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From Vanitas to Veritas: The Profane as the Fifth Mode of Romanesque Art

De Vanitas a Veritas: lo profano como el quinto modo del arte románico

Herbert L. Kessler
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD/Masaryk University, Brno
herbertleonkessler@gmail.com

Abstract
Various profane images---monstrous creatures, labyrinths and gaming boards, athletes and knights---were deployed outside churches as symbols of worldly vanity and as apotropaic devices. The paper argues that the same imagery was brought inside the sacred spaces, as well, to complicate the progression through the four Augustinian modes effected in mural decorations, stained-glass, liturgical objects, etc., and even to thwart the anagogical ascent. Engaging the profane subjects not only with their eyes but also their feet, the faithful were thus reminded that, like the ancient Israelites in the desert, they were pilgrims in this world and had continuously to struggle against material temptations, indeed even art itself, if they were to reach the Promised Land.

Keywords: Annunciation; stained-glass; typology; Sicard of Cremona; St Denis; Suger; Ceri, Sta. Maria Immacolata; spiritual battle; St Albans Psalter; Tuscania, San Pietro; Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*; apotropaia; Haimo of Auxerre; Bernard of Clairvaux; *Pictor in Carmine*; Piacenza, San Savino; Guillaume Le Clerc, *Bestiaire divin*; monstrous creatures; labyrinth; Prudentius, *Psychomachia*; wheel-of-fortune; chess; dice; Summaga, Sta. Maria; Hereford cathedral, *mappamundi.*

Resumen
En los exteriores de las iglesias medievales se desplegó una panoplia de imágenes profanas: criaturas monstruosas, laberintos, juegos de mesa, atletas y caballeros, se representaron en calidad de elementos apotropaicos y símbolos de la vanidad mundana. En este artículo se argumenta que el mismo repertorio temático se introdujo en el interior de los espacios sagrados,

con el fin de complicar la progresión a través de los cuatro modos agustinianos que se mostraba en la decoración mural, las vidrieras, los objetos litúrgicos, etc., llegando incluso a desbaratar la ascensión analógica. Al sumergir en los temas profanos a los fieles, no sólo a través de sus ojos, sino también de sus los pies, se les recordaba que, al igual que los antiguos israelitas en el desierto, también ellos eran peregrinos en este mundo, y en su peregrinaje tenían que pugnar continuamente contra las tentaciones materiales, incluyendo el propio arte, si querían arribar a la Tierra Prometida.

Palabras clave: Anunciación; Vidriera; tipología; Sicardo de Cremona; St Denis; Suger; Ceri, Sta. Maria Immacolata; batalla espiritual; St Albans Psalter; Tuscania, San Pietro; Herrad de Hohenbourg, Hortus Deliciarum; *apotropaia*; Haimo de Auxerre; Bernardo de Clairvaux; Pictor en Carmine; Piacenza, San Savino; Guillaume Le Clerc, Bestiaire divin; criaturas monstruosas; laberinto; Prudencio, Psychomachia; rueda de la fortuna; ajedrez; dado; Summaga, Sta. Maria; Catedral de Hereford, mappamundi.

The Annunciation in Madrid (Museo del Prado; Fig. 1), painted ca. 1440 by an artist in the orbit of the Flemish master Robert Campin,[1] distills centuries of theology and art that understood the persons, events, and objects of Jewish Scripture as ceding to Christ and his Church at the moment of Incarnation.[2] The panel shows Mary within a Gothic building still under construction but already fitted with windows filled with stained glass. As Gabriel alights on a platform at the top of a flight of darkened steps and delivers God's salutation across the threshold, light emanating from God the Father coalesces in seven rays symbolizing the gifts of the Holy Spirit and then reduces to a single beam which, effecting an old metaphor of chastity as light passing through glass without shattering it, penetrates a window depicting a prophet or saint before entering Mary's person.[3] Scenes in the stained-glass at the right, of Moses receiving the Ten Commandments and Abraham about to Sacrifice Isaac, reify the Annunciation's typological underpinning.

Sitting humbly on the floor, Mary prays the Psalms,[4] authored by her stirps, David, who is portrayed playing the lyre on the intermediary antechamber.[5] The fortress-like Romanesque

On the drive back to Madrid following *Ars Mediaevalis* VII, I had a lively and very productive discussion with my traveling companions Ravinder Binning, Philippe Cordez, and Pablo Ordás; I cannot thank them enough for the constructive criticisms which I have incorporated into this paper.

[1] C. Garrido, "The Campin Group in the Prado Museum," in *Robert Campin. New Directions in Scholarship*, S. Foister and S. Nash (eds.), Turnhout, 1996, pp. 55-70; F. Thürlemann, *Robert Campin: A Monographic Study with Critical Catalogue*, Munich, 2002, pp. 309-10.

[2] See: H.L. Kessler and D. Nirenberg (eds.), *Judaism and Christian Art. Aesthetic Anxieties from Catacombs to Colonialism*, Philadelphia, 2011; D. Nirenberg, *Aesthetic Theology and Its Enemies*, Lebanon, NH, 2015.

[3] A. Breeze, "The Blessed Virgin and the Sunbeam through Glass," *Celtica*, 23 (1999), pp. 19-29; K.-A. Wirth (ed.), *Pictor in Carmine. Ein typologisches Handbuch aus der Zeit um 1200*, Berlin, 2006, p. 136. H.C. Gearhart, *Theophilus and the Theory and Practice of Medieval Art*, University Park, PA, 2017, p. 57.

[4] The volumes in the case behind Mary may be other Old Testament books, unlocked by the Incarnation; on such *armaria*, see: J. Tripps, "Der Schrank aus dem Marienstift zu Halberstadt: Überlegungen zu Form und Funktion," http://archiv. ub.uni heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2011/1694.

[5] Psalms are referred to already in the Gospels of Pseudo-Matthew (6.2); see: F. Heinzer, "'Wondrous Machine' Rollen und Funktionen des Psalters in der mittelalterlichen Kultur," in *Der Albani-Psalter. Stand und Perspektiven der*

Fig. 1. Robert Campin (circle of), Annunciation, Madrid, Museo del Prado (© Museo nacional del Prado)

tower in the distance, extends allusion to Mary's human and spiritual ancestor. Surely the *turris David* in Jerusalem,[6] adorned with imitation sculptures of the Old Testament God and Moses holding the tablets and a staff—tellingly occupying a blind oculus—it contrasts with the luminous, open church decorated only with two-dimensional pictures. Imitation sculptures of a half-naked woman and a naked warrior grasping a lance and medusa shield, raised on columnar pedestals associated with idols, flank Moses; and wrestlers and entwined dragons cap the two recessed windows below.[7] The latter further the reading of Old Testament *realia*

Forschung/The St Albans Psalter. Current Research and Perspective, J. Bepler, and C. Heitzmann (eds.), Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 2013, pp. 15-31; L.S. Miles, "The Origins and Development of the Virgin Mary's Book at the Annunciation," *Speculum*, 89 (2014), pp. 632-69.

[6] A tower dominates "Jerusalem" in the mosaic from the second half of the twelfth century in the cathedral at Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux; see X. Barral i Altet, *Le décor du pavement au Moyen Âge. Les mosaïques de France et d'Italie*, Rome, 2010, pp. 289-91.

[7] The wrestlers may refer to the "ungodly" of Psalm 51, as in the Utrecht Psalter and its copies and also St. Louis Psalter (Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 10525), fol. 141^{v}; H. Stahl, *Picturing Kingship. History and Painting in the Psalter of St. Louis*, University Park, PA 2008.

as precursors of New Testament elevation; they depend on elaborations of Gregory the Great's influential *Commentary on Ezekiel*,[8] by Honorius Augustodunensis and Pierre de Roissy, Chancelor of Chartres at the turn to the thirteenth century, [9] and later by Sicard of Cremona and William Durand, that windows symbolize both Sacred Scripture and the five senses which, because they are narrower on the outside and wider on the inside, simultaneously repel vanities and signify the literal sense broadened by mystical meaning.[10]

Not only does the Campinesque panel engage typology, but in its deployment of light and stained glass, also introduces anagogy, the mode of scriptural interpretation that raises material representations heavenward, as Augustine noted:

> For when what is said figuratively is taken as if it were said literally, it is understood in a carnal manner. And nothing is more fittingly called the death of the soul than when that in it which raises it above the brutes, the intelligence namely, is put in subjection to the flesh by a blind adherence to the letter . . . and when he hears of a sacrifice, does not carry his thoughts beyond the customary offerings of victims from the flock, and of the fruits of the earth. Now it is surely a miserable slavery of the soul to take signs for things, and to be unable to lift the eye of the mind above what is corporeal and created, that it may drink in eternal light.[11]

Abbot Suger introduced such Old Testament types, among them Moses on Sinai, into his windows at St Denis (Fig. 2);[12] together with captions that explained their meaning, he

[8] M. Adriaen (ed.), CCSL142, Turnhout, 1971, pp. 396-97; see: H.L. Kessler, "*Fenestra obliqua*: Art and Peter of Limoges's Modes of Seeing," in *Optics, Ethics, and Art in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Looking into Peter of Limoges's Moral Treatise on the Eye*, H.L. Kessler and R. Newhauser (eds.), Toronto, 2018, pp. 139-58.

[9] *Manuale de mysteriis ecclesiae*, M.T. D'Alverny (ed.), "Les Mystères de l'église, d'après Pierre de Roissy," in *Mélanges offerts à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire*, Poitiers, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 1088-1140 at pp. 1095-96. See L. Grodecki, "Fonctions spirituelles," in M. Aubert et al. (eds.), *Le vitrail français*, Paris, 1958, pp. 39-54; B. Kurmann-Schwarz, "'Fenestre vitree [. . .] significant Sacram Scripturam': zur Medialität mittelalterlicher Glasmalerei des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts" in R. Becksmann (ed.), *Glasmalerei im Kontext. Bildprogramme und Raumfunktion: (Akten des XXII. Internationalen Colloquiums des Corpus Vitrearum, Nürnberg, 29. August-1. September 2004*), Nuremberg, 2005, pp. 61-73.

[10] *Sicardi Cremonensis episcopi Mitralis de officiis*, Book I, chap. 4; G. Sarbak and L. Weinrich (eds.), CCCM 228, Turnhout, 2008, p. 13; *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinorum officiorum*, I, II, 24, A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau (eds.) CCCM 140, Turnhout, 1995–2000, p. 20; trans. T.M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende*, New York, 2007, pp. 18-19.

[11] *De doctrina Christiana*, Book III, chap. 5.9; CCSL 32, K.D. Daur and J. Martin (eds.), Turnhout, 1962, pp. 82-83.

[12] L. Grodecki, *Études sur les vitraux de Suger à Saint-Denis*, Paris, 1995, pp. 51-83; H. L. Kessler, "The Function of *Vitrum Vestitum* and the Use of *Materia Saphirorum* in Suger's St. Denis," in *L'Image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'occident medieval*, J. Baschet and J.-C. Schmitt (eds.), Paris, 1996, pp. 179-203 (repr. H. L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing. Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*, Philadelphia, 2000, pp. 190-205); C. Rudolph, "Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window: Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art," *Art Bulletin*, 93 (2011), pp. 399-422; M. Büchsel, "Materialpracht und die Kunst für *Litterati*. Suger gegen Bernhard von Clairvaux," in *Intellektualisierung und Mystifizierung mittelalterlicher Kunst. "Kultbild": Revision eines Begriffs*, M. Büchsel and R. Müller (eds.), Berlin, 2010, pp. 155-81. For a contrary, not to say contrarian, view, see: E. Gábor, "De materialibus ad inmaterialia excitans: Glossza Suger saint-denis-i apát üvegablakaihoz De materialibus ad inmaterialia excitans: Commentary on the Stained Glass Windows by Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis," in *Vizuális médiumok a középkorban. Visual Media in the Middle Ages*, P. Bokody (ed.), Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 2014, pp. 112-33.

intended these to "transfer that which is material to that which is immaterial".[13] For instance, inscribed with a paraphrase of 2 Corinthians 3.5: "After the Law has been given to Moses, the grace of Christ invigorates it. Grace gives life, the letter kills",[14] the glass pictures Jews reverting to idol worshiping and yielding to the sensual pleasures of eating, drinking, and reveling because they cannot comprehend the mystical meaning of God's law; indeed, one of Aaron companions shields his eyes while Joshua, a type of Jesus by virtue of his name, perceives the vivifying truth that elevates the message to a higher plane. Suger extended the typological reading to other events in Moses' life, including the exodus from Egypt and the vision on Mt. Horeb, both of which include visions of Christ; and he included Moses' raising of the brazen serpent which features a chimaera-like creature with a lion's head and dragon's body from which sprouts a bronze Crucifix, an antitype from John's Gospel that defenders of art often cited.[15] Realized pictorially by the asp, basilisk, lion and serpent of Psalm 90(91) at the base of the column, the titulus underscores triumph: "Just as the brazen serpent slays all serpents, so Christ, raised on the Cross, slays his enemies".[16]

Icons of saints beneath the nave windows in the Campinesque panel hint at the fourth exegetic mode, tropology; and the knight (presumably the donor) pictured in the stained-glass above the Virgin, who kneels with headgear removed before "statues"

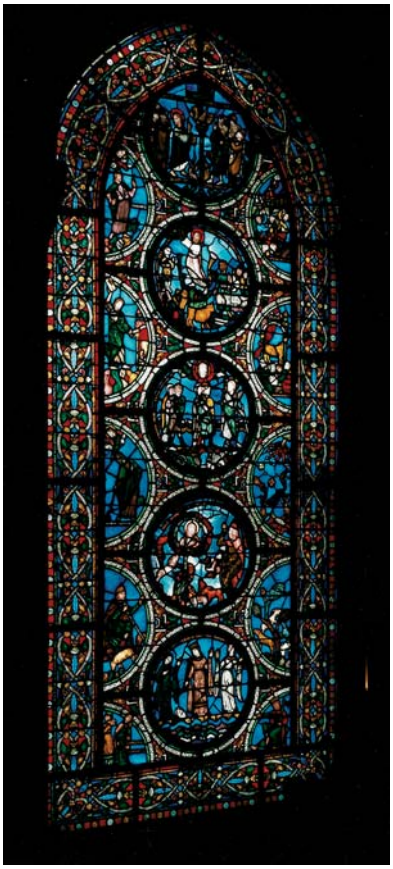

Fig. 2. Moses window, St-Denis. Paris, Archive Photographique, CNMHS (photo P. Lemaitre)

[13] *Una quarum de materialibus ad immaterialia excitans*; E. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, 2nd ed., Princeton, 1979, pp. 74-75.

[14] *Lege data Moysi, juvat illam gratia Christi./Gratia vivificat, littera mortificat*; Grodecki, *Études*, pp. 81-82; Panofsky, *Suger*, pp. 76-77. Augustine quoted the scripture in the passage of *De doctrina* cited in n. 11.

[15] H. L. Kessler, "Christ the Magic Dragon," in *Making Thoughts, Making Pictures, Making Memories: a Special Issue in Honor of Mary J. Carruthers*, ed. A.D Hedeman and C. Maines [*Gesta*, 48 (2009)], pp. 119-34 and "Sanctifying Serpent. Crucifixion as Cure," in *Experiments in Medieval Empathies*, R. Bell and K. F. Morrison (eds.), Turnhout, 2013, pp. 161-81; I. Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 2016, pp. 142-43.

[16] *Sicut serpentes serpens necat aeneus omnes,/Sic exultus hostes necat in cruce Christus*; Panofsky, *Suger*, pp. 76-77; An early-thirteenth-century exegetical window at Orbais also engages the literal, mystical, and anagogical modes; see: N.R. Kline, "The Typological Window of Orbais-l'Abbaye: The Context of its Iconography," *Studies in Iconography*, 14 (1995), pp. 83-130; M. Angheben, "La crucifixion du chevet; Entre liturgie eucharistique et dévotion privée," in C. Andrault-Schmitt (ed.), *La cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Poitiers: enquêtes croisées*, Poitiers, 2013, pp. 350-363; H.L. Kessler, "Consider the glass, it can teach you," in *Dictionary of Stained Glass*, B. Kurmann-Schwarz and E. Pastan (eds.), Leiden, forthcoming.

of two saints, reinforces the reference to God's intermediaries whose lives were moral models for those who followed.[17] David's tower furthers the idea, which, according to Bede's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* and later exegesis conveyed the notion of moral sermons:

> For if David's city is the church of Christ, then the impregnable tower in that city is the constancy of the preachers who were raised up on high to be stronger than the rest of the faithful so that they might defend the structures of the faith and repulse the missiles of the enemy by a mighty hand and a beloved king, which is what the name David signifies. Now the bulwarks with which this tower was built are understood as the fortifications of either the holy scriptures or the divine gifts, that is, the words of their preaching proved true to the sayings of the fathers who had gone before them.[18]

Individually or together, the four Augustinian modes cleared a path that enabled viewers of Romanesque art to progress heavenward.[19] For example, the cycle of frescoes in the modest church of Sta. Maria Immacolata at Ceri (Fig. 3),[20] completed ca. 1100 by painters associated with the decorations of the lower church of San Clemente in nearby Rome,[21] imitate the venerable Early Christian cycle in St. Peter's but gloss the Old Testament as a prophecy of the Gospels. The Creator, portrayed as Christ, vanishes from view when Adam and Eve eat of the apple and is seen again only by Moses in the burning bush, understood mystically as God incarnate and, according to an epigram by the contemporary theologian Hildebert of Lavardin, also symbolized by the staff turned into a serpent.[22] Tropology is conveyed by the emphasis on sin: Adam and Eve's temptation and expulsion, Cain's punishment for envy and murder, Joseph's fleeing Potiphar's lustful wife, and the victory of faith in Moses' confrontation with

[17] A generation before Suger, Rupert of Deutz had introduced the episode of the Golden Calf into a debate with a Jew as evidence that Jews cling to shadows rather than truth; see M.L. Arduini, *Ruperto di Deutz e la controversia tra Cristiani ed Ebrei nel secolo xii con testo critico dell'Anulus seu Dialogus inter Christianum et Iudaeum, Studi storici*, Rome, 1979, pp. 183-242. David Nirenberg associated Augustine's argument with the Golden Calf in "Discourse of Judaizing and Judaism in Medieval Spain," *La Corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures*, 41 (2012), pp. 207-233.

[18] *In cantica canticorum*, Book 2, chap. 4; D. Hurst and J.E. Hudson (eds.), CCSL 119B, Turnhout,1982, pp. 248-49; trans. A. Holder, *The Venerable Bede. On the Song of Songs and Selected Writings*, New York, 2011, p. 112. See P. Cordez's article in this volume.

[19] The classic work remains H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Le quatre sens de l'Écriture*, Paris, 1959; see also: M. Caviness, "Images of the Divine Order and the Third Mode of Seeing," *Gesta*, 22 (1983), pp. 99-120 and D. Méhu, "Augustin, le sens et les sens. Réflexions sur le processus de spiritualisation du charnel dans l'Église médiévale," *Revue historique*, 317 (2015), pp. 271-302.

[20] N. Zchomelidse, *Santa Maria Immacolata in Ceri. Pittura Sacra al tempo della Riforma Gregoriana*, Rome, 1996, pp. 55-56; H.L. Kessler, "Corporeal Texts, Spiritual Paintings, and the Mind's Eye," in *Reading Images and Texts. Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*, M. Hageman and M. Mostert (eds.) Turnhout, 2005, pp. 9-61 (repr. in H. L. Kessler, *Old St. Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Italy*, Spoleto, 2002, pp. 159-79).

[21] C. Filippini, "Functions of Pictorial Narratives and Liturgical Spaces: The Eleventh-Century Frescoes of the Titular Saint in the Basilica of San Clemente in Rome," in *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting. Essays in Honour of Otto Demus*, T.E.A. Dale, and J. Mitchell (eds.), London, 2004, pp. 122-42.

[22] N. Zchomelidse, "Das Bild im Busch. Zur Theorie und Ikonographie der alttestamentlichen Gottesvision im Mittelalter," in *Die Sichtbarkeit des Unsichtbaren. Zur Korrelation von Text und Bild im Wirkungskreis der Bibel*, B. Janowski and N. Zchomelidse (eds.), Stuttgart, 2003, pp. 165-189; H.L. Kessler, *Neither God nor Man. Words, Images, and the Medieval Anxiety about Art*, Freiburg i.Br., 2007.

Fig. 3. Ceri, Santa Maria Immacolata, south wall (© P. Zolli)

Pharaoh and ultimate military triumph that frees the faithful to travel to the promised land (reinterpreted in the Last Judgment on the adjacent wall). As Hildebert understood: "Egypt is the world, Pharaoh is the devil, we are the Israelites baptized in the Red Sea, the king is submerged in the waves and Satan's kingdom perished through baptism".[23]

The struggle between good and evil, figured at Ceri as the victory of God's chosen over its enemies, launches this examination of the profane. Introduced, as well, by the golden calf at St Denis and the Crucifix's triumph over demons and, in the Campinesque painting, by sculptures on the tower—literally *pro fanus*—it discloses an underlying concern with art's own vanity. Working against an assumption that physical images can provide a direct vector to the truth, the profane activated diverse strategies in the production and apprehension of Romanesque art.

Militia spiritalis

From the Carolingian period, moral battle had been a particular theme in Psalms illustration, beginning in the Corbie (Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 18),[24] Stuttgart (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. bibl. Fol. 23),[25] and Utrecht (Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit,

[23] *Quid significat exitus Israel de Egipto. Egiptus mundus, Pharao Sathan, Israelite/Nos, baptisma rubrum mare. Rex submergitur undis,/et regnum Sathane perit in baptismate*; A.B. Scott, D.F. Baker and A.G. Rigg, "The *Biblical Epigrams* of Hildebert of Le Mans: A Critical Edition," *Mediaeval Studies*, 47 (1985), pp. 272-316, p. 282.

[24] H. Pulliam, "Exaltation and Humiliation: The Decorated Initials of the Corbie Psalter (Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 18)," *Gesta*, 49 (2010), pp. 97-115.

[25] B. Bischoff et al. (eds.), *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter: Bibl. Fol. 23 Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, Stuttgart, 1965.

Fig. 4. Beatus vir, St Albans Psalter, Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, Ms. 1, p. 72

Ms. 32) Psalters,[26] which in various ways translate David's rich martial language into prophecies of Christian struggle; and the emphasis on battles continued into the Romanesque period.[27] The Psalms frontispiece in the early twelfth-century Bible of Stephen Harding (Dijon, Bibliothèque municipal, Ms. 14, fol. 13v), for instance, pictures David composing his poetry within a walled Jerusalem being besieged and defended in armed conflict.[28] The *Beatus vir* page of the early twelfth-century St. Alban's Psalter introduces physical struggle through two jousting knights above the inspired David within the opening initial formed of dragons and interlace (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, Ms. 1, p. 72; Fig. 4); accompanied by a gloss that explains the profane motif as a combat between "spiritual athletes" and exhorts the reader to engage in a personal *psychomachia* against pride, malice, and anger.[29] And the version of the Utrecht Psalter produced at Canterbury ca. 1180-1200, which Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras has recently analyzed, portrays the anonymous author of the first psalm as Christ himself, enthroned with angels in the heavenly city, opposite the "ungodly" King Pride counseled by the devil in his earthly castellated residence (Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 8846; fol. 5v; Fig. 5).[30] The pictured sinner between the two rulers must choose between salvation to which Christ points and the *via peccatorum* leading to the tortures of hell; in turn, the reader of the figured words of Scripture, who identifies with the faceless "everyman", projects his own person into the body twisted by indecision.[31]

[26] See: K. Van der Horst, "The Utrecht Psalter: Picturing the Psalms of David," in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, K. Van der Horst et al. (eds.), Utrecht, 1996, pp. 22–84.

[27] H. Helsinger, "Images on the Beatus Page of Some Medieval Psalters," *Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), pp. 161-76; K.M. Openshaw, "Weapons in the Daily Battle: Images of the Conquest of Evil in the Early Medieval Psalter," *Art Bulletin*, 75 (1993), pp. 17-38. Bede introduced the notion of spiritual warfare in his exegesis of the Tower of David; see n. 20.

[28] W. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts. The Twelfth Century*, London, 1996, pp. 70-72; C. Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life. Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Cîteaux* Moralia in Job, Princeton, 1997.

[29] Heinzer, "'Wondrous Machine'".

[30] R. Sánchez Ameijeiras, *Los rostros de las palabras. Imágenes y teoria literaria en al Occidente medieval*, Madrid, 2014, pp. 199-213.

[31] Ibidem, pp. 209-10.

Fig. 5. Beatus vir, Canterbury Psalter, Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 8846; fol. 5v

Falò delle vanità

The decorations of twelfth-century churches alerted the faithful still outside the sacred precincts of the worthlessness and danger of mundane distractions.[32] Sculptures on the north transept of Saint-Étienne de Beauvais, for instance, transform the rose window of ca. 1130 into an allegory of the transitory nature of earthly wealth and power, with *Fortuna* enthroned at the top, men rising and descending on the sides, and the fallen below,[33] and a slit window inserted into the lattice above adorned with a profane face and a grotesque animal. The façade of San Pietro at Tuscania elaborates some of the same themes (Fig. 6);[34] there, the wheel window stands in for Christ, designated by Cosmatesque sunrays around the central oculus

[32] About the time the Campinesque painter was completing his Annunciation, Bernardino of Siena was exhorting the Sienese to destroy arms, mirrors, fancy clothes, dice, cards, chess pieces, and other profane things, recommending that they be burned in the piazza, i.e. *ante fanus*; Sermon 42 (Contra alearum ludos) in *Opera omnia*, II, *Quadragesimale de christiana religione,* Quaracchi and Florence, 1950, pp. 20-34.

[33] N.R. Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, Woodbridge, 2001, pp. 35-44.

[34] P. Verdier, "La façade-temple de l'eglise de S. Pietro de Tuscania," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome,* 57 (1940), pp. 178-89; K. Noehles, "Die Fassade von S. Pietro in Tuscania," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 9-10 (1961-1962), pp. 17-72; J. Miziolek, "When our Sun is risen": Observations on Eschatological Visions in the Art of the First Millennium – II," *Arte Cristiana*, 83 (1995), pp. 3-22; M. Tizi, "La Porta del la Sole La 'mistica' della luce nel Colle di S. Pietro a Tuscania," *Biblioteca e società*, 28 (2009), pp. 28-36.

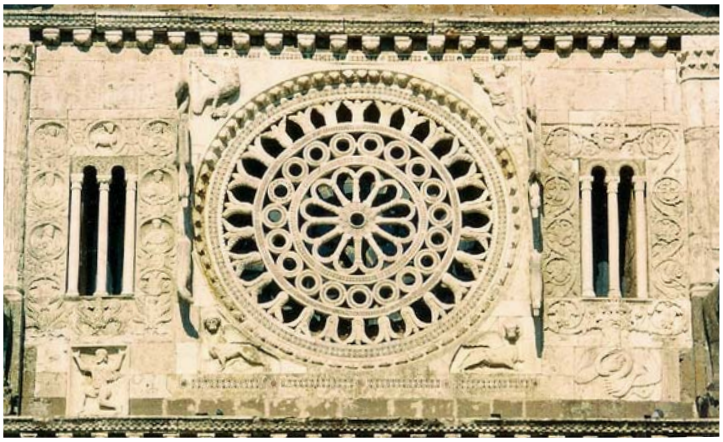

Fig. 6. Tuscania, San Pietro, façade (author)

encompassed by concentric rings and the four Evangelist symbols that stabilize the corners. Four dragons descending on either side separate two parallel reliefs that contrast good and bad which, as in the opening miniature of the Canterbury Psalter, offer the "sinner" a choice of paths. At the left, Atlas holds up a depiction of the heavenly world that, with circular medallions portraying four Church fathers (separated by mask-like faces) and culminating in the Lamb of God flanked by two angels, frames a biforate opening. On the right, the relief deploys a vine occupied by hybrid animals issuing from a sinister *trifrons* embracing a serpent and ascending to its diabolical counterpart at the top of an identical bifora.[35]

The Tuscania façade combines circle and ladders, in a way that Anna Esmeijer showed the Beauvais sculptures also do, to "lead Man on to higher things, despite threats in the form of vice and seduction."[36] Herrad of Hohenbourg deployed the same combination in her late-twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum* (Strasbourg; destroyed but partially preserved in nineteenth-century drawings; fol. 215^{r}; Fig. 7),[37] which depicts *Fortuna* cranking a wheel on which two young men rise up toward the enthroned king displaying his wealth and three others descend, losing crowns as they fall; [38] and the verso of the same folio features the ladder of virtue on which angels wage war against devils who pull even clerics off the steep path to heaven[39]. Ladder is merged with wheel as well in a contemporary illustration for *Lamentations*

[35] On snakes in Romanesque sculpture, see: S. Trinks, *Antike und Avantgarde. Skulptur am Jakobsweg im 11. Jahrhundert: Jaca-León-Santiago*, Berlin, 2012.

[36] A.C. Esmeijer, "'*Viri religiosi vita sicut rota . . .*' Het radvenster van St. Etienne te Beauvais als schema van 'rota' en 'bivium'," in A. Horodisch (ed.), *De arte et libris. Festschrift Erasmus 1934-84*, Amsterdam 1984, pp. 77-92.

[37] Herrard of Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, R.B. Green et al. (eds.), London, 1979, vol. 2, p. 351; D.B. Joyner, *Painting the Hortus deliciarum. Medieval Women, Wisdom, and Time*, College Park, PA, 2016.

[38] J.-L. Gautier, *La Sedes Fortunae. Logiques figurâtes et dynamiques historiques de la roue de fortune (XI^{e}-XIV^{e})* (MA thesis, Laval University, 2011), pp. 102-04.

[39] To protect against vanities' entering the sanctuary, visual signs were also introduced in liminal areas of church exteriors; see V. Debiais, "Writing on Medieval Doors: The Surveyor Angel on the Moissac Capital (ca. 1100)," in *Writing Matters: Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Inscriptions in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, I. Berti et al. (eds.), Berlin, 2017, pp. 285-307.

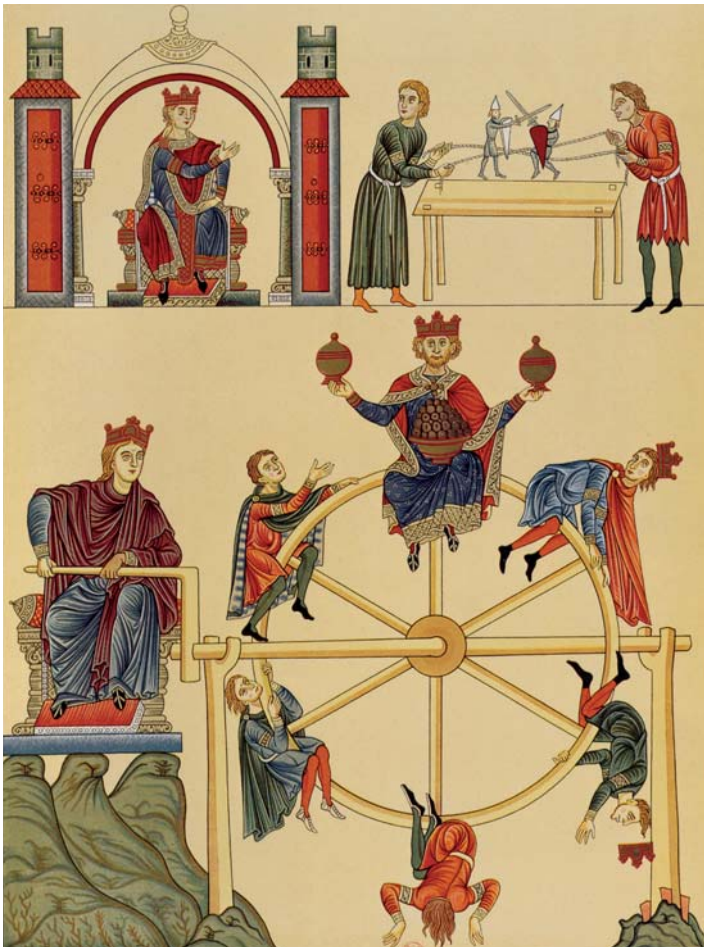

Fig. 7. *Hortus deliciarum*, olim Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Ms. 37, fol. 215r: Solomon and Wheel of Fortune (Auguste de Bastard; photo BnF, Paris)

in a compendium in Erlangen (Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 8, fol. 130^{v}; Fig. 8),[40] depicting a man struggling on rungs labeled as the five senses and still needing the seven spiritual gifts and an angelic hand to ascend toward Heaven rather than drop off at the fork onto the wide, downward curving road to Hell, as his companion has, pushed by a devil.

To protect against vanities' entering the sanctuary, visual signs were also introduced in liminal areas of church exteriors. Christ trampling the beasts, the *Urtyp* of spiritual battle imagery, served as *apotropaia* in the porticoes of Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk at Maastricht and the Duomo of Ferrara, for instance;[41] and, on the porch of the Lucca Duomo, a labyrinth once

[40] C. Heck, *L'Échelle celeste dans l'art du Moyen Âge. Une image de la quête du ciel*, Paris, 1997, pp. 87-89; É. Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2014, pp. 82-87.

[41] See: H.L. Kessler, "Evil Eye(ing): Romanesque Art as a Shield of Faith," in *Romanesque Art*, C. Hourihane, University Park, PA, 2008, pp. 107-35.

Fig. 8. Lamentations frontispiece, Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 8, fol. 130v

Fig. 9. Pontremoli, San Pietro, labyrinth (author)

featured Theseus and the Minotaur with the advice that "no one can exit once inside".[42] A similar sandstone labyrinth in Pontremoli (Fig. 9)[43] includes an inscription from 1 Corinthians 9.24 (perhaps added later) that cues the meaning of the jousting men carved above, flanked by a uroborus and dragon: "So run that you may obtain [the prize]" (in this case Christ, represented by the cross and monogram at the center). The need for physical effort is elaborated in the extended scripture "Every athlete exercises self-control in all things. So, I do not run aimlessly. I discipline my body and keep it under control"; and it was a theme picked up by contemporary theologians, Bernard of Clairvaux for instance, who understood ascent to God not simply as a mental process but also a somatic struggle when he exhorted the faithful to "rise above corporal desires and dominate them completely. Because, if you wish to climb to heaven you need to begin by rising up yourself, trampling under foot carnal desires which fight against you."[44] The Pontremoli labyrinth, like the one is Lucca, is three-dimensional and

[42] See most recently: G. Marovelli, "Il labirinto di San Martina a Lucca," in *Il labirinto . . . fino all'ultimo labirinto*, G. Pravat et al. (eds.), Tricase, 2013; Barral i Altet, *Décor*, pp. 186-90.

[43] G. Massola and F. Vanni, *Il labirinto di Pontremoli*, Florence, 2002; F. Vanni, "Il labirinto di Pontremoli. Nuove acquisizioni. La ragioni di un *work-in-progress,* ora su internet del Centro Studi Romei," *La via Francigena nell'alta Val di Magra*, 16 (2008), pp. 69-75.

[44] *In Ascensione domini* (PL 183.73).

Fig. 10. Vico Pancellorum, Pieve di San Paolo, lintel (Wikipedia Commons)

hence would have been followed both by eye and finger, reassuring pilgrims on the via Francigena that the arduousness of their own journey offered great rewards. Along the same route, physical discipline is conveyed as well by the swordsman guarding the early twelfth-century entranceway to San Paolo in Vico Pancellorum (Bagni di Lucca), flanked by the Tree of Life, a checkerboard (evoking virtual battle), a Crucifix and the Virgin and Child (Fig. 10).[45]

Profanity within Sacred Spaces

The question becomes: Why were profane subjects introduced *inside* sacred spaces, in particular *circa Dei altarium* in Romanesque churches, where they abound on column capitals, floors, and the walls?

[45] C. Frugoni, "Das Schachspiel in der Welt Jacobus de Cessolis," in *Das Schachbuch des Jacobus de Cessolis. Codex Palatinus Latinus 961*, pp. 35-77; U. Dercks, "Two Trees in Paradise? A Case Study on the Iconography of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life in Italian Romanesque Sculpture," in *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, P. Salonius and A. Worm (eds.) Turnhout, 2014, pp. 143–58; M. Leoncini, *Natura simbolica del gioco degli scacchi*, Middletown, DE, 2016 and *Antiche testimonianze degli scacchi in Toscana*, Middletown, DE, 2017.

A manuscript containing Haimo of Auxerre's rephrasing of Gregory's commentary on Ezekiel, produced around 1000, provides a theoretical answer (BnF, MS lat. 12302).[46] On the recto of the first folio, it depicts the siege of Jerusalem "drawn on a brick", which the Church father had interpreted mystically as an allegory of how "a soul with an earthly mind begins to understand the true joys of internal peace and aspires, pantingly, to contemplate the glory of its homeland in heaven. It is done as a drawing of the "vision of peace" on earth, when a soul, previously happy to have known earthly things, is now elevated by love to contemplate the glory of the celestial realm;[47] and it represents the desecrated Temple on the verso with the "image of Lust" as a classical nude behind an altar *pro fanus*, Tammuz in front of which the "women sit and wail" as a statue of Adonis with exposed genitals, and "every figure of creeping thing and beast—detestable images—and every idol of the house of Israel, engraved on the wall all around" adorning the sanctuary being censed by the seventy elders of Israel. The point is clear: unlike Christians who subject words and objects to allegorical readings as a way to contemplate the heavenly homeland, Jews remain locked into earthly presences.

What, then, of the myriad representations of animals, beasts, battles, and other terrestrial themes in sacred Christian spaces such as the choir of Santo Domingo de la Calzada which Esther Lozano López has recently studied,[48] sirens, for example, or a dragon biting a dog, intermingled with biblical subjects, including David playing a lyre. These were of considerable concern during the twelfth century.[49] Bernard of Clairvaux famously railed against such "deformed beauty" in cloister churches;[50] and, ca. 1200, the author of the *Pictor in Carmine* "struck with grief that in the sanctuary of God there should be foolish pictures, and what are rather misshapen monstrosities than ornaments," broadened the assault to the "laity in cathedrals and parish churches where public stations take place, whose eyes are apt to be caught by a pleasure that is not only vain, but even profane,"[51] listing "double headed eagles, four lions with one and the same head, centaurs with quivers, headless men grinning, and so-called logical chimaera",[52] all easily found inside Romanesque churches, along with the kind of entwined dragons, venereal women, and combats pictured on the tower in the Prado panel.

[46] P. Stirnemann, "L'illustration du commentaire d'Haymon sur Ezéchiel. Paris, B.N. latin 12302" in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi 830- 908*, Paris, 1991, pp. 93-117; Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, pp. 116-19; B. Fricke, *Fallen Idols Risen Saints. Sainte Foy of Conques and the Revival of Monumental Sculpture in Medieval Art*, Turnhout, 2015, pp. 69-80.

[47] *Homiliae in Hiezechielem Prophetam*, 12.23 (ed. cit., p. 197).

[48] "Maestros innovadores para un escenario singular: la girola de Santo Domingo de la Calzada," in *Maestros del románico en el Camino de Santiago*, P.L. Huerta Huerta (ed.), Aguilar de Campoo, 2010, pp. 153-86.

[49] See M. Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in *Romanesque Art. Selected Papers*, New York, 1977, pp. 1-27 and *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, L. Seidel (ed.), Chicago, 2006, pp. 188-89; T.A. Heslop, "Contemplating Chimera in Medieval Imagination: St. Anselm's Crypt at Canterbury," in *Raising the Eyebrow: John Onians and World Art Studies. An Album Amicorum in his Honour*, L. Golden (ed.) Oxford, 2001, pp. 153-68; K. Ambrose, *Marvellous and the Monstrous in the Sculpture of Twelfth-Century Europe*, Woodbridge, 2013.

[50] C. Rudolph, *The "things of greater Importance". Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art*, Philadelphia, 1990; C. Bynum, "Hybrids in the Spirituality of Bernard of Clairvaux," in C. Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), pp. 113-62; M. Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 146-50.

[51] Wirth, *Pictor*, p. 109.

[52] For Gunther of Paris (a contemporary Cistercian), the chimaera, though fantastic, was logically imaginable; *De oratione jejunio et eleemosyna*, Book 5, chap.1 (PL 212.140).

Even though, significantly, the Campinesque painter rendered such vanities as fictive sculptures, because carved capitals in Romanesque churches have been much studied in recent years and very well,[53] this paper confines itself primarily to two-dimensional images on floors and walls that repeat profane themes also found outside. The mid-twelfth-century mosaic in the Duomo at Otranto, for instance, includes scenes of combat, hybrid animals, and a checkerboard alongside a Tree of Life as on the Vico Porcellano lintel,[54] while a seventeenth-century inscription attests to the presence of a labyrinth inside the western portal of San Savino in Piacenza with Theseus battling the minotaur and an inscription that likened it to the world.[55] The crypt in the same church, moreover, which sports a capital of intertwined dragons at the entrance, is paved with an aquatic mosaic featuring the signs of the zodiac and labors of the months, as well as seductive mermaids, one admiring her own visage in a mirror and another of the erotic two-tailed variety, as well as combatants, jousters, and half-naked wrestlers who, quite as in the Prado panel, are locked in grabbing each other's locks.[56] In San Savino, the location in the crypt and a number of the specific motifs signal the imagery's origins in pagan art,[57] itself an aspect of the mosaic's profanity;[58] but profane elements appear also in sacred areas. Thus, a labyrinth,

[53] See: H. Schade, *Dämonen und Monstren. Gestaltungen des Bösen in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, Regensburg, 1962**;** T. E A. Dale, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuxa," *Art Bulletin*, 83 (2001), pp. 402-36 and "The Monstrous," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, C. Rudolph (ed.), Malden MA and Oxford, 2006, pp. 253-73; Schapiro, *Romanesque*; F. Prado-Vilar, "Del *maestro de Orestes-Caín* al *maestro del sátiro*: Una conferencia sobre la belleza de la tragedia y la memoria del futuro," in *Los maestros del Románico en el Camino de Santiago*, Aguilar de Campoo, 2010, pp. 9–46; J. Baschet, J-C. Bonne, P-O. Dittmar, *Le monde roman par-delà le bien et le mal. Une iconographie du lieu sacré*, Paris, 2012; M. Büchsel, "Monströse Gefühle—die Gefühle von Monstern. Überlegungen zu emotionalen Strukturen in der marginalen Skulptur der Romanik und Gotik Frankreichs," *Imago. Interdisziplinäres Jahrbuch für Psychoanlyse und Ästhetik*, I (2012), pp. 75-103 and "Materialpracht," pp. 168-69; Trinks, *Antike und Avantgarde*; Ambrose, *Marvellous and the Monstrous*.

[54] G. Gianfreda, *Il mosaic di Otranto. Biblioteca medioevale in immagini*, Lecce, 2001, pp. 157-58.

[55] Hunc mundum tipice laberinthus denotat iste/Intranti largus, redeunti set nimis artus/Sic mundo captus, viciorum mole gravatus/Vix valet ad vite doctrinam quisque redire; Barral I Altet, *Décor*, pp. 327-29; and M. Vaccaro, *"Pavia, città ragguardevole". Mosaico pavimentali e cultura figurativa nel XII secolo*, Quingentole, 2016, pp. 225-44; in general, see D.K. Connolly, "At the Center of the World: The Labyrinth Pavement of Chartres Catheral," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, S. Blick and R. Tekippe (eds.), Leiden, 2005, pp. 285-314; A.S. Mittman, "Forking Paths? Matthew Paris, Jorge Luis Borges, and Maps of the Labyrinth," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 4.1 (2013), art. 7. Jerome articulated the idea: "We endure labyrinthine errors and guide our blind footsteps by the thread of Christ"; *Commentary on Zacharias*, Preface to Book 2 (PL 25.1453).

[56] A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. III, pp. 260-76; W. Tronzo, "Moral Hieroglyphs: Chess and Dice at San Savino in Piacenza," *Gesta*, 16, (1977), pp. 15-26; L. Pasquini, "Il gioco degli scacchi nel mosaico medievale: Gli esempi di Pesaro, Otranto e Piacenza," in *Atti dell'XI colloquio dell'associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, C. Angelelli (ed.), Tivoli, 2006, pp. 65-76; Barral i Altet, *Décor*, pp. 327-29; M. Vaccaro, "La scacchiera del mosaico di S. Savino. Due letture della virtù," in *Gli scacchi e il chiostro. Atti del convegno nazionale di studi, (Atti del convegno nazionale di studi. Brescia, 2006)*, A. Baronio (ed.), Brescia 2007, pp. 129-54; A. Schineller, "Die Fussbodenmosaiken von San Savino in Piacenza. Überlegungen zu Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Funktion im Kirchenraum," *Arte Medievale*, 8 (2008), pp. 47-68 and Vaccaro, *"Pavia,"* pp. 231-41 et passim.

[57] See F. Barry, "Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *Art Bulletin*, 89 (2007), 627-656; R. Molholt, "Roman Labyrinth Mosaics and the Experience of Motion," *Art Bulletin*, 93 (2011), pp. 287-303. On antiquity and the profane, see: G. Boto Varela, "El disfraz de ciervo y otros testimonios del carnival medieval en el altero de San Miguel de Fuentidueña," *Locus Amoenus*, I (1995), pp. 81-93.

[58] On continuity, see the essays in *Transformatio et Continuatio. Forms of Change and Constancy of Antiquity in the Iberian Peninsula 500-1500*, H. Bredekamp and S. Trinks (eds.), Berlin and Boston, 2017.

probably quite like the one in Piacenza, occupied the space before the altar in nearby San Michele at Pavia (recorded in copies and partially recovered beneath a later altar, together with Annus and the labors of the months) depicting Theseus defeating the "monstrous" minotaur at the center who, Perseus-like, displayed the head of a youth he has just decapitated; and hybrid creatures in the corners in place of evangelist symbols (Fig. 11).[59] In this case, as the *Pictor in Carmine* was to recommend, a biblical exemplar provides a counterpart to the profane image. David, confronts Goliath, whose challenge, inscribed on a circular shield characterizes him, too, as an animal-man: "I am wild (*ferus*) and strong, desiring to inflict wounds of death,"[60] to which David replies: "Exalted from being prostrate, a gentle person, I stand elevated."[61]

Herbert Schade argued that the creatures rendered on these pavements are best understood through the four exegetic modes;[62] and some, to be sure, were. Bestiaries provided moral interpretations of animals, both real and imaginary, for instance, the eleventh-century *Physiologus* in Brussels (Bibliothéque royale, MS. 10074, fol. 141[r]), which pictures the mythological *aptalops* (antelope), his horns entangled in a tree, being killed by a hunter and, below, Christ teaching the lesson: "Man of God cut off all vice from yourself, so that you will not be caught by the devil".[63] Guillaume Le Clerc's *Bestiaire divin*, written 1210-11, extended the allegory to scriptural exegesis by maintaining that the creature's horns are the Old and New Testaments which must be studied assiduously and reconciled, lest Christians become ensnared by worldly pleasures that render them incapable of fending off the devil;[64] and an English manuscript from

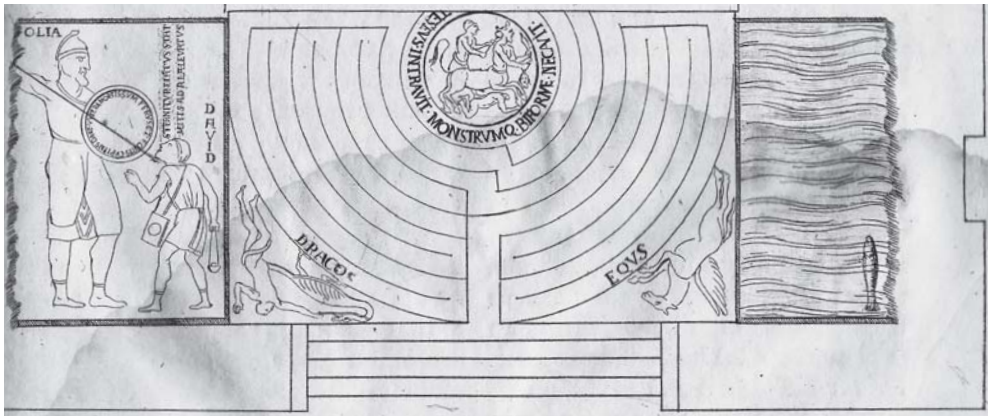

Fig. 11. Pavia, San Michele, David and Goliath (after Ciampini) (author)

[59] A. Peroni, "Il mosaic pavimentale di San Michele Maggiore a Pavia: Materiali per un'edizione," in *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 18 (1977), pp. 705-43; Barral I Altet, *Décor*, pp. 320-21; Vaccaro, "Pavia," pp. 210-47 et passim.

[60] *Sum ferus et fortis cupiens dare [v]ulnera mortis.*

[61] *Sternitur/elatus stat/mitis ad alta levatus.*

[62] *Dämonen und Monstren*, pp. 27-29.

[63] *Homo dei abscide omni vitia mala a te ut non comprehenderis a diaboli*; R. Baxter, *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages*, Phoenix Mill, 1998, pp. 64-65.

[64] C. Hippeau, *Le bestiaire divin de Guillaume, clerc de Normandie,* Paris,1852; repr. Geneva, 1970, pp. 197-200; trans. G. C. Druce, *The Bestiary of Guillaume le Clerc,* Ashford, 1936, pp. 16-19.

ca. 1270 (Paris, BnF, Ms. Franc. 14969, fol. 5r; Fig. 12)[65] transformed the core image by replacing Christ with a Dominican holding a cross and pointing out the heavenly Christ to a rapt congregation while, on the right, in an echo of Suger's Sinai scene, the devil embraces a cleric consumed by "rich foods, fine drinks delicate and choice, beautiful women, beautiful clothes, palfreys ambling and fat, gold and silver and money".[66]

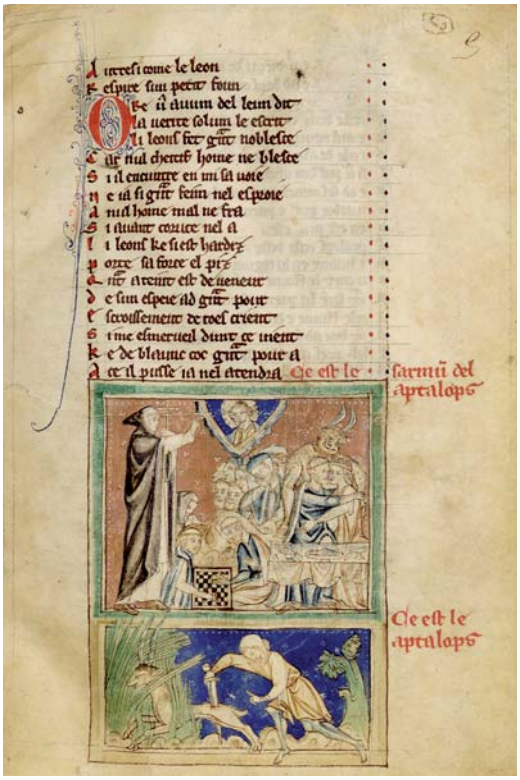

Fig. 12. Guillaume Le Clerc, *Bestiaire divin*, Paris, BnF, Ms. Franc. 14969, fol. 5r: antelope

While the audience of the Paris *Bestiaire divin* was the (literate) clergy, the subjects depicted on church pavements are not mere exempla but presences accessible to all; as Sicard of Cremona, who certainly knew actual floors, noted: "the pavement, tread upon by feet, is the common people whose efforts sustain the Church".[67] These profane images served not only to *despicere* (literally to look down and disdain the subjects) but also to thwart theological elevation; like Christ of Psalm 90, the faithful actually had to trammel the diabolical vanities depicted on them. The inscription on the lost Piacenza labyrinth made precisely that point when it urged the reader to crush worldly sins;[68] and in Pavia, a person had to stand atop Goliath to read David's reply and thus mimic the corporal transformation: "Exalted from being prostrate, a gentle person, I stand elevated." And when clergy or layman walked across battling figures of Cruelty and Ungodliness in the cathedral of Cremona (Fig. 13),[69] they, de facto, impersonated the adjacent figure of Faith

[65] F. Avril and P. Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire VII^e-XX^e siècle*, Paris, 1987, pp. 93-99; N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1250-1285,* J.J.G. Alexander (ed.), London, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 110-12 and "Pictured Sermons in Thirteenth- Century England," in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts, Art & Architecture*, S. L'Engle and G.B. Guest (eds.), London, 2006, pp. 323-40.

[66] Hippeau, *Bestiaire*, p. 199.

[67] Following Honorius, *Gemmae animae*, Book I.4 (PL 172.586): Pavimentum quod pedibus calcatur vulgus est, cuius laboribus Ecclesia sustentatur; Book I, chap. 4, ed. cit., p. 13; Barral i Altet, *Décor*, p. 307.

[68] . . . *viciorum mole gravatus*; see n. 57.

[69] Barral I Altet, *Décor*, pp. 306-07; G. Trovabene, "Gioco, virtù e vizio," *Venezia arti*, 15/16 (2001-02), pp. 33-42; A.C. Quintavalle, "I mosaici del Camposanto a sud della Cattedrale," in *Cattedrale di Cremona*, Parma, 2007, pp. 64-69; Vaccaro, *"Pavia"* pp. 100-07 et passim.

Fig. 13. Cremona, cathedral, camposanto, mosaic (after Barral i Altet)

standing astride Discord and plunging a lance into the vice's mouth, in a fashion that engaged Prudentius' widely-circulated *Psychomachia*.[70]

No subtler example of this conceptual lesson of Christian war against evil survives than the large mosaic fragment in front of the altar in the raised choir of San Savino in Piacenza (Fig. 14). Elevating the labyrinth formerly near the door that *mundum typice donat*, it features the cosmos held aloft by Atlas (as on the Tuscania façade) who originally would have stood at the very edge of the choir and hence at the boundary between the earthly and celestial domains and consisting of a circular diagram with an outer disk inhabited by panthers and griffins and a smaller orb occupied by Annus holding sun and moon.[71] And, while the four men wearing Phrygian caps grasping the outer ring may owe something to Wheel-of-Fortune iconography as in the *Hortus Deliciarum* (Fig. 7), they are personifications of the seasons,[72] their perfect balancing in the four corners reinforcing the year's cyclical equilibrium. The evocation of Wheel-of-Fortune imagery serves precisely to contrast the image of order to that of happenstance, which as, William Tronzo brilliantly demonstrated forty year ago, also underlies the four side panels that represent combat and dice-throwing on the left and law and chess on the right to contrast accidents of fate to rules and strategy.[73] Anyone approaching the altar would

[70] The early fifth-century text survives in more than 300 copies including one (London, Cotton Ms Titus D xxvii) by the "Alexis Master" identified in the St Alban's Psalter. In general, see: R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Handschriften des Prudentius*, Berlin, 1895-1915; G. Wieland, "The Origin and Development of the Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* Illustrations," *Anglo-Saxon England*, 26 (1997), pp. 169-86; and Fricke, *Fallen Idols*, pp. 69-75. Prudentius identifies *Discordia* as *Heresis*, whose God is variable and whose tongue is foul (*Psychomachia*, lines 707-18).

[71] Based on Trovabene, Schineller's argument is certainly correct that the image is to be read in relation to the mosaic in the crypt directly below.

[72] Cf. the tenth-century sacramentary from Fulda in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek, Ms.Theol. Lat. 192); see C. Winterer, *Der Fuldaer Sakramentar in Göttingen*, Petersberg, 2009, pp. 119-26.

[73] Tronzo ("Hieroglyphs," p. 24) cited a twelfth-century miniature, framed by Proverbs 8.12-17, on which *Fortuna* is balanced with Wisdom in a similar wheel of fortune (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 66). Frugoni has

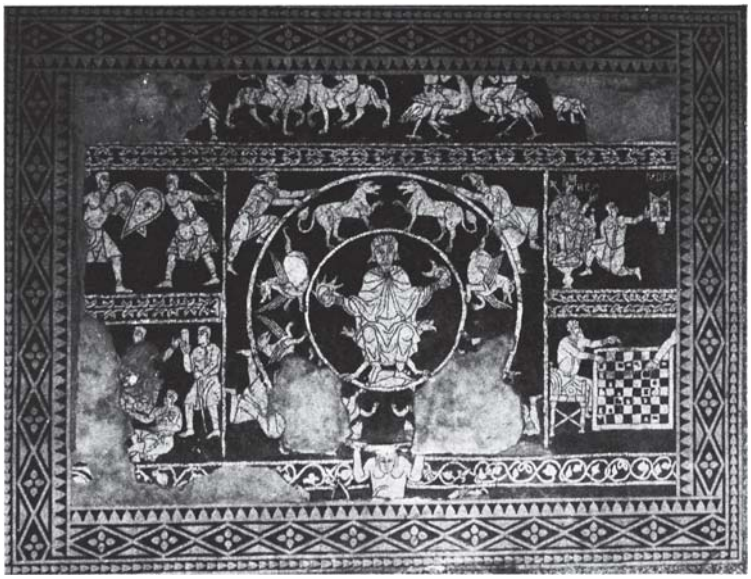

Fig. 14. Piacenza, San Savino, apse mosaic (after Tronzo)

thus literally tread on Atlas' human flesh, to enter the cosmic sphere and then, following basic somatic instincts reinforced by a ceremonial tradition traceable back to Old St. Peter's and Cosmatesque floors in other Roman churches, would---in the manner of a game piece---advance on the fields laid out in front.[74] In the Paris Psalter, too, a checkerboard organization imposed on the more diffuse model strengthened the deliberativeness of the anonymous sinner's decision and, at the same time, made the flow of the road to hell appear inexorable.[75] The reference to chess may, in fact, be explicit in the Christ flanked by angels which recalls the kings of the south Italian Romanesque ivory set treasured at St. Denis (Fig. 15).[76]

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proposed that the chess scene portrays Evilmorodach teaching chess to Xerxes, who loved justice and measure; "Schachspiel," p. 54. Some versions of chess, it should be noted, deployed dice.

[74] Actual game pieces used a vocabulary of knights fighting demons and such biblical heroes as David and Samson. As Philippe Cordez has underscored, chessmen were often prized in church treasures; "Images ludiques et politique féodale. Les matériels d'échecs dans les églises du 11e siècle," in *Tempus ludendi. Chiesa e ludicità nella società tardo-medioevale (sec. XII-XV)*, Y. Dahhaoui and G. Ortalli (eds.), (*Ludica*, 13-14, 2007/2008 [2011]), pp. 115-136 and Id., "O jogo de xadrez: imagem, poder e igreja (fim do século x - início do século xii)," *Revista de História*, 165 (2011), pp. 93-119; R. Bubczyk, "'Ludus inhonestus et illicitus?": Chess, Games and the Church in Medieval Europe" in *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature*, S. Patterson (ed.), New York, 2015, pp. 23-43.

[75] The composition was based on the copy of the Utrecht Psalter known as the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17.1), which is much more fluid; see: Sánchez Ameijeiras, *Rostros*, pp. 199-213.

[76] M. Pastoureau, *L'échiquier de Charlemagne. Un jeu pour ne pas jouer*, Paris, 1990; L. Speciale, "*Ludus Scachorum*: Il gioco dei Re. Forma e iconografia degli scacchi tra l'Italia meridionale e l'Europa," in *L'enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno* (cat. of an exhibition), F. Bologna (ed.), Milan, 2009, vol. 1, pp. 203-39; N. Girardin, "Charles le Chauve et les objets 'de Charlemagne'" in *Charlemagne et les objets. Des thésaurisations carolingiennes aux constructions mémorielles*, P. Cordez (ed.), Bern, 2012, pp. 115-34; J. Duran-Porta, "Nuevos datos sobre la temprana diffusion del ajedrez en los Pirineos, y una reflexión sobra las piezas de Àger," *Espacio, tiempo, y forma*, 5 (2017), pp. 171-87.

Fig. 15. Chess piece, Paris, Cabinet des médailles

By the early thirteenth-century, texts likened chessboards to the world and the moves to human struggles and triumphs, among them, the *Quaedam moralitas de scaccario*, in which the devil battles for the reader's soul,[77] and a forty-eight-line thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman poem beginning *Quand jo de cest secle regard la sotie*, which has God playing white chessmen and the devil black.[78] The allusion is less to the specific game than to the calculated movements of opposing forces it implies, as Tronzo rightly emphasized in his analysis of the Piacenza mosaic. And, as the Vico Porcellano lintel and Otranto mosaic attest, the moralization of the visual-mental-somatic motif was realized already earlier in art. The checkerboard motif was also applied to biblical events; in San Colombano in Bobbio, the Maccabees recapture the city of Jerusalem constructed as checkerboard masonry;[79] and alternating squares characterize the sacred city also in St. Paul-Trois-Chateaux.[80] At Otranto, the pattern is applied to the Tower of Babel perhaps to highlight the confusion that results from humankind's hubris.[81] And the game board in the Paris manuscript of Le Clerc's bestiary visualizes the struggle described near the text's close: "a man on the field has to fight three enemies which engage him in great combat, the devil who lies in wait to make him sin, this world which casts him down with many a blow, and his own flesh which assails and overcomes him more than the other two, it is the worst enemy that he has".[82] As for Bernard of Clairvaux, a person's own weaknesses, not external distractions, is the supreme cause of sin.[83]

[77] See: L. Thorndike, "'All the World's a Chess-Board'," *Speculum*, 6 (1931), pp. 461-65; J. Adams, *Power Play. The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, 2006, pp. 43-46.

[78] Ö. Södergård "Petit poème allégorique sur les échecs," *Studia Neophilologica*, 23 (1950-51), pp. 127-36. see: R.J. Dean and M.B.M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature. A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, London, 1999, p. 381; Morgan, "Pictured Sermons," p. 325. Moralizing chess texts and pictures increased during the thirteenth century; in the north transept of Chartres, the prodigal son is pictured playing dice chess as in the Le Clerc miniature; see: B. Kurmann-Schwarz, "Récits, programme, commanditaires, concepteurs, donateurs: publications récentes sur l'iconographie des vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin Monumental*, 154 (1996), pp. 55-71.

[79] Barral i Altet, *Décor*, pp. 326-27. The *Pictor in Carmine* mentions Maccabees as a suitable subject to replace profane battles; Wirth, *Pictor*, p. 109.

[80] Barral i Altet, *Décor*, pp. 289-91.

[81] W. Haug, *Das Mosaik von Otranto. Deutung und Bilddokumentation*, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 111; Gianfreda, *Mosaico*, p. 158; Trovabene, "Gioco"; Barral i Altet, *Décor*, 364-70.

[82] Hippeau, *Bestiaire*, p. 320; Druce (trans.), pp. 108-09. On the ludic in medieval aesthetics, see: Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty;* and on "serious play," including that involving labyrinths and wrestlers, see: P. Binski, *Gothic Wonder. Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style*, New Haven and London, 2014.

[83] See the masturbating man discussed by Milagros Guarda in this volume.

The ludic dynamics themselves conveyed spiritual confrontation.[84] Thus, in the *Bestiaire divin*, one player, mimicking the gesture the preacher's right hand, points to a white square (as in the Anglo-Norman poem symbolizing Christ), while his opponent (apparently the cleric shown also at table) throws dice. In Pieve Terzagni sixty kilometers from Piacenza, [85] creatures (including a seductive mermaid) fill alternating squares of the choir and cede to a similar grid behind the altar, this one occupied by the ancient palindrome, SATOR AREPO TENET OPERA ROTAS. The intersecting TENETS famously understood as the cross, stand in for Christ, flanked by the evangelist symbols and also a dragon and strange creature which menace those who misstep. The appropriated profane wordplay recurs in an early twelfth-century mosaic near the altar of Sant'Orso in Aosta (Fig. 16),[86] as well, albeit as a ring that engages the palindrome's other magical feature, the chained alternating vowels and consonants that rhyme with the Solomonic knots; framed by a panther and demonic hybrids—a merman clutching a serpent, a two-bodied eagle, and a dragon—that mock the expected evangelist symbols, these encircle Samson subduing a lion which the contemporary theologian Hugh of St. Victor understood mystically: *Samson leonem interfecit, et Christum diabolum occidit*.[87] Those who reached the center could read the first line of the couplet directly: "This house of God is appropriately adorned", the reference to ornament eliciting the imagery's relationship to the medium in which it is rendered, mostly black and white stones, or reddish marble, which appropriates both the colorlessness of demonic figures and accommodates the exigencies of floor paving.[88] But deciphering the palindrome and second verse of the couplet in mirror writing required physical and mental twisting: "[the house] receives those

Fig. 16. Aosta, Sant'Orso, Samson Slaying Lion. Archivi dell'Assessorato Istruzione e Cultura della Regione autonoma Valle d'Aosta, su concessione della Regione autonoma Valle d'Aosta (phot. Zambianchi)

[84] See M. PASTOUREAU, "L'arrivée du jeu d'échecs en Occident," in M. PASTOUREAU, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Age occidental*, Paris, 2004, pp. 269-91 and ID., "Programme. Histoire d'un mot, histoire d'un concept," in *Le programme. Une notion pertinente en histoire de l'art medieval*, Paris, 2011, pp. 24-25.

[85] BARRAL I ALTET, *Décor*, pp. 308-09.

[86] Ibidem, pp. 303-05.

[87] HUGH OF ST. VICTOR, *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum*, Book 4, chap. 16 (PL 175.680).

[88] In this, it is like veined marble which also oscillates between matter and representation and, in so doing, assumes an apotropaic function; see B. FLOOD, "'God's Wonder': Marble as Medium and the Natural Image in Mosques and Modernism," *West 86th*, 23 (2017), pp. 168-219.

who always sing reverently to Him."[89] Reading the inscription became dancing to the devout psalmody, converting the physical victory over evil into celestial elevation.

The strategies of moralized motion deployed on floors were engaged even when the profane vocabulary was raised up on walls. Although not literally trampled, painted and sculpted imagery, too, was transformed through imagination in a process that Bede had already explained when he cited the Brazen Serpent to justify pictures, raised up so that the Israelites "might live by looking at it" like "the exaltation of the Lord our savior on the cross . . . whereby he wonderfully triumphed over the same author of death."[90] Thus, a depiction of Concord trampling Discord on the stairway to the crypt of the Aquileia cathedral cues the conflictual reading of the frescoes behind the altar representing confronted wild animals, personifications of vices, men battling beasts, a scene of homage, knights, a crusader in pursuit of a Saracen, arranged around a depiction of Orpheus or David surrounded by animals, which Thomas Dale has read as *bellum spiritale*.[91] Moreover, pictured on fictive veils that evoke the curtain closing off the *profanus* of the desert Tabernacle where sacrifices were prepared,[92] these conjure up Augustine's blind Jew who, "when he hears of a sacrifice, does not carry his thoughts beyond the customary offerings of victims from the flock, and of the fruits of the earth".[93]

In the nearby abbey church of Sta. Maria of Summaga (Fig. 17 and Fig. 17 bis), depictions of Samson slaying the lion and David confronting Goliath, interspersed with pictures of an archer shooting a dragon, a falconer, a gluttonous man, and two shield-bearing gladiators overseen by a man bearing a measuring stick are cued by personifications of virtues trampling vices.[94] In Ceri, profane themes were introduced on simple white grounds in the dado, recalling the Mass of San Clemente in the lower church of San Clemente where the lowest field of three anagogical registers is literally profane; beneath Christ enthroned in heaven and the miracle believed to have taken place at the adjacent altar, the blind persecutor Sissinius addresses his men as "sons of whores" in some of the earliest vulgar Italian still preserved.[95] At Ceri, the randomness of subjects contrasts with the orderly progression

[89] Interius domini domus hec ornate decenter/Querit eos qui semper ei psalant reverenter; Barral i Altet, *Décor*, p. 305.

[90] *De templo*, Bk II, chap. 19.10, CCSL 119A, D. Hurst (ed.) Turnhout, 1969, pp. 212-13; trans. S. Connolly (Liverpool, 1995), pp. 90-92.

[91] T.E.A. Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics in Medieval Venetia*, Princeton, 1997. Dale proposed that central scene represents David, but Orpheus is likelier because the motif of the snake attacking a rodent parallels a Jerusalem mosaic. J. Elsner, "Orpheus as David. Orpheus as Christ?," *Biblical Archaeological Review*, 35 (2009), pp. 35-45.

[92] As in the twelfth-century frescoes of St. Julian in Tours; see: A. Grabar, "Fresques romanes copiées sur le miniatures du Pentateuque de Tours," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 9 (1957), pp. 329-341; H. L. Kessler, "Sacred Light from Shadowy Things," *Codex Aquilarensis*, 32 (2016), pp. 237-69. See also the ninth-century Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura; Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, pp. 154-55 and the *Hortus Deliciarum*, Joyner, *Hortus*, pp. 116-20.

[93] Dale, *Relics*, figs. 110-13. They thus evoke human blindness the way Durand (later) understood Lenten cloths symbolizing literal reading that, as Amy Knight Powell has argued, warned "against seeking with carnal vision what can only be known spiritually." *Depositions. Scenes from the Late Medieval Church and the Modern Museum*, Brooklyn, 2012, pp. 64-67.

[94] Also, Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum ecclesiae* (PL 172.743); see Powell, *Depositions*, pp. 64-67.

[95] G. Wolf, "Nichtzyklische narrative Bilder im italienischen Kirchenraum des Mittelalters: Überlegungen zu Zeit- und Bildstruktur der Fresken in der Unterkirche von S. Clemente (Rom) aus dem späten 11 Jahrhundert" in *Hagiographie und Kunst: der Heiligenkult in Schrift, Bild und Architektur*, G. Kerscher (ed), Berlin, 1993, pp. 319-39; C.

of the typological narrative above.[96] In the first bay, a dragon-like chimaera is pictured below a depiction of St. Sylvester muzzling the monster that had menaced the Roman Forum; in the second, devils are shown torturing St. Andrew's executioner who, above, haughtily oversees the Apostle's crucifixion; and the astonishing scene of a man basting a pig on a spit as two women arrive with a basket of bread and an amphora is connected both to the Baptist's *agnus Dei* above and to the actual altar alongside it on which spiritual food is offered (in the same way the man holding a tumbler in the tavern scene below the altar at Piacenza, the fat poulterer in Summaga, who carries a harvest of eggs and tends his chicken pen, and the feasting Israelites in St Denis all are). The dado beneath the final scene of St. George Slaying the Dragon (perhaps the earliest in western art) is illegible, but clearly the register viewed at eye-level provided moral exemplars that contrast with profane alternatives below: a monster subdued, evil punished, gluttony diverted.

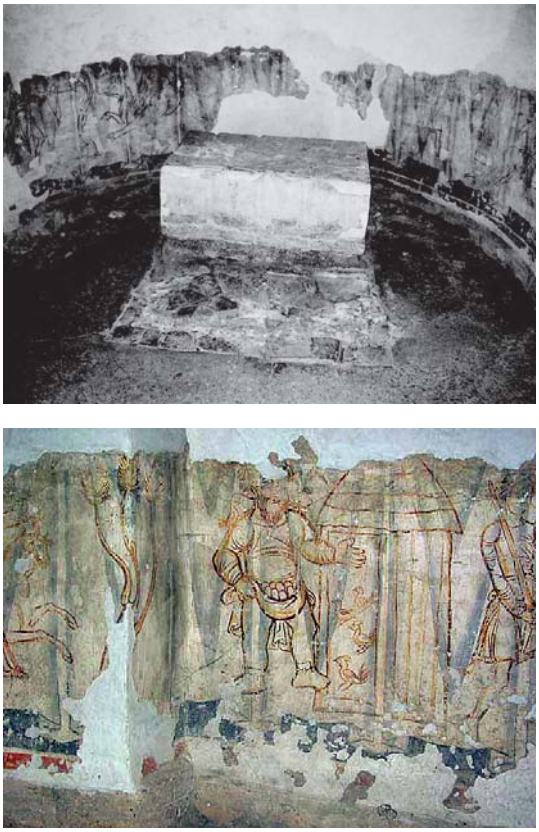

Fig. 17. Summaga, Santa Maria, apse. (J. Bain)

All images, whether under foot or before the eyes, were sites of confrontation and competition. Thus, echoing the concern of Bernard of Clairvaux and the author of the *Pictor in Carmine* that "eyes are apt to be caught by a pleasure that is not only vain, but even

Filippini, "La Chiesa e il suo santo: gli affreschi dell'undicesimo secolo nella Chiesa di S. Clemente a Roma," in *Art, cérémonial et liturgie*, N. Bock et al. (eds.), Rome, 2002, pp. 107-23; J. Osborne, "The Dado Imagery in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome, and Santa Maria Immacolata at Ceri," in *Shaping Sacred Space*, 2004, pp. 35-50 and idem, "The Dado as a Site of Meaning in Roman Mural Paintings ca. 1100," in *Roma e la Riforma Gregoriana*, S. Romano and J. Enckell Julliard (eds.), Rome, 2004, pp. 275-88; S. Romano, "Le pareti e i pilastri con storie di San Clemente e Sant'Alessio nella chiesa inferiore di San Clemente" in *Pittura medieval a Roma: Corpus*, S. Romano (ed.), Milan, 2006, vol. 4, pp. 131-50; J. Bain, "Signifying Absence. Experiencing Monochrome Imagery in Medieval Painting," in *A Wider Trecento: Studies in 13th and 14th Century European Art Presented to Julian Gardner*, L. Bourdua and R. Gibbs (eds.), Leiden, 2012, pp. 5-20.

[96] S. Maddalo, "I santi Giorgio e Silvestro e l'ideologia política della nel ciclo pittorico dell' Immacolata di Ceri," in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge. Commande, production et reception de l'oeuvre d'art. Mélanges en homage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, Paris, 2012, pp. 678-85.

Fig. 18. *Hortus deliciarum*, olim Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Ms. 37, fol. 215r puppet joust (Christian Moritz Engelhardt; photo BnF, Paris)

profane," the folio with the Wheel-of-Fortune in the *Hortus deliciarum* extended the ludic *psychomachia* to artifice itself (Fig. 7).[97] Seated on the throne of wisdom, King Solomon supervises two youths manipulating puppet knights; the artificial conflict mesmerizes one player, while his companion averts his glance in an act of moral choice diagrammed also in the contemporary Erlangen *Lamentations* miniature, the Canterbury Psalter's sinner, the readers of Le Clerc's bestiary and, most important, the faithful moving through decorated churches. In Christian Moritz Engelhardt's 1818 copy (Fig. 18), the mock joust is labeled *ludus monstrorum*, expanded atop the table to "the game of monsters signifies the vanity of vanities", an allusion to the Song of Solomon's claim about the uselessness of human endeavors quoted on the facing page.[98] A long passage from Honorius Augustodunensis opposite the miniature makes the point that, just as Perseus had to use a mirror to defend himself from the Medusa's libidinous beauty, art's sensual attraction requires a shield to guard against the threat of diverting the faithful from the path to the invisible God,[99] a lesson that Suger's Exodus window also teaches, which equates Jewish literalism with the lure of sensual pleasures and contrasts a hybrid "serpent" that kills to the salvific image of Christ which replaces it. In like fashion, the gloss in the St Alban's Psalter not only insists on the need to read the text spiritually, but also that "just as they do not cease from reaching out mutually with the eye of the body to

[97] On the relationship of imagery, faith, and demons, see: A. García Avilés, "Estatuas poseídas: Ídolos demoniacos en el arte de la Edad Media," *Codex Aquilarensis*, 28 (2012), pp. 231-254.

[98] See F. Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion: Gendered Experience and Response" in *Women and the Book. Assessing the Visual Evidence*, J.H.M. Taylor and L. Smith (eds.), London, 1997, p. 218. The depiction was preceded on fol. 214r by a distich ascribed to Hildebert of Lavardin and Malachi of Armagh, and repeated by Peter the Chanter, bearing on the virtues of Temperance, Justice, Prudence, and Magnificence: "To despise the world, to despise ourselves, to despise the fact that we are despised, these are four good things"; Green, *Hortus*, vol. 2, p. 349. See: I. Bejczy, *Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages. A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century*, Leiden, 2011, p. 106. Tellingly, in the pastiche copy, the younger man is turns toward seductive sirens.

[99] At the end of the thirteenth century, Peter of Limoges argued that "If the sinner would open his eyes, he would see that he is in the midst of enemies, i.e. of demons. For the devil puts much effort into first making someone blind so he cannot see his own sin . . . and makes a sinner spiritually blind . . . to the extent [he] has lost the power of discernment." R. Newhauser, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*, Toronto, 2012, pp. 171-72. In the fourteenth-century,

all their limbs, we likewise, on the other hand, with the eyes of the heart must always keep watch with all virtue (with the eyes of the heart) against our adversary who is constantly lying in wait to ambush us;" and it includes the dictum about art attributed to Gregory the Great in both Latin and the vernacular.[100] The juxtaposition of carnal food and the actual altar in Ceri deploys the conundrum with great subtlety: the pictured temptations are forever out of reach but the pure spiritual nourishment of the Eucharist is present and available.[101]

Perpetual Pilgrims

Itself a vanity, art served only an interim role, as Gerard of Arras understood when he cited the desert antitype in his mid-eleventh-century defense of images: "We, traveling from the Egypt of carnal conversation through the desert of earthly exile to the land of celestial promise are able to evade the venom of the ancient enemy through the image of the Son of God",[102] an idea of the transitory nature of all human-made things that may well explain why, in the Campinesque panel in the Prado, the church, though adorned, is still to be completed.[103] The concluding couplet of Hildebert of Lavardin's Exodus titulus elaborated the idea that humankind is engaged in a perpetual battle *pro fanus*: "The people proceeded toward Jerusalem, but wandered through the desert. We, the living wanderers through the desert of the world, proceed to the heavenly homeland. And, while many are destroyed in carnal struggle, we hold our spiritual ground."[104] Hugh of St. Victor summed up the argument in his *Solliloquy*:

> Now you are wandering in exile because, while you are attracted by the desire for temporal goods, you cannot find the love for those things that are eternal. Indeed, the important beginning of your salvation can be that you have learned to change your love for the better, since you can be separated from all love of finite things, if a greater beauty be shown you that you would more gladly embrace"[105].

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moral vison became a dominant issue. Writing ca. 1375, John Wyclif explicitly distinguished good images from bad; *Tractatus de mandatis divinis*, chap. 15, J. Loserth and F.D. Matthew (eds.), London, 1922, pp. 156-60; see M. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers. Images and Literacy in Late Medieval England*, London, 1984, pp. 137-59; K. Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages. Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350-1500*, New York, 2002, p. 23. See also: P. Seiler, "Schönheit und Scham, sinnliches Temperament und moralische Temperantia. Überlegungen zu einigen Antikenadaptionen in der spätmittelalterlichen Bildhauerei Italiens," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 70 (2007), pp. 473-512 and R. Newhauser, "Introduction: The Sensual Middle Ages". *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, London, 2014, p. 179.

[100] H. L. Kessler, "Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Companion to Medieval Art*, pp. 151-71. The *Pictor in Carmine*, too, paraphrases Gregory; Wirth, *Pictor*, p. 109.

[101] This observation derives from a lively discussion with Philippe Cordez during the "spiritual" journey home from Aguilar de Campoo.

[102] *Gerardi Cameracensis Acta synodi Atrebatensis*, S. Vanderputten and D.J. Reilly (eds.), CCCM 270, Turnhout, 2014, p. 65.

[103] The classic discussion of the temporality of architectural symbolism remains: E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge MA, 1958, pp. 134-40.

[104] *Tendit/Ierusalem populus, sed per deserta uagatur./Nos per desertum mundi uiuendo uagantes,/tendimus ad patriam celeste. Plurima restand/his carnalia prelia, spiritualia nobis*; see n. 25.

[105] Kessler, "Image and Object".

Suger included the Israelites' safe passage through the Red Sea over the bodies of the Egyptian soldiers at the center of his Moses window (Fig. 2); and the late thirteenth-century *mappamundi* in Hereford Cathedral traces the same journey fraught with danger and temptations (Fig. 19).[106] Leaving Egypt, the God's chosen pass the mythical creature known as a yale and a phoenix, traverse the waters divided for them and continue to Mt. Sinai where Moses receives the tablets while (as in Suger's glass) a group of "Jews" —a long banderole symbolizing their carnality—worships an idol raised on a pedestal, in this case, an ape labeled "Mahum" defecating coins.[107] As the route continues, it loops around itself twice, doubles back, forks

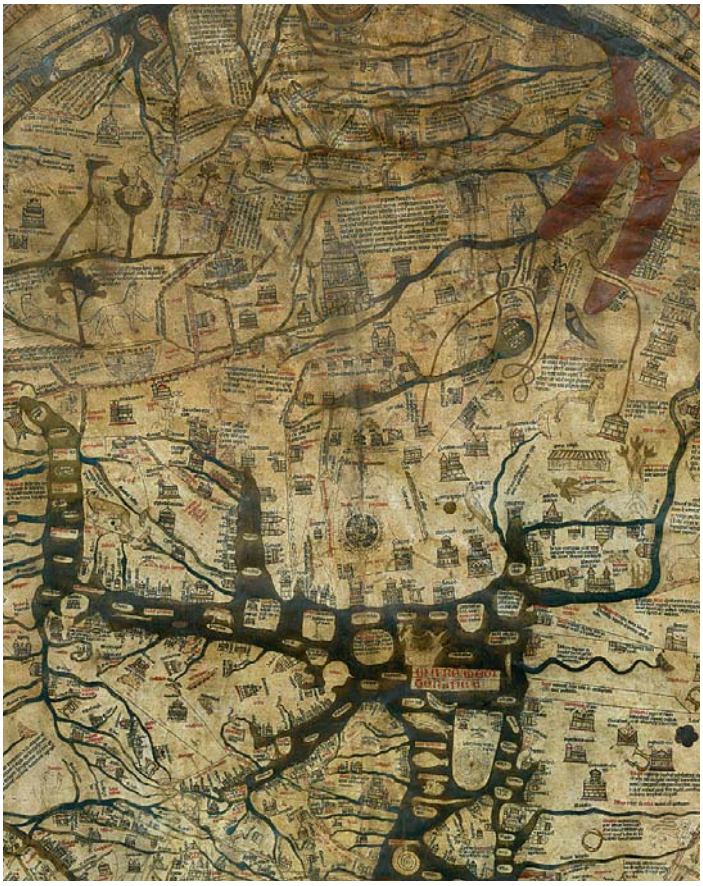

Fig. 19. Hereford, cathedral, *mappamundi* (detail): labyrinth and crossing the Red Sea. (Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral)

[106] Kline, *Maps*, pp. 98-119 et passim; M. Kupfer, *Art and Optics in the Hereford Map*, New Haven, 2016.

[107] See D.H. Strickland, *Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, Princeton, 2003, p. 166; "Meanings of Muhammed in Later Medieval Art" in *The Image of the Prophet between Ideal and Ideology. A Scholarly Investigation*, C. Gruber and A. Shalem (eds.), Berlin and Boston, 2014, pp. 147-64 and "Monstrosity and Race in the Late Middle Ages," in *Monstrous and the Monstrous*, A.S. Mittman and P.J. Dendle (eds.), London, 2016, pp. 265-86; also, S. Luchitskaja, "The Image of Muhammad in Latin Chronography of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History,* 26 (2000), pp. 115-26.

into two paths (as on the Erlangen diagram), and converges again before rounding Sodom and Gomorrah where, descending, it continues past Lot's naked, sinful wife and (mimicking her transformation into stone) the hybrid *marsok bestia transmutata*. Marcia Kupfer has noted that the charted exodus aligns with Daedalus' labyrinth on Crete, offering a choice between two "typologies for wandering and way-finding."[108] And, citing Bonaventure's "two scriptural models for passing over to God---the Hebrews' circuitous transit from Egypt to the Promised land and Christ's passage from this world to the Father," she notes that the reader may choose to page over the world (the map itself) with its temptations and threats.

Sicard of Cremona described church naves as places of struggle and patient forbearing on the route to the heavenly country;[109] profane images within them made manifest the truth that those on this arduous earthly pilgrimage still needed strategies to fight the vanities or, as Gerardo Boto has understood, to engage actively the cause-and-effect relationship between sin, guilt, punishment, and redemption.[110] In the Canterbury Psalter, the tactics are simple and direct—binary oppositions; at Ceri, they are more complicated, where numerous detours interrupt the straight lines of history, Joseph's seduction jumping to the Temptation of Adam and Eve, the barbecue scene contrasting with the real altar, and Noah's family in the Ark mirroring the saved in the Heavenly Jerusalem around the corner; and in Santo Domingo de la Calzada and the complex organization Marta Serrano and Esther Lozano have revealed in the cloister of La Seu d'Urgell, cat's cradle moves are needed to achieve victory.[111]

While reading, parsing manuscript illuminations, traversing pavements, and gazing at carvings and paintings from afar involved distinct processes, they all yielded their unique spiritual currency not through the *ordo rationalis et intellectualis* nor mnemotechical rhetoric, at least not only. The "living wanderers through the desert of this world," needed a fifth mode, a somatic-mental process that activated the feints and retreats of chess and the diversions and returns of labyrinths to help them skirt the demonic traps of worldly fascinations, including the distraction of art itself however therapeutic it might be in this life.[112] Heaven has no human-made images or objects, after all; it is *veritas*.

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[108] Connolly, "Center," pp. 304-05; Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, p. 83. Isidore of Seville wrote of the labyrinth that "inside are images and monstrous effigies . . . and other things done to confuse the way of those who have entered so that it seems impossible to pass from the first darkness to the light" (*Etymologiae*, XV.ii.36; trans. S.J. Barney et al., Cambridge, 2006). p. 307.

[109] Basing his claim on Bede's *De templo* (Book I, chap. 6), *Mitralis*, Book I, chap. 4, ed. cit., p. 13; see: J. Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale*, Paris, 2008, p. 77.

[110] G. Boto, "Caracterización icónica y delimitación visual de los lugares *postliminares* en las iglesias románicas españolas," in *L'église, lieu de performances. In Locis competentibus*, S-D. Daussy and N. Reveryron (eds.), Paris, 2016, pp. 265-81.

[111] On movement and choices, see: M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought. Mediation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 116-17 et passim and *Experience of Beauty*, pp. 167-75 et passim.

[112] Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*, pp. 148-49.