's use of the pilgrimage image in this context is significant here, and his interpretation is followed by Ambrose, Isidore of Seville and Rabanus Maurus.¹⁵ In the fourteenth century the popular *Speculum Morale* attributed to Vincent of Beauvais has a passage in which the seven deadly sins are likened to seven thieves attacking and wounding various parts of man's body.¹⁶ However, Langland's *Piers Plowman* offers a more familiar version of this allegorical interpretation of scripture in Passus XVII:

... and sith I hym tolde,
How þat feith fleigh away • and spes his felaw bothe,
For sigte of þe sorweful man • þat robbed was with þeues.

"Haue hem excused," quod he • "her help may litel auaille;
 May no medcyn on molde • þe man to hele brynge,
 Neither feith ne fyn hope • so festred ben his woundis,
 With-out þe blode of a barn • borne of a mayde.

For went neuere wy in þis world • þow þat wildernesse,
 Þat he ne was robbed or rifled • rode he þere or zede,
 Saue faith, and his felaw • spes, and my-selue,
 And þi-self now, and such • as suwen owre werkis.
 For outlawes in þe wode • and vnder banke lotyeth,
 And may vch man se • and gode merke take,
 Who is bihynde and who bifore • and who ben on hors,
 For he halt hym hardyer on horse • þan he þat is a fote
 For he seigh me, þat am samaritan • suwen feith and his felaw
 On my caple þat hatte *carr* • (of mankynde I toke it),
 He was vnhardy, þat harlot • and hudde hym *in inferno*.¹⁷

DeGuileville's robber-sins remain individual entities, each of which is free to waylay and attack her victim in the manner most appropriate to her nature. The various implements of each sin become veritable weapons, not just decorations. Paresce entangles the Pilgrim's feet with her cords, Glouttonie strangles him, while Luxure pierces his eye with her dart (Fig. VI-8). The combined attack on the Pilgrim results in his utter defeat until he is rescued by Grace Dieu.

Of course, the accompanying illustrations follow the narrative so that the series does not consist solely of isolated, immobile sins, but includes various crises in the narrative. Therefore, there are two pictures of Paresce's assault, a picture of the final overwhelming of the Pilgrim and another of his rescue by Grace Dieu, among others. From the illustrator's point of view, these moments of conflict are very simple and clearly defined, a final action that summarizes or recapitulates the basic concept underlying each personified sin. There is little suspense

involved in the outcome of these various conflicts because the combatants are so unequal, and this is probably the result of the characterization of the protagonist as victim. The problems posed by Prudentius are quite different because the emphasis there is very much on equally matched warriors and so the illustrators attempt to record pictorially complex battle sequences that include in one picture two or three important actions that occur sequentially in the narrative. Since all these actions appear simultaneously in the picture, the text is necessary for the reader to establish the correct order in time. In the *Pèlerinage*, such difficulties do not arise primarily because the Pilgrim cannot resist the various attacks. Rather than having a pattern of attack and counterattack to record, the narrative pattern is cumulative, so that the concluding illustration, appropriately enough, simply consists of all the sins surrounding a prone Pilgrim (Fig. VI-8), an ironic visual reversal of the conventional Virtue triumphant.

The success of DeGuileville's allegory and the popularity of its illustrations resulted in the representation of various scenes taken from the allegory in other contexts that were completely divorced from the original text. Such a development may be viewed as a parallel to the Prudentius illustrations that were similarly separated from their text. In both instances, a general knowledge of the allegory is assumed so that the illustrations can be recognized and understood with a minimum of verbal identification. The

most striking example of such a use of DeGuileville's allegory occurs in the margin illustrations for a French book of hours originally made for Yolande of Anjou and now kept at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Fitzwilliam MS. 62).¹⁸ Each page has an oblong miniature forming part of a continuous series of illustrations for all three of DeGuileville's *Pèlerinages*. The only identification offered is on f. 138v which has a subtitle, "Ci fine le pèlerinage du corps." Yet the pictures are so obviously DeGuileville's allegory that even that reference is superfluous. The accuracy of the narrative order is demonstrated by the fact that it is possible to determine that the artist is following the second recension of DeGuileville's text that introduces Gluttony and Luxure first.

Of course, some abridgement of the number of scenes was necessary and this condensation emphasizes quite clearly the individual sins and their various attacks on the Pilgrim. For example, the Pilgrim encounters Pride, who is equipped with bellows, horn and club and who wears a unicorn horn in her forehead. She rides on Flaterie who carries a mirror (f. 126v) (Fig. VI-10). A direct comparison of this scene with that of a DeGuileville manuscript (Fig. VI-2) reveals how close the details are in both and how unmistakable is the allusion to DeGuileville in the Fitzwilliam manuscript. The careful abridgement of episodes means that this is the only scene related to Pride in the manuscript and that there are no individual pictures of Pride's various pieces of equipment.

Yet the single scene shown is the key illustration of the entire episode.

No connection exists between these illustrations and the texts they decorate in the book of hours. Apparently they are intended to provide an alternate, visual source of moral instruction to accompany the devotions of the primary text but do not act as a commentary on that text. A similar situation was observed in the use of Prudentius illustrations in the Book of the Gospels belonging to Henry the Lion.¹⁹ Such use of the DeGuileville allegory encouraged a representation with minimum text in art forms besides manuscript decoration. In keeping with a general trend of the time, DeGuileville's *Pèlerinage* became a favourite theme in tapestries.²⁰ Unfortunately, all that remains of these are references in the inventories of kings and nobility and so we are unable to discover what further changes and variations might have taken place once the allegory was completely freed from its original source.

The other important text in the later allegorical versions of the battle of the virtues and vices lacks the firm narrative structure found in DeGuileville and it seems possible that its surprising influence lay more in its illustrations than in the rather dull text that they accompany.

There are several important differences between the *Etymachia* and the *Pèlerinage* that should be noted here. The most striking is the relatively limited and well-defined distribution of the text of the *Lumen animae* in which the

Etymachia was incorporated.²¹ Within the area of Germany and Austria, however, it enjoyed a very high degree of popularity, as the number of surviving manuscripts and early printed editions proves.²² Although the earliest manuscripts indicate that the work was written about 1330-32, possibly in Spain under the patronage of the Avignon pope, its popularity reached a peak in the fifteenth century between 1430 and 1465 in the upper Rhineland. A recent study of the manuscripts of the *Lumen animae* suggests three possible reasons for the intense but geographically limited interest in the text: the cultural unity of the region, the Benedictine reform movement with its emphasis on preaching, and current German interest in natural history.²³ Whatever the reasons, the result is a localized emphasis on a particular form of moral allegory in both manuscript illustration and other visual arts. In this respect the *Etymachia* may present a tenuous parallel to the unusual local popularity of Prudentian psychomachia figures in Saintonge sculpture of the twelfth century, although in the latter case, the exact literary impetus can only be surmised. In comparison with DeGuileville, however, the range of influence and potential audience for the work are severely restricted.

These limitations are also apparent in the general purpose of the *Lumen animae*. It is a specialized manual for preachers consisting of a "topically arranged collection of exempla drawn from natural history."²⁴ Imbedded in one of the major recensions of this work is an independent treatise,

Titulus 75, that includes a rudimentary allegory of a battle between virtues and sins incorporating an enormous quantity of bestiary lore. The treatise is not part of the original *Lumen animae* but was included with it almost 'from the beginning, probably because its use of natural history fitted in with the rest of the exempla. However, it was easily detached from the larger work and appeared independently under such titles as "De septem apparitoribus", "Etymachia", or "De vitiis et virtutibus".²⁵ It was this treatise with its illustrations that suggested a new visual form of psychomachia.

This does not mean that earlier literary allegories of conflict using animal imagery did not exist. M.W. Bloomfield has documented a number of these dating from the twelfth century on,²⁶ but the *Etymachia* is apparently the earliest text that was illustrated repeatedly and whose illustrations served as models for other works of art.

A brief description of both the text and its pictures will serve to indicate the nature of this allegory and the particular relationship between text and illustration.²⁷ As has been noted earlier, the *Etymachia* does not have a narrative structure. The battle allegory is simply an extended metaphor used as a general ordering device for a large body of heterogeneous bestiary lore. The writer wished to define and summarize the traditional seven deadly sins and their remedia using allegorized natural history to exemplify each concept. In order to unify his schema and to describe the relationship between these moral abstractions, he personified

them as warriors opposed in pairs, each with complicated symbolic armour. Each Sin and Virtue is described first as a knight riding into battle upon an appropriate symbolic mount. His helmet, shield and surcoat are all decorated symbolically, usually with an animal or plant (Fig. VI-11). These symbols may be briefly summarized for convenient reference. All of the attributes listed are illustrated, but where there is some ambiguity in the interpretation of the mythical beasts, I have indicated in parentheses the actual picture that accompanies the text. Where only an illustration is mentioned, the attribute is omitted in the text:

Superbia

mount: dromedary
 helmet: peacock
 shield: eagle
 surcoat: lion
 weapon: broad sword

Luxuria

mount: bear
 helmet: garland of roses in which swallows nest (Illustration: three roses with two birds sitting on them)
 shield: siren (Illustration: mermaid with a double fishtail)
 surcoat: basilisk (Illustration: dragon)
 weapon: gold cup

Avaritia

mount: oryx or antelope (Illustration: animal that is half-lion, half-ass)
 helmet: mole
 shield: squirrel*
 surcoat: marmot (Illustration: unicorn head)*
 weapon: (Illustration: bag of gold)

*The text itself reverses the position of these symbols in the extended discussion of their meaning.

Ira

mount: camel
 helmet: sparrowhawk
 shield: mad dog
 surcoat: seal (Illustration: ox head)
 weapon: (Illustration: shining sword)

Invidia

mount: dragon
 helmet: beehive and bees
 shield: bat
 surcoat: snake
 weapon: (Illustration: ?)

Accidia

mount: ass
 helmet: ape
 shield: buffalo or wild ox
 surcoat: leopard (Illustration: leopard's head)
 weapon: (Illustration: ?)

Gula

mount: wild cat (Illustration: lion-like animal with an ox's head in its mouth)
 helmet: fox
 shield: pike
 surcoat: panther (Illustration: panther's head)
 weapon: (Illustration: bone)

Humilitas

mount: panther (Illustration: animal with a horse's body and bird claws)
 helmet: garland of tree of life (Illustration: three grape leaves)
 shield: two ladders
 surcoat: griffin
 weapon: (Illustration: lance)

Castitas

mount: unicorn
 helmet: garland of white, yellow and green lilies (Illustration: crown of three lilies)
 shield: angel (Illustration: angel's head)
 surcoat: wolf (Illustration: wolf's head)
 weapon: (Illustration: lance)

Largitas

mount: two-horned rhinoceros (Illustration: horned animal)
 helmet: jasper (Illustration: helmet crowned with a jewel)
 shield: caladrius (Illustration: bird)
 surcoat: stork (Illustration: stork's head)
 weapon: (Illustration: lance)

Patientia

mount: elephant
 helmet: swan
 shield: leocofonos or lion-killer (Illustration: dog's head)
 surcoat: sheep
 weapon: (Illustration: lance)

Caritas

mount: orasius (Illustration: stag-like animal)
 helmet: coredulus (Illustration: bird)
 shield: pelican
 surcoat: harpy (Illustration: distorted human head)
 weapon: (Illustration: lance)

Devotio

mount: campolus (Illustration: horned animal)
 helmet: garland of rue with a singing nightingale (Illustration: bird)
 shield: agno phylomene bird (Illustration: bird)
 surcoat: phoenix
 weapon: (Illustration: lance)

Abstinentia

mount: deer
 helmet: nest with young ravens
 shield: otter
 surcoat: serpent
 weapon: (Illustration: lance)

The careful accuracy of the illustrations in translating the metaphors of the text is quite evident.

In the treatise this concrete description is recapitulated, part by part, and the significance of each symbol described. Their meaning rests upon an allegorical interpretation of a fact of natural history relating to the particular animal or plant. For example, Superbia rides a dromedary

because this is the fastest of animals and pride leads quickest to sin. The peacock with its showy tail represents vain-glory in dress while the crowned lion indicates Superbia's claim to be first among sins as the lion is king of beasts. The eagle symbol on the Sin's tunic is a little more obscure, and the treatise devotes more detail to a description of the peculiar nurturing of the eagle's young which is all conducive to pride and vanity. The broad-sword of Superbia signifies her desire for power:

Deinde dicitur superbia habere gladium latum in manu quia
superbus potestate sua multos subire nititur.²⁸

Having thus outlined the first sin, the treatise then moves on to the next and proceeds in exactly the same manner, changing only the particular symbols appropriate to the sin. After the sins come the opposite virtues, and these too are presented in exactly the same way. All of this allegorical description of arms and armour would seem to be a prelude to actual conflict but as far as the treatise is concerned the allegorical battle never takes place. The interest of the writer is primarily analytic and schematic, not narrative.

Such a static representation with its emphasis on concrete physical detail was easily illustrated. If anything, the artist provides more drama in earlier drawings than the text suggests. In the Vorau 130 manuscript, the Virtues and Vices appear as tournament knights charging in opposite directions across the page. The artist's translation of such simple metaphors as "Superbia quam mittit dyabolus

contra peccatores", "Avaritia que pugnat contra hominem", or "deus mittit septem virtutes principales contra vitia ad protegendum hominem" into a tournament is appropriate for the elaborate symbolic arms and armour of the personifications. The artist, in fact, may be reflecting the pageantry and use of symbolic costume in late medieval tournaments in his decoration of particular pieces of armour. The lack of narration, however, prevents the artist from providing more than individual figures, one for each sin and virtue at the beginning of each division in the text.

As for these individual figures, they include all the symbols mentioned in the treatise as well as additional features. These additions seem to be an attempt by the illustrator to round off or complete certain elements which the text omits, particularly weapons. Since the writer is not interested in describing an actual battle between two opposing abstractions, he indicates the weapon of only one or two figures and omits the rest. The illustrations, however, provide each Virtue with a lance, perhaps a distant analogy with the spear carried by the more traditional psychomachia Virtues. The weapons of the Vices are much more varied and constitute another series of symbols, derived from traditional motifs where the text is lacking. Superbia carries a broad-sword, Luxuria a gold cup, Avaritia a bag of gold held like a club, Ira another broad-sword, and Gula a rounded object again held like a club but which may be a bone. (I have not been able to verify the symbols carried

by Invidia and Accidia.) Except for the first two weapons, none of these is mentioned in the text. But they are objects often associated with those Vices as their presence in the *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* would suggest.

The generally consistent format of the illustrations accompanying an *Etymachia* text is attested by the series of woodcuts that accompanied the popular German edition of the allegory printed by Johann Baemler in Augsburg, 1474, under the title "Ein schone materi vo den siben todsunden un von den siben tugende."²⁹ In these illustrations the Virtues and Sins remain as single figures, each one accompanying its appropriate description in the text (Fig. VI-12). The Virtues and Sins alternate, however, rather than appearing as a series of Vices followed by a series of Virtues so that the concept of opposed pairs is emphasized. Neither set of personifications wears body armour and all appear as beautiful women. The emblematic tunics of the warriors have been converted to banners. Only Luxuria and Superbia still carry weapons as well as banners. The helmet of each allegorical warrior appears to the right of each figure, suspended rather uselessly in mid-air. It is obvious from these changes that the dramatic concept of spiritual warfare has been considerably watered down. On the other hand, the complex system of attributes in the form of helm, shield, mount and banner remains remarkably unchanged, as a brief summary will show. An asterisk indicates the same symbols used in the earlier manuscript illustrations:

Hochfart (Superbia)

mount: dromedary*
 helmet: peacock*
 shield: eagle*
 banner: crowned lion*
 weapon: sword*

Diemutigkeit (Humilitas)

mount: panther*
 helm: garland of vines*
 shield: two ladders*
 banner: griffin*

Unkeusche (Luxuria)

mount: bear*
 helmet: crown of roses with
 nest of swallows*
 shield: two-tailed siren*
 banner: basilisk*
 weapon: bow with three arrows

Keuschant (Castitas)

mount: unicorn*
 helmet: garland of lilies*
 shield: angel*
 banner: wolf*

Geittigkeit (Avaritia)

mount: orix*
 helmet: mole*
 shield: squirrel*
 banner: monocerentes*

Milititkeit (Largitas)

mount: two-horned rhinoceros*
 helmet: cock with jasper
 shield: caladrius (bird)*
 banner: stork*

Zorn (Ira)

mount: camel*
 helmet: sparrowhawk*
 shield: mad dog (missing in
 illustration)
 banner: "certa"*

Gedultikeit (Patientia)

mount: elephant*
 helmet: swan*
 shield: leotofonos*
 banner: lamb*

Neid (Invidia)

mount: dragon*
 helmet: nest with bees*
 shield: bat*
 banner: adder*

Lieb (Caritas)

mount: multicoloured orasius*
 helmet: coredulus bird*
 shield: pelican*
 banner: arpia bird*

Trachheit (Accidia)

mount: ass*
 helmet: ape*
 shield: "Waltochsse" (wild ox)*
 banner: leopard*

Andacht (Devotio)

mount: mountain goat*
 helmet: garland of rue with night-
 ingale*
 shield: agnophila*
 banner: phoenix*

Frassheit (Gula)

mount: wild cat*
 helmet: fox*
 shield: pike*
 banner: parchip* (dog-like
 animal)

Messikeit (Abstinentia)

mount: deer*
 helmet: nest with young ravens*
 shield: otter*
 banner: snake*

There are only two additional symbols, Luxuria's bow and Largitas' cock, and both of these changes are incorporated in the text so that these woodcuts retain the same fidelity of literal illustration as did the early manuscript pictures.

The manuscript tradition, represented by B.M. Add. MS. 15693 of the fifteenth century, is equally consistent and shows similar variations (Fig. VI-13). In this example, the Vices and Virtues alternate, although the text in other respects is exactly the same as the earlier *Etymachias*. Only three symbols differ from the text and the illustrations of Vorau 130: Avaritia rides a bird of prey, Abstinencia has a fish on her shield and Invidia a basket of bees on her helmet. The last is obviously an error in representing a beehive. As in the Baemler edition, armour is missing, except for that worn by Superbia and all of the personifications are female. Unlike the woodcuts, however, all the warriors continue to wear their helmets and have emblematic sleeves as part of their costume rather than carrying banners. Some of the Virtues—Humilitas, Largitas, and Caritas—lack mounts, a change that appears more consistently and with greater significance in other manuscripts and the Regensburg tapestry.

The primary importance of the *Etymachia* illustrations lies in this exact interpretation of the text. Although animal symbolism had long been associated with vices in general and the seven deadly sins in particular,³⁰ the *Etymachia* appears to be the first systematic series of animal symbols



relating to Virtues and Vices to be illustrated. Herrad of Landsberg had used a series of animals to represent secondary sins derived from Avarice,³¹ but she did not apply the symbolism to other important Vices and her innovation was not developed by later artists. The *Etymachia* not only incorporates the animal symbols into the popular seven deadly sin tradition but its psychomachia theme suggested using the various animals as mounts for the warring personifications. DeGuileville also mounted an attacking Sin, Luxure, on a swine, but this idea is used only once and the rest of the Sins attack on foot, in keeping with their general character of footpads who waylay the Pilgrim. The regional character of the *Etymachia* makes it difficult to see it as a model for later representations of the Vices, but it is among the earliest extant examples of sins mounted on animals, a motif that became one of the most common iconographies of the seven deadly sins. The later representations are purely processional and therefore exclude the concept of the psychomachia, but the *Etymachia* illustrations suggest that an allegory of warring or attacking vices may have influenced the final form of this procession.

It may be suitable at this point in our survey to consider one unusual example that did combine the psychomachia motif with a procession. This was a wall painting in the north side aisle of the church at Kermaria-Nisquit in Brittany. The painting has long since disappeared, but a sketch drawn in 1861 and a description of 1857 are sufficient to

indicate the unexpected iconography of the painting.³² A series of crowned ladies standing upon various animals appeared dressed in long elegant robes. Banderoles accompanying each lady and each beast clearly identified the lady as a particular Virtue and the animal as a particular Vice. Furthermore, each Virtue pierced her mount with a lance and carried a shield or scroll (the sketch is not clear about this) with an appropriate emblem. Only one pair, Diligence-Paresse, was complete enough to be drawn, but the plan seems clear from the remaining details. Apparently, seven animals were present originally—an ass (Paresse), a lion, a serpent, a dog, a fox, a wolf and a goat.³³

The unusual feature of having a Virtue stand upon an animal representing an opposed Vice recalls a similar iconography first employed in the miniatures of the *Somme le roi* manuscripts. This thirteenth-century treatise, famous in its own right, was accompanied in its original form with a series of elaborate pictures suitable for the royal patron for whom the work was intended.³⁴ These illustrations were frequently and faithfully reproduced³⁵ with the text despite the fact that they are not very close interpretations of that text but presumably drew their inspiration from other pictorial sources for the representation of the various Virtues and Vices discussed by Frère Laurent. The *Somme le roi* is not a psychomachia allegory at all and enters this study only because of its influence on the psychomachia of Kermaria-Nisquit.

This influence can be traced to the personifications in the *Somme le roi* of the seven gift-Virtues—Humilité, Amitié, Equité, Prouesce, Misericorde, Chastité and Sobrieté³⁶—that appear in the top right compartment of seven illustrations devoted to the Virtues and Vices. Each Virtue appears as a graceful lady carrying a round disc with an emblem on it. She balances on an animal signifying the Sin to which she stands opposed (Fig. VI-14). The identity of the Virtue and other personifications or historical figures is made clear through inscriptions but the meaning of the various attributes such as the animals or emblems can only be inferred in a general way since the text makes no specific reference to them. The fact that the animals acting as footstools are Vice figures and not attributes of the Virtues is apparent, first, because of their lowly position and, second, because a number of the discs already feature emblematic animals usually associated with particular Virtues. The identity of the Vice-animal must be inferred, however, as the opposite of the identified Virtue. They appear in the following manner: Humilité stands on a unicorn or in some cases a stag (B.M. Add. MS. 28162, f. 5v), Amitié on a dragon, Equité on a fox who is seizing a cock, Prouesce on a seated bull or on a lion who then stands on a bull (B.N. ms. fr. 938, f. 93v), Misericorde on a wolf who is devouring a lamb, Chastité on a boar and Sobrieté on a bear.³⁷

Although the choice of animal symbols at Kermaria-Nisquit is not identical, the basic concept of having a

Virtue stand on a Vice-animal is the same. The wall painting, however, gives the Virtues the traditional lance with which they subdue their various beasts and thereby suggests a dynamic interaction between them that is entirely absent from the *Somme le roi* illustrations. Kermaria-Nisquit seems to be the only example I have discovered which uses a motif similar to that of the *Somme le roi* and one that is not the simple procession of Vices that came to dominate local churches in the fifteenth century in France. Its remoteness and lack of comparable examples make it impossible to speculate about how such an apparently unique iconography came into being at that particular site.

Both DeGuileville's *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* and the *Etymachia* with their illustrations continued in popularity and influence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,³⁸ but there was not the same wholesale transfer of themes from manuscript to sculpture and painting as there had been with the Prudentius manuscript illustrations. Instead, the new *psychomachia* allegories found their most congenial home in tapestry design while other art forms continued to represent human morality with allegories that did not include the motif of spiritual warfare.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

¹Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge*, pp. 328-29; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 75-84.

²Mary A. and Richard H. Rouse, "The Texts Called Lumen Anime," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 41 (1971), 8-25.

³Edmond Faral, "Guillaume de Digulleville, moine de Chaalis," *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1952), 39, pp. 101-02.

⁴Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and their Posterity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 146-47.

⁵Faral, p. 126.

⁶Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, p. 146.

⁷Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, p. 146.

⁸Macklin Smith, *Prudentius' Psychomachia: A Re-examination* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 148-49.

⁹Bloomfield, p. 229.

¹⁰Guillaume de DeGuileville, *La Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*, ed. J.J. Stürzinger (London: Roxburghe Club, 1893), ll. 7081-338. All references will be made to this edition.

¹¹There is some confusion in both text and pictures about this attribute. It must originally have meant a broad, curved sword but later versions turn this into a flail or scythe.

¹²J.H. Blythe, "The Influence of Latin Manuals on Medieval Allegory: Deguileville's Presentation of Wrath," *Romania*, 95 (1974), 256-83.

¹³Augustine, *P.L.*, 35, 1340.

¹⁴Augustine, *P.L.*, 35, 1340. Italics mine.

¹⁵Ambrose, *Expositionis in Lucam. Lib. VII*, *P.L.*, 15, 1806; Isidore of Seville, *P.L.*, 83, 124; Rabanus Maurus, *P.L.*, 110, 449 and 111, 80. The last two writers follow Augustine almost word for word.

¹⁶Bloomfield, p. 396, note 29.

¹⁷William Langland, *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman*, ed. W.W. Skeat, Early English Text Society, O.S. 38 (London: Oxford University Press, 1869), XVII, 87-93, 98-108. All references will be made to this edition.

¹⁸M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), No. 62; Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, p. 194; Jean Porcher, *The Rohan Book of Hours* (New York: Yoseloff, 1959), p. 11.

¹⁹Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 9.

²⁰Joan Evans, *Pattern: A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1931), I, 138.

²¹Rouse, p. 64.

²²Rouse, p. 5.

²³Rouse, p. 64.

²⁴Rouse, p. 5.

²⁵Rouse, pp. 37-40.

²⁶Bloomfield, pp. 79, 133-35.

²⁷Studies of the text include Bloomfield, pp. 133-35, Marie Gothein, "Die Todsünden," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 10 (1907), 464-65, and Otto Zöckler, *Das Lehrstück von den sieben Hauptsünden*, *Biblische und kirchenhistorische Studien*, III (Munich: Beck, 1893), pp. 86ff. Studies of the illustrations include Paul Buberl, *Die Illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1911), pp. 202-04, and Friedrich von der Leyen and A. Spamer, *Die Altdeutschen Wandteppiche im Regensburger Rathause* (Regensburg: Habbel, 1910), pp. 38-40.

²⁸*Lumen animae*, revised by Matthias Farinator (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477), lxxv.

²⁹Albert Schramm, ed., *Die Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke: Die Drucke von Johann Baemler in Augsburg*, *Deutsches Museum für Buch und Schrift* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1921), III.

³⁰Bloomfield, pp. 51, 60 and 245-49.

³¹Cames, pp. 63-66.

³²Marc Thibout, "La Chapelle de Kermaria-Nisquit et ses peintures murales," *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 115 (1949), 70-81.

³³Thibout, p. 76.

³⁴Bloomfield, p. 125.

³⁵Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 84; Millar, *The Parisian Miniaturist Honoré*; Martin, "La Somme le Roi," I, 50-57.

³⁶Rosemond Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices: Part II,"

Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 27 (1964), 45-46.

³⁷Millar, *Parisian Miniaturist*, and B.N. ms. fr. 938, dated 1294.

³⁸Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, pp. 146-47, and Rouse, pp. 8-25, 64.

CHAPTER VII

PSYCHOMACHIA ALLEGORIES IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TAPESTRIES

The elaborate detail and complex form of the later psychomachia allegories did not lend themselves to monumental art, so it is not surprising to find the visual interpretation of the allegory in decorative art forms rather than in sculpture or wall paintings. The influence of literary sources was particularly marked in the design of the great tapestries of the north of France and Flanders: "Peu d'artistes, en effet, se sont appliqués autant que les tapisseries à illustrer les productions de la littérature."¹

From the fourteenth century on, the combat of the virtues and vices became one of the major themes of these tapestries, revealing the taste of the aristocratic and learned clientele who would possess such luxurious work. The allegorical subjects of the tapestries may have been directed not so much by strictly spiritual inspiration as by "an unmistakable tendency to veil even the most commonplace fact under a mysterious covering, to ostentatiously display a learning which would be intelligible to the book-loving Grandees of the court and to the clerical authors, but not to the *misera plebs*."² Even if one discounts the rather supercilious tone of this comment, it is clear that the representation of the psychomachia allegory remained a theme primarily intended for a learned and sophisticated audience

as it had been in its earlier manifestations.

The greatest difficulty in discussing the development of the psychomachia theme in tapestries is the lack of examples. Relatively few tapestries of the early period remain and those that are extant tend to be inaccessible. There is enough evidence in the inventories of royal and aristocratic collectors to indicate the wide range and quantity of allegorical tapestries that once existed. For example, tapestries of the seven deadly sins or combinations of virtues and vices were owned by the dukes of Burgundy, Jean de Berry, Charles V of France, Valentine of Milan, the duke of Savoy, Jeanne d'Evreux and Richard II of England.³ But these inventories list only the general subject of the tapestry or, occasionally, a very brief description that cannot indicate the exact form of the allegory. However, two major tapestries of the fifteenth century that represent a psychomachia still exist and may demonstrate some of the interesting changes that occurred in the visual treatment of new psychomachia allegories.

The first of these tapestries, the Regensburg tapestry in the Town Hall of that city, has close connection with the iconography of the *Etymachia*, although it is not a simple representation of that allegory as has been suggested.⁴ The popularity of the *Etymachia* in fifteenth-century Germany has already been described, but a particular interest in the allegory in Regensburg may be noted. Two copies of the *Lumen animae*, including Titulus 75 (*Etymachia*), were

commissioned for Regensburg clerics and a further copy was actually written in Regensburg.⁵ This interest may account for the presence of the particular tapestry in Regensburg, although it was probably only one of several on the subject.⁶

The large manuscript picture that shows the closest parallel to the tapestry appears in a German fifteenth-century encyclopedia, Casanatensis MS. 1404 now in Rome. There is a sufficient similarity of detail that a careful study of the tapestry concludes: "Ohne Zweifel gehen Miniatur und Teppich auf eine gemeinsame ältere Handschriftenvorlage zurück."⁷ The picture appears without commentary or text in the Casanatensis 1404, ff. 26v, 27r⁸ (Fig. VII-1). Since the manuscript Casanatensis 1404 shows the transition from direct illustration of a specific text to an independent allegorical picture, it is worth studying the various changes in iconographical detail that have taken place.

The most impressive change is in the addition of two scenes of besieged castles, one in the bottom left corner of the picture and one in the top right corner. The castle on the left is defended by the four cardinal virtues, Justitia (Gerechtigkeit), Temperantia (Mässigkeit), Fortitudo (Stärke) and Prudentia (Weisheit) and attacked by vices that are simply opposites of those virtues. The other castle is similarly defended by the three theological virtues, Fides (Glaube), Spes (Hoffnung) and Caritas (Liebe). The attackers once again are simple opposites of these personifications. Further description of these scenes is unnecessary

here because the concept of an allegorical siege is quite outside the theme of the *Etymachia* treatise and does not, indeed, could not appear as an illustration of that work. What this picture represents, then, is the conflation of two kinds of allegorical conflict of Virtues and Vices; and the combination has been constructed by the illustrator, probably interpreting visual, iconographic traditions, rather than relying upon a literary text.

The central scene of the picture is the part that is closely related to the *Etymachia*. Even here, however, there are surprising departures from the details of that allegory, although the basic concept remains the same. The Virtues and Vices are clearly arranged in opposed pairs with the Vices attacking from the left. The Virtues, however, no longer ride symbolic beasts nor do they wear body armour. Instead, they stand rather stiffly in identical poses supported by a square standard in the right hand and carrying a small shield on the left shoulder. Their elaborate helmets hang down their backs. The artist here is recalling the essentially static concept of Virtues that had become common to the visual arts.⁹ This, of course, runs counter to the earlier style of the illustrations of the *Etymachia* where the artist tended to dramatize the rather stiff allegory of the text. The Vices of Casanatensis 1404, however, retain much of their original liveliness. They continue to ride their monstrous beasts, wear their massive helmets and occasionally brandish a weapon. Like the Virtues, however, they

carry a standard in the right hand and a shield on the left shoulder without any body armour. Indeed, both the Virtues' and Vices' elegant gowns and obvious femininity recall those fashionable bourgeois ladies that portray the traditional psychomachia theme in the Strasbourg area rather than the businesslike tournament knights of the Vorau manuscript. However, the system of allegorical emblems in both the manuscript and the tapestry is clearly based upon that of the *Etymachia*, as the following chart will show. One asterisk * indicates emblems that are also used in the Regensburg tapestry. Two asterisks ** show emblems that are also present in the *Etymachia* manuscripts. Parentheses () enclose emblems that are missing from Casanatensis 1404 but are present in the Regensburg tapestry:

Accidia (Trägheit)

mount: ass* **
helmet: ape*
shield: bird*
banner: crab*

Diligentia (Fleiss)

mount: —
helmet: bird in a wreath* **
shield: stag*
banner: phoenix* **

Invidia (Hass)

mount: dragon* **
helmet: bat* **
shield: ? (scorpion)*
banner: adders* **

Caritas (Liebe)

mount: —
helmet: crown*
shield: lion with young*
banner: tree with birds* **

Luxuria (Unkeuschheit)

mount: bear* **
helmet: garland with a cock*
shield: ? (boar pig)*
banner: adders*
weapon: bow and three arrows*

Castitas (Keuschheit)

mount: —
helmet: wreath with a bird*
shield: angel* **
banner: ? (virgin with unicorn)* **
attribute: lily branch with root* **

Gula (Gefrässigkeit)

mount: fox with goose in its
mouth**
helmet: lidded wineglass with
an eagle*
shield: raven*
banner: fowl on spit*

Ira (Zorn)

mount: boar*
helmet: thorns without owl
(thorns with owl)*
shield: monkey*
banner: hedgehog*

Avaritia (Geiz)

mount: orix biting its leg* **
helmet: cock without net
(cock with net)*
shield: toad? (toad)*
banner: squirrel* **
weapon: (money bag)*
branch with bird*

Superbia (Hoffart)

mount: horse*
helmet: crown with peacock**
(three crowns with
peacock)
shield: lion?* **
banner: eagle* **
weapon: sword* **

Abstinentia (Mässigkeit)

mount: —
helmet: garland with bird* **
shield: agnus dei
banner: crowned animal rising from
flames*

Patientia (Geduld)

mount: —
helmet: garland (with bird)*
shield: lamb*
banner: vulture*

Largitas (Milde)

mount: —
helmet: garland with bird*
shield: panther* .
banner: pelican*
attribute: blooming branch*

Humilitas (Demut)

mount: —
helmet: garland of flowers* **
shield: archangel Michael killing
dragon*
banner: Christ carrying cross*

The variations in the actual symbols of the helmets, shields, banners and mounts of the Vorau manuscript and the Casanatensis manuscript are not actually significant. Various illustrated manuscripts of the *Etymachia* indicate that inconsistency of detail was their most common feature. Some of the more unusual or perverse changes have been described by von der Leyen and Spamer in their study of the iconography of

the Regensburg tapestry.¹⁰ There is, however, no need to condemn the illustrators too harshly for these changes. The portrayal of a large number of fabulous beasts and the complex scheme of animal and plant emblems based on the logic of allegory rather than any real natural history encouraged fantasy rather than accuracy on the part of successive artists. What is important is that a particular kind of allegorical picture continued to be attached to the text of the *Etymachia* and this picture owed its basic configuration to the metaphor incorporated in that treatise. Warrior Virtues and Vices equipped with symbolic arms and mounts continued to confront each other in a tournament psychomachia.

Similarly, the Regensburg tapestry, dated about 1400, is obviously employing the same allegory¹¹ (Fig. VII-2). This tapestry, which was originally in one long strip, begins with the siege of the castle of the theological Virtues. In between, in exactly the same manner as the picture in the Casanatensis manuscript, appear the seven deadly sins and the virtues opposed to them. The chart proves how close the symbolic details are in both manuscript picture and tapestry, but even more significant is their common use of allegorical themes that are not part of the *Etymachia* proper. The siege scenes are the most important additions but other changes are also present. For example, the Virtues do not ride and thus have no symbolic mounts to correspond to those of the Vices. Yet the *Etymachia* insisted upon an exact physical parallel between the opposed abstractions. The Virtues are

each supported by a flying angel who sometimes brandishes a sword or, more peaceably, plays a lute or violin. The treatise, of course, makes no mention of such celestial allies and their presence in fact changes the concept of the Virtues. In the *Etymachia* both Vices and Virtues are external forces sent by either the Devil or God to battle for sinful man. If angels are sent to assist the Virtues, then these qualities become more closely identified as human attributes needing divine grace to function. Whether the artist was aware of how he had altered the terms of the allegory cannot be determined, but a simpler, more pragmatic reason for the change can also be suggested. The identity of individual Virtues and Vices in the early illustrations cannot be guessed without close attention to the text. Even more important, a Virtue cannot be distinguished from a Vice in purely visual terms without inscriptions. This is not a very satisfactory scheme for the visual representation of a psychomachia where the opposition between good and evil is the fundamental idea and should therefore be clearly visible without commentary. At the very least, Vice should be ugly and monstrous and Virtue beautiful and gracious. In the *Etymachia* both are equally bizarre when translated visually. Therefore, the artists of the later manuscript and the tapestry solved the problem by omitting the fabulous beasts of the Virtues. Instead, the Virtues stand gracefully undisturbed by the futile onslaughts of the mounted Vices. The contrast between their imperturbable calm and the frantic

activity of the Vices is a telling one. The other change is equally successful. The Vices wear their symbolic helmets and are thereby rendered grotesque but the Virtues leave theirs hanging down their backs. They then appear as lovely ladies confronting monsters, and the discarding of their helmets suggests their invincibility.

While these changes in the individual figures of the fighting Virtues and Vices may be accounted for as natural developments in the shift from illustration of a particular text to independent visual representation, the presence of the two sieges suggests that the artists were incorporating motifs from sources other than the *Etymachia*. The use of the metaphor of a siege for man's moral life was well established in European literature from the time of the Church fathers¹² but it does not seem to have been illustrated to any great extent before the fifteenth century. In this context, the Regensburg tapestry and its analogues are the most prominent visual examples of this allegory as well as of the allegorical tournament.

The precise detail of the two sieges in both the Casanattensis manuscript and the Regensburg tapestry would seem to indicate that the artists were using a particular allegory in the same way as the rest of the scene makes reference to the *Etymachia*. However, I have not been able to discover an exact parallel from a literary or theological source. The basic idea was developed in elaborate form by a number of prominent theologians and writers, especially Honorius

Augustodunensis, Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St. Victor and Robert Grosseteste, as well as by numerous homilies and commentaries that use their work. In its most common form, man's soul is compared to a city under attack by either Satan and his allies, sins, or by those three great enemies of mankind, the world, the flesh and the devil. The defence of this castle/soul is carried out by a variety of Virtues either in the form of fortifications or as personifications. For example, Honorius describes Jerusalem besieged by Nebuchadnezzar and six kings as the Church or the company of the faithful under attack by the seven deadly sins. The triple walls that protect the city are faith, hope and charity.¹³ Grosseteste's castle, a refuge for the fugitive soul from the seven deadly sins, is fortified in a similar manner, having three floors representing the theological virtues and four towers representing the cardinal virtues.¹⁴ Both Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of St. Victor conceive of the defence of man's spiritual stronghold in more dramatic terms. Bernard states in his *Meditationes de Humana Conditione*:

Adjuva me, Domine Deus meus, quoniam inimici mei animam meam circumdederunt: corpus scilicet, mundus, et diabolus. A corpore fugere non possum, nec ipsum a me fugare: Circumferre illud necesse est, quoniam alligatum est mihi: perimere non licet, sustentare cogor; et cum illud impinguo, hostem meum adversum me nutrio Mundus vero circumcingit et obsidet me undique, et per quinque portas, videlicet per quinque corporis sensus, scilicet visum, auditum, gustum, odoratum et tactum, sagittis suis me vulnerat; et mors intrat per fenestras meas in animam meam Porro diabolus quem videre non possum, et ideo minus ab eo mihi cavere, tetendit arcum suum, et in eo paravit sagittas suas, ut vulneret me repente. ... Sagittae diaboli sunt ira, invidia, luxuria, et caetera quibus anima vulneratur. Et quis est ille qui jacula ejus ignea exstinguere possit?¹⁵

In another lively allegory based on the parable of the prodigal son, he describes the refuge of man's soul in the Castle of Wisdom where Prudentia, Fortitudo, Temperantia, Justitia and Spes defend it vigorously from the forces of evil. Eventually Fides and Caritas relieve the beleaguered garrison.¹⁶ A similar situation obtains in Hugh of St. Victor's commentary on Luke, chapter 12, in the fourth book of *De Anima*:

Pater iste familias animus potest intelligi, cujus familia sint cogitationes et motus earum, sensus quoque et actiones, tam exteriores quam interiores. ... Domus est conscientia, in qua pater iste habitans thesauros virtutum congregat, propter quos ne domus effodiatur, summopere vigilatur Principalis tamen fur diabolus intelligitur; Contra quem et ejus satellites pater idem, si tamen non negligens fuerit, domum suam forti custodia muniens, prudentiam in primo aditu constituat quae dicernat quid sit admittendum, quid vitandum, quid excludendum. Secus hanc fortitudo locetur, ut hostes, quos prudentiam venire nuntiaverit, repellat. Justitia sedeat in medio, ut sua cuique tribuat ¹⁷

The human personality of the Virtues is more fully developed here by means of an extended dialogue among them.

The continued use and elaboration of this theme is strikingly illustrated in a fourteenth-century ascetic treatise, *Le Chastel Perilleux*, in which one-half of the work is devoted to a complex but arresting comparison of a nun's growth in Christian spirituality to the building and defending of a very realistic castle. Here is the author's own summary of his allégory:

Or vous avons nous monstré, douce amie, comment vous devez de vostre cuer un chastel edifier, tel et si fort, si bien garny et si bel, que le Roy de gloire y daingne descendre et habiter comme en sa propre maison. Lequel chastel est hault assis par haultesce de vie, fondez sur la foy de Dieu et de ses sacremens que Sainte Eglise tient, cloz de fossés parfons et larges, de la grant parfondesce d'umilité et de la largesce de charité, environnez de murs de

discrecion par dehors, garny de quarreaux et d'arbalestes et du mur de pacience par dedens et de fors mangonneaux. Si est la maistre porte, la bouche et la langue qui est bien gardee du portier de raison et de diligence. Si y a cinq portes foraines, ce sont les cinq sens, dont chastetez et vergoingne sont portieres de la porte des yeulx et trois des vertus cardinales sont portieres des autres, c'est assavoir: force, attrempance et justice, et prudence qui est la quarte et la premiere, est com/mune garde a toutes les portes, si comme nous avons par dessus monstré.

Si est le chastel garny de vitaille qui l'ame saoule, c'est la parole Dieu, la memoire de ses benefices et le sacrement de l'autel. Si est garny du vin de joye et le leesce espirituele que l'ame treuve qui en Dieu met son cuer et s'amour, si que aucunesfois elle en est toute enyvree et alienee des choses de ce monde. Si est le chastel garni des eaues de douces lermes et de devocion que l'ame treuve et a souvent en la recordacion des largesces et des benefices Dieu envers humaine nature generaulment et envers lui singulierement, et des lermes de contricion pour ses pechiez et de compassion pour les angoisses que Jhesu Crist souffri pour lui en tant de manieres.

Aprés y est fondee la maistre forteresse ou le donjon qui est appellez oroison. Et la guette du chastel tout au dessus pour veoir loing, qui est la paour et la cremeur de Dieu. Et ainsi est li chasteaux perilleux consommez et parfaiz.¹⁸

Le Chastel Perilleux was one of the few castle/soul allegories to be illustrated.¹⁹ One manuscript, Paris Mazarine-946, f. 37, shows part of the castle wall attacked by three devils. Three angels standing on the rampart push them back. These angels have a long lance in the right hand and a small round shield in the left, conventional twelfth-century attributes of the triumphant Virtues, but these arms are not referred to in the text.²⁰ Obviously, the picture is intended to convey only the general idea of the treatise and is not a careful representation of a particular scene of the allegory. The *Chastel Perilleux* text is in fact quite innovative in its use of realistic, contemporary detail to develop the allegory, but this is not reflected in its illustrations.

For example, the wall of discretion is "garny de quarreaux et d'arbalestes" while the wall of patience has "fors mangonneaux".²¹

The siege in the Regensburg tapestry shows an even greater impulse towards realistic detail. The castles are elaborate structures with towers, windows and crenellations. The Virtues defend the walls not only with the conventional lances and swords, but also employ stones, a crossbow and a cannon. The Vices are equally enterprising and carry scaling ladders, axes, crossbows and torches. It should be noted that both the manuscript Casanatensis 1404 and the tapestry have exactly the same two sieges, complete in every detail, which is certainly a clear indication of a common source. The siege as a whole is much more realistically and dramatically conceived than the stiff tourney that occupies the centre of the picture. There is, however, a close relationship between figures of Virtues and Vices that engage in both kinds of warfare. The besieged Virtues are bareheaded and carry small shields with emblems. The attacking Vices wear elaborate helmets decorated with symbolic animal crests and also carry emblematic shields. It seems probable that the siege figures were designed by analogy with the *Ety-machia* figures to unify the two separate allegories into one great theme of spiritual warfare.

Besides the Regensburg tapestry, there is one other great psychomachia theme that also appears in a number of tapestries. The design, copied several times, was monumental

in scope involving eight separate panels. Examples of each panel still exist²² and the series as a whole has been reconstructed by D.T.B. Wood in two articles on tapestries of the seven deadly sins.²³ Despite their relatively late date (circa 1500), these tapestries are free from innovations associated with the Renaissance and "show in design and idea the full flower of medievalism."²⁴ Indeed, they form a gigantic visual compendium of most of the great moral allegories of the late Middle Ages and are almost encyclopedic in scope. As such, they are a fitting climax to the development of the psychomachia allegory in art.

Two panels of this series are specifically concerned with the psychomachia although, as Wood points out, all the panels are interrelated by theme. Therefore, the psychomachia is the dominant moral allegory of the whole as one aspect of the history of Redemption developed by all the panels. Since these tapestries have been seldom reproduced, it is necessary to describe the panels in some detail. The first three panels of the series show the Creation and Fall; the Procès de Paradis with Homo attacked first by Justitia and then by Luxuria and Gula; the reconciliation of the four Virtues; scenes of the Annunciation and Nativity, and a series of Old Testament figures awaiting redemption with Homo in fetters in their midst. Panel 4 has three groups of figures. On the right appears a group of scenes from the New Testament, chiefly dealing with John the Baptist and Judas' betrayal of Christ. In the centre are two groups

including Homo, Natura and Abraham, who listen to John the Baptist and apparently represent the imminent fulfillment of the Old Law and prophecies. On the right are two purely allegorical scenes: Caritas issues a challenge to a group of the seven deadly Sins and the Christian Knight is armed by the seven Virtues. Humilitas hands him a helmet crowned with thorns and Caritas a banner with the five wounds of Christ. The only legible motto, held by a prophet figure in the right lower corner, obviously refers to this arming: "Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime."

Both the Virtues and Sins are beautiful women dressed in sumptuous robes with few identifying attributes. They are, however, carefully labelled. Once recognized as particular allegorical identities, their appearance and actions express a variety of allegorical themes depending upon the historical and theological contexts in which they are placed. As Wood expresses it, "Single allegorical figures are, as it were, *leit-motifs*, the meaning of which may be recognized as surely as the score of an opera."²⁵ Considering the complexity and number of allegorical, typological and historical groupings contained in each tapestry panel, one might wish for more specific narrative sequences, but apparently the allusive mottoes that state the general themes of the allegories, a few traditional symbols combined with the juxtaposition of the groups were considered sufficient clues for the viewer to interpret the significance of the various scenes. Probably the designer relied upon a fairly complete

knowledge of both allegorical method and traditional theology on the part of his audience as well as a sophisticated taste for intellectual puzzles. And these characteristics may easily be ascribed to one clearly identified owner of these tapestries, Cardinal Wolsey, who purchased this series of tapestries for the "legate's chaumbre at Hampton Courte" in 1521.²⁶

To return to the fifth and central panel of Wolsey's purchase, these scenes provide the climax of the whole tapestry and the key to interpreting the preceding scenes (Fig. VII-3). In the upper centre of the tapestry, dominating the whole, is the Crucifixion with various traditional figures including Longinus. On either side, two winged angels unfurl a scroll inscribed "Pange lingua gloriosi prelium certaminis." In the upper left corner of the tapestry stands a turbaned woman blowing a trumpet that carries a banner decorated with the stone tablets of the Law. Opposed to her in the upper right corner is a crowned woman blowing another trumpet whose banner displays the Eucharistic symbol of the chalice and host. Not surprisingly, these women represent Vetus and Novum Testamentum standing on Mt. Sinai and Mt. Calvary respectively. In the bottom corners sit two historical figures to complete a frame for the central scene. On the left is the prophet Daniel who holds an inscribed banderole, "Ipse veniet et salvabit," and on the right Isaiah, "His plagatus sum"²⁷ In contrast to the calm, static figures at the corners of the tapestry and the rather

tranquil Crucifixion, the centre of the tapestry is filled with a tournament scene of frantic activity. Seven Virtues led by the Christ-Knight advance to meet the seven deadly Sins in a general mêlée. All the combatants, except the Christ-Knight, are elegantly-gowned ladies who ride symbolic beasts or carry various emblematic weapons. The Vices are the familiar Sins and they ride from the viewer's right, the traditional "left" side of the damned in iconography of the Last Judgment. The personifications are depicted with great detail and there is an evident concern to render each Virtue and Sin as a complete individual. Even the styles of armour are carefully varied. Yet the artist has not allowed the allegorical scheme to dominate his composition. (Dramatic narrative and pictorial composition take precedence so that some emblems or mounts are partially obscured or even omitted in order to create a realistic battle scene. The overlapping groups make differentiation and description difficult, but each Vice is identified in a general clockwise direction. The designer of the tapestry, while recognizing and using the conventional list of sins, pays little attention to any particular order, Gregorian or otherwise.

Pride is the exception to this random ordering since her position as chief Sin must be emphasized and she leads her troop as the direct adversary of the Knight. Pride, like most of the other Vices, wears body armour over a long dress. She rides a dromedary and brandishes a broad sword. On her helmet is a peacock and on her shield an eagle.

Behind her and partially obscured by her fellow Sins is an unnamed warrior. All that can be seen is her head and a hand grasping a long stick that ends in some indeterminate object. The fox on her helmet and a hook and chain that seem to hang from the object supported by her staff suggest that this is Gula carrying a spit with roasted meat. Certainly Gula is the only Sin not specifically accounted for in the group of seven. Ira follows next, wielding an enormous battle axe. A horn protrudes from her helmet and a sparrowhawk serves as a crest on that helmet. On her shield is a rampant four-legged beast which has been called a ram,²⁸ but which may be intended as a wild boar or mad dog.

Neither Ira's mount nor that of her companion, Acedia, is visible. Acedia wears a crown surmounted by an ape (not a young dog!),²⁹ but has no armour nor a conventional weapon. She carries a round object in her hands which does not seem to resemble any of the symbols associated with this Sin. From the photograph of another copy of the tapestry,³⁰ it might even be a nest of birds. Her shield shows another quadruped whose bovine shape suggests that this may be a wild ox. Luxuria follows Acedia on a hog and, like her, has no body armour. Her weapon is a mirror and her shield shows a double-tailed siren. Finally, her elaborate headdress is crowned with a garland of leaves.

The last two Sins are once again more military in appearance as befits their more aggressive natures. Avaritia rides an oryx or antelope and carries a rake to scoop up

her ill-gotten gains. Her shield displays a leopard while round her neck hangs the traditional miser's money-bag. Only the helmet's crest is a little obscure, but it may well be a fishnet. In the other tapestry presented by Wood, Avaritia's crest is her money-bag. The last Sin, Invidia, appears almost as prominently as Superbia. She rides a winged dragon and brandishes a flaming torch at the Christ-Knight. There is no shield but her mantle has a long-tailed weasel-like animal displayed on it. Her rather strange helmet is clearly surmounted by a beehive.

Despite such bizarre emblems and elaborate armour, none of the Sins is particularly grotesque or even ugly. There is a resemblance to the Regensburg tapestry in that all the Virtues are without armour and helmets. Some of them, however, do ride symbolic beasts. Once again, pictorial qualities take precedence and the artist does not feel compelled to equip every Virtue with a clearly visible mount or emblem. The inscriptions ensure correct identification and after that, a simple suggestion is sufficient. Continuing on in a clockwise direction to the viewer's left side, the first and most prominent Virtue is Castitas who rides a lion while pouring water from an ornate flagon. She wears both a jewelled necklace and a diadem which supports three lilies. The next Virtue is Devocio Dei who rides a stag and carries a walking stick hooked over her arm. Her neighbouring Virtue is Sobrietas who is distinguished solely by the cross-necked cruet she carries. The next unnamed Virtue rides an

ass and holds a lily branch. These symbols seem more appropriate for Patientia who follows next but who lacks any distinguishing attribute. The only remedial Virtue left unnamed is Largitas, so the attributes of the two Virtues may have been confused in the tapestry, particularly since one Virtue is not specified by name. The last two Virtues are quite distinct. Humilitas wears a crown and carries a large wooden cross. She is also mounted, and although the animal is almost completely hidden by the Knight's unicorn, it is apparently four-footed and resembles a horse. Caritas stands to the left of the Knight, holding a banner with a cross, and she too wears an elaborate crown.

A comparison with the various attributes, animal or otherwise, derived from the *Etymachia* illustrations yields a fair number of correspondences:

Superbia — dromedary, peacock, eagle
 Accidia — ape, wild ox
 Invidia — dragon, beehive
 Luxuria — boar, siren, garland of roses
 Gula — fowl on a spit, fox
 Ira — sparrowhawk, mad dog
 Avaritia — oryx, net, moneybag, marmot
 Humilitas — panther?
 Castitas — garland of lilies
 Devotio — horned animal

A number of other attributes, also found in the *Etymachia*, are present but ascribed to different Virtues or Sins, such as the odd nest of birds carried by Accidia, the ass and lily branch joined to Patientia(?), the deer ridden by

Devocio Dei, Castitas' lion and Avaritia's leopard.

Even without these details, the basic form of combat and symbolic costume is a very close parallel to the concept of the *Etymachia*. First of all, there is the use of a tournament as the mode of battle, the same form as that chosen by the illustrator of the Vorau 130 manuscript. Wood suggests that the *Tournoiement de l'Anticrist* by Huon de Mèry is the source for this scene in the tapestry³¹ but no illustrated manuscripts of this poem exist, nor is there any evidence to show that the French poem had the wide circulation in Germany and Flanders enjoyed by the *Etymachia*.³² Then there is the characterization of the combatants, except for the Christ-Knight, as female. This convention, of course, goes back to Prudentius but the *Etymachia* allegory follows this motif most consistently in the fifteenth century. The identification of these warriors also follows the *Etymachia* exactly: Superbia, Avaritia, Invidia, Luxuria, Gula, Ira, Accidia as the seven deadly sins against the remedial virtues, Humilitas, Castitas, Largitas, Patientia, Caritas, Devotio and Abstinencia. The elaborate gowns and the armour of the female knights also follow the pattern established by later versions of the *Etymachia* such as B.M. Add. M.S. 15693 and the Regensburg tapestry, especially in giving armour and helmets only to the Vices in order to point out the essential invincibility of the Virtues. Finally, there is the complicated series of symbolic animals ridden by both the Virtues and Sins that seems to originate

in visual form in the *Etymachia* illustrations where it is definitely linked to the idea of metaphorical combat.

Although the basic allegory of the Redemptor tapestry may be recognized as a version of the *Etymachia*, there are a number of significant changes, just as there were in the Regensburg tapestry. The most apparent is the single scene of an actual mêlée. It has been noted in the earlier discussion of the *Etymachia* how the earliest illustrations attempted to inject a sense of dramatic confrontation that was completely absent from the text of the allegory. What the text did insist upon was the pairing off of specific Virtues and Vices, a system that is retained in all the manuscript illustrations, even as the dynamic quality of the original drawings is replaced by more static figures frozen in heraldic poses. The Regensburg tapestry reflects this approach although the Vices are allowed a certain amount of violence. In contrast, the Redemptor tapestry emphasizes the dramatic quality of the allegory and produces a scene of battle that goes far beyond the tone and actual content of the *Etymachia*. Instead of the mechanical pairing off of opposites, there is a general advance on both sides while the leaders of the two troops are the only knights actually engaged in combat. The symbolic weapons carried on both sides indicate the actual characteristics of the Vice or Virtue and the psychology of its attack. Such a sense of the individuality of each personification is reminiscent of DeGuileville's Sins and their idiosyncratic attacks on the Pilgrim. On the other hand,

the lack of hand-to-hand combat between each pair of Virtues and Vices avoids the possibility of inadvertent loss of allegorical decorum that one senses in Prudentius' fights where Virtues especially seem required by epic convention to act out of character.

The full brunt of the Vices' attack is borne by the Christ-Knight alone who overthrows Superbia with his lance as she raises her sword against him. The lance has been seen in the hands of scores of Virtues, but it is perhaps worth noting that it is also the weapon in the hand of Christ in the picture of the Harrowing of Hell at Tavant. This warrior and his weapon is the most important addition to the tournament scene and one that provides the key to the allegory of the tapestry as a whole. His ambivalent character is expressed through his role in other panels of this tapestry series. Panel 2 shows Homo being offered a breastplate by Gratia Dei and a helmet by Pax. He is then disarmed and attacked by Luxuria and Gula. Spes stands behind. As Wood rightly points out,³³ these scenes are very similar to parts of DeGuileville's *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* and, in fact, were chosen as "moments" to be illustrated in that text. In Panel 4, Caritas challenges the seven deadly Sins and the seven Virtues then arm the Christian Knight again. The first abortive arming is joined to the theme of man's fall from grace and his subsequent moral failure. The second arming then represents his moral regeneration while additions to his armour, a crown of thorns and a banner with

the five wounds of Christ, indicate the means whereby that regeneration is accomplished. When the Knight rides into triumphant battle in Panel 5, he is no longer simply Homo but Christus. This dual understanding of the Christ-Knight figure is worked out fully by Langland in *Piers Plowman* in the early scenes of Passus XVIII:

"Pis ihesus of his gentrice • wole iuste in piers armes,
In his helme & in his haberioun • *humana natura*
Pat cryst be nouȝt biknowe here • for *consummatus deus*,
In Piers paltok be plowman • pis priker shal ryde
(ll. 22-25)

- The armour worn by Christ in the tournament is actually the human body He assumed in the Incarnation, thereby restoring *humana natura*. The fact that Christ actually becomes man, not simply God in disguise, is emphasized by the merging of the human and divine in the Knight:

"Is pis ihesus be iuster?" quod I • "pat iuwes did to deth?
Or it is Pieres be plowman! • who paynted hym so rede?"
Quod conscience, & kneled po • "pise aren Pieres armes,
His coloures & his cote-armure • ac he pat cometh so blody
Is cryst with his crosse • conqueroure of crystene."
(XIX. 10-14)

Much of Passus XVIII develops this double focus by describing a very moving scene of the actual Crucifixion which is also revealed in a mystic vision as a tournament between Christ and Satan:

"Who shal iuste with ihesus?" quod I • "iuwes or scribes?"
"Nay," quod he, "be foule fende • and fals dome & deth.
Deth seith he shal fordo • and adown brynge
Al pat lyueth or loketh • in londre or in watere.
Lyf seyth pat he likth • and leyth his lif to wedde,
Pat for al pat deth can do • with-in pre dayes,
To walke and fecche fro be fende • piers fruite be plowman,
And legge it pere hym lyketh • and lucifer bynde,
And forbete and adown brynge • bale & deth for euere:
O mors, ero mors tua!
(ll. 27-35)

At the very moment of His death on the Cross, Christ is challenging Satan at the gates of Hell. He identifies Himself as "Rex glorie" and "lorde of myzte & of mayne. & al manere vertues; dominus virtutum" (ll. 315-16), a title that recalls the followers of the Christ-Knight in the Redemptor tapestry. The simultaneous nature of the two events is perhaps more clearly apprehended from the spatial arrangement of the picture than from Langland's narrative with its abrupt shifts in time and space.

Langland's fourteenth-century poem provides the closest parallel I have been able to discover in literature to the allegory of the Redemptor tapestry, although Langland's work was not illustrated in general³⁴ and could not have had direct influence on a design executed in fifteenth-century Brussels. What is probably the case is that both the tapestry and *Piers Plowman* incorporate a popular allegory drawn from common sources. A study of the Christ-Knight image in *Piers Plowman* by Raymond St-Jacques argues that the primary inspiration for Langland was the liturgy,³⁵ and this would seem to hold true for the Redemptor tapestry as well. The title of Panel 5 is "Pange lingua gloriosi prelium certaminis," the familiar Good Friday hymn that celebrates the paradoxical victory of the Crucifixion and the theme of the tapestry as a whole is an attempt to express in some concrete visual form the spiritual significance of Christ's sacrifice:

Mors et vita duello
 Conflixere mirando
 Dux vitae, mortuus
 Regnat vivus.³⁶

Therefore, the work as a whole includes a conventional and realistic scene of the historical Crucifixion at the top and then devotes its centre space to an allegorical tournament in which the Christ-Knight vanquishes Superbia at the head of her evil army. As another Easter sequence explains, this is "de hoste superbo quem Jesus triumphavit."³⁷ The *Etymachia* allegory which provided the individual figures of the knights in combat characterized the Vices as emissaries of Satan sent out to conquer mankind. However, the addition of Christ as leader of the Virtues, mankind's allies, changes the meaning of the psychomachia allegory from one of continual warfare between good and evil forces into a triumph and ultimate rescue. Therefore, Christ is shown at the moment of defeating the Vices which, of course, is the significance of the Crucifixion. The meaning of the allegory is similar to that at Tavant where the Crucifixion and Desposition scenes are joined with the Harrowing of Hell and, possibly, David's defeat of Goliath to state the ultimate victory of good over evil. The technique of juxtaposing a non-biblical but popular psychomachia allegory with scenes from Scripture recalls that of the Melisenda Psalter bookcover. In both instances, the purpose of such combination seems to be to use the allegory as a way to express another dimension of meaning in the biblical episodes.

These tapestries of the fifteenth century, the Regensburg and the Redeemtor, may be considered as the last examples of the medieval interpretation of psychomachia iconography. For models, they drew upon texts and illustrations of allegories that were introduced in the fourteenth century and which had increased in popularity and influence in the fifteenth. These allegories in turn reflect even older traditional themes and metaphors. The originality of the tapestries, in true medieval fashion, lies in their elaboration and combination of familiar motifs, not in the introduction of new forms and ideas. Their comprehensiveness in itself is a final summary of the allegory that signals the end of this form of the psychomachia in art.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

¹Eugène Müntz, "Tapisseries allégoriques inédites ou peu connus: Les Vertus et les vices de la collection de M. le Baron d'Hunolstein, les moralités de la collection de M. Peyre," *Monuments et Mémoires*, 9 (1902), 96.

²Heinrich Göbel, *Tapestries of the Lowlands*, trans. R. West (New York: Hacker, 1924), p. 30 and Roger-Armand Weigert, *French Tapestry*, trans. D. and M. King (London: Faber, 1962), p. 23.

³Bloomfield, p. 195; Müntz, p. 98; van Marle, *Iconographie*, I, pp. 71-72.

⁴F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5-6 (1942-43), 103-04.

⁵Rouse, pp. 61-62.

⁶Göbel, p. 29.

⁷Betty Kurth, *Die Deutschen Bildteppiche des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Schroll, 1926), I, p. 170.

⁸Both Casanatensis MS. 1404 and Wellcome MS. 49 in London have been extensively studied by F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages," pp. 82-83, 115-16. He demonstrates quite conclusively that these are "sister" German manuscripts of the fifteenth century, but his description of the *Etymachia* portions of both is misleading. Only the Casanatensis manuscript contains the illustrations that are parallel to the Regensburg tapestry and these are present without any text. The Wellcome manuscript contains a full *Etymachia* text accompanied by illustrations (ff. 52v-56) that conform exactly to the established tradition. Since the two manuscripts are closely related, this may be considered as evidence supporting a connection between the Casanatensis iconography that was transferred to tapestry and the *Etymachia*, but the Wellcome manuscript does not indicate how the transition took place from the conventional illustrations to the variations introduced in the single Casanatensis picture.

⁹Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, p. 73.

¹⁰von der Leyen and Spamer, pp. 38-40.

¹¹Kurth, pp. 169-72; 259-60 and von der Leyen and Spamer, pp. 33-46.

¹²Bloomfield, p. 396, note 94.

¹³Honorius Augustodunensis, "Domenica II in Quadragesima," *Speculum ecclesiae*, P.L., 172, 887.

¹⁴Robert Grosseteste, *Le Château d'Amour*, ed. J. Murray (Paris: Champion, 1918), ll. 677-746.

¹⁵Bernard of Clairvaux, *Meditationes de Humana Conditione*, P.L., 184, 503-04.

¹⁶Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Pugna spirituali*, P.L., 185, 757-60.

¹⁷Hugh of St. Victor, *De Anima*, P.L., 177, 185-86.

¹⁸Marie Brisson, "A Critical Edition and Study of Frère Robert (Chartreux) Le Chastel Perilleux," *Analecta Cartusiana*, 19 and 20 (1974), 448-49.

¹⁹I am not including illustrations of the siege in the *Roman de la Rose* because the allegorical significance is quite different from that of the attack on the soul. It is, of course, entirely likely that illustrations from this immensely popular work influenced the visual form of allegorical sieges in general.

²⁰Brisson, p. 62.

²¹Brisson, p. 448.

²²The most recent exhibition of one panel of this tapestry and description of the whole series is by Geneviève Souchal, "Catalogue," *Masterpieces of Tapestry from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Richard A.H. Oxby (New York: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974), pp. 209-14. She indicates that examples of the panels cited in this study are to be found in the cathedrals of Palencia and Saragossa, the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Burgos Cathedral, Haar castle in the Netherlands, the Vatican and Hampton Court.

²³D.T.B. Wood, "Tapestries of the Seven Deadly Sins," *Burlington Magazine*, 20 (1912), 210-22; 277-89.

²⁴Wood, p. 210.

²⁵Wood, p. 215.

²⁶Wood, p. 210.

²⁷This quotation is Zechariah 13:6, so the prophet is incorrectly identified as Isaiah in the tapestry.

²⁸Joseph Destrée, *Tapisseries et sculptures bruxelloises à l'Exposition d'Art Ancien Bruxellois* (Brussels: van Oest, 1906), p. 22.

²⁹Destrée, p. 22.

³⁰Wood, Fig. N.

³¹Wood, p. 278.

³²For a summary and description of the manuscripts of this poem and their provenance, see Georg Wimmer, ed., *Le Tormoienenz Antecrit*

von *Huon de Mery*, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie, No. 76 (Marburg: Stengel, 1888), pp. 1-36.

³³Wood, p. 278.

³⁴The only manuscript to contain a series of illustrations is the Oxford manuscript, Bodl. Douce 104 dated 1427. Walter W. Skeat, ed., introd., *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman ... by William Langland* (1886; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1968), II, lxi-lxxii.

³⁵Raymond St-Jacques, "Langland's Christ-Knight and the Liturgy," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, 37 (1967), 146-58.

³⁶Eleventh-century sequence for Easter Friday quoted by St-Jacques, p. 150.

³⁷*Fulgens preclara* sequence for Easter morning Mass quoted by St-Jacques, p. 150.

CONCLUSION

The changes experienced by the psychomachia allegory in its various visual guises throughout the Middle Ages reveals some of the ways in which word and image acted upon each other. In the case of this particular allegory, the primacy of the word is clearly established from the beginning. The original iconography of the psychomachia in art is derived from the illustrations of the manuscripts of Prudentius' poem which in turn were designed as literal translations of verbal metaphor into picture. The *Psychomachia* text determined the conventional form of the allegory as it appeared in art: the abstract Virtues and Vices are given human form, carry a variety of real weapons and engage in actual physical struggle with each other. As Prudentius had adapted classical forms to emphasize the relevance of his narrative for his contemporaries, so later artists dressed their personifications in the clothing appropriate to their own time, whether it was Carolingian armour or fourteenth-century head-dresses, but retained the essential identifying format of hand-to-hand combat.

Despite this established conventional form, important modifications took place in the psychomachia allegory when it was gradually separated from Prudentius' poem. The adaptation of the personifications to monumental art in Romanesque painting and sculpture led to increased simplification and abstraction usually directed towards the expression of a

formal symmetry that was inimical to the narrative structure of the original allegory. The loss of such a structure meant the loss of individuality among the warring abstractions who became, at least in regard to outward appearance, completely interchangeable. The only essential distinction to be maintained was that between virtue and vice and this distinction was emphasized by the increased use of the triumphant pose of the Virtue and the transformation of the Vice into a monster or demon. Such simplification and innovation had significant implications for the understanding of the psychomachia allegory and probably more than a simple impulse towards decoration was involved. The psychomachia figures are removed in the twelfth century from their original narrative and placed as a sub-theme of the apocalyptic vision that is the theme of the great west doorways of Romanesque churches. In this context they must be seen as a symbolic expression of divine right and power conquering the forces of evil in the universe. The Virtues are attributes of the divine Majesty, and the demons that expire at their feet are representatives of Satan and his followers, a parallel to Christ the conqueror who treads the lion and dragon underfoot. This apocalyptic dimension of the allegory is a radical departure from Prudentius' theme which concerned itself with a battle in the soul, not war in heaven. It accounts for the inhumanly beautiful but static character of the Virtues who represent not aspects of human psychology and morality in time but cosmic forces whose nature is

expressed in eternal opposition to and triumph over the demonic world. Thus the transposition of the psychomachia allegory to a new context profoundly altered the original meaning of that allegory by changing its terms of reference and this altered meaning is given expression in the formal representation of the psychomachia figures. On the other hand, once the basic form of the psychomachia allegory was established, it could be used in itself to provide a new context for other, non-allegorical scenes or figures, and thereby give them an added symbolic dimension. This is particularly true of the frequent combination of the life of King David of Israel with psychomachia figures, an association that established its own tradition.

The symbolic potential of the Prudentian personifications was also explored in illustrated manuscripts. One possibility was the simple inclusion of a pictorial series of *Psychomachia* scenes which is intended to be read as an independent summary of moral instruction unrelated to the text it accompanies. A more fruitful use was to convert actual figures or scenes in Prudentius to illustrate another literary allegory such as those in B.N. ms. lat. 8318 or the Moissac penitential, so that while the forms are familiar, their meaning is quite different. Another possible treatment of the psychomachia allegory was simply to adopt the basic form of Prudentius' illustrated narrative but to add details and elaborations that refer to concepts that were not originally part of the *Psychomachia* poem, as is done in

the *Hortus Deliciarum*.

This expansion of the content of the allegory foreshadowed later developments in the treatment of the psychomachia in art. The conventional female warrior and her debased opponent were not sufficient symbols to express new, more complex analyses of sin and the nature of human morality that were being examined in the penitential treatises and scholastic philosophy of the thirteenth century. Allegorical pictures of virtues and vices that were based on other metaphors arose to compete with the Prudentian model and even when this model was adhered to, significant changes that were incorporated into the traditional form point to the influence of new formulations of the nature of sin and its relationship to virtue. Two of the more illuminating examples of this are the sculpture of the Salisbury chapter house and those of the north side of Chartres cathedral. From these and other related works of art a trend can be discerned that was a moving away from the stylized, symmetrical and abstract personification of Virtues and Vices of early Romanesque art towards a representation of each Virtue and Vice as individuals with a greater variety of concrete attributes and characteristic actions. Even the relationship between each Virtue and Vice is individualized with a concomitant weakening of the metaphor of physical combat that originally unified the series. This process gradually freed the Vices from their dependent position vis-à-vis the Virtues, which had generally provided their only means of

identification, in order for the Vices to become separate entities capable of carrying their own allegorical theme. However, the separation of Virtues and Vices does away with the psychomachia allegory and therefore has no place in this survey. The increased emphasis on the particular character of each personification, always in human form, is a return to the original basis of the allegory: an analysis of virtue and vice as opposed impulses in the human soul, a theme that runs parallel to the primary interest of the popular penitential works of the time. The same influence can be traced more clearly in the new identities given series of warring Virtues and Vices, such as those of Strasbourg, whose names owe more to Hugh of St. Victor, Haltigar of Cambrai and their followers than to Prudentius. Yet as long as these moral abstractions remained locked in combat, they never became simple human types or examples but retained a sense of the absolute.

The influences upon the visual portrayal of the psychomachia allegory are all primarily literary, theological and philosophical texts and throughout its long development the allegory never lost its close connection with written forms. Perhaps because its origin was non-scriptural and hence less familiar, the figures of the psychomachia were often identified by means of inscriptions even after the conventional iconography had become commonplace. The use of verbal labels demonstrates an important fact about the psychomachia allegory and its intended audience. In almost every instance,

the allegory was designed for the literate and sophisticated viewer and it never became a theme in popular or folk art. In the twelfth century, the motif became part of the complex iconography suitable for monastic centres and its form was influenced by the preoccupations of educated men devoted to the ascetic ideal. The allegory then followed historical trends and appeared in the medieval cathedrals as one subordinate theme in the great sculptural programs of the thirteenth century which are the product of a cultured elite. Even when new psychomachia allegories such as the *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* and the *Etymachia* achieved more universal popularity as literature, the iconography based upon them usually appeared in such items of luxury as books of hours and tapestries that again were intended for a learned and cultured aristocracy. It may be that the basic metaphor was simply too complex and subtle to be apprehended without a gloss or verbal explanation, so that the psychomachia allegory in all its forms was accessible only to those whose literary and theological training enabled them to recognize and appreciate the meaning of the symbols before them.

This restriction of popular appeal may account for the gradual decline of the psychomachia allegory as a dominant metaphor in late medieval art. Other forms of allegory that emphasized human activity as examples of evil came to the fore and although such works as the Redemptor tapestry show the continuing vitality of the allegory, it no longer enjoyed the same dominant position and widespread currency as

it had in Romanesque art. Nevertheless, the continued presence of the psychomachia motif through all different periods of medieval art testifies to the imaginative strength and relevance inherent in its basic theme.⁶ The many and varied metamorphoses undergone by this allegory in art provide direct and specific examples of the complex and mutual influence of word and image upon each other throughout the Middle Ages.



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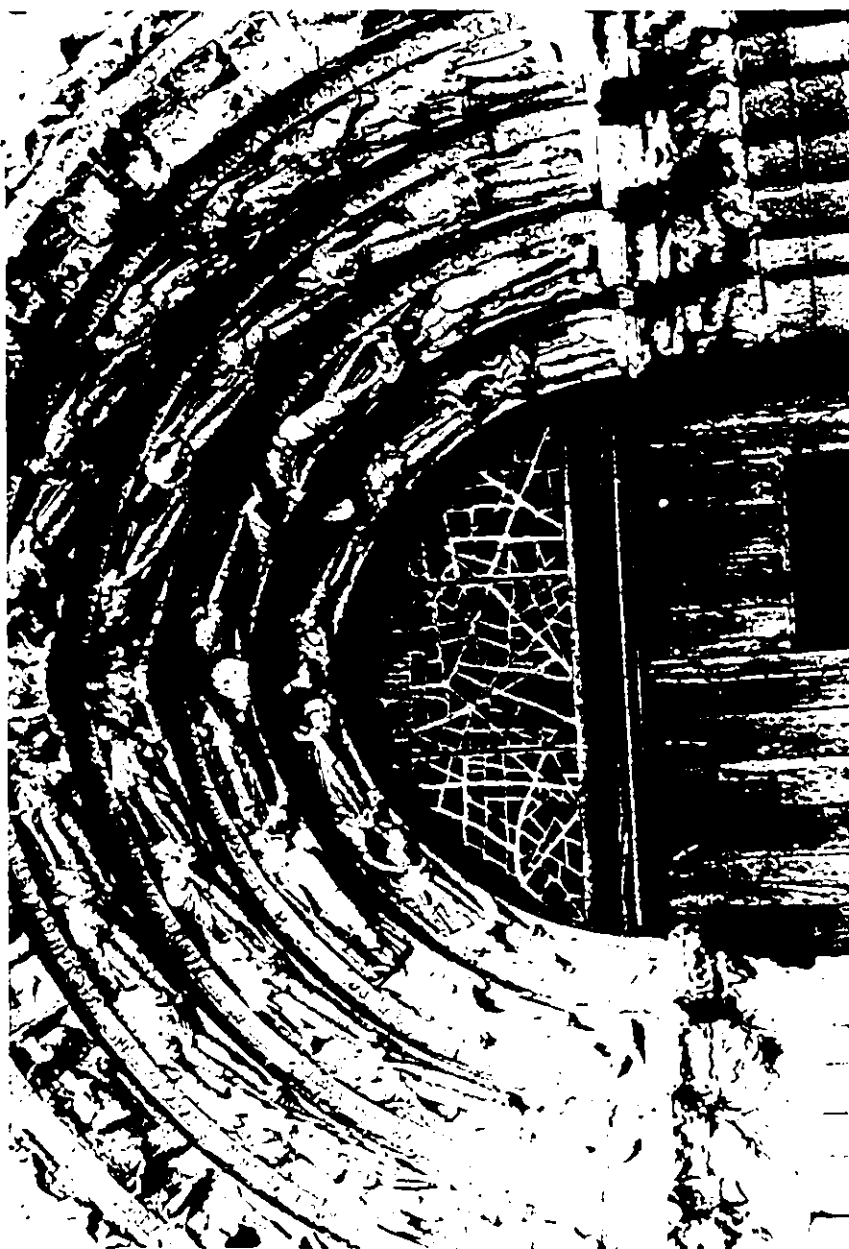
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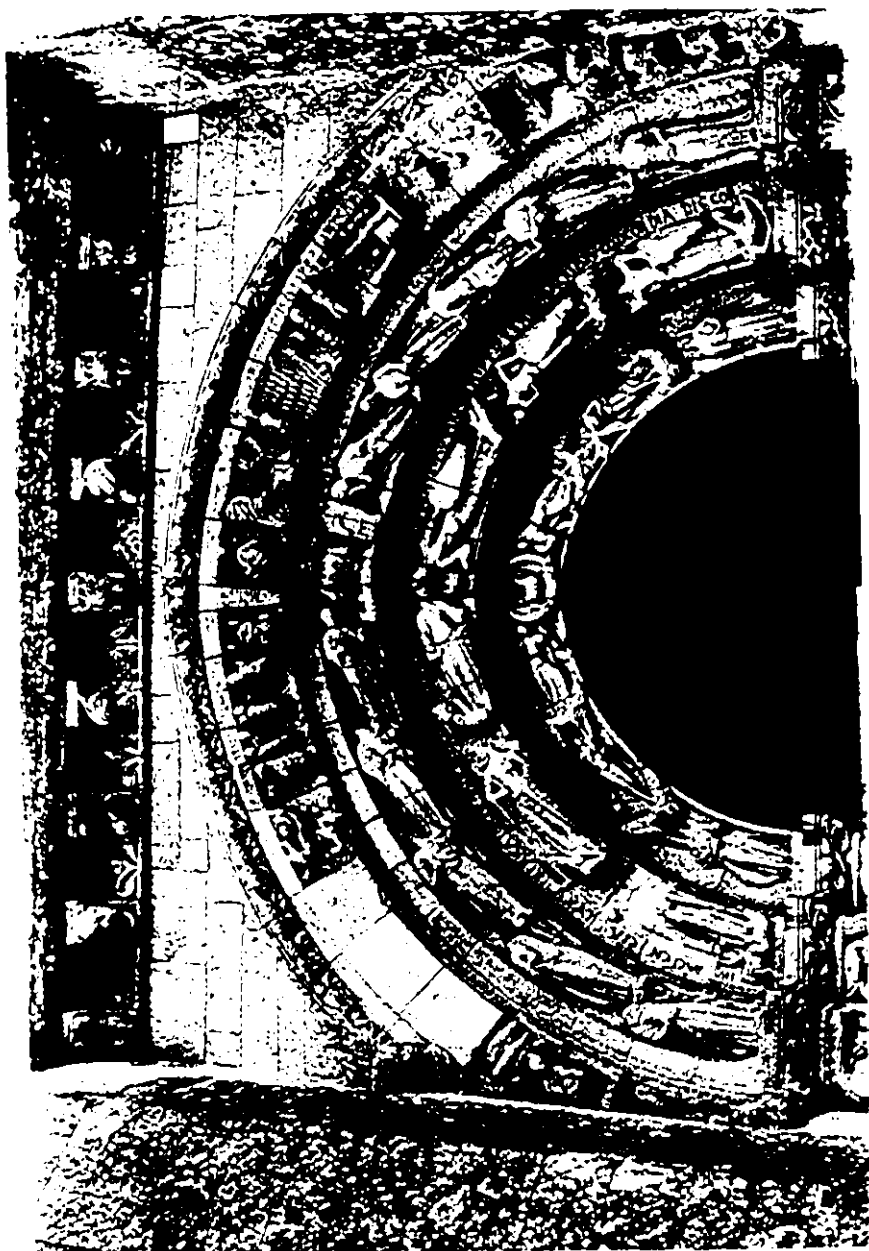
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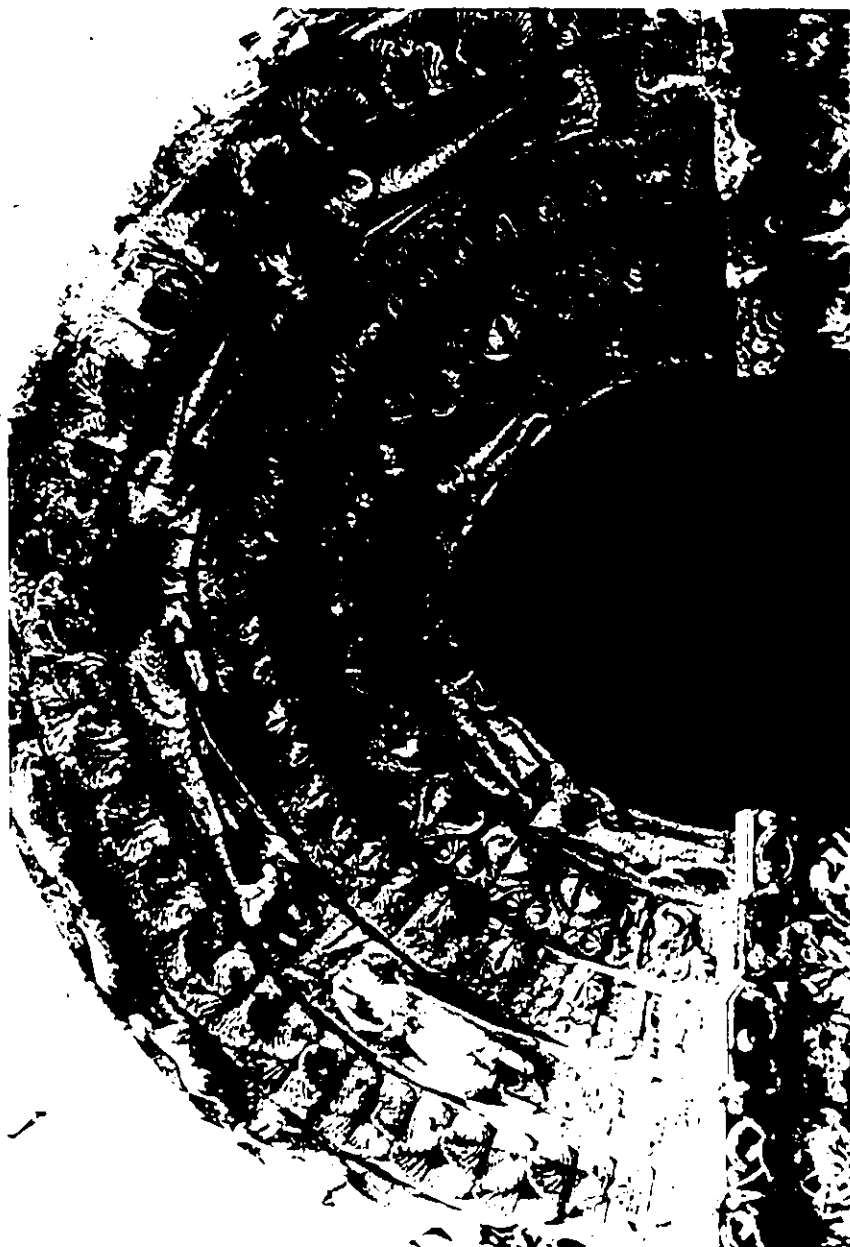


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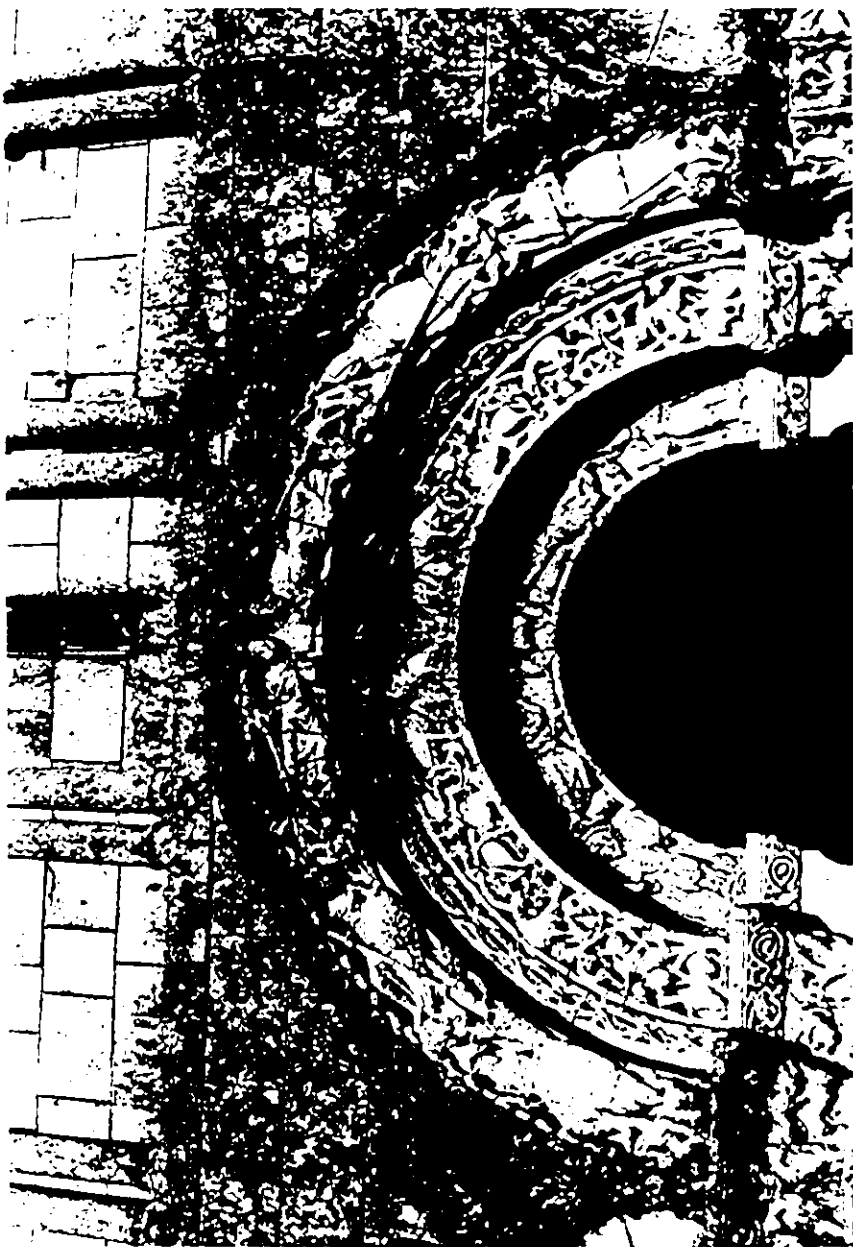


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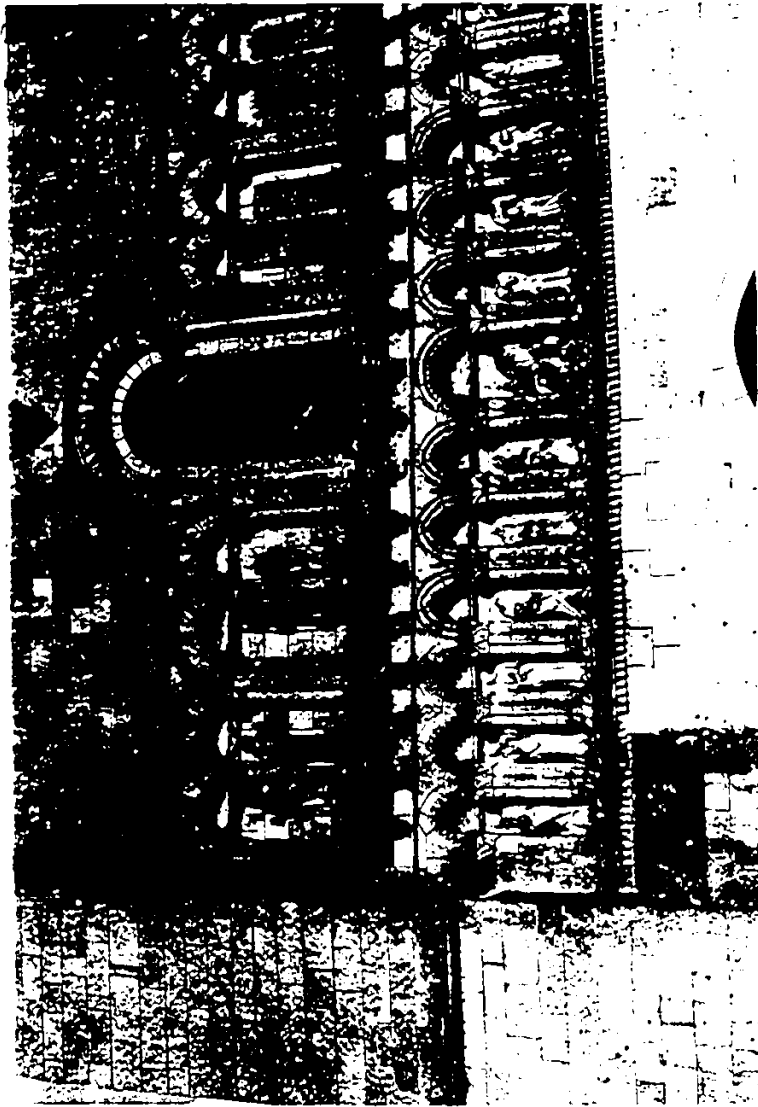
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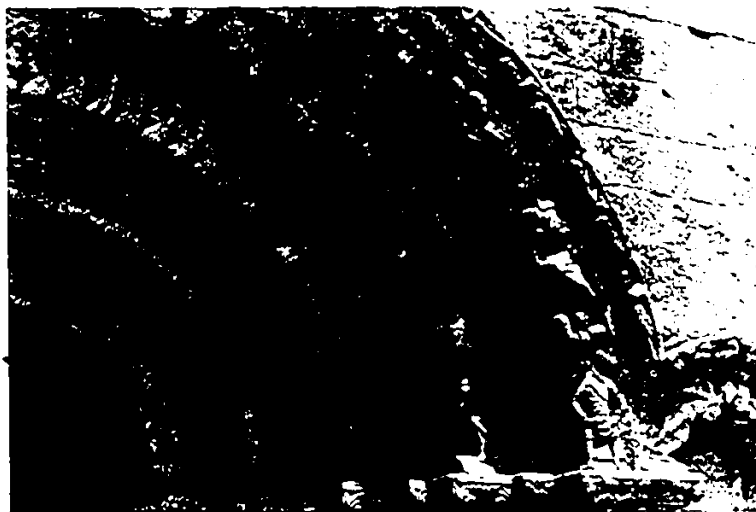


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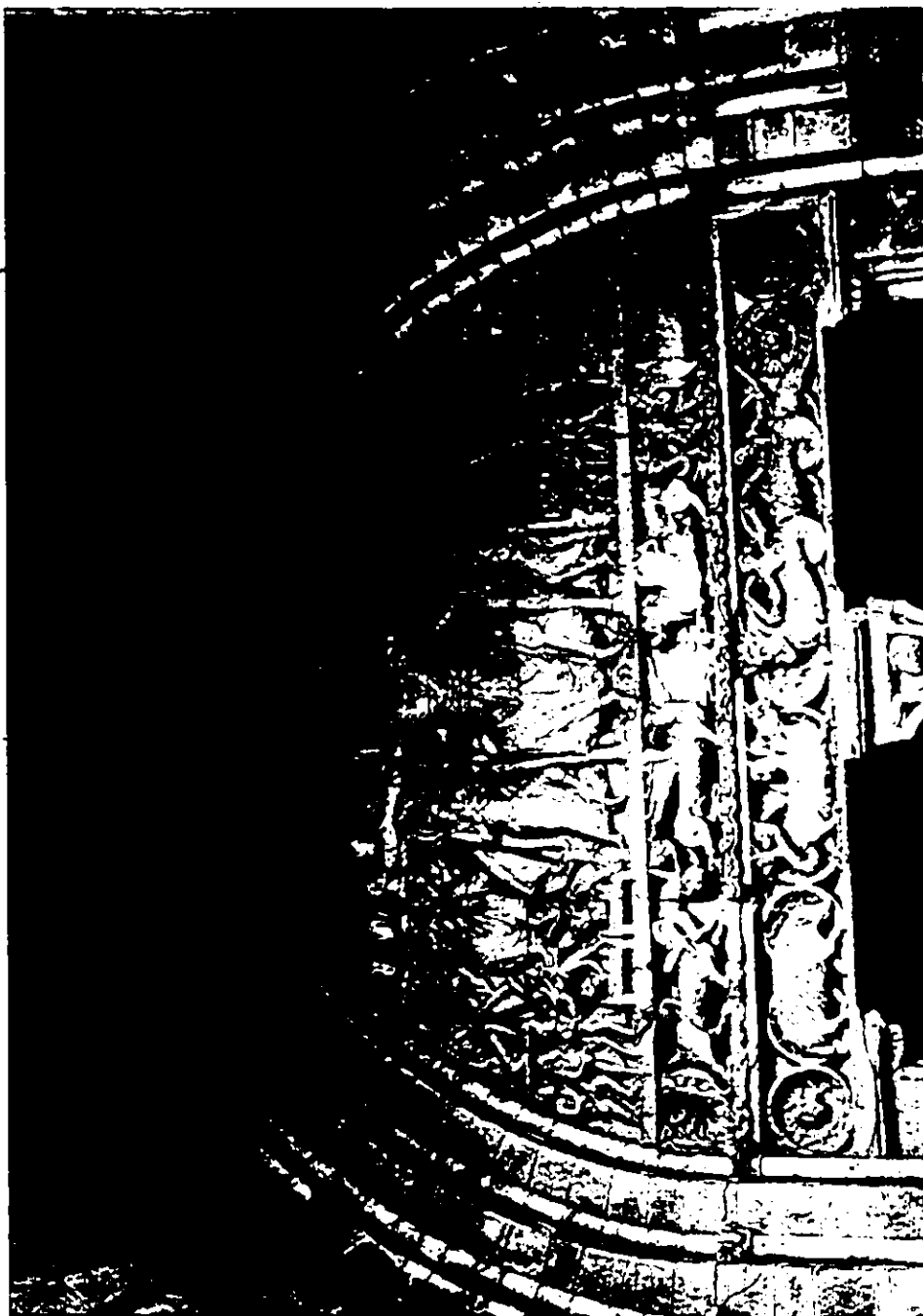


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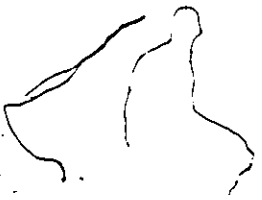
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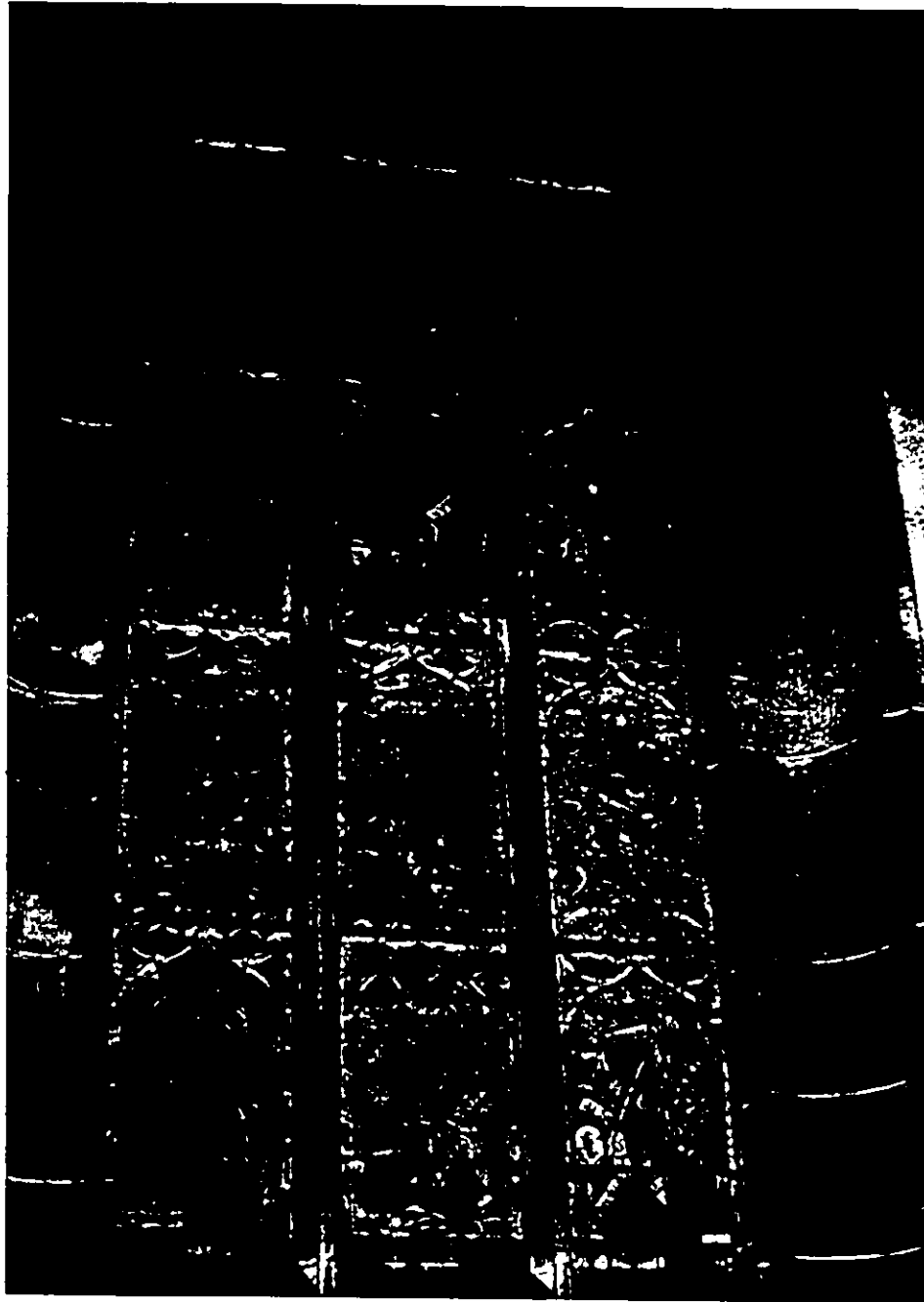


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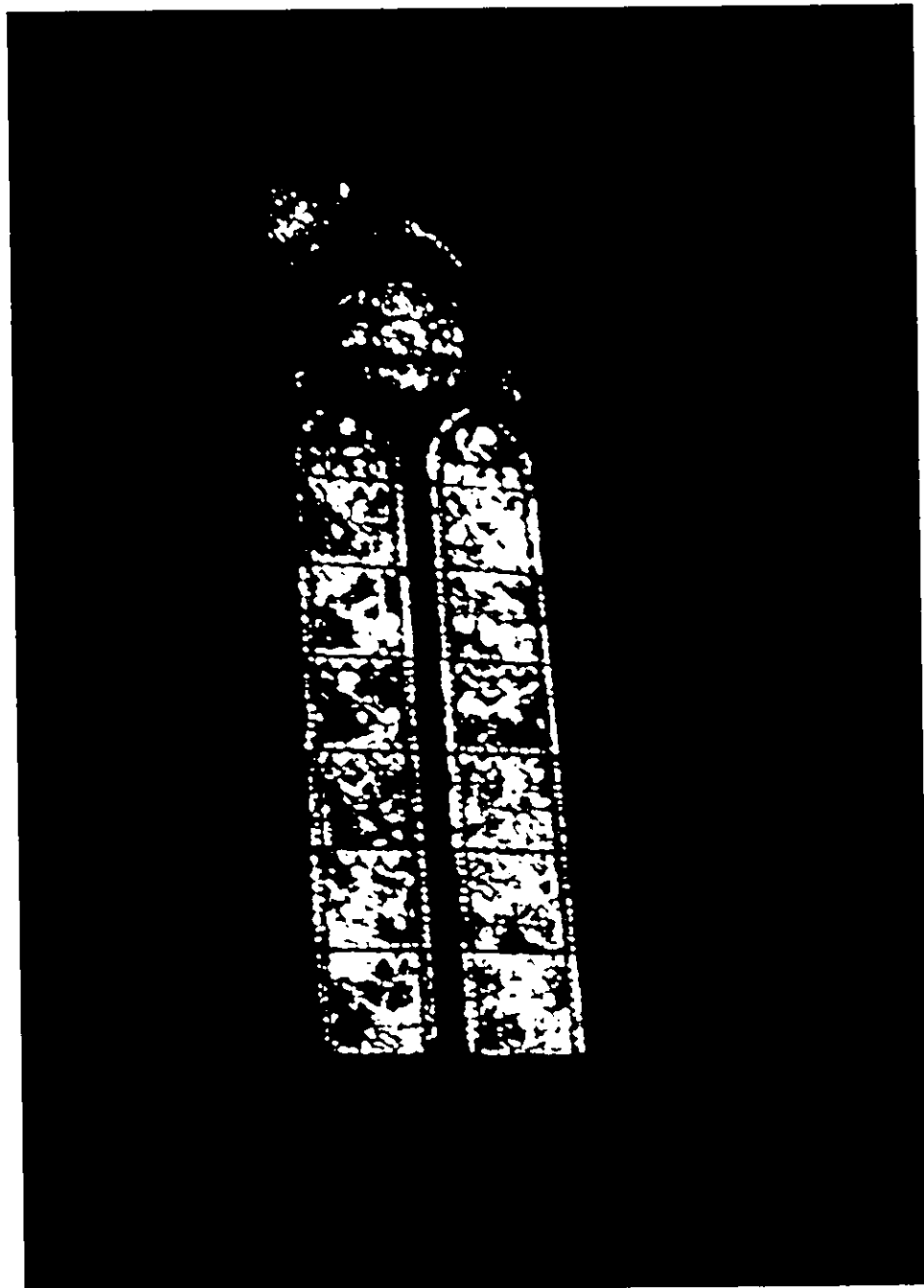


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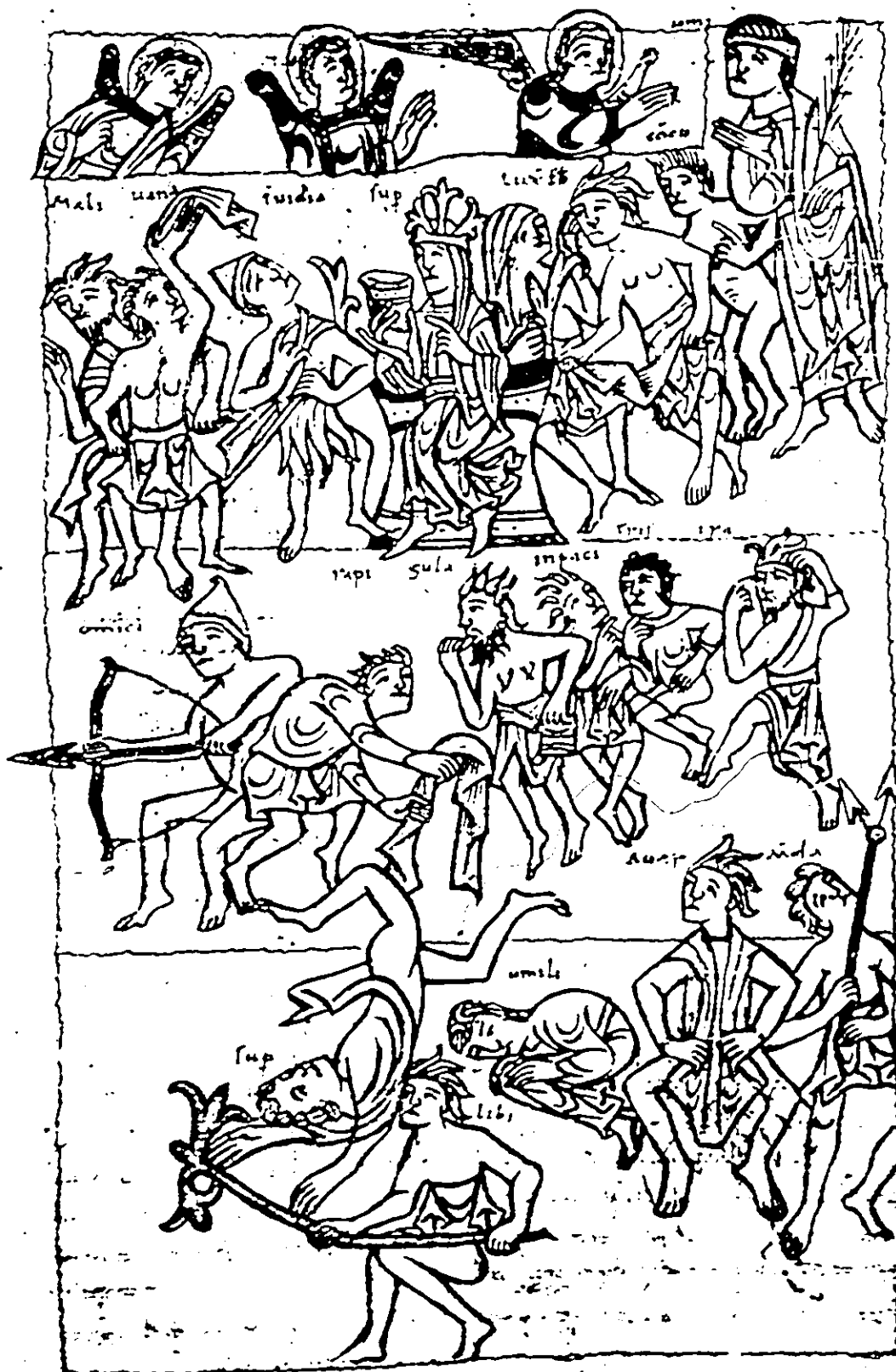


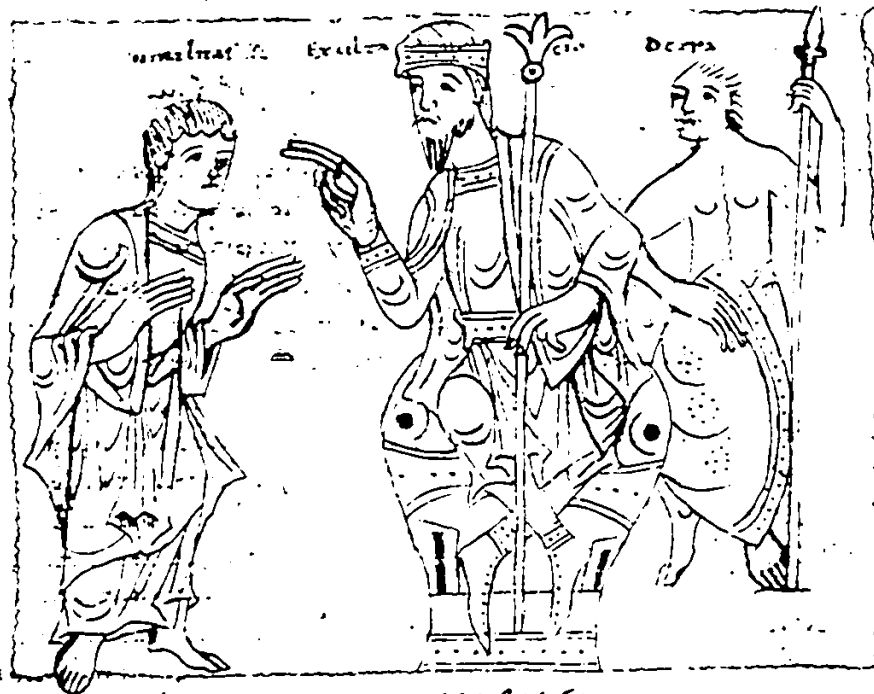


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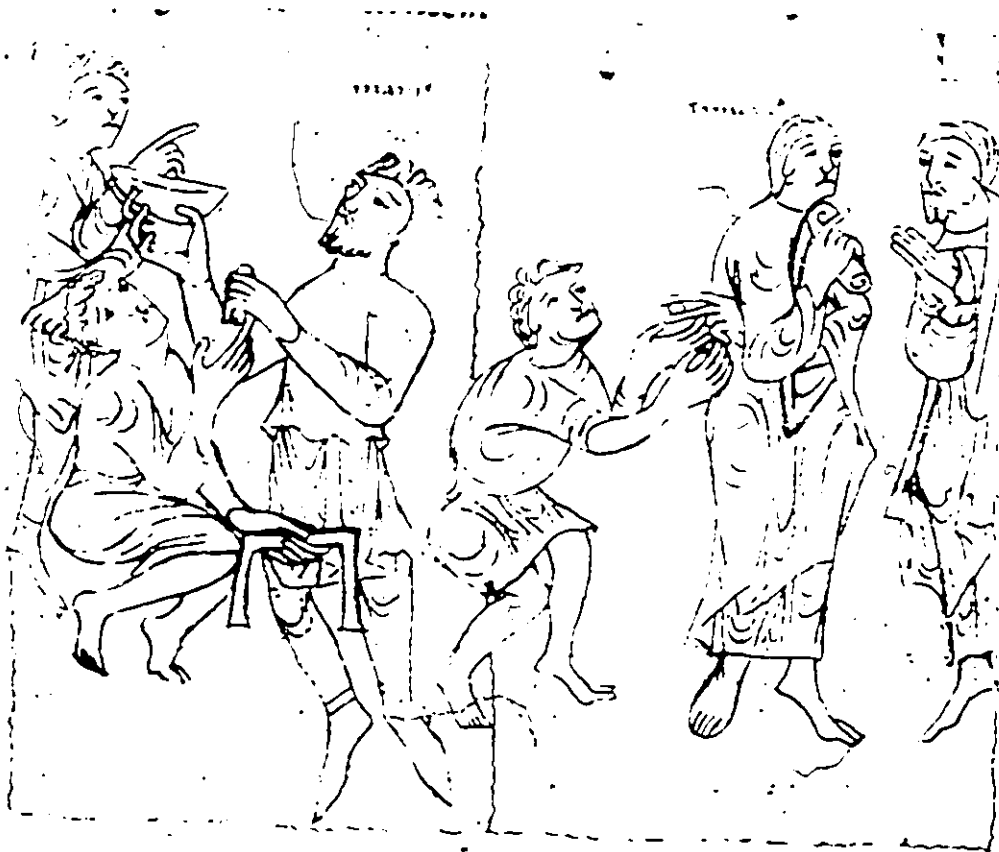
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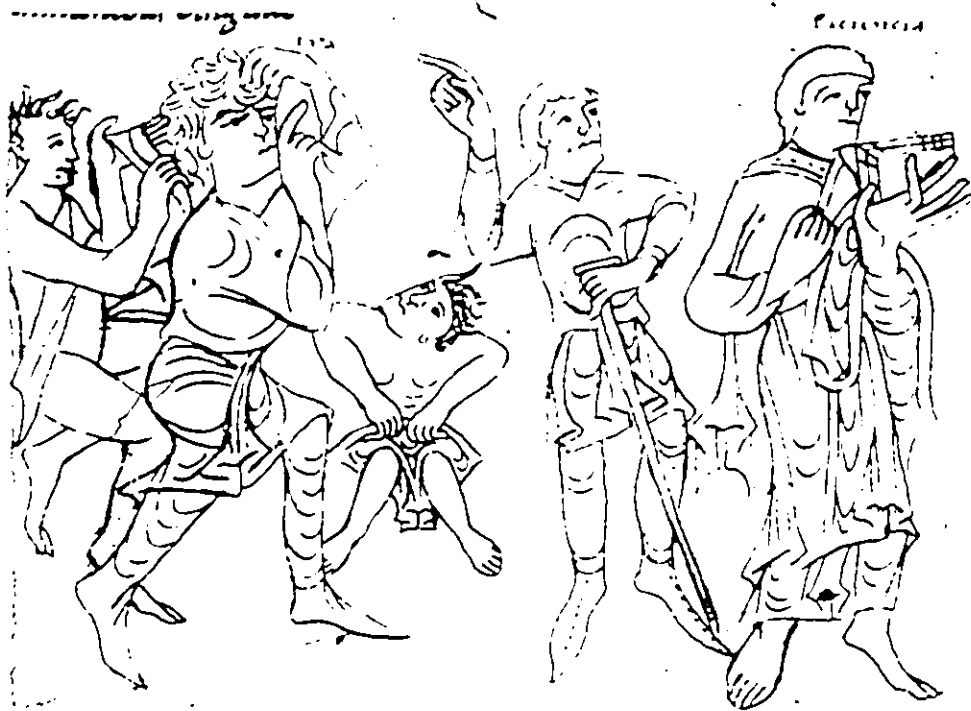
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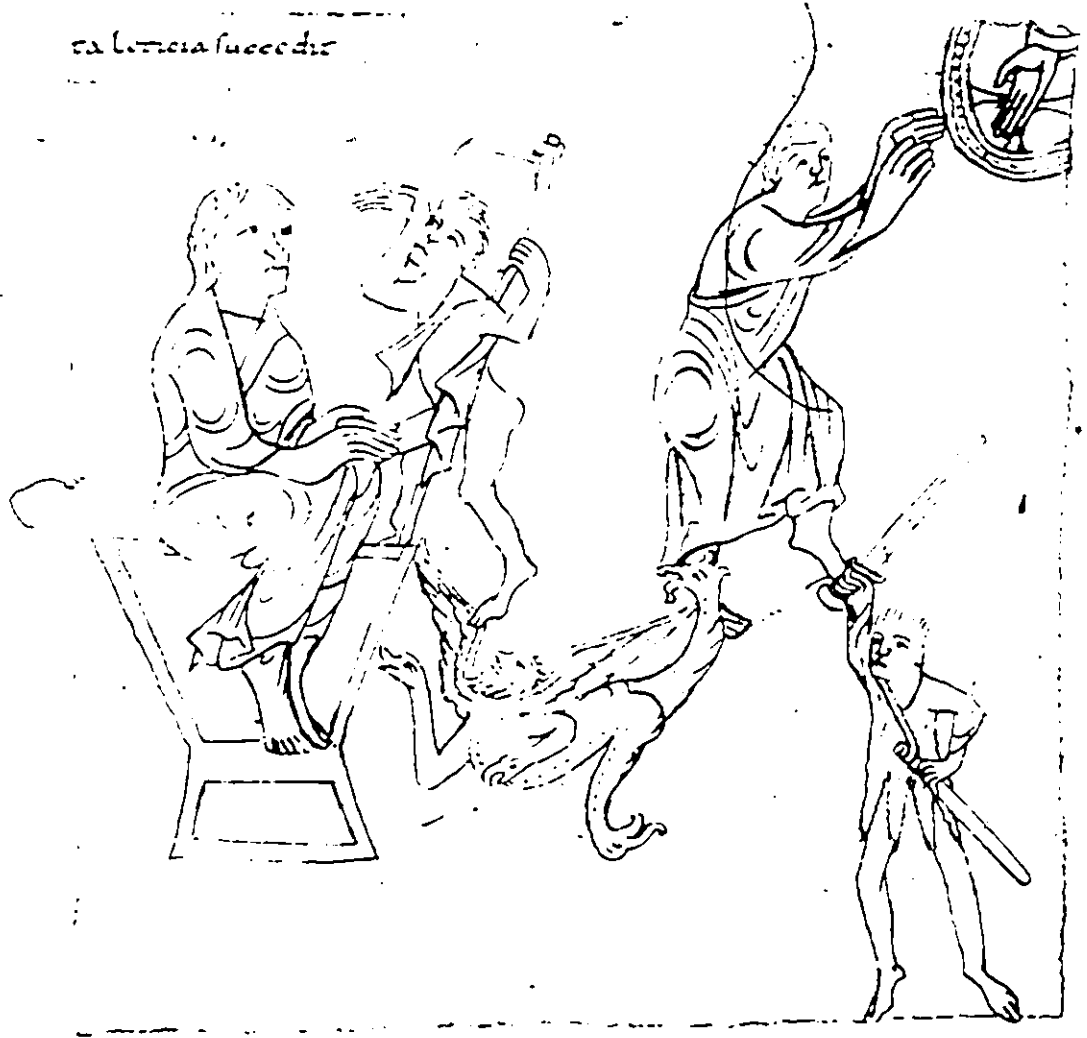
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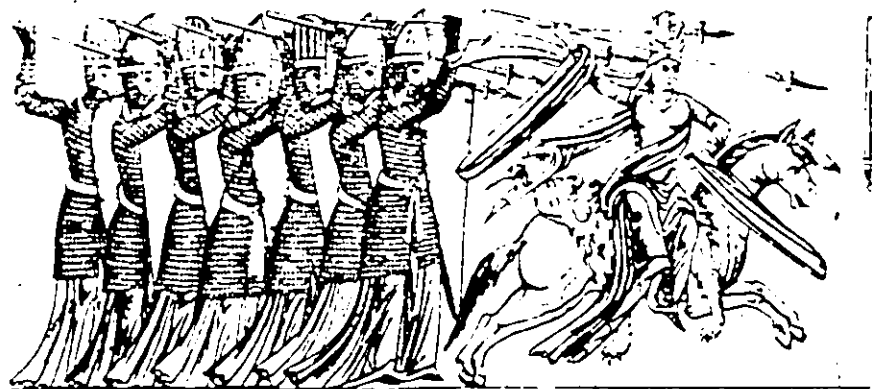
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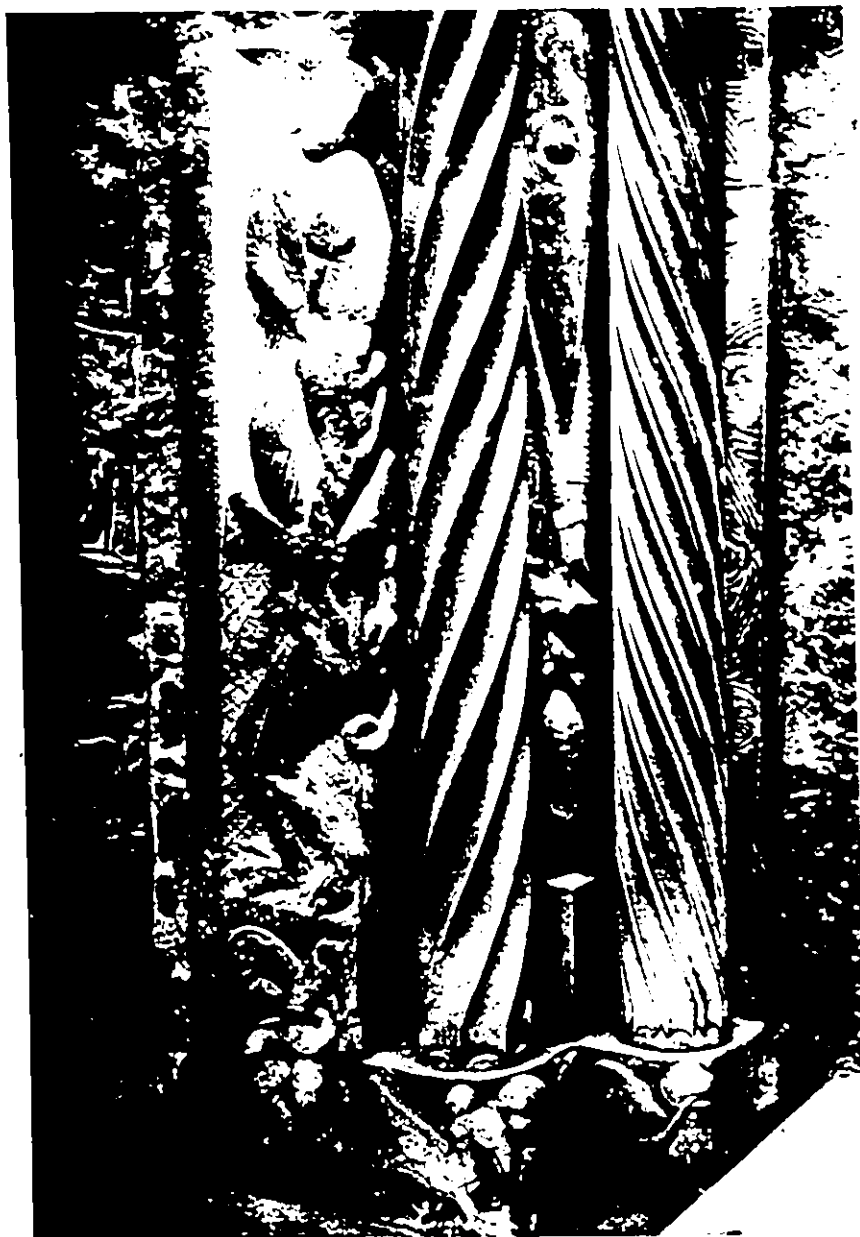


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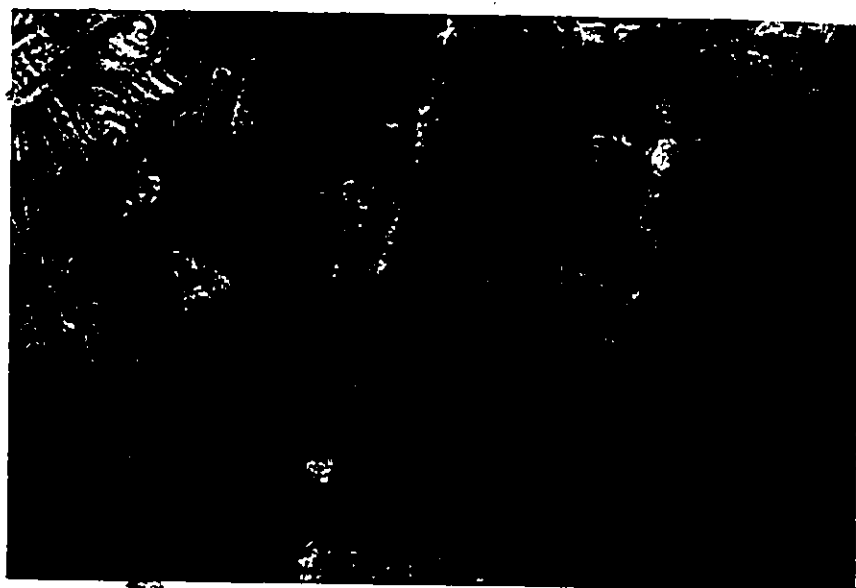


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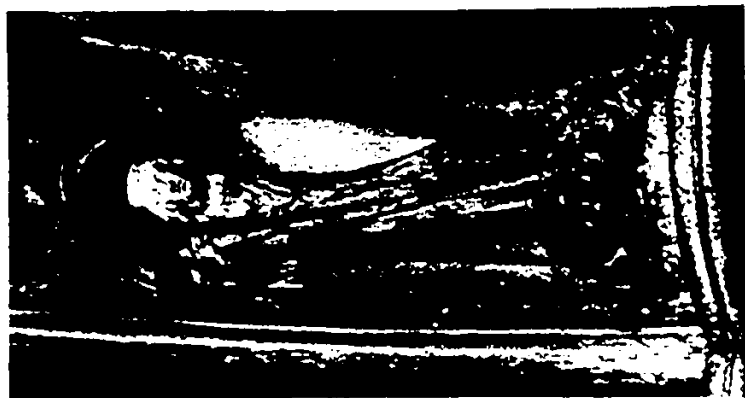
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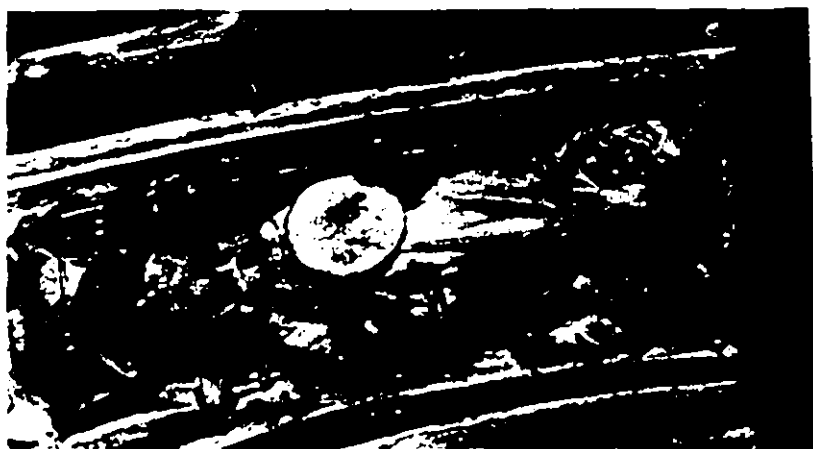
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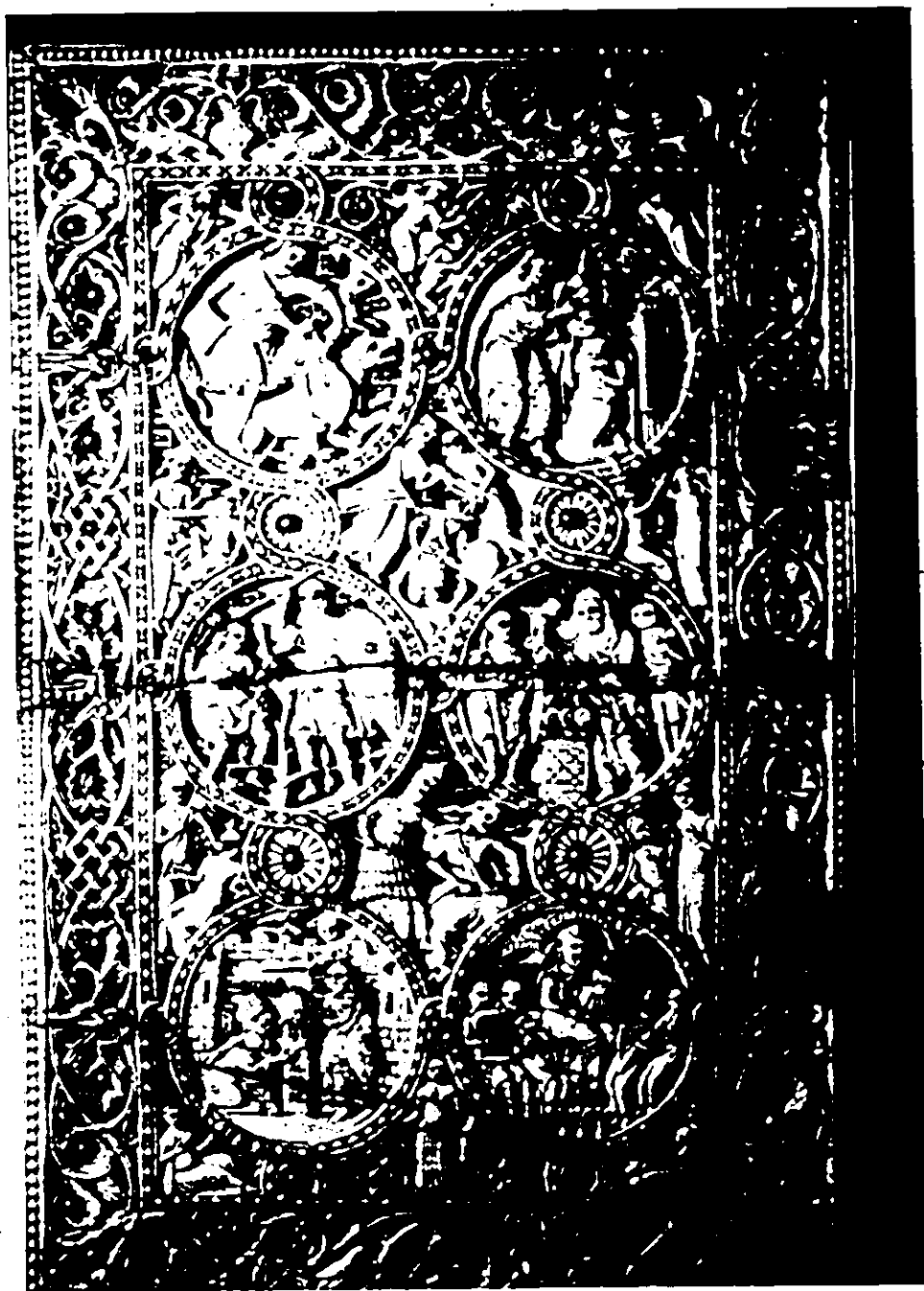
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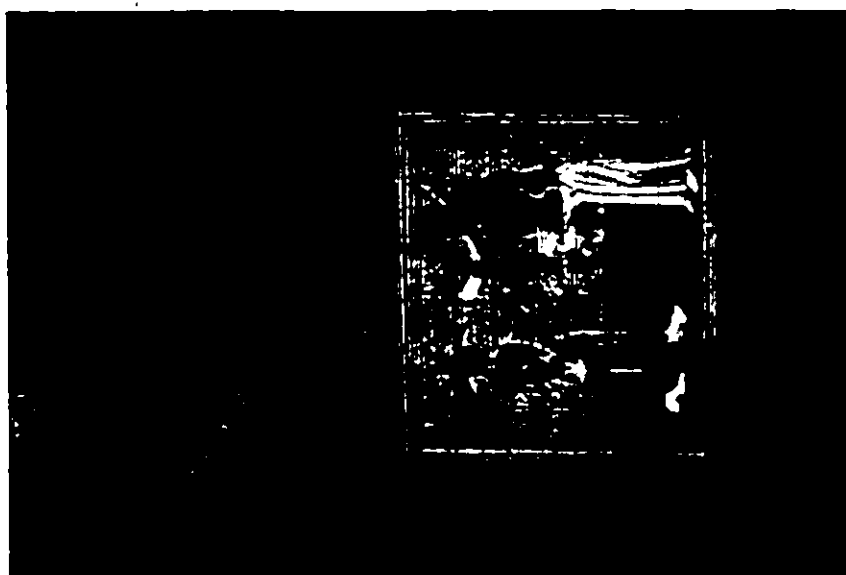


Domine in futuro
et nio arguas me
neque in ira tua co-
rripas me

Don't be angry with me in future, nor rebuke me in thy wrath, O Lord. For thou art God, and thou shalt not be angry with me for ever, nor shalt thou rebuke me for ever.



V-1



VI-2



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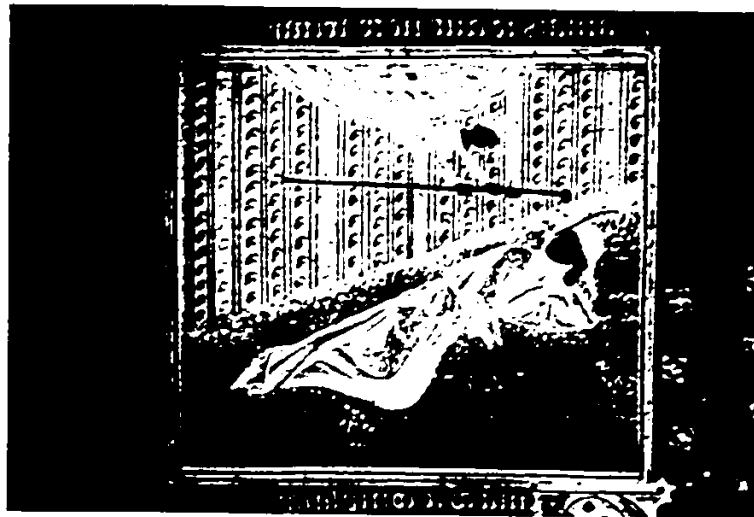
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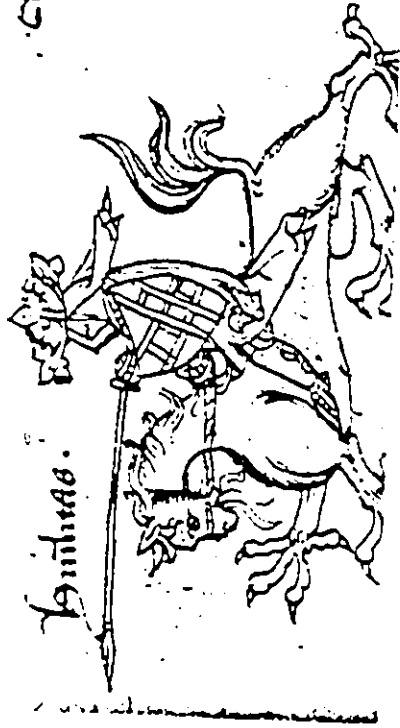
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a hostes a dextera sua quodam et p. d. a.

a.

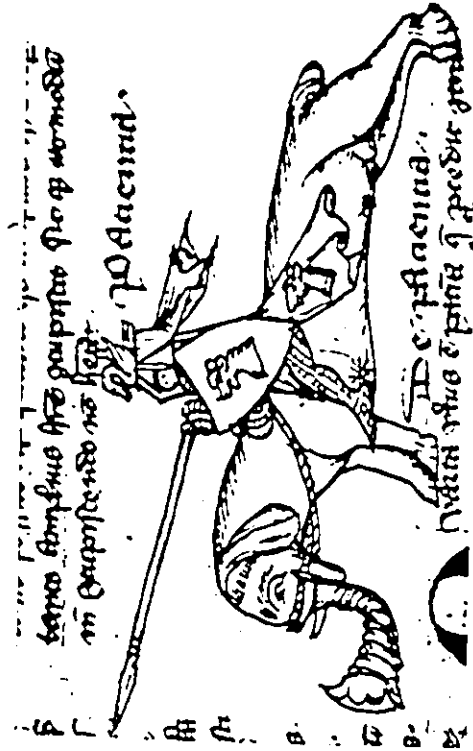


epemus apponit et ducit et pugnat
a hostes a dextera sua quodam et p. d. b.

b.



c.



et tu apponit et ducit et pugnat
a hostes a dextera sua quodam et p. d. d.

d.



a.



b.

VI-12



C-3



d.

VI - 12



e.



f.



g.



h.

VI-12



i.



j.

VI-12



k.



l.

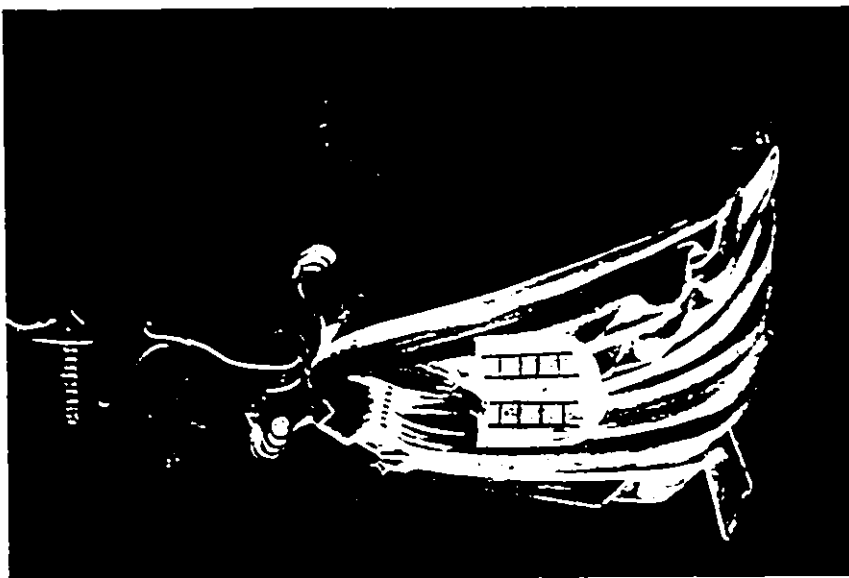


m.

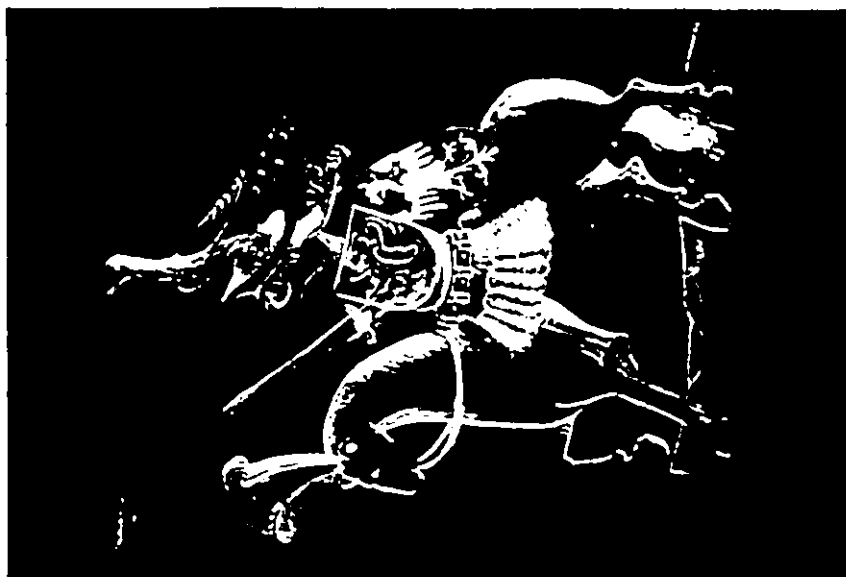


n.

VI-12



b.



a.

VII - 13



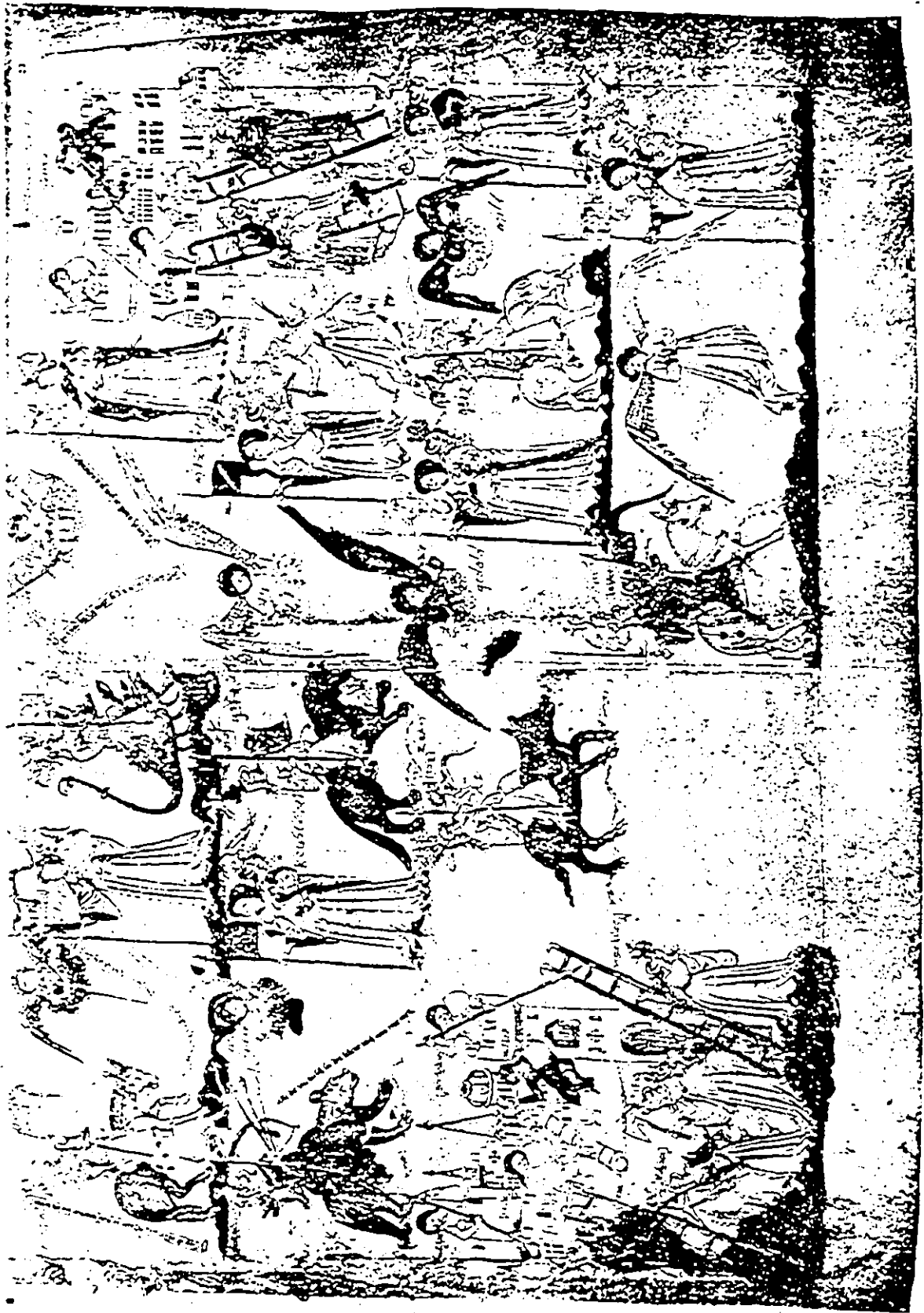
a.

VI-14



b.

VI-14







VII-3